Ssanggye-sa and Local Buddhist History: Propaganda and Relics in a Struggle for Survival, 1850s-1930s

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Korean Buddhism needs to be studied at the national, regional and local levels, and their interrelationships clarified. This is a study of how Ssanggye Monastery tried to preserve its independence in the face of natural disasters, monastic rivalries and colonial interventions. The monastery, associated with Huineng (d. 713), the founder of Chan, in an 887 stele written by Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn, is not mentioned properly again until 1489 and then again in 1854, when it was destroyed by a landslide. It used the association with Huineng to finance the rebuilding. In 1914, a propaganda campaign asserted that a relic of Huineng existed in the monastery and had started emitting miraculous lights. The temple relied on a text allegedly written in 1103 by Kakhun, actually the author of the 1215 *Haedong Kosŭng chŏn*. I conclude that Ssanggye monks were attacking Yi Hoegwang, for Yi was pro-Japanese, he had discovered Kakhun's text, and was abbot of Haein Monastery, which the Japanese authorities had made overlord of Ssanggye Monastery. He was thus accused of betraying Korean Sŏn. The two monasteries remained in conflict to the 1920s, and so the relic campaign was meant to show the Buddha's approval of Ssanggye Monastery and disapproval of Haein Monastery and its traitorous abbot.

Keywords: Buddhism, Ssanggye Monastery, Huineng, Yi Hoegwang, relics

Korean Buddhism needs to be studied at the "national," regional and local levels, and then the relationships between each of the levels clarified. This is a local study of how Ssanggye-sa 雙溪/磎寺, located near Hadong in present-day South Kyŏngsang Province, tried to preserve its independence in the face of natural disasters, monastic rivalries and colonial interventions. The inherent nationalism and propaganda of the "histories" of Ssanggye-sa illustrate the

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care needed in reading monastic gazetteers and their value for examining their national agendas, as well as local issues.The bulk of studies of Buddhism in Korea (and China) are written from the national perspective. However, borders are not static, so can we really call Koguryŏ or Parhae Buddhism "Korean" given both the facts that the larger part of their territories are now in China and these were multi-ethnic states? By Qing times Manchuria had mostly adopted Tibetan Buddhism and there were no traces of Chan or the types of Buddhism found in Chosŏn.[1] Therefore we need to specify time and place in discussing Korean Buddhism.

Regional analysis is important, but with the exception of a few studies, has been mostly ignored in Korean Buddhist studies.[2] However, at the local level of a monastery, while there are many publications of a descriptive or art-archaeological nature, these generally do not provide a critical, historical analysis.[3]

Monastic Gazetteers and Relic Worship

The monastic gazetteer (*sajŏk* 事蹟 or *saji* 寺誌) genre appears to have been a late development in Korea, although early examples were probably destroyed, never having had wide circulation. Indeed, in Buddhism, the concern with personalities preceded concerns with specific places or local history, and for that reason hagiographies appeared before gazetteers, and these tended to survive while the earliest records of monasteries in an area, except for brief stele inscriptions celebrating their foundation or reconstruction, have been lost in both China and Korea.[4] Even with the relics of the Buddha, where one

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1. John Jorgensen, "Problems in the Comparison of Korean and Chinese Buddhism: From the 16th Century to the 19th Century," in *Korean Buddhism in East Asian Perspectives*, comp. Geumgang Center for Buddhist Studies, Korean Studies Series no. 35 (Seoul: Jimoondang, 2007), 119-158, 121, on Tibetan influence. For the shock to a Chosŏn tribute mission of 1780 to the court of Emperor Qianlong in the Rehe region of being forced to bow to and witness the emperor bow to the sixth Panchen Lama, see Satoshi Hirano, *Shin Teikoku to Chibetto mondai* (Nagoya: Nagoya Daigaku shuppankai, 2004), 3, 8-10, based on *Yŏrha Ilgi*.

2. Jorgensen, "Problems," 125ff, especially mentioning Kim Samyong, *Han'guk Mirŭk sin'ang ŭi yŏn'gu* (Seoul: Tonghwa, 1983).

3. Probably the best are the *Han'guk ŭi sach'al* series compiled by the Han'guk Pulgyo yŏn'guwŏn, 17 vols. published by Ilchisa between 1974 and 1978, and the more popular books on Pulguk-sa, Haein-sa, Songgwang-sa, Pŏmŏ-sa, T'ongdo-sa, Taehŭng-sa, Pŏpchu-sa, Unju-sa and Pusŏk-sa in the *Pitkkal innŭn ch'aektŭl* series published by Taewŏnsa Publishing in the 1990s. However, these lack critical information. Neither of the two series on Haein-sa mention Yi Hoegwang, except for the Ilchisa series mentioning him as responsible for reconstructing a hall.

would expect the concern with the site holding the relic to have more significance, it is the biographical element that dominates. The relic then is but an extension of the biography.[5]

Yet there are early "gazetteers" of collections of monasteries, either those of one city such as the *Luoyang qielanji* 洛陽伽藍記 ca. 532-547 CE, or of a mountain district, such as the *Gu Qingliang zhuan* 古清涼傳, around 680 CE.[6] These are not strictly gazetteers, which generally describe the history or legends of a monastery, its buildings and statues, and list the persons associated with the monastery. Sometimes they incorporate copies of inscriptions and listings of land-holdings and donations, even poems about the site. Although these are about sacred spaces, the gazetteers often have a mundane connection.[7]

However, as many of these records needed to enhance the holiness of the site to attract donors and the faithful in order to survive, they were not simply lists of possessions and abbots. They needed to stress the antiquity of the monastery, the miracles associated with it, the importance of the donors, as well as the beauty of its scenery. The best outcome, financially and in terms of prestige, would be to become a site of pilgrimage, usually achieved by being associated with salvation miracles and relics.[8] Such was the case in Korea from early times, especially after the Liang court forwarded a relic of the Buddha to Silla in 549. This relic was then enshrined in Hŭngnyun Monastery in Kyŏngju. Later, more relics of the Buddha were brought to Silla and installed in Hwangnyong Monastery.[9] Attempts were even made to link certain Silla sites with an Ur-Buddhism to give them a greater antiquity than Buddhist sites in China or even India, with the remains allegedly seen in foundations that were supposedly prehistoric ruined monasteries of the seven ancient Buddhas and the like.[10] This is typical of the co-option of indigenous holy sites and beliefs

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4. Cao Shibang, *Zhongguo Fojiao shixueshi – Dong Jin zhi Wudai* (Taipei: Faguwenhua, 1999), 193, 200 note 2; Hŏ Hŭngsik, *Koryŏ Pulgyosa yŏn'gu* (Seoul: Ilchogak, 1986), 793-794.

5. John S. Strong, *Relics of the Buddha* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 5-7.

6. Cao, *Zhongguo Fojiao*, 194-195.

7. Hŏ, Koryŏ Pulgyosa, 790.

8. See Susan Naquin and Chün-fang Yü, eds, *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), and for specific examples in Chan and for relics in China, see John Jorgensen, *Inventing Hui-neng, the Sixth Patriarch: Hagiography and Biography in Early Ch'an* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 193, 201-215.

9. Chu Kyŏngmi, *Chungguk kodae Pulsari changŏm yŏn'gu* (Seoul: Ilchisa, 2003), 397, 401, citing the *Samguk sagi* and *Samguk yusa*.

10. John Jorgensen, "Korea as a Source for the Regeneration of Chinese Buddhism" in *Currents and Countercurrents: Korean Influences in the East Asian Buddhist Traditions*, comp. Robert E. Buswell, Jr. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2005), 93-94, 132-134 notes 141-146.

into Buddhism from the earliest of times.[11] However, these cases were more related to the power of the Silla king and his identification with the Buddhist sacred.[12]

The earliest mentions of what may have been Korean monastic gazetteers, and not simply foundation steles, are in the *Samguk yusa*. They seem to have been gathered by Iryŏn (1206-1289), perhaps out of a patriotic desire to preserve what remained after the Mongol destruction. Their dates are uncertain, but they may date from late Silla until just before Iryŏn wrote.[13] These records all are related to foundation myths and miracles, especially incarnations of buddhas and dragons, or Ur-Buddhism.[14] Iryŏn himself may have written a *Pulguk-sa sajŏk* 佛國寺事蹟 (Monastic Records of Pulguk Monastery), but there is a possibility that it was written based on elements from the *Samguk yusa* and later attributed to Iryŏn. It was finally printed in 1708.[15] Even so, it is not really a gazetteer, but a kind of history running from the mythical beginnings of Buddhism, and of "Korea" with Tan'gun, and the foundation of Pulguk-sa. It does not include independent biographies, information on separate buildings, or lists of abbots. As such, it is more like a chronicle.[16]

The earliest surviving monastic gazetteers that can be definitively dated were those compiled after a series of invasions of Chosŏn. These were written by the monk-general and scholar of Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's stele inscriptions, Chunggwan Haean 中觀海眼 (1567-?), who wrote the *Kŭmsan-sa sajŏk* 金山寺事蹟, *Taedun-sa sajŏk* 大芚寺事蹟 and the *Hwaŏm-sa sajŏk* 華嚴寺事蹟 in the period 1635-1636 and 1639.[17] Haean was a disciple of the more famous monk-general Sŏsan Hyujŏng 西山休靜 (1520-1604), who did much to revive Imje (Ch. Linji) Sŏn Buddhism in Chosŏn. There are problems, however, in the

11. Strong, *Relics of the Buddha*, 40-41.

12. Pankaj Mohan, "Cakravartin and the Relic-Cult in Early Shilla: Focusing on the Chinese Antecedents and Korean Adaptations," in *Korean Buddhism in East Asian Perspectives*, comp., Geumgang Center for Buddhist Studies (Seoul: Jimoondang, 2007), 69-71, 75.

13. Hŏ, *Koryŏ Pulgyosa*, 793-794 and table 11 in Ha Chŏngnyong, *Samguk yusa saryo pip'an* (Seoul: Minjoksa, 2005), 162, and table 12, p. 168. Note that Ha also suggests that some of these notes may have been added years after Iryŏn's death, even as late as the first years of Chosŏn.

14. Yi Pyŏngdo, ed. and trans., *Yŏkchu pyŏng wŏnmun Samguk yusa* (Seoul: Kwangjo chulp'ansa, 1980), 58, 64, 116-117, 102, 122, 126, 129, 155-156, 166-167, 173.

15. Hŏ, *Koryŏ Pulgyosa*, 794 gives *Pulguk-sa yŏktaegi*, but the original text attributed to Iryŏn is named *Pulguk-sa sajŏk*.

16 Kogo misul tonginhoe, comp., *Pulguk-sa, Hwaŏm-sa sajŏk* (Seoul: Kogo misul charyo, 1965), 47-59.

17. Hŏ, *Koryŏ Pulgyosa*, 795, 825.

relationship between the *Hwaŏm-sa sajŏk* and the *Pulguk-sa sajŏk*,[18] suggesting possibly a common author who loved the works of Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn as Haean did. The compiler traded on the common elements in the name of his monastery, Hwaŏm-sa, and that of Hwaŏm Pulguk-sa to insert a number of texts associated with Pulguk-sa and attributed to Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn into the *Hwaŏm-sa sajŏk* and the *Pulguk-sa sajŏk*. Haean tended to fill out the record of the monastery with broader, general "histories" of Buddhism, along with biographies, often with similar content. However, the *Kŭmsan-sa sajŏk* contains a list of buildings, the associated hermitages and their locations, and shows some signs of approaching the monastic gazetteer proper.

A series of gazetteers then appeared during the eighteenth century up to 1764, although some were brief.[19] The breakthrough in Chosŏn to the monastic gazetteer proper, including chronicles, information on buildings and abbots and the like, probably began with Chŏng Yagyong 丁若鏞 (1762-1836), a sirhak *scholar* who wrote or directed the compilation of the gazetteers of Mandŏk-sa and Taedun-sa after he was exiled in Kangjin between 1801 and 1808.[20] These describe the location, landscape, buildings, chronology, biographies of eminent monks, copies of name-plates, et cetera. Perhaps this improved level of scholarship and detail was inspired by the evidential (*kaozheng* 考證) scholars of Qing China who had connections with the *sirhak* scholars of Chosŏn,[21] for Zhang Xuecheng 章學誠 (1738-1801) in particular and Dai Zhen 戴震 (1724-1777) had compiled local gazetteers and raised local history in prestige, making it worthy of academic study.[22] These scholars were interested in the particular, not imposing grand narratives or theories upon the source material.

It is notable that many of these monastic gazetteers set the local inside the universal or Buddhist world. Iryŏn/Haean thus began the *Pulguk-sa sajŏk* with the undifferentiated chaos of prehistory and then shifted onto the Buddha and then Tan'gun and so on,[23] while the *Kŭmsan Chikchi-sa sajŏk* of 1776 starts with the birth of the Buddha, dated in the Chinese calendar, the introduction of

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18. John Jorgensen, "Representing Wŏnch'ŭk (613-696): Meditations on Medieval East Asian Buddhist Biographies," in *Religion and Biography in China and Tibet*, ed. Benjamin Penny (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2002), 112-113.

19. See list in Hŏ, *Koryŏ Pulgyosa*, 802-804.

20. Hŏ, *Koryŏ Pulgyosa*, 796-797, 806-807 et passim.

21. Benjamin A. Elman, *From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1984), 155.

22. Elman, *From Philosophy to Philology*, 134.

23. Kogo misul tonginhoe, *Pulguk-sa sajŏk*, 47.

Buddhism into China, and then proceeds into the Silla.[24] In his *Taedun-sa sajŏk*, Haean began with the monastery site, but soon introduces the birth of the Buddha and Adao (Ado), et cetera.[25] On the other hand, Chŏng Yagyong begins the *Mandŏk Saji* immediately by quoting source material, not writing it into a universal or "national" context.

Generally then, the more recent the gazetteer, the less it uses the international or even "national" aspects of Buddhism, and rather focuses on the monastery itself.[26] Hence, the local is given far greater significance and so the access to sanctity becomes more localized.

The importance of Ssanggye Monastery

The modern fame of Ssanggye-sa lies in the claim that it possesses the cranium crown (*uṣṇīṣa*) of Huineng (trad. d. 713), the founder of all surviving Chan/Sŏn/Zen lineages. This relic was supposedly stolen from Caoqi 曹溪 in Guangdong Province, China, in 738-739 by a Silla agent, Kim Taebi 金大悲. It is also famed for having a stele inscription written in 887 for Hyeso 慧昭 (773/4-850) by Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn, which states that this monk, who claimed a Chan lineage from Huineng 慧能, built a portrait hall for Huineng in this monastery. Even today, from 1000 to 1500 people attend the memorial held on the fifth day of the third month of the lunar calendar each year at Ssanggye-sa for the stupa installation.[27] The claim to possess the relic of Huineng then is significant, for if believed, this would make Ssanggye-sa the most important Sŏn monastery in Korea, the rival of Nanhua Monastery 南華寺 in Caoqi, northern Guangdong Province, which has the lacquered death-cast of Huineng. Indeed, the *uṣṇīṣa* could be considered the more potent relic because the *uṣṇīṣa* is the highest part of a Buddha and has magical powers, emitting a radiant, blinding light that prevents beings from seeing it directly.[28] The question then

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24. Han'gukhak munhŏn yŏn'guso, comp., *Chikchi Saji* (Seoul: Asea munhwasa, 1980), 11-20.

25. Han'gukhak munhŏn yŏn'guso, comp., *Taedun Saji* (Seoul: Asea munhwasa, 1980), 321ff, birth of Buddha, 327, Ado, 330.

26. For recent examples, see Sach'al munhwa yŏn'guso, comp., *Naksan-sa* (Seoul: Sach'al munhwa yŏn'guwŏn, 1998) and *Pongŏn-sa* (*saji*), rev. ed. (Seoul: Sach'al munhwa yŏn'guwŏn, 2006).

27. Araki Kakuzo, "Sangesa no Rokuso chinzō tō," in *Nihon Chūgoku miira shinkō no kenkyū*, comp. Nihon miira kenkyū gurūpu (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1993), 274. Another celebration is held on the third day of the eighth month, Huineng's date of death, see Yi Kŏnhŭi, *Kankoku Bukkyō kenkyū* (Higashi Osaka: Meichō honyaku shuppankai, 1999), 489.

is, what are the sources for this claim on behalf of Ssanggye-sa and why was the claim made?

History of Ssanggye-sa and its Sources: Until Late Chosŏn

Ssanggye-sa is located on the seaward slope of Mt. Chiri in southern Korea, next to several creeks, whence the name meaning "Monastery of the Twin Creeks" 雙溪寺 or "Monastery of Twin Boulders 雙磎寺.[29] A scenic location, it also has a large stele with an inscription written in 887 by the famous late Silla literatus, Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn (857-?) in its grounds. It was written to commemorate the Sŏn master Hyeso (773/4-850), who had studied in China and became a lineage heir of Yan'guan Qi'an 鹽官齊安(750?-842) via Yunxiu Shenjian 雲秀神鑑. Hyeso had, in 810, taken full ordination in Shaolin Monastery 少林寺, famed as the source monastery of Chan in China due to the legend of Bodhidharma. Hyeso returned to Silla in 830 and gained the patronage of King Hŭngdŏk (r. 826-835). Ch'oe wrote the inscription on royal command, and he mentioned that when Hyeso moved to the site of Ssanggye Monastery, he established a portrait hall there for Huineng, the founder of the Southern lineage of Chan, which was considered the legitimate lineage from around the 780s, and from which all Chan/Sŏn/Zen lineages now claim descent.[30] Ch'oe wrote: "Hyeso was the great grandson of Caoqi (Huineng). For this reason, he built a portrait hall of the Six(th) Patriarch(s), and its decorated, plastered walls extensively assisted in instruction. This is what the (Lotus) sūtra calls pleasing sentient beings. Therefore it was beautifully inlaid with paintings of many scenes."[31]

The term used for the portrait hall, *yukcho yŏngdang* 六祖影堂, is ambiguous. It could mean the portrait hall of the six patriarchs, presumably Bodhidharma to Huineng, as the preceding sentence uses Huineng's toponym, Caoqi. Yet, it could also mean that of the Sixth Patriarch. Some commentators think the six patriarchs were from Huineng up to and including Hyeso, but that would be presumptuous of Hyeso and a miscount of generations, given

28. See discussion in Jorgensen, *Inventing Hui-neng*, 344-345, 347-348.

29. The stele by Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn has 雙溪寺, with the texts of the early twentieth century using this or 雙磎寺.

30. Jorgensen, *Inventing Hui-neng*, 339-340, for information on Ch'oe and the inscription, 723-726, and for a translation of the inscription, 705-720.

31. Adapted from Jorgensen, *Inventing Hui-neng*, 714.

that Hyeso was Huineng's "great grandson."[32] Portrait halls had become common in Tang Dynasty China, but in Chan they seem to go back allegedly to Puji 普寂 (651-739), a Northern Chan pupil of Shenxiu 神秀 (606?-706, Huineng's supposed rival), who built a "hall of the seven patriarchs" at Shaolin Monastery. To counter this, Shenhui 神會 (684-758), champion of Huineng (and himself), built a portrait hall of the six patriarchs in 752. These were used to demonstrate the line of succession.[33] The hall in Ssanggye-sa thus probably contained portraits of six patriarchs, and possibly scenes from their lives as in the *bianxiang* 變相 tradition of wall murals painted to assist lecturers giving sermons, as allegedly was done at the monastery of Hongren 弘忍, the Fifth Patriarch.[34] However, there is no mention here, not even a hint, that a relic of Huineng had been brought to Ssanggye-sa.

The historical record for Ssanggye-sa then falls silent until 1489. No mention is made in the *Koryŏsa*, which is about a period when Sŏn Buddhism was very popular. If there had been a relic of Huineng in Koryŏ territory, it surely would have been worth noting. In 1489, Chŏng Yŏch'ang 鄭汝昌 (1450-1504), a Confucian scholar, came to the area and apparently visited Ssanggye-sa, writing a poem:

> Inside Ssanggye-sa, I remember Ko'un [Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn].
> His business of the day was confused, you wouldn't hear of it.
> Returning to the Eastern Sea [home], there are still traces in the waves.
> Only on the green plain, the crane was based among a flock of chickens.[35]

But this does not guarantee that the monastery was standing. Strangely, in the same year, Kim Ilson 金馹孫 (1464-1498), another scholar, is supposed to have looked for the stele and remarked how it had survived through the ages.[36]

Sometime after 1549, the famous Sŏn monk and patriotic general Sŏsan Hyujŏng wrote a lengthy "Record of the Reconstruction of Ssanggye Monastery." At this time Hyujŏng was only a young man, but he had already been a Confucian student in the Sŏnggyun-gwan Academy and had travelled in the area of Mt. Chiri and Ssanggye-sa, near where he met a Buddhist teacher and had consequently been ordained. Around the same time, he had gained a

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32. Yi Usŏng, ed. and trans., *Silla Sasan pimyŏng* (Seoul: Asea munhwasa, 1995), 138 note 142.

33. Jorgensen, *Inventing Hui-neng*, 243.

34. *Ibid*., 317, 571.

35. Kim Yangsik, *Chiri-san e karyŏnda* (Seoul: Han'ul, 1998), 201.

36. *Ibid*., 205. Unfortunately, no sources are indicated. If the stele had been discovered, why did Hyujŏng say it was discovered by Chung Sŏm in 1540? (see below)

love of the works of Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn.[37] Even his poem of ordination has an allusion to Ssanggye-sa, which was located in Hwagae-dong:

> In Hwagae-dong the flowers are still blooming,
> The crane does not return to its Ch'ŏnghak 青鶴[-dong] nest.
> Farewell and take care to the water beneath Red Current Bridge,
> For you to the ocean are returning and I to the mountain am returning.[38]

The monastery was evidently in decay, for around 1549, Hyujŏng wrote in his "Chiri-san Ssanggye-sa chungch'ang ki" or record of the reconstruction of the monastery:

> Ancients of this district [*tong*] were versed in Confucianism and Buddhism . . . . Our Eastern [Korean] Ch'oe Ko'un (Ch'iwŏn) and Chin'gam (Hyeso) were those people, Ko'un the Confucian, Chin'gam the Buddhist. Chin'gam built the monastery .... Ko'un erected the stele .... But as time passed people forgot their names .... The exquisite monastery declined into a forest of brambles, the tortoise [based] stele was dilapidated (like) a wood-chopper's hands. The mountain's monkeys howled in lament and the valley's birds cried in pity, nothing more. In the spring of 1540, a Daoist of the mountains, Chung Sŏm (仲暹) was hiking through the area and he rubbed the old stele, and sighed with a deep breath. He said, "In the past there were the nine tripods of the divine Yu, the stone drums of the Zhou house .... These were all things of the same category, and yet for a period these treasures were not treasured .... Now Ko'un's stele, even though said to have been a real treasure, on the contrary was not a treasured thing, and that is the reason it was not found." In order to have it repaired, he presented himself at court. The great ministers all assented (to his proposal), and afterwards the Board of Rites rapidly put up prohibition signs so that for over five leagues around they did not allow the burning or cutting of wood .... In three years ... they rebuilt the Pavilion of the Eight Songs ... and they laid stones front and rear of the stele to make a base for it .... A Sŏn monk of the mountain, Hyesu 慧修, who also had deep faith in the Correct Dharma, made the Three Jewels his responsibility. In the summer of 1543 he saw the old monastery of Chin'gam, and he intended to rebuild it. He recruited donors widely and within a few years he had erected the Buddha Hall, then the Golden Hall (*kŭmdang* 金堂).[39]

Thus it is likely that the site had been abandoned for a time and that even the stele of Silla's greatest writer had been forgotten in the anti-Buddhist

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37. Kim Hyŏngjung, *Hyujŏng ŭi Sŏnsi yŏn'gu* (Seoul: Arumdaun sesang, 1995), 79-85; Sin Chŏng'u, *Seizan Daishi no Zenke kikan kenkyū* (Tokyo: Sankibo-Busshorin, 1991), 52-58.

38. Kim Hyŏngjung, *Hyujŏng ŭi Sŏnsi,* 82-83.

39. Yi Nŭnghwa, *Chosŏn Pulgyo t'ongsa*, 3 vol. (Keijō: Kokusho kankōkai, 1974 reprint of 1918 ed.), 3: 140-141.

environment of the Chosŏn, if not earlier. Unfortunately, the recently reconstructed monastery was apparently destroyed during the Hideyoshi invasion (1592-1598) and rebuilt in 1632 by Pyŏg'am Kaksŏng 碧巖覺性 (1575-1660), who, after fighting as a monk military commander against the Japanese, restored many monasteries, beginning with the nearby Hwaŏm-sa.[40] Certainly, Kaksŏng was familiar with the area, having stayed during 1600 in the the Ch'ilbul Hermitage 七佛庵, just up the mountain road from Ssanggye-sa.[41] It is likely that this destruction occurred in the second campaign that began in 1597, and was possibly at the hands of the army of the left under Ukita Hideie 宇喜多秀家 (1573-1655), if the course of the campaign is any guide.

After the monastery was rebuilt, one of Sŏsan Hyujŏng's pupils, Chunggwan Haean, continued Hyujŏng's fascination with Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn and thus Ssanggye-sa. He compiled the *Sasan pimyŏng* 四山碑銘, a collection of four Buddhist inscriptions on four mountains (monasteries) by Ch'oe, together with annotations. One of these inscriptions was that for Hyeso. This compilation was made sometime before 1619, and explanation was needed, for Ch'oe wrote in a particularly difficult and erudite Chinese style. Even Haean's notes did not suffice, for in 1782, Mong'an of Hwaŏm-sa wrote a detailed commentary with Korean phonetics. The most famous commentary was by Hong Kyŏngmo, a lay friend of the eminent Paekp'a Kŏngsŏn 白坡亘璇 (1762-1852), and another was by Kyŏng'un 擎雲 (Wŏn'gi 元奇, 1852-1936) of Sŏn'am Monastery.[42] Yet those commentaries from the Chosŏn period do not mention any relic of Huineng,[43] and rather concentrated on elucidating Ch'oe's text.

Of interest is the use of Haean's *Sasan pimyŏng* by Chŏng Yagyong in his study of Sŏn in Korea, the *Taedong Sŏn'gyo ko* 大東禪教考,[44] probably written before 1813.[45] Where Chŏng mentions the "construction of a portrait hall of

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40. The only source for this is the *Ssanggye-sa yaksa*, in Chŏng Sŏngbon, *Silla Sŏnjong ŭi yŏn'gu* (Seoul: Minjoksa, 1995), *charyo* 18. See note 76 for the date.

41. See "Hwaŏm-sa Pyŏg'am Taesa pi" by Yi Kyŏngsŏp in 1663, in Chōsen Sōtokufu, comp., *Chōsen kinseki sōran*, 2 vols. (Seoul: Asea munhwasa, 1976 reprint of 1920 ed.), 2: 917-918.

42. Yi Usŏng, *Silla Sasan pimyŏng*, preface ii-iii; Ch'oe Yŏngsŏng, *Chuhae Sasan pimyŏng* (Seoul: Asea munhwasa, 1987), 1-27, esp. 7; Jorgensen, *Inventing Hui-neng*, 724-725.

43. Yi Usŏng, *Silla Sasan pimyŏng*, 138 note 142.

44. See notes in Tongguk Taehakkyo Han'guk Pulgyo chŏnsŏ p'yŏnch'an Wiwŏnhoe, comp., *Han'guk Pulgyo chŏnsŏ* (Seoul: Tongguk Taehakkyo ch'ulpanbu, 1979-1996, hereafter HPC), 10: 507a, esp. 511b, where he mentions "Ch'oe Ko'un Sasan pimyŏng" and 512b, which mentions the stele for Hyeso and noted it was at Ssanggye-sa.

45. The text is part of the *Taedun Saji*, edited by Ch'oŭi Ŭisun (1786-1866), see Young Ho Lee, *Ch'oŭi Ŭisun: A Liberal Sŏn Master and an Engaged Artist in Late Chosŏn Korea* (Freemont,

the six patriarchs," the note provided is not about the hall, but the legacy of Hyeso in the chanting of Buddhist hymns, a note that likely stemmed from Haean's commentary.[46]

The memory of Ssanggye-sa survived, for it was mentioned in the *Sinjŭng Tongguk yŏji sŭngnam*, the national gazetteer printed with revisions in 1612, although this may have been taken from an old gazetteer and not amended to reflect contemporary circumstances. Therefore it was merely listed under Hadong Prefecture and may have been in ruins.[47] Later the monastery probably experienced some problems, for in 1728 a report came to court of bandits who had gathered and camped in Ssanggye-sa.[48] This was likely in reference to the revolt of Yi Injwa 李麟佐 over factional disputes among the Confucian elites for political influence.[49]

The relic, or even a stūpa for the Sixth Patriarch, is not mentioned until the time of Kim Chŏnghŭi 金正喜 (1786-1856), who mentions a stūpa for the *chŏngsang* 頂相 (*uṣṇīṣa*) in a plaque titled "The Sixth Patriarch's *chŏngsang* Stūpa," with the verse, "The world is a single flower/The patriarchal lineage is six leaves (generations)."[50] Kim Chŏnghŭi, a noted essayist, calligrapher, importer of Qing Dynasty culture and palaeographer, was renowned as a Confucian, but privately he was a dedicated but critical student of Buddhism, especially Sŏn, despite the government's oppression of Buddhism. In particular, in an 1843 polemic of fifteen items, Kim attacked the propositions of Paekp'a Kŭngsŏn concerning the supremacy of the *hwadu* 話頭 (C. *huatou*) style of *gong'an* practice advocated by the Linji lineage monk Dahui Zonggao 大慧宗杲 (1089-1163), the issue of the use of language and scriptures in Sŏn, the necessity to have a certifying or enlightening teacher, and a number of other issues.[51]

Ca.: Asian Humanities Press, 2002), 121-121, 308 and 130 note 194; date from Hŏ Hŭngsik, "Taedun Saji ŭi p'yŏnch'an kwa kŭ kach'i," in *Taedun Saji* (Seoul: Asea munhwasa, 1980), v.

46. See HPC 10: 513a1-2; cf. note in Yi Usŏng, *Silla Sasan pimyŏng*, 141, end of intertextual notes before note 182; Jorgensen, *Inventing Hui-neng*, 716 notes 197-198.

47. *Sinjŭng Tongguk yŏji sŭngnam* (Seoul: Kyŏngmunsa, 1981 reprint), ch. 31, 542.

48. *Yŏngjong sillok*, 4th year, 3rd month, 28th day, in Kwŏn Sangno, comp., *Yijo sillok Pulgyo ch'ojon*, 6 vol. (Seoul: Poryŏn'gak, reprinted 1979), 6: 399-400.

49. William E. Henthorn, *A History of Korea* (New York: The Free Press, 1971), 210.

50. This verse is based on that by Bodhidharma in the *Platform Sūtra*.

51. For outlines of Kim Chŏnghŭi's career, see Kim Yaksŭl (1979), "Ch'usa ŭi Sŏnhak pyŏn," reproduced from *Paek Sŏng'uk Paksa songju ki'nyŏm Pulgyohak nonmun chip* in Ch'oe Hyŏn'gak, comp., *Pulgyohak nonch'ong*, 2 vol, (Seoul: Kaeun-sa), 71-77. A translation of Kim's critique is given, 105-112. For the Chinese text, with some explanations, see Yi Chŏng'ik, "Chŭngdap Paekp'a sŏ rŭl t'onghae pon Kim Ch'usa ŭi Pulgyo kwan," *Pulgyo hakpo* 12 (1975):

The knowledgeable and relatively critical stance of Kim Chŏnghŭi towards certain aspects of Sŏn tradition casts doubt on the interpretation of the alleged plaque, which aside from the characters *Yukcho chŏngsang t'ap* (Sixth Patriarch's *uṣṇīṣa* stūpa), provides no evidence of the history of the stūpa or the relic. Indeed, Yi Nŭnghwa is the main source for this information, besides the plaques themselves, although part of this may have been confused with a plaque by Yi Kwang 李珖 (1589-1645), a son of King Sŏnjo, which read, "A single flower of the world, the patriarchal lineage in six generations."[52] Moreover, although Kim Chŏnghŭi frequently refers to Huineng and knew of the non-decaying *roushen* 肉身 ("meat body") of the Ming Dynasty monk Hanshan Deqing 憨山德清, which was in Nanhua Monastery alongside the *roushen* of Huineng,[53] Kim never referred to the relic of Huineng that was supposedly transported to Korea. Furthermore, Kim was very critical of the practice of the monks at the Sŏn meditation room of Ch'ilbul-am (Seven Buddha's Hermitage) that was part of Ssanggye Monastery, for falling into the trap of silent meditation on a *gong'an* and thereby deluding people. He implied that they, like Paekp'a, were overestimating or misinterpreting the theories of Dahui.[54]

Textual Sources from the Late Chosŏn to the Mid-colonial Period

From the late Chosŏn period the record becomes confused, and greater reliance must be placed on controversial sources. These texts are the *Sŏnjong Yukcho Taesa chŏngsang tongnae yŏn'gi* 禪宗六祖大師頂相東來緣起 and the almost identical *Sŏnjong Che Yukjo Hyenŭng Taesa tusang tongnae yŏn'gi* 禪宗第六祖慧能大師頭像東來緣起; the *Yukcho chŏngsang t'ap panggwangnon* 六祖頂相塔放光論 by Ye'un Hye'gŭn 猊雲慧勤 of 1914; the *Ssanggye-sa yaksa* 雙溪寺略史 allegedly "recopied" in 1918 and adapted into Japanese by Nukariya Kaiten 忽

11-32.

52. Kim Yaksŭl, "Ch'usa ŭi Sŏnhak," 104, relies on Yi Nŭnghwa here. Kim Yangsik, *Chiri San e*, 205. See Kim Idu, *Myŏngch'al py'ŏn'aek sullyŏk* (Seoul: Hanjin ch'ulpansa, 1979), 44, 92-93, photographs 75, 76.

53. See Tokiwa Daijō, *Shina Bukkyō shiseki tōsaki* (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1938, 1972 reprint), 624-629, and Guangdong sheng Bowuguan, comp., *Nanhua Si* (Peking: Wenwu chubanshe, 1990).

54. Kim Yaksŭl (1979), "Ch'usa ŭi Sŏnhak," 87, 94. Ch'ilbul Sŏnsil is the same as Ch'ilbul Abang. See also Yi Chŏng'ik, "Chŭngdap Paekp'a sŏ," 30. For Ch'ilbul-am and its legends, see Yi Nŭnghwa, *Chosŏn Pulgyo* 3: 751-752.

滑谷快天 in 1930 as the *Chiri-san Ssanggye-sa ki* 智異山雙溪寺記; and the entry on this monastery by Yi Nŭnghwa in his *Chosŏn Pulgyo t'ongsa* 朝鮮佛教通史 of 1918, with a preface by Hye'gŭn.

1. The Chiri-san Ssanggye-sa ki *and the* Ssanggye-sa yaksa

These two texts are brief and fairly poor examples of the *saji* (monastic gazetteer) genre. In 1930, Nukariya Kaiten (1867-1930), an influential historian of Chan Buddhism, who belonged to the Sōtō Zen Order, wrote a history of the Sŏn and Doctrinal schools in Korea, the *Chōsen ZenKyō shi*. In it he presented a text with this title, *Chiri-san Ssanggye-sa ki* (Record of Ssangye Monastery on Chiri-san). It has not been identified, and Nukariya chose to translate it into Japanese. Usually in his *Chōsen ZenKyō shi* he gives the original text in Chinese when quoting at length, and he only translates into Japanese when he is summarising a text. As there are a number of texts of a similar nature to the *Chiri-san Ssanggye-sa ki* extant, this has induced doubt about the historicity of the work Nukariya quoted.

One of these similar texts is the *Ssanggye-sa yaksa* (Brief history of Ssanggye Monastery), which is kept in the Sōtō Order's Komazawa University Library. A note on it records that it was recopied in 1918 and given to Araki Masatane 荒木正胤 in 1930. The text is written in a mixture of Korean and Chinese. It is dated in a Japanese manner, suggesting that it was written after the Japanese occupation of Korea began in 1910. Comparison of the *Ssanggye-sa yaksa* and Nukariya's text shows that Nukariya translated it from the *Ssanggye-sa yaksa* rather than from the *Sŏnjong Yukcho Taesa chŏngsang tongnae yŏn'gi*.[55] Therefore, Nukariya had to render it into Japanese because the original of the *Ssanggye-sa yaksa* is in a mixture of Korean and Chinese. Nukariya probably received the copied text from one of his correspondents and friends in colonial Korea; perhaps the scholars Kwŏn Sangno (1879-1965), Yi Nŭnghwa (1869-1943) or Takahashi Tōru (1877-1966), for they are mentioned in a note of thanks at the beginning of the *Chōsen ZenKyō shi*. Nukariya mentions there that he visited various monasteries in Korea over a two-month period in 1929, and that the editor of his book was Araki.[56] A text with the title *Chiri-san Ssanggye-sa ki* has not been discovered, and as Nukariya translated or summarised the text, it was not written in the Classical

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55. Chung Moo-hwan, "*Zenshū Rokuso Enō Daishi chōsō tōrai engi* kō," *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 36, no. 1 (1987): 81-83.

56. Nukariya Kaiten, *Chōsen ZenKyō shi* (Tokyo: Meichō kankōkai, 1969), 4.

Chinese, which he expected his readers to understand, but in a mixed Chinese and Korean, which he could not quote literally because his Japanese readers would not have been able to comprehend it. Nukariya simply changed the title of the text he was quoting from, or the *Ssanggye-sa yaksa* had an alternative title.

2. Sŏnjong Yukcho Taesa chŏngsang tongnae yŏn'gi *and* Sŏnjong Ch'e Yukjo Hyenŭng Taesa tusang tongnae yŏn'gi

These two texts are "histories" or "origin tales." The *yŏn'gi* here is a secondary meaning from "conditioned/dependent origination" (*pratītya-samutpāda*), with the sense of the origination of a monastery or a statue. This usage was common in Japan, with the oldest example probably the *Gankōji garan engi* 元興寺伽藍縁起 (History of the founding of Gankō monastery) of 747, but in Korea this does not appear, with the exception of the above two texts and another related text, possibly suggesting some Japanese influence.[57] The origin is of the *chŏngsang* or *uṣṇīṣa* of Huineng (*Hyenŭng Taesa*) and how it was brought to Korea (*tongnae*). A problem with the term *chŏngsang* was that it was ambiguous, meaning the fleshy lump on the top of a Buddha's head or a portrait.[58]

To further complicate matters, two copies of the *Sŏnjong Yukcho Hyenŭng Taesa chŏngsang tongnae yŏn'gi* (How the *uṣṇīṣa* of the sixth patriarch of the Chan school, Great Master Huineng, came to the east) exist. The first manuscript was owned by Kwŏn Sangno, and possibly copied by him.[59] The second, titled *Sŏnjong Che Yukcho Hyenŭng Taesa tusang tongnae yŏn'gi* (How the head-image of the sixth patriarch of the Chan school, Great Master Huineng, came to the east) is found in a compilation called the *Ch'uyo myŏnggi* 樞要明記, a copy of which is held in Dongguk University Library. The latter was written or copied by Kim Chaesŏn 金裁善, probably in Seoul during 1915, for in an inner page it has the note "Essential Collection" (*Yojip*), and a cyclical date corresponding to 1915. It also has another entry, "Leftover Ink," "When at Okch'ŏn Monastery," and the name Kim Chaesŏn. Chŏng Muhwan

57. For a list of the records of monasteries and statues, see the *saji* section of Tongguk Taehakkyo Pulgyo munhwa yŏn'guso, comp., *Han'guk Pulgyo ch'ansul munhŏn ch'ongnok* (Seoul: Tongguk Taehakkyo ch'ulpanbu, 1976), 303-353, where there are no *yŏn'gi* in 564 examples. The most common are *ki* (record), *sajŏk* (events), *mun* (text), *saji*, *naeryŏk* (antecedents/origins).

58. Jorgensen, *Inventing Hui-neng*, 344-346.

59. Chŏng Sŏngbon, *Silla Sŏnjong*, 294.

(Sŏngbon) thinks that it was probably a collection of material copied out while Kim Chaesŏn was in Okch'ŏn Monastery 玉泉寺, which is an old name for Ssanggye Monastery (although another monastery with this name does exist), and in Seoul.[60] This text is said to be a collection by Sansa 山史 ("Mountain historian"), which probably indicates Sŏldu Yuhyŏng 雪竇有炯 (1824-1889). "Yuhyŏng, in this text, said he was an historian living in the mountains, so he called his work *Sansa*. That was also his style (*ho*)."[61] Moreover, there is a text titled *Sansa yakcho*, probably written in 1864,[62] the author or compiler of which is called Sorim mun'in 少林門人, and the work is subtitled *Sansajip*.[63] It has an entry on Kim Taebi:

> The Silla monk Kim Taebi went west into China and received (*pong*, 奉) the entire head (全頭) of the Sixth Patriarch and then returned. He built a stūpa on the southern slopes of Mt. Chiri. The season was winter, and because flowers were blooming (*hwagae*) in the district (*tong* 洞), the district was named Hwagae. Also, twenty leagues above the stūpa of the Sixth Patriarch there is a monastery (where) seven sons of King Suro together achieved the Buddha Way. Therefore that monastery is called Ch'ilbul (Seven Buddhas), and is the first Sŏn cloister of Korea.[64]

Although the term *pong*, "to receive respectfully," could also mean to "offer up" and "serve," it would appear that Yuhyŏng believed that the head had been brought by Kim Taebi to Hwagae (Ssanggye Monastery). This is made more intriguing by the fact that appended to one of the three manuscripts of the *Sansa yakcho*, the undated copy held at Dongguk University,[65] is a text titled *Hoguk Po'gyŏng* 護國寶鏡 *Sŏnjong Che yukcho Hyenŭng Taesa tusang tongnae yŏn'gi*, plus other texts, whereas the undated Seoul University manuscript has appended *Sŏlhwa Chinmuk Hwasang chaemun*.[66] If the first four characters, *Hoguk Po'gyŏng* (precious mirror to protect the country) are removed, this would make the title identical to that in the *Ch'uyo myŏnggi*, for it uses the unusual term *tusang* 頭像, "the image of the head." Although I am unable to determine whether or not the *Sansa yakch'o* is identical with, or part

60. *Ibid*., 324.

61. *Ibid*., *charyo* 2, 9, citing HPC 10:678a, the *Sansa yakch'o* 山史略抄.

62. 崇禎紀元後四甲子, HPC 10: 678a; cf. last date of Tongzhi 3, 甲子 = 1864, HPC 10: 689a; finished writing in 1873?, HPC 10: 689a 大清拾參年発酉, 1873/4.

63. HPC 10: 678a.

64. HPC 10: 686b7-11.

65. Cf. HPC 10: 678c note 1.

66. HPC 10: 689b note 15.

of, the *Ch'uyo myŏnggi*, it seems unlikely. The *Ch'uyo myŏnggi* text appears to be a faulty copy, for it contains obvious errors when compared to the Kwŏn Sangno text.[67]

The motivation for the compilation of this text is not certain, especially when the first mention of a stūpa for the *chŏngsang* of the Sixth Patriarch may not have been by Kim Chŏnghŭi as alleged, for there is another related *yŏn'gi*. The *Ssangye-sa yaksa* says that the monastery owned thirty-six woodblocks of the *Platform Sūtra*, but that in 1854 a flood destroyed these and some had only been restored by the 28th of August, 1916.[68] However, it does not mention the restoration of the *Platform Sūtra*. Apparently it was during this time of trial that a copy of the *Deyi Platform Sūtra* was brought to Ssanggye Monastery from Songch'ŏn Monastery 松川寺 in 1855. This printing has a "history" (*yŏn'gi*) attached to it describing the transfer of the "*Platform Sūtra* blocks of Songch'ŏn Monastery to the safekeeping of Ssanggye Monastery" (*Tan'gyŏng p'an Songch'ŏn-sa i chin Ssanggye-sa yŏn'gi*, 壇經板松川寺移鎭雙溪寺緣起). It states in part:

> If one cultivates the mind there will be realization; if one has faith there is sure to be benefit. Therefore Master Sanbŏp installed the *chŏngsang* of the Sixth Patriarch in the Golden Hall. Later the *Platform Sūtra* print blocks were stored and protected in the Pavilion of the Canon, but because of a flood they were washed away into the dragon's palace [sea], and the sūtra blocks were lost. In the fifth year of the Xianfeng reign (1855), Sŏn elder Manho of this monastery, who really was a teacher possessing the Way, and highly respected the principles of Sŏn, was strict and pure in the *vinaya*, and had sat in meditation in the western abbot's quarters for over ten years, constantly bowed beneath the stūpa, each time lamenting the loss of the *Platform Sūtra* blocks. He thought he should print them again and keep them. In a dream he saw an old man say, "No one is looking after the *Platform Sūtra* blocks in the Mahāvairocana Hall of Songch'ŏn Monastery in Kwang'yang Commandery. You should transfer them and protect them in this monastery." Therefore he sent someone to transfer them for safekeeping in this monastery's Hwaŏm Hall. A few days later, a mysterious fire broke out and Songch'ŏn Monastery was completely burnt down. That is cultivation sure to have realization, and faith sure to have benefit.[69]

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67. E.g. in the text collated by Chŏng Sŏngbon (*Silla Sŏnjong*) at p. 328 note 14, dittograph of "patriarch," note 20 (21 in text) dittograph of "parent," note 21 (22 in text) dittograph of "teacher"; 329 note 30 (31) dittograph of "teacher"; 330 note 36, mistaken *ch'ŏn* or "turn" for *chin* or "protect."

68. Chŏng Sŏngbon, *Silla Sŏnjong*, *charyo* 3, 37-38, dated 大正五年七月三十日.

69. Pak Sangguk, "Yukjo chŏngsang ŭi tongnae-sŏl kwa kŭ sin'angjŏk ŭiŭi," in *Yukcho Tan'gyŏng ŭi segye*, ed. Kim Chi'gyŏn (Seoul: Minjoksa, 1989), 189, reproduced text 8-5.

This may have provided a motif for the writing of the *Sŏnjong Yukcho Hyenŭng Taesa chŏngsang tongnae yŏn'gi*, because it mentions the *Platform Sūtra*, the Golden Hall and Sanbŏp all together,[70] and contains the word *yŏn'gi* in the title. This then, along with the *Sansa yakch'o*, was one of the sources for the *Ssanggye-sa yaksa*.

3. Yukcho chŏngsang t'ap panggwangnon *(1914) and* Chosŏn Pulgyo t'ongsa *entry*

In 1914, under the name of Ch'udang Kug'in 秋堂菊人, the monk Ye'un Hye'gŭn, who was connected to Sŏn'am Monastery 仙巖寺 on Mt. Chogye in South Chŏlla Province, and was a student under Kyŏngbung Ig'un 景鵬益運 (1836-1915) in the seventh generation from Yongdam Cho'gwan 龍潭益冠 (1700-1762), and an active publisher of some ninety plus articles, wrote a *Yukjo chŏngsang t'ap panggwang non* (On the emission of light from the Stūpa of the Uṣṇīṣa of the Sixth Patriarch) for the magazine *Haedong Pulbo* 海東佛報, issue 5, of March 1914.[71] In this he claimed:

> . . . only our Buddhas and patriarchs are in constant operation with limitless divine power, and constantly emit a limitless bright light. Ordinary people have long been blind to the eye of insight and cannot see the functions of the sun of the Buddhas and patriarchs .... Idiotic people of the world scold the Buddhas and abuse the patriarchs, and hastily say, "It is empty and quiescent, and is empty nonsense." These truly are people to be pitied. If they could now confirm the reality, they would merely bow and kneel without a break.
>
> Ssanggye Monastery of Hadong South of the Ranges [Yŏngnam = Chinese Lingnan 嶺南] is where the Treasure Stūpa of the *chŏngsang* of the Master Huineng, the Sixth Patriarch of the Sŏn Order, Dajian, is located. If we examine the eastern coming of the *chŏngsang*, it [occurred] over 1190 years ago. A light is always emitted from it, but it is sure to happen at midnight when people are resting, so it is rarely seen by people close by, but often by those from a distance.[72]

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70. Chŏng Sŏngbon, *Silla Sŏnjong*, 299.

71. Yi Nŭnghwa, *Chosŏn Pulgyo*, 3: 138-139; Chŏn Posam, "Yukcho chŏngsang ŭi tongnae-sŏl kwa kŭ sin'angjŏk ŭiŭi." In *Yukcho Tan'gyŏng ŭi se'gye*, ed. Kim Chi'gyŏn (Seoul: Minjoksa, 1989), 334. The lineage was traced from Kyŏng'un Hyŏngjun, *Haedong Pulcho wŏllyu* (Seoul: Pulsŏ po'gŏp sa, 1978) 4 vols., consecutive pagination, 364a for Ig'un, 187b, for Cho'gwan. Note, it does not list Hye'gŏn as a pupil.

72. Cf. the account by Xuanzang of Mahākāśyapa, Ji Xianlin et al, ed., *Da Tang Xiyuji jiaoju* (Peking: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), 706. "Therefore now on the mountain there is built a stūpa, and on a still night one can sometimes see a bright light, but when one comes to climb the

> On the eighth day of the second month of 1913, which was the holy birthday of the Sixth Patriarch, on the night a vegetarian feast was prepared, while the monks of the mountain were in confession and reading sūtras, lighting lamps and burning incense, a ray of fiery light flamed out from the stūpa hall, as brilliant as a torch, directly lighting up the heavens, and the streams and peaks were as clear as in broad daylight . . .
>
> Alas! Our Territory of the Sole peninsula (Korea), although said to be a petty country beyond the seas, introduced Buddhism in the period of Silla and Ko(gu)ryŏ (sic). Mañjuśrī personally offered the Tathāgata's *chŏngsang* and the Buddha's teeth and *śarīra* and robe to Dharma Teacher Chajang. The Buddha's *chŏngsang* was encapsulated in Mt. Odae in Myŏngju. The Silla monk Kim Taebi took the Sixth Patriarch's *chŏngsang* and returned it to the care of Ssanggye Monastery in Kangju. Can this not be the Buddha's transformation and the Patriarch's shadow (grace)? Might there not be a special link? Now we see that although India and Śri Lanka etc. are said to be the mother country where our Buddhism was born, and yet even the traces of the Mahāyāna scriptures have already been swept away there, so would that not be even more the case with the *chŏngsang* of the Buddhist patriarchs. And so therefore our Sixth Patriarch, who even though born in China 支那 and proselytized there for his lifetime, already predicted in a verse that this *chŏngsang* would return east? Therefore, did not even the Sixth Patriarch also take our country 我國 to be the final resting place of Buddhism? It is evident this is he and Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva being like the matching of tallies. This is to know that the patriarchal stūpa of Ssanggye is that of an extraordinary Sŏn patriarchal lineage. It really can be the field of merit for the world. And since the light it emits is so amazing, it will make us Koreans all produce the mind for the Way … and together go to the patriarch's stūpa, bow to the ground and burn incense . . . [73]

Yi Nŭnghwa commented:

> Master Sanbŏp of Silla first constructed a hermitage, and the Sixth Patriarch's *chŏngsang* was encapsulated in the stūpa. It must have been there then. National Teacher Chin'gam (Hyeso) used its foundations to build Okch'ŏn Monastery [given the name plaque Ssanggye-sa by King Hŏn'gang of Silla] and erected a Portrait Hall of the Sixth Patriarch. This surely was because it respectfully kept the *chŏngsang*, which Ch'oe's stele mentioned vaguely . . . . When the Sixth Patriarch was approaching death, he predicted that an easterner would take his head. This is an indication of our Haedong . . . and there is no doubt that Mt. Chiri has some connection (with this incident).[74]

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mountain, then there is nothing to be sighted."

73. The text is taken from the original quoted by Chŏn Posam, "Yukcho chŏngsang ŭi tongnae-sŏl," 339 at note 81; and the continuation from Yi Nŭnghwa's Chinese translation, 3: 139. Text reproduced in Chŏng Sŏngbon, *Silla Sŏnjong, charyo* 4, 44-46.

It is sure then that around 1914 there was a move to promote the *chŏngsang* stūpa, in concert with stress on the relics of the Buddha at Mt. Odae,[75] that had the support of important Korean scholars such as Yi Nŭnghwa, who wrote the above in 1918. Some even claimed that the stūpa dates back to 739, which is definitely in error.[76]

Therefore, a series of texts, one dated 1914, and several supposed copies, two of which are dated 1915 and 1918 respectively, were written about Ssanggye Monastery and the stolen head or *uṣṇīṣa* of Huineng.

The *Chŏngsang* Stūpa for Huineng and the *Platform Sūtra*

The earliest mentions of an attempt to decapitate Huineng date to the propaganda of Shenhui (684-758), but in all of these early accounts, the attempt fails. A Korean connection emerges with the figure of Kim Taebi of Silla who around 739 plotted to take the head from Huineng's "mummy," which appears in the no-longer extant part of the *Baolin zhuan* 寶林傳 of 796. But again, in this lineage "history" of Chan the thief fails. This tale was then adapted into the standard sources of the Chan School that were written in the Song Dynasty.[77]

Other evidence indicates that this record of a successful theft was a fairly recent composition. The connection between the Portrait Hall of the Sixth Patriarch erected by Hyeso at Ssanggye Monastery and the attempted theft of

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74. Yi Nŭnghwa, *Chosŏn Pulgyo,* 3: 139-140. The words in square brackets are Yi's comment.

75. Besides the work by Ch'udang Kug'in and Yi Nŭnghwa, works on this topic were written by Yi Nŭnghwa in 1916 and 1917 (on the relics of the Buddhas and patriarchs) and by Kwŏn Sangno and Yi Kwangsu in 1931. See Chŏn Posam, "Yukcho chŏngsang ŭi tongnae-sŏl," 340 note 83.

76. Song Paeg'un, "Kusan Sŏnmun ŭn Namjong Sŏn ida," *Pulgyo sasang* 2 (1973): 75. Song gives the date 739, Hyosŏng 3rd year, and states that Sanbŏp lived in this monastery for sixteen years, not eighteen. Choi Byong-hon (Ch'oe Pyŏnghŏn), "On the legend of the Sixth Patriarch Hui-neng as recorded in the Ssang-gye-sa gi," *Proceedings of the Fo Kuang Shan International Conference on Ch'an Buddhism* (Kao-hsiung: Fo Kuang Publishers, 1990) 272-277, states that this legend is not "corroborated by any historical material. In addition, as the history of the temple does not date back to that time the legend evokes further doubt and disbelief." Choi rightly writes that the monastery was founded by Hyeso under the name of Okch'ŏn-sa after he returned from China in 830, as is shown by Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's stele. The monastery was destroyed during Hideyoshi's invasion (1592-1597), and if such a treasure were there then, it surely would have been removed. The monastery was rebuilt in 1632. See Han'guk Kwang'gwang munhwa yŏn'guso, *Han'guk ŭi myŏngsan taech'al* (Seoul: Kukche Pulgyodo hyŏbŭihoe, 1982), 456.

77. Jorgensen, *Inventing Hui-neng*, 322-325 et passim.

the *chŏngsang* of Huineng as recorded in the *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 (1004) and the Deyi 德異 and Zongbao versions of the *Platform Sūtra* (1291 and 1290) was not made until at least after the Deyi *Platform Sūtra* was published in 1290 and received in Korea in 1298, because the Ssanggye-sa texts say Sanbŏp only thought of stealing the head after reading the extract of the *Platform Sūtra*: 法寶壇經本鈔一卷.[78] This "extract of the *Platform Sūtra*" has not been identified.[79] This seems to be confirmed by the 1855 *Tan'gyŏng p'an Songch'ŏn-sa i chin Ssanggye-sa yŏn'gi* mentioned above.

However, there is a mention of a visit to the stūpa of Chin'gam (Hyeso) and "the Stūpa of the Sixth Patriarch" in 1844 by Kag'an 覺岸 (1820-1896), in his self-introduction contained in his *Tongsa yŏlchŏn* 東師列傳.[80] But this stūpa may have only honoured a portrait of Huineng. Therefore, it is likely that the 1854 flood in which Ssanggye-sa suffered massive damage to many buildings and texts, including the *Platform Sūtra*, was the event that catalysed the creation of a stupa for Huineng's *chŏngsang*. So in 1855, Manho sought the blocks of the Deyi *Platform Sūtra* from Songch'ŏn Monastery.[81] Then in 1864, Yuhyŏng noted that Kim Taebi had brought the *uṣṇīṣa* to a stūpa that was presumably in Ssanggye-sa.

In addition, the *Ssanggye-sa yaksa* has a note about the Treasure Stūpa of the *Chŏngsang* of the Sixth Patriarch, which states, "This stone casket stores the reliquary, so in the fourth month of the third year of the Tongzhi reign of Emperor Muzong of Qing (1864), Yongdam constructed a seven-story stūpa."[82] This is undoubtedly the stūpa that remains today in the Kūm or Golden Hall which is behind the P'alsang Hall of Ssanggye Monastery, for the extant stūpa has seven stories.[83] According to the tradition of the monastery,

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78. Chŏng Sŏngbon, *Silla Sŏnjong*, 315; Pak Sangguk, "*Yukcho tan'gyŏng ŭi kanhaeng kwa yut'ong*," 175, 171.

79. There are several extracts, but these are Japanese *shō*, one of 1629 and another of 1683, see Komazawa Daigaku Toshokan comp., *Shinsan Zenseki mokuroku* (Tokyo: Komazawa Daigaku Toshokan, 1962), 449. However, the catalogue of Ennin mentions a text with the exact same title (except that it was not an extract or *ch'ao*), and Mujaku Dōchū also refers to a Korean printing of a *Platform Sūtra* by the same name. See Yi Kŏnhŭi, *Kankoku Bukkyō kenkyū*, 471.

80. HPC 10: 1048a12-15.

81. For reproductions of the 1703 print of the *Platform Sūtra* from Songch'ŏn Sa, see Pak Sangguk, "*Yukcho tan'gyŏng* ŭi kanhaeng," 186-189. It is kept in Ssanggye-sa, 166.

82. Chŏn Posam, "Yukcho chŏngsang ŭi tongnae-sŏl," 338. Chŏng Sŏngbon, *Silla Sŏnjong, charyo* 3, 31-32. This monk cannot be the famous Yongdam Cho'gwan (1700-1762). Many other monks possessed this toponym. The *Ssanggye-sa yaksa* says a stūpa was built for this monk in 1913, see Chŏng Sŏngbon, *Silla Sŏnjong, charyo* 3, 32.

83. See Araki Kakuzo, "Sangesa no Rokuso chinzō tō."

this stūpa of the *chŏngsang* was brought by Yongdam from the nearby Mog'ap Monastery, and so was reused. The stūpa itself stands about three meters in height and is made of four blocks of stone. From the traces of gold color on it, it may have originally been gilded. In the rear of the first story, a nine by four centimeter hole was drilled, which tradition claims was where the top of Huineng's skull was placed to avoid decay. Now, if one feels in the hole, there seems to be paper or cloth there, and it is said that a copy of the *Platform Sūtra* was inserted there.[84]

The only other mention of the stūpa of the Sixth Patriarch is in a definitely legendary story of Ch'ilbul Hermitage at Hwagae Valley, in which a determined meditator sat in the Aja Meditation Room during the day and at night toted a huge rock down Ssanggye Gorge to worship the Stūpa of the Sixth Patriarch. He was helped by a tiger on his return trips. This supposedly happened between 1515 (or 1524) and 1542 (or 1543). As the account also includes a legend about the origins of *ondol* heating, attributing this to a Silla monk Tamgong (Un), the entire account must be considered spurious.[85] The fact that the origin of the hermitage is retailed also by the *Ssanggye-sa yaksa*[86] can only heighten suspicions. Yi Nŭnghwa claims that it was a "worldly transmission" which relates that the hermitage was established by seven sons of the founding king of Karak, Suro. These sons became monks at the instigation of Meditation Master Po'ok. They re-located to Mt. Chiri where they formed Unsang Cloister and there achieved enlightenment via meditation. Later, people called them the Seven Buddhas (*Ch'ilbul*) and a plaque at Ch'ilbul Hermitage reads, "First Meditation Cloister of Tongguk (Korea)."[87] This ludicrous story was probably based on a hint taken from the "Records of Karak" chapter of the *Samguk yusa*, wherein Suro, when founding his capital, remarked how narrow yet excellent the land was, and that it would be suitable for the seven holy stages.[88] This was misread as the Seven Buddhas by later people and the misreading was

84. Araki Kazuko, "Sangesa no Rokuso chinzō," 272-274; and personal observation. Was this paper wrapped around the *uṣṇīṣa*?

85. Yi Nŭnghwa, *Chosŏn Pulgyo*, 3: 751-753. Yi dismisses only the section on *ondol* and an earlier section on the origin of the hermitage. The 1978 ed. of the *Han'guk-sa Taesajŏn* suggests that *ondol* did not spread to the south of Korea until the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries.

86. Chŏn Posam, "Yukcho chŏngsang ŭi tongnae-sŏl," 329.

87. Yi Nŭnghwa, *Chosŏn Pulgyo*, 3: 751.

88. Yi Pyŏngdo, *Samguk yusa*, 82. Yi Nŭnghwa rejects this origin tale on the grounds that the *Samguk yusa* only mentions the "seven holy levels" of the bodhisattva, that the story of Suro was transferred from the legend of another monastery, Kŭmnyun Sa, and that it refers to a pre-Buddhist period in Korea, etc. See 1: 196-205.

expanded into the origin tale of the hermitage in an attempt to claim it as the original Sŏn site of Korea. The tale probably belongs to a late tradition, a tradition as late as the early years of the last century.

Therefore, given Kim Chŏnghŭi's hostility towards the practices of Ssanggye Monastery and the manifest unreliability of the tales from Ch'ilbul Hermitage, the earliest date for the Stūpa of the *Chŏngsang* of the Sixth Patriarch would appear to be 1864, but if the plaques for the Golden Hall of Ssanggye-sa by Kim are authentic, this would take the stūpa back to 1854-1856. However, none of the guides to the monasteries even date the "stūpa" and some do not mention it at all.[89]

Again, in 1864, Yuhyŏng mentions the "complete head," and appears to suggest that Kim Taebi brought it back and placed it in the stūpa. If the text appended to his *Sansa yakch'o* 山史略抄 was by his hand, this would make it the original or Ur-text. But several contradictions militate against this. Firstly, the other two manuscripts of the *Sansa yakch'o* do not have this appended. Secondly, the title uses the term *tusang*, "image of the head," possibly another term for a portrait or a bust. Thirdly, the words starting the title, *Hoguk Po'gyŏng*, probably derive from Po'gyŏng Monastery in Kyŏngsang Pukdo, Naeyŏn-san. According to the *Kŭmdang ki* by Sa'myŏng Yujŏng 四溟惟政 (1544-1610), a pupil of Hyujŏng and likewise a monk-general axnd negotiator with the Japanese, this monastery obtained the name when Kāśyapa Mātaṅga and Falan brought Buddhist scriptures for the first time to China. They also

89. The Confucian scholar and geographer Sin Kyŏngjun (1712-1781) in his study of monasteries, the *Karam ko*, which was probably written after he was ordered to take part in the compilation of the *Tongguk yŏji to*, has an entry for Ssanggye-sa where he only mentions the stele for Hyeso by Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn and a tower; and in the Ch'ilbul-am entry he mentions that it has a room shaped like the character A that is uniformly warmed, but its date is unknown. Text in *Pulgyo hakpo* 26 (1989): 302-303. Nor is the relic mentioned in the Ssanggye-sa entry in Kwŏn Sangno's *Han'guk sach'al chŏnsŏ*, 2 vol, (Seoul: Tongguk Taehakkyo, 1979 reprint), 2: 623a-b. This book was written between 1910 and 1965 and used extensive materials, including the massive *Yijo sillok*. There is no mention of the relic either in the Ch'ilbul-am entry, 2: 1107-1108, which records that the *Karam ko* mentions a story about the immortal (*sŏn*) Okpo as the player of a zither and a son of Kim Kong'yong during the reign of King Chinp'yŏng of Silla (579-632). This suggests an earlier version of the Ch'ilbul-am origin tale. Yi Chaech'ang, *Myŏngsan koch'al ŭl ch'aja* (Seoul: Mun'gyo wŏn, 1969), 256-259, retails the story of Sanbŏp etc, from the temple records or traditions. He mentions the Stūpa of the *Chŏngsang* of the Sixth Patriarch, but writes he knows nothing about its history or circumstances. The Han'guk Kwan'gwang munhwa yŏn'guso, comp., *Han'guk ŭi myŏngsan taech'al*, 456-457, mentions that in 840 A.D. Hyeso built a hall to contain the portrait of Huineng, but then elaborates on the tale of Sanbŏp etc. Yet it states that the seven-story *Yukcho chŏngsang t'ap* contains Hui-neng's portrait, but provides no details. It also contains much information on Ch'ilbul-am (460-464), which illustrates that the tradition is hopelessly confused.

brought an eight-faceted round mirror, which they forwarded to Korea (Tongguk), saying there is a hundred-foot deep pool beneath Mt. Chongnan in which it should be sunk. A Dharma Hall was also raised there. This is a site that would not be destroyed in ten thousand years, and so it received this name. The monastery was restored by an abbot who died in 1916.[90] This Sŏn monastery was therefore presumably considered a protector of Buddhism. All of this suggests that the text may have been written somewhere other than where Yuhyŏng resided.

The use of *Hoguk Po'gyŏng* at the commencement of the text may therefore be seen as a result of a confusion between the Golden Hall (*Kŭmdang*) of Po'gyŏng Monastery 寶鏡寺 and that of Ssanggye Monastery, which was supposedly built by Sanbŏp in 723 for the relic of Huineng. The latter was said to have been called *Kŭmdang* because of the surnames of Sanbŏp and Taebi, that is, Kim (same character, but pronounced differently in surnames).[91] The *Po'gyŏng-sa Kŭmdang t'ap ki* was written by Sa'myŏng Yujŏng in 1588. He wrote:

> People are past and present, things have growth and decay. I shall briefly present the origins in order to show this to later (generations). The mountain was anciently called Chongnan, but was later changed to Naeyŏn. The monastery is called Po'gyŏng (Precious Mirror) because in the tenth year of the Yongping era of Former Han (67 CE), when the Buddha-Dharma from the Western Regions first reached China and the Brahmin monks (Kāśyapa) Mātaṅga and Falan presented (奉) Buddhist sūtras and statues to China, they had a twelve-faceted round mirror and an eight-faceted round mirror. The twelve-faceted mirror was buried beneath a monastery erected outside the Yong Gate of Chang'an 中華雍門, and because a white horse carried the mirror there, it was consequently called Baima (White Horse) Monastery. The eight-faceted mirror was dispatched by Mātaṅga and Falan through their pupil 弟資 Rizhao 日照 with the instructions, "The Eastern Country (Tongguk) of Chosŏn is the direction whence the sun rises. Beneath Mt. Chongnan there is a pool a hundred feet in depth. This is the *myŏngdang* 明堂 of the Tongguk mountains. Settle the waters and bury the mirror, and found a Dharma Hall (there), making it a place that will not be destroyed for ten thousand years." He did as instructed there. Therefore it was this hall that was called the Golden Hall of Po'gyŏng.[92]

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90. Kwŏn Sangno, *Han'guk sach'al chŏnsŏ*, 2 vol. (Tongguk Taehakkyo ch'ulpanbu, 1965, reprint 1979), 1: 498; Chōsen Sōtokufu naimubu chihōkyoku, comp., *Chōsen jisatsu shiryō*, 2 vol. (Keijō, 1911, 1972 reprint by Han'guk Munhwa kaebalsa, Seoul), 1: 376.

91. Chŏng Sŏngbon, *Silla Sŏnjong, charyo* 3, 16, 21-23, 25-26, 28.

92. Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Chōsen jisatsu shiryō*, 1: 366-367.

As it later became a Chogye School or Sŏn Monastery, it was allegedly the oldest monastery in Korea, and possessing the *myŏngdang* (Chinese *mingtang*) or "Hall of Light," the emperor's ritual link with Heaven and thus legitimacy,[93] or geomantically the ideal site[94] of Korea, it was the guarantor of the survival of Buddhism in Korea and Sŏn in particular.[95] Therefore, the title implies both an ancient history and guarantee of continuity and legitimacy for the Sŏn Order.

All of this suggests that the *yŏn'gi* text appended to the manuscript copy of the *Sansa yakch'o* is not from the time of Yuhyŏng, and neither of these texts (*Sansa yakch'o* and *yŏn'gi*) are mentioned in the biographies of Yuhyŏng such as that by Kag'an, or in modern catalogues.[96] However, the mention of the "complete head" being brought by Kim Taebi in the *Sansa yakch'o* of 1864, if genuine, suggests that interest had been heightened in this topic after the 1854 disaster at Ssanggye Monastery and the subsequent "rescue" of the Deyi *Platform Sūtra* and its protection (*chin*, to guard, but also to ward off evil influences) and use as a protective talisman at that monastery. All of the extant copies of the *Platform Sūtra* in Korea are in the Deyi version, which has appended to it the record of Kim Taebi's botched attempt to steal Huineng's head. Koreans overwhelmingly favored this version of the *Platform Sūtra* from the time it was introduced to Korea in 1298 because of these references. Thus it was printed in Koryŏ in 1300, and re-introduced in 1316. The spread of this text was largely the work of Manhang 萬恒 (1249-1319). Deyi also had close connections with Manhang and several other important Korean monks, and a number of his pupils were invited to Koryŏ and the court.[97] As all of this seemed to be corroborated by the *Jingde chuandeng lu*, Deyi's source, the tale must have been a magnet for monks attempting to restore the prosperity of Ssanggye Monastery. They only had to look at the stele for Hyeso by Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn standing in the courtyard, with its mention of the ruins of Sanbŏp's

93. Marcel Granet, *The Religion of the Chinese People*, trans. and ed. Maurice Freedman (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1975), 67ff.

94. Choi Chang-jo, "*Pungsu*, the Korean Traditional Geographic Thought," *Korea Journal* 26, no. 5 (1986): 40.

95. Cf. comments of a Koryŏ king and its connection with changes of fortune in *Naeyŏn San Po'gyŏng-sa sajŏk*, Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Chōsen jisatsu shiryō*, 1: 376-377.

96. HPC 10: 1060a17-21; Yi Chŏng, comp., *Han'guk Pulgyo Inmyŏng sajŏn* (Seoul: Pulgyo sidaesa, 1993), 217; Tongguk Taehakkyo, *Han'guk Pulgyo ch'ansul munhŏn*, 234; Nukariya, *Chōsen ZenKyō*, 537; Yi Nŭnghwa, *Chosŏn Pulgyo* 1: 604-605.

97. Pak Sangguk, "*Yukcho tan'gyŏng* ŭi kanhaeng" 159, 171, 175-177; cf. Yi Kŏnhŭi, *Kankoku Bukkyō*, 465, 472.

hermitage and Hyeso's construction of a portrait hall of the Sixth Patriarch, to have made a connection with the recently acquired blocks of the Deyi *Platform Sūtra*. Such circumstances were conducive to the leap of faith that overcame the assertion in the *Platform Sūtra* that Kim Taebi had failed to bring back the head or cranial protuberance of Huineng's mummy. This may have prompted Yongdam in 1864 to create the current three-metre high, seven-story stone stūpa, which was placed in the Golden Hall. This may have originally been a stūpa for Huineng, which contained a portrait, but it must have collapsed, and this is why Yongdam built one on a smaller scale.[98] Thus, we can speculate that there was a campaign to promote Ssanggye Monastery through the alleged possession of a relic of Huineng dating from after 1854. This seems to have continued for a decade or more, but then everything falls into silence as the political, economic and religious conditions in Korea deteriorated in the late Yi Dynasty.

The Politics of Ssanggye Monastery under Japanese Colonialism

The campaign was nonetheless revived around 1913 to promote the relic stūpa of Ssanggye Monastery, probably building on Yuhyŏng's remarks. This centered on the recording of the miracle of the light from the relic. It may have had a political dimension, for it occurred at a critical period in Korean Buddhist history created by the division in domestic Buddhist circles induced by the incursion of Japanese Buddhism and the subsequent Japanese colonial occupation. There is an indication of this in the *Sŏnjong Yukcho Hyenŭng Taesa chŏngsang tŏngnae yŏn'gi* that was recorded by Kwŏn Sangno around 1915, in the most developed form of the legend:

> *History of the eastward coming of the chŏngsang of Master Huineng, the Sixth Patriarch of the Chan Order [Abstracted from "The Seven Buddha's Hermitage"]*
> In the time of King Sŏngdŏk (r.702-737) of Silla, there was a *śramaṇa* Sanbŏp 三法 of Un'am Monastery of Yangju Commandery in Hosa, who had the lay surname of Kim. He was a native of Kŭmgwan Taepo Village.[99] He was very

98. Chŏng Sŏngbon, *Silla Sŏnjong, charyo* 3, 31-32, describes the *Yukcho chŏngsang po t'ap* as dating from 722, in stone, of seven levels, seventeen feet (尺) in height and seven feet three inches in circumference, but then says Yongdam made one in 1864 that was eight feet high and four feet eight inches in circumference. Note that oral tradition has it that Yongdam brought the stūpa from nearby Mo'gap Monastery, re-using the stūpa; Araki Kazuko, "Sangesa no Rokuso chinzō," 272.

99. This is the Kŭmhae of Silla times, and the County of Kŭmgwan in old Kaya. Chŏng Sŏngbon,

intelligent and wise, understanding the sūtras and *vinayas* at a glance.

Formerly, each time he heard of the Way of the Great Master Huineng, the Sixth Patriarch from Caoqi in China, he intended to go and consult him, but he could not achieve this. In the second year of the Kaiyuan era of Tang (714),[100] he heard that the Sixth Patriarch had passed away and was very saddened and regretful that he had been born later in a petty country and so could not consult the true Buddha of his age.[101] He turned to the west and wept bitterly.

At the time, the monk Kyujŏn 圭晶 of Mirŭk Monastery in Kŭmma District,[102] returned from Tang, and so (Sanbŏp) was able to see the one volume *Extract of the Dharma Jewel Platform Sūtra* that was preached by the Sixth Patriarch.[103] He burned incense and respectfully read it as if he was receiving personal instruction. Passage by passage he felt the joy of awakening, and compassion intersected with sincerity. When he read where the Great Master said, "Five and six years after my decease, someone will take my head, so listen to my prediction, 'To my head he will cultivate affection,/In the mouth one must eat./When I meet with the trouble of Man,/Yang and Liu will be the officials.'"[104] Sanbŏp silently calculated, "Since the Sixth Patriarch has made the prediction about the taking of his head, it would be best that through my strength I would plan to make it a field of merit for my country[105] over a myriad generations rather than let it fall into the hands of another." He also said, "To do this, first I will have to steal, and second to

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Silla Sŏnjong, 333 note 6, reads this as 金官带, 浦村, and gives Poch'on 浦村 in Kyŏngnam Province, Sach'ŏn-gun. Un'am Monastery was probably in Yŏng'am Commandery, Chŏlla Province. See *Sinjŭng Tongguk yŏji sŭngnam*, 628, which says it was founded under Paekche. Chŏng Sŏngbon, *Silla Sŏnjong*, 372, says this is Yŏng'am County, Chŏlla-namdo. Note, p. 332 note 4, where he states Yangju was a name granted in 995, but this monastery name does not appear in that district.

100. Chŏng Sŏngbon, *Silla Sŏnjong*, 333 note 8, mentions that Shenhui dated this the 2nd year of Xiantian (713). In the twelfth month of that year Xuanzong changed the era name to Kaiyuan, so this is an error by the author.

101. Chŏng Sŏngbon, *Silla Sŏnjong*, 333 note 9, thinks this expression is based on the stele for Muyŏm.

102. This monastery was at Iksan, Chŏlla North Province. Kŭmma was a commandery, see *Sinjŭng Tongguk yŏji sŭngnam*, 585a. Mirŭk Monastery was a famous monastery built under the Paekche, and the stone remains of a massive stūpa can still be seen there. Chŏng Sŏngbon, *Silla Sŏnjong*, 334 note 10, suggests that the author created Kyujŏng based on the fact that the *Chin'gam Sŏnsa pimun* states that Hyeso was a native of Kŭmma, and so linked with Mirŭk Monastery.

103. Chŏng Sŏngbon, *Silla Sŏnjong*, 334 note 11, states that there is no evidence of this text, and the first historically verifiable mention of the text is by Chinul in 1207. See note 77.

104. *Ibid*., note 12, says the first version of the *Platform Sūtra* to include this prediction was Deyi's text of 1290, which had borrowed it from the *Jingde chuandeng lu*.

105. *Ibid*., 336 note 14, thinks the mention of the field of merit is an imitation of Hye'gŭn's expression of 1914.

remove a Buddha's body or blood, which is to violate the five irredeemable (sins).[106] Therefore I would be sure to fall into hell. But if it can benefit sentient beings, I am willing to accept the pains of hell."

Then Sanbŏp said to the abbess Pŏpchŏng 法淨 [the wife of Kim Yusin 金庾信] of Yŏngmyo Monastery,[107] "The Sixth Patriarch of Tang, who is truly the one Buddha of the present age,[108] has just now passed away. The *Platform Sūtra* that he preached contains a prediction about someone taking his head, so if we conceal the top of the head and return with it to keep in our country and worship it with the burning of incense, there will be a vast blessing on our nation 國家."[109] Hearing this, the abbess Pŏpchŏng was very delighted and contributed her family wealth of twenty thousand in gold, giving it to him, saying, "Use these meager things and with good fortune you will accomplish this great matter." Sanbŏp was overcome with joy and accepted (the money) in order to bring back (the head). Then he took a merchant ship and entered Tang in the twentieth year *imsul* of King Sŏngdŏk [tenth year of the Kaiyuan era of Tang Xuanzong] in the fifth month.[110]

After spending three months on the road he arrived at Baolin Monastery, Shaozhou, where he visited the stūpa of the Sixth Patriarch,[111] beneath which he prostrated himself and zealously chanted *dhāraṇī* and resolute vows for seven days and nights. On the seventh night, a light rested on the stūpa spire and extended across the eastern sky. Meditation Teacher Sanbŏp looked up and reverenced the light as an auspicious omen and was alone happy that it was a divine response fulfilling his vows. So he surveyed the layout and spied out (how one could) remove the *chŏngsang*. It certainly would not be easy, and having exhausted many schemes, and having no one to deliberate with (on the problem),

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106. *Ibid*. note 15, says these act against forming a field of merit.

107. This monastery, about five kilometers to the west of Kyŏngju, was erected during the reign of King Sŏndŏk, see *Sinjŭng Tongguk yŏji sŭngnam*, 353b. Chŏng Sŏngbon, *Silla Sŏnjong*, 337 note 16, says this was in 632, and that some foundation stones still remain. It is mentioned in *Samguk yusa* 2. In note 17, he notes that the wife of Kim Yusin (595-673) was probably the third daughter of King Muyŏl, see *Samguk sagi* 5 (655). In 712, she was given the title of *pu'in* 夫人, and an annual allowance of a thousand *sŏk* of grain. Also, the *Samguk sagi* 43 (biography of Kim Yusin) mentions her, and that she became a nun. Chŏng therefore thinks that the author has taken this information to create the figure of this nun so that there would be a source for the money, and a patriotic link through Kim Yusin's famed defence of Silla.

108. Chŏng Sŏngbon, *Silla Sŏnjong*, 337 note 18, notes a possible source for this phrase.

109. This seems to reflect the modern usage for nation, although it does exist in the Confucian classics and in many places in the *Yijo sillok*.

110. This should be the 21st year of King Sŏngdŏk for it to coincide with the Chinese date, which is 722.

111. Chŏng Sŏngbon, *Silla Sŏnjong*, 339 note 22, says that the first mention of the stūpa is in the Ishii text of the *Shenhui yulu*, where in 711 two pupils were ordered to build it. He notes that a number of late Tang Silla monks visited the stūpa.

he was overcome with melancholy.

Just then he heard that the Meditation Elder 禪伯 Taebi, a monk of Paengnyul Monastery[112] of his own country, was residing in Puyuan Cloister of Kaiyuan Monastery in Hongzhou.[113] He was also one on the Path, and he already had the merit of a (Chan) Dharma lineage. Sanbŏp directly went to see him covertly, and grasped his hands with great glee. And so he announced his thoughts in confidence. Taebi was moved and said with delight, "That is also my intent. But in the past when they were repairing the reliquary-stūpa, I was also of a mind to inspect it. However, due especially to the warning of the prediction, leaves of iron and lacquered cloth in layers were used to wrap densely around (the neck). The stūpa door is securely closed, and it is supervised and guarded strictly, and it seems to be that if one is not of peerless strength one would not dare lay hands on it. Moreover, if one uses tools without consideration of the iron, it will be unexpectedly difficult to split apart." The two men faced each other, just sighing deeply.

At that time there was someone called Zhang Jingman, originally from Yuyan-bu in Yunliang County of Ruzhou,[114] who was staying in the monastery. Kim Taebi knew that he was brave and strong, and so one could not lightly broach (the matter with him). Yet he was intent on employing him. One day Jingman suddenly received a report of the death of his parents and he was very remorseful, angry with himself and heartbroken. Kim Taebi and Sanbŏp secretly deliberated and used ten thousand in gold to give as help. Jingman received it with gratitude, and so he returned home to bury his parents. When he came back, Taebi secretly charged him with the matter of seizing the sealed *chŏngsang* of the Sixth Patriarch, saying, "Like this and like this." Jingman listened submissively and they instructed him. Jingman said, "Even though I (had to) go through scalding water or tread on fire (for you), from the start I could not decline. How could I (refuse) in this matter? I hope you will not be anxious over this."

Then he went to Baolin Monastery in Shaozhou, arriving on the first day of the eighth month of the same year. The next day Jingman went to the Stūpa of the Sixth Patriarch in Baolin Monastery at midnight when people were resting, pried open the stūpa door and secretly extracted the Sixth Patriarch's *chŏngsang* and ran off with great strides, returning to Kaiyuan Monastery to give it to Taebi. That night Taebi and Sanbŏp carried it away at pace on their shoulders, hiding during daylight and traveling at night. They came to Hangzhou where they took a ship in the eleventh month. From the Tang harbor[115] they then returned to Un'am

112. *Ibid*., 340 note 25, thinks that the use of this monastery here is related to the *Samguk yusa* 3 entry on Paengnyul Monastery (T49.992c) because it had a statue of Taebi (Guanyin). He denies that Taebi was a real person, but simply the invention of the authors of the *Baolin zhuan*.

113. *Ibid*. note 26, Kaiyuan Monastery officially established in 738. The mention of the cloister was probably added by the author.

114. *Ibid*., 342 note 31, in Linru County, Henan.

Monastery, but they kept (the relic) hidden and did not reveal it. Together he went with Meditation Elder Taebi to Yŏngmyo Monastery where they saw the abbess Pŏpchŏng. Pŏpchŏng was delighted, bowed and welcomed them, reverentially accepted the Sixth Patriarch's *chŏngsang* and secretly set it on the altar, where she worshipped it with prostrations.

Meditation Teacher Sanbŏp dreamt that in five clouds[116] that were covering the sunlight there was an old teacher whose beard and eyebrows were (white) like snow, with glints in the eyes like stars, wearing a gold-embroidered robe (*kaṣāya*),[117] majestically sitting cross-legged on a lion throne. He clearly chanted,

> My head has reverted to this land
> As a qualified Buddha-country.[118]
> At the base of Mt. Chi(ri) in Kangju,
> On a day with arrowroot flowers in snow,[119]
> And men and scene are both like an illusion,
> The mountains and waters marvelous like a lotus,
> (Then) I will divine (there) my spirit residence for ten thousand years,[120]
> As my Dharma is basically No Mind.

Sanbŏp moved, stretched and awoke, his spirit (memory) was lively and sharp, and so he went to tell Taebi and Pŏpchŏng of his dream.

The next day, in the twelfth month he and Taebi went east to Mt. Chiri in Kangju. The snow was piled in thousands of peaks and the valley paths were impassable, when a pair of hoary lions[121] came out from among the cold crags and from afar saw the two monks coming, as if they intended to meet and guide them. At this their minds marveled, and they turned and followed in the lions' tracks. The district had a stone gate,[122] and at a place several paces within the gate there were snowy gullies and a water spring.[123] The air there was as warm as

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115. Tangp'o in Korean, Chŏng Sŏngbon, *Silla Sŏnjong,* has Tangjin.

116. Probably a missing character here. It may have read, "a five-colored cloud."

117. *Ibid*., 343 note 34, says that this is the robe given to Mahākāśyapa to await Maitreya, but in Chan this may have indicated Huineng.

118. *Ibid*., 344 note 35, refers to the *Samguk yusa*, especially the entry on Odaesan in chapter 3 that mentions a robe of the Buddha's skull bone, for the idea that Silla was a qualified Buddhist country.

119. *Ibid*. note 36, thinks that this is a reference to the stele for Hyeso which mentions flowers blooming (*hwagae*), and to the above entry in the *Samguk yusa* about Chajang promising to meet Mañjuśrī at a place of arrowroot vines 葛蟠地.

120. Cf. the prediction for Po'gyŏng Monastery above.

121. 蒼麑 or "green fawns." *Ibid*., 345 note 40, says this passage is based on the stele for Hyeso, when he met a tiger on this site

122. *Ibid*., 346 note 41, thinks this refers to the two large stones framing the entrance path to Ssanggye Monastery.

in spring, and arrowroot was in full bloom. Sanbŏp was overjoyed and bounded directly to that spot. They elevated the *chŏngsang* and put it in the stūpa they erected, protecting and keeping it in the meantime with a temporary seal. That night (the relic) also appeared in a dream and said, "Do not display me in a stūpa; do not record me in a stele (for) the nameless and formless are the first principle; do not speak of me to people; do not let people know of me."[124] Sanbŏp thus reflected deeply on this subtle tenet, and consequently he cut stone to make a casket and buried it deep and safely. He formed a monastic hermitage below it.[125] In the day he devoted himself to the practice of meditation there.

The Meditation Elder Kim Taebi returned to Paengnyul Monastery several months later and likewise devoted himself to the practice of meditation until the end of his years. Seventeen years later on the twelfth day of the seventh month in autumn, of the *kimyo* second year of Silla King Hyosŏng,[126] Master Sanbŏp said, "I started (as a monk) from Un'am, so my former master's stūpa and image are all there. After my death I should be returned and buried in that monastery 本寺."[127] He bathed and sitting upright chanted several leaves of the *Platform Sūtra* and calmly passed away. His pupils Inhye and Ŭijŏng, et al, took his entire body back to be buried in Un'am and his remaining personal effects and Dharma implements were shifted and kept within its gates. The Hwagae Hermitage was therefore desolate and left to ruin. Later, National Teacher Chin'gam (Hyeso) created a hermitage on this site and he erected a True (Portrait) Hall of the Sixth Patriarch above where the *chŏngsang* was buried.[128]

Alas! The Buddha's skull bone installed in Mt. Odae and the patriarch's skull[129] installed in Mt. Chiri are in lands a thousand leagues apart to the north and south of our country. The patriarch and his descendants' *chŏngsang*; one came 100,000 leagues from India, and the other came 20,000 leagues from China, to be kept forever in the Territory of the Sole (Korea). From this we know that our nation is truly the original treasure trove of the Buddha-Dharma.[130] This is clear indeed.

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123. *Ibid*. note 42, shows that the stele for Hyeso mentions a spring.

124. *Ibid*. note 44, states that these words are a variation on Hyeso's last testimony as recorded in his stele: "The myriad dharmas are all empty. I am going to go …' Do not conceal my body in a stūpa, do not record my career with an inscription'." This is used to explain why no traces of Sanbŏp are left. Cf. translation of the Hyeso stele in Jorgensen, *Inventing Hui-neng*, 714.

125. Chŏng Sŏngbon, *Silla Sŏnjong,* 347 note 46; Hyeso's stele mentions that Sanbŏp built a hermitage.

126. The cyclical date given agrees with 739, but the Silla reign year is 738.

127. *Ibid*., 345 note 40, says this passage is based on the stele for Hyeso, when he met "a tiger when he was at this site, my home monastery."

128. *Ibid*., 348 note 51, thinks this sentence also based on the stele for Hyeso about building a portrait hall for Huineng.

129. *Ibid*. note 52, refers to the *Samguk yusa* entry on the Buddha's *śarīra* in Silla.

130. *Ibid*., 349 note 57, says this is based in part on Hye'gŭn's text.

> Based on an old manuscript by Master Sanbŏp, I have summarized and written this story. (I hope that) that the *chŏngsang* of the Sixth Patriarch will not be destroyed in innumerable eons.
>
> Respectfully written by the Transmitter of the Buddha-Mind Seal,[131] the National Number One Great Meditation Teacher of the Capital, Sŏk Kakhun of Taehwaŏm Yŏngt'ong Monastery of Mt. Ogwan of Koryŏ,[132] dated the second month of *kyemi* of the second year of the Chongning era of the Great Song.[133]

The claim that the above text was written by Kakhun 覺訓 in 1103 on the basis of an ancient manuscript left by Sanbŏp has led Chŏng Muhwan to suspect that it is a forgery, for the only Kakhun known to history was the author of a hagiographical collection, the *Haedong Kosŭng chŏn* 海東高僧傳, which was commissioned by the king in 1215. Moreover, as a friend of the illustrious Yi Kyubo 李奎報 (1168-1241), Kakhun could not have lived in 1103.[134]

Chŏn Posam thinks the above text was the basis for the other texts.[135] However, it contains elements not seen in any of the supposedly later texts such as the *Ssanggye-sa yaksa* and the *Yukcho chŏngsang t'ap panggwang non*. For example, it includes details of Sanbŏp's origins and those of Kyujŏn. It states that Sanbŏp read an otherwise unknown *Extract of the Platform Sūtra*, gives his vow, and details the excursion to spy out the reliquary in Shaozhou, including the ominous light, discussions with Taebi, the funeral of Zhang Jingman's parents and the opportunity it gave the plotters, the return trip, Sanbŏp's dream, the lion guides, names of Sanbŏp's pupils and the manuscript left by Sanbŏp. So numerous are these previously unsighted elements that

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131. *Ibid*. note 60, a Sŏn idea, used here in application to a Doctrinal (*kyo*) monk like Kakhun who believed in Hwaŏm, is an attempt to convert him and rewrite history.

132. *Ibid*. note 59, says the ruins of this monastery are in Yongnam myŏn, Kaesŏng Commandery, Kyŏnggi-do. It was the headquarters of Hwaŏm in its day. Kim Pusik wrote a stele for Ŭich'ŏn about this monastery. Also mentioned in the biographical data on Kakhun in the "acknowledgements" of the *Haedong Kosŭng chŏn*.

133. Chŏn Posam, "Yukcho chŏngsang ŭi tongnae-sŏl," 327-329. Chŏng Sŏngbon, *Silla Sŏnjong*, collated text, 327-330, annotated translation, 331-349, *charyo* 1 and 2. The year given is 1103. The titles for Kakhun can be seen in Peter H. Lee, trans., *Lives of Eminent Korean monks: The Haedong Kosŭng chŏn* (Harvard University Press, 1969), 1 note 3. Chŏng Sŏngbon, *Silla Sŏnjong*, 349 note 61, states that the *Haedong Kosŭng chŏn* was written on royal orders in 1215, so how could Kakhun live around 1103? This anachronism was created because the author of this text did not know the date of the *Haedong Kosŭng chŏn*.

134. See entry in Tongguk Taehakkyo, *Han'guk Pulgyo ch'ansul munhŏn*, 120-121. See also Peter H. Lee, *Lives of Eminent Korean Monks*, 1; Chŏng Sŏngbon, *Silla Sŏnjong*, 303-305.

135. Chŏn Posam, "Yukcho chŏngsang ŭi tongnae-sŏl," 331-332, 341.

considerable invention was required to create them. An item such as the light coming from the stūpa may have been suggested for example by the later editions of the *Platform Sūtra*,[136] but this occurred for only two or three days after Huineng's death. The omen of the night light pointing east revealed to Sanbŏp here is closely related to the light supposedly seen in 1913 for example, according to the *Yukcho chŏngsang t'ap panggwang non*. The language also, calling Korea variously the "Territory of the Sole" and a "petty country," is shared by these two texts. They are clearly related, but it is difficult to determine which is prior.

Chŏng Muhwan therefore concludes that the *History* (*yŏn'gi*) was written and attributed to Kakhun only after the discovery made by Yi Hoegwang 李晦光 (1840-1933) sometime just before 1914, of the unique manuscript of the *Haedong Kosŭng chŏn*.[137] Before this time, the *Haedong Kosŭng chŏn* had been lost for centuries, for it was not quoted where one might expect it. The manuscript Yi Hoegwang obtained was a unique copy for all the texts now available are only two fascicles out of a minimal five of the original, as was known from a citation in the *Pŏphwa yŏnghŏm chŏn* 法華靈驗傳 by Yowŏn 了圓 (active 1331?).[138] Moreover, all copies (Kyujanggak, Ch'oe Namsŏn, Asami) end with the same words and have the same lacunae of five characters, and the two stemma are probably due to miscopying.[139] Therefore, it was only from that time that Kakhun became notable enough for anyone to attribute other texts to him, although he had been reported to have been a considerable poet. The suggestion is that the author wrote the *History* (*yŏn'gi*) around the time of Yi Nŭnghwa's publication of his *Chosŏn Pulgyo t'ongsa* in 1918 in order to reinforce the authority of the *Ssanggye-sa Yukcho chŏngsang t'ap panggwang non*, which in turn may have been based on Kim Chŏnghŭi's alleged plaque, and conflated with the stories from the *Samguk yusa* of Chajang bringing the Buddha's bone relic to Silla, plus the mentions in the epitaph for Hyeso and entries in the *Platform Sūtra*.[140] Moreover, the assertion that the *History* itself

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136. Komazawa Daigaku Zenshūshi kenkyūkai, comp., *Enō kenkyū* (Tokyo: Daishūkan shoten, 1978), 231.

137. For Yi Hoegwang's discovery, see Peter H. Lee, *Lives of Eminent Korean Monks*, 2-3, esp. note 8.

138. Tongguk Taehakkyo, *Han'guk Pulgyo ch'ansul munhŏn*, 120.

139. Chang Hwiok, *Haedong kosŭng chŏn yŏn'gu* (Seoul: Minjoksa, 1991), 18, 235 no. 442, some differences, original texts 56-57, 84, 143-144; and an ellipsis of one line accounts for the other major difference between the Kyujanggak texts, and the Ch'oe Namsŏn and Asami on the other, original text, 56, 84, 143, and 234 no. 436.

140. Chung Moo-hwan, *Zenshū Rokusō Enō Daishi*, 82-83.

was found among texts from Ch'ilbul Hermitage suggests that these related texts were part of the invention of a tradition in a propaganda campaign on behalf of Ssanggye Monastery.

The selection of the name of Kakhun for the author of the *History* (*yŏn'gi*) must be tied to the career of Yi Hoegwang and the discovery of the *Haedong Kosŭng chŏn*. The manuscript of the latter was not widely distributed at first, possibly being initially circulated in manuscript copies by the Chosŏn Kwangmunhoe, which was founded in 1910. In fact, nothing is known of the publication data. It remained a rare text through 1914 because Asami Rintarō said that his manuscript copy was obtained at the Hallam Sŏrim in that year. Asami was a collector of rare books, so it is likely that the *Haedong Kosŭng chŏn* was not in public circulation until it was first published in print in 1917.

The Chosŏn Kwangmunhoe's text was thus probably only a manuscript copy circulated among members.[141] Therefore, if the author of the *History* was inspired to write his text due to knowledge of the discovery of the *Haedong Kosŭng chŏn*, he probably would have had to have been a member of the Chosŏn Kwangmunhoe or an associate. Otherwise the *History* was not written until after 1917.

Yi Hoegwang was a controversial figure. The abbot of Haein-sa 海印寺, one of the largest and most famed monasteries in Korea, Yi Hoegwang was concerned with the revitalization of Korean Buddhism, following the model or advice of Japanese Buddhists. He was a leading member of the Pulgyo Yŏn'guhoe (Buddhist Research Society) established in 1906, which set up monastic schools. There was a plan to unite with the Jōdoshū (Pure Land Sect) of Japan, but this scheme was quietly dropped due to opposition. Moreover, later in 1906, the Korean government demanded that Korean monasteries apply to Japanese monasteries for supervision or control. Most monasteries applied to the Ōtani sect's Honganji, which had been active in overseas propagation and assisted Japan's security and spy networks. One monastery that wanted to apply to Honganji was Ssanggye-sa, but it was refused permission to do so.[142]

In 1908, fifty-two representatives of the nation's Sangha created the Wŏnjong 圓宗 (Perfect Order) as an organization to replace the earlier

141. See Peter H. Lee, *Lives of Eminent Korean Monks*, 2-3; Chang Hwi'ok, *Haedong Kosŭng chŏn yŏn'gu*, 14-18.

142. Yu Pyŏngdŏk, "Ilche sidae ŭi Pulgyo," in *Han'guk Pulgyo sasangsa* [Sixtieth birthday Festschrift for Prof. Pak Kilchin] (Iri: Wŏn'gwang Taehakkyo ch'ulpan bu, 1975), 1163; Kang Sŏkchu and Pak Kyŏnghun, *Pulgyo kŭnse paengnyŏn* (Seoul: Chung'ang Ilbo, Tong'yang pangsong, 1980), 24-25.

association, the Pulgyo Yŏn'guhoe, with the aim of reforming Buddhism and uniting the Sŏn and Doctrinal schools (Kyo). Yi Hoegwang was elected president (*Taejong chŏng*) to run the organization. They decided to seek help and advice on the methods of proselytization and reform from Japan. On the recommendation of Yi Yonggu 李容九, a member of the pro-Japanese Ilchinhoe 一進會 and an associate of the ultranationalist Japanese Gen'yōsha 玄洋社 (Black Ocean Society), they took on the Sōtō Zen Order monk, Takeda Hanshi 武田範之 (1863-1909) as an advisor. The son of a samurai, Hanshi was raised by a doctor named Takeda, but he disliked medicine and later studied Zen, becoming a monk. In 1888 he went to Korea and later went to the Tonghak battlefields, then returned to Japan and became an abbot. In 1903, he became an advisor to Korean Buddhist monasteries and Yi Hoegwang.[143] Hanshi was connected with Japanese ultra-nationalists like Uchida Ryōhei 內田良平 (1847-1937), founder of the Kokuryūkai 黑龍會 (Amur River Society) and promoter of the "union" of Japan and Korea. Then in October 1910, just after the Japanese annexation of Korea, Yi Hoegwang went to Japan as head of the Wŏnjong to negotiate an agreement for a "union" with the Sōtō Order, or if that failed, with the Rinzai Order.

The Sōtō Order leaders agreed to the proposition, and a seven-point compact on a union was signed. But it appears that Yi had not properly consulted his colleagues on the terms of the agreement and had exceeded his authority, for on his return home some leading monks such as Han Yong'un and Pak Han'yong accused him of selling out Korean Buddhism to Japan's Sōtō Order. They charged Yi with "changing the patriarchs," for Korean Sŏn since the time of T'aego Po'u 太古普愚 (1301-1382) had been solidly of the rival Imje (Japanese, Rinzai) lineage. In 1911, these monks from Chŏlla and Kyŏngsang provinces decided to form an Imjejong, or Southern Party, in opposition to the Northern Party made up of Wŏnjong and Sōtō that was lead by Yi Hoegwang. Ssanggye Monastery was one of the main centers of the Southern Party.[144]

In June 1911, the Chosŏn Buddhist Youth Association was founded at Ssanggye Monastery with fifty-nine monks from the monasteries of Kyŏngsang and Chŏlla provinces in attendance. This was one of the forerunners of the national Buddhist Youth Association established in 1920 to overcome the

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143. Washio Junkyō, *Zōtei Nippon Bukke jinmei jisho* (Tokyo: Tokyo Bijutsu, 1911), 1306-1307.

144. Yu Pyŏngdŏk, "Ilche sidae ŭi Pulgyo," 1163-1165; Kang and Pak, *Pulgyo kŭnse paengnyŏn*, 15, 35, 41, 43-45, who suggest that Takeda advised Yi Hoegwang to act in secret. Takahashi Tōru, *Richō Bukkyō* (Seoul: Poryŏn kak, 1971 reprint of 1925 ed.), 921-925.

Japanese colonial administration's policy towards monasteries.[145] In June 1912, over a hundred monks representing the Imjejong met again, holding their second meeting at Ssanggye-sa under the leadership of Kim Kyŏng'un (i.e. Wŏn'gi, 1852-1936) of Sŏn'am Monastery, a student of Ig'un and hence in a lineage from Yuhyŏng, and the famous reformer and poet, Han Yong'un.[146]

Another event complicated matters, with the Government-General (Sōtokufu), the colonial arm of the Japanese government newly established in Korea, promulgating laws in June 1911 governing the monasteries. It then established thirty primary temples 本山 (*honzan*) under abbots approved by the Government-General. Aimed at uniting the disputants, with a probable bias towards the pro-Japanese party, this brought Korean Buddhism under strict colonial government supervision. The first monastic laws recognized, not surprisingly, were those drawn up by the monastery of Yi Hoegwang, Haein-sa, in 1912.[147]

This brought problems for Ssanggye Monastery. Not only was it a leading monastery of the "opposition" Imjejong, but also in 1911 the monasteries' law made it a branch temple under the control of Haein Monastery. The monks of Ssanggye-sa were predominantly members of the Pyŏg'am 碧巖 lineage of Sŏn, while those of Haein-sa were of the Sŏsan lineage. Naturally, the monks of Ssanggye-sa were displeased and they appealed the ruling, but failed. There were many disputes, but eventually the Sŏsan lineage gained hegemony.[148]

This suggests that the sudden advent of texts concerning the relic stūpa of

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145. Kim Kwangsik, *Han'guk Kŭndae Pulgyosa yŏn'gu* (Seoul: Minjoksa, 1996), 192-195.

146. Yi Chŏng, *Han'guk Pulgyo Inmyŏng sajŏn*, 203-204, 119-121; Kim Kwangsik, *Han'guk Kŭndae Pulgyosa*, 76-77. Kyŏngbong Ig'un (1836-1915), born in Sunch'ŏn, became a monk under Hammyŏng T'aesŏn (1824-1902) at Sŏn'am Monastery. In 1854 he studied the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* under Sŏltu Yuhyŏng, and later taught at Wŏnhyo Monastery in Kwangju. He had several hundred pupils at his lectures. He was called "the old tiger of the Doctrinal School." See Yi Chŏng, *Han'guk Pulgyo inmyŏng sajŏn*, 243-244. His chief disciple was Kyŏng'un Wŏn'gi (1852-1936), who was known as an enthusiastic lecturer. In 1911, he became the provisional head official of the Imjejong. In 1917, he was made the head (*kyojŏng*) of the Sŏn Kyo Yangjong Kyomuwŏn 禪敎兩宗敎務院. *Ibid*., 203-204.

147. Takahashi, *Richō Bukkyō,* 928-929; Yu Pyŏngdŏk, "Ilche sidae ŭi Pulgyo," 1165-1166; Kang and Pak, *Pulgyo kŭnse paengnyŏn*, 60.

148. Takahashi, *Richō Bukkyō*, 761. Later, in 1921 for example, the monks of Ssanggye-sa appealed a decision by Haein-sa to cut down the forest lands of the monastery to fund a proselytization centre in Seoul. They protested against this on the grounds of the poverty of their monastery, mentioning in passing their inclusion under Haein Monastery as a subordinate temple. See *Tong-A Ilbo*, 12 September 1921, in Han'guk Pulgyo kŭn hyŏndae-sa yŏn'guhoe, comp., *Sinmun ŭro pon Han'guk Pulgyo kŭn.hyŏndae sa*, 2 vols. (Seoul: Sŏnbu toryang, 1995), 1: 75.

the Sixth Patriarch at Ssanggye-sa was implicated in these disputes. Thus the monks of Ssanggye-sa were attempting to elevate the status of their monastery so as to claim the right to be a primary temple (*honzan*). Certainly all these related texts tend to push Korea's claim to be a Buddhistically superior country, and to be superior in Sŏn/Zen in particular. Thus Japanese Zen could be outclassed via a superior claim to possess the relics of the founder of all Southern Chan, including Sōtō and Rinzai, the Sixth Patriarch Huineng. However, once the dispute at Ssanggye-sa had been extinguished through the dominance of Haein-sa, such texts could be given or shown to Sōtō adherents like Nukariya Kaiten, perhaps to revive its fortunes.

Moreover, the attribution of the *History* to Kakhun could be a case of Ssanggye-sa monks using the new prestige Yi Hoegwang had given to the hagiographer Kakhun against Yi Hoegwang, or at least his Haein Monastery heirs. Thus Yi's own "protégé" provided proof of the superiority of Ssanggye-sa. That is why these texts seem to have appeared in the interval between 1910 and 1918, when Ssanggye Monastery dissatisfaction was at its peak. These texts only resurfaced around 1930-1931 when the controversy had died down and they were no longer provocative.[149]

These texts were all part of a "relics' campaign." For example, when Anagārika Dharmapāla (1864-1953), the Ceylonese propagator of Buddhism, came to Seoul (Keijō) in August 1913, he brought a relic, a *śarīra* bead of the Buddha. Dharmapāla, a layman, "was an ardent advocate of relic devotion and Buddhist pilgrimage."[150] This was despite his Buddhist revivalism being a form of "Protestant Buddhism." He felt the neglect of pilgrimage and relic worship demonstrated the decline of Buddhism, and so to counter this, he encouraged the veneration of relics, something that brought him into conflict with his European mentors and provoked his great sympathy for Buddhism under colonialism.[151] But Dharmapāla was not sympathetic to Korean anti-

149. Thus the *Yukcho chŏngsang t'ap panggwang non* was published in 1914, Yi Nŭnghwa wrote articles on the relics of the Buddha and patriarchs in 1916-1917, and his *Chosŏn Pulgyo t'ongsa*, which quotes these tales, was published in 1918. The *Ssanggye-sa yaksa* was re(?)copied in 1918, but was given to Araki in 1930. Nukariya's book appeared in 1930, and articles on the Mt. Odae relics by Kwŏn Sangno and Yi Kwangsu appeared in 1931. The date of the *History* is unknown.

150. Kevin Trainor, *Relics, ritual and representation in Buddhism: Rematerializing Sri Lankan Theravāda Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 15-16.

151. Gananath Obeyesekere "Personal Identity and Cultural Crisis: The Case of Anagārika Dharmapala of Sri Lanka," in *The Biographical Process: Studies in the History and Psychology of Religion*, ed. Frank E. Reynolds and Donald Capps (The Hague: Mouton, 1976), 238-239, 242.

imperialists and independence, for he was associated with some of the most imperialist Japanese. Among the people he met with was Tanaka Chigaku 田中智學 (1861-1939), the Nichiren activist and promoter of *kokutai* (national polity) nationalism. Dharmapāla's last visit to Japan was in 1913. Japanese Buddhist magazines attacked him as a swindler harmful to the Buddhist cause, but he used attacks on the "yellow peril" theories in an essay such as "The Danger of the 'White Peril'" (1913) and in Osaka in an address titled "Japan's Duty to the World" to ingratiate himself with the Japanese right. In August he went to Korea and Manchuria, expressing support for Japanese colonialism and condemning the English language denunciation of Japan's atrocities. Dharmapāla spoke of an Aryanized Asian brotherhood that should be led by Japan, a country blessed by the gods. It appears these ideas had some impact on the ideologist of "Asianism," a Japanese ultra-nationalist, Ōkawa Shūmei 大川周明 (1886-1957), via the magazine *Michi*, 道 published by the unorthodox Japanese Christian, Matsumura Kaiseki 松村介石 (1859-1939), which carried Dharmapāla's articles.[152] If this was known to the Imjejong partisans, they surely would have rejected him. It would appear either the Korean Buddhists were ignorant of Dharmapāla's attitudes, or that the hosts were pro-Japanese. In the latter case, Dharmapāla may have been used as a counter to the Ssanggye-sa claims to Huineng's relic by a superior relic, that of Buddha himself.

On the occasion of the relic's installation in Kakhwang Monastery 覺皇寺 in Seoul in December 1914, Yi Nŭnghwa wrote a poem playing on the common element in the names of Dharmapāla and Bodhidharma, the semi-legendary founder of Chinese Chan, to homologize the two.[153] Yi Nŭnghwa was not an unbiased observer in this war, but a participant, and he left his own account of these and associated events.[154]

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152. Satō Tetsurō, *Ajia shisō katsugeki: Bukkyō ga musunda mō hitotsu no kindaishi* (http://homepage1.nifty.com/boddo/ajia/all/index.html, accessed 12/11/2007, 2006, Part 2, chapters 10-13, 15.

153. Yi Nŭnghwa, *Chosŏn Pulgyo*, 3: 1016-1017. The representative of the Korean side was Kim Kŭmdam 錦潭 (1842-1914) of Yujŏm Monastery because this monastery had supposedly been visited by the 53rd Buddha of India to initiate the Period of Resemblance of the Dharma in Korea. Kŭmdam was also the head of the Conference of the Thirty *Honzan* and so possibly pro-Japanese. The relic went to Yi Hoegwang first, according to Han'guk Pulgyo kŭnhyŏndae-sa yŏn'guhoe, *Sinmun ŭro pon Han'guk Pulgyo*, 1: 621. This relic was worshipped on at least one other occasion at this monastery according to the *Chosŏn Ilbo* in 1923, see ibid., 1: 615.

154. Yi Nŭnghwa, *Chosŏn Pulgyo,* 1: 620-623; 3: 935ff., esp. 939. Yi tried to state that in Korea the differences should be harmonized or transcended, 3: 946-947, and that although Korean monasteries had not been graded, that perhaps a system was better than mere strength or reputation, 3: 964-965.

Therefore, Chŏng Sŏngbon detects the hand or influence of Yi Nŭnghwa in the production of the *History* (*yŏn'gi*),[155] and the author of all the texts was certainly nationalistic. Much of the evidence points to the shadowy figure of the monk Ye'un Hye'gŭn, surnamed Ch'oe. Firstly, he was the author of the *Yukcho chŏngsang t'ap panggwang non*, which was published in *Haedong Pulbo* in 1914. Secondly, he wrote the preface to Yi Nŭnghwa's *Chosŏn Pulgyo t'ongsa* in 1918. Thirdly, he claimed descent from Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn, the author of Hyeso's stele. Fourthly, he began his monastic career at Sŏn'am Monastery and followed Ig'un, although this is not attested elsewhere. Fifthly, all the materials of the three sets of texts (the *yŏn'gi*, the *panggwang non* and the *yaksa*) are closely interrelated.[156] The discipleship under Ig'un (1836-1915), who taught at Sŏn'am Monastery, would have brought Hye'gŭn into contact with the works of Yuhyŏng, for Ig'un had studied under this monk. Moreover, Ig'un's chief disciple, Kyŏng'un Wŏn'gi (1852-1936), an enthusiastic lecturer who had involvement in the dissemination of the *Sasan pimyŏng*, was one of the main figures in the resistance to Yi Hoegwang's plans, and was a chief officer in the Imjejong from 1911. Like Yi Nŭnghwa, Hye'gŭn seems to have been a prolific author and he was made the compiler (*p'yŏnjip*) of the *Haedong Pulbo*, despite the journal having been founded under the aegis of Yi Hoegwang.[157]

The nationalism and defensiveness about the relics are obvious in the texts. At first glance it might appear that the story of a Korean, Kim Taebi, stealing a relic was a slight on Korean Buddhists. Rather, Kim Taebi was seen as a hero, for just as the Indian kingdoms tried to obtain part of the Buddha's cremated remains, he was enhancing the prestige of Huineng's relics by appropriating them. He symbolized the Korean success in gaining a potent rallying point for the nascent Sŏn movement that was struggling against the state-supported doctrinal schools of the Silla capital, Kyŏngju. These royally-sanctioned schools had relics enough of their own, such as the statue trinity that came to Hwangnyong Monastery from Aśoka and which became the palladium of the Silla state, or the *śarīra* of the Buddha that Chajang supposedly brought from Mt. Wutai in China.[158] The theft of a relic was not really an indictment of the thief. The relic, Huineng, had to give his consent to be moved,[159] as can be seen

155. Chŏng Sŏngbon, *Silla Sŏnjong*, 307.

156. Yi Nŭnghwa, *Chosŏn Pulgyo*, 3: 138-139, I, preface; Chŏn Posam, "Yukcho chŏngsang ŭi tongnae-sŏl," 334; Chŏng Sŏngbon, *Silla Sŏnjong*, 300-301, 309-310.

157. Im Hyebong, *Ch'in-Il Pulgyo non*, 2 vols. (Seoul: Minjoksa, 1993), 1: 120.

158. Yi Pyŏngdo, *Samguk yusa*, 101-103.

in the dream instructions of the relic. Kim Taebi could be seen as acting on behalf of his Korean Sŏn community and as a truly pious man whose sole aim was to venerate the relic and spread Huineng's Chan.[160] Sanbŏp is even depicted as being prepared to enter hell to provide an object of veneration and blessing for his country. Indeed, according to Tang Buddhist accounts, the threats to damage Huineng's relics, and even Huineng himself while he was alive, were orchestrated by "Northern Chan."[161] The parallels with the Imjejong or Southern Party versus the Wŏnjong or Northern Party disputes in the teens of the last century cannot have escaped the notice of knowledgeable readers of these accounts.

The nationalistic strains are heightened by introducing so eminent a person as Pŏpchŏng, a royal relative and widow of a national hero. Her late husband, Kim Yusin, a member not coincidentally of the Kaya royal lineage and hence a probable descendant of King Suro,[162] was a leader of Silla forces against the enemy armies of Paekche and Koguryŏ, and later even Silla's erstwhile ally, Tang China.[163] Nationalist credentials such as these, plus the evident parallels between Silla, which had been threatened by a Chinese colonial hegemony, and contemporary Korea, which was actually occupied by Japan, would have been of use to the Buddhist independence struggle against the Japanese and their domestic allies. Thus, based on the *Samguk yusa*, both Yi Nŭnghwa and Nukariya Kaiten date the tonsure of Kim Yusin's widow to 712, stating that she was surnamed Kim and that the king gave her an income of a thousand *sŏk* of grain per annum.[164]

The defensive attitude appears where Yi Nŭnghwa notes that the stūpa is said to emit light, but people dare not dig up the relic to resolve their doubts because they wished to avoid damaging the stūpa and ward off the abuse of non-believers.[165] Similarly, the *History* dwells on the relic warning Sanbŏp not to display the relic and on the secrecy surrounding the whole affair. Even the monk Hye'gŭn, writing about the light shed by the relic-stūpa, says that it

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159. Patrick J. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 133, 137.

160. *Ibid*., 139-140.

161. Jorgensen, *Inventing Hui-neng*, 54, 129-132, 135, 463. Cf. also *Jingde chuandeng lu*, T. 51.238c16ff.

162. Ki-baik Lee, *A new history of Korea*, trans. Edward W. Wagner, (Seoul: Ilchogak. 1984), 74.

163. *Ibid*., 66.

164. Nukariya, 68, based on *Samguk sagi*, ch. 43, 439.

165. Yi Nŭnghwa, 1: 95.

occurs when people are asleep and is rarely seen by people up close. Such protectiveness and pride in a relic is not unusual, for Patrick Geary writes of medieval Europe that "[p]ossession of stolen relics came to be regarded as a mark of prestige in itself."[166] This guardedness undoubtedly arises out of an anxiety that the fraud would be detected and the damage that could be done to the nationalistic aims of the Southern Party or Imjejong partisans.

Conclusion

Although much of the politics of the claims about the relic of Huineng at Ssanggye-sa in the early nineteenth century remains murky, it had changed since the earlier period, when Ssanggye-sa monks were attempting to forge a means to reconstruct their monastery after a disastrous flood in 1854. Invention it may have been, but it was on a local level and seemingly remained uncontroversial. However, the interventions of Yi Hoegwang and the Japanese authorities meant Ssanggye-sa was now fighting for its independence on religious or lineage grounds against an imposition of a rival genealogy and the foreign influence of Sōtō Zen. The Ssanggye-sa monks and their Imjejong partisans thus used the relic of Huineng as a weapon in this struggle, which was now at the "national" level, and perhaps, international, as Japanese and even a Ceylonese were brought into the picture on one side. In this sense, Ssanggye-sa came to symbolize, at least for some, the "Korean nation" or the "correct lineage" of Buddhism, of an indirect resistance to colonialism. "Korea" then, as was concluded by "Kakhun," is "the original treasure trove of the Buddha-dharma," possessing both the relic of Huineng, the founder of all legitimate Sŏn or Zen, and the skull bone of the Buddha. This should provide it with superiority in Buddhism, especially over the Japanese, who allegedly did not have such potent relics. Moreover, the light is now seen again, apparently reactivating people's attention in 1913 on the birthday of Huineng. This, as Hye'gŭn wrote, is proof that Korea is not a petty country, but one destined to preserve the true Buddhism that had disappeared in India (and Śri Lanka?), and where the Chinese master Huineng had predicted his *chŏngsang* would "return." "Therefore, did not even the Sixth Patriarch also take our country to be the final resting place of Buddhism," and Ssanggye-sa is "the field of merit for the world." The light should "make we Koreans all produce the mind for the Way …." This had been predestined by Huineng, and the light

166. Geary, 160.

was emitted to remove doubts by sceptical Koreans who may have been seduced by Japanese or Confucian ideas.[167] But the date of the appearance of the light in early 1913 seems to have been an attempt to counter the Japanese use of Dharmapāla's relic of the Buddha in August 1913.

Hence, monastic gazetteers and histories of monasteries cannot be read simply at face value in all cases. Some, such as those supervised by Chŏng Yagyong may be read more as local histories, but as the evidence seems mostly collected and fragmented, it does not provide a narrative and is more particular, self-contained and local. However, in the case of Ssanggye-sa, the attempt was to make the local integral to the national or Buddhist universal, perhaps like in the earlier works of Haean. But now, this integration had a hidden agenda, with a nationalist application. What then may at first appear to be merely statements of regional differences and interests are often disguises for lineage disputes or divergences over doctrine or organisation. Yet the local or regional dimension should not be ignored, for it is a useful part of the "national" jigsaw, and may be useful in detecting national trends not observable elsewhere.

167. Strong, *Relics of the Buddha*, 176, on the lights of relics and the removal of doubts.