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APPROACHED THROUGH THE CHODANGJIP.

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A STUDY OF KOREAN ZEN BUDDHISM APPROACHED
THROUGH THE CHODANGJIP

KYUNG-BO SEO

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Author: Kyung-bo Seo

Read and Approved by: _____

Bernard Phillips
Richard LeMaster

Key P. Young

Date submitted to the Graduate Board December 9, 1968

Accepted by the Graduate Board of Temple University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Date Jan. 1969

Joseph H. Huganur
(Dean of Graduate School)

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FORWARD

In 1964 the writer came to the United States as a representative of the Korean Chogye Buddhist Sect, under a visiting scholar program sponsored by Columbia University and the Buddhist Association of San Francisco. Later in 1966, he was invited as a lecturer by Temple University where he also subsequently pursued a doctoral program in religion.

During this time, he discovered that Korean Zen Buddhism was virtually unknown in the United States, even among religious circles. Considering the fact that Korean Zen has something meaningful to offer different from the Zen of China and Japan, he decided to make better known the existence of Korean Zen, its background, development and form today.

This dissertation is the writer's venture to this effect.

The writer is grateful to all of his professors, associates and friends for their encouragement and advice. He is especially indebted to Dr. Bernard Phillips, Chairman of the Department of Religion at Temple University. Without his suggestions and encouragement, this study would have been impossible. The writer wishes to express his deep

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INTRODUCTION

Buddhism first entered Korea in 372 A.D. when it was carried from China to the Kingdom of Koguryō, which was centered at that time in the northern half of the Korean peninsula. Somewhat later Buddhism was introduced to the Kingdom of Paekche, located in the southwestern part of Korea, and in 528 A.D. it reached the Kingdom of Silla situated in southeastern Korea.

In 668 A.D. the three kingdoms were united under Silla. Buddhism flourished in Unified Silla, and during the succeeding two centuries nine major schools of Zen¹.

¹The original Sanskrit word is "dhyana"; in Pali, "Jhana". It was translated into Chinese as "Ch'an", Korean as "Sōn", and Japanese as "Zen". Thus, for example, in his review of Buddhism and Zen, by Nyogen Senzaki and Ruth Strout McCandless, DeMartino states: "In English, the term Zen when used alone has come to have several meanings: a particular school of Buddhism; a form of meditation; a kind of religious experience; ultimate reality; all or any of these meanings in combination." This is found in "The Review of Religion", Vol. XIX (New York: Columbia University Press, November, 1954), p. 54.

When the word "Zen" is used in the body of this dissertation, it will generally be clear from the context which of the meanings is intended. Wherever it may be necessary to further specify its meaning, I shall add such qualifying phrases as "Zen as a meditative practice," "Zen as a seat of Buddhism," "Zen as ultimate reality."

thought developed. These schools were distinguished from one another not so much by doctrinal variations as by the differing personalities of the Zen Masters around whom the schools formed. It is the nature of Zen to be effective in relation to its practitioner's subjective personality, rather than his objective doctrines.

In 935 A.D. Unified Silla was superseded by the Kingdom of Koryō (935-1392). Buddhism remained a dominant force, and the nine schools continued to develop, but stagnation gradually set in. In the twelfth century a revival occurred, in the course of which the thought of the nine schools was unified into one, the Chogyejong. Toward the end of the Koryō period the schools were further joined administratively into the Chogye Sect.

Early Buddhism in Korea was in essence Chiao¹ (Kyō in Korean). Following the introduction of Zen during Unified Silla, Chiao and Zen developed in parallel. At the beginning of the Yi Dynasty of Chosŏn Kingdom (1392-1910), which followed Koryō, six separate Chiao Sects

¹Chiao 教 . The original Sanskrit word "pravacana", meaning "teaching" or "doctrine" was first translated into the Chinese character 教 pronounced "chiao". (Korean and Japanese: "kyo".) This character "教" (chiao) is used in all the Chinese characterized Mahayana Tripitaka. The Chinese pronunciation "chiao" will be used here.

existed. In 1424 three of these merged with the Chogye Sect to form the Sōnjong (Zen) Sect. The four remaining Sects then united into the Kyojong (Chiao) Sect. During much of the Chosōn period Buddhism was under heavy restrictions, and except for a brief period in the sixteenth century, Zen waned, leaving the field to Chiao. In the latter half of the 19th century Zen again came to the fore and a fusion of Zen and Chiao began. This finally culminated in the unification of the Sōnjong and Kyojong Sects in 1935 into the present single Chogye Sect

Zen Buddhism in Korea today stems from the nine schools which originated in the Unified Silla Kingdom. In the 1920's an invaluable record touching upon the Zen Masters of the period was discovered at Haein Monastery, Mt. Kaya, in the district of Hapch'ōn, province of Kyōngsang Namdo. This was the Chodangjip,¹ or Collections of the

¹Chinese, Tsu-t'ang-chi; Japanese, Sodo Shū. It means the Collections of the Patriarchal Hall. It is a compilation of the biographies, records and stories of famous Zen priests up to the time of its completion. Quite possibly it served as the source for much of the information in the Ching-te Ch'uan-teng Lu (The Records of the Transmission of the Lamp).

In the thirteenth century the Kingdom of Koryō was overrun and subjugated by the Mongols. King Kojong (1214-1260), in the belief that it would benefit the nation, had the Tripitaka engraved on wooden blocks (Koryō Taejanggyōng, 5048 volumes, printed in 1236-1252 A.D.). Known in English today as the Korean Tripitaka or Tripitaka Koreana, they are kept at Haein Monastery and are designated a national treasure. The Chodangjip was discovered among these. It had been brought from China in 1245 and, like the Tripitaka, had also been engraved on wooden blocks.

Patriarchal Hall, consisting of twenty numbered volumes engraved on wooden blocks containing the records and deeds of more than 250 Patriarchs, and comprising an account of the Indian, Chinese and Korean Zen Masters who lived between the end of Sakyamuni's life and the end of the T'ang Dynasty in China (i.e., 483 B.C. - 952 A.D.).

The work was originally written in 952 A.D. by the Chinese Zen Master Ch'ing-hsiu 淨修, with the help of two disciples, Ch'ing 靜 and Yun 筠. It was lost in China, except for one volume containing thirty-six songs of a number of Patriarchs,¹ which was found in the caves at Tun Huang 敦煌, N. W. Kansu of China.

The value of the Chodangjip in the study of Korean Zen Buddhism lies in its biographies and the teachings of eight Silla Masters who are dealt with in this dissertation. To date only two other important works from the time of the Chodangjip are known. In 1004 A.D., fifty-two years after the Chodangjip was written, the Ching-te Ch'uan-teng

¹Now in the British Museum, Stein Collection, No. 1635. A copy of this was made by Prof. Yabuki Keiki 矢吹慶輝 and inserted as Volume 86 in the Japanese Tripitaka. Comparison with the complete Chodangjip text found at Haein Monastery shows a number of discrepancies.

Lu, edited by Tao-yuan, appeared. This consists of thirty volumes, but has only limited value since it mentions only the names of the Silla Zen Masters without further detail. An earlier work, the Pao-lin Ch'uan 寶林傳¹, edited by Jee-ku 智矩 in 800 A.D., is incomplete, several of its volumes being missing.

¹The Pao-lin Ch'uan, edited by Jee-ku 智矩 in 800 A.D., supplied details on the Indian Patriarchs and the Chinese Zen Masters. The Japanese book catalogues, Ennin's 圓仁 list 839 (Taisho Daizokyo, Vol. LV, p. 1075), 840 (Taisho Daizokyo, Vol. XV, p. 1077), 847 (Taisho Daizokyo, Vol. XV, p. 1086) and Eichō's 永超 list 1094 (Taisho Daizokyo, Vol. LV, p. 1163), describe it as a work of ten volumes. Volumes II and X were already missing by the time it came to be included in the Northern Sung Tripitaka in 998 (this loss is dated and mentioned at the end of Vol. 2, Pao-lin Ch'uan, 1, 132). Later the remaining sections were burned as spurious during the reign of Emperor Tso-tsung (1032-1101 A.D.) of Liao. All later editions of the Tripitaka exclude the work. In 1932, Prof. Tokiwa Daijō discovered an old manuscript copy of Vol. 6 in the Shorenji at Awataguchi, Kyoto, Japan. His study of the work, "A study of the Pao-lin Ch'uan" 寶林傳研究, Tohogakuho, IV, (November, 1933), pp. 205-307, was followed by the publication of a facsimile of the manuscript and a reprint of the above essay. In 1933 a set of the Chin Tripitaka was found at the Kuang-sheng Temple in Shansi. Among the works included were Vols. 1-5 and 8 of the Pao-lin Ch'uan (full title: Shuang-feng Shan Ts'ao-hou-ch'i Pao-lin Ch'uan). Together with Vol. 6 found in Kyoto, these were published in Sung-t'sang I-chen, case 3, Vol. 10 and case 4, Vols. 1-2.

This footnote about the Pao-lin Ch'uan 寶林傳 is based upon: Phillip B. Yampolsky, The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967) p. 47

The Taisho Daizokyo (Japanese Edition) mentioned above is The Tripitaka in Chinese, revised, collated, added and rearranged by Prof. J. Takakusu and Prof. K. Watanabe (Tokyo: The Taisho Issaikyo Kankokai [Society for the Publication of the Taisho Edition of the Tripitaka] 1924-1932), 85 Vols. When referred to in this dissertation, the Taisho Daizokyo will be abbreviated as "T.D.".

During the Japanese occupation of Korea (1910-1945), a print of Chodangjip was made by Matsugaoka 松ヶ岡 (Japanese) for the first time, and sent to Komazawa University, Tokyo, Japan. In 1960 the Chinese historian Hu Shih had a film copy made for keeping in China, and in 1965 the Chodangjip was reproduced in book form in Korea. However, to date it has not been translated from the original Chinese into Korean or other language.

The author of the Chodangjip, Master Ch'ing-hsiu 淨修, gives a full account of himself in the work.

The Chodangjip states that "Ch'an Master Ch'ing-hsiu Wen-Ch'eng 淨修文澄, Bishop of Chao-ch'ing Temple 拍慶寺 wrote [this preface]."¹

It is noted that he was the Bishop of Chao-ch'ing Temple at the time he authored the Chodangjip. He was known by more than one name. For example, in the New Written Verses of All Patriarchs in Chien-fo Monastery in Chuan-chou 泉州千佛新著諸祖師頌, written by him, Master Ch'ing-hsiu's name appears as Ming-chio.²

In the Ching-te Ch'uan-teng Lu, Ch'ing-hsiu's name is recorded as "Chen-chio" 真覺.³ This name

¹The Chodangjip, Vol I, p. 1.

²In the British Museum, Stein Collection No. 1635.

³Tao-yuan, Ching-te Ch'uan-teng Lu (T.D. No. 2076, p. 453).

"Chen-chio" may be confused with his teacher's name, Hsueh-feng I-t'sun 雪峰義存 (822-908 A.D.) and Master Chi-yun Ling-chao 齊雲靈照.¹ Both of them had the same name, "Chen-chio", like Master Ch'ing-hsiu's. His other names are found in his biography in the Chodangjip.² His names are recorded as "Chao-ch'ing" and "Hsing-ch'eng." "Chao-ch'ing" is after the temple of "Chao-ch'ing". "Hsing-ch'eng" is different from "Wen-ch'eng" as recorded in the Chodangjip's preface. The initial character of "Hsing" and "Wen" are not the same. Thus, these may be different names or one of them may be wrong.³

Master Chao-ch'ing's Zen study and pilgrimage are recorded in his biography in the Chodangjip. The record reads as follows:

Master "Chao-ch'ing" succeeded Master Pao-fu T'sung-chan 保福從展 and stayed in Ch'uan-chou 泉州.⁴ His name was "Hsing Ch'eng" 省證, his family name being Won. He was born at Hsien-Y'u Hsien in the province of Ch'uan-chou 泉州.

¹A Korean master and one of Hsueh-feng I-t'sun's disciples. His biography is in the Chodangjip, Vol. XI p. 11.

²The Chodangjip, Vol. XIII, p. 11.

³His life and the different names: see also "Sodo Shū no Shiriyokachi (1)" 祖堂集資料 西值 in Zengaku kenkyū 禪學研究, No. 44 (October, 1353), p. 45.

⁴This province was located in Kiang-nan Tao in the T'ang Dynasty. In the Ming and Ching Dynasties it changed its name to Ch'uan-chou Fu, located in Fu Chien Sheng. This name is not in use today.

After being initiated as a priest, he studied the Vinaya system at the school of this sect. His systematic and detailed perusal of the Maitreya Sutra¹ (one of the sutras belonging to the Pure Land School) made him reflect deeply.

"I have heard that the Zen doctrine is the one supreme way. Why do I remain here and in doing so, lose the supreme teaching?"

He left in tattered robes to wander and visit as many Zen Masters as possible. He saw Masters Keo-shan Shen-an 鼓山神晏 (853-939 A.D.); Chang-ch'ing Hui-neng 長慶慧能 (854-932 A.D.); and An-kuo 安國. His stay with each was not long. He finally became the student of Master Pao-fu T'sung-chan. There, he practiced Zen a long time without going anywhere else.²

We find in the quotation that Ch'ing-hsiu, after having studied both the Vinaya and Pure Land Doctrines, visited other Zen teachers such as Kao-shan, Chang-ch'ing, An-kuo, and Pao-fu T'sung-chan.

In the above quotation, it is not clear which An-kuo he visited after he met Kao-shan and Chang-ch'ing. There were two Zen Masters with this name during the same period of time (refer to the lineage chart on page 12). One was

¹ 彌勒. Maitreya, the Buddhist Messiah, or next Buddha, now is in the Tusita Heaven. It is believed that he is to come 5000 years after the death of Sakymuni, or, according to the Sutra reckoning, after 4000 heavenly years, i.e., 5,670,000,000 human years.

² The Chodangjip, Vol. XIII, p. 11.

"An-kuo Hui-ch'iu 安國慧球 and other "An-kuo Hung-tao 安國弘韜. If "An-kuo Hung-tao" was the one whom he visited, then all the four were Master Hsueh-feng I-t'sun's disciples.

Seven of the nine Zen Masters who developed schools of thought in the Unified Silla period are referred to in the Chodangjip to a varying extent. The material and records for all seven are found in volume 17 of the Chodangjip. They are Masters, Toūi, Hyech'ōl, Hongjik, Hyōnuk, Pōmil, Muyōm and Toyun. The writer has translated this material in entirety, and the translation is presented in Section A in each of Chapters II through VIII of Part Two. In these same chapters the writer has given his commentary based upon the translated material, and the following additional resources: Korean Tripitaka; Taisho Daizokyo; Lotus Sutra; Yuan-wu Ko-ck'in, Blue Cliff Records; Wu-men Hui-kai, Gateless Gate; Tao-yuan, Ching-te Chuan-teng Lu; D. T. Suzuki, Essays in Zen Buddhism; Ma-myōng Chōng, Korean Buddhist History; Chingak, The Interpretation of the Zen Gate; Chosen Sōtoku-fu, (Ed.), Kūmsōk Ch'ongnam; Hui-chiao, Kao-seng Chuan; Hui-neng, Fa-pao-tan-ching; Hung-chih Cheng-chueh, Ts'ung-jung Lu; Sang-no Kwōn, History of Korean Buddhism; Kagun, Commentary on the Interpretation of Zen Gate; Haeng-won Yi, Collection of

Zen Stories; Kyōnghō, Kyōnghō's Zen Records; Naong, Naong's Zen Records; Pojo, Pojo's Zen Records; Nukariya Kaiten, Zengaku Shisoshi; Sosan, A Text for Zen Buddhists; Yung-chaia Hsuan-chueh, Cheng Tao Ko, and materials obtained from Korean Zen Masters' monuments, etc. In each case the commentary is presented under section B of the seven chapters referred to above.

The writer has mentioned that there were nine Silla Zen schools. Two of these are not covered in the Chodangjip. They were of major significance in the development of Zen Buddhism in Korea and were headed by Masters Tohōn and Iōm. The accounts of these latter two masters are accordingly included from information based upon other material sources.¹ They are described in Chapter 1 and 9 of Part Two. In part Three, another master, Sunji, is presented. Since Sunji is of great importance to the development of Korean Zen (but not as the head of a separate Sect), he is taken up in

¹Chosen Sotoku-fu, (Ed.) Chosōn Kumsōk Ch'ongnam, (Seoul: Chosen Sotoku-fu, 1914).

Chi-gwan Yi, Outline of Zen History (Hapch'ōn, Korea: Haein Monastery, 1965).

Sang-no Kwon, History of Korean Buddhism (Seoul: Sinmungwan, 1917).

Tao-yuan, Ching-te Ch'uan-teng Lu (Shanghai: Binkai Temple, 1925).

Sang-no Kwōn, Outline of Korean Zen History. Edited by Tongguk University (Seoul: Tangguk University, 1959).

Chi-gwan Yi, Notes on Four Collections (Hapch'ōn Korea, Haemunsa, 1965), and other sources.

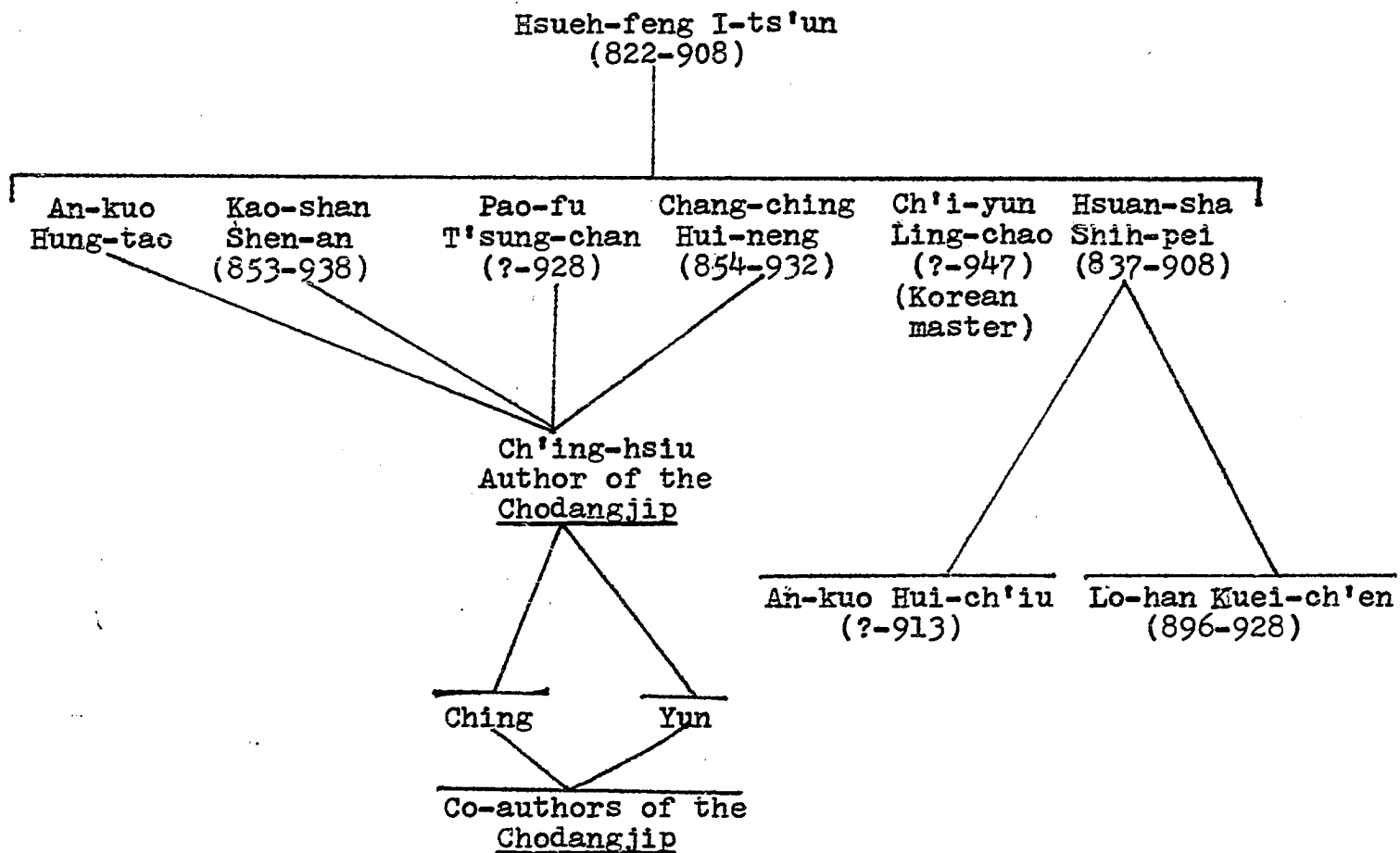
considerable detail in Part Three. The material on Sunji appears in Volume 20 of the Chodangjip.

The stream of Korean Zen Buddhism has come down to the present from the Silla Zen Masters with its spirit unchanged. Several noted Masters of the Koryō Period, which succeeded Silla, and of the Chosōn Kingdom which followed Koryō, were influential in the preservation and transmission of Zen thought. A knowledge of their thought is significant for an understanding of the distinctive character of Zen Buddhism in Korea. The most important of these Masters are discussed in detail in Part Four. They are Masters Pojo, T'aego, Sōsan, and Kyōnghō.

Finally, the writer attempts a survey of Korean Zen Buddhism down to 1935, and the emergence of the Chogyē Sect combining both Zen and Ch'iac after 1935 in the Conclusion.

As to the style of this dissertation, Chinese characters have been added to the English text as a determinative aid, and in rendering generic names, from Korean the McCune-Reischauer system has been used, from Chinese the Wade-Giles system, and from Japanese the Hepburn system. In footnotes, the generic terms in Korean, Japanese and Chinese are designated by K, J and C.

The Lineage of Master Ch'ing-hsiu and the Four Masters
Whom He Visited



The masters shown in this diagram were the chief disciples and the granddisciples of Hsueh-feng I-ts'un.

PART ONE. THE HISTORY OR LEGEND OF ZEN IN INDIA AND
CHINA, ACCORDING TO THE CHODANGJIP.

CHAPTER I

ZEN IN INDIA

The history of Zen prior to its fruition in China is very uncertain. The whole question has been discussed in great detail by D. T. Suzuki:

The traditional origin of Zen in India before its introduction into China, which is recorded in Zen literature, is so mixed with legends that no reliable facts can be gathered from it. In the days when there was yet no critical study of anything and when things, especially relating to religion, were believed in a wholesale manner, we could not expect anything else...

Some scholars may, however, object to this kind of treatment of the subject, on the ground that if Zen is at all a form of Buddhism, or even the essence of it as is claimed by its followers, it cannot be separated from the general history of Buddhism in India. This is quite true, but as far as facts are concerned, Zen as such did not exist in India--that is, in the form as we have it today.... But the Chinese adherents of Bodhism¹ or the upholders of Enlightenment did not wish to

¹Used to designate the school which upholds the Doctrine of Enlightenment (sambodhi).

swallow Indian Buddhism undigested. The practical imagination of the Chinese people came thus to create Zen, and developed it to the best of their abilities to suit their own religious requirements.

But so long as Buddhism flourished in India, this its central idea remained what it was; that is, such as is developed in most of the Mahayana Sutras. It was only after Bodhidharma, who brought it to China, that the idea took root there and grew up to what we designate now specifically as the Zen school of Buddhism.

...The history of Zen, therefore, properly speaking or in its narrower sense, may best be regarded as beginning in China. The Indian soil was too metaphysical, too rich in romantic imagination, for Zen to grow as such in its pure form.¹

The legendary origin of Zen is described in the following well-known story:

Sakyamuni was in the Grdhrakuta Mountain when he turned a flower in his fingers and held it before his listeners. Everyone was silent. Only Mahakasyapa smiled at this revelation, although he tried to control the lines of his face. Sakyamuni said: "I have the eye of the true teaching, the heart of Nirvana, the true aspect of non-form, and the ineffable stride of Dharma. It is not expressed by words, but especially transmitted beyond

¹D. T. Suzuki, Essays in Zen Buddhism (First Series), (London: Rider and Company, 1949), pp. 163-166. Suzuki further examines this question in his Studies in Zen, (London: Rider and Company, 1955), pp. 12-13, and also in his Zen Buddhism, Ed. by W. Barrett, (New York: Doubleday & Company, I.N.C., 1965), pp. 59-60.

teaching. This teaching I have given to Mahakasyapa."¹

This is the traditional beginning of Patriarchal Zen. From Sakyamuni, Patriarchal Zen in India was transmitted to Mahakasyapa, who transmitted it to Ananda. The Chodangjip records:

Mahakasyapa said to Ananda: "Buddha transmitted to me this 'eye of the wonderful Dharma' 正法眼藏. In my robes I will hide in Mt. Kechok² and wait for Maitreya Buddha to come to the world. Receive you this Dharma, and spread it so that it will not be cut off. And listen to this:

¹Wu-men Hui-k'ai: Wu-men-Kuan 無門關; Gateless Gate (T.D., No. 200, p. 283). This is recorded in the Chodangjip, Vol. I, p. 16; and in the Ch'uan Fa Ching Ts'ung Chi 傳法正宗記, Vol. I, (T.D., No. 2078, p. 717). According to the above Zen texts, Zen schools insist that it represents historical fact. However, it is not recorded in any of the sutras except the third volume of the Tai-Pan-ti'en-wang Wen-fo-chueh-i Ching 大梵天王問佛決疑經. This title is translated as The Sutra of the Heavenly King of Mahabrahmaloka Asking Buddha About the Resolution of His Doubts. But it cannot be proven that this Sutra is the original text of Sakyamuni Buddha. Kato Totsu 加藤咄堂 also explained this Sutra in his writing, the Hekiganroku daikoza 碧巖錄大講座: Vol. III, p. 211. He stated that it was probably written by an ancient Chinese scholar. Hence, the story might be legend rather than history.

²Sanskrit: Mt. Kukkutapada, located in the ancient kingdom of Maghada, Central India.

Dharma and Dharma are originally Dharma,
There is no Dharma, yet there is not no
Dharma.

Why in the oneness of Dharma,
is there Dharma or no Dharma?¹

法 法 本 來 法
無 法 無 非 法
何 於 一 法 中
有 法 有 非 法

D. T. Suzuki writes of this incident as follows:

Mahakasyapa transmitted this Eye, which looks into the depths of the Dharma, to his successor, Ananda, and this transmission is recorded to have taken place in the following manner: Ananda asked Kasyapa: "What was it that thou hast received from Buddha besides the robe and the bowl?" Kasyapa called: "O Ananda." Ananda replied: "Yes." Thereupon Kasyapa said: "Wilt thou take down the flagpole at the gate?" Upon receiving this order, a spiritual illumination came over the mind of Ananda, and the "Seal of the Spirit"² was handed over by Mahakasyapa to this junior disciple.³

¹The Chodangjip, Vol. I, p. 12.

²"Seal of the Spirit" or "Seal of the Mind", "Mind-Sign", or "Inka". For further explanation see note page 38.

³D. T. Suzuki, Studies in Zen. Ed., by Christmas Humphreys (London: Rider, 1957), pp. 12-13.

The transmission of Zen from Mahakasyapa and Ananda to the Twenty-eighth Patriarch Bodhidharma in India is traced in at least three lists. The Chodangjip contains the following list:

The Twenty-Eight Patriarchs of India by Name and Order¹

Sakyamuni Buddha transmitted to

| | |
|-----------------|-------------|
| The First: | Mahakasyapa |
| The Second: | Ananda |
| The Third: | Sanavasa |
| The Fourth: | Upagupta |
| The Fifth: | Dhrtaka |
| The Sixth: | Mikkaka |
| The Seventh: | Vasumitra |
| The Eighth: | Buddhanandi |
| The Ninth: | Buddhamitra |
| The Tenth: | Parsva |
| The Eleventh: | Punyayasas |
| The Twelfth: | Asvaghosa |
| The Thirteenth: | Kapimāla |
| The Fourteenth: | Nagarjuna |
| The Fifteenth: | Kanadeva |
| The Sixteenth: | Rahulata |

¹The order derives from the first volume of the Chodangjip, pp. 1-2 and from the Liu-tsu Fa-pao-t'an Ching 六祖法寶壇經 (T.D., No. 2008, p. 361. The Pao-lin Ch'uan also gives the same order as the above.

| | |
|---------------------|-------------|
| The Seventeenth: | Sanghanandi |
| The Eighteenth: | Gayasata |
| The Nineteenth: | Kumarata |
| The Twentieth: | Jayata |
| The Twenty-first: | Vasubandhu |
| The Twenty-second: | Manorhita |
| The Twenty-third: | Haklena |
| The Twenty-fourth: | Simha |
| The Twenty-fifth: | Basiasita |
| The Twenty-sixth: | Punyamitra |
| The Twenty-seventh: | Prajnatara |
| The Twenty-eighth: | Bodhidharma |

In the Li-tai fa-pao chi 歷代法室記 the order does not agree with the above list. Madhyantika and Sangharaksa are added; Vasumitra is omitted; and Sanavasa, Upagupta and Subhamitra are substituted for Basiasita, Punyamitra, and Prajnatara, making Bodhidharma the Twenty-ninth Patriarch instead of the Twenty-eighth.

The Patriarchs of India According to Li-tai Fa-pao Chi¹

| | |
|-------------------|-------------|
| The First: | Mahakasyapa |
| The Second: | Ananda |
| The Third: | Madhyantika |
| The Fourth: | Sanavasa |
| The Fifth: | Upagupta |
| The Sixth: | Dhrtaka |
| The Seventh: | Miccaka |
| The Eighth: | Buddhanandi |
| The Ninth: | Buddhamitra |
| The Tenth: | Parsva |
| The Eleventh: | Punyayasas |
| The Twelfth: | Asvaghosa |
| The Thirteenth: | Kapimala |
| The Fourteenth: | Nagarjuna |
| The Fifteenth: | Kanadeva |
| The Sixteenth: | Rahulata |
| The Seventeenth: | Sanghanandi |
| The Eighteenth: | Gayastata |
| The Nineteenth: | Kumarata |
| The Twentieth: | Jayata |
| The Twenty-first: | Vasubandhu |

¹Li-tai Fa-pao chi (The Historical Records of Dharma Treasure: 歷代法寶記) (T.D., No. 2075, p. 181).

| | |
|---------------------|------------------|
| The Twenty-second: | Manorhita |
| The Twenty-third: | Haklenayasas |
| The Twenty-fourth: | Simha bhiksu |
| The Twenty-fifth: | Sanavasa |
| The Twenty-sixth: | Upagupta |
| The Twenty-seventh: | Subhamitra |
| The Twenty-eighth: | Sangharaksa |
| The Twenty-ninth: | Bodhidharmatrata |

In my opinion, the first order given above is probably correct. The Pao-lin Ch'uan and the Liu-tsu Fa-pao-t'an Ching both agree on the order as given in the Chodangjip. Further, all three works are older than the Li-tai Fa-pao chi, which is the only one in disagreement.

CHAPTER II

ZEN IN CHINA FROM BODHIDHARMA TO HUI-NENG

Indian Zen Buddhism was formulated into an independent system after Bodhidharma brought it to China, even though Buddhism, in general, and Hinayanic Dhyana had been transmitted into China before Bodhidharma. We intend to show that Bodhidharma was the originator of Patriarchal Zen Buddhism in China.

The history of Bodhidharma has been described in two sources: Kao-Seng Ch'uan, (The Biographies of the High Priests)¹ and Ching-te Ch'uan-teng Lu (The Records of the Transmission of the Lamp). The former is the record of the "Pravacana" Schools or "Chiao", which means the "Teaching or Doctrine of the Buddha". The Records of the Lamp was written by a Zen monk after Zen had been fully recognized as a special branch of Buddhism.

¹C., Kao-Seng Ch'uan. There are five different ones. (1) Kao-Seng Ch'uan, 14 Vols. edited by Hui-Chiao 慧皎. (2) Hsu-Kao-Seng Ch'uan 續高僧傳 30 Vols., Edited by Tao-hsuan 道宣. (3) Sung Kao-Seng Ch'uan, 30 Vols., edited by Tsan-ning 贊寧. (4) Pu Hsu-Kao-Seng Ch'uan 補續高僧傳 26 Vols., edited by Ming-hu 明河. (5) Ming-Kao-Seng-Ch'uan 明高僧傳 8 Vols., Edited by Ju-hsing 如惺. The first and second were written in the Liang Dynasty; the third in the Sung Dynasty; the fourth and fifth in the Ming Dynasty.

According to the Ching-te Ch'uan-teng Lu,¹

Bodhidharma was born as the third son of a Southern Indian King whose name was Hsiang Chih 香至 . Prajnatarā² preached at his palace and met Bodhidharma, who became a monk under his guidance. Bodhidharma served him for about forty years. At the end of his life, Prajnatarā uttered his dying wish, warning Bodhidharma not to preach Zen in China until sixty-seven years after his own death. "You will gain a number of followers wherever you preach the teaching of Buddha... But be careful to escape the war which will happen about sixty years after my death... And do not stay at Chin-Ling 金陵³ in the southern part of China where secularity has prospered and the people rejected the teaching of Buddha."⁴ Finally Prajnatarā gave Bodhidharma a verse:

On the way to China
You will cross the river
And meet sheep.

¹Tao-yuan, Ching-te Ch'uan-teng Lu (Shanghai: Binkai Temple, 1925), p. 359.

²般若多羅 K., Pan-ya Ta-ra. He was the Twenty-seventh Patriarch, a native of eastern India, who worked in southern India and died in 457 A.D. He was the teacher of Bodhidharma.

³Now Nanking

⁴Tao-yuan, Ching-te Ch'uan-teng Lu, p. 359.

You will cross the river with
Loneliness and sadness.

Though it is a pity for you to see
Both elephant and horse on sunny days,
Two beautiful cinnamon trees will always be green.¹

In this verse, "To meet sheep" symbolizes "to meet people in Loyang 洛陽, the capital city of China, according to the Chodangjip.² "To cross the river with loneliness and sadness" foreshadows Bodhidharma's lonely journey to northern Wei 北魏 after he failed to preach the complete meaning of the Dharma to Emperor Liang Wu-Ti 梁武帝³ in 520 A.D. For "Both elephant and horse" there are two different interpretations. According to the Chodangjip⁴ they symbolize two masters: Pao Chi-kung 寶誌公 (477-499 A.D.) and Fu Tai-shi 傅大師 (499- ? A.D.). But according to the Nūng-ōm Kyōng Saki (Notes on the Surangama Sutra) by Yōndam Yuil 蓮潭有一 (1750-1799 A.D.) they symbolize two other masters: Bodhiruci 菩提流支,⁵ a monk from northern India

¹Tao-yuan, Ching-te Ch'uan-teng Lu, Vol. III, (T.D., No. 2076, p. 217), and the Chodangjip, Vol. II, p. 7.

²The Chodangjip, Vol. II, p. 7.

³K., Yang-Mu-che. He reigned from 502 to 550 A.D.

⁴The Chodangjip, Vol. II, p. 7.

⁵This master should not be confused with another Master Bodhiruci, a monk from south India who translated fifty-three works in 693-713 A.D. His name was originally Dharmaruci, but it was changed by order of the Chinese Empress Wu.

who arrived at Loyang 洛陽 in 508 A.D. and translated thirty works; and Hui-kuang 慧光 (468-537 A.D.)¹ who was the general supervisor at that time.

The phrase "Two cinnamon trees", according to the Chodangjip, stands for "Shao-Lin monastery" 少林寺 where Bodhidharma meditated nine years. This interpretation of the symbology lies in the fact that the Chinese character "Lin" 林 in the name of the monastery "Shao-Lin" is a combination of two Chinese characters "mu+mu" 木 + 木, meaning "tree+tree." Hence, the Chodangjip interprets the "two cinnamon trees" as standing for the "Shao-Lin monastery."

According to the Records of the Transmission of the Lamp there were two other masters: Fo-ta-hsien² 佛大先 and Fo-ta-Sheng-to 佛大勝多.³ Fo-ta-hsien was also a disciple of Prajnatarā. The teaching of Fo-ta Sheng-to was divided into six schools:⁴

¹K., He-kwang. He is also called Kuang-t'ung 光統律師. He translated the Dasabhumi Sutra-Sastra.

²K., Pul-tae-sōn.

³K., Pul-tae-Sūng-ta.

⁴Tao-yuan, Ching-te Ch'uan-teng Lu, Vol. III (T.D., No. 2076, p. 217).

1. The Realistic school
2. Animitta (formless) school
3. Meditation and Wisdom school
4. Disciplinary school
5. Apratihata (the Unhindered) school
6. Quietude school

By disputing this teaching of Fo-ta Sheng-to and converting his nephew, King I-Chien 異見王, who had rejected Buddhism, Bodhidharma's fame grew.

He then set out for China and arrived at Kuang-Chou in 520 A.D.¹ He met the Emperor Wu-ti with the help of Governor Hsiao-yang. The Emperor said: "Since my enthronement, I have built many monasteries, copied many holy writings and financially assisted many priests and nuns. How great is the merit due to me?" "No merit at all," was Bodhidharma's answer. "What is the noble truth in the highest sense?" "It is empty, no nobility whatever." "Who is it then that is facing me?" Bodhidharma answered: "I do not know." The Emperor could not understand him. Bodhidharma went away, crossed the Yangtze River and reached Loyang. After a sojourn there he went to Shao-Lin monastery in Mt. Sung where he stayed nine years,

¹The following story is summarized from the Ching-te Ch'uan-teng Lu, Vol. III (T.D., No. 2076, p. 217) and the Chodangjip, Vol. II, p. 12.

facing a cliff wall, meditating in silence. For this reason he was called the "Pi-kuan Brahman" 壁觀波羅門, which means the wall-contemplating monk. Becoming better known each day, Bodhidharma three times refused invitations from King Hsiao-ming¹ of Northern Wei.

There is a very interesting story about a conversation between Bodhidharma and his four disciples, whose names were Tao-fu 道副, Tsung-ch'ih 總持 (a nun), Tao-yu 道育, and Hui-k'o 慧可. Bodhidharma called all four disciples before him and said to them:

"The time has come for me to depart, and I want to see what your attainments are."
 "According to my view," said Tao-fu, "The truth can neither be attained through clinging to words, nor through being detached from words."
 Bodhidharma said, "You have my skin."
 Next came the nun, Tsung-ch'ih, who said, "According to my understanding, it is like Ananda's viewing the Pure Land of Aksobhya Buddha.² Truth is seen once and never again."

¹He was the ninth king of Northern Wei, reigning from 516-527 A.D.

²Aksobhya Buddha was translated into Chinese by two different letters: 阿閼鞞佛; 阿閼鞞耶佛. It means "unmoved" or "imperturbable" 不動. He is one of five Buddhas. His realm, Abhirata is in the East, as Amitabha's is in the West. Aksobhya is represented in the Lotus Sutra as the eldest son of Mahabhijnabhibbu 大通智勝, and was Bodhisattva Jnanakara 智積 before he became a Buddha. Ananda once viewed Aksobhya's Buddha Land in his trance.

Bodhidharma said, "You have my flesh."
Tao-yu also presented his view, saying,
"Empty are the four elements 四大
and non-existent the five skandhas
五蘊 . There is not a thing to be
grasped as real."

Bodhidharma said, "You have my bone."
Finally, Hui-k'o reverently bowed to
the Master, remained standing by his
seat, and said nothing.

Bodhidharma announced, "You have my
marrow."¹

Thus, he gave special sanction to Hui-k'o and
passed on to him the patriarchal robe and bowl saying:

"I hand down my mind to you together
with my robe. But two hundred years
after my death this robe will no longer
be passed on, but the Dharma alone will
be spread."²

After handing on his teaching and traditional
robe, Bodhidharma left Shao-Lin monastery and stayed at
Ch'ien-sheng monastery 千聖寺 in Yu-men 岳門 .
According to the history of the Eastern Wei Dynasty³ he
died on the fifth of October, the third year of T'ien-Ping
天 平 (536 A.D.) during the reign of King Hsiao-
ch'ing 孝 靜 帝 .⁴

¹Tao-yuan, Ching-te Ch'uan-teng Lu, Vol. III, (T.D.
No. 2076, p. 219) and the Chodangjip, Vol. II, p. 12.

²The Chodangjip, Vol. II, p. 14.

³K., Tong Wi. This dynasty ruled from 534-549 A.D.

⁴The first King of Eastern Wei.

There are two circumstances surrounding the end of Bodhidharma's life that are probably questionable. The first is the claim, according to the Chodangjip,¹ that he was 150 years old at the time of his death. The second is the following strange story, also recounted in the Chodangjip.²

Bodhidharma died in 536 A.D. and was buried on Mt. Hung-erh 熊耳山.³ Three years later when Sung-yun 宋雲, a Chinese messenger to India, was returning to China, he met Bodhidharma wearing one shoe on Mt. Si-ling 西嶺.⁴ When Sung-yun 宋雲 reached home he informed King Hsiao-chuang 孝莊帝 of this meeting. The king ordered the tomb opened. It was empty, except for one shoe.

According to the Ching-te Ch'uan-teng Lu,⁵ the chief disciple of Bodhidharma was Hui-k'o, who had first visited his master on the ninth of December, 527 A.D.

¹The Chodangjip, Vol. II, p. 13.

²Ibid.

³K., Ung-i-san.

⁴K., Sōryōng or Ch'ōngnyōng 蜀嶺

⁵Tao-yuan, Ching-te Ch'uan-teng Lu (T.D., No. 2076, p. 219).

He sincerely asked the master to enlighten him in the truth of Zen, but Bodhidharma paid no attention. Hui-k'o, however, was not discouraged but stood in the snow waiting for Bodhidharma to notice him, until heavy snow buried him to his knees. Finally Bodhidharma turned and asked, "Why in the world do you stand in the snow? What do you want me to do for you?" said Hui-k'o, "I have come to receive the way of Buddhahood." "The incomparable doctrine of Buddhahood," said Bodhidharma, "can be comprehended only after long hard discipline and hard work. How could you expect to attain Buddhahood in one night?" Hui-k'o then cut off his left arm with the sharp knife he was carrying, and presented it to the master as a token of his sincerity in the desire to be instructed in the teaching of Buddha. Finally Bodhidharma taught him in the following way: "Keep yourself away from all relationships, and have no pantings in your heart. When your mind is like a straight standing wall, you may enter the path." Hui-k'o accordingly tried in various ways to attain what the master had prescribed, but failed to realize truth itself. Finally, Hui-k'o implored: "My soul is not yet pacified. Please, master, pacify my soul." Bodhidharma answered, "Bring your soul here, and I will have it pacified." Hui-k'o replied, "I have sought it and am unable to get

hold of it." "There: it is pacified once and for all." At this very moment Hui-k'o was awakened and joyful. Bodhidharma then asked, "Are you not annihilated?" Hui-k'o answered, "I am not annihilated." How can you prove it?" asked Bodhidharma. "The True Self who always knows cannot be expressed in words." The master responded, "That is what all the Buddhas have stated. So don't be doubtful again." Finally Bodhidharma gave his sanction to Hui-k'o as to the orthodox character of his realization, and gave him the robe and bowl as symbols of the second Patriarch. In this way Patriarchal Zen was handed down to the Sixth Patriarch as follows:

1. Bodhidharma 菩提達磨
2. Hui-k'o 慧可
3. Seng-ts'an 僧燦
4. Tao-hsin 道信
5. Hung-jen 弘忍
6. Hui-neng 惠能

The Fourth Patriarch, Tao-hsin, sanctioned not only Hung-jen as an orthodox patriarch, but also Fa-jung as Patriarch of a line which later became the unorthodox faith. The unorthodox faith was handed down as follows:¹

¹Tao-yuan, Ching-te Ch'uan-teng Lu, Vol. IV, (T.D. No. 2076, p. 225).

- | | | | |
|----|-----------|----|---------------------------|
| 1. | Fa-jung | 法融 | (?-657 A.D.) ¹ |
| 2. | Chih-yen | 智岩 | (?-676 A.D.) |
| 3. | Hui-fang | 慧方 | (?-695 A.D.) |
| 4. | Fa-ch'ih | 法持 | (?-702 A.D.) |
| 5. | Chih-wei | 智威 | (?-730 A.D.) |
| 6. | Hui-chung | 慧忠 | (?-771 A.D.) |

These six Patriarchs of the unorthodox faith came to be known as patriarchs of Niu-t'ou Zen 牛頭禪, referring to Mt. Niu-t'ou 牛頭山² where they lived. The unorthodox faith does not survive today.

The Fifth Patriarch, Hung-jen, sanctioned Hui-neng as the sixth Patriarch. His principal ideas make him the real Chinese founder of Zen Buddhism. Contemporary Zen, whether Korean, Chinese or Japanese, can be regarded as the succession of Hui-neng.

¹The biographies of the six Patriarchs of the unorthodox faith are in Tao-yuan, Ching-te Ch'uan-teng Lu, Vol. IV (T.D., No. 2076, pp. 228-229).

²Niu-t'ou or Oxhead Mountain. This mountain, in Kiangsi, gave its name to Fa-jung's school, "Niu-t'ou Shan fa" 牛頭山派 or "Niu-t'ou ch'an" 牛頭禪 or "Oxhead Zen." Its fundamental teaching was that of the unreality of all things; all is dream or illusion. See A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms, compiled by William Edward Soothill, and Lewis Hodous (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1937), p. 163.

According to Fa-hui 法海,¹ Hui-neng was born at 1:00 A.M. on the eighth day of February in 638 A.D., the twelfth year of Chen-kuan 貞觀十二年, T'ang Dynasty. When he was born, beams of light rose into the air and the room was filled with a strange fragrance. At dawn, two mysterious monks visited his father and said: "The child born last night requires an auspicious name; the first character should be "Hui" and the second "Neng". "What do 'Hui' and 'Neng' mean?" asked the father. The monks answered: "Hui means to bestow beneficence on sentient beings; 'Neng' means the capacity to carry out the affairs of the Buddha." When they had finished speaking they left and disappeared.

His father died when Hui-neng was three. When he grew up he supported his mother by selling wood at the market. One day he came from the market place to hear a man reciting from the Diamond Sutra.

Should there be nothing to which one
is attached,
then the mind is in its abode.²

¹Fa-hui, Lui-tsu-ta-shih Yuan-ch'i-wai-chi 六祖大師緣起 (T.D., No. 2008, p. 363).

²So-ch'ôn Sin, Kūnganggyōng Kangui (Lecture on the Diamond Sutra) 金剛經講義 (Seoul: Taegak-sa, 1958) p. 32.

Hearing this recitation, Hui-neng was awakened, and had Bodhi-mind. Finding out what Sutra it was, and where it was possible to get it, a longing led him to seek the Fifth Patriarch who lived at Mt. Yellow Plum, or Mt. Huang-mei¹ in the district of Huang-mei 黃梅縣.

When he had finished all that was necessary for the care of his mother,² Hui-neng left at once. It was in 671 A.D. during the rule of Kao-tsung 高宗 of the T'ang Dynasty. On the way to Mt. Yellow Plum, he met the nun, Wu-chin-ts'ang 無盡藏. The nun asked Hui-neng, "What is written in this book?" Hui-neng said, "Ask not the words or letters, but the meaning." The

¹It is located in present-day Chi-ch'un in Hupeh. In the Li-tai-fa-pao chi (T.D., Vol. LI, p. 182) it is recorded: "He (Hung-jen) resided at Mt. Feng-mu, east of Mt. Shuang-feng; both were not far apart. People of that time referred to Hung-jen's teaching as the teaching of the Eastern Mountain (Tung-shan fa-men), in other words, that of Mt. Feng-mu. The Leng-chia shih-tzu chi (T.D., Vol. LXXXV, p. 1289) refers to Hung-jen's teaching as the "Teaching of the East Mountain", and the Chodangjip Vol. I, p. 15, speaks of Mt. Feng-mu in the eastern part of the district of Huang-mei. Thus, the location of Hung-jen's temple was called Mt. Huang-mei after the district where it was located, or Eastern Mountain because of the district where it was located, or Eastern Mountain because it was in the eastern part of that district. The mountain's original name was Mt. Feng-mu.

²It is recorded in the Chodangjip, Vol. II, p. 20, that when Hui-neng left home for Mt. Yellow Plum, an An Tao-ch'eng, who had advised him to visit the Fifth Patriarch, Hung-jen, gave him one hundred dollars to help him care for his mother.

nun reacted, "How could you know the meaning without reading the words?" Hui-neng responded, "The subtle truth of all Buddhas has nothing to do with words." People called him "illiterate Master", but without foundation. According to his commentary on the Diamond Sutra and his preaching of the Platform Sutra¹ it is clear that though not a literary man, he was not illiterate. At any rate, in less than thirty days, he arrived at Mt. Yellow Plum. As he paid his respects to the Fifth Patriarch, he was asked, "What district do you come from? And what do you seek?" He said, "I am a Buddhist pupil from Hsin-chou. I have come a great distance to pay my respects to you and to seek to become a Buddha, and for no other reason." The Fifth Patriarch replied, "You are

¹C., Fa-pao-t'an Ching 法寶壇經. Wong Mon-lam translated its title into English: The Sutra Spoken by the Sixth Patriarch on the High Seat of "The Treasure of the Law." There are other titles in English, such as the Platform Sutra, by different translators. Among the many other editions are: Yuan edition, Liu-tsu ta-shih fa-pao t'an-ching 六祖大師法寶壇經, edited by Tsung-pao (T.D., No. 2008, pp. 245-265); Tun-huang edition, Nan-tsung tun-chiao tsui-shang ta-ch'eng Mo-ho-pan-jo Po-lo-mi ching: Liu-tsu Hui-neng ta-shih yu shao-chou Ta-fan ssu shih-fa t'an ching 六祖大師於韶州大梵寺說法壇經; a photographic reproduction of the original manuscript is in the Stein collection: S5475; Korean edition, Wŏn Yŏnu Koryŏ Kakpon Yukcho Taesa Pŏppo Tangyŏng 元延祐高麗刻本 六祖大師法寶壇經 edited by Te-i; and two Japanese editions, Koshoji Bon Rokuso Dankyo 興聖寺本 六祖壇經, edited by D. T. Suzuki 鈴木大拙 and Kuda Rentaro 公田連太郎, a facsimile reproduction of the Koshoji edition.

a native of the South and just a barbarian.¹ How can you possibly become a Buddha?" Hui-neng answered, "There are geographically southern and northern people, but from the standpoint of the Buddha Nature, there is no root either in the south or the north. The appearance of a barbarian is not the same as that of a monk, but what difference does it make in terms of Buddha Nature?"

This speech pleased the Master very much. He invited Hui-neng to join the group and go to work. Hui-neng asked, "What kind of work would you have me do?" The Master replied, "You are a barbarian, yet a great wit. You may stop talking." And he ordered Hui-neng to chop wood and to pound rice. After a little more than eight months, the Patriarch happened to see him one day and said, "I feel that your understanding is acceptable, but I fear there may be people of ill-nature who might harm you. Thus I have not spoken with you. Do you understand me?" Hui-neng replied, "I know what you mean, Master, and that is why I have not ventured to the Hall, lest others might notice me."

One day the Patriarch made an announcement that any one who could prove his thorough comprehension of

¹A term of insult. Here it refers to an inhabitant of Southern China. To Northerners, people from the South were almost like wild animals.

religion would be given the Patriarchal robe and bowl, and be proclaimed his legitimate heir. All the monks withdrew, discussing it among themselves, and saying, "It is not necessary to concentrate on composing a verse for our Master, Hung-jen. What good will it do?" They thought that Shen-hsiu 神秀 (?-706 A.D.), the head monk and their instructor, would certainly get the award. It would be wasted mental energy for them to write verses of their own. They were satisfied to follow Shen-hsiu as their master. When Shen-hsiu had composed his verse, he sought to present it to Hung-jen. On reaching the front of the Hall, a turmoil of anxiety arose in his mind and his whole body dripped with perspiration. He could not make up his mind to submit the verse. At last, he wrote on the wall of the southern corridor the verse which represented his realization. It read:

The body is a Bodhi tree,
The Mind, a bright mirrored stand.
Whisk it continuously and zealously,
Allowing no dust to cling.¹

Two conflicting accounts of the success of this verse are recorded. The Platform Sutra is critical:

¹This translation is based upon: Hui-neng, The Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch of the Pristine Orthodox Dharma 六祖法堂碑記, Tr. by Paul F. Fung, (San Francisco: Buddhist Universal Church, 1964), p. 6.

The Fifth Patriarch said, "Your verse does not seem to have reached true understanding. You have arrived at the front gate but without entering it."¹

However, in the Chodangjip we read:

The Fifth Patriarch saw the verse and said to all the monks, "If all of you practice according to this verse, you will attain emancipation."²

According to tradition, Shen-hsiu's verse did not succeed. It is not clear why the Chodangjip seems to allow some validity to this verse. If Shen-hsiu had been successful, he would have been awarded the traditional robe of the Patriarch. Instead, as we will see below, Hui-neng received it from Hung-jen shortly after Shen-hsiu had submitted his verse.

Two days after it had been presented, a boy chanced to pass the rice-milling room chanting Shen-hsiu's verse. Hearing it, Hui-neng knew at once that its writer had not yet realized his true nature. Hui-neng's own verse read:

¹Hui-neng, Liu-tsu Fa-pao-t'an Ching (The Platform Sutra (T.D., No. 2007, p. 337)).

²The Chodangjip, Vol. II, p. 16.

The very essence of Bodhi has no tree,
Nor is there a bright mirrored stand.
In reality there is nothing.
So what is there to attract any dust?¹

The next day the Patriarch went silently to the milling room, gave Hui-neng the "Inka" or "Hsin-Yin",² and asked him to come to his room at midnight, when the rest of the brotherhood was asleep. Then he gave him the robe and bowl as the insignia of his authority and in acknowledgement of his unsurpassed spiritual attainment. That night Hui-neng left Mt. Yellow Plum for the south.

¹This translation is based upon: Hui-neng, The Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch on the Pristine Orthodox Dharma 六祖法堂壇經, Tr. by Paul F. Fung, op. cit., p. 6.

² 心印. C., Hsin-yin; K., Sim-in; J., Shin-in. "Hsin" 心 means "Mind"; "Yin" 印 means "Seal" or "sign". Takakusa translated it as "Mind-Sign" in his writing: The Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy (ed. by W. T. Chan and C. A. Moore, Hawaii University, 1949, p. 159). Heinrich Dumoulin in The Development of Chinese Zen (translated by Ruth Fuller Sasaki; New York: The First Zen Institute of America, Inc., 1953, p. 13), translated it as the "seal of Mind". D. T. Suzuki translated it "The Seal of Spirit" or "The Seal" in Studies in Zen, ed. by Christmas Humphreys (London: Rider, 1959, p. 12). "Hsin-yin" 心印 means: that which generation after generation of Zen Masters in Zen schools have transmitted to their disciples. It is traditionally held to be something outside the scriptures. It is called "I-hsin-ch'uan-hsin" 以心傳心: "From mind to mind." A Zen master grants his recognition of the accomplishment of this transmission. That is, the teacher acknowledges that the disciple has attained the same insight as that possessed by the teacher himself and the teacher accepts the disciple as his heir. This is said to transmit the "Mind-Sign", or the "Seal of Spirit". The word "Inka" (acknowledgement) is originally from the chapter entitled "Disciple" in the Vimalakirti Sutra 維摩詰經: "If you sit quietly and peacefully, you can receive the "Inka" by Buddha" 若能如是寧坐者佛所印可. In the pages to follow in this paper, the word "Inka" 印可 will be used instead of "Mind-Sign" or "Seal of Spirit", etc.

In the Tun-huang edition of The Platform Sutra¹ we are given the following account of Hui-neng's flight. After two months he reached Mt. Ta-yu Ling 大庾嶺.² Several hundred men³ were pursuing him, intent on killing him and taking the robe. By the time he was halfway up the mountain, all of the pursuers, with the exception of one monk named Hui-ming 慧明, had turned back. He caught Hui-neng at the mountain-top and threatened him. Hui-neng handed over the robe but Hui-ming refused it, saying he wanted only the Dharma. Hui-neng transmitted it to him: "Not thinking of good, not thinking of evil, - just at this moment what is your original face before your mother and father were born?"⁴ When he heard these words Hui-ming was enlightened and, becoming Hui-neng's disciple, returned to the north to preach to the people there.

Hui-neng hid at a hunter's house for five years in order to escape Shen-hsiu's pursuit. After this seclusion, he came to Fa-hsing monastery⁵ where Master Yin-tsung 印宗

¹Hui-neng, Liu-tsu Fa-pao-t'an Ching (The Platform Sutra: (T.D., No. 2007, p. 338).

²It is located in modern Chin-chiang hsien, Kiangsi, on the Kwangtung border.

³The Chodangjip says seven hundred men (Vol. II, p. 19).

⁴The Chodangjip, Vol. II, p. 19.

⁵法性寺. An old name for the Kuang-hsiao Temple.

lived and became a monk on the 15th of January, 676 A.D. In August of that year he received the Bhiksu Precepts.¹ Then he made Ts'ao-chi monastery his headquarters. At the end of his life he called all his disciples together and asked them if they had any questions. They said, "Master, when you have gone from here, will you eventually return?" He answered,

It is only natural; death is the inevitable outcome of birth. Even the Buddhas as they appear in this world must manifest an earthly death before they enter Parinirvana. There will be no exception with me...fallen leaves go back to the place where the root is.²

It was August 3rd, 713 A.D. He died the same day, leaving this verse:

¹Hui-neng received the Bhiksu Precepts from the following five superior masters: (1) Vinaya-master Chih-kuang 智光, 律師 of Hsi-ching 西京; (2) Vinaya-master Hui-ching 慧靜, 律師; (3) Vinaya-master Tung-ying 通應, 律師; (4) Tripitaka-master Chi-to-lo of India 老 多 羅 三 藏; (5) Tripitaka-master Mi-to-lo 密 多 三 藏 of India. (See T.D., No. 2008, p. 362). It is written in the Ching-te Ch'uan teng Lu, Vol. V (T.D., No. 2076, p. 235) as follows: "Tripitaka-master Paramartha planted two trees beside the ordination Platform on which Hui-neng received the Bhiksu Precepts and predicted: One hundred years from now a great master will come here under these trees, will teach the superior doctrine, and save sentient beings."

²Hui-neng, "Fa-pao-tan Ching 法寶壇經 or 大祖法寶壇經", Bilinguae Buddhist Series, Sutras and Scriptures: Vol. I, pp. 333-446, compiled by Bilinguae Buddhist Series Committee (Taipei: Buddhist Culture Service, 1962), p. 443.

Undisturbed and serene, the wise
 man practices no virtue;
 Self-possessed and dispassionate,
 he commits no sin;
 Calm and silent, he gives up seeing
 and hearing;
 Even and upright, his mind abides
 nowhere.¹

Shen-hsiu, meanwhile, became the founder of the Gradual School, which is also called "Northern Zen." His last name was Li 李, and his posthumous name was Ta-t'ung 大通. He came from Loyang in the northern part of China. Empress Tse-tien 則天² and Emperor Chung-tsung 中宗 approved of his gradual Zen. With the help of these two royal persons, he gained a number of disciples. According to the Records of the Transmission of the Lamp³ he had nineteen disciples.

In contrast, Hui-neng's Zen is called "Southern Zen". The difference between "Southern" and "Northern" Zen is well expressed by Tsan-ning 贊寧, author of the Sung Kao-seng Ch'uan: "Shen-hsiu attained Zen through keeping the mind always clear. Hui-neng, on the contrary,

¹Ibid.

²Also known as Empress Wu.

³Tao-yuan, Ching-te Ch'uan-teng Lu, (Shanghai: Binkai Temple, 1925) p. 159.

attained the way through absolute negation."¹ We may see the difference in the verses of realization composed by each of them and already quoted above.² Shen-hsiu wrote "The Mind, a bright mirrored stand" and suggested cleaning away the dust obscuring it. Hui-neng declared, "In reality, there is nothing," by which line he pointed to the need for immediate realization of the Mind as the one infinite reality supporting every finite thing.

Each of the six Patriarchs in China mentioned above³ composed a verse. These verses, from the Chodangjip, are as follows:

1. Verse of Bodhidharma⁴

I originally came to China
To transmit the teaching and save
deluded beings.
One flower opens five petals,
And the fruit ripens of itself.

吾本來此土，
傳教救迷情。
一花開五葉，
結果自然成。

¹Paek-pa, Notes on Sōnmun Yōmsong 禪門拈頌記, (Sunchang, Korea: Kuam-sa, 1811), p. 28.

²See above, p. 36 for Shen-hsiu's verse. Hui-neng's verse appears on p. 38.

³See p. 30 above.

⁴The Chodangjip, Vol. II, p. 12. The translation of the following six patriarchs' verses are based on Phillip B. Yampolsky. The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), pp. 176-178.

In the third line, the phrase "five petals" may be interpreted as a prediction of the later division of Zen into five branches: Lin-chi 臨濟, Ts'ao-tung 曹洞, Yun-men 雲門, Fa-yen 法眼 and Wei-yang 嵩仰. It may also be interpreted as referring to the Five Patriarchs after Bodhidharma.

2. Verse of Hui-k'o¹

Because originally there is earth,
From this earth seeds bring forth flowers.
If from the outset there were no seeds,
The flowers would not be able to sprout.

The Tun-huang edition of the Liu-tsu Fa-pao-t'an Ching suggests as the meaning of the third line "If from the outset there were no earth."² However, the Pao-lin Ch'uan³ and the Ching-te-Ch'uan-teng Lu⁴ all agree with the Chodangjip about this line.

Line four is given as "From where would the flowers grow?" in the Liu-tsu Fa-pao-t'an Ching;⁵ again, however,

¹The Chodangjip, Vol. II, p. 15.

²Liu-tsu Fa-pao-t'an Ching (T.D., No. 2007, p. 344).

³Pao-lin Ch'uan, Vol. III, p. 542.

⁴Tao-yuan, Ching-te Ch'uan-teng Lu (T.D., No. 2076, p. 542).

⁵Liu-tsu Fa-pao-t'an Ching (T.D., No. 2007, p. 344).

the Pao-lin Ch'uan¹ agrees with the Chodangjip in its interpretation of this fourth line.

3. Verse of Seng-ts'an²

Although flower seeds rely upon the earth,
It is on the earth that seeds produce flowers.
If flower seeds had no nature of growth,
Flower seeds will not sprout.

The Liu-tsu Fa-pao-t'an Ching and the Ching-te Ch'uan-teng Lu give the same version except for the fourth line. In the former, the fourth line is "On the earth nothing will be produced 於地亦無生";³ the latter reads "All the flowers will not grow in the earth 華地盡無生". Although the Pao-lin Ch'uan agrees with the Ching-te Ch'uan-teng Lu on the fourth line, it disagrees completely with the Chodangjip. It reads:

Flower seeds are not of the earth.
From the earth seeds and flowers sprout.
If there were not men to plant the seeds,
All the flowers would not grow in the earth.⁴

¹Pao-lin Ch'uan, Vol. III, p. 542.

²The Chodangjip, Vol. II, p. 16.

³Liu-tsu Fa-pao-t'an Ching (T.D., No. 2007, p. 344).

⁴Pao-lin Ch'uan, Vol. III, p. 559.

4. Verse of Tao-hsin¹

Flower seeds have the nature of growth.
 From the earth flower nature is produced.
 If the great causality is in harmony with
 nature,
 To grow is either not to grow or to grow.

In all three versions the first line is the same,
 but the readings for the rest of the verse are very
 different. The Liu-tsu Fa-pao-t'an Ching gives:

From the earth seeds produce flowers.
 If former causality is not harmonized,
 Nothing at all will sprout.²

In the Ching-te Ch'uan-teng Lu we read:

From the earth flowers grow.
 If the great causality is in harmony with
 faith,
 To grow is either to grow or not to grow.³

5. Verse of Hung-jen⁴

Sentient beings come and lay down the seeds.
 From the earth fruit is produced.
 When there is no sentiency there are no seeds;
 Without nature nothing is produced.

¹The Chodangjip, Vol. II, p. 16.

²Liu-tsu Fa-pao-t'an Ching (T.D., No. 2007, p. 344).

³Tao-yuan, Ching-te Ch'uan-teng Lu (T.D., No. 2076, p. 222).

⁴The Chodangjip, Vol. II, p. 18.

The Ching-te Ch'uan-teng Lu¹ agrees with the Chodangjip, but the Liu-tsu Fa-pao-t'an Ching gives a different version of the last three lines:

...And non-sentient flowers grow.
If there is insentiency and there are no seeds,
The mind-ground, as well, produces nothing.²

6. Verse of Hui-neng³

The mind-ground contains the various seeds,
With the all-pervading rain each and every
one sprouts.
Once one has suddenly awakened to the
sentiency of the flower,
The fruit of enlightenment matures of itself.

The Liu-tsu Fa-pao t'an Ching gives the following reading, differing from that of the Chodangjip:

The mind-ground contains the seed of all
living things,
When the rain of the Dharma falls the
flowers are brought forth.
From my flower and the seed of living things,
The fruit of enlightenment matures of itself.⁴

These are the verses of transmission handed down in the orthodox line of succession from Bodhidharma to Hui-neng. As the outward symbol of the Patriarchate, each Patriarch handed down a robe and bowl along with a

¹Tao-yuan, Ching-te Ch'uan-teng Lu (T.D., No. 2076, p. 233).

²Liu-tsu Fa-pao t'an Ching (T.D., No. 2007, p. 344).

³The Chodangjip, Vol. II, p. 24.

⁴Liu-tsu Fa-pao-t'an Ching (T.D., No. 2007, p. 344).

verse to his successor. By the time of Hui-neng the traditional robe was the cause of much dissension about the succession. We have seen the dispute that arose between Shen-hsiu and Hui-neng over the possession of the robe from Hung-jen. The fallacy that the robe alone conferred Patriarchhood can be seen in the following version of the line of descent after Hui-neng.

In the Li-tai Fa-pao chi it is written:

T'ang Ho-shang¹ handed down Bodhidharma's robe to Wu-shiang² saying, "This is Bodhidharma's robe which the Empress Wu entrusted to my Master, Chih-hsien³ and he in turn passed it on to me. Now I hand it to you."⁴

¹T'ang Ho-shang, or Ch'u-chi: 處寂 (664-732 A.D.). A native of Mien-chou, Szech'uan, he left home following his father's death at the age of ten and became a disciple of Chih-hsien. (The Sung-Kao-seng Ch'uan, T.D., No. 2061, p. 836).

²Wu-shiang (683-762 A.D.) His family name was Chin, and he was a Korean prince, the son of a king of the Silla Dynasty. For twenty years he was a disciple of T'ang Ho-shang and lived at the Ching-ch'uan Temple in Szech'uan. (Sung Kao-seng Ch'uan: T.D., No. 2061, p. 832).

³Chih-hsien (608-702 A.D.) He was a native of Junan in Honan. At the age of thirteen, he studied the Tripitaka under Hsuan-t'sang. Later, he became a disciple of Hung-jen, the Fifth Patriarch. (Hui-neng, the Sixth Patriarch in the orthodox line, was also a disciple of Hung-jen). He received Bodhidharma's robe from the Empress Wu in 697 A.D., (The Li-tai Fa-pao chi: T.D., No. 2075, p. 184).

⁴Li-tai Fa-pao chi (T.D., No. 2075, p. 184).

In the Sung-Kao-seng Ch'uan we find the same story.

The day before the arrival of (the Korean monk) Wu-Shiang, T'ang Ho-shang called together his monks and said, "Clean the monastery; tomorrow a special guest will come."
 ...At midnight, after Wu-shiang 無相 had arrived, T'ang Ho-shang handed him Bodhidharma's robe.¹

Earlier, in the Li-tai fa-pao chi we are told how the Empress Wu acquired Bodhidharma's robe. The following is a summary of that story.

Twice, in the years 692 and 695, the Empress Wu sent messengers to Hui-neng requesting his presence at court. Twice he refused. Finally she pleaded with Hui-neng to send her Bodhidharma's robe so that she might revere it. To the Empress' great delight, Hui-neng complied. The following year she invited several Masters to her court. Among them was Chih-hsien. During the course of the visit she asked each Master in turn if he had any desires. Each replied that he did not. That is, all but Chih-hsien. He answered that only a dead man is without desires; a living man has desires. With these words the Empress was enlightened. She gave Chih-hsien several gifts, including Bodhidharma's robe. To Hui-neng, in return, she sent a new robe and five hundred bolts of silk.²

¹Sung Kao-seng Ch'uan (T.D., No. 2061, p. 832).

²Li-tai fa-pao chi (T.D., No. 2075, p. 184).

Traditionally each patriarch handed down his robe to the disciple he chose as his successor. This robe was the commonly accepted proof that one was the Patriarch. If the true patriarchal power lay only in the robe, then the Empress Wu, as well as Chih-hsien, T'ang Ho-shang, and Wū-shiang must all have been Patriarchs. Further, would Hui-neng have given up his robe, and consequently his power, at the mere request of Empress Wu? It is obvious that Patriarchal succession involves more than the simple handing down of a robe. Hui-neng was a Patriarch without the robe; even with it, Empress Wu was not. The true transmission of Zen is directly from mind-to-mind. This direct transmission of Zen is what each Patriarch handed on to his successor. In fact, Hui-neng transmitted only this and not the robe: The traditional passing on of the robe ended with him, according to the following story, which contradicts the one above.

One day Hui-neng said to Ch'ing-yuan,
 "Each of the Patriarchs before me designated his own successor by giving him the robe and bowl. Hereafter I will not transmit the robe and bowl since I had much trouble with Shen-hsiu's disciples. I will bury them somewhere in the monastery around the mountain. Only be careful not to cut off the stream of Zen."¹

¹Tao-yuan, Ching-te Ch'uan-teng Lu, Vol. V (T.D., No. 2076, p. 240).

In my view there is no evidence that Hui-neng either buried the robe, or that he sent it to the Empress. However, the transmission of the robe and bowl as an outward symbol was discontinued in the orthodox line after the Sixth Patriarch, Hui-neng. Thus, Bodhidharma correctly predicted: "Two hundred years after my death this robe will no longer be passed on, but the Dharma alone will be spread."¹

¹The Chodangjip, Vol. II, p. 14.

CHAPTER III

ZEN IN CHINA AFTER HUI-NENG

Succeeding Hui-neng were two masters, Nan-yueh Huai-jang 南嶽懷讓 (?-775 A.D.) and Ch'ing-yuan Hsing-ssu 青原行思 (?-740 A.D.). All the five schools and seven sects of later China were descended from them.

Nan-yueh Huai-jang, whose last name was Lin 林, came from the province of Chin (or Kin).¹ He was born on April 8, 677 A.D. At the age of fifteen, he learned the Dharma under Lu-shih Hung-ching 律師弘景 of Yu-chuan Temple 玉泉寺 in the province of Hsing 荊州.² His friend T'an-jan 坦然 thought they should visit Shao-lin monastery³ on Mt. Sung in order to meet Ch'an-shih⁴ Hui-an 慧安, a student of Hung-jen and a friend of Hui-neng. When the two friends arrived at

1 金州 (Chin-chou). It is now Yu-chung-hsien, Kan-su Sheng.

2 荊州 (Hsing-chou). It is now a part of Liao-ning Province.

³The monastery where Bodhidharma meditated for nine years.

⁴Title for a high ranking monk in direct line of transmission in Korean, Chinese or Japanese Zen, a teacher of meditation or a Zen Master.

Shao-lin monastery they asked the Master:

"What is the meaning of the First Patriarch's visit to China?" "Why don't you ask the meaning of your own True Self rather than a secondary question?" Hui-an replied. "You must see the secret movement of the mind." Then T'an-jan asked, "What is the secret movement of the mind?" Hui-an responded by blinking at him.¹

At this T'an-jan was awakened and remained at Shao-lin monastery. Nan-yueh, on the contrary, was not awakened. He went to see the Sixth Patriarch, Hui-neng.

Hui-neng asked him, "Where did you come from?" Nan-yueh said, "I came from Mt. Sung 崇山."² "What kind of Thing are you?" asked the Master. Nan-yueh could not answer but served him for eight years. After being awakened, he said to the master, "I know now what you asked eight years ago." Hui-neng said, "What in the world do you realize?" Nan-yueh said, "I realize that it was wrong for you to call me a Thing, since there was no Thing from the beginning." "Then," said the master, "are you going to practice any longer?" Nan-yueh replied, "There will be more practice, but I will certainly not be tainted any longer." "That is right," said the master. "To be untainted is the way of

¹Paekp'a Kūngsōn, the Notes on Sōnmun Yōmsong, (Sunchang, Korea: Kuamsa, 1811), p. 45. And the Chodangjip, Vol. III, p. 12.

²The highest of the "Five Peaks" 五嶽 of China.

all the Buddhas. And you and I are in this state of untainted mind."¹

Then Master Hui-neng sanctioned Nan-yueh's great realization and gave him his "Inka" or "Hsin-yin" 印可; 心印.² After serving the master for fifteen years, he went to Pan-ja monastery 般若寺 on Mt. Nan-yueh in the province of Heng. Many practitioners of Zen from all parts of China gathered around him. His name, Nan-yueh, literally means South Mountain, where he stayed for a long while. Among his ten disciples was Ma-tsu who came from Han-chou 漢州.³ Born in the third year of Ching Lung 景龍, during the reign of King Chung-t'sung, his family name was Ma and his first name was Tao-i. His Bhiksu name was Ma-tsu⁴ and he was given the posthumous name Tai-chi 大寂. He was also known as Kiangsi 江西 after the place where he preached the Dharma. The "Great Decoration" 大莊嚴⁵ was the

¹Ibid.

²See footnote 2, p. 38.

³漢州. (Han-Chou). Kuang-han hsien, Szech'wan.

⁴There was another master with this name, Master Ho-lin Hsuan-su 鶴林玄素, was also called Ma-tsu 馬祖. It is important not to confuse these two names. See Sung Kao-seng Chuan (T.D., No. 2061, p. 762).

⁵C., Ta-chuang-yen; K., Tae-chang-ōm.

name of his pagoda. With the help of Master T'ang Ho-shang 唐和尚 in Tzu-chou 資州¹ he became a monk. He received the Bhiksu Precepts through Vinaya Master Yuan 圓律師 in Yu-chou 渝州.²

Ma-tsu sat and meditated at Chuan-fa monastery 傳法院 on Mt. Heng-yueh 衡嶽³ and tried to attain the state of tranquil equanimity. His master, Nan-yueh, saw him and asked:

"What do you seek here, sitting in meditation?" "I sit and meditate here in order to attain Buddhahood," said Ma-tsu. "Is that so!" exclaimed the master, who then took up a piece of tile and began to polish it on a stone. "What are you doing?" asked Ma-tsu. "I am trying to make this a mirror." Ma-tsu inquired, "How could you make it into a mirror? It is impossible." The master then said, "And so, no amount of sitting in meditation will make you a Buddha." "What shall I do, then?" The master answered Ma-tsu by giving him an example: "It is like driving a cart; when it does not move, will you whip the

¹Tze-chung-hsien 資中縣, Szech'wan Sheng.

²This name was changed during the time of the Sung Dynasty to Chung-ch'ing Fu 重慶府.

³衡嶽 or 衡山. This is one of the five highest peaks in China. It is located in present-day Hu-nam Sheng 湖南省.

cart or the ox?" Ma-tsu made no answer. At this point, however, Ma-tsu was awakened.¹

Thus the master gave him his "Inka" and made him the chief disciple. Ma-tsu built a monastery at Mt. Ma-tsu 馬祖山 in Kiangsi as his headquarters. His Zen was fully recognized by the outside world. Their contemporaries called Ma-tsu and Shih-t'ou 石頭,² a disciple of Ch'ing-yuan Hsing-ssu, the "matchless twin Zen masters." Ma-tsu had 139 disciples. Among them, Po-chang Huai-hai 百丈懷海 (720-814 A.D.), Si-tang Chih-t'sang 西堂智藏 Nan-ch'uan P'u-yuan 南泉普願³ and Ta-mei Fa-ch'ang 大梅法常.⁴

¹The Notes on Sōnmun Yōmsong, op. cit., p. 46; and the Chodangjip, Vol. III, p. 12.

²C., Shih-t'ou Hsi-ch'ien 石頭希遷. K., Sok-tu Hi-chōm 石頭希遷 (700-790 A.D.). His biography is in the Chodangjip, Vol. IX, p. 1.

³K., Nam-chōn Po-wōn (748-835 A.D.). His biography is in the Chodangjip, Vol. XVI, p. 1, and in (T.D., No. 2076, p. 257).

⁴K., Tae-me Pōp-sang 大梅法常 (752-839 A.D.). His biography is in the Chodangjip, Vol. XV, p. 7.

Si-tang Chih-t'sang is the teacher of three Korean Zen Masters: Toïi 道義, Hyech'öl 慧徹,¹ and Hongjik 洪直. Ma-tsu died at the age of eighty years (788 A.D.), the fourth year of Chen-Yuan 貞元 during the reign of King Te-t'sung of the T'ang Dynasty.

His disciple, Po-chang Huai-hai came from Ch'ang-lo 長樂² in Fu-chou 福州,³ becoming a monk when he was very young. He learned Zen from Ma-tsu and received his "Inka". Mt. Ta-hsiung 大維山, in the province of Hung-chou, was where he lived.

Master Po-chang emphasized constant effort for attaining Zen rather than sitting cross-legged. Thus he set up a motto: "Each day without work is a day without food."⁴ The strict attitude shown in this motto influenced his followers. He built a monastery system for old and sick Bhiksus and published, in eight volumes, the

¹His name is recorded as "Hye" 慧 instead of "Hyech'öl" in the Ching-te Ch'uan-teng Lu, Vol. IX (T.D., No. 2076, p. 205). Yen K'eng-wang used the same name, "Hye", quoting the above text in his essay. See Yen K'eng-wang 嚴耕望 "Hsin-Lo liu T'ang hsueh sheng yu sheng-t'u" (Silla students and Buddhist priests studying in T'ang China). Chung Han wen hwa lun chi 中韓文化論集 (Collection of essays on China - Korea cultural relations), compiled by Tung Tso-pin 董作賓. Taipei: Chung-hua Wen hwa Ch'ü Pan Shih Yeh Wei Yuan Hui, 1955, Vol I, pp. 67-68.

²Present-day Fu-chien Sheng.

³Ts'ing-sheng Fu, Fu-chien Sheng.

⁴The Chodangjip, Vol. XIV, p. 12.

Chih-hsiu Pochang Ching-kuei 勅修百丈清規,¹ which was the first work concerning definite monastic regulations. He was eighty years old when he died on January 17th, in the ninth year of Yuan-ho 元和 during the reign of the eleventh king of the T'ang Dynasty (814 A.D.), Hsien-t'sung. Among his thirty disciples, Huang-po Hsi-yun 黃蘗希運 (?-850 A.D.) and Wei-shan Ling-yu 嵩山靈祐 (771-853 A.D.) are well known. Wei-shan's disciple, Yang-shan Hui-chi 仰山慧寂 (814-890 A.D.), founded the Wei-yang school with the help of his teacher. Lin-chi I-hsuan 臨濟義玄 (?-867 A.D.), a disciple of Huang-po, founded the Lin-chi school.

We now turn to the second master who succeeded Hui-neng, Ch'ing-yuan Hsing-ssū and will discuss his influence. Ch'ing-yuan came from An-ch'eng 安城 in Chi-chou 吉州.² Ch'ing-yuan's surname was Liu, and his first name was Hsing-ssu. His Bhiksu name was Ch'ing-yuan and his posthumous name Hung-chi 弘濟. The Sixth Patriarch, Hui-neng, took him as a disciple at

¹Chih-hsiu Po-chang Ching-kuei (T.D., No. 2025). In the third year of Yuan-t'ung 元統 (1335 A.D.) the Zen priest, Po-chang Te-hui 百丈德輝 received an imperial order to compile a new version of the regulations. The work was completed in the fourth year of Chih-yuan 至元 (1338 A.D.). For a full discussion see Ui Hakuju 宇井伯壽, Zenshushi Kenkyu 禪宗史研究.

²Another name for Lu-ling 廬陵 . Ki-an
in the province of Kiangsi Sheng 江西省 .

an early age. Though both Nan-yueh and Ch'ing-yuan were disciples of Hui-neng, Ch'ing-yuan's relationship with the Master was deeper, and he was his constant companion.

Shih-t'ou Hsi-ch'ien 石頭希遷 (700-790 A.D.)¹ a follower of Ch'ing-yuan Hsing-ssu, became celebrated. Shih-t'ou Hsi-ch'ien came from the province of Tuan-chou 端州.² His surname was Ch'en, his first name Hsi-ch'ien. His bhiksu name was Shih-t'ou and his posthumous name Wu-chi 無際. Though he served the Sixth Patriarch, Hui-neng, the Patriarch died before giving him the Bhiksu Precepts. So Shih-t'ou, on Hui-neng's advice, visited Ch'ing-yuan at Lu-ling 廬陵, served him, and finally became his successor. His name, Shih-t'ou 石頭 literally means "Stone Head", from the fact that he built a monastery on a rock on the eastern side of "Southern Monastery of Mt. Heng 衡山." Reading the Chao-lun 肇論,³ he was struck by the sentence, "The man

¹His biography is in Sung Kao-seng Ch'uan (T.D., No. 2061, pp. 763-764) and the Chodangjip, Vol. IV, p. 1.

²Kao-yao-hsien, Kwangtung.

³The book authored by Seng-chao 僧肇 in the fourth century 後秦時代.

who knows all things in the world can only be a saint."¹
 From this insight, he wrote the *Ts'an-t'ung-chi* 參同契,²
 describing the equality of all things in the world, and
 the radical identity between the differences.

Shih-t'ou, in contrast to Ma-tsu, who built his
 headquarters at Kiangsi 江西, established himself at
 Hu-nan 湖南. Thus, the people who visited these two
 masters were called "Kiang-Hu" guests 江湖客 (com-
 bining "Kiang" [Kiangsi: 江西] and "Hu" [Hu-nan:
 湖南]). Ch'ing-yuan's Zen was spread through his
 disciples Shih-t'ou while Non-yueh's Zen was spread
 through Ma-tsu. Shih-t'ou died on December 25, 790 A.D.,
 at the age of ninety. It was in the sixth year of Ch'en-
 yuan 貞元 during the reign of King Te-t'sung of the
 T'ang Dynasty.

Following Shih-t'ou were his disciples T'ien-huang
 Tao-wu 天皇道悟 (748-809 A.D.)³ and Yueh-shan Wei-yen
 藥山惟儼 (751-843 A.D.).⁴ Yueh-shan was followed

¹Paekpa, *Notes on Sōnmun Yōmsong*, p. 33; quoting
 Chao-lun 肇論. See also the *Chodangjip*, Vol. IV,
 p. 1.

²*Ts'an-t'ung-chi* is recorded in (*T.D.*, No. 2006,
 p. 337).

³Biography in the *Chodangjip*, Vol. IV, p. 5.

⁴Biography, *Ibid.*, p. 11.

by Yun-yen T'an-shing 雲岩曇成 (780-841 A.D.)¹ and Yun-yen T'an-shing by Tung-shan Liang-chieh 洞山良介 (807-869 A.D.).² Tung-shan had his disciple, T'sao-shan Pen-chi 曹山本寂 (840-901 A.D.).³ From both T'sao-shan and Tung-shan the T'sao-tung sect was established. This sect is in direct line from Ch'ing-yuan.

Failing to attain Buddhahood under Ma-tsu, T'ien-huang Tao-wu went to visit Shih-t'ou and reached Buddhahood through him. Some scholars claim that T'ien-huang Tao-wu was Ma-tsu's disciple, others list him as Shih-t'ou's.

T'ien-huang Tao-wu had Lung-tan Ch'ung-hsin 龍潭崇信⁴ as his disciple. Lung-tan Ch'ung-hsin had Te-shan Hsuan-chien 德山宣鑑 (780-865 A.D.)⁵ and Te-shan had Hsueh-feng I-ts'un 雪峰義存 (822-908 A.D.).⁶ Through these three generations Yun-men Wen-yen 雲門文偃 禪師 (?-949 A.D.)⁷ established the Yun-men sect.

¹Biography in the Chodangjip, Vol. V, p. 5.

²Biography in the Chodangjip, Vol. VI, p. 7.

³Biography in the Chodangjip, Vol. VIII, p. 7.

⁴Biography in the Chodangjip, Vol. V, p. 2.

⁵Biography, Ibid., p. 16.

⁶Biography in the Chodangjip, Vol. VII, p. 11.

⁷Biography in the Chodangjip, Vol. V, p. 8.

After Hsueh-feng I-ts'un was Hsuan-sha Shih-pei 玄沙師備 (835-908 A.D.).¹ Following Hsuan-sha Shih-pei was Lo-han Kuei-Ch'en 羅漢桂 王祭 (867-928 A.D.).² Lo-han was succeeded by Fa-yen Wen-i 法眼文益 (885-958 A.D.).³ These three established the Fa-yen sect. These three sects, the T'sao-tung, Yun-men and Fa-yen, as well as the Lin-chi and Wei-yang sects are called the Five Sects or Schools in Chinese Zen history. All these five schools had been established at the end of the T'ang Dynasty. After Bodhidharma, Zen Buddhism grew in influence and became clearly distinguished from Chiao.

The Fen-yen sect, however, declined into obscurity by the end of the Sung Dynasty. The Wei-yang sect had faded away even before the Fa-yen sect. The T'sao-tung also dropped from the main stream of Zen. There remained only the Yun-men and the Lin-chi sects. Then, at the beginning of the Yuan 元 Dynasty, the Yun-men sect gradually declined and had vanished by the beginning of the Ming Dynasty. By the end of the Sung 宋 Dynasty, only the Lin-chi sect was fully recognized. Shou-shan

¹Biography in the Chodangjip, Vol. X, p. 1.

²Biography in Sung Kao-seng Ch'uan (T.D., No. 2061, p. 786).

³Biography, Ibid., p. 788.

Hsing-nien 昔山省念 (925-992 A.D.),¹ seven generations after Nan-yueh, spread Lin-chi Zen and drew many disciples. Shou-shan's best known disciple was Fen-yang Shan-chao 汾陽善昭 (947-1024 A.D.).²

Under Fen-yang Shan-chao, Shih-shuang Ch'u-yuan 石霜楚圓 (986-1040 A.D.)³ was notable. There were about fifty disciples under Shih-shuang Ch'u-yuan. Among them were Huang-lung Hui-nan 黃龍慧南 (1002-1069 A.D.)⁴ and Yang-Ch'i Fang-hui 楊岐方會 (992-1049 A.D.).⁵ These two established schools under their own names: the Yang-Ch'i School and the Huang-lung School. Together with the Five Sects, these two schools comprise the "Five Sects and Seven Schools" of Chinese Zen history.

The Lin-chi sect, descended from Yang-Ch'i and Huang-lung, gained in strength and prosperity. The Huang-lung school, however, eventually died out. After the Sung Dynasty, Zen was spread only through the Yang-Ch'i School, belonging to the Lin-chi sect. The founder of the Yang-chi

¹Biography in the Ch'ing-te Ch'uan-teng Lu (T.D., No. 2076, p. 304).

²Biography in Hsu Ch'uan-teng Lu 續傳燈錄 (T.D., No. 2077, p. 469).

³Biography in Hsu Ch'uan-teng Lu (T.D., No. 2077, p. 483).

⁴Biography in Hsu Ch'uan-teng Lu (T.D., No. 2077, p. 505).

⁵Biography, Ibid., p. 506.

School, Yang-ch'i Fang-hui, had a disciple Po-yun Shou-tuan 白雲守端 (1025-1072 A.D.).¹ The chief disciples of Po-yun Shou-tuan was Wu-tsu Fa-yen 五祖法演 (?-1104 A.D.)² who himself had more than twenty disciples. Among them were the Masters: Yuan-wu K'o-ch'in 圓悟克勤 (1063-1135 A.D.),³ Fu-chien Hui-ch'in 佛鑑惠勤⁴ and Fu-yen Ch'ing-yuan 佛眼清遠.⁵ These three were called the Three Buddhas of Wu-tsu Fa-yen. Yuan-wu K'o-ch'in authored the Pi-yen Lu 碧巖錄, an important Zen text. Another notable disciple of Wu-tsu Fa-yen, was K'ai-fu Tao-ning 開福道寧 (?-1113 A.D.),⁶ and K'ai-fu Tao-ning had an exceptional disciple, Wu-men Hui-k'ai 無門慧開 (1184-1260 A.D.), who wrote a significant Zen text, the Wu-men Kuan 無門關 (Gateless Gate).

Thus, the Lin-chi Zen sect, through the Yang-ch'i School, was in its golden age in both the Sung and Yuan Dynasties.

¹Biography, Ibid., p. 547.

²Biography, Ibid., p. 601.

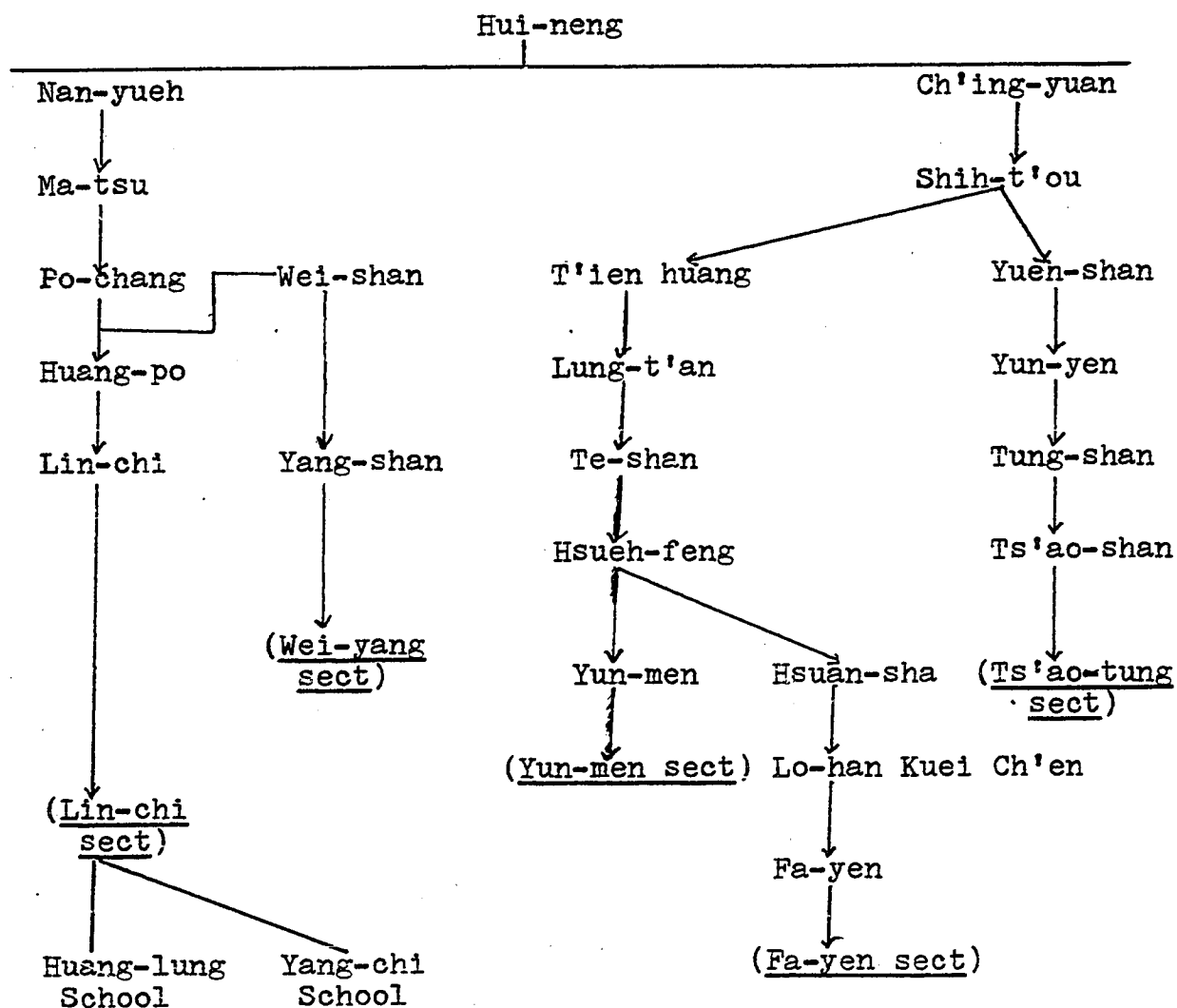
³Biography, Ibid., p. 633.

⁴Biography, Ibid., p. 635.

⁵Biography, Ibid., p. 636.

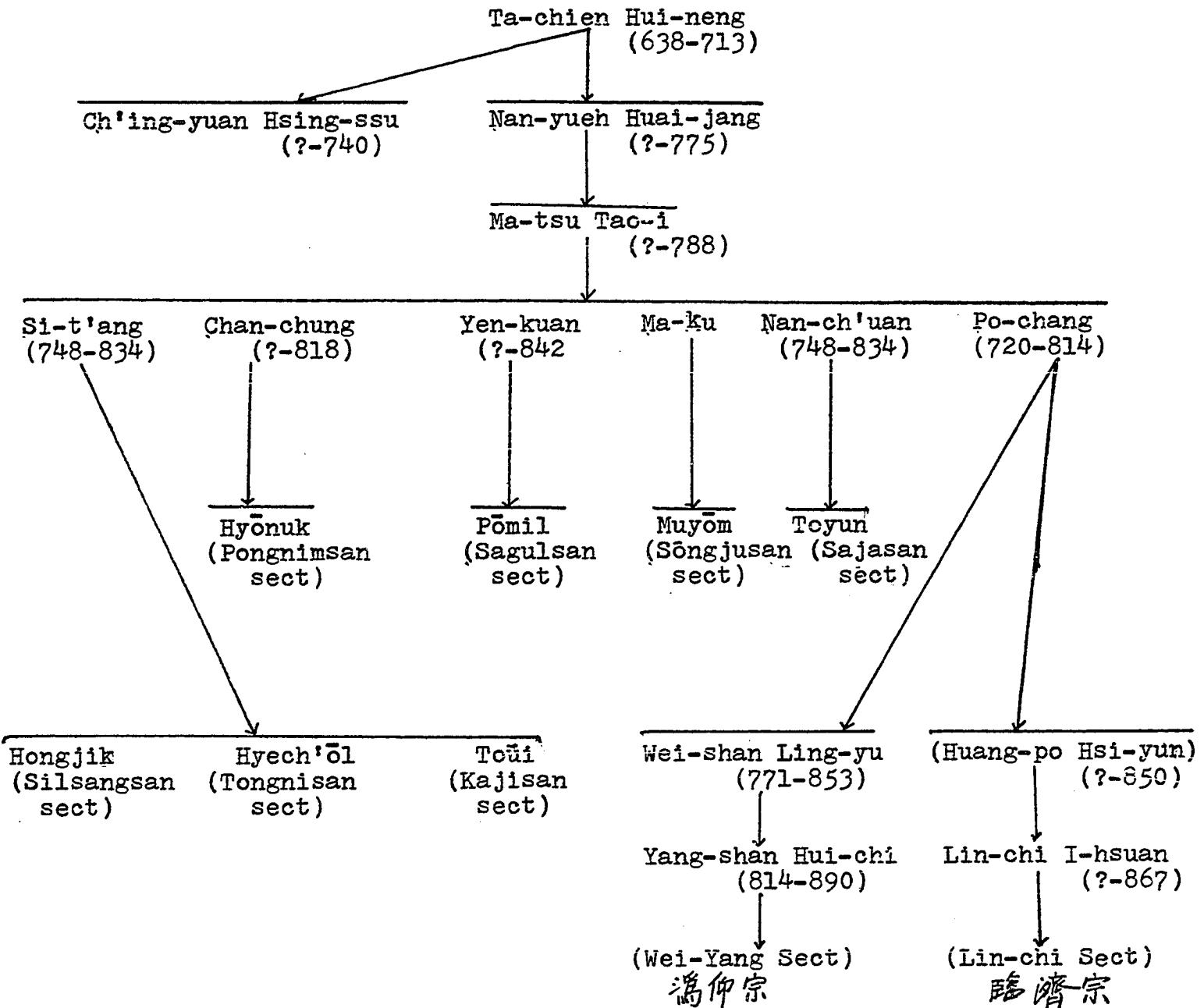
⁶Biography, Ibid., p. 637.

DIAGRAM 1

THE FIVE ZEN SECTS AFTER SIXTH PATRIARCH HUI-NENG IN CHINA¹

¹The diagram: according to the Chodangjip, the Ching-te Chuan-teng Lu, Vol. XIV and XI, and Sung Kao-Seng Chuan, Vol. XI. See also Heinrich Dumoulin, S. J., The Development of Chinese Zen, tr. by Ruth Fuller Sasaki, (New York: The First Zen Institute of America, Inc., 1953), table I, The Zen Masters of T'ang Dynasty.

DIAGRAM 2

THE ZEN MASTERS AFTER SIXTH PATRIARCH HUI-NENG (T'ANG DYNASTY)¹

¹The origin of two Chinese Zen sects: Lin-chi and Wei-yang and seven Korean Zen sects.

DIAGRAM 3

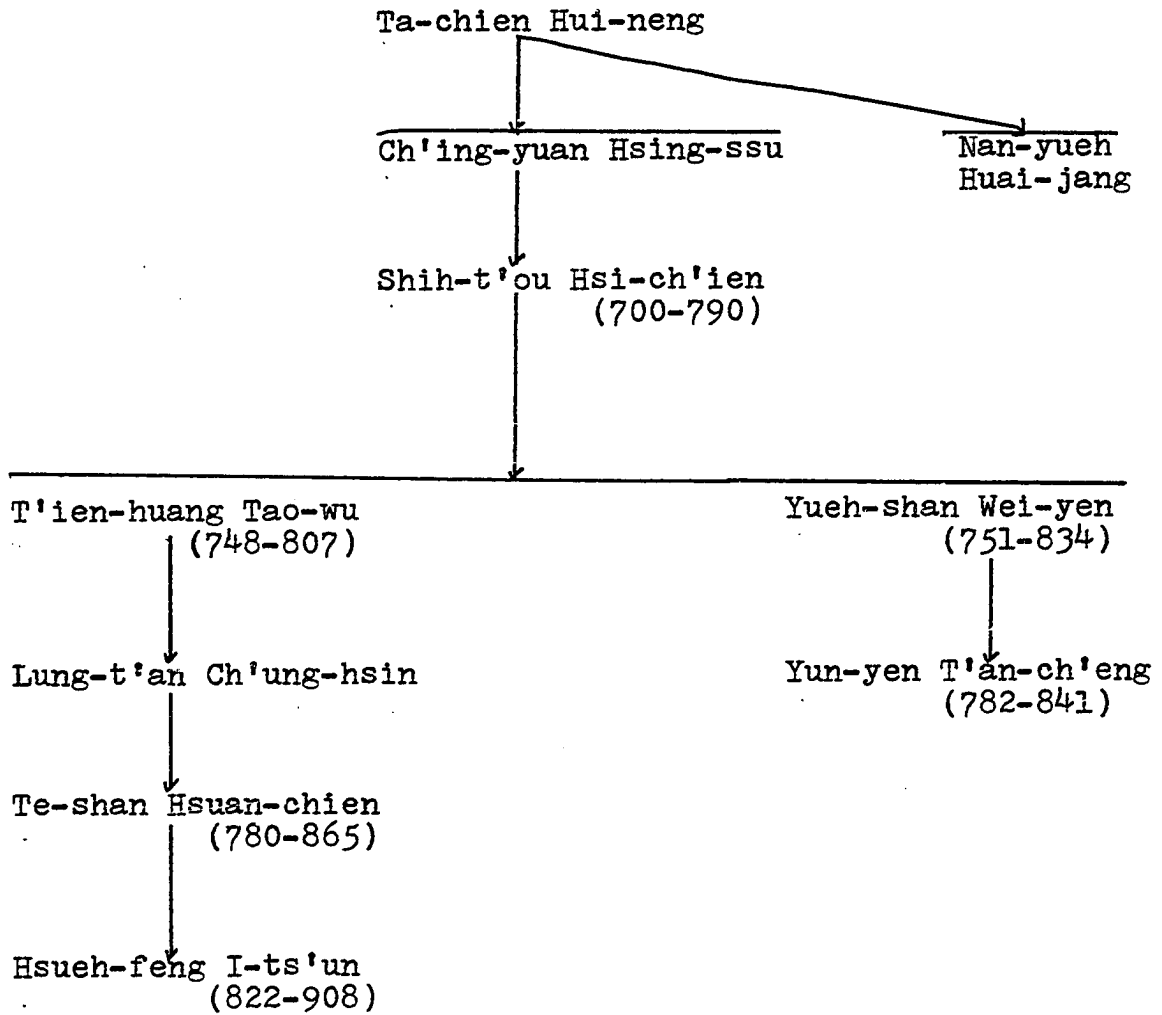


DIAGRAM 3 (continued)

* The origin of three Chinese Zen sects: Fa-yen, Yun-men, and Ts'ao-tung (and one Korean Zen sect: Sumisan Sect).

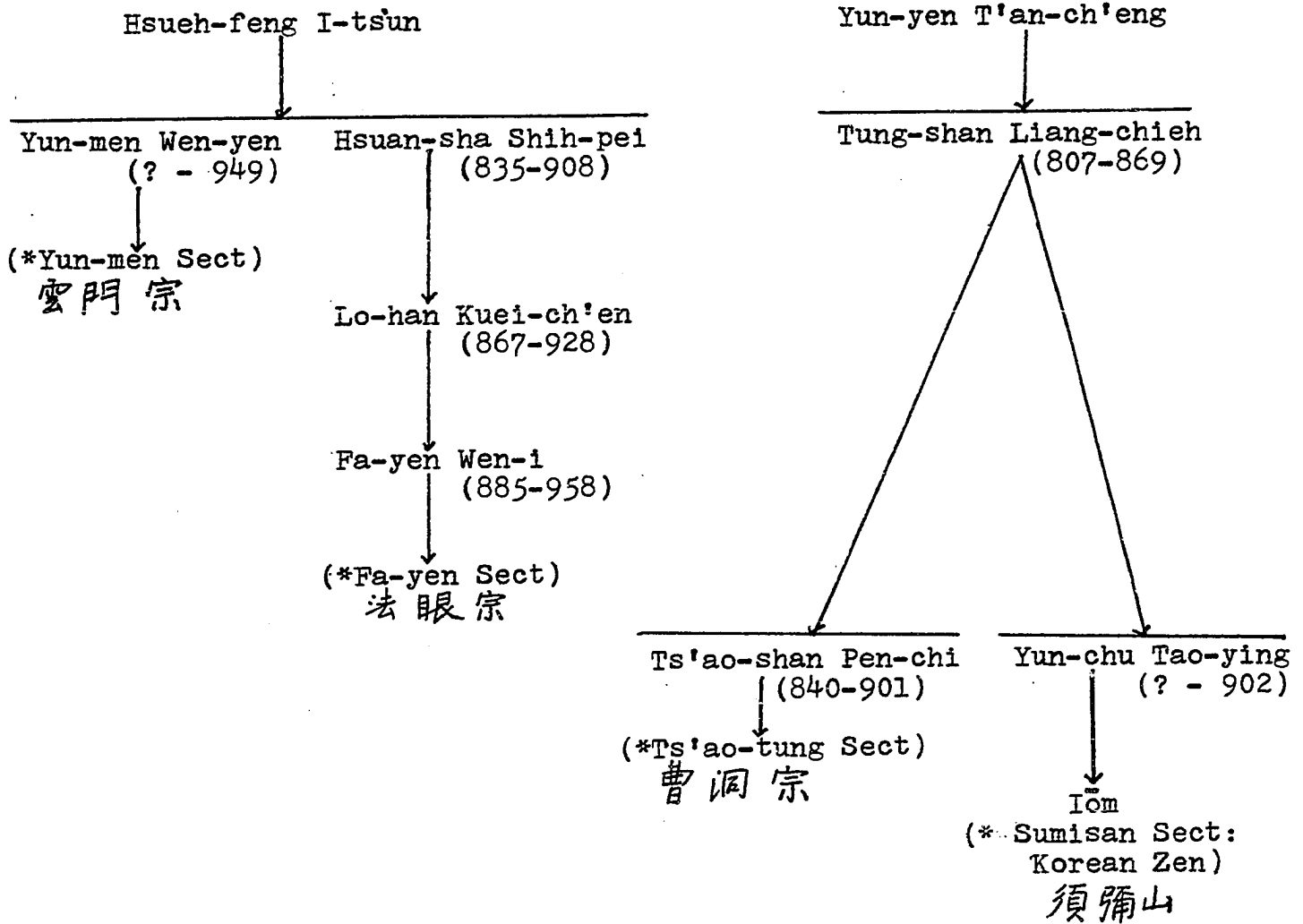


DIAGRAM 4

THE LIN-CHI SECT INTO THE SUNG DYNASTY

One of the five Zen sects Lin-chi Sect produced its two branch sects: Huang-lung and Yang-ch'i (five sects with two branches of Lin-chi sect are called "five Zen sects or seven Zen schools" in China).

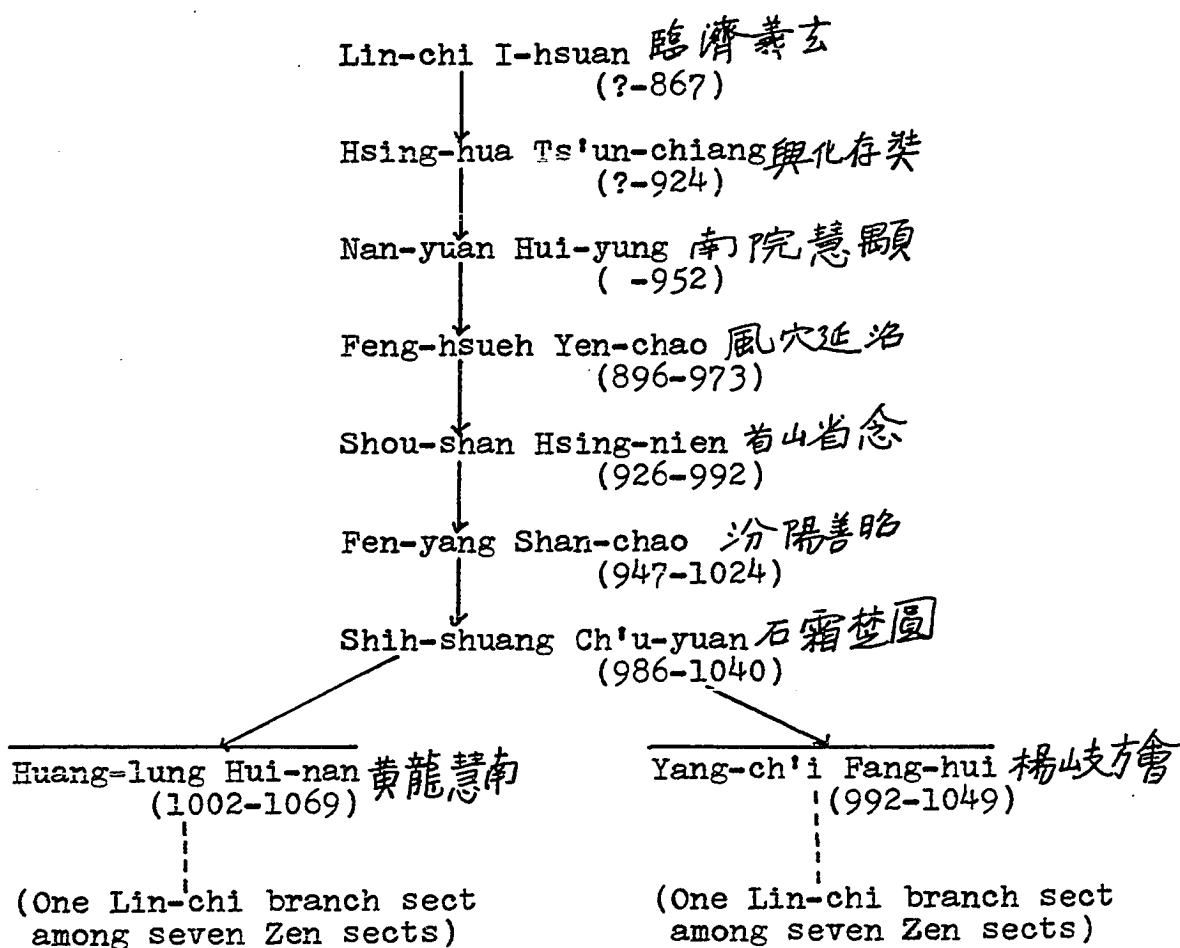


DIAGRAM 5

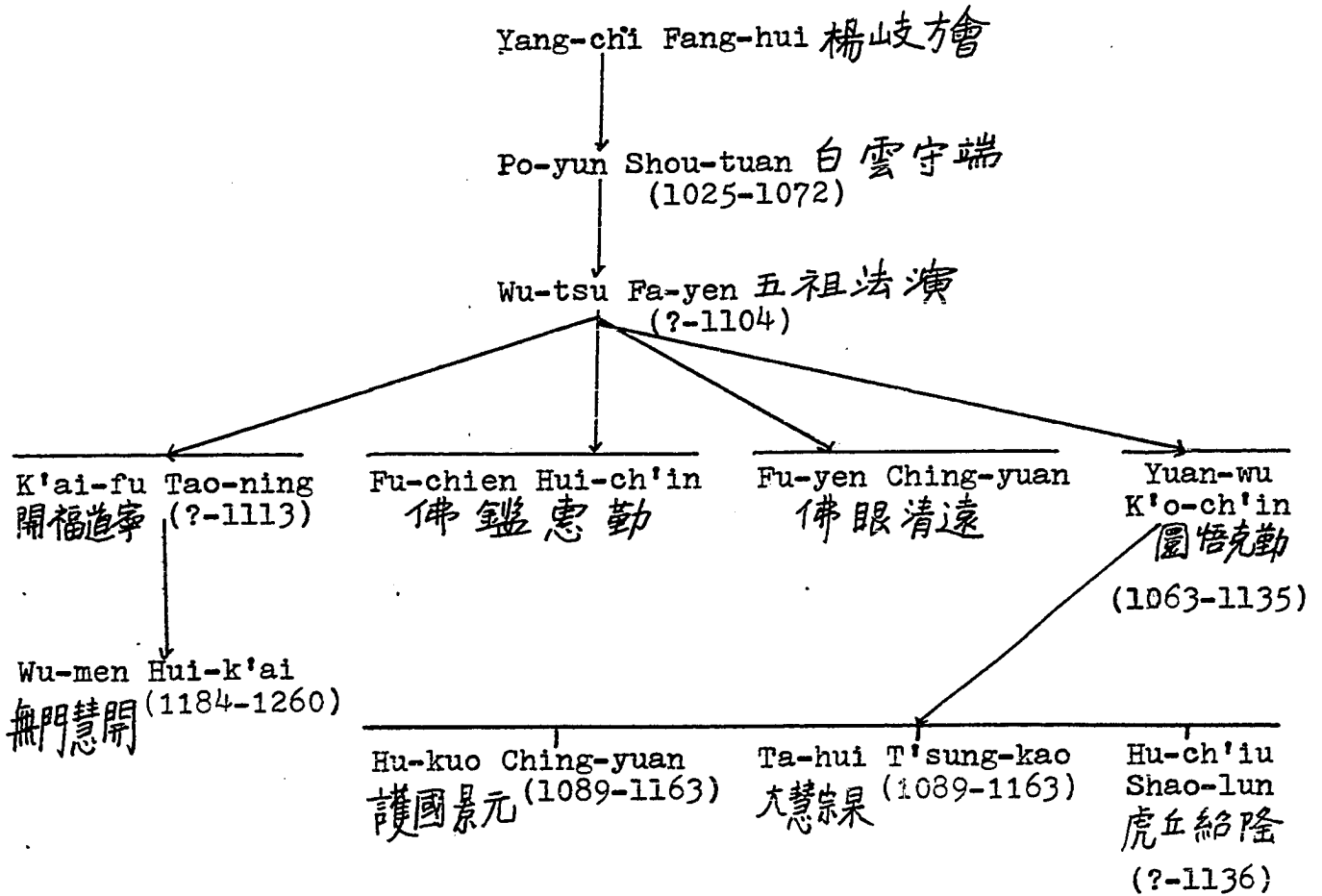
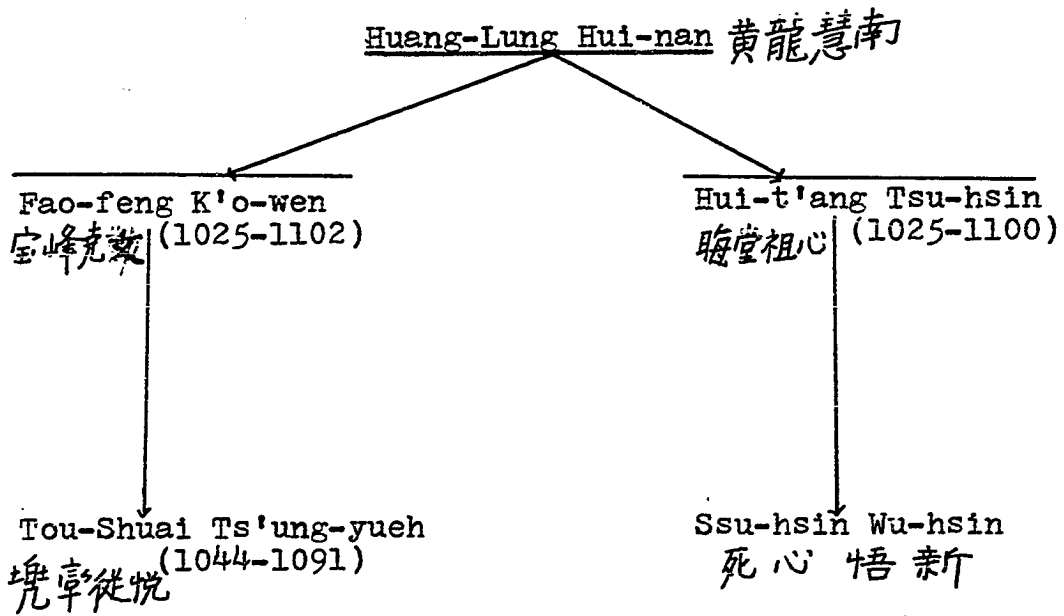
YANG-CHI SCHOOL 楊岐派

DIAGRAM 6

HUANG-LUNG SCHOOL 黃龍派



CHAPTER IV

THE KOREAN ZEN MASTERS RECORDED IN THE CHODANGJIP

Zen was transmitted from China to Korea in the Silla Dynasty by Pōmnang 法朗, the first Korean Zen Master. According to an inscription on a monument at Pongam Temple 鳳巖寺,¹ he was the disciple of the Fourth Chinese Patriarch, Tao-hsin. Beyond that his personal history is unknown.

Following Master Pōmnang was Master Sinhaeng 信行. He first met Pōmnang on Mt. Hogu 虎丘 in Silla and learned Zen from him. Traveling to China, he practiced Zen under Chigong 志公,² a monk originally from Silla. Chigong was a disciple of the Chinese Master Ta-chiao P'u-chi 大照普寂 (?-739 A.D.)³ who was an

¹Pongam Temple is on Mt. Huiyang, Mungyōng-gun, Kyōngbuk province. The monument was of one of Pōmnang's successors, Master Tohōn. It was inscribed by the famous Silla scholar, Ch'oe Ko-un. See Part Two, Chapter I, (Master Tohōn) for a discussion of the approximate dates of Pōmnang.

²Chigong (703-779 A.D.). Studying in China, he attained enlightenment in three years and then returned to Silla where he preached widely.

³Ta-chiao 大照 (?-739 A.D.). His biography is in the Sung Kao-seng Ch'uan, Vol. IX (T.D., No. 2061, p. 760), and in the Chodangjip, Vol. III, p. 4.

adherent of the Northern Zen of Shen-hsiu 神秀.¹ Thus Sinhaeng received both Northern and Southern Zen from his masters. Sinhaeng's synthesis of these two schools was passed on by his disciple, Chunbōm 遵範, next to Hyeūm 惠隱 and to Tohōn 道憲. This became the first of the nine Zen schools in Silla.

According to the seventeenth volume of the Chodangjip, Master Toūi 道義, the founder of the Kajisan School, went to China in 784 A.D., during the T'ang era. He received the "Inka" from Chinese Master Ma-tsu Tao-i 馬祖道一 (?-788 A.D.)² in the province of Hungchou 洪州. Afterwards he met Po-chang 百丈 (720-814 A.D.)³ who praised him by saying that all of Kiangsi's 江西⁴ Zen would be transmitted to the Eastern Land (Silla). Clearly, Master Toūi was well known in China. His Zen thought was firmly grounded in Korea

¹His biography is found in the Chodangjip, Vol. II, p. 18, the Leng-chia Shih-tzu Chi 楞伽師資記 (T.D., No. 85, p. 1290), the Sung Kao-seng Chuan (T.D., No. 50 pp. 755-756). Shen-hsiu's life is also discussed in Ui 宇 井 伯 壽, the Zenshu-shi kenkyu 禪宗史研究, Vol. I, pp. 269-275.

²K., Majo Toil; J., Baso Doitsu.

³C., Po-chang Huai-hai; K., Paekchang Hoehae.

⁴Kiangsi means "The Western Side of the River Yangtze". Ma-tsu Tao-i was a noted monk in Kiangsi. He died in 788 A.D.

in the thirty-second year of the reign of King Hōndōk
 憲 德 (821 A.D.).

Korean Master Hongjik 洪直, founder of the
 Silsangsān School, and Korean Master Hyech'ōl 慧徹,
 founder of the Tongnisan School, both went to China
 and received the "Inka" from the Chinese Master Si-t'ang
 Chih-ts'ang 西堂智藏 (748-834 A.D.).¹

Muyōm 無染, a Korean master, founder of
 the Sōngjusan School, studied Zen in 822 A.D. under both
 Chinese Master Fo-kuang Ju-man 佛光如滿,² who was
 the disciple of Master Ma-tsu at Fo-kuang monastery
 佛光寺, and Master Ma-ku Pao-ch'e 麻谷宝徹,³
 another disciple of Ma-tsu. His Chinese contemporaries
 praised Muyōm, calling him "Bodhisattva of the Eastern
 Land" (Silla).

The founder of the Sagulsan School, the Korean

¹His biography is found only in the Chodangjip,
 Vol. XV, p. 1. Only his name is mentioned in (T.D.,
 No. 2076, p. 245).

²K., Pulgwang Yōman. His biography appears only
 in T.D., No. 2076, p. 249. It is not recorded in the
Chodangjip.

³His biography is in the Chodangjip, Vol. XV,
 p. 4.

Master Pōmil 梵日, went to China and received the "Inka" from the Chinese Master Yen-kuan Chi-an 鹽官齊安 : (750?-842 A.D.).¹

The Korean Master, Hyōnuk 玄昱, founder of the Pongnimsan School, went to China in the sixteenth year of the reign of King Hōndōk (825 A.D.), and received the "Inka" from the Chinese Master Chan-chung Huai-hui 章敬懷暉 (?-818 A.D.).² After returning to Silla, he was much respected by the four kings of the Silla Dynasty.

The Korean Master Toyun 道允, founder of the Sajasan School, also went to China in the seventeenth year of King Hōndōk's reign (826 A.D.). He received the "Inka" from Chinese Master Nan-ch'uan P'u-yuan 南泉普願 (748-835 A.D.).

Korean Master Sunji, from Mt. Ogwan 五冠山, went to China and received the "Inka" from Master Yangshan Hui-chi 仰山慧寂 (814-890 A.D.).

This is only a brief outline of the founding of Korean Zen Buddhism during the period when Korean Masters

¹His biography is in the Chodangjip, Vol. XIV, p. 4.

²His biography is recorded in the Chodangjip, Vol. XIV, p. 19.

went to China, bringing Zen back with them to Korea on their return. On the following pages the lives of these masters will be presented in greater detail as they have been recorded in the Chodangjip.

DIAGRAM 7

THE NINE ZEN SCHOOLS OF SILLA

The first patriarch (Bodhidharma)

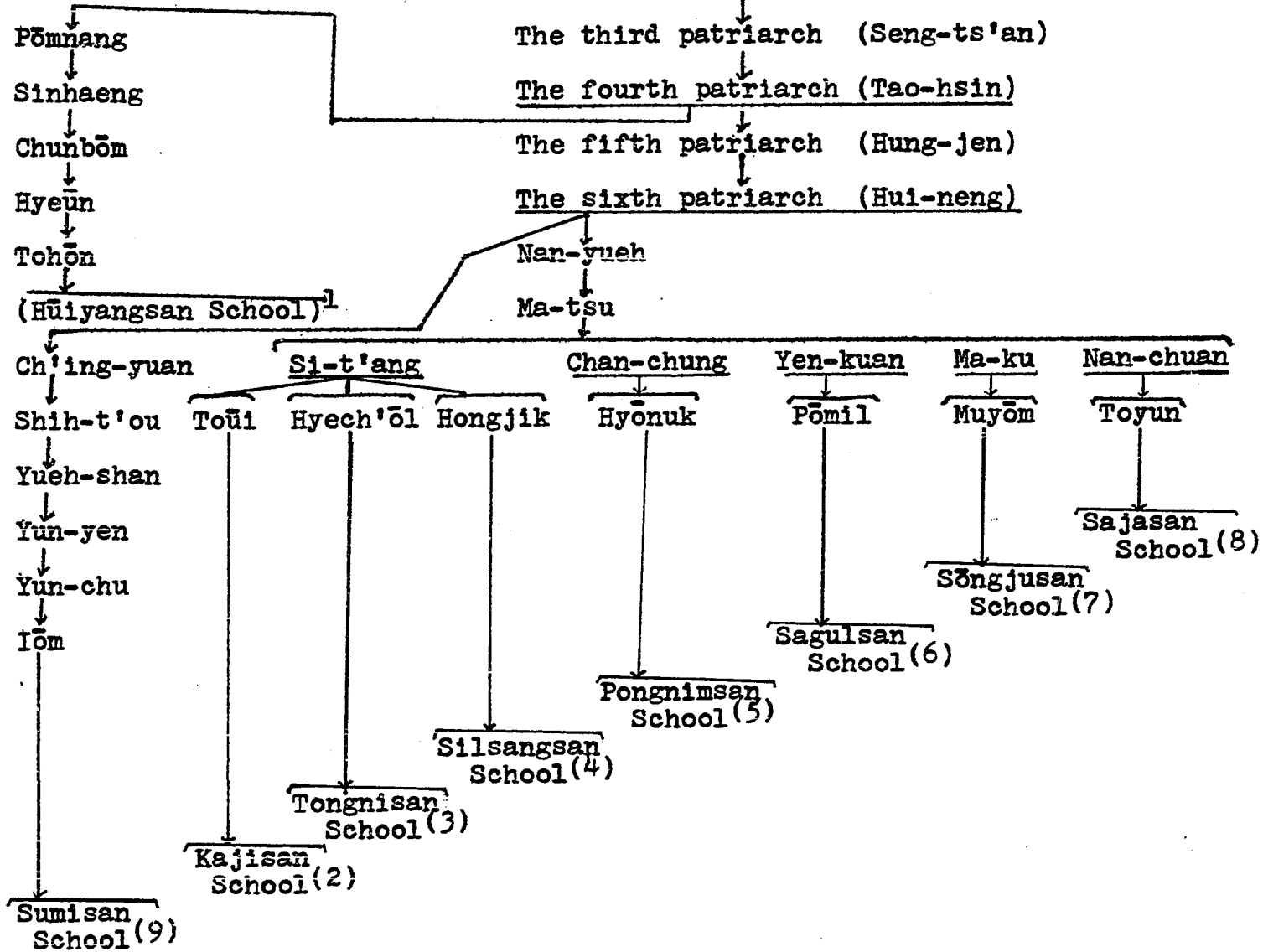
The second patriarch (Hui-k'o)

The third patriarch (Seng-ts'an)

The fourth patriarch (Tao-hsin)

The fifth patriarch (Hung-jen)

The sixth patriarch (Hui-neng)



N.B. Master Tohōn (1) and Master Iōm (9) are not mentioned in the Chodangjip.

DIAGRAM 8

THE FOUNDERS OF THE NINE ZEN SCHOOLS OF SILLA

| | <u>Founder</u> | <u>Name of School</u> |
|----|--------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. | Tohōn | Hūiyangsan school |
| 2. | Toūi | Kajisan school |
| 3. | Hyech'ōl | Tongnisan school |
| 4. | Hongjik | Silsangsan school |
| 5. | Hyōnuk | Pongnimsan school |
| 6. | Pōmil | Sagulsan school |
| 7. | Muyōm | Sōngjusan school |
| 8. | Toyun | Sajasan school |
| 9. | Iōm | Sumisan school |

PART TWO

THE NINE ZEN SCHOOLS OF SILLA

CHAPTER I

THE HŪIYANGSAN SCHOOL

Sources of information about the Hūiyangsan School and its founder are scanty. In 879 A.D., the fifth year of the reign of King Hōngang, the forty-ninth King of Silla, the Hūiyangsan School was founded by Master Tohōn (-859). Located in present-day Wonbung-ni, Kaūn-myōn, Munkyōng-gun, Pongam Temple was the center of the school, and it is still in existence today. It was built for Tohōn by his disciple, Shimch'ung, and King Kyōngmun, who named the Temple Pongam 鳳巖寺 .

Master Tohōn himself studied the scriptures under Master Pōmch'e 梵臚 . Receiving the Bhikṣu Precepts from Master Kyōngui 瓊儀 , he undertook Zen training with Master Hyeūn 惠隱 , and Chingam Hyeso 真鑑惠昭 . Master Tohōn gathered several hundred disciples; the chief among these were Sōnggyōn 性益蜀 , Minhyu 敏休 Kyehwi 緇微 and Yangbu 楊孚 .

Master Tohōn's grand-disciple Chōngjin 靜真 was a famous Korean Zen Master. Travelling to China in the fourth year of King Hyogong in 900 A.D., Chōngjin studied

Zen under famous Zen masters there. He returned to Korea after twenty-four years, in the seventh year of King Wang Kōn 王建, the first King of the Koryō Dynasty, 924 A.D. Wang Kōn respected Chōngjin greatly. The Zen of the Hūiyangsan School rose to prominence, making this period the golden age of the Hūiyangsan School. The school continued until 1356 A.D.,¹ the fifth year of King Kongmin, when Master Taego 太古 unified it and the other eight Zen schools then in existence into one school, the Chogye 曹溪.

The life of Master Tohōn,² the founder of the Hūiyangsan school, does not appear in the Chodangjip, but it is included here for the sake of historical chronology and to provide as accurate a background as possible to the complete account of the nine Zen schools of Silla.

Master Tohōn

The Hūiyangsan school began on Mt. Hūiyang, near the place where Pongam Temple is now situated, in Wonbung-ni, Kaūn-myōn, Mungyōng-gun, in the province of

¹On the twenty-fourth of April in 1356 A.D.

²His biography is also found in Chōsen Sōtoku-fu, (Ed.), Chosōn Kūmsōk Ch'ongnam (Collection of Monumental Inscriptions) (Seoul: Chōsen Sōtoku-fu, 1914), pp. 88-90.

Kyōngsang Pukto. Pongam Temple was established by Zen Master Tohōn in 879 A.D., in the fifth year of the reign of King Hōngang, the forty-ninth king of Silla.

The secular surname of Master Tohōn was Kim; his father's name was Kim Ch'an-yang 金贊瓌; his mother's surname was Ie. His holy name was Chisōn 智詵, his bhikṣu name Tohōn, his posthumous title Chijūng 智證 and the name of his pagoda "Quiet Light" 寂照.

Born in Kyōngju, he lost his father at the age of nine and was initiated as a monk by Master Pōmch'e 栴體 in Pusōk Temple 浮石寺,¹ Yōngju. At the age of seventeen he received the Bhikṣu Precepts from Master Kyōngui 瓊儀 of Mt. Pusōk and mastered the Tripitaka. Instead of going to China for Zen training, he studied with Master Hyeūn 惠隱, the second generation disciple of Master Pōmnang (a disciple of the Fourth Patriarch, Tao-hsin).

Master Tohōn was invited by King Kyōngmun to be a royal court monk, but he declined. At the age of forty-one he became abbot of Allak Temple, Mt. Hyōngye 玄溪. Later he moved to Mt. Hūiyang at the invitation of his

¹Master Uisang 義湘大師 (625-702 A.D.) built this temple and founded one of the Silla Avatamsaka Schools there.

disciple Shimchung 沈忠, who had built Pongam Temple¹ for him with the support of King Kyōngmun 景文, the forty-eighth King of Silla.

The next king, Hōngang, also invited him to be a royal court monk but again he refused, and sought only to further his Zen practice.

In 882 A.D., the eighth year in the reign of King Hōndōk, Master Tohōn died at the age of fifty-nine. The period of his priesthood was forty-three years. He had hundreds of disciples including Sōnggyōn 性蜀, Minhyu 敏休 and Kyehwi 繼徽, who established the Hūiyangsan Zen School.

The above material is presented in the Outline of Zen History, written by Chi-gwan Yi 李智冠.² But according to Kwon Sang-no 權相老,³ there are two different views concerning the Buddhist pedigree of Master Tohōn.

¹Pongam Temple was completed later in 879 A.D., the fifty year of the reign of King Hōngang, the forty-ninth King of Silla.

²Chi-gwan-Yi, Outline of Zen History (Hapch'ōn; Korea: Haein Monastery, 1965), p. 13.

³Sang-no Kwōn, History of Korean Buddhism, (Seoul: Sinmungwan, 1917), pp. 38-53. Chōsen Sotoku-fu (Ed.), Chosōn Kūmsōk Ch'ongnam, p. 88.

One is taken from the inscription written on Tohōn's monument by Ch'oe Koun 崔孤雲, a great scholar of the Silla Dynasty. It is written on the monument¹ that the disciple of Tao-hsin is Pōmnang,² his grand-disciple is Sinhaeng,³ his great-grand-disciple is Chunbōm, his fifth-generation disciple is Hyeūn, and his sixth-generation disciple is Master Tohōn.

Another view is taken from the inscription on the monument of Master Chōngjin 靜真 (grand disciple of Master Tohōn) written by Yi Mong-yu 李夢遊. It is written on the monument⁴ that the Sixth Patriarch Hui-neng transmitted Zen to Nan-yueh Huai-jang (?-775 A.D.) 南嶽懷讓 who was followed by Ma-tsu, whose disciple, Chingam Hyeso⁵ of the Eastern Land (Silla),

¹Ibid.

²According to the Chodangjip, Vol. II, p. 16, the Fourth Patriarch, Tao-hsin, died in 651 A.D. at the age of seventy-two. Consequently, we may approximate the date of Pōmnang since he is considered Tao-hsin's disciple.

³Sinhaeng: Komatsu Yudo, Bukkyo Dentoshi (Tokyo: Toko Shoin 刀江書院 1921), p. 319.

⁴Sang-no Kwōn, History of Korean Buddhism, p. 39.

⁵His biography is in part of the inscription of Master Chingam's monument located at Sanggye Temple at Mt. Chiri, Chōlla Namdo Province.

transmitted Zen to Tohōn.

The holy name of Master Chingam of Sangbong Temple, Mt. Chiri,¹ was Hyeso and his secular surname was Ch'oe. At the age of thirty-one, he personally visited Ts'ang-chou Shen-chien 滄洲神鑑² in China and was initiated as a monk by Ma-tsu. He received the "Inka" from Ma-tsu.

After receiving the Bhiksu Precepts in Shao-lin Temple 少林寺³ on Mt. Sung 崇山⁴ at the age of thirty-one, Chingam wandered about with a Master Toūi. In 913 A.D., the fifth year in the reign of King Hōndōk of Silla, six years later than Toūi, Chingam Hyeso returned home to Silla and settled in Ch'angbyōk Temple (now Namjang Temple) on Mt. Noak 露岳, in the province of Kyōngsang Pukdo. Later, moving to Mt. Chiri, he established Okch'ōn Temple (now Sangbong Temple) on the southern ridge of the mountain. He passed away at

¹It is located in Kurye-gun, in the province of Chōlla Namdo.

²K., Ch'angju Singam. His biography is unknown.

³少林寺. The temple where Bodhidharma remained for nine years, facing a cliff behind the edifice and meditating in silence.

⁴This mountain, located near Loyang, has long been associated with Zen masters. The names of many of these famous masters who have lived on this mountain have been recorded in the Chuan T'ang Wen (Taipei, 1961, 20 Vols.), Vol. VI, pp. 3584-87.

the age of seventy-seven in 959 A.D., the eleventh year in the reign of King Munsōng (839-857) of Silla. King Hōngang gave Master Chingam Hyeso the posthumous name: Chingam 真鑑 .

Thus we are presented with two different lines of descent. Both the inscription on Tohōn's own monument and the lineage outlined in Yi Chi-gwan's Outline of Zen History draw Tohōn's line from Tao-hsin, the Fourth Patriarch in China. These two sources differ slightly, with Yi placing Tohōn in the fourth generation, while the monument lists him as in the sixth. However, the inscription on the monument of Chōngjān, (Tohōn's own second generation disciple), traces Tohōn's descent from Hui-neng, the Sixth Patriarch in China.

Since there are no other sources available pertaining to this problem of Tohōn's lineage, there is no way of deciding with any certainty whether his line originates with Tao-hsin or Hui-neng. As for the question of how many generations Tohōn is removed from Tao-hsin, in my opinion Tohōn's own monument provides more reliable information than Yi Chi-gwan's work, since the monument inscription was written shortly after Tohōn's death.

Differing Accounts of Master Tohōn's Line and Generation:Outline of Zen History

(By Yi Chi-gwan)

1. Tao-hsin (Chinese)
2. Pōmnang (Korean)
3. Hyeūn (Korean)
4. Tohōn (Korean)

Tohōn's Monument Inscription

1. Tao-hsin (Chinese)
2. Pōmnang (Korean)
3. Sinhaeng (Korean)
4. Chunbōm (Korean)
5. Hyeūn (Korean)
6. Tohōn (Korean)

Chōngjin's Monument Inscription

1. Hui-neng (Chinese)
2. Nan-yueh (Chinese)
3. Ma-tsu (Chinese)
4. Chingam Hyeso (Korean)
5. Tohōn (Korean)

CHAPTER II

KAJISAN SCHOOL

The Kajisan School was founded in 862 A.D. with the building of Porim Temple by Pojo Ch'ejūng, who named his grand-master Toūi,¹ already dead, as the founder of this school. Porim Temple, the center of the Kajisan School, is located on Mt. Kaji, Changhūng-gun, Yuchi-myōn in the province of Chōlla Namdo, and it still exists today.

The Master Toūi went to China in 784 A.D. and studied Zen there under Si-t'ang Chih-t'sang for 37 years, returning to Korea in 821 A.D. At that time Zen was unknown in Korea, and his teaching was not welcomed by the existing Buddhist leaders. He was forced to seclude himself at Chinchōn Temple on Mt. Sorak, where he stayed for over 40 years, transmitting Zen before he died to his chief disciple, Yōngō (?-840 A.D.).

Yōngō in turn transmitted Zen to his chief disciple Pojo Ch'ejūng who then went to China in 837 A.D. and attained enlightenment after meeting many famous Zen masters. When he returned to Korea in 840, King Hōnan

¹No source can be found for Toūi's birth and death.

of Silla helped him build the great Porim Temple on Mt. Kaji in 862 A.D.

After naming the deceased grand-master Toūi as founder of the Kajisan School, Pojo Ch'ejūng went on to develop the school and stand as its guiding force. The Zen spirit of the school spread greatly to further generations of Zen masters such as Chi-kung, Naong, Pyōkkye and Kyōnghō, who will be mentioned later in the commentary of this chapter. In 1356 the Kajisan school, along with the other eight Zen schools, was unified into the Chogye Sect 曹溪宗 .

A. Translation from the Chodangjip

[The Life of Master Toūi¹]

Upon returning from China, where he had studied Zen as a disciple under Master Si-t'ang Chih-ts'ang 西堂智藏² (738-834 A.D.), Master Wōnjōk (Toūi) of Chinchōn Temple,³ Mt. Sōrak, stayed at Myōngju.⁴

¹Toūi's name is found in the Ching-te Ch'uan-teng Lu, Vol. IX, (T.D., No. 2076, p. 265), but it is recorded as "Kyerim Toūi" 鷄林道義 .

²He transmitted Zen to the three Korean Zen masters, Toūi, Hyech'ōl and Hongjik.

³This temple was located on Mt. Sōrak in the province of Kangwōn-do.

⁴It is located in the province of Kangwōn-do present day Kangnūng.

He was born in Pukhan-gun, Silla. His holy name was Toūi, his secular surname Wang.

Before he was born, his father saw a white rainbow in the room. His mother dreamed that she sat on a couch with a monk and, upon awakening, found the scent of incense in her room. The surprised parents talked to each other: "A holy child will surely be born because these dreams are auspicious." Half a month later, the mother conceived and the child was born after thirty-nine months in her womb.

On the morning of the day of his birth a strange monk visited them and commanded them: "Bury the navel cord of your child in a hill beside a river." With this word he disappeared. The parents did as they were told. A big deer came to guard the burial place and remained all through the night. Because of this omen, the boy entered the priesthood and was given the bhikṣu name Myōngjōk 明寂.

In 784 A.D., he went to China across the Yellow Sea, accompanying envoys of Korea to China. Immediately he went to Mt. Wu T'ai 五臺山¹ to meet Manjusri

¹K., Odae-san. Mt. Wu T'ai near the northeastern border of Shansi, one of the four mountains sacred to Buddhism in China. The principle monastery was built in 471-500 A.D. There are about 150 monasteries. The chief director is known as Ch'ang-chia Fo (ever-renewing Buddha). Manjusri is its Patron Bodhisattva.

Bodhisattva in person. He heard a holy bell ringing in the air, and saw mysterious birds flying here and there.

In Pao-tan Temple, in the province of Kuang-fu¹, he was ordained as a bhiksu. Once, when he was going to attend divine service in the Shrine of Patriarchs in Mt. Ts'ao-ch'i² the gate opened of itself. When he came out, after having bowed three times, the gate closed behind him.

Later he went to Kai-yuan Temple, Hung-chou³ to become a disciple under Master Si-t'ang Chih-ts'ang and solved the problems of his study. Master Si-t'ang Chih-ts'ang was greatly moved by him and said of him: "It is as if I picked up a gem among stones, or as if I got a pearl from a shellfish. To whom could I transmit Zen other than this kind of man?" Thus he transmitted the way of Zen to him and gave him a new name, Toūi.

Leading the life of a wandering monk, Toūi went to Master Po-chang Huai-hai (720-814) who praised him as Master Si-t'ang Chih-ts'ang had done and said in admiration: "Now all the streams of Zen in China are going to

¹Kwangtung province.

²A mountain near Shao-chou, Kwantung Province.

³Nan-chang hsien, province of Kiangsi.

flow toward the Eastern Land (Silla)".

B. Commentary

Master Toūi's biography in the Chodangjip alludes to certain mysterious occurrences before and after his birth and death. But, there are no references to the dates of his birth and death in any source, including the Chodangjip.

Master Toūi was quite different from other Zen masters because of the unusual circumstances of his mystical birth. The Chodangjip claims that he was born after thirty-nine months in his mother's womb.¹ How can we understand such a mysterious prenatal period of thirty-nine months? It is common knowledge that the human being's prenatal period rarely lasts over nine months. If we trace the ancient oriental people's beliefs, it can be found that they believed that a saint spent a long prenatal period in the mother's womb. For example, Lao-tzu, the great Chinese Taoist sage, was supposed to have been in his mother's womb for eighty years.

From my point of view, the story of the unusual birth of Master Toūi was influenced by the popularity of

¹See the above (A) Translation from the Chodangjip, Vol. XIIIV, p. 4.

this class of fable. Probably his parents or followers made up the legend in order to put Toūi in the category of a great saint. Similarly, it is written in the Chodangjip that Master Pōmil, the founder of the Sagulsan Zen School, spent thirteen months in his mother's womb,¹ and Master Toyun, the founder of the Sajasan School, sixteen months.²

As mentioned in the above translation, Master Toūi entered China in 784 A.D., in the fifth year of the reign of King Hōndōk of Silla. He studied Zen for thirty-seven years under Master Si-t'ang Chih-ts'ang, who was a third generation disciple of the Sixth Patriarch and a disciple of Ma-tsu. He returned to Silla in 821 A.D., the thirteenth year of the reign of King Hōngok. At that time in Silla, the Chiao Sect (School of Scriptural Teaching) was very popular among the people. Zen Buddhism was new to them. Hence, certain ideas of Zen, such as: "A special transmission outside the scriptures; no dependence on words or letters; direct pointing at the mind

¹See the Chapter on Master Pōmil, and the Chodangjip, Vol. XVII, p. 16.

²See the Chapter on Master Toyun and the Chodangjip, Vol. XVII, p. 17.

of man; seeing into one's nature; and the attainment of Buddhahood," were not easily accepted by the people. They even slandered Zen as an evil thing.

Thus Master Toūi had to stay in seclusion in Chinchōn Temple of Mt. Sōrak for more than forty years. He transmitted his Zen to his disciple, Yōngō¹, who transmitted it again to Pojo Ch'ejūng. Master Pojo Ch'ejūng founded the Porim Temple and promoted a school of Zen Buddhism to propagate the Zen spirit of Master Toūi.

This Zen spirit originates from the Southern School² of Immediate Enlightenment, which emphasized "direct pointing to the mind" more than scriptural teaching. Master Toūi's teaching is recorded in The Treasure Records of Zen Gate, as follows:

¹His biography is in the inscription of Master Pojo Ch'ejūng's monument located at Proim Temple in Mt. Kaji in the province of Chōlla-do.

²Bodhidharma's School was divided into the Northern and Southern--The Northern, under Shen-hsiu, the Southern under Hui-neng (700 A.D.). Gradual enlightenment was promoted by the Northern School while the Southern School preached sudden enlightenment.

Master Chih-yuan¹ asked the Master Tōi:

What Dharma-dhatu is there in addition to the Four Hua-Yen Dharma-dhatu? ...And, is there so-called Patriarch's Zen in addition to this Doctrine of the Four Hua-Yen Dharma-dhatu?²

Master Tōi replied, raising his fist:

In this fist, there is no so-called Dharma-dhatu. All beings are like snow on a hot oven. And such things as the

¹It is not clear which Chih-yuan this was. There were several masters who had the same name. For example, Master Chih-yuan of Tzu-fu monastery; Chih-yuan of Hua-chou province; and Master Chih-yuan Yen-hua, etc. The first one, Master Chih-yuan of Tzu-fu monastery, is found in the Ching-te Ch'uan-teng Lu, Vol. XXI (T.D., No. 2076, p. 377), but he died in 977 A.D. Therefore, the time of his life was far later than when Master Tōi visited China (784 A.D.). Chih-yuan of Hua-chou province is recorded only by name in the Ching-te Ch'uan-teng Lu, Vol. XIII (T.D., No. 2076, p. 306). Chih-yuan Yen-hua is also found in the Ching-te Ch'uan-teng Lu, Vol. XXIV (T.D., No. 2076, p. 397), but there are no records about him meeting with Master Tōi.

²Four Hua-yen Dharma-dhatu: There are four such worlds: (1) the "World of Principle Harmonized", (2) the "World of Reality Harmonized", (3) the "World of Principle and Reality United" and (4) the "World of Principle and Reality Perfectly Harmonized".

In the Avatamsaka Sutra (Hua-yen Ching), the Dharma-dhatu Doctrine is well illustrated. The term Dharma-dhatu 法界 is sometimes used as a synonym for the Ultimate Truth. Therefore, the translation "the Element of Elements" is quite right. But at other times it means the World or Universe, "The Realm of All Elements." The double meaning, the universe and the universal principle, must always be borne in mind whenever we use the term. Either meaning will serve as the name of the causation theory. The theory of causation by Dharma-dhatu is the culmination of all the causation theories.

preaching of the fifty-three wise masters¹ are nothing but foam on water. Wisdom or Bodhi is but rock compared with this gold: emptiness. This is the reason why Zen Master Kuei-t'sung Chih-ch'ang 啟宗智常 only raised his fist in answer to the question: "What is shown in the Tripitaka?"²

Chih-yuan asked again:

Then what is the purpose of believing, understanding, practicing and realizing, and what can these achieve?

Master Toūi replied:

Zen is to make one believe, understand, practice and realize the principle without thought 無念, without cultivation 無修. The preaching of the Patriarchs cannot be understood by men. What matters is the direct pointing to the True Nature of your mind. Therefore, in addition to the five divisions of the teaching

¹The doctrine of fifty-three wise masters is the main idea of the Chapter entitled "Ganda-Vyuha" of the Hua-yen Ching.

²This story is recounted in the Chodangjip, Vol. XV, p. 11: "Li Wan-chuan 李萬卷 asked Master Kuei-t'sung Chih-ch'ang 啟宗智常, a disciple of Ma-tsu, 'What is shown in the Tripitaka?'" The Master raised his fist. "Do you understand it?" "No," replied Li Wan-chuan. The Master said, "You do not even know your own fist."

teaching¹ there is the "Inka". Worshipping Buddhist statues is nothing but resorting to an expedient (upaya) for those who cannot understand the True Nature. However, many sutras you have finished reading over the many years, I think you will not understand the way of mind-to-mind transmission.

Hearing this preaching, Chih-yuan stood up and bowed, saying, "I have been hearing only the Buddhist teaching, and I did not get a glimpse of the mind of the Buddha."²

In this "Wen-ta" 問答,³ (the exchange of questions and answers for enlightening the mind), we may see how much the Zen spirit of Tōi disregards scriptural teaching and emphasizes the realization of one's own mind.

¹The Five Divisions, according to Master Tu-shun and Master Hsien-shou 賢者 of the Hua-yen school: (1) Hinayanic teaching which interprets Nirvana as annihilation; (2) the primary state of Mahayana, with two sections, the realistic and idealistic; (3) Mahayana in its final stage, teaching the Tathata (suchness) and universal Buddhahood; (4) the immediate or intuitive school, e.g., by right concentration of thought; (5) the complete or perfect teaching of the Hau-yen, combining all the rest into one all-embracing vehicle. See A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms, compiled by William Edward Soothill and Lewis Hodous (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1937), p. 119.

²Ch'ōnjōng 天頌, Treasure Records of Zen Gate 禪門寶藏錄 (Pusan, Korea: Pōmō-sa 1294), pp. 22-23.

³K., mundap; J., mondo.

Yōmgō. (844) the disciple of Toūi, lived in Oksōng Temple 億聖寺 but the records about his life have been lost. His monument, formerly at Anchang-ni, Chijōng-Myōn, Wōnju-gun, in the province of Kangwōn-do, was later moved to T'aptong Park in Seoul. When it was moved, a stone plate, (now preserved in the National Museum in Seoul) was found. On the stone plate was recorded: "On the 29th day of September, in the fourth year of Hui-ch'ang 會昌 'Kapcha' 甲子, Master Yōmgō died. His death therefore, is in the reign of King Kyōngūng 慶膺."

In this record, "Hui-ch'ang" was the name given to King Wu-t'sung's era of rule during the T'ang Dynasty. Hence, we may set the "fourth year of Hui-ch'ang" as 844 A.D. "Kapcha" refers to the sixth year of the Korean King Munsōng's reign,¹ thus placing Master Yōmgō's death in 844 A.D.

In other places there is a discrepancy concerning Yōmgō's death. According to the Yongju Temple History (of Yongju Temple, Suwōn-gun, in the province of Kyōnggi-do), "Master Yōmgō built Yongju Temple in the sixteenth year of the reign of King Munsōng (in 854 A.D.)." This is ten years after Yōmgō's death as it is recorded on the stone

¹King Kyōngūng is another name for King Munsōng of the Silla Dynasty.

plate.

In my view, we must accept the date of Yōmgō's death as recorded on the stone plate as correct since the plate was inscribed shortly after his death, according to custom. By the time the Yongju Temple History was written, all sources for the date of Yōmgō's death had been lost; the date given in that work may be assumed to be incorrect.

We turn now to Master Pojo Ch'ejūng 普照身澄 (?-880)¹ who was a disciple of Yōmgō. His secular surname was Kim. He was born in Ungjin 熊津 (now Kongju, in the province of Ch'ungch'ōng Namdo). At the age of ten, he left home, studied the sutras under Master Kwōn Hwasang 權和尚 of Suwōn,² and received the Bhiksu Precepts in Powōn Temple of Sōsan 瑞山. He met Master Yōmgō in Oksōng Temple 億聖寺 and received the "Inka" from him after hard practice of Zen.

In 837 A.D., the second year in the reign of King Higang, he went to China with his two colleagues, Chōngyuk

¹His biography is found in Chosōn Kūmsōk Ch'onngnam op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 61-62.

²His biography is unknown.

貞育 and Hōhwe 虛懷 . In China he met many Zen masters and attained enlightenment.

After returning to Silla in 840 A.D., the second year of King Munsōng's reign, he stayed in Hwanghak monastery for awhile. In 859 A.D., in the third year of the reign of King Hōnan, Master Pojo Ch'ejūng moved to Porim Temple on Mt. Kajī. He built a great monastery in 862 A.D., the first year of the reign of King Kyōngmun, in Mt. Kajī and installed his grand master Toūi as the founder of the Kajisan School. Therefore, the origin of the Kajisan School and its founder were confirmed by Pojo Ch'ejūng.

Master Pojo Ch'ejūng passed away in 880 A.D., in the sixth year of King Hōngang's reign, at the age of seventy-seven. He had more than eight hundred disciples.

As was mentioned above, the chief disciple of Master Toūi was Yōmgō. Yōmgō's disciple was Pojo Ch'ejūng. On Pojo Ch'ejūng's monument is an inscription written by Kim Yōng which reads:

Bodhidharma is the First Patriarch of China. The First Patriarch of Korea is Master Toūi; the second is Yōmgō; the third is Pojo Ch'ejūng.¹

However, as I have shown in the first chapter,

¹Sang-no Kwōn, "Outline of Korean Zen History," p. 269.

The monument is located in Porim Temple, Changhūng, in the province of Chōlla Namdo.

Pōmnang must be considered the First Patriarch of Korean Zen since he was the direct disciple of the Fourth Chinese Patriarch, Tao-hsin. Thus he is chronologically earlier than Toūi.

In my opinion, Toūi is the First Patriarch only of the school of Zen which he founded, the Kajisan, not of all Korean Zen.

However, Master Toūi's influence was not limited to only his own time. Most later Korean Zen masters advocated Master Toūi's Zen spirit; some of these masters lived hundreds of years after Toūi. As an example, I will take Master Naong 懶翁, who lived in the last years of the Koryō Dynasty of Korea.

According to Naong's Zen Records¹: Naong 懶翁 (?-1376 A.D.)² was born in Yōnghae-bu 寧海府 and his secular surname was Ah. When he was twenty years old he saw a neighbor dying and asked an old man in the village,

¹Naong 懶翁, Naong's Zen Records (Naongjip) 懶翁集, ed. by Chong-uk Yi (Kwangwon-do, Korea: Wolchōng-sa 1940), pp. 10-11.

²He went to China and became the disciple of Master Chih K'ung and Master Ping-shan, and spread Koan Zen widely in Korea. In 1371 A.D. Koryō King Kongmin bestowed on him the rank of "Kuksa", the highest rank of priests in the Silla Dynasty.

"Where does a man go after death?" Nobody could answer this question. With deep feeling he went to Mt. Kongdōk in Sangju 尚州公德寺 (now Mungyōng) in the province of Kyōngsang-do and applied to become a monk under Zen Master Yōyōn¹ 了然 .

Master Yōyōn asked him, "Why do you want to be a monk?" He replied, "I wish to transcend the Triple world and save mankind. Please teach me how to do so." Then the master asked, "What kind of Thing has come here?" He answered: "Only that which can speak and hear comes here. I don't know how to do the ascetic practices. Please teach me the secret way of doing so." The Master said, "Neither do I know. Go to another Zen Master and ask him."

So Naong went to Hoeam Temple 檜岩寺² where he continued meditating day and night.

Later he went across to China, during the Yuan Dynasty. There he met Zen Master Chih-k'ung 指空³

¹His biography is unknown.

²It is located in Sunch'ang, in the province of Chōlla-do.

³As for his lineage, the Twenty-second Patriarch Monorhita had two disciples. One was Haklena (the twenty-third Patriarch); the other was Chwata-kuna 左陀驪那 . Haklena's lineage came down to Bodhidharma (the Twenty-eighth Patriarch in India). Chwata-kuna's lineage came down to Chih-K'ung, who was in the 108th generation from the First Patriarch Mahakasyapa in India. Master Chih-k'ung's biography and teaching are in the Chih-k'ung Ch'an-yao Lu 指空禪要錄 by Min-tzu 閔漬 . He came to Korea in 1326 A.D. and died in 1363 A.D.

(?-1363 A.D.) in Fa-Yuan Temple 法源寺. Master Chih-k'ung had just come from India. After exchanging some questions and answers they understood each other.

According to the "Outline of Korean Zen History,"¹ Naong, having been sanctioned, went to Ch'ing-hui Temple and looked for Zen Master P'ing-shan² who was just meditating in the shrine.

Naong paid homage to P'ing-shan, walking several steps eastward and westward before him.

"Where did you come from?" asked Master P'ing-shan.

"I have come from Fa-yuan Temple."

"Whom have you seen before?"

"I met Master Chih-k'ung who had come from India."

"What was Chih-k'ung doing?"

"He was using a Thousand Swords every day."

"Aside from a Thousand Swords of Chih-k'ung, bring me your One Sword."

Then Naong hit him with a seat-cushion.

¹Sang-no Kwon, "The Outline of Korean Zen History" in Paek Sōng-uk Paksa Kinyōm Pulgyohak Nonmunjip, ed. by Tongguk University, (Seoul: Tongguk University, 1956), p. 279.

²P'ing-shan was the 19th generation disciple of Master Lin-chi I-Hsuan, the founder of Lin-chi Sect.

Master P'ing-shan cried, "This thief is going to kill me," tumbling down on his seat of meditation.

Naong lifted him to his feet and said, "My sword can kill a man and can also bring one to life."

With that Master P'ing-shan burst out into a roar of laughter and led him to his room.¹

After keeping Naong for several months, P'ing-shan gave him the "Inka" and sanctioned him.

In this instance we can see how Master Naong used both the man-killing and life-giving swords freely. Such is an example of expressing Zen without words.

The Zen spirit of Master Toūi was transmitted through many dynasties in Korea. Below I will take some examples from the time of the Yi Dynasty 李氏朝鮮.²

Kwōn Sang-no's History of Korean Buddhism informs us that Master Pyōkkye Chōngsim 碧溪正心 dwelt in a cave in Murhan-ni, at the back of Mt. Hwangak, which was behind Mt. Kūmch'ōn-gun, in the province of Kyōngsang Namdo 慶尚南道. He was an enlightened master and practiced Zen in Kaji Temple, Mt. Hwangak. He made his living by cutting wood and selling it, and was attended by a woman believer, a nun.

¹Sang-no Kwon, "The Outline of Korean History", op. cit., p. 279.

²Sang-no Kwon, The History of Korean Buddhism, pp. 91-92.

One day Pyōksong Chiōm (1405-1520), another Zen monk, came to him and applied to serve him and learn from him. But Master Pyōkkye Chōngsim put off answering from day to day for three years. Tired of waiting, Pyōksong Chiōm left without any farewell address.

When Master Pyokkye Chōngsim returned from cutting wood in the mountain, the nun told him what had happened during his absence.

"Because you were so miserly in giving your Zen spirit to him, he left full of anger."

The Master said: "It is not that I didn't tell him, but he didn't listen to me. Everyday I used to see him face to face, work with him, eat with him, speak with him. Through my voice and sound and motions I was telling him sincerely everything every moment of the day. I don't know what else I can give him."

So saying, he went out immediately to overtake Pyōksong Chiōm. He climbed a high rock and saw Pyōksong Chiōm going away. He cried, "Chiōm, Chiōm." Pyōksong Chiōm turned his head; then Pyōkkye Chōngsim raised his fist and said, "I am giving you Zen."

At that very moment, when he saw the fist and heard the crying, Pyōksong Chiōm was all at once enlightened. He came back again and thanked the master for the great grace of giving him Zen. After that he

promoted greatly the Zen spirit and gave a new light to the Zen Buddhism of the Yi Dynasty.

In the last years of the Yi Dynasty there was another Zen Master named Kyōnghō 鏡虛 (?-1912) who was a remote follower of Tōi and amazingly deep in Zen spirit.

According to Kyōnghō's Zen Records,¹ when Kyōnghō was in Pusōk Temple in Sōsan-gun, in the province of Ch'ungch'ōng Namdo, there was a Buddhist layman named Pak Tae-pyōng and he was a Zen practitioner.

One day he visited the Pusōk Temple to meet the master.

He asked the Master Kyōnghō, "Why did Bodhidharma come to China from India?"

Then Master Kyōnghō hit him with his staff.

The layman said, "You may hit me as you please, but you have missed giving me the right answer by one hundred and eighty thousand ni (miles)."

The Master said: "I will ask in turn. What is the reason why Bodhidharma came to China from India?"

Now the layman hit the master with the staff.

The Master said: "A stupid dog runs after the

¹Kyōnghō. Kyōnghō's Zen Records (Kyōnghōjip: (Seoul: Zen Center of Korean Buddhism, 1943), p. 52.

stone, but a fierce lion bites the man."

Understanding these words, the layman said, "I am much obliged to you for your teaching."

The Master smiled and went into his room.

Another Zen story from the same source¹ tells of Master Kyōnghō going over the ridge of Majōng 馬亭嶺 to Haein Monastery, when he met a group of young wood cutters taking a rest beside the mountain path.

The Master addressed them: "Do you know me?"

They replied in chorus: "We don't know."

"You don't know. Now do you see me?"

"Yes, we do."

"You said you don't know me, then how can you see me?" asked the master. Giving one of them his staff, he said, "If one of you will hit me with this staff, I will give him a lot of money for some candy. Will you?"

All of the boys laughed but no one dared. Then a clever boy among them came out and said, "Do you mean it?"

"Of course I mean it. Go ahead."

The boy hit him.

The Master said, "Once more."

The boy did so.

¹Ibid.

"You dare not hit me? If you dare hit me, then you can hit all the Buddhas, all successive Patriarchs and all Masters under the sun."

The boy said, "I hit you, and you say I didn't hit you. You are making a pretext so as not to give me the money that you promised."

The master took a lot of pennies out of his pocket and gave them to him, saying, "All people are ignorant like this boy. They don't know their True Self. I am alone in knowing it. To whom can I teach it? I would rather keep my mouth shut and pass the rest of my life in a forest."

In our study of the above stories, we can see that the teachings of Masters Naong, Pyōkkye and Kyōnghō all continued and developed the transmission of their remote grand Master Tōi's Zen spirit and way. The way of Master Tōi was to directly point to the True Self, "without thought, without cultivation" 無念無修 . By striking P'ing-shan with a cushion when asked to show his One Sword, Master Naong also exemplified Tōi's way. Master Pyōkkye too, showed this directness when he raised his fist to Pyōksong Chiōm crying, "I am giving you Zen." Likewise, Master Kyōnghō directly disclosed his True Self when he allowed the boy to strike him, yet with every hit denied that his True Self had in reality been struck.

CHAPTER III

TONGNISAN SCHOOL

Master Hyech'ōl (791-861 A.D.) is the founder of the Tongnisan School. Traveling to China in 814 A.D., Hyech'ōl studied Zen and received the "Inka" from Master Si-t'ang, who was also the teacher of the Korean Masters Toūi and Hongjik. In 839 A.D., Master Hyech'ōl returned to Korea and founded his school on Mt. Tongni, Chōlla Namdo, from which the school took its name. On Mt. Tongni, Hyech'ōl built Tae'an Temple, which is still in existence.

Among his immediate disciples, Yōtaesa and Tosōn are most famous. Because of his aid to King Wang Kōn, the founder of the Koryō Dynasty in 918, Tosōn was made "National Teacher" and Buddhism was adopted as the national religion, with 3,800 temples being built. Tongjin Kyōngbo, a grand-disciple of Hyech'ōl, was also influential with the Koryō Kings around 923 A.D. The period of Tosōn and Tongjin Kyōngbo marks the height of the Tongnisan School, though its influence was felt in later eras. During the Yi Dynasty, for example, Masters Hamhō Tuk'ong (1376-1433 A.D.) and Sōsan (1543-1610 A.D.), in their writings showed the spirit of the Tongnisan School's founder, Master Hyech'ōl.

The school continued as a separate school until 1356 A.D., when it was merged with the other eight Zen schools then existing into one school, the Choyge.

A. Translation from the Chodangjip

[Life of Master Hyech'ōl¹]

Master Tongni² 桐裡 of the Eastern Land succeeded Si-t'ang. His holy name was Hyech'ōl, the posthumous title was Chōgin³ 寂忍 and the name of his pagoda, which was erected after his death, was "Bright Halo Purity" 照輪清淨塔.⁴

B. Commentary

Master Hyech'ōl's⁵ surname was Pak and he was born in Kyōngju in 791 A.D. He left home at the age of fifteen, and studied the Avatamsaka doctrine in Pusōk Temple 浮石寺 Yōngju, in the province of Kyōngsang-do. At the age of

¹His name is recorded in the Ching-te Ch'uan-teng Lu, Vol. IX (T.D., No. 2076, p. 205). However, it is incorrect, as only one character "Hye" 慧 is given, rather than "Hyech'ōl" 慧徹.

²Master Hyech'ōl was also called Tongni because he stayed at Mt. Tongni, where his temple was located.

³Quiet and patient: 寂忍.

⁴K., Choryun Ch'ōng'jōngt'ap.

⁵His biography is also in the inscription on his monument located at Tæan Temple in Mt. Tongni in the province of Chōlla Namdo.

twenty, he received the Bhiksu Precepts.¹

Also a disciple of Master Si-t'ang of China, Hyech'ōl received the "Inka" from him, as did Toūi and Hongjik. He returned to Silla in 839 A.D., eighteen years later than Hongjik and fourteen years after Toūi. Taeon Temple, Mt. Tongni, Koksōng-gun, in the province of Chōlla Namdo was his headquarters. He died in 861 A.D.

Under him were hundreds of disciples, including Tosōn 道詵 (?-898 A.D.) and Master Yōtaesa 如大師.²

According to the inscription on Hyech'ōl's monument,³ in 814 A.D., in the sixth year of the reign of King Hōndōk of Silla, when he was going to China, he unfortunately shared the ship with criminal convicts. When his ship reached Ch'isōng-gun 取城郡,⁴ he was mistaken for a convict. At a trial he was interrogated, but kept silent. Staying in the prison with other convicts, he

¹The Korean teacher who gave him the Bhiksu Precepts is unknown.

²His biography is unknown.

³His monument is located in Taeon Temple, Mt. Tongni, Koksōng-gun, in the province of Chōlla Namdo.

⁴Location unknown.

kept on meditating with his mind perfectly calm and collected. He looked upon the prison as a shrine and did not express any complaint.

At last the county headman punished thirty criminals by decapitating them one by one. Hyech'ōl's turn for decapitation was coming minute by minute, but he did not fear in the least; instead he faced the execution in a state of steadiness. Seeing this behavior, the county headman judged that this man could never be a criminal, but must be a holy monk. So he acquitted him and Hyech'ōl was saved from death.

From this anecdote, we can see how little Hyech'ōl cared about life or death. Had he feared death, even in the least degree, he could not have kept his mind calm. One who transcends life and death thinks of them as if he had come in through a front door (life) and was to go out through a back door (death). In Zen, there is no fear of life or death. For the enlightened man, life or death is not a matter of indifference. Where he is called upon to live, he lives wholeheartedly and fearlessly. Where death is inevitable, he dies wholeheartedly and fearlessly. In this sense he is beyond life and death.

This spirit is exemplified in the actions of Simha-bhikṣu, who, just before he was executed by the King of Kashmir in 259 A.D., was asked:

"Did you believe the emptiness of the five skandhas?"

"I have already realized the emptiness of the five skandhas."

"Then are you beyond life and death?"

"Yes, I am."

"If you, as you said, are beyond life and death, will you offer me your head?"

"Since my body is not my own, I will not grudge my head."¹

Simha-bhikṣu, and Hyech'ōl, having grasped a reality which is deeper than life or death, could confront either with equanimity. In such a state of mind, one can cross his legs and die, looking like a living man sitting in meditation. Or he can even die like Zen Master Teng Yin-feng 登隱山峯, a disciple of Ma-tsu, who went to Mt. Wutai and died standing on his hands in front of Diamond Cave 金剛窟. When people came to bury him, his body remained standing so firmly that they were unable to move it.²

Hyech'ōl himself was said to have looked like a stone statue when he meditated in prison. And when he was about to die, he looked as though death were no different from life. Legend says that though he was not killed he did not show any delight in being saved.

¹Kimura 木村 恭賢, The Treatise of Hinayana Buddhist Thought 小乘佛教思想論 (Tokyo: Meiji Sho-in, 1935), p. 14. Quoting the History of Ceylon (dipavamsa), p. 54.

²This story is summarized from Chodangjip, Vol. 15, p. 10.

Hyech'ōl's behavior showed that he had attained the state of mind which transcends life and death.

In the above story of Hyech'ōl, we learn that after experiencing his narrow escape from death with the convicts, he searched for Master Si-t'ang in T'ang (China).

According to Kwōn Sang-no, Hyech'ōl said:

I have come to see you, after suffering many hardships and asking here and there for the way. I want to study Zen under you, and it will be a great satisfaction for me if I could propagate your Zen spirit in my country after finishing my study. Please allow me to do so, my master.¹

Master Si-t'ang accepted him as a disciple, seeing his firm resolution, and, after some years of study, gave him the "Inka". Before long Master Si-t'ang passed away from this world, so Hyech'ōl made his way to Fou-sha Temple 浮沙寺, Si-chou 西州.²

There he read all the collections of Buddhist scriptures and in 839 A.D., the first year in the reign of King Sinmu of Silla, he returned to Silla and established Tae-an Temple in Mt. Tongni,³ Koksōng-gun, in the province

¹Sang-no Kwon "Outline of Korean Zen History", Nonmunjip, p. 269.

²K., Sōju. It was located in Lung-yu Tao. This name is not used today.

³Another name for Mt. Tongni is Mt. Pongdu 鳳頭山.

of Chōlla Namdo.

While he was spreading his Zen spirit among the people, King Munsōng sent him a message of encouragement. There were some exchanges of messages between Hyech'ōl and the King, and he worked for a time at the royal court in charge of urgent national affairs, and the King was greatly pleased by his service.

Hyech'ōl died in 861 A.D., the first year of the reign of King Kyōngmun, at the age of seventy-seven. He had hundreds of disciples under him, including Master Tosōn 道詵, and Master Yōtaesa 如大師.

He did not write any books about his Zen, but some records about his preaching were written in the inscription on his monument. A teaching addressed to Tosōn (?-898) is engraved in this inscription as follows:

Originally there is no such thing as Buddha. But by necessity, a name was given to it. And originally there is no such thing as "Mind". To attain enlightenment is to realize "One Thing" - 物 (一物 : means ultimate Truth). For the sake of illustration it is said that "One Thing" is empty, but it is not really empty. Mind of no-mind is true mind; wisdom of no wisdom is true wisdom.¹

From this inscription we can get a glimpse of Hyech'ōl's Zen spirit. It can be said without exaggeration

¹This inscription is found on Tosōn's monument, located on Tae'an Temple, Koksōng-gun, in the province of Chōlla Namdo.

that the content of this inscription alone gives the basic conception of his teaching.

This teaching is similar to that of the Chinese Master Nan-ch'uan P'u-yuan 南泉普願 (748-835 A.D.):

A monk asked Nan-ch'uan P'u-yuan: "Is there a teaching no master ever preached before?" Nan-ch'uan replied, "Yes, there is." "What is it?" asked the monk. Nan-ch'uan replied, "It is not mind, it is not Buddha, it is not things."¹

The meaning of these teachings reminds us of the "nothingness" of Hui-neng's verse:

The very essence of Bodhi has no tree
Nor is there a bright mirrored stand.
In reality there is "nothing".
So what is there to attract any dust?²

In the preceding quotations, Hyech'ōl, Nan-ch'uan and Hui-neng were all pointing to the same meaning. Hyech'ōl said, "One thing is empty, but it is not really empty." Nan-ch'uan said, "It is not mind, it is not Buddha, it is not things," and Hui-neng said, "In reality there is 'nothing'!" Although Nan-ch'uan and Hui-neng used different words, they also, like Hyech'ōl, were talking about emptiness. The emptiness that each of these men indicated is not mere emptiness, for as Hyech'ōl said, "It is not really empty." It is like the emptiness of a mirror,

¹The Chodangjip, Vol. XIV, p. 5.

²The Chodangjip, Vol. II, p. 18, and see p. 38.

which contains the forms of all objects standing before its surface. We say that the pure, bright surface of the mirror is empty, but it is not really empty because of the reflected objects which are involved in it. Such emptiness is Pure Emptiness or True Emptiness. Thus such an emptiness is neither nihilistic, nor is it the complete negation of all things. It is an emptiness like that of the "Heart Sutra," which says, "Emptiness is form, form is emptiness." Everything is involved in, and nothing can be separated from this emptiness. Through such teachings, these three masters attempted to help man realize the True Emptiness or the True Mind, which is the ultimate reality.

Master Hamhō Tūktōng 涵虛得通 (1376-1433 A.D.)¹ who lived during the Yi Dynasty, was very conversant with both Zen Buddhism and Confucianism. He said in his Commentary on the Diamond Sutra:

There is "One Thing" — 物 that has neither name nor form, that penetrates both the past and the future, that lies hidden in one single particle of dust but embraces six directions of the universe (East, West, South, North, up and down). It contains all mysteries, it adapts to all circumstances. It presides over three entities (Heaven, Earth, humanity), and prevails over all beings. It is wider and higher than anything else. Whether we look upwards or downwards,

¹Hamhō Tūktōng authored several books such as the Commentary on the Perfect Enlightenment Sutra, 3 Vols. 圓覺經疏三卷; Hyōnjōngnon; and the Hamhō's Zen Records.

it appears clear. However we hear it,
it sounds clear. What a mysterious and
divine thing it is! It began earlier
than the universe; it has no beginning.
It ends later than the universe; it has
no ending. What a profound thing it is!
What shall I call this: emptiness or
form? I don't know how to name it. It
is indescribable.¹

Master Hamhō Tūktōng passed away in 1433 A.D.

The poem composed by him at the hour of his death is as
follows:

It is clear like emptiness and quietness,
Originally there is "One Thing" 一物.
Spiritual light brightens all over,
It is full in all directions.
No more body and mind,
No more birth and death.
In coming and going, living and dying,
There are no obstacles for me.²

These quotes from Hamhō are somewhat Taoistic,
but similarities can be seen between his death poem and
the following verse of Master Nansen 南泉普願 (748-
834) which says:

The Great Tao has no form,
Truth has no counterpart.
It is motionless like the Void,
It does not wander through
Life and death.³

¹Hamhō Tūktōng, Commentary on the Diamond Sutra, ed.
by Han-am Pang (Kangwōn-do, Korea: Sangwōnsa, 1937), p. 17.

²Yōndam Yuil, Hwaōmgyōng Sagi (Note on Hua-yen Sutra),
(Hamyang, Korea: Yongchusa 龍湫寺 789), p. 51.

³Chishū Nansen Fugan Zenji-goroku, (Dainihon Zokuzōkyō,
Part II, case 23, p. 149). This translation based upon
Heinrich Dumoulin, S. J., The Development of Chinese Zen
After the Sixth Patriarch, op. cit., p. 11.

Hamhō's "One Thing," which is "clear like emptiness and quietness," is like the Nansen's "Great Tao," which "has no form," and is "motionless like the Void." And when Hamhō says that "In coming and going, living and dying, there are no obstacles for me," this expression is similar to Nansen's description of the Void, which "does not wander through life and death."

In the above quotation from The Commentary on the Diamond Sutra, Hamhō said of the "One Thing," "Whether we look upwards or downwards, it appears clear." But if it is so clear, then why don't we see it? Because we are not awakened yet, we are like blind men compared to the enlightened man. On this matter, Buddha said:

"You, Bodhisattva, if you want to get to the Pure Land, purify your own mind. If your own mind is purified, then the world is purified." Sariputa asked the Buddha, "If the mind is purified, then the world is purified. Sakymuni Buddha stays now in this world. You, Sakyamuni Buddha, your mind is purified. Why then is the world we are living in not purified?" Buddha answered, "The sun and moon lighten the entire world, but the blind man does not see it. Is this the sin of the sun and moon? Is this the blind man's sin?"¹

We are like the blind man in this quote, who is unable to see the light of the sun and moon. Even though the "One Thing" is always clear and bright like the sun,

¹Kato Totsu, Hekiganroku daikoza 碧巖錄大講座 (Tokyo: Heibonsha 平尾社, 1930), Vol. X, p. 344. Quoting Vimalakirti Sutra 維摩詰經 .

because we are not awakened, we do not see it. Zen seeks to awaken people, to change blind eyes to open eyes in order to see the "One Thing" which is ultimate truth.

Again in the Text for Zen Buddhists, authored by Master Sōsan in the middle of the Chōryū Dynasty, we find:

Here is "One Thing" 一物 that is originally bright and divine, that neither appeared nor disappeared, and about which one can know neither its name nor its shape. Buddha's and Patriarch's coming into the world is like ruffling the water on a windless day... But Truth has many meanings, and man has many tendencies, so many means must be used... By necessity, "One Thing" is named "Mind" or "Buddha" or "Bodhi", but you should not be name-bound and pretend to know (the Truth). All is right as it is. It goes away as soon as you begin to think.¹

Thus, Sōsan also said that even though "One Thing" is named "Buddha" or "Mind" we should not be name-bound. This idea of not being name-bound is further expressed in the following words of Zen Master Nansen 南泉普願 (748-834):

Addressing the Assembly, Nansen said: "During the Kalpa of Emptiness there are no names. As soon as Buddha comes into the world there are names. Therefore (men) seize upon the external characteristics (of things)... While names exist, everything depends upon

¹Sōsan, Text for Zen Buddhists 禪家龜鑑 (Seoul: Sōnhak-won, 1962), p. 12.

rational thinking. Therefore the old man of Kōzei (Basō) said: "This is not mind. This is not Buddha."¹

Fundamentally, the One Thing is beyonds words, and as Nansen 南泉 says above, "While names exist everything depends on rational thinking." Sōsan said concerning "One Thing", that in order to break free from our name-bound state and to perceive the ultimate truth, we cannot "pretend to know the Truth," just by knowing the names "Mind" and "Buddha." We cannot be free until we realize, as Basō 馬祖 said about names above, that "This is not Mind, this is not Buddha."

The term "One Thing" was originally used by Hyech'ōl, and as we can see from the quotations in this chapter, his teaching greatly influenced the later Zen Masters Sōsan and Hamhō.

Master Hyech'ōl's disciple Tosōn² was also a brilliant Zen Master. His secular surname was Chōe and his sacred name was Okyong Ja. Well conversant in Zen

¹Chishū Nansen Fugan Zenji-goroku, (Dainihon Zokuzōkyō, Part II, case 23, p. 149). This translation based upon Heinrich Dumoulin, S. J., The Development of Chinese Zen After the Sixth Patriarch, op. cit., p. 11.

²Tosōn's biography and teachings are found in Nukariya Kaiten's Chōsen Zenkyoshi 朝鮮禪教史 pp. 119-122. His biography is also written in Chosōn Kumsōk Chongnam 朝鮮金石總覽 ed. by Chosen Sotokufu (Seoul: Chosen Sotokufu, 1914), Vol. I, pp. 566-561.

and other teachings, he helped King Wang ~~Kōn~~ 王建, the founder of the Koryō Dynasty, in founding the new Kingdom of Koryō (918 A.D.). After the founding of the kingdom, the King ordered 3,800 temples built all over the country and made Buddhism the National Religion.

CHAPTER IV

SILSANGSAN SCHOOL

The Silsangsang School was founded by Master Hongjik¹ with the building of Silsang Temple in 828 A.D., in the third year of the reign of King Hūngdōk of Silla (42nd King of Silla). Silsang Temple, still in existence today, is located on Mt. Chiri, Samnae-myōn, Namwōn-gun in the province of Chōlla Pukdo.

Hongjik went to China in the T'ang Dynasty during Hōndōk's reign (41st King of Silla) and, with Toūi, he studied Zen from Master Si-t'ang. He received the "Inka" from Si-t'ang, then returned to Korea to Mt. Chiri in 825 A.D.

Master Hongjik was greatly respected by King Hūngdōk, who encouraged the practice of Zen at Silsang Temple on Mt. Chiri, where more than 1,000 disciples studied under Hongjik. The most outstanding disciple among these was Suchōl (?-893 A.D.).

In later times there were many other Zen masters

¹Master Hongjik's dates of birth and death are unknown.

who were remote descendants of Master Hongjik, the founder of the Silsangsang School. The most outstanding among these are Muhak (?-1405 A.D.), Pyōksong (1465-1520), Puyong Yōngwan (1485-1571 A.D.) and Yōngsan (?-1883 A.D.).¹

The Silsangsang school was one of the nine Zen schools unified into the Chogye School in 1356 A.D. by Master Taego.

A. Translation from the Chodangjip

[Life of Master Hongjik]²

Master Silsang 實相³ of the Eastern Land was Si-t'ang's disciple. His holy name was Hongjik, his posthumous title Chūnggak 證覺 and the name of his pagoda was "Crystallized Quiet" 凝寂塔.

B. Commentary

Silsang Temple is now situated on Mt. Chiri,

¹See commentary, pp. 124-132.

²Hongjik's name is found in the Ching-te Ch'uan-teng Lu, Vol. XI (T.D., No. 2076, p. 286). In the same source King Hōndōk of Silla is recorded as Hongjik's disciple. However there is no full biography concerning Master Hongjik here.

³One of Hongjik's names, because he stayed at Silsang Temple.

Namwon, in the province of Chōlla Pukdo. This temple was first established by Master Hongjik in 828 A.D., the third year of the reign of King Hūngdōk of Silla.

During King Hondok's reign, Master Hongjik went to China, in the T'ang Dynasty. He studied Zen together with Toui under Master Si-t'ang. After receiving the "Inka" from Si-t'ang, Master Hongjik returned to Silla.

The monument of Hongjik has not survived; only a slab remains. Therefore, we cannot know about him in detail. However, we can get a glimpse of him in a record written by Ch'oe Ko-un. Ch'oe Ko-un, the most remarkable scholar of the Silla Dynasty, mentions Hongjik in the monument inscription dedicated to Master Tohōn of the Huiyangsan School as follows:

There was a Zen Master named Hongjik. He studied Zen under Si-t'ang, attained the enlightenment, returned home and stayed in Mt. Namak.¹

As for his Zen spirit, he practiced it without any trace of practice, attained enlightenment without any trace of enlightenment. In his daily meditation he was always quiet like a "great mountain",² and when he moved it was as

¹Now Mt. Chiri in the province of Chōlla Namdo.

²"great mountain". This term is also recorded in Nukariya Kaiten, Chōsen Zenkyoshi, p. 89.

if all the echoes of mountains were roaring.¹

Master Hongjik's state of mind is that of the purified mind, which is like a clear lake with a goose flying overhead. The lake has no thought to catch the image of the goose, and the goose has no thought to cast the shadow. Both have "no mind," but the image is clearly there. Master Hongjik's "practice without any trace of practice," and "enlightenment without any trace of enlightenment" is like this, with no mind and no intention oriented to a specific goal.

There were other Zen Masters of Korea who succeeded to his spirit, influenced by his teaching. There was a monk named Master Mūhak 無學 (?-1405 A.D.) who lived in the first years of the Yi Dynasty (1392).² He was born in Samgi-gun. His secular surname was Pak, his holy name was Chach'o 自超, and his bhiksu name was Mūhak.

He left home at the age of eighteen, was initiated as a monk by Master Soji 小止³ and later studied

¹Sang-no Kwōn. "Outline of Korean Zen History", in Paek Sōnguk Paksa Kinyōm Pulgyohak Nomunjip, op. cit., p. 273. This monument is located in Pongam Temple, Mungyōng-gun, a province of Kyōngsang Pukdo.

²Mūhak's biography is found in Chosōn Kūmsōk Chongnam, Vol. II, p. 1181.

³Soji was the chief disciple of Master Haegam Kuksa 慧鑑國師 of Songgwang Temple, in the province of Chōlla Namdo. Soji's biography is unknown.

scriptures under Master Hyemyōng 慧明.¹ While studying Zen under Master Naong (?-1376) he abruptly attained enlightenment. He was once a royal court monk in the years of the reign of King T'aejo 李太祖,² the first king of Yi Dynasty. He was quiet in words and noble in manner.

Once when Muhak was meditating in Pudo Temple, a fire broke out in the temple. Over fifty people ran about in confusion and there was much ado. Master Muhak never moved from his quiet meditation, sitting like a "great mountain". Master Hongjik had the same characteristic manner. Muhak too, was always like a quiet "great Mountain" in his daily life.

According to Chosōn Kūmsōk Ch'ongnam, one day Master Naong told Muhak:

Chao-chou (778-897 A.D.) was once looking at a stone bridge accompanied by a wandering monk. When the former asked the latter who made that bridge, the latter answered "Mr. Li Ying 李鷹 (K., Yi Ung) made it", which was true. Chao-chou asked from where (Mr. Li Ying) began to build the bridge, but this time the wandering monk could not answer. Now, if I ask you the same question, what will you answer?

Muhak, without saying any word, only held the stepping stone with his two hands.

¹Hyemyōng's biography is unknown.

²King T'aejo became the first King of the Yi Dynasty in 1392 A.D. His other name was Yi Sōng-Kye 李成桂.

(Naong said) Today I came to know that you have not been cheated by the Koan. Saying this, greatly impressed, Naong gave the "Inka" to him.¹

Muhak gave Naong a very good Zen answer: tongueless or wordless communication directly from mind to mind. But another question to Muhak might be this: "You answered the question very well; but if you had no hands, then how would you answer?"

Having attained enlightenment, Muhak stayed in Mt. Sōlbong, Anb'yōn-gun, in the province of Hamgyōng-do. He dwelt in a cave, wearing grass-cloth and hemp-rug. Eating pinebark and pine-blossom, the roots of grass and fruits of trees, he practiced Zen for nine years.

This great Zen Master converted King T'aejo, who subsequently made Master Muhak the royal court monk. He helped the King in founding the new kingdom, and a very close and intimate friendship arose between them.

In the Sōgwang Temple History 釋王寺記 the following story is chronicled:

One day (the King and Muhak) met alone in Hoeryong Temple 回龍寺 in the province of Kyōnggi-do. The King dismissed all his close attendants and said to the Master, "Due to my preoccupations with national affairs, I cannot even laugh as I please. Today we shall have a private conversation

¹Chosōn Kūmsōk Ch'onnam, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 1281.

where we can dispense with all formalities and talk to each other freely."

Muhak said: "You had better first break the ice by joking, Your Highness."

The King said: "You look like a hungry pig seeking after dung."

Muhak bowed to him and said: "Your Highness looks like Sakyamuni on the Vulture Peak."¹

The King was not satisfied with such an answer and said, "While I likened you to a pig, why do you liken me to Buddha?"

Muhak replied: "It is because a pig can see only a pig and Buddha can see only Buddha."²

Bursting into a laugh, the King praised him: "You are smarter than I am by one degree. But your saying is a kind of Zen teaching and not a joke."²

According to the Chosōn Kūmsōk Chongnam:

In the fifth year of King Taejo's reign, when the Master Muhak stayed in Chinbul Monastery, Mt. Diamond, he once became ill. As his attendant served him with medicine, he refused it, saying, "An old man of eighty needs no medicine."³

¹ 靈鷲山. S., Grdhrakuta, near Rajagrha. It was named because of its shape and for the vultures who fed there on the dead; a place frequented by Gautama Buddha.

²Sōsan, "The Historical Records of Sōgwang Temple" (unpublished manuscript, Sōgwang Temple, n.d.), p. 9.

³Chosōn Kūmsōk Ch'ongnam, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 1282. Also see Nukariya Kaiten Chosen Zenkyoshi, op. cit., p. 306.

Again in the Chosŏn Kŭmsŏk Ch'ongnam:

When Muhak was staying in Kŭmjang Monastery a monk asked him, "When the four elements, earth, water, fire and air, which constitute the physical body separate from each other, where does the man go?"

Muhak answered: "The six senses are originally empty. When the four elements separate from each other, it is like a dream. There is no such thing as coming and going."

The monk asked: "Is there anything that is not sick in you, though you are sick now?"

Then, without a word, the Master pointed to a monk beside him. The monk asked again: "The Body is composed of these four elements, which are perishable. What is True Body?"

Spreading his arms, Muhak said: "This is Oneness." Immediately after that he passed away.¹

During the reign of King Sŏngjong in the era of the Yi Dynasty, there was a Zen master named Pyŏksong

碧松 (1465-1520).² He followed Master Hongjik's Zen way. Pyŏksong's secular surname was Song; his holy name was Chiŏm 智嚴 and his bhiksu name was Yaro 野老. Pyŏksong was the name of his Zen practice hall.

His features were bony and noble. He was full of

¹Ibid., p. 1283.

²Pyŏksong's biography and poems are in Nukariya Kaiten, Chŏsen Zenkyoshi, pp. 355-57.

bravery and valor, and used both pen and sword. He first distinguished himself in war and under Ho-Jong 許琮, commander-in-chief. After meritorious military service, he made this statement:

What a pity it is that a man, once born into this world, could not find his own original mind, but only busied himself with combat after combat. I am honored by military merit, but what an ephemeral fame it is!¹

Immediately Pyōksong went to Mt. Kyeryong in the province of Ch'ungch'ōng Namdo and had his hair cut. His Zen way was transmitted to him by Master Pyōkke Chōngsim 碧溪正心.² Whenever Master Pyōksong sat in meditation, he would not move at all, and remained quiet without eating or sleeping for a long time. It is clear that he followed the Zen way of Master Hongjik, whose daily meditation was always like a "great mountain". After he attained enlightenment, he wandered about five years, sometimes to Mt. Diamond, Kangwōn-do, sometimes to Mt. Nūngga 楞伽山, Hwasun-gun in the province of Chōlla Namdo. In his last years he hid on Mt. Chiri and practiced

¹Ma-myōng Chōng 鄭馬鳴 Chosōn Pulgyosa 朝鮮佛教史 (Korean Buddhist History) (Seoul: T'ongmungwan, 1965) p. 94; and Nukariya's Chōsen Zenkyoshi, p. 335.

²Pyōkkye Chōngsim's biography is in Sang-no Kwōn's History of Korean Buddhism, but the dates of his birth and death are unknown.

Zen with the door of his cell closed, wearing only a rug for all seasons, eating only once a day.

One day in 1534 A.D. Master Pyōksong came across a chapter on Upaya (expediency) in the Lotus Sutra 妙法蓮華經,³ while he was pursuing such ascetic practices in Suguk Hermitage. Heaving a sigh, he said:

Being ignorant, man neglects his own light and continues transmigrating. So Buddha, taking compassion on man, tried to save man by Upaya. But it is only Upaya, not real truth. The real truth is something formless and empty, not expressible in words. If you believe in the real form of Buddha, then you must find your own mind. Only after you attain such enlightenment can you open the secret-treasure and see the Buddha Land. Today I will show you the Nirvana-form. You should not seek outside but you should grope inside for your original mind.¹

After speaking thus, Master Pyōksong told his attendant to bring a cup of tea. After drinking it, he closed his door and sat quietly in meditation. He was very quiet for a long time behind the door. His disciples found him dead, seated with his legs crossed.

In the last words of Pyōksong quoted above, he advises his students not to be misled by Upaya, the scriptural teachings of Buddha, for "the real truth is something formless and empty, not expressible in words." He tells

¹Sōsan, Ch'ōnghōjip 清虛集. (Yōngbyōn, Korea: Pchyōn-sa, 1711), Vol. III, p. 31.

them to seek for their original mind by looking inside themselves, rather than in scriptures.

From another point of view, Upaya (scriptural teaching) might be compared to a raft which helps us to the other shore, or to a map which helps us reach our destination. After we have arrived, the raft and the map are not needed. In the same way, before we attain enlightenment, Upaya may help us; but after attaining enlightenment, we no longer need it.

Master Pyōksong had many disciples under him. Among them Master Puyong Yōnggwan 芙蓉靈觀 (1485-1571 A.D.)¹ was the most remarkable. He succeeded to Master Pyōksong's Zen.

Some important information about Master Pyōksong's teacher, Master Pyōkkye Chōngsim follows. Pyōkkye Chōngsim's lineage is not clear because there are two sources:

1. The Chongbong Yōngdanggi 鍾峰影堂記 is the biography of Chongbong 鍾峰² written by P'yōnyang Ōngi 鞭羊彦機. (1581-1644 A.D.) and states:

¹Puyong Yōnggwan's biography is found in Sōsan's Ch'ōnghōjip, Vol. III, pp. 34-37, and in Chosōn Pulgyo T'ongsa, Vol. I, p. 459.

²Chongbong was another name for Master Samyōng Yujōng (1543-1610 A.D.). He was Master Sōsan's disciple.

Master T'aego's disciple was Hwanam Honsu¹ (1320-1392 A.D.). Hwanam's disciple was Kwigok Kagan.² Kwigok's disciple was Pyōkkye Chōngsim.³

2. The Preface of the Hōbyōktang Chip (book of poems) written by No Mong-Yu in 1674 A.D., claims that Pyōkkye Chōngsim was a disciple of Hwanam Honsu; and that the latter was a disciple of Master T'aego.⁴

It is my judgment that record "1" might be more correct than "2". The writer of "1", Master P'yōnyang Ōngi, was an accomplished Zenist and writer. He knew his material well. In comparison, the writer of "2" was not a Buddhist, which leads one to question whether he was as familiar with Buddhist history as the writer of "1".

In the last years of the Yi Dynasty, there was a famous monk named Master Yōngsan 影山 (?-1883)⁵ who

¹Hwanam's biography is found in Chosōn Kūmōk Chongnam, Vol. II, pp. 720-22.

²Kwigok Kagan's biography is included in the inscription on that particular monument at Songgwang Temple which is concerned with the temple's history. This temple is located in the province of Chōlla Namdo.

³Sang-no Kwōn, "Outline of Korean Zen History", Nonmunjip, p. 286.

⁴Ibid., p. 287.

⁵His biography is found in Chosōn Pulgyo T'ongsa, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 602.

also followed Master Hongjik's way. He stayed in Sōnun Temple 禪雲寺, Mujang, in the province of Chōlla Pukdo. He was quiet in his words, noble in his manner, and at the same time very generous in his behavior. He would wander about temples with a rug and a bowl, and would sit for meditation on rocks under pine trees when he came across them. Whenever he sat on rocks, he did not move his body all day. Sometimes birds gathered on his head because he sat like a wooden statue. It is said that he sat like a "great mountain" as did Master Hongjik. He liked almsgiving (Dana) very much. He would often give away his rug whenever he met a beggar. Therefore, he was very popular among beggars; in villages he would gather them together, providing them with food. He was sometimes called "captain of beggars." This kind of activity pleased him very much. Meanwhile, he liked quietness. He practiced meditation the whole night. As it was, he liked both quietness and activity. He was optimistic and cheerful in his character.

He would often recite a carefree poem as follows:

Heaven and earth, all is peaceful spring.
 Nothing to do in all directions.
 Who, other than myself,
 Will comprehend this?

I boil rice in the morning with mountain-fog.
I use the moon as a lamp at night,
No one else but me does such things.¹

天下太平春，四方無一事，非我而誰。
山霞朝作飯，蘿月夜為燈，指我而言。

As he was dying, he composed a death-bed poem:

Shadow is the shadow of Yōngsan 影山 .²
Mountain is the mountain of Yōngsan.
Where mountains and shadow are not different,
There stands Yōngsan all alone.³

影 是 影 山 影，
山 是 影 山 山。
山 影 無 二 處，
都 虛 是 影 山。

His portraiture with his handwriting was kept in Kuam Temple, Sunch'ang-gun, in the province of Chōlla Pukdo. Recently the temple was destroyed by fire so that now, unfortunately, we cannot see his image.

Master Yōngsan is mentioned here since he followed Master Hongjik's Zen way and it is said that he resembled

¹Nūng-hwa Yi, Chosōn Pulgye T'ongsa, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 602.

²影山. Yōngsan. "Yōng" means shadow; "San" means mountain. Master Yōngsan recited his name, Shadow of Mountain, in this Zen poem.

³Ibid.

Master Hongjik very much in his Zen practice. When he sat cross-legged in meditation, he continued to sit for several days without eating or sleeping, as did Hongjik.

Returning specifically to the subject of Master Hongjik, Kim P'o-gwang 金 色 光 writes:

Master Hongjik was respected by King and Prince as well as by the general public. Mt. Silsang was designated by King Hūngdok as a center of Zen practice and more than a thousand disciples practiced Zen under Master Hongjik.

Though he was later than Master Tōi in entering (China in the) T'ang (Dynasty) and returning to Silla, he was the first among the nine Zen Schools of Korea in establishing a Zen monastery and propagating Zen.¹

The most distinguished among Hongjik's thousand disciples was Master Such'ōl 秀 徹 (?-893 A.D.), whose monument remains in Simwon Temple, in the province of Chōlla Pukdo. We can barely read the full inscription because it is almost completely worn out. According to the inscription Master Such'ōl lost his parents in his boyhood. He left home at the age of fifteen and was initiated as a monk by Vinaya Master Yōnhō 緣 虛.²

¹Nukariya Kaiten, Chōsen Zenkyoshi, pp. 89-90, quoting Kim Po-kwang, "The Silsangsang School" (in Chindan Hakpo), Vol. VIII; (date and page number not given in Chosen Zenkyoshi).

²Yōnhō's biography is unknown. Only his name appears in the inscription on Master Such'ōl's monument at the Simwōn Temple.

studied scriptures under Master Ch'ōnjong 天宗,¹
 received Bhikṣu Precepts in Pokch'ōn Temple, Kangnūng, in
 the province of Kangwōn-do, and later promoted Zen, staying
 in Mt. Chiri. He passed away at the age of seventy-seven,
 in 893 A.D., the seventh year of the reign of Queen Chin-
 sōng. His posthumous title was Such'ōl and the name of
 his pagoda was "Lanka Treasure Moon."²

¹Ch'ōnjong's biography is unknown.

²K., Nungga Powōlt'ap 楞伽寶月塔.

CHAPTER V

PONGNIMSAN SCHOOL

Master Hyōnuk (787-869 A.D.), a disciple of Chinese Master Chang-chung (?-818), received the "Inka" from his master in 824 A.D. Returning to Korea in 839 A.D., Hyōnuk stayed at the Silsang Temple on Mt. Namak, Hoejin, in the province of Muju. In this temple, four kings, Minae, Sinmu, Munsōng, and Hōnan, were his disciples. During the reign of King Hyogong (879-911 A.D.), the exact date is unknown, Hyōnuk and his disciples established Pongnim Temple as the center of the school. It is located in Pongnim-ni, Sangnam-myōn, Changwōn-gun, in the province of Kyōngsang Namdo. Chingyōng was Hyōnuk's chief disciple, who, with his own 500 disciples, spread the school's fame throughout Korea, making this the golden age of the Pongnimsan School. The school continued until 1356 A.D., the fifth year of King Kongnim, when it was absorbed into the Chogye School.

A. Translation from the Chodangjip:

[Life of Master Hyōnuk]¹

¹Hyōnuk's name is found in the Ching-te Ch'uan-teng Lu, Vol. IX (T.D., No. 2076, p. 264), but there is no biography. His biography is found in Chosōn Kūmsōk Ch'ongnam, op. cit., Vol. 1, pp. 140-144.

Master Hyemolssan 慧目山¹ was a disciple of Chang-chūng 章敬 (?-818). His holy name was Hyōnuk 玄昱; his secular surname was Kim. He was a high nobleman in his country Tongnyōng 東溟. His father, whose name was Kim Yōm-gyun 金廉均, was once Minister of Military Affairs in the government. His mother's surname was Pak. She dreamed an auspicious dream during conception. He was born on May 5, 787 A.D.

From his childhood Hyōnuk knew about Buddhist work. He would pour water for fish in a dry pond and in his play build pagodas with sand. As soon as he became a young man, he applied to enter the priesthood. Having his hair cut, he was ordained into the priesthood in 808 A.D.

In 824 A.D. he went to China, during the T'ang Dynasty. He stayed for a while in a few temples in T'ai Yuan Fu 太原府² to seek for the Truth. After he finished studying Zen there, he came back home, complying with a royal edict and accompanying Kim Ūi-chong 金義宗 who was the Prince of Silla.

¹One of Master Hyōnuk's holy names. It is also the name of a mountain. Mt. Hyemok is in Yōju 驪州, in the province of Kyōnggi-do.

²It is located in the province of Shan-si Sheng.

On September 12, 839 A.D., he stayed in Silsang Temple on Mt. Namak 南岳 Hoegjin, in the province of Muju 武州.¹ Kings Minae 閔哀王,² Sinmu 神武王,³ Munsōng 文聖王,⁴ and Hōnan 憲安王,⁵ wanted to be disciples under him and did not treat him like a subject. Instead they would invite him to their palace to hear him recite sutras or preach about Zen.

When he stayed in a grass-roof hermitage at the foot of Mt. Hyemok, King Kyōngmun made him stay in Kodalsan Temple 高達山寺, offered him rare medicine and incense continuously, and gave him hemp clothes when the weather was hot and thick clothes when it was cold.

Suddenly, on the final day of the yearly "summer retreat,"⁶ in 869 A.D. Master Hyonuk told his disciples: "I think I am going to depart from this world within this year. You should hold a public assembly and make your master's intention well-known." At night, on November 14th,

¹Muju is now Naju-gun 羅州郡, in the province of Chōlla Namdo.

²Minae, the forty-fourth King of Silla.

³Sinmu, the forty-fifth King.

⁴Munsōng, the forty-sixth King.

⁵Hōnan, the forty-seventh King.

⁶夏安居. Sanskrit, "Varsāvasana." It is a Buddhist custom to retreat during the three months of the summer rainy season. In Korea the dates are from the 15th of April to the 15th of July.

the valleys roared, birds and beasts cried sadly, and the bell of the temple did not ring for three days even though they struck it. He was going to die before the day dawned. On November 15th he died amid the tolling of the bells. His age was eighty-two; the period of his priesthood had been sixty years.

When Master Hyōnuk had been in Ho-chung Fu 河中府¹ as a disciple under Chang Chung, a certain man asked him: "What is Zen and what is Tao?" He replied:

That which has a name is not great Tao;
That which is right or wrong is not Zen;
If you want to know the meaning, it is
like stopping a child's crying with
yellow leaves.

B. Commentary

Master Hyōnuk was the founder of Pongnimsan School of the nine Zen schools of Korea. Pongnim Temple, the center of this School, is now situated in Pongnim-ni, Sangnam-myon, Changwon-gun, in the province of Kyōngsang Namdo. This school was first established by Master Hyōnuk in the years of the reign of King Hyogong 孝恭,² the

¹It was located in the province of Ho-tung Tao 河東道, in the T'ang Dynasty.

²King Hyogong reigned from 897 to 911 A.D. The established date of the Pongnim Temple is unknown.

fifty-second king of the Silla Dynasty.

The Chodangjip¹ states that Master Hyōnuk died on the 15th of November, 869 A.D. According to Kwōn Sang-no, however, he died on the 15th of March in 870 A.D.

At midnight on the 14th of October in 869, the mountain valleys roared, birds and beasts cried sadly and the temple bell failed to ring. After this he passed away on the 15th of March in 870 A.D. when he was eighty-two years old.²

In my opinion, the information on the date of Master Hyōnuk's death in the Chodangjip is correct. The Chodangjip is the oldest known source for this date. The information given by Kwōn Sang-no may be incorrect. There are no source references used by Kwōn Sang-no to support his version of the death date.

Master Hyōnuk's poem³ in answer to the question "What is Zen and what is Tao," is Zen teaching of the highest grade. In Zen there are "living words" and "dead words" 活句; 死句 . However excellent or logical the words used, they become dead words as soon as they leave the mouth. This is called "Mouth" or "Tongued Zen" 口頭禪 .⁴ "Mouth Zen" is of low grade, and is

¹The Chodangjip, Vol. XVII, p. 5.

²Kwōn Sang-no, the History of Korean Buddhism, op. cit., p. 28.

³See p. 140.

⁴It is only talking about Zen, not practicing Zen.

not absolute. But what about "living words?" In this case, one does not express by words, nor does one think of anything. Rather, one practices meditation with the purest "One Thought" 一念. If the Truth is realized prior to any thought, hundreds of exquisite words which have merely been learned will become nothing but dust. In comparison with the original Truth that exists without recourse to any thought or words, all else is dust.

According to Ta-hui P'u Ch'io Shu¹ 大慧普覺書 :

Yen-t'ou Ch'uan-huo 巖頭全略,² a great Zen master of old said that the original Truth is to know living words. When you never think, and realize that you have no thought, that very moment is called "Right Word", or "Zen-ith", "the Brightest", "the Purest", or the "Very Moment." At this time right or wrong is transcended. However, as soon as you say with words that "it is so and so" it will not be so and so. That which destroys every right saying and every wrong saying, that which is a tongue of flame that burns everything on touching--that is called a "living word."³

¹Ta-hui P'u Chio's Zen Records, 2 vols., Edited by Huang Wen-chang 黃文昌. The author Ta-hui P'u-chio (1089-1103) had another name: Ta-hui Tsung-kao 大慧宗杲.

²K., Amdo Chonhwal 巖頭全略 (828-887 A.D.)--his teachings are in the Chodangjip, Vol. VII, pp. 6-10.

³Ta-hui P'u Chio 大慧普覺, Ta-hui P'u-chio-Shu Ed. by Huang Wen-chang 黃文昌 (Korean edition). (Seoul: Popyunsa, 1955), Vol. I, p. 48.

Lao-tzu teaches that if you name Tao as Tao, then it is not true Tao and if you call something by a name, then it is not a true name.¹ Both Yen-tao's "living word" and Lao-tzu's "True Tao" have the same meaning as Master Hyōnuk's statement: "If you call something Tao, it is not the great Tao, and anything that is called right or wrong is not Zen."

Thus, the great Tao or the true Zen exists inside one's own mind before asking for it. One should awaken oneself to find it, and never ask others for Zen. What purpose do the letters and words of Buddhist teachings serve? They are just an expedient, as were the "yellow leaves" (resembling golden pennies) given to the crying child to stop its crying. Except for "living words", all the letters and words are only teaching devices, or Upaya.

Now we will refer to Master Chingak² and his teacher, Master Pojō, who lived in the 12th Century and were remote descendants of Master Hyōnuk and the Pongnimsan School.

In the History of Songgwangsa Temple it is stated:

In the time of the Koryō Dynasty there was a Zen Master named Chingak. One day when

¹Shun-I Chang 張純一, Lao-tzu Tung-shih 老子通釋 (Shanghai: Shang-wu-jen Shu-kuan 商務印書館 1946), p. 16.

²Chingak 真覺 (?-1234) was one of the famous masters in the Koryō Dynasty. He wrote Sōnmun Yōmsong (The Interpretation of Zen Gate).

he was going somewhere with his teacher, Master Pojo (1158-1210 A.D.), they came across a pair of straw shoes cast aside on the road. Seeing this, Master Pojo asked Chingak: "These old shoes are now here, but where do you think the man is who once wore them?" Then Chingak asked in turn: "Why couldn't you see him when he cast them off?" Pojo burst into a great laugh and gave him the "Inka."¹

This is another example of Zen "Wen-ta" 問答 .

It is a significant saying, but it sounds nonsensical to ordinary people. It is an illogical exchange of questions and answers, but it tells of the true Zen, not of the "yellow leaves" of which Master Hyōnuk spoke.

Master Hyōnuk was aided in establishing the Pongnim-san School by Master Chingyōng Simhūi, who can be called the co-founder of the Pongnimsan School. According to the inscription on Master Chingyōng Simhūi's monument:²

In the age of King Hyogong, Master Chingyōng Simhūi 真鏡審希 (?-923 A.D.), disciple of Master Hyōnuk, erected Pongnim Temple and spread the Zen spirit. Since then his Zen School was called Pongnimsan. Chingyōng's secular surname was Kim, his holy name Simhūi, his bhikṣu name was Popung 法蘊, his posthumous title was Chingyōng and the name of his pagoda was "Treasure-Moon-in-the-Sky" 寶月凌空塔.³

¹Sōk-chin Yim 林錫珍, History of Songgwangsa Temple (Sunch'ōn, Korea: Songgwangsa, 1959), p. 16.

²The monument is located in Pongam Temple, Ch'ang-wōn-gun, in the province of Kyōngsang Namdo.

³K., Powōl Nūnggongt'ap.

Related to a royal family, he was born in 854 A.D., the sixteenth year of King Munsōng's reign. At the age of nine, he studied Zen under Master Wongam 圓金監¹ and received the Bhiksu Precepts at the age of nineteen.

After his pilgrimage to such famous mountains as Diamond Mountain, Mt. Sōrak, and Mt. Chiri, he settled down in Naksan Temple 洛山寺 in the province of Kangwōn-do. King Hyogong worshipped in this temple. Later the King had Pongnim Temple constructed and installed Hyōnuk as its founder.

Master Chingyōng died in 923 A.D., the seventh year of King Kyōngmyōng's reign, at the age of seventy. His period of priesthood had been fifty years. He produced more than five hundred disciples, including Yungje 崑虫諦, Kyōngje 景諦, and Haenggi 幸其月,² who made the Pongnimsan Zen School win nationwide fame.

The most important master of the Pongnimsan School following Hyōnuk and Chingyōng Simhūi was Master Chanyu Togwang 燦幽道光 (869-892 A.D.). When he was thirteen years old, he left his home in Kyōngju, in the province of Kyōngsang Pukdo and went to be initiated as a monk under Yungje, a disciple of Master Chingyong Simhui. Upon meeting him, Yungje said:

¹Wōngam is one of Master Hyōnuk's names.

²The biographies of Yungje, Kyongje and Haenggi, the three disciples of Master Hyōnuk, are unknown. Only their names are found in Sang-no Kwon's History of Korean Buddhism, op. cit. p. 28.

You will be a great dragon some day. You are very welcome to come here, but my teacher Chingyōng Simhūi is a great master. He is a Buddha living in this world. He stays in Pongnim Temple. You must go there and follow him as your teacher.¹

Chanyu Togwang followed his advice and went to Master Chingyōng Simhūi, where he was initiated as a monk. After studying Zen there profoundly, he went to China in 892 A.D., the sixth year of King Chinsōng 真聖 . He studied there under Chinese Master T'ou-tzu² (?-914) 投子大同 and received the "Inka" from him. Then he returned to Korea in 921, the fourth year of King Wang Kōn 王建 , the first king of Koryō Dynasty. He stayed at Pongnim Temple where his fame spread throughout the country and thousands of Zen monks and believers came to learn from him. King Wang Kōn respected him very highly and gave him robes and meditating cushions. The second king of Koryō Dynasty, King Hyejong 惠宗 , also highly respected him and often sent him incense and robes. The third king of Koryō, King Chōngjong 定宗 , continued

¹Sang-no Kwon, History of Korean Buddhism, (Seoul: Sinmungwan, 1917), p. 46.

²His biography and teachings, see the Chodangjip, Vol. VI, pp. 1-4; and his Koan is recorded in the Blue Cliff Records, No. 79.

to give Chanyu Togwang the highest respect. He gave the master the holy name Chūngjin Taesa 證真大師, and invited him to his palace, where he made him a National Teacher. Master Chanyu Togwang died in August of 958 A.D.

CHAPTER VI

THE SAGULSAN SCHOOL

The center of the Sagulsan School was Kulsan Temple, located in Kujōng-myōn, Kangnung-gun, in the province of Kanwōn-do. Today this temple no longer exists.

The school's founder, Master Pōmil (810-889 A.D.), went to China in 831 to study Zen under Master Yueh-shan (750-834 A.D.). He also studied under Master Yen-Kuan (750-842) and received the "Inka" from him.

In 846, Pōmil returned to Korea, and in 847, with the help of King Munsōng, the 46th king of Silla, he built Kulsan Temple, and the Sagulsan School was founded. The following three Silla Kings: Kyōngmun 景文 in 871, Hōngang in 880, and Sōngang in 887 took Master Pōmil as their teacher. The fifty-first queen of Silla, Queen Chinsōng 真聖, was also converted by Master Pōmil, often inviting him to her palace so she and her ministers could hear his Zen sermon. The queen, and the kings before her, helped Master Pōmil develop his school.

Pōmil had several hundred disciples. Among them were ten remarkable disciples known as the Ten Saints of the Sagulsan School. One of these Ten Saints, Nangwōn

Kaechōng 朗圓開清 (?-930), after Pōmil's death, became the teacher of King Kyōngae 景哀 . Another, Nanggōng Haengjōk 朗空幸寂 (?-918), went to China in 870, studied Zen, and received the "Inka" from Shi-shuang 石霜 (?-888). Returning to Korea in 884, King Hyogong 孝恭 , the fifty-second King of Silla, made him royal court monk. Thus, the efforts of Master Pōmil's disciples propagated the spirit of the Sagulsan School, making it the greatest of the Nine Zen Schools, and this era was the school's most influential period. The Sagulsan School flourished until the merger, by Master Taego, of all nine Zen Schools into the Chogyē Sect in 1356 A.D.

A. Translation from the Chodangjip

[Life of Master Pōmil ¹]

Master T'onghyo 通曉 of Mt. Kul, in Myōngju, was ordained as disciple under Yen-kuan 鹽官.² His holy name was Pōmil, his secular surname was Kim. He came from Kyerim 雞林.³ His father, Kim Sul-won 金述元 .

¹His name is catalogued in the Ching-te Ch'uan-teng Lu, (T.D., No. 2076, p. 273), but the name is incorrect. It is given as "P'umil" 𣎵 日 rather than "Pōmil" 梵 日 . His biography is found in Nung-hwa Yi Choson Pulgyo t'ongsa, (Simmun-kwan, 1917), Vol. I, p. 104.

²C., Yen-kuan Chi-an; K., Yōmgwan Chean 鹽官齊安 (750-824 A.D.).

³One of the names of the capital city of Silla. It is now called Kyōngju 慶州 .

was once Governor of Myōngju 溟州.¹ Kim Sul-wōn was gentle and ruled generously. His integrity and elegance are reflected in folk songs and folk tales. Pōmil's mother's surname was Mun. She was brought up in a rich family and was respected as an exemplary lady. When she conceived Pōmil, she took the sun in her hands in an auspicious dream. After thirteen months in her womb, he was born on January 10, 810 A.D., with a holy tuft fixed on his head and an unusual gem protruding from his forehead.

At the age of fifteen, when he wanted to enter the priesthood, his parents consulted each other and allowed him to do so after saying: "You did good deeds in your former life,² so we cannot make you give up your resolution. May you attain Buddhahood so that you can save us." Thus, he said good-bye to them and went into the mountains. When he was twenty years old, he was ordained as a monk in "Surapōl", the capital city of Silla. He kept on studying and learning to become an exemplary bhikṣu.

Wanting to study Zen in China, he went to the imperial court to ask the permission of Kim Ūi-jong 金義宗, who praised the idea and allowed him to go with him aboard

¹New Kangnūng 江陵 in the province of Kwangwōn-do.

²This was assumed because of the nature of the mother's auspicious dream mentioned above.

a ship bound for China, T'ang Dynasty.

On his journey through China, in quest of the truth, he came across Master Yen-kuan. When Master Yen-kuan asked, "Where did you come from?" he answered, "I came from the Eastern Land." Then the former asked, "Did you come by sea or by land?" Pōmil replied, "I never set foot on sea nor land." "Then how could you come?" "The sun and the moon can go freely eastward or westward, what could stand in their way?" Master Yen-kuan praised him, saying, "You are indeed a Bodhisattva of the Eastern Land."

Pōmil asked, "What is the meaning of attaining Buddhahood?" The master replied, "The Tao¹ is not that which can be sought by cultivation or learning. You should not befoul your own True Mind and should not have any idea of Buddha or Bodhisattva. To have constantly the One Mind, that is Tao." Pōmil became enlightened instantly by these words and served Master Yen-kuan 盥官 reverently for six years.

Later Pōmil met Zen Master Yueh-shan 藥山 (751-834 A.D.), who asked him, "From where have you come?" "I left Kiangsi 江西 to come here." "What did you come for?" "To see you." "How could you come here? There is no way

¹ 道. C., Tao; K., To. In this case, it means "the way", Buddhahood; it does not mean the Taoist "Tao."

between here and there." Pōmil replied, "If you are going to mount one more step upward, then I shall not be able to look at your face." Then Yueh-shan exclaimed, "Wonderful, wonderful! Clean wind blowing from outside makes man's desire cool off. You have the true determination of the wandering monk, to have come so far to visit this country."

At that time religious persecution against Buddhism was taking place. Monks were being persecuted, Buddhism was being accused.¹ During the fourth year of the Hui-Chang era (844 A.D.) Pōmil was caught in this persecution. There was no direction in which he could go. The river and mountain gods led him to Mt. Sang 尙山 . There he hid and cultivated Zen.

Because there was no food, he lived on mountain fruits; when he was thirsty, he drank the water of the stream, cupping his hands. Thus, his face withered and his body weakened; he could not move out anywhere. Suddenly after half a year he dreamed a dream, in which a strange man appeared and told him, "You may go now."

Encouraged by this, Pōmil tried to leave but it was very difficult for him to walk because he was so weak,

¹During the last years of the T'ang Dynasty a terrible religious persecution took place, known as the Hui-Chang persecution (842-845 A.D.). Monks and nuns were forced to leave the orders. Temples were razed to the ground and properties confiscated by the state.

due to hunger and undernourishment. However, the animals of the mountain brought food with their mouths and put it beside his seat. Eating this, he made his way to Shao-chou 韶州¹ and traveled a long way to Ts'ao-chi 曹溪² to worship before the pagoda of the Sixth Patriarch. Suddenly a fragrant cloud arose around the pagoda and a holy crane alighted on the roof of the shrine and was singing. Seeing this scene in surprise, people talked to each other: "This is an unprecedented good omen. Surely this means a Zen Master has come."

However, Pōmil made up his mind to return to his father-land, Silla, to spread Zen Buddhism. In August, 846 A.D., he crossed the sea to come back to Silla. His noble Zen practice brightened the whole country and his Zen teaching enlightened many of the people.

He stayed on Mt. Paekdal until January, 851 A.D. Governor Kim of Myōngju invited him to stay in Kulsan Temple, where he studied for forty years, never leaving the mountain even once. The pine trees there became bowery trees under which he used to sit for Zen practice, and the

¹K., Soju, in the province of Kwangtung.

²K., Chogyē. A stream and a mountain south-east of Shao-chou, Kwangtung, which gave its name to Hui-neng.

flat rocks also became his meditation seats.

Someone asked him: "What is the intention of the Patriarch?" He replied, "It has not been lost for six generations." And another asked, "What is it that a learning monk should strive for?" Pōmil answered, "You should not follow the steps of Buddha, and you should not try to enlighten yourself by dint of man."

Three kings, Kyōngmun in 871 A.D., Hōngang in 880 A.D., Chōnggang in 887 A.D. wanted to become converts and tried to appoint Pōmil as state monk. They sent messengers to get him, but he refused to come.

Then one day, towards the end of April, 889 A.D., he called his disciples to say, "I am going to go to another world. I am leaving you now. Don't be sentimental. Only cultivate well your mind and try not to befoul the essential meaning of Buddhism." Thus, on May 1st in Kulsan Temple he died, with his body lying sidewise and his feet one upon another. His age was eighty, and the years of his priesthood were sixty. The posthumous title given him was Master T'onghyc 通曉 . The name of his pagoda was "Eternal Glory."

B. Commentary

Founded by Master Pōmil in the years of the reign of King Munsōng, the forty-sixth king of Silla, the Sagulsan

School¹ was the most flourishing Zen sect among the nine schools in the time of the Silla Dynasty. The remains of Kulsan Temple are now in Haksan-ni, Kujōng-myōn, Kangnūng-gun, in the province of Kangwōn-do.

At the age of fifteen, Master Pōmil was initiated as a monk and he received Bhiksu Precepts in Kyōngju, capital city of Silla, when he was twenty years old. In 831 A.D., the sixth year of King Hōndok's reign, he entered China, where he studied Zen under Master Yen-kuan 鹽官 (750-842 A.D.).

During the six years of Zen study under Master Yen-kuan, he is reported to have experienced many strange happenings.

According to the Collection of Zen Stories: 道話集² once, when he was sharing his room with the chief monk of Master Yen-kuan's temple, he saw the chief monk moaning in a grave sickness. Although he was very ill, he did not stop working all day. And at night he kept on the practice of meditation while leaning against the wall.

One night Pōmil was awake and heard the monk

¹No source about the exact date of the founding of this school.

²Haeng-wōn Yi 李行願, the Collection of Zen Stories (Seoul: Pōppowōn, 1966), pp. 262-63.

murmuring. He listened and the words were as follows:

Messengers of the Dark, you have come a long way to fetch me. I don't mind following you. But will you do me a favor? I have been staying here in this temple for a long time. But I regret that I could not practice Zen as much as I would have liked, since I had to do many chores as chief monk of this temple. So please give me another seven days so that I can practice Zen more before I die. I am asking you in friendship...

Of course I understand that you cannot do as you please, since you are but messengers belonging to the Prince of Darkness. But this is my special petition. Please tell him so. Although I have spent all my days of life, I think my death can be postponed for just seven days. I want to do my best in Zen practice during that interval. There is no possibility that I may flee in the meantime. Tell your Prince of Darkness about my petition...

Thank you very much. Then I will expect you when you come again.

Murmuring thus, the chief monk was practicing meditation through all the night, without lying down once. Master Pōmil asked him about the matter the next day: "Reverend, what were you murmuring last night?" He received this reply:

Maybe my life is coming to an end. Somewhere between sleep and dreams, five nine-foot tall sinister looking monsters were about to tie me and fetch me to Hades, telling me they were messengers sent by the Prince of Darkness. Since I was practicing Zen they could not fall upon me and they tried to coax me to come along. So I asked them to give me just seven days more. They said they were doing just as they were ordered to do, but they would tell the Prince of Darkness about my petition. They told me they would come again after seven days if my petition is permitted, and, if not, they

would come immediately. Therefore, now I have at the most seven days to live.

The chief monk practiced meditation assiduously from that day on and it is said that he was not visited by the messengers of death for more than ten days. It is also said that when the messengers returned the meditating monk could not be seen because he had deeply entered into Samadhi.

In the Chodangjip a similar story occurs:

In Ta-an Temple there was a chief monk¹ who only preached the Buddhist scriptures, criticizing Zen Master Ma-tsu because he practiced meditation. One night the Messengers of Death appeared in front of his door. The monk asked, "Who are you?"

The messengers replied, "We have come to fetch you." The monk asked to be spared. He said, "I am sixty-seven years old and have been lecturing on the holy scriptures for forty years. So I have not had the time to practice Zen. Give me a day and a night to do so. The dark apparitions replied, "It is like digging a well when one feels thirsty that you now want to practice Zen after not doing it for forty years."²

The above two stories obviously reveal folk tale influences, such as the fantasy about the Messengers of Death. This idea of Death appearing to man is in accordance with the folk myths of the time. Such stories, of course,

¹The name of this monk is not found in the Chodangjip.

²The Chodangjip, Vol. XIV, p. 1.

cannot be reconciled to the Zen viewpoint, and cannot be accepted as actual historical Zen material.

There is another Zen story about Master Pōmil in the Collection of Zen Stories:

After six years with Master Yen-kuan, Master Pōmil left him and made his way to Master Yue-shan 岳山 .

Seeing Pōmil, Yue-shan asked: "Where do you come from?" "I come from the Temple of Master Yen-kuan." "What kind of Zen did he teach you?" "He said the constant mind is Zen." "What a stale preaching it is! Good, evil, joy, anger, grief, pleasure, everything is Zen. Why should only the constant mind be Zen?"

Pōmil asked: "What is Zen?"

Yue-shan, raising his hand, pointed to the sky and the earth.

Seeing this, Pōmil said: "You have only hands, you have no mouth. If you had no hands, how could you answer me?"

"What do you mean?"

"I had asked about Zen with the mouth, not with the hands."

"Then I will answer you with the mouth. I want you to speak without moving your throat, tongue, teeth and lips."

"That is the very thing I have been wanting to ask you. Why don't you try it yourself first?"

Yue-shan, tapping him on the back, said delightedly, "Indeed, you are a wise man from the Eastern Land."

Pōmil stayed with Yue-shan for months and helped him with some farm work. One day when he was taking a rest, having left his hoe in the soil, he was asked by Yue-shan: "Hey, is it hard to work?" "No, because I don't need to raise the hoe high, so it is not such hard work."

When Pōmil said this Yue-shan threw his staff at him. Pōmil gripped it nimbly in his hand and struck Yue-shan. Yue-shan called his attendant, who was not far from him. The attendant said, "Master, what happened? Are you going to let that crazy monk go unpunished?" The attendant was shaking with anger. Yue-shan hit the attendant on the shoulder with his staff without saying a word. The attendant was dumbfounded with surprise. Looking at this scene, Pōmil burst into laughter.

Yue-shan praised Pōmil and said: "Today, I saw a monk-like monk."¹

Later, when Pōmil was wandering around notable mountains and scenic places, he came across a religious persecution against Buddhism.

¹Haeng-won Yi, the Collection of Zen Stories, op. cit., pp. 265-66.

According to Ching-hsun Tzu-men:

...Taking place in August 845 A.D., this religious crisis was caused by the disclosure that a monk had had a liaison with a court lady and made her pregnant. This was surely a disgraceful affair but usually only the monk involved was penalized by law. But King Wu-t'sung 武宗 1 of T'ang (China) did not like Buddhism, preferring Taoism. After succeeding to the throne, he summoned such Taoists as Chao Kuei-chen 趙啟真 and Liu Hsun-ching 劉玄靖 into the palace and appointed them to high positions in court. In addition to these Taoists, Li-Chu-yai 李朱涯 and Teng Yuan-Chao 登元超 slandered Buddhism and induced the King to suppress Buddhism.

King Wu-t'sung issued an order for the persecution of Buddhism, using the monk's affair as an excuse. Many Buddhist pagodas and statues were destroyed and more than 40,000 temples were closed, 260,000 monks and nuns were forced to renounce the priesthood and many sutras were burned. Temple bells were melted and made into farming tools and furniture.²

Amidst this chaos, Master Pōmil hid on Mt. Sang and existed on mountain fruits and stream water. After living like this for half a year, with his body very much emaciated, he went to Shao-chou 韶州 and paid homage to the Pagoda of the Sixth Patriarch.

¹K., Mujōng.

²Huan-chu Yung-chung 幻住永中 Ching-Hsun Tzu-men 警訓緇門 : Korean Edition (Hadong; Korea: Ssanggyesa 雙溪寺 1695), p. 65.

In September, 846 A.D., the eighth year of the reign of King Munsōng 文聖 of Silla, he returned home to Silla and in 850 A.D. he stayed in Mt. Paekdal 白達山, Hoedong-myōn, Taedōk-gun 大德郡 in the province of Ch'ungch'ōng Namdo. With the help of Mr. Kim, head country official of Myōngju 溟州,¹ he established Kulsan Temple which he made his Zen Center.

Kings Kyōngmun, Hōngang and Chōnggang became converts to Buddhism through him. They invited him to be a royal court monk and many times sent messengers for him but he refused.

For more than forty years he worked hard to spread his Zen spirit, and on May 1, 889 A.D., the third year of the reign of Queen Chinsōng, he passed away at the age of eighty, the period of his priesthood having been sixty years.

Nukariya Kaiten and Sang-no Kwōn both quote the following from the Treasure Records of Zen Gate. This passage refers to teachings which Master Pōmil believed were traceable to Bodhidharma, although there is no evidence to justify this belief.

As soon as he was born Sakyamuni took seven steps and exclaimed: "I am the only one in the heavenly and earthly worlds." Later

¹New Kangnūng-gun.

he left his palace for the Snow Mountain. Eventually he attained enlightenment while looking at the bright light of a star. However, he thought it was not the enlightenment of ultimate truth. Therefore, he went to visit a Patriarch, "Chingwi Taesa" 真歸大師, and received the True Mind from him. This was an essential, special transmission outside the scriptural teachings...

Master Sōngju 聖住¹ once studied the Lankavatara Sutra but later found it was not Patriarch's Zen, so he gave up the scriptures and searched for Zen. Also, Master Toyun 道允² lamented after he read the Avatamsaka Sutra that even the highest scriptural teaching could not help him attain Buddhahood, so he entered T'ang (China) to seek Zen. We see that the Masters realized that Zen is mind-to-mind transmission outside scriptures.³

In the above quotation Master Pōmil claimed that Sakyamuni, after he became enlightened, visited the Patriarch "Chingwi Taesa" and received essential transmission of True Mind from him. This claim is difficult to comprehend, since there are no similar references made to such an occurrence in any of the Buddhist sutras or

¹K., Sōngju Muyōm (801-888 A.D.), who was a founder of the Sōngjusan School.

²The founder of the Sajasan School.

³Nukariya Kaiten, Chosen Zenkyoshi, pp. 99-100, and Sang-no Kwon, "Outline of Korean Zen History", p. 271: quoting from Chōnjōng, Treasure Records of Zen Gate, Korean Edition, (Pusan: Pōmōsa, 1294).

any other Buddhist source. Had there actually been such a Patriarch as "Chingwi Taesa", who played such a significant role in Sakyamuni's life, we must wonder why the Buddha did not mention him even once during his forty-nine years of preaching.¹

Nūng-hwa Yi, quoting again from the Treasure Records of Zen Gate,² informs us that the above teaching of Pōmil, was given to Queen Chinsōng of Silla when she asked Master Pōmil about the differentiation between Zen and Chiao. It is quite possible that Master Pōmil used an imaginary story about Sakyamuni and "Chingwi Taesa" in order to help Queen Chinsōng to understand clearly that Zen is transmitted outside scriptural teaching.

Yi has also noted that Patriarch's Zen was first transmitted to Sakyamuni by "Chingwi Taesa",³ It seems certain that Yi merely accepted Master Pōmil's assertion without making any evaluation of it.

¹This legend of Sakyamuni's relation to Chingwi Taesa persisted in Korean Buddhism down to as late as a half-century ago. It began to be questioned only when Korean Buddhism came into contact with modern Buddhist scholarship.

²Nūng-hwa Yi, Chosōn Pulgyo T'ongsa, op. cit., pp. 234-35, quoting the Treasure Records of Zen Gate.

³Nūng-hwa Yi, Chosōn Pulgyo T'ongsa, op. cit., p. 35.

Pōmil's disciple, Master Nangwōn Kaech'ōng 朗圖開清 (?-930 A.D.) was remarkable. His secular surname was Kim. He left home at the age of twenty. He once studied under Master Chōnghaeng of Hwaōmsan Temple 華嚴山寺, Chinju 晉州, in the province of Kyōngsang Namdo. After practicing asceticism in Mt. Kūm 錦山 for three years, Master Nangwōn made his way to Master Pōmil, following an old man's advice: "If you go to Kulsan Temple, you will meet a saint." Upon seeing Nangwōn, Pōmil said: "Why are you so late in coming? I have been waiting for you for a long time." Thus, he welcomed him as his disciple.

After Master Pōmil had passed away, Nangwōn Kaech'ōng spent some time as abbot of Pohyōn Temple in the district of Kangnūng-gun. Later, he became a royal court monk of King Kyōngae 景哀王. He died at the age of ninety-six in 930 A.D. His posthumous title was Nangwōn. The name of his pagoda was "Realization of Truth" 悟真塔.¹

Another of Master Pōmil's famous disciples was Master Nanggong Haengjōk 朗空幸寂 (?-918 A.D.). His secular surname was Ch'oe. He left home in his early years, studied the Avatamsaka Sutra in the Haein Monastery and received the Bhikṣu Precepts in Pokchōn Temple.

In 870 A.D., the tenth year of King Kyōngmun's reign, Nanggong Haengjōk went to Mt. Wutai 五臺山 in China,

¹k., Ojint'ap.

received the "Inka" from Shi-shuang Ch'ing-chu 石霜慶諸¹ and returned home in 884 A.D., the thirtieth year of the reign of King Hōngang of Silla. He became abbot of Kunja Monastery, Sakchu 荊州,² and was appointed as royal court monk to King Hyogong. In the second year of Kyōngmyōng's reign, he died at the age of eighty-five, in 918 A.D. His posthumous title was Nanggong and the name of his pagoda was "White Moon Nesting in the Cloud" 白月棲雲塔.³ His disciples numbered more than five hundred.

¹K., Sōksang Kyōngje. The dates of his birth and death are unknown.

²Now Ch'unch'ōn City.

³K., Paegwōl Sōunt'ap.

CHAPTER VII

THE SŎNGJUSAN SCHOOL

Located in Sŏngju-ri, Misan-myŏn, Poryŏng-gun in the province of Ch'ungchŏng Namdo, Sŏngju Temple, no longer in existence, was the center of the Sŏngjusan School.

The school's founder, Master Muyŏm (801-888 A.D.), was of royal lineage, the eighth generation of King Muyŏl 武烈王, the twenty-ninth king of Silla. Travelling to China in 821, Muyŏm studied Zen under Master Ma-ku Pao-ch'e 麻谷宝徹, receiving the "Inka". He returned to Korea in 834, and in 847 he taught Zen in Ohap Temple 烏合寺 located on Mt. Sŏngju 聖住山, Sŏngju-ri, Misan-myŏn, Poryŏng-gun, in the province of Ch'ungchŏng Namdo. King Munsŏng, forty-sixth king of Silla, changed the name of Ohap Temple to Sŏngju. Thus Master Muyŏm founded the Sŏngjusan School. Two of Silla's later kings, Kyŏngmun 景文, and Hŏngang 憲康, chose him as "National Teacher." With their royal assistance Master Muyŏm 無染 developed the Sŏngjusan School.

Muyŏm had more than two hundred disciples. Among them Taekyŏng Yŏm 大鏡麗嚴 (?-929) also became a famous master. After studying Zen and receiving the "Inka" from Master Yun-chu in China, he returned to Korea and greatly

spread Zen with the help of King Hyogong, the fifty-second king of Silla.

Pōpkyōng 法鏡, one of Muyōm's grand disciples also went to China and received the "Inka" from Master Chi-feng Tao-chien 九峰道乾, returning to Korea in 923. The first Koryō King, Wang Kōn, highly respected him. Pōpkyōng had over three hundred disciples himself.

Thus, Muyōm's disciples developed the Sōngjusan School and it grew in influence. Several large branch monasteries were also built: Chōngt'e Temple 淨土寺 of Ch'ungju in the province of Ch'ungchōng-do and Wōlgwang Temple 月光寺 of Yangpyōng 楊平 in the province of Kyōnggi-do, etc. Up until 1356, the school remained in existence. At that time, it was merged by Master Taego with the other eight Zen schools into the Chogye Sect.

A. Translation from the Chodangjip

[Life of Master Muyōm]¹

Zen Master Muyōm of Sōngju Temple, Mt. Sungōm 崇嚴山 was a state monk who taught two kings consecutively and succeeded Ma-ku Pao-ch'e 麻谷宝徹² as his

¹His name is found in the Ching-te Ch'uan-teng Lu, Vol. IX (T.D., No. 2076, p. 264), but there is no biography. The biography and teachings are in Chosōn Kūmsōk Ch'ongnam, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 72-82. It is also in the inscription of Master Taenanghye's 大朗慧 monument at Sōngju Temple in the province of Ch'ungch'ōng Namdo.

²His biography is in the Chodangjip, Vol. XV, p. 4, and in the Ching-te Ch'uan-teng Lu, Vol. VII (T.D., No. 2075, p. 203). Dates of his birth and death are unknown.

disciple. Muyōm was his holy name and he was born in Kyōngju. His secular surname was Kim, and he was an eighth-generation son of King Muyōl¹ of Silla. His grandfather, Chuch'ōn 周川 was prime minister, as were his great-grandfather and great-great-grandfather. His father, Pōmch'ōng 範清 was widely known as a noble man, though his position was more humble than that of Chingol 眞骨² by one grade. His mother, Hwa, conceived him after she had a dream in which she was given a lotus flower by a Heavenly Being. In another dream, she was taught the Ten Precepts³ by a Heavenly Being and she interpreted this as being auspicious prenatal training for her future son. She gave birth after ten months.

When Muyōm was twelve years old, he entered Osaeksōk Temple 五色石寺, Mt. Sōrak (in the province of Kangwōn-do). He had his hair cut by Zen Master Pōpsōng,⁴

¹The twenty-ninth King of Silla.

²A title used by a member of the royal family in the Silla Dynasty.

³(1) not to take life; (2) not to steal; (3) not to commit adultery; (4) not to lie; (5) not to take intoxicating liquor; (6) not to eat food outside of regulated hours; (7) not to use garlands or perfumes; (8) not to sleep on high or broad beds; (9) not to take part in singing or dancing; (10) not to acquire gold, silver or jewels.

⁴Pōpsōng's 法性 biography is unknown.

who had studied in China. Muyōm became a monk and studied the Lankavatara Sutra with Pōpsōng for several years.

In 821 A.D. Muyōm entered China in the T'ang dynasty and went to Fo-shuang Temple¹ in Loyang. There he asked Master Fo-kuang Ju-man 佛光如滿:² "What was the 'Seal of Mind' ("Inka") that was sanctioned by Kiangsi?"³ Fo-kuang Ju-man hesitated in answering and said: "I have seen many monks but I have seldom met anyone like you from the Eastern Land. Wonderful! If in the future, Chinese Zen should decline, we must ask Zen questions of practitioners in the Eastern Land."

Later Muyōm went to Zen Master Ma-ku Pao-ch'e and studied with him and served him. People praised him, saying he would be an excellent Zen Master. Ma-ku Pao-ch'e said: "When I was under Master Ma-tsu, he told me prophetically, 'One day you will meet someone from the Eastern Land who is worth watching, and you will make the clean water of a ditch flow to the sea. Then your virtue will not be shallow.' My Master Ma-tsu's voice is still ringing

¹K., Pulsangsa 佛爽寺.

²K., Pulgwang Yōman. He was one of the disciples of Master Ma-tsu. His biography is in the Ching-te Ch'uan-teng Lu, op. cit., Vol. VI (T.D., No. 2076, p. 249).

³K., Kangsō; one of Master Ma-tsu's names.

in my ears. It is very nice to meet you. I am glad to sanction you now. The way of Zen is now going to the Eastern Land."

Thus, Master Muyōm obtained the "Inka"¹ from Master Ma-ku and returned home in 846 A.D. In 847 A.D., he settled down in Sōngju Temple, Mt. Sungōm. More than one thousand followers gathered around him and he was well known. During the period in which he spread Zen teaching in the Sōngju Temple, two successive kings² came to venerate him and all the ministers of the nation prostrated themselves before him.

Someone asked, "They say there is no teacher and no disciple in a Tongueless State 無舌土.³ If there is no teacher and no disciple, how was it possible that the light of Dharma was not extinguished throughout twenty-eight generations in India and six Patriarchs of China?" He replied: "This lineage is only kept for the sake of expediency; it does not express the true way of Zen

¹In the Chodangjip, "Inka" is interpreted as "Jewel of Mind."

²Two kings: Kyōngmun, the forty-eighth and Hōngang, the forty-ninth.

³i.e., Wordless State, where no words are used.

transmission."¹ Again he was asked: "Are there two 'states' under one Patriarch?" "Yes, there are. Thus, my teacher, Yang-shan Hui-chi 仰山慧寂 (814-890 A.D.) said that 'No tongue in two mouths,² is the essence of our school.'" "What is the meaning of 'two states under one Patriarch?'" asked the one. Muyōm replied: "Since in orthodox Zen the seeker does not seek Dharma, a teacher does not give it. This is what a 'Tongueless State' means. However, when you address those who seek Dharma you talk with expedient words. This is what 'Tongued State' means."

Later King Kyōngmun made Muyōm a state monk and the teacher of Kings. King Hōngang, who succeeded King Kyōngmun, did the same. Being feeble at ninety years of age, Muyōm refused to come to the palace. He died on November 27, 888 A.D. His posthumous title was Great Master "Taenahye" 大朗慧³ and the name of his pagoda was "Halo of White Moon."⁴

¹This statement means that the traditional lineage between teachers and disciples is kept only for the sake of wordly custom. In essence it is unnecessary, because true Zen transmission passes directly from mind to mind, and has neither teacher nor disciple.

²兩口無一舌。 It means that teacher and disciple do not speak even one word when the teacher transmits Mind to the disciple.

³"A great bright wisdom."

⁴K., Paegwōl Pogwangt'ap.

B. Commentary

Sōngju Temple of Sōngjusan School is now situated at Sōngju-ri 聖佳里, Misan-myōn, Poryōng-gun 保寧郡, in the province of Ch'ungch'ōng Namdo. This temple was established by Master Muyōm in the days of King Munsōng's reign. Muyōm was born on December 28, 801 A.D., the second year in the reign of King Aejang 哀莊王. He was the eighth-generation descendant of King Muyōl 武烈王, the twenty-ninth King of Silla, and the tenth-generation disciple of Bodhidharma.

According to the Notes on the Four Collections:

From his early days, he was fast in learning and was called "Infant Genius of the Eastern Land." At the age of thirteen, he was initiated as a monk by Master Pōpsōng 法性 of Osaeksōk Temple 五色石寺, Osaek-dong, Yangyang-gun 襄陽郡 in the province of Kangwōn-do, and later studied the Avatamsaka Sutra under Master Sōkchūng 釋澄¹ of Pusōk Temple.²

On the recommendation of Master Pōpsōng, Muyōm entered China in the T'ang Dynasty in 821 A.D., the thirteenth year of the reign of King Hōndōk, where he studied further the Avatamsaka Sutra in Chisang Temple 至相寺. Later he met Master Fo-kuang Ju-man and Master Ma-ku Paoch'e.

¹His biography is unknown.

²Chi-gwan Yi, Notes on Four Collections, op. cit., p. 54.

He returned to Silla in 834 A.D., the seventh year of King Munsōng's reign, and stayed in Ohap Temple 烏合寺, Kongju, by the invitation of Prince Kim Yang 金陽.¹ Many students gathered there as his disciples to study Zen. King Munsōng had the name of the temple changed to Sōngju Temple.²

Promoting the Zen spirit as a royal court monk under King Kyōngmun and King Hōngang, Muyōm died on November 17, 888 A.D., the second year of Queen Chinsōng's reign. His age was eighty-eight and the period of his priesthood had been sixty-five years.

He had produced more than twenty remarkable disciples including Wōnjang 圓藏, Yōngwon 靈源 and Hyōnyōng 玄影. Through their activities, a new Zen School, the Sōngjusan Zen School, came into being. Temples such as Yōnggoksa of Ani district, Chōngtōsa of Kwangju and Porisa of Yangp'yōng, once belonged to the Sōngjusan Zen School.

By royal order the inscription on Muiōm's monument was written by Chōekon 崔坤 and edited by Ch'oe Ch'i-wōn. It contains over 4,800 Chinese characters. The monument

¹His other name was Kim Hūn 金暉.

²Sōngju Temple means "the temple where a saint stays."

is now in Sōngju Temple, Poryōng, in the province of Ch'ungch'ōng Namdo, and was designated as National Treasure No. 30. Master Muyōm's teaching is called the doctrine of the "Tongueless State." This doctrine resulted from the influence of Muyōm's teacher, Master Yang-shan Hui-chi.

According to the Chodangjip:

Once, in reply to a question put by a monk, Master Muyōm answered quoting Master Yang-shan's verse of the "Tongueless State" (which was composed by him while dying):
 "A monk asked, 'Are there two states under one patriarch?'

The Master replied, 'Yes, there are, so my teacher Yang-shan gave us the following verse:

No tongue in two mouths,
 Is the essence of our school.¹

This verse in the Chodangjip is half of the original verse. The full verse of Master Yang-shan is found in the Taisho Daizokyo as follows:

Oh! You several disciples of mine,
 Open your eyes and look up again.
 No tongue in two mouths,
 Is the essence of our school.²

¹The Chodangjip, Vol. XVII, p. 9.

²Hui-yen Chih-chao, Jen-t'ien Yen-mu, Vol. IV, (T.D., No. 2006, p. 322).

In the preceding quotation, "two states under one patriarch" means that there are two different ways in a Zen patriarch's teaching. One is the way of essential teaching, the other is the way of expedient teaching. "No tongue in two mouths" means that both teacher and disciple do not have to communicate verbally to understand each other. Mutual comprehension comes about through non-verbal intuition which, in Zen, is known as "mind-to-mind" understanding.

According to Patriarchal Zen it can be said that if a person were enlightened he could understand the "tongueless preaching" not only from the Buddha or the Patriarchs, but also from the flowing water of mountain rivers, the sound of a waterfall, the air flowing through the trees, the tick of a clock, the crackling of a flame, the beauty of a flower in bloom and the flight of a bird through the sky. This idea is illustrated in the Sōnmun Yōmsong 禪門拈公頌 where one Zen poem reads as follows:

The sound of a long stream is the eloquent
tongue of Buddha,
The color of a blue mountain is the pure
body of Buddha.
The endless preaching from the natural
Buddha's tongue,
How can I explain it to worldly people?¹

¹Chingak, Sōnmun Yōmsong, Vol. XIV., p. 15.

When Master Chu-chih 俱胝 was questioned by monks, he always raised one finger.¹ When Sakyamuni transmitted his mind to his disciple Mahakasyapa, he showed him one flower.² Who can say whether Chu-chih's finger and Sakayamuni's flower were not the wordless preaching from the tongueless tongue?

From Master Muyōm's "tongueless" doctrine above, "tongued" and "tongueless" might easily be misunderstood to be opposite ways of teaching. This needs some explanation. A Zen master's quotation says:

Buddha spoke for 49 years,
But he didn't even say one word.³

This tells us that speaking for 49 years, Buddha said nothing. It was the same as if he had been silent. His "tongued" teaching was the same as "tonguelessness."

There is a story from The Gateless Gate which helps us to further understand the relationship between "tongued" and "tongueless" teaching. It is as follows:

¹Chingak, Sōnmun Yōmsong, Vol. XIV, p. 15. Master Chu-chih's koan is also in Zen Flesh, Zen Bones (compiled by Paul Reps), Anchor Books (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1961), p. 95.

²Wu-men Hui-k'ai, Wu-men-kuan (T.P., No. 200, p. 239).

³Paekp'a Kūngsōn. Notes on Sōnmun Yōmsong (Sunchang, Korea: Kuamsa, 1811), p. 32.

A philosopher asked Buddha: "Without words, without the wordless, will you tell me truth?" The Buddha kept silence. The philosopher bowed and thanked the Buddha, saying: With your loving kindness I have cleared away my delusions and entered the true path." After the philosopher had gone, Ananda asked the Buddha what he had attained. The Buddha replied: "A good horse runs even at the shadow of the whip."¹

In this story Buddha said nothing, and yet his silence was true speaking, without using the tongue, therefore awakening the philosopher. For some listeners, even if Buddha spoke for 49 years, they would not be awakened by hearing it. But for others, if the Zen Masters only raise one finger or one hand, or remain silent, they will be enlightened, like the "good horse" which "runs even at the shadow of the whip."

Another analogy helps to emphasize this point. If we strike a golden bell, it makes a golden sound. But a wise child, seeing the golden bell, knows without hearing that the bell will make a golden sound. The sound of the bell is like "tongued" teaching. Some men understand upon hearing the teaching. But there are others like the child who understand without hearing. For such enlightened men, hearing is the same as not hearing, not hearing is the

¹Wu-men Hui-kai 無門慧開 Gateless Gate 無門關 (T.D. 2005, p. 297). Translation based upon Zen Flesh, Zen Bones, compiled by Paul Reps (N. Y.: Doubleday, 1961), p. 116.

same as hearing. Whether they hear the teaching or do not hear it, they understand. For such men, "tongued" is "tongueless" and "tongueless" is "tongued."

From the above examples, we can see that it is mistaken to think of "tongued" and "tongueless" teaching as dualistically opposed. Buddha's 49 years of talking, or "tongued" teaching, was "tongueless", as if he had said nothing. In the story of the philosopher, Buddha's silence, or "tongueless" teaching, was like "tongued" teaching, as if he had eloquently spoken. They are neither opposite ways of teaching, nor are they identical. Each is involved in the other. From the Zen viewpoint, looking at these two kinds of teaching we can say, therefore, that "tongued" is "tongueless", and "tongueless" is "tongued".

In the Treasure Records of the Zen Gate it is mentioned in a chapter entitled "Dialogue between Zen and Chiao" that Master Muyōm of Silla always cited Master Yangshan's doctrine of "Tongueless State".

Muyōm drew a sharp line between Zen and Chiao, calling Chiao the doctrine of the expedient (Upaya) or doctrine of words, or doctrine of pureness-and-impureness; and Zen the way of true transmission, the way of wordlessness, or the way of no-pureness and no-impureness.¹

The "Dialogue Between Zen and Chiao" is as follows:

¹Ch'ōnjong, Treasure Records of Zen Gate, p. 29.

A certain monk asked Master Muyōm: "What do you mean by 'Tongued State' or 'Tongued Land' or 'Tongueless State' or 'Tongueless Land?'"

Muyōm answered: "Once Master Yang-shan said that the 'Tongued State' is the condition of the Chiao doctrine, the state of the expedient, and the 'Tongueless State' is the condition of the Patriarch's Zen teaching, that is, the state of True transmission."

The monk asked: "What is the state of the expedient?"

Master Muyōm answered: "It means preaching to mankind in accordance with the circumstances; therefore, it is called 'tongued'."

The monk asked: "What is a 'Tongueless State?'"

The master answered: "That is a state of Zen teaching where there is neither a teacher nor a disciple."

The monk asked: "Then, what is the reason they talk about Zen transmission between teacher and disciple?"

The master answered: "As Master Chan-chung said, 'the form is emptiness. Thus form is formless, function is functionless.' Likewise in transmitting Zen, no transmission is transmission; though one transmits, there is nothing transmitted."

The monk asked: "If there is no subjectivity or objectivity in the 'Tongueless State' of Zen teaching, it is something like the term 'Ju-Lai-hsin' or the 'Tathagata mind' in the doctrine of Chiao. Then what is the difference between these two?"

The master answered: "The highest doctrine in Chiao is 'Ju-Lai-hsin' or 'Tathagata Mind' which is also called the 'Seal of Sea' 海印. It means that the state of Tathagata mind appears as if the stars were reflected in the clear water of the sea. It has traces of the

'Three Kinds of Realms'.¹ The Patriarch's Zen teaching has no trace of pureness or impureness and no traces of entrance and exit. For this reason Zen and Chiao are different from each other. This is the reason why it is said that the mind of a Zen practitioner is like deep water; there is no trace of pureness and impureness in it. As for Chiao doctrine, it does have traces; one first wears the clothes of Truth and Wisdom and later takes them off and stands in the mysterious state. As for the state of Zen teaching, there is originally no such wearing or taking off; one never puts on even a thread of Truth and Wisdom, so it differs very much from the Chiao doctrine."²

Master Muyōm's teaching, like the "Dialogue Between Zen and Chiao", seems also to be influenced by his teacher Pōpsōng.³ The following is one of the "wen-tas" between Muyōm and his teacher Pōpsōng.

Once Master Muyōm asked Master Pōpsōng:

"What is the difference between Zen and Chiao?"

1 三種世間 . There are two classifications of the "Three Kinds of Realms": (a) the realm of matter; (b) the realm of life; (c) the realm of mind, especially the Buddha's mind. Or, (a) psychological realm; (b) biological realm; (c) material realm; (From A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms, compiled by William Edward Soothill and Lewis Hodous (London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd. 1937), p. 58).

²Ch'ōnjong, Treasure Records of Zen Gate, p. 29.

³Pōpsōng was Muyōm's teacher before Muyōm entered China.

Master Pōpsōng answered: "Hundreds of government posts have hundreds of functions. (Chiao is likened to government posts); a king, though he is silent on the throne, gives people peace." (Zen is likened to a king).¹

This quotation compares Zen and Chiao to a king and his government posts. When the king, sitting in his palace, gives an order, then hundreds of government posts throughout the nation act. In a similar way, the spirit of Zen is the source from which all words of scriptural teaching originate.

Master Muyōm had remarkable disciples, one of whom was Singwang 深光.² Singwang had a disciple named Pōpkyōng 法鏡,³ who entered China in the T'ang Dynasty in 898 A.D., the second year of the reign of King Hyogong of Silla. He received the "Inka" from Master Chi-feng T'ao-chien 九峰道乾,⁴ disciple of Master Shih-shang Ch'ing-Chu 石霜慶諸 (?-888 A.D.).⁵

¹Chi-gwan Yi, Notes on Four Collections, p. 45. Also Sang-no Kwōn, "Outline of Korean Zen History" inNonmunjip, p. 271

²Dates of Singwang's birth and death are unknown.

³Pōpkyōng's biography is on the inscription of his monument which is located at the Chōngtō Temple, Ch'ungju, in the province of Ch'ungch'ōng Pukdo.

⁴His biography is in the Chodangjip, Vol. IX, p. 10. The dates of his birth and death are unknown.

⁵His biography is in the Chodangjip, Vol VI, p. 18.

Pōpkyōng returned home in 923 A.D., during the seventh year of the reign of King T'aejo (Wang Kōn) of Koryō. He settled in Chongtō Temple of Ch'ungju and had more than three hundred disciples.

Besides Master Simgwang, there was Master T'aegyōng Yōm 大鏡麗嚴 (?-929 A.D.)¹ as disciple of Master Muyōm.

Master T'aegyōng Yōm was called one of the most unusual Zen Masters in the Eastern Land (Silla). He studied under Master Yunchu Tao-ying 雲居道膺 (?-902 A.D.)² of China, returning home to Silla in 909 A.D. in the thirteenth year of the reign of King Hyogong. He settled in Poriap Temple, Yangp'yōng 楊平, in the province of Kyōnggi-do. There he spread his Zen spirit and converted more than five hundred disciples.

¹His biography is inscribed on his monument at Poriap Temple, located in Yangp'yōng-gun, in the province of Kyōnggi-do.

²K., Ungō Toūng. His biography is in the Chodangjip, Vol. VIII, p. 1.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SAJASAN SCHOOL

Hūngyōng Temple, no longer in existence, was the center of the Sajasan School and was located in Suju-myōn, Yōngwōl-gun, in the province of Kangwōn-do. The founder of the school was Master Toyun (797-868). Entering Kwisin Temple he studied the Avatamsaka Sutra and became a monk at the age of eighteen. In 825, the seventeenth year of the reign of King Hondōk of Silla, he went to China and studied Zen under Master Nan-ch'uan P'u-yuan 南泉普願 (748-835). Returning home in 847, he settled at Diamond Mountain where he was sought out by many monks and laymen. He converted King Kyōngmun, the forty-eighth king of Silla, and in turn, was favored by the king.

His chief disciple, Chūnghyo Chōlchung (826-900 A.D.), expanded Hūngyong Temple on Mt. Saja. Chūnghyo Chōlchung's several hundred disciples spread the Zen spirit of the Sajasan School to fame. During this period, the school reached its peak. In 1356 it joined with the other Nine Zen Schools in forming the Chogyo Sect in the merger brought about by Master Taego.

A. Translation from the Chodangjip[Life of Master Toyun]¹

Master Sangbong 雙峰² succeeded Nan-ch'uan P'u-yuan 南泉普願 (748-835 A.D.)³ as his disciple. His holy name was Toyun and he was born at Hyuam, Hanju Province 漢州, 鵝巖.⁴ Generation after generation his family was of the nobility. His mother's maiden surname was Ko. One night she awoke in surprise to find she had been dreaming that a strange light filled her home. From that time she was pregnant with a child and she talked about it with her husband, who said: "The dream is very strange. It is certain that you will bear a son. But I am afraid that he will become a monk." Surely, after sixteen months a son was born.⁵

He grew very well, his face was handsome, his personality and character were excellent, like a crane

¹His name only is catalogued in the Ching-te Ch'uan-Teng Lu, Vol. X (T.D., No. 2076, p. 273), but the name is wrongly spelled as Togyun 道均 rather than Toyun.

²Sangbong was one of Master Toyun's names, because he once stayed at Sanbong Temple, Hwasun-gun, in the province of Cholla Namdo.

³K., Namchōn Powōn.

⁴Located in Sihūng-gun, in the province of Kyōnggi-do.

⁵See page 90.

among birds. When he was five or six years old he used to build towers with sand as a hobby. Thus he was expected to enter the priesthood and achieve great enlightenment.

At the age of eighteen he sincerely asked his parents' permission to become a monk, and left his secular home to enter Kwisin Temple 鬼神寺,¹ where he studied the Avatamsaka Sutra. Dissatisfied with "the Doctrine of Perfectness and Completeness",² he wandered about seeking the Truth as a peripatetic monk, who wore rags and carried a bowl with him, thinking of the cloud as his blanket and the stream as his pillow.

In 825 A.D., he applied to the imperial court for permission to go to China, in the T'ang Dynasty. He was allowed to accompany the messengers, so he entered China aboard a ship. Thus, he met Master Nan-ch'uan P'u-yuan and became his disciple after hearing his preaching. Master Nan-ch'uan was greatly pleased at seeing him for the first time and sanctioned him, saying, "The flow of Dharma now leads to the Eastern Land."

¹The location is unknown.

²The "Doctrine of Perfectness" 頓教 is the main doctrine of the Perfect Enlightenment Sutra 圓覺經. The "Doctrine of Completeness" 圓教 is the main tenet of the Avatamsaka Sutra 華嚴經.

Later, in 847 A.D. he returned home and stayed in Diamond Mountain, where monks and followers came in crowds. King Kyōngmun also became a convert and favored him greatly.

Suddenly, on April 18, 868 A.D., Toyun gathered his disciples together to say: "A physical body has limited life. I will leave this world. You should keep well the temple and make the light of Dharma keep on shining forever." As soon as he had finished speaking he died, at the age of seventy-one. The period of his priesthood had been forty-four years. Five colored lights emerged from his mouth and reached the sky. The King gave him the posthumous title Ch'ōlgam 澈鑑.¹

The name of his pagoda was "Pure Bright" 澄昭塔.²

B. Commentary

Mt. Saja is a mountain where Hūngyōng Temple stood, that is Suju-myōn, Yōngwōl-gun, in the province of Kangwōn-do. Here Master Toyun used to practice Zen. His other name was Sangbong, from the Sangbong Temple, Hwasun, in the province of Chōlla Namdo, where he stayed for a long time.

His senior disciple, Chūnghyo Chōlchung ; 登曉折中

¹This name means "Clear Mirror."

²K., Chūngsot'ap.

(826-900 A.D.)¹ extended Hūngyōng Temple of Mt. Saja in the years of King Hōngang's reign and promoted the Zen spirit of Master Toyun. Through these efforts, the Sajasan School became widely known.

According to The History of Korean Religions, we find the following account about Master Toyun:

The Sajasan Zen School was established by Master Toyun, who was the disciple of Master Nan-ch'uan of China. Master Chūnghyo Chōlchung succeeded Master Toyun.

Master Toyun entered [China in the] T'ang [Dynasty] in 825 A.D., the seventeenth year of the reign of King Hōndōk of Silla and received the "Inka" from Master Nan-ch'uan P'u-yuan. After a long period of Zen practice along with Master Pōmil, he returned home to Silla in 847 A.D., the ninth year of King Mūnsōng's reign, and settled down in Diamond Mountain. Crowds of truth-seekers came to him to learn his Zen spirit. Among them, Chūnghyo Chōlchung became his senior disciple to succeed him in the line of his Zen spirit.

Later, when Master Chūnghyo Chōlchung was staying in Koksan Temple, he came to meet Sōgun of Sajasan, who respected the lofty Zen spirit of Master Chōlchung. So Master Chōlchung moved to Mt. Saja with his followers. Truth-seekers gathered like the clouds over Mt. Saja. King Hōngang, the forty-ninth king of Silla, was one of his followers.

Mt. Saja was situated in Wōnju, in the province of Kangwon-do [now Yōngwōl, Kangwon-do]. The Zen School of Master

¹His biography is also on the inscription of his monument located at Hūngyōng Temple in the province of Kangwōn-do.

Toyun and Chūnghyo Chōlchung became one of the great schools among the nine Zen Schools.¹

The Outline of Korean Zen History, on the other hand, makes the following assertion:

The founder of the Sajasan Zen School is Master Toyun. He was initiated as a monk at the age of eighteen and learned the Avatamsaka Sutra in Kwisin Temple. To inquire more deeply into the Truth, he entered T'ang [China] in the seventeenth year of the reign of King Hōndōk and met Master Nan-ch'uan P'u-yuan. Seeing the sudden enlightenment of Toyun, it is said, Master Nan-ch'uan P'u-yuan sighed, "Our Zen spirit is going away to the Eastern Land."

Master Toyun returned home to Silla together with Master Pōmil and settled in Diamond Mountain. He was respected by King Kyōngmun and passed away at the age of seventy-one. After his death, his senior disciple, Chūnghyo Chōlchung succeeded him and he greatly promoted his teacher's Zen spirit.²

According to the inscription on Master Chūnghyo Chōlchung's monument, written by Ch'ce Ōn-wi 崔彦撫 :

Master Chūnghyo Chōlchung was initiated as a monk by Master Chinjōn 珍儔 of Mt. Ogwan at the age of seven, learned the Avatamsaka Sutra at the age of fifteen, and received Bhiksu Precepts at the age of nineteen.

Becoming senior disciple of Master Toyun, he stayed in Koksan Temple before he moved to Mt. Saja, invited by Sōgun 釋雲. He was respected by Kings Hōngang and

¹Tūk-hwang Kim 金得規, The History of Korean Religions 韓國宗教史 (Seoul: Haemunsa, 1963), p. 139.

²Sang-no Kwon, "Outline of Korean Zen History," op. cit., p. 39.

Chōngang, declined Queen Chinsōng's offer of state monk's position, and died sitting with his legs crossed at the age of seventy-five in 900 A.D., the fourth year of the reign of King Hyogong.¹

Combining the above three references, we find the following: First, Master Toyun, after returning to Silla from China, in the T'ang Dynasty, established the Sajasan Zen School. His Zen spirit was then promoted at the School by both his senior disciple, Chūnghyo Chōlchung and his grand-disciple Sōgun.

I suggest that the Sajasan Zen School could not have come into being without all of these three Zen masters: Toyun, Chūnghyo Chōlchung and Sōgun. Through their combined efforts the Sajasan Zen School became a unique and independent Zen School in Korean Zen history.

Referring again to Chūnghyo Chōlchung's monument inscription, we are informed that he died on March 9th, 900 A.D. The Chosōn Kūmsōk Ch'ongnam² mentions the same date. However the Chosōn Pulgyo T'ongsa states that Chūnghyo Chōlchung died on March 9th in 896 A.D.³

¹Master Chūnghyo Chōlchung's monument is located at Hūngyōng Temple, Yōngwōl, in the province of Kangwōn-do. The inscription of this monument is also recorded in Chosōn Kūmsōk Ch'ongnam, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 157-162.

²Ibid., p. 161.

³Nūng-hwa Yi, Chosōn Pulgyo T'ongsa, Vol. II, p. 17.

From my point of view, the date in the Chosŏn Pulgyo T'ongsa is incorrect, because it does not correspond with his birthdate, which appears in the monument inscription as 826 A.D. He died at the age of seventy-five. This would make the death date 900 A.D. rather than 896 A.D.

It has been stated in the Chodangjip¹ that Master Toyun studied the Avatamsaka Sutra for a long time, but became dissatisfied with the doctrine of Avatamsaka Sutra, and turned his mind to Zen. The reason he did so is this: The Avatamsaka doctrine is a rational theory, the highest level of Chiao philosophy; however, Toyun could not find out the direct way of attaining Buddhahood through scriptural theory.

The Avatamsaka philosophy is highly rational, but it does not offer a way of attaining Buddhahood. Master Toyun gave up hope of attaining Buddhahood from the study of the rational philosophy and turned to Zen.

Zen is not a rational philosophy, but a living one. Fragrant scent can be smelled not from the picture of a flower (scripture), but from a living flower (Zen). Zen is a direct way of pointing to the moon. In other words, Zen is pointing directly to our Mind, or our own

¹See the above translation, p. 185.

Buddha Nature. It is completely beyond philosophical reasoning and beyond all scriptural theories.

The Avatamsaka Sutra, which is the highest level of scriptural teaching in Chiao, explains One Mind or Universal Mind through texts written in pen and ink. Such a sutra relying on written words can be called a "paper Sutra" as compared with Zen, which, pointing to One Mind directly without words can be called a "Mind Sutra".

Reading the Avatamsaka Sutra is like trying to find our way with the help of a map, and practicing Zen is like having someone directly point out the way to us.

There is a Zen quotation which is as follows:

I have one volume of sutras.
It is not made of paper and ink.
There is not even one word in it,
But always it radiates the great
and bright light.¹

The "one volume" in the quote refers to Mind, which is a sutra "not made of paper and ink", as is the Avatamsaka Sutra. In Zen, the Mind is the sutra, and even more, the whole universe is a natural sutra. Winter snow, spring flowers, green leaves in summer, and the harvest moon in autumn are all living words of the Universal Mind, not the written characters of scripture, but the living characters of nature. Thus another Zen poem says:

¹Chin-ho An 安震湖, Songmun Uibōm 釋門儀範 (Seoul: Mansanghae, 1940), p. 201.

The bright moonlight reflected in the
 clear river,
 Is the seal of One Mind.
 The white clouds in the blue sky,
 Are millions of volumes of the Tripitaka.¹

The Avatamsaka Sutra attempts to explain One Mind
 in many volumes of writing. In Zen the whole universe
 is a "Mind Sutra" explaining One Mind everyday, every-
 where without words.

The following quotation emphasizes this point:

An Eastern Indian king invited the 27th
 Patriarch, Prajnatara 般若多羅 to a
 ceremony of scriptural reading. The king
 asked him, "Why aren't you reading any
 sutras?" The Patriarch replied, "Inhaling
 I no longer stay in this secular world.
 Exhaling I have no relationship with all
 beings. In this way I read millions of
 volumes of sutras all the time."²

Instead of reading scripture at a ceremony
 especially for such a purpose, the 27th Patriarch only
 sat meditating. In saying to the king that he was reading
 "millions of volumes of sutras," just by breathing medi-
 tation, he explains this basic Zen point: it is the
 sutra of the Mind which Zen tries to read rather than
 the sutra of books.

There is a story about Zen Master Kao-ling³ 古靈

¹Paekpa Kūngsōn, Notes on Sōnmun Yōmsong (Sunchang
 Korea: Kuamsa, 1811), p. 44.

²Hung-chih Cheng-chueh 宏智正覺 Ts'ung-jung Lu 從
 容錄 (T.D., No. 2004, p. 229).

³His biography and teaching is found in the Chodangjip,
 Vol. XVI, p. 16.

which very clearly expresses the Zen view of the limitation of scripture in trying to realize One Mind. Master Kao-ling had a teacher (name and biography unknown) who always studied the sutras. One spring day the teacher was reading inside his room and a fly was beating against the window, which had been newly pasted with thin white paper and let the light shine faintly through. Seeing this Kao-ling wrote the following words:

The universe outside the window is very vast, but the fly does not know how to get out. Even though beating against the paper window for 100 years, it would be impossible to get out that way.¹

Those who try to reach Nirvana through reading the Avatamsaka Sutra, a book made of paper, are like the fly which tries to get out of the room through the paper window. Even if they read this sutra all their lives, they will have great difficulty in escaping from samsara to nirvana.

Master Toyun, after he had studied the Avatamsaka Sutra for a long time, gave up and turned to Zen because he was unable to find the way to enlightenment. Even though Toyun became dissatisfied with the study of the Avatamsaka Sutra and turned to Zen, that is not the end of the matter. Zen is the heart of Buddhism, and we

¹Ibid (The Chodangjip).

cannot hope to reach enlightenment through study of scriptural philosophy without Zen practice. But after one attains enlightenment, then Chiao and Zen are the same, for both are True. All of Buddha's scriptural words came from Buddha's enlightened mind. They are like the gold nuggets dug out of a rich vein of gold deep in the earth. The nuggets originally came from the gold vein, and in the same way, Buddha's words originally came from Buddha's enlightened mind.

As seen in the above allegory, the man who has attained enlightenment will understand that the scriptural words and Zen teaching are not opposed. As we shall see in the Conclusion of this dissertation, later Korean Zen masters emphasize the unification of Zen and Chiao.

CHAPTER IX

SUMISAN SCHOOL

Located on Mt. Sumi, Naengjōng-ni Kulsan-myōn, Haeju-gun in the province of Hwanghae-do, Kwangjo Temple was the center of the Sumisan School. This temple is no longer in existence today.

Master Iōm (870-936 A.D.) was the founder of the Sumisan School. At the age of twelve he was initiated as a monk by Master Tōngnyang 徳良 at Kaya-ap Temple 伽耶山甲寺, Sōsan-gun, in the province of Ch'ungch'ōng Namdo. Receiving the Bhiksu Precepts from Master Togyōn in 886, he travelled to China in 896 to study Zen under Master Yun-chu Tao-ying 雲居道膺 (?-902). Master Yun-chu Tao-ying gave Iōm the "Inka." And in 911 A.D., Iōm returned to Korea and established himself at Sūnggwang Temple 勝光寺 located in Naju 羅州 in the province of Chōlla Namdo. From there he spread Zen widely.

King Wang Kōn, the first king of the Koryō Dynasty, greatly respected Master Iōm, considering him an arhat and ordered "Kwangjo Temple" built for him at Mt. Sumi 須彌山.

Under Master Iōm were several hundred disciples.

Chōgwang 處光, Chōngnūng 貞能, Kyōngsung 慶崇, were most renowned, and each of them greatly fostered the Zen spirit of the Sumisan School, winning fame and making this the school's most flourishing period.

The Sumisan School was the last school of the Nine Zen Schools to be established. Continuing up to the time of Master Taego in 1356, it and the other eight Zen Schools were unified into the Chogye Sect.

The life of Master Iōm, the founder of the Sumisan School, does not appear in the Chodangjip, but we include it here for the sake of historical chronology, as in the case of Master Tohōn, founder of the Hūiyangsan School.¹

Master Iōm²

Mt. Sumi 彌山 was near the place where Kwangjo Temple 廣照寺 is now situated, that is, Naengjōng-ni, Kūmsan-myōn, Haeju-gun, in the province of Hwanghae-do. Here Master Iōm established his Zen school in 932 A.D. His secular surname was Kim, his holy name was Iōm. His posthumous title was Chinch'ōl 真徹.

¹Part 2, Chapter I.

²His biography is in the inscription on his monument located at Kwangjo Temple, Haeju-gun, in the province of Hwanghae-do.

and the name of his pagoda was "Treasure Moon in the Air"

寶月垂空塔。¹

He was born in Kyōngju in the province of Kyōngsang Namdo in 870 A.D. in the tenth year of King Kyōngmun's 景文 reign. At the age of twelve, he was initiated as a monk by Master Tōngnyang 德良² in the Kaya-ap Temple 伽耶岬寺, Sōsan-gun, in the province of Ch'ungch'ōng Namdo. He received the Bhikṣu Precepts from Master Togyōn 道堅 in 886 A.D., the first year of the reign of King Chōnggang 定康, the fiftieth king of Silla.

The inscription on Master Iōm's monument reads:³

In 896 A.D. he entered T'ang [China], accompanying the royal messenger Ch'oe Ye-hūi 崔普熙 and visited Master Yun-chu Tao-ying 雲居道膺, disciple of Master Tung-shan 洞山良介.⁴

The Master Yun-chu said on seeing him: "Since parting not long ago, why do we meet again so soon?"

Then Iōm replied, "What do you mean by 'meet again' since I have never been separated from you?"

¹K., Powōl Sugongt'ap.

²Tōngnyang's biography is unknown.

³Master Iōm's monument was located at Kwangjo Temple, Haeju-gun, in the province of Hwanghae-do.

⁴Master Yun-chu's teacher: Tung-shan Liang-chieh (807-869 A.D.), a founder of the Ts'ao Tung School. His biography is in the Chodangjip, Vol. VIII, p. 1, and in the Ching-te Ch'uan-teng Lu, Vol. XVII, (T.D., No. 2076, p. 334).

The Master allowed him to enter his room. From then on he attended him for six years, in the heat or cold, rain or shine.

At length Master Yun-chu said, "Because Zen does not depart from a man, he can spread Zen. The spirit of my teacher¹ lies on me and on you rather than anyone else. Now my spirit of Zen goes to the Eastern Land with you. Here I give you the "Inka".²

The first question that was asked by Master Yun-chu Tao-ying can be interpreted as follows:

Master Yun-chu's first question, "Since parting not long ago, why do we meet again so soon?" may be interpreted according to the karmic doctrine of reincarnation. Even though they lived over a thousand miles apart in Korea and China, Yun-chu and Iōm had been together in their previous life. Yun-chu's question expresses his surprise at meeting Iōm again so unexpectedly soon.

We can also explain Master Yun-chu's question from a Zen point of view. Traditionally a Zen master tested a new student with a koan or through some other means, such as using the Zen stick in order to find out the student's capacity for Zen. This is like striking a golden bell to find out what quality of gold it is made

¹Tung-shan Liang-chieh 洞山良介.

²The inscription is recorded in Nung-hwa Yi, Chosōn Pulgyo T'ongsa, Vol. I, p. 163.

of: true sound means it is made of true gold. In a similar manner, Yun-chu was testing Iōm with his question, and Iōm's answer was like a true sound.

Iōm's answer, "What do you mean by 'meet again', since I have never been separated from you," may be explained first in very common terms. Iōm had longed to see Master Yun-chu for many years; and with Yun-chu always in his mind, it was as though they had been together all the time. This is something like a mother always in a baby's mind, and therefore never truly separated from the baby's mind. In the same way, also, two people who love each other and think of each other constantly in their minds are never separated from each other. Iōm's answer may be seen in the same way as these examples.

In terms of Zen there is another explanation for Iōm's answer, which the following poem helps us to understand:

If a man's mind is pure,
Then Buddha is always with him.
If the water is clear,
Then the moonlight is always in it.¹

During many years of his life as a monk, Iōm had purified his mind. Therefore, Yun-chu, like Buddha in

¹The Repentant Way of Worshipping Amitabha 禮念彌陀道場懺法 (Korean Edition), (Korean Tripitaka, No. 650, p. 24).

the poem above, was "always with him", in his purified mind, even though they were separated by miles of land and ocean, even though there was no coming to China, and no going to Korea.

Also, as in the above poem, the moon is 239,000 miles from water, never coming down to water, yet still the moonlight is always reflected in it. Iōm's answer to Yun-chu may be understood in a similar way: even though they were miles apart, and Yun-chu did not come to Korea, nevertheless Yun-chu's spirit was always reflected in Iōm's mind. From this example and the others above, we can see the meaning of Iōm's answer that "I have never been separated from you."

Looking at Iōm's answer from another side, there is a further meaning intended. There is a saying, "1000 things, one body" (萬物一身體), and also, "The Compassion of the same body" (同體慈悲).¹ These thoughts refer to the Buddha's or a Bodhisattva's capacity to look on all beings with compassion, as if of the same nature as himself. This means that if a man is perfectly enlightened, then he is in union with everything in the Universe. The state of being of Buddha

¹See William Edward Soothill (compil.), A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms, op. cit., p. 204.

and the Bodhisattvas was like this, one with all men and all things; and in such a state they became Absolute Being. In Iōm's answer, he indicates that because Yun-chu is like a Buddha, in union with all bodies, then Iōm must therefore be a part of Master Yun-chu, and cannot be separated.

One further shade of meaning might be seen in Iōm's answer, and the following quote helps make this clear:

The bright moon is empty and shadowless
With all the ten-thousand objects in it.¹

The form of a circle (0) is drawn above this quote in Ten Bull Songs by Seiko. This circle represents the "bright moon", which stands for True Emptiness 真空 or Ultimate Truth. The "ten thousand objects" are together in the all-encompassing circle of True Emptiness or Ultimate Truth, from which nothing is separated, and in which there is no need for coming and going. In this sense, Yun-chu and Iōm had never been separated, and Iōm therefore asks Yun-chu how he could say that they had parted, for they had always been together in the circle of True Emptiness.

In answering thus, Iōm took Master Yun-chu's question one step further. In such a test between Zen

¹D. T. Suzuki, Manual of Zen Buddhism (New York: Grove Press, 1960), p. 144; translated from Seiko's Ten Bull Picture Songs. See also p. 369 in this dissertation.

master and student, only those with true Zen understanding pass. Iōm's exceptional answer, like the true sound of the golden bell, won immediate recognition of his greatness by Master Yun-chu, who asked him to enter his room and then went on to teach him for six years, and at last gave him the "Inka", saying that his spirit of Zen would go to the Eastern Land with Iōm.

Thus, Iōm inherited the Zen spirit from the Master Yun-chu. After that he made pilgrimages to all notable Zen places and met many famous masters.

He returned home to Silla in 911 A.D., the fifteenth year of the reign of King Hyogong 孝恭王 and stayed in Sūnggwang Temple 勝光寺 in Naju, which So Yul-hui 蘇律熙,¹ chief of Kimhae province, built for him.

After a while he was invited by the first King of the Koryō Dynasty, T'aejo (Wang Kōn), to his royal court temple, and in 932 A.D., the fifteenth year of King T'aejo's reign, he became abbot of Kwangjo Temple, which was built for him by the decree of King T'aejo. It was situated in Mt. Sumi, Kūmsan-myōn, Haeju-gun, in the province of Hwanghae-do. Crowds of students gathered there to study under him.

¹His biography is unknown.

There are some differences regarding the date of the founding of the head temple of the Sumisan Zen School.

The inscription on Master Iōm's monument says:

In the fifteenth year (932 A.D.) of King T'aejo's reign, the head temple was built on Mt. Sumi in the province of Haeju. It was named Kwangjo Temple, the headquarters of the Sumisan Zen School.¹

The Chosōn Pulgyo T'ongsa states:

In the third year of Changhūng 長興三年 (932 A.D.) the King² built a temple at the southern part of Haeju district, and named it Kwangjo Temple.³

The above two date references are the same. "The third year of Changhūng in the T'ang Dynasty" and "the fifteenth year of King T'aejo's reign in the Koryō Dynasty" both refer to the same year of 932 A.D.

Contrary to the above two assertions, the History of Korean Buddhism claims that:

T'aejo built the temple in the fifth year (931 A.D.) of King Kyōngsun's 敬順王 (Silla Dynasty) reign.⁴

¹Sang-no Kwon, Outline of Korean Zen History, op. cit., p. 274.

²The first king of Koryō Dynasty. His name was T'aejo or Wang Kōn .

³Nung-hwa Yi, Chosōn Pulgyo T'ongsa, Vol. I, p. 162.

⁴Sang-no Kwōn, History of Korean Buddhism, p. 28.

The fifth year (931 A.D.) of Kyōngsun's reign is not the same as the fifteenth year (932 A.D.) of T'aejo's reign, and the third year of Changhūng. It was actually the fourteenth year (931 A.D.) of T'aejo's reign and the second year of Changhūng.

It is probable that the date given both on Iōm's monument inscription and in the Chosōn Pulgyo T'ongsa is the correct one as both of these are important historical sources.

After four years in the Kwangjo Temple, Master Iōm knew that his karmic relationship with this world was about to end. He went to Kaesōng, (capital city of the Koryō Dynasty) to say farewell. At that time, King T'aejo was engaged in the war of unification, so Iōm could not see him.

In 936 A.D. Master Iōm passed away in Oryong Temple 五龍寺 in the capital city of Kaesōng, at the age of sixty-seven. The period of his priesthood had been forty-eight years. He produced hundreds of brilliant disciples, including Ch'ōgwang 處光, Toin 道忍, Hyōnjo 玄照,¹ etc.

By his work and that of his disciples, the Sumisan Zen School was established. It was the last established school among the nine Zen schools of Silla.

¹The biographies of Ch'ōgwang, Toin and Hyōnjo are unknown.

PART THREE

THE TEACHINGS OF MASTER SUNJI (SILLA DYNASTY)

Part 3 is devoted entirely to Sunji, an unusual Korean Zen Master during the time of Silla, who was not connected with the Nine Zen Schools of Silla. Famous in T'ang Dynasty China as well as Silla, he was included in the Chodangjip in Volume 20. Sunji's special significance as a Zen teacher was his use of circle and image forms to express his Zen. The usage of these forms was influenced by his teacher, Yang-shan Hui-chi 仰山慧寂, (814-890) and then developed further in Korea by Sunji.

Great attention is given to Sunji in this dissertation because his life and teachings are found only in the Chodangjip, which has never been translated. The symbolic circle and image forms used by Sunji are rarely found in Zen texts. Thus Master Sunji is introduced here in the hope that Zen scholars in the future will be able to use this material as the basis for further study.

A. Translation from the Chodangjip

[Life and Teachings of Master Sunji]

Master Sōun¹ of Mt. Ogwan 五冠山² succeeded Master Yang-shan Hui-chi 仰山慧寂 (814-890 A.D.) of China as his disciple. His holy name was Sunji, his secular surname being Pak. He came from P'aegang 溟江.³

His family was of the nobility from the generation of his grandfather. Generation after generation, they had served the government as frontier generals, and their loyal deeds were famous in their home country. His mother, whose surname was So, was gentle in her conduct, and well known as a wise mother and good wife in her village. When she conceived Master Sunji she frequently dreamed auspicious dreams. When she delivered him to the world there were many kinds of good omens. We can see by these good omens that he had done many good deeds in his former life.

¹Master Sunji stayed at Sōun Temple, thus he was called Sōun 瑞峯. His biography and teachings are also found in the Ching-te Ch'uan-teng Lu, Vol. XII (T.D. No. 2076, p. 294).

²Mt. Ogwan is located in Changdan 長湍 in the province of Kyōnggi-do.

³P'aegang was the name of P'yōngyang City, in the province of P'yōngan-do, the Silla Dynasty.

When Master Sunji was six or seven years old, he seemed to have already a broad view of Mahayana Buddhism; he showed many extraordinary traits even when playing with other children. As soon as he was ten years old, he loved to learn and study. His manner of speaking was such that his expression seemed high enough to reach the clouds and his theoretical analysis of Tao was so deep as to be able to pierce a mirror. He awoke precociously to Tao, disliked bustling places, and preferred quiet places. At length he earnestly asked his parents to let him become a monk. They could not make him change his mind.

Master Sunji ascended Mt. Ogwan, had his hair cut, and received the Bhiksu Precepts. He was strict in the commandments, clean in his conduct. His behavior was like that of Ts'ao-hsi Bhiksu¹ and his mind was like that of O-chu Bhiksu.² Legend says that in Mt. P'algong³ he came across a Heavenly Being, who invited him to his palace. He found it was like the Tusita Heaven.⁴ There

¹K., Ch'ogyo Pigu 草繫比丘.

²K., Aju Pigu 鶺珠比丘.

³八公山 . It is located in Kyōngsang-do, Korea.

⁴K., Tosolch'ōn 兜率天 . Scripture says it is one of the twenty-eight heavens 二十八天.

he preached when asked and at the end the palace disappeared. Assuming this did occur, how could one experience such a miracle without high virtue and noble conduct? In 858 A.D. he wished to enter China, so he accompanied the royal messenger aboard a ship bound there.

In China he found Master Yang-shan and applied to become his disciple. Allowing him to do so, Master Yang-shan said warmly: "Why are you so late in coming and why is our Dharma-relationship so slow? You have come because you have a purpose. You may stay with me as you please." So Master Sunji studied Zen under him, as earnestly as did Yen-hui 顏回¹ under Confucius or Mahakasyapa under Sakyamuni. Other monks admired him.

In 874 A.D.² Queen Wōnch'ang³ and her son Wi-mu 威武 built Yongōm Temple on Mt. Ogwan and invited him to stay. Thus he settled down in the temple, the name of which was later changed to Sōun 壽端雲.⁴

¹K., An-hwe. Confucius had seventy-two chief disciples. Yen-hui was the wisest among them.

²The fourteenth year of King Kyōngmun's reign.

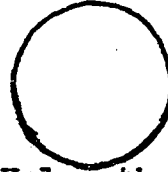
³元昌. She was one of the followers under Master Sunji.

⁴At this point the text abruptly passes from biography of Sunji to his teaching.

Four Pairs and Eight Forms 四對八相

The Venerable Master [Sunji] once preached to his disciples about slowness and speed of attaining enlightenment. One of his teachings involved Four Pairs and Eight Forms.

[A [moon halo form]]



This is the Form of Moon Halo, that is, "Round Form." It comes from "Nirvana Form." Other names for this circle are the "Form of Truth," Buddha, and Mind.

All living beings, as well as all saints, depend upon this form. The circle form looks alike to all beings, but as there are differences of understanding between the ignorant and the enlightened, so there is difference between the ordinary and the holy. Those who understand this form become saints and those who do not understand it are called the common.

Therefore, when Nagarjuna¹ preached the Dharma in Southern India, he presented himself in a very strange

¹ 龍樹. C., Lung-shu. K., Yongsu. He was a native of Southern India, the fourteenth Patriarch. He flourished in the latter half of the second century. He founded the Madhyamika School 中論, generally considered as advocating doctrines of negation, but his aim seems to have been to reach a reality beyond the limitations of positive and negative, the identification of contraries in a higher synthesis, e.g. birth and death, existence and non-existence, eternal and non-eternal.

The principal work of the Madhyamika or middle school, was attributed to Nagarjuna.

manner: his body was like a moon halo. People could only hear his voice but could not see his body.

In the crowd was a disciple named Deva.¹ He said to the crowd, "Do you know what this omen means?" They replied, "Only a saint can understand it." Thereupon Deva made his mind stable in order to realize the meaning of the "Form of the Moon Halo." After seeing it again, he said to the crowd, "This is shown by Nagarjuna in order to expose his Buddha Nature. The form of Formless Samadhi, not that of the master's body, is like the full moon. That is Buddha Nature."

As soon as Deva finished saying this, Master Nagarjuna showed his real body on the seat and preached in this poetic style:

A full moon takes shape in place of the body
To show the true form of Buddha.
Dharma is preached without its form,
Speech is uttered without voice and color.

If another man asks again about this "Form of the Moon Halo," I will answer by writing the letter 牛 (cow) inside the circle.



[A cow inside a circle]

This form shows a cow feeding on Patience Grass.

1 提婆. C., Ti-p'o; K., Teba. His name is called Devabodhisattva, or Aryadeva, or Kanadeva, the one-eyed deva, disciple of Nagarjuna, and Fifteenth Patriarch; a monk of Pataliputra. Along with Nagarjuna he is counted as founder of the San-lun School 三論宗 in China.

Another name for this is the "Form of Attaining Buddhahood by Realizing the Buddha Nature."

The sutra said, "There is a kind of grass named Patience Grass on Snow Mountain.¹ If a cow feeds on this grass it will produce delicious cream. Or, if anyone listens well and seeks after the Great Nirvana, he can see his Buddha Nature." You should keep this in mind. The grass is likened to the Secret Dharma, the cow is likened to a man who can attain immediate enlightenment, and the cream is likened to Buddha Nature. If a cow feeds on grass, it will produce cream; if a man knows Dharma, he will attain perfect enlightenment.



三牛 [Three cows under a circle]

This is the Form of Three Vehicles Seeking for Emptiness. A man of Three Vehicles hears the preaching of Real Emptiness, and he tries hard to get it, but he fails. Thus I drew three cows under a circle to show this. If another asks about this again, I will answer with the Form of Gradual Attainment of Buddhahood by Realizing Buddha Nature.

¹ 雪山. Mt. Himalaya.

④ [A white cow inside a circle]¹

This is The Form of a White Cow in an Empty Field.

An empty field is likened to the Buddha's Land or the Highest Void, and a white cow likened to a man of Secret Wisdom seeking for the Dharma body. Thus I put a cow inside a circle.

Question: Why did you answer with three cows under a circle before and now a cow inside a circle?

Answer: The three cows under a circle are likened to Three Vehicles 三乘,² and a cow in a circle is likened to One Vehicle 一乘.³ Thus, I referred to Temporal Vehicles 權乘⁴ (i.e., Three Vehicles) to show the Real Vehicle 實乘⁵ (i.e., One Vehicle) and make it

¹The drawing: ④ is the same as the above (A cow inside a circle), but the meaning is different. The above is a cow, but this is a white cow.

²Triyana: 三乘. The Three Vehicles which carry living beings across Samsara world to the shores of Nirvana. The three are styled Small, Middle and Big Vehicles 小乘, 中乘, 大乘. Sometimes the three vehicles are defined as Sravaka 聲聞乘, that of the hearer or obedient disciple; Pratyeka-Buddha 辟支佛乘, that of the enlightened for self; these two are described as Hinayana 小乘 because the objective of both is personal salvation; the third is Bodhisattva 菩薩乘, because the objective is the salvation of all the living. The three are also depicted as three carts drawn by a goat, a deer, an ox, or a cow.

³Ekayana: 一乘. It means that the complete law of Buddha is not merely a part, or preliminary stage, as in Hinayana. It is also depicted as one big cart drawn by a white ox, or cow 白牛.

⁴C., Ch'uan-ch'eng; K., Kwōnsūng.

⁵C., Shih-ch'eng; K., Silsūng.

enter into a great realization.

Question: You said before that a cow inside a circle indicated the cow feeding on Patience Grass, and now you put again one cow inside a circle and you call it instead the Form of A White Cow in an Empty Field. Why is the explanation different, despite the same drawing?

Answer: Although the explanation is different, I mean the same circle and the same cow.

Question: If its explanation is different, why did you draw the same symbols in two places?

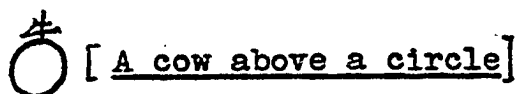
Answer: Although the symbols are not different, slowness and speed of enlightenment are not the same. So I showed the same circle and cow in both places.

Question: If slowness and speed are different, which is slow or fast, the cow feeding on Patience Grass or the white cow in the Empty field?

Answer: The cow feeding on Patience Grass, referred to at the time¹ of preaching the Avatamsaka Sutra, is fast because it directly sees the True Nature. And the white cow in the Empty Field, referred to at the time of preaching the Lotus Sutra 法華經 (Saddharmapundarika), is slow

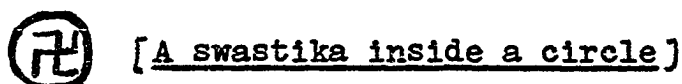
¹According to T'ien-t'ai School, Sakyamuni directly preached the contents of the Avatamsaka Sutra (Doctrine of "One Vehicle") during seven days soon after his enlightenment; during the last eight years of his life he preached the Lotus Sutra.

because it reaches One Vehicle by gathering Three Vehicles.¹ But their principles of attaining Buddhahood are not different. Truth and wisdom are the same, but there are different ways of studying and attaining.



[A cow above a circle]

This is the Form of Attaining Effect on Cultivating Cause. When one maintains the initial determination he attains enlightenment. After one attains perfect enlightenment one does not bother with worldly affairs. His wisdom is that of the "Buddha State" (Buddha-bhumi), and one acts in accordance with his proper position. Thus this form is symbolized and it is said "one follows in the wake of Tathagatas (Buddhas)." If anyone asks about this again, I will answer with the Swastika ☸ as follows:



[A swastika inside a circle]

This is the Form of the Perfect Cause and the Full Effect.

Question: What is the reason that you answer with the Swastika when one asks about the form of the circle with a cow above?

¹ 會三乘故一乘。 The Lotus Sutra declared that the Three Vehicles are really the One Vehicle, which has been revealed in three expedient forms suited to disciples' capacities, the Lotus Sutra being the unifying exposition.

Answer: The circle with the cow above is the Form of Attaining Effect on Cultivating Cause and the circle with the Daśastika inside is the Form of the Perfect Cause and the Full Effect. This answer shows that there is a full effect when one brings a perfect cause.



[A cow under a circle]

This is the Form of Seeking for Emptiness by Hard Practice. This also refers to one who seeks after emptiness in front of a hermitage. It is said in the sutras that one seeks after the way of a bodhisattva for three asamkhyeya kalpas,¹ enduring what is hard to endure, doing what is hard to do, keeping the mind seeking all the time. This form involves all these kinds of practices. If one asks about this form, I will answer with the form of a circle with the letter 王 (king) inside.



[A king inside a circle]

This is the Form of Gradual Attaining of Truth.
To explain this: a bodhisattva studies for kalpas, destroys four Maras²--the maras of the illusions, the

¹ 阿僧祇劫 . "Asamkhyeya" means numberless; "kalpa" means aeon. See footnote 1, p. 270. The three asamkhyeya kalpas refer to the three timeless periods of a bodhisattvas progress to Buddhahood.

² See commentary in this chapter, p. 271.

skandhas, the heavens, and of death, obtains Pure Wisdom (Anasrava), attains Buddhahood and become free from the "force of habit."¹ This form states that the land is peaceful and free from devils all the time because the holy king subdues them.

Two Pairs and Four Forms 兩對四相

The following are Two Pairs and Four Forms that are concerned with the abandoning of falsity and learning truth.



[A cow above a circle with a man inside]

This is the Form of Abandoning the Knowledge of Scriptural Teaching 教. Even when one depends on the One Vehicle dharma preached by Buddha, and understands it fully, one does not know his own nature because of relying entirely upon the preaching of others. If one asks any further about this form, I will tell him to throw away the cow above the circle.



[A man inside a circle]

This is the Form of Knowing the Source and Returning to the Origin. As the sutra says, one stays in

¹ 習氣. The uprising or recurrence of thoughts, passions, or delusions after the passion or delusion has itself been overcome; the remainder or remaining influence of illusion.

the empty land with his mind and spirit, conquers what is hard to conquer, gets free from the bonds of Mara, sits aloof on the Empty Ground, and totally enters Nirvana. Such a man is concerned with this form.

Question: What is the reason that you throw away the cow above the circle and do not throw away the man inside the circle?

Answer: The man inside the circle stands for truth and wisdom, the cow above the circle is likened to man's knowledge by scriptural learning. If a man analyzes the Tripitaka, depending upon scriptural teaching, and cannot expound his own truth and wisdom, he has only scriptural knowledge. But truth and wisdom will appear before his eyes if scriptural knowledge is thrown away. So I threw away the cow above the circle but did not throw away the man inside the circle. The sutra says that you should get rid of the falseness of scriptural knowledge, but not Zen itself.

Question: Why do the ordinary depend only on the scriptural teaching and do not allow themselves to practice Zen?

Answer: How could the enlightened depend on teaching and use vijñāna (mental faculty embracing perception and cognition)? If the ordinary depend only on scriptural teaching, they will get no result.

Question: Is the Tripitaka preached by Buddha useful?

Answer: I am not saying that I do not approve of it, but it is in vain to attempt to realize by depending on scriptural teaching. It was for this reason that Buddha scolded Ananda, saying, "Although you know all the twelve divisions¹ of the Mahayana canon of the Tathagata, which has teachings numberless as the sands of the River Ganges, you are only putting together falsity." It is useless to know by learning and to depend on teaching.

Question: Then why is it said in the sutra teachings, "Those who hear the teaching of Buddha shall have holy fruits," and "Even if you do a good deed as small as the end of a hair, Buddha will stay with you?"

Answer: A man of superior capacity, even though depending on scriptural teaching, realizes truth and wisdom immediately, but a man of inferior capacity cannot realize them, even though he depends on scriptural teaching, and gets no results in spite of his trying to know by learning. However, who can say that he will have no fruit if he sows pure seeds for the future, though he is a man of inferior capacity? All those who hear the teaching of Buddha shall have holy fruits in the future and even a good deed as small as the end of a hair can make Buddha stay with them--still more for those who learn and preach

¹See Commentary, footnote 1, p. 276.

the holy scriptures.



[A cow under a circle with a man inside]

This is the Form of the Mad Head and the Mistaken Shadow. One does not know that his own self is Buddha or Pure Land; he believes there exists a Buddha or Pure Land separate from his own Mind. Therefore, he tries hard to do good deeds, chanting Buddha's holy name, worshipping Buddha, in order to be born in the Pure Land and see Buddha there. Master Pao-chih Kung 寶誌公¹ said that "if one does not know that his own Mind is Buddha, it is like looking for a mule while riding on the mule."² If anyone asks me further about this I will tell him to throw away the cow under the circle.



[A man inside a circle]

This is the Form of Not-Mistaking the Shadow and Recognizing the Head.

Question: Why do you throw away the cow under the circle and not the man inside the circle?

¹K., Pojigong. He lived around 477-499 A.D. during the years of the reign of King Wu-ti of Ch'i. His biography is in the Ching-te Ch'uan-teng Lu, Vol. XXVII (T.D., No. 2076, p. 429).

²Tao-yuan, Ching-te Ch'uan-teng Lu, Vol. XXIV (T.D., No. 2076, p. 449).

Answer: Because man does not realize the real Truth and cannot attain the True Emptiness 真空, he strives to be born in the Pure Land and hear the preaching of Buddha there. But you should make the light turn toward your inner side and realize the Truth and the True Emptiness and find your own Buddha and Pure Land at once. And you should not seek them outside your own Mind. So I did not throw away the man inside the circle but did throw away the cow under the circle.

Question: What is one's own Buddha and Pure Land?

Answer: If a man attains the True Wisdom and True Emptiness, the True Wisdom is his own Buddha; the True Emptiness is the Pure Land.

You should not seek them outside your Mind. As the sutra says, "You should hear your own Buddha speaking."

The Following are (Four Pairs)¹ and Five Forms



[A half circle]

This is the Form of Holding a Box and Seeking its Lid, or the Form of a Half Moon Waiting to be Full.

If one asks me about this form, I will answer by adding another half moon. This means that some one with


¹The heading states that there are "four pairs and five forms." It is my opinion that this is a mistake, made when the text was engraved from wooden blocks. Five forms cannot equal four pairs. Therefore, I have left Four Pairs out in my interpretation. (See footnote 1, p. 284.)

a box asks for the lid and another answers with a lid covering the box. The box and the lid get together and there appears the Form of the Full Moon, which involves all the substance of Buddha.


 [A full circle]

This is the Form of Holding a Jewel (○) and Asking for a Document. If one asks about this form, I will answer by putting a character meaning a certain person (△) inside a circle.

This means that the asker seeks the document certifying a jewel, and is answered with the actual jewel being put in his hands.

 [A character meaning a certain person inside a circle]

This is the Form of Throwing a Hook and Waiting for a Fish. If one asked about this form, I will answer by adding the character of a man (人), beside the character certain person (△). This means the questioner looks for something by throwing a hook and the answer will come with a treasure bowl.

 [A character meaning a man "人" and a certain person "△" inside a circle]

¹In Chinese, both of these characters 佛, 仏 are mutually interchangeable. For the symbol, 佛 is used. In the explanation of this symbol, 仏 is used. Both have the same meaning.

This is the Form of Already Obtaining a Treasure Bowl. If one asks about this form, I will answer again by putting the character "土" (meaning land or earth) into a circle.



[A character meaning the land or earth inside a circle]

This is the Form of the Secret Seal and the Form of Worldly Manifestation of the Transcendent and Unprecedented. This does not belong any longer to the realm of scriptural teaching. Although one stands face to face before something, he cannot see it. So the Third Patriarch (Seng Ts'an) said, "If you miss by the end of a hair then the difference will be as wide as between heaven and earth." It is not that it is impossible to know. Who can understand this form? If someone understands it without saying a word, then he is like Chung-tzu-ch'i 鍾子期 who understands by hearing Pai-ya's harping,¹ and Deva seeing Nargarjuna's moon halo.² If not understood in this way,

¹It is said in Chinese history that Chung-tzu-ch'i became very intimate with Pai-ya. They were both musicians. The former even understood where the latter's mind was, on hearing his harping. After Chung-tzu-ch'i died, Pai-ya did not play his harp, cutting its string because nobody understood his harping well. The term "Pai-ya cuts the string" 伯牙絕絃 is often used by Chinese poets.

²See the Moon Halo Form above (the first of Four Pairs and Eight Forms).

no one can know, even if face to face with it. This is like the man from Szech'wan hearing "White-Snow's Song,"¹ and Sariputra entering Vimalakirti's room.² A clever man can realize suddenly, like a hen pecking hatched eggs; but a slow headed man hardly realizes, in spite of learning; [he is] like a blind man trying to tell of colors.

Once the master preached about three ways of attaining Buddhahood. The first is attaining by realizing the truth; the second by perfecting the practice; and the third is attaining Buddhahood by manifestation.

The first means: the light is turned inward to your own Mind and you attain Buddhahood by realizing suddenly that there is, originally, not even a single thing. This realization is not by doing patiently thousands of practices, but, as it says in the sutra, you get the true realization suddenly when your Mind is

¹ 陽春白雪曲 (Sunny Spring and White Snow Song). It was a song of Ch'u 楚. The people from Szech'wan could not understand it because of their different nations and tongues. "Ch'u" was the name of a feudal State of China, which existed from 740 B.C.-330 A.D. It is now the province of Hupeh. "Szech'wan" 西蜀 now is the province of Sze-ch'wan sheng.

² Sariputra, one of the principal disciples of Sakyamuni, born at Malandagrama; noted for his wisdom and learning, he was the right-hand attendant of Sakyamuni. The followers of the Abhidharma count him as their founder. Vimalakirti 維摩詰 was a native of Vaisali, and he was a contemporary of Sakyamuni. Sariputra once visited Vimalakirti when he was sick, and the former was at a loss because he could not understand the latter's mystic way.

awakened. As the old saying goes, the way to Buddhahood is not far, it is just in the turning of your own Mind.

Concerning the substantial nature (Atmakatva, Dharmata), there is nothing in attaining Buddhahood. But concerning the Trikaya (the three-fold body or nature of Buddha, i.e., Dharmakaya, Sambhogakaya and Nirmanakaya), there are one Buddha and two bodhisattvas. Though there are the three,¹ it is the service of Manjusri Bodhisattva that counts in the case of attaining Buddhahood by realizing the Truth. An old saying goes that Manjusri Bodhisattva is the mother of all Buddhas. This is because all Buddhas can be born by the service of Manjusri. Manjusri means "true wisdom" and all Buddhas attained bodhi

¹ 三身 : Trikaya. These are the threefold-body or nature of Buddha, i.e., Dharmakaya, Sambhogakaya, and Nirmanakaya 法身, 報身, 化身: (1) The Buddha-body in its essential nature; (2) his body of bliss, which he receives for his own use and enjoyment; (3) his body of transformation, by which he can appear in any form, i.e., spiritual or essential, glorified, revealed. To every Buddha Mahayana attributed a threefold-body: that of essential Buddha; that of joy or enjoyment of the fruits of his past saving labors; that of power to transform himself at will to any shape for omnipresent salvation of those who need him. This Trikaya finds different expressions, e.g., some schools say that Vairocana Buddha is the first body, Rocana Buddha is the second, Sakyamuni is the third. According to the esoteric sect, Vairocana Buddha is the first, Amitabha Buddha is the second, Sakyamuni is the third. In this chapter, the Trikaya expressed by Master Sunji is not the same as the above. It follows the Avatamsaka Sutra: Vairocana is the first, which is the principal or universal law; the second is Manjusri Bodhisattva, which is great wisdom; the third is Samantabhadra Bodhisattva which is a great practice or function.

by the help of this true wisdom.

The second way of attaining Buddhahood means that one practices step by step, following the practice and wish of Samantabhadra Bodhisattva. Buddhahood is attained by perfecting the practice and with the perfection of wisdom and compassion. There is an old saying that the place where you arrive through practice is the place where you had started from. When you reach the destination, then you come again to the origin, and this origin (starting point) is the Truth. Truth is not different whether it be attained by realization or by practice.

Attaining Buddhahood by perfecting the practice is related to Samantabhadra Bodhisattva, who is one body of the Trikaya. It is said that Samantabhadra is father of all Buddhas. Samantabhadra is concerned with thousands of practices. All Buddhas attained bodhi by dint of Samantabhadra, hence he is called "father".

The meaning of "one Buddha and two Bodhisattvas" is as follows: The one Buddha, Vairocana, stands for Truth, or principle. The two Bodhisattvas, Manjusri and Samantabhadra, stand for wisdom and practice, respectively. Because this trinity of truth, wisdom and practice are in the same body, all are indispensable. The one Buddha and two Bodhisattvas are mutually complementary, so if one of them is leader the others become followers. Thus,

Vairocana is the leader of peerless truth, Manjusri is the leader in enlightening wisdom, and Samantabhadra is the leader in thousands of practices. Because of this Master Li-tung-hsuan 李通賢 (?-730 A.D.)¹ also said that all Buddhas attained bodhi through these two Bodhisattvas. Manjusri and Samantabhadra became the younger or elder sons for the sake of all Buddhas. This is the meaning of the complementary nature of one Buddha and two Bodhisattvas.

The third means that after attaining Buddhahood by realizing the truth or perfecting practice, one manifests himself into this world to show the way of attaining Buddhahood through the Eight Aspects.

The Eight Aspects² are: (1) Descent from the Tusita Heaven, (2) Entry into Mother's womb, (3) Abode in the womb, (4) Birth from mother's side, (5) Leaving home, (6) Ascetic practice and attaining enlightenment, (7) Turning the Dharma-wheel and (8) Entering Nirvana.

¹C., Li-tung-hsuan; K., Yi T'ong-hyōn. He was a notable scholar of the Hua-yen school, T'ang Dynasty. He authored Hau-yen Ching Ta-i (The Outline of the Avatamsaka Sutra: 華嚴經大意, 1 vol.), and Hau-yen Ching Lun (The Commentary on the Avatamsaka Sutra: 40 vols.).

²This order is the same as in Mahayana Sradhotpada-sastra 大乘起信論. But according to T'ien-t'ai Chiao-I 天台教意, it is slightly different: (1) descendant from Tusita, (2) entry into womb, (3) birth, (4) leaving home, (5) subjection of Mara, (6) attaining perfect wisdom, (7) preaching, (8) Nirvana.

The attainment of Buddhahood through these eight aspects indicates attainment by manifestation. A Buddha who achieved enlightenment through these eight aspects is the Buddha of Manifestation (Nirmanakaya), not the Buddha of Principle (Dharmakaya). It is said in the sutra that a Buddha need not come into the world or enter Nirvana and yet manifests himself of his own free will according to his original great wish.

As the sutra states, "Timeless asamkhyeya kalpas have passed since I attained Buddhahood." Although Sakya-muni had attained the great enlightenment innumerable kalpas 阿僧祇劫 before, he showed mankind the way of attaining Buddhahood by manifesting himself into this world, and he became the fourth Buddha¹ among the thousand Buddhas in the present kalpa. There are one thousand Buddhas in the past kalpa, one thousand in the future Kalpa and one thousand in the present kalpa.² All the Buddhas in these three kalpas came into the world to enlighten mankind and give persons who are going to

¹(a) Krakucchanda 拘留孫佛, (b) Kanakamuni 拘那含牟尼佛 (c) Kasyapa-Buddha 迦葉佛, (d) Sakyamuni who was the fourth Buddha in the present Kalpa.

²The thousand Buddhas of each of three Kalpas are recorded in several Sutras; a complete list is in the Three Thousand Buddha's Names Sutra.

become Buddhas the prophetic records, the ways of which were not different from one another even by one hair. This fact is verified by the sutras and the historical traces, in which the three ways of attaining Buddhahood can be seen.

I hope that those who try to attain Buddhahood will keep in mind, after reading the scriptures, that all of the former and future Buddhas follow the same way as a new traveler, and went the same way as old travelers.

Once Master Sunji preached about the way of realization in three divisions. The first division dealt with "sudden realization of the Truth", the second with the "detour-gradual realization of the Truth", and the third with "gradual realization of the Truth".

There was a saint in a vast plain and his name was Haet'ong.¹ He addressed a mass of people: "From time immemorial, a man does not realize the Buddha Nature, transmigrates in the Triple World, and gets karmic reward in accordance with karmic relationship. Then one day he meets a wise man, hears his true teaching, suddenly realizes Buddha Nature, and attains the right enlightenment. This is 'sudden realization of the Truth,' because

¹C., Ki-tung. He is not a historical figure and there is no source about his life and biography. This is an imaginary name used by Master Sunji to make people clearly understand his Zen doctrine.

it does not depend upon step-by-step procedure. So the sutra said, 'There is a grass named Patience Grass in Snow Mountain. If a cow eats this grass, then it will produce cream.'

There was a hermit, Chit'ong 智通¹ in the crowd. He asked the saint: "Quite a lot of people know that they have their own Buddha Nature in themselves. However, the wise preach the true teaching not for only one person but for all. After hearing the true teaching some realize and some don't realize. Why is it not the same for all people?"

The saint replied to the hermit: "All the Buddha Nature of mankind is originally pure and bright. Some throw away the fundamentals and take the trivial, so they are born again and again in countless time and kalpas, and then the original characters change, to become clever for some and stupid for others. This is the reason why some realize and some do not realize after hearing the same true teaching. The true teaching is not hostile to the unwise or stupid. The sutra said that even as a blind man cannot see the bright sun, so an ignorant man

¹C., Chih-tung; The same name "Chih-tung" (?-611 A.D.) is seen in Hsu Kao-seng Ch'uan, Vol. XVIII (T.D., No. 2060, p. 577). But the name "Chih-tung" in the Chodangjip is not the same person. Again, this is a fictional personage created by Master Sunji to help him expound his Zen teaching.

cannot understand the true teaching."

The hermit asked the saint: "After hearing your teaching I understand that the wise preach not only for one person and it is because of cleverness and stupidity that some realize and others do not. Now, since there is such a difference between the clever and the stupid, what is the use of preaching [to all of them]?"

The saint replied to the hermit: "Listen to me. I will preach for you. The wise are not originally enlightened and the ignorant are not always ignorant. Even the ignorant can become wise if they realize the true teaching, but the wisdom does not come from the outside; the ignorant cannot be wise without the true teaching. Without preaching the true teaching one cannot distinguish the clever from the stupid. If men are too stupid, they will not realize even though they hear the true teaching many times; if men are clever, they will become wise and realize the Buddha Nature as soon as they hear the true teaching. There is no difference between the clever and the stupid but in this [as I have said above]. Therefore you should know that there is no difference between the common and the holy, only between cleverness and stupidity in the character. The wise preach for all, as a hen hatches eggs, all of which the hen can hatch except the ones thrust out of the nest. She loves all the eggs but

cannot hatch the thrust-out ones. So the eggs are responsible, not the hen, whether they are hatched or not. Likewise, the wise preach for all mankind, and the clever realize suddenly but the stupid cannot. How can it be said that the wise love the clever and not the stupid? So it is their character, not the preaching of the wise, that matters when it comes to realizing or not. A sutra also said, 'You should know that preaching is not to make others realize but it is merely Upaya (expedient).' Whether they can realize or not after hearing the Secret Dharma is up to the students, not the wise [the preacher]."

The hermit asked: "What kind of man is the clever character who can realize the Buddha Nature on hearing the true teaching?"

The saint replied: "The man who has to do with the 'enlightened wisdom of Manjusri.'"

The hermit asked: "What is the 'enlightened wisdom of Manjusri?'"

The saint replied: "It is in the Buddha Nature."

The hermit asked: "What is the difference between the enlightened wisdom and the Buddha Nature?"

The saint replied: "The enlightened wisdom and the Buddha Nature are not the same nor different."

The hermit asked: "What do you mean that they are

not the same nor different?"

The saint replied: "The enlightened wisdom is that which realizes; the Buddha Nature is that which is realized. This means that there are subjectivity and objectivity between them. As the old saying goes, 'formless truth can be realized with this knowledgeless Prajna (wisdom).' This is the reason why the enlightened wisdom and the Buddha Nature are not the same things. The enlightened wisdom that realizes is knowledgeless and the Buddha Nature, that is, the Nature which is realized, is formless. This means there is no subjectivity and objectivity between them. As the old saying goes, when wisdom reaches the truth, both subjectivity and objectivity disappear. This is the reason why the enlightened wisdom and the Buddha Nature are not reflected differently."

Hermit Chit'ong solved his questions on hearing the [above] words of the saint's teaching.

Saint Haet'ong preached first for Chit'ong about realizing the Buddha Nature [like the above]. Then, concerning "practice", he preached for the crowd.

There was a wanderer named Haengt'ong 行通¹ in the crowd. He asked the saint: "You have spoken about

¹C., Hsing-tung. This name is not historical and is used in the same way as Haet'ong and Chit'ong.

realization. Now how about 'practice'?"

The saint answered: "When mankind, after realizing the Buddha Nature on hearing the true teaching, does not stop there but practices, in accordance with karmic relationships, compassion and wisdom which benefit both oneself and others--this means 'practice'."

The wanderer asked the saint again: "We heard your preaching, understand the true teaching concerning the Buddha Nature and the 'enlightened wisdom of Manjusri'. Now we hear from you that man, after realizing Buddha Nature, does not stop there but practices in accordance with karmic relationships, compassion and wisdom. What kind of man does such 'practice'?"

The saint replied: "The man who does this 'practice' belongs to the state of Samantabhadra Bodhisattva.

The wanderer asked: "What kind of stage does Samantabhadra Bodhisattva belong to?"

The saint replied: "He belongs to the causative stage and endures to the effective stage. Although he belongs to such a stage, he does not always stay there. When he practices, there are three grades of Samantabhadra."

The wanderer asked: "You say he belongs to stages from the causative to the effective and at the effective stage there are three grades of Samantabhadra. What are the three grades of Samantabhadra?"

The saint replied: "The first is 'Bond-Freeing Samantabhadra' 出纏普賢, the second is 'Bond-Entering Samantabhadra' 入纏普賢, and the third is 'After-Fruition Samantabhadra' 果後普賢."

The wanderer asked: "What about the grade of superiority and inferiority of the three?"

The saint replied: "The grades of the three are not the same. 'Bond-Freeing Samantabhadra' means he does all 'practices' after attaining Buddhahood, but he still has his mind arising to all objects. But he does not worry about being caught in the state of such illusion because he already realized the origin of Mind. As the old saying goes, there is illusion to be cut, but there is Wisdom to cut the illusion."

The wanderer asked: "According to an old saying, 'If one raises the wisdom of realizing the truth, there will be no illusion to be cut'.¹ What does it mean, then?"

The saint replied: "That is Manjusri's 'illusion-cutting' 斷惑. This is because Manjusri had no equivocal form in his Dharma-body when he attained the Buddha Nature. That there is illusion to be cut and wisdom to cut the illusion means Samantabhadra's 'illusion-cutting' 普賢斷惑. This is because Samantabhadra, when

1 若發能證之智,全無所斷之障。

practicing through all the stages, cut illusion and achieved virtue 斷惑成德. Because of this, 'illusion-cutting' and 'virtue-achieving' of the two Bodhisattvas (Manjusri and Samantabhadra) are not the same. Unless you understand the illusion-cutting and virtue-achieving, which are not the same, you will argue over the meaning of them.

The wanderer asked: "Now I see the illusion-cutting of Manjusri is like that. But regarding the illusion-cutting of Samantabhadra, does he cut the 'habit force'¹ or the 'manifested-action'?"²

The saint replied: "Concerning the stage of Samantabhadra, he has no illusion of 'manifested action' in this stage but cuts illusion of 'habit-force' stage after stage."

The wanderer asked: "What are 'manifested-action' and 'habit-force'? Does Samantabhadra really have no illusion of 'manifested action' and only that of 'habit-force'?"

The saint replied: "The common arouse their minds by seeing objects and do not know that front-object 前境

1 習氣. C., Hsi-ch'i; K., Sūpki. The uprising or recurrence of passions, delusions, after the delusions or passions have themselves been overcome; the remaining influence of illusions.

2 現行. C., Hsien-hsing; K., Hyōnhaeng. Sanskrit, Samuda-cara.

and back-object 後境 are not real and they still make Karma. This means the 'manifested action'. The wise arouse the mind by seeing objects, but they know that the objects are only hallucinations and are not caught by even the 'habit-force' of their front-objects. Because Samantabhadra does all kinds of 'practice' after realizing his own Nature, he has no illusion of 'manifested action', only that of 'habit force'. If not to cut the 'habit force', why does he endure that which is hard to endure? If not to attain Buddhahood through compassion and wisdom, why does he practice what is hard to practice? Although he practices compassion and wisdom, that which he practices always depends on the substantial body of the Trikaya.

An old man composed a poem:

All that he makes comes from nature,
 By cultivation he plants trees of virtue.
 He has no intention of seeking his comfort.
 He wishes to save all beings.
 The more he practices compassion, the
 greater it becomes.
 The more he uses wisdom, the deeper it
 becomes.
 He benefits others as well as himself.
 How could a mediocre saint afford this?

Thus, you should know that 'Bond-Freeing samantabhadra' practices compassion and wisdom while he does all kinds of practices depending upon the substantial body. To dwell further upon the 'practices of Samantabhadra', his practices involve both differentiation and unification, contain both 'illusion-cutting' and 'virtue-achieving',

benefit both his own self and others, constitute both wisdom and compassion, and actualize both words and deeds. His practices frequently arouse great function and what arises is all true. He cuts illusions stage by stage. The higher the stage goes, the less the 'habit-force' becomes, and the wider the practices become, the deeper the compassion and wisdom. Thus, starting from the "Ten Stages of Resting"¹ and reaching the "Ten Stages of Bodhisattva,"²

1 十住. The Ten Stages of Resting in Bodhisattva Wisdom: (1) Spiritual resolve, Stage of srota-apanna 須陀洹; (2) Submission to rule, preparation for Sakrdagamin Stage 斯陀舍; (3) Cultivation of Virtue, attainment of Sakrdagamin Stage; (4) Noble birth, preparation for Anagamin Stage 阿那舍; (5) Perfect means, attainment of Anagamin Stage; (6) right mind, preparation for arhatship 阿羅漢; (7) No-retrogression, the attainment of arhatship; (8) Immortal youth, pratyekabuddhahood 辟支弗; (9) Son of the Law king, the conception of bodhisattvahood; (10) Baptism as the summit of attainment, the conception of Buddhahood (from A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms, op. cit., p. 45). There are other interpretations but the above is common.

2 十地. (Dasabhumi). There are several different interpretations of the Ten Stages. One of these is "The Ten Stages of Mahayana Bodhisattvas" development: (1) Pramudita 歡喜地, joy at having overcome the former difficulties and now entering on the path to Buddhahood; (2) Vimala 離垢地, freedom from all possible defilement, the stage of purity; (3) Prabhakari 發光地, the stage of further enlightenment; (4) Arcismati 焰慧地, the stage of glowing wisdom; (5) Sudurjaya 極難勝地, mastery of utmost or final difficulties; (6) Abhimukhi 現前地, the open way of wisdom above definitions of impurity and purity; (7) Durangama 遠行地, proceeding afar, getting above ideas of self in order to save others; (8) Acala 不動地, attainment of calm unperturbedness; (9) Sadhumati 善慧地, the stage of the finest discriminatory wisdom, knowing where and how to save, and possessed of the Ten Powers 十力; (10) Dharmamegha 法雲地, attaining to the fertilizing power of the law-cloud 法雲. Each of the Ten Stages is connected with each of the Ten Paramitas. (A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms, op. cit., p. 47).

"Bond-Freeing Enlightenment" is perfect.

In the second grade, "Bond-Entering Samantabhadra" means "Fellow-feeling Great-compassion" (looking on others sympathetically as being of the same nature as oneself) among all beings.

"Bond-Freeing Samantabhadra" refers to stage by stage action which benefits both himself and others by the extensive practice of compassion and wisdom. Therefore, it involves such meritorious actions as "illusion-cutting" and "virtue-achieving". After these experiences the "Bond-Freeing" is perfected. Then "Bond-Freeing Samantabhadra" is not contented with the place where there is no bond and no pain and anxiety. He enters the secular world of mankind to devote himself to enlightening suffering mankind. Such is called "Bond-Entering Samantabhadra".

When the virtue of "Bond-Entering Samantabhadra" and the virtue of "Bond-Freeing Samantabhadra" equalize each other, and compassion and wisdom are perfected, then he becomes the "Bodhisattva of Absolute Enlightenment"

等覺 .¹ In the next advanced stage, when he is attached to neither "Bond-Entering" nor "Bond-Freeing",

¹The fifty-first stage in the enlightenment of a Bodhisattva, the attainment of Buddha-enlightenment which precedes the "Wonderful-Enlightenment" 妙覺 .

neither compassion nor wisdom, he has reached "Wonderful-Enlightenment 妙覺,¹ that is, the stage of Buddha.

The wonderfully enlightened one never cares about either compassion or wisdom, "Bond-Entering" or "Bond-Freeing," but he possesses all their stages and all their practices in his fruitful virtue.

In the third grade, "After-Fruition Samantabhadra", he practices all the samadhis. At the stage of the "Wonderful-Enlightenment" one does not attach himself to "Bond-Entering" or "Bond-Freeing", compassion or wisdom, but with all the action and virtues attached to these stages, he freely manifests himself among all mankind. Thus, he manifests himself in the body of a man and saves mankind by showing the same mind as that of mankind. He does not stay in one place or position, but moves freely in accordance with the karma of mankind in order to save them. He does not reincarnate in any body of mankind in any other world. He never makes more future karma, nor does he receive the karma of past life. Therefore, the "three Samantabhadras" discussed above are actually not three but one. The three different names refer to the different grades, superior or inferior, in one person's

¹The last stage in the enlightenment of a Bodhisattva: that is, Buddhahood.

"practices". Not only are the "three Samantabhadras" actually one: Manjusri and Samantabhadra are also one person. When one realizes the Truth, he is called Manjusri; when he practices in accordance with karmic relationships, he is called Samantabhadra. Seen from the different sides of his internal realization and external practice, he seems to be two persons. The Avatamsaka doctrine states that there are three aspects of one person: that which realizes, that which is realized, and that which practices.

The Avatamsaka Sutra is titled in Chinese Ta-fang-kuang Fo Hua-yen Ching 大方廣佛華嚴經. The first three words, "Ta-fang-kuang", means the dharma which is preached: that is Vairocana. The second word, "Fo", means the man who realizes the Truth: that is Manjusri. The third word, "Hua-yen", means the practice which is performed by the above man: that is Samantabhadra. That is, there is one universal dharma which is Vairocana Buddha unified with two Bodhisattvas: Manjusri, who is wisdom, and Samantabhadra, who is practice.

One who wishes to practice like Samantabhadra should first finish studying the Truth in temples and next do the practice in accordance with karmic relationships in the world. Then this practice will, of itself, accord with the original Truth. For example, suppose

you made a cart in your house and you drive it outside your house. You will be able to drive the cart without any trouble.¹

Master Sunji's second division concerns the method of "detour-gradual realization of the Truth,"² (i.e., returning from gradual realization to sudden realization of the Truth).

Saint Haet'ong preached as follows:

From time immemorial mankind has not realized its own Buddha Nature and has been transmigrating in the Triple World of Samsara. And amidst this a certain man hears the preaching of Three Vehicles and realizes its vulgar doctrine of Three Vehicles. However, if he, realizing that the Triple World is the world of pain and passion, attains the great wisdom by realizing the truth of One Vehicle, then we call it "the method of returning from gradual realization to sudden realization." So, as the old saying goes, the three kinds of small carts before the gate (an allegory of Three Vehicles) can be drawn only by small mules (men of Three Vehicles). But the superlatively biggest Vehicle can be drawn on only by the big white ox or cow lying on the ground (the big white ox is likened to the man of One Vehicle).

Hermit Chit'ong asked the saint: "Is there any difference between the man who returned to sudden

¹Making a cart in the house is analogous to studying the Truth in a temple; driving the cart outside corresponds to practice.

²See p. 228.

realization from gradual realization and the man who suddenly realized the Truth?"

The saint answered: "The man who returned to sudden realization from gradual realization, even if he had fallen into the lower Three Vehicles, did not stay there but came out. He returned to sudden realization from gradual realization. Then although the process is different, the result is the same as that of the man who suddenly realized the Truth. A hundred rivers lose their names when they enter a great sea, so, Three Vehicles lose their names when they return to the highest - One Vehicle."

"Thus, there is no difference between the man returning to sudden realization from gradual realization and the man who suddenly realized the Truth. Therefore, those who hear my preaching need not worry about knowing the difference between the 'returning to sudden realization from gradual realization' and the 'sudden realization'. Only try hard to realize the Ultimate Truth by returning quickly from the mind that is bound to worldly relationships."

Hermit Chit'ong understood the preaching and kept quiet without a word. Then wanderer Haengtong asked the saint: "We appreciate your preaching very much. If a man suddenly realizes the Truth and does not remain attached to it, and practices in accordance with karmic

relationships, then he can be called Samantabhadra. Will there be any man who does all the practices after he returns to sudden realization from gradual realization?"

The saint replied: "There will be. The reason is that one who has returned to sudden realization from gradual realization is none other than the white ox or cow in the empty field or land. Since this white ox does not stay in the empty land but moves around, there will be those who do all the practices. The empty land indicates the realized Dharma, that is Vairocana, and the white ox indicates the realizing man, Manjusri. The white ox drawing the vehicle without staying there indicates Samantabhadra. This practice of Samantabhadra means all practices 衆行."

The above is the general meaning of [Master Sunji's] second division. If you observe the meaning well, you will understand the difference between the "returning to sudden realization from gradual realization" and "sudden realization".

The third division¹ deals with "gradual realization of the Truth."

Once Saint Haet'ong preached:

"From time immemorial mankind has not realized the

¹See p.228.

Buddha Nature, transmigrates in the Triple World, gets rewarded in accordance with karmic relationships. Then one day a certain man hears a doctrine of gradual teaching and he begins to realize gradually."

Along the "Six Stages"¹ and through three Asamkheya Kalpas, he endures that which is hard to endure and practices that which is hard to practice, cuts illusions, achieves virtue, and at length he attains the purest Truth and gets the Dharma body. Such is the gradual realization of the Truth.

Thus, an old poem:

One thought originally at the root of the
faith
Is known by all Buddhas.
Cause cultivated today
Can attain effect in the future.

1 六 位. The Six Stages of Bodhisattva development: (1) Ten stages of faith + 信 ; (2) Ten stages of resting + 住 ; (3) Ten stages of turning forwards + 迴 向 : parinamana; (4) Ten stages of Bodhisattvahood + 地 : Dasabhumi; (5) The absolute enlightenment + 覺 : Samyak Sambodhi; (6) The wonderful enlightenment 妙 覺 . These are from the older Hau-yen Ching.

Through Three Great Asamkheya Kalpas
 Keep practicing Six Paramitas.¹
 Then you sow the seed of the purest wisdom
 Yes, then such can be called the wonderful
 virtue.

Hermit Chit'ong asked the saint: "What is the difference between the man of gradual realization and the man of sudden realization?"

The saint told the hermit: "Though the words 'gradual' and 'sudden' are different, the goal is the same. It is like rivers entering the same salty sea. The gradual cannot be different from the sudden after it reaches the goal."

Hermit Chit'ong understood well the saint's preaching and remained silent without expressing an opposing opinion.

Then wanderer Haet'ong asked the saint: "You said before that one does all the practices even after he realizes the Truth suddenly. Now is it also the same

1 六度 or 六波羅密。 The six methods that ferry one beyond the sea of Samsara to Nirvana, i.e., the six paramitas: (1) Dana 布施, charity, or giving, including the bestowing of the Truth on others; (2) Sila 持戒, keeping the commandments; (3) Ksanti 忍辱, patience under insult; (4) Virya 精進, zeal and progress; (5) Dhyana 禪定, meditation or contemplation; (6) Prajna 智慧, wisdom, the power to discern reality or Truth. It is the last which carries one across the Samsara to the shore of Nirvana. The opposite of these six are meanness, wickedness, anger, sloth, a distracted mind, and ignorance. The Vijnaptimatrasiddhi-sastra 唯識論 adds four other paramitas: (7) Upaya 方便, the use of appropriate means; (8) Paranidhana 願, pious vows; (9) Bala 力, power of fulfillment; (10) Jnana 智, knowledge.

with the one who realized the Truth gradually?"

The saint replied: "Yes, it is, but the practice of the former is different from that of the latter. I previously dealt with the practice of the three grades of Samantabhadra, practicing through 'Bond-Freeing', 'Bond-Entering', and 'After-Fruition' along all the stages after their sudden realization.

"But gradual realization is thus: depending on the expedient of gradual teaching, one cultivates numerous bodhisattva-practices through three asamkheya kalpas until he attains the purest wisdom and Dharma body. Such is called the gradual realization of the Truth. Because the practices after gradual realization are done according to stages and grades, they are different from those of sudden realization."

The wanderer asked: "In the former sermons, you have used such expressions as 'the man who realizes,' 'the Dharma which is realized,' or 'the man who practices in accordance with karmic relationships.' Now will such expressions be used also in this matter? Please tell me."

The saint replied: "Yes, I think so. The man who realizes attains the purest Truth, that is Sambhogakaya 報身 . The Dharma which is realized is Reality, that is Dharmakaya 法身 . The man who practices this Dharma (Dharmakaya) is also the one who attained the purest

Truth. He does not stay in the position of Fruition, but saves all mankind in accordance with karmic relationships. Such a man is called one who practices in accordance with karmic relationships, that is Nirmanakaya 化身."

Master Sunji passed away at the age of sixty-five. His posthumous title was Yo-o 了悟 and the name of his pagoda was "True Source" 真原.¹

B. Commentary (Master Sunji)

Although Master Sunji was not involved with the nine Zen schools of Silla, he was a great Zen master in the time of the Silla Dynasty in Korea and the T'ang Dynasty in China. As a result he was included in the Chodangjip, which was compiled in China. His fame concerning the Zen spirit was widely known both in Silla and China, T'ang Dynasty.

In 858 A.D. he entered China and studied Zen under Master Yang-shan Hui-chi 仰山慧寂 (814-890 A.D.). Master Sunji was so strict in keeping the commandments that he was likened to Ts'ao-hsi Bhiksu and O-chu Bhiksu. This is a story concerning them:²

¹K., Chinwon Tap.

²Asvaghosa 馬鳴, Vyuharaja 大莊嚴論, Tr. by Kumarajiva (No. 242 of Korean Tripitaka: 高麗大藏經, ed. by Taejang Togam, Kanghwa-do, Korea: Koryō Government Press, 1236-55), Vol. III, p. 23.

In the years when Sakyamuni was alive, there was a group of bhiksus who wandered about begging and propagating Buddhism. Once they were raided by bandits in a mountain path and were robbed of all their clothes and food. After the robbery the bandits were going to kill all the bhiksus, since they thought the bhiksus might tell the authorities about the robbery.

Among the bandits, there was an apostate, who, though he had become a bandit after violating the bhiksu commandments, felt pity for the bhiksus and said to his bandit-colleagues:

"Without using swords or cudgels that cause hateful bleeding, I know how to make them die themselves. I was once a monk and know that Buddha said that a bhiksu should not dig up or cut even a live blade of grass. So, if we tie them to the grass beside the road, they will not cut the grass to flee away because they cannot violate the commandment, and they will die of hunger. You need not kill them cruelly."

The band of robbers were half in doubt, but the ex-monk was so eager in urging them that they did as he suggested. They tied the monks to the grass and went away.

The bhiksus could hardly endure the beating sun and biting of reptiles as they were tied to the grass. One of the young monks proposed to the older monks:

"However holy the Buddhist commandments may be, I think we had better cut this grass and live, rather than die of hunger."

But the older monks warned him, scolding:

"Once you have become a monk after having felt the transiency of life, and have made up your mind to practice Zen, study the wisdom and keep the Buddhist commandments, you should not break it. You should rather live for only one day with the commandment than live for one hundred days without the commandment."

Thus, the young monks became patient again and they remained tied to the grass.

But the king of the country happened to pass by them on his way home from goat-hunting. He told his attendants to ask what had happened. The attendants reported all the circumstances to the king.

The king was very much moved to hear the story, descended from his elephant and untied them with his own hands. After that he invited them to his royal banquet and said in praise:

As king of this country I punish law-breakers to keep this country in order. I lock the minor offenders in prison, and have felons decapitated. Despite this penal measure, criminals follow, one after another, everyday. How great Sakyamuni is that he can have his commandment kept, even at the expense of life! I admire Him deeply.¹

¹Ibid., p. 24.

Thus they came to be called "Ts'ao-hsi Bhiksu" (meaning "grass-tied bhiksu").

The story concerning O-chu Bhiksu¹ is as follows:

There was once a certain bhiksu in the days of Sakyamuni. One day he begged from a jeweller who went inside to fetch something for the monk, leaving behind a bright jewel which he was cutting. At that moment a goose came up. The red kasya (robe) which the monk was wearing was reflected in the jewel. Mistaking it for a piece of meat, the goose swallowed the jewel.

The jeweller came out, offered alms to the monk, and saw that the jewel had disappeared. Greatly embarrassed, he looked for it, and asked the monk:

"Did you see a jewel that I left here?"

"Yes, I did."

"But I wonder what happened to the jewel? I can't find it."

"I saw it a little while ago, but I don't know how it disappeared."

"You said you did see it. And now you say you don't know. Have you been somewhere while I was inside?"

"No, I was here just as I am."

"Then, someone else was here?"

"No."

¹Ibid., p. 25.

"Then, I don't understand. No one else but you could have taken it."

"No. As a bhiksu, I cannot do such a thing."

He knew well what had happened to the jewel. But if he had explained, the goose would have been killed. So he pretended not to know, for the sake of the goose.

"Monk, listen to me, please. If no one else was here and you yourself did not hide it, how could the jewel disappear?"

"Yes, that's very strange. I am wondering, too."

Hearing this, the jeweller was very much infuriated. If he did not offer this jewel to the royal court the next day, his life would be in danger. So he was very impatient.

"I am sorry to talk like this, but you had better take it from your pocket."

"You are talking nonsense. I did not take it or hide it."

"You mean it flew away like a bird, or disappeared under the ground like a mole? Please give it back to me."

"I assure you, I never took it."

Greatly enraged, the jeweller called his workers and told them to tie him up and beat him. The body of the monk was bleeding but he did not say a word. At this point the goose, smelling the blood, came up and began to lick it from the man's body.

The angry jeweller kicked the goose away in the fury of his passion. Struck at a vital point, the goose died, its wings flapping. Then the monk opened his mouth.

"Please untie me. I will confess what I have seen."

The jeweller remarked, "Even a monk is worth beating. Beaten, he begins to speak."

Saying so, he untied him.

"Speak out quickly. If you talk nonsense again I will beat you to death."

The monk spoke with clear voice.

"The jewel is not taken away by me or anyone else. The fact is that the goose, now dead, swallowed it up."

"Why didn't you say so earlier?"

"I wish I could have, but I didn't want the goose to be killed."

Hearing this, the jeweller apologized to the monk. He severed the bowel of the dead goose and found the lost jewel. The jeweller was greatly moved by the conduct of the monk, so he regarded him as his master and provided him with food and clothes for the rest of his life.

From this episode the name of O-chu Bhiksu came. O-chu means "the jewel of the goose."

Both Ts'ao-hsi Bhiksu and O-chu Bhiksu were respected as exemplary monks in Buddhist communities, and the religious austerities of Master Sunji were compared

with those of Ts'ao-hsi Bhiksu and O-chu Bhiksu.

Master Sunji tried to illustrate the profundity of Zen by resorting to Four Pairs and Eight Forms, Two Pairs and Four Forms, and (Four Pairs)¹ and Five Forms.²

Comments on the Four Pairs and Eight Forms: 四對八相

First Pair 初一對

1. A Circle Form: ○ 圓相

The Form of Nirvana or Form of Buddha and Mind, or Form of Moon Halo 月輪相. This image is used also by other masters.

In the Commentary on Diamond Sutra, Chinese Master Fu-tashi 傅大師 (?-499 A.D.) drew this circle form (○) and recited:

Formless greatest king of Dharma,
Is neither short nor long.
Originally it is neither black nor white,
But it looks blue or yellow from place to place.
Flowers show the splendour of Spring,
And falling leaves tell that Autumn is here.
Even thunder cannot match it,
It is faster than lightning.
The common man and the saint can hardly guess,
Neither can ghosts and devils,
Neither the old nor the contemporary.
Only by necessity it is called Prajna Paramita.²

¹See footnote on page 220.

²Hamhō Tūkt'ong, Commentary on Diamond Sutra, (Kangwōn-do, Korea: Yongboksa, 1632), Vol. I, p. 9.

摩訶大法王，無短亦無長。
 本來非皂白，隨處現青黃。
 花發看朝艷，林彫逐晚霜。
 疾雷何大擊，迅電亦非光。
 凡聖元難測，龍天豈度量。
 古今人不識，權立號金剛。

From Fu-tashi's poem, we can see that Prajna Paramita is another name of the circle form (0).

Korean Master Hamhō Tūkt'ong 涵虛得通 (1376-1433 A.D.), one of the greatest Zen masters in the time of Yi Dynasty, explained this circle form in the Commentary on Diamond Sutra:

The form of Circle was first shown by Nagarjuna Bodhisattva as a halo around his head, but the first master who drew it with a writing brush was Nan-yang Hui-chung 南陽慧忠 (677-744 A.D.) of China.¹

Here is the story concerning Nan-yang Hui-chung. Master Nan-yang Hui-chung drew ninety-seven forms of circles and transmitted them to his disciple Tan-yuan Ying-chen 耽源應真,² who again handed them down to his disciple Yang-shan, saying:

My Master Nan-yang Hui-chung gave me these ninety-seven forms of circles and passed away,

¹Ibid.

²His biography is in Ching-te Ch'uan-teng Lu (T.D. No. 2076, p. 304); and the Chodangjip, Vol. IV, p. 5. The dates of his birth and death unknown.

saying "In three years a monk will come from the south to advance Zen greatly and then don't fail to hand over these forms to him." Now I think my master's last words referred to you, so here I give you them. Take good care of them.¹

However, Yang-shan, having received them, gave them a glance, and threw them into a brazier to burn.

"The forms are the most important things transmitted from Patriarch to Patriarch. How dare you burn them?" asked Tan-yuan.

"Because I can draw them again anytime when they are needed. I need not keep them with me," replied Yang-shan.

"That is all right if they are only for your own use. What about the disciples?"

On hearing this, Yang-shan drew one circle (0) on a paper and gave it to him. This meant that all the ninety-seven forms of circle were integrated in one circle.

One day when Master Tan-yuan was preaching, Yang-shan, who was among the crowd, came forward, and formed a circle with his arms, as if he would receive something from Tan-yuan. Seeing this gesture, Tan-yuan stretched out his fists to him as if he had given him something. Yang-shan walked forward three steps to him and bowed with

¹Hui-yen Chih-chao 晦岩智昭, Jen-t'ien Yen-mu
人天眼目, Vol. IV (T.D., No. 2006, p. 321).

folded hands, and Tan-yuan nodded his head in his turn.

One possible explanation for the above Zen interplay will be presented here. Yang-shan burned up Master Tan-yuan's 97 circle forms and gave him back one circle on a piece of paper in return. His teacher, Tan-yuan, however, did not give him the "Inka" for this act; he gave him no response at all. Later, Yang-san interrupted his teacher Tan-yuan's lecture by standing with his arms in front of him forming a circle, "as if he would receive something from Tan-yuan." In doing this, Yang-shan was asking his Master Tan-yuan to recognize the meaning of his arm circle, which meant the same circle as the one he gave Tan-yuan expecting to receive the "Inka." Tan-yuan's extended fist was the sign of the "Inka", and it contained profound hidden significance. His fist is the total universe, or Absolute Being. Outside of this fist there is nothing: fist is Universe, and Universe is fist. When Yang-shan bowed, he bowed not to his teacher personally, but to his fist, and the Oneness of the Universe which it signified.

The following story is similar:

Nan-chuan 南泉普願, Kuei t'sung 皎宗智常
and Ma-ku 麻谷宝微 went together to visit
Master Nan-yuang Hui-chung. On the way,
Nan-chuan drew a circle on the ground and
said, "If you explain it, then we will
visit Nan-yuang." Then Kuei-t'sung sat
inside the circle, and Ma-ku bowed to him

with a woman's bow.¹

In drawing the circle in this story, Nan-chuan set the stage for the silent communication between Kuei-t'sung and Ma-ku. When Kuei-t'sung sits in this circle, he sits in the circle of Absolute Truth, and of Absolute Being, or Buddha, apart from which there is nothing. Yang-shan's bow to Tan-yuang in the preceding story is also the same as Ma-ku's bow here. Ma-ku does not bow to Kuei-t'sung personally, but to the Absolute Being which his seated form in the circle represents. In this story, Kuei-t'sung's action in response to the circle drawn by Nan-chuan is like a singer singing a song, and Ma-ku's bow to the seated figure of Kuei-t'sung in the circle is like someone accompanying the singer on a musical instrument. In the same way, Tan-yuan's action in response to Yang-shan's arm circle and Yang-shan's bow to Tan-yuan's fist are like singer and accompanist. This is true communication without words between Zen masters and disciples.

According to Hamhō Tūktōng:

Zen calls this circle form the "First one phrase" 第一句 or the "Highest one phrase" 向上句; Chiao calls it the purest Dharma Dhatu 最清淨法界; Confucianism calls

¹Kato Totsu 加藤 咄堂, Hekiganroku daikōja (Tokyo: Heibonsha 平凡社, 1930), Vol. IX, p. 205. In reference to "woman's bow" in the quotation, in oriental cultures, a woman's bow expresses very deep respect.

it the "Unified one Tai-chi 統體-太極;
Taoism calls it the "Mother of Universe"
天下母。

Even before the old Buddha was born,
It was infinitely bright all around.
Even Sakyamuni cannot know its meaning,
Much less can Mahakasyapa transmit its
mysteries.

And,

Its Divine light does not go out,
It shines bright eternally.
Those who enter this gate
Should give up rational understanding.¹

"Divine light" indicates this circle-form and
Buddha Nature. It shines bright eternally.

2. A Cow Inside a Circle (牛)

The Form of a Cow Feeding on Patience Grass or The
Form of Attaining Buddhahood by Realizing the Buddha
Nature. The form is based on a sutra which Master Sunji
quoted from the chapter "Simhananda Bodhisattva" in the
Mahapari-nirvana Sutra:² "There is a kind of grass named
Patience Grass on Snow Mountain. If a cow feeds on
this grass it will produce delicious cream. Or, if
anyone listens well and seeks after the Great Nirvana

¹Hamho Tukt'ong, the Commentary on the Diamond
Sutra, ed. by Han-am Pang, (Kangwon-do, Korea: Sangwonsa
1937) p. 11.

²大般涅槃經, tr. by Kharmaraksa, A.D. 423. It
is sometimes called Northern Tripitaka, when compared with
its revision, the Southern Tripitaka 南本大涅槃經 (南
傳藏經) produced in Chien-yeh, the modern Nanking,
by two Chinese monks, Hui-yen and Hui-kuan, and a literary
man, Hsieh Lang-yuen. The latter part of the Mahapari-
nirvana Sutra 涅槃經後本, tr. by Jnanabhadrā to-
gether with Hui-ning and others of the T'ang Dynasty.

he can see his Buddha Nature."¹ To explain this, Master Sunjia wrote the character cow (牛) inside the circle. The cow represents man, the circle represents the pasture of Patience Grass on Snow Mountain;² that is, the Secret Dharma in the universe. If the cow eats the Patience Grass it will produce delicious cream for the people. Likewise, if a man partakes of the Secret Dharma he will produce Great Wisdom benefiting the people. But if the cow does not feed on the Patience Grass it will not produce delicious cream, and if the man does not experience the Secret Dharma he will not produce the Great Wisdom. It cannot be said that the Secret Dharma does not exist only because the man did not experience it and produce Great Wisdom, just as it cannot be said that Patience Grass does not exist simply because the cow did not graze on it and produce delicious cream.

Using a similar metaphor, Great Wisdom may be likened to an untapped fountain of underground water. If a man needing water makes the effort to dig deeply he will find the endless source of water. If he does not dig, the water will remain hidden. But again, whether the man digs or not the water will be there. That there

¹See translation, p. 211.

²See translation, p. 211, footnote no. 1.

is no water is not proven merely because it is buried underground.

This metaphor parallels Master Sunji's circle form: the man digging for water is like the cow feeding on the Patience Grass. Master Sunji, who was conversant with both Zen and Chiao, preached first the circle-form of Zen and explained next about Patience Grass as quoted from Mahapari-nirvana Sutra, likening the grass to the Secret Dharma, the cow to the man with sudden enlightenment, and cream to the Buddha Nature.

The Second Pair 第 = 對

3. Three Cows Under One Circle



In this form drawn by Sunji, the circle represents True Emptiness, and the three cows have the same meaning as the three vehicles found on the Lotus Sutra. Originally the three vehicles in the Lotus Sutra represented both the three different levels of men who seek for the truth, and the three different levels of Buddhist doctrines. They were as follows: (a) goat-carts, representing Sravakas, (b) deer-carts, Pratyeka-buddhas, and (c) bullock-carts, Bodhisattvas. Sunji's three cows, like the three vehicles in the Lotus Sutra, are meant to represent both the three levels of men who seek for truth and the three different levels of Buddhist doctrines.

Although the symbols "cow" and "vehicle" are different, the meaning of Sunji's three cows and the three vehicles in the Lotus Sutra is the same.

In the Lotus Sutra Buddha explained himself using the three vehicles in the following story:

Once there was an old millionaire who lived in a big mansion with a large number of slaves. More than 500 people were living in that mansion which had only one big gate. One day a fire broke out in that mansion, where there were thirty sons of the millionaire. The millionaire, who happened to be out when the fire broke out, hurried back home. The flames were scorching the sky, but his children, he found, were playing in that house regardless of the fire. The fire was very near but they seemed not to care anything about it at all. The millionaire, very excited, shouted to them to come out. But they were only staring at him and the circumstances were that he could not go into the mansion to force them out. So the millionaire thought of an expedient way to make them walk out by themselves. He told them with a loud voice that he had out there many toy-carts for goat, deer and bullock that they liked to play with. The allurements were effective: all the children rushed out of the house to get the toy-carts...¹

In this story, the father is Buddha, the burning house is the samsara world, and the three carts (or three vehicles) are the three different levels of doctrine for the three different levels of men, used by Buddha to save

¹Lotus Sutra 法華經, tr. in Chinese by Kumarajiva, (Korean edition), (Seoul: Chōnch'uksa, 1966) p. 119.

men from the suffering of Samsara.

We also find the use of three different animals in the Nirvana Sutra as follows:

The three animals -- hare, horse, elephant -- crossing a stream. The sravaka is like the hare who crosses by swimming on the surface; the pratyeka-buddha is like the horse who crosses deeper than the hare; the bodhisattva is like the elephant who walks on the bottom.¹

In this quotation, the stream represents the samsara world like the burning house in the Lotus Sutra, and the other shore is Nirvana. The three animals in this story, and the three vehicles of the Lotus Sutra, and Sunji's three cows, although they are different symbols, represent the same things-- the three levels of men seeking Truth, and the three levels of Buddha's teachings.

4. A White Cow Inside a Circle²

The White Cow in an Empty Field. The Empty Field means the Buddha Land or the Highest Void; the White Cow indicates the highest level of man seeking for the highest

1 三獸渡河。 William E. Soothill & Lewis Hodus (compil.), A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms, (London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co. Ltd., 1937) p. 70, quoting the Nirvana Sutra.

²See Translation, p. 212, Footnote 1.

void. This refers to One Buddha-yana of Returning to One Vehicle From Three Vehicles that was written in the Lotus Sutra:

When all the children ran out of the burning house, they asked their father for the promised toy-carts. However, the father gave each of them a real cart drawn by a big, white bullock. So they unexpectedly came to get a bullock-cart. The harness was luxurious, decorated with jewels, and the big bullock was very strong and beautiful with a snow-white body, and could run as fast as the wind.¹

This alludes to "Returning to One Vehicle From Three Vehicles" 會三乘歸一乘. The burning house is the world of passion and illusion, and the big white bullock is the One Vehicle² or the One Buddha-yana to which the Three Vehicles Returned.

The Lotus Sutra admits the existence of only One Vehicle (Ekayana: 一乘) to convey all beings out of the burning house, or across the ocean of suffering life, although it also admits the temporary existence of the Three Vehicles (Triyana). For expediency, these Three

¹Lotus Sutra, op. cit., p. 126.

²Ekayana, One Yana, the One Yana, the vehicle of one-ness. The one Buddha-yana. The One Vehicle, which contains the final or complete law of the Buddha and not merely a part, or preliminary stage, as in Hinayana. Mahayanists claim it as the perfect and only way to the shore of pari-nirvana. It is especially the doctrine of the Lotus Sutra.

Vehicles are taught, but ultimately they all return to the One Vehicle or the One Buddha-yana - 佛乘。

The Third Pair 第三對

5. A Cow Above a Circle 牛 ○

The Form of Attaining Effect on Cultivating Cause.

This refers to attaining Buddhahood (effect) as soon as one starts to discipline his mind (cause). The Character "牛" (cow) above the circle indicated the Buddha-effect, a target which one tries to reach. The circle indicated the cause of practice; its roundness means the perfection of practice on cultivating one's mind. This drawing suggests that "at the very moment of the initial determination to seek enlightenment, the novice enters into the status of perfect enlightenment."¹

There are many cases of such abrupt enlightenment recorded in the Buddhist sutras. In the New Translation of Buddhist Bible, Kizu Muan 木津無菴 quoted the Lotus Sutra (Chapter Four, Devadatta Bodhisattva):

The Naga King of the ocean palace north of Mt. Meru, possessed priceless pearls; the eight-year-old daughter of the Naga King instantly attained enlightenment,

¹This is a major doctrine of the Avatamsaka school which is discussed in the Hua-yen Ching. Other schools dispute the point.

listening to Buddha's preaching. And a butcher named Kuang-o 廣額屠兒 attained enlightenment suddenly on hearing Buddha's preaching.¹

While the school of gradual enlightenment holds that one can attain Buddhahood only by step-by-step process of practice, the school of abrupt enlightenment or Zen school advocates that one can attain enlightenment at the initial moment of determination to seek enlightenment 初發心時便成正覺。

6. Swastika Inside a Circle (卍)

The Form of Cause and Full Effect. The Circle indicates perfection of cause, i.e. accomplishment of all practices; the Swastika² (卍), fulfillment of effect, i.e. attainment of the effect -- Buddhahood.

The swastika symbol is said to be on Buddha's breast and is supposed to be a lucky sign, symbolizing attainment of Buddhahood. Transmitted as a form of seacloud 海雲 or cirrus in India, it is used as a

¹Kizu Muan (ed.), New Translation of Buddhist Bible (Nagoya, Japan: Nagoya Buddhist Association, 1925), p. 1481, quoting the Mahapari-nirvana Sutra.

²It has other spellings in Sanskrit: sauvastika 塞縛室底迦 and Srivatsa 室利末瑳。 See William E. Soothill and Lewis Hodous, A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms, (London; Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1937), p. 203.

fancy form of 萬 or 卍, and is also written in a form said to resemble a curl. It is a mystic diagram of great antiquity. This is to be distinguished from 卍 svastika,¹ the crampoms of which turn to the right.

The Fourth Pair 第四對

7. A Cow Under a Circle



The Form of Seeking for Emptiness by Hard Practice.

Master Sunji explained this form, saying, "One seeks after the way of a Bodhisattva for three asamkhyeya Kalpas, enduring what is hard to endure, doing what is hard to do."

This means the Bodhisattva progresses to Buddhahood through hard practice over many, many lives. Buddhahood is not attained abruptly, but gradually, with slow, steady accumulation of merit. Such a view is analogous to a long journey, several thousand miles, which cannot be made at once but must be gradually completed by steadfast perserverance over many days. The traveller must go

¹See William E. Soothill and Lewis Hodous, A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms, op. cit., p. 203.

on foot over fields, mountains and many difficult obstacles before reaching his goal. So the Bodhisattva must attain Buddhahood only after many lives of diligent practice.

Directly opposed to this viewpoint is the Zen way of abrupt enlightenment, which takes not eons of practice but an instant, and Buddhahood is attained. A single life is enough and no slow accumulation of merit is needed; only the practice of Zen. From this viewpoint, we are not travellers on a long journey, but dreaming men who just need awakening. As though leaving our dreaming state at night, this awakening is completed in a single instant.

Sadapralapa Bodhisattva, in the Mahaprajna-paramita Sutra is an example of the Bodhisattva's hard practice, mentioned above. The story of Sadapralapa Bodhisattva is as follows:¹

Once upon a time, there was a seeker for Truth called Sadapralapa, who later became a bodhisattva. He had a burning desire for the Truth, but he did not know where to seek for it. Giving up all worldly fame and passions, he wandered about the mountains searching for the Truth. Then one day he heard a voice from the air:

¹Mahaprajna-paramita Sutra (No. 63 of Korean Tripitaka), Vol. XVII, pp. 31-32. /

"Sadapralapa, if you want the Truth, you should go straight to the east, without averting^g your eyes, without caring at all about worldly fame, good or evil, whether it be cold or warm. Go eastward! Then you will meet a teacher and you will attain the truth of emptiness."

Sadapralapa went eastward as he was told. While he was going he considered that he knew only the direction, and not for whom he was supposed to look or where the teacher was staying. He regretted that he had not asked for such information when he had been addressed by the voice from the air. About to go back to that place, he heard another voice from the air: "When you go eastward, you will see the Iron Mountain, and in the Iron Mountain you will see Chung-hsiang Castle¹ 衆香城。 In the castle there will be Fa-yung Bodhisattva 法湧菩薩, who will be preaching the Mahaprajna-paramita Sutra. Have no doubt, just hurry eastward..."

Gratified and encouraged, he continued walking eastward, running, stumbling and quickening his pace. He kept on, sleeping in the mountains or fields, avoiding fierce beasts and fearsome bandits, enduring hunger and hardships. At length he could see the Chung-hsiang Castle

¹The location unknown.

far ahead. Now there was another problem. He had no gift in his hand for Fa-yung Bodhisattva. Neither had he money to buy one. He looked for work to earn money so that he could buy a present for the Bodhisattva. It was not so easy to find work. While he was worrying about this he was accosted by a Brahmin, who proposed to buy his body. He accepted this proposal with pleasure and named a high price. The Brahmin, who was Mara in disguise, started to cut part of Sadapralapa's flesh to take it away, and the blood flowed, but he endured the pain. At this moment a girl came on the scene. She asked why this was happening. He told her the reason and she was greatly moved. So she stopped the affair, invited Sadapralapa to her home, gave him many things worthy of the gift for a bodhisattva, and asked to follow him to the Bodhisattva.

Thus he and she and a number of her maid servants came together to Chung-hsiang Castle, and they heard the Secret Dharma preached by Fa-yung Bodhisattva. They wanted to hear the preaching further, but Fa-yung Bodhisattva entered into a great samadhi, which lasted for seven years. During the samadhi the Bodhisattva did not get up once. For seven years Sadapralapa attended him. When Sadapralapa tried to transmit the preaching to the people he found there was no paper and ink. So he used his own blood for ink, stones and trees for paper, and so transmitted the preaching for posterity.

The above is an example of hard practice, in which one endures what is hard to endure, does what is hard to do. This form says that one seeks after the way of bodhisattva by doing hard practice for three asamkhyeya Kalpas 三阿僧祇劫。¹

8. A King Inside a Circle (王)

The Form of Gradual Attainment of Truth. A king (王) sitting safely in a country (○). Our True Mind is the King living in the body, his kingdom, and is thus called "Mind King." The six senses are his sentries. His enemies or Maras are the illusory impressions let in through the senses of eyes, nose, ear, etc. The sentries of the unenlightened man are unable to keep these illusory impressions from disturbing the peace of his kingdom. Other Maras arise within the mind kingdom without entering

1 三阿僧祇劫 or 三阿僧祇劫波。Kalpa means aeon, age. The period of time between the creation and recreation of the world or universe; also the Kalpas of formation, existence, destruction, and non-existence, which four, as a complete period, are called a great Kalpa (Mahakalpa). Each great Kalpa is subdivided into four asamkhyeya Kalpas (四劫 -- i.e. numberless aeons): (1) Kalpa of formation (vivarta: 成劫); (2) Kalpa of existence (vivartasiddha: 住劫); (3) Kalpa of destruction (samvarta: 壞劫); (4) Kalpa of utter annihilation, or empty Kalpa (samvarta siddha: 空劫). Each of the four Kalpas is subdivided into twenty small Kalpas (antara Kalpas), so that a great Kalpa consists of eighty small Kalpas. Each small Kalpa is divided into periods of increase 增劫 and decrease 減劫. A small Kalpa is represented as 16,800,000 years, a Kalpa 中劫 as 336,000,000 years, and a great Kalpa as 1,334,000,000 years.

through the senses. For example, the illusory thoughts such as the sexual impulse of the young or hungry thoughts when the stomach is empty both come from within.

Originally, the Mind King was bright and pure, but, because of Maras, both inside and outside, has become disturbed, unclean and impure. Therefore, we meditate and keep our mind inwardly disposed; the mind kingdom becomes peaceful and the enemies, inward and outward, are subdued.

It is said that all Buddhas attain Buddhahood after destroying the devils, or Maras. In the main, there are four kinds of Maras, i.e. Mara of the five skandhas, Mara of the illusions, Mara of the heavens, and Mara of death. 五蘊魔, 煩惱魔, 天魔, 死魔.

The Mara of the five skandhas,¹ or Pancaskandha 五蘊魔; 五陰魔, are five substances or components of an intelligent being, especially a human being: (1) 色 : rupa, form, matter, the physical form related to the five organs of sense; (2) 受 : vedana, reception, sensation, feeling, the functioning of the mind or senses in connection with affairs and things; (3) 想 : sanjna, conception, or discerning; the functioning of mind in distinguishing; (4) 行 : samskara, the functioning of mind in its

¹See A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms, compiled by William Edward Soothill and Lewis Hodous, (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Company, 1937), p. 126.

processes regarding likes and dislikes, good and evil, etc; (5) 識 : vijnana, mental faculty in regard to perception and cognition, discriminative of affairs and things. The first is said to be physical, the other four mental qualities.

The Mara of illusions or passions troubles mind and body. There are Buddhist categories of 10, 16, 98, 112 and 128 such troubles 煩惱, e.g., desire, hate, stupor, pride, doubt, erroneous views, etc. These all lead to painful results in future rebirths, for they are karma-messengers executing karma's purpose.

The Mara of the heavens, Deva Mara, dwells in the sixth heaven, Paranirmita-vasavartin 他化自在天, at the top of the Kamadhatu 欲界天,¹ with his innumerable hosts. He constantly obstructs the Buddha-Truth and its followers. Deva Mara is styled the Slayer, and is characterized also by sinful love or desire because he sends his daughters to seduce the saints. He is the special Mara of the Sakyamuni period. Other Buddhas suffer from

¹ 欲界六天 The Six Kamadhatu, or Karmalokas, or "Heavens of Sensuous Desire." (1) The heaven of Four Great Kings; (2) Tavatimsa Heaven; (3) Yama Heaven; (4) Tusita Heaven; (5) Nimmana Rati Paranirmita-vasavartin (or paranimitta-vasavati) Heaven. For example: In the third heaven, Tavatimsa Heaven, a hundred of our years make one day and night; thirty such days and nights in their month; and twelve such months in their year. The length of their lives is a thousand such celestial years, or in human reckoning, thirty-six million years.

other Maras. The Mara of death drives the seeker crazy and tries to lead him to his death eventually.

It is told in the biography of Sakyamuni how he destroyed the host of Maras when he was practicing meditation under the bodhi tree; his resolution was firm:

Though my skin, my nerves, and my bones
should waste away and my life-blood dry,
I will not leave this seat until I have
attained the Enlightenment.¹

Comments on the Two Pairs and Four Forms 兩對四相

Two pairs and four forms were created to teach abandoning falsity and seeking truth.

The First Pair 初一對

1. A Cow Above a Circle with a Man Inside

The Form of Abandoning the Knowledge of Scriptural Teaching. The character: 牛 (cow) above the circle indicates "Vehicle", that is scriptural teaching (Chiao); the circle with a man inside: 人 means realizing one's own True Self by way of Zen.

The form of 牛 suggests: abandon scriptural teaching and try to realize one's own True Self.

The "knowledge of Scriptural Teachings" is "Dry

¹Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, Buddha and The Gospel of Buddhism (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1964), p. 32.

Knowledge," 乾慧 while the intuitive wisdom of Zen is "True Wisdom" 真智 . The former is like the knowledge of a blind man who can only touch an elephant and never comprehend it completely. Or, dry knowledge of scriptural teaching is to talk about tea when one is thirsty; to try to hear the sound of water from the picture of a waterfall. Drinking the tea, seeing the elephant and hearing the waterfall are the True Wisdom of Zen. The knowledge of scriptural teaching will never give us True Wisdom.


This True Wisdom of Zen is a polished mirror reflecting red flowers and green willows as they are, without the slightest distortion. As still water perfectly reflects the light of a star, so the enlightened mind possessing True Wisdom sees all nature and his own True Self in its purity.

From such examples is easily understood Sunji's teaching: "The Form of Abandoning the Knowledge of Scriptural Teachings."

The knowledge of Scriptural Teaching is only the finger indicating the moon, but the True Wisdom of Zen is the moon itself. Thus, Master Sunji tried to say that one must understand wordless Zen, parting from wordful Chiao, if one wishes to know the profound meaning of Buddhism.

2. A Man Inside a Circle

The Form of Knowing the Source and Returning to the Origin. A man has realized his own self, has subdued all Maras and has entered Nirvana.

Removing the letter ~~4~~ above the circle means throwing away the rational understanding of scriptural teaching. The man  inside the circle indicates one's own True Self.

To know the hotness and coldness of water, one must drink it. Those who do not drink water cannot know the hotness and coldness of it.

There was once a cripple who was a very clever man, but who had never been in Seoul. He used to hear about Seoul from many who had been there. And he loved to talk about Seoul, as if he himself had been there. He came to know much, but only by hearsay, about the place. Once he was asked by a citizen of Seoul: "I've heard that you know much about my city. When you went there, you had to go through the South Gate. And there is a threshold in the Gate, as you know. How could you get over the threshold, since you are a cripple?" The cripple answered: "The threshold was so high that I could not get over it. So I was helped by some one." "You are a liar. There is no threshold in the South Gate."

Rational understanding without realization of one's own true self becomes but frivolous, unreal discourse, meaningless argument, sophistry, or Prapanca. Sakyamuni once warned Ananda, "Although you know all the twelve divisions¹ of the Mahayana canon of the Tathagata, which has teachings numberless as the sands of the River Ganges,² you are only putting together falsity."³

The Second Pair 第二對



3. A Cow Under a Circle with a Man Inside

The Form of Mad Head and Mistaken Shadow, alludes to a man who seeks the truth outside his own mind, not looking into his own self. We can trace the origin of the name of this form to the Surangama Sutra.⁴

¹These are: (1) sutra 修多羅, (2) geya 祇夜, (3) gatha 伽陀, (4) nidana 尼陀那, (5) itivrttaka 伊帝跋, (6) jataka 闍婆加, (7) adbhuta-dharma 阿浮達磨, i.e. abhidharma, (8) avadana 阿波陀那, (9) upadesa 優波提舍, (10) udana 優陀那, (11) vaipulya 毘佛畧, (12) vyakarana 和伽羅.

²恒河. Indians have believed that the water of the Ganges drops from the center of Siva's ear into the Anavatapta lake, passing through an orifice called variously ox's mouth, lion's mouth, golden elephant's mouth, then round the lake and out to the ocean on the south-east. There is a lot of sand, extending about forty miles into the river, so it is often written in Buddhist sutras to mean countless numbers.

³The Chodangjip, Vol. XX, p. 4.

⁴Surangama Sutra, tr. in Chinese by Paramiti 般 (Korean edition), (Ulsan, Korea: Unhungsa Temple, 1672 若密諦, Vol. IV, pp. 17-18.

"The Buddha said: Although you have wiped out your troubles (klesa), traces of your defilement still remain. I will now put some worldly questions to you. Have you not heard of the mad man, Yajnadatta of Sravasti, who would look into a mirror and delight in seeing his eyebrows and eyes? When one morning he failed to see them, he thought himself bedeviled. Do you think there was any valid reason for such madness? ...

"Buddha said to Ananda: In the case of Yajnadatta, if the (so-called) cause and condition of his madness had been wiped out, his own nature, which was not mad, would have revealed itself, and whatever you may rationalize about cause, condition and self-existence does not go beyond this.

"Ananda, if Yajnadatta's head had been basically self-existent, it should always have been so, and could not have been otherwise. What then were the cause and condition that resulted in his taking fright and going mad?

"If his self-existent head became mad owing to cause and condition, why was it not lost? But when he took fright and went mad, why was it still there unchanged? Thus how could cause and condition affect his head?

"If his madness was self-existent, it should always have been there but before he became mad, where was it hidden?





"If his madness was not self-existent and there was nothing seriously wrong with his head, why did he go mad?

"If you realize that his fundamental head [was intact], you will know that only his consciousness became mad and will realize that to talk of cause, condition and self-existence is frivolous..."

By this, we can understand the meaning of the above form: "Mad Head and Mistaken Shadow." Believing in the separate existence of Buddha or Pure Land outside the mind without looking into one's own nature is like Yajnadatta who searched for his head, using the very head he thought he had lost.

4. A Man Inside a Circle 1

The Form of Not Mistaking the Shadow and Recognizing the Head. Contrary to the above, in this form one throws away the delusion in the mirror and finds the head that was supposed to be lost. In the former form, man does not realize his own nature but tries to seek Buddha or Buddha Land believing it exists outside his own mind.

¹Although this symbol  is like that of number (2) above (in Two Pairs and Four Forms), both the meanings and names between them are different because this comes after throwing away a cow  under a circle , while number (2) comes after throwing away the cow above the circle .

If he turns the light back into his own self, he will realize that his own self is Buddha or Pure Land. This is the reason why the cow under the circle was left off, but the man remains inside this circle. Master Sunji introduced Four Pairs and Eight Forms to induce practitioners to give up Chiao; and Two Pairs and Four Forms to do away with the blind belief in the Pure Land and the blind worship of Buddha. People tended to think that they could attain enlightenment or become Buddha by depending upon a power outside themselves, especially that of a Buddha or bodhisattva.

Master Yung-ming Yen-shou (904-974 A.D.)¹ said that "By practicing Zen without Pure Land Practice, nine out of ten will fail to attain Buddhahood, but if one prays to Buddha, though not practicing Zen, he can be born in the heavenly world"² 有禪無淨土，十人九蹉路。無禪有淨土，萬修萬人去。

It is said in The Repentant Way of Worshipping Amitabha 禮念彌陀道場懺法:

¹K., Yōng-myōng Yōn-su. He was a master of Fa-yen School 法眼宗, who sought to combine T'ien-t'ai 天台宗 teaching with Zen.

²Paekp'a Kūngsōn, Notes on Sōnmun Yōmsong (Sunch'ang Korea: Kuam-sa, 1811), p. 38.

Zen practice is to seek for enlightenment by one's own strength, and praying to Buddha is to seek for salvation by other's strength. Enlightenment by Zen is like going across the sea only after making a boat; salvation by prayer is like going across the sea after borrowing a boat. The former takes time, the latter not so much time. You can easily understand which is slow or fast.¹

Influenced by such sayings, the inferior preference for prayer over Zen practice grew in strength in China, Korea and Japan.

However, the Fifth Patriarch said, "Keeping your True Mind is better than thinking of all the Buddhas."²

And the Sixth Patriarch: "If you always think of the Buddha rather than your own self, you will not be freed from birth and death; you should keep your own True Mind, then you will attain Buddhahood directly by yourself."³

Master Sunji said: "You should not seek Buddha and Pure Land outside your mind."⁴ The Sixth Patriarch

¹The Repentant Way of Worshipping Amitabha (Korean edition), (Ye-nyōm Mita-tochang Cham-pōp: 禮念彌陀道場懺法) No. 650 of Korean Tripitaka), Vol. II, p. 17.

²Sōsan 西山, A Text for Zen Buddhists (Sōnka Kyukam: 禪家龜鑑), (Seoul: Hangeul Sōnhak Kanhaenghoe: 한글선학간행회, 1948), p. 14.

³Ibid.

⁴The Chodangjip, Vol. XX, p. 4.

also insisted that one's own mind is Pure Land, one's Self Nature is Buddha. Such doctrine can be summed up from Chapter III, the "Dispelling of Doubt," in Liu-tsu Ta-shih Fa-pao-t'an Ching 大祖大師法寶壇經 .

"The Patriarch said: In the city of Sravasti, the Buddha spoke the sutra which gave instructions concerning the Western Paradise and made it plain that the journey there is not a matter of distance. From the literal standpoint, it is said to be 108,000 miles away, but this actually refers to the ten evils¹ and the eight delusions² within ourselves. The Western Paradise may be far away because of one's inferior capacity; or it may be near because of one's lofty understanding. Though there are these two kinds of people, there are not two kinds of Dharmas. People differ in the time spent between delusion and awakening, for there is slowness and quickness in realization. Deluded people invoke the name Amitabha seeking to be born in the Western Paradise but an awakened person quiets his mind. Therefore, the Buddha says, 'When one's mind has become quiet, then there is

¹Ten evils 十惡, Dasakusala; the ten evils are: killing, stealing, adultery, fabrication, double-tongue, evil mouth, coarse language, greed, anger, biased views.

²Eight delusions 八邪, refers to the eight improper, or biased practices, the opposite of the eightfold paths 八正道 .

the peace of Buddhahood.' If you remove the ten evils, you will have walked a hundred thousand miles, and then when you remove the eight delusions, you will have completed the remaining eight thousand. When you realize the True Nature in every thought and constantly practice equanimity, you will get there in a snap of the fingers and thus behold Amitabha. All you have to do is to practice the ten virtues.¹ So, why need you seek further to be born in the Western Paradise? If you have not made an end of the ten evils in your mind, what Buddha will give you welcome? If you can realize the non-arising of thoughts of the true doctrine, seeing the Western Paradise would take only an instant. But if, without realization, one invokes the name of Amitabha to seek the way to be reborn in a distant land, how can one possibly attain it?

"The physical body of every ordinary person is a city of which the eyes, ears, nose and tongue are the gates. On the outside there are the five gates, and within is the gate of the intellect. The mind is the site, and the Self Nature is the king who dwells upon the ground of the mind. When the Self Nature is there, the king is there; when it departs, the king departs.

¹ 十善 The ten good characteristics or virtues; it is defined as the abstinence of thoughts of the ten evils (see footnote 1, p.281).

When it is there, the mind and body are alive, but when it departs, the mind and body decay. Buddhahood comes from cultivation of the Self Nature within us. Do not seek it outside the body. When your Self Nature is under delusion, you are ordinary people, but when your Self Nature is awakened and alert, you are Buddhas."¹

To sum up, Master Sunji used the Four Pairs and Eight Forms, and Two Pairs and Four Forms to insist that by practicing Zen one could seek one's True Mind or Buddha Nature, or the so-called Western Paradise or Pure Land, inside one's own self, not outside. He tried to suggest giving up Chiao in favor of Zen, and urged realization of the Truth and emptiness through Zen practice, denying the belief that one can be saved by Buddha. In the doctrine which Sunji offers in the Forms, he deals with teaching mind-to-mind through wordless practice.

¹Hui-neng, Lui-tsu ta-shih Fa-pao-t'an Ching, (六祖大師法寶壇經, (Korean edition), (Seoul: Sōnhakwōn, 1963), pp. 52-54.

Comments on the Five Forms¹



1. A Half Circle  ²

The Form of Holding a Box and Seeking its Lid, or, the Form of a Half Moon Wanting to be Full.

While one man seeks the lid holding a box, another man covers the box with the lid, both of them without using any words. A half circle becomes full with the other half added -- the full circle is Buddha, the Truth, the Emptiness.

Practitioners who have not yet been awakened need words to communicate with each other, but between the awakened, there is no need for words. Only a smile or a wordless gesture as in the case of the box and its lid, is needed to communicate. "Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva preaches without preaching, and her attendant Nan-hsun 南巡童子³ hears without hearing."⁴

¹The heading states that there are Four Pairs and Five Forms. It is my opinion that this is a mistake made when the text was engraved from wooden blocks. As a result, Five Forms cannot equal Four Pairs. Therefore, I left Four Pairs out in my commentary here.

²In Jen-t'ien Yen-mu by Hui-yen Chih-chao, Vol. IV, (T.D., 2006, p. 322), the symbol  is drawn instead of the half circle form .

³K., Namsun Tongja. One of Avalokitesvara's attendants.

⁴The Compassionate Way of Repentance (No. 651 of Korean Tripitaka), Vol. III, p. 4.

The gestures between two truth-seekers may be a pantomime incomprehensible to ordinary people, just as Sakyamuni held up a flower in his hand, and Mahakasyapa smiled on seeing it. The truth lies not far away; it is near at hand. The truth can be shown by holding a fist or transmitted merely by snapping a finger, striking a Zen table or holding up a Zen staff. The truth is realized like a flash of lightning between the awakened.

Between the awakened, a single gesture is more effective than thousands of words. "A box and lid of the sky and earth" 函蓋乾坤¹, for instance, is a frequently used phrase among Zen Buddhists. The box is the earth and the lid is the sky. The sky is overhead and the earth beneath. According to Zen, the sky above and the earth below are truth as they are. So, Master Yun-men Wên-yen 雲門文偃 (?-949 A.D.), the founder of Yun-men sect, used this phrase (a box and lid of the sky and earth: 函蓋乾坤) as one of the three phrases² of his Zen teaching.

¹Sōsan, A Text for Zen Buddhists, p. 34.

²雲門三句 (Yun-men San-chu: Yun-men's Three Phrases): (1) "Han-kai Ch'ien-k'un" (函蓋乾坤: a box and lid of the sky and earth); (2) "Chieh-tuan Chung-liu" (截斷衆流: cutting off all streams of worldly passions); (3) "Sui-po Chu-lang" (隨波逐浪: following the waves of all the relative appearances).

A Chinese scholar named Li-chui 李翱 visited Zen Master Yueh-shan Wei-yen 藥山惟儼 (751-834 A.D.) and asked about the truth. The master only pointed to the sky and the earth without saying a word. He asked the scholar: "Do you understand?" "No," replied the scholar. Then the master said: "The cloud is in the sky and the water is in the bottle."¹

With this, Li Chui suddenly attained enlightenment, and immediately composed a poem:

Your trained body is like a crane,
 And there are a couple of sutras under pine
 trees.
 On my asking the truth,
 You say, the cloud is in the sky and the
 water is in the bottle.²

鍊得身形似鶴形，
 千株松下兩函經。
 我來問道無餘說，
 雲在青天水在瓶。

There was another Zen Wen-ta between a famous

¹The Chodangjip, Vol. IV, p. 12.

²Chingak Kuksa 真覺國師: Sōnmun Yōmsong,
 (Interpretation of Zen Gate: 禪門拈公頌), (No. 644 of
 Korean Tripitaka: 高麗大藏經), Vol. XXIII, p. 8.
 And in the Chodangjip, Vol. IV, p. 12.

scholar Han-yu 韓愈¹ and Zen Master T'ai-t'ien
(818-? A.D.):²

Han-yu asked the way of Zen of Master T'ai-t'ien, but the master only kept silent without saying a word. Han-yu could not understand and grew very impatient. So, San-p'ing 三平 (?-872 A.D.)³, disciple of the master, who was sitting near, struck the Zen table three times. When the master asked San-p'ing why he struck the table, the disciple answered: "Because you confined his mind by samadhi, I made an exit for it by wisdom." With this, Han-yu attained enlightenment and said: "Your Zen spirit is too lofty for me to understand; I came to understand it only by the help of your disciple."⁴

This Wen-ta shows us that mind-to-mind transmission is a direct way of Zen towards enlightenment.

2. A Full Circle ○ ⁵

The Form of Holding a Jewel and Asking for a Document.

Master Sunji promised to answer by writing a


¹ 韓愈 or 韓退之 or 韓文公 . A famous poet and philosopher of the T'ang Dynasty (768-824 A.D.).

² Chodangjip, Vol. V, p. 2.

³ His biography is in the Chodangjip, Vol. V, p. 14.

⁴ Chin-ho An, Sōngmun Ūibōm, (Buddhist ceremonial rule: 釋門儀範), (Seoul: Mansanghoe, 1940), p. 39. And the Chodangjip, Vol. IV, p. 2.

⁵ This circle ○ is like the "Circle Form", the first of The Four Pairs and Eight Forms, but this one is smaller because it symbolizes a small jewel.

character meaning a certain person: ¹ inside the circle if he were asked about it. This image has its origin in a legend.

The legend in the Materials for Missionary Work reads:²

In the days of the Six Kingdoms³ in China, there was a man named Pien-ho 卞和. He was a jeweler and one day he happened to find a big jewel in Mt. Ching 荆山. Because it was a very precious jewel, he offered it to King Wen of Ch'u 楚王. But King Wen could not appreciate the quality of the jewel, thought he was cheated by the jeweler, wounded him in his left foot, and banished him.

King Wen died, his son, King Wu, succeeded him. Pien-ho offered the jewel again. But the King Wu said, "You tried to cheat my father and now you are attempting to cheat me." He wounded Pien-ho in his right foot. Pien-ho wept at the foot of Mt. Ching.

King Wu died, and his son King Cheng 成王, became king. Hearing about Pien-ho, King Cheng called him to ask what had happened. After hearing the story, he ordered the palace jeweler to examine the jewel. As

¹See page 290, heading 3: A Character Meaning a Certain Person Inside a Circle.

²Yong-sōng Chin 陳蓉城, Materials for Missionary Work: 布教資料, (Seoul: Anyangsa, 1912), p. 7.

³Six Kingdoms: Wei, Han, Ch'ao, Yen, Ch'i, and Ch'u 魏, 韓, 趙, 燕, 齊, 楚. It was also called seven heroes 七雄, including Chin 秦. It was the period of "Warring States" 戰國時代 in China, 403-221 B.C.

this man cut and polished it, the jewel shone dazzlingly. Moved, the King gave Pien-ho a good reward and made Chih Hsuan ~~擊玄~~ 擊玄, the palace jeweler, evaluate the jewel. Chih Hsuan reported to the King that its value was priceless. Even a castle full of gold would not match the value of the jewel. So the King called this jewel, "Jewel Worth a Castle of Gold".

Later when Ch'u won the princess of Ch'ao in imperial marriage, the jewel had to be removed to Ch'ao for the price of the bride. At this juncture, the king Ch'ao Hs'hang of Ch'in 秦¹, a greedy king, hearing about it, wanted to get the jewel and offered to buy it for fifteen castles (states). From then on, this jewel came to be called "Jewel Worth a Series of Castles."² Lin Hsiang-ju 蔭相如, a loyal minister of Ch'ao, brought the jewel to the king of Ch'in, who received it, but did not hand over the document concerning the ownership of the promised fifteen castles. The greedy king of Ch'in planned to keep the jewel without paying the price. So, Lin Hsiang-ju used his ingenuity.

"The jewel is very precious and priceless, but it has a blemish. Let me show you where it is," said he. The king of Ch'in handed it to him. Lin Hsiang-ju

¹ 秦昭襄王。 He reigned from 255 to 250 B.C. In the second year of his reign he unified the state of Ch'in. The period of the Ch'in Dynasty was 255-209 B.C.




² 連城之璧 or 連城之玉。


said: "You promised us the document concerning the ownership of fifteen castles. Why don't you give it to me? If you do not give it to me, I will not give you this jewel, either." Saying so, he ran with the jewel safely in his hands, and went back to his country, Ch'ao.

Master Sunji took the symbols "jewel" and "document" from this legend. The circle form stands for the jewel, symbolizing a very precious thing -- the Mind or Truth; one asks for the document¹ with the jewel in his hand; the answerer holds out his hand to receive the jewel.

3. A Character Meaning a Certain Person Inside a Circle

The Form of Throwing a Hook and Waiting for a Fish.

If one were to ask about this form, Master Sunji said he would answer by adding the character meaning a man  beside the character meaning a certain person . Then these two characters will become another character meaning Buddha: . Master Sunji explained: "The asker seeks for something by throwing a hook and the answerer will come with a treasure bowl."²

The character meaning a man  indicates the

¹Means "The Inka" from the master.

²See page 293, Heading 4: The Form of Already Obtaining a Treasure Bowl.

man "throwing a hook and waiting for a fish." The character meaning a certain person: 厶 added at its right side, indicates the man who comes with the treasure bowl.

There is a story concerning this:¹

"There was a very poor man who lived by fishing along a seashore. One day he fished a big carp from the sea. The fisherman, thinking that this must be a fish from the Dragon's Palace, set it free in the water. That night he dreamed a dream, in which he saw a saintly old man, who said: 'I am King of the Dragon's Palace in the sea. Since you set free my son, who went astray so far as to be caught by you, I will repay you with a present. Tomorrow morning you will find it on the seashore where you fish.'"

"Next morning the fisherman, wondering, went to the shore, where he saw a fish come out of the sea with a bowl on its head. It left the bowl on the seashore, and then disappeared into the sea. The fisherman brought the bowl home.

"The bowl was very old and did not look precious. So for a while it was not used, remaining in a corner of the room. But one day his wife happened to put a small

¹Chin-he An, Sōngmun Ūibōm, op. cit., p. 21.

portion of rice into it. As soon as she did so, the bowl became filled with rice at once. Surprised, she emptied it and put in another handful of rice. Again the bowl became full. From then on they could live affluently.

"However, the wife was a very greedy person, so she used the bowl ceaselessly to increase the stock of grain. Such greediness was enough to make the Dragon King resentful. The bowl suddenly disappeared without any trace. The fisherman scolded his wife for her greediness but had no choice but to start fishing again.

"He went to the seashore, and, throwing the fishing line into the water, he entreated:

'Oh, Dragon King, please give me back the treasure-bowl or I am afraid I might catch your son again.'

The Dragon King appeared again in his dream, and said:

'I was infuriated by your wife's greediness, and took away the bowl. Now that you are entreating, I will give it to you again, on condition that you are not so greedy.'

"Saying so the Dragon King disappeared. After that the fisherman got the treasure bowl again from the seashore and thanks to it lived happily afterward."

This is no more than a fable or legend, but Master Sunji used its images to illustrate the discovery of one's own True Nature by seeking for it.

4. A Character Meaning A Man and A Certain Person Inside A Circle (佛) 1

The Form of Already Obtaining a Treasure Bowl. This refers to attaining Buddhahood. Master Sunji said he would answer by putting in the character 土² meaning land or earth if one asked about this form. If one attains Buddhahood he is already in the Buddha Land.

A Buddha is nothing else than a man who has realized his own True Self or Buddha Nature, after throwing off all falsity, sin, wicked knowledge, etc. One should be a perfect man rather than a Buddha in the other world. An old saying goes that you should be a man without illusory thought rather than seek for a Buddha outside yourself. If a man realizes his own True Nature or Mind, he is already reborn in the Buddha Land. The Buddha Land is described in the Amitabha Sutra:

¹佛 is the same as 佛 . See footnote 1 on page 221 about translation of these characters.

²See page 295, Heading 5: A Character Meaning "Land" or "Earth" Inside a Circle.

And again, O Sariputra, there are in that Buddha Land swans, curlews, and peacocks. Three times every night, and three times every day, they come together and perform a concert, each uttering his own note. And from them thus uttering proceeds a sound proclaiming the five powers,¹ and the seven steps leading towards the highest knowledge.² When the men there hear that sound, remembrance of Buddha, remembrance of the Law, remembrance of the Order, rises in their mind...

And again, O Sariputra, those rows of palm-trees and strings of bells in that Buddha Land are moved by the wind, a sweet and enrapturing sound proceeds from them.

Yes, O Sariputra, as from a heavenly musical instrument consisting of a hundred thousand koits of sounds, when played by Aryas, a sweet and enrapturing sound proceeds from those rows of palm-trees and


¹Pancabalani 五力, the five powers or faculties; they destroy the five obstacles 五障, each by each. The five are: (1) Sraddhabala, faith 信, (destroying doubt); (2) Viryabala, zeal 精進, (destroying remissness); (3) Smrtibala, memory or thought 念, (destroying falsity); (4) Samadhibala, concentration of mind 正定, (destroying confused or wandering mind); (5) Prajnabala, wisdom 慧, (destroying all illusion).

²Saptabodhyanga 七覺分 or 七覺分. It represents seven grades in Bodhi, viz. (1) Dharma-pravicaya-sambodhyanga 法智, discrimination of the true and false; (2) Virya 精進, zeal, or undeflected progress; (3) Priti 喜, joy delight; (4) Prasrabdhi 輕安, riddance of all grossness or weight of body or mind, so that they may be light, free and at ease; (5) Smrti 念, power of remembering the various states passed through in contemplation; (6) Samadhi 定, power to keep the mind undiverted in a given realm; (7) Upeksha or Upesaka, 捨 or 捨, complete abandonment, autohypnosis, or indifference to all disturbances of the subconscious or ecstatic mind.

strings of bells moved by the wind. And when men hear that sound, reflection on Buddha arises in them, reflection on the Law, reflection on the Order.

Now what do you think, O Sariputra, for what reason is that Tathagata called Amitayus? The length of life (ayus), O Sariputra, of that Tathagata and of those men there is immeasurable (amita). Therefore is that Tathagata called Amitayus. And ten kalpas have passed, O Sariputra, since that Tathagata awoke to perfect wisdom. And what do you think, O Sariputra, for what reason is that Tathagata called Amitabha? The splendour (abha), O Sariputra, of that Tathagata is unimpeded over all Buddha countries. Therefore is that Tathagata called Amitabha. And there is, O Sariputra, an innumerable assembly of disciples with that Tathagata, purified and venerable persons, whose number it is not easy to count...¹

Such is a description of a Buddha Land in symbolic allegory. Establishing a Buddha Land means realizing one's own pure mind. If one's mind is pure, he has already established a Buddha Land in himself. To represent such a Land Master Sunji shows us a character meaning "land" or "country" or "earth" inside a circle as in the following form:

5. A Character Meaning "Land" or "Earth" Inside a Circle 

¹Minami-cho, Okamoto, et. al.,
Four Language Translation of Amitabha Sutra 和英支藏四
 箇國語譯阿彌陀經. (Tokyo: Hakubunkwan, 1911), pp. 27-28.

The Form of the Secret Seal or the Form of Wordly
Manifestation of the Transcendent and Unprecedented.

We cannot see this "land" in any form, as we cannot see "spring," though it is manifested in flowers. The Third Patriarch (Seng Ts'an) said "If you miss by the end of a hair, the difference will be as wide as between heaven and earth."¹ However, although one cannot see this form, it is not that one cannot realize this form.

Only "Those who can wrestle in front of running horses, or who can put a thread in the eye of a needle in the lightning;"² or "Those who can understand three if only taught one, or who can estimate a quantity only by a glimpse"³ -- only such can realize this form.

Confucius always wanted to see the wise Ch'eng-tzu 程子. So his disciples kept in mind their teacher's wish, and reported one day that the wise one was passing by. The two coaches of Confucius and Ch'eng-tzu met on the street and passed by, and Confucius only tilted his parasol a little, as a gesture of salutation.

¹Huang Wen-chang 黃文昌, Ta-hui Pu-chio Shu 大慧普覺書, (Korean edition), (Seoul, Korea: Popyunsa, 1955). p. 47.

²Kagun, Commentary on the Interpretation of Zen Gate, Yōngbyōn, Korea: Myohyangsan Sōnchōngam, 1665-85). Vol. II, p. 12.

³Nakahara Toshu, Teisho Hekigan Shu 提唱碧岩集, (Tokyo: Osakaya, 1916), Vol. I, p. 27.

A disciple asked Confucius: "You have been always wanting to meet the wise Ch'eng-tzu, but when you did meet him at last, all you did was tilt your parasol." Confucius said "The wise men know Tao by only winking at each other" 君子目擊而道存 .¹

According to Master Ta-hui Pu-chio Shu:

Master Shui-lao 水老² one day called on Master Ma-tsu and asked:

"Why did Bodhidharma come to China from India?"

"I will tell you if you come close to me," answered Ma-tsu.

As Shui-lao did so, Ma-tsu took him by the collar, knocked him to the ground, and trampled on him. After a while Shui-lao managed to stand up and burst into a roar of laughter.

"Why are you laughing so loudly; have you seen any truth?" asked Ma-tsu.

"Thanks to your action I came to realize all truth and secret words at last."³

Another Wen-ta 問答 -- Master Hsueh-feng I-tsun

雪峰義存(822-908 A.D.) one day knew his disciple

¹Editing Committee of the Dictionary of Chinese Literature, (ed.), The Dictionary of Chinese Literature, (Taipei: Editing Committee of the Dictionary of Chinese Literature, 1963), Vol. II, p. 248.

²His biography is in Ching-te Ch'uan-teng Lu, Vol. VIII, (T.D., 2076, p. 262). The dates of birth and death are unknown.

³Tao-yuan, Ching-te Ch'uan-teng Lu, Vol. VIII, (T.D., 2076, p. 262).

Ku-shan Shen-an 鼓山神晏¹ was mature enough for enlightenment:

One day Master Hsueh-feng I-tsun abruptly held Ku-shan Shen-an by the breast and forced him down to the ground and asked:

"Do you know what this means?"

At that moment Ku-shan Shen-an attained enlightenment and only smiled and took his hand.

"What have you realized?" asked Hsueh-feng I-tsun.

Ku-shan Shen-an, shaking his hand, said, "How could there be the Truth in here?"

And he left his teacher.²

Such stories exemplify realization coming as a chicken comes out of the egg at the moment the hatched egg is pecked by the mother hen 啐啄同時。

Summation

I have discussed the various circle forms created by Master Sunji: Four Pairs and Eight Forms, Two Pairs and Four Forms, and Five Forms. Such circle forms were used not only by Master Sunji but by many other Zen masters. Such forms are necessary because it is impossible to explain the full meaning of Zen in words. Attempts to use words conjure no rational images: a wooden cock

¹His biography and teachings are in the Chodangjip Vol. X, pp. 11-12. The dates of birth and death are unknown.

²Tao-yuan, Ching-te Ch'uan-teng Lu, op. cit., (T.D., p. 262).

cries at night 木鷄夜唱 , a stone man weeps 石人淚下 ,
a clay ox swallowing the moon 泥牛舂月 , etc.

In such phrases, one tries to explain the incomprehensible Mind, the true Mind that has neither name nor form. Although there is only One Mind, thousands of names are attached to it by temporal necessity. And these names differ both in Chiao, that is, in scriptural teachings, and in Zen records. If one does not know this, one is apt to be confused in reading sutras or Zen records. To mention some of the names used in Chiao: Bodhi, Nirvana, Dharmadhatu, Dharmakaya, Bhutatathata 一如 (absolute, as the essence of life), Tathagatagarbha 如來藏, the Ultimate Reality, Great Perfect Mirror Wisdom 大圓鏡智。

But the names of the mind used in Zen are different: One's Own Self, Suchness, True Self, Self Nature, Buddha Nature, Mind Buddha, The Eyes of Right Dharma 正法眼藏, Stringless Harp, Holeless Flute, Rootless Tree, Muni Jewel, Bottomless Boat, Bottomless Bowl, Seamless Pagoda, Shadowless Tree, Stone Tiger, Stone Man, Stone Woman, Echoless Valley, Shadowless and Lightless Land, etc.

In Zen one does not depend on words and letters; however, by necessity one has to use them according to place and time, and in some cases one has to resort to

drawings like Master Sunji's: ○ ⊗ ⊙ ⊕ ⊗ ⊕ ⊗
 ⊙ ⊕ ⊗ ⊕.

Master Sunji was Master Yang-shan's disciple. His use of the image forms in teaching was due to the Master Yang-shan's influence. The method consisted of the use of circles, lines and many other symbols. The purpose was to directly point to the essence of Zen without the use of words. The following anecdotes illustrate this:

Once Master Yang-shan was sitting in meditation with his eyes closed when a monk came up and stood silently beside him. The master opened his eyes and drew a circle on the ground. Within it he wrote the character water 水 then glanced back at the monk. The monk said nothing and left.¹

In the Jen-t'ien Yen-mu 人天眼目 we read:

Once a monk came to Master Yang-shan. The Master drew a circle form ○ on the ground and showed it to him. The monk drew a curve inside the circle ⊙, and erased it with his foot. Yang-shan, then, held out his two hands with palms up. The monk shook his sleeves and went away in a hurry.²

Another story of Master Yang-shan's use of the

¹The Chodangjip, Vol. XVIII, p. 8.

²Hui-yen Chih-chao, Jen-t'ien Yen-mu 人天眼目, (T.D., No. 2006, p. 322).

doctrine of the image forms occurred between himself and his teacher, Master Wei-shan Ling-yu 嵩山靈祐 .

Once when Master Wei-shan Ling-yu saw Yang-shan coming, he stroked the ground with his five fingers, then drew a line [with one finger]. Yang-shan drew a line across the nape of his neck with his hand, then took hold of his ear and shook it several times. The Master [Wei-shan Ling-yu] then lapsed into silence.¹

Other image forms shown by Master Yang-shan are in the following story:

Master Yang-shan stayed at Kuan-yin Temple in Hung-chou 洪州 . Once after breakfast a monk came to Yang-shan and bowed to him. But Yang-shan did not look at him. The monk asked: "Do you know letters?" Yang-shan answered: "Yes, I do."

The monk then turned to the right and walked around one time, making a circle. He asked the Master "What letter is it?"

Yang-shan drew a cross + on the ground.

The monk turned to the left and walked round one time, and asked: "What letter is this?"

Yang-shan then changed the cross + to Swastika 卐 .

The monk again drew a circle form [on paper] and held it in his hand and asked: "What letter is this?"

¹Wei-shan Ling-yu, T'an-chou Wei-shan Ling-yu Ch'an-shih Yu-lu. (Master Wei-shan's Zen Records: 嵩山靈祐禪師語錄) (T.D., No. 2089, p. 580)

Yang-shan drew a circle and put a Swastika in it (卍) ...and Yang-shan praised him: "You are already This Way,¹ I am This Way too; please keep This Way well yourself. Wonderful! Wonderful!"

The monk said thanks, flew into the sky and disappeared. Five days later from that time, a monk asked Yang-shan who he was...

Yang-shan said: "He was an Arhat from the Western Land (India). He came to examine the essence of my school."²

Thus Master Sunji's teacher, Yang-shan, on one hand, was influenced by Master Wei-shan Ling-yu; on the other hand, he was influenced by Master T'an-yuan Ying-ch'en 耽源應真. Therefore, Yang-shan said, "I received the Substance of Mind from T'an-yuan, as well as received the Function of Mind from Wei-shan."³

The Zen master who first introduced a circle form was Master Nan-yang Hui-chung 南陽慧忠 (677-744 A.D.), who transmitted the form to Master T'an-yuan Ying-ch'en 耽源應真 who again transmitted it to Yang-shan 仰山 .

We can see here Nan-yang Hui-chung's circle forms

¹Enlightened.

²Hui-yen Chih-chao, Jen-t'ien Yen-mu, Vol. IV, (T.D., No. 2006, p. 322).

³Ibid., p. 327.

were transmitted to generation after generation up to Master Sunji, who developed them in various forms.¹

Besides Master Sunji's lineage, there were also other masters' doctrines of the image forms.

Master Kao-feng 高峰 (1238-1295 A.D.) of China drew circle forms resembling those of Master Sunji during his preaching in his Zen hall.

To show rational Zen² he drew ⊖ with his Zen staff; for Tathagatha Zen ⊕ ; for Patriarch's Zen ⊙ .
Kao-feng Ho-shang Ch'an-yao (Master Kao-feng's Essence of Zen: 高峰和尚禪要) reads, in part:³

"Kao-feng went on the platform in the Zen hall and holding up his Zen staff, he asked the assembly:

'Did you see? Every eye has an eyeball, those who are not blind should have seen this.'

"And after striking the Zen table once, he asked again: 'Did you hear? If you have blood under your skin and if you are alive, you should have seen and heard this. Now, what is the meaning of this?'

¹Master Sunji's image forms are also found partially (half a page) in Jen-t'ien Yen-mu, Vol. IV, (T.D., No. 2006, p. 323).

²義理禪 . K., Ūi-ri Sōn. It also means the literary or verbalized Zen 文字禪 , or 語句禪 .

³Kao-feng Yuan-miao 高峰原妙 , Kao-feng Ho-shang Ch'an-yao, ed. by Hung Chiao-tsu 洪喬祖 , (Korean ed.), (Seoul: Popyunsa, 1938), p. 36.

"Saying so, he drew ⊖ with his Zen staff.

'Now besides seeing and hearing, there is seeing without seeing and hearing without hearing before you had any of the six senses, and before there was sound or form. How do you think you can understand such a thing?'

"Saying so, he drew ① .

'Now I will show this. If you should practice with this, it will not be labor lost for you.'

"Saying so, he drew ⊕ ."

These three symbols drawn above were explained as follows:

⊖ : Horizontal penetration through ten directions. The world of differentiation that comes under rational Zen 義理禪 .

① : Vertical penetration through three periods. The world of universality, that comes under Tathagatha Zen 如來禪 .

⊕ : Combining horizontal and vertical. The way of Patriarch's Zen 祖師禪 .

The meaning of the three different kinds of Zen, Rational, Tathagata and Patriarchal, can be briefly explained. Rational Zen is literary or verbalized Zen, the logical, scriptural method of seeking the Truth. For example, we logically understand that there is fire upon

seeing smoke from behind a mountain. Therefore, Rational Zen logically understands the Truth without directly perceiving it.

Tathagata Zen is the Zen taught by Gautama Buddha. This method is to gradually attain tranquility of the mind for enlightenment by meditating on universal objects, breaths, etc. The following quotation explains this Zen:

He (Buddha) further taught meditation on the ten universal objects, on impurity, on impermanence, on breaths, etc. The object of meditation with the Buddha seems to have been to attain first, tranquility of mind, and then activity of insight. This idea is common to both Hinayana and Mahayana.¹

Patriarchal Zen is the Zen transmitted from Mahakasyapa through 27 Patriarchs to Bodhidharma and Hui-Neng, the sixth Patriarch. This is the traditional line of Patriarchal Zen. The aim of this Zen is abrupt rather than gradual attainment of enlightenment.

Master Paekp'a Kūngsōn 白坡巨旋 (?-1852 A.D.), explained the different meanings of these three ways of Zen:

¹Junjiro Takakusu, The Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy, ed. by W. T. Chan and Charles A. Moore, (University of Hawaii, 1947), p. 157.

The Rational Zen is, for example, a seal stamping on mud; the Tathagata Zen, a seal stamping on water; the Patriarch Zen, a seal stamping on air 義理禪如印印泥, 如來禪如印印水, 祖師禪如印印空.¹

Master Paekp'a Kūngsōn stated that Rational Zen is the logical and scriptural method of seeking the Truth; Tathagatha Zen advocates the "emptiness" of Truth; Patriarchal Zen states that "universality is differentiation" and "differentiation is universality." Thus, "the mountain is the mountain, and the river is the river."²

In the determination of Rational Zen there have been great arguments between Korean Zen masters. Master Paekp'a Kūngsōn first wrote the Sōnmun Sugyōng (the Hand Mirror of Zen Literature) and insisted that there were three ways of Zen: Rational Zen, Tathagatha Zen and Patriarchal Zen. Two other Zen masters contested this. Master Choūi Ūisun (?-1866), in his work Sabyōn Manō³ (the Records of Four Arguments), and Master Wudam Honggi 優曇洪基 (?-1881) in his work So-swe Sōnjōngnok⁴

¹ Paekp'a Kūngsōn, Sōnmun Sugyōng (the Hand Mirror of Zen Literature: 禪文手鏡), (Sunch'ang, Korea: Kuamsa, 1810), p. 4.

² Paekp'a Kūngsōn, Sōnmun Sugyōng, p. 5.

³ 四辯漫語. See Nūng-hwa Yi, Chosōn Pulgyo T'ongsa (Seoul: Simmungwan, 1917), Vol. II, pp. 880-84.

⁴ 掃洒先庭錄: See Ibid., pp. 885-87.

(the Records of Cleaning the Ancient Patriarchs' House) wrote against Paekp'a Kūngsōn's ideas. Both Zen masters insisted that there was no evidence at all for Rational Zen in any text. So in their opinion Paekp'a was wrong to separate Rational Zen from Patriarchal and Tathagatha Zen. Masters Choŭi and Wudam said there was only textual evidence for Patriarchal and Tathagatha Zen.

Later on, Master Sōltu Yuhyōng 雪竈有火阿 (1824-1889 A.D.), the fifth generation disciple of Master Paekp'a, wrote the Sōnwōn Soryu¹ (the Counter Current of the Zen Stream). This was done to protect Master Paekp'a's theory of Rational Zen. To counter this, Master Sō Chin-ha 徐震河 wrote the Sōnmun Chejōngnok² (the Correction of the Records of Zen Literature). The purpose of this work was to support the claims of Masters Choŭi and Wudam who said that there was no Rational Zen.







The only evidence we have of Rational Zen is the manner in which Chinese Master Kao-feng and the above five Korean masters preached. However, it is not found in any other text.

Master Kao-feng, in the Kao-feng Ho-shang Ch'an-yao,³

1 禪源溯流 : Ibid., pp. 888-889.


2 禪文再正錄 : Ibid., pp. 892-895.

³Kao-feng Ho-shang, Kao-feng Ho-shang Ch'an-yao, p. 37.

used another circle form:  . The circle  indicates true emptiness; the symbol  inside the circle indicates absolute reality or incomprehensible entity. And there were other circle forms drawn by him:    . The first is Great Essence 大機 ; the second is Great Function 大用 ; and the third combines the Great Essence and Function 機用齊施 .

Another kind of circle-form concerns this "Absolute Reality" or "True Emptiness." The oneness of the Absolute and the relative-phenomenal is the fundamental concept of the so-called "Five Ranks of Master Tung-shan Liang-chieh." This interrelationship is expressed by means of the uniting "Chung": 中 (middle, or within).




According to Tung-shan Liang-chieh Ch'an-shih Yu-lu (Master Tung-shan Liang-chieh's Zen Records 洞山良介禪師語錄) the five ranks are as follows:¹

1.  Cheng Chung P'ien² 正中偏 : The symbolic representation, the upper half part

¹Tung-shan Liang-chieh 洞山良介 , Tung-shan Liang-chieh Ch'an-shih Yu-lu, ed. by Yuan-hsin and Kuo Ning-chih (圓信 and 郭凝之), (No. II, 24 = 編 = 十四套 of Dainihon Zokuzokyo 大日本續藏經 Kyoto: Zokyo Shoin 藏經書院, 1905-1912): See also Heinrich Dumoulin, S. J., The Development of Chinese Zen, Tr. by Ruth Fuller Sasaki, (New York: The First Zen Institute of America, Inc., 1953), pp. 26-28.

²"Cheng" 正 means the Absolute (the literal meaning of "Cheng", the upright). "P'ien" 偏 means the Relative (the literal meaning of "P'ien", the inclined).

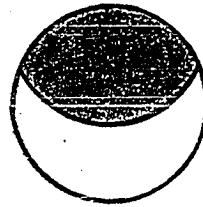
of the circle is black and the lower half white. It means the Absolute ("Cheng") within the Relative ("P'ien"). Because the entire Absolute merges with the Relative, the comprehension of Truth is possible by complete turning toward the relative-phenomenal.

2.  P'ien Chung Cheng 偏中正 : The symbolic representation, the exact reverse of the first. It means the Relative within the Absolute, and denotes the movement from the Relative to the Absolute.
3.  Cheng Chung Lai 正中來 : The symbolic representation, a solid black circle surrounded by a white circle signifying potentiality. It is the Absolute handled purely as Absolute. In this symbol, no other side, no relative-phenomenal appears. It shows the Absolute before any unfoldment or externalization, but pregnant with possibility for development, like a chicken before an egg gets hatched.
4.  P'ien Chung Chih 偏中至 : The symbolic representation, the Relative, is to be found in the center of the Absolute. Here, the Relative is handled purely as Relative.

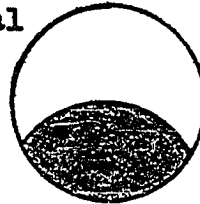
5. ● Chien Chung Tao 兼中到 : The symbolical representation is the solid black circle. It signifies the undifferentiated oneness which is the highest rank of the Five Ranks. It can be understood as the transcending and negating of all opposites of the above four ranks.

Summarization of the Five Circles

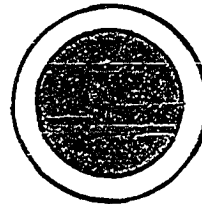
1. The Absolute (black) within the Relative-phenomenal (white).



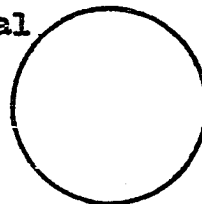
2. The Relative-phenomenal (white) within the Absolute (black).



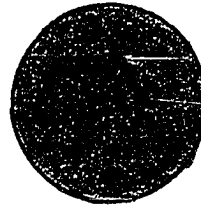
3. The Absolute (black) surrounded by the Relative-phenomenal (white) before any unfoldment or externalization.



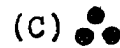
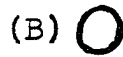
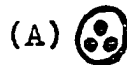
4. The Relative-phenomenal (white) in its stark relativity.



5. The transcending and negating of all opposites of the preceding four circles.



There are also other symbolic forms drawn by Korean Master Paekp'a Kūngsōn, whose teaching was also influenced by Master Sunji. His forms are as follows:¹



Master Paekp'a named the first (A) "Nirvana-and Bodhi" 涅槃
 菩提 ; the second (B) "the Absolute" 不變 ;
 the third (C) "the Relative" 隨緣 .

These are among the associative methods of imparting the profundity of Zen.

Master Sunji was unique among Korean Zen masters, both in his use of image forms to express the depth of his Zen and in his influence at large. His teacher Yangshan attained enlightenment by virtue of the circle forms and other image forms. He made this teaching a familiar one in his school (the Wei-yang Sect). Master Sunji employed his teacher's circle and image forms and further

¹Paekp'a Kūngsōn, Sōnmun Sugyōng, p. 12.

developed them in Korea.

Some Zen schools, like the Lin-chi, are opposed to the use of such image forms, insisting on the use of the Stick 木棒¹ and the Shout 喝². However, the use of those forms not only became the main practice of Master Yang-shan's school and Master Sunji's teaching, but also was widely diffused to the Zen world.

¹K., Pang. C., Pang. J., Bō.

²K., Hal. C., Ho. J., Katsu.

PART FOUR
DEVELOPMENTS IN KOREAN ZEN SUBSEQUENT TO SILLA

CHAPTER I

KORYŌ DYNASTY¹

A. Master Pojo 普照² who unified the thought of the Nine Schools

The Nine Schools of Silla developed steadily until the middle of the Koryŏ Dynasty, when they stagnated for a time. But a revival came with the advent of Master Pojo (1158-1210 A.D.).

As a successor of the Sagulsan Zen School of Silla, Master Pojo exerted a great influence on the restoration of the Zen Buddhism of Koryŏ. Master Pojo stayed in Songgwang Temple, Mt. Chogyŏ 曹溪, Sunch'ŏn-gun, in the province of Chŏlla Namdo, and emphasized both meditation and wisdom in Zen practice (the essential practice of both Zen and Chiao).

¹The fifty-six kings of the Silla Dynasty reigned for 992 years. The Silla Dynasty ended in 935 A.D., and became the Koryŏ Dynasty. The Koryŏ Dynasty lasted for 475 years through thirty-two kings and ended in 1392 A.D.

²His biography is on the inscription of Master Pojo's monument at Songgwang Temple, Sunch'ŏn-gun, province of Chŏlla Namdo.

His secular surname was Chōng鄭, his bhikṣu names were Moguja牧牛子 and Chiml真口言內; his posthumous title was Puril Pojo佛日普照. The name of his pagoda was "Sweet Dew"甘露塔.

His father's name was Chōng Kwang-u and his mother's surname was Yi. He was born in Suhung-gun, in the province of Hwanghae-do in 1158, the twelfth year of the reign of King Ūijong 毅宗, the eighteenth king of the Koryō Dynasty.

At the age of eight he was initiated as a monk by Zen Master Unson Chonghwi 雲孫宗暉.¹ At the age of twenty-five he passed the royal examination for the priesthood.

During his study at Ch'ōngwōn Temple 淸源寺, in the province of Chōlla Namdo, his mind was awakened by the phrase "The true original Nature does not change; it is omnipresent in all beings."² Later, he was thoroughly enlightened by a phrase in Ta-hui Pu-chio-shu 大慧普覺書 by Master Ta-hui that said, "Zen is neither in a quiet place nor in a noisy place, nor in a thinking place; but you should never neglect all such places." From

¹His biography and lineage are unknown.

²Huang Wen-chang, Ta-hui Pu-chio-shu (Korean Edition) (Seoul: Pōpyunsa, 1955), p. 48.

then on he kept strictly to his ascetic practices, holding the "combining practice of both meditation and wisdom" 定慧雙修 as the main theme of his meditation.

He was royal court monk attached to King Ūijong, who respected him and presented him with an embroidered kasaya. Since his stress was the Zen practice with both meditation and wisdom (Dhyana and Prajna) combined, he changed the name of his temple, Songkwang Temple, into Chōnghyesa 定慧社 meaning "Monastery of Meditation and Wisdom" which was later changed again into Susōnsa (Zen-Practice-Monastery).

It is written in the Chosōn Kūmsōk Ch'ongnam:

The main aim of Pojo's practice concerns three gates:¹ the gate of sobriety and quietude, the gate of perfect and sudden enlightenment, and the gate of direct entry. The first gate is the realization that illusion is originally empty and mind originally pure. The second gate has something to do with the phrase. 'At the initial moment of awakening, one realizes abruptly his own true Nature.'² The third gate is to aim 'directly pointing to the mind and attaining Buddhahood,'³ by finding 'living words'.⁴

¹ 三門 (Three Gates): (a) 惺寂門 ;
(b) 圓頓門 ; (c) 徑截門 .

² 初發心時便成正覺. This sentence is frequently written in Mahayana scriptures. It is originally from Hua-yen Ching, 晉訳華嚴經, Chapter, Fan Hsing 梵行品.

³ A classic Zen statement, appearing in most Zen texts.

⁴ Chosōn Kūmsōk Ch'ongnam, op. cit., Vol II, p. 952.

Once when Master Pojo was taken ill, a monk asked him: "Is your illness the same or different from Vimalakirti's 維摩詰¹ illness of old?"

The Master replied: "Why are you concerned with sameness and difference?"

So saying, he held up his Zen staff twice and added, "All kinds of things and beings are in this."

On the day of his death, dressed in regular kasaya, he asked his attendant at dawn: "What day is it today?"

"It is the twenty-seventh, Master."

"These eyes are not of a father, this nose is not of a father, this mouth is not of a mother, and this tongue is not of a mother."

Having said this, he told the attendant to toll the temple bell to gather the monks. Carrying the Zen staff with him, he entered the Zen hall, where he burned incense and began to preach--all this he did just as on any other day, though he was about to pass away.

He preached: "Zen is divine and mysterious. You should keep on practicing Zen without ever darkening your mind. Now I have all the truth in my hand. Ask me anything and I will answer everything. Before I die I will

¹A native of Vaisali; a contemporary of Sakyamuni.

do you this favor."

Saying so, he sat on the Zen table and answered every question freely and directly, without any reserve.¹

Amidst this exchange of questions and answers he passed away, keeping his sitting pose. The period of his life was fifty-three years and that of his priesthood thirty-six years. (He died in 1210 A.D.)

After the cremation, a number of sarira舍利 (relics) grains appeared. They were divided into two parts, one of which was kept in Songgwang Temple, Sunch'ŏn, in the province of Chŏlla-do, the other in Yongyŏn Temple, Walsŏng, in the province of Kyŏngsang-do. Books authored by him are: Treatise on Meditation and Wisdom 定慧結社文直說²; The True Mind and Direct Preaching 真心直說³; The Essentials of Cultivation of Mind 修心訣⁴, among others.

¹This is recorded in the inscription on Master Pojo's monument, located at Songgwang Temple, in the province of Chŏlla Namdo. This inscription is recorded in the Chosŏn Kumsŏk Ch'ongnam, Vol. II, p. 951.

²It is recorded in Pojo, Pojo's Zen Records 普照語錄 (Seoul: Pŏppowon Monastery, 1963).

³See Taisho Daizokyo, No. 2019, pp. 999-1000.

⁴See Taisho Daizokyo, No. 2020, pp. 1005-1009.

Master Pojo's Teachings

Pojo's teachings were chiefly concerned with the True Mind. They are summarized as follows:¹

1. The Subtlety of the True Mind

According to the Prajna-paramita Sutra 般若經, "There is no form or possession of life or death." The Mahayanasraddhotpada Sastra 大乘起信論 states: "Suchness itself is neither increased nor decreased, neither born nor destroyed. It is always eternal. It has all merit and virtue in itself from the beginning."

The Subtlety of the True Mind transcends the law of cause and effect, time, space, and the ordinary and the saintly. There is no particularity in it. Just like empty space, it pervades the whole universe. The Subtlety of the True Mind can never be expressed in words nor exist or non-exist in time. It is neither in motion nor in fixation. However, the Subtlety of the True Mind is clearly there. It is called "The Previous Master of a House" or the "Master who has lived for many Kalpas" (Bhismagarjita-ghosa-svararaja), or "one's own Self lived for Long Kalpas."

It is clear, peaceful and pure. Mountains and rivers, flowers and grass, the pure and the impure, the

¹Pojo, Pojo's Zen Records, pp. 79-110.

evil and the good were created by the Subtlety of the True Mind. The True Mind is Depth of Emptiness, Subtlety of Purenness, Brightness of Light, Divinity of Wisdom. It is neither coming in nor going forth. It penetrates past, present, and future. It is neither within nor without. It is neither born nor dead. The ego cannot disturb its life. It has neither character nor form. The True Mind has all subtlety and all divinity. The True Mind has the gist of all religions and that of all living beings. That which is alone supreme and alone precious is the root of the great Tao and the great Dharma. The Subtlety of the True Mind is original Buddha Nature hidden in all people. It is also the original root from which the world is created.

2. The Function of the True Mind

The Function of the True Mind originates from its Subtlety. Its Subtlety is unchangeable, unmovable, peaceful and truthful. Its function, however, activates things:

The Mind moves according to objects. Wherever they move there is its Subtlety. If you realize the Subtlety of the True Mind through objects, there will be neither pleasure nor worry, neither happiness nor unhappiness.

Whatever we do, the Function of the True Mind appears in front of us. On the one hand, the ordinary man,

who does not realize the Function of the True Mind, does not realize its function in objects and everyday business. He cannot see its function even though it is just in front of his eyes. On the other hand, those who do realize its function, recognize the function in every time and place. All the Patriarchs said that the True Mind is called "Spirit" when it is in the womb and "Man" when it is born. It becomes "Seeing" when it is in the eye. It becomes "Hearing" when it is in the ear. It becomes "Smelling" when it is in the nose. It becomes "Speaking" when it is in the tongue. It becomes "Holding" when it is in the hand. It becomes "Walking" when it is in the feet. When it spreads itself universally, it embraces the whole world. When it is compressed, it hides itself in an atom. Those who realize its function call it "Buddha Nature." Those who do not realize its function call it "Soul."

When Master Tao-wu 道悟¹ was questioned by a wandering monk, the master answered him by dancing while holding his Zen Stick. When Master Chin-kung 指空 (?-1363 A.D.) was questioned, the master answered the question by facing the monk with a drawn bow. When Master Pi-mo 秘魔² was questioned by a monk, he

¹His biography is in the Chodangjip, Vol. XIX, p. 19.

²His biography is in the Chodangjip, Vol. XVI, p. 16.

answered him by raising a nut-cracker. When Master Chuchih 俱胝¹ was questioned he answered by raising his finger. When Master Yun-yen 雲巖 was questioned, he answered by showing an artificial lion to the questioner.

B. Master T'aego 太古 (1301-1382 A.D.), who unified the Nine Schools into the single sect of Chogye.

After the Silla Dynasty, the nine Zen schools of Silla were unified into one school, called Chogyejong, or Chogye sect. The name of Chogyejong is derived from Mt. Chogye 曹溪² in China where the Sixth Patriarch, Hui-neng, stayed. The Zen masters such as Toui and Hongjik of Silla, mentioned above, studied Zen under Master Si-t'ang, disciple of Ma-tsu, who was the third generation disciple of the Sixth Patriarch. After Toui and Hongjik had first introduced Zen into Korea, it developed into nine schools, but their main streams of thought were from Chogye, which is the Zen source from the Sixth Patriarch Hui-neng.

Korean Buddhism developed separately from the Linchi sect, or Ts'ao-tung sect of China. For a while it was

¹His biography is in the Chodangjip, Vol. XIX, p. 15.

²C., Ts'ao-chi. Mt. Ts'ao-chi is located near the province of Shao-chou 韶州. The Platform Sutra states that Hui-neng lived on Mt. Ts'ao-chi for over forty years and converted the people in Shao-chou.

mistakenly identified with the Lin-chi sect because it was said that Master T'aego, who unified the nine Zen schools in the last years of the Koryō Dynasty, had received sanction from Chinese Master Shih-wu Ching-kung 石屋清珙. He was the eighteenth generation disciple of Master Lin-chi I-hsuan (?-867 A.D.). But Master T'aego, as a direct disciple of Master Kwangjo and as a remote disciple of Korean Master Pojo 普照 (1158-1210 A.D.), practiced Zen and attained enlightenment in his home country, Koryō. In China, in the Yuan Dynasty,¹ he received sanction from Shih-wu Ching-kung as an enlightened one while still remaining in the Chogye sect. He did not belong to the Chinese Lin-chi sect.

There are some misunderstandings about Master T'aego's lineage. In the Chosōn Pulgyo T'ongsa, ~~It~~ states that "Master T'aego belonged to the Chinese Lin-chi sect because he was the nineteenth generation disciple of Chinese Master Lin-chi I-hsuan."² Nukariya Kaiten quoted Master T'aego's biography from the Chosōn Pulgyo T'ongsa and mentioned this allegation, drawing the diagram of T'aego's lineage from the Lin-chi sect.³

¹The Yuan Dynasty followed the Ching Dynasty.

²Nung-hwa Yi, Chosōn Pulgyo T'ongsa, p. 189.

³Nukariya Kaiten, Chosen Zenkyoshi, p. 261.

Yi Nūng-hwa erred in his work and Nukariya Kaiten picked up this error. Both of them are mistaken.

Korean Buddhists do not believe that Master T'aego belonged to the Chinese Lin-chi sect. Rather, they assert that he was a Master of the Chogye sect of Korean Zen Buddhism. Master T'aego was a disciple of Master Kwangjo 廣照 whose lineage was from the Kajisan School. (This school later became the Chogye sect.).

It is written as follows in the inscription on his monument:

Master T'aego, when he was thirteen years old, became a disciple of Master Kwangjo at the Hoeam Temple, Yangju, [in the province of Kyōnggi-do].¹

From this inscription we understand that Master T'aego was a direct disciple of Master Kwangjo. Therefore he was a remote disciple of Master Pojo, a famous master of the Chogye sect.

In the inscription on Master T'aego's monument his title is given as that of "Koryō National Teacher, a Great Patriarch of the Chogye Sect."

This title makes it clear that he was not from the Chinese Lin-chi sect, but from the Chogye sect of Korea. Even though he went to China in the Yuan Dynasty and was sanctioned by Shih-wu Ching-kung, he did not

¹T'aego's monument is located at T'aego Temple, Koyang-gun, in the province of Kyonggi-do.

change his lineage from the Korean Chogye sect.

Today the Chogye sect worships Master T'aego as its founder because he unified the nine Zen schools of Silla creating one school, the Chogye sect. His contribution was most significant in the history of Korean Buddhism.

T'aego's Dharma name was Pou 普愚. His secular surname was Hong and he was born in Hongju in 1301 A.D., the twenty-seventh year of the reign of King Ch'ūngnyol of the Koryō Dynasty.

At the age of thirteen he was initiated as a monk by Zen Master Kwangjo 廣照 of Hoeam Temple, Yangju-gun, in the province of Kyōnggi-do. He visited all the famous masters and at the age of nineteen he began to meditate with the koan: "The ten-thousand Dharmas return to Oneness; where does Oneness return?"
萬法皈一，一皈何處 1

One day, at the age of thirty-three, when he was in Kamno Temple, in Kaesōng, the capital city of Koryō,

¹There was a "wen-ta" about the same koan: "A monk asked: 'The ten-thousand Dharmas return to Oneness, where does the Oneness return?' The Master Chao-chou said: 'When I was staying in Ching-chou, I made a hemp robe that weighed seven chin (pounds).'" [from Master Chao-chou's Zen Records (Dainihon Zokuzokyo, Part II, Book 23, p. 159)].

he abruptly attained realization. The last stanza of his poem of enlightenment is as follows:

I drank up all the Buddhas and Patriarchs,
All the mountains and rivers.
Without my mouth.¹

When he was thirty-seven years old, he practiced Zen with the koan "Mu" (nothingness). The following year on January 7th, he attained great enlightenment and composed another poem with this closing stanza:

After I break through a solid gate,
Clear wind blows from time immemorial.²

At the age of forty-one he stayed in Chungŭng Temple 重興寺, Mt. Sangak, in the province of Seoul. Because so many students gathered from all directions, he built another temple nearby for his own meditation. He named it T'aego Monastery after his own name.

At the age of forty-six, he went to China, in the Yuan Dynasty. Then he went to Mt. Hsia-wu, in the province of Hu-chou 湖州 and met Zen Master Shih-wu Ching-kung 石屋清珙 who was the eighteenth generation disciple of Master Lin-chi I-hsuan. T'aego showed the Master the song titled "T'aego Monastery"³ which he had

¹T'aego, T'aego's Zen Record, (Kangwon-do, Korea: Wolchŏngsa, 1940), p. 25.

²Ibid., p. 26.

³The song is recorded in Nung-hwa Yi, Chosŏn Pulgyo T'ongsa, Vol. I, pp. 234-235.

composed in his country, inspired by the song of realization of Master Yung-chia 永嘉 (665-713 A.D.), a Chinese Zen master. Moved deeply by his realization, Master Shih-wu Ching-kung gave him the kasaya and encouraged him.

Master T'aego preached in Yen-king Temple, in Yen-king, the capital city of Yuan, and he was given a golden kasaya and Zen staff from Emperor Shun-tsung 順宗 of Yuan.

At the age of fifty-two, the first year of the reign of King Kongmin of Koryō, he was invited to the royal court. After remaining there for awhile, he left for Mt. Sosōl 小雪山, Kwangju, in the province of Kyōnggi-do. In the fifth year of King Kongmin's reign T'aego was appointed royal court monk and the King wished him to stay in Kwangmyōng Temple 廣明寺. After a year there, he wanted to resign the post of state monk, but the King refused to accept the resignation. So he fled one night. The King understood his mind and sent him kasaya and the holy seal.

At this time the wicked monk Shin Ton 辛旽 was in power. Master T'aego presented an appeal to the throne:

For a country to prosper, a true monk should have power; when a country is in danger, a wicked monk will take his chance.

I wish Your Highness to be cautious
with Shin-Ton.¹

Later, Shin Ton knew about this and was planning T'aego's exile. When T'aego applied to the King for permission to go to China, Shin Ton presented this message to the throne:

Though well favored by the grace of Your Highness, T'aego is planning to go far away. I think there must be disguised meaning in such a plan.²

Giving credence to this false charge, the King ordered T'aego to be taken into custody at Songni Temple, Mt. Songni 俗離山, in the province of Ch'ungch'ōng Pukto.

In the eighteenth year of King Kongmin's reign, when the Master was sixty-eight years old, the King regretted his action and called him back to Mt. Sosōl. In the twenty-seventh year of King Kongmin's reign, when the Master was seventy years of age, the King invited him to be his royal court monk and made him stay at Hyōngwōn Temple 靈源寺. Because of sickness, Master T'aego retired from the position of royal court monk, but again,

¹T'aego, T'aego's Zen Records, p. 16. Also Chosōn Kūmsōk Ch'ongnam, Vol. I, p. 527.

²Chosōn Kūmsōk Ch'ongnam, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 527.

in the third year of the reign of King Sin U 辛禑,¹ he was reappointed to the position. In the eighth year of King Sin U's reign, on December 24, 1382 A.D., he passed away at the age of eighty-two. His posthumous title was Wōnjūng 圓澄.²

The nine Zen schools which were established in the time of the Silla Dynasty had become disputing factions. To cure this unfortunate situation, Master T'aego presented a memorial to the King:

Oh, what a pity that the nine Zen schools are only engaged in factional wrangling! Originally Zen had only one gate, but now by each opening his own gate the number has become plural. So each school is given over to petty squabbles. This cannot be the equal and non-ego way of Buddha. At this juncture, if the nine schools are unified into one, Buddhism will be greatly advanced and developed.³

After receiving this memorial, King Kongmin set up an institution with the charge of unifying the nine Zen schools, appointing T'aego to head the office.

When he was in Yen-king Temple in China, he was so renowned that he became well known even to the royal court of Emperor Shun-tsung of Yuan. The Emperor sent

¹The thirty-second king of Koryō.

²圓澄 Perfect and Clear.

³Nūng-hwa Yi, Chosōn Pulgyo T'ongsa, Vol. I, p. 202.

a gift, instructing the messenger to speak thus for the purpose of examining T'aego's mind:

Please accept this as a slight token of His Majesty's gratitude. But His Majesty attached this condition -- that you receive this without using your hands.

Master T'aego replied without any hesitation:

Of course I will accept the gift without using my hands if you hand it to me without using your hands.¹

Greatly surprised, the messenger apologized and realized that here was a great Zen master.

As his senior disciple, T'aego had Hwanam Honsu 幻菴混修 (1320-1392 A.D.) who was also a great master. Hwanam's holy name was Mujak 無作, and the name of his Zen practice hall was Tamhae 曇海. His secular surname was Cho, his bhiksu name Chiung 智雄, his posthumous title was Pogak 普覺, and the name of his pagoda was "Perfect Quietude and Wisdom."

At the age of nineteen, when Hwanam witnessed the sudden death of his close friend, he realized the transiency of life and went to Mt. Diamond. He was once invited by King Kongmin to Hoeam Temple but he refused this offer, and wandered about to seek after the Truth.

Hwanam passed away in 1392 A.D., the first year

¹T'aego, T'aego's Zen Records, p. 11.

of the reign of King T'aego 李太祖,¹ the founder of the Kingdom of Chosŏn. Hwanam left behind thirty-three disciples.

We will discuss the relationship of Hwanam to his teacher. Some insist that Hwanam was Master Naong's disciple rather than Master T'aego's. The reason for this confusion is that Hwanam's name was recorded as Naong's "Munsaeng". (In Korean, "Munsaeng" means student or disciple.) This inscription is on Naong's monument, which is located at Sillŭk Temple in the province of Kyonggi-do.

Differing from this inscription are four other sources which prove that Hwanam was a disciple of Master T'aego. These are:

(a) The inscription on Master T'aego's monument, located at T'aego Temple, Mt. Sangak, in Seoul, describes Hwanam as his disciple.

(b) In T'aego's Zen Records² there are two verses showing the relationship between them as teacher and disciple.

(c) T'aego's biography, written by his disciple,

¹The first king, T'aejo 李太祖, ascended the throne on July 15, 1392 A.D., in the fourth year of the reign of the last king, Kŏngyang, of the Koryŏ Dynasty.

²T'aego, T'aego's Zen Records, p. 13.

Yuch'ang 維昌, reads as follows:

The chief disciple of Master T'aego is Hwanam, who is now a National Teacher. The people call him "Chōngp'yōnji Chiung Arhat" 正遍智智雄尊者: a completely enlightened Arhat and hero of Wisdom.¹

(d) The inscription on the monument giving the history of Songgwang Temple states that:

Master T'aego Pou transmitted Zen to Hwanam Honsu; Hwanam Honsu transmitted it to Kwigok Kagun.²

I cannot agree that Hwanam was one of Naong's regular disciples even though the inscription on Naong's monument describes him as one. My reasoning is based on the fact that Hwanam's name on Naong's monument is written as "Munsaeng" 門生 which can mean student or disciple. Sometimes it can be used with either meaning. My conclusion, based on this, is that Hwanam was not a regular disciple of Master Naong.

Master Hwanam's disciple, Master Kwigok Kagun,³ succeeded to Hwanam's spirit. Kwigok Kagun authored Sōnmun Yōmsong Sorwŏha (Commentary on the Interpretation of Zen Gate), a work important for Zen study.

¹Ibid., p. 4.

²The monument is located at Songgwang Temple, Sun Ch'ōn-gun, in the province of Chōlla Namdo.

³Dates of his birth and death are unknown.

Master Kwigok probably produced many disciples, but the records concerning them were almost all destroyed, because of the anti-Buddhist policy of the Yi Dynasty.

The spirit of Zen was helped to survive in this period through the efforts of Zen Master Pyōkkye Chōngsim 碧溪正心¹ whose greatness is comparable with that of his teacher, Kwigok Kagun.² His secular name was Ch'oe. In his early days he entered China in the Ming Dynasty and studied Zen, making pilgrimages to famous temples. He returned home to find a religious persecution going on,³ which involved reduction in numbers of temples, confiscation of temple property, forced secularization, and so forth, so he retired to his hermitage in Mt. Hwangak, Kimch'ōn, 金泉黃岳山 in the province of Kyōngsang Pukto.

At the time of death he told his disciples that he would transmit Zen to Pyōksong Chiōm 碧松智儼 (1465-1520 A.D.) and Chiao to Chōngyōn Pōpchun 淨蓮法俊.⁴

¹Dates of his birth and death are unknown.

²As to the identity of Pyōkkye Chōngsim's teacher, there are two different opinions: (a) The Chongbong Yōngdanggi; (b) The Hōbyōktangjip. See the chapter on Master Hōngjik in this dissertation.

³The religious persecution took place in 1470 A.D. during the reign of King Yōnsan, who was the tenth king of the Yi Dynasty.

⁴Chōngyōn Pōpchun's biography is unknown. His name appears only in Yi, Chosōn Puigyo T'ongsa, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 718.

His disciples, who were watching his death, asked him:

In these troublous times, many venerable masters were forced to renounce the robe, so it became hard to preserve the Zen spirit of earlier masters. You said we would be your heirs, but from whom are you going to claim to have inherited the Zen spirit?

And he claimed Kwigok Kagun as his master, thus making the genealogy of Korean Zen continuous.

CHAPTER II

YI DYNASTY (CHOSŌN KINGDOM)

- A. Master Sōsan 休山 who revived Korean Zen after a period of suppression.

Although Korean Zen spirit was preserved by the efforts of remarkable Zen masters in the last years of the Koryō Dynasty and in the first years of the Yi Dynasty (1392 A.D.), it was faced with a crisis caused by the anti-Buddhist policy of the Yi Dynasty, which adopted Confucianism and suppressed Buddhism.

Therefore, we find few achievements of Zen masters around this time that are worthy of mention. We can glimpse the circumstances of this period by reading the "Preface" of the Text for Zen Buddhists, authored by Master Sōsan.

Buddhist students of the old days did not say what was not Buddha's saying, did not conduct themselves in ways unlike Buddha's ways. Therefore, their only treasure was the holy words of sutras. But Buddhist students of today transmit and recite only the literature of worldly scholars, beg for and keep only the poetry of worldly men of letters. Thus, they write on papers pink and green, decorated with colorful silk, are not satisfied even though they have too many, and cherish them as the rarest treasure. Oh, how different the

treasure of ancient students from that of the present! I, humble though I be, aspired to learn the ancient letters and adored the holy writings of the sutras.¹

Before proceeding to a review of the life of Master Sōsan, Queen Munjōng 文定 (?-1565 A.D.) and Master Hōung Pou 虛應普雨 (?-1566), who contributed greatly to the restoration of Buddhism in the time of the Yi Dynasty, should be mentioned. The entrance of Queen Munjōng in the midst of the Confucianists' golden age was, for Buddhism, like the appearance of sunshine in the midst of a downpour. She was a faithful believer. She regretted the waning of Buddhism and was biding her time to bring about its renaissance.

King Injong 仁宗² passed away after only eight months on the throne and the young King Myōngjong 明宗³ was only twelve years old. Such circumstances made Queen Myōngjong (King Myōngjong's mother) attend to the affairs of state as a regent. After the Queen took power, she began the work of restoring Buddhism, against the opposition of all the ministers and court officials.

In 1552 A.D., she restored the examination system

¹Sōsan, Text for Zen Buddhists (Seoul: Sōnhagwōn Monastery, 1962), p. 1.

²The twelfth king of the Yi Dynasty.

³King Myōngjong's reign: 1546-1567 A.D.

for the priesthood which had been in effect in the time of the Koryŏ Dynasty, in order to improve the quality of monks. She designated Pongŭn Temple, Kwangju, in the province of Kyŏnggi-do, as a center of Zen Buddhism, and Pongsŏn Temple, Yangju, in that province, as a center of Chiao Buddhism. She appointed Hōung Pou as abbot of the former temple, and Sujin 守真¹ as abbot of the latter. After fifteen years of such efforts she passed away at the age of sixty-five. During these fifteen years Buddhism revived, producing many good Buddhist monks, among whom Masters Sōsan (1520-1604 A.D.) and Samyōng 泗溟 (1554-1610 A.D.) were the greatest.

The secular name of Master Sōsan was Unhak 雲鶴; his bhiksu name was Hyujōng 休靜; his holy name was Chōnghō. He used to stay on Mt. Myohyang, which lies in the northwestern part of Korea, and was therefore called Master Sōsan 西山 which means "West Mountain".

After he had retired from the post of supreme administrator presiding over both Zen and Chiao, he spent most of his time in Paekhwa Monastery 白華菴 on Diamond Mountain. At that time he called himself Paekhwa Toin (Tao practitioner Paekhwa) or T'oeun 退隱 which means a retired hermit.

¹Sujin's biography is unknown.

According to the inscription on Sōsan's monument¹ Master Sōsan was born in Anju, in the province of Pyōngan-do, on March 26, 1520, in the fifteenth year of the reign of King Chōngjong, of the Yi Dynasty. His father's name was Ch'oe Se-chang, and his mother's name was Kim. He had three elder brothers and one elder sister. He lost his mother at the age of nine and his father at the age of ten, and was left all alone.

So talented and clever was he, that the county head official sponsored his study in Sōnggyun-gwan (Seoul Royal School) 成均館 when he was twelve years old. He tried to pass the royal office examination but failed it three times. Before long he found to his disappointment that injustice had been involved in the examination.

When the scholar, in whose home Sōsan was staying for his study, got a government post and moved to the province of Chōlla-do to assume the post, Sōsan followed him there. After only a few months there the scholar had to return to Seoul because of his father's death. At that time Master Sōsan happened to enter Mt. Chiri 智異山 while sightseeing with his colleagues. He met Master Sungin 崇仁 of Sanggye Temple and came to

¹It is located in Pohyōn Temple, Mt. Myohyang in the province of P'yōngan-do. The inscription was written by Yi Pyōng-mo.

study sutras under him, and Zen under Puyong Yōnggwan 芙蓉靈觀 (?-1571 A.D.). This was when he was eighteen years old.

Before he met Master Sungin in Sanggye Temple, Mt. Chiri, he once visited a holy shrine. There he happened to see a phrase written on the wall:

Those who pass the examination of mind and emptiness can be truly qualified as great men. 心空及第者, 須大丈夫選¹

He was greatly moved by this phrase. One can pass any [ordinary] examination if one studies hard and is well prepared for it. But what about the examination of mind and emptiness? The real meaning of this phrase is very evasive. The phrase made Master Sōsan curious. It helped somewhat in his decision to become a monk. Later Master Sungin accepted him as a monk.

After Master Sungin had taught him sutras for three years, he advised him:

"You are now very much conversant in sutras and your learning can hardly be matched by anyone else. But you are blank in Zen. So you had better begin to study Zen and try to seek after mind and emptiness."

"To study Zen, to whom shall I look for guidance? Please tell me."

¹Sōsan, Ch'ōnghōjip, ed. by P'yōnyang (Yōngbyōn, Korea: Pohyōn-sa, 1711), p. 36. (A similar verse is found in the Chōdangjip, Vol. XVI, p. 16).

"At present Zen Master Puyong is very famous for Zen. Go to him and ask for it."

So he made his way to Master Puyong and asked him:

Since early days I liked to learn, so I have already mastered all the Chinese classics of Confucianism including the Four Books and Three Classics 四書三經。 After I became a monk, I read all the Buddhist sutras and am well conversant in them. But I don't know anything about Zen. I can't understand the meaning of "Buddha is mind." Would you tell me the meaning?¹

"That is, as you say, the mind that you can't understand."

Hearing this, Master Sōsan thought he was a little enlightened but he was not satisfied with the explanation.

So he asked Master Puyong again.

"What is the meaning of Bodhidharma coming from the West?"

Master Puyong answered: "I am busy now. Come back again after a couple of days."

Sōsan had no choice, but as he was leaving, the Master called: "Sōsan!"

Surprised, Sōsan turned back and answered: "Yes?"

"What is this? Tell me quick, tell me quick!"

¹Ibid.

From then on Sōsan began to practice Zen with the Koan "What is this?", always doubting and doubting. Since he had so much knowledge from books his Zen practice did not advance, being hindered by many thoughts and imaginations.

One day he went again to Master Puyong for some advice. Master Puyong said:

Zen practice is quite different from any worldly study. All the knowledge and learning that you got before should be discarded. You should give up thinking that you are doing something now. Your mind should be blank, you should again be like a one-year-old baby. Thus, you should devote yourself more to ignorance than to knowledge. It is all right if you realize abruptly on hearing a Patriarch's koan, but it happens seldom. You cannot but have a doubt if there is anything you don't know. So if you devote yourself to ignorance, that means you doubt. If you doubt, then the doubt will be broken at length.

To practice Zen well, you must break through the koan of Patriarchs and to realize the truth you must cut the thought away. Keep doubting without any words and thoughts.

Do it as if you had something in your throat that you cannot vomit or swallow; do it as if you were always thinking of paying off your debt; do it as if you were a hen hatching eggs; as if you were a cat watching a mouse-hole; as if you were a mosquito trying hard to pierce the back of an iron horse...¹

¹Ibid., p. 37.

Keeping this advice of Puyong in mind, Sōsan kept on practicing Zen day and night without caring for his own life or death.

One day Sōsan asked again:

"What is it like when a student seeks for Buddha?" "It is like looking for an ox while riding on an ox." "What is it like after you know Buddha?" "It is like going home riding on the ox." "How can I keep on practicing Zen if I attain realization?" "You should keep on practicing Zen as a cowboy with a whip keeps his cow from trespassing in another's field."¹

After this exchange of words with Puyong, Sōsan heard the crying of the cuckoo in the spring-garden and received partial realization. This was when he was twenty-one years old.

After that he composed a poem of enlightenment as follows:

Hearing all at once the cuckoo singing
outside, I see the mountains full of
spring, my homeland.²

Eight years later he happened to pass by a village with a friend, and on hearing a cock crowing he abruptly realized the Truth and immediately composed an enlightenment poem as follows:

Though the hair turns gray, not so the
mind,
As the old man has already so divulged.

¹Ibid., p. 38.

²Sōsan, Ch'ōnghōjip 清虛集, ed. by P'yōn-yang, (Kangwōn-do, Korea: Wolchōng-sa, 1942), p. 21.

Hearing abruptly a cock crowing,
I finished all my work as a man.¹

髮白心非白，古人曾漏洩。
今聞一聲鷄，丈夫能事畢。

Until he was thirty, he lived on Mt. Odae and Diamond Mountain. Later he passed the examination for the highest priesthood administered by the government. With this he became archbishop of the Chiao sect of Korean Buddhism. After three years in this post he resigned and went to Diamond Mountain. Around that time he composed a poem as follows:

The streets of all the capital cities are
like ant-hills.
The heroes of all ages are like dayflies.
I am lying quietly with the full moon as a
pillow,
And the incessant breezes are rustling the
pine-trees.²

萬國都城如蟻，
千家豪傑若鷄。
一窓明月清虛枕，
無限松風韻不齊。

Sōsan was once falsely accused by someone who used this poem as a pretext and branded him as a rebel against the royal court. He was brought into the Royal presence, but King Sōnjo 宣祖 the fourteenth King of the Yi Dynasty, treated him well and acquitted him.

¹Nūng-hwa Yi, Chosōn Pulgyo T'ongsa, Vol. I, p. 470.

²Ibid., Vol. I, p. 537.

For a while he stayed in Pohyōn Temple, Mt. Mye-
hyang, promoting Zen with more than one thousand disciples,
including Pyōnyang Ōngi 鞭羊考機 (1581-1644 A.D.),¹
Samyōng Yujōng 泗濱唯政 (1543-1610 A.D.),² Chōng-
gwan Ilson 靜觀一禪 (1533-1608 A.D.),³ Soyo T'aenūng
逍遙太能 (1562-1649 A.D.),⁴ Yōngwōltang Ch'ōnghak
詠月堂清學 (1571-1654 A.D.),⁵ Kyōnghōn Ch'onggo 敬
軒清高 (1544-1633 A.D.),⁶ and others.

To instruct and to guide such disciples, he wrote
a book titled Text for Zen Buddhists. He was known as the
greatest Zen master to restore and advance Zen at this
period of the Yi Dynasty.

When the war between Japan and Korea broke out
(1592 A.D., the twenty-fifth year of King Sōnjo's reign),

¹He wrote P'yōnyangjip, (P'yōnyang's Zen Collec-
tions)

²His biography is in the inscription on his monu-
ment located in Kōnbong Temple in the province of Kangwōn-do.

³He authored Chōnggwanjip (Chōnggwan's Zen Collec-
tions) 靜觀集

⁴His biography is found in Soyō Taesa Haengjang
(Master Soyō's Biography) in Nukariya Kaiten, Chosen
Zenkyoshi, pp. 392-393.

⁵He authored Yōngwōljip (Yōngwōl's Zen Collections).

⁶He built a Zen hermitage called "Chewōltang" located
in Ūnsōndong Valley 隱仙洞, Diamond Mountain, and prac-
ticed for seven years. Thus he was also called Chewōltang

零月堂

King Sŏnjo took refuge at Ūiju in the province of P'yŏngan Pukto. Sŏsan came out of Mt. Myohyang and, carrying a sword with him, came into the presence of the King, in order to console him.

The King was moved to tears:

Whereas some of my ministers and regular generals don't want to follow me, you, an ascetic monk, volunteer to fight for the country. What a laudable spirit you have! Your courage will be a great help in saving this country.¹

This was when Master Sŏsan was seventy-three years old. His patriotism was great, all the more for his advanced years.

He left the mountain and came into the secular world. He was appointed by the King as supreme commander of all the monk-soldiers of the sixteen divisions of Buddhism in Korea. He took the responsibility of recruiting monk-soldiers and assumed leadership in the military affairs concerning them. It is a remarkable thing that the heavy responsibility of saving a nation invaded by an enemy was assumed by a monk who was over seventy years of age.

Staying in Pŏphŭng Temple, Sunan, in the province of P'yŏngan-do, he issued a manifesto to all the temples in the country:

¹Sŏsan, Ch'onghŏjip, p. 9.

Every monk in this country should go to the battle front and fight for this country, except the old and the sick, who should pray in earnest in their temples.¹

Thus, Samyōng Yujōng rallied seven hundred monk-soldiers in Kangwōn-do province; Noemuk Ch'ōyōng 雷默處英² rallied one thousand in Chōlla-do province; Kihō Yōnggyu 騎奇靈圭 (?-1592 A.D.), rallied several hundred in Ch'ungch'ōng-do province; Chungwan Haeon 中觀海眼³ a couple of hundred in Kyōngsang-do province; and Sōsan himself rallied one thousand five hundred in P'yōngan-do province. These five thousand volunteers gathered together in Pōphūng Temple and marched to the battle front.

Li Ju-sung 李如松, supreme commander of Ming's Army, which came to Korea to support the Korean Army, composed a poem in praise of Master Sōsan:

Caring little about worldly fame,
He had been immersed only in Zen.
But on hearing of the nation in danger
He came down from the mountain.⁴

無意圖功利，專心學道禪。
今聞危國事，總攝下山巔。

¹Ibid.

²His biography is in the inscription on Master Samyōng's monument, located in Kōnbong Temple 乾鳳寺, Diamond Mountain, in the province of Kangwōn-do. The dates of his birth and death are unknown.

³His biography is located as above; dates unknown.

⁴The poem is included on Sōsan's monument inscription written by Chōnggu Yi 李廷龜. The monument is located in Pyohun Temple on Mt. Diamond in the province of Kangwōn-do.

After recapturing the capital city, Hanyang (Seoul) and helping the King return to the palace again, he resigned from the post and recommended his disciples Samyōng Yujōng and Noemuk Ch'ōyōng in his place, and again went to the mountain.

In his retirement he wandered about such notable mountains as Diamond Mountain, Mt. Chiri, and Mt. Myohyang, leading many disciples. He composed lines such as these:

A host told the dream to a guest;
The guest told the dream to the host.
The two who have told the dream
Are those who are in the dream.¹

When Sōsan was in Mt. Odae, deeply immersed in Zen practice, he composed some poems of enlightenment as follows:

For ten years I have been meditating
without coming out of the mountain;
Though I walk across the forest, the
birds are not frightened.
Last night there was fierce wind blowing
around the pond under the pine tree;
Today a fish has a crest and the crane
cried three times.²

Another poem was written on January 23, 1604 (the thirty-seventh year of King-Sōnjo's reign):

Eighty years ago you were I.
Eighty years since then I am you.³

¹Nūng-hwa Yi, Chosōn Pulgyo T'ongsa, Vol. I, p. 463.

²Sōsan, Ch'ōngghōjip, p. 30.

³Nūng-hwa Yi, Chosōn Pulgyo T'ongsa, Vol. I, p. 471.

And the poem composed at his dying hour:

Thousands of thoughts and ideas
 Are nothing but snow on a hot oven.
 A muddy ox wades on the water,
 And the earth and the sky break up.¹

Master Sōsan passed away at the age of eighty-five.

The period of his priesthood had been sixty-seven years. He was cremated, and a piece of his bone and three beads of Sarira 舍利² were enshrined in Ansim Temple, Mt. Myohyang. Another piece of his bone and two beads of Sarira were placed in Yujōm Temple, Diamond Mountain, in the province of Kangwōn-do. His other relics were enshrined in Taehung Temple, Haenam, in the province of Chōlla Nampo.

The Teachings of Master Sōsan

Among the many Zen texts authored by Sōsan are the Text for Zen Buddhists, the Commentary on Zen and Chiao, and the Altar of Cloud and Water. Of these, the Text for Zen Buddhists is the most remarkable book, and it is very important for Zen Buddhists' study. Its essential meaning

¹Haean 海眼 (ed.), The Biography of Songun Taesa, (Pyōngan-do, Korea: Pohyōnsa, 1935) p. 9.

²Sarira: Relics or bones left after the cremation of a Buddha or saint; placed in stupas and worshipped. The white represent bones; the black, hair; the red, flesh. Also called Dhatu Sarira or Dharma Sarira.

shall be summarized in three headings as follows:¹

Mind and Word

The Mind transmission of Buddha given in "Three Places"² became Dhyana (Zen), and the preaching of Buddha became Pravacana (scriptural teaching or doctrine). Therefore Dhyana is the Mind of Buddha, and Pravacana (Chiao) is the word of Buddha. The word is like the image of a mirror and the mind is like the light of a mirror. The mind is originally pure. One can get back his original mind by realization. Thus, if one loses oneself in words, all the Zen Koans will become traces of Doctrine and if one finds one's True Mind, all the words in this world will become Zen.

You should practice living words, not dead ones. When you succeed by living words, you will be a teacher of Buddha or the Patriarchs, but when you succeed by dead words, you will not help even your own life. You should have deep faith in your own True Mind. You should neither undervalue yourself nor overvalue yourself.

Your practice without knowing your own True Mind only helps your ignorance, so, the key to your practice is in shaking

¹Sōsan, Text for Zen Buddhists (Seoul: Sōnhagwōn Monastery, 1962), pp. 3-25.

There are many different editions in Korea. The important editions: (a) Wōnchōk-sa edition, 1904 A.D., (b) Songgwang-sa edition, 1610, (c) Hankūl Songgwang-sa edition, 1617, (d) Yongpok-sa edition, 1933, (e) Tongto-sa edition, 1349, (f) Sōnhagwōn edition, 1949.

²The three places: (1) in front of the pagoda Pahuputraka, where Sakyamuni shared his seat with Mahakasyapa; (2) on the mountain of Grdhrakuta, where Sakyamuni held a flower in his hand; (3) under a couple of sal trees 沙羅樹 in Kusinagra (180 miles north of Patna, India), where Sakyamuni showed his feet from the coffin when he died.

off the illusory thoughts in your mind. Moving thought is due to Heaven's Mara, unmoving thought is due to Hell's Mara, and sometimes moving and sometimes unmoving thought is due to worldly passions' Mara. However, all such things do not exist originally in your own True Mind.

The Sickness of Practitioners

Zen practitioners cannot see through the loftiest gate of truth without enlightening their own True Minds. Some take extinct emptiness as Zen; some take indescribable emptiness as the way, and others take altogether nothingness as the highest idea of Zen. But all these are deeply sick ideas. Sōsan considered that contemporary Zen practitioners around the world had all fallen into such sickness.

Some Zen practitioners had many kinds of sickness. Those who were sick in the ears and eyes practiced Zen straining their ears and eyes, nodding the head; those who were sick in the tongue and mouth practiced Zen murmuring nonsense, using thundering cries at random; those who were sick in hands and feet practiced Zen going back and forth, pointing here and there; those who were sick on the inside practiced Zen searching for truth, inquiring into mystery, parting with ideas and sentiments. But to speak really and truly, nothing is not sickness. Zen practice which commits obscenities is like boiling rice with sand in it. Zen practice which involves killing is like shouting with one's own ears blocked. Zen practice which commits theft is like putting water in a leaky bowl. Zen practice which uses lies is like making incense with dung. These practices lead to Mara's way even if accompanied by much wisdom.

The Key to Koan Practice

If you practice any Koan as sincerely as a hen hatches eggs, as a cat catches a mouse, as a hungry man thinks about a meal, as a thirsty man thinks about water, or as a baby thinks about its mother, then you will succeed one day. There are 1,700 of the Patriarchs' Koans, such as "Does a dog have Buddha Nature?"; "A pine tree in front of a garden,"; "Three Chin of hemp,"; "Dry dung stick." When a hen hatches eggs, the warmth continues; when a cat catches a mouse, its mind and eyes do not move; a hungry man thinking about a meal, a thirsty man thinking about water, or a baby thinking about its mother - all these thoughts come from a True Mind, not from a false mind. This is all sincere. Without this sincerity, in Zen there cannot be any realization.

The Koan practice consists of three requisites: the first is great faith, the second is great determination, the third is great doubt. If any one is missing among these, it is like a cauldron with a leg broken. It becomes useless. The Koan practice is like a mosquito rushing at an iron bull. At the risk of your life push through the place that is impregnable to a beak and then all of your body will get through. It is like regulating harp strings which must be rightly tightened or slackened. When you play the harp, you can get a good sound only after the tautness or slackness of the strings is right. It is the same with practicing Koan: if you hasten, the blood will be excited. If you forget Koan, you will come to a stalemate. To be neither fast nor slow, that is the point.

Turning from Master Sōsan's teaching to his disciples, we will discuss one of the most unusual of the

many disciples who were enlightened under Master Sōsan's powerful Zen teaching, Pyōnyang Ōngi 鞭羊機 (1581-1644). Pyōnyang's family name was Chang, and he was born in Chuksanmyōn, Ansōng-gun in the province of Kyōnggi-do. He became an orphan at the age of twelve during the Korean-Japanese War 壬辰亂. Still a boy, he left for Diamond Mountain, in the province of Kangwōn-do, and went around as a beggar to many different Zen Monasteries. He met Master Hyōnbin 玄賓 and was initiated as a monk at Pyohun Temple 表言寺 on Diamond Mountain, where he studied Buddhist scripture until he graduated at the age of eighteen. He met the famous Zen Master Sōsan after he was nineteen years old at Mahayōn Temple, and from that time on he studied Zen under Master Sōsan, finally attaining enlightenment. He received the "Inka" from Master Sōsan, and went on to be a famous Zen Master.

Few Zen masters can be found in history like Master Pyōnyang. After his enlightenment, he left the monastery and wandered about completely free, even removing his monks robes to become a beggar, a shepard, a charcoal seller and other unlikely things. He lived among common people and taught Zen everywhere he went through words and actions. Master Pyōnyang lived to the age of sixty-four and died in 1644.

There are many stories about Master Pyōnyang, and

they have a flavor as different as Master Pyōnyang's personality. Here I will introduce several of these stories. The first is called "The Mountain Lion Who Bit the Master."

One day when Master Pyōnyang was studying Zen under Master Sōsan, he returned to the monastery late in the evening. Master Sōsan asked, "Where have you been all day?" Pyōnyang answered, "I climbed up Pirobong Peak to pick mountain mushrooms, so I am late." Master Sōsan asked, "Did you see any Mountain Lions up there?" Pyōnyang was silent, then suddenly he roared loudly and leaped at Master Sōsan, biting his arm. Master Sōsan instantly grabbed his Zen stick in his free hand and struck fiercely at him, but Pyōnyang jumped clear and stood aside looking at Master Sōsan. Laughing loudly, Master Sōsan said, "Wonderful, wonderful! Today I have been beaten." The next day Master Sōsan gathered all the students in the lecture hall and spoke to them, saying, "On Diamond Mountain there is a ferocious Mountain Lion. All of you be careful, or you will be attacked by him. Already yesterday, I myself was bitten." Then he pounded his Zen stick on the table once and left the lecture hall. He called Pyōnyang to his room and gave him the "Inka". From that time on, Pyōnyang became a famous Zen master.¹

The second story is called "The Shepherd's Life After Enlightenment."

¹This story and each of the following except "The Shepherd's Life After Enlightenment" are not written anywhere in books but are part of an oral tradition still alive in Korea today.

After receiving the "Inka" from Master Sōsan, Master Pyōnyang lived a wandering life in the province of Pyōngan Namdo. One day he saw several hundred sheep coming down from a mountain pasture, and suddenly he thought, "My name 'Pyōnyang' means Sheep Whip."¹ At that moment, thinking about his name, he suddenly felt that Master Sōsan, in giving him this name, had foretold that he would become a shepherd. With this thought, together with the thought of a quiet life in the mountain pastures with only sheep around him, and many hours for silent meditation, he decided to become a shepherd. He quickly changed his robes to rags and went to the shepherd's house and introducing himself as Mr. Chang, asked for a job without salary and only enough food to live. The shepherd very gladly gave him the job. Starting from the next day, Master Pyōnyang took several hundred sheep to the pasture every day and raised them very well. He felt that the pasture was the best Zen practicing place, because there was nobody there to talk to and he could remain silent. Even when he returned to the shepherd's home in the evening he lived alone in a separate hut, where he could meditate silently all night. He felt very pleasant, for nobody knew him, nobody visited him, and he could practice Zen freely day and night without disturbance. Everyday for two years he drove the sheep to the mountain with the cry, "Moo-ut-ko, Moo-ut-ko," which means, "Who am I, who am I?" Except for this, he spoke no other words for two years. All the people in the area came to call him "Mr. Moo-ut-ko," which means, "Mr. Who am I?" One day Master Pyōnyang suddenly left, leaving only a short note on a piece of paper for the shepherd saying, "I left your home this

¹In Chinese, "Pyōn" means "Whip" and "Yang" means "Sheep." This was the name he received from Master Sōsan.

morning because my karmic relationship with your sheep is finished today."¹

The third story is called "Water Vendor's Life."

In olden days in Korea, there was a scarcity of water in many cities and villages, and every morning men carrying large buckets came around selling water. This story about Pyōnyang's life as a water vendor is as follows:

After Master Pyōnyang left the shepherd's life, he went to Pyōngyang, the greatest city in northern Korea. He wondered how he could help people without having any money. He saw several hundred water vendors selling water around the city and decided that he could help people by giving water without charge to every home. He hoped also that this plan would give him a chance to try practicing Zen away from the quiet of monastery and pasture. He wanted to test whether his Zen practice would remain unshaken by the noise of the city. He then prepared a water-carrying frame and two large buckets and went to the Water Vendor's Union and asked for a Water Vendor's license. Then he began giving out water without charge, asking only for a little food at mealtimes. All the housewives praised him as an unusual man, and they asked his name. Master Pyōnyang answered, my name is "Moo-ut-ko" (Mr. Who am I). They misunderstood and thought he said "Mok-ko" which means, "Mr. Eating," and from then on he was known as "Mok-ko Har-a-bō-ji," which means, "The Eating Grandfather." The women misunderstood because they confused the sound of "Moo-ut-ko" with "Mok-ko," and also because Master Pyōnyang always refused money and asked only for something to eat. At any rate, Pyōnyang's previous name of "Mr. Who am I,"

¹Pyōnyang Ōngi, Pyōnyangjip 華便羊集 Ed. by Pohyōnsa (Yōngbyōn, Korea: Pohyōnsa 1711), p. 33.

was changed through the housewives error to "The Eating Grandfather." The water vendors had a different name for him, however. When they first asked his name, he answered correctly, "Pyōnyang," in order to get his license. But they thought he was only an ignorant man who didn't know his own name or couldn't pronounce it, for "Pyōnyang" sounded like the name of their city, "Pyōngyang."¹ They therefore jestfully called him "Pyōngyang," or "Mr. Pyōngyang," and Master Pyōnyang said nothing about their mistake. Being ignorant themselves, they didn't know the name "Pyōnyang," which was a literary name. After some time he came to be known among the Water Vendors as a very wise man. Whenever Master Pyōnyang met students on the street, he taught them Zen, and often large crowds gathered to listen to him for one or two hours. He came to be called by students "The Runaway Monk." Thus, during Master Pyōnyang's work as a water vendor, he was very popular among the people and he was known by three different names: "The Eating Grandfather," "Mr. Pyōngyang," and "The Runaway Monk."

When Master Pyōnyang was giving out water he sometimes came to the house of a very poor widow who lived alone with her young daughter. The widow was a devout Buddhist, but because they were so poor, she had been forced to open up a wine house where many men came to be entertained by her beautiful daughter. Although the mother knew Master Pyōnyang as "The Eating Grandfather," her daughter knew of his other name, "The Runaway Monk," because several of her student boyfriends sometimes talked about him. She heard about the very interesting stories he told, and was very curious to hear for herself. So each time he came,

¹The sound of Master Pyōnyang's 韋 庚 羊 name is the same as the name of the city Pyōngyang 平 上 襄 : except for the "g" sound in the city's name. 平 襄

the girl would ask him to come inside and tell her an interesting story, but Master Pyōnyang never answered her. Finally one day when she asked him, he remained silent for a while and then said to her, "How can my Big Thing fit into your tiny hole?" Thinking that this was meant as a crude joke, the young girl immediately took offense at his words and slammed the door. She went quickly to tell her mother what Master Pyōnyang had said to her. At first the old woman was surprised to hear that "The Eating Grandfather" was also a teacher of Zen. She told her daughter that she must have misunderstood what he said. She knew from her limited study that his saying was not a rude jest, but was a kind of Koan. Instead of being angry, she was happy for the good fortune of meeting a Zen monk. She told her daughter that they must ask him to return. When Master Pyōnyang came back to their house, they asked him to come inside and teach them the meaning of his words. He said to the daughter, "The Big Thing¹ means The Great Dharma. The "tiny hole"² means your small mind. To understand The Great Dharma, you must have a mind of great capacity. If your life continues to be full of only shallow thoughts, you will never be able to understand The Great Dharma. Therefore, if you want to understand, then you must practice Zen seriously to awaken your mind.* The girl was deeply moved by these words and in the end she went to a Zen monastery to become a nun.

The fourth story tells of Master Pyōnyang's life after he finished working as a water vendor. This story is called "The Charcoal Seller," and is as follows:

After working for awhile as a water vendor, Master Pyōnyang decided that he would no longer walk around the city, but instead would try sitting in the market place as a charcoal seller. He wanted to test his Zen practice in sitting meditation in the noisiest place in the city. He bought a

piece of straw mat, spread out several buckets of charcoal on it and sat down with his legs crossed. All day long he sat and nobody came to buy from him. Despite the noise of fighting and shouting and pushing around him, he entered deep meditation. No noise entered his ears, and the market place became like a Zen monastery. Day after day he sat there not moving, and when the housewives who knew him just recently as a water vendor came by, they said, "Look, there's 'The Eating Grandfather.' He's just sitting there like a piece of stone. He must be mad!" And when the water vendors who knew him came by, they said, "Ah! There is Mr. Pyōngyang just sitting there. He must have lost his mind!" And when the students who knew him came by, they too shouted, "Hey, there's 'The Runaway Monk.' He's just sitting there. He must have gone crazy!" Only a short time before, these people had seen him roaming about the city giving out water and now, unexplainedly, he was just sitting in the market place like a statue. Finally one day a woman from the Zen monastery at Diamond Mt. came to the city. She had learned Zen from Master Pyōnyang, and therefore she recognized him. She spoke to him and afterwards told all the people who he was. They were surprised to hear that he was the famous Master Pyōnyang from Diamond Mt., who was well-known throughout the country. But Master Pyōnyang, because his identity was now known, and because he had finished testing his Zen in the noisy market place, left the city and returned to his monastery on Diamond Mt.

B. Master Kyōnghō 鏡虛, who revived Korean Zen Buddhism after a period of neglect.

After the restoration of Zen Buddhism in Korea in the middle period of the time of the Yi Dynasty, it

began to wane, leaving only Chiao Buddhism to flourish. Zen Buddhism did not recover from this depression until the appearance of Master Kyōnghō (1857-1912 A.D.). This occurred during the reign of King Ch'ōlchong 哲宗, the fifty-sixth king (1850-1863 A.D.) of the Yi Dynasty. Producing a large number of disciples such as Mangong (?-1942), Hanam 漢巖 (1876-1951), Hyewōl 慧月 (1861-1937), Namch'ōn 南泉¹ and Yongsōng 龍城 (1864-1937 A.D.), he was a great force in enhancing Zen Buddhism.

Master Kyōnghō's secular surname was Song 宋, his early name was Tong-uk, his holy name was Sōngu and his bhikṣu name was Kyōnghō. He was born at Yōsan, Iksan-gun, in the province of Chōlla Pukto, on April 24, 1849 A.D., the fifteenth year of the reign of King Hōn-jong, the twenty-fourth king of the Yi Dynasty. He lost his father in his early years and at the age of nine, following his mother, he went to Ch'ōnggye Temple 清溪寺, Kwangchu, in the province of Kyōnggi-do and was initiated as a monk by Master Kyeō 桂虛.²

When he was fourteen years old he studied Confucianism under a Confucian scholar. He was so clever

¹The dates of his birth and death are unknown.

²The dates of his birth and death are unknown.

that when he was taught one point he understood ten.

Because Master Kye-hō returned to secular life, Master Kyōnghō went to Master Manhwa 萬化¹ of Tonghak Temple 東鶴, Mt. Kyeryong, Kongju, in the province of Ch'ungch'ōng Namdo. He studied Buddhism under this well-known monk along with his studies of Confucianism and Taoism, thus becoming well conversant in three divisions of religion: Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism. He was broad of mind and of great character and indomitable spirit.

When he was twenty-three years old he was recommended as instructor of Buddhism in Tonghak Temple. Hundreds of students gathered to hear his lectures.

At the age of thirty-one he wanted to visit his former teacher Kye-hō, for whom he had always felt gratitude. On his way from Tonghak Temple to Seoul, where Kye-hō's home was, he encountered a rainstorm on the way. Taking shelter from the heavy rain, he had to stand under the eaves of a house but was driven away by its owner. So he went to another house, but there was again rejected by its owner. Nobody would permit him to shelter under the eaves. He could not understand it, but at length discovered that a horrible infectious disease had seized that district. He was shocked, and felt the transiency of life.

¹The dates of his birth and death are unknown.

To relieve his mind, he consulted the Buddhist sutras and thought over the truths of impermanence, suffering, and non-ego, but it produced no solution. While he was brooding, he turned his mind to Master Ling-yun's 靈雲¹ koan, "Before a donkey goes, a horse comes."

He could understand the meaning of other koans, more or less, but he could not understand this koan at all. He came to doubt. Giving up his plan to visit Master Kyehō, he turned back to Tonghak Temple, through the rain.

The next day he dismissed his students and began to practice Zen. Shutting himself in his cell, he meditated day and night, sitting with his legs crossed. He did not come out of the cell during the meditation. Meals and excrements were taken care of by means of a small hole under the window of his cell. Sometimes he would miss regular meals or sleep. He kept sitting like a stone or a piece of wood.

One day a young monk named Wōngyu 元奎,² who was attending Master Kyōnghō during three months of the meditation, and who also became a great Zen master

¹Ling-yun's biography and teachings are in the Chodangjip, Vol. XIX, pp. 8-9.

²His Bhikṣu name was Tongūn 東隱. The dates of his birth and death are unknown.

later, visited his father, Lee, a powerful layman Zen practitioner who lived in a village near the temple.

His father asked Wōngyu:

I have heard that your master confines himself to his room for months, and the students are dismissed. What are the students doing?¹

His son answered: "They are only playing because they have no teacher."

The father said: "If they play while eating the food offered by the almsgiver then they will become cows in the next life."

"I don't care if they become cows or horses."

"As a monk, you are not allowed to talk like that. You will become a cow that has no nostrils. One cannot pierce the nose of a cow without nostrils, so it cannot be harnessed for man's work," said the father.

Wōngyu could not understand the meaning of his father's words. So he asked another monk, but the latter could not understand either because he was not a Zen practitioner.

"Let's ask Master Kyōnghō about it," said the monk. They went to the cell of Master Kyōnghō and asked him from outside the window:

¹Mamyongjōn, Korean Buddhist History, p. 36.

"Pardon our disturbing you, master. But I have a question that I cannot answer. What is the meaning of 'a cow without nostrils'?"

On hearing this, Kyōnghō, who was sitting meditating in the cell, ran out of his cell, kicking down the door.

"That's it! The cow without nostrils!"

Roaring like thunder, he began to dance cheerfully.

They were astounded, and thought that Kyōnghō had gone crazy. But it was the moment when Kyōnghō attained the great realization. It was October 15, 1879.

After that, Master Kyōnghō was a different person, an enlightened man. He did not bother any more with human manners or formalities. He neither hated nor loved. For him, there were neither superior nor inferior persons. He did as he pleased. He became completely happy and free. He did not bother about time. He did not care for sleeping or eating.

In spring of 1880, he frequently visited his mother, who was staying in Ch'ōngjang Monastery, Mt. Yōnam 燕岩, Sōsan, in the province of Ch'ungch'ōng Namdo. Around that time he composed a long song and a poem concerning enlightenment, as follows:

Song of Enlightenment

I look around in all directions,
 But I cannot find anyone to whom I may
 transmit my kasaya and bowl.
 O, I can find no one!
 In spring, flowers are in full bloom in
 the mountain.
 In autumn the moon is bright and the wind
 is cool.
 I sing a song of no birth,
 But who will ever listen to my song?
 My life and fate, what shall I do?
 The color of the mountain is the eye of
 Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva ;
 The sound of the river is the ear of
 Manjusri Bodhisattva ;
 Mr. Chang and Mrs. Leel are of Vairocana
 Buddha.
 Sentient beings call on Buddha or Patriarch,
 Zen or Chiao,
 But in origin all of them are one.
 The stone man blows the flute and the
 wooden man sleeps,
 But the common man does not realize his
 own mind,
 And they like to call it a holy land.
 What nonsense!
 What a pity!
 They are nothing but the trash of hell.
 Looking back on my former life,
 I find numerous births and deaths and
 transmigrations
 In long, long, countless kalpas.
 Now I see it vividly before my eyes.
 Oh, what a sight it is!
 I was fortunate enough to be born a man
 And attain the realization.
 Hearing someone say "A cow without nostrils,"
 I realized the true mind,
 Where there is no name nor form.
 I radiate great light in all directions.
 The single bright light on the forehead is
 the Pure Land.
 The divine form around the head is God's
 World.

¹These specifically named individuals symbolize
 all sentient beings.

Four skandas are of pure body;
 Paradise is the hell of boiling cauldron
 and the hell of cold water;
 Heavenly world is the hell of sword-trees
 and sword-mountains;
 Buddha land is a heap of dried dung;
 Triple World is an ant hill;
 Trikaya is emptiness.
 Wherever you touch, there is the heavenly
 truth.

Oh, how wonderful! How miraculous!
 The wind is cool through the pine trees,
 everywhere is blue mountain.
 The moon is bright in autumn, the sky is
 like water.
 Yellow flower and green bamboos, canary-
 song and swallow-sound -
 In all these, there is Great Function.
 The golden crown of a worldly king is but
 the thorny crown of a prisoner;
 The Diamond Seal of a heavenly king is but
 an eyeball of a skull.
 Countless Buddhas are always manifest in
 grass, trees, stones;
 The Avatamsaka 華嚴經 and Lotus Sutras are
 but my walking, staying, sitting, and lying.
 To say there is no Buddha and no Sattva (衆生),
 That is no nonsense;
 To change hell into heaven,
 That is in my power.
 Thousands of sermons and thousands of
 secret meanings
 Are realized on waking up from sleep and
 they are in full bloom before my eyes.
 Where can I find time and space?
 The great light is full in all directions.
 In a word, I am the very great Dharma King.
 There is nothing right, wrong, good or bad;
 The ignorant, hearing this, call me liar and
 do not believe me;
 But the enlightened believe me and do not
 doubt
 And they will attain Nirvana.
 I warn men in the dust of this world,
 That if once they lose the human body
 They will hardly get it again in thousands
 of kalpas.
 The blind donkey relies only on his own
 legs,
 Not knowing of safety and danger --
 Everybody is like this,

But why doesn't he try to learn from me,
 I wonder?
 If he learns from me he will be a great
 man
 In the heavenly or in the human form.
 Therefore, I tell you in earnest,
 That I pity those wanderers because I was
 once one of them.
 To whom shall I transmit my kasaya and
 bowl?
 I can't find anyone in any direction.¹

Another of Master Kyōnghō's verses:

On hearing someone say "a cow without
 nostrils,"
 I realized that the Triple World is my
 home.
 On the road under Mt. Yōnam,
 A wanderer sings songs of peace.²

Master Kyōnghō received the "Inka" from Master Yongam at the age of thirty-two in Ch'ōngjang Monastery, Kangwon-do Province. Yōngam was the eleventh generation disciple of Master Sōsan. He used to stay and practice Zen in various temples and monasteries such as Mahayōn Monastery of Diamond Mountain, in the province of Kangwōn-do, Songgwang Temple of Sunch'ōn in the province of Chōllia Namdo; Haein Monastery in the province of Kyōngsang Namdo, and others.

虛集 ¹Kyōnghō, Kyōnghō's Zen Records (Kyōnghōjip 鏡竟) (Seoul: Zen Center of Korean Buddhism, 1943), p. 23.

²Ibid., p. 17.

The poems by Kyōnghō, composed on his way from Pōmō Temple in Pusan to Haein Monastery in 1903, are as follows:

The person with shallow knowledge has high
fame in the world;
Wherever I go, I cannot find where I can
conceal myself.
I don't care whether it is a fishing village
or a drinking booth,
But I worry because the more I conceal my
name the more it is revealed.¹

識淺名高世危亂，不知何處可藏身。
漁村酒肆豈無處，但恐匿名名益新

This poem tells us that even though he tried to conceal his name by staying in the temple, his fame as a Zen master became known to the world.

Another poem reads:

Wherever there is blue mountain,
There are flowers in full bloom in spring
time.
If someone asks me what I do,
I will answer: I sing the "song-beyond-
kalpa." 劫外歌²

世與青山何是若，春光無處不開花。
傍人若問惺牛事，石女心中劫外歌。

In 1904 A.D. Master Kyōnghō wandered about P'yōngan-do and Hamgyōng-do with his hair long and wearing secular clothing. He taught letters to ignorant

¹Ibid., p. 27.

²Ibid., p. 9.

children, or he worked as a hireling in a village. Sometimes he joined a group of village elders to discuss worldly affairs.

Under the penname Nanju 蘭洲, he composed popular songs and poems.

It can be observed here that Kyōnghō was completely free from precepts or religious rules at this period, late in his life. His way of life, such as wearing layman's clothes, having long hair, working as a hired hand, and teaching young children, was not easy for average people to understand. This is not the typical picture of a Zen master, but the enlightened person is not bound as others are. His will is free and his movement undisturbed. Every place that Kyōnghō went, the mountains, the fields, the market place, the cemetery, and the forest, all were his home. To him, there was no difference between the way he lived and a Buddhist priest's life; long hair, shaven head, secular clothes and religious robes were all the same. The only important thing was that he was enlightened and his wisdom was for mankind. A person like this, in Zen Buddhist terms, is known as a Bodhisattva.

Master Kyōnghō's free life is reminiscent of the verse below which is one of the Ten Bull Picture-Songs 十牛圖公頌 written by Kaguan, entitled "Entering the

¹Ibid., p. 9.

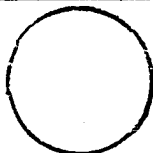
City with Bliss-bestowing Hands" 入 鄺 垂 手 。

Barechested and barefooted, he comes out
into the market place;
Daubed with mud and ashes, how broadly he
smiles!

There is no need for the miraculous power
of the Gods,
For he touches, and Lo!
The dead trees are in full bloom.¹

Kyōnghō passed away at the age of sixty-four, on
April 25, 1912. His period of priesthood had been fifty-
six years. Just before his death, he composed a poem,
drawing a circle in the air with his Zen stick:

The Circle Drawn in the Air



The Mind-moon is singularly round,
The light swallowed all beings.
I forget both light and object.
Then what shall I call this?²

心有孤圓，光吞萬象。
光境俱忘，復是何物。

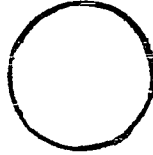
It is possible to further understand his enlightened mind
through this verse.

The circle picture drawn in the air, and the poem

¹Translated by D. T. Suzuki in his Manual of Zen Buddhism (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1960), p. 134.

²Kyōnghō, Kyōnghō's Zen Records, p. 25.

which describes the "Mind-moon" beyond both light and object, also reminds us of another stanza from the Ten Bull Picture-Songs by Seikyo. The title of the poem is "Both Vanished."



Both the man and the animal (bull) have
disappeared.
No traces left;
The bright moon-light is empty and
shadowless
With all the ten-thousands of objects
in it.¹

The "Moon-mind" in Kyōnghō's poems, and the phrase "the bright moon-light" both describe "something" that is the same. What is this "something?" It cannot be verbalized or named. If it is to be named, it can, positively, be called "Mind-and-Buddha." Master Ma-tsu said:

There is no Buddha other than Mind,
There is no Mind other than Buddha.²

And, contrary to the above, it can be called, negatively, "neither Mind nor Buddha."

Thus, Master Nan-chuan P'u-yuan said:

This is not Mind, 不是心.³
This is not Buddha 不是佛.³

¹D. T. Suzuki, Manual of Zen Buddhism, p. 144.

²The Chodangjip, Vol. XIV, p. 1

³Ibid., Vol. XVI, p. 5.

In other words, "something" is neither form nor name, it is neither without nor within; neither born nor destroyed; neither in a fixed position nor in motion. Even the Maras cannot disturb the brightness of its light or penetrate the depths of its emptiness.

If one realizes and actualizes this, he is called "The True Man" 真人, Patriarch, Bodhisattva, or "Man of Tao" 道人. Nothing can disturb his enlightened mind, even though he has long hair or tattered clothing. In the early part of this century, Master Kyōnghō realized this Zen spirit and actualized it by means of his activities and his poems.

Master Kyōnghō left many enlightened disciples to carry on his Zen spirit. One of his chief disciples was Hyewōl 慧月 (1861-1937), whose family name was Sin. He was born in 1861 A.D., early in the twelfth year of Ch'ōlchong, the twenty-fifth King of Yi Dynasty. His birth was in Yesan 禮山, in the province of Ch'unch'ōng Namdo. At the age of eleven, he visited Master An Sujwa at the Ch'onghye Temple, located in Yesan-gun, Mt. Toksung and was initiated as a monk. After that he visited Master Kyōnghō at the age of twenty-four to become his disciple in the study of Zen. One day he listened to the following lecture by Master Kyōnghō:

The Four elements, or, in other words, the physical body, can neither preach Dharma nor hear Dharma.... Only One Thing within you, without form but singularly bright, can preach Dharma and hear Dharma. What is the One Thing which is without form and singularly bright? This is the nature of all Buddhas, and also your original mind.

As soon as Hyewōl heard these words he clapped his hands suddenly and said, "That's it. That's just it!" He danced about happily, laughing loudly. He was awakened by Master Kyōnghō's words.¹

Hyewōl continued to practice Zen meditation, wandering about to many Zen monasteries, until he was forty-one years old. He attained enlightenment and Master Kyōnghō gave him the "Inka." After he received the "Inka", he became a famous Zen master, and taught thousands of Zen students at various Zen monasteries, such as Torisa Zen monastery, P'agyesa Zen monastery, Mitasa Zen monastery, and Naewōnsa Zen monastery. He died in 1937 at Anyang Temple in Pusan.

There are many Zen stories about Hyewōl, for he was such an unusual Zen master. He didn't study Buddhist scripture, and he never even learned how to read. During his life, wherever he taught Zen at different monasteries, he liked to go out with his disciples to clear away

¹This story and the four stories that follow are not written anywhere in books, but are part of an oral tradition still alive in Korea today.

mountain forest and make new fields for planting, when he was not meditating. He was like a child in the naivete and naturalness of his actions, and in his total lack of artificiality.

Here I will introduce several stories about Master Hyewōl. The first is "My Bull Is Not a Calf":

When he taught Zen to many disciples at the Naewōnsa Zen monastery, Master Hyewōl bought a large bull. Whenever he had time, he cleared the mountain forests with his disciples, taking his bull to plow the new land. He said to them, "If the Zen practitioner eats too much and too well, he cannot study properly." In the monastery they ate only barley and vegetables, and his students complained about the poor food. One day he was invited out and while he was gone from the monastery, his disciples Pak Kobong 朴古峰, Pak Kūmbong 朴錦峰, and Chōng Unbong 鄭雲峰 took the bull to the market place and sold it. They bought lots of rice, cakes, fruits, and candy and taking the food back to the monastery, ate well for several days. Master Hyewōl returned and asked, "Where has my bull gone?" All of his disciples said, "We don't know." But Hyewōl said, "Bring my bull, otherwise I will punish all of you." Since they already sold the bull they didn't know what to do. At last his disciple Pak Kobong took off all his clothes and entered Master Hyewōl's room naked. He said, "Here, I brought your bull," and walked on all fours around the room, mooing. Master Hyewōl smacked his disciple's buttocks with his hand, saying "My bull is a large golden one, not a small calf like this. Get out of here at once!" Then Master Hyewōl went to the meditation hall and said to the disciples, "Pak Kobong paid back the money from the sale of my bull." After that he never mentioned the bull again.

There is another story entitled "The Character (Chinese character) Which Never Gets Wet Even When It Rains," which is as follows:

One rainy day a farmer brought rice to Master Hyewōl's monastery and the farmer, his horse and the rice were all wet. Master Hyewōl examined his disciples by having each of them write a "character which never gets wet even when it rains." Some wrote the character for mind, others the character for man's nature, others the character for wind and others the characters for moon, sun and stone. But Master Hyewōl, shaking his head, said "no" to each. At last, Pak Kobong wrote the character for rain 雨 and showed it to Master Hyewōl. Master Hyewōl and Pak Kobong both smiled as they stood looking at each other. Master Hyewōl then gave Pak Kobong the "Inka."

There is another story about Hyewōl called "The Unheeded Zen Lectures," which is as follows:

Master Hyewōl always liked to preach Zen, even when he was very busy. In summertime, whenever the farmhands working in his new-cleared fields felt tired out, they asked the Master to teach them Zen. The master stopped the work and took them under a shady tree to lecture to them. He would talk all afternoon even though they paid little attention, even nodding off to sleep, and they would be paid as if they had worked.

Another story about Hyewōl is called "Not Even A Snake Would Bite Him," and it is as follows:

When Hyewōl worked clearing away the trees to make farm fields, he and his fellow workers would encounter many snakes. Whenever Hyewōl found a snake, even a very large one, he would pick it up in his hands like a loaf of bread

and say to it, "Everybody here hates you. You'd better go back to your home." Then he would carry the snake back into the high grass away from the workers and let it escape. The people all said that because of his extreme loving-kindness, even snakes understood him. They were awed by Hyewōl's unusual spiritual power, for not even a snake would bite him.

The title of another story is "The Man-Killing Sword," which is as follows:

Whenever Master Hyewōl preached a Zen sermon he said, "I have two swords. One is the sword which kills men 殺人劍, and the other is the sword which brings men back to life 活人劍. Do you understand what kind of swords these are, and when I will use them? Be careful, for when you meet my sword you will lose your life." An army general who disliked Buddhist monks heard this preaching and spoke out against Hyewōl. One day he went to the monastery and, taking out his long sword, about to attack Master Hyewōl, he said, "All the time you claim you have a man-killing sword and a sword which brings men back to life. How can you have a sword when you are a monk? If you really have such a sword, show it to me now, or I will kill you with this." Master Hyewōl smiled gently without surprise, and replied, "I will show you my sword now if you would like to see it." The General said very proudly, "Show it to me now." Then Hyewōl said, "Look, it's there behind you!" The general looked back, wondering if there was really a sword behind him. As soon as the general turned his head, Hyewōl suddenly struck him three times on the neck with his fist, crying, "This is my sword," and the general fell down. The general, recognizing Master Hyewōl's spiritual courage, from that day on had great respect for him.

CONCLUSION

In the preceding pages I have explored Korean Zen Buddhism through the lives of remarkable Korean Zen Masters. Each of the Zen Masters had his own characteristics, but we can find that they all have something in common. Beginning with Silla and continuing through the Kingdoms of Koryŏ and Chosŏn the stream of Korean Zen flowed up to the present with its spirit unchanged.

Uniquely, Korean Zen Buddhism has come to emphasize the harmonization of Zen and Chiao. Historically, Master Pojo (1158-1210) advocated the unification of the thinking of the nine Zen schools. The actual merger of the nine Zen schools into one, the Chogye Sect, was accomplished by Master T'aego (1301-1382 A.D.). In 1424 A.D. the Chogye Sect joined with two Chiao sects to form the Sŏnjong (Zen Sect: 禪宗). Likewise the six Chiao schools became the Kyojong (Chiao Sect: 教宗). Finally, in 1935 these two were unified into the Chogyejong. So the original nine Zen schools and six Chiao schools today are the single Chogye Sect.

The harmonization of Zen and Chiao in Korean Buddhism closely approaches the form of Buddhism taught by Buddha himself, and later advocated by many Chinese

Zen masters.

The religious practice of Buddhism in later ages came to be divided into numerous branches and schools. In the Buddha's time there was no diversity of teaching methods, but only one hundred years after the Buddha's death many came into vogue. After Bodhidharma introduced Zen into China, Zen was clearly differentiated from Chiao. With the passage of time and the spread of Buddhism, the lines dividing the Zen and Chiao schools hardened and the various adherents of the two schools came more and more into competition with each other. Each school became prejudiced against the other, accusing its supposed opponent of devilish delusion. For example, Nichiren, the founder of the Japanese Nichiren Sect, declared the practitioner of Zen to be a "heavenly mara" (禪天魔 i.e., a devil from heaven).¹ He denounced Zen because of such un-Buddhist practices as the shouting and beating with sticks used by Zen masters. With quarreling such as this, even open fighting and persecution could occur in the future between the sects. Though the two schools are like the branching streams of a river at its delta-mouth, the two schools of Zen and Chiao have forgotten that they are of the same source and substance and are

¹Nichiren's comment is well known among Oriental Buddhists.

flowing to the same goal. They have lost their true harmony in the midst of useless arguing and struggling. Can this be the original intention of Sakyamuni?

Many Chinese Zen Buddhist masters recognized that Zen and Chiao were harmonious and advocated their harmonization in practice.

Master Nan-yuan Hui-chung (677-744), a disciple of the Sixth Patriarch, Hui-neng, advises the Zen monk in this manner:

The practitioners of the Zen way must follow the Buddha's words (Chiao) and syncretize their minds with the teaching of the one vehicle (Chiao). It is right that one's illumined mind (Zen) and Buddha's words (Chiao) become one. If one insists only on his own way without being in harmony with the Buddha's teaching, then one is like a lion's corpse which is being ravaged and destroyed by maggots. Even though one is not evil and heretical, he will destroy the Buddha's law.¹

In this passage we find Master Nan-yuan Hui-chung 南陽慧忠 stressing that both Zen and Chiao are rightfully one.

Following this line of thinking was Zen master Yung-ming Yen-sho 永明延壽 (904-975 A.D.).

One a monk asked Yung-ming: "The Zen school says that to learn scriptural teaching (Chiao) one can only be a literary saint but cannot be a (Zen) patriarch. Is this correct?"

¹Tao-yuan, Ching-te Ch'uan-teng Lu, Vol. V (T.D., No. 2007, p. 244), and Tsung-ching Lu, Vol. I (T.D., No. 2016, p. 418).

Master Yung-ming replied: "Master Yueh-shan Wei-yen 雲山惟儼 (751-834 A.D.) studied the Nirvana Sutra all his life. From the twenty-eight patriarchs of India and the six patriarchs of China up to Masters Ma-tsu (?-788 A.D.), Nan-yang Hui-chung (677-744 A.D.), O-hu Ta-i 我鳥湖大義 (?-818 A.D.),¹ and others, all studied every sutra in depth as well as realized their True Nature perfectly. They taught their own students in the Zen way and also used Buddha's words (Chiao) without imposing their own thoughts.²

In the Ch'an-yuan Ch'u-ch'uan-chi Tu-hsu 禪源諸詮集都序, we read an account of the harmony of Zen and Chiao:

Master Kuei-feng Tsung-mi 圭峰宗密 (779-841) said: The founder of all the Buddhist sects was Sakyamuni, the sutras were his words and Zen his mind. Therefore, Buddha's mind and his tongue (words) were a unity.... So Nargarjuna³ and Asvaghosa⁴ (who was the twelfth patriarch) wrote many commentaries on the sutras and authorized many treatises belonging to Chiao. Previously there had never been any rifts between Zen masters and teachers

¹His biography is in the Chodangjip, Vol. XV, pp. 1-4.

²Yung-ming Yen-shou, Yung-ming Yen-shou Ch'an-shih Yu-tsung-ching Lu, Vol. I (T.D., No. 2016, p. 418).

³He was the fourteenth patriarch and founder of the Madhyamika School and author of the Madhyamika Sastra.

⁴He was the twelfth patriarch and a famous writer who wrote the Mahayana Sraddhot Pada Sastra.

of Chiao. When Bodhidharma came to China, all the Buddhists there emphasized scriptural terms and words in learning Buddhism. So, he taught them Mind-to-Mind Zen teaching which was outside the realm of scripture. Bodhidharma taught by saying: "The moon is not at the end of the finger." (This means they should free themselves from all attachments.)

Today's Buddhists have mutually lost the original meaning of Buddhism. The Zen practitioner says that Chiao is different from Zen, while the one who teaches Chiao says that Zen is different from Chiao.¹

We also find three instances where certain Zen sects were combined harmoniously with certain Chiao sects.

Heinrich Doumoulin discusses these cases:

Many of the great Zen masters of the T'ang period were well versed in the sutras and sastras, but had preferred Zen and sought their salvation in Zen enlightenment. In the Sung period sutra-learning pushed its way more vigorously into Zen and led to divers alliances on both sides (zenkyo icchi).... In Katakū Zen² under Shumitsu,³ Kegon (Avatamsaka) had already allied itself with Zen.... Master Funnyo Zensho⁴ of the Rinzai Sect, likewise, expounded the teachings of this Sutra (Avatamsaka) in speech and writings. The monistic Kegon doctrine

¹Kuei-feng Tsung-mi, Ch'an-yuan Chu-ch'uan-chi Tu-shu 禪源諸詮集, Vol. I (T.D., No. 2015, p. 401); also T.D., No. 2016, p. 418.

² 荷澤禪 The Zen taught by Master Ho-tse Shen-hui (668-770 A.D.).

³ 圭峰宗密 C., Kuei-feng Tsung-mi (779-841 A.D.). K., Kyu-pong Chong-mil.

⁴C., Fen-yuan Shan-chao (947-1024 A.D.). K., Pungyang Sŏnso.

was completely assimilated by Zen....
 In the tenth century, Master Tendai Tokusho
 天台德韶¹ and Yomyo Enju 永明延壽
 (904-975 A.D.) of the Hogen Zen Sect 時法眼宗
 sought to combine Tendai teaching with Zen.

Between Zen and Amida Buddhism, likewise,
 connecting links had existed for a long
 time. The Nembutsu 念佛, the devout in-
 vocation of Amida Buddha's name, was
 practiced by many important adherents of
 Zen as, for instance, Hoji 法持,² the
 fourth Patriarch of the branch line of
 Gozu Zen 牛頭禪,³ by Eno's disciple
 Nangaku Ejo 南岳懷讓 and others. The
 already mentioned Yomyo Enju of the Hogen
 Sect, one of the greatest syncretists of
 Chinese Buddhism, declared himself emphati-
 cally in favor of combining the Nembutsu
 and Zen⁴...at first glance, perhaps the
 combination of Zen and the devout, trustful
 invocation of Amida may seem surprising.
 But a noticeable resemblance in psychologi-
 cal structure exists between Nembutsu and
 the Koan practice of Zen.⁵

The Japanese Zen Scholar D.T. Suzuki also dis-
 cusses the harmonization or combination of Zen and Chiao
 from the point of view of the psychological relationship
 between the koan exercise of the Zen sect and the Nembutsu
 practice of the Pure Land sect which is one of the Chiao

¹C., T'ien-t'ai Te-chao (891-972 A.D.).

²C., Fa-chih; K., Pōchi.

³The Zen taught by Master Niu-t'ou Fa-jung (J.,
 Gozu), who was one of the Fourth Patriarch Tao-hsin's
 disciples.

⁴ 禪淨 - 致 "Harmonization of meditation and
 devotion."

⁵Heinrich Dumoulin, The Development of Chinese Zen,
 trans. by Ruth Fuller Sasaki (New York: The First Zen
 Institute of America, 1953), pp. 36-37.

sects.¹

In spite of these advocates on the theoretical level for the harmonization of Zen and Chiao, there is no harmony on the practical level. Within even Zen itself there are three sects in Japan, and in China there are two, Lin-chi and Ts'ao-tung.

The unification of Zen and Chiao has taken place in modern times most completely in Korean Zen Buddhism. Korean Master Wōnhyo 元曉 (617-686 A.D.)² authored Simmun Hwajaengnon (The Treatise of Ten Ways of Harmonizing Arguments). This work stresses the idea of unifying all Buddhist sects in Korea at that time.

Master Pojo 普照 (1158-1210)³ of the Koryō Dynasty wrote the Chōnghye Kyōlsamun (The Treatise on Meditation and Wisdom). In this work he systematized and unified the thought of the nine Zen schools as well as emphasized the combination of Zen and Chiao.

Influenced by Pojo's thinking, Master T'aego

¹For the detailed discussion of this relationship, see D. T. Suzuki, Essays in Zen Buddhism, op. cit., II, pp. 135-143.

²He founded the Haedong sect of Korean Buddhism and authored eighty-one texts.

³His biography and teachings are in Master Pojo's chapter in this dissertation: Chapter II, Part 4.

(1301-1392 A.D.)¹ of the Yi Dynasty finally unified the nine Zen schools into one sect, the "Chogye" 曹溪宗 . He was able to do this because of several factors. He was King Kongmin's "National Teacher,"² a renowned Zen master, and also the leader in Korean Buddhist thought at the time.

In the seventh year (1407 A.D.) King Taejong's reign, during the Yi Dynasty, there were, in Korea, six Chiao sects besides the Chogye Zen sect as follows:

- (1) Chongnam Sect 總南宗
Founder: Hyetong 惠通 (circa 665 A.D.)
Dharani and Vinaya School.
- (2) Chōntae Sect 天台宗
Founder: Taegak 大覺 (1055-1101 A.D.)
T'ien-t'ai School
- (3) Hwaōm Sect 華嚴宗
Founder: Wonhyo 元曉 (617-686 A.D.)
Avatamsaka School
- (4) Chaūn Sect 慈恩宗
Founder: Chigwang 智光 (984-1067 A.D.)
Yogacara School
- (5) Chungsin Sect 中神宗
Founder: Myōngnang 明朗 (circa 636 A.D.)
Madhyamika and Mantra School

¹His biography and teachings are in Master Taego's chapter in this dissertation. Chapter II, Part 4.

²National Teacher: K., Kuksa; J., Kokushi. The title "National Teacher" 國師 was an honorary one bestowed upon eminent priests by imperial decree.

(6) Sihūng Sect 始興宗
A branch of the T'ien-t'ai School

Among these six schools, we have no information about the founder of the sixth Sihūng Sect or the date it was established. Korean Buddhists believe that the founder was Pudo Changno 浮圖長老, who was a master of the T'ien-t'ai School.¹ We do not know that the sect's name comes from Mt. Sihung, where the sect was located. The "Monument of Songgwang Temple History" states that the name of the Sihung sect followed the name of Mt. Sihung.² It does not specify where this mountain is.

The above named six Chiao sects and "Chogyē" Zen school made a total of seven schools at that time. (The "Chogyē" Zen Sect was, in turn, the result of the unification of the nine Zen schools of Silla. As mentioned previously, this merger came about through the efforts of Zen Master Taego.)

Afterwards, in the sixth year of King Sejong's reign (1424 A.D.) of the Yi Dynasty, the "Chogyē" Sect

¹Pudo Changno's Bhikṣu name was Mugi 無奇. The dates of his birth and death are unknown. He lived during the reign of the twenty-sixth king, King Chungṣōn. See Nung-hwa Yi, Chosōn Pulgyo Tongsa, Vol. II, pp. 330-332.

²The monument is located at Songgwang Temple, in the province of Chōlla Namdo. The inscription on this monument is also written in the Chosōn Pulgyo Tongsa, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 330.

and the six Chiao schools merged into two: the "Sōnjong" sect (Zen school) and the "Kyojong" sect (Chiao School). To reiterate: the Chogye, Chōntae and Chongnam sects unified into the Sōnjong Zen school; the Hwaōm, Chaūn, Chungsin and Sihūng sects became the Kyojong Chiao school.

During the Yi Dynasty period, Buddhism was heavily suppressed, and Buddhist monks were not permitted to build temples in the cities, nor were they allowed to even enter the capital city. The two Buddhist sects, the Sōnjong Sect and Kyojong Sect, continued to develop in parallel, however.

Buddhism was encouraged and temples were protected for a short period during the reign of King Chōngjo 定祖 (1777-1800). In the Nineteenth Century, King Kojong 高宗 (1864-1906) helped Buddhism to begin a new period of development through some important government decrees. In March, 1865, King Kojong decreed¹ that henceforth monks would be exempted from participating in public works projects in which they had traditionally been forced to work. Also he discontinued the requirement that all temples pay tax to the government. This decree was sent

¹Editorial, Korean Buddhist Newspaper, May 1, 1966, under heading "Materials of Korean Buddhist History," No. 19.

by letter to Yongmun Temple 龍門寺 in Yechōn-gun in Ch'ungch'ōng-do. In September of 1889 and March of 1891 he sent this same letter to Pōpju Temple 法住寺, Pōn-gun, Ch'ungch'ōng Pukdo. In April, 1895, the 32nd year of King Kojong, the king allowed monks to live in the capital city and to build temples there, abolishing the traditional prohibition which had existed from 1623 up to this time.

There was a conference of all Japanese and Korean Buddhists in Seoul in 1896. Korean Buddhists, then coming alive after many years of suppression, discussed the development of Korean Buddhism and also the idea of permitting Japanese Buddhism to enter Korea. This was the beginning of a period of increased activity and freedom for Korean Buddhist monks. In 1899, the first headquarter and general business office for the new organization of Buddhist temples in all of Korea was built in Seoul at Wōnhūng Temple 圓興寺 and this served as the first Buddhist office under the control of the government. It was from this time forward that many Japanese Buddhist monks from different sects began coming to Korea, building many new temples and seeking converts.

In 1902, in King Kojong's palace, a new government office was established for the care, protection, and control of Buddhist temples throughout Korea, and at the

same time a new system of organization for all temples was established. The central temple for all of Korea remained in Seoul at Wōnhūng Temple but the name was changed to Tebōpsan 大法山. This office was responsible for the control of all Buddhism, both Zen (Sōnjong) and Chiao (Kyojong) sects. In the province, 16 Secondary Head Temples called Subōpsam 首法山 were designed to control all temples, both those of the Zen and Chiao Sects in their districts. These district centers were the oldest and greatest temples in Korea, some of them centuries old. A list of the central temple and these sixteen district head temples follows:

A. Central Temple:

Taebōpsan 大法山, at Wōnhūng Temple 圓興寺 in Seoul.

B. Sixteen District and Head Temples:

1. Pongsōn Temple, Yangju-gun, in the province of Kyōnggi-do.
2. Pongūn Temple, Kwangju-gun, in the province of Kyōnggi-do.
3. Yongju Temple, Suwōn-gun, in the province of Kyōnggi-do.
4. Pōpju Temple, Poūn-gun, in the province of Ch'ungch'ōng Pukdo.
5. Magok Temple, Kongju-gun, in the province of Ch'ungch'ōng Namdo.

6. Kūmsan Temple, Kūmjae-gun, in the province of Chōlla Namdo.
7. Songwang Temple, Sunch'ōn-gun, in the province of Chōlla Namdo.
8. Tongwha Temple, Talsōng-gun, in the province of Kyōngsang Pukdo.
9. Haein Temple, Hapch'ōn-gun, in the province of Kyōngsang Namdo.
10. Tōngdo Temple, Yangsan-gun, in the province of Kyōngsang Namdo.
11. Wōlchōng Temple, Pyōngch'ang-gun, in the province of Kangwōn-do.
12. Yujōm Temple, Kansōng-gun, in the province of Kangwōn-do.
13. Sōgwang Temple, Anbyōn-gun, in the province of Hamgyōng Namdo.
14. Kwiju Temple, Hamhūng-gun, in the province of Hamgyōng Namdo.
15. Singwang Temple, Haeju-gun, in the province of Hwanghae-do.
16. Pohyōn Temple, Yōngbyōn-gun, in the province of Pyōngan Pukdo.

In 1904, government control of Buddhism from the king's palace stopped, and Buddhist affairs were left to

the control of the monks. This was the first time for Buddhism in Korea to be totally free from government control, and it was the official end of centuries of government suppression of Buddhism.

A conference of all Buddhist monks, both Zen and Chiao Sects, was held in the second year of King Yunghi 隆熙 in 1908 to discuss a new system of control to replace the government system. In 1910 another conference was held at which a new system of control was decided on. Kakwang Temple 覺皇寺 was newly built in Seoul and established as the head temple for Korean Buddhism to replace Taebōpsan 大法山. An archbishop, Yi Hwae-Kwang, was elected as the head of Korean Buddhists.

Without conferring with Korean Buddhists, Yi Hwae-Kwang went to Japan privately to meet with the Sodo Sect of Japanese Buddhism. From this secret meeting came a written document listing seven points of cooperation between the Sodo Sect and Korean Buddhist Sects. In the same year, 1910, five leading Buddhists in Korea, Pak Han-yōung 朴漢永, Chin Chin-ūng 陳震應, Han Yong-un 韓竟雲, Kim Chong-nae 金鍾來 and Oh Sōng-wōl 吳惺月, called a conference of all Korean Buddhist monks to discuss this document drawn up by Yi Hwae-Kwang. It was at this same time that the Japanese occupation of Korea was beginning, and there were strong nationalistic

feelings at the conference. There was a division of opinion, but most monks were against the document because they thought that the seven points of cooperation would result in the overturning of the traditional way of Korean Buddhism. They emphasized the necessity for the revival of traditional Korean Buddhism and the uncovering of the once bright light of Korean Buddhism after 500 years of darkness during the Yi Dynasty.

Those who opposed Yi Hwae-Kwang broke away from the main headquarters at Kakwang Temple and set up their own head temple at Songgwang Temple 松廣寺 in Sunch'ōn-gun, Chōlla Namdo, electing their own archbishop, Kim Kyōng-un 金擎雲. In the fall of the same year, 1910, they moved their headquarters to Pōmō Temple, Pusan, in the province of Kyōngsang Namdo. During this time, Korean Buddhism was thus divided into two opposing groups: the Southern, centered in Pusan; and the Northern, centered in Seoul.

Soon after the Japanese occupation of Korea began on August 29, 1910, the control of Buddhism in Korea was taken out of the hands of Korean monks and placed in the hands of the Japanese occupational government. The established system of organization, including the newly formed Northern and Southern Schools, was replaced by a newly created system. On June 3, 1911 the Japanese government in Seoul issued seven laws regarding the control of

Buddhist temples in Korea, and from July 8, 1911 they put these laws into effect. Under the new organization, there were thirty-one primary temple headquarters and 900 secondary temple headquarters, as well as many other tertiary temple headquarters, depending on their district and relationship to the history of Buddhism in Korea. The two basic sects, Sōnjong (Zen Sect) and Kyōjong (Chiao Sect), continued as separate ways. The archbishop was chosen by the vote of the thirty-one head temples, but his authority depended upon the confirmation of the Japanese governor and the issuing of a license from his office. Abbots were chosen by the 900 secondary temples, but their authority also depended on the Japanese governor's confirmation. Also all temple property, including lands and Buddhist relics and treasures, was listed with the Japanese government, and nothing could be sold without government permission. The thirty-one head temples were as follows:

1. Pongūn Temple, Kwangju-gun, in the province of Kyōnggi-do.
2. Pongsōn Temple, Yangju-gun, in the province of Kyōnggi-do.
3. Yongju Temple, Suwōn-gun, in the province of Kyōnggi-do.
4. Chōndūng Temple, Kanghwa-gun, in the province of Kyōnggi-do.

5. Pōpju Temple, Poūn-gun, in the province of Ch'ungch'ōng Namdo.
6. Magok Temple, Kongju-gun, in the province of Ch'ungch'ōng Namdo.
7. Wibong Temple, Chōnju-gun, in the province of Chōlla Pukdo.
8. Posōk Temple, Kūmsan-gun, in the province of Chōlla Pukdo.
9. Paegyang Temple, Changsōng-gun, in the province of Chōlla Namdo.
10. Songgwang Temple, Sunch'ōn-gun, in the province of Chōlla Namdo.
11. Sōnam Temple, Sunch'ōn-gun, in the province of Chōlla Namdo.
12. Taehūng Temple, Haenam-gun, in the province of Chōlla Namdo.
13. Kūmyong Temple, Mungyōng-gun, in the province of Kyōngsang Pukdo.
14. Koun Temple, Uisōng-gun, in the province of Kyōngsang Pukdo.
15. Tenghwa Temple, Talsōng-gun, in the province of Kyōngsang Pukdo.
16. Ūnhae Temple, Yongch'ōn-gun, in the province of Kyōngsang Pukdo.
17. Kirim Temple, Kyōngju-gun, in the province of Kyōngsang Pukdo.

18. Haein Temple, Hapch'on-gun, in the province of Kyōngsang Namdo.
19. T'ongdo Temple, Yangsan-gun, in the province of Kyōngsang Namdo.
20. Pōmō Temple, Pusan, in the province of Kyōngsang Namdo.
21. Wōlchōng Temple, P'yōngch'ang-gun, in the province of Kangwōn-do.
22. Kōnbong Temple, Kansōng-gun, in the province of Kangwōn-do.
23. Yujōm Temple, Kansōng-gun, in the province of Kangwōn-do.
24. Pōphūng Temple, P'yōngwōn-gun, in the province of Pyōngan Namdo.
25. Sōgwang Temple, Anbyōn-gun, in the province of Hamgyōng Namdo.
26. Kaiju Temple Hamhūng-gun, in the province of Hamgyōng Namdo.
27. Paeyōp Temple, Sinch'ōn-gun, in the province of Hwanghae-do.
28. Sōngbul Temple, Hwangju-gun, in the province of Hwanghae-do.
29. Yōngmyōng Temple, Pyōngyang, in the province of Pyōngan Namdo.
30. Pohyōn Temple, Yōngbyōn-gun, in the province of Pyōngan Pukdo.

31. Hwaōm Temple, Kurye-gun, in the province of Chōlla Namdo.

Once a year the Japanese governor in Seoul required the thirty-one bishops to come to Seoul for a New Year greeting. At this time the governor often spoke on political subjects, such as follows on January 6, 1919:

In the future, all of you Korean Buddhist priests think of the world situation and make an effort for the Japanese Kingdom and for the Oriental people. Your duty is therefore great.¹

Placed in this position of subordination to the Japanese government, the Korean Buddhists rebelled. They stated that the sacred religion of Buddhism should not be controlled by the government, even to the point of having the power of the archbishop and the 900 temple abbots depend upon the Japanese governor's approval. In 1922, Korean Buddhists met by themselves and formed the New Revolution Meeting 朝鮮佛教維新會. As a result of this meeting, a change was made in the system of temple organization and later allowed by the Japanese government. This was the creation of a central office at Kakwang Temple 覺皇寺 in Seoul to direct the operations of the thirty-one head temples and the 900 secondary

¹Editorial, Chosōn Pulgyoch'ongbo, No. 14, February 1919, p. 5.

temples. The requirement of licensing the archbishop and abbots by the Japanese governor continued.

Throughout this period, both Zen (Sōnjong) and Chiao (Kyojong) sects continued to exist. Representatives from the Sōnjong Sect and Kyojong Sect met on November 30, 1928 to discuss changes in the operation of Zen and Chiao schools in order to achieve more harmonious operations. On January 3, 1929 at another meeting they completed a document of thirty-one points governing the cooperation between Zen and Chiao schools. This attempt to do away with the frictions between the two laid the foundation for the eventual unification of the two sects in 1935.

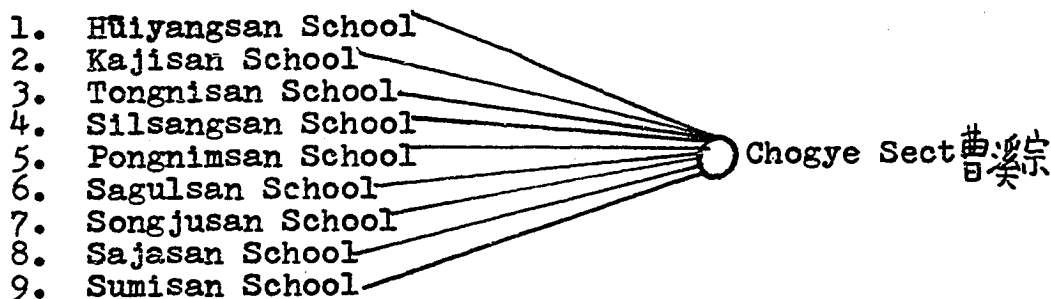
The final unification of the two sects: Sōnjong (Zen Sect) and Kyojong (Chiao Sect), was achieved in 1935, culminating in the present day "Chogye Sect."

A diagram showing these various mergers is at the end of this section.

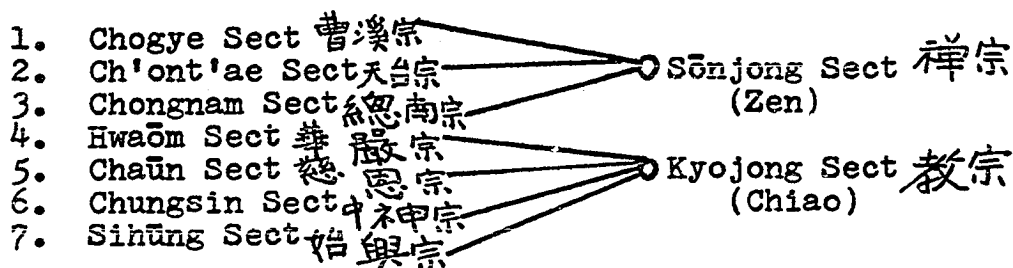
Quite different from any other Buddhist sect in the world, the "Chogye" sect of Korean Buddhism is the result of the complete harmonization of Zen and Chiao. This has occurred not only at the theoretical level but also in actual practice; in other words, all Zen schools and all Chiao sects in Korea today are combined into one sect.

DIAGRAM OF THE CHOGYE SECT UNIFIED WITH ZEN AND CHIAO

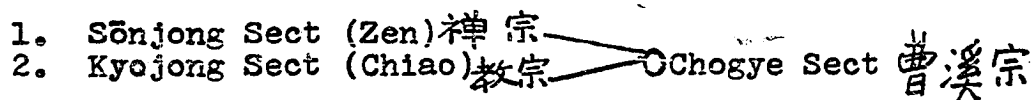
- A. The nine Zen schools were combined into one sect,
"Chogye" 曹溪 in 1356 A.D. (The first unifica-
tion).



- B. The seven sects, including Zen, were combined into
two sects: "Sōnjong Sect" and "Kyojong Sect" in 1424
A.D. (The second unification).



- C. The two sects, "Sōnjong" and "Kyojong" were combined
into one sect in 1935, the "Chogye". (The last unifica-
tion).



We have followed the development of Korean Zen in the preceding chapters through a discussion of different important Zen masters during the Silla, Koryo and Yi Dynasties. We may now conclude a brief discussion of a few important Zen masters of the Twentieth Century, who have died since the unification of Zen and Chiao Sects, and in whom we can see the Zen spirit of modern times in Korea.

One of the most famous of modern Zen masters in Korea was Mangong 滿空 (1872-?). He became a monk under Master Tahō 太虛 when he was fourteen years old. After that, he studied Zen under famous Zen master Kyōnghō and received the name Wōlmyon 月 面 from him. Kyōnghō gave him the following koan to practice on:

The ten thousand dharmas return to the One,
Where does the One return?¹

Mangong meditated on this koan day and night for many years. At last, when he was in Pongok Temple 鳳谷寺, Ongang-gun, Ch'ungch'ōng Namdo, he sat facing the wall meditating on this koan for several days, forgetting to eat and sleep. Then one night when he opened his eyes the wall had disappeared, and there was only a single bright circle of light like moonlight. Early that morning he heard the monk chanting as he rang the temple bells:

¹This koan is also recorded in Jōshū Shinsai Zenji goroku 趙州真際禪師語錄 (Dainihon Zokuzokyo, Part 2, Case 23, p. 159).

"The triple world, all Buddhas, everything is created by only One Mind."¹ Upon hearing this chant, Mangong was abruptly enlightened. He clapped his hands and laughed and sang the following song of enlightenment:

The true nature of empty mountain is beyond
the millions of years of past and future,
White cloud, cool wind come and go by them-
selves endlessly,
Why did Bodidharma come to China?
The rooster cries before dawn and then the
sun rises over the horizon.²

空山理氣古今外，白雲清風自去來。
何事達磨越西天，雞鳴丑時寅日出。

Mangong became a famous Zen master and several thousand Zen practitioners gathered to learn under him at Chōnghye Temple, Toksung Mountain, Yesan-gun, in the province of Ch'ungch'ōng Namdo. He won the high respect of Japanese government officials after incidents such as the one that follows. On March 11, 1937, Mangong met the Japanese governor, Minami Jiro 南次郎 at a meeting called for the thirty-one Korean Buddhist bishops. At this time he was a bishop at Magok Temple in Kongju-gun, in the province of Ch'ungch'ōng Namdo. In a discussion of policies for the development of Korean

¹It is Korean custom for the monk who rings the bells in the early morning to sing this chant.

²Mangong, Mangong's Zen Records (Unpublished manuscript, N. D., kept in Chōnghyesa, Yesan-gun, in the province of Ch'ungch'ōng Namdo), p. 11.

Buddhism, the governor said to the group of bishops: "Korean Buddhism would do much better to follow Japanese Buddhism and cooperate with it." Suddenly Mangong got up from his place and strode over to where the governor was sitting. Standing in front of him, Mangong made a fist and struck the governor's table with it, giving out a deafening Zen shout. Then he said, "The universe of Ultimate Truth was originally clear and empty. Where did the mountains, rivers, and earth come from?" Mangong continued speaking to the shocked governor and group of leaders, saying, "For what reason should Korean Buddhism follow Japanese Buddhism? The person who stresses such an idea must be in hell."¹ From that time, Mangong gained the respect of the Japanese governor and his fame grew. Under him were many famous Zen masters such as Kobong 高峰, Kūmbong 錦峰, Yongūm 龍吟, Chunsōng 春城, Hyeam 惠菴, and Chōngang 田岡. All of them taught in the spirit of their teacher and some are still alive teaching in Zen monasteries today in Korea.

Another great Zen master of this same period was Hanam 漢岩 (1876-1944). He was nineteen years old when he was initiated as a monk under Master Kūmwol 錦月 at Changan Temple, Diamond Mountain, in the province of

¹Ibid.

Kangwōn-do, where he studied the Tripitaka until he was twenty-four. After that he practiced Zen for many years under Master Kyōnghō at Haein Temple in Hapch'ōn-gun in the province of Kyōngsang Namdo. One day during a Zen sermon, Master Kyōnghō spoke the following words: "If one sees all forms as non-form, then one can directly see Tathagata (Buddha)."¹ Upon hearing these words, Hanam was suddenly enlightened, and he expressed his enlightenment in the following poem:

Blue mountain under foot, mountain peak
 on my head,
 There is originally no inside, outside,
 or middle,
 The lame walk, the blind see,
 The North Mountain without words answers
 South Mountain.²

Hanam received the "Inka" from Master Kyōnghō and from that time he was a famous Zen master. In the spring of 1926 he taught several hundred Zen practitioners at Sangwon Temple at Mt. Odae 五臺 in P'yōngch'ang-gun, in the province of Kangwōn-do. During the following twenty-five years, up until his death on March 22, 1951, he never came out of the monastery. When the Communist soldiers were advancing on the temple during the Korean

¹The terms used in this quote are from the Diamond Sutra, and are familiar to students of Buddhism 若見諸相非相即見如來。

²This material is taken from records kept by Hanam's disciple T'anhō, who is now master of Tongguk Zen Monastery 東國禪院。

War, all of Hanam's disciples pleaded with him to flee with them from the monastery, for they were sure to be killed. He refused, saying that when he came to the temple, he decided that he would never leave. He was therefore left alone sitting in meditation and when the Communist soldiers came, they did not disturb him, for he was well known and respected by them. After many days fasting, Hanam died with legs crossed, seated in meditation. He had many disciples who are alive today, such as Tanhō 呑 虚, who now teaches Zen at Tongguk University Zen Monastery 東國禪院 in Seoul.

One more representative Zen master of modern times in Korea is Master Yongsōng 龍城 (1864-1937). He became a monk under Master Hwawōl 華月 at Haein Temple 海印寺, Hapch'on-gun 陝川郡 in the province of Kyōngsang Namdo in 1879 at the age of fourteen. Several months afterward, he visited Master Suwōl 水月 (1855-?), a famous enlightened Zen Master, and asked him what he must learn. Master Suwōl advised him to recite the Kuan-in Bodhisattvas Mantra, called Chōnsu Chumun 千手呪文. He did this for several years, and then he practiced a koan which he made up himself at Tosol Temple 透率寺, Yangju-gun, Kyōnggi-do:

Mountains and rivers, earth, everything
has their original root,
What is the root of human beings?¹

¹Yongsōng, Yongsōng's Zen Records (Seoul: Taegaksa, 1932), p. 41.

Yongsōng locked his door and continued to meditate on this koan day and night, taking only one meal a day. After seventeen days, in the early morning, he was abruptly enlightened, and wrote the following poem of enlightenment:

The man who looks for the bull in the Five
Skandas Mountains,¹
Sits alone in the empty room in a single
wheel of light.
Who can say there are square, round, long,
short?
One ring of fire burns up the many thousand
worlds.²

In later years, under Japanese occupation, Master Yongsōng became a leader in Korean Buddhism, emphasizing the independence of Korean Buddhism from the Japanese. On March 1, 1919, in the famous nation-wide demonstration against Japanese occupation, Yongsōng, with another monk, Han Yong-un 韓龍雲, represented Korean Buddhism in a group of thirty-three leaders of many different organizations and he was imprisoned for this activity. Later in his life, he encouraged the combination of Zen practice and farming, making many orchards and farms on Paekun Mountain, Hamyang-gun, in the province of Chōlla Namdo.

¹The five Skandas Mountains refers to man's physical body.

²Ibid.

Master Yongsōng made a 10,000 day Meditation Meeting 萬日會¹ beginning in 1911 at Chilbul Temple 七佛菴, Hadong-gun, in the province of Kyōngsang-do. He also created the Buddhist Scriptural Translation Organization 三藏譯會 at Taegak Temple 大覺寺 in Seoul. This group was the first to translate the Avatamsaka Sutra 華嚴經, Perfect Enlightenment Sutra 圓覺經, Diamond Sutra and many other sutras into Korean. Yongsōng wrote several Zen texts, such as Kuiwōn Chōgjong 故源正宗 (Right Stream Returning to Source), Kakhae Ilyun 慶海日輪 (Sun Wheel of Enlightened Ocean), Susimnon 修心論 (Thesis on Cultivating Mind), Ch'onggong Wōnil 晴空圓日 (Round Sun in the Clear Sky), and Yongsōng's Zen Records.

One of the most unusual Zen masters of modern times was Master Hyobong 曉峰 (1888-1966). He graduated from Waseda University College of law and he was a judge in the highest court in Korea in Pyōngyang for six years. One day in July, 1925 when he was thirty-seven years old, after sentencing a criminal to death, Hyobong felt the impermanence of man's life in this world so intensely that he suddenly disappeared in the night, leaving his wife and family and work behind, with no explanation. He fled to Singye Temple 神溪寺 on

¹Under this practice many different monks come continuously to meditate for a while in a single location so that there is a steady flow of meditation during 10,000 days.

Diamond Mountain in the province of Kangwŏn-do, and was initiated as a monk under Zen Master Sŏkdu 石頭 . From the beginning of his monk's life, he practiced Zen at Pŏpki Temple 法起菴 on Diamond Mountain. For seven years he never lay down, sleeping in an upright seated position with legs crossed, taking only one meal a day and never leaving the monastery.

From the time of Hyobong's initiation as a monk, he never told anyone his personal background. People imagined that he had failed at business and then became a monk. When someone asked if he had been a wandering candy salesman, a familiar figure all over Korea who sells candy from a box on his back, cutting off penny pieces with large iron scissors, he answered affirmatively. From this he was given the nickname of "The Candy Salesman Monk."¹

Hyobong received another nickname when Master Mangong, speaking to all the monks about him said that Hyobong's mind was like a wooden wheat pounder, for he always sat strong and straight without sleeping, like a hard wooden wheat pounder. Thus, the monks gave him a second nickname, "The Wheat Pounder Monk."

In 1932 an old friend of Hyobong's, a Japanese

¹This story and the ones that follow are taken from material not yet published, kept in manuscript form by Hyobong's disciple So Ku-san.

judge from Pyōngyang, came by chance to visit Yujōm Temple 楡岾寺 on Diamond Mountain, where Hyobong was practicing Zen. He recognized Hyobong immediately and in great surprise he said that everyone in Pyōngyang thought he was dead, since he didn't even say one word to his family and he didn't even resign from court. Then they both burst into laughter. Hyobong said he was sorry for not telling anyone that he had run away to become a monk, and he asked that the Japanese judge not tell anyone in the monastery about him. But the judge told everyone, and from then on Hyobong had a third nickname, "The Judge Monk."

At last Hyobong attained enlightenment, and became a famous Zen master, teaching at several Zen monasteries, such as Samil Temple 三日菴, Sunch'ōn-gun, Chōlla Namdo, and Haein Temple, Hapch'on-gun, Kyōngsang Namdo. In 1958, Hyobong became archbishop of Korean Buddhism, and he greatly promoted the traditional Zen spirit of Korea. On May 14, 1966 at the age of seventy-nine, as he was dying in seated meditation with crossed legs, his students asked him for a poem. Holding his own brush, Hyobong wrote the following poem, then died:

All the teaching of my life
Was like a sixth finger on a hand.¹

¹A useless thing.

If anyone asks me about today's event,
I will answer: The round moon leaves
its stamp on a thousand rivers.¹

Master Mangong, Hanam, Yongsōng and Hyobong, whom we have just discussed, were leading figures in the development of Korean Buddhism in the Twentieth Century. Having seen their lives briefly, we can better understand the events which will now be described in the period of the Chogye Sect's formation, and the years following.

The actual merger of the Zen and Chiao schools into the Chogye Sect in 1935 was preceded by a very important conference of Zen monks held in 1934 in Sōnhakwōn Zen Monastery in Seoul. This conference was called to discuss the weakening Korean national spirit and Korean Buddhist spirit under Japanese occupation. They changed the name of Sōnhakwōn Zen Monastery to Zen Center of Korean Zen Buddhist Research 中央禪理叅究院, and voted the following monks as leaders of this new organization: Mangong 滿空, Hanam 漢岩, Yongsōng 龍城, Sōgwu 石牛, Tongsan 東山, and, representing the young monks, Chōngdam 青潭, and Sōkju 昔珠. It was the object of these leaders to foster a revival of the traditional Korean Buddhist spirit and Korean national spirit. Under this new association, meetings were held during

¹The original copy of this poem is kept by Hyobong's disciple So Ku-san.

three months in the winter and three months in the summer open not only to Zen monks, but to poets, novelists, scholars and general citizens. Among those who participated were poet Oh Sang-sun 吳相淳, Oriental scholar Kim Bōm-bu 金凡夫, and Novelist Yi Kwang-su 李光洙. A magazine, Sōnwōn (Zen Garden), was published which carried articles urging the strengthening of both the Korean Buddhist spirit and Korean National spirit. A group open to men, the Buddhist Revolutionary Association 朝鮮佛教革新聯盟 and another group exclusively for women, the Association of Women Friends of Zen 婦人禪友會 was formed. These meetings, groups and publications greatly encouraged the general population of Korea, as well as the Buddhist community.

In 1935 when the meetings on unification of the Zen and Chiao schools were taking place, a new temple was built in Seoul to serve as headquarters for the combined sects. The temple was named T'aego Temple after Master T'aego who first unified the Nine Zen Schools into the Chogye Sect in 1356, and it took the place of the old headquarters, Kakrang Temple. Afterwards the name was changed from T'aego Temple to Chogye Temple, since the name of the new unified Korean Buddhist organization was the "Chogyejong." A very important factor in these meetings in 1934 and 1935 was the desire among Korean Buddhists to strengthen Korean Buddhism against Japanese influence

through a new unity and oneness of mind.

The Chogye Sect from the beginning emphasized the practice of Buddhism through both Zen and Chiao. Within the new unified sect three different kinds of study were provided for: first, Zen practice in Zen monasteries; second, scriptural study in monasteries and Buddhist schools; third, translation of Buddhist scripture from Chinese to Korean. The centers of Zen study were Haein Temple 海印寺, Hapch'on-gun, Kyōngsang Namdo under Master Hyobong, Chōnghye Temple 定慧寺, Sudōk Mountain, Ch'ungch'ōng Namdo under Master Mangong, and Sangwōn Temple 上院寺, Odae Mountain, Kangwōn-do under Master Hanam, and Taegak Temple in Seoul under Master Yongsōng. Master Yongsōng and Master Mangong especially stressed the strengthening of Korean traditional Buddhist spirit and national spirit through their teaching.

The centers of Buddhist scriptural study were T'ongdo Temple School 通度寺講院, in the province of Kyōngsang Namdo, Sōnam Temple School 仙岩寺講院, in the province of Chōlla Namdo, Pongsōn Temple School 奉先寺講院, in the province of Kyōnggi-do, Hwaōm Temple School 華嚴寺講院, in the province of Chōlla Namdo. At the very large temples, there were both a Zen school and a school for scriptural study in the same temple. This was true, for example, at T'ongdo Temple

in Kyōngsang Namdo, and Taewon Kangwon 大圓講院 in Seoul, and Haein Temple in Kyōngsang Namdo. The same combination of Zen and Chiao study existed also in the central monastery for Buddhist nuns, at Tonghak Temple 東鶴寺 on Mt. Kyerong 鷄龍山, in the province of Ch'ungch'ōng Namdo.

In addition to the study of Zen and Chiao in the Chogye Sect, a scriptural translation association was formed, called the Society for National Preservation Through Buddhist Scriptural Translation 護國譯經院. This was formed in Seoul, and the head monk was Kim Chōk-ūm 金寂音. In each of the three ways of Buddhist study in the Chogye Sect, Zen, Chiao and scriptural translation, an underlying purpose was that of reviving the weakening national spirit through a revival of traditional Korean Buddhism.

During the remaining years of the Japanese occupation, and after Korean independence, the Chogye Sect continued to develop along these lines. There was one serious conflict which was the result of a break from Korean traditional Buddhism by certain monks who married, and wore different robes, according to Japanese Buddhist custom. Many of these monks became abbots of large temples during the Japanese occupation, and there was a strong reaction against them by many monks, especially

those who fought against Japanese influences in Korean Buddhism. In 1954, this reaction reached its climax when the President of the Republic of Korea, Yi Sŭng Man 李承晚, stimulated especially by Zen monks who continued in the spirit of the 1934 Zen Buddhist Conferences, ordered all married abbots to leave the temples because they had gone against the traditional Korean Buddhist system. This conflict between married and unmarried monks has since been resolved, and today there is harmony between married and unmarried monks, with the condition that a married monk who follows the Buddhist rule may hold any position except that of archbishop.

The Chogye Sect of Korean Buddhism, since the unification of Zen and Chiao schools in 1935, has developed a unique harmonization of Zen and Chiao in its equal concern for the study of Zen and Chiao and for scriptural translation. There are even temples, as mentioned, in which both Zen and Chiao may be studied in the same monastery. Where previously Zen and Chiao sects often fought among each other, now they work together in a single organization.

Since Korean Independence, the Chogye Sect has developed increasingly. There is now a Buddhist University, Tongguk University 東國大學 in Seoul, and it has a Zen school on campus, in which students who are

not monks may study Zen just as monks do. Previous to this, Zen schools had only been in mountain monasteries. Also on the campus of this university a scriptural translation association was established in 1963 called the Tongguk Buddhist Scriptural Translation Association 東國譯經院 . With government financial aid, this group is engaged in translating for the first time the famous national treasure of Korea, Koryō Taejanggyōng (Tripitaka Koreana). Another unusual development showing the new life of Korean Buddhism is the six-year meditation now in progress in Mumungwan Zen Monastery 無門閣 on Mt. Tobong 道峰山 in Seoul. Starting in 1966, ten monks began a meditation of six years without coming out of the monastery, following Buddha's example of six years of meditation in the hope of attaining his enlightenment. Zen history can cite few such examples of a group of monks in such strict practice of Zen.

The future of Korean Buddhist development is brightened by the prospect of government cooperation. In the ancient dynasties of Silla and Koryō, Zen monks were the teachers of kings, but during the Yi Dynasty there was heavy suppression of Buddhism. During the Japanese occupation, also it was difficult for Korean traditional Buddhism to develop. Since Korean independence, however, a new spirit has shown itself in the government attitude towards Buddhism. There has been a feeling in

the government that the Korean Buddhist spirit and culture cannot be separated from the Korean national spirit and culture. As a result there has been legislative support for the building of statues and temples throughout Korea, and for the translation of Buddhist scripture. The president himself, Park Chung Hee 朴正熙 is a sincere Buddhist and has urged the development of Buddhism in Korea. With this kind of attitude by the government, Korean Buddhism may be entering an era of new richness.

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