



An Investigation of W&nhyo's Achievement in the Samguk yusa

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An Investigation of W&nhyo's Achievement in *Samguk yusa*

Sang-hyun Kim

I. Introduction

Kyondung(見登) referred to a biography of Wonhyo during the Shilla Dynasty, and the records of W&nhyo's lifetime were passed down until the 13th century when Ilyon published *Samguk yusa*(三國遺事). W&nhyo's biographies, such as W*nhyo Hwasang Y*unki(元曉和上緣記) and W*nhyo *Sach'o*(元曉事抄), were circulated throughout Japan during the 12nd and 13th century. None of these documents are currently available. Instead, today one can find S*dang Hwasang Bi(元曉和尙碑), the Biography of W&nhyo in the *Sung Gaoseng zhuan*(宋高僧傳), 'W*nhyo, the Unbridled Monk(元曉不羈條)' in the *Samguk yusa*, and several fragmented texts containing biographic material of W&nhyo. Since the material describing W&nhyo's achievements in his lifetime are insufficient, all of these texts must be analyzed thoroughly even though they are fragmentary or already well known. I have already reviewed S*dang Hwasang Bi, the Biography of W&nhyo in *Sung-Gaoseng-zhuan*, and other works concerning

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achievements of W&nhyo's lifetime in order to understand W&nhyo's role in history.¹ The present paper attempts to investigate 'W&nhyo, the Unbridled Monk' in the *Samguk yusa* and other relevant records comprehensively, although there are several existing documents which analyse 'W&nhyo, the Unbridled Monk', most of them lack on historical perspective and are of a only fragment comments.² Thus, I will try to analyze W&nhyo-related passages in the *Samguk yusa* from the perspective a critique and an interpretation of historical materials. The purpose of this paper is not to analyze all biographies of W&nhyo, but to classify and review records of the *Samguk yusa* according to several subjects.

II. Ilyon's Description and Understanding of W&nhyo

Besides the Biography of W&nhyo in '*Anecdotes of Renowned Monks*' (義解篇) of the *Samguk yusa* under the title of 'W&nhyo, the Unbridled Monk(元曉不羈條)', Ilyon posted many passages related to W&nhyo in *T'aejong Ch'unch'u-gong*(太宗春秋公條), the *Martyrdom of Y*mch'ok*(元宗興法 厭羈滅身條), the *Ten Saints of H*ngnyun Temple in the Eastern Capital*(東京興輪寺金堂十聖條), *Buddhist Relics Brought to Shilla*(前後所將舍利條), the *Two Buddhas of Naksan and Chosin, the Lovesick Monk*(洛山二大聖 觀音 正趣 調信條), the *Miracles of Hyesuk and Hyeongong*(二惠同塵條), the)isang Transmits the Hwa*m S^tra to the Cardinal Temples(義湘傳教

1 Reconsideration of S*dang Hwasang Bi, Misul sahak nonchong, 1988.

A Review of new data on W&nhyos Achievement, Shilla munhwa, Vol.5, Research Institute for Culture of Shilla, Dongguk University, 1989.

On the tale of K&mgang sammæ gy*ngron, Kasan leejigwan s*nim hwagap kiny&m nonchong, Vol.1, 1992.

On W&nhyo's name, Namdoy&ng baksa goh*i kiny&m Sahak nonchong, Minjok munhwasa, 1993.

2 Yong-tae Kim, On W&nhyos childhood name Sodang, Hanguk bulgyohak Vol.5 (The Korean Association for Buddhist Studies, 1980); B&m-hong Lee, New Study on the W&nhyo Haengjang (Masan daehak nonmun jip Vol.4, 1982); By&ng-h&n Choi, An Understanding of W&nhyo in Gory* Dynasty Buddhism (W&nhyo y&nku nonchong, Gukto tongil won, 1987); Mi-h^i Chon, W&nhyo's social status and his achievement (Hanguksa y&nku Vol.63, Hanguksa yonkuhoe, 1988); Tae-jun Kim, Inheritance of The Records of W&nhyo's Lifetime(Hanguk bulgyo munhak y&nku Vol.2, Dongguk University Press, 1988); Jae-dong Sa, Literary Study on the W&nhyo, the Unbridled Monk of Samguk yusa (Baedalmal Vol.15, Baedalmal-hakhoe, 1990).

條), The Widow and Her Dumb Son(蛇福不言條), the Kwangd*k and (mjang, the Two Friendly Monks(廣德 嚴莊條), and the Nangchi, the Cloud-Riding Monk(朗智乘雲 普賢樹條).

Ilyon referred to Hyosa-Haengjang(曉師行狀), Hyosa-Ponj*n(曉師本傳), Tangs&ngj*n(唐僧傳), and Hyangj*n(鄉傳), and paid attention to folklore. Tangs&ngj*n seems to be a miswriting of the *Sung Gaoseng zhuan*, while the Biography of W&nhyo in the *Sung Gaoseng zhuan* still currently exists. Since it is not clear whether Hyosa-Ponjon mentioned in Kwangd*k and (mjang, Two Friendly Monks' is Haengjang or not, while other references do not currently exist, 'W*nhyo, the Unbridled Monk' has a significant meaning as historical data. But the importance of 'W*nhyo, the Unbridled Monk' as historical data does not mean that it is a significant biography. Although some researchers view 'W*nhyo, the Unbridled Monk' as having essential biographical elements spanning W&nhyos lifetime including education and achievements (Tae-jun Kim, 1988, p.70), I do not consider it a systematic biography. Ilyon did not have any need to write a comprehensive biography of W&nhyo, but merely tried to record a couple of anecdotes from Hyangj*n.

His companions, his adventures, his wits and his great achievements are all described in detail in the Tangch*n(唐傳) and Haengjang(行狀), so here we will include only a few anecdotes from the Hyangj*n(鄉傳).

It is reasonable that 'W*nhyo, the Unbridled Monk' adopts the typical descriptive form of Yusa, because several of W&nhyos singular achievements, which did not exist in prior biographies, are added as supplements. Some researchers evaluate 'W*nhyo, the Unbridled Monk' as a peculiar biographic type of literature that which rendered the biography of W&nhyo as a new and perfect system (Jae-dong Sa, 1990, p.208), however I do not easily agree with such an opinion.

Ilyon addressed W&nhyo honorifically as 'The Sacred Monk W&nhyo in the first passage of W*nhyo, the Unbridled Monk'. Although other renowned monks are also addressed with honor, such as '.....saluted The Sacred Monk Pod&k's portrait(禮普(德)聖師之眞), 'Two Sacred Monks, Shinrim and P'yohun(神琳表訓二聖師), 'Two Sacred Monks,

Kwanki and Dos&ng(觀機道成二聖師 in *Samguk Yusa*, I think the first part of 'The Sacred Monk W&nhyo' reflects Ilyon's exceptional respect for W&nhyo. This view is supported by such passages as 'when he was born, five-colored clouds covered the earth', 'he did not study with a teacher, but knew everything already', 'his native place, Puljich'on(佛地村)', and 'he has the ability to divide his body into 100 parts'. The title of honor, 'The Sacred Monk W&nhyo' had already been used in the latter part of the Gory& Dynasty period. Yet, Ilyon emphasized the greatness of W&nhyo citing that the 'Puljichon', 'Ch'ogaesa(初開寺)', 'W&nhyo' refer to the first dawning of the Buddhist faith on earth.

Ilyon understood W&nhyo as a man with free and open manners, and the title, 'W*nhyo, the Unbridled Monk' reveals his thought. 'Unbridled' means not being tied down by categories and restraints. His understanding of W&nhyo as an unrestricted man is appropriate. W&nhyo kept in mind the passage 'All the Unconditioned Men escape from life and death at once(一切無碍人 一道出生死)' in the Huayen S^tra. He walked through the street singing and dancing about being unbridled, sang songs about searching for love, rode a bull in the street, addressed a woman who washed clothes, went fishing in the stream and held a funeral for Sabok's mother. He also wrote the Hwa*ngy*ngso(華嚴經疏) in Punwang Temple, and made an eloquent speech in Hwangryong Temple.

Although some researchers have the opinion that Ilyon disregarded W&nhyo as a philosopher, and stressed his role as a Buddhist activist for the public in the *Samguk Yusa*, I do not agree with the opinion that "Ilyon understood W&nhyo as a Buddhist activist, and recorder of data related to Buddhist activities for the public"(Byong-hon Choi, 1987, p.662). This is because Ilyon did not try to write a comprehensive biography of W&nhyo and instead recorded a couple of anecdotes from Hyangj*n in order to avoid overlapping with other biographies. Although he mentioned that he did not introduce detailed contents of W*nhyo Haengjang or Sung Kao-seng Chuan, but rather, summarized the K&mgangsammaegy*ngron, the tale of the origin, in *Sung-kaosengchuan* and added his own interpretation.

Guided by a sea dragon, he received a commandment from Buddha to write a song about the *Sammae-gyong*(三昧經) while traveling. He put his ink-stone and his writing brush on the two horns of the ox he rode, and therefore people called him Kaksung(角乘). The two horns represented the awakening of his inner self(本覺) and of the inner selves of others(始覺). He met Taean Popsa(大安法師) who presented W&nhyo with writing paper, and they chanted the song together.

While the term Kaksung(角乘) is not found in the *Sung Gaoseng zhuan*, the above passage summarizes the central idea of it. Ilyon identified the fact that putting his ink-stone on the two horns of the ox was a symbolic expression of his inner self and of the inner selves of others, and that chanting together meant that Taean and W&nhyo have a common purpose. Meanwhile, he introduced the tale of the origin of the *Kumgangsammaegyongron* because he thought it significant. The next song of praise supports this idea.

His Ox-horns unveiled the mystery of Sammae-gyong
(角乘初開三昧軸);
His gourd dance awoke the underworld to holy things
(舞壺終掛萬街風).
In the moonlit Jade Palace he enjoyed a spring dream and was
gone (月明瑤石春眠去);
Over the closed Punhwang Temple his shadow dances alone
(門掩芬皇顧影空).

The above song of praise describes W&nhyo's studies, enlightenment activities, and his spring dream at the Jade Palace. It is an intensive expression of Ilyon's understanding about W&nhyo.

III. Investigation of W&nhyo, the Unbridled Monk

The family name of W&nhyo was Sol(薛), his grandfather was Ingp'i-kong(仍皮公), and his father was Damnal(談捺). His grandfather lived in Kyongju, and his father lived in Puljich'on of Apryang county (押梁郡). W&nhyo is represented as a man of Kyongju in his biography but in the *Sung Gaoseng zhuan* as a native of Sangju(湘州). As Ilyon

mentioned, his biography seemed to refer to the place where his grandfather lived, and the *Sung Gaoseng zhuan* seemed to refer to his father's place of residence.

While King Ch'inhung(眞興王) Sangju(上州) and Haju(下州) are organized, the main center of Sangju(上州) is Sangju(尙州 or 湘州) and the center of Haju is Ch'angnyong. Apryang County was originally a sub-prefecture of Haju. His birthplace is referred to as Sangju(湘州) in *Sung Kao-seng Chuan*, but is named as Puljich'on of Chain-hyon, a sub-prefecture of Apryang county in *Samguk yusa*. However, it seems preferable to follow Ilyon's opinion because he came from the same native place as that of W&nhyo. His grandfather, otherwise called Choktae-kong, was held in such high esteem that his sanctuary still existed by the pond of Choktae(赤大淵) until the late 13th century.

Meanwhile, it is curious why Damnal, who had 11th official status known as Naema, did not live in Kyongju. Some researchers suppose that he had two residences, one in Kyongju and another in Apryang county, others guess that he attained his position as a local resident. The former view explains that W&nhyo's clan had been the royal family of Apdok-guk, which surrendered to Shilla. They were assigned to 6th Dup'um(六頭品) and received their territory as feudal land which is why they had the two residences in Kyongju and Apryang county(Ki Paek Lee, 1974, pp.43-44). According to the latter, Damnal, a local resident, distinguished himself in war and was awarded a title(Mi H*i Chon, 1988, p.77).

However, I think that Damnal was a government official who had his residence in Kyongju but he was dispatched to Apryang county. Considering Damnal had a title, his father was a man of Kyongju, moreover the son and the grandson of W&nhyo lived in Kyongju and had official positions.

W&nhyo was not Chin-gol, but belonged to the middle ruling class, 6th or 5th Dup'um. Some scholars have tried to relate W&nhyo's social position with his motivation to enter the priesthood(Ki Paek Lee, 1974, p.57). However, I am not interested in their opinion because I doubt the hypothesis that most people belonging to the class of 6th Dup'um went into religion or studies and I think that social position is only

one of various motives to becoming a priest.

W&nhyo was born under Sala-su(娑羅樹) in Yulgok(栗谷) north of Puljich'on(佛地村) south of Apryang county in 617, the 39th year of King Jinpyong. His mother conceived him after she had dreamed that a shooting star entered her bosom, and when he was born five-colored clouds covered the earth. Such passages related to W&nhyo's birth *Samguk yusa* are consistent with those of *Sodang Hwasang Bi*. Thus, one can verify that the basis of these records had existed in an epigraph of the early 9th century. Ilyon recorded the tale of W&nhyo's birth that had been passed down in *Hyangjon*.

The birth of W&nhyo came about in this manner. When his mother was near her time she was passing under a chestnut tree to the southwest of Yulgok(Chestnut Valley). There suddenly her labor pains came upon her. As there was no time to reach shelter her husband's clothes were hung from the branches of the tree to hide her from view. The local folk call this chestnut tree Sala-su and its fruit Sala-yul. It has a peculiar shape and an uncommon flavor.

The story is similar to that of the birth of Buddha. Queen Maya was on the way to her parents home in Koli to deliver, when labor pains came upon her at Lumbini, and Buddha was born under Mueau-su(無憂樹). Then, an auspicious sunbeam reached down from the sky and shone on the baby. Likewise, as previously mentioned, W&nhyo was born under a Sala-su, and five-colored clouds covered the earth. The village where W&nhyo lived was called Pulji, and the tree where he was born Sala-su. Mueau-su is a liberal translation of Sala-su, and Sala-su mimics the sound of Sala(JI-kyon Kim, 1987, p.120). There are different views about the meaning of Sala-su(Yong-tae Kim, 1980, p.34). But, the most reasonable seems to be that Sala-su, which is named after the birthplace of Buddha, reflects the intent of future generations that to equate the birth of W&nhyo with that of Buddha. There are two opinions about the current location of Pulji-chon; Shinwol-dong, Apryang-myon, Kyongsan-gun or Dangeum-dong, Apryang-myon. Yet it is very difficult to identify the location for certain.

The relationship with Princess Yosok was a significant event

throughout W&nhyo's whole life. Nevertheless, neither the the *Sung Gaoseng zhuan* nor W&nhyo Haengiang gave it much importance. *Sodang Hwasang Bi* also did not describe the relationship between W&nhyo and Princess Yosok, even though there are such references as, he returned to secular life, he looked like a common man and references to a grandson, Sol Jungup. The *Samguk Saki* also speak of W&nhyo as the father of Solch'ong(Solch'ongjon, *Samguk Saki* Vol.46). Ilyon, however, recorded more detailed accounts of their relationship based on *Hyangjon*.

He walked through the streets of Kyongju singing, Who will lend me an axe that has lost its handle? I wish to cut a heaven-supporting pole." The passers-by laughed at him, not realizing the real meaning of his song, but T'aejong(King MutyoI) said when he heard it, "The love-lorn monk wants to marry a noble lady and get a wise son by her. If a sage is born, so much the better for the country." THere was at this time a widowed princess living in Yosok Palace. The King told his servants to conduct W&nhyo to that palace, and they found that he had already descended Namsan(South Mountain) and reached Munch'on-gyo(蚊川橋). Here he deliberately fell into the stream and got his clothes wet. When he reached the palace the princess, supplied him with new clothes, and they passed the night together. The princess became pregnant as a result, and bore a son who was given the name, Sol Ch'ong. He was so intellegent that he mastered all the classical histories in his youth. He composed books on folk customs and the place-names of China and Shilla. Sol Ch'ong also translated the Six Chinese Classics(六經文學) into Korean and wrote commentaries on them. All these have been handed down to the scholars of the Korea. For his virtuous deeds and literary accomplishments, Sol Ch'ong is acclaimed as one of the ten sages of Shilla(新羅十賢).

W&nhyo seems to have met Princess Yosok between the age of 37 to 43 years, during the period of King Taejong Muiyol's reign(654~661).

Expressions such as singing on the street and getting his clothes wet deliberately seem to be narrative embellishment. Such passages as

Who will lend me an axe that has lost its handle? I wish to cut a heaven-supporting pole(誰許沒柯斧 我斫支天柱) reflect W&nhyo's pride.

Although King Taejong Muyol may have had political intentions in accommodating W&nhyo, it is not easy to understand the incident only within a political perspective. This was a turning point for W&nhyo and he returned considered this as a turning point to return to the secular life.

The relationship between W&nhyo and princess Yosok has been criticized as a violation of the Buddhist precepts, yet it is uncertain that W&nhyo himself recognized it in this way. He said Do not be restricted within formal disciplines, fulfill all the disciplines(K&mgangsammaegy*ngron Vol.1), and he referred to the *Mahayana samparigraha-sastra* which says, the law of the priesthood(出世法) cures the law of the secular world, and the law of leaving the priesthood(出出世法) cures the law of the priesthood(Muryangsugy*ngjongyo, p.560). "Bodhisattvas higher than the 8th position forgo renouncing the secular world, and stay in the Pure Land."(Muryangsugy*ngjongyo, p.559) Although Sol Ch'ong returned to the secular life, he seemed to live near the temple. He called himself Sosong Kosa(小性居士), and passed away at Hyol Temple(穴寺). He wrote *P'ambiryangron* at Haengmyong Temple in his age of 55. He made the statue of his father and paid his respects at Punhwang Temple. It is said that when Sol Ch'ong made a vow to the statue, the head turned and looked at him.

W&nhyo seemed to be good at balancing his secular life and priesthood. His thought on balancing is reflected in his writings such as in the K&mgangsammaegy*ngron.(HPC, 1-647), for example, he commented one should not attach to either form, that is, even if one does not enter the priesthood one should not stay at home and if one can be free from the two extremes of sacred and secular, he will obtain great profit.

There was an opinion that W&nhyo was the latter self of Dignaga. There is a passage Bodhisattva of other places appeared in this land in Ch'okhyangpunlyebulgy*lsamun(觸香墳禮佛結社文), written by Ilyom(一念) from 806 to 820 and Ilyon referred to this as Dignaga of Punhwang, Pokae of Pusok, Naksan and Odaesan (The Martyrdom of Yomch'ok, *Samguk yusa* Vol.3). In other words, Dignaga of Punhwang,

Pokae of Pusok, Avalokitesvara of Naksan, and Manjusri of Odaesan are Bodhisattvas of other places who appeared in this land. Here, Punwhang meant W&nhyo who lived at Punwhang Temple. Dignaga(480~540) is a scholar of the hetuvidya. Thus, Dignaga of Punwhang meant that W&nhyo is the latter self of a Dignaga. Japanese scholars such as Chesom(濟暹, 1025~1115) and Changjun(藏俊, 1104~1180) also firmly agreed with this opinion (T.69, 572a; T68, 525).

Huayen explains the ascetic practices of a Bodhisattva as having 52 steps comprised of ten faiths, ten abidings, ten practices, ten dedications of merit, ten positions, equal enlightenment, and marvelous enlightenment. The position of W&nhyo was said to be the first position(pramudit2), and the *Samguk yusa* explained this as follows:

When W&nhyo wrote a commentary on the Hwa*mso he stopped at the fortieth chapter at Punhwang temple, and divided his body into 100 pine trees because of lawsuits. Therefore, he was called the first position.

Among the 52 stages mentioned above, the ten positions means the 41st to 50th steps. The first of the ten positions is the position of joy. Meanwhile, the ten faiths to ten dedications of merit are called the stage of ordinary people, while the first position and above are called the stage of saints. Therefore, if W&nhyo was classified in the first position, it means he attained to the position of a saint. In addition, the person who attained to the stages above the first position is called a Bodhisattva.

Some academicians understand the passage "When W&nhyo wrote the Hwa*mso, he stopped at the fortieth chapter" as the starting point of his enlightenment activities for the public(Yong-tae Kim, 1969, p.190). Yet, Ilyon interpreted this passage to mean that W&nhyo attained the first position status. The first position leads to ten dedications of merit.

W&nhyo appeared as a hundred pine trees because of lawsuits. A similar expression, W&nhyo's division of his hundred bodies, is found in *Nangchi, the Cloud-Riding Monks of Samguk yusa*, and Uichon told about his appearance at 100 places simultaneously(Dapdaesongw*nsoyulsas*, Daegakguksamunjip Vol.11). Such passages were based on recognition that he

could be at 100 places at the same time because W&nhyo was a Bodhisattva of the first position. According to the Huayen S[^]tra, The Bodhisattva of the first position is able to see 100 Buddhas, and to transform into 100 figures(Huayen S[^]tra Vol.23, T.9, 547a).

The enlightenment activities of W&nhyo are as important as his academic achievements. He warned Buddhism at that time against chasing aristocratism and formalism, and propagated the religion for saving the public.

One day he met an actor and performed a gourd dance, wearing a grotesque mask on his face. He made a utensil in the shape of a gourd and called it Muae(Boundless). This is an allusion to the Hwaom sect scriptural phrase, "Both life and death are Nirvana and paradise when a sage king rules within the bounds of decorum and music." He composed a song about the gourd for this dance. Wearing the mask and carrying the gourd he performed his dance in every corner of the country, so that even usurers and poor old bachelors could understand the golden sayings of Buddha and the Buddhist invocation, Namu Amitabul.

It is certain that Ilyon was very interested in the public enlightenment activities of W&nhyo, because he wrote about them in the above passages, although he did not describe much about ascetic practices and the enlightenment activities of W&nhyo. The enlightenment activities of W&nhyo were similar to those of Hyeogong(惠空) and Taean(大安). Particularly, The song of Muae(無碍歌) and the dance of Muae(無碍舞) reflected the thought of W&nhyo who wanted to be a freeman of Muae. W&nhyo endeavoured to develop a theoretical framework to consider the freedom of human beings. For instance, he tried to make clear the two hindrances of mankind and how to transcend the extremes in *Ijangui*. Likewise, he expressed an unbridled spirit as in the song of Muae and the dance of Muae. He rejected the comfortable life and was a liberator and free man as he himself expressed this in play without formality and beyond formality. This is why Ilyon chose the title '*W&nhyo, the Unbridled Monk*'.

The dance of Muae originated with W&nhyo, and it subsequently survived into the Choson period. Kye*ung(戒膺), Kwanhyu(貫休), and

In-ro Lee(李仁老) used to see the dance of Muae and write poems during the Koryo period(In-ro Lee, Pahanjip, Vol.2). Meanwhile, there were many symbolic meanings in the activities of dance. Waving sleeves twice meant breaking off two hindrances(二障), and waving legs three times meant escaping from the three realms of samsara. In addition, curling the body up meant being obedient to people, and bending the back meant subsuming all things.

W&nhyo said People who are dull or lack talents can understand the law of Buddhism through learning chants by heart and keeping them in mind. (K&mgangsammaegy*ngron, HPC,1-647) Even poor and unintelligent people were able to get to know the name of Buddha, and understand the meaning of devotion(*namas*). He emphasized the faith in Pure Land(Sukk2vat6) when he propagated Buddhism to the public. The enlightenment activities for the public were practices of compassion in the respect of the public, but for W&nhyo, were completion of ascetic practices.

IV. Investigation of Other Passages

W&nhyo tried to go to T'ang for searching for the law of Buddha twice with)isang. The details of his going to T'ang are included in the W*nhyo Haengjang and The Biography of)isang(義湘傳) written by Choi Chiwon(崔致遠). But, Ilyon did not mention this in 'W*nhyo, the Unbridled Monk'. It leaves a gap in our knowledge because both W&nhyo Haengjang and The Biography of)isang are not currently available in print. The following passages are about his voyage to T'ang in search of the law of Buddhism in the W&nhyo's biography, *Sung Gaoseng zhuan*.

W&nhyo tried to go to T'ang with)isang because he wanted to study under Hsüan-tsang. But he did not succeed and instead went on a comfortable trip.(T.50, 730)

But this record does not tell us that when he tried to go to T'ang or the reason why he did not stay under Hsüan-tsang. There are several passages in the ')isang Transmits the Huayen s^tra to the Cardinal

Temples' of the *Samguk yusa* which tell us about the trials of going to T'ang.

Soon after becoming a monk, he decided to go to China to study Buddhist doctrine, and set out on his journey with W&nhyo. But when he reached Liaotung he was arrested by a Koguryo border guard and detained for three days, after which he was allowed to return home.(This account is found in Ch'oe Hu's *Chronicles* and W*nhyo *Haengjang*.) In the first year of Ying-hui(650) he joined the party of a T'ang envoy returning to China and entered the Middle Kingdom.(*Samguk yusa* Vol.4)

These passages do not inform us about where they tried to enter China, they only state that)isang went to China alone in 650. Conversely, the record that Mug*k added based on Pus*kbonbi to '*Buddhist Relics Brought to Shilla*(前後所將舍利條)' in the *Samguk yusa* reports a different opinion about the time they tried to go to China.

Accompanied by W&nhyo,)isang started out on the long journey to China by way of Kogury&, but was forced to turn because of some trouble in the early T'ang Ying-hui period(650). In the first year of Tsung-chang(661) Uisang succeeded in reaching China, where he studied under Chih-yen. (*Samguk yusa* Vol.3)

Since Pus*kbonbi gives us a more precise chronicle of)isang, their first trip to China is seemed to be in 650, and)isang's second trip in 661. Meanwhile, two documents have a different opinion on why they were not able to reach China in their first trip. Pus*kbonbi is a condensed epitaph so that "some trouble" may be the reason explained in ')isang transmits the Hwa*m S ^tra to the Cardinal Temples.' Similarly, Liaotung was the border area between Kogury& and T'ang, so that the places W&nhyo and)isang were said to have turned back do not seem to be different in the two documents.

When they tried to go to T'ang in 650, tension between Koguryo and T'ang was mounting, and Liaotung was at the center of this tension(*Samguk Saki* Vol.21). Thus, W&nhyo and)isang were wrongly

identified as spies. Moreover, several monks joined in scouting at that time(Bok-sun Kim, 1992).

Isang built Naksan Temple(洛山寺) near the east coast in 670, and the temple is famous as the residence(常住處) of the Incarnation of Avalokitesvara. The *Samguk yusa* tells us that W&nhyo visited Naksan Temple to worship the Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva by himself.

Afterward W&nhyo made a pilgrimage to worship this Buddha. When he arrived at the southern foot of the mountain, he saw a woman harvesting rice in the field. W&nhyo liked women and pleasantries, so he said to her jestingly, "Will you give me some rice?" "No, I am sorry, I cannot," she replied. "It is a lean year and beggars are not welcomed." Proceeding further, he met a woman washing her menstrual band in running water under the bridge. He addressed her in jest. "Let me have a drink of the cool water." "All right, come and drink," rang out her clarion voice, and she scooped up some of the unclean water in a half-moon-shaped gourd and pressed it to his lips. W&nhyo drained the gourd and dipped more water from the mountain stream to quench his thirst. As he did so, a blue bird in a pine tree nearby called to him "Come on, my good monk Huiche-Hwasang!" and disappeared, leaving a woman's shoe under the tree. When W&nhyo reached the temple he found another shoe, of the same size and shape, by the pedestal of Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva. He then realized that these shoes belonged to the two women whom he had met, and that they were both incarnated Buddhas. From that time on people called the pine from which the bird had called, the Avalokitesvara pine (觀音松). W&nhyo wished to enter the cave(聖窟) and see the graceful figure of the living Buddha there, but a storm was raging at sea and his little boat almost capsized, so he was forced to desist. (*Samguk yusa*, Vol.3)

This tale of Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva and W&nhyo has passed down in the latter part of the 12th century. As the above passages infer, W&nhyo did not recognize incarnated Buddhas even though he met them several times, and he did not see Avalokitesvara because of a storm. W&nhyo left Naksan Temple without worshipping her after all.

The point of this is that what the tale tried to emphasize, was the historical evidence that W&nhyo did not meet Avalokitesvara, and that

W&nhyo had a conversation with women who were incarnated Buddhas. Dongguky*jis&ngram(東國與地勝覽) said that W&nhyo had a jesting conversation with incarnated Buddhas and drank water from the cold stream. Lim Ch'un also wrote about W&nhyo and)isang meeting Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva. One cannot meet Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva face to face, but can only see incarnated Buddhas. So we must read between the lines of this tale about a jesting conversational between W&nhyo and incarnated Buddhas.

W&nhyo used to study under Nangji(朗智). Nangji made W&nhyo write *Ch'ojangkwanmun*(初章觀文)and *Anshinsashimron*(安身事心論). After writing these books, W&nhyo ended with the following poem:

Sami of the west valley takes a vow(西谷沙彌稽首禮)
to the teacher of the east mountain(東岳上德高巖前)
Add the mere dust to Yongch'i mountain(吹以細塵補鷲岳)
Throw a raindrop in the pond(飛以微滴投龍淵)
(*Samguk yusa* Vol.5)

W&nhyo expressed respect to Nangji by contrasting the west valley and the eastern mountain; his writings were as humble as adding dust to the mountain, and throwing a raindrop in the pond. W&nhyo looked up to Nangji as a mentor. The two books W&nhyo wrote under Nangji are not currently available, and some researchers consider Nangji was a high monk in the Sanlun field, based on the supposition that Ch'ojang'(the first chapter) in *Ch'ojangkwanmun* is the same as Ch'ojang' of Sanlun(Ik-jin Ko, 1985). But that is merely a presumption because *Ch'ojangkwanmun* does not currently exist.

Nangji taught the Lotus s^tra in Yongchi Mountain. The Faith of Fahua Lotus s^tra was pervasive in the early 7th centry of Shilla, and among those, the lecture and the creed of Nangji's Fahua s^tra were prominent. He seemed to live a long life, more than 135 years, because he went to Yongchi Mountain in the 14th year of King Puph*ng(527), and met Jit'ong(智通) in the 1st year of King Munmu(661). It is highly possible that W&nhyo learned the Lotus s^tra from Nangji. W&nhyo left commentaries about Lotus s^tra such as P*bhwagy*ng Chongyo(法華經宗要), P*bhwagy*ng Bangp'y*np'um Yogan(法華經方便品料簡), and P*bhwagy*ng

Yaksul(法華經略述).

Hyegong(惠空) also influenced W&nhyo. Besides several fables, other materials on Hyegong do not exist. He seemed to live around the early 7th century, a generation ahead of W&nhyo since he met Kucham-gong(瞿?公). an elite youth(花郎), in the period of King Jinpy&ng(579-632)'s reign, and got a couple of achievements in the period of Queen S&nd&k(632-646).

Hyegong was of low birth, from a slave, but he became a great monk. He had mysterious power and acted unbridledly. He always lived at a small temple, and sang and danced in the street under the influence of drink. He was called the man carrying a dust-basket because he always carried a pan-shaped dust-basket on his back. When he was old, presumably in the period of Queen Jind&k(647-654), he stayed at Hanga Temple(恒沙寺) in Unche Mountain(雲梯山), Pohang. At that time, W&nhyo, who was in his thirties, visited Hyegong frequently, asking questions, and exchanging pleasantries.

There is no record about Hyegong's writing. But his philosophical ideas were thought to be similar to Sengchao(僧肇)³. Sengchao(384 ~ 414) was a great monk who was one of the four philosophers(四哲) under Kumarajiva(鳩摩羅什). W&nhyo also seemed to be influenced by *Chaolun*(肇論). In the preface of *K&mgangsammaegy*ngron*, W&nhyo wrote, the mystic unity of truth(妙契環中), and it may have originated from the passage the harmonization between principle and spirit, 'the mystic unity of truth'(道與神會 妙契環中) in *Chaolun*(T45, 157a). In addition, he referred to the following phrases of Sengchao in *K&mgangsammaegy*ngron*.

The religious doctrine is not far away.

The truth is what happens everyday (道遠乎哉 觸事而眞),

Holiness is not far. Our physical body is holy

(聖遠乎哉 體之卽神). (HPC, 1-674)

Sengchaos impact on W&nhyo is found in texts written by W&nhyo. It is significant that 1) Sengchao affected W&nhyo, 2) Hyegong seemed

3 About Hyegong, see *Miracles of Hyesuk and Hyegong, Samguk yusa* Vol.4.

to be the latter self of Sengchao, and 3) W&nhyo was influenced by Hyegong.

Hyegong had an impact on W&nhyo in terms of enlightenment activities for the public through singing and dancing of Muae. The old monk, Hyegong, who was vigorous and unbridled, had a jesting conversation with young W&nhyo as well as giving instruction such as the following tale about O&sa.

One day, two monks went fishing and defecated on the rock. Hyegong joked, You relieved yourself and I discharged fish. The temple, the temple of I and fish(吾魚寺) was named after this tale. Someone said that what W&nhyo said is a mistake. By mistake, the brook is called Mo*i-ch&n the Brook of Rank Weeds (茅矣川) in the provinces.

There are many ways to interpret 'You and excrement, I and fish(汝屎吾魚)', but I think the above translation is most appropriate.⁴ A poisonous snake eats grass and makes poison, but a cow makes milk. In other words, somebody eats meat and defecates stinking excrement, but somebody else discharges living fish. Hyegong instructed young W&nhyo with jesting conversation. One can find 'a joke at Hangsa Temple'(恒沙狂言) in *S*dang Hwasang Bi*, and this seems to be related to the above tale.

The Tale of Sabok(or Sapo) is transmitted in *Donggukisangkukjip*(東國李相國集) and the *Samguk yusa* as follows:

There is a Buddhist hermitage near W&nhyo-bang(元曉房), where Sapo(蛇包聖人) stayed in the past. When W&nhyo stayed there, Sapo served him. Sapo tried to make some tea for W&nhyo, but there was no spring water. Suddenly a fountain gushed out, and the water was as sweet as milk. Sapo always used water to make tea. (*Donggukisangkukjip* Vol.23)

Gyu-bo Lee wrote this tale on August 12, 1200, after he visited W&nhyo-bang and heard the story there. These are important passages

4 See the *Samguk yusa* translated by Sang-ro Kwon, Dongsomunhwasa, 1978, p. 333.

since they were written about 80 years before the *Samguk yusa* carried the tale. The historical background of this tale is as follows:

W&nhyo-bang was where W&nhyo used to stay (*Donggukisangkukjip* Vol.9). W&nhyo studied teachings of the Mahayana sutras such as the Nirvana s ^tra(涅槃經) and Vimalakirtinirdesa s ^tra(維摩經) from Podok(普德) with)isang(*Daegakguksamunjip* Vol.17), after Podok moved to Odae-san in Wansanju. W&nhyo-bang and)isang-am(義湘庵) were near Ky&ngbok Temple(景福寺) where Pod&k stayed. It is probable that the tale of Sapo and W&nhyo survived because the portraits of W&nhyo and Sapo were enshrined in Sorae Temple(蘇來寺).

(1) In a remote village called Mans&n-Pungni in the vicinity of Ky&ngju a widow conceived without sleeping with a man and bore a son. Until the age of twelve he did not speak a word or walk a step, and people called him Sabok or Sadong(Snake Boy) because he wriggled about on his belly.

(2) His mother died while the great monk W&nhyo was living at Kos&n Temple. Sabok appeared in a vision to W&nhyo, who rose to meet him with palms pressed together in Buddhist salute. The young visitor did not return the courtesy but addressed him in a dignified voice. "The cow on which you and I loaded our Buddhist scriptures long ago is now dead. Let us go together and hold a funeral service for her. "Let us do so," W&nhyo replied. When they came to the place where the dead woman was, W&nhyo recited an Uposatta(Sanskrit prayer for the dead): "Do not be reborn, for death is pain; do not die, for birth is pain." But Sabok interrupted: "Your prayer is too clumsy. It should be, 'Both life and death are pain.' They carried the coffin to the eastern hill called Hsalli-san(活里山). "Would it not be fitting," W&nhyo said, "to bury the Chihyho(Tigress of Wisdom, the dead woman's Buddhist name) in the Chicherim(Forest of Wisdom)? "You are right," Sabok replied. "I will sing an elegy in praise of the Buddha: As Sakyamuni Buddha entered Nirvana under the Sala tree long ago, so now his kindred goes to the magnificent palace in the lotus paradise of Nirvana(蓮花藏世界).

(3) As he spoke he pulled up grass by the roots. Beneath these roots there opened a bright, clean empty world with a seven-treasure bridge leading to dazzling pavilions of gold and jewels such as are not be found in this world. Sabok took his mother's body on his back and descended this subterranean

staircase, whereupon the earth closed above his head as waves rush together, leaving W&nhyo in darkness on the quivering ground.

(4) Long afterward devout Buddhists elected a temple called Tojang Temple(道場寺) on the eastern side of Kumgang Mountain in Kyongju in honor of Sabok and his mother. On the fourteenth day of the third month each year they held memorial services for the two human Buddhas(占察法會) who returned to eternity.

Ilyon said, "The tale that I wrote is Sabok's only achievement in his life. It is ridiculous that people have added absurd stories". His remark proves that there were tales about Sabok other than that of the *Samguk yusa*. The above story A may be another of these tales.

I do not know what kind of specific thoughts about fables Ilyon had. But, it is almost certain that the above remark reflects his religion, thoughts, and outlook on the world as a Buddhist.

It is possible that the tale B was written to by Ilyon based on stories hand down orally, because the tale did not refer any prior writings, and he himself mentioned that there were many stories about Sabok at that time. Thus, the tale must have been changed over such a long period.

Before comparing the story A and B, we have to confirm that Sapo and Sabok are the same person. Ilyon wrote that Bok(福) of Sabok meant a child(童), divination(卜), a huge serpent(巴), lying flat(伏), and that all of these meant a child(童).(Ki Mun Lee, 1970, p.201) Philological studies reveal that Po(包) of Sapo(蛇包) has been used as the same sound as Bok(福) even though this is not mentioned in the *Samguk yusa*. Thus, it is certain that Sapo and Sabok are the same person. Nevertheless, two stories show a significant difference in that Sabok was a disciple of W&nhyo in the first story but in the second tale he overpowered W&nhyo. The reasons for such a difference can be inferred as follows:

Firstly, there is a difference in time between the writing of the two. Story A was written about 80 years before story B. In other words, A may be closer to a factual account than B. Secondly, the places where the stories originated are different. A was circulated at

W&nhyo-bang in Puan, but B had Ky&ngju as its background. Thirdly, Sabok's age of in the two stories is dissimilar. Sobok in story A was very young, yet in story B, he descended this subterranean staircase. Therefore, A and B are different in terms of time and place relation to Sabok, and A can take its place between (1) and (2) of B. However another problem exists when one tries to connect A and B in this manner. That is the relationship between W&nhyo and Sabok. In other words, Sabok is a disciple of W&nhyo in A, and in B he overpowered W&nhyo. Thus the protagonist of the two tales is different, W&nhyo in A, and Sabok in B.

W&nhyo taught (mjang(嚴莊) for twenty years between the age of 44 and 64. (mjang built a hermitage in Namak(南岳) and engaged in farming to disciple himself. His close friend, Kwangd&k(廣德), lived with his wife in a village in the western province of Punhwang Temple and made his living by weaving straw shoes. They promised to inform each other when one of us dies earlier than the other. One evening (mjang heard a voice; "I am going to the Pure Land. Be faithful to Buddha and come to see me there soon." When (mjang opened the door, he heard music from the sky, and rays of sunlight were touching the earth. He realized Kwangdok had passed away earlier than him. (mjang held a funeral service for Kwangdok together with Kwangdoks wife, and told her, "Your husband is already dead. How about living with me?" She agreed, so (mjang stayed at the house. When he undressed her that night, she said, "you seek the Pure Land with a muddled soul, like a man who tries to catch fish by climbing a tree," "Kwangd&k did so, then why not me?" he objected. The woman said, "My husband lived with me for more than ten years, but he never slept in the same bed with me or embraced me in unclean passion. Every night he and I knelt erect and recited in unison the names of Amitabha and the sixteen meditations leading to the Pure Land. Where else could he have gone but to the home of Buddha in the Pure Land? You are running to the east while trying to reach the west." Much ashamed, (mjang apologized to the widow and then visited W&nhyo to whom he confessed his advances to this wonderful woman. W&nhyo taught him how to regain admittance to the Pure Land by W&nhyo's

own way of meditation i.e., the Chaengkwanpop(錚觀法). (mjang repented his sins and gave up his lust, concentrating on awakening his soul so as to be worthy to enter the gates of heaven, and at length he also entered the Pure Land(Samguk yusa Vol.5).

The Chaengkwanp&p which was explained in the *Hyosa Ponjon* and the *Haedong Kosungjon*(海東高僧傳) seems to be an extraordinary way of self-discipline initiated by W&nhyo, but there is no way to know the method currently. However, I should suppose that the intent of developing it was Pujongkwan(不淨觀). Pujongkwan is the way of ascetic practices to contemplate the wrongdoing of the body through managing avarice.(*Hangûldaejanggyong* Vol.156, p.554)

What was the relationship between W&nhyo and Shilla society at this time? There are two perspectives on this issue. One is that W&nhyo was typical of Buddhist at this time in defending his country. The other view is that W&nhyo was not interested in national matters at all(Ik-jin Ko, 1981, p.53). Since the childhood name of W&nhyo was Sodang(誓幢) and later he was called Sodang Hwasang(誓幢和上), some researchers thought him a monk soldier who had the title of Sodang. Such an opinion is currently criticized, as W&nhyo was definitely not a monk soldier.

That does not mean that W&nhyo was not involved in the practical issues of Shilla. W&nhyo was closely related with key members of the reunification of three kingdoms such as King Taejongmuyol and Kim Yushin. He also became close to the royal household by forming a tie with Princess Yosok. W&nhyo also wrote notes and gave a lecture on K*mgangsammaegy*ng, and that is why the royal family asked him to cure the Queen. He even consulted in military matters. The *Samguk yusa* reports a story about how he helped the army of Shilla to decode passwords.

Sometime later Kim Yusin dispatched two messengers to General So Jongbang, asking if his army should join the T'ang forces in an allied attack on Koguryo. In return he received a drawing by the T'ang commander of a calf and a young phoenix. This was a puzzle, and the great monk W&nhyo was asked to interpret it. He said that both young creatures had lost their mothers, and that

this meant the Shilla forces operating in Koguryo were in danger and should be pulled back at once to rejoin their "parent." Kim Yusin ordered his troops to cross the Pai River(now Tae-dong gang) and go north as fast as possible. But while the crossing was in progress Koguryo troops attacked them from behind, and thousands were killed. Kim Yusin launched a counterattack the following day and slaughtered many Koguryo warriors. (*Samguk yusa* Vol.1)

Although W&nhyo sustained relationships with the royal family and the nobility that does not mean that he was a guardian of political power. He helped the ruling class, but what he did was criticize, consult, and address fundamental problems.

W&nhyo wrote commentaries on K&mgwangmy*ng-gy*ng(金光明經), a Sutra for defending the country. J*ngronpum(正論品) of the text said that the country would perish if the king followed the evil power so the king had to block the vice. In the notes on this part, W&nhyo referred to Aewang-gy*ng(愛王經) to give several examples of the kings fault.

The king must know that there are 10 types of mistakes, and If he made such mistakes he will not be respected even though he has a large storehouse, many aids, and many soldiers. 1. has flaws in his basic nature, 2. cannot be free and easy, 3. is violent, 4. vents his raging wrath, 5. thinks extravagantly and lacks wisdom, 6. accepts wicked and unreasonable comment, 7. is weak-willed and does not behave in a dignified manner, 8. does not consider the good dharma, 9. lacks prudence and is thoughtless, 10. is one-sided and tyrannical. (T.56, 689)

According to the *Samguk yusa*, W&nhyo built or lived at temples such as Punhwang(芬皇寺), Koson(高仙寺), Oo(吾魚寺), Pango(磻高寺), Hyol(穴寺), Chogae(初開寺), and Sala(娑羅寺). He built Chogae Temple in memory of the old house in his hometown, and he constructed Sala Temple by the tree where he was born. He wrote *Ch'ojangkwanmun* and *Anshinsashimron* under Nangji when he stayed at Pango Temple in Yongchi Mountain, Ulju. He was devoted to writing and asking questions to Hyegong when he was at Oo Temple at Unje Mountain,

Pohang. Oo Temple still exists, and there is the Hermitage of W&nhyo by the temple. Koson Temple was a representative temple where W&nhyo stayed, so S*dang Hwasang Bi mentioned W&nhyo as the great monk of Koson(高仙大師). It used to have the statue of W&nhyo in the early 9th centry. Hyol Temple was where W&nhyo stayed for a long time, and where he passed away, but its site has not yet been found. If Sol Chong lived near Hyol Temple, it seems not to be far from Kyongju. W&nhyo wrote Hwa*mg*ngso at Punhwang Temple which had the statue of W&nhyo that Sol Chong built, and the monument of Hwajaeng Guksa (和諍國師碑) was built at Punhwang Temple in the Koryo Dynasty's King Myong period. The title Dignaga of Punhwang(芬皇之陳那), which was called W&nhyo, and the Punhwang sect(芬皇宗), and which took over W&nhyo's unfinished works, showed the close relationship between W&nhyo and Punhwang Temple. Therefore, the passage W&nhyo at Whangryong Temple(皇龍寺元曉) in *Sung Kao-seng Chuan* is suspicious, whereas the phrase W&nhyo at Punhwang Temple (芬皇寺沙門元曉) is believable.

V. Conclusion

Ilyon included the biography of W&nhyo under the title of 'W&nhyo, the Unbridled Monk' in 'Anecdotes of Renowned Monks' of *Samguk yusa*. Other than 'W&nhyo, the Unbridled Monk,' *Samguk yusa* contains several fragmented passages related to W&nhyo throughout the whole text, all of them are precious data for studying W&nhyo. The purpose of this paper is to review those records in respect of a critical and interpretation. The following paragraphs are the summary of the paper.

Ilyon did not wrote about W&nhyo comprehensively or systematically so as to avoid redundant contents with *Hyosa Haengjang* and sustain the characteristics of the *Samguk yusa*. On the contrary, he introduced singularly a couple of anecdotes of W&nhyo from *Hyangjon*, biographies of Shilla. Ilyon addressed W&nhyo honorifically the sacred monk W&nhyo(聖師元曉), and understood him as a freeman who was

unbridled by any categories and left outstanding performances in studies and enlightenment activities.

W&nhyo was born under Pulji-chon, Apryang-gun, and his father seems to have been a local government official. The birth of W&nhyo was recorded as was similar to that of Buddha to emphasize his greatness. For example, five-colored clouds covered the earth when he was born, and he was born under the Sala tree, at Pulji-chon.

W&nhyo twice tried to go to T'ang to searching for the law of Buddha with)isang in 650 and 661. Although the *Samguk yusa* said "W&nhyo did not study with a teacher, but knew everything already," he learnt from many teachers. For instance, Nangji taught him Pophwa thinking and Hyegong made W&nhyo receive the influence from *Chaolun*. I did not mention in this paper, but he was also learnt Nirvana s^tra and the Vimalakirtinirdesa s^tra from Podok.

Having broken a Buddhist commandment by his union with the princess and the birth of Sol Chong, W&nhyo doffed his monk's robe and adopted the punning nickname Sosong Kosa(Little Hermit). He was devoted to studies and enlightenment activities. W&nhyo exchanged opinions with)isang, and taught Sabok and (mjang. Meanwhile, he maintained the relationship with King Muyol and Kim Yusin, and consulted with them about military issues. Most of all, his enlightenment activities for the public with singing and dancing are significant. W&nhyo was also called the latter self of the Bodhisattva Dignaga or the Bodhisattva of the First Position.

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