

## Pŏmhae's Hagiography of Wŏnhyo from the Late Chosŏn Period

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# Pŏmhae's Hagiography of Wŏnhyo from the Late Chosŏn Period

*Richard D. McBride II*

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## Abstract

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*This paper analyzes Pŏmhae Kagan's hagiography of the Silla monk Wŏnhyo, as found in his Tongsa yŏlchŏn, which was completed in 1894. Although trained by a Sŏn master, Pŏmhae was a scholarly monk who studied Confucianism and lectured on the Avataṃsaka-sūtra and Fanwang jing. Pŏmhae's hagiography of Wŏnhyo has been overlooked because it is a late source that is derived primarily from Iryŏn's Samguk yusa and Juefan Huihong's Linjian lu. Its derivative nature, however, is instructive regarding the nature of Buddhism in the late Chosŏn period. Pŏmhae follows Iryŏn, except for his discussion of Wŏnhyo's enlightenment experience in a cave when he drank water from a skull. Here he follows Huihong's literary account, which is in turn based on Yongming Yanshou's account of Wŏnhyo's enlightenment, which was recorded in 961, more than twenty years before*

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*Zanning's Song gaoseng zhuan of 988. Furthermore, Pŏmhae's emphasis on Wŏnhyo's son Sŏl Ch'ong and his accomplishments attests to the superior position enjoyed by Confucianism in Chosŏn society.*

Key words: Wŏnhyo, Hagiography, Pŏmhae, *Tongsa yŏlchŏn*,  
Sŏl Ch'ong, Juefan Huihong, Yongming Yanshou.

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## I. Introduction

Wŏnhyo (元曉, 617–86), is one of the most famous figures in Korean Buddhist history and is arguably the single most influential Korean Buddhist thinker in the greater Sinitic Buddhist tradition. Because several of Wŏnhyo's intellectual works have survived, in part because the great Koryŏ prince, Buddhist scholar, and bibliophile Ŭich'ŏn (義天, 1055–1101)—as well as other Buddhist librarians in East Asia—promoted and preserved his writings, much has been written about Wŏnhyo's thought in modern academia. Because of the paucity of source material, detailed treatments of Wŏnhyo's life have typically not transcended the repetition of pious legends and traditional narratives. Furthermore, most studies of Wŏnhyo's life have appropriately focused on the earliest datable materials (Kim, Yŏngt'ae 1980, 33–76; Kim, Sanghyŏn 2000, 104–22).

The late Chosŏn period (朝鮮, 1392–1910) saw a revival of intellectual interest in doctrinal Buddhism (Chung 2007, 183–210). How did Buddhists of the late Chosŏn period think about Wŏnhyo and his life? The Buddhist scholiast Pŏmhae (梵海, or Kagan 覺岸, 1820–96) included a biography of Wŏnhyo in his *Tongsa yŏlchŏn* (東師列傳, *Biographies of the Eastern Masters*). Because it is derivative of earlier hagiographic treatments of Wŏnhyo, it is for the most part ignored in contemporary scholarship (Kim, Yŏngt'ae 1980, 36). Pŏmhae's biography of Wŏnhyo is instructive, however, because it contains elements that show how Wŏnhyo's life was reinterpreted to make it relevant to late Chosŏn society and culture. In this short paper I first contextualize Pŏmhae's biography of Wŏnhyo by briefly discussing how

biographical and hagiographical materials associated with Wŏnhyo have been crafted to serve different purposes. I then discuss Pŏmhae's life and the *Tongsa yŏlchŏn*. Finally, I present a translation of Pŏmhae's biography of Wŏnhyo and analyze its key elements.

## II. Biographies of Wŏnhyo

An enduring problem in Wŏnhyo studies has been placing the composition of Wŏnhyo's most influential works in the historical context of his life. One reason for this problem is because the various epigraphical, hagiographical, and historiographical materials emphasize different writings and different aspects of his life. For instance, the extant fragments of the "Sŏdang hwasang pi" (誓幢和尚碑, *Stele Inscription of the Reverend Sŏdang* [Wŏnhyo's childhood name]), which was erected at Kosŏn Monastery (高仙寺) in the early ninth century, emphasize his *Simmun hwajaeng non* (十門和諍論, *Treatise on the Reconciliation of Disputes in Ten Approaches*) and *Hwaŏm chongyo* (華嚴宗要, *Thematic Essentials of the Avataṃsaka-sūtra*). The Chinese Chan monk Zanning (贊寧, 919–1001) uses Wŏnhyo's biography in his *Song gaoseng zhuan* (宋高僧傳, *Lives of Eminent Monks Compiled in the Song Dynasty*) primarily as a vehicle to describe the miraculous discovery of the *Vajrasamādhi-sūtra* and Wŏnhyo's seminal exposition of the text, the *Kūmgang sammae-gyŏng non* (金剛三昧經論, *Treatise on the Vajrasamādhi-sūtra*) (T. 50, 730a6–b29; Buswell 1989, 41–73; 1995, 556–59). Iryŏn's (一然, 1206–89) biography of Wŏnhyo in the *Samguk yusa* (三國遺事, *Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms*), which was probably compiled in the late thirteenth century and was furthered added to by his disciple Hon'gu (混丘, or Mugŭk 無極, 1250–1322)—among other later editors—is the first extant biography to attempt a comprehensive discussion of his life from birth to death (T. 49, 1006a7–c1; Buswell 1995, 559–62). Iryŏn's biography of Wŏnhyo, nevertheless, is primarily a collection of intriguing and entertaining anecdotes and pious legends arranged in a rough chronology.

Similar to medieval Christian hagiographies of saints, Buddhist

hagiography often tells modern readers less about “historical” facts and events in an individual’s life and more about the how the devout author or compiler attempts to portray a “true image or portrait” (*chinyōng* 眞影) of the Buddhist saint. In other words, Buddhist hagiography is typically an attempt to present something of the spirit or saintly aura associated with the figure, organized and arranged in a traditionally-conceived category of monkhood (Kieschnick 1997; Heffernan 1988, 87–88).

All three of the foregoing materials have been studied in great detail by Korean and Japanese scholars (Kim, Yōngt’ae 1980; Kim, Sanghyōn 2000). Here I merely allude to them because taken together they provide a rough chronology of Wōnhyo’s life, which in turn provides a frame for analyzing Pōmhae’s biography:

- I. Birth and adolescence (617–31)
- II. Ordination and early vocation (ca. 632–61)
  - A. First attempted China trip (650)
  - B. Second attempted China trip (661)
- III. Textual exegete (ca. 662–76)
  - A. Birth of Sōl Ch’ong (薛聰) (ca. 662)
  - B. *Hwaōm-gyōng so* (華嚴經疏) as final composition before his retirement (ca. 676)
- IV. Proselytizing among the people (ca. 677–85)
- V. Return to scholarship (ca. 685)
  - A. Writing of *Kūmgang sammae-gyōng non* (ca. 686)
- VI. Death (686) (Buswell 1987, 398; Yang 1979, 621–31).

Pōmhae’s hagiography fits well within this general frame of Wōnhyo’s life.

### III. Pōmhae and his Biographies of the Eastern Masters

Toward the end of his *Tongsa yōlchōn*, Pōmhae provides a brief autobiography that serves as an auto-preface (*chasōjōn* 自序傳) to his work. Pōmhae, whose surname was Ch’oe 崔, claims to be a descendant of the great Silla literatus Ch’oe Ch’iwōn (崔致遠, 857–d. after 908), and a

sixth-generation descendent of Master Ch'oe Sugang 崔壽崗 (b. 1683; passed military exam in 1712), a Confucian scholar who retired from the world (*ũnsa* 隱士) who had achieved the high honorary rank of Grand Master for Venerating Officials (*sungnok taebu* 崇祿大夫, rank 1b). He was born July 24, 1820 (June 15 by the Lunar calendar, *kyōngjin*). When he was fourteen *se*, he left home and became a monk at Taedun Monastery 大菴寺 (presently called Taehŭng Monastery 大興寺) on Mt. Turyun (頭輪山) in Haenam (海南), in South Chōlla Province, and at sixteen *se* he had his hair cut off and put on the robes of a monk under the direction of Sōn Master Hoŭi Sio (縞衣始悟, 1778–1868). This Sōn master, Pōmhae reports, was an eighth generation descendant of Duke Ch'angnang (滄浪公), Chōng Ōmsu (丁巖壽, b. 1534–d. after 1591) a filial son recognized by the Sōnggyun'gwan (成均館, State Academy) who gathered forces to repulse the Japanese invaders during the Hideyoshi invasions (1592–98). Pōmhae learned and received the precepts from the Sōn masters Haŭi Chōngji (荷衣正持, 1779–1852) and Mukhwa Chunhwōn (默和俊暄, d.u.), and studied the bhikṣu and bodhisattva precepts under Ch'oŭi Ŭisun (草衣意恂, 1786–1866). He studied the Buddhist teachings with these many masters, he studied Confucian teachings with Master Yo'ong (寥翁), Yi Pyōngwōn (李炳元, d.u.), and he studied Buddhist fasts and ritual observances (*chaeŭi* 齋儀) from the works of T'aeho Sōnggwan (太湖性寬, d.u.) and Chahaeng Ch'aekhwāl (慈行策活, 1781–1862). Pōmhae reports that he lectured on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* six times and the *Fanwang jing* (梵網經, *Book of Brahmā's Net*) twelve times, and stuck to lecturing for twenty-two years. Pōmhae traveled throughout the country with numerous monk-colleagues and visited various monasteries and Buddhist historical sites. In 1880 he supervised the renovation of the great dharma hall and hall of the ten kings at Ssanggye Monastery 雙溪寺 on Chindo 珍島. In 1894, when he was seventy-five *se*, he was residing in an incense chamber (*illohyangsil* 一爐香室)—the living quarters for postulants, on Mt. Turyun—he wrote the *Tongsa yōlchōn* in three rolls (later divided into six rolls) in which he wrote the achievements of one hundred ninety-eight persons (Pōmhae 1979, H. 10, 1047b–1050a; Kim, Yunse 1991, 13–21).

What is significant about Pŏmhae's brief auto-biography is his frequent reference to his scholarly birthright, claiming descent from Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn, his training in Confucian materials, and his study on monks who shared similarly illustrious heritages connected to the Confucian tradition. After hundreds of years of Confucian domination in Korea, monks such as Pŏmhae appear to have treasured and lauded their secular ancestry. The relevance of a Buddhist monk's Confucian connections will be made more apparent in Pŏmhae's hagiography of Wŏnhyo.

The received text of the *Tongsa yŏlchŏn* is comprised of six rolls. A brief outline of its contents is as follows: roll one contains accounts of nineteen monks and one layman (Kim, Taesŏng 金大城, d. 775) from the Three Kingdoms period (ca. 300–935) to the end of the Koryŏ period (918–1392); roll two contains twenty-one biographies of monks from the end of the Koryŏ period through the mid-Chosŏn period; and roll three comprises twenty-three biographies of monks from the mid-Chosŏn to the late Chosŏn period. Roll four contains fifty-two accounts of monks from the late Chosŏn period; roll five comprises forty-eight biographies of monks from the late Chosŏn period; and roll six contains accounts thirty-four accounts of monks from the end of the Chosŏn period.

#### IV. Pŏmhae's Biography of Wŏnhyo

In the translation that follows, I have added supplementary information in brackets, such as the conversion of dates from the sexagesimal system and the reign dates and periods of Chinese and Korean kings.

##### **Life of the State Preceptor Wŏnhyo**

The master's surname was Sŏl (薛), and his given name was Sŏdang (誓幢). He hailed from Silla's Amnyang Commandery (押梁郡, present-day Kyŏngsan 慶山). His mother dreamed that a shooting star entered her bosom, causing her to become pregnant. When she was about to deliver [her child], five-colored clouds covered the land when he was born. It happened in *chŏngch'uk* (丁丑 [617]), the tenth year of the Daye (大業) reign period of Sui

Yangdi (隋煬帝 [r. 605–17]), the thirty-ninth year of Silla king Chinp'yōng (眞平 [r. 579–632]).

When he had grown up he entered Tang to inquire about the Way to enlightenment. One night he lodged in a dilapidated structure. He was thirsty, so he drank an exceeding amount of water with his hands. It was exceedingly sweet and clear, but in the morning he saw that it has been in a skull. Suddenly he had an intense realization, sighed, and said, “When thoughts are produced, all manner of dharmas are produced; when thoughts cease, a skull is indivisible. The Tathāgata, the great master, said, ‘The three realms of existence are mind-only. Why would he deceive us?’”

Subsequently he did not again seek a mentor and straightway returned to his native country. He wrote a commentary on the *Avataṅsaka-sūtra*. Tasting the breeze he went mad, singing in the streets saying, “Who will give me an axe without a handle. I would like to chop a heaven-supporting pole.” None of the people [understood] his announcement, but when [Silla king] T'aejong (太宗) [r. 654–61] heard it he said, “He wants to obtain a noble wife and produce a worthy son.” At that time there was a widowed princess in the Praisine Palace. They led [Wōn]hyo to enter the palace and made him spend the night there. As a result, she gave birth to Sōl Ch'ong (薛聰). As Ch'ong grew he became both sagacious and accomplished. He was an erudite of the [Confucian] classics and thoroughly conversant in historical writings. He was the first of the ten worthies of Silla. He codified our [vernacular] language and helped us to comprehend the six classics; and in his government service achieved a position in the Hallim Academy (翰林). King Hyōnjong (顯宗 [r. 1009–1031]) of Koryō [posthumously] made him the Marquis who Spread Confucianism (Hongyu hu 弘儒侯) and offered sacrifices [to him] in the Temple of Literature (Munmyo 文廟).

The master used to reside at Punhwang Monastery (芬皇寺), where he wrote a commentary on the *Avataṅsaka-sūtra*. When he reached the fortieth chapter, “The Transference of Merit,” he put down his brush. Furthermore, he wrote a commentary on the *[Vajra] samādhi-sūtra*. He was called Horn Rider (Kaksūng 角乘) since it was said he rode an ox by hanging from its horns. He then entered quiescence. When Ch'ong installed a true likeness of him in clay at Punhwang Monastery, and offered worship on one side of the image, the image suddenly turned its head.

On Mt. Sabul (四佛山) in Sangju (尙州) there are the two hermitage sites of Wōnhyo and Ŭisang. On Mt. Myohyang (妙香山)

in Yōngbyōn (寧邊) there is Board-Throwing Terrace (Ch'ōkp'andae 擲板臺). On Mt. Kūmjōng 金井山 in Tongnae (東萊) there is a Wōnhyo Hermitage (元曉庵) and a Hwaōm Site (華嚴垞). On Mt. Turyun 頭輪山 in Haenam (海南) there is a Wōnhyo Terrace (元曉臺) and a Ŭisang Terrace (義湘臺). On Mt. Mudūng (無等山) in Kwangju (光州) there is a Wōnhyo Hermitage. On Mt. Soyo (逍遙山) in Yangju (楊州) there is Table Staff Spring (T'aksōkch'ōn 卓錫泉), Kwanūm Pine (觀音松), and the site of the Great Palace of the Princess Hwajaeng (和諍公主大闕址). King Sukchong (肅宗 [r. 1095-1105]) of Koryō awarded Wōnhyo posthumously with the title the State Preceptor who Resolves Disputes (Hwajaeng kuksa 和諍國師).

### 元曉國師傳

師姓薛。名誓幢。新羅押梁郡(今爲慶山)佛地村人也。母夢流星入懷。因有娠。將產五色雲覆地而生。隋煬帝大業十年。新羅眞平王三十九丁丑也。旣長。入唐訪道。夜宿墜間。渴甚掬飲水。甚甘涼明朝視之。乃鬻髓也。忽猛省歎曰。心生則種種法生。心滅則鬻髓不二。如來大師曰。三界唯心。豈欺我哉。遂不復求師。即還本國。疏華嚴經。嘗風顛唱街曰。誰許沒柯斧。爲斫支天柱。人皆未諭。時太宗聞之曰。欲得貴婦生賢子也。時瑤石宮有寡公主。引曉入宮。因留宿焉。果生薛聰。聰生而敏達。博通經史。新羅十賢中之一也。以作方言會通物名。訓解六經。官至翰林。高麗顯宗。贈弘儒侯。從祀文廟。師曾住芬皇寺。述華嚴疏。至第四十回向品絕華。又述三昧經疏。名曰角乘。言乘牛掛角作也。旣入寂也。聰塑眞容芬皇寺時。旁禮像。像忽回顧。尚州四佛山有元曉義湘二庵址。寧邊妙香山有擲板臺。東萊金井山。有元曉庵華嚴垞。海南頭輪山。有元曉臺義湘臺。光州無等山。有元曉庵楊州逍遙山。有卓錫泉觀音松。和靜公主大闕址。高麗肅宗賜和靜國師之號。(Pōmhae 1979, H. 10, 996b13-c16)

The first and most general analytical comment we can make about this short biography is that it follows the general outline of Iryōn's "Wōnhyo, the Unbridled." There are, however, a few significant discrepancies. The first meaningful difference is that Pōmhae follows Juefan Huihong's 覺範慧洪 (1071-1128) version of Wōnhyo's enlightenment experience of drinking water from a skull, by reporting that Wōnhyo had this experience in China rather than Korea and repeating dialogue found only in Huihong's *Lingian lu* 林間錄 (*Anecdotes from the Groves of Chan*), which was first compiled in 1107:

The Tang-dynasty monk Wōnhyo was from Haidong (海東, or Silla; “East of Bohai” 渤海). When Wōnhyo first arrived in China after taking a boat across the sea, he wanted to visit many famous mountains to search for Buddhist teachers. He set out alone in the wild hills, but as evening darkness fell over the hills he decided to spend the night in a cave, where—because of great thirst—he used his hand to get some water out of a spring in the cave and drank until he was refreshed. When he awoke in the morning, the darkness was now illuminated and he looked around to see that the spring was actually water in a skull. He was greatly horrified by this, immediately wanted to vomit and depart. Instead, he bravely reflected on the matter, and shouted out, “The mind produces distinctions, and all distinctions between dharmas are created by the mind. There is nothing to the skull bones, for it is not different from *tathatā* [thusness]. My great teacher once said, ‘The three realms are only mind,’ What a fool I have been!” After that he did not go searching for a master; instead, that same day he took a boat back to Haidong, where he wrote a commentary on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* and instructed people on its broadly great and perfectly sudden points. I [Juefan Huihong] read his biography about this, and thought that this was a matter of universal happiness upon drinking from a big bowl with the viper’s image; so I composed this gāthā.

In the evening hills, Wōnhyo drank water from a skull,  
 from a bowl that had a small image, but it was not a viper.  
 Inside it there was nothing; this produced his enlightenment,  
 laughingly he took it and let go of his ties, which my  
 ornamental lines debase

唐僧元曉者。海東人。初航海而至。將訪道名山。獨行荒陂。夜宿塚間。渴甚。引手掬水于穴中。得泉甘涼。黎明視之。髑髏也。大惡之。盡欲嘔去。忽猛省。嘆曰。心生則種種法生。心滅則髑髏不二。如來大師曰。三界唯心。豈欺我哉。遂不復求師。即日還海東。疏華嚴經。大弘圓頓之教。予讀其傳至此。追念晉樂廣酒盃蛇影之事。作偈曰。夜塚髑髏元是水。客盃弓影竟非蛇。箇中無地容生滅。笑把遺編篆縷針。(Juefan Huihong 1967, X. 148, 295c2-9).

Juefan Huihong’s version of Wōnhyo’s enlightenment experience, nevertheless, is a more literary reformulation of Yongming Yanshou’s (永明延壽, 904-975) version of Wōnhyo’s enlightenment experience as recorded in the *Zongjing lu* (宗鏡錄, *Record of the Mirror of the Core Teaching*), which was

first compiled in 961:

Long ago, the two men, the Dharma Master Wōnhyo and the Dharma Master Ūisang of the Eastern Country (Dongguo 東國, Korea) came together to Tang to search for a master. By chance they lodged for the night in the wilds and stopped inside a [dilapidated] tomb. There, the Dharma Master Wōnhyo was caused to drink what he thought was thick fluid and subsequently he sat right up. Seeing it was clear water, he cupped his hands, drank deeply, and was very pleased with himself. When daylight came he inspected [his surroundings]: Originally it was the fluid [dripping from] a decaying corpse. At that time, his mind was [overcome by] unwholesome [thoughts], and he vomited. Suddenly [his understanding] opened up and [he attained] a great awakening. Then he said, "I have heard that the Buddha said, 'The three realms are only mind, the myriad dharmas are consciousness-only.' Hence, I know that beauty and unwholesomeness are within me. I truly [know that] it is not the water!" Subsequently, he returned to his homeland and taught [the Buddhadharmas] far and wide.

如昔有東國元曉法師。義相法師。二人同來唐國尋師。遇夜宿荒。止於塚內。其元曉法師。因渴思漿。遂於坐側。見一泓水。掬飲甚美。及至來日觀見。元是死屍之汁。當時心惡。吐之。豁然大悟。乃曰。我聞佛言。三界唯心。萬法唯識。故知美惡在我。實非水乎。遂却返故園廣弘至教。(T. 48, 477a22-28)

Because Pōmhae follows Huihong's version of Wōnhyo's enlightenment, rather than Zanning's version found in Ūisang's biography in the *Song gaoseng zhuan* (T. 50, 729a5-16), which reports that this experience happened before Ūisang travelled to Tang, we can know that within the dominant Sōn tradition in the late Chosŏn period, monks preferred the idea that Wōnhyo had some physical connection to Tang China, as presented in Yanshou and Huihong's stories of Wōnhyo's enlightenment. That this version of the story continued to be relevant in Korea during the colonial period is attested to by the missionary Charles Allen Clark's alluding to it in his *Religions of Old Korea* (1932, 31). In the modern, post-colonial era, perhaps because a nationalistic understanding of Korean Buddhist history gained ascendancy, Zanning's version has become the version promoted by scholars and

biographers because it affirms that Wŏnhyo's intellectual brilliance was home-grown and not dependent on pilgrimage to China.

Twice in the biography Pŏmhae deploys the idea that Wŏnhyo wrote a commentary on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* as a transitional statement leading into a well-known anecdote. In the first usage, it leads to the well-known story of Wŏnhyo's wandering about the streets of Silla's capital singing about his wanting to father a son who will be a support to the country, and then launches into a brief discussion of Wŏnhyo's son, the scholar Sŏl Ch'ong (ca. 662–740). Pŏmhae's version of the story, although slightly different in diction, is essentially the same as Iryŏn's (T. 49, 1006a29–b11). What is significant is that Pŏmhae reconfirms the superiority of Confucianism in late Chosŏn society by reporting his son Sŏl Ch'ong's accomplishments, erudition in the Confucian classics, and his official titles as they were awarded by Koryŏ king Hyŏngjong on March 4, 1022, as recorded in the *Koryŏsa* (高麗史) (Chŏng, Inji 1972, 4:37a9–b1). It is as though Wŏnhyo's intellectual and religious accomplishments are inconsequential in comparison to his fathering of Sŏl Ch'ong, the first of Korea's Confucian worthies. Pŏmhae's emphasis on Sŏl Ch'ong and his accomplishments, although mirroring Iryŏn's biography, highlights the cultural superiority enjoyed by Confucianism in Chosŏn Korea and the inherent respect monks would have had toward Confucian worthies.

Considering that Pŏmhae placed Wŏnhyo's biography second in the entire work, after Ado (阿道, fl. fifth century) but before the noble monk Chajang (慈藏, d. ca. 650), who was Wŏnhyo's senior and possibly his mentor, strongly suggests that he considered the life of Wŏnhyo and his contribution to Korean Buddhism and Korean religious history to be so significant that it warranted placing him out of chronological order. Chronological fidelity was an important issue to Iryŏn, so Pŏmhae's placement of Wŏnhyo's biography second was neither random nor accidental.

Pŏmhae prefaces the third anecdote, regarding Wŏnhyo's exegetical activities prior to his passing, by mentioning the composition of another commentary on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* that Wŏnhyo wrote while residing at Punhwang Monastery. Wŏnhyo's connection to this monastery is the best

documented (Kim, Sanghyōn 2000, 65–66). Wōnhyo's writing of this second commentary on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* (*Hwaōm-gyong so* 華嚴經疏) seems to indicate the conclusion of Wōnhyo's intellectual career, a retirement he came out of to compose a commentary on the *Vajrasamādhī-sūtra*, which was so well received by the East Asian Buddhist community that it was elevated to the rank of "treatise" or "exposition" (*ron*, Ch. *lun* 論) by Chinese colleagues of the succeeding generation. Then follows the pious legend of Sōl Ch'ong's making a clay image of Wōnhyo after his death and the image's turning its head to look at his son. This section follows Iryōn's account rather closely (T. 49, 1006b19–27).

Finally, Pōmhae reports physical sites where traces of Wōnhyo might be found. Space here does not permit a detailed discussion of the significance of each site individually, but what is significant is that he refers to hermitages and other types of sites in several Korean provinces: Mt. Sabul in North Kyōngsang Province, Mt. Myohyang in North P'yōngan Province, Mt. Kūmjōng in South Kyōngsang Province, and Mt. Turyun and Mt. Mudūng in South Chōlla Province, and Mt. Soyo in Kyōnggi Province. It is not completely clear why Pōmhae selected these sites from among at least sixty-eight monasteries, hermitages, terraces, and so forth that claim to have been founded by or preserve other associations with and traces of Wōnhyo (Kim, Yōngt'ae 1980, 73–75). What seems important here is that Pōmhae begins with Wōnhyo's home region, present-day North Kyōngsang Province, moves around the country, and concludes with Mt. Soyo, in the vicinity of Chosōn's capital, the present-day Seoul. Thus, Pōmhae encourages readers to seek traces of Wōnhyo throughout the country and concludes with the most significant sites in the region of the capital.

Finally, Pōmhae closes his account by alluding to the *Koryōsa's* account of Koryō king Sukchong's awarding Wōnhyo posthumously with the title Hwajaeng kuksa (和諍國師, State Preceptor who Resolves Disputes) on September 24, 1101, an action certainly prompted by Sukchong's uncle, the influential Koryō monk Ūich'ōn (Chōng, Inji 1972, 11:30a7–b2).

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## V. Conclusion

Pŏmhae's hagiography of Wŏnhyo in the *Tongsa yŏlchŏn*, which was completed in 1894, has been overlooked because it is a late source that is derived primarily from Iryŏn's *Samguk yusa* and Juefan Huihong's *Linjian lu*. Its derivative nature, however, is instructive regarding the nature of Buddhism in the late Chosŏn period. Pŏmhae primarily follows Iryŏn, except for his discussion of Wŏnhyo's enlightenment experience in a cave when he drank water from a skull. Here he follows Huihong's literary account, which is in turn based on Yongming Yanshou's account of Wŏnhyo's enlightenment, which was recorded in 961, more than twenty years before Zanning's *Song gaoseng zhuan* of 988. These records attest to the idea that Wŏnhyo had a deeper connection with China than Zanning's work suggests, and it seems apparent that the Sŏn tradition in the late Chosŏn period preferred that Wŏnhyo had such a connection. Furthermore, Pŏmhae's emphasis on Wŏnhyo's son Sŏl Ch'ong and his accomplishments and titles attests to the superior position enjoyed by Confucianism in Chosŏn society.

## Abbreviations

- H *Han'guk Pulgyo Chōnsō* (韓國佛教全書, Collected works of Korean Buddhism) [followed by volume, page, and horizontal column]. Seoul: Dongguk Univ. Press, 1977–2004.
- T *Taishō Shinshu Daizōkyō* (大正新脩大藏經, Japanese Edition of the Buddhist Canon) [followed by volume, page, and horizontal column]. Tokyo: Taishō Issaikyō kankōkai, 1924–35.
- X *Xuzangjing* (續藏經, Hong Kong reprint of The Kyoto Supplement to the Canon [*Dai Nihon Zokuzōkyō* 大日本續藏經]). Hong Kong: Hong Kong Buddhist Association, 1967.

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