Infiltrating the Hermit Kingdom: The Penetration of Chinese Buddhist Texts into Seventeenth Century Korea

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Abstract

During the Chosŏn period (1392-1910), from 1392 to the 1850s, Korean Buddhism was isolated from the Buddhism of China and Japan by a cordon surrounding the country instituted by the Chosŏn court to prevent Buddhism influencing the Korean population any further. This meant no Buddhist texts or materials were imported, with the exception of a few texts imported by the court in the 1450s to be used to write biographies of the Buddha. The only examples of texts successfully introduced from China were the *Shishi yuanliu* printed in the seventeenth century and texts salvaged from a Chinese ship sending parts of the Jiaxing Tripitaka, probably from Kaiyuan Monastery in Quanzhou to the Chinese expatriate community in Nagasaki, that was wrecked off the southwest Korean coast in 1681. Although even the king was not allowed a detailed reading of the texts that arrived in 1681, and an entire Tripitaka from a ship marooned in 1637 was quarantined from all readers, Paeg'am Sŏngch'ong (1631-1700) soon gathered over 400 fascicles from the 1681 shipwreck, and printed a number of texts that stimulated the study of Hwaŏm thought and contributed to the

佛光學報 新六卷・第二期，2020 年 7 月，頁 153-210

development of the Korean monastic educational curriculum that is still used to this day.

Keywords: *Dafangguangfo huayanjing shuchao*, Imja Island, Paeg'am Sŏngch'ong, Quanzhou, *Shishi yuanliu*

滲入封閉的王國：
中國佛教典籍對十七世紀朝鮮的傳入

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中文摘要

朝鮮王朝時期（1392-1910），從 1392 年至 1850 年之間，為了避免佛教對朝鮮人民有任何進一步的影響，朝廷對國家的邊境設下了封鎖線，韓國佛教因而與中國和日本的佛教長期隔離。1450 年代，除了少數書籍因為朝廷撰寫佛傳的需要而被引進外，這段期間沒有其他佛教典籍或文物被允許輸入。不過，也有幾個從中國成功輸入的例子，如《釋氏源流》十七世紀的印本，以及 1681 年從一艘擱淺在朝鮮西南海岸殘破的船上所搶救下來的書籍，那艘船也許是要從泉州開元寺載運中國移民到長崎，船上也裝載了部分的《嘉興藏》。雖然儘管在 1637 年時，朝鮮也曾有另外一艘船漂流到港口，但是，民眾都不得見到船上所裝載的整部大藏經，而 1681 年漂流船上的書籍則是連君王也不被允許去詳細閱讀的，但是，栢庵性聰（1631-1700）卻有辦法快速地從 1681 年的漂流船上，收集到 400 多卷的典籍，他印刷了其中幾部，因而促進了華嚴思想的研究，而且對於韓國僧侶教育課程的發展甚有貢獻，這幾部

書籍並且被沿用至今。

關鍵詞：《大方廣佛華嚴經疏鈔》、荏子島、栢庵性聰、泉州、《釋氏源流》

Chosŏn Korea was sealed off from the rest of the world by its isolationist policies. While it sent tribute to the Chinese imperial court and received Chinese missions, even the trading by the missions was limited. An ideological bias and paranoia about Buddhism meant that Buddhist texts could not be imported. Yet, in the seventeenth century, numbers of Chinese texts were obtained by Korean Buddhist monks and were published. This aspect of the relations between Chinese and Korean Buddhism, although largely one way from China to Korea during the Chosŏn period, has largely been ignored.[1] This article aims to remedy that lack of attention to this aspect of the relationship.

There are few known cases of the introduction of Chinese texts into Chosŏn. The first is when the Ming Yongle Emperor (r. 1403-1450) sent texts to the Chosŏn court. The second is the possibility that the Chosŏn rulers imported texts in order to write a life of the Buddha in the 1450s. This may have been the source for printings of the *Shishi yuanliu* 釋氏源流 (Origins and Developments of the Śākya Clan/Buddhism) in Korea in 1673 and 1711. The marooning of a boat carrying a Tripitaka from China on the

※ 收稿日期 108.6.4，通過審稿日期 108.10.6。

[1] For example, Huang Youfu 黃有福 and Chen Jingfu 陳景富, *Han-chung pulgyomunhwa kyoryusa* 韓中佛教文化交流史, trans. Kwŏn Och'ŏl 權五哲 (Seoul: Tosŏ ch'ulp' an Kkach'i, 1995), barely even mentions Chosŏn. In English, an accidental importation in 1681 is mentioned in Kim Yongtae, *Glocal History of Korean Buddhism* (Seoul: Dongguk University Press, 2014), pp. 138-140. There is mention of a eunuch ambassador from Ming plundering Chosŏn monasteries for Buddhist art works between 1403 and 1411. See Donald N. Clark, "The Ming Connection: Notes on Korea's Experiences In the Chinese Tributary System," *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society – Korea Branch* 58, 4 (1983): 85.

Korean coast in 1637 serves as an illustration of the extreme anti-Buddhist measures adopted by the Chosŏn court to prevent access by Korean Buddhists to these texts. Finally, in 1681, a shipwreck of a boat carrying Buddhist texts allowed a Buddhist monk to gather those texts not found by officials and to publish them, thereby having considerable influence on later Korean Buddhism.

1. The Political and Ideological Background to the Prohibition on Importation of Buddhist Texts

The prohibition on the imports into Chosŏn of Buddhist texts had been instituted in a tacit understanding between the newly-founded Chosŏn and Ming courts beginning in ca. 1393 when the Ming court recognized the Chosŏn dynasty. The Ming and Chosŏn states strictly policed their boundaries, fearing piracy, bandits, and rebels using the border-lands as bases. Trade was limited to tribute missions and was strictly supervised. This policy remained in place until the end of the Chosŏn and Qing dynasties, although controls probably broke down from the 1850s. Both regimes, Chosŏn in particular, viewed Buddhism as a source of trouble. The Ming leader, Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋 (1328-1398) had had to suppress rebellions led by White Lotus Buddhist sectarians in Hebei and Anhui provinces and beyond under the name of the Red Turbans, an army of which he had once been a commander. The rebels proclaimed the advent of Maitreya, the future Buddha, and a new utopia. The Red Turbans crossed into Koryŏ Korea in 1359 and 1361, sacking the cities of P'yŏngyang and the then capital, Kaesŏng. The Chosŏn leader, Yi Sŏnggye 李成桂 (1335-1408), had fought Red Turban armies inspired by Maitreya utopianism, and therefore adopted

neo-Confucian advice to strictly control and limit Buddhism.[2]

As soon as Zhu Yuanzhang became the first emperor of the Ming in 1368, he banned the White Lotus Society and other folk religions out of fear they could rise again militarily and threaten his regime.[3] Despite such restrictions, folk Buddhist sectarian insurrections continued at least until 1402, some in the Shandong region.[4] Even though Zhu, and many of his successors were Buddhist believers, the survival of the dynasty was their primary concern, and so while they sometimes sponsored "orthodox" Buddhism, they also used, closely regulated, and controlled it. Moreover, Zhu's neo-Confucian advisors continually warned of the dangers of Buddhism.[5]

Furthermore, there were tensions between the Koreans and the Ming over the borders of their states. Earlier, the Koryŏ had tried to take territory from the remnant Mongols in Manchuria beyond the Yalu River, while the Ming wanted to take southern Manchuria. In 1388, Yi Sŏnggye, who had been ordered to lead an army into Manchuria, reached the Yalu, then revolted, returning to occupy the Koryŏ capital, and usurped the throne in 1392. He immediately sent a mission to the Ming court requesting investiture as king, but the Ming did not invest him as king as they suspected

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2 John Jorgensen, "Problems in the Comparison of Korean and Chinese Buddhism," in *Korean Buddhism in East Asian Perspectives*, comp. Geumgang Center for Buddhist Studies (Seoul: Jimoondang, 2007), pp. 131-132.

3 Ma Xisha 馬西沙 and Han Bingfang 韓秉方, *Zhongguo minjian zongjiaoshi* 中國民間宗教史 (Shanghai: Shanghai remin chubanshe, 1992), p. 97.

4 Ma and Han, *Zhongguo minjian zongjiaoshi*, pp. 156-160.

5 Zhou Qi 周齊, *Mingdai fojiao yu zhengzhi wenhua* 明代佛教與政治文化 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2005), pp. 8-14, 25-26, 28-29.

his motives. It was not till after Yi Sŏnggye had abdicated in 1398 that his successor was recognized as king by the Ming court.[6]

Thus, a combination of factors, such as the devastation wrought by the Red Turbans in China and Korea, the rise of neo-Confucian advisors to both the Ming and Chosŏn emperors, and mutual suspicions concerning state borders, led to the closing of the Ming-Chosŏn borders to all but tribute missions and to the Chosŏn court preventing Buddhist monks and Buddhist texts crossing those borders. For Korean Buddhists, Chosŏn was truly the " hermit kingdom."

In contrast, in the preceding Yuan and Koryŏ periods, from 1270 to ca. 1356, when Koryŏ was a vassal state of Yuan and the Koryŏ royal family married into the Mongol imperial family, some Koryŏ Buddhist monks travelled to Yuan China to study under Chinese Chan masters and even gave sermons in the Mongol capital, probably to Koryŏ expatriate audiences, that have been recorded in Chinese.[7] In contrast, the new border controls meant

6 Donald N. Clark, "The Ming Connection: Notes on Korea's Experiences In the Chinese Tributary System," *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society – Korea Branch* 58, 4 (1983): 82-83.

7 The *Pak T'ongsa* 朴通事 has an account of listening to a sermon by the Koryŏ Sŏn monk (T'aego) Pou 普雨 (sic) (1301-1382) and refers to his activities in 1346 to 1348 in Yanjing. Wang Ha 王霞, Yu Chaewŏn 柳在元 and Ch'oe Chaeyŏng 崔宰榮, *Yŏkchu Pak T'ongsa ŏnhae* 譯註朴通事諺解 (Annotated Translation of the Vernacular Interpretations of Pak the Translator) (Seoul: Hakkobang, 2012), pp. 155-158. Naong Hyegŭn 懶翁惠勤 (1320-1376) went to the Yuan court in 1347, travelled around China, was made abbot of Guangji Monastery 廣濟寺, and returned to Koryŏ in 1358. Paeg'un Kyŏnghan 白雲景閑 (1299-1374) went to Huzhou in 1351 to study under Shiwu Qinggong 石屋清珙 (1272-1353), returning to Koryŏ in 1353. T'aego Pou went to the Yuan capital in 1346, studied under Qinggong, received a gold-embroidered robe from the Yuan emperor in 1348 on his

nobody, especially monks, could legally cross the border without permission. Korean monks were decapitated from 1396 for violating this rule. A few such attempts by monks continued, and in 1419 thirty Chosŏn monks lodged a complaint with the pro-Buddhist Ming-dynasty emperor, Chengzu 明成祖 (r. 1403-1424), the Yongle Emperor, over the anti-Buddhist policies of Chosŏn's King Sejong 世宗 (r. 1418-1450). Chosŏn courtiers regarded these monks as traitors.[8]

2. Buddhist Texts and Diplomacy in the Yongle Reign

Emperor Yongle, who had great reverence for Buddhism, building monasteries and sponsoring the printing of the Tripitaka, also strictly controlled Buddhism by limiting the number of monks and the extent of monastic lands.[9] Yongle presented the Chosŏn court with Buddhist songs and works on the effects of performing good deeds (*yinzhi* 陰騭 Kor. *ŭmjŭl*), a number of which he composed himself.[10] These are chiefly

return trip to Koryŏ. John Jorgensen, "Introduction," in *Seon Dialogues*, Collected Works of Korean Buddhism, vol. 8, trans. John Jorgensen (Seoul: Compilation Committee of Korean Buddhist Thought, Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, 2012), pp. 19-20.

8 Jorgensen, "Problems in the Comparison of Korean and Chinese Buddhism," pp. 131-133.

9 Zhou Qi, *Mingdai fojiao yu zhengzhi wenhua*, pp. 35, 39-40.

10 The books listed are the *Quanshan shu* 勸善書, Kor. *Kwŏnsŏn sŏ*, probably *Daming renhou quanshan shu* 大明仁后勸善書; *Yinzhi shu* 陰騭書, probably *Weishan yinzhi* 為善陰騭, *Shenseng zhuan* 神僧傳 and *Zhufo shicun rulai pusa cunzhe mingcheng gequ* 諸佛世尊如來菩薩尊者名稱歌曲 (hereafter *Mingcheng gequ*). The *Daming renxiao huanghou quanshan shu* 大明仁孝皇后勸善書 was compiled by Empress Renxiao (1362-1407), the wife of the Yongle Emperor. It is in two parts, "excellent sayings" and "responses to influence/supplication," and it merges Buddhism, Confucianism, and Daoism. The *Weishan yinzhi* in ten fascicles was written by Yongle in 1419 and distributed as teaching material for the imperial

morality books (*shanshu* 善書) and it seems that the Chosŏn did not see them as a threat, given that they mix Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism. Therefore, they were distributed to chief ministers and monasteries.[11] However, these were not published in Korea[12] and so the morality-book form of Buddhism did not become popular in Korea, unlike in Ming-dynasty China.[13]

Moreover, the treatment accorded by the Chosŏn court to the presented

family (Huanlun, *Shijian jigu lue xuji* 釋鑑稽古略續集, CBETA, T49, no. 2038, vol. 3, p. 942b23-c1). The *Shenseng zhuan* was compiled by Yongle, preface 1417 (*Shenseng zhuan* 神僧傳, CBETA, T50, no. 2064, vol. 1, p. 948b4-13), to highlight the miraculous. The *Mingcheng gequ* is by Yongle, dated 1417, to promote loyalty to the ruler, filiality to parents, respect of heaven and earth, "for the good showing the delights of heaven, and warning the wrong-doers by showing them the suffering of hell, to establish loyalty and filiality." 弘善示天堂之樂, 懲非顯地獄之苦, 立忠立孝, 所以揚名於後代. see *Mingcheng gequ* (CBETA, P179, no. 1612, p. 333b1-2). In 51 fascicles, fascicles one to eighteen are vast lists of names of buddhas and bodhisattvas and so forth, and nineteen to fifty-one are the songs, with choruses.

[11] The *Chosŏn wangjo sillok* (朝鮮王朝實錄, Veritable Records of the Chosŏn Court, National Institute of Korean History. http//sillok.history.go.kr. All dates from this source, unless specified, are according to the lunar calendar, hereafter *Chosŏn sillok*) mentions the distribution of these texts (Sejong 1st year 12th month, 12th day, entry 2 [1419-1420]), distribution of *Mingcheng gequ* to monasteries for chanting, and punishment for those who damage the other texts, T'aejong 17th year 12th month 20th day entry 6 (1417-1418). The numbers of copies were 22 cases of the *Yinzhi shu* and 30 cases of the *Mingcheng gequ* in 1419-1420 (Sejong 1st year 12th month 18th day entry 6), 150 copies of *Quanshan shu* in 1408 (T'aejong 8th year 4th month 2nd day, entry 7), then 300 copies of *Quanshan shu* (T'aejong 9th year 2nd month 19th day entry 1).

[12] Based on lists in Kim Tujong 金斗鍾, *Han'guk koinswae kisul sa* 韓國古印刷技術史 (History of the Old Print Technology of Korea) (Seoul: T'amgudang, 1980).

[13] For morality books in late Ming China, see Makita Tairyō 牧田諦亮, *Ajia bukkyōshi: Chūgoku hen II: Minshū no bukkyō* アジア仏教史: 中国編Ⅱ: 民衆の仏教 (Tokyo: Kōseisha, 1976), pp. 114-115.

texts sometimes seems to have differentiated between the purely Buddhist texts (the *Mingcheng gequ* and *Shenseng zhuan*) and the morality books. Thus, in 1434, there was a suggestion that the *Yinzhi shu* and the *Analects* be printed,[14] but apparently this was not done, for in 1536 a minister did not know what the *Yinzhi shu* was (a letter or a book), but the attitude in a response was that it was just another morality book,[15] and that "it is unlike the Buddhist theory of rebirth into heavens and hells, and previous Confucians selected events of the past [from it]."[16] This made it acceptable to the neo-Confucian led court.

On the other hand, the reception of the *Mingcheng gequ* and *Shenseng zhuan* was seen in the context of international relations. After all, the Yongle Emperor had given a hundred copies of the first and three hundred copies of the second as a gift on the eighth of December 1418.[17] The *Shenseng zhuan* is described (by neo-Confucian historians) as recording "the weird" and monkish heresies, the *Mingcheng gequ* as rhymes and names of buddhas and so on that the Yongle Emperor had ordered sung throughout Ming China.[18] When the mission brought these texts back to Seoul, they were given to the heir-apparent, probably because King T'aejong was old and the heir-apparent more knowledgeable of Buddhism.[19] King Sejong (r. 1418-1450), who acceded to the throne a few months later in 1418, had a thousand copies of the *Mingcheng gequ* placed in decorated shelves, and it was noted

14 *Chosŏn sillok*, Sejong 16th year 7th month 2nd day entry 1 (1434).
15 *Chosŏn sillok*, Chungjong 31st year 5th month 12th day entry 1.
16 *Chosŏn sillok*, Chungjong 31st year 5th month 12th day entry 4.
17 *Chosŏn sillok*, T'aejong 17th year 12th month 20th day entry 1.
18 *Chosŏn sillok*, T'aejong 17th year 12th month 20th day entry 6.
19 *Chosŏn sillok*, T'aejong 18th year 6th month 9th day entry 1, on arrival.

that the Chinese emperor had all the Chinese elders and all those at court chant this text, and it was asked whether the Koreans should set it to music.[20] This provoked a heated debate over whether a book of Buddhism, a heresy (*Yiduan* 異端), be used, even though the Emperor believed in Buddhism. It was asked whether the Chosŏn court had to respect the Yongle Emperor's intentions.[21] It was decided to distribute the text to the prefectures,[22] but an event a few days later seems to have made King Sejong take a less accommodative and a more disingenuous approach. A report had arrived about thirty Korean monks fleeing to China complaining about Sejong's restrictions on Buddhism to the Yongle Emperor, who believed them. The emperor even said to the Chosŏn official delegation that "Your country's king killed his parent." Of course, this was denied. The apparent ease with which the monks had crossed the border, and the issue of the *Mingcheng gequ* apparently were seen as connected problems. King Sejong said,

> The (Ming) Emperor believes deeply in Buddhism, even more than Emperor Wu of Liang 梁武帝 (r. 502-549). He has his *Mingcheng gequ* chanted throughout the Empire, and the auspicious omen of the Buddhist statues [like] flowers in the sky are spread though pictures, and all the people believe it. However, in our country, we have already confiscated the fields and people of the monasteries, leaving only eleven [with fields and tenants], and now we will also take away the slaves of the monasteries.… Why wouldn't the monks be angry? ... We have heard that Korean people have fled to China and denounced [our policies].… Given such differences, no wonder monks flee. Therefore, give the *Mingcheng gequ* and the *Weishan yinzhi* to the northwest, to

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20 *Chosŏn sillok*, Sejong accession year (1418) 9th month 4th day entry 1 and 12th month 26th day entry 3.

21 *Chosŏn sillok*, Sejong 1st year 1st month 11th day entry 2 (1419).

22 *Chosŏn sillok*, Sejong 1st year 7th month 12th day entry 3 and 12th month 8th day entry 2.

> Hwanghae Province, where the [Ming] missions came and go, and there gather monks and elders to chant these texts and have them sing songs and poems in praise of the Buddha and the Emperor's faith, which will be rewarded well … Line the roads the missions take to sing these, and the Emperor, hearing of this, will be delighted that our country has embodied his saintly mind. Even though monks may flee to China and denounce us, their complaints will not be accepted.[23]

Sejong concluded that he did not believe in the Buddhist enticements of good fortune and misfortune. Thus, the Buddhist texts given as a gift by Yongle were treated as tools of diplomacy and for hiding the real anti-Buddhist policies of the Chosŏn court from the Chinese emperor. Consequently, these texts, the *Mingcheng gequ* in particular, sank without a trace and the Ming-Chosŏn border was even more tightly controlled.

3. The Search for Buddhist Texts and Printing Buddhist Texts in the Reign of King Sŏngjong and the Problem of the *Shishi yuanliu*.

Although King Sejong maintained the primacy of neo-Confucianism, in 1424 reducing the numbers of monasteries from 242 to 36, late in life he took a personal interest in Buddhism, partly under the influence of his

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[23] *Chosŏn sillok*, Sejong 1st year 12th month 10th day entry 14 (26th Dec. 1419), parts of translation a little free. In the original text, "今者皇帝深信浮屠, 勝於蕭梁, 《名稱歌曲》之誦, 遍於天下; 空花佛象 [佛像] 之瑞, 播於圖畫, 一時俗尚, 靡然趨之, 而我國則前旣革去寺社田民, ...豈無怨咨乎? .....又聞皇帝崇佛, 必有逃入上國, 飾辭讒訴之人.....有從權變通之理, 今宜爲僧徒, 開其自慰喜悅之心. 皇帝所賜《名稱歌曲》、《爲善陰騭》之類, 速令西北面黃海道等使臣來往之地, 聚會僧徒及耆老人等, 常加讀誦, 又製歌詩, 稱讚佛氏及皇帝, 崇信獲報瑞應屢現之狀, ...沿道經歷有誦經者, 燕饗歌舞有誦德者, 皇帝聞之, 必喜我國能體聖心, 雖有逃入讒訴之人, 不得售其說矣."

relatives.[24] Sejong and his team of scholars invented *han'gŭl*, the native Korean script ca. 1443, providing translations or cribs in Korean for Confucian and Buddhist texts in printed books. At the death of his queen in 1446, Sejong asked his second son, Prince Suyang (later to be King Sejo, accession 1455) to write *Sŏkpo sangjŏl* 釋譜詳節 (A Life of Śākyamuni in Detailed Sections), first in Chinese, then in Korean. Follow-up versions were composed in Korean verse, the *Wŏrin ch'ŏngang chi kok* 月印千江之曲 (Song of the Moon Shining on a Thousand Rivers) by King Sejong in 1449, and the 1459 *Wŏrin sŏkpo* 月印釋譜 (Shining Moon Life of Śākyamuni).[25] These were all printed, much to the consternation of staunch neo-Confucians who opposed both Buddhism and the new script, which they labelled vulgar (언문, *ŏnmun*, 諺文).[26] These lives were based on various hagiographies of the Buddha and sutras.[27] Moreover, after the queen died in 1446, a series of pictures were made of the eight scenes of the life of the Buddha 八相成道, which is significant, for some of the

[24] Yi Pongchun 李逢春, "Chosŏn chŏn'gi pulchŏm ŏnhae wa kŭ sasang e taehan yŏn'gu" 朝鮮前期佛典諺解와 그思想 에대한硏究 (A Study of the Korean-text Explanations of Buddhist Texts of the Early Chosŏn Period and Their Thought), MA thesis, Tongguk University, 1978, pp. 13-15.

[25] For problems about sequencing and authorship of these texts, see Ross King, "The Moon Reflected in a Thousand Rivers: Literary and Linguistic Problems in *Wŏrinch'ŏngang chi kok*," *Sungkyun Journal of East Asian Studies* 18, 1 (2018): 1-9.

[26] Ross King, "The Moon Reflected in a Thousand Rivers," p. 11 note 3, p. 16.

[27] Yi Pongchun, "Chosŏn chŏn'gi pulchŏm ŏnhae wa kŭ sasang e taehan yŏn'gu," pp. 44-45; some more have been identified since 1978, see Sim Kyŏngho 심경호, "Chosŏn chŏn'gi munhŏn py'ŏnch'an pangbŏp ŭi paldal kwa *Wŏrinch'ŏngang chi kok*," 조선전기 문헌편찬방법의 발달과 [월인천강지곡] in 2017 JSG International Conference on the Song of the Moon and Rivers, comp. The Academy of Korean Studies (Kyŏnggi-do: Han'gukhak chungang yŏn'guwŏn changsŏgak, 2017), p. 143.

above-mentioned biographies have illustrations.[28]

It appears that during this time missions were sent, probably to China, to find Buddhist texts to assist in the process of writing these lives of the Buddha. In 1471, a memorial complained to the king that emissaries to China sent to give thanks for the emperor's grace had sought and bought Buddhist books, saying that this was of no benefit to the country. It appears some of these books had been stored, and in some locations they had been burnt. It was noted that the Ming valued Buddhism, so why not follow them?[29] The next day, the reply was that previous kings had bought such books, and as the cases containing the rolls or bound books were incomplete, replacements for the missing parts were being sought and there was no intention to print them. It was said they had been bought for King Sejo. A neo-Confucian memorialist wrote in response that Buddhism was a dangerous illusion and as the Sutra Printing Office (Kan'gyŏng togam, 刊經都監) had been abolished, there was no need to print any more. The king disagreed.[30] The Sutra Printing Office was established in 1460 and abolished in 1471.[31] It is clear that diplomatic missions had been used to obtain Buddhist texts from China, possibly from the 1440s to 1471. There is no information as to what texts were sought, but as the lives of the Buddha

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28 *Chosŏn sillok*, Munjong, year of accession (1450) 2nd month 18th day entry 6. The court decided that now, in 1450, that they could not remake these pictures. See, for example, the eight scenes printed in the *Wŏrin sŏkpo* edition printed by Han'guk kojŏn kanhaenghoe 韓國古典刊行会, *Wŏrin sŏkpo* (Seoul: Taejegak, 1978), pp. 8-11.

29 *Chosŏn sillok*, Sŏngjong 2nd year 1st month 10th day entry 1, and 20th day entry 2.

30 *Chosŏn sillok*, Sŏngjong 2nd year 1st month 21st day entries 2, 5 and 6.

31 Yi Pongchun, "Chosŏn chŏn'gi pulchŏm ŏnhae wa kŭ sasang e taehan yŏn'gu," pp. 17, 23.

were composed from 1447 to 1459, perhaps hagiographies of the Buddha were sought.

Pertinently, two Korean prints of the *Shishi yuanliu*, a later version of which was called *Shishi yuanliu yinghua shiji* 釋氏源流應化事蹟 (Events in the Manifestations of the Śākya Clan), exist. The *Shishi yuanliu* was written under the supervision of Baocheng 寶成 beginning in 1422 and it was illustrated and privately printed in 1425, and again in 1436, and another six times under the Ming. It was a best-seller.[32] Thus, this illustrated biography of the Buddha and history of the spread of Buddhism, was created with the aim of popularizing and reviving Buddhism at a time when the Chinese and Korean governments were restricting Buddhism.[33] This was only about two decades before King Sejong initiated and King Sejo actualized the production and printing of biographies of the Buddha, beginning with the *Sŏkpo sangjŏl* (but without the history of the dissemination of Buddhism).[34] It is possible that kings Sejong and Sejo had their missions buy copies of the *Shishi yuanliu*, but it seems that the *Shishi yuanliu* did not influence the *Sŏkpo sangjŏl*.[35] Perhaps the idea, but not a copy of, the *Shishi yuanliu* inspired the composition of the *Sŏkpo sangjŏl*.

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[32] Yi Yŏngjong 이영종, "*Sŏkssi wŏllyu* wa chungguk kwa han'guk ŭi pulchŏndo" 석씨월유와 중국과 한국의 불전도 (The *Shishi yuanliu* and the Pictures of the Buddha's Biography in China and Korea), Ph.D. diss., Seoul National University, 2016, pp. 1-2.

[33] Yi Yŏngjong, "*Sŏkssi wŏllyu* wa chungguk kwa han'guk ŭi pulchŏndo," pp. 9, 193-194.

[34] Yi Pongchun, "Chosŏn chŏn'gi pulchŏm ŏnhae wa kŭ sasang e taehan yŏn'gu," pp. 45-46.

[35] Yi Yŏngjong, "*Sŏkssi wŏllyu* wa chungguk kwa han'guk ŭi pulchŏndo," pp. 193-194.

However, the earliest printings and copies of the *Shishi yuanliu* known in Korea are the Puram Monastery 佛巖寺 print of 1673 and the Sŏn'un Monastery 禪雲寺 print of 1711, the Puram print based on the 1486 Ming version and the Sŏn'un print based on the Daxinglong Monastery 大興隆寺 print of 1486-1535.[36]

The Puram Monastery print of 1673, is stated to have been brought from China by Chŏng Tuwŏn 鄭斗源 (1581-?), who went to Yanjing, still in Ming hands in 1631. There he received a copy of the *Shishi yuanliu* from a Chinese monk, Dajian 大謙.[37] Chŏng may have been able to bring back this copy of the *Shishi yuanliu* midst the chaos following the Manchu invasion of Chosŏn in 1628. He brought back many materials from Yanjing, including the new cannons founded with the help of Western technology, telescopes, clocks, and texts on astronomy and Western customs.[38] Also, at this time, Buddhism was tolerated a little more because of the role the monk armies had in fighting the Japanese invaders.

According to Paekkok Ch'ŏnŭng 白谷處能 (1617-1680), the text of the *Shishi yuanliu* was kept in Paeg'un Hermitage in the Kŭmgang

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36 Yi Yŏngjong, "*Sŏkssi wŏllyu* wa chungguk kwa han'guk ŭi pulchŏndo," p. 34.

37 This account found in the works of Paekkok Ch'ŏnŭng 白谷處能 (1617-1680), the *Taegak tŭnggye chip* 大覺登階集, a.k.a. *Paekkok chip* 白谷集, preface 1682. See "Sŏkssi wŏllyu pal" 釋氏源流跋 in *Taegak tŭnggye chip* 大覺登階集, *Han'guk pulgyo chŏnsŏ* 韓國佛教全書, vol. 12, comp. Tongguk taehakkyo han'guk pulgyo chŏnsŏ p'yŏnch'an wiwŏnhoe (Seoul: Tongguk Taehakkyo, 1979-1996, hereafter HPC), HPC 8: 328a-b, and in the Puram print.

38 Kim Chŏnghŭi 김정희, "Pulhwa sok e p'yohyŏndoen honamjŏk kamsŏng" 佛畵속에 표현된 湖南的感性 (The Sensitivity of the Honam Area Expressed Through Buddhist Paintings), *Honam munhwa yŏn'gu* 49 (2001): 305 note 33.

Mountains. There, Ch'unp'a Ssang'ŏn 春坡雙彦 (1591-1658), in the second generation from Sŏsan, wanted to print the text, but could not do so because he lacked the funds. Ssang'ŏn's pupil, Chijip 智什,[39] who is named by Ch'ŏnŭng as the monk controller of Kwansŏ, solicited the money for printing. It was printed in an *imja* year (1672). Before this time, copies must have been very rare, if not non-existent, in Chosŏn, for Ch'ŏnŭng said that "From the start, Korea lacked this text."[40]

Whatever the course of introduction of the *Shishi yuanliu* into Chosŏn was, from the end of the seventeenth century it influenced the paintings, both the murals and hanging scrolls, of the eight main scenes of the Buddha's life. This tradition differed from that of the illustrations associated with the *Sŏkpo sangjŏl* and the *Wŏrin sŏkpo*. The transformations in the illustrators' styles occurred in the late seventeenth to early eighteenth centuries.[41] The influence of the *Shishi yuanliu* appears to have had a regional concentration on Honam (Chŏlla Province), with one painter in particular, Ŭigyŏm 義謙, active 1710 to 1750s, perfecting the eight scenes by using the *Shishi yuanliu* and other texts to do so, leaving many paintings in monasteries connected with Paeg'am Sŏngch'ong 栢庵性聰 (1631-1700), such as Songgwangsa and Ssanggyesa.[42] It is possible that Ŭigyŏm had

[39] Listed in Ssang'ŏn's funerary stele of 1671, in *Han'guk kosŭng pimun ch'ongjip: Chosŏncho・Kŭnhyŏndae* 韓國高僧碑文總集・朝鮮朝・近現代 (Complete Stele Inscriptions for Eminent Korean Monks: Chosŏn and Modern Period), comp. Yi Chigwan 李智冠 (Seoul: Kasan Pulgyo munhwa yŏn'guwŏn, 2000), p. 215.

[40] Paekkok Ch'ŏnŭng, *Taegak tŭnggye chip* 大覺登階集, HPC 8: 328b.

[41] Yi Yŏngjong, "*Sŏkssi wŏllyu* wa chungguk kwa han'guk ŭi pulchŏndo," pp. 200-201.

[42] Kim Chŏnghŭi, "Pulhwa sok e p'yohyŏndoen honamjŏk kamsŏng," pp. 293, 307-307.

contact with Sŏngch'ong via Yun Tusŏ 尹斗緖 (1668-1715), a famous painter, for Yun often asked Sŏngch'ong to look at his paintings of monks, and Ŭigyŏm seems to have consulted books containing pictures of Buddhas held by Yun.[43] Sŏngch'ong, as we shall see, made even greater changes in Chosŏn Buddhism by obtaining Chinese Buddhist texts.

4. The Ghost Ship Tripitaka of 1637

Another introduction of Chinese Buddhist texts, but not of one volume, but of an entire Tripitaka, occurred in the autumn of 1637. According to the *Namhan chi* 南漢誌 (Gazetteer of Mt. Namhan) compiled by Sŏ Myŏng'ŭng 徐命膺 (1716-1787) and then revised by Hong Kyŏngmo 洪敬謨 (1774-1851) in 1846,[44] an unmanned boat, an East Asian version of the Mary Celeste, washed up on the west coast of Korea. The only thing it contained of value were boxes of books 冊函 of the Buddhist Tripitaka on which were written "Printed by Kaiyuan Monastery of the Central Plains (China)." 中原開元寺開刊. The boxes were forwarded to the Border Defense Agency (Pibyŏnsa), which sent them to King Injo 仁祖 (r. 1623-1649). The king said as the ship had arrived of its own accord, without human guidance, that it must be miraculous. King Injo then said that as Chosŏn had a monastery of the same name, Kaewŏnsa, as that written on the boxes, that the Tripitaka should be permanently stored in Kaewŏn Monastery. The boxes were wrapped in golden-embroidered clothes and stored in

[43] Kim Chŏnghŭi, "Pulhwa sok e p'yohyŏndoen honamjŏk kamsŏng," pp. 320-321.

[44] See *Chungjŏng namhan chi* 重訂南漢誌 in thirteen fascicles, entry, *Chōsen tosho kaidai* 朝鮮圖書解題 (Explanations of Titles of Korean Books), comp. Chōsen Sōtokufu 朝鮮總督府 (Tokyo: Nihontosho sentā, reprint 1978, preface 1919), p. 279a.

Kaewŏn Monastery. There they survived unscathed despite a number of fires in the monastery.[45]

Kaewŏn Monastery was inside the walls of Namhan Sŏng (Mt. Namhan Fortress) that was rebuilt between 1624 and 1626 by monks to defend the southern approaches to Seoul. It was built of stone by the monk army and Kaewŏn Monastery was the headquarters for the monk generals and their monks. It contained an armory and munitions store.[46] During the reign of King Injo, the fortress contained seven to ten monasteries, some of which were used as a storehouse for the national histories or were prayer chapels for the royal family.[47] This was another reason why the mystery Tripitaka was placed in Kaewŏn Monastery.

The Chinese source of this Tripitaka, Kaiyuan Monastery, was most likely the Kaiyuan Monastery in Quanzhou, Fujian Province. Although there were many monasteries named Kaiyuan after Emperor Xuanzong of the Tang in 738 ordered that each prefecture in the empire should have a Kaiyuan Monastery, by the Song dynasty the Quanzhou monastery was declared the first Kaiyuan Monastery in the empire.[48] In an intriguing

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[45] Kwŏn Sangno 權相老, comp., *Han'guk sach'al chŏnsŏ* 韓國寺剎全書 (Complete Texts of Korean Monasteries) (Seoul: Tongguk Taehakkyo ch'ulpanbu, 1979), vol. 1, pp. 51d-52a. Kwŏn was quoting the revised *Namhan chi* by Hong Kyŏngmo, *Namhan chi chŏn* 南漢志全, fasc. 3 A, p. 67, in *Chōsen gunsho taikei, Besshū* 6 朝鮮群書大系・別集第六, comp. Chōsen kosho kankōkai 朝鮮古書刊行會 (Keijō: Chōsen kosho kankōkai, 1916).

[46] Kwŏn Sangno, *Han'guk sach'al chŏnsŏ*, vol. 1, p. 51d.

[47] O Kyŏnghu 오경후, *Chosŏn hugi pulgyo tonghyangsa yŏn'gu* 조선후기 불교동향사 연구 (Researches on the Historical Trends of Late Chosŏn Buddhism) (Seoul: Munhyŏn ch'ulpan, 2015), pp. 43, 224-225.

[48] Yuanxian 元賢, *Quanzhou kaiyuansi zhi* 泉州開元寺志 (Gazetteer of Kaiyuan

parallel with the Korean Kaewŏn Monastery, during the Ming dynasty, the Kaiyuan Monastery of Quanzhou had been used as an armory, and military had lived in the monastery alongside monks. From 1594, the control of the monastery was returned to the monks and in 1638, Yuanxian, the author of the gazetteer of Kaiyuan Monastery, arrived there.[49] Much earlier, in 1217, a Japanese monk, Keisei 慶政 arrived at Kaiyuan Monastery, and returned to Japan with a copy of the Fuzhou 福州 print of the Tripitaka, the *Chongning Wanshou Dazang* 崇寧萬壽大藏.[50]

Quanzhou was a major port in the network of Fujianese merchants who had a commercial network stretching from Hoi An in central Vietnam, then along the Chinese coast, especially Fujian Province, and as far north as Nagasaki.[51] It was no coincidence then that a Linji Chan monk went as missionary from Kaiyuan Monastery to Nagasaki about this time.[52]

Monastery in Quanzhou), Zhonghua fosizhi congshu 中華佛寺志叢書, no. 11, comp. Marcus Bingenheimer (Taipei: Xinwenfeng, 2013), compilers' preface, ix-x.

49 Yuanxian, *Quanzhou kaiyuansi zhi*, xiv.

50 Yuanxian, *Quanzhou kaiyuansi zhi*, xiii.

51 Charles Wheeler, "Maritime subversions and socio-political formation in Vietnamese history," in *New Perspectives on the History and Historiography of Southeast Asia: Continuing Explorations*, eds. Michael Arthur Aung-Thwim and Kenneth R. Hall (Abingden: Routledge, 2011), p. 148 and Charles Wheeler, "Buddhism in the re-ordering of an early modern world: Chinese missions to Cochinchina in the seventeenth century," *Journal of Global History* 2 (2007): 308. I wish to thank Prof. Chen-kuo Lin for alerting me to Wheeler's researches.

52 Wheeler, "Buddhism in the re-ordering of an early modern world," p. 316. This monk was Juehai 覺海 (d. 1637), who went to Nagasaki where he founded Fukusaiji 福濟寺 (Fukusai Monastery), which serviced the traders and sailors from Zhangzhou and Quanzhou. The monastery was razed by the atomic bomb, but the gravestone of Juehai remains. See https://www.city.nagasaki.lg.jp/shimin/190001/192001/p000739.html, 2019/10/19.

About ten years before the ghost ship arrived off Korea, the monks Ruyou 如祐 and Guanglun 廣輪 went to Nanjing in 1628 to solicit funds and bring back a complete copy of the Tripitaka, the old copy having been mostly lost, about a third remaining. They were successful.[53] A poem by Zhang Ruitu 張瑞圖 (1573-1644) to send Ruyou on his way to Nanjing suggests this was in fact a request to the court[54] and was linked to repairs to the ordination platform.[55] I suspect then that the copy of the Tripitaka with the covers carrying the words, "Published by Kaiyuan Monastery of the Central Plains" came from Quanzhou. The wording suggests that Kaiyuan Monastery had published a Tripitaka based on a copy it received from Nanjing in 1628. However, it is unclear as to which Tripitaka it was, but as it was "requested" from Nanjing, it was likely to have been one of the official imprints, either the Yongle Southern Tripitaka (*nanzang* 南藏) printed between 1412 and 1417, the blocks for which were stored in Dabaoen Monastery 大報恩寺 in Nanjing, or the Yongle Northern Tripitaka (*beizang* 北藏), printed in Beijing between 1421 and 1440, the blocks kept at court, but copies of which had been distributed to the major monasteries of the empire.[56] Unless new evidence is found, which Tripitaka went in the ship will remain a mystery.

However, Wanfu Monastery 萬福寺 on Mt. Huangbo, a little over a hundred kilometers directly to the north of Quanzhou, also had long sought a

53 Yuanxian, *Quanzhou kaiyuansi zhi*, p. 6.
54 Yuanxian, *Quanzhou kaiyuansi zhi*, p. 60, "Wishing to beg for a Tripitaka in 30,000 fascicles."
55 Yuanxian, *Quanzhou kaiyuansi zhi*, pp. 6, 52.
56 Ren Yimin 任宜敏, *Zhongguo fojiaoshi: Mingdai* 中國佛教史: 明代 (History of Chinese Buddhism: the Ming dynasty) (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2009), pp. 58-60.

copy of the Tripitaka from Beijing, finally obtaining one in 1612.[57] Moreover, Yinyuan Longqi 隱元隆琦 (1592-1673), who arrived in Nagasaki from Wanfu Monastery in 1654 at the invitation of the Chinese expatriate community in Nagasaki, mostly from Fujian,[58] brought a so-called "Wanli edition" (*wanlizang* 萬曆藏) of the Tripitaka with him.[59] Some think that the "Wanli edition" was a continued and revised edition of the Yongle Southern Tripitaka, which was being added to in a private printing from 1589 to 1657, but others think it was an early part of the Jiaxing Tripitaka 嘉興藏,[60] for the main part of the Jiaxing Tripitaka, the *zhengzang* 正藏, was not finished at the earliest by 1641, but more likely by 1657.[61] Given these parallels and dates, I think that the Kaiyuan Monastery print was probably the Yongle Northern Tripitaka.[62]

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57 Helen J. Baroni, *Obaku Zen: The Emergence of the Third Sect of Zen in Tokugawa Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), p. 28.

58 Helen J. Baroni, *Obaku Zen*, p. 35.

59 Helen J. Baroni, *Iron Eyes: The Life and Teachings of Ōbaku Zen Master Tetsugen Dōkō* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006), p. 44.

60 Li Fuhua 李富華 and He Mei 何梅, *Hanwen fojiao dazangjing yanjiu* 漢文佛教大藏經研究 (Studies of the Buddhist Tripitaka in Chinese) (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2003), pp. 432-434, 465, 595-597.

61 Lan Jifu 藍吉富, *Zhongguo fojiao fanlun* 中國佛教泛論 (A General Discussion of Chinese Buddhist History) (Taipei: Xinwenfeng, 1993), p. 150. Yi Chongsu 이종수, "Sukchong 7-nyŏn chungguk sŏnbak ŭi p'yoch'ak kwa Paeg'am Sŏngch'ong ŭi pulsŏ kanhaeng" 숙종 7 년 중국선박의 표착과 백암성총의 불서간행 (The Drifting Ashore of a Chinese Ship in the 7th Year of King Sukjong's Era and the Subsequent Publication of Buddhist Books by Paeg'am Sŏngch'ong), *Pulgyohak yŏn'gu* 불교학연구 21 (2008): 271, thinks Yinyuan brought the Jiaxing Tripitaka. I wish to thank Dr. Gregory Evon, UNSW, for this article, and those by Cho Myŏngje.

62 I dismiss the possibility that this Tripitaka is the Fuzhou Kaiyuan Monastery print Tripitaka 福州開元寺版藏, also known as the *Biluzang* 毗盧藏 (Bilu Tripitaka), because it was printed between 1112 and 1151, nearly 500 years before 1637. Some copies of individual texts of the Fuzhou Tripitaka have been found in Quanzhou's

The aim of shipping a Tripitaka in 1637 also requires consideration. A Tripitaka was a bulky and expensive item to risk sending across the ocean. There were rising tensions in southeastern China in this period, with increasingly heavy tax burdens, pressure by the state on the Fujianese merchants, and an invasion by the Manchus of Chosŏn in late December 1636.[63] It is possible that the Tripitaka was sent overseas for safekeeping, rather like one explanation for Yinyuan leaving for Japan in 1654, because of the threats from the advancing Manchu armies.[64] Another more likely explanation is that it was ordered by a Chinese expatriate community, probably in Nagasaki.

Given that the Tripitaka stored in Kaewŏn Monastery was probably not available for consultation, being locked away as a treasure of the court along with the court historical records, it had no influence on the course of Korean Buddhism. Moreover, this Tripitaka probably did not contain much more material that the available Tripitaka, the Koryŏ Tripitaka stored in Haein Monastery 海印寺. There are no records of any monks having had access to this "Kaiyuan Monastery Tripitaka." Therefore, it is unlikely to have exerted any influence on the development of Korean Buddhism. This means that the texts from the 1681 shipwreck were the only post-Yuan dynasty texts, with

Kaiyuan Monastery, and another monastery, Shuilusi 水陸寺 (Shuilu Monastery), in Fuzhou displayed the Bilu Tripitaka in 1308, the blocks of which an abbot of Quanzhou's Kaiyuan Monastery repaired in 1306. See Li Fuhua and He Mei, *Hanwen fojiao dazangjing yanjiu*, pp. 200, 204, 213, 221. Shuilu Monastery was confiscated in 1558. Yuanxian, *Quanzhou kaiyuansi zhi*, p. 19.

63 William Atwell, "The T'ai-ch'ang, Tien-ch'i, and Ch'ung-chen reigns, 1620-1644," in *The Cambridge History of China: The Ming Dynasty, 1368-1644,* vol. 7, Part I, eds. Frederick W. Mote and Denis Twitchett (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 1988), pp. 626-627, 629.

64 Baroni, *Obaku Zen*, p. 37.

the exception of the *Shishi yuanliu*, to have been able to influence Korean Buddhism.

5. The 1681 Shipwreck and Sŏngch'ong

A massive typhoon hit the western coast of Korea on the nineteenth of July, 1681 (fifth day of the sixth month in the seventh year of King Sukchong). Many people were drowned and pine trees were uprooted. Reports arrived at court that a Chinese merchant ship had foundered on the coast of Imja Island 荏子島, the northernmost of a cluster of islands off the South Chŏlla Province coast. Imja-do was one of many islands off the southwest coast of South Chŏlla Province, where ships were frequently lost during typhoons while on route from the south-central coast of China towards southern Japan. For example, in 1323, a Chinese merchant ship carrying a vast quantity of Chinese coins and porcelain, probably on route to Japan and showing evidence of a connection with Tōfukuji 東福寺 in Kyoto, was sunk off Sinan, just to the south of Imja-do.[65] The seas were treacherous, with many ships wrecked along the coast and among the islands. Boats heading from the central coast of China towards Japan could easily be blown off course and founder on the islands.

The *Chosŏn sillok* is full of references to *hwang tangsŏn* 荒唐船, defined as either Chinese smuggling and illegal fishing boats, or ships trading (illegally) between China and Japan, sometimes with crews from

[65] Lee Myong Ok, "Museum Collections, II: Discoveries from the Sinan Shipwreck," *The Silk Road* 14 (2016): 223-225, on Special Exhibition of the 40th Anniversary of the Excavation catalogue.

various regions. They are said to have started in 1540,[66] and after the Japanese invasion of 1592, the court was especially vigilant, becoming aware of the Chinese trade with Japan. In 1611 there were reports of over eighty "Chinese" trading vessels going to Satsuma in Japan,[67] and in 1612 a Chinese boat foundered on Cheju Island and the crew were captured.[68] In 1622, a "Chinese" ship was blown ashore on Kanghwa Island, and almost all the crew were shot and only three captured.[69] In 1633, a ship was blown ashore on Cheju Island and some of the people said they were from Jinan 濟南 (Shandong) and Dingzhou 定州 (southwest of Beijing).[70] The next year, another ship was washed ashore in T'aean-gun and four Chinese survived.[71]

Such problems came to be discussed at court in 1642, with reference to the loyalist Ming trade with Japan and the fight against the Manchu.[72] In 1667, a Chinese ship foundered on Cheju island and ninety-five people got to shore. They were Fujian merchants who spoke of the Great Ming and refused to shave their heads to show their opposition to the Qing.[73] Such appearances and wrecks of boats continued, and the topic was again discussed at court.[74] The entries that I have selected do not include the mere

66 http://dh.aks.ac.kr/sillokwiki/index.php/황당선（荒唐船）, 2020/4/20.
67 *Chosŏn sillok*, Kwanghaegun 3rd year 10th month 11th day entry 2.
68 *Chosŏn sillok*, Kwanghaegun 4th year 4th month 15th day entry 1.
69 *Chosŏn sillok*, Kwanghaegun 14th year 11th month 13th day entry 1.
70 *Chosŏn sillok*, Injo 11th year 12 month 11th day entry 2.
71 *Chosŏn sillok*, Injo 12th year 10th month 15th day entry 1.
72 *Chosŏn sillok*, Injo 20th year 1st month 8th day entry 1.
73 *Chosŏn sillok*, Hyŏnjong 8th year 6th month 21st day entry 2. See Adam Bohnet, "Lies, Rumours and Sino-Korean Relations: The Pseudo-Fujianese Incident of 1687," *Acta Koreana* 19, 2 (2016): 9-10.
74 *Chosŏn sillok*, Sukchong 11th year 6th month 20th day entry 1, and in 1701, Sukchong

mooring of boats, or incidents with fishermen and pirates. They show that from the 1640s the Chosŏn court became aware of Chinese, especially Fujianese, trade with Japan, and the diplomatic problems that could ensue, because these Fujianese merchants were Ming loyalists, like many Koreans. The Chosŏn court thus tried to display Ming loyalism domestically, but being relatively impotent to implement such sham loyalism, could not display that loyalism internationally.[75] These entries on shipwrecks and castaways also demonstrate that shipwrecks occurred, not infrequently (we only know of those reported to the authorities),[76] and that there was also a smuggling trade.

The Chosŏn court was worried not just by the possibilities that the hermetic ideological seal around Korea was being penetrated, but also that anti-royal malcontents in Chosŏn would ally themselves with overseas forces, especially from the rising numbers of armed ocean-trading syndicates led by the Fujianese Zheng Zhilong 鄭芝龍 (1604-1661) and his son Zheng Chenggong 鄭成功 (1623-1662).[77] A subversive anti-Yi court propaganda had been spread as the court lost influence after the Japanese and Manchu invasions, and the figure of Zheng Chenggong, not named but alluded to by saying that this person, who would bring forces from islands to the south to help topple the court, looked like a Japanese but was not a Japanese (Zheng

27th year 4th month 20th day entry 1.

75 Bohnet, "Lies, Rumours and Sino-Korean Relations," p. 12.

76 Bohnet, "Lies, Rumours and Sino-Korean Relations," p. 12 says that local magistrates tried to not accept castaways and to not inform the court about them, sometimes even giving them boats to leave Korean waters.

77 John Jorgensen, *The Foresight of Dark Knowing: Chŏng Kam Nok and Insurrectionary Prognostication in Pre-Modern Korea* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2018), p. 124. Bohnet, "Lies, Rumours and Sino-Korean Relations," p. 11 says that the Chosŏn court was very wary of the Zheng family.

Cheng-gong's mother was Japanese), was used in this propaganda. Information on the activities of the Zheng syndicate came from castaways, emissaries, and letters. Shipwrecked sailors, some Chinese, some Japanese, and some other "barbarians" told the governor of Cheju Island about the trading and anti-Manchu activities of the Zheng. The propaganda used the idea that a military leader would raise an army in some islands in the southern seas and help Korean subversives overthrow the Yi dynasty.[78] The Chosŏn court had reasons to be worried and so they increased efforts to restrict contact between their subjects and these pirates-cum-traders, smugglers, as well as illegal fishermen and castaways.

Quanzhou's Kaiyuan Monastery had a close connection with the Zheng clan. Zheng Zhilong, a native of Quanzhou, was one of the chief sponsors of the rebuilding of the Great Hall of Kaiyuan Monastery in 1637, the monk who directed the project being Guanglun, who had gone to Nanjing to request a Tripitaka.[79] 1637, coincidentally, was the same year that the ghost ship carrying a Tripitaka from a Kaiyuan Monastery reached Korea. Indeed, just before this time, in 1628, the Quanzhou monk Juehai 覺海 arrived in Fukusai Monastery 福濟寺 in Nagasaki to be its founder and abbot. This monastery had close connections with Zheng Zhilong and the expatriate Fujianese community in Nagasaki.[80] It is likely that the 1637 boat carrying the Tripitaka from Kaiyuan Monastery was going from Quanzhou to supply Fukusai Monastery with a copy of the Tripitaka but was blown ashore by a

78 John Jorgensen, *The Foresight of Dark Knowing*, pp. 131-132.
79 Yuanxian, *Quanzhou kaiyuansi zhi*, p. 5.
80 Dongchu 東初, *Zhong ri fojiao jiaotongshi* 中日佛教交通史 (A History of the Linkages Between Chinese and Japanese Buddhism) (Taipei: Zhonghua fojiao wenhuaguan, 1970), p. 632.

typhoon. The crew probably abandoned ship and got onto another one of the Zheng syndicate's vessels.

The ship wrecked in 1681 was carrying many Buddhist texts in new covers and finely-crafted Buddhist paraphernalia. This was apparently not the only ship wrecked, but this ship was remarked upon because officials along the coast from Chŏlla to Ch'ungch'ŏng province had collected over a thousand fascicles of Buddhist texts.[81] The importance of this event, catastrophic though it was for the merchants and their clients, was that it was the most significant rent in the hermetic ideological seal that the Chosŏn court and its neo-Confucian ministers had wrapped around Buddhism on the Korean Peninsula.

The 1681 ship was probably headed for Nagasaki. A series of monks of the Huangbo lineage of Chan Buddhism went to Nagasaki to tend to the needs of the various Chinese expatriate communities (Quanzhou Fujianese, Hangzhou in Zhejiang, and Guangzhou) in Nagasaki.[82] Wuxin Xingjue 無心性覺 (1613-1671) from Fuzhou, an heir of Yinyuan Longqi, went to Japan and then asked his friend, Yelan 也懶, to go come to Japan, but Yelan was drowned in a typhoon not long after leaving the port of Xiamen in 1651. Yunqian Jiewan 蘊謙戒琬 (1608/1610-1673), who had been at Kaiyuan Monastery in Quanzhou, came to Nagasaki in 1649 to be abbot of Sūfukuji 崇福寺. Muan Xingtao 木菴性瑫 (1611-1684), a native of Quanzhou, who had also trained at Kaiyuan Monastery before he became a pupil of Yinyuan,

81 Sources from *Sukchong sillok* (Veritable Records of King Sukchong) summarized by Yi Chongsu, "Sukchong 7-nyŏn chungguk sŏnbak ŭi p'yoch'ak kwa Paeg'am Sŏngch'ong ŭi pulsŏ kanhaeng," p. 263.

82 Dongchu, *Zhong Ri fojiao jiaotongshi*, pp. 632-633.

also went to Japan in 1655. Yinyuan had arrived in Nagasaki in 1654 on a boat of the Zheng syndicate.[83] Abbots for these expatriate monasteries kept arriving until 1721. The last were Boxun 伯珣 (1695-1776) and Dacheng 大成 (1709-1784), both from Yanping 延平 in central Fujian.[84]

The most likely scenario then is that the 1681 ship, probably a Zheng-syndicate vessel, had sailed from a port on the Fujian coast, just before Zheng Chenggong's son, Zheng Jing 鄭經 (1642-1681) was defeated by the Qing dynasty in 1683. Caught in a typhoon, it foundered on the shores of Imja-do. The ship lost its cargo, which was washed ashore for many kilometers along the coastline where it was gathered up by locals and officials, ending up at court, in nearby monasteries, and in private hands. Many of the books were rescued by the captain and the sailors and sent to the court.[85] The books survived the water because they were wrapped in an oily paper.[86]

One of the reasons that not all the books fell into the hands of the

[83] Dongchu, *Zhong Ri fojiao jiaotongshi*, p. 636; Baroni, *Obaku Zen*, pp. 42, 50; Ibuki Atsushi 伊吹敦, *Zen no rekishi* 禅の歴史 (A History of Chan/Zen) (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2001), pp. 262-264; Hayashi Yukimitsu 林雪光, *Ōbaku bunka* 黃檗文化 (Ōbaku Culture) (Uji: Manpukuji, 1972), pp. 125, 129.

[84] Baroni, *Obaku Zen*, p. 65; Hayashi, *Ōbaku bunka*, p. 140.

[85] Paeg'am, "Yo kubong pohyŏnsa sŭng" 與九峯普賢寺僧 (Letter to a Monk of Pohyŏn Monastery at Kubong) in *Paeg'am chip* 栢庵集, HPC 8: 474a.

[86] Takahashi Tōru 高橋亨, *Richō bukkyō* 李朝佛教 (Yi Dynasty Buddhism) (Seoul: Poryŏn'gak, 1971 reprint of Keijō: Hobunkan, 1929), pp. 691-692, cites *Han'gŏ mannok* 閒居漫錄 (fasc. 4 of *Kongsa kyŏnmun nok* 公私見聞錄, Records of Things Heard Publicly and Privately), postface 1708, as saying, "There were a number of books in each chest. The outside [of the chests] were wrapped in oily paper and so none got wet …. Five or six years later there were also some gilded wooden [statues of] Buddha washed ashore at Cheju."

authorities was that Imja-do was not tightly controlled by the court and the local people, often illegal settlers, tax dodgers, the impoverished, and runaway slaves, were not particularly loyal to the Chosŏn court. These residents were also often sympathetic to castaways and thus may not have reported their finds to the authorities. Moreover, the naval garrison set up to control this area was not established until 1682 on the neighboring island of Chido, the year after the shipwreck.[87] This meant there were many opportunities for local people to keep the books they found or give them to monasteries.

However, most of the retrieved books were sent by local officials to the court in Seoul, and one official, Min Chŏngjung 閔鼎重 (1628-1692) stated, "These are all Buddhist sutras, the intention being that they were brought in order to be sold to the Japanese because they love Buddhism." Another official, Kim Suhang 金壽恒 (1629-1689) asked the court to wait for the Chinese sailors to arrive in Seoul and be questioned.[88] However, no details are given about what the sailors said.

King Sukchong was fascinated by these books and did not put them down for a long time,[89] but a chief minister, Kim Suhang, a staunch neo-Confucian, warned that these were heretical books and should not

87 Bohnet, "Lies, Rumours and Sino-Korean Relations," p. 19-22.

88 Yi Chongsu, "Sukchong 7-nyŏn chungguk sŏnbak ŭi p'yoch'ak kwa Paeg'am Sŏngch'ong ŭi pulsŏ kanhaeng," p. 270 note 17, citing the *Sŭngjŏngwŏn ilgi* 承政院日記 (The Daily Records of the Office for Carrying Out Government), vol. 283, entry for Sukchong 7th year 7th month 9th day; available http://sjw.history.go.kr/id/SJW-D07070090-00900, 2020/04/20.

89 According to Yi Ch'ungik 李忠翊 (1744-1816), King Sukchong was interested in the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa Sūtra*, wanting it explained to him, but his ministers declined to do so. Takahashi, *Richō bukkyō*, p. 690.

remain at court for the king to read at length. Consequently, the king ordered they be given to the monasteries inside Namhan Fortress.[90] Given the time between the shipwreck on the fifth day of the sixth month and the ninth of the seventh month when the texts were ordered to be sent to the fortress, King Sukchong probably had only a few days to examine them. He was impressed by the *kaishu* 楷書 style of calligraphy of the prints, saying that "they do not seem to be like the things of recent times."[91] This suggests that the texts were printed with excellent calligraphy. This may refer to the post-1500 style of Ming-dynasty printing, which looked back to a Song-dynasty format and used rigid and straight strokes,[92] sometimes called a craftsmen script.[93] It was said that the pale-blue silk wrappers 縹帙 on these books were very new.[94]

Bibliographical studies of some of the texts obtained from the shipwreck by Sŏngch'ong prove that at least a portion of them were from the Jiaxing Tripitaka.[95] The Jiaxing Tripitaka was divided into three sections,

[90] Yi Chongsu, "Sukchong 7-nyŏn chungguk sŏnbak ŭi p'yoch'ak kwa Paeg'am Sŏngch'ong ŭi pulsŏ kanhaeng," p. 266 note 8, citing *Chosŏn sillok*, Sukchong 7th year 7th month 9th day.

[91] Yi Chongsu, "Sukchong," p. 267, citing *Sŭngjŏngwŏn ilgi*, Sukchong 7th year 7th month 9th day.

[92] Tsien Tsuen-hsuin, *Science and Civilisation in China, vol. 5: Chemistry and Chemical Technology, Part I: Paper and Printing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 183.

[93] Tsien Tsuen-hsuin, *Science and Civilisation in China*, p. 225.

[94] Yi Chongsu, "Sukchong 7-nyŏn chungguk sŏnbak ŭi p'yoch'ak kwa Paeg'am Sŏngch'ong ŭi pulsŏ kanhaeng," p. 265, citing *Chosŏn sillok*, Sukchong 7th year 7th month 9th day.

[95] Yi Chongsu, "Sukchong 7-nyŏn chungguk sŏnbak ŭi p'yoch'ak kwa Paeg'am Sŏngch'ong ŭi pulsŏ kanhaeng," pp. 274-277; Cho Myŏngje 조명제, "Paeg'am Sŏngch'ong ŭi pulchŏn p'yŏnch'an kwa sasangjŏk kyŏnghyang" 栢庵性聰의 佛典 편찬과 사상적 경향 (The Buddhist Text Compilations of Paeg'am Sŏngch'ong

the *zhengzang* 正藏 (Pitaka proper), the *xuzang* 續藏 (continued Pitaka), and *youxuzang* 又續藏 (further continued Pitaka).[96] The *zhengzang* section was probably not completed until 1677,[97] but it was continued until 1712.[98] It was chiefly printed in Hangzhou and vicinity, but also on Mt. Wutai, and occasionally in other monasteries. Because the time span of its production was so long, it was sold in parts as the printers needed finance to continue their project. Lists of prices for individual volumes are known to have existed.[99] This means that the Jiaxing Tripitaka on the 1681 boat may have only been a select part of the Tripitaka.

The texts from the shipwreck definitely identified as coming from the *zhengzang* are the *Daming sanzang fashu* 大明三藏法數 (Numerical Categories of Dharmas in the Tripitaka Written in the Daming), printed between 1594 and 1597 at Jingshan, the *Huayan xuantan huixuanji* 華嚴懸談會玄記 (Compilation of Profound Records on the Speculative Talks on Huayan), probably printed between 1621 and 1628, the *Zimen jingxun* 緇門警訓 (Warnings and Instructions to the Monkhood), and the *Dasheng qixin lunshu bixueji huibian* 大乘起信論疏筆削記會編 (Compilations of Texts with the Corrections of the Commentaries on the Treatise on Giving Rise to Mahayana Faith). The texts from the *xuzang* and even *youxuzang* are the *Jingang bore jingshulun zuanyao kandingji huibian* 金剛般若經疏論纂要刊定記會編 (Records of Revisions for Printing of

and Their Ideological Tendencies), *Yŏksa wa kyŏnggye* 68 (2008): 89-114.

96 Li Fuhua and He Mei, *Hanwen fojiao dazangjing yanjiu*, pp. 497, 500-501; Lan Jifu, *Zhongguo fojiao fanlun*, p. 143.

97 Lan Jifu, *Zhongguo fojiao fanlun*, pp. 150-151.

98 Yi Chongsu, "Sukchong 7-nyŏn chungguk sŏnbak ŭi p'yoch'ak kwa Paeg'am Sŏngch'ong ŭi pulsŏ kanhaeng," p. 273.

99 Lan Jifu, *Zhongguo fojiao fanlun*, pp. 163-165.

the Compilations of the Essentials From the Treatises and Commentaries on the Diamond Sutra), the *Sijing chiyanji* (*Sagyŏng chihŏm ki* 四經持驗紀) (Records of Traditions of Confirming the Miracles of Observing the Four Sutras), and the *Dafangguangfo huayanjing shuchao* 大方廣佛華嚴經疏鈔 (Abstracts of the Commentaries on the Avataṃsaka Sūtra).[100] This last text was printed in China in 1625 at Santa Monastery 三塔寺 (a.k.a. Jingde Chansi 景德禪寺) in Jiaxing in a version created by Ye Qi-yin 葉祺胤 by combining the sutra, Cheng-guan's commentary and Chengguan's abstract.[101]

All of this evidence suggests that the 1681 ship, possibly a Zheng-syndicate boat, had sailed from somewhere like Hangzhou for Nagasaki to convey a large part of the Jiaxing Tripitaka, in a mint copy, to one of the Chinese expatriate monasteries in Japan. This could have caused major changes in Korean Buddhism but for the fact that the Chosŏn court, under the influence of its fundamentalist neo-Confucian ministers, persuaded King Sukchong to seal away these books within a mountain fortress where it was undoubtedly unavailable to would-be readers.

However, Paeg'am Sŏngch'ong gathered together over 400 fascicles

[100] For list, Yi Chongsu, "Sukchong 7-nyŏn chungguk sŏnbak ŭi p'yoch'ak kwa Paeg'am Sŏngch'ong ŭi pulsŏ kanhaeng," pp. 276-277; for dates and places of printing in China, see Li Fuhua and He Mei, *Hanwen fojiao dazangjing yanjiu*, pp. 484-485, 493, 503. For these texts in a catalogue of the Jiaxing Tripitaka (Taipei: Xinwenfeng,1987), in the sequence named above; *zhengzang* case 9, J06nA119; case 7, J07nA120; case 9, J09nA142; case 7, J07nA124; case 8, J08nA129 (only *kandingji* 刊定記); the *Sijing chiyanji* is not actually a text in the Jiaxing Tripitaka as a number of texts make constitute it (see later); *xuzang* case 11, J11nB001. For the catalogue, see www.sutrapearls.org.

[101] Lan Jifu, *Zhongguo fojiao fanlun*, p. 160.

from monasteries along the southwest coast between 1681 and 1685, of which he published 190 fascicles between 1695/6 and 1700, mostly at Chinggwang Monastery 澄光寺 near Sunch'ŏn in southern South Chŏlla Province, not far from the headquarters of his lineage, Songgwang Monastery 松廣寺, between 1685 and 1687, and at Ssanggye Monastery 雙溪寺 in Hadong, just over the provincial border in South Kyŏngsang Province.[102] As Sŏngch'ong had studied for a time in monasteries along this coast, later, when he was travelling to Pulgap Monastery 佛岬寺, slightly inland from where the wreck had occurred, he heard news of this. This prompted him to search. As he wrote to an anonymous monk of Pohyŏn Monastery:

> In recent years a merchant ship was unexpectedly driven by a typhoon (black wind) and was blown ashore at Kangjang-p'o 强場浦, and fortunately the sutras it was carrying flowed into the dragon palace (sea),[103] splitting up compilations and breaking up books. Some were obtained by the captain and boatmen, and the greater half was transported to the court. However, later, monasteries close to the ocean often obtained and stored them….I three times went to Nŭngga 愣伽 (Monastery), and twice went to Soyo 逍遙 and Sŏn'un 禪雲 (Monasteries), and there was not one of the other monasteries along the seashore that I did not visit. I searched through their sutras and I obtained over four hundred fascicles … Of the *Zahua shuchao*[104] in eighty fascicles, I then had well over half, but I had yet to complete it. I

[102] Yi Chongsu, "Sukchong 7-nyŏn chungguk sŏnbak ŭi p'yoch'ak kwa Paeg'am Sŏngch'ong ŭi pulsŏ kanhaeng," pp. 266, 276-279; stele for Sŏngch'ong in Chigwan comp., *Han'guk kosŭng pimun ch'ongjip*, pp. 301-302 and 298 for 190 fascicles; for 400 fascicles, see "Yo kubong pohyŏnsa sŭng" 與九峯普賢寺僧 (Letter to a Monk of Pohyŏn Monastery at Kubong) in *Paeg'am chip*, HPC 8: 474b. Also, Takahashi, *Richō bukkyō* , p. 694.

[103] Probably an allusion to the Nāgā Palace in the ocean where the sutras were stored according to some legends.

[104] This refers to the *Huayanjing shuchao*.

> was concerned about this day and night. I happily was allowed to see a small case of eight fascicles [of this text] kept in your monastery, enabling me to partly make up for what was missing.[105]

Sŏngch'ong was determined to obtain as many of the texts as he could in order to propagate Buddhism, and it took him years to obtain, collate, and raise the money to start printing. It is evident that he could not obtain the texts stored by the court inside Mt. Namhan Fortress because of the anti-Buddhist policies of the court.

Clearly, the collected commentaries on the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* was very important to him. It took him until 1687 to print it. Again, because he decided to compile the text of Fazang 法藏 (638-715)'s commentary and Zixuan 子璿 (965-1038)'s sub-commentary together with the original text of the *Dasheng qixin lun* (Treatise on Giving Rise to Mahāyāna Faith), another long text, this took fourteen years, being printed in 1695.[106] The printing of these and other texts was a major undertaking, for Sŏngch'ong's biographer, Mugam Ch'oenul 默庵最訥 (1717-1790), says Sŏngch'ong and his team carved five thousand blocks, some of which are still extant.[107]

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[105] *Paeg'am chip,* HPC 8: 474a-b.

[106] Chigwan comp., *Han'guk kosŭng pimun ch'ongjip*, pp. 301-302 and Cho Myŏngje, "Paeg'am Sŏngch'ong ŭi pulchŏn p'yŏnch'an kwa sasangjŏk kyŏnghyang," p. 108.

[107] Chigwan comp., *Han'guk kosŭng pimun ch'ongjip*, p. 299. Ssanggyesa comp., *Samsin ssanggyesa chi* 三神山雙溪寺誌 (Gazetteer of Ssanggye Monastery on Mt. Sansin) (Seoul: Sŏngbo munhwajae yŏn'guwŏn, 2004), p. 52, says Ssanggye Monastery keeps 197 blocks of the *Dasheng qixin lunshu bixueji huibian*, 543 blocks of the *Dafangguangfo huayanjing shuchao*, and 130 blocks of the *Zimen jingxun*. Chinggwang Monastery was abolished, but some of the blocks (or imprints) from there, such as those of the *Jingang bore jingshulun zuanyao kandingji huibian* and Paeg'am's compilation, the *Chŏngt'o posŏ* 淨土寶書 (Precious Writings on the Pure Land) are kept in the National Library of Korea, see Kim Tujong, *Han'guk koinswae kisul sa*, p. 416.

6. Sŏngch'ong's Activities and Their Influence on Korean Buddhism

The most famous activity of Sŏngch'ong was the publication of texts. Ch'oenul lauded him by writing, "Former patriarch Paeg'am had the foremost merit in the spread of the Dharma in the eastern region."[108] The text Sŏngch'ong was most concerned to publish was the combined commentaries on the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* as organized by Layman Ye Qiyin. Sŏngch'ong viewed Chengguan's commentaries as "being the key to open up the treasury of Vairocana," and that without them the meanings of the sutra would remain hidden. The text had been transmitted to Korea but it

> Had not been seen for more than six or seven hundred years…during that time it had been submerged and not circulated.[109] In recent times, even though superficial teachers have often pecked at its enlightening statements,[110] they have been unable to deal with a single word in it. I have been very troubled by this. In recent years a ship carrying a Tripitaka was blown to Korea and it had [a copy of Chengguan's commentaries] in eighty fascicles that had been combined and engraved under the management of Layman Ye Qiyin of Pinglin in the Ming state. The entire book fortunately came into my hands.[111]

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[108] "Sang yŏngnam sŏak sŏ" 上嶺南西岳書 (Letter to Sŏak of Yŏngnam), *Mug'am chip* 默庵集, HPC 10: 14a, cited Takashi, *Richō bukkyō*, p. 614.

[109] Yi Chongsu, "Sukchong 7-nyŏn chungguk sŏnbak ŭi p'yoch'ak kwa Paeg'am Sŏngch'ong ŭi pulsŏ kanhaeng," p. 285 says that Chengguan's commentaries were available in Silla times and were spread during the Koryŏ, but disappeared in early Chosŏn.

[110] "啄長三尺" Reference from "Xu Wugui" chapter of *Zhuangzi*. See Burton Watson, trans., *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), p. 272 note 17.

[111] Takahashi, *Richō bukkyō*, pp. 692-693, citing "Haedong sin kak ch'ŏngnyang hwaŏm sŏcho husŏ" 海東新刻清涼華嚴疏鈔後序 (Later Preface to the Korean New Printing of Qingliang's Commentary and Abstract on the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*).

The completion of this project was a significant event, for Sŏngch'ong wrote an oration celebrating its completion. He stated he was fortunate to obtain the commentaries that the Layman of Pinglin had compiled and distributed and that he felt compelled to spread it for the benefit of beings and students by reprinting it together with the *Daming sanzang fashu*. The celebrants had erected a pavilion to store the blocks, holding a ceremony in which they hung two paintings of assemblages of buddhas and bodhisattvas in the main hall of the monastery, worshipping with incense and candles.[112]

Certainly, Sŏngch'ong's Dharma-descendants, such as Muyong Suyŏn 無用秀演 (1651-1719), who had consulted Sŏngch'ong, had

> Received the commentary and abstract of the *Hwaŏm* (*Avataṃsaka Sūtra*). I sought for the hidden [meanings], and in the end I obtained its marrow. In the spring of 1689, Paeg'am went to Ching [gwang] Monastery and there engraved the *Huayan yanyi*,[113] the *Daming fashu*, the [*Jingang bore jingshulun zuanyao*] *kandingji* [*huibian*] and the *Ch'ŏngt'o posŏ*, wishing to open the eyes of people and gods. The master (Suyŏn) assisted in this. Again, in the summer of 1692, the Sŏn group at Sŏn[am] Monastery 仙[巖]寺 requested Paeg'am to eminently establish a Hwaŏm Assembly of the four-part assembly. Suyŏn came together with them.[114]

[112] "Chongkan hwaŏm kyŏng hoep'yŏn soch'o naksŏng kyŏngch'am sŏ" 重刊華嚴經會編疏鈔落成慶懺疏 (Oration for the Completion of the Reprint of the Combined Compilation of the Commentary and Abstract of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*), *Paeg'am chip,* HPC 8: 469a-b.

[113] This is a reference to the commentary-abstract by Chengguan, *Dafangguangfo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔, CBETA, T36, no. 1736.

[114] Muyong Suyŏn, "Muyongdang taesŏnsa haengjang" 無用堂大禪師行狀 (Account of Conduct of Great Sŏn Master Muyongdang), *Muyongdang yugo* 無用堂遺稿, HPC 9: 365c.

Sŏngch'ong's students also promoted Hwaŏm studies, largely as a doctrinal support for Sŏn practice, in which they used the combined commentaries published by Sŏngch'ong.[115] These commentaries, as organized by Ye Qi-yin, became the basis for the popularity of Hwaŏm studies in the latter period of Chosŏn.[116] Indeed, one of the greatest monk-scholars of the late Chosŏn, Yŏndam Yuil 蓮潭有一 (1720-1799), wrote a preface for the re-engraving of the "combined texts of Pinglin" after the eighty-fascicle woodblocks at Chinggwang Monastery were burnt in the woodblock pavilion there in 1770. Sŏlp'a Sang'ŏn 雪坡尚彦 (1707-1791) re-engraved the blocks by 1775 and stored them in Yŏnggak Monastery 靈覺寺. Sang'ŏn, a meticulous scholar, compared the old imprint with the base-text, the sutra, the version printed at Haein Monastery. Where there were errors in the sutra text, he changed them, but if there were errors in the commentaries by Zongmi 宗密 (780-841) and Chengguan 澄觀 (738-839), he noted them but did not change the text itself. Sang'ŏn also lectured on the commentaries fifteen times, so all the Korean experts on Hwaŏm at the time venerated him as the grand master.[117] This is evidence that the print of the *Dafangguangfo Huayanjing shuchao* was the basis for Hwaŏm studies from the late seventeenth century onwards.

[115] Cho Myŏngje, "Paeg'am Sŏngch'ong ŭi pulchŏn p'yŏnch'an kwa sasangjŏk kyŏnghyang," p. 109; Yi Chongsu, "Sukchong 7-nyŏn chungguk sŏnbak ŭi p'yoch'ak kwa Paeg'am Sŏngch'ong ŭi pulsŏ kanhaeng," pp. 285-286.

[116] Cho Myŏngje, "Chosŏn hugi Puhyu munp'a ŭi sasang kwa munp'aŭisik" 朝鮮後期 浮休門派의 사강과 문파의식 (The Thought and Sectarian Consciousness of the Puhyu Lineage of Later Chosŏn), *Han'guk sŏnhak* 韓國禪學 24 (2009): 68.

[117] "Chungkan hwaŏm kyŏng sŏ" 重刊華嚴經序 (Preface to the Reprint of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*), in *Yŏndam taesa Imha nok* 蓮潭大師林下錄 (Record of [Reading] Beneath the Forest [Monastery] of Great Master Yŏndam), HPC 10: 259b-260a.

As a companion to the *Dafangguangfo huayanjing shuchao*, Sŏngch'ong also published the *Huayan xuantan huixuanji* by Purui 普瑞 of the Yuan dynasty, also from the Jiaxing Tripitaka.[118] This was a text that explained difficult questions arising from Chengguan's commentaries and abstracts on the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, specifically to the *Huayanjing shuch'ao xuantan* 華嚴經疏抄玄談 in nine fascicles attributed to Chengguan.

The printing in 1686 by Sŏngch'ong of the other lengthy text that combined commentaries, the *Dasheng qixin lunshu bixueji huibian*, was also important for later Chosŏn Buddhist scholarship because the *Dasheng qixin lun* was a core text providing the doctrinal framework for the Sŏn Buddhist practice that dominated Chosŏn elite Buddhism.[119] Haewŏn 海源

[118] Cho Myŏngje, "Paeg'am Sŏngch'ong ŭi pulchŏn p'yŏnch'an kwa sasangjŏk kyŏnghyang," p. 91 note 9. Jiaxing Tripitaka, *zhengzang*, case 7, J07nA120.

[119] See for example, John Jorgensen, *A Handbook of Korean Zen Practice: A Mirror on the Sŏn School of Buddhism (Sŏn'ga kwigam)* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015), pp. 11, 24-25, 30-32, 40-43, on how the *Dasheng qixin lun* influenced the Sŏn of the greatest Sŏn master of Chosŏn, Sŏsan Hyujŏng 西山休靜 (1520-1604); for this text's influence on early Chan, see Okimoto Katsumi 沖本克巳, "*Daijō kishin ron* to zenshū" 大乘起信論と禅宗 in *Nyoraizō to Daijō kishin ron* 如来蔵と大乗起信論, comp. Hirakawa Akira 平川彰 (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1990), pp. 507-543; compare *Platform Sutra* 壇經, T48, pp. 339c28-340a2, and *Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論, T32, p. 575c24-28. The *Dasheng qixin lun* was a basis for Zongmi's organization of analysis in his *Chanyuan zhuquanji duxu* 禪源諸詮集都序 (T48, no. 2015), for which see Peter N. Gregory, *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, pbk edn, 2002), pp. 14, 19, by using the *Dasheng qixin lun* to replace the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* as a rationale for Chan practice. The *Chanyuan zhuquanji duxu* became important in Korean Sŏn through its most important figure, Pojo Chinul 普照知訥 (1158-1210), and this text remained a core basis for Korean Sŏn thereafter. See Jeffrey Lyle Broughton, *Zongmi on Chan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), pp. 53-54, 228-229 notes 143 and 144.

(1691-1770) wrote that the *Dasheng qixin lun* was the equivalent in Buddhism of the *Spring and Autumn Annals* 春秋 in Confucianism, and that the combination of Fazang's commentary with Changshui Zixuan 長水子璿 (965-1038)'s "record" meant that one could understand Fazang via Zixuan, and the *Dasheng qixin lun* itself via Fazang. Haewŏn declared that Sŏngch'ong's woodblocks had been so often used for printing that the blocks had become worn away as the years passed and the text had become difficult to make out. Therefore, many masters had collected funds and materials, searched for an imprint of the Chinese edition, and printed it for the benefit of others so that they could be enlightened.[120] This text also seems to have inspired other commentaries by Koreans (not just summaries), namely those by Yuil and In'ak 仁岳 (1746-1796) in particular, the first since Taehyŏn 大賢 wrote commentaries ca. 753.[121] It should also be noted that appended to the *Dasheng qixin lunshu bixueji huibian* is the *Liuliheshi fashi tongguan* 六離合釋法式通關 by Mingyu 明昱 (1527-1616). This is a brief text describing the six types of compound in Sanskrit, and is the only one of its type found in Korea.[122]

The *Diamond Sutra* (*Jingang jing*) was one of the most popular doctrinal texts in Korean Buddhism and it was glossed-cum-translated into *han'gŭl* in the reign of King Sejo (1419-1450), and a sub-commentary had been written by Hamhŏ Kihwa 涵虛己和 (1376-1433) on three Chinese

[120] *Ch'ŏngyŏng chip* 天鏡集, HPC 9.620a-b.

[121] Yi Chigwan 李智冠, *Han'guk pulgyo soūi kyŏngjŏn yŏn'gu* 韓國佛教所依經典研究 (A Study of the Scriptures Used as a Basis in Korean Buddhism) (Seoul: Poryŏn kak, 1979), p. 214.

[122] *Dasheng qixin lunshu bixueji huibian* 大乘起信論疏筆削記會編, HPC 8: 794a-796b. In Jiaxing Tripitaka, *xuzang,* case 19, J19nB076, no. 4.

commentaries (*Kŭmgang kyŏng samgahae* 金剛經三家解), which were also glossed/translated.[123] After Sŏngch'ong published the *Jingang bore jingshulun zuanyao kandingji huibian* in 1686, five commentaries were written in Chosŏn.[124] The text printed by Sŏngch'ong was much in demand. Haewŏn decided to re-engrave the blocks in 1750, which took three years.[125]

Besides these scholarly texts, Sŏngch'ong also promoted faith in the Pure Land by abstracting stories from Ming-dynasty collections that he had obtained from the shipwreck about the miracles due to the Pure Land practice of recitation. The selection was published in 1686 as *Chŏngt'o posŏ*. The sources he used include the *Jingtu ziliang quanji* 淨土資糧全集 (Complete Collection of the Preparations for the Pure Land) in six fascicles by Zhuang Guanghuan 莊廣還, the *Jingtu quanshu* 淨土全書 (Complete Texts on the Pure Land) in two fascicles by Yu Xingmin 俞行敏, and the *Jingtu chenzhong* 淨土晨鐘 (Morning Bell of the Pure Land) in ten fascicles by Zhou Kefu 周克復 (1546-1603), all found in the Jiaxing Tripitaka.[126] Zhuang had met Yunqi Zhuhong 雲棲袾宏 (1546-1603) from Hangzhou, who encouraged Zhuang to practice the Pure Land and compile the *Jingtu ziliang quanji* in 1594. Yu had studied the works of Zhuhong and compiled the *Jingtu quanshu* in 1664. Zhou had compiled the *Jingang bore chiyan* 金剛般若持驗 (Jiaxing Tripitaka, *xuzang*, case 19, J19nB051).

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[123] Yi Pongchun, "Chosŏn chŏn'gi pulchŏm ŏnhae wa kŭ sasang e taehan yŏn'gu," p. 50.

[124] Yi Chigwan, *Han'guk pulgyo soŭi kyŏngjŏn yŏn'gu*, pp. 246-247.

[125] "Chung kak kŭmgang sogi sŏ" 重刻金剛經疏記序 (Preface to the Re-engraving of the Commentary and Record of the *Diamond Sutra*), in *Ch'ŏngyŏng chip*, HPC 9: 619c.

[126] In order, in *xuzang*, case 20, J20nB078; *xuzang*, case 33, J33nB291; *xuzang*, case 19, J19nB053.

Viewing the Pure Land as a short-cut to liberation, he compiled the *Jingtu chenzhong*, emphasizing the miraculous experiences of the Pure Land. This was part of a lay-centered movement that fused Chan and the Pure Land or that merged Buddhism, Confucianism, and Daoism. Sŏngch'ong abstracted and quoted selected stories, tending to choose stories of lay people, especially from the elites.[127]

Sŏngch'ong said that "I (Pulhye 不慧) recently obtained Chinese books describing the Pure Land" and he found this to be a short-cut teaching of rebirth in the Pure Land. He simplified the texts, making them more appropriate (to a Korean audience), and set the stories up as expedient means to encourage people in the backwater of Korea where many people were affected by evil to aim for rebirth.[128]

It is possible that Sŏngch'ong was aiming at the literate elite, especially the women.[129] Sŏngch'ong also wrote praises of the Pure Land in verse, for which a preface writer wrote,

> The Pure Land is what the Buddhist sutras call the Pure Land in the west, but the Sŏn masters separately have a mastery in a pristine Dharma-realm and they have clarified its limitlessness and vastness. Those who seek to enter the path of Sŏn must first rise up on to that other shore, and this is the first time they can be said to have been reborn in the Pure Land.[130]

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[127] Cho Myŏngje, "Paeg'am Sŏngch'ong ŭi pulchŏn p'yŏnch'an kwa sasangjŏk kyŏnghyang," pp. 93-98.

[128] "Chŏngt'o posŏ sŏ" 淨土寶書序 (Preface to the Precious Writings on the Pure Land), *Chŏngt'o posŏ* 淨土寶書, HPC 8: 484b.

[129] Cho Myŏngje, "Paeg'am Sŏngch'ong ŭi pulchŏn p'yŏnch'an kwa sasangjŏk kyŏnghyang," pp. 98.

[130] "Paeg'am chŏngt'o ch'an sŏ" 栢庵淨土讚序 (Preface to Paeg'am's Praises of the

Sŏngch'ong still viewed Sŏn as a superior practice to Pure Land, having a Sŏn interpretation of the Pure Land, as did many Sŏn masters, that saw the popular understanding of rebirth in the Pure Land to be merely provisional. Hence, he wrote in a "Record for a Pure Land Society" that,

> If one can have a mind that is pure for a moment [or a single chant], then the land cannot be impure [or vice versa]…So then, how can the Pure Land be as far away as billions [of lands] to the west since it does not go beyond the space between one's eyelashes and eyebrows (i.e. the head or mind)?[131]

Thus, in the *Chŏngt'o posŏ*, Sŏngch'ong chose to emphasize the practice of chanting the names or recollections of the Buddha (*yŏmbul* 念佛) in time with the counting of breaths, making this practice into a form of meditation and so more akin to Sŏn.[132]

In 1686, Sŏngch'ong, after "the engraving of a book on the Pure Land, followed it up also with this book," meaning the *Sagyŏng chihŏm ki* 四經持驗紀 (Records of Traditions of Confirming the Miracles of Observing the Four Sutras).[133] The four sutras were the *Avataṃsaka*, *Diamond*, *Lotus* and *Guanyin*, the last not really a sutra but a chapter of the *Lotus Sutra* that

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Pure Land), *Paeg'am chŏngt'o ch'an* 栢庵淨土讚, HPC 8: 512a9-12.

131 "Chŏngt'osa ki" 淨土社記, *Paeg'am chip,* HPC 8: 477b. This is a common Chan refrain.

132 Yi Chigwan, "Chŏsŏ rŭl t'onghae pon chosŏncho ŭi chŏngt'o sasang" 著書를 통해 본 朝鮮朝의 淨土思想 (Chosŏn Dynasty Pure Land Thought Seen Through its Books), in *Han'guk pulgyo munhwa sasangsa* 韓國佛教文化思想史, comp. Kasan Yi Chigwan sŭnim hwagap ki'nyŏm nonch'ong kanhaeng wiwŏnhoe (Seoul: Kasan Pulgyo munhwa chinhŭngwŏn, 1992), vol. 1, pp. 1107, 1109. This has analysis of the content of the *Chŏngt'o posŏ.*

133 For the date, see *Sijing chiyanji,* HPC 8: 544b; for quote from Sŏngch'ong, see *Sijing chiyanji,* HPC 8: 526b.

features this bodhisattva. All of these stories had been compiled by Zhou Kefu, but in separate texts, namely the *Guanshiyin chiyanji* 觀世音持驗紀 of 1659, the *Lichao fahua chiyanji* 歷朝法華持驗紀 in two fascicles, the *Lichao jingang chiyanji* 歷朝金剛持驗紀 in two fascicles, and the *Lichao huayan chiyanji* 歷朝華嚴持驗紀, all found in the Jiaxing continued Tripitaka.[134] For all of these compilations, Zhou was under the influence of Zhuhong.[135]

The content of these texts was similar to that of the *Chŏngt'o posŏ* in tenor.[136] Sŏngch'ong seems to have aimed this compilation at a lay audience, as the *Diamond Sutra* revealed the Dharma-gateway to Mahāyāna and was specially "venerated by the officers of the afterlife," implying it could help believers obtain a better rebirth. On the other hand, the *Lotus* and *Avataṃsaka* sutras represent "the supreme, number one vehicle preached by the Buddha," and the bodhisattva Kwanŭm (Ch. Guanyin) will "liberate all the world, appearing in every world." Therefore, the selected evidence of the miracles associated with the practice of "keeping the sutra" provide "evidence of faith." By compiling these stories, Sŏngch'ong hoped to encourage practice,

> So that we do not fall into the last period [of the Dharma] … Thus, the ordering of these examples [are so that] the disciples of the Gate of Emptiness (Buddhism) will respectfully believe in the Indic texts. The allotments (the capacity of students) definitely respond accordingly. Only those who are laypersons learning the Way are truly like the blue

[134] Jiaxing Tripitaka, *xuzang*, case 19, *xuzang* case 19, J19nB049-52.
[135] Cho Myŏngje, "Paeg'am Sŏngch'ong ŭi pulchŏn p'yŏnch'an kwa sasangjŏk kyŏnghyang," pp. 99-100.
[136] Yi Chongsu, "Sukchong 7-nyŏn chungguk sŏnbak ŭi p'yoch'ak kwa Paeg'am Sŏngch'ong ŭi pulsŏ kanhaeng," p. 286.

> lotus emerging from the mud without being polluted. Because these [people] are extremely rare, I have selected as many of them as possible,

hoping that this will make (lay) people believe and "keep" these four sutras.[137]

However, Sŏngch'ong also directed a message to the monkhood, both in regards to scholarship with the *Daming sanzang fashu*, which is like a dictionary with entries organized by number, that Yiru 一如 compiled in 1419 at the direction of Emperor Taizu of the Ming,[138] and in regard to discipline and effort in practice, with a commentary on the *Zimen jingxun* 緇門警訓 in ten fascicles. The *Zimen jingxun* was written by Zhixian 智賢 in 1313 and continued by Rujin 如卺 (1425- ?) in 1474. Zhixian's text had been brought to Korea by T'aego Pou 太古普愚 (1301-1382) and printed in Koryŏ in 1378, but the continuation by Rujin had not, and was printed in the *zhengzang* section of the Jiaxing Tripitaka.[139]

The *Zimen jingxun* was a text of advice for monks from a Chan perspective. Sŏngch'ong had noted that sutras like the *Diamond* and *Lengyan* had many commentaries, but the *Zimen jingxun* lacked any explanations despite it having been long studied in teaching monasteries, being used almost daily. As a starting point for Buddhist study, it deserved a commentary in his opinion. He used this text and his commentary to counter a style of Sŏn practice that took the self-satisfied attitude that "the mind is a

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[137] "Postface" 跋, *Sijing chiyanji,* HPC 8: 526b-c.

[138] Cho Myŏngje, "Paeg'am Sŏngch'ong ŭi pulchŏn p'yŏnch'an kwa sasangjŏk kyŏnghyang," p. 91 note 8 and Yi Chongsu, "Sukchong 7-nyŏn chungguk sŏnbak ŭi p'yoch'ak kwa Paeg'am Sŏngch'ong ŭi pulsŏ kanhaeng," p. 286. Found in the *zhengzang* part of the Jiaxing Tripitaka.

[139] Cho Myŏngje, "Paeg'am Sŏngch'ong ŭi pulchŏn p'yŏnch'an kwa sasangjŏk kyŏnghyang," p. 93 note 15.

sutra so why also chatter about it." Such monks did away with any induction of doubt in the practice of *kanhwa* 看話 (Ch. *kanhua*) meditation or any practice of Pure Land recitation, just "delighting in license and indulgence in quiet calm."[140] Sŏngch'ong saw learning and wisdom as an antidote to such irresponsible interpretations of Sŏn. This seems to have been followed up by T'aesŏn 太先 (1824-1902) in his *Ch'imun sagi* 緇門私記, a commentary on the *Zimen jingxun*.[141] Sŏngch'ong's commentary was probably influential in having the *Zimen jingxun* included in the Korean monastic curriculum.[142]

Evidently, as Sŏngch'ong claimed to have obtained four hundred fascicles from the shipwreck, but printed only a hundred and ninety fascicles, there were some texts that he had collected that he did not publish. It is possible that they were already available in Chosŏn, or were incomplete, or deemed not worth printing. Yet Sŏngch'ong also published texts that were already in circulation in Chosŏn, such as the *Dahui pujue chanshi shu* 大慧普覺禪師書 (Letters of Chan Master Dahui Pujue) that is in the *zhengzang* section of the Jiaxing Tripitaka (inside the *Dahui pujue chanshi yulu* 大慧普覺禪師語錄 fascicles 25-30, but with some differences), but was probably not printed from that; Zongmi's *Chanyuan zhuquanji duxu* (in Jiaxing Tripitaka, *zhengzang*, case 9, J09nA144); and Chinul's *Pŏpchip*

[140] "Sŏ chu ch'imun kyŏnghun" 敍註緇門警訓 (Preface to the annotated Warnings and Instructions for Monks), *Ch'imun kyŏnghun chu* 緇門警訓註, HPC 8: 552b.

[141] Tongguk Taehakkyo Pulgyo munhwa yŏn'guso, comp., *Han'guk pulgyo ch'ansul munhŏn h'ongnok* 韓國佛教撰述文獻總錄 (Seoul: Tongguk Taehakkyo, 1976), p. 235.

[142] Lee Jongsu, "Monastic Education and Educational Ideology in the Late Chosŏn," *Journal of Korean Religions* 3, 1 (2012): 71.

pyŏrhaengnok chŏryo pyŏng ipsagi 法集別行錄節要并入私記 (Excerpts from the Separately Circulated Record of the Dharma Collection with Personal Inserted Notes), and the *Gaofeng heshang chanyao* 高峰和尚禪要 (Chan Essentials of Reverend Gaofeng), the last two of which were not in the Jiaxing Tripitaka.[143] This displays the influence of Pojo Chinul's style of Sŏn that advocated sudden awakening via the *kanhua* Chan of Dahui Zonggao 大慧宗杲 (1089-1163) and the doctrinal framework for Chan practice provided by Zongmi. Secondly, it appears that Sŏngch'ong was building on, or reinforcing the curriculum for Sŏn students that had been suggested by a pupil of Sŏsan Hyujŏng. This man, Yŏngwŏl Ch'ŏnghak 詠月淸學 (1570-1654) wrote in a poem about the curriculum of the four collections (*sajip* 四集, namely the *Gaofeng chanyao*, the *Dahui shu*, the *Chanyuan zhuquanji duxu* and the *Pŏpchip pyŏrhaengnok chŏryo pyŏng ipsagi*), the four doctrinal teachings (*sagyo* 四教, namely the *Yuanjue jing*, *Diamond*, *Lotus*, and *Lengyan* sutras), and the greater doctrinal teachings (*taegyo* 大教, namely, the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, the *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄, and the *Sŏnmun yŏmsong chip* 禪門拈頌集 by Hyesim 慧諶, Chinul's disciple).[144] Ch'ŏnghak had spent his last years teaching at Chinggwang Monastery, where Sŏngch'ong later published most of the texts he deemed worth publication, and where he also taught, which suggests that this monastery "was at the center of monastic education."[145] Sŏngch'ong's

[143] See Yi Chongsu, "Sukchong 7-nyŏn chungguk sŏnbak ŭi p'yoch'ak kwa Paeg'am Sŏngch'ong ŭi pulsŏ kanhaeng," pp. 276-277.

[144] Yi Chongsu, "Sukchong 7-nyŏn chungguk sŏnbak ŭi p'yoch'ak kwa Paeg'am Sŏngch'ong ŭi pulsŏ kanhaeng," pp. 282-283; *Yŏngwŏldang taesa munjip* 詠月堂大師文集, HPC 8: 234b-235b.

[145] Lee Jongsu, "Monastic Education and Educational Ideology in the Late Chosŏn," p. 72.

publications thus seem to have been aimed at adding to and slightly altering this curriculum, for by late Chosŏn the curriculum had added the *sami* 沙彌 (śramaṇera) course for beginners. This included the *Zimen jingxun*, and the *taegyo* course also included the *Dasheng qixin lun*.[146] There were attempts during this interval to standardize the curriculum, with teachers like Wŏldam Sŏlche 月潭雪霽 (1632-1704) and Hwansŏng Chian 喚性志安 (1664-1729) creating curricula. Chian notably included the *Huayan xuandan hui xuanji*,[147] possibly influenced by Sŏngch'ong's publication of this text.

The result of Sŏngch'ong's publications have been described as "a groundbreaking transformation" in the "distribution of Buddhist scriptures in Chosŏn" and as bringing about a change in the monastic education curricula.[148] These publications also definitely produced a revitalization of Hwaŏm studies in Late Chosŏn, with some of the books and studies being intended as notes on the textbooks used in monastic education.[149]

7. Conclusion

The Chosŏn court had placed an ideological and physical cordon

[146] Yi Chongsu, "Sukchong 7-nyŏn chungguk sŏnbak ŭi p'yoch'ak kwa Paeg'am Sŏngch'ong ŭi pulsŏ kanhaeng," p. 283. Yi Chongsu suggests that the *Dasheng qixin lun* replaced the *Lotus Sutra* in the curriculum because of Sŏngch'ong's publications. Lee Jongsu, "Monastic Education and Educational Ideology in the Late Chosŏn," p. 73.

[147] Yi Chigwan, "Han'guk pulgyo sŭngga kyoyuk ŭi sajŏk koch'al" 韓國佛敎僧伽敎育의 史的考察 (An Historical Examination of the Monastic Education in Korean Buddhism), *Pulgyo hakpo* 18 (1981): 72-74; Robert E. Buswell, Jr., *The Zen Monastic Experience* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), pp. 96-99.

[148] Lee Jongsu, "Monastic Education and Educational Ideology in the Late Chosŏn," p. 72.

[149] Kim Yongtae, *Glocal History of Korean Buddhism*, pp. 140-141.

sanitaire around the Korean peninsula to keep out “heresies,” Buddhism in the main, but to some extent also non-orthodox interpretations of neo-Confucianism, and later, Catholicism. This had started in 1393 and continued at least until the 1850s. It involved guarding the land borders, strictly supervising a very limited trade with China, and trying to keep foreign vessels from landing. The policy, often with the cooperation of China, was largely successful, with only a few breaches. Even when the Chinese Emperor Yongle sent Buddhist and Buddhistic texts to the Chosŏn court in 1418, these soon disappeared and had no effect on the course of Korean Buddhism.

The only breaches that had any influence were those of the *Shishi yuanliu*, which in the late 1440s and 1450s may have given King Sejo some ideas for writing lives of the Buddha in prose and then in Korean poetry. The text definitely arrived in Korea from China in 1631. It seems to have mainly been used for its illustrations by artists in the southwest region of Korea in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

While an entire Tripitaka arrived on a ghost ship, probably from Quanzhou, in 1637, the Chosŏn court rapidly quarantined it. Therefore, the only significant influence any foreign Buddhist books had on Korean Buddhism was via the shipwreck of 1681. Even the king could only look at a couple of texts briefly before the partisan neo-Confucian ministers had the king send these books into storage where they could be securely locked away from sight. This demonstrates the lengths to which the Chosŏn court went to prevent the “infection” of Buddhism from spreading. However, by good fortune and persistence, the monk Sŏngch’ong managed to obtain some of the texts that had escaped the grasps of officialdom. He printed

these texts, some of which promoted the study of Hwaŏm (Ch. Huayan) and the *Dasheng qixin lun* that was part of the doctrinal support for Sŏn practice. He also used some of the texts to bolster monastic discipline and a stricter practice of Sŏn. In effect, he was attempting to consolidate and perhaps expand the monastic curriculum that was being developed during his lifetime. Sŏngch'ong's efforts definitely led to the publication of authoritative texts for the monastic curriculum that are still used to this day. On the other hand, he used texts to propagate the popular practice of Pure Land recitation and the observance of a number of sutras, which seems to have been aimed at spreading these practices among the lay elites.

Thus, Buddhism from outside of Chosŏn Korea consisted almost entirely of texts taken from ships blown onto the southwestern Korean coast while on their way from Kaiyuan Monastery in Quanzhou to Nagasaki in southern Japan. These texts exerted minimal influence overall on this period of Korean Buddhism, which perforce looked inwards to existing resources. This was because only a handful of books (and illustrations) made it through the anti-Buddhist cordon established by the Chosŏn court. Those books that did penetrate the cordon and go on to influence Korean Buddhism did so mostly by accident in the seventeenth century. It was the shipwreck of 1681 and the tireless labors of Sŏngch'ong that had the greatest and most enduring legacy for Korean Buddhism, namely the influence on the content of the monastic education curriculum and the resurrection of Hwaŏm studies.

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