

Iryeons Hwaem Philosophy in His Life and Samguk yusa (1)

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Iryeon's Hwaecom Philosophy in His Life and *Samguk yusa* (1)*

Ho-ryeon Jeon (Ven. Hae-ju)

Abstract

This treatise examines Iryeon's Hwaecom philosophy and faith through a study of his biographical records and his most significant work, Samguk yusa. The premise that Iryeon's philosophy has its roots in the Hwaecom school is supported by evidences that he prayed to Manjusri when Goryeo was facing a Mongol onslaught, and that he went to the 'place of non-residence' at the behest of Manjusri where he achieved 'non-hinderance.' Manjusri who appears in Samguk yusa is the same Manjusri we find in the Avatamsaka pantheon. And Iryeon's philosophy, which is based on non-residence, non-expansion and non-contraction, and non-hindrance, is clearly linked to Uisang's idea of 'non-resident enlightenment.' It is in this context that we can understand his profession of philosophical lineage stemming from Jinul and his integration of Seon and Hwaecom can be understood.

Other examples of the connection between Iryeon and Hwaecom include

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his reconstruction of Yongcheonsa, one of the Ten Main Hwa-eom temples, and the establishment of a reformatory religious society, Buri Gyeolsa (佛日結社) there; his completion of *Samguk yusa* and his passing at Ingaksa, a temple founded by Uisang, and Iryeon's recognition by people as the incarnation of Dammugal Bodhisattva.

In addition, his faith in Hwa-eom (evident in *Samguk yusa*), as well as the Ornamented World philosophy and Vairocana, and his worship of the Avatamsaka Bodhisattvas and their pantheon, naturally led to view Hwa-eom as superior of itself and to Uisang's Hwa-eom philosophy. The scripture Iryeon referred to when he was writing his opus magnum was the Eighty Avatamsaka. And his reverence for Uisang was a natural extension of his efforts to emulate the Bodhisattvas in caring for all mortals, based on the enlightenment of nonresidence and non-hindrane which is at the crux of his Hwa-eom faith and philosophy. Thus the Gyeongcho-Seon that is his religious hallmark could be considered as his unique Seon expression of the Hwa-eom Bodhisattva Work (華嚴菩薩行).

Key words: Iryeon, Uisang, Hwa-eom, Seon, *Samguk yusa*,
Order of Nine Mountain Schools, *Avatamsaka Sutra*,
Revised Edition on Caotong's Five Categories.

I. Foreword

The *Samguk yusa* (三國遺事, Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms) is a well-known treasure of Korean Buddhism, written by Iryeon in the Goryeo dynasty. Iryeon (一然, 1206–80) is also known as a prominent Seon master of the Gajisan School. However, a careful look at his life and works, especially *Samguk yusa*, shows us that Iryeon was far more than just a Seon master. He, like many others, portrays many aspects of an holistic Buddhism, which is especially distinctive of the Korea Buddhism. For example, Iryeon convened a meeting of the Nine Mountains Seon Order (九山禪門) to promote harmony among various Seon sects. He was also very respectful of the Korean Hwa-eom's progenitor, Uisang (義相, 625–702), whose Hwa-eom thought exerted

a great influence on Bojo-Seon,¹ Jinul's Seon Philosophy which was the legacy of his Hwaecom thought. Even today, many of the researchers examining Hwaecom philosophy or Hwaecom faith illustrated in *Samguk yusa* are merely concerned with Hwaecom as it appears in the text (Kim, Sang Hyun 1985, 65-89; Kim, Yeong-tae 1986, 13-48). This treatise focuses on Iryeon's Hwaecom philosophy, at first by describing his life and philosophy and then investigating his practice method and its relationship with Hwaecom Buddhism. Finally it examines Iryeon's own distinctive Hwaecom faith and thought.

II. Iryeon's Persepective on Buddhism

A. A Short Biography of Iryeon

The most representative work on Iryeon's life available today is "Preface to the Memorial Stela of the Venerable Master Bojo of Goryeo" (*JK*. 1:467-73; *JB*. 3:358-64). Partial descriptions of his life are also found in the Records of Ingaksa temple (Jang 1981, 4-7) and the Epilogue of *Samguk yusa* (Choi 1958; Kwon 1995). This chapter is to describe Iryeon's life and accomplishments, with special attention to their relationship with the Hwaecom Philosophy.

Iryeon's family name was Kim and he was born in Jangsan, known as Gyeongsan today. His given name was Gyeonmyeong (見明, later changed to Iryeon), and he also had second name of Huiyeon and pen name of Mokam. He was born in the second year of King Heui-jong of Goryeo (1206) and studied at Muryangsa temple in Haeyang. At age 13, He received his novice precepts from Daewoong at Jinjeonsa and was made head of Saseon (四選) in the Order of Nine Mountain Schools when he was twenty years old. The following year (1227) he sat for an official clerical examination and won top honors. But instead of pursuing an official post he chose to reside quietly at Bodangam hermitage in Pochon so as to concentrate on Seon practice.

¹ For further reading about *Bojo-Seon*, see Jeon (1989a).

In 1236 when Iryeon was 30, during the whirlwind of the Mongol Invasions he recollected Manjusri's five-letter mantra and recited it, beseeching divine intervention. Then Manjusri appeared on the wall and spoke to Iryeon instructing him to reside at the place of 'Non-residence' (無住). The following year, aged 31, he moved to Myomunam hermitage on the same mountain, where he found a tranquil spot to the north of the hermitage which he realized was the place of 'Non Residence.' He understood then what he had been told by Manjusri, and so, praying vigorously, he recited the words: the Mortal world does not diminish but neither does the Buddha realm expand (生界不減 佛界不增). Finally one day he achieved awakening and told everyone, "Today I finally realize that the Three Realms are all but delusions, and there is not a single mote to blur the horizon" [吾今日乃知 三界如幻夢 見大地無纖毫碍] (*JG*. 1:470).

In 1259, aged 53, he promoted himself to Triple Grand Master, Seon Master, and Great Seon Patriarch. For the next two years Iryeon devoted himself to quiet practice at Jungrimsa temple in Namhae but in 1261 he moved to the capital, Gaeseong, at King Weonjong's behest. There he opened Seonwolsa temple, inheriting the legacy of Great Master Jinul. In 1268 At age 63), Iryeon was a chief presider of the Tripitaka consummation ceremony (大藏落成會), and he supervised a convention of 100 prominent Seon masters at Unhaesa temple. In his eloquent flowing speeches, he recited the Buddha texts by day and the core tenets of treatises at night: legend has it that there was not a single priest who did not express veneration for him.

Iryeon then rebuilt Yongcheonsa temple, renaming it Burilsa temple, and later, in 1277, he stayed at Unmunsa temple upon royal orders (aged 72). During this time he greatly enhanced the transmitted heritages. At age 88 (1282), he was invited to serve tenure at Gwangmyeongsa temple, where he was given the title, Honorable Monk of the Kingdom (國尊) and another honorary title of *Wongyeongchungjo* (圓徑冲照). He resigned from his post briefly in 1284 at age 79, in order to care for his ailing mother, and upon her death, he was called on to supervise the newly-rebuilt Ingaksa temple. At Ingaksa temple, he held a Grand Convention of the Order of Nine Mountain

Schools, which was an extraordinary success with crowds of participants (a rarity at that time). On lunar June 7th, 1279, during his fifth year at Ingaksa templ (age 84), he was engaged in dialogue with elder monks, answering questions from the congregation, he formed his hands into a Diamond Seal and passed away after a renunciant life of 71 years. Posthumously he was given the title of Bogak (普覺), and his stupa was named Jeongjo (靜照, Pure Radiance).

Many miracles and extraordinary events have been attributed to Iryeon, and although he is credited to have published over 100 volumes, including 2 volumes of Anthologies (語錄), *Miscellaneous texts* (偈頌雜著, 2 vols.), *Patriarchal Atlas* (祖圖, 2 vols.), the *Essentials of Tripitaka* (大藏須知錄, 3 vols.), *Numerical Categories of All Vehicles* (諸乘法數, 7 vols.), *A Expository Dictionary of the Seon Patriarchs* (祖庭事苑, 30 vols.), and *An Expository Dictionary of the Seon Eulogies* (禪門拈頌事苑, 30 vols.), only the *Revised Edition on Jodong's Five Categories* (重編曹洞五位, 2 vols.) and the *Samguk yusa* (三國遺事, 5 vols.) have survived up until today.

B. Iryeon's Seon Philosophy

Before delving into Iryeon's Hwaeom philosophy, a short review on his life as a Seon (Chinese, Chan) master is probably helpful. It is well known that Iryeon was a member of the Gajisan School, one of the Order of Nine Mountain Schools. Jinjeonsa temple, where he renounced to become a monk, was the same place where Doui, founder of the Gajisan School, once made his own hermitage. Doui went to Tang China in 783 CE and received confirmation from Zhizang (735-814 CE), who was a disciple of Mazu (馬祖) before returning to Silla in 821 where he attempted to teach Seon instruct students on Seon practice methods. His efforts, however, was like great music falling on deaf ears as most Sillans were only concerned with scriptural Buddhism at that time, rejecting Seon as evil heresy. So, Doui then retreated to Jinjeonsa temple, on Mt. Seorak as it's known today, and there passed on his legacy to a disciple named Yeomgeo (廉居).² From Yeomgeo it was

passed to Chejing (體澄, 804–80), who founded Borimsa temple and was successful in propagating Doui's teachings,³ and establishing the Gajisan School. Gajisan school then entered a second era of great revival, 336 years after Chejing's passing, and at the time when young Iryeon renounced to search for the Buddha's teaching under the guidance of his master, Daeung, the Gajisan monk.

We know that at opening speech at Seonwolsa Iryeon gave a speech proclaiming himself as a Seon descendent of Master Jinul, and so it's often been speculated that his *Seonmun-yeomsongsawon* (An Expository Dictionary of the Seon Eulogies) is actually a revised edition of the *Seonmun-yeomsong*, which was written by Hyesim (慧謹), who was the second great master of the Suseonsa Society, succeeding Jinul.⁴

There is no doubt that Iryeon was fascinated with the Seon (Chan) Buddhism of the Jodongjong (or Caotong Lineage), judging by his publication of the Revised Edition on Caotong's Five Categories. The *Samguk yusa* was hitherto the only known existing work written by Iryeon, until the recent discovery of the Revised Edition on Caotong's Five Categories, which is an invaluable reference for deciphering Iryeon's Buddhist philosophy. All three volumes of this work are marked by the phrase, "...edited by disciple Hyeoha (慧霞), translated by disciple Gwanghwi (廣輝), and supplemented by a later student Hoeyeon (晦然)."⁵ This reference to authorship implies that the Five Categories of Prejudice and Impartiality (偏正五位說) proclaimed by Dongshan Liangjie (良价, 807–69) was later annotated by Benji (本寂) and edited by Hyeoha and that commentaries were added by Gwanghui with a final supplementary exposition by Hoeyeon in its final form. A recent discovery by Young Gyu Minn revealed that Hoeyeon and Iryeon are the same person.⁶

2 See the chapter of 雪岳陳田寺元寂禪師. (K. 45, 338b-c)

3 Cf. 寶林寺普照禪師塔碑. (JG. 1:60-64)

4 It seems probable that Iryeon succeeded to the Seon philosophy of Suseonsa lineage after reading Seon anthologies reprinted (ca. 1244-48) at the Namhae branch of the Tripitaka Publication Office when he was staying at nearby Jeongrimsa temple, being invited by Jeongan (鄭晏) in 1249. (Chae 1979)

5 門人 後曹山 慧霞 編, 門人 廣輝 釋, 後學 晦然 補. (H. 6, 218c-36c)

6 The Japanese version of the Revised Edition on Caotong's Five Categories, published in the 5 vols. of the Collected Works of Caotong School, determines Hoeyeon as an author with no biographical records found. Later Young Kyu Minn discovered other versions of the Revised Edition and proved that the work

When he took up residence in Gilsangam hermitage after his contact with Suseonsa Society, he began his Revision of the Five Categories and completed the work in two-volumes four years later.⁷

In the Five Categories, Iryeon introduces about twenty Silla monks who brought Caotong Chan to Silla (H. 6, 216b). One of them is the monk Hyeongmi (迴微, 864-917) of the Gajisan School, who went to Tang China in 891 and studied Chan under the tutelage of Daoying, who was a direct disciple of Liangjie. Hyong-mi thus earned respect as the ‘Four Fearlessness Master of the East (海東四無畏大師),’ along with Gyongyu (慶猷, 891), Ryeoem (麗嚴) of the Seongjusan School (909), and Yieom (利嚴) of the Sumisan School (911); all three of whom also went to China and returned to Silla with an understanding of Caotong Chan they had learned from Daoying. Most of the eminent monks of the time went to China and learned Caotong Chan, including such names as Gyeongbo of the Donglisan School, Gyeongyang of Uiyangsan, Hyeonhui of Sungjusan, Haengjeok of Sagulsan, and Chanyu of Bonglimsan (Goh 1984, 46-54). Thus it would be safe to conclude that Caotong Chan was quite widespread before Iryeon’s time, so widespread that its import actually spawned a new school (Sumisan), which was to be the background to the Revised Five Categories. Caotong Chan’s influence continued onto the early Joseon dynasty, when the monk Seoljam (Kim, Sieusp), published the Summarized Essentials of the Five Categories of Caotong (曹洞五位要解).

So we can be fairly certain that Iryeon was a Seon master of the Gajisan school. However, this is not immediately apparent in his writings as he never offers a clear explanation of his Seon philosophy but instead, makes an issue of carrying the legacy of Jinul (Sagulsan) while at the same time emphasizing the Five Categories of Caotong Chan. This is especially true, given the fact that new research links Seoljam’s Bodhisattva actions, a legacy of Iryeon’s *Gyeongcho-Seon* (莖草禪) (H. 6, 216-17a), to the ‘dhūta practice’ (頭陀行) of the Silla monk, Musang (無相), who was the founder of the

was composed by Iryeon also known as Hoiyeon. For more information, see Minn (1974).

7 See also Seoljam’s *Prologue to the Revised Edition on Caotong’s Five Categories* 重編曹洞五位序. (H. 6, 216c-217a)

Jingzhong sect (淨衆宗) in China's Sichuan province (Minn 1991). Considering these matters, how might we understand Iryeon's Seon philosophy?

The answer to this is dependent on having a clear understanding of the characteristics of the Order of the Nine Mountain Schools. The Nine Mountains is a unique institution that is distinct to Korean Seon as the recognized founder of this 'new' school was a monk who introduced a new method of Seon and raised disciples based on that philosophy, rather than being a student of an old school as had been past practice. Notwithstanding, even if a monk had learned a novel Chan philosophy in China, and then studied under another master in Silla (Korea), the monk still automatically belong to the 'school' of the first mentor. This explains how Hyeongmi, who introduced Caotong Chan to Silla, did not belong to the Sumisan School (which was a Caotong School) but to Gajisan instead. This was a system based more on personal tutelage than adherence to a certain denomination. Hence, the Nine Mountains traced their common lineage to the patriarch Huineng of Caoxi (Kor. Jogye) which came to be called the Jogye Order (Goh 1984, 54-54), and all students of the Nine Mountains were also Jogye Disciples. This is wholly feasible in light of the fact that *Gyeongcho-Seon* which Iryeon espoused by Iryeon is connected all the way back to Musang (無相) and Zhizang's teacher, the great Mazu, was actually Musang's disciple, in a religious lineage that runs down as follows: Musang—Mazu—Zhizang—Dayi—Lianju—Ticheng—Hyongmi—...—Iryeon.

Nonetheless, it should be noted that the each founder of the Nine Schools had extensive education in scriptural Buddhism, especially Hwaeom (Chinese Huayan), even those who introduced Caotong Chan. So, Mokuja (Jinul) in whom Iryeon vests his heritage was not actually Jinul from Sagulan, but Jinul of the Chogyae tradition. And Iryeon's professed *Bojo-Seon* (普照禪) is actually *Hoetong-Seon* (會通禪) which emphasizes Dual Cultivation of Meditation and Scripture (禪教兼修) and Concurrence of Meditation and Ritual (禪嚴一致). This is corroborated by the fact that Iryeon was well-versed in both meditation and scriptures, and twice presided over the grand convention of the Nine Mountains. So Jinul and Iryeon were not really members of their

respective Nine Mountain schools but adherents to Jogye Seon (Caoxi Chan), yet, in practice they were advocates of *Hoetong-Seon* which places equal value on meditation and scripture.

Having already established a partial connection between Seon and Hwaecom through the records of Jinul and Seoljam (Jeon 1989b), Iryeon's philosophy which he expresses in the Revised Five Categories, also relates to Hwaecom. Here, Iryeon also states that even the Five Categories in Caotong's Five Categories of Prejudice and Impartiality, which sees the Prejudiced (偏) and the Impartial (正) as two halves of a single whole, are not Tongshan's own ideas but can be found in both the Teachings of the Great Vehicle (大乘教), and in the Chapter of Disengagement from World (離世間品) of the *Avatamsaka Sutra*.

It is because Mahabodhisattvas observe the right wisdom, taking their residence in the sunyata only, and not deviating from right position but taking their residence in No Form (無相), and so on. (480, T. 10, 303c)

Many elements of Iryeon's Seon philosophy, suggest a connection with Hwaecom, but we will leave a more detailed discussions of this until another time as this treatise intends to focus on how Hwaecom is relevant to Iryeon in relation to *Samguk yusa*.

III. Iryeon's Relationship with Hwaecom Philosophy

A. The Relationship between Iryeon's Discipline and Hwaecom Thought

Iryeon's relationship with Hwaecom thought is evident in his actions and accomplishments, as recorded to his epitaph which is summarized earlier in this text. Firstly, Iryeon's personal 'enlightenment' has little to do with traditional Seon as it exhibits more characteristics of Hwaecom. For example, his enlightenment was brought about by listening to the words of Manjusri, the Bodhisattva of Knowledge, to go to a place of 'non-residence.' In the *Avatamsaka Sutra*, Manjusri Bodhisattva heaps praises on Buddha, who asserts

that there is no going nor coming nor abiding, and who thus acquired his Ten Powers (T. 10, 66a),⁸ and he encouraged Sudhana to shape his faith and raise his spirit of worship. Iryeon's tale of prayer to Manjusri and the bodhisattva's advice which subsequently led him to gain enlightenment at Mujuam (Hermitage of Non-residence) is analogous to the advice Manjusri gave Sudhana which drove him to practice discipline and become a Buddha himself. It is also not dissimilar to Uisang's delineation of *Avatamsaka* philosophy in his *Ilseungbeopgyedo* (一乘法界圖) as Non-abiding, Dharma nature, and Arising from Nature (Jeon 1988, 107-35). Also, the phrase "the Mortal world does not diminish but neither does the Buddha realm expand" [生界不減 佛界不增] is basically another expression for Uisang's view of Enlightenment transmitted from the past (舊來成佛), which is rooted in the Hwaecom concept of enlightenment (Jeon 1988, 107-35). Iryeon's statements about enlightenment is, therefore, statements about the Hwaecom view of Non-hindrane. Since nothing abides, nothing increases nor recedes, and there are no obstacles within all realms. Again, it is similar to Uisang's delineation of the *Avatamsaka Sutra* philosophy, as Non-abiding, dharma nature, and Arising from Nature.

Secondly, Iryeon's explicit statements about carrying on Jinul's legacy may infer Iryeon's familiarity with the Uisang's Hwaecom view, given that Jinul's *Bojo-Seon* was created under the influence of Uisang's Hwaecom Philosophy (Jeon 1989a).

Thirdly, the Yongcheonsa temple which Iryeon himself rebuilt was in fact the Okcheonsa (H. 6, 349), one of the Ten Great Hwaecom Temples where Uisang spread the great Hwaecom doctrines of far and wide. Originally Uisang gave it the name, Okcheonsa temple, but when later reconstructed Iryeon renamed it Yongcheonsa temple⁹ and it became the site for meeting of his Buri society. This indicates a direct connection between Iryeon and Uisang.

Fourthly, Iryeon was a leader of the *Daejanggyeong Nakseonghoe* (The Tripitaka Enactment Group), which was well-trained in both the doctrine and

8 一念普觀無量劫，無去無來亦無住，如是了知三世事，超諸方便成十力。

9 Cf. 琵琶山湧泉寺古蹟記

Seon meditation as well as being versed in scriptures. Iryeon's epitaph also writes that, during his breaks from the Bliss of Seon, he read from the Tripitaka and searched for scriptures from other schools (*JG*. 1:472).

Fifthly, of many examples that stand out among all the miracles and fantastic dreams Iryeon experienced, there is clear evidence attesting to his faith in Hwaem (*JG*. 1:472). On his way to Yonggom, an angel appeared in the dream of an acquaintance, and this angel said it would be passing by that place after the *Dammugal* (曇無竭) Bodhisattva. According to the *Avatamsaka Sutra's* chapter, *Residence of the Bodhisattva chapter* (菩薩住處品),¹⁰ *Dammugal* was supposed to reside in *Jihangsan* (枳恒山) in the midst of the four oceans and preach the dharma to 12,000 bodhisattvas who are subjects of his realm. Uisang's work, *Tusarye* (投師禮),¹¹ shows that worship of *Dammugal* Bodhisattva of the Residence Doctrine was made widespread in Silla as a result of Uisang's own promotional efforts (Kim, Sang Hyun 1985, 75). The legend that compares Iryeon's own Journey of Charity (利人行) to *Dammugal's* deeds is a symbolic evidence that Iryeon inherited the Hwaem philosophy of Uisang. This reliably suggests that Iryeon's life and discipline, as described in his epitaph, demonstrates a close relationship with Hwaem, especially Uisang's view of Hwaem faith.

B. The Writing of *Samguk yusa* and Hwaem Temples

Iryeon's close connection to Hwaem philosophy and faith is also evident in *Samguk yusa* and the temples where he resided when he wrote this historical text. Though *Samguk yusa* is not mentioned in his epitaph, it is certainly included in the 100 works he is said to have published. Iryeon's own name is mentioned (H. 6, 336a) in Book Five of *Samguk yusa* as, most Honorable of the Kingdom, abbot of Ingaksa temple, and Great Seon Patriarch (Choi 1958, 4). Thus it is widely believed that *Samguk yusa* was written during his stay at Ingaksa temple.

10 460, 菩薩住處品 (T. 9, 590a); 480, 諸菩薩住處品 (T. 10, 241b).

11 常住皆骨曇無竭 一万二千菩薩衆 我今志心歸命禮 願我速乘般若船. “義相和尚投師禮.” (Dongguk Univ. Press 1985, 522)

There are other opinions of course that beg to differ as to the time and place of *Samguk yusa*'s publication.¹² *Samguk yusa* is the culmination of Iryeon's knowledge accumulated over his lifetime, and he himself selected and verified the reference texts. It is also possible that important sections of the text from Book Three and onwards, were written while he stayed at Unmunsa, from age 70 to 76 (Choi 1958, 50). But the publication date of *Samguk yusa*, which is generally surmised from Iryeon's epitaph, the titles, National Honorable Monk, abbot of Ingaksa temple and *Wongyeongchungjo* (圓徑沖照) were entered simultaneously, which can only be possible from 1285 (age 79) to 1289 (age 84) (Kim, Sang Hyun 1987, 33). This means that *Samguk yusa* might have been written as late as 1289 CE as Iryeon wrote *Samguk yusa* during his later years, from the age of 70 to 84, and during his stays at anyone of the four temples: Yongcheonsa, Unmunsa, Gwangmyeongsa, and Ingaksa. Biseulsan, or the ancient Posaon on which Yongcheonsa temple is located, is home to legends that are reflected in Hwa-eom lore of *Samguk yusa*. Another clue is that Iryeon is said to have been fond of drinking water from a fountain near Yongcheonsa (old Okcheonsa) temple during his sermons. And Unmunsa is the site where Vairocana Buddha, the central Buddha of Hwa-eom Buddhism, has been enshrined, and Ingaksa was founded by Uisang. So basically, all the temples where Iryeon resided when he wrote *Samguk yusa* are directly linked with Hwa-eom Buddhism.

(to be continued)

12 For more detailed discussions on this issue, Sang Hyun Kim (1987, 25-71.)

Glossary of Chinese Terms

(S=Sanskrit, K=Korean, C=Chinese)

Avalokitesvara (S) 觀音

Biseulsan (K) 毘瑟山

Bojo-Seon (K) 普照禪*Daejanggyeong Nakseonghoe* (K) 大藏經落成會

Gajisan School 迦智山門

Gwangmyeongsa (K) 廣明寺

Hoetong-Seon (K) 會通禪

Honorable Monk of the Kingdom 國尊

Hwaecom (K) 華嚴

Ilseungbeopgyedo (K) 一乘法界圖

Ingaksa (K) 麟角寺

Iryeon (K) 一然

Majusri (S) 文殊

Non-residence 無住

Odaesan (K) 五臺山

Order of Nine Mountain Schools 九山禪門

Posan (K) 包山

Revised Edition on Jodong's Five Categories 重編曹洞五位

Seonmun yeomsong (K) 禪門拈誦

Uisang (K) 義相

Unmunsa (K) 雲門寺

Yongcheonsa (K) 湧泉寺

Abbreviations

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- A80 *Dafangguangfohuayanjing* (大方廣佛華嚴經) 80 vols. Chinese trans. Siksanda (實叉難陀). T. 10, no. 279.
- H *Hanguk Bulgyo Jeonseo* (韓國佛教全書, Collected works of Korean Buddhism) [followed by volume, page, and horizontal column]. (Seoul: Dongguk Univ. Press, 1977-2004)
- JB *Joseon Bulgyo Tongsa* (朝鮮佛教通史, A History of Korean Buddhism, Neunghwa Lee). Seoul: Boryeongak. 1972.
- JG *Joseon Geumseokmun Chongram* (朝鮮金石文總攬, An Extensive Collection of Epigraphs in Korea). Seoul: Kyungin Munhwasa. 1974.
- K *Korean Tripitaka* (高麗大藏經: Korean Edition of the Buddhist Canon). Seoul: Dongguk Univ. Press.
- S *Samguk yusa* 三國遺事. H. 6, 245-369.
- T *Taisho Shinshu Daizokyo* (大正新脩大藏經, Japanese edition of the Buddhist Canon) [followed by volume, page, and horizontal column]. (Tokyo: Taishō Issaikyō kankōkai, 1924-1935)

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