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SAMGUK YUSA

Ilyon

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Legends and History of the Three Kingdoms of Ancient Korea

PREFACE

I

Modern civilizations developed from the beliefs and customs of people in prehistoric times. It is thus essential, if we are to understand a civilization, to study these ancient practices. The difficulty is usually that source materials are very scarce, and most of our understanding of ancient times is based on the findings of archaeology.

In the case of Korea we are fortunate to have two documents which, while by no means contemporary with the events they describe, rely on ancient sources which by now have mostly disappeared. The first of these, *Samguk Sagi* (History of the Three Kingdoms) was compiled by Kim Pu-sik (1075-1151), a high official of the Koryo court, as the officially sanctioned history of that ancient period. It has the faults of most official chronicles, forcing events into a framework pleasing to the government and omitting all matter thought to be embarrassing or indecorous.

The second such document is the present work, *Samguk Yusa* (roughly, Legends of the Three Kingdoms) compiled by Ilyon (1206— 1289), National Priest (Pogak kukjon) of Koryo. One of the chief values of this book is that it includes a great deal of material omitted by the official history, so that through it we can gain an understanding of the beliefs and practices of the people of ancient times, if somewhat distorted by the author's Buddhist point of view.

For that matter, the introduction of Buddhism itself dates from the Three Kingdoms period, and Buddhism has had a strong influence on Korean culture ever since. The book is thus also valuable in that it gives us an insight into the way this religion developed in the course of Korean history.

The book was written at a time when Korea was under the domination of the Mongols, who at that time ruled all China and Central Asia.

Ilyon makes hardly any mention of this fact, but the very writing of such a book at such a time is significant, and the author's love for his country shines through every page.

Since the termination of the Pacific War (1941-1945) Oriental scholars have undertaken restudy of *Samguk Yusa* in order to discover historical developments of peoples in the East buried in mythology and the *sagas* such as *Samguk Yusa*. Both Korean and Japanese scholars naturally take special interest in the reinterpretation of the tales in the book as a part of Oriental studies in history, early poetry in archaic language, and customs in addition to large portions of the book on Buddhism and also interregional contacts between Korea and Japan.

During the past year I had a booklet "Tales from the Three Kingdoms" published containing selected materials from *Samguk Yusa*, *Samguk Sagi* and some other old literature to give preliminary information on the Three Kingdoms, before I completed the unabridged translation of *Samguk Yusa*. If this volume can be of service to Western scholars and general readers interested in Korea and Korean culture I shall have attained my purpose.

Like all such books of its time, *Samguk Yusa* was written in literary Chinese. In preparing this English version, I have been greatly aided by Mr. Yi Chae-ho's translation of the book into modern Korean, and by a similar work by Dr. Yi Pyung-do. I would also like to thank Dr. L. George Paik, President Emeritus of Yonsei University, who inspired me to undertake this work, and Mr. Grafton K. Mintz of the Korea Times for language of the manuscript and for his suggestions concerning the general arrangement of the book. Finally, I am deeply grateful to the Yonsei University Press for agreeing to publish the book and for its help and understanding during the preparation of the volume.

Tae-Hung Ha

October, 1971 Seoul, Korea

II

In preparing this version of the *Samguk Yusa* my chief care has been to make the text easily accessible to the reader. For this reason I have kept footnotes to a minimum and have supplied explanations in parentheses where necessary. Except where indicated, therefore, the material in parentheses has been added by me. It should be added that almost all this

information is taken from the very full annotations made by Mr. Ha in his original manuscript.

Ilyon, like his contemporaries, dates events in two ways, by the reigns of Chinese emperors and by the twelve-year cycle of the animals of the zodiac. Each succeeding emperor had an official name for the period of his reign, and sometimes he might have more than one for different periods. I have let these stand, though mostly in abbreviated form, and have added Christian-era dates in parentheses. All dates are A.D. unless otherwise noted.

Certain suffixes occur rather frequently in place-names. I have explained them in the text, but for the convenience of the reader will also translate a few of the most frequent ones here. Thus *sa* means "temple" *jon* means "pavilion," *song* means "wall or fortress," and *san* means "mountain." I should like to acknowledge here the kind cooperation of Mr. Ha and also of Professor Jun Hyung-kook, the director of the Yonsei University Press. Their cordial attitude and their toleration of my crochets about the English language have made my work on this book a joy. It is my hope that the reader will find equal pleasure in it.

G. K. M

INTRODUCTION

FOR THE READERS

Our knowledge of the ancient history of Korea is scanty. Contemporary documents are few, and consist mainly of Chinese writings which allude here and there to Korea. Other documents we know only by quotations in later writings, for wars and invasions destroyed the originals and they have not survived. During the Koryo dynasty (935-1392) two chronicles of Korea's earliest period were compiled. The first, *Samguk Sagi*, was written by Kim Pu-sik, a high government official, in the twelfth century. It followed the pattern of Chinese dynastic histories and the conventions of Confucian historiography, the idea being that one may learn from history by studying the virtues and vices of the rulers of the past.

The Confucian tendency was to "humanize" the myths and legends of the past, to interpret them as early distortions of events that actually occurred, and thus much of what was actually mythology and folklore has been obscured by attempts to fit it into the framework of actual events. Thus the *Samguk Sagi*, while it contains considerable material that is

obviously legendary, attempts to fit the legends of early Korea into the framework of Confucian attitudes.

The second such document is the *Samguk Yusa*, the present work. Its author was a Buddhist priest who was interested in the early history of his country. The book had no official sanction and was thus not at the mercy of the official philosophy of history. While the writer subscribed to the Confucian idea of history to a great extent, he was also intelligent enough to see that history could not be forced into a predetermined framework and was content to set down the old stories as he found them, without much effort at interpretation.

The title is difficult to translate. *Yusa* does not mean precisely legends, although that idea is implied by the word. It also carries the ideas of anecdotes, memorabilia and the like. It was not conceived as a set piece of scholarship but was written in the author's leisure hours as a kind of diversion. Its value is not so much historical in the strict sense of a chronicle of events as it is an account of the beliefs and folklore of medieval Korea, much of it dating back to earlier times. It is thus a valuable supplement to the officially sanctioned view of history found in *Samguk Sagi*, and is of the highest value to the student of folklore and religion.

The title of the book is somewhat of a misnomer, for it is not really an account of the histories of the three ancient kingdoms of Korea. It is concerned primarily with only one of them, Silla, which in time conquered the other two with the help of China. Moreover, it covers the period during which Silla ruled the peninsula down to its fall to the Koryo dynasty in 935.

For a proper understanding of the book, a brief account of the events of the period it covers as modern history sees them is necessary. As we have mentioned, materials for this early period are scanty. Contemporary Chinese documents mention the Korean peninsula from time to time, and a region in the northeast was colonized during the Han dynasty and continued under Chinese rule until as late as 313, over a century after Han rule had collapsed in China proper.

Three kingdoms developed on the peninsula, probably during the course of the first century A.D. The traditional founding dates are 57 B.C. for Silla, 37 B.C. for Koguryo and 18 B.C. for Paekje. These dates are unsupported by contemporary evidence, however, and most scholars think they are too early. In any case, these kingdoms were certainly in existence during the

period of Chinese history known as the Later Han dynasty (25-220 A.D.) and afterwards.

Koguryo was initially the largest and most powerful of the three. The tribes which originally composed it lived along the banks of the Yalu river, which forms the present northwestern boundary of Korea, and may have been related to the stock-breeding nomads of the central Asian steppes. They are known to have been excellent horsemen. When they emerge upon the scene of history we find them ruling an area which extended from south of the Han River across the present Korean boundary and far north into Manchuria and west to the Liaotung peninsula.

The two kingdoms of the south are thought to have been founded by migrants from the north, since civilization was more highly developed there, mainly because of closer contacts with China. Paekje in the southwest is known to have been dominated by a northern tribe called Puyo, which had come originally from Manchuria and had been dominated for a time by Koguryo. Paekje played an important part in the transmission of Chinese civilization to Japan. Its rulers are frequently pictured as effete and dissolute, but this is probably because its history has been written mainly by its enemies.

Silla in the southeast is given the earliest founding date, but this is probably because it conquered the others. In any case, there is clear evidence that it was the latest to develop. We are told that it was the last to set up Chinese-style institutions of government and the last to adopt the Buddhist religion.

In addition to these three there was for a time a relatively small area in the south, on the coast and along the Naktong River, known as Kaya or Karak, which persisted as a kingdom until it was absorbed by Silla in 562 A.D. Little is known of it except that it was considerably influenced by Japan.

The three kingdoms were in a state of more or less constant conflict throughout their existence, with frequent alliances of two of them against the third. In the earlier part of the three kingdoms period it was usual for Silla and Paekje to be in alliance against the more powerful Koguryo, and a rough balance of power was thus created. But during the latter part of the period Silla power grew and she began to expand at the expense of both her rivals. Of particular significance was the Silla seizure of the territory along the Han River, for this drove a wedge between her two rivals.

Even so, Silla power alone might not have enabled her to conquer the whole peninsula. Events in China now began to influence Korea, however, and to these events we must now turn.

After the fall of the Han dynasty in 220 A.D. China was divided into numerous states. There were frequent wars and revolts and consequent changes of boundaries and governments during a period of about three and a half centuries, and thus, while Chinese cultural influence continued, there was hardly any Chinese political or military intervention in Korea. In the year 589, however, China was once more unified under the Sui dynasty, and the rulers promptly began to concern themselves with subduing the “barbarians” on China's borders.

One of the results of this policy was a series of attacks upon Koguryo. These were successfully beaten off, and their failure was one of the causes of the fall of the Sui dynasty in 618. But China was not to suffer another period of disunity. The T'ang dynasty immediately succeeded the Sui and ruled China for the next three centuries. This was the period of China's greatest cultural influence upon her neighbors, so much so that the word “T'ang” was used as a name for China long after the dynasty had perished.

From the Chinese point of view the main problem of foreign relations was to prevent attacks by the nomadic tribes whose territories bordered China, particularly in the north. To this end it was Chinese policy to set up subordinate states in border areas which acknowledged suzerainty to the Emperor or, where possible, to conquer these areas and incorporate them into the empire.

Observing that the Sui attacks on Koguryo along its northern borders in Manchuria had failed, the T'ang rulers entered into an alliance with Silla whose object was to subdue the entire peninsula and if possible bring it under Chinese rule. This policy succeeded to a certain extent. Coordinated attacks by T'ang and Silla troops destroyed Paekje in 663, and Koguryo finally fell in 668. In both instances the Chinese set up provincial governments and stationed military garrisons in the conquered territory, and when Koguryo had been conquered appeared ready to turn upon Silla.

But even at this early date the Korean people had a long history of resistance to foreign rule and the Chinese found Silla unexpectedly difficult to conquer. Moreover, revolts broke out in the previously conquered territory, which Silla supported. Eventually an arrangement was worked out whereby the Silla dynasty ruled all of Korea but acknowledged the

superiority of the Chinese Emperor. It became the custom for each succeeding Korean King to apply to the Chinese court for confirmation of his legitimacy, in token of which he received a golden seal from the Emperor. This practice persisted throughout the Korean monarchy.

In practice there was little Chinese interference in domestic Korean affairs and the Korean government did pretty much as it liked, but Chinese cultural influence was profound. During the period when Silla ruled the peninsula, which roughly corresponded to the period of T'ang rule in China, Korean monks and scholars visited China in large numbers, and Korean social, political and religious institutions, while not slavish imitations, were organized largely along Chinese lines.

The matter of language is an important case in point. When contact with Chinese civilization began Korea had not yet developed a system of writing her language. Naturally the script of the more highly developed Chinese civilization was taken over, but here a difficulty arose. Korean is a highly inflected language, verb suffixes being of particular importance. Chinese, on the other hand, resembles English in this respect, its inflections being few and simple. Moreover, Chinese was not written in a phonetic script but in ideographs, signs representing ideas rather than sounds. It was thus all but impossible to convey the Korean language in the Chinese script, and literacy became a matter of learning the Chinese language.

In time a system was worked out, called *Idu*, of using some Chinese ideographs phonetically in order to represent the sounds of the Korean language, and a few songs and poems were thus preserved, some of which are quoted in the present volume. But this was clumsy and difficult to use, and in general Korean scholars wrote in Chinese. In time, of course, the Koreans gave their own peculiar pronunciations to the Chinese words, but what they wrote remained Chinese in syntax and vocabulary. All Korean writing down to the invention of Hangul, the Korean alphabet, in the fifteenth century, is therefore in the Chinese language. The same holds true for the literature of several other nations in the Chinese sphere of influence, including Japan and Vietnam.

This led also, of course, to a massive influx of Chinese words into the Korean vocabulary, although there was no particular influence on Korean grammar. This borrowing is somewhat comparable to the borrowing of Latin words by the English language.

Another important result of Chinese cultural influence was the introduction of the Buddhist religion. The present work describes this as happening in the late fourth century, which corresponds well with other evidence. It seems unlikely, however, that Buddhism became really influential until well into the period of united Silla rule.

Buddhism was already about eight hundred years old when it first reached Korea, and had changed a great deal from the austere doctrines of the original Buddha. The sect known as Mahayana had developed in north India in the religion's earlier centuries, and it was this sect which penetrated China, and subsequently Korea. Of particular importance was the doctrine of Bodhisattvas. These were supposed to be persons who had attained the state of enlightenment which made it possible for them to escape the eternal round of death and rebirth which is the fate of all creatures, but who chose rather to remain in existence in order to help others.

Buddhism had, in other words, developed a doctrine of salvation by grace, whereas its founder had held that a person attained enlightenment and eventually Nirvana solely by his own efforts. This meant a vast increase in the religion's popular appeal and a multiplication of its deities. There were believed to have been a succession of Buddhas, one for each era of history, and there is even a Buddha of the future, Maitreya, who paradoxically also exists in the present.

Another characteristic of Buddhism is its easy adaptation to local beliefs when it enters new areas. Buddhism is not an exclusivist, authoritarian religion like Christianity or Islam. Doctrinal purity is of far less importance, and various different sects live amicably side by side. In like manner, the gods and spirits of primitive religion were simply given the trappings of Bodhisattvas and adopted into the pantheon. Thus in the present work we find several allusions to the Mountain Spirit, a survivor of ancient Korean animistic beliefs. Even today this Mountain Spirit has a shrine in almost every Buddhist temple in Korea. He is always portrayed as an old man, and is usually accompanied by a tiger.

The author of *Samguk Yusa* was a man of the Kim family who was born in Kyongju, which had been the Silla capital, in 1206. He entered the order of Buddhist monks while still a child, and was given the religious name Ilyon. He passed the national examinations for monks of the Son (Zen) sect with the highest distinction at the age of 22, and thereafter devoted himself to teaching and study, residing at various temples at different times.

There are few details available about his life, but it is said that he was greatly admired not only for his knowledge of the Buddhist scriptures but also for his mastery of the Confucian Classics, which were the basis of all secular learning in his time. He was also a very diligent author, and a stone monument erected in his honor on his death at 83 gives a list of his works. *Samguk Yusa* is not on the list, which leads one to suppose that the book was not printed until after his death, a supposition which is supported by the fact that at least two short sections of the work are added by Muguk, one of Uyon's disciples.

Knowledge of his authorship barely survived. In the sixteenth century it was found that the carved wooden plates from which the book had originally been printed were so worn as to be nearly useless. A nobleman named Yi Kye-pok, however, managed to obtain a copy of an earlier printing, and from this he had a new edition prepared. It was found that Ilyon was named as author only at the beginning of the fifth volume, his name having been dropped, probably by accident, from the other four.

Modern texts of the work are based on this 1512 edition, the earliest in existence. The translator has been permitted to consult an actual copy of this 1512 edition in making the present English version, based on the reprint of an original book of Chinese composition, known as “Chongdok-Pon” (Cheng-te Text), printed from hand-carved wooden blocks in the reign of King Chungjong (1488-1544) of the Yi Dynasty which corresponds to the reign of Emperor Cheng-te of Ming China, according to the postscript written by Yi Kye-pok.

Samguk Yusa had a wide audience in former times as a reliable source of information for academic and popular interest, as its stories are included in *Koryosa* (History of Koryo), *Yoji-sungnam* (Places of Interest in the Eastern Nation) and *Taedong-Unpu-kun-ok* (Great Eastern Galaxy of Rhythmic Gems). Thus it was highlighted as an important work of literature although some Confucian scholars like Yi Kyukyong in the reign of Honjong, in his book “Demonstrative Essays on Historical Works” called it a collection of fantastic stories.

More recently, in his book “Outline of Eastern History” Ahn Chong-hwa made an analysis of *Samguk Yusa*, but after that time its traces were lost to the world. Ch'oe Nam-son obtained only three of its volumes on Buddhist stories from temples. Then its treasured volumes in the possession of Sunam-Ahnsi were discovered and passed into the hands of a Japanese

named Imanishi in Aichi. These were a full set of the five volumes of *Chongdok Reprints*, which appeared in about the 7th year of King Chungjong of the Yi Dynasty. In 1921 these volumes were reproduced in reduced size on glass plates as Facsimiles in Vol. VI, History Series of the Literary Department, Kyoto Imperial University, and in 1932 they were reprinted in the original large size by the Old Classics Publishing Society in Seoul. Before this, in 1928, its type-printed copies appeared in the name of the Chosun Sahak Hoe (Korean History Science Society) with Imanishi's proof reading.

It is not clear when *Samguk Yusa* was first introduced into Japan, but according to "*Samguk Yusa Haeje*" by Choe Nam-son, one volume carried off during the Hideyoshi Invasion (1592-98) has been handed down in the families of Tokugawa in Owari and Kanda in Tokyo, with two leaves of the Royal Chronological Tables and several leaves in the text missing and some letters blank. This volume was published as research material in the History Series, Literary Department, Tokyo Imperial University in 1904. The Kanda copy bears the seal of *Yoanin Library*, signifying the house of a medical doctor in the Tokugawa shogunate, because this copy was given the doctor by Ukida Hideiye, one of the Japanese field generals fighting in Korea, in gratitude for the doctor's marvellous cure of his wife's singular malady, on his triumphal return from Korea after the Hideyoshi War with trophies including thousands of treasured books from Korea.

Since Ilyon was greatly interested in preserving legends and folklore, some knowledge of ancient beliefs and society is necessary for a full understanding of his book. Underlying the more sophisticated faiths which came from other countries there has always been in Korea a tenacious native animism. Mountains, rivers, trees and the like are all inhabited by spirits which frequently take a hand in human affairs. These blended inextricably with Chinese lore, with some Taoist ideas, and with the numerous supernatural beings of popular Buddhism. Many of the events of which Ilyon wrote were as remote in time from him as he is from us, and the beliefs and practices which he describes were frequently very ancient. As will be seen in the text, a good many of them probably antedate the coming of Buddhism to Korea.

A good case in point is the Tangun story, which is found near the beginning of Book One. Tangun is often described as the "founder" of Korea, but it would be more accurate to say "ancestor of the Koreans." The

fact that his mother is said to have been a bear transformed into a woman is clear evidence of the existence in very ancient times of totemism, the belief that a given tribe or clan is identified with or descended from a certain animal. Moreover, the fact that this clan symbol, the bear, is female may be evidence of the existence of a matriarchal, or at any rate matrilineal, society in ancient times.

Another element in ancient Korean religion was sun worship. This is shown by the fact that several of the legendary founders of states in this book are described as having been born from divine eggs which descended from heaven, the egg in this case being a sun symbol.

Turning to the social structure of Silla, there are two matters of importance. First of all, this was a highly aristocratic society, much more so than China. The different classes of society were carefully distinguished, and crossing class lines was almost unheard of. The highest class consisted of the members of the royal clan and the important court and government posts were held by them exclusively. This was the Kim clan of Kyongju, whose founding legend is found in Book One.

Secondly, mention must be made of the Order of Hwarang. The word may be translated "Flower Youth" and describes an institution resembling the order of knighthood in medieval Europe. It consisted of specially selected youths of aristocratic lineage and of superior mental and physical attainments. They were trained in the martial arts, but also in intellectual and religious matters, and then became the nation's military elite. Kim Yusin, who commanded the armies that helped conquer Paekje and Koguryo, is a good example.

The book itself is not a systematic work. It was, we are told, an activity of the author's leisure hours and was probably put together bit by bit over a rather long period. The accounts are grouped by subjects, but within each section they vary extremely. Some consist of entirely legendary material, some are factual history, and a large number are a blend of the two. The first two parts relate to the foundations of the various kingdoms and to various events during the history of the Silla kingdom. The last three parts are devoted mainly to Buddhism, especially to the lives and miracles of famous monks.

Ilyon is very particular as to names and dates, and frequently records disagreements on these matters in his source material. He is not, unfortunately, so meticulous in the citation of the sources themselves. He

refers often to the *Samguk Sagi*, and since this book still exists the references can be checked. But for the rest, he is vague. For example, early in Book One he refers to a book which he calls the *Wei Shu* ("Wei Writing," that is, the history of the Chinese kingdom of Wei). A book of this title does exist, but none of the quotations Ilyon uses are to be found in it. One can only conclude that there was more than one *Wei Shu* (as there was more than one Wei state) and that Ilyon has not indicated which one he means.

In other places he is content simply to cite "an old book" or "an old Silla book." It is certain in any case that he had access to many documents which are no longer in existence. There appear to have been, for example, several collections of the lives of famous monks, some Korean and some Chinese, and these he quotes frequently.

But perhaps more important even than his use of now lost documents is the fact that Ilyon records many of the beliefs and practices of the people of thirteenth-century Korea, a fact which makes his book extremely important for the study of that period as well as earlier ones. The Tangun story as given here, for example, is the earliest documentary evidence for this legend.

One must add finally that this is a book which can be read simply for pleasure. Its tales are comparable, though on a more sophisticated level, to the fairy tales of Europe. The reader finds himself in a world of dragons, ghosts and miracles, superhuman kings and monks who can fly through the air. He also finds the wonderful laughter, the solid, earthy humor of Korea. Ilyon was no doubt a pious Buddhist, but he was no prude for all that, and he sets down the old tales as he heard them.

This, then, is *Samguk Yusa*, a book of the highest value from every point of view and one deserving the attention of anyone interested in Korea, or, indeed, in East Asian civilization generally.

The romanized spelling of Oriental proper nouns in this book is done, in principle, according to the standardized McCune-Reischauer system for easy reference to the original Chinese characters. The sexagenary years of the Lunar Calendar in the text and the appendix have been changed to the corresponding years of the Gregorian Calendar.

The chronological list of the Kings and Queens of the Three Kingdoms and Karak, which appears at the beginning of the original work, appears in the present translation as an appendix.

In the footnotes some identical annotations of Dr. Yi Pyung-do and Mr. Yi Chae-ho in their *Korean Versions of Samguk Yusa* are added, with quotations from some parts of Ch'oe Nam-son's *Bibliography of Samguk Yusa (Haeje)* in this *Introduction* for the benefit of the readers.

—the translators

BOOK ONE

I. Wonder I (the Founding of the Kingdoms)

Prologue

The ancient sages founded nations by the use of decorum and music, and fostered culture with humanity and justice, not claiming marvelous strength or the aid of treacherous gods. But when a man worthy to receive the mandate of heaven appeared, the event was usually marked by some happy augury setting him apart from other people and showing that here was one able to ride the changing tide, seize the treasured regalia and accomplish the great work of founding a state.

Thus in ancient days in China a dragon-horse with a picture on its back appeared on the surface of the Yellow River (Hwang-ho) and a godlike turtle with a character carved on its shell appeared on the Lo-sui stream on the eve of the rising of great sages.¹ Enveloped in a rainbow, the goddess-mother bore Fu-hsi; touched by a dragon Nu-t'eng gave birth to Yen-ti; Ohwang fell in love with a celestial boy who called himself the son of Pai-ti while she was playing in the field of Kung-hsiang, and bore Hsiao-ho; Chien-ch'i, after swallowing an egg, brought forth Ch'i; Chiang-yuan, after treading in the mark of a footstep, bore Chi; Yao was born after fourteen months in his mother's womb; and Peikung was a dragon's love-child, the result of an embrace in a large lake.

No pen can describe all the wonders attending the births of the founders of states. These are set down here as precedents for the stories of the founders of the Three Kingdoms, to be found in the following chapters.

1. Old Chosun (Wanggom Chosun)

In the *Wei-shu*² it is written, "Two thousand years ago (Traditional date: 2333 B.C.) Tangun, otherwise called Wanggom, chose Asadal, also described as Muyop-san in the province of Paekju east of Kae-song, at a place now called Paegak-kung (modern P'yongyang) as his royal residence and founded a nation, calling it Chosun, at the same period as Kao (legendary Chinese Emperor Yao)."

In the Old Book it is written, “In ancient times Hwan-in (Heavenly King, Chesok or *Sakrodevendra*) had a young son whose name was Hwan-ung. The boy wished to descend from heaven and live in the human world. His father, after examining three great mountains, chose T'aebaek-san (the Myohyang Mountains in north Korea) as a suitable place for his heavenly son to bring happiness to human beings. He gave Hwan-ung three heavenly treasures, and commanded him to rule over his people.

“With three thousand of his loyal subjects Hwan-ung descended from heaven and appeared under a sandalwood tree on T'aebaek Mountain. He named the place Sin-si (city of god) and assumed the title of Hwan-ung Ch'onwang (another title meaning heavenly king). He led his ministers of wind, rain and clouds in teaching the people more than 360 useful arts, including agriculture and medicine, inculcated moral principles and imposed a code of law.

“In those days there lived a she-bear and a tigress in the same cave. They prayed to Sin-ung (another name of Hwan-ung) to be blessed with incarnation as human beings. The king took pity on them and gave them each a bunch of mugwort and twenty pieces of garlic, saying, 'If you eat this holy food and do not see the sunlight for one hundred days, you will become human beings.'

“The she-bear and the tigress took the food and ate it, and retired into the cave. In twenty-one days the bear, who had faithfully observed the king's instructions, became a woman. But the tigress, who had disobeyed, remained in her original form.

“But the bear-woman could find no husband, so she prayed under the sandalwood tree to be blessed with a child. Hwan-ung heard her prayers and married her. She conceived and bore a son who was called Tangun Wanggom, the King of Sandalwood.

“In the fiftieth year of the reign of T'ang Kao (legendary Chinese emperor Yao, traditional date some time before 2000 B.C.) in the year of Kyong-in (if it was Kyong-in, it must be the 23rd year) Tangun came to P'yongyang (now Sogyong), set up his royal residence there and bestowed the name Chosun upon his kingdom.

“Later Tangun moved his capital to Asadal on T'aebaek-san and ruled 1500 years, until king Wu of Chou (ancient Chinese dynasty) placed Kija on the throne (traditional date 1122 B.C.). When Kija arrived, Tangun

moved to Changtang-kyong and then returned to Asadal, where he became a mountain god at the age of 1,908.”

In the book of P'eichu-chuan of T'ang (Chinese dynasty, 618-907 A.D.) it is written, “Koryo (i.e. Koguryo) was originally Kojuk-kuk (now Haeju) and was called Chosun by the Chou emperor on the investiture of Kija. During the Han dynasty (Chinese, 206 B.C.-222 A.D.) Chosun was divided into three counties—Hyonto, Nangnang and Taebang.” The book T'ung-tien gives the same account. However, the Han-shu tells of four counties (Chinbon, Imtun, Hyonto and Nangnang) with names different from those in the other sources, for some unknown reason. *(This is an allusion to a portion of northwestern Korea which was under direct Chinese rule from 108 B.C. to 313 A.D. The only one of any enduring importance was Nangnang, called Lolang in Chinese.)*

2. Weiman Chosun

(The following account is a somewhat more detailed and historically more accurate description of the ancient Kingdom of Chosun and its wars with the Chinese Han dynasty under the Wu-Ti Emperor (141-87 B.C.) which resulted in the setting up of the Chinese colony of Lolang (Nangnang) in northwestern Korea. The Yen here referred to was one of the “warring states” of China during the period immediately before China's unification by the brief Ch'in and subsequent Han dynasties. There were revolts early in the Han dynasty and an attempt was made to reestablish Yen, which adjoined Korea.)

In the Chosun-jon (Chao-hsien-chuan) section of the book Ch'ien Han-shu it is written, “At the beginning of the Yen dynasty the invaders conquered Chinbon (part of northern Korea), stationed troops there and built defense barriers. (After the state of Ch'in conquered all China) Yen was made a frontier territory bordering the Liaotung peninsula. (When the Han dynasty arose after the breakup of Ch'in) the rulers, finding it difficult to control this remote territory, repaired the old barriers and established the frontier along the P'aisu River (possibly the Ch'ongchon River).

“When Lu Kwan, King of Yen, rebelled (against Han) and took sides with the Hsiung-nu (nomadic tribes), Weiman, a Yen official, with a thousand followers, broke through the border defenses and fled east (i.e. to Korea). Crossing the P'aisu River, he took up residence in the buffer zone which had been established beyond the frontier. Here he gradually subjugated the native tribes with the aid of refugees from Yen and Ch'i

(another rebellious state) and assumed the title of king, setting up a court at the city of Wanggom (location uncertain, but note the obvious connection with Tangun).

“Weiman attacked the neighboring areas and Chinbon and Imtun (in present north Korea) were brought under his rule. Eventually he expanded his territory into a large realm extending several thousand *li* (about a third of a mile) in the four directions.

“Weiman's son and grandson followed him to the throne without undue incident. During the reign of his grandson U-ko, Chinbon and Chinkuk (small principalities south of the Han River) wished to establish direct relations with the Han dynasty in China. U-ko, however, (probably seeing this as a threat to his power) intercepted the envoys and would not allow them to proceed.

“In the second year of Yuanfeng (reign period of the Han emperor Wu-Ti, 109 B.C.) the Emperor sent She-ho to persuade U-ko to submit to the Han Empire. U-ko refused. Consequently, when She-ho crossed the P'aisu River on his return journey he ordered his coachman to kill the Chosun general who was escorting him and then hastened back to the Han court to report to the Emperor.

“The Emperor thereupon appointed She-ho governor of East Liaotung county (bordering Chosun). Out of enmity, however, the people of Chosun killed him in a surprise attack. Incensed, the Emperor ordered admiral Yangp'u to sail from Ch'i (on the Shantung Peninsula) with a fleet of warships and transports carrying 50,000 men. At the same time Hsun-che, his general of the left, was to attack U-ko's kingdom from the Liaotung peninsula. Determined to meet force with force, U-ko stationed his troops in the mountain passes leading into his country to meet the Han army.

“Meanwhile admiral Yang-p'u made a landing and sent an advance force of 700 men toward Wanggom. U-ko, who was defending the city, seeing the small size of this force, attacked and defeated it. Deserted by his retreating troops, Yang-p'u was forced to fly for his life to the mountains.

“The Han land forces now attacked the Chosun army on the P'aisu but were unable to defeat it. When this lack of success was reported to the emperor, he sent Weishan to persuade U-ko to surrender. This time U-ko was ready for negotiations and sent his crown prince to meet the Han envoy with a promise of a gift of horses to the Emperor. But when the crown prince, followed by a train of 10,000 men armed to the teeth, was about to

cross the P'aisu River, Weishan and Hsun Che (the general), fearing danger, asked him to disarm his men, since he was surrendering. Fearing a trick in his turn however, the crown prince abandoned his mission and returned to the capital.

“When Weishan reported this affair to the Han court, the Emperor was transported with rage and had him beheaded.

“(War was now resumed.) The Han general, having defeated the army on the P'aisu, advanced toward the city of Wanggom and laid siege to it from the northwest. At the same time admiral Yang-p'u (having presumably escaped and landed the rest of his forces) reinforced the siege from the south. U-ko, however, defended the city valiantly and kept the enemy at bay for an entire month.

“Disappointed by this stalemate, the Emperor sent out Kungsun-sui, the former governor of Tsinan, to attack Wanggom, giving him overall command and ordering him to make the best he could of the situation. Kungsun-sui arrested and imprisoned admiral Yang-p'u and put the naval troops under his own command before launching a lightning attack.

“At this time four Chosun officials—No-in, Han-to, Sam, and general Hyop—planned to surrender. When the king objected, they all deserted and surrendered at the Han camp, except for No-in, who died on the way, and Minister Sam.

“In the third year of Yuanfeng(108 B.C.) at midsummer Minister Sam employed a gladiator to murder King U-ko and appeared at the Han camp in his turn. But the city of Wanggom still held out and another Chosun minister, Song-ki, attacked the Han forces. The exasperated Han general made Chang, the son of U-ko and Ch'oe the son of No-in issue a decree ordering the death of Song-ki.

“This was the last act of the tragedy. Weiman Chosun was conquered and subdued. Four counties (to be integrated into the Chinese administrative system) were set up—Chinbon, Imtun, Nangnang and Hyonto.”

(These are the four Chinese colonies previously alluded to. Nangnang (Lolang) was the only one to endure under Chinese rule for very long.)

3. Mahan

In Wei-chih³ it is written, “When Weiman attacked Chosun, King Joon, accompanied by his court ladies, crossed the sea and arrived in the land of Han in the south, where he established a state, calling it Mahan.” (This was evidently southwestern Korea. The name “Han” here, which is still used to

designate Korea, is a different word from the name of the Han dynasty of China and is written with a different Chinese character.)

In a letter from Chin Hwon (also called Kyon Hwon) we read, "In olden days, Mahan was first created a nation in Kummasan before

Hyokkose rose to power." (The letter was purportedly addressed to Wang Kon, who founded the Koryo dynasty in 918.) Ch'oe Ch'i-won (a Silla scholar) states in his book that Mahan was Koguryo and Chinhan Silla. According to the chronicle (the *Samguk Sagi*, the official chronicle of the Three Kingdoms, written somewhat earlier than the present work) Silla arose in the year Kapcha (57 B.C.) and Koguryo in the year Kapsin (37 B.C.). It also relates that Mahan rose first under King Joon. But it is obvious that King Tongmyong (the first recorded Koguryo king) at the height of his power possessed Mahan, hence Koguryo was called Mahan. Nowadays people call Mahan Paekje because of its capital in Kummasan, but that is a mistaken idea. Since there was a mountain known as Maup-san in the land of Koguryo, they called the country Mahan. (Evidence from other sources indicates that this is mistaken.)

The land was originally inhabited by four barbarian tribes whose names were Kui, Kuhan, Ye and Maek. In the Chouli we read that Chifang-shih was in charge of the four barbarian tribes and nine Maek, these last being the Tung-i, or nine barbarian tribes of the east.

In Sankuo-shih (History of the Three Chinese Kingdoms) it is written, "Myongju was the old land of the Ye tribe. The native farmers of Myongju presented to the throne seals and stamps of the Ye kings which they found while plowing their fields. Ch'unju was the old province of Usuju or Maek-kuk, which was also attributed to Sakju or P'yongyang." (There is indeed evidence of tribes called Ye and Maek in Kangwon province where these places are located, except the last.)

In the commentaries of Huinan-tzu it is maintained that the Tung-i were divided into nine tribes, and that the nine barbarian tribes referred to in the Analects of Confucius were Hyonto, Nangnang, Koryo, Mansik, Puyu, Soka, Tongto, Wai-in (Wo-len) and Ch'onp'i.

In the book Tongdo-songnip-ki (History of the Eastern Capital) by Haedong-Anhong, the nine Hans are identified as Japan, Chung-hwa, Wu and Yueh, Maola, Ung-yu, Malgal, Tan-guk, Nuchen and Yemaek. (*There is some confusion in this source. "Japan" is an obvious mistake and*

“Nuchen” probably refers to the Jurchen tribes of Manchuria. The names of Ye and Maek have been combined into one.)

4. Two Prefectures

In Ch'ienhan-shu⁴ it is written, “In the fifth year of Han emperor Chao-ti (B.C. 82) in the year of Kihae two overseas prefectures were organized, P'yongju Prefecture over the two counties of P'yongna and Hyonto and the East Prefecture over Imtun and Nangnang counties under the administration of the general government.” But the Chao-hsien-Chuan states, “The country was divided into four counties—Chinbon, Hyonto, Imtun and Nangnang.” The P'yongna mentioned in the Ch'ien han-shu is probably Chinbon. (This is yet another account of the Chinese colonies set up in northern Korea by the Chinese Han dynasty. They were first established in 108 B.C. and endured until 313 A.D.)

5. Seventy-Two States

In T'ung-tien it is written, “The natives of Chosun inhabited more-than 70 local states of an area of 100 *li* each.” (A *li* is about a third of a mile.)

The Houhan-shu says “(Hsi-Han, the Chinese Han dynasty) first divided the land of old Chosun into four counties which were reorganized into two prefectures later. When more complex laws had to be enacted, the administrative districts were again readjusted into 78 states each comprising 10,000 households. Mahan in the west had 54 small cities, Chinhan in the east had 12 small cities, and Pyonhan in the south had 12 small cities. These small city-states called themselves nations.” (*A distinction must be made here. The territory ruled by China was effectively limited to the northwest corner of the peninsula. Mahan etc. were tribal communities not ruled by the Chinese.*)

6. Nangnang (Lolang)

During the early Han (Chinese dynasty) period Nangnang was first established. Ying-shao calls it the old Chosun state, and in the commentary on the Hsin T'ang-shu we read “P'yongyang-ch'eng is identical with Nangnang county of the early Han.”

However, in the Samguk Sagi we find the following: “In the 30th year of the reign of King Hyokkose (first recorded Silla king; this would be 27 B.C. by the traditional dating) the men of Nangnang came and surrendered (to Silla), and in the fourth year of King Norye of Silla, King Muhyul (Taemusin), the third sovereign of Koguryo (18-44 A.D.) conquered and destroyed Nangnang, forcing its people together with those of Taebang

(North Taebang) to surrender to Silla. Then in the 27th year of the reign of King Muhyul (44 A.D.) Emperor Kuangwu (Kuang Wu Ti of the Han dynasty) sent an army to invade Nangnang and establish counties in the occupied territory. Thus the area north of Salsu (the Ch'ongch'on River) was ruled by China.”

These statements seem to indicate that Nangnang may be identified with P'yongyang-ch'eng. But some scholars maintain that Nangang was the land of Malgal at the foot of Mt. Chungtu and the Salsu is the Taedong River. It is hard to tell who is right.

King Onjo of Paekje (first Paekje king, 18 B.C.-28 A.D.) said, “Nangnang is in the east and Malgal is in the north.” This would make Nangnang one of the Chinese colonies during the Han dynasty. But the people of Silla called their own country Nangnang and even now call a noble lady a lady of Nangnang. This is well shown by the fact that King T'aejo (the founder of the Koryo dynasty) called his daughter, whom he gave in marriage to the surrendered king of Silla the Princess of Nangnang.

(The borders of the Chinese colonies, of which Nangnang was the only permanent one, varied at different times and the area came under increasing attack as the Three Kingdoms gathered strength. Taebang, which is discussed below, was a southern extension of Nangnang.)

7. Taebang

(Taebang was divided into two parts, north and south.) North Taebang was originally called Chuktam-song. In the fourth year of the reign of King Norye of Silla (B.C. 27) its people, together with those of Nangnang, surrendered to Silla. These were the two counties established by the early Han dynasty. North Taebang assumed the status of a nation, but its king and subjects all surrendered.

During the T'sao-Wei dynasty⁵ southern Taebang county (now Namwon-pu) was established. It extended over a thousand *li* along the seacoast called Han Hae to the south of Taebang. This was the southern coast of Mahan where Taebang was established during the later Han dynasty to which Wai and (Korean) Han were subjugated. (“Mahan” is a mistake, and the county referred to in the last sentence was North Taebang.)

8. Malgal (Mulgil) and Palhae (Pohai)

(Palhae, the Korean pronunciation of Chinese Pohai, was a kingdom which included part of north Korea and a sizable chunk of Manchuria. Its traditional founding date is 711 A.D., not long after the extinction of

Koguryo. It considered itself the successor to Koguryo, and Korean historians have always considered it a part of Korean history. It was conquered and overrun by the Khitan tribes in 935.)

According to T'ung-tien, Palhae was originally called Sokmal-Malgal. During the Hsien-tien era of Hsuan-tsung (eighth-century T'ang dynasty Chinese emperor) its chief, Choyong, renamed it Palhae and assumed the title of king. When he died in the seventh year of Kai yuan of T'ang Hsuan-tsung (719), his son gave him the posthumous title Kowang (high king) and was crowned with the acquiescence of the Chinese Emperor. But the new king used his own dynastic era (rather than the Chinese Emperor's, a gesture of independence) and made his country a flourishing nation in the East.

In her heyday Palhae had five regional capitals, 15 prefectures and 62 provinces. She was conquered at last in the T'iencheng era of Hou-T'ang and ceased to exist.

In the Sankuo-shih it is written "In the third year of I-feng of Kao-tsung even in the year of Muin (i.e. about the middle of the 7th century) a defeated Koguryo general led his followers north to the land around T'aeback mountain, where he established a new state, calling it Palhae. In the 20th year of Kaiyuan, T'ang Mingwang sent out a general to conquer Palhae. In the 32nd year of the reign of King Songdok (early 8th century) during the reign of Hsuan-tsung the armies of Palhae and Malgal crossed the sea to attack T'engchow in the T'ang empire but were repulsed by the emperor's troops."

The Old Book of Silla says "The family name of Choyong (a general of Koguryo) was Tae. He gathered his defeated soldiers on the southern side of Taeback mountain and established a new state which he called Palhae."

These two statements give the impression that Palhae was another name for Malgal, even though the dates when the two kingdoms were established are different.

According to an old map drawn by Tungp'o, Palhae was situated beyond the Great Wall (of China), to the northeast.

Katan's Nakuo-ch'ih indicates that four of the prefectures of Palhae (Amnok, Namhae, Puyo, and Ch'usong) were former Koguryo lands, with 39 post stations between Ch'onjong county (in present Hamgyong province) and Yusong in Silla. The geography book Tili-chih places Ch'onjong county in Sakju prefecture. It is now Yongju.

The Sankuo-shih says, "At the fall of Paekje, Palhae, Malgal and Silla divided its lands." Judging from this, it appears that Palhae was divided into two parts.

The people of Silla declared that Palhae in the north, Wai (Japan) in the south and Paekje in the west attacked their country. (There is evidently some chronological confusion here. Paekje was conquered before the establishment of Palhae.) They said "Malgal is a menace to Silla's territorial integrity due to its geographical propinquity to Asulla province."

In the book Tongmyong-gi it is written "The boundary of Cholbonsong was adjacent to Malgal (now called Tongchin)."

In the 14th year of the reign of King Chima of Silla a large host from Malgal invaded the northern frontier, attacking Taeryongch'aek and passing through Niha.

In the Houwei-shu Malgal is called Mulgil (Wuchi) and in the Chijang-to Palou and Wuchi are represented as Suksin. It is clear from the map drawn by Tungp'o that to the north of Chinhan lay the territory of Northern and Southern Huksu (Heisui).

Ten years after the coronation of King Tongmyong (of Koguryo, 27 B.C.), Koguryo destroyed Northern Okjo. In the 42nd year of the reign of King Onjo (of Paekje, 14 A.D.) 20 families from Southern Okjo surrendered to Silla, and in the 52nd year of the reign of Hyokkose (of Silla, 5 B.C.) Eastern Okjo presented fine horses to Silla. These recorded facts seem to establish the existence of Okjo in the early Three Kingdoms period. The Chijang-to locates Huksu north of the Great Wall and Okjo south of it.

9. Iso-guk

In the fourteenth year of King Norye the men of Iso-guk attacked Kumsong. In the Old Book of Unmun Temple (a record of farmland donated to the temple) it is written, "In the sixth year of Chen-kuan Yongmi Temple in Kumo-ch'on village, Iso county, offered farms." Kumo-ch'on is now Ch'ongdo, which is identical with the old Iso county.

10. The Five Kaya States

According to the "Legends of Karak," a purple ribbon with six round eggs came down from heaven. Five of these eggs went one to each city while the sixth stayed in the castle, where it hatched King Suro of Kumgwan. The others produced the chiefs of the five Kaya tribes. Naturally, therefore, Kumgwan should not be included in the five states. In the Outline History of the Koryo Dynasty (i.e. the official chronicles

compiled regularly by the government) Kungwan is included in the Kaya states with its capital at Ch'angnyong, but this is a mistake. The five Kaya tribes were Ara-Kaya (Haman), Konyong Kaya (Hamnyong), Tae Kaya (Koryong), Songsan Kaya (Kyongsan or Pyok-chin) and So Kaya (Kosong). (The Kaya tribes lived on the south coast and along the Nakdong River. They remained independent and distinctive for some time, but were ultimately conquered and absorbed by Silla.)

11. Northern Puyo

(This is likely to cause some confusion. "Puyo" is the name of a place in Manchuria, the name of a Korean tribal group prior to the Three Kingdoms, and the name of a city in southwestern Korea which was for some time the capital of the Paekje kingdom. Moreover, these three facts are related. The area in Manchuria is named for the tribal group, whose territory lay to the north of Koguryo. After Koguryo defeated the Puyo people, many of them went south and played a part, among other things, in the founding of Paekje. Generally speaking, the northerners had more political cohesiveness and sophistication than the southerners in ancient Korea, and the movement of civilization was from north to south.)

The Old Book quotes the Ch'ienhan-shu as follows: "In the third year of Shen-chueh of Hsuan-ti (B.C. 58) even on the eighth day of the fourth moon in the year of Imsul, the Heavenly King, riding on a carriage drawn by five dragons, descended to Solsunggol⁶ Castle (north of the Yalu River), which he chose as his royal residence. There he assumed the title of king, calling his country Northern Puyo and himself Haimosu. Later, at the command of heaven, the king moved his residence to Eastern Puyo. King Tongmyong succeeded him on the throne of northern Puyo, and moved his capital to Cholbon-ju. King Tongmyong was the founder of Koguryo (traditional date 37 B.C.)"

12. Eastern Puyo

Aranbul, the grand vizier of Haiburu (son of Haimosu, mentioned above) dreamed a dream: A most august god descended from heaven and said to him, "My heavenly children will reign over a kingdom on earth in this land. I command you to move to another place. (This foretold the rise of King Tongmyong.) On the shore of the Eastern Sea there is a land called Kasopwon, where milk and honey flow in abundance. Go there and settle down and build your royal residence." Aranbul told the king about this

dream and the king accordingly moved east and called his nation Eastern Puyo.

King Haiburu was growing old and he had no son, so he offered sacrifices to mountains and streams, praying for an heir to be his successor. One day as he was returning to his palace from a mountain, his favorite steed suddenly halted before a large stone at Konyon (Pond of Heaven, Paektu Mountain) and shed tears from both eyes. Wondering at this, the king had his servants turn over the stone. Beneath it they found a handsome little boy who looked like a golden frog. The king was greatly pleased, saying that heaven had blessed him with a son. He named the boy Kumwa (golden frog), adopted him, and made him crown prince.

Kumwa grew into a strong youth and in due time inherited the throne, which in his turn he passed on to his son Taiso. But in the third year of Tihwang of Hsin Wang Mang (11 A.D.) Muhyul, king of Koryo (Koguryo) attacked and killed Taiso, destroying his nation.

(Again there seems to be some chronological confusion. The date given is much later than the traditional founding dates of both Koguryo and Paekje.)

13. Koguryo

Koguryo is Cholbon Puyo. Some say it was situated where Hwaju and Songju now stand, but this is a mistake. Cholbon-ju is on the Liao-tung Peninsula.

The Samguk Sagi states that the sacred ancestor King Tongmyong's family name was Ko and his given name was Chumong. Before he founded Koguryo King Haiburu of Northern Puyo moved to Eastern Puyo and adopted Kumwa to succeed him.

One day when Kumwa was hunting on a mountain called T'aebaek he saw a beautiful woman by the stream known as Ubalsu. When he asked who she was, she replied, "I am the daughter of Habaek,⁷ the dragon king in Soha (West River) and Yuhwa (Willow Flower) is my name. When I was out with my sisters on a picnic a strong man came up to me and said, 'I am a heavenly prince and Haimosu is my name.' He took me into a cottage on the bank of the Yalu River near Ungsin-san (Bear God Mountain). There he enjoyed me and then left me, never to return. When my father and mother learned what had happened they were angry, and sent me into exile in this lonely place."

The Book Tangun-gi says “Tangun fell in love with the daughter of Habaek and begot a son who was called Puru.” Since the above story says that Haimosu enjoyed the daughter of Habaek and she bore Chumong, it would seem that Puru and Chumong were half brothers.

Kumwa was puzzled by the woman's story, and confined her in a dark room. But the blazing sunlight clasped her and cast its warmest rays over her body long and tenderly, till she conceived and gave birth to a giant egg.⁸ Kumwa was surprised. He cast the egg before his dogs and swine, but they would not eat it; he cast it on the road, but the horses and cattle would not tread on it; he cast it in a field, but the birds and beasts covered it with their feathers and fur. The king tried to crack the egg, but to no avail. At last he gave it back to its mother, who wrapped it in a soft cloth and laid it in a warm place. Soon the shell cracked, and out sprang a lovely boy who looked noble and gracious, like a great prince.

By the time he was seven years old the child was as strong as a mature man. He made a bow and arrows for himself and used them with such good marksmanship that he was called Chumong, the good bowman, according to the custom of the country in those days.

Kumwa had seven sons, none of whom was a match for Chumong in any art, civil or military. Taiso, the eldest, said to the king: “Chumong is not the son of a mortal man and the sooner he is killed the better it will be for the throne.” But the king would not listen, and commanded Chumong to feed the horses. Now Chumong was a good judge of horseflesh, and knew a flying horse from a plodding horse. So he made a steed lean by giving it little to eat and he made a packhorse fat by giving it much to eat.

The king rode the fat horse when he went hunting and gave the lean horse to Chumong. The lean horse, being fast and strong by nature, carried its master like the wind, while the good bowman's arrows struck the game like lightning. For this reason he was hated even more by the jealous princes and courtiers, who now resolved to kill him.

Chumong's mother learned of this horrible conspiracy and said to him, “My son, your life is in danger. You must go away, anywhere you please. You have many heavenly gifts which will ensure your success.” Chumong bade a tender farewell to his affectionate mother and fled with of and two other followers. When he reached the stream called Omsu he cried to the deep water, “I am the son of heaven and Habaek's grandson. Now the enemy is upon my heels, what shall I do?” Immediately a host offish and

turtles gathered together on the surface to form a bridge so that Chumong and his party could cross. Then they dispersed and sank back into the depths, leaving the pursuers on horseback with no way to cross.

Chumong continued his journey as far as Cholbonju (in Hyonto Province), where he built a temporary palace beside the stream called Pullyusu. He gave the name Koguryo to his land, from his family name Ko, meaning high, because he was begotten by the sun on high. (Chu-mong originally had the family name Hai, from the royal family with whom he had lived, but changed it to Ko because of his parentage.) When he was twelve years old, in the second year of Kien-chao (Kapsin) of Hsiaoyuan-ti of Han, he ascended the king's throne. Koryo (i.e. Koguryo) at her zenith was composed of 220,580 households. (The traditional date for the founding of Koguryo is 37 B.C. The population figure given seems to be an error, for other records state that even at her dissolution Koguryo had 697,000 households.)

In the Churin-chuan (Vol. 21) it is written, "When a chambermaid of King Ningp'inli was got with child, a physiognomist announced that she would bear a noble king. The king roared, 'That is none of my seed and ought to be killed.' But the chambermaid pleaded, weeping, 'A god of love from heaven embraced me and then was gone, leaving me pregnant.'

"When the child was born the king declared it to be a threat to the crown. He cast it into a pigsty, but the sow breathed her warm breath into its nostrils; he cast it into a horse stable, but the mare suckled it that it might live. Thus the child grew up to be the king of Puyo." This is another version of the story of how Chumong became the first king of Koguryo, with the dynastic title Tongmyong. Ningp'inli was a nickname of King Puru.

14. Pyonhan and Paekje

Paekje is also called Southern Puyo. In the 19th year after the coronation of Hyokkose, the founder of Silla (38 B.C.), the men of Pyonhan surrendered to him the sovereignty over the whole of their country.

The Old and New T'ang-shu states, "The descendants of Pyonhan inhabited Nangnang"; but the Houhan-shu says, "Pyonhan is in the south, Mahan is in the west, and Chinhan is in the east."

Ch'oe Ch'i-won (a scholar during the Silla period) states that Pyonhan was identical with Paekje.

According to the Main Chronicle (Official records of Paekje) Onjo (the first king of Paekje) rose to power in the fourth year of Hung-chia, so he

became king more than 40 years later than Hyokkose (Silla founder) and Tongmyong (Koguryo founder). (This statement corresponds fairly well with the traditional foundation dates, which are Silla 57 B.C., Koguryo 37 B.C. and Paekje 18 B.C.)

The T'ang-shu states that the ancestors of Pyonhan lived in the land of Nangnang because Onjo was descended from Tongmyong. Perhaps a hero of Nangnang origin established a state in Pyonhan which was in rivalry with Mahan before the reign of Onjo, but this does not mean that Onjo himself came from the north of Nangnang. (The latter statement is purely conjectural.)

Some scholars call Mt. Kuryong Mt. Pyonna, but this is a mistake. According to an authentic statement of an ancient sage there was a mountain named Pyon-san in the land of Paekje, hence the country was called Pyonhan. (This is evidently a mistake.)

In her heyday Paekje had a population of 152,300 households.⁹

15. Chinhan

In the Houhan-shu it is written, "The men of Chinhan said, 'When the refugees from Ch'in (One of the Chinese kingdoms during the Warring States period in China, previous to the Han dynasty) arrived in Korea, Mahan ceded them an area along her eastern frontier, and host and guest called each other 'to,' meaning fellow-man. The Chinese pronunciation was 'tu.' This and other similarities led to the writing of the name of Chinhan in Chinese fashion, using the name of the Chinese state of Ch'in plus the character designating Korea, Han. Chinhan was divided into 12 small states, each consisting of about 10,000 households."

16. Kyongju (Pleasure Ground for Each of the Four Seasons)

(This section is somewhat out of place chronologically but is left in its original place as it sets the scene for much of what is to follow.)

When Silla reached the height of her prosperity the capital, Kyongju, consisted of 178,936 houses, 1,360 sections, fifty-five streets and thirty-five mansions. There was a villa and pleasure ground for each of the four seasons, to which the aristocrats resorted. These were Tongya, the east field house, for spring; Kokyang house, for summer; Kuchi house, for autumn; and Kai house for winter.

During the reign of the forty-ninth king Hongang, houses with tiled roofs stood in rows in the capital and, not a thatched roof was to be seen.

Gentle sweet rain came with harmonious blessings and all the harvests were plentiful.

17. King Hyokkose, the Founder of Silla

In ancient times there were six districts in Chinhan, each belonging to a separate clan. They were the Yi, Chong, Son, Ch'oe, Pae and Sol clans, each of which claimed to have a divine progenitor.

On the first day of the third month of Ti-chieh (during the Chinese Han dynasty) the chieftains of these six clans and their families gathered on the bank of a stream called Alch'on to discuss problems of common interest. There was general agreement as follows: "It is not good for us to live in scattered villages without protection. We are in danger of attack by strong enemies nearby. We must therefore seek a noble and glorious king to rule over us and defend us as our commander-in-chief."

The chieftains and their families then climbed a high mountain, where they worshipped and prayed to heaven to send them a gracious prince according to their wish. Suddenly there was a lightning-flash, and an auspicious rainbow stretched down from heaven and touched the earth in the south by the well called Najong in the direction of Mt. Yang, where a white horse was seen kneeling and bowing to something.

In great wonderment they ran down to the well. When they came near, the white horse neighed loudly and flew up to heaven on the rising veil of the rainbow, leaving behind a large red egg (some say a blue egg) lying on a giant rock near the well. When the people cracked the egg they found within it a baby boy whose noble face shone like the sun. When he was given a bath in the East Stream (where Tongch'on Temple stands, to the north) he looked even more bright and handsome.

The people danced for joy, and the birds and beasts sang and danced round the boy. Heaven and earth shook, and the sun and moon shone brightly (indicating that this was indeed the king they had prayed for). They named him King Hyokkose, meaning bright ruler. (Ilyon goes on to cite similar stories of fabulous births such as the goddess mother of the Fairy Peach from Chinese sources, perhaps to authenticate this one. The official records—compiled, of course, long after the event—list Hyokkose as the first king of Silla and give his reign dates as 57 B.C. to 3 A.D.)¹⁰

They offered the wonderful boy the royal title "Kostilgam" or "Kosogan" because when he first spoke he declared "Alji-Kosogan (baby-king) is rising.". For this reason succeeding Silla sovereigns all bore the

title Kosogan. (King) All the people in the country welcomed the boy-king with cheerful acclamations and hoped that he would marry a virtuous queen.

On the same day a she-dragon descended from heaven to another well, called Aryongjong in Saryang-ni, and from under her ribs on the left side produced a baby girl, who burst like a flower from a bud. (Some accounts say the she-dragon appeared and died, and the baby was found inside when the body was opened.)

The child was fair of face and graceful of form, but her mouth was like the beak of a chick. However, when the people bathed her in the North Stream of Moon Castle, the beak fell off, revealing her cherry-red lips. The stream was thenceforth called Palch'on (beak-falling stream).

The people erected a palace at the foot of South Mountain and brought up the two babies, who grew to be a noble prince and princess. Since the prince had been born from an egg in the shape of the gourd called “pak” in the native tongue, they gave him the family name Pak. (Evidently a foundation-myth of the Pak clan. The official records do indeed indicate that the first three Silla kings and some later ones were of this clan. The name is a common one in modern Korea.) The princess was named Aryong after the well where she was born.

When they reached the age of thirteen in the first year of Wufeng, the prince was crowned king with Princess Aryong as his queen consort. The country at this time was called Sorabol or Sobol, a native dialect word. The name Silla was not used until a later time, during the reign of Kirim-Nijilgum (although some historians attribute this naming to the reign of Chijong Maripkan or King Pophung.)

(Ilyon here inserts a brief account of the founding of the Kim clan. The original Kim —the word means “gold”— was said to have been found in a forest where a golden cock crowed. The Kim clan eventually took over the Silla throne and kept it until the end of the kingdom. Kim is the commonest surname in Korea.)

Thus Hyokkose, the Great Chief of the Pak family founded the kingdom of Silla and ruled over it for sixty-two years, after which he ascended to heaven. After seven days the ashes of his body fell to the earth and scattered, and the soul of his queen ascended to join him in paradise.

All the people wept over the ashes of their good king and queen, and tried to bury them in the same tomb, but a large snake appeared and

prevented this. So the royal remains of each were divided into five parts and interred in pairs in the Northern Mausoleum, within the precincts of a temple called Tamom-sa. The people called these the Five Mausoleums, or Sanung (Tomb of the Snake). The Crown Prince succeeded to the throne and was given the title Namhae-wang (second Silla king in the official records, reigned 4-24 A.D.)

18. King Namhae

Namhae Kosogan was also called Ch'ach'a Ung or High Chief, a unique title honoring this king. His father was King Hyokkose, his mother was Lady Aryong and his queen was Lady Unje. Now to the west of Yongil-hyon rises Mt. Unje, where dwelt the queen's goddess mother. She sent down rain in times of drought when the people offered prayers to her.

King Namhae ascended the throne in the fourth year of Yuanshih (Kapcha) during the reign of P'ing-ti of the prior (Chinese) Han dynasty. He died in the fourth year of Tihwang of Wang-Mang after ruling his country 21 years. He was one of the first "Three Hwangs" (Kings) of Silla.

In the Sankuoshih it is written, "In Silla the king was called Kosogan (meaning noble person), Ch'ach'a Ung or Chach'ung."

Kim Tae-mun¹¹ writes, "In the national language Ch'ach'a Ung means 'sorcerer.' Since a sorcerer served the spirits and officiated at sacrificial ceremonies, the people honored him with the fear and respect due a high chief. The king was also called Nisagum, which means 'tooth-marks.' According to an old book, when King Namhae died his son Norye (Yuri, third king) offered to give the throne to T'alhae. But T'alhae stood on ceremony and said, 'A wise sage has the most teeth.' So they played a tooth game by biting into a rice cake (presumably to observe the tooth-marks and determine who had the most teeth).

"Another title for the king was Maripkan. In the Silla dialect Marip means 'seat marker,' referring to the marks which indicated where the king and his courtiers were to sit during court ceremonies."

A comment in Samguk Sagi says, "In the Kingdom of Silla the kings had different titles— there were one Kosogan, one Chach'ung, 16 Nisagums and four Maripkans."

In the Chronological History of Monarchs by Ch'oe Ch'i-won, the famous Confucian scholar at the close of the Silla Kingdom, all the Silla sovereigns are called "King" (i.e. the Chinese designation "wang") instead of Kosogan or other titles. Perhaps he thought such titles were not dignified

enough for an official history. But in describing the history of Silla it is instructive to include the old titles as they were used by the ancient people. The people of Silla called a posthumously honored nobleman Kalmunwang, but the meaning of this is not clear.

During the reign of King Namhae the people of Nangnang invaded Kumsong, but were defeated and driven away. And in the fifth year of T'ien-feng (11 A.D.?) seven vassal states of Koguryu surrendered to the king.

19. King Norye (Yuri 24-57)

Pak Norye-Nijulgum, otherwise called Yuri-wang, at first offered to give up his claim to the throne in favor of T'alhae, his sister's husband. But T'alhae shook his head, saying "A virtuous man has more teeth than a commoner. Let us see who has more teeth." Each bit into a rice cake, and on the cake which Norye had bitten were marks of more teeth than on T'alhae's. In this way he ascended the throne with the title of Nijilgum (tooth-game). The title was subsequently used for several other monarchs.

He was enthroned in the first year of Kengshih of Liusheng-kung, even in the year of Kemi. During his reign he changed the names of the six departments, creating new administrative districts, conferred family names on the six tribes, wrote songs,¹² built ice cellars and made ploughshares and carriages.

In the 18th year of Kienwu he attacked and destroyed Isoguk. In the same year the soldiers of Koguryo invaded Silla.

20. King T'alhae

(57-80)

(One reason for this story is probably to explain the temporary displacement of the Pak clan by the Sok clan on the Silla throne. The Pak clan returned to the throne for four further reigns, after which it was again displaced by Sok. The Sok clan then alternated with the Kim clan for a time, until the throne became permanently hereditary in the Kim clan under King Naemul. 356-402.)

The origin of T'alhae Nijilgum, otherwise called T'alhae Nisagum, was as follows. During the reign of King Namhae in Silla, a boat came drifting to the shores of the Kingdom of Karak (a relatively small area on the south coast). King Suro of that kingdom and his people beat drums to welcome the treasure-boat and its crew with due ceremony, out it sailed away and

anchored at Ajinpo in Hasojich'on, east of Kerim (i.e., Silla) Even now there exist near Kyongju two villages called Sang-Soji and Ha-Soji.

An old fisherwoman named Ajin-Uison, who had fished for King Hyokkose, saw a large crowd of magpies land on the boat with dance and song. In great wonder she pulled the boat to the sand beach and found on board it a large box, twenty feet long and thirteen feet wide. The old woman moored the boat near a grove of trees and prayed to heaven to send her good luck. Then she opened the box, and to her surprise discovered a handsome boy, together with seven treasures,¹³ a manservant and a maidservant. After being entertained for seven days, the boy told his story:

“We have come from Yongsongguk, the Kingdom of the Dragon Castle, a thousand *li* (i.e. a very long distance) northeast of Waiguk. There have been twenty-eight dragon kings of that country, all born of the wombs of but two women. Each ascended the throne at the age of five or six. They gave the thousands of simple people the first lessons in right living.

“King Hamdalpa my father married the daughter of the king of Choknyoguk, but she bore no sons to succeed to the throne. After offering prayer for a son for seven years she brought forth a large egg from her womb.

“The king told his courtiers that the birth of an egg from a woman had seldom been known throughout the ages and was a bad omen. He had a large box made, put the egg into it together with seven treasures and two servants, and placed it on a boat. Then he had the boat launched on the ebbing tide, hoping that it would go drifting to some land where those on board could live happily. Immediately a red dragon appeared from the depths of the sea and convoyed the boat to this place. During the long journey I was born from the egg and grew up to be a strong boy.”

Finishing his speech the youth, trailing his staff, climbed up T'oham Mountain, followed by his two servants. On reaching the top he built a stone cave with a dome over it to live in while he looked over the city below (Kyongju, the Silla capital) to find a suitable habitation. After seven days he spotted a half-moon-shaped hill with a fine house on it which he found to be the residence of P'ogong, a nobleman.

The youth decided to play a clever trick. He ordered his servants to bury pieces of iron and some charcoal dust by the doorstep of the nobleman's house. Early the next morning he called on the master of the house and said it was the residence of his forefathers. P'ogong denied this, and after a long

quarrel a suit was brought in court. *Judge*: Look here, boy, how can you prove it is your house? *Youth*: My grandfather was a blacksmith. One day he and his family went on a visit to a relative in the neighboring village over the hill. During his absence this man (pointing to P'ogong) illegally occupied the house and has lived there ever since. Let the ground be dug up and evidence will be found. The judge ordered the court servants to dig in the ground at the doorstep of the house, and, of course, they found the pieces of iron and the charcoal dust. In this way the youth gained possession of the house and took up residence in it.

King Namhae was pleased with the wisdom of the youth and gave him his daughter in marriage. This was the lady Ani. One day he asked his wife to bring him a drink of cool water. She dipped the water from a well on the eastern hill and put the gourd to her mouth in order to taste the water herself first, but it stuck to her mouth as if a half-moon gourd were growing from her lips. The young husband gently chided his wife for having tasted the water first. She promised she would never do it again, whereupon the gourd dropped from her lips. This well still exists on the eastern hill. People now call it Yonae-jong.

Following the death of King Norye in the sixth month of the sixth year of Chungyuan of Kuangwu-ti of Hou Han (56 A.D.), T'alhae succeeded to the throne as the first king from the Sok clan. Tradition says he devised his family name by adopting the Chinese character for "old" (pronounced "sok" by Koreans) because he regained his lost house of old. Another explanation is that he adopted the Chinese character for "magpie" (also pronounced "sok") minus the bird radical because the magpies sang and danced to attract the attention of the fisherwoman. His given name, T'alhae, means "throw off the shell," alluding to the fact that he came out of an egg.

After ruling twenty-three years, the king died in the fourth year of Kiench'u of Chang-ti of Hou Han (79 A.D.). His head was found to be three feet two inches in circumference and his body nine feet seven inches tall; his teeth were close-set and even in his mouth like two rows of pearl-white seeds in a half-open pomegranate: and his bones were all joined closely like one mass of jade—all bespeaking a peerless Hercules.

They buried his body on the hill of Soch'on. Soon there came a voice from heaven, saying "Remove my bones carefully."

His courtiers broke his skeleton and preserved it in a plaster cast in the palace. But again there came a voice from heaven, saying "Bury my bones

on the Eastern Hill.” The courtiers complied with the command.

Some say that many years after Talhae's death, during the reign of King Munmu (661-681), a majestic, white-bearded old man appeared to the king in a dream and said “I am T'alhae, a lonely spirit. Dig out my bones from the hill of Soch'on, embalmed them in a plaster image and bury it on T'oham Mountain.” So his jade-like bones were interred on that hill to repose forever. From that time until today, annual memorial services and sacrifices have been held before T'allhae's tomb, and he is “the god of the eastern hill.”

21. Kim Alji

(This is the foundation legend of the Kim clan of Kyongju, which, as noted above, eventually became the Silla royal family).

On the fourth day of the eighth moon of the third year of Ying-p'ing of Ming-ti of Hou Han (60 A.D.), P'ogong was traveling to Moon Castle at night when he saw a bright light illuminating Sirim forest, while purple clouds came down from heaven to earth. Investigating, he discovered that a golden box was hanging from a branch of a tree and the light was radiating from the box. Under the tree a white cock was crowing.

P'ogong reported this wonderful sight to the King (T'alhae), who went immediately to the forest and opened the golden box. Out came a beautiful boy, just as Hyokkose had done long before. The King named him Alji, meaning infant child in the Silla dialect. He carried the wonderful child in his arms to the palace, while birds and beasts followed him, singing and dancing for joy.

The King chose an auspicious day and formally named the boy his own son and crown prince. But when the King died Alji yielded the throne to P'asa (of the Pak clan) as having a more legitimate claim to it. He was given the family name Kim because this is written with the same character as Kum (gold) and he had been found in a golden box.

Alji begat Yolhan, Yulhan begat Ado, Ado begat Suryu, Suryu begat Ukpu, Ukpu begat Kudo, and Kudo begat Mich'u, who became the first Silla ruler of the Kim clan (262). Thus the royal Kim family of Silla is descended from Kim Alji.

22. Yonorang and Syeonyo¹⁴

(In commenting on this story, Ilyon points out that Japanese records contain no mention of a person from Silla becoming king. He speculates

that perhaps Yonorang became a daimyo, a Japanese nobleman, on the coast of Japan facing Korea.)

In the fourth year of the reign of King Adala, the eighth Silla sovereign, even in the year Chong-yu (157), there lived on the eastern seacoast a married couple named Yonorang and Syeonyo.

One day Yonorang was diving in the ocean to collect seaweed. Suddenly a monstrous rock (some say a big fish) rose beneath him and carried him off to Japan. The people there thought him quite an uncommon person and made him their king.

Syeonyo, meanwhile, was wondering why her husband did not come back. As she was searching for him along the shore, she saw a pair of straw shoes lying on a big rock at the edge of the water. Recognizing them as her husband's, she jumped onto the rock and looked about for him. The rock immediately shook gently to and fro for a moment and then drifted merrily off to Japan as before.

The Japanese in great wonderment took her from the rock and presented her to their king. Thus the couple was reunited and Syeono became a queen. The people respected the royal couple and worshiped them like sun and moon.

Just at this time, the sun and moon ceased to shine in Silla. The King was astonished, and sent for the official astrologer. This official informed His Majesty that the spirits of the sun and moon had formerly resided in Silla, but some months before had bid farewell to this land and departed for Japan in the east.

The King immediately sent a royal messenger to the eastern islands to find Yonorang and Syeono and bring them back. But Yonorang, when found, shook his head and said, "We drifted to this land by the command of Heaven. How can we return to our native country? Look! Here is a roll of fine silk cloth, handspun by my wife the queen. I will give it to you as a gift. If you take it home and offer it as a sacrifice to heaven, you will see an astonishing result."

The disappointed messenger accepted the gift and returned to Silla, where he reported the whole story to the court. The king thereupon offered the silk cloth as a sacrifice to heaven, praying for the return of the sun and moon in a solemn ceremony. Hardly had he finished when the dark, overhanging clouds dispersed and the sun and moon shone brightly in the sky.

The King worshiped the silk cloth as a national treasure, and kept it in a special building called Kwibi-ko (the queen's warehouse). He named the place where he had offered it to Heaven in Yongil-hyon (the county of welcome sun) or Togiya (the field of prayer).

23. King Mich'u and the Bamboo-leaf Army

(The events of three different reigns are recorded here, and King Mich'u seems to be present because he was the first ruler from the Kim clan. The general whose resentful ghost is described was Kim Yu-sin, a member of the royal clan whose military leadership was important in establishing Silla as the ruler of the whole Korean peninsula. It is known that a high official named Kim Yung was executed in 771, during the reign of King Hyegong, through the machinations of political enemies, but his relationship to Kim Yu-sin is not known. This whole account is somewhat at variance with that given in the Samguk Sagi.)

Mich'u Nijilgum (otherwise called Micho or Miko, 262-284), the thirteenth Silla sovereign, belonged to the seventh generation of the descendants of Kim Alji. His ancestors had all occupied distinguished posts in the government. He was a noble and virtuous king and was much loved by his people. He succeeded King Chomhae (247-262) to the throne as the first Silla sovereign of the Kim clan. People nowadays call his tomb the "ancestor's shrine" because all the Silla kings of the Kim clan (which occupied the throne exclusively after 356) were descended from him. He died after a reign of twenty-three years and his tomb is to be found east of the Hungnyun temple.

During the reign of King Yurye, the fourteenth sovereign (284-298), the men of Isoguk attacked the Silla fortress of Kumsong. The Silla troops fought bravely, but they were outnumbered and defeat seemed inevitable. Then suddenly a host of odd-looking soldiers with bamboo leaves in their ears appeared on the battlefield, reinforced the Silla army and routed the enemy. When the invaders scattered and disappeared, it was found that the mysterious allies were also gone, leaving only a pile of bamboo leaves in front of the tomb of King Mich'u. For this reason the Silla troops worshipped the spirit of King Mich'u as a protector of the kingdom. To this day his tomb is known as Chukhyon-nung, the Tomb of Bamboo.

During the reign of King Hyegong, the thirty-sixth sovereign (765-780), even in the fourth moon of the fourteenth year of Tali of T'ang Tai-tsung (779), suddenly a great wind arose from Kim Yu-sin's tomb, and amidst the

tumultuous sound a dignified general mounted on a steed and followed by forty honor guards clad in steel armor flew through the sky on the wings of the wind and entered the Bamboo Tomb. The following dialogue was then heard from inside.

General's Voice: I, Your Majesty's humble subject, in life assisted the throne as a soldier by destroying enemies and enhancing the royal power and after death became a protective spirit guarding the kingdom against catastrophe. Nevertheless, in the year of Kyongsul (771) my guiltless descendant was shamefully put to death. It is evident that both the present king and his court have forgotten my patriotic deeds. I would like to move to another place and cease caring for these ungrateful creatures. Now I pause for a reply in the hope that Your Majesty will grant my request.

King's Voice: If you and I do not guard this country with our immortal strength, what will become of our poor people? I command you to continue to display your patriotic spirit with loyal mind for the welfare of the state. Thrice the King's spirit spoke persuasively and thrice the angry general's ghost grumbled and complained. Then the wind arose once more and he was gone.

King Hyeogong was astonished when he heard of this. He sent the grand vizier Kim Kyong-sin to the tomb of Kim Yu-sin to apologize to his spirit. In addition, he donated a tract of royal land to Ch'uson Temple so that the income might be used for sacrifices to appease the general's wrath and pray for the repose of his soul. This temple had been erected in honor of Kim Yu-sin's triumphant return from P'yongyang after a great victory over Koguryo.

Had it not been for the persuasion of the virtuous spirit of King Mich'u. Kim Yu-sin's anger could not have been appeased. In this way the great king protected Silla even after his death. For this reason his countrymen remembered his august virtue and offered sacrifices to his spirit with the same piety with which they worshipped the three sacred mountains. Moreover they elevated his tomb to the highest rank, even above that of the founder of the kingdom.

24. King Naemul and Pak Che-sang¹⁵

(King Naemul reigned from 356 to 402, so that his thirty-sixth year would be 391. Japan at this time was not yet unified and historical data on the period are extremely sketchy. The oldest Japanese records do mention a

Korean who may possibly be identified with Mihae. Which of the Japanese islands Mihae was sent to is not specified, but Kyushu seems the most likely. Throughout this story Ilyon consistently refers to the Japanese with the contemptuous term wai (dwarfs), probably an indication of his own attitude rather than that of the people whom he describes.)

In the thirty-sixth year of King Naemul (391), the seventeenth Silla King, a Japanese ruler sent an envoy to Kyongju to pay homage to the King. The envoy denounced Paekje for her attacks on Silla (there was more or less constant war among the three kingdoms throughout their history) and conveyed his lord's request that a prince of Silla be sent to return the courtesy. (All this amounts to an offer of alliance.) So King Naemul sent his third son Mihae,¹⁶ who was then ten years old, with an elderly courtier named Pak Sa-ram to take care of him. But the Japanese ruler did not respect his status as an envoy and held him hostage. He did not return to his homeland until he was forty years old.

In the third year of King Nulji (419; King Nulji reigned from 417 to 458), the nineteenth sovereign of Silla, King Changsu of Koguryo sent an envoy with the request that Pohae (in Samguk Sagi, Pohae is represented as Pokhae), King Nulji's younger brother, be sent to his court for a friendly visit. The King made peace with Koguryo and sent Pohae to P'yongyang with Kim Mu-al, an old courtier, to attend him. But King Changsu, like the Japanese ruler, held the young prince hostage and would not release him.

(There is some chronological confusion in what follows. Between King Naemul and King Nulji another sovereign, King Silsong, is recorded to have ruled from 402 to 417. A possible explanation is that King Silsong was King Naemul's brother rather than his son, since passing on the throne to a brother was a common practice in East Asian monarchies.)

In the tenth year of King Nulji, even in the year of Ulch'uk (426), the King invited his courtiers and military leaders to attend a court entertainment. Amid the flowing of the wine and the singing and dancing the King suddenly burst into tears and spoke as follows:

“My father (King Naemul, evidently) sent his beloved son to Japan and died without the joy of seeing him again. Since I ascended the throne my strong neighbor (i.e. Koguryo) has warred against me and attacked our frontier time and again. Believing that the king of Koguryo wanted peace with me, I sent my own younger brother to his court. But now he holds my brother hostage and will not let him return. Though I am rich and noble,

tears flow from my eyes day and night. If only I could see my two brothers again and we could apologize before the shrine of my father, I would be most happy. Who can bring the two princes back to my palace?"

"Your Majesty," the courtiers replied, "this is not an easy matter. None but a wise and brave man can perform such a great mission. We recommend Pak Che-sang, the magistrate of Sapna county."

Pak Che-sang was accordingly brought before the King and charged with the mission of returning the two princes. In accepting it he replied. "When the King is grieved his subjects are disgraced. If the King is in disgrace his subjects must die. If the subjects do only what is easy and will not undertake what is most difficult, they are disloyal, and if they consider only saving their own lives they are cowards. Though I am an unworthy subject I will faithfully execute this mission, given me by royal command."

The King was choked with emotion. He drank with Pak Che-sang from the same cup and bid him a fond farewell, holding him by the hand. Pak took leave of the court and immediately journeyed northward in disguise. In Koguryo he gained access to the place where Pohae was being held. After explaining his plan of escape and setting a time and place to meet, he hastened away to the rendezvous on the seacoast at Kosong.

In order to disarm suspicion Pohae feigned illness and did not appear at the king's morning audience for several days. Then on the appointed evening he fled secretly to Kosong.

When the king of Koguryo was informed of Pohae's flight he ordered out a score of soldiers to pursue and bring him back. But the Prince of Silla was so loved by Koguryo people for his deeds of kindness that the soldiers shot at him with headless arrows and thus he escaped and arrived safely at the royal palace of Silla.

When the King saw Pohae he embraced him with the tenderest affection, shedding tears of both joy and sorrow, saying "I have regained one arm of my body, one eye of my face, but I am still sad without the other."

"Your Majesty," Pak Che-sang replied, "only command and I will bring back Prince Mihae¹⁷ also." He prostrated himself before the throne, striking his head twice on the floor, and took leave of the King. Without even visiting his home he journeyed to the seacoast at Yulp'o.

His wife pursued him on a white horse, but when she arrived at the port he had already embarked and was sailing far over the blue sea. She wept

and called to him to return for a last farewell, but her loyal husband only waved his hand and sailed straight on.

Pak soon reached the Japanese island where Mihae was being held, and was received in audience by the king. "Who are you and what has brought you here?" the king asked.

"I am a nobleman of Kerim (another name for Silla)" Pak replied. "The king of Kerim killed my father and brothers without legitimate reason, so I escaped and drifted to your shores seeking asylum."

"The king of Shiragi (Silla) is not good," responded the Japanese ruler. "I will give you a comfortable house to live in."

Pak Che-sang soon made contact with Prince Mihae and the two began to go fishing on the seashore every morning. They made a practice of presenting their catch regularly to the king, who was highly pleased and suspected nothing. Finally their opportunity came, a day when thick fog covered the island. As they put out to sea in their fishing boat, Pak said, "Prince, today you must escape. It is now or never."

"I want you to come with me," the prince replied.

"If we go together," counseled Pak, "the Japanese will pursue us. I must stay behind to prevent them."

The prince was distressed. "I look up to you like my own father and elder brother. How can I leave you behind and go alone?"

"If I can save your life and comfort my king I will be content. I cannot think only of myself."

Pak poured wine into a cup and offered it to the prince in farewell. Then he ordered Kang Ku-ryo, a Silla boatman, to take the prince with him under full sail. He returned to Mihae's quarters and stayed there till the following morning. When the Japanese became curious, Pak came out and told them that Mihae had been hunting the previous day and was relaxing in bed. At noon they came again, and Pak at last told them that Mihae had escaped a long while before.

The king was very angry and ordered cavalymen to go in pursuit, but to no avail. He had Pak Che-sang arrested and brought before him.

"Why did you send the prince home without my knowledge?"

"I am a subject of Kerim and not your vassal. I have simply obeyed the command of my king. I have no more to say."

The king became angrier still. "You became my vassal and now you say no. What an insolent fellow you are! Now you must suffer the five penalties

(extreme torture).”

“But even now, if you will become my subject, I will give you big rewards and make you rich and noble.”

But there was no persuading the loyal Pak. “I would rather be a dog or a pig in Kerim than a nobleman in Japan. I would rather be beaten with long whips in Kerim than receive court titles here.”

“Here, men! Peel off his skin from thigh to ankle and make him walk on the swordlike stubble of the harvested reeds.” (Ilyon points out here that an old tradition attributed the red color of a certain variety of reed to the blood of Pak Che-sang.)

When Pak had been tortured for a time the king said, “Now, fellow! Of what kingdom are you a subject?”

“I am a subject of Kerim.”

“Stand him on red-hot iron.” The men did so. “Now whose vassal are you?”

“I am a vassal of the King of Kerim.”

“You are straight like a bamboo, unbending and unyielding. But you are of no service to me. Hang him, men.” So the Japanese hanged him on a tree on Kishima and burned him to death.

Meanwhile, Mihae crossed the eastern sea and landed safely in Silla. He sent Kang Ku-ryo, the sailor, to the palace to inform the King of his arrival. His Majesty expressed great joy and commanded his courtiers to meet the returning prince on the coast. Together with Prince Pohae he went out to the southern outskirts of Kyongju, and when he saw Mihae, fell on his neck and wept for joy.

The King gave a great banquet at the palace and proclaimed a general amnesty throughout the kingdom. He conferred the title of Grand Duchess on the wife of Pak Che-sang and married Prince Mihae to her daughter.

The courtiers praised the noble deeds of Pak Che-sang, saying, “In old China a vassal of Han named Chou Ko was captured by the soldiers of Ch'u in Yingyang. Hsiang Yu said to Chou Ko, 'If you become my vassal I will make you a governor, rich and noble.' But Chou Ko would not yield and suffered death at the hand of Hsiang Yu. Now Pak Che-sang's unswerving loyalty outshines that of Chou Ko.”

Pak Che-sang's wife, overwhelmed with grief, prostrated herself on the sand beach south of Mangdok temple gate and cried long and bitterly. People still call the place Changsa, meaning long sand. The good lady could

not long endure the yearning of her heart for her husband, who would return no more. She took her three daughters with her to Ch'isul-lyong (Kite Pass) in the mountains. There she looked away in the direction of Japan and wailed for sorrow till she died. She became the tutelary spirit of Kite Pass, and the people of Silla erected a shrine to her there.

25. King Silsong (402-417)

In the ninth year of Ilsi, even in the year of Kyeche'uk (414) the Great Bridge was built in P'yongyang-ju. King Silsong hated Nulji, the son of the previous sovereign because of his virtue and tried to kill him. He asked the king of Koguryo to send troops to Silla, and when they arrived arranged to meet them in Nulji's presence as a signal to kill the prince. But the men of Koguryo, who admired Nulji's high virtue and fine deeds, plunged their spears into the king's heart instead and raised Nulji to the throne before returning to their country.

26. Shooting of the Harp-case.

In the tenth year (Mujin) of King Pich'o (otherwise known as King Soji, 479-500) the twenty-first sovereign of Silla, the King was enjoying a picnic at Heaven Spring Pavilion when he noticed crows and rats making noisy music in the flower garden where he was seated. Suddenly a rat bowed to the monarch and said, "Follow the crow wherever she flies." The King commanded an officer mounted on a swift horse to follow a crow which was just then flying away.

The officer obeyed, and followed the crow as far as P'ich'on, a mountain village east of Namsan. Here his attention was distracted for a moment by a fight between two pigs, and when he looked again at the sky the bird was gone. As he wandered on, wondering what to do, an old man emerged from a pond near the village and presented to him a sealed letter. On the envelope were the words, "If opened, two people will die; if not opened, one man will die."

In wonderment the horseman took the letter to the king, who looked at the envelope and said, "If two people are to die, it is better not to open the letter and let one man die."

But the royal astrologer¹⁸ who was attending the king, said, "The two people are commoners, but the one man is your majesty." The King nodded and opened the envelope. Inside he found a strange message: "Shoot at the harp-case."

The King returned to the palace and shot an arrow into the harp case. When it was opened he beheld his Queen in the loving embrace of a monk, both pierced by the arrow and dead.

From that time it became the custom to stay indoors on the first pig day, the first rat day and the first horse day, and to observe the fifteenth of the first moon each year as the crow's festival day, On that day glutinous rice is cooked and offered as a sacrifice to the black bird that saved the life of the King and brought death to the adulterous Queen and her lover. In the common speech this day is called Taldo, meaning a day of sorrow and taboo. The King named the pond Soch'ul chi, which means letter-issuing pond.

27. King Chich'ollo (Chijung, 500-514)

The twenty-second sovereign was King Chich'ollo. His family name was Kim and his given name was Chitaero or Chitoro. His posthumous name was Chijung. The giving of posthumous names to kings and queens began at this time. In common speech his title was Maripkan, the use of which also began in his reign. (According to other sources the use of Maripkan began with King Naemul, 356-402). He ascended the throne in the second year of Yingyuan of Nan-chao (Kyongjin), although some say it was the year Sinsa, which corresponds to the third year of Yingyuan.

The King was a big man and his phallus measured one foot five inches, so that it was difficult to find a suitable queen for him. But it was necessary that he marry, both to live a normal life and to provide an heir to the throne to whom he could pass on his jeweled scepter and royal crown. Courtiers were therefore sent to every corner of the kingdom with instructions to find a giant girl who would be a suitable match for the King.

When one of these courtiers arrived in Moryang-pu, he sat down to rest under a tree. Not far off he noticed two dogs contending over something in the grass that looked as large and bright as a golden drum. Becoming curious he asked the villagers what it was all about, and a little girl told him that the daughter of a nobleman had been washing clothes in a mountain stream and had relieved herself in the forest.

Now really intrigued, the courtier visited the nobleman's house and found that the girl was indeed a giant, seven feet five inches tall. He hastened to inform the King, who immediately sent a royal carriage drawn by two horses to bring her to the court. There they were married and lived

happily. (Another source gives her family name as Pak. She was popularly known as Yonje Puin, the lady of the long emperor.)

During King Chich'ollo's reign the people of Ullung-do (Dagelet Island), two days' sail to the east, ceased to pay tribute to the King's court, boasting that the deep sea was their ally. The King was very angry and commanded General Pak I-jong to go to the island and punish its disobedient inhabitants. Pak had wooden lions made and mounted them on the decks of his ships. Then he sailed to Ullung-do, and said to the islanders, "If you do not surrender we will set the lions upon you." Much afraid, the people fell on their knees and begged for peace. The King rewarded Pak I-jong and made him governor of Ullung-do.

28. King Chinhung (540-576)

The twenty-fourth sovereign was King Chinhung. He was crowned king at the age of fifteen (the Samguk Sigi says seven), with his mother as regent. She was King Pophung's daughter, wife of Ipjong-Kalmun-wang (Pophung's younger brother.)

On his deathbed, King Chinhung had his head shaved and suffered his royal person to be clad in the robe as a Buddhist monk. (An extraordinary act of piety which would have been thought beneath the dignity of a king.)

In the ninth moon of the third year of Chengsheng, an army from Paekje invaded Chinsong and carried off 39,000 people, both male and female, together with 8,000 horses. Previously Paekje had proposed to Silla that the two kingdoms launch a joint attack on Koguryo. King Chinhung flatly refused, however, saying "The rise and fall of kingdoms depends upon heaven. If Koguryo has not provoked the wrath of heaven, how can I dare to attack her?" When he heard of this the king of Koguryo was deeply moved, and strengthened his ties with Silla. This caused the exasperated king of Paekje to vent his anger by attacking Silla.

29. Tohwanyo and Pihyongnang

The twenty-fifth ruler of Silla was King Saryun (posthumous name Chinji, 576-579). His family name was Kim and his queen was Lady Chido, a daughter of Kio-kong. During his short reign he was hated by the people for his misgovernment and sexual indulgence. For these reasons he was ultimately deposed.

While he was on the throne there lived in Saryang-pu a country woman who was so beautiful that people called her Tohwarang or Tohwanyo,

meaning Peach Girl. The King heard of her extraordinary beauty and had her brought to the inner palace.

“Tohwarang,” he said, “you are my peach. I love you and I must enjoy you tonight.” And he attempted to take her in his arms.

“Let me go!” she cried. “I am a married woman and I cannot accept your love. My body belongs to my husband and him only. Even a king or an emperor shall not take away my woman's treasure.”

“What a bold wench!” the King said angrily. “Don't you know I am an absolute monarch and everything in the kingdom belongs to me? I can take any pretty woman I want for my concubine. If you do not obey my command, I will kill you. Do you still dare to say no?”

But the woman was resolute. “I would rather die than be your mistress.”

The King laughed. “If your husband were to die, would you come to me?”

She was crying now. “Yes, then it would be possible,”

The King sighed resignedly and said, “Go home in peace but do not forget me, for I will keep your beauty in my heart forever.”

The woman sobbed, “May you live ten thousand years, O King!” and left the palace.

In that same year the king was deposed, and died soon afterwards. Three years later the woman's husband died, and ten days later the king appeared to her at midnight, looking just as he had in life.

“You gave me a promise long ago,” he said, “and now your husband is no more. Will you come to me and be my lover?”

“Yes, but first I must ask the advice of my parents.”

Tohwarang's parents told her that the command of a king must be obeyed. So she arrayed herself as a bride and entered her bedchamber. She did not emerge for seven days and nights, during which time the scent of incense emanated from the room and five-colored clouds hovered constantly over the roof of the house. Then she emerged alone, her royal lover having vanished, and eventually it was found that she was pregnant. When the hour of her confinement drew near heaven and earth shook with thunder. The child was a boy, whom she named Pihyongnang.

When King Chinp'yong, Chinji's successor (579-632), heard this story, he had Tohwarang and her baby brought to the palace to live, and when the boy was fifteen he was made a knight. (This probably means that he was

enrolled in the order of Hwarang, a quasi-military, quasi-religious organization of aristocratic youth in the Silla kingdom.)

It was noticed at court that the boy often wandered far from the palace at night alone and the king, becoming curious, one night assigned fifty soldiers to keep watch over him. Early next morning; the captain of the soldiers reported to the King as follows:

“Your Majesty, we saw Pihyong fly over Moon Castle and land on the bank of Hwangch'on Stream (west of Kyongju). There he disported himself with a crowd of spirits from heaven and goblins from earth until the ringing of the temple bell at dawn. Then he dismissed his ghostly crew and turned his flying footsteps toward the palace.”

Pihyong was summoned to the throne forthwith, and the King enquired, “Is it true that you consort with ghosts and goblins?”

“Yes, sire, it is true.”

“Then I command you to build a bridge across the stream north of Sinwon Temple.”

“I obey, sire.”

He gathered all his ghosts and goblins together and conveyed the royal order to them. They fell to at once, and by morning a stone bridge across the stream had been completed. The King was pleased, and called it Kwigyo, the Bridge of Ghosts. Thinking to make further use of Pihyong's supernatural acquaintances, he then asked, “Do you know any ghost who could return to life and assist the throne in administration?”

“Yes,” replied Pihyong, “Kildal is a fine statesman.”

“Bring him to me.”

The following morning Pihyong presented Kildal before the throne. The King made him a courtier, and found him to be loyal and straight as a bamboo. He commanded Yim Chong, the grand vizier, to adopt Kildal as his son, since Yim had no son of his own. Yim Chong complied, and later ordered Kildal to erect a pavilion south of Hung-nyun Temple and to stand guard there day and night, for which reason the temple entrance became known as Kildal Gate.

But one day Kildal changed himself into a fox and ran away. (Foxes are closely associated with ghosts and spirits in East Asian folklore, somewhat as cats are in the West.) Pihyong then sent the other ghosts and goblins to catch Kildal and kill him instantly. After this all the bad ghosts and goblins

feared Pihyong and came to him no more. The people of Silla praised Pihyong in a song which goes as follows:

Here stands the house of Pihyong,
Strong son of the love-spirit of our great king.
All dancing devils, do not come but go away;
Fear the ghost-general and do not stay.

It became a custom to paste up copies of this song on the gates of commoners' houses as a protection against evil spirits.

30. The Jade Belt from Heaven

The twenty-sixth sovereign of Silla was King Paekjong (posthumous title Chinp'yong, 579-632). He ascended the throne in the eighth moon of the eleventh year of Takien of Hsuan-ti of Chen (579) even in the year of Kihae. He was eleven feet tall.

On one occasion King Chinp'yong visited Ch'onju Temple, which had been constructed at his order. As he was ascending the stone steps, three of them broke beneath his weight. He gave no sign of surprise, however, and told his attendant to leave the stones as they were to show his successors. These stones still exist and are counted among the five "immovable" stones in the walled city of Kyongju.

In the year of King Chinp'yong's coronation, an angel from heaven appeared before the throne and said, "The heavenly emperor has commanded me to deliver this jade belt to you as his gift. Rise and accept it." When the King had accepted the heavenly gift with due decorum, the angel flew back to heaven. Silla kings from that time on always wore this jade belt while attending important sacrificial rites at national shrines.

Long afterward Wang Kon, the founder of the Koryo dynasty (posthumous title T'aejo) cautioned his generals and officials on the eve of his conquest of Silla (935): "I forbid you to lay hands on the three treasures of Silla—the sixteen-foot Buddha image in Hwangnyong Temple, the nine-story pagoda at the same temple, and the jade belt of king Chinp'yong." So these treasures were never touched and the jade belt remained the property of the Silla royal family even after the surrender of the kingdom.

In the fifth moon of the fourth year (Chong-yu) of Ch'ingtai (937), Kim Pu, the grand vizier (King Kyongsun) presented to King T'aejo (Wang Kon, the founder of Koryo) a belt measuring ten arm-spans, carved in gold, studded with jade and glittering with sixty-two jade pendants. This was the

heavenly belt given to King Chinp'yong. King T'aejo accepted it and kept it safe in the treasury of his palace.

The court musicians sang:

Heaven has given a long jade belt
To decorate our king's jeweled waist;
His Majesty's jade body is now heavier than ever—
Rebuild the palace with steel for him to tread!

(Jade was not only regarded as precious and beautiful but also had religious significance, One of the Chinese deities was known as the Jade Emperor.)

31. The Three Prophecies of Queen Sondok

The twenty-seventh sovereign of Silla was Queen Tokman (posthumous title Sondok, 632-647). She was the daughter of King Chinp'yong and ascended the throne in the sixth year (Imjin) of Chen-kuan of T'ang T'ai-tsung. During her reign she made three remarkable prophecies.

First, the Emperor T'ai-tsung (of the Chinese T'ang dynasty) sent her a gift of three handfuls of peony seeds with a picture of the flowers in red, white and purple. The Queen looked at the picture for a while and said, "The flowers will have no fragrance." The peonies were planted in the palace garden, and sure enough they had no odor from the time they bloomed until they faded.

Second, in the Jade Gate Pond at the Holy Shrine Temple a crowd of frogs gathered in winter (when frogs are normally hibernating) and croaked for three or four days. The people and courtiers wondered at this, and asked the Queen what its significance might be. She immediately commanded two generals, Alch'on and P'ilt'an, to lead two thousand crack troops to Woman's Root Valley on the western outskirts of Kyongju to search out and kill enemy troops hidden in the forest.

The generals set off with a thousand troops each, and when they reached the valley found five hundred Paekje soldiers hidden in the forest there. The Silla soldiers surrounded them and killed them all.

Then they found a Paekje general hiding behind a rock on South Mountain, whom they also killed. Finally, they intercepted a large Paekje force marching to invade Silla. This they routed, killing one thousand three hundred in the process.

Third, one day while the Queen was still in perfect health, she called her courtiers together and said, “I will surely die in a certain year, in a certain month, on a certain day. When I am gone, bury me in the middle of Torich'on.” The courtiers did not know the place and asked the Queen where it was, whereupon she pointed to the southern hill called Wolf Mountain.

On the very day she had predicted the Queen died, and her ashes were interred on the site she had chosen. Ten years later (656) the great King Munmu had Sach'onwang Temple (the Temple of the Four Deva Kings) built beneath the Queen's tomb. Buddhist scripture alludes to two heavens called—Torich'on and Sach'onwangch'on. All were amazed at the Queen's prescience and knowledge of the afterlife.

(The second temple was presumably built further down the hill, not directly under the tomb. The four deva kings are the Buddhist guardian spirits of the four directions, and representations of them are to be found at the entrance gates of most Korean Buddhist temples. King Munmu (661-681) could have been living in 656 but could not have been reigning as the date is early in the reign of his predecessor King Muryol. 654-661.)

During her lifetime the courtiers asked the Queen how she had been able to make these prophecies. She replied: “In the picture there were flowers but not butterflies, an indication that peonies have no smell. The T'ang Emperor teased my having no husband. As to the frogs at Jade Gate Pond, they seemed like soldiers, and Jade gate refers the female genitals (and so is similar to the name of the valley, which also contains the expression Okmun, jade gate). The female color is white, which is also the color symbolic of the west, so I knew the invaders were coming from the west (i.e. from Paekje). If a male organ enters a female organ it will surely die (lose its erection after orgasm), so I knew it would be easy to defeat the enemy.¹⁹

(The Tang emperor who sent the picture of peonies in three colors meant it to symbolize the three queens of Korea, Sondok, Chindok and Chinsong, so perhaps he too had knowledge of the future. Chindok succeeded Sondok, reigning from 647 to 654, and Queen Chinsong did not ascend the throne until 888.)

The book Yangjisa-jon contains a detailed description of Queen Sondok's erection of Yongmyo (Holy Shrine) Temple. It was also this queen

who built the stone astronomical observatory called Ch'omsong-dae. (This last still stands in Kyongju and is one of the most famous sights in Korea.)

32. Queen Chindok (647-654)

Queen Chindok was the twenty-eighth ruler of Silla. During her reign she composed a poem called T'aep'yong-ga, the song of peaceful reign. This, together with a piece of silk brocade which she had woven and embroidered, she sent to the T'ang Emperor in China. In great delight, the Emperor invested the Queen with the title of ruler of Kerim. *(Ilyon mentions a variant account from another source here, mostly because of a discrepancy in dates. But the real significance of this episode is that Silla was to conquer the other two kingdoms shortly with the help of T'ang Chinese armies, and subsequently to acknowledge T'ang suzerainty, though there was little Chinese interference at home. The Silla kings, however, agreed to seek official confirmation from the Chinese court of their accession to the throne, and no Korean monarch thereafter was regarded as a legitimate ruler unless he had the assent of the Chinese Emperor.)*

In her poem the Queen praised the power and virtue of the Emperor, whose military ability subdued all barbarians abroad and whose civil administration at home brought long peace and happiness. It was as follows:

He presides over wide heaven and sends down sweet rain;
He rules over the whole creation and gives luster to everything—
His deep benevolence is matched only by the sun and moon.
His circulating fortunes turn toward the world of Yao and Shun:
Brightly his banners flutter, covering the sky, Loudly his gongs and drums ring, filling the earth.

Foreign barbarians who disobey the Emperor's commands
Fall to his swords and suffer heavy penalties;
Love and respect for warm-heartedness under his sway
Shine on myriads in light and shade.
Far and near happy people vie in raising voices
To praise his august virtues.

The four seasons rotate harmoniously like burning candles; From the high mountain descend his assisting ministers, The Emperor entrusts his administration to loyal vassals. The virtues of the five emperors and three kings in one Radiant body illuminate our T'ang sovereign. *(A few notes will*

be helpful here. The seven lights were the sun and moon and the five planets then known, which were thought to correspond to the five elements which the Chinese believed were the basic materials of the universe. They were fire (Mars), water (Mercury), wood (Jupiter), gold (Venus), and earth (Earth). The "high mountain" referred to is in the Kunlun mountains far to the west, and the line is quoted from the Confucian Classic Book of Odes. Yao and Shun, together with the five emperors and three kings, were legendary rulers of China, whom its people believed had introduced the arts of civilization.)

One day six of the Queen's distinguished courtiers—Alch'on-gong, Yimjong-gong, Suljong-gong, Horim-gong (father of the famous monk Chajang). Yomjang-gong and Yusin-gong—held a meeting on a giant rock on South Mountain to discuss state affairs. Suddenly a big tiger rushed in among them. The other courtiers shrieked in fear, but Alch'on-gong only laughed. He seized the tiger by the tail, swung it against a rock and dashed out its brains.

In respect for his great strength and courage the courtiers offered Alch'on-gong the presiding seat at their meeting, but they admired most the majestic air and wise strategy of Yusin-gong. (This last was quite possibly the famous Kim Yu-sin, who comes next. "Gong" was evidently a title of rank.)

Silla had four sacred places where state ministers held councils on national issues to insure success (i.e. the sacred nature of the places insured success). These were Ch'ongsong Mountain in the east, Kaeji Mountain in the south, P'ijon in the west and Kumgang Mountain in the north. During the reign of Queen Chindok the first royal audience was given on New Year's Day. The title of Sirang was first conferred on high dignitaries during her reign.

. (Some Korean historians hold that these council meetings were a survival of the meetings of clan leaders that preceded the formation of the monarchical government. They ceased after the unification.)

33. Kim Yu-sin

(Kim Yu-sin was a close relative of the royal family and a famous general. It was mostly under his direction that the kingdoms of Paekje and Koguryo were conquered in cooperation with forces from T'ang China and the peninsula unified under Silla rule.)

In the seventeenth year of King Chinp'yong, even in the year of Ulmyo (595) Kim Yu-sin was born to the royal Kim family of Sohyon-Kakkan, the son of Horyok-I Kan. (These last are evidently titles.) Seven star-crests were seen on the baby's back. His younger brother was Hum-sun and his two younger sisters were Po-hui (Ahae) and Mun-hui (Aji).

From his childhood he was admired by all who knew him for his wonderful deeds, and they called him the seven-star general. At the age of eighteen he mastered the art of swordsmanship and became a Hwarang (the patriotic youth organization mentioned earlier).²⁰

Now among the Hwarang there was a doubtful character named Paek-sok (White Stone) who had mingled with them for many years, though nobody knew his origin. He knew that Yu-sin was making plans day and night to conquer Koguryo and Paekje. One night he whispered secretly to Yu-sin, "My comrade, we must spy out the enemy's true strength before we go to attack him."

Yu-sin gladly agreed, and soon thereafter they set out on their journey. One day as they paused on a mountain-top to rest, two girls appeared from the forest and followed after Yu-sin. When they arrived at the village of Kolhwach'on to put up for the night, a third girl appeared, and all three, in a most engaging manner, presented delicious cakes for Yu-sin to eat. (Paek-sok was presumably somewhere else and knew nothing of this.) Yu-sin was transported with joy and immediately fell in love with the three of them.

"My beautiful ladies," he said, "you are three laughing flowers and I am a humming bee. Will you suffer me to suck honey from your golden hearts the whole night?"

"Yes," they replied coyly, "we understand. Come to the forest with us and there we shall have our pleasure in beds of fragrant flowers, unseen and unheard by the other boy."

So Yu-sin went into the forest with the three girls, but as soon as they arrived the girls changed into noble goddesses. "We are no laughing flowers or nymphs," they told Yu-sin, "but three goddesses who guard the three sacred mountains—Naerim, Hyollye and Kolhwa. We have come to warn you that you are being lured by an enemy spy. Be on your guard! Farewell!" And with these words the three goddesses rose into the sky and flew away.

Yu-sin prostrated himself in amazement and gratitude before the departing goddesses and then returned to his tavern in Kolhwa-kwan where Paek-sok was fast asleep. Early next morning Yu-sin awakened him and

said, "Look! We started on a long journey to a foreign country in such a hurry that I forgot my purse, and left it at home. Let's go back and get it before proceeding any farther."

Paek-sok suspected nothing, and they returned to Kyongju, where Yu-sin immediately had him arrested and bound hand and foot. "Fellow!" he roared, "drop your Hwarang disguise and confess the truth!"

Completely cowed, Paek-sok confessed. "I am a man of Koguryo. The officials of my king's court believe that Kim Yu-sin of Silla is the reincarnation of Ch'u-nam, a renowned fortune-teller in my country.

"Listen! On the frontier between Silla and Koguryo there is a river that flows backwards. So King Pojang (642-668) called Ch'u-nam to the inner palace and said to him, 'Look here! Why does the water of this river flow backwards, upside down and inside out? Why do they call it Ungja-su (male and female water) while all other streams are called Jaung-su (female and male water)? Can you tell me whether this has any unusual significance?'

"Your Majesty,' replied the soothsayer, 'the Queen acts against the natural course of urn (yin) and yang, and the abnormal situation in the royal bed-chamber is reflected on the mirror-like surface of the river.'"

(This is in reference to yin and yang, the male and female principles whose interrelations are the basis of all natural processes in Chinese philosophy. Ch'u-nam is implying that the Queen is the real ruler and not the King, an evil situation from the contemporary point of view.)

"I am perplexed with shame,' the King said.

"The Queen was angry. 'He talks nonsense,' she said. 'This is a disloyal libel by a cunning fox to undermine the Queen's position.'

"I have told the truth, Your Majesty,' said Ch'u-nam. "What is done in the shade is brought into the light by my magic art."

"O King,' said the Queen, 'if he knows everything let him answer one more question, and if he is wrong let him suffer a heavy penalty.' She retired to her inner chamber and returned with a box in which she had concealed a large rat.

"What is in the box?' the King asked.

"A rat,' said Ch'u-nam.

"How many rats?' asked the Queen.

"Eight.'

"Your answer is wrong,' the Queen said triumphantly, 'and you shall die.'

“When I am dead,’ said Ch’u-nam, ‘I shall be reborn as a great general who will destroy Koguryo.’

“So they cut off Ch’u-nam’s head. But when they slit open the belly of the rat they found seven unborn rats in it. Then everyone in the palace knew that Ch’u-nam had told the truth. On that very night King Pojang had a dream in which he saw the spirit of Ch’u-nam enter the bosom of the wife of Sohyon-gong (Kim Yu-sin’s father) in Silla. The King awoke in astonishment and discussed the matter with his courtiers. They remembered Ch’u-nam’s vow and sent me to take you to Koguryo. So here I am.”

Yu-sin put the Koguryo spy to the sword and offered sacrifices of a hundred delicacies to the three goddesses who had saved his life.

When Yu-sin’s wife Lady Chaemae died, they buried her in the upper valley of Ch’ongyon (Blue Pool), which has been known as Chaemae Valley ever since. Every spring when the birds and flowers returned the royal Kim clan used to gather on the bank of a stream in a pine forest there to feast and do honor to her spirit. They also erected a small temple there called Songhwa-bang (Pine-Flower Hermitage) dedicated to her.

During the reign of King Kyongmyong the fifty-fourth sovereign (917-924), the King conferred on Yu-sin the posthumous title of Hungmu-Taewang (Great King of Mars). His tomb now stands on a mountain peak, facing east, to the northeast of Moji Temple on the West Mountain.

34. T’aejong Ch’unch’u-gong (King Muryol. 654-661)

The twenty-ninth ruler of Silla was Kim Ch’un-ch’u, known as T’aejong the Great. His father was Yongsu-kakkan, his mother was Lady Ch’onmyong, a daughter of King Chinp’yong, and his Queen was Munmyong-hwanghu, Mun-hui, the youngest sister of Kim Yu-sin.

One night Mun-hui’s sister Po-hui had a dream in which she climbed up So-ak Mountain and urinated, and the stream of water from her body rolled down in cataracts and inundated the whole city of Kyongju. In the morning she told her sister about it.

“That is very interesting,” said Mun-hui, “I will buy your dream.”

“What will you give me for it?” Po-hui asked.

“I will give you my skirt of embroidered brocade.”

“Very well, I agree.”

Mun-hui spread her skirt and said, “I am ready to catch your dream.”

“Fine!” laughed Po-hui. “I give you my dream of last night.” Mun-hui smiled. “Thank you, sister. Here is my skirt. Wear it and you will look more beautiful.”

Ten days later while Yu-sin and Ch'un-ch'u were playing ball on the Festival of the Crow (see above. “The shooting of the harp-case”), he accidentally stepped on a ribbon which was trailing from Ch'un-ch'u's jacket and tore it off. “I am sorry,” said Yu-sin. “Come with me to my house and we will have your ribbon sewn back on.”

“Don't worry about it,” said Ch'un-ch'u, and the two youths went off to the ladies' quarters. Yu-sin called to Po-hui to come and sew on the ribbon, but she was too shy and said it would be improper for her to be with a young man. Then he called to Mun-hui, and she came and sewed on the ribbon, blushing deeply all the while. Ch'un-ch'u fell in love with her on the spot and from then on visited her day and night.

Somewhat later Yu-sin discovered that Mun-hui was pregnant. He was furious and immediately began preparations to have her burned to death as an example to all immoral women.

That day when Queen Sondok went up South Mountain for a picnic she noticed flames and smoke rising to the sky. Upon inquiring of her attendants, she learned that Yu-sin was about to burn his sister to death because an illicit love affair had resulted in her pregnancy. The Queen looked around and noticed that Ch'un-ch'u was as pale as death.

“So it was you!” she said. “Go quickly and save the girl!” Ch'un-ch'u leaped on his horse and galloped quickly to Yu-sin's house, shouting, “Queen's order! Queen's order! Do not put her to death!” And so Mun-hui was saved.

A few days later Ch'un-ch'u and Mun-hui were formally married.

Following the death of Queen Chindok he was elevated to the throne in the fifth year of T'ang Kao-tsung (654) and ruled eight years, dying at the age of fifty-nine. They buried him near Aegong Temple and erected a magnificent stone monument with beautiful carvings on it which is known as Muryol-wang-nung (the Tomb of King Muryol).

Because this king succeeded in conquering and adding to Silla the three Han territories (Mahan, Chinhan and Pyonhan, in the south) with the assistance of Kim Yu-sin, one of the most valiant and skillful generals Korea had ever produced, he was given the posthumous title T'aejong (T'ai-tsung in Chinese), which means “grand ancestor” (and was customarily

given to the second ruler in a dynasty; *Ilyon is pointing out that it was an exceptional mark of honor to award this title to Ch'un-ch'u.*)

His six sons, the princes Popmin, Inmun, Munwang, Notan, Chigyong and Kaewon, were all born of Mun-hui, who thus fulfilled her sister's dream, flooding the capital with the issue of her body. In addition she brought up eight children (three boys and five girls) born to the King of concubines and court ladies.

As for meals, the King ate three bushels of rice and nine pheasants a day. After the conquest of Paekje in 660 he stopped eating lunch, but his daily food amounted to six bushels of rice, six bushels (?) of wine and ten pheasants. During his reign one roll (40 yards) of cotton cloth could be bartered for thirty to fifty large bags of rice, and all the people praised his benevolent rule. *(It is unlikely that the King alone consumed such quantities of food. Probably the daily supplies of his court are intended here.)*

While he was crown prince he visited Changan, the capital of T'ang China, to ask for military aid in his coming conquest of Koguryo. The Emperor admired his majestic deportment and invited him to stay at the Chinese court, but he excused himself and returned to Silla.

In those days the eldest son of King Mu of Paekje (600-641) was praised for his moral integrity and military valor. But no sooner had he ascended the throne, in the fifteenth year of T'ang T'ai-tsung (641) than he gave himself up to drink and debauchery and forsook the demanding duties of government. A loyal vassal, Song Ch'ung called Chwap'yong (this is an official title for Minister of State) remonstrated with the King, warning him of the imminence of foreign attack, for which patriotic action he was thrown into prison, where he died after sending a memorial to the throne advising the fortification of the mouth of the Paek-Kang (White River now Kum-gang) at Kibolp'o (Now Changhang) against the coming of a Chinese fleet and the strengthening of fortifications at T'anhyon (Charcoal Pass) along the border with Silla, but the dissolute King Uija paid no heed to this prophetic advice.

(The unlikely events described in the following paragraphs are all evil omens. It will be recalled that foxes especially were associated with ghosts and spirits, and that white is the color of mourning, and hence of death, in East Asia.)

In the fourth year of Hsienking of the T'ang Emperor Kao-tsung (659), a large red horse appeared at Ohoe-sa (Ohap-sa) Temple in Paekje and

galloped around the temple six times. In the second moon of that year many foxes entered the palace of King Uija and a white fox jumped up on the monarch's jade table and sat there for a long time.

In the fourth moon a hen in the palace of the crown prince mated with a little bird that swooped down from the sky.

In the fifth moon a thirty-foot-long fish leaped out of the water and died on the bank of Sabi-su (a river in Puyo), and everyone who ate the flesh of this fish died.

In the ninth moon the awe-inspiring giant oaks in the palace gardens wailed with human voices, and during the nights ghosts and goblins cried on the boulevard south of the palace.

In the second moon of the fifth year (660), the water in all the wells of Puyo and in Sabi-su (White-Horse River or Kum-gang) turned blood-red, and small fish leaped out of the water on the western seashore and fell dead. There were so many that the people could not collect and eat them all.

In the fourth moon tens of thousands of frogs appeared in the treetops. The citizens of the capital ran out of their houses in fear, and fell dead by hundreds as if they had been attacked from behind, and people lost their fortunes by thousands.

In the sixth moon, the monks of Wanghung Temple saw as in a mirage a forest of ship's masts rush into the temple on the rising tide, and dogs as big as deer leaped from the west to the banks of Sabi-su, barked at the palace and were gone. The dogs of the city gathered in packs on the roads, where they barked and howled in chorus and then scattered with mournful whines. A terrifying ghost entered the palace and cried loudly, "Paekje is ruined! Paekje is ruined!" and then descended into the bowels of the earth.

King Uija ordered his servants to dig in the ground where the ghost had disappeared and at a depth of three feet they found a turtle with ten Chinese characters carved on its back which read, "Paekje is a round moonwheel; Silla is a new moon." The King called for a fortuneteller, and asked him what the inscription meant. The aged soothsayer replied, "'Round moonwheel' means a full moon, which is about to wane; the 'new moon' will grow larger and larger night by night." The king was angry and had the fortune-teller put to death. Then a courtier flattered him, saying, "Your Majesty, 'round moonwheel' signifies the zenith of power, and 'new moon' represents the weak and small. This means that Paekje is a large kingdom and Silla is a small kingdom." The King laughed for joy.

When King Muryol of Silla (Kim Ch'un-ch'u) heard of these grotesque events, he said "These are signs of the doom of Paekje." In the fifth year of Hsienking (660) he dispatched Kim In-mun to the T'ang court to ask for military aid.

The Emperor Kao-tsung ordered out 130,000 crack troops under the command of his Left Tiger Guard General Su Ting-fang and his subordinates Liu Po-ying, Feng Shih-kuei and Pang Hsiao-kung. They crossed the sea on 1,900 war vessels and attacked Paekje. (Ilyon notes, here that local records put the number of T'ang troops at 122,711, but that no definite figure is given in the official T'ang history.) Moreover the Emperor appointed King Muryol commander of ground forces, and asked him to send Silla troops to fight on the side of the T'ang army.

When general Su's forces arrived at Tokmul Island to the west of Silla, King Muryol commanded general Kim Yu-sin to lead 50,000 picked warriors to cooperate with the Chinese army.

General Su landed his troops at the mouth of the White Horse River and quickly defeated the Paekje defenders. At the same time, his warships rode a favorable tide up the river to the accompaniment of fifes and drums. The T'ang cavalry and infantry killed tens of thousands of Paekje soldiers and laid siege to Puyu, the capital.

Meanwhile the Silla army crossed the sky-kissing mountains through the high pass of T'anhyon. The patriotic general Kyebaek led his 5,000 soldiers up to the plains of Hwangsan (now Yonsan), where he ordered them to hold or die. At first, through valiant efforts, they were able to halt the superior Silla force, but not for long. The general fell on the field of honor, and the last defensive line of Paekje had been broken.

The T'ang and Silla forces now settled down before the gates of Puyo while the two commanders planned a coordinated attack. At this time a fierce bird circled around the head of general Su, and a fortuneteller said it was an omen of his sure death in the coming battle. The general trembled from head to foot and was about to order his men to turn back. But Kim Yu-sin unsheathed his long sword, struck the swooping bird dead, and laid it at the general's feet, saying "A small grotesque bird cannot interfere with our great expedition against a bad king."

King Uija and his crown prince fled to Ungjin, while his second son Prince T'ae assumed the throne and fought valiantly against the invaders. But seeing his followers desert him and flee, he opened the city gates and

surrendered. General Su captured King Uija and Crown Prince Yung. He also took prisoner two further princes, the aforesaid T'ae and Prince Yon, eighty-eight high officials and generals, and 12,807 Paekje civilians. All these he took away to the T'ang capital, Changan.

Originally Paekje was divided into five provinces, thirty-seven counties, 200 towns and 760,000 households. But the victorious Chinese reorganized it and placed a Chinese military governor in each of the provinces to take charge of the local administration. General Liu Jen-yuan was put in command of Chinese forces occupying Puyo while general Wang Wen-tao was appointed governor of Ungjin (now Kongju) with the special task of pacifying the defeated Paekje troops.

(The significance of this was that the T'ang government plainly-intended to incorporate Paekje into the Chinese empire, a fact which was not lost upon Silla.)

General Su presented his prisoners to the T'ang Emperor, who, after rebuking them, set them free. When King Uija died of an illness soon after, the Emperor conferred a posthumous title on him, ordered a royal funeral and had him buried beside the tombs of Sun Hao and Chen Shu-pao. (These were the tombs of the rulers of states during two periods of Chinese disunity. By his action the Emperor, while recognizing Uija as having been a legitimate ruler, also announced that the Paekje kingdom was now defunct like the states ruled by the two whose tombs neighbored Uija's and implied that Paekje was now under Chinese rule.)

In the second year of Lungshuo (662) Emperor Kao-tsung ordered out another large force under general Su Ting-fang to attack Koguryo. These troops defeated a Koguryo army in the battle of P'ae-gang and surrounded P'yongyang. But the valiant defenders held them off and they were unable to take the city. Finally the Chinese troops were routed in an attack during a snowstorm and forced to scatter and flee.

Returning defeated to China, general Su was appointed the Emperor's special envoy to Liangchow, to pacify the troublesome barbarians in that border area, but died soon after taking up his duties. The Emperor mourned his death and conferred on him the posthumous titles of Left Cavalry Marshal and Military governor of Yaochow. (Ilyon says this last paragraph was taken from the official T'ang history.)

Previous to this, a T'ang army had been sent under general Su to attack Koguryo a second time, and had pitched its tents on the outskirts of

P'yongyang. A courier was sent to Silla with a request for food supplies.

This posed something of a problem. The supplies, if sent, would have to pass through Koguryo territory, and thus there was a risk of their being captured by the enemy. Not sending them, on the other hand, would be abandoning an ally in his hour of need. Kim Yu-sin volunteered to take charge of the transport and managed to reach the Chinese camp with 20,000 bushels of grain under heavy guard.

Sometime later Kim Yu-sin dispatched two messengers to general Su, asking if his army should join the T'ang forces in an allied attack on Koguryo. In return he received a drawing by the T'ang commander of a calf and a young phoenix. This was a puzzle, and the great monk Wonhyo was asked to interpret it. He said that both young creatures had lost their mothers, and that this meant the Silla forces operating in Koguryo were in danger and should be pulled back at once to rejoin their "parent."

Kim Yu-sin ordered his troops to cross the Pai River (now Tae-dong-gang) and go north as fast as possible. But while the crossing was in progress Koguryo troops attacked them from behind, and thousands were killed. Kim Yu-sin launched a counterattack the following day and slaughtered many Koguryo warriors.

An old Silla book contains the following account. "In the fifth year of King Munmu (665) in the eighth moon, the King (of Silla) led a large army to the fortress of Ungjin, where he met with Prince Yung, the (T'ang) puppet ruler of Puyo. The two sovereigns built an altar and killed a white horse as a sacrifice to the heavenly gods and guardian deities of mountains and rivers. Then they painted their mouths with the blood of the sacrifice as a symbol of their pledge of friendship. (A very ancient custom is here recorded.) Next they read aloud the following oath. (The oath is interesting evidence of the typical Chinese assumption that because of her superior civilization China was by right the ruler of all other states and that political virtue consisted chiefly in submission to the will of the Emperor.)

"The kings of Paekje hitherto have taken a vacillating course in their foreign relations and have neglected good neighborliness with Silla. Instead of maintaining amity in accordance with the royal marriage tie (there had been marriages between the Silla and Paekje royal houses) they allied themselves with Koguryo and Japan in order to commit repeated acts of brutality, raping the fair land and massacring the innocent inhabitants of Silla.

“The Celestial Emperor of the Middle Kingdom (China), mindful of the welfare of these calamity-stricken people, dispatched celestial envoys to the scene of conflict to make peace. Nevertheless Paekje, relying on her remoteness and her fortifications, disdained the Celestial Emperor's command, thus provoking him to send out an army to subjugate the rebels.

“The palaces of Paekje ought to be demolished and ponds dug in their ruins as an example to posterity. 'Embrace the meek and punish the rebel' was the splendid practice of our imperial ancestors; 'Raise the vanquished and heal the broken' was the benevolent rule of our predecessors, whose noble virtues should be copied to add new luster to the royal chronicles. Thus the Emperor made Yung of Puyo, ex-king of Paekje, governor of Ungjin to worship the shrines of his ancestors and rule his native land.

“We command Prince Yung to rely upon Silla as an ally and friend, to dispel the old enmity and create new bonds of amity and lasting peace between the two countries in order that they may become our loyal vassals. We hereby send our right guard general Liu Jen-yuan to convey our wish that marriages be contracted between the two royal houses, and that the two kings paint their mouths with the blood of a white horse in token of their pledge to share their joys and sorrows and relieve each other's calamities like brothers.

“This our command is to be inscribed on an iron plate in letters of gold and permanently displayed as a symbol of royal loyalty to the imperial throne. If either of you disobeys our command and attacks the other, the spirits of heaven will look down upon your rebellion and send hundreds of catastrophes upon you, so that you will forfeit the privileges of raising your children, ruling your native land and worshipping your ancestors.'

“This the Celestial Emperor commanded Prince Yung of Puyo, and he now obeys. In witness whereof our solemn vow is inscribed in letters of gold on this iron plate and placed in the royal shrine (of Silla) for our posterity to ten thousand generations to know and keep our pledge and never to violate it. We pray the gods of heaven and earth to drink this divine blood, to partake of the sacrifice and to give us blessings.”

After the ceremony the gifts for the gods were buried on the northern side of the altar and the oath was inscribed in golden letters on an iron plate and placed in the (Silla) royal shrine. The oath was drafted by Liu Jen-kuei, military governor of Taebang (i.e. northern Paekje).

The official chronicle of the T'ang dynasty states that King Uija and Crown Prince Yung were sent to the Chinese capital by general Su Ting-fang. This oath is clear evidence that the Emperor released Prince Yung and sent him back to rule Paekje in the Chinese behalf.

An old Paekje book states that King Uija with his concubines and court ladies leaped from a great cliff north of Puyo into the river rather than be captured by the victorious enemy, so that the people call it the Rock of Falling Deaths. But this is a mistake. Only the court ladies leaped from the rock, while King Uija died in China as we have seen.

(There is indeed a sheer cliff on the bank of the White Horse River near Puyo, from which the Paekje court ladies are reputed to have leaped when the city was taken. It is known today as the Rock of the Falling Flowers.)

A legend from Silla times says that after the destruction of Paekje and Koguryo Chinese forces remained in the Sangju area awaiting an opportunity to attack Silla and bring the whole peninsula under Chinese rule. Kim Yu-sin, the legend says, forestalled this plot by inviting the Chinese soldiers to a great banquet and feeding them poisoned birds' meat. The dead were then buried under a huge mound of earth. Even today there is a mound near the T'ang bridge in Sangju county northwest of Kyongju which it is claimed is the grave of the poisoned T'ang soldiers.

But the official T'ang chronicles contain no mention of this incident, either to conceal it or because the legend is groundless. Moreover, had this poisoning occurred at the time stated in the legend, Silla could hardly have asked the T'ang court for help in a later conflict with Koguryo. It seems, therefore, that this Silla folk-tale has no basis in fact. It is true that Silla took possession of Koguryo territory after the battle of Mujin (668) and was never subjugated to China, but there is no evidence of a murder of Chinese troops.

Following the defeat of Paekje and the withdrawal of Chinese troops the King of Silla sent an army to conduct mopping-up operations. No sooner had they taken up positions in Hansan Fortress, however, then they were completely surrounded by forces from Koguryo and Malgal (a Manchurian group ruled by Koguryo). Fierce battles ensued, and by the time the siege had endured for forty days the situation of the Silla troops seemed hopeless.

In consternation, the King of Silla called his courtiers together to ask for their advice, but they all hung their heads in silent resignation. But general Kim Yu-sin arose in the royal conference and said to the King, "Your

Majesty, this is too great a crisis to be warded off by human strength alone. Only a miracle can bring succor to our men.”

So saying he climbed up Songbu-san (Star-floating Mountain) where he built an altar and prayed for a miracle from heaven. Suddenly a huge fireball appeared above the altar and flew toward the north shooting flames. Just as the enemy were about to attack the exhausted troops in the lonely fortress, it changed into lightning and struck their stone-shooting cannons. (The existence of cannons in the seventh century seems hardly likely. Perhaps they were catapults.) With thunderous sounds it smashed bows, arrows, spears and projectiles, knocking many of the enemy troops to the ground. Those who survived this heavenly bombing scattered and fled in all directions, and the Silla troops were saved. This is the reason the place is named Star-floating Mountain, for the fireball floated above it like a fiery star.

There is another story about the Star-floating Mountain which has nothing to do with the fireball. It seems there was once a foolish old man who planned to become an aristocrat overnight by obtaining a government position through some marvellous trick. He sent his son to the top of a high mountain near the capital every night and instructed him to lift a flaming torch in the air at midnight. The people of Kyongju thought that it was a fire-star of war floating low in the sky, foretelling a national calamity.

The King also saw it, and ordered the people to pray to heaven for the removal of this evil omen which had appeared almost over his palace, offering a big reward to anyone who could make it go away. Then the foolish old man came forward and said that he could do it. But the royal astrologer said to the King, “Your Majesty, this is not a sign of national calamity but of private disaster, foretelling a son's tragic death and a father's lamentation.” So the King decided to take no further action for the moment but to wait and see. Sure enough, the very next morning as the old man's son was climbing down the mountain he was caught and killed by a tiger.

During the reign of King Sinmun (681-692) the T'ang Emperor Kao-tsung sent an envoy to the Silla court with the following message: “Our august father, because of his unification of the Celestial Empire during his lifetime in harmony with the universal virtues and by the merits of wise ministers such as Wei Cheng and Li Shun-feng, who assisted the throne so well, was honored with the title T'ai-tsung (pronounced T'aejong in Korean). Silla is a small nation outside China and giving your former King

(Muryol) the same posthumous title as a Chinese Emperor is presumptuous and disloyal. We command you to change this royal title at once.”

The King of Silla sent a polite reply to the Emperor as follows: “Though Silla is a small nation, her King was able to unify the three kingdoms during his lifetime by the merit of Kim Yu-sin, who assisted the throne with unexcelled valor. Therefore the King was honored with the title T'aejong.”

When the Emperor read this letter he recalled having heard a Wondrous voice from heaven before his accession, saying that one of the great men in the thirty-three heavens was born in Silla and was called Yu-sin. He could not help admiring the great warrior and sent a second message to the court at Kyongju, which read “Do not bother to change the royal title T'ai-tsung. It is too good a name to change.— from the T'ang Emperor.”

Tradition says that when King Muryol ascended the throne (654) a countryman presented to him as a congratulatory gift a pig with one head, two bodies and eight legs. A wise man in the court interpreted this as an omen that the King would annex all the territory in the eight directions under heaven.

The Silla royal custom of wearing T'ang court robes and carrying an ivory scepter in T'ang fashion began with King Muryol, for whom the famous monk Chajang brought them back from China.

35. Changch'un-nang and P'arang

At the battle of Hwang-san (now Yonsan) between the armies of Silla and Paekje, two Silla Hwarang named Changch'un-nang and P'arang were killed. When King Muryol attacked Paekje in a later battle, the two youths appeared to him in a dream and said, “We offered our lives for king and country in a former battle. Though we are now only pale ghosts, we wish to join Your Majesty's army to defend the fatherland forever, but, being overshadowed by Su Ting-fang, the T'ang general, we have to follow behind him all the time. We beg you to give us a small unit of crack troops so that we may attack the enemy and fight for a swift victory.”

The King was deeply moved by their patriotic spirit even in death. He ordered a memorial service to be held in a pavilion called Mosan-jong, with a solemn Buddhist rite and erected Chang-ui Temple in Puk-Hansanju (near modern Seoul) to the memory of their gallant souls. (The ruins of this temple are still to be seen outside Ch'ang-ui Mun (gate of righteousness) in the old city walls to the northwest of Seoul.)

Footnotes to Book One

1. Ilyon does not actually give these details, but simply alludes to the Chinese sources in which they are found.
2. This means “writings of Wei.” The passage quoted by Ilyon is not found in any extant work of this title, but even the surviving texts are in a fragmentary state. It is most likely that he here alludes to a document that has since vanished.
3. Properly Sankuo-Weichih, a Chinese book. The passage actually reads as follows: “King Joon took his left and right court ladies with him in his flight across the sea to the land of Han, and assumed the title of the King of Han.” The phrase “across the sea” is not to be taken literally; it simply means “to a foreign country.”
4. The Ch'ienhan-shu contains no such passage, but a geographical description of the southern prefecture is found in the chapter “Somyong-hyon” and one of the eastern prefecture in the chapter “Pul-i-hyon.”
5. South Taebang was not established during the Tsao-Wei dynasty (which began in 220) but a state of this name did exist for a time after the destruction of Paekje in the seventh century.
6. This must be Sungsolgol on the north bank of the Yalu in Manchuria.
7. Habaek was the spirit of the waters of the Yellow River in China.
8. This egg myth was widespread in northeast Asia as an explanation of the divine origins of founders of dynasties and the like. The implication in the story that the egg was fathered by the sun indicates the existence of sun-worship in early Korea.
9. Evidently a mistake. The Old and New T'ang-shu (Paichi-chuan) says that “at the time of the fall of Paekje there were 760,000 households in that country.”
10. Ilyon says King Hyokkose was born of “the goddess mother of Sosul.” A similar Chinese legend says that the goddess mother of Sondo (Hsien-t'ao, meaning fairy peach) gave birth to a sage who founded a nation.
11. An eighth-century Silla scholar. He is known to have written a book of biographies of famous monks and another concerning the Hwarang, but neither of these works has survived.
12. This is a reference to the famous songs of Silla, twenty-five of which have survived. They were recorded by using Chinese characters for

- their phonetic values only, a system called *Idu*. These songs are the only records extant of the Korean language during this early period.
13. A reference to the seven symbolic treasures of Buddhist lore. They are represented in the scriptures as gold, silver, glass, the giant pearl-clam of India, agate, amber and coral.
 14. Attention is called to the resemblance of this story to the tale of “Ch'on-ilch'ang (Amanohiboko), the Prince of Silla,” to be found in Japanese histories. Also see Dr. Yi Pyong-do's *Outline of Korean History* under “The Colonization of the Chinhae Tribes.”
 15. The *Samguk Sagi* says Pak Che-sang was an offspring of Pak Hyokkose and the fifth-generation descendant of King P'asa. Ilyon gives his family name as Kim, but it is Pak in popular tradition.
 16. In *Samguk Sagi* (First year of the reign of King Silsong) Mihae is represented as Misahun, and in the book *Nihonshoki* (Ninth year of the reign of Chuai Tenno and Empress Zingu) he is called Mishikoji, a son of King P'asa of Silla.
 17. In ancient China the five penalties were, in order, cutting off the nose, both feet, the male organ and finally the head.
 18. An astrologer who foretold the future by observing the heavenly bodies.
 19. *Samguk Sagi* says, “To the west of the royal palace was a pond called Okmunji and on the southwestern outskirts of Kyongju was a valley called Okmun-gok.” Okmun, as pointed out in the text, means jade gate, a reference to the female sex organ.
 20. *Hwarang* is literally Flower Youth, representing Silla's knighthood and chivalry. Chosen from among aristocratic sons of physical beauty and trained in civil and military arts, they were promoted to official positions. To cultivate the spirit of loyalty to King, filial piety to parents, sincerity to friends, bravery in war and mercy in killing animals the Hwarang Order was ordained in the days of King Chinhung as the flower of Silla's national armies whose morale reached its zenith during the unification of the three Kingdoms by Silla, when that country placed military glory above literary skill—all strong youths wished to be knights of the King and to live and die for the country. Now the campus of the Military Academy near Seoul is called Hwarang-dae (Hill of the Hwarangs).

BOOK TWO

II. Wonder 2. (United Silla)

36. Munho-wang, Popmin (King Munmu, 661-680)¹

During the first year of King Munmu's reign the body of a huge woman came floating on the sea south of Sabi-su. Her body was seventy-three feet long, her feet six feet long, and her mount of Venus three feet long. Another story says her body was eighteen feet long and dates the event in the second year of Chienfeng (667).

In the first year of Tsungchang (Mujin, 668) the King, followed by Inmun and Humsun, led his army in person to P'yongyang, which he occupied in cooperation with T'ang forces, and destroyed Koguryo. Li Chi, the T'ang commander, took the Koguryo king Kojang back to Changan, the Chinese capital.

The T'ang official records tell us that in the fifth year of Hsien-king (660) the Chinese general Su Ting-fang attacked Paekje, and in December of the same year the T'ang Emperor ordered out a large army under general Su, together with Ch'i Ju-ho and Liu Po-ying, to attack Koguryo on three fronts—the Pai River, the Liaotung Peninsula, and P'yongyang itself. In January Hsiao Szu-yeh, commander of the troops occupying Puyo, and Jen Ya-shang commanding the troops on the Pai River, led an army of 350,000 men in another attack on Koguryo. In August Su Ting-fang was defeated in the Battle of the Pai River, and fled.

In June of the first year of Chienfeng (666) three further T'ang generals—Fang Tung-shan, Hsueh Jen-kuei and Li Chin-hang—arrived with reinforcements. In September Fang Tung-shan defeated the Koguryo forces and in December Su Ting-fang was replaced by Li Chi as Commander of the Liaotung army. Li Chi concentrated the entire T'ang fighting strength of six army groups in a decisive attack on Koguryo in September, broke through the last Koguryo defenses, took King Kojang captive and carried him off to be presented to the Chinese Emperor.

In February of the first year of Shangyuan (Kapsul, 674) Liu Jen-kuei was made garrison commander of the Kerim army and attacked Silla. The book Hsiangku-chi says that “the T'ang Emperor sent general Kung Kung

and admiral Yu Shang to guard the conquered territory of Koguryo side by side with Kim Yu-sin of Silla.” However the Silla records mention only Inmun and Humsun.

When Paekje and Koguryo had been disposed of, the victorious T'ang armies turned against Silla. King Munmu therefore ordered his troops out to fight them. The T'ang Emperor Kao-tsung complained to the Silla envoy Kim In-mun (King Munmu's brother), saying “You employed our Celestial army as your ally in conquering Paekje and Koguryo and now you fight it as an enemy!” He threw Kim In-mun into prison and commanded Hsueh Pang to train five hundred thousand men to attack Silla. (This is not quite so blatantly hypocritical as it seems. Resistance to the Emperor's wishes, whatever they might be, was felt to be tantamount to a sin against heaven.)

Uisang, a famous Silla monk who was studying in China at the time, learned of the Emperor's intentions from Kim In-mun and reported them to King Munmu on his return from Changan. The King summoned Myongnang Popsa, a mysterious monk who studied miraculous methods of warfare in the Dragon Palace, and asked him what should be done. The monk advised the King to erect Sach'onwang-sa (the Temple of the Four Deva Kings) in the Forest of the Gods south of Wolf Mountain, and to set up a military training ground within its precincts.

But just at this time news arrived from the western coast near Chongju that a great host of T'ang vessels with troops on board was approaching. The King again consulted Myongnang Popsa and told him about the imminent danger of enemy attack. Myongnang advised him to decorate the temple with silk brocade. The King did so, and in addition had an image of the five-faced god made of grass and ordered twelve monks, headed by Myongnang, to call upon the spirits of heaven and of the sea. Soon a mighty typhoon arose, and the angry waves swallowed the Chinese vessels before the troops on board could get ashore.

The following year the exasperated T'ang Emperor sent out fifty thousand men under the command of Chao Hsien on a second expedition against Silla, but the fleet that was transporting them went to the bottom just as the previous one had because of the magic art of the Silla monk.

The Emperor was astonished. He summoned Pak Mun-chun, a Silla nobleman who had been interned in the same prison as Kim In-mun, and asked “What magic art do you have in Silla? Why did two great expeditions perish before they reached its shores?”

Pak replied, "The Prince and I have been away from Silla these ten years and we know little of what is happening at home, but we have heard that the King of Silla has erected a temple of the Heavenly Kings on Nang-san (Mt.) to pray for the long life of the T'ang Emperor in gratitude for his having sent great hosts to fight for Silla in the war to unify the Three Kingdoms."

The Emperor was greatly pleased and sent Lo P'eng-kuei, a high official in the Ministry of Education and External Affairs, to Silla to inspect this mysterious temple. Hearing of his approach, the King of Silla thought it not prudent to reveal the actual temple and so had another constructed to the south of it, and waited.

When the T'ang envoy arrived and wanted to burn incense at the Temple of the Heavenly Kings, he was conducted to the false temple. But he stopped at the gate and turned back, saying, "This is not a Temple of the Four Deva Kings but a temple of Mangdokyo-san." (The temple was called Mangdok-sa ever afterwards.)

The Silla courtiers gave the envoy a luxurious banquet served by a galaxy of beautiful women and presented him with a thousand "yang" of gold (a very large sum). When he returned to Changan he reported to the Emperor that the people of Silla prayed for his long life in a new temple just as they worshipped in the Temple of the Four Deva Kings.

The King of Silla then dispatched a special envoy to the T'ang Emperor with a personal letter asking for the release of Kim In-mun, his younger brother. The letter was written in such touching style that the Emperor read it with tears streaming down his cheeks. Then he gave Kim In-mun a farewell banquet and sent him back to Silla. Unfortunately, however, he died during the return voyage. The people mourned his death and worshiped his patriotic soul in the Kwanum Hall at Inyong Temple, which had been erected in Kyongju during his captivity.

King Munmu died in the second year of Yinglung (Sinsa, 681) and was buried on a big rock in the Eastern Sea, as he had desired. During his lifetime the monarch had often told his good friend the monk Chiui Popsa, "When I am dead and gone, I should like to become a guardian dragon in the sea, to worship Buddha and protect the nation when I have done with worldly glories." (Other records indicate that actually the King was cremated and his ashes scattered around a rocky islet. Dragons are benevolent creatures in Oriental lore, and are often associated with water.)

Early in his reign King Munmu had a magnificent warehouse and armory built on South Mountain, fifty foot-spans long and fifteen foot-spans wide, for grain and weapons. He called it the Right Warehouse. He then had a warehouse of similar magnitude built northwest of the Temple of Heavenly Grace, which was called the Left Warehouse.

According to an old record, in the eighth year of Konpok (Sinhae, 591) King Chinp'yong commenced construction of Namsan fortress, which was 2,850 foot-spans in circumference, but it was not fully completed until the reign of King Munmu. Moreover, the King ordered the construction of Busan Fortress in Kyongju, and that of Ch'olsong,² a long wall with iron gates for border defense along the Anpuk River.

But when he ordered the building of yet another fortification, the great monk Uisang memorialized the throne: "If the King's administration is bright and benevolent, the people will not trespass so much as a line drawn on the ground but remain in the Kingdom to enjoy its blessings; if the King's administration is dark and tyrannical, even high walls of iron and stone will not restrain them, and there will be no way to avert evils from without." Deeply moved by the monk's wise counsel, the King stopped building walls. (The point here seems to be that public works such as fortifications were built with forced labor, a heavy burden on the people.)

On the tenth day of the third moon in the third year of Linte (Pyong-in), a female slave named Kil-E, belonging to a commoner, gave birth to triplets; and on the seventh day of the first moon of the third year of Tsungchang (Kyong-o), a female slave belonging to Ilsan-kupkan in Hanki Department bore quadruplets—one girl and three boys. The King rewarded each woman with two hundred large bags of rice.

After the destruction of Koguryo by Silla, a grandson of the Koguryo King was raised to royal rank in the Silla court.

One day King Munmu summoned his half brother Cha'duk-kong (son of King Muryol by a concubine) and ordered him to become Prime Minister in order to bring peace and prosperity to the kingdom. The latter replied. "If it is the august wish of Your Majesty to appoint your humble servant to the Premiership, I wish first to travel incognito throughout the country to observe the living conditions of the people, their labor and leisure, the taxes and corvee imposed upon them, and whether the local officials are good or evil before I take up such an important post in Your Majesty's government."

The King admired his wisdom and intelligence and readily agreed to the idea.

Ch'aduk-kong disguised himself as a hermit (unshorn monk), and carrying a harp departed from Kyongju. He visited Asulaju (now Myongju), Usuju (now Ch'unch'on), Pukwonkyong (now Wonju) and Mujinju (now Haeyang). In Mujinju a local petty official named An-gil, perceiving that he was no ordinary man, invited him to dinner at his home and gave him cloudy wine and many delicacies. As night came on he summoned his two wives and a concubine and said, "If one of you is willing to share her beauty and pass the night with the lonely guest in our house I will nevertheless promise to live with her till death. Who will agree?"

Blushing deeply, the two wives answered, "We would rather part from you than take another man even for one night."

But the concubine, who was far prettier than the other two, answered boldly, "If you promise not to cast me away for this forced love, but keep me under your roof even if I become an old hag, I will obey your strange order." And with downcast eyes like an Oriental bride she came and sat in beauty before the wondering hermit, as fair as a fresh flower.

On the following morning the departing guest told his host, "I am a traveler from Kyongju. My home stands between Hwangnyong and Hwangsong temples and my name is Tano (a Korean synonym for Ch'a, meaning chariot). If you ever have occasion to visit the capital, come and see me. I shall never forget your hospitality."

Ch'aduk-kong returned to Kyongju and began his duties as Prime Minister. In those days it was the rule for an official from each district by turns to spend a certain period of time in the capital (a kind of hostage system to insure the control of the central government). When it was An-gil's turn to go to Kyongju, he immediately made inquiries about the house of a hermit named Tano. He met with no success, however, until an old man told him that the house between the two temples was the royal palace and that Tano was Ch'aduk-kong. He further pointed out that it was the habit of the Premier to travel incognito in the country.

Out of curiosity the old man asked whether An-gil had an appointment at the palace or was acquainted with someone there, and An-gil told him about the visitor to his country home and the invitation he had received. The old man nodded and said, "Go straight to the west gate of the palace and speak to any court lady who happens to leave or enter."

An-gil did as he was told, and soon the Prime Minister came out to greet him. He was invited into the palace and given a delicious feast of more than fifty dishes and the Prime Minister's wife herself filled his cup with good wine and pressed it to his lips.

When the romantic story of Ch'aduk-kong and the country beauty was reported to the King, he laughed heartily and ordered the grant of large tract of forest land on Songpu mountain to the government officials at Mujinju by way of rewarding An-gil, and prohibited anyone else from felling trees there. The good luck of An-gil was much envied, for the tract included a large farm whose crops were quite adequate to feed a whole family. And strange to say, if the harvest of this farm was good then all the farms in Mujinju likewise had a good year, but if its crop was poor famine was sure to visit the whole area.

37. The Flute to Calm Ten Thousand Waves

The thirty-first sovereign was King Sinmun (681-692), whose personal name was Chongmyong. He ascended the throne on the seventh day of the seventh moon in the first year of Kaiyao (Sin-sa). He had Kamun-sa (Thanksgiving Temple) erected on the east coast in honor of his father King Munmu. (The ruins of this temple are to be found in Wolsong-gun, North Kyongsang Province.) The records of that temple contain the following account.

In order to repel the Japanese pirates, King Munmu started building this temple. (That is, the temple was built in order to secure divine aid. Japanese marauders troubled the coasts of Korea and China for many centuries.) But he died and became a sea-dragon before it was finished, and it was not until the second year of Kaiyao during the reign of his son King Sinmun that construction was completed.

Under the stairway leading to the Golden Hall of the temple there is a submarine cave opening into the Eastern Sea for the sea-dragon to come in and take its position in a twisting posture. This is the place where the bones of King Munmu are preserved by the august will of that patriotic sovereign, and so it is called Taewang-am, the great King's Rock. (Actually "am" designates a temple or shrine subordinate to a main temple.) The terrace for viewing the appearance of the dragon is called Igyondae, Dragon-viewing Hill.

On the first of May in the following year (Imo, 683) a marine official named Pak Suk-chong reported to the throne that a small mountain was

floating to and fro on the rolling waves and drifting from the Eastern Sea toward Kamunsa. The King summoned his astrologer Kim Ch'un-chil and asked the meaning of this singular event.

"Your Majesty," the official replied, "Your august father has become a sea-dragon and protects Samhan (the Three Hans, an ancient designation of Korea) in the sea. General Kim Yu-sin, one of the sons of the Thirty-three Heavens, has also descended to earth. These two guardian deities wish to give you a holy treasure which will protect the kingdom. If you go to the seashore you will receive an invaluable jewel."

The King was overjoyed, and on the seventh day of that month he climbed a hill on the coast and viewed the floating mountain with amazement. A courtier was sent to get a closer look, and when he returned he said, "O King, the top of the floating mountain looks like a turtle's head and on it a bamboo grows. The bamboo is separated into two plants by day and becomes a single plant at night."

With a wondering heart the King slept at Kamun-sa that night. On the following day just at noon the cloven bamboo suddenly united and heaven and earth shook with thunder. Wind, rain and darkness prevailed for seven days, and it was not until the sixteenth of the month that the wind died down and the waves grew calm. The King then boarded a boat and landed on the sea-mountain, where a monstrous dragon presented him with a belt of black jade.

"Sir Dragon," said the King, "I wonder why the bamboo sometimes divides and sometimes unites."

"My King," the dragon said, "one hand cannot make any sound but when two hands strike each other they make music. Likewise the cloven bamboo makes a good sound when its halves unite. This is a happy omen that Your Majesty will make all the people obey your commanding voice. If you make a flute from this bamboo its music will bring peace and happiness to your kingdom. The jade belt and the magic bamboo are gifts from your august father, who is now the King of dragons in the sea and from General Kim Yu-sin who is now a god in the Thirty-three Heavens."

Rejoicing at his good fortune, the King gave gold, precious stones and five-colored brocade to the dragon in return for its kindness. He had a courtier cut a piece of the bamboo and then rode back to the land, whereupon dragon and mountain vanished in the mist.

The King stayed another night at Kamun-sa and had started the return journey in his carriage when he was met by Crown Prince Ikong on horseback.

“Congratulations, Your Majesty!” said the Prince. “Every ornament on the belt is a living dragon!”

“How do you know?”

“Take an ornament from the belt and put it in the water, Sire.”

The King removed the second ornament from the left side of the belt and rolled it into a stream. Immediately it was transformed into a dragon and flew up to heaven, while the stream became a deep pool with sapphire wavelets which the King named Dragon Pool.

As soon as the royal procession had returned to the palace a flute was made from the bamboo and was stored in the Ch'onjon-go (High Heaven Vault) at Wolsong (Moon Fortress). When this flute was played attacking enemies fled, spreading plagues receded, sweet rains came after drought, the bright sun shone in the downpour, the wind was mild and the sea was calm. It was called the Flute to Calm Ten Thousand Waves, and was prized as one of the greatest national treasures.

During the reign of King Hyoso (692-702) this flute was mentioned in connection with the miraculous safe return of the Hwarang Sillye-rang (his correct name is Puryerang). The full story is to be found in his biography (in the chronicles of Paengnyul Temple).

38. Chukjirang (Chukman or Chigwan)

During the reign of King Hyoso, the thirty-second sovereign (692-702), there was a young man named Tukosil Kupkan, who was a follower of the noble Hwarang Chukjirang. Tukosil attended Chukjirang every day in order to receive physical and mental training as a loyal and patriotic Silla soldier. But one morning he did not report to his master as usual, and nobody knew where he was.

When Tukosil had not appeared for ten days, Chukjirang inquired of his mother about her son's whereabouts. The old woman replied that her son had been appointed warehouse-keeper of Busan Fortress by order of Ikson—agan, an army commander in Moryang-pu, and that he had been called away so suddenly that he had not had time to report to his Hwarang chief. Chukjirang said, “If your son had gone on private business there would be no need to call him back, but since he went on official business I must go and give him a treat.”

He took a basket of cakes and a bottle of wine with him and departed with his servants and 137 youthful Hwarang in stately procession. Arriving at Busan Fortress he inquired of the gate-keeper where he might find Tukosil, and was told that the young man was working on Ikson's farm as usual. Chukjirang entertained Ikson with the cakes and wine and requested that he grant Tukosil a leave of absence. This Ikson flatly refused. (The implication here is that Ikson was using his official position to obtain forced labor for his own private purposes.)

Just at this time Kan-jin, an official courier, was delivering to the castle thirty bags of rice which he had collected as ground-rents from Ch'uhwa County. He admired Chukjirang for his Hwarang virtues and devotion to his subordinates, and despised Ikson's corruption and stubbornness. He therefore offered Ikson the whole load of rice if he would release Tukosil. But it was not until he had added the gift of a fine saddle and harness that the covetous fortress commander would allow the kidnapped youth to go home.

Hearing this news, the royal officer who supervised the Hwarang sent out a company of soldiers to arrest Ikson, only to find that he had gone into hiding. So they arrested his eldest son and forced him to take a bath (to wash away his father's guilt) in a pond on the palace grounds in the midwinter cold, this causing him to freeze to death.

When this strange affair of a father's sin and his son's punishment was reported to the throne, the King issued a decree expelling all natives of Moryang-pu from government office in perpetuity and forbidding them to wear black stoles (part of a monk's habit) or to enter Buddhist temples even though they were monks. At the same time, the children of Kan-jin were awarded the hereditary office of village chief wherever they happened to reside. It was in those days that Wonch'uk-Popsa was denied the rights of clergy even though he was a renowned monk, simply because he was a native of Moryang-pu.

Many years before these events Suljong-gong, a Silla nobleman, having been appointed governor of Sakju, was proceeding to his new post. Because of an armed revolt on the East Coast, he was guarded by a long train of 3,000 cavalymen. When they reached the mountain called Chukjiryong, they found a strong youth guarding the pass against the rebels. The governor praised the youth for his patriotism and wished he had a son like him.

A month after his arrival at his post, Suljong-kong and his wife both had a dream in which they saw this same man, in the flower of his youth, enter their bedroom. They immediately sent a servant to inquire after the youth, and learned that he had died a few days before. The governor ascertained from the servant that the day of the youth's death was the same as that of his dream. He therefore told his wife that the youth might be reborn as their son (according to the Buddhist doctrine of reincarnation). He sent out soldiers to bury the youth on the northern crest of Chukjiryong and had a stone image of Maitreya (the Buddha of the future) erected before the grave. And sure enough, it was found that the governor's wife had conceived, and in due course she gave birth to a boy, whom they named Chukji.

The child grew into a strong man and joined the Hwarang. This was Chukjirang, one of the bravest of the Hwarang. As a subordinate of the great general Kim Yu-sin he rendered meritorious service in the unification of the peninsula, and he served as a state minister under four sovereigns—Queen Chindok, King Muryol, King Munmu and King Sinmun.

During his service with Chukjirang, his follower Tukosil composed the following song in honor of his virtues.

When I sing the memories of spring
My heart is sad and lonely;
In a twinkling all your youthful bloom is gone,
And on your brow deep furrows are carved too soon.
Cheer up, my eternal flower of youth!
On your autumn road of life, with no more earthly cares,
You'll enjoy a night of sleep under the sage-brush roof.

39. King Songdok (702-736)

During the reign of King Songdok an unprecedented famine broke out and brought death to many people. The King therefore distributed 300,500 *sok* (about five bushels) of government-held rice and other grains, giving three *sung* (one hundredth of a *sok*) to each destitute person per day from January through July of the following year.

King Songdok erected Pongdok Temple in memory of King Muryol the Great, held an *Inwang* seminar for the Buddhist clergy for seven days, and granted a general amnesty to all prisoners. He also modified the government organization, creating the post of *Sijung* (Minister President of

State). Some historians attribute this modification to King Hyosong (the next monarch after Songdok, 737-742).

40. Suro Puin (the Lady of the Waters)

(This traditional tale, like that of Tohwarang above and of Ch'o-yong's wife later in this book, illustrates the ancient Koreans' appreciation of physical beauty.)

During the reign of King Songdok a Silla nobleman named Sunjong-gong once sat on the seashore with his beautiful wife Lady Suro, having lunch while en route to Kangnung to take up the post of county magistrate. Behind them along the sandy beach stood a rocky crest like a windscreen, soaring high into the sky above undulating ridges. On the hazy crest azaleas bloomed in full glory, tossing their heads in the breeze.

“O, how lovely!” the lady cried. “Who will pluck some of those azaleas and bring them to me?”

“Madam,” a servant answered, “the mountain-crest rises on a hanging rock, untrodden and untouched by human creatures. The azaleas are there to be gazed at and not plucked.”

But an old man who was leading a cow along the seashore overheard the words of the beautiful lady. Quickly he climbed up and picked some azaleas, which he offered to her with a song. Nobody could tell who he was.

On the following day while Lady Suro and her husband were eating lunch in a sea-viewing pavilion called Imhae-jong, a sea-dragon suddenly appeared and snatched her off to his watery palace. The amazed husband stamped his feet and shrieked at the top of his voice, but to no avail.

Another old man who had seen what happened said to the unhappy husband, “There is an old saying—'Many mouths can melt even hard iron. How much more will the sea-creatures be afraid of myriad voices.' If you gather all the people from the coastal villages and get them to sing and strike the sea-rocks, you will regain your lost wife.”

Sunjong-gong did exactly as the old man had suggested, and sure enough, the dragon emerged from the depths of the sea and returned Lady Suro to him. He wept for joy.

“Lady of the Water,” he said, “Tell me about the bottom of the sea.”

“O! it was very beautiful. In the Palace of the Seven Treasures food was plentiful—all tasty, clean and fragrant. The best cuisine on land cannot be compared to it.”

“The wonderful aromatic perfume of your body and dress pierces my heart”

Indeed Lady Suro was a peerless beauty, and whenever she traveled, whether to mountains, lakes or seashore, she would be seized by gods and dragons because of her charms.

(The following is supposed to be the song the villagers sang. It will be noted that the dragon is here addressed as “turtle.” Some commentators read this word as Kuho, meaning a divine being.)

Turtle! Turtle! Let Lady Suro go!
Know your sin of taking a man's wife.
If you don't let her go,
We'll catch you with a net
And then burn and eat you.

(And here is the song the old man sang as he offered Lady Suro the azaleas.)

I let go my cow's tether
And climb up the purple rock;
If you do not blush at me
I will pick the azaleas for you.

41. King Hyosong (737-742)

(There is again some trouble about dates here. The date given by Ilyon for the building of the wall is 722, during the reign of King Songdok. Similarly, Chinese sources show that the T'ang request for aid was also made during Songdok's reign. The ruins of the gates in the wall can still be seen near Kyongju.)

In the tenth moon of the tenth year of Kaiyuan (Imsul) the first barrier wall was built in Mohwa County just southeast of Kyongju to block the attacks of Japanese pirates coming from the eastern sea. The circular wall was 6,792 feet in circumference and was built with the labor of 39,262 people under the supervision of Wonjin-kakkan.

In the twenty-first year of Kaiyuan (Kyeyu) the T'ang Emperor asked Silla for military help in conquering the northern barbarians.

A 604-man military mission from China visited Kyongju for the negotiations and then returned home. *(This was an expedition against*

Palhae, a state which had taken over much of the old Koguryo realm It was not conquered until toward the end of the Silla dynasty.)

42. King Kyongdok (742-765), Ch'ungdam-sa and P'yohun-taedok

(There is evidently a sentence or so missing at the beginning of this section, since it lacks Ilyon's customary introduction giving the King's titles and the date of his ascension to the throne. The book referred to in the opening paragraph is not a Confucian work as might be supposed but evidently the Tao Te Ching of Lao-tzu, the basic scripture of Taoism. Some of the T'ang Emperors did in fact turn from Buddhism to Taoism.)

The T'ang Emperor sent the Classic of Morality as a gift to the King, who received it with due ceremony. In the twenty-fourth year of the King's reign the gods of the Five Big Mountains and Three Small Mountains³ appeared from time to time and attended the King in his palace. (Another dating problem since according to the received records this king ruled only twenty-two years. The spirits of various places, especially mountains, were and are a prominent feature of Korean popular religion. To this day almost every Buddhist temple in Korea has somewhere on its grounds a shrine of the Mountain Spirit, usually depicted as an old man accompanied by a tiger.)

On the third day of the third moon the King mounted the tower of his palace on the Kwijong gate (?) and commanded his courtiers to bring him a dignified monk. They found a luxuriously robed one loitering on the road and presented him to the King, but His Majesty said this was the wrong person and sent the man away.

Just then they noticed another monk, plainly dressed, coming from the south and carrying a barrel on his back. The King was in a good humor, and called the strange-looking monk into his presence. His barrel was found to contain supplies and equipment for making tea.

“Who are you, my good monk?” the King enquired.

“My name is Ch'ungdam, Sire,” he replied.

“And where are you coming from?”

“I am coming from the Three-Flower Peak on South Mountain, where I have just offered tea to Maitreya Buddha. It is my annual custom to serve tea to him on the third day of the third moon and the ninth day of the ninth moon. Today is my tea-service day.”

“Will you make me a cup of that tea?”

The monk complied. The King sipped the tea with great delight, for it had an uncommon taste and a wonderful aroma. Then he said to the monk, "I have heard much about your song 'Kip'arang.' It is very popular among the people for its beautiful words and deep meaning, is it not?"

"Yes, Sire."

"Will you not compose a song for me on the theme 'Peaceful Reign?'"

"With great pleasure, Sire."

The monk composed the song and presented it to the King. His Majesty was so pleased with the beauty of its words and music that he bestowed upon Ch'ungdam the title of Wang-sa (Royal Priest) and wanted to make him a court favorite. But the monk held that he was unworthy of such an honor, and after prostrating himself before the throne and striking his head twice upon the floor, he bade the King farewell. (Here are the two songs alluded to.)

Song of Peaceful Reign

The King is the august father, the vassal is the affectionate mother,
And the people are the happy children.

The people should understand their loving kindness,
Since the noble parents feed and rule myriad creatures.

Who would leave his home and go elsewhere?

The people should remain in our native country.

If the King, vassals and people all do their duty

Peace will reign in the land.

Song of Kip'arang

When the unveiled moon in the Milky Way sails after silver clouds,

Kirang's face reflects the sapphire waves in the stream;

In the sparkling pebbles in the rills shines his flawless diamond heart,

On a high pine-branch his image in a dew-pearled flower hangs in
eternal glory.

King Kyongdok's male organ was eight inches long and his queen was unable to bear him a son. He therefore sent her away, giving her the title Lady Saryang, and took Lady Manwol (Full Moon) in her place. Lady Manwol was given the posthumous title of Dowager Queen Kyongsu. She was the daughter of Uich'ung Kakkan.

One day the king summoned P'yohun-taedok, a famous monk, and said, "I am not blessed with a son. Go and see God and ask him to give me an heir to my throne." (This passage and what follows should not be interpreted as implying monotheism. It is simply that Ilyon does not specify which god is intended.)

P'yohun was received in audience by God in his heavenly palace above nine clouds. On his return to earth he reported to the King, "The almighty one said, 'I can bless your King with a daughter but not with a son.'"

"But I want a son," the King snapped. "Go again and ask God to change this daughter into a son."

P'yohun ascended to heaven once again and conveyed the King's request. God answered, "It may be possible, but if the King has a son his kingdom will be upset." When P'yohun begged leave to return to earth, he called out from his jewelled throne, "You have traveled to and from heaven quite often, and have revealed my secrets; I therefore forbid you to come to me any more."

P'yohun returned and told the King all the words of God. The King said coolly, "Even though my kingdom is endangered, I cannot be content until I have a son to succeed me."

Soon Queen Manwol bore a prince, and the King expressed great joy. However, the King died when his son was only eight years old, and the boy ascended the throne with his mother as regent. His posthumous title is King Hyegong (765-780).

The young King had been born with a feminine character and behaved like a girl from his cradle. He loved to wear women's embroidered pouches dangling from his sash, spent all his time with court jesters, and neglected his duties. The court and government became weak, the kingdom fell into utter confusion, and thieves were everywhere. Finally the courtiers conspired to kill him and place one of his relatives on the throne. The leaders of the conspiracy were King Sondok and Kim Yang-sang. It was generally believed that after P'yohun no wiser monk was born in Silla.

(There is some confusion in the text. Kim Yang-sang was the personal name of King Sondok. Perhaps this is a mistake for Kim Kyong-sin, another member of the royal family who aided King Sondok in the conspiracy and ultimately succeeded him as King Wonsong.)

43. King Hyegong (765-780)

Many grotesque events occurred during the reign of King Hyegong. In his second year there was a landslide east of the government office in Kangju which formed a small pond, thirteen feet long and seven feet wide. Five or six golden carp in the pond gradually grew larger as its size increased.

In the next year a fierce dog fell from the sky to the south of the East Pavilion, with thunder that shook heaven and earth. Its head was as large as a water-jar, its tail was three feet long, and it looked like a burning fire.

In January that same year rice sprouted and grew into long ears on five of the dikes in a field in Kumpo-hyon. In July two stars fell into the courtyard of the North Palace, followed by another, and the three stars sank into the ground. Two lotus plants bloomed on the dry ground in this courtyard and more lotus blossoms tossed in the dry field at Pongsong Temple. A big tiger was seen entering the palace and suddenly disappeared as it entered the royal living quarters. Countless sparrows flocked and twittered in a pear tree in the yard of a nobleman named Taegong.

Since the Old Book of Strategy says that these are all portents of war, the King granted a general amnesty to all prisoners, repented his womanish ways and prayed for peace.

In the third year Taegong rose in revolt. Ninety-six commanders contended with each other in Kyongju and the provinces. The civil war lasted three months and cost thousands of lives. Taegong was at length defeated, his house destroyed and his jewels and brocades confiscated. The wealth and supplies accumulated by the rebels were likewise taken by the court. But the courtiers conspired to kill King Hyegong and place Kim Yang-sang on the throne as King Sondok. Thus the prediction of the monk P'yohun came true.

44. King Wonsong (785-789)

Kim Kyong-sin, the noble Kakkan (minister of state and member of the royal family) had a dream one night. He dreamed that he took off his nobleman's cap, put on a commoner's white hat, and entered the well at Ch'on-gwan Temple (named after a beautiful singer whom Kim Yu-sin had loved) holding a twelve-string harp. When he awoke he consulted a fortune-teller about the significance of this strange dream.

The fortune-teller said, "Taking off your nobleman's hat means discharge from government office; holding a harp means wearing a wooden fetter around your neck; and entering a well means going to prison."

The Kakkan was greatly worried and did not leave his house for many days. One day an Ach'an (third grade senior official) named Yosam came and asked to see him, but the Kakkan pretended illness and refused. But Yosam was persistent and after several visits was at length received.

"I can see by your expression that you are troubled," Yosam said. "Tell me everything and perhaps I can help you."

"I had a dream," the Kakkam said, "in which I changed my nobleman's cap for a commoner's white hat and entered a well with a harp of twelve strings in my hands. A fortune-teller has told me that I am doomed."

"But this is a lucky dream," said Yosam. "If you promise not to forget me when you are raised to the jeweled throne I will interpret it for you."

"I promise," said the Kakkan. "Tell me the meaning of my dream."

"You took off your cap," said Yosam, "to announce that no man is above your head; you put on the white hat as a sign that you will wear the royal crown; you held a harp of twelve strings because you will sit on the jeweled throne as the twelfth descendant of your royal ancestors; you entered the well of Ch'on-gwan as a sign of your happy entrance into the palace."

"Kim Chu-won is the direct heir to the throne," said the Kakkan, "How can I become King?"

"If you offer sacrifices in secret to the water-goddess of the North Stream, you will succeed."

Kim Kyong-sin the Kakkan prayed to the water-goddess to make the stream overflow at the hour of his own enthronement. When King Sondok died soon after, the Silla court proclaimed Kim Chu-won his successor and set out in a body for his home, which was across the stream from the palace. But suddenly rain fell in torrents, the stream overflowed, and it was impossible for either party to get across. Kim Chu-won stood gazing in vain longing toward the palace.

At this, Kim Kyong-sin put on his court dress and entered the palace amid the cheers of his followers. The court officials thereupon declared that the rain had been an expression of the will of heaven and made Kim Kyong-sin King, reporting their decision to the Queen Dowager. As his friend had predicted, he now sat upon the throne receiving the congratulations of hundreds of officials, civil and military. His posthumous title is Wonsong.

The King's friend Yosam had died by the time of his coronation. However, remembering his promise, he summoned Yosam's children and conferred titles and official positions on them. Kim Chu-won went to Myongju, where he spent the rest of his life in seclusion.

King Wonsong had three sons and two daughters, the Princes Hyech'ung, Honp'yong and Yeyong-Chapkan and the Princesses Taeryong-Puin and Soryong-Puin (the Lady of the Big Dragon and the Lady of the Little Dragon). He is also known to have composed a song about the ups and downs of human life. His royal father (Grand Kakkan Hyoyang) had preserved the Flute to Calm Ten Thousand Waves, the hereditary treasure of the royal household. The King was presented with heavenly gifts and was praised far and wide for his noble virtue.

(It is appropriate to point out here that while King Wonsong belonged to a collateral branch of the royal Kim clan, he claimed to represent the twelfth generation in descent from King Naemul (356-402), in whose reign the monarchy became permanently hereditary in the Kim clan.)

In October of that year, Bunkei, the King of Japan, raised a large army to attack Silla, but hearing of the magical flute which Silla possessed, desisted and sent an envoy instead. (Ilyon points out that the ancient Japanese chronicle Nihon-Teiki makes no mention of a Japanese Emperor of this name, but the 55th Emperor Buntoku may be intended. He quotes another source which makes Bunkei Buntoku's eldest son.)

On being received at court the Japanese envoy said, "My King offers you fifty 'yang' of gold for your famous flute."

King Wonsong answered carefully. He wanted to avoid a Japanese attack, but at the same time he did not wish to part with the flute. "My royal ancestor King Chinp'yong possessed that flute," he said, "but it is now missing."

In July of the following year a Japanese envoy again presented himself at the Silla court. This time he said, "My King offers one thousand 'yang' in gold for your sacred flute, which he only wants to examine and return."

"My answer is the same as before," King Wonsong replied. "But I give you three thousand 'yang' of silver to take to your king. I also return his gold, which I have only looked at."

The Japanese envoy left the Silla court in August and the King ordered the flute kept in a vault in the Inner Yellow Palace (Naehwang-jon).

In the eleventh year of the King's reign (795) an envoy from the T'ang court visited Silla and stayed in Kyongju for a month. The day after his departure two women appeared at the palace and told the following strange story.

“We are the wives of two dragons from the East Pond and the Blue Pond. The envoy from China took a man from Haso-guk with him and cast spells over our husbands and the dragon in the well of Pun-hwang Temple, changing them into small fish which he carried off in a bowl. We appeal to Your Majesty to command the two men to free our husbands and let them remain here as guardian dragons of Silla.”

(Ilyon says there was a dragon pool at Tongch'on-sa (East Pond Temple) and quotes this passage from the temple's history: “The dragons of the Eastern Sea frequented this pond and listened to the Buddhist sermons. The temple was built by King Chinp'yong, who set up shrines for five hundred saints, built a five-story pagoda, and made many farmers temple serfs.”)

The King mounted his carriage and set off in pursuit of the T'ang envoy, overtaking him at Hayang-gwan. He invited them to a banquet, at which he commanded the man from Haso-guk to return the three dragons under penalty of death. The man apologized to the King and produced the three fish, which leaped for joy above the water on returning to their homes. The T'ang envoy and his entourage admired the noble spirit of the King in regaining the guardian dragons of his kingdom.

King Wonsong once invited the famous monk Chihae to his palace from Hwangnyong Temple and listened to his recital of Hwaom scriptures for fifty days. (Hwaom is *Hua-yen* or *Avatamsaka*, one of the various Buddhist sects.)

During the King's reign a young monk named Myojong lived at the Yellow Dragon Temple. After meals when he went to the well to wash his ricebowl, it was his habit to throw tidbits to a turtle which lived there. One day as he was feeding the turtle as usual, he said in a soft voice, “Dear turtle, I have given you nice food every day for a long time now. What will you give me in return?”

After a few days the turtle coughed up a small sparkling jewel. Joyfully, the monk caught it in his hand and tied it to his girdle, and was never parted from it thereafter.

(This was a sarira, a small round object believed to be a relic of Buddha's body. It was supposed to confer all sorts of magical powers on its possessor. The red bead in the open mouth of the dragon carved on most Chinese and Korean royal thrones represents a sarira.)

From that day forward every man who saw him became deeply attached to Myojong, while women fell passionately in love with him. When King Wonsong heard of this phenomenon he summoned the monk to court. He at once conceived an affection for him as deep as that for his own son, and all the court including the princes and princesses were similarly affected.

Just at this time a diplomatic mission was about to start for China. The ambassador, who was attracted like everyone else, secured royal permission to include Myojong in his party. No sooner had the Chinese Emperor beheld him than he too was charmed, and all the nobles of his court. In this fashion the young Silla monk enjoyed the imperial favor for many days and nights in the company of the Chinese princes and princesses, as if he were a prince of the blood himself.

Now there was among the courtiers a physiognomist who was jealous of all the affection lavished upon Myojong. Presenting himself before the throne and striking his head three times upon the floor in the approved manner, he said, "Your Majesty, I am skilled in reading the faces of men, but I can see no special charm in the face of this monk. It is my opinion that he is loved by all because he is carrying some magic charm on his person." (The Chinese believed that a man's character and destiny could be read in his face by one skilled in this art.)

The Emperor accordingly had Myojong searched, and the jewel was found sparkling in his girdle. "Here it is!" exclaimed the Emperor. "I had four magic jewels on my rosary but I lost one last year and immediately lost one fourth of my personal charm, both as a monarch and with my court ladies. Now I see, my lad, that your jewel is definitely the one I lost."

Myojong was fairly caught. He told the Emperor all about the jewel, explaining how it came into his possession. Strange to say, the day on which the Emperor lost the jewel was the very same as that on which the turtle gave it to Myojong in distant Silla. So the jewel was returned to its rightful owner the Emperor, who gave Myjong a good present and sent him home.

Once he was parted from the magic jewel no one took any notice of Myojong any more, and no women fell in love with him. So the lonely

monk returned once more to his temple and knelt by the well to talk to his friend, the turtle.

King Wonsong's tomb is at Kok (now Sungpok) Temple to the west of T'oham Mountain, with a monument standing nearby. The epitaph engraved on this monument was written by the famous scholar Ch'oe Ch'i-won.⁴

During his lifetime King Wonsong erected Poun Temple and Mangdok Pavilion. He invested his grandfather, great-grandfather and great-great-grandfather with posthumous royal titles—Hung-p'yong-Taewang, Sinyong-Taewang and Hyonsong-Taewang respectively. (This was a common practice for a monarch from a collateral line of the royal clan, whose immediate ancestors had not been kings.)

45. Early Falls of Snow

In August of the last year of King Aejang (809) snow fell; again in March in the tenth year of King Hondok (818) heavy snow came; and in May during the reign of King Munsong (839-857) there was another heavy snow, and at the beginning of August the heavens and the earth became dark.

(All these would seem to be portents but Ilyon does not explain their significance.)

46. King Hungdok and the Parrots

The forty-second sovereign was King Hungdok (826-836). Soon after his coronation the Silla envoy to the T'ang court in China returned, bringing with him as a gift a pair of parrots. The birds lived harmoniously at the court, but after a time the female died and the lonely male cried with a heartrending voice.

The King took pity on the bird and had a mirror hung before it. At first the parrot was deceived into thinking its mate had returned, and pecked at the glass. But when there was no response he again cried mournfully and fell dead.

The King felt sad at this pitiful sight and composed a poem about it, but unfortunately it has been lost.

47. King Sinmu, Yomjang and Kungp'a

(A bit of explanation is necessary here. King Sinmu's predecessor King Minae had murdered Sinmu's father and also the preceding king, Huigang in order to usurp the throne in 838. Kungp'a was the famous Chang Po-ko, a commoner who had risen to great wealth and power through trade, so much so that he had his own private army and navy, with headquarters on

Wando Island off the southwest coast. But, as this story indicates, he cherished dynastic ambitions and this brought about his downfall.)

The forty-fifth sovereign was King Sinmu, whose childhood name was U-ching (839—he reigned for only about a year). Before he became king he summoned Kungp'a, a man of chivalrous spirit, and said to him, “I have an enemy with whom I cannot live under the same heaven. It is the King (who had murdered his father). If you avenge me and if I become king in his place I will make your daughter my queen.”⁵

“I am your man,” said Kungp'a. “I will lead my elite soldiers into the palace and fulfill the mission you have entrusted to me.”

Kungp'a was as good as his word and Sinmu duly ascended the throne. But when he set about making arrangements to keep his side of the bargain, the court aristocrats objected, memorializing the throne as follows:

“Though a brave general, Kungp'a is a low-ranking commoner, and it is not fitting or proper for you *to* make his daughter your queen.”

“I have given Kungp'a a solemn promise,” the King replied, “but if you forbid the marriage then there is no help for it.”

Kungp'a was then commander of a naval base at Ch'onghaejin (Wando). He was very angry at the King for not keeping his promise and began making secret plans for an armed rebellion. General Yom-jang learned of this through his spies and immediately sent a message to the King:

“Your humble subject memorializes the throne: Kungp'a is now planning a disloyal coup, and I wish to go and bring back the traitor's head; only command me.”

“Go, I command you,” the King replied.

Yomjang arrived at Ch'onghaejin all alone and sent a courier to Kungp'a with a message. When Kungp'a received him, he said, “I have offended the King over some minor matter, and so I have come to serve as your subordinate in order to save my life.”

“You tricky fellows persuaded the King not to make my daughter queen,” Kungp'a answered angrily. “Why do you come to me now?”

“It was the other courtiers who said no,” Yomjang explained. “I was absent from that audience. Please do not blame me.”

Kungp'a had the general shown into an inner room, and the two sat face to face. When they were alone Kungp'a asked again, “What has brought you here?”

"I have offended the King," Yomjang repeated, "and so I have come to seek asylum under your command in order to escape death."

"You are lucky," Kungp'a said. "Raise your cup. I drink to your health and your successful flight."

When Kungp'a was fairly in his cups, Yomjang, suddenly drew the long sword from the scabbard which hung at the rebel's waist and cut off his head with a single stroke. When they heard of this, all of Kungp'a's officers and men prostrated themselves before Yomjang in fear and astonishment.

The general made a triumphant return to Kyongju with Kungpa's head and told the King of the successful completion of his mission. Highly pleased, the King gave Yomjang a large reward and promoted him to the high official rank of Agan (fourth grade senior official.)

48. King Kyongmun (861-875)

The forty-eighth sovereign was King Kyongmun, whose childhood name was Ungnyom. He was admitted into the Hwarang at the age of eighteen, and when he was twenty King Honan, the reigning monarch, invited him to a banquet.

"Young man," said the King, "you have visited many places of interest in Silla in the course of your physical and mental training, Have you seen any extraordinary events during your wide travels?"

"Your Majesty," the youth replied, "I was more interested in men than in scenic beauty. I saw three men of noble deeds."

"Noble deeds!" exclaimed the King. "Tell me your story."

"The first was a man who gave his seat to another for the sake of propriety, even though he was qualified to take the highest place; the second was a man who wore cotton garments out of frugality, even though he was rich; and the third was a man who would make no display of his dignity even though he was noble and powerful by birth."

At this the King was moved to tears. "I am glad," he said, "to find in your person a fine gentleman of high virtue. I have two daughters. Choose whichever you wish for your wife."

"Oh King," the youth replied, "I am not worthy of such an honor." He then withdrew from the palace, and on reaching home told his parents what the King had said.

"That is good luck," they said. "The elder princess is not very pretty, but her sister is a well-known beauty. Why not choose the younger princess?"

When the monk of Hungnyun Temple who was the head of Ung-nyom's Hwarang group heard the news he hastened to call on the young man and offer his advice. "I hear that the King has offered you one of his two daughters in marriage, whichever you choose. Is this true?" the monk asked.

"Yes."

"Which one will you choose?"

"My parents told me to take the younger one."

"If you marry the younger princess I will die in your presence, but if you marry the elder one I can assure you of three good things. Beauty is not everything. Take care."

"Then I will choose the elder princess."

A short time later the King chose a propitious day and sent a messenger to Ungnyom to ask which of the princesses he had chosen. He chose the elder, as he had told the monk he would. A date was set and the wedding took place as planned

Only three months later the King became seriously ill. Feeling that death was near, he called the court officials into a royal conference and said to them, "I have no male issue. When I am gone, my heir and successor should be Ungnyom, the husband of my elder daughter."

The King died the next day, and by the royal will the lucky youth was raised to the throne. One of his first visitors after his coronation was the monk whose good advice he had followed.

"May our King live ten thousand years!" said the monk in formal greeting. "Accept my congratulations on your success in three good things: by your marriage to the elder daughter you have pleased her parents; as a result of your marriage you have inherited the jeweled throne; and now you are King, you can easily take the younger princess for your favorite among the palace women."

"You have made me very happy," the King replied. "I hereby promote you to the official position of Taedok (Great Virtue, title of a position in the Buddhist hierarchy) and in addition make you a gift of one hundred and thirty yang of gold."

During King Kyongmun's lifetime countless snakes hissed in the royal bedchamber every night, and the frightened court ladies shrieked and tried to chase them away. But the King said, "Do not chase the snakes, but let them come near, for I cannot sleep in peace without the company of

snakes.” So when the King went to bed the snakes would cover his bosom, with their long tongues darting out in joy and comfort.

One morning when the King awoke, he discovered that his two ears had grown overnight into long furry ones like those of a donkey. His grief and consternation were beyond description, but nothing could be done. He was compelled to cover his head with a sort of turban which he wore waking and sleeping, so that nobody ever knew his secret except the tailor who made the turban. He, of course, was given the strictest orders to tell nobody.

Faithful servant of the King though he was, the tailor was continually tormented by his inability to speak of this strange and unique event. Finally he became ill and was obliged to go for a rest to Torim Temple on the outskirts of Kyongju. One day he came out into the back garden of this temple alone and unattended, peering about him wild-eyed. Seeing that no one was within earshot, he plunged suddenly into a bamboo grove nearby and shouted repeatedly at the top of his voice, “My King has long ears like a donkey!” Then, having at last won peace of mind, he fell dead on the spot.

Ever afterward, when the wind blew through this particular bamboo grove, the sound it made seemed to say “My King has long ears like a donkey.” This strange phenomenon was relayed from mouth to mouth until at last it reached the King's long ears. He was very angry and ordered the bamboos cut down and palms planted in their place. This was done and the palms grew rapidly. But when the wind blew through them they sang “My King has long ears....”dropping the last three words.

The King died at last and Torim-sa fell into decay. But new shoots grew up from the roots of the bamboos which had been cut down and people took cuttings to plant in their gardens so that they could hear the song they sang, and they did likewise with the palms. In this manner the citizens of Kyungju enjoyed the music of their bamboos and palms singing to the wind “My king has long ears like a donkey....My King has long ears...”

During this King's reign four Hwarang—Yowon-nang, Yehun-nang, Kyewon and Sukjong-nang—visited Kumnan, a place of scenic beauty, where they composed three patriotic songs. Moreover they sent a Simp'il-saji (thirteenth grade Silla official) with blank music paper to Taegu-Hwasang, asking this famous monk to compose three further songs, which he did—Hyongum P'ogok, Taedo-gok and Mungun-gok. When these songs were presented to the throne the good King praised the Hwarangs' loyalty and gave them rich rewards. Unfortunately these songs have not survived.

(It is recorded that this monk, together with Wihong Kakkan, Queen Chinsong's lover and husband, compiled a book of these Hyangga (Silla folksongs) using the Idu system of Chinese characters read phonetically so as to record the actual sounds of the Korean language. Twenty-five Hyangga survive today.)

49. The Song of Ch'oyong and the Sea-Viewing Temple

The forty-ninth sovereign was King Hongang (875-886). During his reign houses with tiled roofs stood in rows from the capital to the four seas and not a thatched roof was to be seen. Soft music was heard on all the roadsides. Gentle sweet rain came with harmonious blessings and all the harvests were plentiful.

One day the King went to Kaeunpo (modern Ulsan) for a picnic, and on his way back stopped to rest on the seashore. Suddenly a dense fog enveloped the land, so thick that the King could not find his way. The Royal Astrologer reported that the Master Dragon of the Eastern Sea was at play, and due respect must be paid him in order to avoid his anger. Accordingly the King ordered a temple to be erected nearby in honor of the dragon, and as soon as the royal edict was proclaimed the fog dissolved. Hence the King named that place on the seashore Kaeunpo (Port of Opening Clouds).

The Dragon of the Eastern Sea was highly pleased and appeared before the King with his seven sons, praising the monarch's august virtues, playing music and performing dances.

One of the dragon's sons followed the King to the capital and became his faithful servant. The King named him Ch'oyong, conferred upon him the office of "Kupkan" and gave him a lovely woman for his wife.

But her beauty drew the attention of the plague spirit, who, taking the form of a handsome man, had secret love-meetings with her at night while Ch'oyong was away. One night Ch'oyong returned unexpectedly and found his wife sleeping with another man. He thereupon composed the following song:

Under the moonlight of the Eastern Capital
I reveled late into the night.
When I came home and entered my bedroom
I saw four legs.
Two legs are mine,
To whom do the other two belong?

The person below is mine,
But whose body is raping her?

What shall I do? Thus he sang and danced, and then turned to leave, But the plague spirit rose from the bed and fell on his knees before Ch'oyong, saying, "I admired your wife for her beautiful person and now I have despoiled her. When I perceived you were not angry with me, I was struck with wonder and admiration. Hereafter when I see even the picture of your face I swear I will not enter the house."

Believing this, all the people began hanging Ch'oyong's picture on their gates as protection against disease. (Ch'oyong means "dragon's son." This story obviously records a folk belief.)

On returning to his palace the King had a scenic spot selected on the eastern side of Yongch'u-san (Holy Eagle Mountain) and there erected a temple called Manghae-sa (Sea-Viewing Temple) or Sinbang-sa (Temple of the Bridal Chamber) for the dragon as promised.

On another occasion the King went on a picnic to P'osok-jong (Pavilion of Stone Abalone). While His Majesty was merrily drinking wine surrounded by his court ladies, the spirit of South Mountain suddenly appeared before him and performed a dance. The King danced, too, as did the ladies, who sang sweetly, but the mountain spirit was visible only to the King. When the dance was over the King ordered his sculptors to portray it in stone for the edification of posterity. This sculpture is called Sang-yommu (Frosty-Bearded Dance).

Again when the King was traveling through Kumgang-nyong (Diamond Pass) the spirit of the northern peaks came and danced before him. The King called this dance Ok-do-ryong because it was performed with a jade sword and a jade ring. (*Ok* means "jade.")

One evening when the King was making merry at a court banquet the goddess of the earth and the mountain spirit appeared and danced before him, singing "Chi-ri-da-do-pa," which means, "Many wise men flee the court; the metropolis will fall to ruin." This was a warning from the guardian deities of the earth and the mountains foretelling the fall of Silla, but the foolish King and his entourage regarded it as a happy omen and gave themselves up to revels and debauchery while the kingdom tottered to its fall.

(The Mountain Spirit was, and to some extent still is, a prominent feature of Korean folk belief. He is always pictured as an old man with a white beard, usually accompanied by a tiger.)

50. Queen Chinsong (888-898) and Kotaji

The fifty-first sovereign was Queen Chinsong. Her nurse, Lady Puho, together with her husband (Wihong kakkan) and a few favored courtiers, had great influence on the court, and their machinations brought the kingdom to the brink of ruin. Patriots who were deeply worried about the situation began scattering leaflets containing Buddhist spells (Dharani) cursing the corrupt and immoral court.

When the Queen and her favorites tried to read one of these leaflets, they found it was composed of highly technical terms in Chinese, and they could not understand it. In Korean pronunciation it went as follows: *Nammu-Mang-guk Ch'alni-Naje P'anni-P'anni-So-P'anni U-U-Sam-Akan Pui-Sap'a-ga.*

The perplexed Queen called in her chief interpreter and asked for an explanation. The interpreter said, “Ch'alni-Naje is the Queen, P'anni-P'anni-So-P'anni represents two high-ranking Officials with the titles of Sop'an and U-U-Sam-Akan and Pui is Puho. The first phrase, Nammu-Mang-guk, is self-explanatory: it means, “The ruin of the country.”

On hearing this, several people said, “Who could have written the leaflets if it was not Wang Ko-in? Throw him into prison!” This the enraged Queen did.

While in prison, Wang Ko-in composed and sang this song:

Yentan's bloody tears in the rainbow pierce the sun;
Ch'u-yen's deep sorrow descends in frost even in summer.
My grief is the same as theirs;
O Lord of Heaven, why do you show no sign of saving me?

Heaven heard his cry and rent the prison with a thunderbolt, and the patriotic poet escaped alive.

(Wang Ko-in did in fact oppose the luxury and corruption of the court, and retired to his country estate in disgust. Queen Chinsong had taken the husband of her nurse Lady Puho as her lover in youth, and made him her official spouse after becoming Queen. The two persons named in Wang's

poem were figures in Chinese history who found themselves in similar situations.)

The Queen sent Prince Yangpae as her envoy to the T'ang court in China. The voyage was a difficult one, for the sea-passage was blocked by the rebels of Later Paekje (a brief attempt to revive the old Paekje kingdom). Yangpae was therefore obliged to take fifty bowmen with him to repel any attacks on the party.

When Yangpae's ship reached Kokto Island a storm began to rage at sea, and the party was unable to continue its journey for some ten days. Worried about the delay, Yangpae consulted a fortune-teller, who told him there was a dragon pool on the island and sacrifice must be offered to the dragon. When this was done the blue water of the pool leaped ten feet unto the air.

That night an old man with a long beard appeared to Prince Yangpae in a dream and said, "If you leave a good bowman behind on this island you will be blessed with a favorable wind." When the prince awoke he called the men together and told them of his dream. They agreed that each man should carve his name on a piece of wood. When these were cast into the sea, the one which sank would designate the man who would stay. When this was done only the name of the bowman Kotaji sank to the bottom.

Obedient to his prince's orders the good bowman took his stand upon the shore and sadly watched the ship sail off across the calm sea toward China. As he was choking back his tears the same white-bearded old man who had appeared in the prince's dream emerged from the dragon pool and spoke to him.

"I am a spirit of the Western Sea," the old man said. "Every morning at sunrise for some time now a grotesque Buddhist monk has descended from heaven and chanted a Buddhist spell (Dharani) which obliges me and my wife and children to rise to the surface of the water. He has pulled out and eaten one by one the livers of my children until now only I and my wife and one daughter are left. Please shoot down this monster."

"Shooting arrows is my pride," Kotaji answered. "I will do as you ask."

After expressing his thanks the old man reentered the pool while Kotaji hid behind a big tree to await the coming of the monk. Sure enough, just as the sun appeared above the eastern horizon the monk descended and began loudly chanting his spell. Kotaji sped an arrow swift and true into his heart, and he changed into an aged fox and fell dead.

Soon the old man reappeared. "You have saved my life," he said. "In gratitude I offer you my lovely daughter as your wife."

"That is the best reward and the most precious gift you could give me," Kotaji said. "She is lovely."

Then the old man instructed him: "I will change my daughter into a flower which you will clasp in your bosom, and I will command two dragons to carry you to the Silla ship on which the envoy is sailing. These dragons will then convoy the ship to the shores of the T'ang empire. Goodbye and good luck to you both."

Kotaji did as he was bid, and soon the ship lay at anchor at the seaport of Changan. When the people of China saw that the Silla ship was convoyed by dragons they hastened to report this extraordinary event to their Emperor. Remarking that the Silla envoy was an uncommon man, the Emperor invited Prince Yangpae to a special court banquet at which he was seated above all the T'ang dignitaries. Moreover, the Emperor gave him rich gifts of gold-laced brocade to present to the Queen of Silla.

When the party returned home the flower Kotaji was carrying changed into a beautiful woman, and he lived with her happily for many years.

51. King Hyogong (898-913)

During the reign of King Hyogong, the fifty-second sovereign, magpies built nests along the twenty-one kan (about six square feet) on the eastern and western sides of the outer gate of Pongsong Temple, and during the reign of King Sindok (913-917) there were thirty-four magpie nests and crows' nests on an outbuilding of Yongmyo Temple. In March that year frost came twice and in June the water of Ch'ampo Bay flung back the tide and fought it for three days.

(These are signs and portents. The Chinese T'ang Empire was overthrown in 907 and Silla itself was in decline, ending in 935. The tides on the west coast of Korea fluctuate very widely, in places by as much as forty feet, and tidal bores are not uncommon.)

52. King Kyongmyong (917-924)

During the reign of King Kyongmyong the fifty-fourth sovereign the dogs in the mural painting at the Temple of the Four Deva Kings began to whine mournfully. The monks chanted scriptures for three days, until the dogs stopped, but after a time they again whined for half a day. In February of 920 the shadow of the pagoda at Hwang-nyong Temple appeared upside down on the grounds of the house of Kummo-saji and in October of the

same year the strings of the bows held in the hands of the gods of the five directions at the Temple of the Four Deva Kings were mysteriously cut away and the dogs in the mural painting rushed out into the temple courtyard and back into the picture again.

53. King Kyong'ae (924-927)

The fifty-fifth sovereign was King Kyong'ae. In the first year of his reign, on the 19th of February, the King held a Buddhist seminar at Hwangnyong Temple, and entertained 300 monks of the “Son” sect at a banquet. This was the beginning of the Hundred Seat Preaching of the Son sect. (The practice became a daily one. “Son” is more familiar to Western readers under its Japanese name, “Zen”.)

54. King Kyongsun (927-935, the last king)

The fifty-sixth sovereign of Silla was Kim Pu, the Great King, whose posthumous title is Kyongsun. In the year 926, during the reign of his predecessor King Kyong'ae, Chin Hwon, the tiger-spirited general of Later Paekje invaded Silla, attacking Koul-pu. King Kyong'ae sent a request for military aid to Wang Kon, the King of Koryo, but before the troops could arrive Chin Hwon led an attack on Kyongju and took the city.

King Kyong'ae had been enjoying a party with his Queen and court ladies, merrily drinking, singing and dancing. When the rebel soldiers entered the city the King and Queen hid themselves in the inner palace, while the attendant nobles and their wives scattered in all directions, prostrating themselves before the victorious enemy and offering to be slaves if only their lives were spared.

Chin Hwon set up his headquarters in the royal palace and ordered his men to plunder both public and private treasures. He forced the King to fall on his own sword, violated the Queen and loosed his soldiers upon the court ladies and the King's concubines. After these outrages he chose Kim Pu, a distant cousin of King Kyong'ae, placed him on the throne, and withdrew from Kyongju in triumph, carrying off hundreds of aristocrats and pretty women together with precious jewels from the palace.

No sooner had the new King emerged from his coronation than he changed his dragon robe for mourning clothes and his royal crown for a hempen hat. Then he ordered that the body of King Kyong'ae lie in state in the West Palace, where he wailed loudly with his courtiers.

The King of Koryo in Songdo (Kaesong) dispatched a special envoy to Kyongju to convey his condolence and deep sympathy. In March of the

following year he visited Kyongju in person, accompanied by fifty horsemen. King Kyongsun and his court came to the outskirts of the city to greet him, and invited him to a welcoming banquet at Imhae Pavilion.

After the formalities had been observed King Kyungsun shed tears as he told his noble visitor of Chin Hwon's savage raid and the falling fortunes of Silla. In tears himself, the King of Koryo comforted his royal host, and extended his visit for ten days before returning home. During his stay in Kyongju his soldiers behaved like gentlemen and not one of them violated military discipline or committed lawless acts. The people of Silla—men and women, boys and girls—congratulated each other, comparing Chin Hwon to a man-eating tiger and Wang Kon to an affectionate father.

On the day of the mid-autumn moon festival the King of Koryo sent an envoy to the Silla court with an embroidered brocade robe and a saddle for the King and gifts for all the nobles and generals according to their rank.

By October of the year 935 most of the territory of Silla was occupied by rebels, and there were more uprisings daily. The countryside was infested with bandits, the royal troops had lost the martial Hwarang spirit, and famine stalked the land. It seemed to the King that there was no end to his troubles and that his decayed kingdom, despite its glorious history of a thousand years, might collapse at any moment.

In desperation His Majesty called a royal conference of his highest officials and said to them, “We are met to discuss a very grave matter. Should we surrender to Wang Kon and cede to this kind-hearted neighboring monarch our sovereignty over Silla or should we continue to fight the fierce wardogs at home and prepare for a final battle for supremacy with Wang Kon, which it seems to me would mean the total destruction of Silla?”

Opinions were divided and there was considerable argument. The Crown Prince wished to fight to the end. “The rise or fall of a nation depends on the will of Heaven,” he said. “We must rally all loyal subjects and patriotic soldiers to defend the fatherland with all our strength, of one mind with our people till the last minute. Why should we give up without a fight? How can we so easily surrender our thousand-year-old country to a neighbor?”

“Silla is now helpless and we cannot hold out any longer,” the King replied. “If we are neither strong nor weak, we will be caught in the middle. It is unbearable to see thousands of good people suffering tragic deaths in a

losing war. Rather, we must lose face and surrender peacefully to save the people from great catastrophe. Kim Pong-hyu, my loyal minister! Go and present my official letter of voluntary surrender to the King of Koryo. All is over.”

“Ah, sad day!” said the Crown Prince, weeping bitterly. “Farewell, King and kingdom! I am going to Kaegol-san (the Diamond Mountains)” So the young prince departed and entered a deep, rocky valley under Pirobong, the highest peak in the range. There he dressed himself in hemp and fed on grass roots, and rallied the loyal sons of the Hwa-rang to fight Wang Kon.

The King's youngest son shaved his head and became a monk of the Hwaom sect with the religious name Pomgong, residing at Popsu and Heian temples during the rest of his life.

Wang Kon, the King of Koryo, when he received the letter of surrender, immediately dispatched his first minister of state Wang Ch'ol to Kyongju with orders to conduct King Kyongsun and his entourage to Songdo (Kaesong) with an honor guard. The King accordingly set out for Songdo accompanied by the civil and military officials of his court. The long procession of carriages and carts laden with royal treasures stretched over ten miles of the highway, which was lined from Kyongju to Songdo with vast throngs of spectators.

Wang Kon came to the outskirts of his capital to meet the royal procession from Silla. He celebrated the day with a great feast on Man-wol-dae (Full Moon Hill) and gave his eldest daughter, the Princess of Nangnang, to the surrendered Silla king in marriage. He reconfirmed his title as King and promoted him to the highest position in the Koryo court, ranking above even the Crown Prince. Moreover, Wang Kon granted the Silla King an annual allowance of one thousand large bags of rice and gave him the old Silla territory (which he called Kyongju) as his fief.

The alliance between the two royal houses was further cemented when King Kyongsun gave the beautiful daughter of his uncle to Wang Kon as his wife. (This uncle, Ilyon says, was Ok-nyom, younger brother of the King's father Hyojong-Kakkan. This was Queen Sinsong.)

However, according to the royal family tree prepared by Kim Kwan-ui during the Koryo dynasty, Queen Sinsong was of the Yi family and Wang Kon married her during a trip to Hapju county, of which Yi Chong-on, a Kyongju nobleman, was magistrate. She bore the King a son who was

known as Anjong. The day of her death was the 25th of March and her tomb was called Chong-nung, where a temple, Hyonhwa-sa, was erected in her memory. Among the twenty-five queens and concubines of the King, no woman of the Kim family is recorded in the royal chronicle, but the annalist does record that Prince Anjong was a grandson (on the maternal side) of Silla.

Wang Kon's grandson Sin (King Kyongjong, 975-981) married King Kyongsun's daughter.

When King Kyongsun died in 978, his old royal title was again conferred upon him together with the title Sang-pu (royal father-in-law). King Kyongjong issued a royal decree as follows:

“Know ye, my loyal subjects: When Chou of the Chi family founded a new kingdom he first invested Lu Wang with an honorary title and when Han of the Liu family rose to power he first invested Su Ho with an honorary title. Hence the royal glory shone far and wide over all the world and the happiness of the royal household bloomed for thirty generations of the Dragon Picture and four hundred years of the Giraffe-Hooves, bright as the sun and moon, coeval with heaven and earth. This institution began with a ruler assisted by his wise ministers.

(The allusions here are to the Chou and Han dynasties of ancient China. The reader will recall the dragon with a picture on its back described in the prologue as the portent of a great king. “Giraffe Hooves” is the title of a section of the Confucian Book of Odes, but is here used to allude to the Han dynasty, which did indeed endure for about 400 years.)

“Kim Pu, King of Nangnang, who is endowed with a fief of 8,000 households, hereditarily residing in Kerim (Silla), and honored with a royal title, possessed eminently noble qualities and was gifted with fine literary talent.

“Looking forward to greater happiness, he lived comfortably in his fief with a Military Strategy (a well-known Chinese work on this subject is here alluded to) in his bosom. The founder of our kingdom, having bound the two royal families in friendly ties, gave him a daughter in marriage. Now the two kingdoms are united and the new state ruling over the Three Hans prospers anew daily, with one patriotic mind from the throne to the plough.

“I hereby confer on him the title of Royal Father-in-law and increase his fief to 10,000 households in consideration of his loyal and meritorious

services to the state. I command you, all competent officials to execute my orders with due ceremony.”

“The 10th month of the 8th year of Kaipao (Royal Sign Manual, Royal Seal) Countersigned by Yung-son

His Majesty's President
of the Privy Council
and His Majesty's Cabinet Ministers.”

According to 'Saron' the progenitors of the Pak and Sok clans of Silla were born of eggs, while that of the Kim clan was found in a golden box which descended from heaven on a golden chariot. But these stories are too fantastic to believe, although they have traditionally been accepted by the populace as facts. The early Silla rulers were frugal in their personal lives and generous to others. They maintained few government offices and observed the annual rites simply. They sent tribute to and received envoys from the Middle Kingdom across the sea, and dispatched youths to study in that kingdom, thereby to cultivate decorum in their nation through the influence of the refined customs and advanced culture taught by the ancient sages. Moreover, with the aid of the military might of the Imperial T'ang army Silla subjugated Paekje and Koguryo, making them provinces under her single rule in her days of greatness.

However, due to the evils of Buddhism, pagodas and temples lined the streets and the common people deserted their farms to become monks and nuns,. The morale of the army fell into decay, calling down rebellion and destruction upon the nation. King Kyong'ae gave himself up to merriment and soft pleasures. He reveled at the Pavilion of the Stone Abalone with his choicest beauties and flattering courtiers, unaware of his doom until Chin Hwon, like Han Ch'in-hu, sprang at his throat, and his Queen fell prey to Hwon, like Chang li-hua. (The King and Queen are compared to figures in Chinese history.)

King Kyongsun surrendered voluntarily to the King of Koryo because his kingdom was in extremities, but his decision was nevertheless praiseworthy. Had he chosen to fight on until the end the royal Kim clan would have been exterminated and a great catastrophe would have fallen upon his innocent people. His cession of sovereignty over his kingdom, sealing his royal treasure vaults without awaiting the King's orders, was an

act not only of obeisance to our King but of mercy to myriads of living creatures. In the olden days Su Tzu-chen praised Chen-shih as a loyal vassal for surrendering Wu and Yueh to Sung, but the virtue of the Silla King outshines that of Chen-shih. (Yet another Chinese precedent is cited here.)

The founder of the Koryo dynasty had many queens and concubines who bore him many children, but ever since King Hyonjong ascended the throne (1009) as the maternal grandson of Silla royalty the successive Koryo Kings have been his descendants, with the royal throne transmitted in an unbroken line thanks to the charity of King Kyongsun.

When Silla fell and the old land passed under the rule of a new dynasty, Agan-Sinhoe, a noble-hearted Silla courtier, withdrew from official life and returned to his native place in Kyongju. Seeing the desolate condition of the ruined capital he recited the old poem Shu Li-li (The Millet Hangs its Head, a poem from the Book of Odes about a ruined palace which had been turned into a millet-field). His heart sank with grief and he wept when he saw the millet heads and wild grass tossing among the ruins of the Silla palace. He composed a song about the fall of Silla but unfortunately it has been lost.

(This whole last passage, following the decree, has a decidedly Confucian tone. Its rejection of the old legends and its blaming Buddhism for the fall of Silla are quite unlike Ilyon in other parts of the book.)

55. South Puyo, Early Paekje and North Puyo

Puyo-gun(county) was the capital of early Paekje, According to the Samguk Sagi, in the spring of the twenty-sixth year of King Song of Paekje (548) the King moved his court to Saja (or Sabi), calling his kingdom Nam (south) Puyo. (Saja or Sabi was another name for Soburi, now Kosongjin.)

In the (Koryo) land survey it is registered as Chonjong Chuch'op in Soburi-gun and the present Puyo-gun has had its old name restored in honor of the name of the Paekje royal family, Pu. Puyo was also called Yoju. To the west of Puyo is a temple called Chapok-sa on whose curtains the following is embroidered in Chinese characters: "The Great Temple of Merit in Yoju, May, 15th year of T'ung-huo, year of the chicken (Chong-yu)." An old document of the magistrate of Hanam-Imju says that Imju is now Karim-gun and Yoju is now Puyo-gun

In the Paichi Tili-chih it is written (quoting the Hou Han-shu), "Paichi (Paekje) is one of the seventy-eight states of the three Han nations." The Pei-shih says, "Paichi (Paekje) is bounded on the east by Silla, on the southwest by the Great Sea and on the north by the Han River. Its capital

was in Kobal-song, also called Koma-song and Obang-song.” (The suffix “song” means “fortress.”)

The T'ung-tien states, “Paichi (Paekje) adjoins Silla on the south, Koguryo on the north, and faces the Great Sea to the west.” The Chiu T'ang-shu says, “Paichi (Paekje) is another name for Puyo. On its northeast is Silla, on its south and west are Wo (Japan) and Yuehchow across the sea, and on its north is Koguryo. The King's palaces are surrounded by two city walls on the east and west. The Hsin T'ang-shu also says Paekje is bounded on the south and west by Wo (Japan) and Yuehchow across the sea and on the north by Koguryo. According to the Samguk Sagi the royal founder of Paekje was Onjo, whose father was King Ch'umo, also called Chumong.

When Chumong the good bowman escaped southward from Puk-puyo to Cholbon-Puyo, the king of that land, who had three daughters but no son, found Chumong a great hero and gave him his second daughter in marriage. When the King died soon after, Chumong succeeded to the throne. Two sons—Pullyu and Onjo—were born to him by this queen.

These two sons were afraid of Yuri, the crown prince, and fled southward with ten courtiers including Ogan and Maryo. On reaching Han-san Onjo settled down at Hanam-Wiryesong⁶, with the Han River on the north, high mountains to the east, fertile fields to the south, and the Great Sea to the west, so that the area was a natural fortress fit to become a capital city. He called his new kingdom Sipje because he founded it with the assistance of ten courtiers. (“Sip” is the number ten.)

But Pullyu went to the seacoast at Mich'uhol in the wet lowlands, unfit for comfortable living, and there he soon died of shame and remorse. His subjects returned to Wiryesong to live under the rule of Onjo, who now called his kingdom Paekje because his subjects had increased to one hundred. (A pun. There is a word “paek” meaning one hundred, and it is the same one as the name of the kingdom.) Because the royal clan of Paekje traced its ancestry to the Puyo people (in Koguryo) it was called Hai-ssi, like the Koguryo royal family. During the reign of King Song (523-554) the capital was moved to Saja or Sabi and was called Puyo (now Puyo-gun). Mich'uhol is Inju (Inchon) and Wiryesong is now Chiksan (This last is evidently a mistake).

According to an old book, Onjo, the third son of King Tongmyong (founder of Koguryo) came to Wiryesong from Cholbon-Puyo, built his palaces and assumed the title of king. Eleven years later he moved his court

to Hansan (now Kwangju), where his royal descendants ruled the kingdom for 389 years. During the reign of King Kunch'ogo (346-375), the thirteenth sovereign, Paekje took south P'yongyang (modern Seoul) from Koguryo and moved its capital to north Han-song (now Yangju), where successive kings ruled for 105 years. Then King Munju (475-477) moved the court to Ungch'on (now Kongju), where it stayed for the next sixty-three years. Finally King Song (as already noted) established the capital at Saja or Sabi, where it remained for 120 years, until the reign of King Uija (last king, 641-661).

In the twentieth year of King Uija the kingdom of Paekje was destroyed by the allied forces of Silla and T'ang China under the command respectively of Kim Yu-sin and Su Ting-fang.

Originally Paekje consisted of five departments divided into thirty-seven counties and was inhabited by 760,000 households. After the fall of the kingdom the Chinese set up five military districts, establishing military governments in Ungjin, Mahan, Tongmyong, Kumnyon and Togan, and appointing local leaders as administrators under the military. But Silla soon occupied this territory and divided it into three provinces—Ung, Chon and Mu.

In Puyo there was a rock called Chongsa-am (Political Rock) at Hoam-sa (Temple of the Tiger Rock). Tradition says that before naming a prime minister officials would write down the names of the candidates, put them in a box under seal, and place the box on this rock for some days (hence its name). Then they would open the box and make their decision.

The Yong-am (Rock of the Dragon) is so called because of the story that the Chinese general Su Ting-fang baited a line with a white horse and hooked a dragon there. Indeed, this rock still bears the marks of a crouching dragon.

On the riverbank at Saja is a flat rock big enough to accommodate a dozen people. Tradition says the King of Paekje liked to cross the river and have picnics on this rock, and when he did so he would always prostrate himself in the direction of the Buddha at Wanghung Temple in the distance. Since the cold rock always became warm at the approach of the “jade body” of the King it was called Nan-sok (Warm Rock).

On both sides of this river along the sandy beaches stand rocky crests like wind-screens. This area was called Taewang-p'o, the Great King's Port, where the Paekje Kings used to enjoy banquets with music and dancing.

Onjo, the founder of Paekje and the third son of King Tongmyong (Koguryo founder) had a powerful physique and noble qualities worthy of a prince. He loved horseback riding and archery. King Taru (Onjo's successor, 28-77) was a generous prince who won a glorious name. King Sabul (otherwise called Saban or Sai, 234) ascended the throne as a boy after the death of King Kusu (214-234) but was soon deposed in favor of King Koi (234-286). Some historians say that King Sabul died before King Koi succeeded him.

56. King Mu (600-641)

The thirtieth sovereign of Paekje was King Mu, whose personal name was Chang. His mother was a young widow who lived in a cottage beside a large pond. A dragon fell in love with her, and she conceived and bore a son. The boy grew up strong in physique and majestic in manner, worthy to be the son of a dragon. But he was so poor that he had to dig wild potatoes from the fields to feed his mother and himself, so his neighbors called him Sodong, Potato Boy.

Sodong heard that Sonhwa, the third daughter of King Chin-p'yong of Silla (579-632) was very beautiful. So he shaved his head and visited Kyongju, the capital of Silla, with a large sack of potatoes slung over his back. He made friends with the children by giving them his sweet potatoes to eat, and at the same time taught them a song which he had composed:

Princess Sonhwa likes sweet potatoes gray—
She married the Potato Boy while we looked the other way;
Every night she comes to meet her swain
And sleeps in his arms with kisses sweet.

Soon this song was heard in every quarter of the city and even in the palace. The courtiers who were received in royal audience persuaded the king to send the princess into exile in order to quiet the scandal. The Queen gave her daughter a bushel of pure gold to pay her expenses with and bid her a tearful farewell.

When she had set out on her lonely journey, the Potato Boy appeared and offered to be her bodyguard and guide. She did not know who he was or where he came from, but in her extremity she was glad of anyone's companionship. And as they traveled through the wild forests she fell in love with him, and at length slept in his arms.

The lovers traveled happily together for many days, climbing hills and crossing streams, until they arrived in Paekje. Then Sonhwa said, "My husband, here is a sack of shining gold. With it we can make a comfortable home."

"What is this?" asked Sodong, laughing.

"Don't you know gold?" Sonhwa said. "It will make us rich for a hundred years."

"Since my childhood," Sodong told her, "I have buried gold in the holes from which I dug the wild potatoes."

Sonhwa was amazed. "If that is so," she said, "you have a large quantity of the most precious treasure under heaven. If you remember where you buried it, why don't you dig it up and send it to the palace of my father and mother?"

Sodong agreed. He dug up all the gold nuggets from the hundreds of holes he had made, and piled them mountain high. Then he went to the famous monk Chimyong Popsa at Saja Temple on Mt. Yonghwa and sought his advice on how to transport his treasure to Kyongju.

"Bring the gold to me," the monk said. "I will send it on the wings of a spirit by my magic word."

When Sonhwa heard this she danced for joy and wrote a letter to her royal parents informing them of her happy marriage to the Potato Boy and of the shipment of gold as a present to them. The mountain of gold was moved into the courtyard of Saja Temple with the letter at sunset, and sure enough, it rose into the air and was transported to the Silla palace that very night.

When he received this gift and read his daughter's letter King Chinp'yong wondered at the magic power of the Paekje monk and expressed his joy by sending a reply to Princess Sonhwa, with whom he frequently corresponded thereafter. Sodong was so much loved by the people of Paekje for his princely deeds, loving and giving, that in due course he was raised to the throne amidst the acclamations of the whole nation.

One day as the new King and Queen were returning from a visit to Saja temple, followed by a long train of servants, three images of Maitreya (the Buddha of the future) rose above the surface of a pond. They immediately halted their procession and worshipped the mysterious images, and the

Queen said, “My husband, I wish to have a beautiful temple built on this pond, where these three Maitreyas arose to meet us.”

“Very well, it shall be done,” the King replied. He again sought the help of the monk Chimyong, asking him to fill in the pond and prepare it for a building.

Obedient to the royal command, the old monk performed the task in one night by moving a distant mountain and dropping it upside down into the pond. Soon a magnificent temple called Miruk-sa had been erected. (“Miruk” is the Korean pronunciation of “Maitreya.”) In the main hall stood the three Maitreya images and in the courtyard was a pagoda built with the assistance of hundreds of architects and sculptors sent by King Chinp'yong. This great edifice, weather-beaten and moss-covered, is still standing. (Ilyon notes that the Samguk Sagi designates this temple Wanghung-sa.)

(This traditional tale obviously has nothing to do with King Mu, who was probably the son of his predecessor King Pop, who ruled briefly in 599. Indeed, this is the account given by the Samguk Sagi. The tale belongs properly to the reign of Paekje King Tongsong (479-501), who, it is recorded, asked to marry a Silla princess in 493 and had his request granted. Our story is a bit of romantic embroidery on this event. Why it was attributed to King Mu is a mystery, but the details have been worked out with some care, King Chinp'yong was a contemporary of King Mu and Wanghung Temple was built during King Mu's reign. The temple in the story is a much older one.)

57. Chin Hwon of Later Paekje

The Samguk Sagi states that Chin Hwon was born in Kaun-hyon, Sangju in 867, His family name was Yi, but he changed it to Chin.

According to the Yi family chronicle the Queen of King Chinhung (540-576) had a son named Kuryun-kong who was the father of P'a-jinkan Sonp'um, who was the father of Kakkan-Chakjin, who was the father of Ajak'ae (by marriage with Wanggyo-Pari). A jak'ae worked on a farm, but subsequently became a general and occupied Sabulsong (Sangju, North Kyongsang Province). He became a Silla noble with the title of Kakkan. He was twice married, to the Lady Sangwon and Lady Namwon, and had five sons and one daughter—Sangpu-Hwon, General Nung-ae, General Yongkae, General Po-kae and General So-kae, and Lady Taechu-Togum. The first son, Hwon, possessed heroic qualities and strategic talent.

There is a legend about Chin Hwon's birth. In the northern village of Kwangju there lived a rich man who had a pretty, modest daughter. One day she said to her father, "A handsome and noble young man has entered my bedroom and made love to me the whole night for the past several nights. He did not tell me who he was or where he came from, and I was too ashamed to tell you until now. He is coming again tonight, if I am not mistaken."

"Thread a needle," her father told her, "and pin it to his robe."

That night the passionate lover came again. Just before daybreak, as he embraced her for a farewell kiss, she reached behind him and pinned a threaded needle to the back of his robe. When she followed the thread trailing after him, it led her to the garden wall, where she found her needle stuck in the back of a large purple earthworm with a yellow band around its waist, just like the purple robe and golden belt of her lover. Eventually she gave birth to a son who at the age of fifteen called himself Chin Hwon.

People laughed and said that Chin Hwon was a corruption of "Chirong-i," which means earthworm, because he was the love-child of an earthworm. (*This tale is probably derived from the pronunciation of the man's name, as seen above.*)

When Chin Hwon was an infant his mother carried him on her back while taking food to his father, who was plowing a field. She laid the baby among the bushes and forgot about him for a while, and as he lay there unnoticed a tigress came and suckled him, and petted him lovingly as if he were her own cub. (Another folktale, this one to explain Chin Hwon's later ferocity.)

The baby grew up to be a strong man with a tiger's face and a tiger's spirit, and became a Silla general. He was assigned to defend the southwest coast. He was always ready for battle, and slept with his lance beneath his head. Soon he was promoted to adjutant in the Queen's royal guard. (Queen Chinsong, 888-898).

During her reign the Queen had many lovers and favorites who usurped and misused her authority, amassing fortunes for themselves and oppressing the people. Thousands of farmers left their homes and wandered about the country, and highway robbers struck in broad daylight. The nation was in utter confusion as a result of the Queen's immorality and misrule.

The tiger-spirited general rose in revolt, and followers rallied to him by the thousands. He occupied the southwestern area (the old Paekje territory)

and established his headquarters at Mujinju (modern Kwangju) and assumed the title, "Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Southwest Silla and Founding Prince of Hannam (south of the Han River)." Later he was crowned King of Later Paekje at his new fortress of Wansan (modern Chonju).

At this time Yang-gil, a fierce captain of war-dogs also rose in revolt against Queen Chinsong at Pukwon, and the Silla prince Kung-ye surrendered to him and became his lieutenant. Chin Hwon praised Yang-gil for his valor and made him a field general.

Chin Hwon rode in triumph into Wansanju amidst the enthusiastic cheers of the citizens. In order to gain popular support, he made the following speech: "Our noble King Onjo established the Kingdom of Paekje and he and his descendants ruled over the people in peace and happiness generation after generation for more than six hundred years. Unfortunately the T'ang Emperor Kao-tsung, at the request of Silla, dispatched 130,000 troops from across the sea under the command of Su Ting-fang to attack Paekje by sea, and Kim Yu-sin of Silla drove his soldiers into our country after a fierce battle at Hwangsan. Finally the allied forces vanquished our loyal defenders and destroyed Paekje. I have made up my mind to reestablish Paekje and build a new capital in order to avenge our slaughtered patriotic heroes and vindicate our national honor." In this way he assumed the title of King of Later Paekje and organized a government (in 902).

But then a sudden coup in Ch'orwon-gyong deposed Kung-ye and brought Wang Kon to power. Chin Hwon sent a congratulatory message to him, with peacock fans and bamboo arrows made on Mt. Chiri as gifts. (Wang Kon had taken power in the north, so that the Korean peninsula was now again divided in roughly the same way it had been during the Three Kingdoms period.)

Chin Hwon pretended to maintain friendly relations with Wang Kon, sending him a present of a blue-speckled white horse, but he looked upon him with jealous eyes. In October of the third year after his coronation he led 3,000 horsemen in battle array to Chomul-song (near modern Andong). Accepting this challenge, Wang Kon led a strong force to meet the attack. However, finding it impossible to inflict a final defeat on Chin Hwon's swiftly moving cavalry, he offered to make peace and sent his cousin Wang

Sin as a hostage. Chin Hwon accepted the truce and sent his son-in-law Chin Ho in exchange.

In December Chin Hwon took twenty-odd towns to the west of Silla, and sent an envoy to the court of Later T'ang (one of the evanescent states that appeared at the breakup of the T'ang dynasty), calling himself "vassal to the Celestial Emperor." The Emperor was highly pleased, and conferred upon Chin Hwon the title, "Inspector of State and Supreme Commanding General of the Paekje Army," in addition to the reconfirmation of his former office "General Governor, Magistrate of Chonju, Four Direction Supreme Military Commander in the Eastern Seas and King of Paekje" with 2,500 households as his fief. (The said Emperor thus put in a claim to be the legitimate successor of the T'ang emperors and maintained the legal fiction that China was the real ruler of Korea, while Chin Hwon for his part obtained an ally and to some extent legitimized his rule.)

In the next year Chin Ho suddenly died. Suspecting that he had been murdered, Chin Hwon imprisoned Wang Sin and demanded that Wang Kon return his blue-speckled white horse. This Wang Kon laughingly did.

Chin Hwon next took Kunp'um-song (now Sanyang-hyon), burning and plundering the city (probably in 925 or 926). Taken by surprise, the King of Silla asked Wang Kon for help, but before the troops could arrive Chin Hwon took Koul-pu (now Ulju) and dashed into Sirim (i.e. Kerim, in the Western outskirts of Kyongju) in a shock attack while the king and Queen of Silla were enjoying a picnic at the Pavilion of the Stone Abalone. Chin Hwon forced the King to fall on his own sword, violated the Queen and raised to the throne a distant cousin of the King named Kim Pu. He took the King's younger brother Hyoryom and the Prime Minister Yong-kyong prisoner and evacuated Kyongju, taking with him precious jewels, lovely women and the best artisans.

Wang Kon led five thousand cavalymen to Kongsan (near Taegu) to fight Chin Hwon, but in a fierce battle his generals Kim Nak and Sin Sung-kyom were killed and the army routed. Wang Kon himself narrowly escaped, leaving the tiger-spirited Chin Hwon to perpetrate outrages as he pleased.

Chin Hwon plundered Taemok-song (now Yakmok), Kyongsan-pu (now Songju), and Kangju (now Chinju), and attacked Pugok-song, where Hong Sul, the magistrate of Uisong-pu, died in the fighting.

In the forty-second year after his uprising Chin Hwon took up a position at Soksan in order to attack Koch'ang-gun (now Andong) and Wang Kon faced him at Pyongsan, only about a hundred paces away. After a fierce battle Chin Hwon's forces were driven off, but the next day they counterattacked and occupied Sun-song, whose magistrate Won Pong fled in the night to save his life. In a great rage Wang Kon lowered the status of this city, calling it Haji-hyon (now P'ung-san-hyon).

By this time the King and court of Silla, realizing the national decadence and the impossibility of restoring the kingdom's former greatness, relied increasingly on Wang Kon's new Koryo kingdom for protection, especially against Chin Hwon. The latter was planning a fresh raid on Kyongju to repeat his former outrages. Fearing that Wang Kon might forestall him, he sent the following letter.

“A few days ago Prime Minister Kim Ung-nyom called you to the King's palace in Kyongju to hold a secret military conference. This is like a large turtle responding to the call of a small turtle, or two partridges pecking at the wings of a hawk. (Two proverbial expressions. The small, female turtle calls the large male secretly—implying a conspiracy. The two partridges are Silla and Koryo attacking the hawk, Later Paekje.) Your ill-advised act will only cause misery to the people and make the fair land a ruin.

“In order to forestall your action I purged the filthy court of pomp and luxury and pleasure in idleness by holding the whip of Tsu-sheng and wielding the battle-axe of Han Ch'in-hu. (Two Chinese historical precedents for Chin Hwon's first raid on Kyongju are cited here.) I punished the collaborating officials, civil and military, and instructed the people in the six departments to uphold my righteousness and follow my path.

“Nonetheless the flattering courtiers fled from my sight and the King died, so I chose the maternal cousin of King Kyongmyong and the maternal grandson of King Hongang (King Kyongsun) and lifted him to the throne in order to rebuild the nation on its ruins and to preserve the royal lineage of the King who is no more.

“But you did not heed my advice. You lent your ears to groundless rumors and you sought the throne for yourself, invading Silla from the four directions. But your efforts have come to naught. Even you were not brave enough to look straight at the head of my steed, nor were you strong enough to pull a calf from my cow.

“Early last winter your field marshal Saeksang was bound hand and foot at the battle of Songsan, and within the same month your Left General Kim Nak exposed his skull on the field in front of Miri Temple and your soldiers were killed and taken prisoner in countless numbers. The stronger having thus been clearly differentiated from the weaker, it is clear as firelight who will be victor and who vanquished. It will be my pleasure to hang my bow from the tower of Pyongyang and water my horses in the Pai River. (These places were both in Wang Kon's kingdom.)

“On the seventh of last month Pan Shang-shu, the envoy from Wu-Yueh (another successor-state of the T'ang dynasty) presented to me a message from the Emperor which reads thus: 'You have long maintained peace and amity with Koryo, but recently because of the death of your son-in-law who was held hostage you have broken the ties of good neighborliness and invaded each other's borders with armed clashes incessantly. I have therefore sent my ambassador to your headquarters in the south and to Koryo in the north to convey to you my personal wishes. You are to live henceforth in peace and amity, obeying my command. Thus you will show respect for the Emperor and honor the power of the high dragon throne in the celestial palace.'

“In vain you wish to beat me when you are already beaten. You come forward to fight me but you are always hurled back. I send you herewith a copy of the Emperor's letter and urge you to heed his advice. It is ridiculous to imagine that a hare and a dog will fight until both fall dead from exhaustion, or that a clam and a stork can hold each other's beak and heart in a cold embrace until both fall prey to a fisherman. Do not again thoughtlessly war against me, lest one day you sorely repent it. From the King of Later Paekje.”

Wang Kon wrote a reply to this message as follows.

“Esteemed enemy: I have received a copy of the Emperor's decree from Pan Shang-shu, the envoy of Wu-yueh-kuo, together with a long letter from you. This was good news which has sweetened my blood, and I thank you for instructing me. However my interpretation of the Emperor's message is somewhat different from yours, so I shall ask the returning envoy to convey to the Emperor my feelings on the matter.

“By the favor of Heaven and with the support of the people I ascended the throne as a soldier king. Because of wars and natural calamities the nine provinces of Silla were devastated, the majority of the people had become

'Yellow Turbans' or highway robbers and the fertile fields had become wasteland. (The Yellow Turbans were a secret society which caused much trouble in the closing years of the Later Han dynasty.)

“When I entered into friendly relations with you and Silla as a good neighbor in order to calm the clamorous disturbances and rescue the nation from further catastrophe, the farmers returned to agriculture over a thousand *li* and the soldiers slept in peace for seven or eight years. But in October of the year of the cock a grave situation suddenly arose which obliged us to meet on the field of battle.

“At first you made light of your strong enemy, like a mantis that raises its nippers against a cartwheel, and in this manner provoked me to single combat. Finally you realized the impossible and beat a hasty retreat, but you are still a mosquito with a mountain on its back. Together with you I wish to bow reverently before heaven and swear never to fight again, on penalty of death if the vow is broken.

“I wished to lay down shield and spear, to cease killing innocent people, so I lifted the siege and gave my soldiers a good rest. I even sent a hostage to your camp that the people of the south might live in peace. Nevertheless, before the blood of the sacrificial oath was dry upon our lips you loosed your war-dogs once again to run amuck with their cruel fangs. Thus poison like that of bees and scorpions inflicted further damage on living creatures. Finally your tigerish outrages reached their zenith at the King's palace in the Golden Castle till the Yellow Roofs were shaken and fallen to the ground.

“In respecting the authority of the Chou household with loyalty and upholding the kingly way, who resembles Ch'i Hsuan-kung or Tsin Wen-kung, who contested for supremacy? These were villains who, like Wang Mang and Tung Cho, awaited only the opportunity to seize control of the state.

“Boorish upstart that you are, you have violated decorum and ignored the courtesy due to a prince, forcing the King to kowtow to you like a commoner. This violation of the proper relation between higher and lower was an unpardonable sin against heaven and against man. Only a man of loyal heart like Won Po can bring peace back to the state.

“I have neither ambition nor wicked designs; I seek only to rescue the royal court and the nation from danger. But you have broken the laws of Heaven and earth for material gain and carnal pleasure. You murdered the King, burned the palaces, massacred the ministers, plundered the royal

treasures, violated the Queen and the court ladies and rode off with the choicest beauties and the most precious jewels loaded on your carriages as spoils of war. Your wickedness is comparable only to that of Chieh and Chou and you have outdone owls and eagles in inhuman cruelty.

“I am faithful to my lord, like a hawk that hunts only small birds. I play but the part of a dog or a horse for the King my master. With deep resentment and in response to public indignation I rose up again. During the past two years my soldiers have roared like thunder and moved like lightning over the land, leaped like tigers and flown like dragons over the sea, winning every battle. When Yun-kyong was routed on the seacoast his army's abandoned armor was piled mountain-high; when Ch'u-cho was routed under the walls of his city the corpses covered the field and blood flowed in streams. In Yonsan our men cut off the head of Kil-hwan before our camp and in Mari-song they killed Su-o under our battle standard. In Imjon-song Hyong-chok and hundreds of his subordinates had their heads cut off and in Ch'ongch'on-hyon Chik-sim and four or five of his subordinates laid their heads upon the block. Your defeated soldiers at Tongsu, Kyongsan, Kangju and Naju surrendered to our war-camp. (The persons mentioned in this paragraph were all Later Paekje commanders.)

“Since our attacks are so swift and our victories so sure, the restoration of the lost territory under your occupation is only a matter of time. As Chang-erh did at his camp at Ch'i-sui, we shall before long remove a source of lasting regret; we shall win a victory like that of Han-wang over Hsiang Yu at Wu-kiang (rather pointed references to the conflicts that led up to the foundation of the Han dynasty in China). Finally the thunders of conflict will cease and bright sunlight will shine over heaven and earth. Since Providence is on our side, who will dare to stand in our way or try to rob us of this blessing?

“Much more, his highness the King of Wu-yueh has graciously advised us in a royal message to make peace in Ch'ong-gu (land of blue, the color of the east, i.e. Korea) so we must obey him. If you lay down your arms you will not only respond to his wish but will also contribute to the reunion of this divided land in the east. Should you continue fighting me you will bring about your own destruction and will repent when it is too late. From the King of Koryo.” *(Ilyon notes that this letter was drafted by Ch'oe Ch'i-won, a famous Silla scholar who had studied in China and attained high*

rank. He resigned in disgust during Queen Chinsong's reign when his proposals for reform were rejected and lived thereafter in retirement.)

In the year 933 Kong-chik, one of the bravest and most intelligent of Chin Hwon's vassals, surrendered voluntarily to Wang Kon. Enraged, Chin Hwon had Kong-chik's two sons and daughter arrested and their thighs burned and the sinews cut with a red-hot iron.

In September of the same year Chin Hwon dispatched a large naval force to attack Koryo. The ships sailed up the Yesong River and stayed three days while the sailors set fire to a hundred boats plying among the river ports of Yom, Paek and Chin.

In 935 Chin Hwon, hearing of Wang Kon's arrival at Unju, sent his warriors there to fight. But while they were setting up defense lines the Koryo general Yu Kom-p'il sent his cavalry charging in among them, and they whipped off 3,000 heads. Soon more than thirty cities north of Ungjin had opened their gates to the Koryo troops. Hearing this news Chin Hwon's chief of staff Chong-hun, his medical officer Chi-kyom and several generals including Sang-pong and Chak-p'il surrendered to Koryo.

At last Chin Hwon said to his sons, "Many years have passed since I arose in the closing years of Silla and became King of Later Paekje, and the number of my soldiers grew to be twice as great as that of the northern army. But now many a battle has been lost to them and it seems that Koryo enjoys the favor of Heaven. I see that I must surrender to the northern king in order to save my life." But his three sons Sin-gom, Yong-gom and Yang-gom objected to their father's defeatism.

According to the Yi Family Chronicle Chin Hwon had nine children: 1) Sin-gom, otherwise called Chin-song, 2) Kyom-noe, 3) Yong-sul, 4) Ch'ong-chi, 5) Chong-u, 6) (name unknown), 7) Wi-hung, 8) Ch'ong-gu and 9) Lady Kuk Tae. These were all children of his first wife, the Lady Sangwon. In addition he had a dozen children by concubines. Among these the fourth son, Kum-gang, was tall, handsome and intelligent. Chin Hwon loved him best, and planned to make him the Crown Prince, much to the mortification of his elder brothers Sin-gom, Yong-gom and Yang-gom.

By this time Yang-gom had been made governor of Kangju and Yong-gom was governor of Muju, leaving Sin-gom at home to attend his aged father. Ich'an Nung-hwan sent messengers to Kangju and Muju proposing to Yang-gom and Yong-gom that they conspire to depose the "Old Tiger." Nung-hwan together with Yong-sun then persuaded Sin-gom to detain Chin

Hwon at Kumsan Temple and sent men to kill Kum-gang. Sing-gom accordingly assumed the title of “Great King” and granted a general amnesty to all the prisoners in the realm.

Chin Hwon had gone to bed all unsuspecting. He was awakened by a great noise in the courtyard and asked Sin-gom what it was. His son replied, “The King is old, and he is weak in administration, so his eldest son has succeeded to the throne. The generals and admirals are merry with wine in a banquet to celebrate the new king's accession.” So saying, Sin-gom conducted his father to a cell in the precincts of Kumsan Temple and confined him there under the strong guard of general P'adal and thirty men.

From that time the children of Later Paekje began singing a ballad:

O pitiful child of Wansan,
Thou hast lost thy father;
Tears flow down thy cheeks
Like rain falling from heaven.

Chin Hwon was kept at the temple with his concubines, a court lady named Nungpunam, a maidservant named Kobinyo and a lad and a lass as companions. One night in April he entertained his guards with strong wine, and when they were drunk and had fallen asleep he fled to Koryo by sea, accompanied by his own bodyguards Sowonpo Hyang-pu, O Tam and Ch'ung-chil. The King of Koryo received him with due ceremony, addressing him as Sangpu (high father) as befitted his greater age and according him more respectful treatment than any of his courtiers or even of his own children. Chin Hwon was given the South Palace (in Kaesong) as his residence together with a fief and a farm in Yangju, forty slaves male and female and nine horses. In addition the King assigned Sin-gang, a surrendered Later Paekje general, to attend the “Old Tiger” as his bodyguard, that he might live in comfort and dignity.

After Chin Hwon's flight his son-in-law general Yong-kyu said to his wife, “Forty years' labor by our King is lost on the eve of great success because of a quarrel within the royal family which has obliged him to surrender to Koryo. A virtuous widow may never take another man and a loyal minister may never serve another dynasty. If we betray our King and serve his traitorous son we shall lose face before the righteous patriots of this country. Now Wang Kon of Koryo, a magnanimous general and a

benevolent King, has won the love and respect of the people. Perhaps with the help of Providence he will become master of the Three-Han nation (i.e. all of Korea). I suggest that we write to the King of Koryo in order to comfort our father, who is now under his protection, Perhaps if we approach him with civility we will win his favor in the future.”

His wife gladly agreed to this proposal. Accordingly Yong-kyu sent a messenger to Wang Kon with a letter which contained the following significant words: “If you undertake a punitive expedition, I will communicate secretly with you and the Koryo army.”

King T'aejo (Wang Kon's posthumous title, which we may now appropriately give him) was highly pleased. He gave a rich gift to the returning messenger and sent this reply to Yong-kyu: “If you open the road for our troops to pass without hindrance I will first shake hands with you and then bow to your wife. I will treat you and your wife as my own brother and sister-in-law in return for your kindness. Heaven and earth, gods and goddesses are witnesses.”

In June Chin Hwon addressed King T'aejo: “Your old vassal surrendered to Your Majesty in order to cut off the head of his traitorous son by means of your military might. If you kill the thief who has usurped my throne and destroy the conspirators who have joined him in high treason, I will not repent even though I should instantly die.”

“Yes, I understand,” the King replied. “I was only waiting for an opportune moment.”

When all was in readiness for a general attack on Later Paekje, the King first sent Crown Prince Mu and General Sul-hui at the head of 100,000 cavalry and infantry to march toward Ch'onan-pu. Then in September the King in person led three further army units to join the vanguard.

When the Koryo army had advanced as far as Ilson, Sin-gom sent troops to stop it. Attackers and defenders took up positions at Ich'on, facing each other northeast and southwest. Then as King T'aejo, accompanied by Chin Hwon, was reviewing the troops, suddenly white clouds appeared in the sky above his head shaped like swords and spears, and sailed swiftly toward the enemy position.

“Charge!” shouted the King, and his soldiers leaped forward like angry waves. Frightened at this formidable display of Koryo power, generals Hyo-pong, Tok-sul, Ae-sul and Myong-gil, commanders on the right and left

wings of the later Paekje force, whipped off their armor and surrendered before the Koryo camp.

King T'aejo treated them kindly and enquired after the whereabouts of the usurper Sin-gom. Learning that he was with the central body of his army, the King ordered general Kong-hwon to launch an attack on both flanks. This Kong-hwon did, and the enemy soldiers scattered and fled in all directions. Hotly pursued and unable to escape, Sin-gom and his two brothers, accompanied by generals Pudal and Nung-hwan and forty soldiers, appeared before the Koryo camp and prostrated himself in surrender.

King T'aejo treated them kindly and permitted them to come and live with their families at his capital, except for Nung-hwan. To him he said sternly, "You have conspired with Yang-gom to detain your King and to lift his son Sin-gom to the throne. This is high treason and a breach of the ethical conduct incumbent upon a subject toward his king. Your sin is unpardonable, and you shall die!" And he ordered his soldiers to cut off Nung-hwan's head.

King T'aejo spared Sin-gom's life, considering his surrender and repentance and the fact that he had not usurped the throne voluntarily but had been cajoled and forced into it by his villainous companions. But when Sin-gom escaped death the seventy-two-year-old Tiger King of Later Paekje died of rage, an ulcer bursting on his back, at a temple in Hwangsan.

King T'aejo had his troops observed the strictest military discipline and committed no crimes against civilians, so peace reigned everywhere and the people in all the provinces prayed with heart and voice for his long life.

The King said to Chin Hwon's son-in-law Yong-kyu, "When the ex-King lost his throne not even the poorest of his subjects spoke in sympathy, but you and your wife from a thousand *li* away expressed your love and respect to him in your letters, and did virtuous deeds for me. I can never forget your sincerity," Forthwith, Yong-kyu was promoted to the office of Left Minister and given a large rice-field as a reward, in addition to thirty-five coaches to carry his family and movable property to the capital (Kaesong). Yong-kyu's two sons were also given important official positions.

Chin Hwon rose to power in the year 892 and fell to destruction in 936.

In the book Saron (Review of Koryo History) it is written, "In the closing days of Silla the national fortune fell because of moral degradation.

She was forsaken by Heaven and alienated from the people. Highway robbers were rampant and ambitious heroes rose like the spines of a porcupine. Among them Kungye and Chin Hwon were prominent. Kungye was a Silla prince, yet he made an enemy of his native land and even cut the portraits of his royal ancestors to pieces with his sword. His mad and cruel temperament brought about his destruction.

“Chin Hwon, a farmer's son in Silla, rose from the ranks. He fattened his belly with the King and Queen's food, yet he conceived evil in his heart. Availing himself of the national crisis he raided the capital and murdered the King and his subjects like beasts. For their sins Kungye was forsaken by his vassals and Chin Hwon was betrayed by his own sons. Even Hsiang Yu and Li Mi were unable to thwart the rise of Han and Tang. Much less could the two murderers Ye and Hwon withstand the august power of our great King T'aejo!”

58. Karak-kuk

(Ilyon says that this is a sketchy description taken from Karak-kuk-ki, a narrative by Munin, magistrate of Kungwan County during the reign of the Koryo King Munjong (1046-1083). It consists mostly of the usual legends, but some of it is based on fact. There was indeed an area called Karak on Korea's southern coast in ancient times, and tribes known as Kaya.)

Since the creation of heaven and earth there had been no national name and no king of the people of the Kimhae region (north of the Nakdong River delta). The nine chiefs Ado-Kan, Yodo-Kan, P'ido-Kan, Odo-Kan, Yusu-Kan, Yuch'on-Kan, Sinch'on-Kan, Och'on-Kan and Sinkwi-Kan ruled over the 75,000 natives, who plowed their fields and sank wells to support their simple lives.

In the eighteenth year of the Kien-wu era of Emperor Kuang Wu of the Later Han in the year of the tiger (42 A.D.) on the day of the spring festival in Bathing Valley the villagers heard a strange voice calling from Kuji (Turtle's Back), the summit of North Mountain, saying, “Does anyone live here?”

“Yes,” the chief replied.

“What is this place?”

“This is Kuji, the Turtle's Back, the highest peak of our North Mountain.”

“A heavenly god has commanded me to descend to earth, establish a kingdom, and become its king, and therefore I am here. You people must

dig in the earth on the peak, while you dance and sing, 'Kuha! Kuha! (Turtle, turtle)⁷ Push out your head! If you don't, we'll burn and eat you.' Then you will meet a great king.”

The nine chiefs and all the people danced and sang for joy and looked up into the sky. Lo! The heavens opened and a purple rope descended to the earth, with a golden bowl wrapped in a red cloth tied to the end of it. When the cloth was removed the bowl was found to contain six golden eggs, round like the sun. The people worshipped the eggs, and, having replaced the cloth, took the heavenly gifts to the house of Ado, the paramount chief, where they laid them on a table and went home to rest. When they returned at sunrise and removed the cloth they found that the eggs had hatched into six boys of noble and handsome appearance. All the people bowed low and offered congratulations

The boys grew rapidly day by day, and after ten days the height of the boy who had hatched first had reached nine feet. His face was like that of a dragon, his eyebrows were like two eight-colored rainbows (like those of Yao, the sage-king of ancient China) and his eyes sparkled with double pupils (like those of Shun, Yao's son-in-law). On the fifteenth of the same month he was crowned king with the title “Suro.”⁸ He named his kingdom Karak-kuk (or Kayaguk) and the other five men became the rulers of the five neighboring Kaya tribes.

The kingdom of Karak-kuk was bounded on the east by the Hwangsan River, on the southwest by Ch'anghae (the Blue Sea), on the northwest by Mt. Chiri, on the northeast by Mt. Kaya, and on the south by the sea.

The King lived at first in a temporary residence built over an earthen platform three feet high and roofed with uncut reeds. In January in the year after his coronation the King declared, “I wish to establish the capital of my kingdom.” He proceeded south to a valley and gazed at the surrounding hills, which rose like embroidered windcreens as far as the eye could reach.

“Beautiful and wonderful!” the King exclaimed. “Though small and narrow as a blade of grass, this place is fit to be the abode of the sixteen Nahans (disciples of Buddha) or the seven sages (legendary Chinese philosophers). With proper development of the surrounding country, this will make a fine place for people to live.” And he selected the locations of the outer city walls, the royal palaces, government offices, armories and storehouses before returning to his temporary headquarters.

Workers and artisans from all directions responded to the King's call and commenced construction at Kumyang in February. All the sites had been prepared within a month, and a year later the whole project was finished. The King was highly pleased. Having selected an auspicious day, he moved into his new palace, and there presided personally over the national administration.

About this time the Queen of King Hamdal in Wanha-kuk conceived and laid an egg. From the egg a boy was hatched and was named T'alhae (Remove Shell) because he emerged from an egg by throwing off its shell. When T'alhae was three feet tall and his head measured one foot across, he came over the sea to pay a formal visit to King Suro.

"I have come," T'alhae announced, "to take over your throne and crown."

"Heaven has sent me down to rule over this nation in peace," the King replied. "I cannot give up my throne, nor will my people suffer you to put my crown on your large head."

"Let us settle this question by a contest of magic art," T'alhae proposed, and the King agreed.

In the twinkling of an eye T'alhae became a hawk, whereupon the King became an eagle; T'alhae changed into a sparrow and the King into a falcon. Finally T'alhae returned to human shape and the King also regained his noble form.

"I surrender to Your Majesty," T'alhae said, "During our contest I was a hawk before an eagle and a sparrow before a falcon, but I escaped death thanks to the kind heart of a noble sovereign who refrains from killing living creatures. Therefore I am unworthy to dispute your throne. Long live the King! Farewell!" And he boarded a ship which had arrived from China and departed.

King Suro ordered five hundred warships to go in pursuit, for he feared that T'alhae might return to wage war against him. But seeing the strange ship fleeing toward Kerim (Silla), the King's warships gave up the chase and returned to port.

In the twenty-fourth year of Kien-wu of Kuang Wu-ti in the Later Han period in the year of the monkey (Mu-sin, 49 A.D.) on the twenty-seventh day of the seventh month, the nine chief courtiers of King Suro repaired to the palace and were received in royal audience

“It is not good for the King to be alone,” they said. “Let Your Majesty choose the most beautiful and virtuous maiden from among the girls whom we shall bring to the palace and make her your queen.”

“I was sent down from heaven to rule this land,” the King replied, “and so my spouse will also descend from heaven at divine command. Sail toward Mangsan-do (Mountain-Viewing Island) in the south and see what happens.”

The courtiers obeyed. When they were far out at sea, a ship with a red sail and flying a red flag appeared on the horizon, darting toward the north like an arrow. The Kaya sailors waved torches and made signs for the mysterious ship to come near. When it did so, they found that a beautiful princess was on board. The sailors escorted her to the shore, where a courier mounted a swift steed and galloped off to convey the news to the King.

The King was exceedingly glad. He commanded the nine senior courtiers to meet the princess on the seashore and conduct her to the palace.

(*The courtiers proceeded to the coast and encountered the princess.*)
“Welcome, princess!” they said. “The King desires you to enter the palace and be received in audience immediately.”

“You are strangers,” the princess modestly replied. “I cannot follow you, nor can I be so unmaidenly as to enter the palace without due ceremony.”

The courtiers conveyed the princess' words to the King, and he was struck by her virgin modesty and queenly dignity. He ordered a tent pitched in front of his detached palace on a hill sixty feet southwest of the royal residence and awaited her arrival.

The princess left her ship with her suite, which consisted of the two courtiers Sin Po and Cho Kuang, their wives Mojong and Moryang and twenty slaves who carried gold, silver, jewels, silk brocade and tableware in countless boxes as her trousseau. When she reached the top of the hill she changed her brocade trousers and offered them as a gift to the mountain spirit. Then she approached the tent and the King rose to meet her.

The King bestowed native costumes and jewels upon the suite and bade them rest on beds covered with embroidered quilts and pillows. Then he and the princess entered the sleeping chamber.

“I am a princess of Ayuta (in India),” the princess said. “My family name is Ho, my given name is Hwang-Ok (Yellow Jade), and I am sixteen years old. In May this year my royal father and mother said to me, 'Last

night we had a dream, and in our dream we saw a god who said, "I have sent down Suro to be King of Karak, and Suro is a holy man. He is not yet married, so send your daughter to become his Queen." Then he ascended to heaven. It is the command of the god, and his words are still ringing in our ears. My daughter, bid farewell to your parents and go.' So I started on my long voyage, with steamed dates of the sea and fairy peaches of heaven for my provisions. Now I blush to stand in your noble presence."

(It is interesting to note that the city of Ayuthia was at one time the capital of the kingdom of Thailand.)

"I knew that you were coming," the King told her. "so I refused all the maidens whom my courtiers recommended as my spouse. Now my heart leaps with joy to receive a most beautiful and virtuous princess as my Queen."

The King passed two nights and one day with the princess from India. When it was time for her escort to return home he gave each person thirty rolls (one roll is forty yards) of hempen cloth and ten large bags of rice to sustain them on their voyage.

On the first day of the eighth month the King and his Queen entered the royal palace in colorful palanquins, accompanied by courtiers in carriages and on horseback and followed by a long train of wagons laden with the trousseau which the princess had brought with her from India. She was escorted into the inner palace, and the two courtiers and their wives who had accompanied her from India were accommodated in separate apartments. The rest of her suite were given a guest house of twenty rooms and given food and drink, and her household articles and precious jewels were put in a store-room for her use at all times.

One day the King said to his courtiers, "The Kans are the chief government officials, but the pronunciation of their titles is vulgar and unaesthetic and their written titles in Chinese characters make them a laughing-stock to foreigners." He therefore changed the official titles as follows: Ado to Agung, Yodo to Yohae, Pido to Pijang, Obang to Osang, Yusu to Yukong, Yuch'on to Yudok, Sinch'on to Sindo, Och'on to Onung, and Sinkwi to Sinkwi.

(The last two are pronounced the same but written differently. This would appear to be a reference to the adaptation of the Chinese system of government, together with official titles that would have been regarded as correct by the Chinese.)

The King adopted the official organization of Kerim (Silla), creating peers with titles such as Kakkan, Ajilkan and Kupkan and reforming his government on the models of the Chou and Han dynasties of China. He loved his people like his own children and benevolently taught them the arts of civilized life.

The marriage of the King and Queen was like the combination of two harmonious beings—heaven and earth, sun and moon, yang and yin (the two complementary forces in the universe in Chinese philosophy). She was a faithful and true helpmeet to the King, shining like a ruby or a sapphire—and indeed she was an Indian jewel and rendered valuable service in the rise of his royal household, like the vassals who assisted the King of Hsia and the two daughters of Yao who attended Shun, their royal husband, in ancient China. (The customary references to legendary Chinese rulers. Hsia is the name of the earliest Chinese dynasty of which there is actual evidence.)

The royal couple lived happily for many years. In due time they both dreamed of seeing a bear, and sure enough the Queen conceived and bore a son. This was Crown Prince Kodung.

On the first of March in the sixth year of Chung-p'ing in the reign of Ling-ti, the year of the snake, Kisa (189) the Queen died at the age of one hundred and fifty-seven. The people mourned as if they had lost their own mothers and buried her on a hill northeast of Kuji. They changed the name of the beach where she first landed to Chup'och'on, that of the hill on which she changed her brocade skirt to Nunghyon, and that of the seacoast where she waved her red flag at the shore to Kich'ulpyon, so that her arrival in Karak should always be remembered.

Sin Po and Cho Kuang, who attended the Queen on her voyage from India, each begat daughters about thirty years after their arrival, and both died a few years later. The Queen's male and female slaves all died of homesickness within seven or eight years of their arrival and left no children, so that their guest hall was vacant.

The King spent many lonely hours in deep grief after the death of the Queen, and at last he also died ten years later at the age of one hundred and fifty-eight, on the 23rd of March in the fourth year of Kien-an during the reign of Hsien-ti in the year of the hare, Ki-myō (199). (There is obviously some confusion in these dates.) The people wailed as if heaven had fallen and buried him in a mausoleum ten feet high and 300 feet in circumference

to the northeast of the palace. A shrine was erected and sacrifices were offered annually on the third and seventh of January, the fifth of May and the 15th of August to the spirits of King Suro and his royal descendants for nine generations.

During the reign of Popmin (King Munmu, thirtieth Silla sovereign, 661-681), the King issued a decree: "When King Kuhyong, in the ninth generation of descent from the founder of Karak-kuk, surrendered to Silla, he brought with him to Kerim (Kyongju) his crown prince, Sejong. Sejong begat Solu-kong, Solukong begat Soun-Chapkan, Soun-Chapkan begat Queen Munmyong, and Queen Munmyong gave birth to me.⁹ The founder of Karak-kuk is therefore my ancestor of fifteen generations ago. Though Karak was destroyed long ago, his shrine still exists today. Ye, my loyal subjects, must enshrine his tablet in the national sanctuary with those of my royal predecessors and offer annual sacrifice to his noble spirit at his shrine."

The King dispatched a messenger to the ruins of Karak-kuk to set apart thirty 'kyong' (furrows?) of fertile rice land to support the caretaker of the tomb and pay for the ceremonies. Kaeng-se Kupkan, in the seventeenth generation of descent from King Suro, was appointed caretaker, to offer wine, rice cakes, tea and sweets to the royal spirits on the five annual memorial days fixed by King Kodung.

From the time King Kodung first established the royal resting-place at his palace until the reign of King Kuhyong the sacrificial offerings at King Suro's tomb continued for 330 years, after which they were suspended from time to time until King Munmu of Silla decreed their resumption.

In the closing days of Silla a local official called Ch'ungji-Chapkan took control of Kumgwan fortress and styled himself General-Magistrate of the city. One of his subordinates, Yongkyu-Agan, was in the habit of offering sacrifices to obscene idols at the shrine of King Suro. While he was engaged in invoking these gods' blessings on his family one day, a heavy beam fell from the ceiling and crushed him to death.

The General-Magistrate was frightened almost to death. He had a portrait of King Suro painted on a three-foot length of silk embroidered with a twisting dragon, hung it on the wall with an oil lamp burning before it and worshipped it daily, morning and evening. After three days tears of blood fell like rain from both eyes of the portrait and made a deep pool on the ground. He then took the portrait to King Suro's shrine and burned it

there. Summoning a descendant of Suro named Kyurim, He said, "One misfortune rides on the neck of another in my family. The King's spirit is angry at me because of my disrespectful worship of his portrait. I feared to look at it and burned it, and now perhaps his ghost will strike me dead. I wish you to resume the sacrificial ceremonies as before."

Kyurim consented, and conducted the rites regularly thereafter until his death after a long life of eighty-eight years. But while his son Kanwon-kyong was worshipping at the shrine on a May Day, Yong-kyu's son Chunp'il went mad. He jumped into the shrine, kicked away the sacrificial food and spread another table with his own offerings. Before he had offered the third cup of wine to his obscene idols he was taken ill, and died of insanity on the way home.

There is an old saying, "Obscene idols send down calamities instead of blessings on the offerer of sacrifice." This refers to Yongkyu and Chunp'il, the disrespectful father and son.

One night a gang of thieves entered the shrine to steal the gold and jeweled ornaments. Immediately a fierce-looking general clad in steel armor rushed from the shrine and twanged his bow in all directions, killing seven or eight of the thieves and putting the rest to flight. A few evenings later the survivors returned, and this time a tiger more than thirty feet tall leaped from behind the shrine roaring loudly and tore eight or nine of them to pieces with its sharp claws and teeth, while the rest were all frightened to death. These punishments proved the presence of heavenly spirits in the precincts of King Suro's tomb and shrine, keeping off all sacrilegious persons.

Eight hundred and seventy-eight years have passed since this shrine was erected in the fourth year of Kienan (193, recorded as the date of King Suro's death) until the thirty-first year of the present monarch (Munjong, 1046-1083) and in all that time not a green sod on the tomb mound has died or faded, not a rare tree in the precincts has died or decayed, and not a single jade ornament in the shrine housing the King's tablet has been broken.

Hsin Ch'ieh-p'i (a Chinese scholar during the T'ang dynasty) once said, "In all ages and times, no nation has escaped ruin and no tomb has escaped destruction." This is true of the kingdom of Karak, but not of the undemolished tomb of King Suro.

Ever since the heyday of Karak, the inhabitants of the region (modern Kimhae and vicinity) have celebrated the 29th of July each year by climbing Songchom Mountain, where they pitch tents on the east and west. There are singing, dancing, athletic contests, and many a bottle of wine. The strong young men are divided into right and left teams and gallop their horses from Mangsan-do (Mountain-Viewing Island) toward the shore, while gaily decorated boats with red sails carry beautifully dressed maidens toward the old landing-place. This festival celebrates the arrival of the Princess of India (Empress Ho) and the setting off of Yuch'on and Sinkwi, the two Karak chiefs, to bring the news to the King.

Since the ruin of Karak-kuk the name of the area has been changed many times. In the year of the coronation of King Chongmyong of Silla (posthumous title Sinmun, 681) it was called Kumgwan-kyong, with a magistrate stationed there. Following the reunification of the Three Hans by King T'aejo (of Koryo, 918) 259 years later it was called Imhae-hyon for forty-eight years, and had a naval governor. Then it was called Imhae-gun or Kimhae-pu. There was an army headquarters there for twenty-seven years and a naval headquarters for sixty-four years.

In the second year of Hsun-hua (991) a land surveyor in Kimhae-pu named Cho Mun-son reported to the King that the acreage set aside for the maintenance of King Suro's shrine was too large and that it should be reduced to fifteen 'kyol' (unit of farmland) as under the old system and the remainder divided among the corvee laborers employed in Kimhae prefecture. When the King received this recommendation he rejected it, saying, "A sage-king emerged from an egg from Heaven and ruled over his people for 158 years, until he died. This was a happy event whose equal is rarely found in the history of the world since the time of the three legendary emperors (Sui-len, Fu-hsi and Shen-nung) of ancient China. I am too much in awe of his memory to reduce the acreage which supports King Suro's shrine, which has been hallowed ever since his death by his royal descendants."

But the surveyor persisted in his recommendations, and at length the court agreed that half of the shrine land should be given to the corvee laborers. When the division had been completed by royal order, the surveyor suddenly fell ill and was obliged to take to his bed. There he fell asleep and dreamed that he saw seven or eight ghosts armed with long ropes and sharp swords approaching him with a terrible roar: "You have done us

wrong. We shall cut off your head!” Down flashed the swords like lightning upon his neck and up sprang the surveyor from his bed, waking with a scream. He was so frightened that he ran out of the house, and fell dead as he was passing through the city gate. His death prevented him from affixing his seal to the land-survey register (which was necessary to make the transfer of shrine land legal).

King Kimchil, in the eighth generation of descent from King Suro, was mindful of the welfare of his people and upheld moral principles. He prayed for the repose of the fragrant soul of Queen Ho, the Princess of India, and in the twenty-ninth year of Yuan chia, in the year of the dragon, he had a Buddhist temple erected at the place where she took her marriage vows to King Suro, calling it Wanghu-sa (the Queen's Temple), with ten *kyol* of farmland for its support.

Five hundred years later another temple (Changyu-sa) was erected nearby with a royal donation of 300 *kyol* of farm and forest land to provide food and firewood for the monks. They demolished the Queen's Temple to the southeast and built a farmstead on its ruins to store grain and pasture horses and cattle. All the passers-by shed hot tears at the desolate state of the Queen's temple. A lone monument, weather-beaten and overgrown with moss, still stands on the ruins. It bears the following inscription:

“In the beginning when heaven and earth were created there were people but no king to rule over them in this land. In the Middle Kingdom (China) there had been kings and emperors for many generations, and in the Eastern nations capitals were established, in Kerim first and in Karak later. But in Karak there was no king who cared for the welfare of the inhabitants.

“Heaven showed mercy to the myriad creatures. Spirits descended to place eggs in the mountains, hiding themselves in the mist. In the darkness a voice was heard but no-one was to be seen. The gathering crowd responded to the voice with dance and song.

“After seven days the wind blew hard and the clouds cleared, and from the blue heavens six round eggs descended at the end of a purple string. People gathered from the neighborhood and made a ring around the eggs. Five of them were taken to each of five towns and the sixth remained in this castle. The six eggs descended simultaneously on the same string of brotherly affection.

“The heavenly being who remained in this castle brought forth virtue and gave laws to the living creatures of the earth. He ascended the treasured

throne and everything under heaven became clear. He built a palace of beauty and simplicity on a low earthen platform. He presided over his government and ruled the people with impartial love and justice. Among other things, he taught his people the first lessons of etiquette. Thus travelers made room for each other on the roads and farmers helped each other in the fields.

“Noblemen from the four directions offered their services to assist his rule, and the people welcomed his officials to look after their farms and pastures on high and low lands. But, alas! Like morning dew on the grass, he was unable to enjoy the long life of the 'Camellia Tree' (referring to a phenomenally long-lived tree in a Chinese legend). When great sorrow darkened heaven and earth the whole nation mourned with deep grief, as if they had lost their own father.

“But gold never loses its sparkle and jade rings its echo far and wide. His royal descendants have flourished to all ages, and their sacrificial offerings in his memory will be fragrant ever more. Though the moon wanes and the tides recede, his royal standard of right living will never change.”

The chronicles of the nine rulers of Karak descended from Sejo, King Suro, have been recorded as follows. (Hyon, as usual, gives Chinese dynastic and cyclic dates. The Christian-era dates given here are deduced from them, and there may be some slight errors.)

King Kodung: Father King Suro, mother Empress Ho. Crowned on 13 March, 193. Reigned 39 (55) years and died 17 September 232. His Queen was Mojong, daughter of Ch'onpu-kyong Sin Po, who bore his son Map'um. The Kaihuang Calendar says, “His family name was Kim, a corruption of Kum, meaning gold, because his father King Suro was born from a golden egg.”

King Map'um: Family name Kim. Crowned in 232, reigned 39 (32) years and died 29 January, 271. His Queen was Hogu, granddaughter of Chongjong-gam Cho Kuang, who bore him Crown Prince Kojilmi.

King Kojilmi: Also called Kommul, family name Kim. Crowned in 271, reigned 56 (55) years, died 8 July, 327. His Queen was Aji, granddaughter of Agung-Agan, the mother of Crown Prince I-p'um.

King I-p'um: Family name Kim. Crowned in 327, reigned 62 (60) years, died 10 April, 389. His Queen was Chong-sin, the daughter of Sanong-kyong Kukch'ung, who bore Crown Prince Chwaji.

King Chwaji: Also called Kimjil. Crowned in 389. He took a servant girl as concubine and promoted her relatives to important positions in the court, causing disturbance in the nation. Availing himself of this situation the King of Kerim (Silla) attempted an attack on Karak. An upright courtier of Karak, Pak Won-to, expostulated with his King: "Even a grassblade waves its head in the wind high above the colorful insects which crawl below, and men are in like case. If heaven falls and earth sinks, man has no place to live and no place to keep."

The King's heart was troubled. He summoned a fortune-teller and asked his advice. After consulting his mysterious book, the diviner said, "Your Majesty's fortune is written in the I-Ching. It says, 'Cut the big toe and the small toes will recoil.' For an interpretation, please consult the I-Ching." (One of the Confucian Classics, the I-Ching or Book of Changes is mainly concerned with divination.)

The King understood: "If the leader of evil, low-class men is kept at a distance, his followers will be converted to the right path by a virtuous man." He sent his beautiful mistress into exile on a lonely island called Hasan-do, reformed his corrupt administration and brought peace to his people. After reigning fifteen years he died in 404. His Queen was Pok-su, daughter of Tonyong Tae-Agan, and she bore his son Ch'wihui.

King Ch'wihui- Also called Chilka, family name Kim. He was crowned in 404, reigned 31 (30) years and died 3 February, 435. His Queen was Indok, daughter of Chinsa-Kakkan and mother of Chilji.

King Chilji: Also called King Kumjil. He was crowned in 435 and in the following year erected Wanghu-sa (the Queen's Temple), dedicated to Queen Ho, the Princess of India, to commemorate her marriage to King Suro and to pray for the repose of her fragrant soul. He reigned 42 (36) years and died on 4 October, 477. His Queen was Pang-won, the daughter of Kumsang-Sagan and the mother of Kyom-chi.

King Kyom-chi: Also called King Kumkyom. He was crowned in 477, reigned 30 years and died on 7 April, 507. His Queen was Suk, daughter of Ch'ulch'ung-Kakkan and mother of Kuhyong.

King Kuhyong: Family name Kim. He was crowned in 507 and reigned 42 (42) years. During his reign King Chin-hung of Silla (540-576) raised a large army and attacked Karak.¹⁰ King Kuhyong led his valiant troops against the enemy, but there was no hope of victory against the heavy odds. At length he sent his brother T'aljuilgum to the capital (Kyongju) as a

hostage, and finally his royal son Sangson-Cholji-kong went to Silla to surrender. His Queen was Kyehwa, the daughter of Punjil-Suijil, and she bore him three sons—Sejong-Kakkan, Mudo-Kakkan and Muduk-Kakkan. In the book Kaihuang-lu it is written, “In the fourth year of Chung Tai-t'ung (Imja) Karak surrendered to Silla.”

According to the Sankuo Shih Karak was conquered 490 years after its founding by King Suro. However the Karak-kuk-ki from which this account is taken makes the conquest thirty years later, giving a total duration of 520 years.

(The figures in brackets in the above table correspond to the dates in the chronological table in the appendix of this book.)

Footnotes to Book Two

1. The text actually uses the name “Munho,” because the posthumous title of the second Koryo King, Hyejong, was Mu, written with the same Chinese character as the second syllable of the Silla King's title. It was thought disrespectful to use a king's title, or any part of it, to refer to anyone or anything else.
2. This “Iron Gate of Silla” is described in the T'ang-shu, the official chronicle of the T'ang dynasty. According to the Japanese scholar Dr. Ikeuchi it was located at Togwon.
3. The Five Great Mountains were T'oham-san in the east, Chiri-san in the south. Kyeryong-san in the west, T'aebaek-san in the north and Pu'ak (Great Mountain) in the center. The Three Small Mountains were Naeryok in Kyongju, Kolhwa in Yongch'on and Hyollye in Ch'ongdo.
4. The Samguk Sagi states. “The coffin of the royal dead was buried on the hill south of Pongdok Temple by his august will.”
5. According to the Samguk Sagi Sinmu's son, who succeeded him, wished to take this girl as a concubine of the first rank.
6. There were two fortresses of this name, one north of the Han River and one south of it. The location of the northern fort is now unknown, but the southern one was on the site of the old town of Kwangju in Kyonggi Province, where portions of the walls can still be seen.
7. The word used here actually refers to a divinity, and the song is a magic spell.
8. “Suro” is an attempt to express in Chinese the native Korean word “Soori” and “sol,” meaning “supreme” and “holy,” as is Sunung, the

posthumous title of this king.

9. The Samguk Sagi says that Kim Yu-sin's sister Munhui was the consort of King Muryol and the mother of King Munmu. It also states, however, that Kim Yu-sin's father was Soyon, also called Sohyon. The “Soun” in the geneology given here may quite possibly be a corruption of Sohyon.
10. Actually Karak was conquered by King Pophung (514-539). His successor King Chinhung attacked the Kaya people who were Karak's neighbors. The two events are frequently confused in historical documents.

BOOK THREE

III. The Rise of Buddhism

59. Sundo Brings Buddhism to Koguryo

(Ilyon says that three other monks, Popsim, Uiyon, and Tamom followed Sundo to Koguryo, but since no details about them are recorded he confines himself here to Sundo.)

According to the Koguryo Pon-gi section of Samguk Sagi, in the second year of King Sosurim (372), which was also the second year of the Hsien-an era in Tung-tsin when Hsiao Wu-ti ascended the throne, Fu-chien, King of Ch'ien-Ch'in (one of the evanescent states which appeared in China following the breakup of the Han Empire) sent an envoy to Koguryo with a Buddhist image and scriptures and also a monk named Sundo from his capital of Changan.

Two years later another Buddhist monk named Ado arrived in Koguryo from Tsin (another Chinese state). In February the following year (375) the King had Ch'omun Temple (otherwise called Songmun Temple) built for Sundo and Ibullan Temple built for Ado. This was the beginning of Buddhism in Koguryo.

The Biographies of the Monks (Haedong Kosung-jon)¹ states that Sundo and Ado came from Wei (still another Chinese state) but this is a mistake. They came from Chen-Chin. The same book says that the two temples are the same as the present Hungguk and Hungpok Temples, but this also is a mistake. In those days the capital of Koguryo was at Anshi-ch'eng, north of the Yalu River, now called Anminchiang. Therefore Hungguk Temple, which is in Songgyong (Kaesong, the Koryo capital), cannot be one of the temples mentioned here.

Song of Praise to Sundo

On the Yalu banks the spring grass in green kirtle swings,
Across the rippling river the balmy winds from the Lotus
Paradise sing; Over the silvery waves the oars splash softly,
Far over the sandy beach the seagulls cry;
Wide over the silent water the red sails flutter toward the bay,

Loud the waterfowl shriek above the leaping spray;
From whence comes this fishing boat to our shore,
Bringing a holy guest over the misty sea?

60. Nanta Brings Buddhism to Paekje

In the Paekje Pon-gi (official records of Paekje) it is written: “In the year of the coronation of King Ch'imnyu, which was the ninth year of the Tai-yuan era of Tung-Tsin Hsiao Wu-ti (384), an Indian monk named Marananta came to Paekje from Tsin, and was warmly welcomed by the King's court with due respect. Temples staffed by ten monks were erected in the new capital, Hansanju. This was the beginning of Buddhism in Paekje.

“Upon his coronation in February in the seventeenth year of Tai-yuan (392) King Asin of Paekje² issued a royal decree granting permission to the people to seek blessings in the worship of Buddha. 'Marananta' means 'Child-Disciple' (of Buddha). He worked many miracles in Paekje, interesting records of which are found in the Biographies of the Monks.”

Song of Praise to Marananta

From the misty past the wonders of nature descended from heaven—
Though it is hard to show wonders by learning the art,
If you know the truth you will dance and sing with gladness,
You will call your neighbors to see your rejoicing.

61. Ado Brings Buddhism to Silla

The Silla Pon-gi (official records of Silla) contains the following account. During the reign of King Nulji (nineteenth Silla ruler, 417-458), a famous Indian monk (*Sramana* in Sanskrit) named Mukhoja came to Ilson-gun in Silla from Koguryo and began to preach Buddhism. But the Silla people, far from believing his strange teachings about Buddha and the Lotus Paradise, resented its denial of ancestor worship and of their traditional customs. The poor monk would have been killed by an angry mob but for the protection of Morye, a kindly villager who invited the stranger to live in a cave in his garden.

At this time, the Liang Emperor in China sent an envoy with Chinese clothing and a parcel of incense to the King of Silla.³ However, nobody in the court knew what the incense was or how to use it. The King therefore sent a messenger to travel throughout the kingdom with the incense to see if

he could find anyone who knew what it was. Eventually, he came to Morye's village. (On hearing of his mission, Morye consulted Mukhoja.)

"Listen, my good monk," Morye said, "a bundle of pink sticks has arrived in Silla from China. They have a strong scent which makes all the court officials feel strange, and neither King nor courtiers can tell what they are called or how they should be used. Have you any idea what they are?"

"When the rose-colored sticks are burned," Mukhoja replied, "everyone will smell the sweet fragrance of Buddha Dharma (Buddhist doctrine) and if they pray with clasped hands before the curling smoke they will see gods and goddesses of great love and mercy who will fulfill their wishes."

At this time the King's young daughter fell ill with a strange malady, and no medicine would cure her. Mukhoja was summoned to the palace. He burned incense and conducted a Buddhist ceremony before the princess, chanting a strange litany. Soon the princess rose from her bed with her health completely restored. Overjoyed, the King gave the monk a large reward, but Mukhoja gave it to Morye and disappeared.

During the reign of King Pich'o (posthumous title Soji, 479-500) a monk named Ado, the high priest, who strongly resembled Mukhoja in appearance, came to Silla with three disciples and resided in Morye's home while preaching Buddhism to the people. Not long after, Ado died without suffering any pain or sickness. (This implies that he had achieved Nirvana, the escape into non-being from the wheel of death and rebirth which is the goal of Buddhism.) But his disciples recited the Buddhist chants and continued preaching, until gradually they made many converts. (Ilyon here notes that the Biographies of the Monks states that this story is at variance with other sources. It also says that Ado is represented as having come from Soch'uk kuk in India or from Wu in China. In view of the paragraph which follows, it is difficult to know exactly what source he is referring to as the "Biography of Ado.")

The Biography of Ado says that he was born in Koguryo and his mother's name was Ko To-yong. During the years of the Chen-shih era (240-248) a man of T'sao Wei (a Chinese kingdom) named Wo Ch'u-ma, who had come to Koguryo as an envoy, fell in love with Ko To-yong and she bore him a son whom she named Ado. When the boy was five years old she sent him to a monastery to become a monk. When he was sixteen he visited Wei (another Chinese kingdom), where he met Wo Ch'u-ma and attended the lectures of Hsiench'ang, a high priest in that country.

Three years later, when he returned to Koguryo to visit his mother, she said to him, "The Koguryo people do not yet know Buddhism but 3,000 months hence a sage-king will appear in Kerim who will lead his people to embrace the faith.

"Seven principal temples will be erected on seven sites. (In what follows, it is difficult to disentangle Ilyon's own comments from the prophecy attributed to Ado's mother. The remarks in parentheses are presumably his.) The first is Ch'onkyong-nim east of Kumgyo (where Hunghyun Temple now stands. Kumgyo (Golden Bridge) is now Soch'on-gyo, West Stream Bridge. The site of this temple was chosen by Ado, but construction did not begin until 528, and the whole project was not completed until the reign of King Chinhung, 540-576). The second is Samch'on-gi (now Yonghung Temple, constructed simultaneously with the first temple). The third is on the southern side of Yong-kung, the royal palace. (This is Hwangnyong Temple, whose construction started in 554.) The fourth is on the northern side of the royal palace (where Punhwang Temple now stands. It was constructed in 635, when Queen Sundok was on the throne.) The fifth is Sach'on-mi (now Yongmyo Temple, constructed in 636). The sixth is Sinyu-rim (now Ch'onwang Temple, built in 680 during King Munmu's reign). And the seventh is Soch'ong-jon (now Tamom Temple).

"All these temples will be erected during the flowering of Buddhism in Silla. They were predestined to be temple sites from before the days of Buddha. If you go and preach the great teachings of the Buddha, Heaven will send down blessings upon the East (Silla)."

Deeply moved, Ado set out for Kerim, where he took up residence in Sori (where Omjang Temple now stands). In the year 263, when King Mich'u had been on the throne for two years, Ado presented himself at court and asked permission to preach Buddhism to the people. But the courtiers, repelled by his strange appearance, not only denied his petition but even threatened to kill him. So Ado bade farewell to the King and came to Soknim (now Ilson-hyon), where he hid himself in a private house, and heaven and earth trembled with a strange sound. Morye, the master of the house, received him with the highest respect calling him Adu Samma. (Ilyon says samma is an ancient Silla word for monk.)

In the third year of the reign of King Mich'u (264) the King's daughter Songguk Kongju was stricken with a strange malady which neither

medicine nor sorcery could cure. Greatly worried, the King sent messengers throughout the land to seek a physician who could heal the princess.

Finally Ado was summoned to the palace, where he at once restored the princess to perfect health. Highly pleased, the King said, "My good monk, what is your wish? You shall have it."

"I have no wish for myself," Ado replied. "I wish only that Your Majesty erect a temple in the Ch'onkyong-nim (Heavenly Mirror Forest) where I may pray to Buddha to send down blessings upon your kingdom." The King agreed and erected a temple in the forest, called Hungnyun-sa.

Ado loved simplicity and frugality as was the custom in those days. He lived in a small cottage overtopped by reeds and grass. When he preached Buddhism to the crowds which thronged around him at night, meteors fell from the skies and scattered their illuminating sparks on the temple grounds like heavenly flowers.

Morye's sister Sa-ssi was converted to Buddhism by Ado. She became a nun and lived in a convent which she had built in Samch'on-gi, called Yonghung-sa.

When King Mich'u died (284) the people of Silla rose up and tried to kill Ado, calling him a wicked monk. He returned to Morye's house, and there he dug his own grave and ended his life, to appear in the mundane world no more. With his death Buddhist evangelism was suspended in Silla.

Two hundred and fifty years (3,000 months) after the arrival of Ado in Silla, during the reign of King Pophung (514-540), Buddhism again arose in its full glory in Silla, thus fulfilling the prophecy of Ado's mother. (Ilyon says that other sources are at variance with this account, and in the following passage comments on the chronological problems which the sources present.)

In the Biographies of the Monks (Seng-Chuan) compiled in the Liang and T'ang kingdoms (in China) and in the Samguk Sagi it is said that Buddhism was introduced into Koguryo and Paekje during the years of Taiyuan at the end of Tung-Tsin. The above account is therefore correct in inferring that Ado came to Koguryo in 374, when King Sosurim was on the throne. Had Ado arrived in Silla during the reign of King Pich'o, he would have first to have stayed in Koguryo for more than a hundred years, which is unbelievable, although the great monks had miraculous powers and could die and be reborn as they chose. Again, had Ado arrived in Silla during King Mich'u's reign he would have to have gone there directly, without

stopping in Koguryo. Moreover, there were in those days no cultural institutions, no ceremonial teachings and no name of the country in Kerim, so Ado could hardly have applied to the court for permission to preach Buddhism. It is also a mistake to say that Ado went directly to Silla, where incense was unknown, without stopping in Koguryo.

Since the eastward spread of Buddhism began in Koguryo and Paekje and ended in Silla so far as Korea was concerned, and since the reign of King Nulji of Silla (417-458) came not long after that of King Sosurim of Koguryo (371-384), Ado probably arrived in Silla from Koguryo during Nulji's reign. Since it has been traditionally believed that Ado cured the mysterious malady of a Silla princess, the name Mukho-ja (Black Barbarian) appears to be a pseudonym, just as the Liang people called Dharma "blue-eyed Barbarian" and the Tsin people called the monk Taoan "Lacquerware Man." Ado concealed his identity during his travels, in other words, and was identical with Mukhoja, as is also seen from the comment that Ado strongly resembled Mukhoja in appearance.

Ado's mother prophesied the seven cardinal temple sites in the order of their erection, but the two biographies give the order erroneously, placing Sach'on-mi in fifth place.

The figure 3,000 months is not exact. From the days of King Nulji to 527 in Pophung's reign is somewhat over a hundred years, so 1,000 months would be nearer the mark. 'Wo' as the family name of Ado's father also seems to be a mistake.

Miracles of T'an-shih

In the Biography of T'an-shih (or Hui-shih) the Monk, it is written that Shih was a man of Kuanchung (Changan, former and future capital of a unified China) who worked many miracles. In the ninth year of Tai-yuan of Tsin Hsiao Wu-ti, he took ten copies of Buddhist scriptures to Liaotung, where he preached Buddhism and won many converts. This was the beginning of Buddhism in Koguryo. (Parts of the Liaotung peninsula were at various times included in Koguryo.)

In the first year of I-hsi (405) T'an-shih returned to Kuanchung and preached the gospel of Buddha to the people of Changan and its environs. T'an-shih's snowy feet were whiter than his snowy face, so the people called him the white-footed monk. His feet never got wet, even when he waded across muddy streams.

In the closing days of the Tsin dynasty a fierce leader of the northern Hsiung-nu named Ho-lien Po-po led his barbarian army into Kuanchung from the north, massacring the inhabitants in countless numbers. (The Hsiung-nu were a major group of nomadic tribes in north Asia who plagued China for centuries.) Ho-lien Po-po stabbed T'an-shih through and through with his spear, but the strange monk remained unruffled, repelling every thrust with a laugh, and not taking the least harm. The barbarian admired his superhuman powers and saved the lives of all his fellow monks. T'an-shih fled through woods and swamps, undergoing all sorts of ordeals as he traveled in the habit of a mendicant.

When T'o Pa-tao, a general in revolt against the reigning monarch, recaptured Changan from the Hsiung-nu and seized control of the state there lived in Poling a man named Tsui Ho who worshipped paganism (Taoism is intended here), hating Buddhism with a deep hatred. When T'o Pa-tao appointed him prime minister he immediately persuaded the usurper to persecute the followers of Buddha, condemning them as inimical to the state and interfering with the daily lives of the people. K'ou Chien-chih, who called himself a "Heavenly Teacher of Taoism," abetted him in this.

On New Year's Day in the last year of Tap'ing, T'an-shih appeared at the palace gate and asked for an audience with T'o Pa-tao in order to convert him to Buddhism. The usurper became angry and ordered his soldiers to cut off the head of the bold monk. The men struck at his neck with their long scimitars and blue dragon swords, but the blades rebounded without doing the least injury to T'an-shih. In a towering passion, T'o Pa-tao himself swung his great battleaxe, but to no avail. Finally they threw the monk into a garden where a pet tiger was kept, but the tiger simply ignored him.

T'o Pa-tao at last realized that the monk was under the protection of Buddha. He was confined to his bed with a high fever, while T'sui Ho and K'ou Chieu'chih were stricken with pestilence. As soon as he could, T'o struck off the heads of T'sui and K'ou and destroyed their families, asserting that they had caused him to fall into the grave crime of persecuting a monk.

T'o Pa-tao repented his sins and issued a decree granting freedom of Buddhist belief to the people throughout his domain. The account breaks off at this point, and there is no record of the later days of T'an-shih.

According to this account T'an-shih came to the East in the last year of Tai-yuan and returned to Kuanchung in the first year of I-hsi, so he lived in the eastern land for ten years, although this fact is not recorded in the Tung-

shih. The miracles he worked are similar to those of Ado, Mukhoja and Marananta at about the same period, so it is possible that “T'an-shih” is a pseudonym of one of these.

Song of Praise to Ado

On Kerim's Golden Bridge the snow is deep and the ice is thick;
When will warm light come to melt them away?
Lovely Queen of green, fair goddess of spring!
You bring love and mercy to human hearts,
You come to awake the buds on the plum branches in Morang's
(Morye's) garden.

62. The Martyrdom of Yomch'ok (Ech'adon)

According to the Silla Pon-gi, in the fourteenth year of King Pophung (527), Ech'adon, a petty official of the court, immolated himself for the sake of Buddha. This event occurred in the eighth year of Pao-tung of Hsiao-Liang Wu-ti, when Dharma arrived in Chinling (Nanking) from West Ch'onch'uk (India) and Nangji Popsa the high priest first opened a lecture hall on Mt. Yongch'ui to preach Buddhism.

During the years of Yuan-huo of T'ang Hsien-tsung (806-820). Ilnyom, a monk at Namgan Temple, wrote a eulogy of Ech'adon's martyrdom for Buddha which may be summarized as follows.

When King Pophung was seated on his throne in the Purple Palace one day, he looked out over his domain in this eastern land and said, “The Han Emperor Ming-ti received a revelation from Buddha in a dream before the flow of Buddhist teaching to the East. I wish to build a sanctuary in which all my people can wash away their sins and receive eternal blessings.”

His courtiers did not understand the inner significance of the King's words, and so his desire to build a Buddhist temple went unfulfilled. The King sighed deeply and said, “Because of my lack of virtue heaven and earth show no harmonious signs and my people enjoy no real happiness. I am therefore minded to turn to Buddhism for the peace of my heart, but there is no one who can assist me.”

There was in the court a minor official of the rank of Sa-in. His family name was Pak and his nickname was Ech'adon, or Yomch'ok, a pun for porcupine. Although his father was undistinguished, his grandfather had held the rank of Ajinjong (fourth of the seventeen court grades of Silla) and his great-grandfather Suppo Kalmun-wang (Kalmun-wang is a title

bestowed on the father of a reigning king, similar to that of Hongson Taewongun, father of King Kojong, during the Yi dynasty).

In the Biography of Ado the Monk compiled by Kim Yong-haeng it is written, "... By that time Yomch'ok was twenty-six years old. His father was Kil-sung, his grandfather was Kong-han and his great-grandfather was Kolhae-wang."

The great-grandson of a noble king who had performed virtuous deeds, Yomch'ok's steadfast loyal heart was like a straight bamboo or an evergreen pine tree and his morals were as clear as a water-mirror. He was thus a likely candidate for promotion to high office in the court of the clear river⁴ to attend the King.

(When he heard of the King's desire to build a temple) the young official took courage. He looked upon the King's face and said in a dignified tone, "The sages of old would lend their ears even to men of low degree if they gave wise counsel. Since I know Your Majesty's mind, I will dare to say a few words. As the song of birds heralds the approach of spring, so the gush of blood from my neck will foreshadow the full bloom of Buddhism, for in my spouting blood the people will see a miracle."

"For mercy's sake," cried the King, "that is not a thing for you to do."

"A loyal subject will die for his country," Yomch'ok replied, "and a righteous man will die for his king. If you cut off my head immediately for disobeying your orders to erect a temple as an example to the stubborn courtiers, who will never believe in Buddha unless they are shown a miracle, the myriad people will prostrate themselves before your throne and will worship Buddha."

"A great and merciful being," the King said, "will cut his own flesh and shed his own blood to atone for the sins of the myriad creatures. He will sacrifice his own life even for the sake of the birds of the air and beasts in the slaughterhouse. Though I desire to save my people, how can I kill an innocent man like you? You would do better to avoid this fate."

Yomch'ok remained steadfast. "One man's earthly life is dear," he said, "but the eternal lives of many people are dearer. If I vanish with the morning dew today, the life-giving Buddhist faith will rise with the blazing sun tomorrow. This will bring peace to your heart."

Finally the King assented. "The chick of the phoenix, though young, desires to fly into the high heavens. The chick of the ibis, from its hatching,

wishes to swim in the strong waves. If you have set your heart on advancing the spread of Buddhism by the sacrifice of your life, you are a great man.”

After this conversation with Yomch'ok the King called the courtiers into a royal conference and solemnly declared to them, “I wished to build a Buddhist temple in order to share peace of mind with all my loyal subjects, but you are too headstrong to execute my orders. I will put you to the rack.”

All the courtiers trembled from head to foot. White with rage, the King roared at Yomch'ok, “You too hindered my orders and miscarried my messages. Your crime is unpardonable and you shall die. You shave your head and wear a long robe, you utter strange words—'Buddha is mystery, Buddhism gives life.' Now let your Buddha perform a miracle and save your life.” (This would seem to indicate that Yomch'ok had actually become a monk, a fact not indicated in the foregoing.)

On the day appointed for Yomch'ok's death the executioner lifted his great sword above the young monk's head. The King, courtiers and citizens who had gathered to witness the execution all averted their eyes, for they dared not look on the horrible sight. Looking up to heaven Yomch'ok said “I die happy for the sake of Buddha. If Buddha is worth believing in, let there be a wonder after my death.”

Down came the sword on the monk's neck, and up flew his head spouting blood as white as milk. Suddenly dark clouds covered the sky, rain poured down and there was thunder and lightning. Fish leaped from the depths of the streams and flapped in the air, frightened monkeys jumped and shrieked as the trees swayed in the whistling wind, tigers ran and dragons flew, ghosts mourned and goblins wept. It seemed that heaven and earth had turned upside down. From afar came the sound of a bell as the goddess of mercy welcomed the martyr's fragrant soul into the Lotus Paradise.

Hot tears rolled down the King's dragon robe and cold sweat wet the courtiers to the bone. Yomch'ok's childhood friends clung to his casket and wailed as if they had lost their parents. In tears, the onlookers praised him, saying that his glorious death outshone the heroic deeds of Kaijach'u and Hong-yon in old China.⁵ They admired him as an immortal saint for his self-sacrificing support of the King's faith in Buddhism and for the completion of the missionary task of Ado.

They buried his headless body on the western peak of North Mountain (Kumgang-san) in the Diamond Mountains, which were named for the

Diamond Sutra, one of the Buddhist scriptures, and erected a temple in his memory called Chach'u-sa. Legend says his body was buried in the place where his flying head had fallen.

In the fifth year of King Chinhung (544) the King erected Hung-nyun-sa as one of the cardinal temples of Kyongju where his people might worship Buddha. According to the Samguk Sagi and local tales, the construction of this temple had actually begun in the fourteenth year of King Pophung's reign (527). In the twenty-first year of this King's reign huge trees were cut down in Ch'onkyong-nim (Heaven Mirror Forest) and fashioned into magnificent pillars and other parts of the temple, which stood on large foundation stones, facing beautifully carved stone lanterns and pagodas in the courtyard.

In the first year of Ta-ch'ing of Liang Wu-ti the Liang Emperor's envoy Shenhu brought a gift of *Sari* (Buddhist relics) and in the sixth year of T'ien-chia of Chen Wen-ti the Chen Emperor's envoy Liu Szu and the monk Ming-kuan brought Buddhist scriptures with them to Silla. By that time in Kyongju and its environs the golden roofs of temples glittered against the sky like the Milky Way and lotus-crowned pagodas stood in unending lines like flights of wild geese. There were bell-towers with Sanskrit-inscribed bronze bells and Buddhist banners flew from every housetop.

Strong, brave monks, like elephants on the land and dragons in the sea carried the blessings of Buddhism to every corner of the land. Living Bodhisattvas appeared, such as Chinna at Punhwang Temple, Pogae at Pusok Temple and Odae at Naksan Temple, while celebrated monks from the West (China) visited these temples. This heavenly faith made the Three Hans one nation and their inhabitants one family, with the name of Buddha written on the heavenly door and his merit reflected in the Milky Way. Thus Buddhism arose in Silla through the grace of three sages—Ado, Pophung and Yomch'ok (otherwise called Ech'adon).

Some years later leading Silla monks including Hyeryung, Hyo-won, Nokp'ung, Chinno and Kumui repaired Yomch'ok's grave and carved an elegy on him on his monument nearby.

On the fifteenth of the eighth moon in the twelfth year of Yuan-huo, the ninth year of King Hondok (817), when Yongsu-Sonsa, of the Yuga sect, the chief priest of Hungnyun-sa offered sacrifices at Yomch'ok's grave, he organized his fellow monks into a prayer circle and held a memorial service on the fifth of each month to pray for the repose of Yomch'ok's soul.

According to a local biography the elders of Kyongju went to Hongnyun-sa early in the morning of the fifth day of the eighth moon to offer sacrifices to Yomch'ok's soul and to mark the day and hour of his martyrdom.

The rise of Buddhism in Silla was brought about by the harmonious labors of King Pophung and Yomch'ok, who were like water and fish in the kingdom of Buddha, as Liu Pei and Chu Koliang were during the Ch'u-Han (Ch'ok-Han) working the wonders of a dragon in the clouds.

When Hongnyun-sa was built, King Pophung doffed his crown and donned a monk's robe. He made temple slaves of his royal relatives and himself became chief priest of the temple. Later, during the reign of King T'aejong (Muryol, 654-661), Prime Minister Kim Yang-to became a devout Buddhist and sent his two daughters Hwapo and Yonpo (Flower Jewel and Lotus Jewel) to be slaves of this temple. The whole family of Moch'ok, a traitor, were also made temple slaves. All the descendants of these families remained slaves of Hungnyun-sa, and to this day the slaves of that temple are called "royal children."

Upon succeeding King Pophung to the throne, King Chinhung immediately bestowed upon Hungnyun-sa a panel in the royal calligraphy bearing the Chinese inscription, "Great King's Temple of Hongnyun." King Pophung's family name was Kim and his Buddhist name was Popun or Popkong (Holy Cloud or Empty Spirit).

The Biographies of the Monks and various books of legends say that King Pophung's Queen became a nun with the Buddhist name Popun. King Chinhung and his Queen also entered the order and both took this same name, Popun. Another book, Ch'aek-pu Won-ku, says that King Pophung's family name was Mo and his given name Chin. In the year in which the construction of Hungnyun-sa began, King Pophung's Queen founded a temple of her own called Yonghung-sa. She shaved her head when her royal husband did and became a nun, taking the religious name Myopop (Holy Mystery), and resided in the temple until she died a few years later.

The Samguk Sagi says that in the thirty-first year of King Chin-p'yong (614) a Buddha image at Yonghung-sa fell down, and soon afterward the nun who had been the consort of King Chinhung passed away. King Chinhung was King Pophung's nephew and his Queen Sado Pui(Pak-ssi) was a daughter of Yongsil Kakkan of Moryang-ni. She also left her palace and became a nun, but she was not the builder and mistress of Yonghung-sa.

It was King Pophung's Queen Lady Pado who built Yonghung-sa, with Buddha images erected in its hall, and she died there as a nun.

The Samguk Sagi makes a serious mistake in omitting the fact that Kings Pophung and Chinhung both renounced the throne to become monks. It makes another mistake in the following passage. "In the first year of Ta-t'ung, in the year of the goat (Chong-mi) a temple was erected in Ungch'onju called Tait'ong-sa (Temple of Ta-t'ung) in honor of the Liang Emperor in China." Ungch'on is now Kongju and was then part of Silla.⁶ But this temple could not have been erected in the year indicated, because at that time the erection of Hungnyun-sa in Kyongju was in full swing, so that there were neither time nor resources to work on another one. Perhaps Tait'ong-sa was erected in the first year of Chung Ta-t'ung (529).

Song of Praise to Wonjong (King Pophung)

His holy intelligence ruled the state for ten thousand generations to come,

His fair judgment allowed no diverse argument;
His life-wheel rolled down after the Golden Wheel,⁷
His reign of peace heightened the sun of Buddha.

Song of Praise to Yomch'ok

He gave up his life for the sake of righteousness.
Who would not wonder at his noble courage?
The white milk of his blood shot high into the sky
And descended in a spray of heavenly flowers;
After he had lost his head by one stroke of the sword,
The beating of drums in many temples rumbled over the metropolis.

63. King Pop Prohibits Killing

The twenty-ninth sovereign of Paekje was King Pop. His childhood name was Son and he was also called Hyosun. He ascended the throne in the tenth year of Kai-huang of Sui Wen-ti (599). In the winter of that same year he promulgated a law prohibiting the taking of life (in accordance with Buddhist belief) and commanding his people to free falcons and destroy fishing tackle in private homes. In the following year he ordained thirty new monks and began the construction of Wanghung Temple in his capital, Sajasong (Sabisong). Work had hardly been finished on preparation of the

site, however, when he died, leaving completion of the task to his son King Mu, who finally finished it in the thirty-fifth year of his reign.

This temple was also called Miruk-sa (Temple of Maitreya Buddha). Behind it stood a picturesque mountain like an embroidered wind-screen, overlooking the silvery Saja River. The temple was a scene of natural beauty in all seasons, with rare flowering plants and awe-inspiring trees within its precincts. The King often sailed down the river to visit the temple and admire its beauty.

This account is at variance with those given in old books of legends, which say that King Mu was born of a poor woman who had fallen in love with a pond-dragon and that his childhood name was Sodong (Potato Boy; see the account in Book Two under this name). After his romantic marriage to Princess Sonhwa of Silla he ascended the throne of Paekje and had this temple built to gladden her heart.

Song of Praise to King Pop

He spared the lives of the fowls of the air and the beasts of the land—

His grace reached a thousand hills and streams;

His beneficence rejoiced a thousand pigs and fish;

The four seas were filled with his benevolence.

Sing to the Great King, for he descended to earth from the Buddha Land

In Tosol-ch'on⁸ above the fragrant spring is in full glory.

64. Taoism and the Downfall of Koguryo

According to the Koryo Pon-gi, in the closing days of that kingdom, during the days of Wu-te and Chen-kuan (T'ang Emperors Kao-tsu and T'ai-tsung, 618-649), the people of Koguryo turned to the worship of Taoism, contributing five bushels of rice each to the priests. When the T'ang Emperor Kao-tsu heard of this, he sent a Taoist priest to Koguryo with portraits of Lao Tzu to expound his Classic of Morality (probably the Tao Te Ching is intended here) to the people. Among those who listened to this priest was King Yong-nyu of Koguryo, who had been on the throne for seven years, the date then being the seventh year of Wu-te (624).

In the following year the King sent an envoy to the T'ang court to seek knowledge of Taoism and Buddhism and the Emperor (Kao-tsu) granted his wish.

After his coronation in the sixteenth year of Chen-yuan (642), King Pojang wished to see Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism flourish in

harmony in his kingdom. Thereupon his prime minister Hapsomun (also called Kaesomun; full name Ch'on or Yon Hapsomun or Kaesomun) said, "Confucianism and Buddhism are popular among the people but there are only a few believers in the mysterious doctrine of Lao Tzu, even though the yellow-capped preachers teach Taoism, telling the people that if they worship Lao Tzu they can become 'Sinson' (divine beings) and ascend to heaven like the founder of the religion, whose name was Togyo or Son-gyo. We should therefore dispatch another envoy to China to invite more Taoist missionaries."

At this time Podok-Hwasang, a famous Koguryo monk, dwelt at Panyong Temple. He expostulated with the King concerning the importation of paganism (i.e. Taoism) in competition with the orthodox religion (Buddhism), saying that the division of the national spirit caused by conflicting religious doctrines brought in by heretics jeopardized the safety of the state and of the throne, but the King would not listen to his wise counsel.

With a sigh of resignation, the good monk moved his abode to a high mountain in the south (Kodae-san) in Wansanju (now Chonju). He did this by calling upon his favorite wind and, by his spiritual power, flying through the air, temple and all, to the new location. This was in the first year of Ying-hui (650), although the Samguk Sagi dates it as March 3 in the second year of Chienfeng (667). Koguryo was destroyed as a kingdom soon after, in the first year of Tsung-chang (668), nineteen years after Podok abandoned it and landed in his flying hermitage on the grounds of Kyongpok Temple. According to the Samguk Sagi this temple and the flying hermitage still exist today.

Chinnak-kong (Yi Cha-hyon, a Koryo poet) wrote a poem on the wall of Podok's cell in the marvellous hermitage in praise of his heroic flight, and Munyol-kong (Kim Pu-sik, the author of the Samguk Sagi) compiled his biography, which was widely read throughout the country.

According to the T'ang-shu, when the Sui Emperor led his troops in an attack on Koguryo in Liaotung his lieutenant Yang-min (Yang-myong in Korean) was defeated in a fierce battle and died swearing that his resentful spirit would be reborn as the favorite courtier of the Koguryo king and ruin the country. Sure enough, his reborn tiger-spirit acquired the power of life and death over the people of Koguryo. He took the family name Hap or

Kae, which is written by combining the two characters of his name in his former life into one.

An old Koguryo book states that in the eighth year of Ta-yeh (612) the Sui Emperor Yang-ti led 300,000 troops in an attack on Koguryo from the sea. Two years later in the twenty-fifth year of King Yong-yang (of Koguryo, 614), Emperor Yang-ti mounted a second seaborne attack to retrieve the failure of the first. King Yongyang sent an official envoy to the enemy camp, offering to surrender. In the envoy's party was a strong man who carried a small bow and a sharp arrow concealed on his person. While the Emperor was examining the envoy's credentials, this bow twanged and the arrow struck the Emperor in the breast. He shrieked wildly, and commanded the ships to retire and return to China.

"I am the Celestial Emperor, the master in the Middle Kingdom of the world," he said to his attendants, "but I cannot conquer this small kingdom in the East and now I have received this tragic wound in my breast. I shall be a laughing-stock for ten thousand generations."

At this time the Right Minister, Yang-min, swore to the weeping Emperor, "When I die, I shall be reborn in Koguryo, where I shall become prime minister and ruin the kingdom to avenge my wounded Emperor."

After the death of the Emperor Yangmin also died and was reborn in Koguryo. By the time he was fifteen he was famous throughout the country for his uncommon intelligence and godlike genius in the civil and military arts. King Muiyang (actually King Yongnyu, 618-642, Ilyon says) summoned him to the palace and made him a courtier. He then took the name Kae-kum, Kae being the family name. He was soon promoted to the highest office in the government, with the title of Somun, which is equivalent to Sijung, or prime minister. (*Ilyon quotes the T'ang-shu as saying that "Hap (Kae) Somun took the title of Mangniji, something like Chung-shu-ling in the T'ang court."*)

One day Kae-kum said to the King, "As a kettle is three-footed so a state should have three religions, whereas in our country Confucianism and Buddhism flourish without Taoism. Perhaps, like a two-footed kettle, this kingdom will capsize." The King understood him and granted favors to Taoism, accepting eight Taoist priests including Hsuta whom the T'ang Emperor T'ai-tsung had sent to Koguryo. The King remodeled Buddhist temples into Taoist lecture halls and placed the Taoist priests above the ranks of the Confucian scholars.

The Samguk Sagi says that in the eighth year of Wu-te (625) the King of Koguryo approached the T'ang Emperor through an envoy, wishing to spread the teachings of both Buddha and Lao Tzu, and the Emperor granted his wish. But if Yang-min died in 614 and was reborn in Koguryo in the same year, this account would make him prime minister at the age of ten, which is ridiculous. There must be a chronological error in the records.

The Taoist priests from China traveled throughout Koguryo, inspecting mountains and rivers and calling on genii to guard them against evil spirits. (Choosing the sites of buildings and graves according to certain configurations of the landscape was a Taoist practice.) They declared that the old city wall of P'yongyang was shaped like a new moon, and ordered Nam Ha-ryong to build a new city wall outside the old one in the shape of a full moon, calling it Yong-on-song (Dragon-Dam Wall) to stand for a thousand years. Moreover, they unearthed and broke up the "Holy Stone" in P'yongyang because it had been worshipped as the To-je-am (Emperor's Rock) or Choch'on-sok (Heaven-Audience Stone) which sage-emperors in the misty past rode like a flying chariot to their audiences with the gods according to legend.

Kae-kum also persuaded the King to build a great wall from the northeast to the southwest seacoast, drafting men for the labor and forcing women to till the fields. This wall took sixteen years to complete.

During the reign of King Pojang the T'ang Emperor T'ai-tsung led six armies in person against Koguryo, but was defeated and forced to withdraw. However during the reign of his son the Emperor Kao-tsung, in the first year of Tsung-chang (668), the Right Minister Liu Jen-kuei and Field General Li-chi, together with Kim In-mun of Silla, launched a shock attack on P'yongyang, destroyed Koguryo, and sent King Pojang a prisoner to the T'ang court. The King's illegitimate son (Prince An-sung) then led 4,000 Koguryo households in surrendering to Silla.

In the eighth year of Ta-an (1092), Uich'on, the national priest of Koryo (i.e. the highest-ranking Buddhist cleric in the kingdom) visited the flying hermitage at Kyongpok Temple on Mt. Kodae, bowed deeply to the portrait of Podok, and composed the following poem.

He held high the sacred torch to show the way to Nirvana.
Ah pity! His King and people followed yellow-caps and fairymen.
Alas, his holy abode flew to a southern mountain-top,

And his ruined native land illuminates the East no more. The priest added to this poem the following explanation; “King Pojang of Koguryo, enchanted by the weird spells of the Taoist priests, rejected the wise counsel of Podok and did not believe in Buddha. The King was forsaken by Buddha and Podok flew in his abode and descended on this mountain (Kodae-san) and lived in a solitary cell. Later a god-man appeared on Maryong (Horse Peak) in Koguryo and said to the mountaineers, 'Your country has been forsaken by Buddha. It will fall into ruin very soon.' ” This story is to be found in the Samguk Sagi. The others are found in the Dynastic Chronicles and in the Biographies of the Monks.

Podok had eleven disciples, of whom Musang-Hwasang, with his disciple Kim Ch'wi, created Kumdong-sa; Chokmyol and Uiyung built Chinku-sa; Chisu built Taesung-sa; listing, together with Simjong and Taewon, built Taewon-sa; Sujong built Yuma-sa; Sadae, aided by Kyekuk, built Chungdae-sa; Kaewon-Hwasang built Kaewon-sa; and Myongdok created Yon-gu-sa. The stories of two further disciples, Kaesim and Pomyong, are found in their biographies.

Song of Praise to Podok

Wide and deep as the boundless sea is the Buddha's way,
Narrow and shallow as a hundred streams are Confucianism and
Taoism;

Streams flow into the sea to join the waves of its eternal life.

The pitiful King of Koguryo, sitting wet on the beach

Forgot to watch the Reclining Dragon flying to the southern sea.

65. The Ten Saints of Hungnyun Temple in the Eastern Capital⁹

There were ten plaster statues of sainted monks in the Golden Hall of Hungnyun Temple. Seated with their backs against the eastern wall and facing west were Ado, Yomch'ok (Ech'adon), Hyesuk, Anham and Uisang. Seated with their backs against the western wall and facing east were P'yohun, Sapa, Wonhyo, Hyegong and Chajang.

66. The Pedestal of the Kasop Buddha¹⁰”

(The following involves some rather esoteric matters for which a full understanding would require some study of Buddhist scriptures, so I have not attempted an explanation here. It may help to point out that in Mahayana doctrine there were many Buddhas who had appeared at various

times and who had various places and functions in its highly complex cosmology.)

According to the old book Oknyong-chip (Jade Dragon Collection) and various biographies of Chajang and other monks, there was a pedestal of a Kasop Buddha to the south of the royal palace in the eastern part of Wolsong in Silla. This was the site of an ancient temple dating to pre-Buddhist times, on the ruins of which the present Hwangnyong Temple was built.

In the Samguk Sagi it is written, “In February of the third year of Kae-kuk, the fourteenth year of King Chinhung (533), while a new palace was being built to the east of Wolsong, a King Dragon was observed to rise from the grounds. The King therefore converted the intended palace into a temple (Hwangnyong-sa) with the pedestal of a seated Buddha preserved behind the Sanctuary. (Hwangnyong means King Dragon.)

“Early pilgrims who visited the temple testified that the flat-topped stone was 5.6 feet high and three arm-spans around. As the years passed, the temple was twice damaged by fire, which caused the pedestal to crack. The monks repaired it by spanning the fissures with iron joints.”

We read in the Buddhist scripture Aham-gyong¹¹ that the Kasop Buddha was the third highest being in Hyon-kop,¹² and that he appeared in the world when he was 20,000 years old by human reckoning. In his first period of existence he enjoyed a long life of countless years, but then by the laws of the universe his physical body grew gradually younger until he had existed for 80,000 years. When he had reached the physical age of ten, his age diminished year by year. Then he began to grow older again until he was an 80,000-year-old man, when one year was added to his grey head. When he had undergone this process twenty times, he had spanned the period of one “chu-kop” during which one thousand Buddhas had been born.

Sakyamuni (Gautama, the historical Buddha) is one of the fourth highest beings and appeared during the ninth diminishing count. From the time when Sakyamuni was one hundred years old until Kasop Buddha lived 20,000 years, 2,000,000 years had passed, and as scores of thousand years passed further before the time of Kuryuson Buddha. From the time of enjoying a long life of countless years in the beginning, how many years have passed! (There may be some confusion here. The records are

unanimous in stating that Sakyamuni, the historical Buddha, passed out of earthly existence when he was eighty years old.)

Already 2,230 years had passed from the birth of Sakyamuni until the eighteenth year of Chih-yuan of Yuan Shih-tsu (1281) and tens of thousands of years have passed from the time of the Kuryuson Buddha until today through the Kasop Buddha. (The traditional date for Buddha's birth is 563 B.C. This would make 1,844 years until 1281.)

In his book 'Songs of Successive Chronicles' O Se-mun of Koryo said, "Counting backwards from the seventh year of Chen-yu (1219) it is 49,600 and odd years since the year of the tiger in which Panko-ssi created heaven and earth". (Referring to a Chinese creation legend.) In the Tae-il Calendar compiled by Kim Hui-yong, the recorder in Yonhui palace, it is calculated that 1,937,641 years have passed since the year of the rat Shang-yuan Kap-ja, which was the time of the creation, and the year of the rat Yuan-feng of Sung Shen-tsung (1084) In the book T'suan-ku-t'u' the time between the creation and the Ch'unch'iu Huai-lin (477 B.C.) is stated to be 2,760,000 years. Buddhist scriptures state that the age of the stone pedestal at Hwangnyong-sa corresponds to the time from the appearance of the Kasop Buddha until today, which is but the age of an infant compared to the time since the creation. The chronological reckonings in the Songs of Successive Chronicles, the Tae-il Calendar and the 'T'suan-ku-t'u' thus make the pedestal a mere baby stone.

Song of Praise to the Pedestal of the Kasop Buddha

The radiant sun of Buddha has never waned from time immemorial,
His majestic pedestal remains here as a holy being;
How many times have the mulberry fields changed to blue sea and back again!
The great treasure-stone still stands as in days of yore.

IV. Pagodas and Buddhist Images

67. The Yuk-wang Pagoda at Liaotung Fortress

The book Sambo Kamt'ong-nok contains the following passage: "An old story told by wise old men with white hair and beards says that when King Song of Koguryo arrived at the Liaotung Fortress (modern Liaoyang in southern Manchuria) one day during an inspection of his frontiers he saw

in the distance five-colored clouds above the place where an old monk stood holding a staff. In great curiosity the King bent his steps toward the place, but as he came near the monk appeared to recede, reappearing when he stopped. In this manner the King at length reached a hill, where he discovered a three-storied earthen pagoda, the top of which looked like a large inverted kettle.

“More curious still, the King looked about for the old monk that he might obtain an explanation, but he was nowhere to be seen. But a clump of tall grasses nearby swayed and nodded their heads at the King, and he had the impression that he was to dig beneath them. The King ordered this done. When his servants had dug to a depth about equal to a man's height they came upon a staff and a pair of old straw shoes. Further digging revealed a stone monument with an inscription in Sanskrit. One of the courtiers wiped the dirt from this monument and interpreted the inscription as follows: 'Here stands a pagoda which formerly belonged to the Han empire. The name of the pagoda is P'odo-wang, whose former title was Hyudo-wang (Kum-in) and whose office it was to offer sacrifices to Heaven.' (These appear to be names of the pagoda's custodian, not of the pagoda itself.)

“King Song erected a seven-storied wooden pagoda on the ruins of this old tower. Years later, when Buddhism was introduced into Koguryo it came to light that King Ayuk¹³ had tall pagodas erected everywhere in his domain of Yompu-che-ju¹⁴ and that this pagoda at Liaotung Fortress had collapsed while its upper stories were being removed to shorten it. During the years of T'ang Lung-shuo (661-664) severe battles were fought on the Liaotung peninsula. The T'ang commander, Hsueh Jen-kuei, while leading his army through an old battlefield of the Sui emperor, noticed a lonely mountain which boasted neither temple nor pagoda. He enquired of the passers-by the reason for this emptiness, and an old man replied that years before a tall pagoda had fallen into ruins on that mountain. The Chinese commander made a sketch of the place and took it with him to Changan. An explanation of this sketch is given in detail in the book Jo-han.”

According to Tili-chih, Hsi-Han and San-kuo, Liaotung-ch'eng was located beyond the Yalu River and belonged to Han Yaochow. It is not clear who this King Song was. Some people say he was King Tongmyong (Ko Chumong, the first Koguryo king), but this is hardly believable. Tongmyong became King in 37 B.C. and ruled until 19 B.C. and in those days Buddhist scriptures were unknown even in China, so that there can

hardly have been anyone in Koguryo who could read Sanskrit. Since P'odo-wang represents Buddha in this story, perhaps it occurred during the Later Han period when some scholars might have recognized the inscription on the buried monument as Sanskrit.

According to an old legend King Ayuk of India ordered his army of spirits in heaven and on earth to erect one pagoda for each 900, 000,000 people in the land. Thus in his domain of Yompu-che-ju 84,000 pagodas were hidden under giant stones. Now auspicious clouds appear everywhere above these hidden treasures because of Buddha's divine inspiration, which is beyond measure.

Song of Praise to the Yuk-wang Pagoda

Yuk-wang's treasured pagoda appeared to the mundane world;
Though it is shrouded in clouds, weather-beaten and overgrown with moss,

All pilgrims bow before it with reverent hearts.

How many passers-by of yore have halted before it and worshipped Buddha!

68. The Pasa Stone Pagoda at Kumgwan Castle

The Pasa stone pagoda at Hogyo Temple in Kumgwan (modern Kimhae) was brought there from Ayuta in India by Princess Hwang-ok (Empress Ho), who became the Queen of King Suro in the twenty-fourth year of Tung Han Kien-wu (48).

When the Princess set sail for the east at the command of her royal parents she was almost drowned, for the angry sea-gods tossed her boat like a toy on the foaming waves, and at last flung it back on her native shores. Her parents then had this pagoda loaded on the ship, saying, "My daughter, take this pagoda and Buddha will protect you."

She again bade a tearful farewell to her parents and started once more on her journey. This time the ship glided like a feather over the mirror-like water and arrived safely on the southern coast of Kumgwan. It had red brocade sails and a white silk banner and was fitted out with precious jewels as became a bridal yacht. King Suro married her and they ruled the country together for more than a hundred and fifty years.

The people of Kumgwan loved their Queen and named the beach where she first landed Chup'o (Princess' Port), the hill on which she changed her

brocade trousers Nunghyon, and the seacoast where she waved her red silk flag toward the shore Kich'ulpyon.

Buddhism had not yet been introduced into Haedong (East of the Sea, a Chinese name for Korea) at that time and no Buddhist temples had been built, so that the people of Kumgwan did not know the worship of Buddha. There is no allusion in the Samguk Sagi to Buddhist temples in Kumgwan until the second year of King Chilji (452), when that King built Wanghu-sa (Queen's Temple) about the same time that Ado visited King Nulji's palace before the time of King Pophung. This temple brought many blessings to the people of Kumgwan and warded off the attacks of the Wai pirates. (Wai, meaning dwarf, was a contemptuous term for the Japanese.)

The Pasa stone pagoda is a five-story square tower of fine-grained reddish-speckled stone with exquisite carvings on it, the like of which cannot be found in this country (Koryo Korea). The color of the stone has been proved by a test to be that of the blood of a cock's comb.

Kumgwan is another name for Karak, whose history is found in the Samguk Sagi and also in Book Two of the present work.

Song of Praise to the Pasa Stone Pagoda

Above the velvety sail of the holy pagoda-laden ship
The silvery flag waved high in the sky;
After prayers to Buddha the billows calmed
For Princess Hwang-ok to come to our shores in peace;
The pagoda erected in Kumgwan became our guardian deity—
Like an angry whale it swallowed the southern Wai for a thousand generations.

69. The Yongt'ap-sa (Holy Pagoda Temple) of Koryo

According to the Kosung-jon (Biographies of Great Monks) Podok's nickname was Chipop and his native place was Yonggang-hyon, though he always lived in P'yongyang. One day an old monk visited his residence and asked him to come to a temple in the mountains and lecture on the Buddhist scriptures. At first Podok stood on ceremony, but at the old man's persistent request he finally agreed and went to the temple, where he delivered a series of lectures on forty volumes of the Nirvana Sutra.¹⁵

When the lectures were over he visited Son-sa (a convent of spirits) in a cave on Mt. Taepo to the west of P'yongyang. There he met a spirit who invited him to live in his rock-cave hermitage. Pointing at the ground, the

spirit said, "Down there is an octagonal seven-storied stone pagoda." Podok dug in the place indicated and found the pagoda just as the spirit had said. He thanked the spirit and erected a temple near the pagoda which he called Yongt'ap-sa (Holy Pagoda Temple) and took up residence in it.

70. The Sixteen-Foot Golden Buddha in Hwangnyong Temple

In the second month of the fourteenth year of King Chinhung's reign (553) a yellow dragon appeared near the site of the detached Purple Palace, which was then under construction to the south of the royal residence. The King therefore changed the intended palace into a temple, naming it Hwangnyong-sa. (This means Yellow Dragon Temple, but it was also called King Dragon Temple since the words for yellow (*hwang*) and king (*wang*) are pronounced almost the same in Korean.) The pagoda was built in the thirtieth year of the King's reign (569) and so the whole construction was completed in seventeen years.

About this time a large ship from Soch'uk (West Buddha Nation) in India dropped anchor in the bay of Hagok-hyon-Sap'o (now Ulju-Kokp'o). The captain of the ship presented to the King's officers a sealed letter which read as follows: "King Ayuk of Soch'uk gathered 57,000 pounds of yellow iron and 30,000 *pun* of gold to use in casting three images of Buddha, but failed. I have therefore placed these materials aboard a ship and set it adrift on the seven seas, with the prayer that it will reach a land of destiny where it may be cast into a sixteen-foot Buddha image. I send also models for the images of one Buddha and two Bodhisattvas."

The officials reported this matter to the King, who ordered the building of a new temple, to be called Tong-ch'uk-sa (East Buddha Nation Temple), where the three models sent by King Ayuk were to be kept.

In March of Ta-kien of Nan-Chao, Chen Hsuan-ti (574; the Hwangnyong Temple records give a different date) the King ordered the gold and iron from India transported to Kyongju to be cast into a sixteen-foot Buddha image containing 35,007 pounds of iron and 10,198 *pun* of gold and two Bodhisattva images weighing 12,000 pounds of iron and 10,136 *pun* of gold. The images were successfully finished and set up in the main hall of Hwangnyong-sa.

In the following year the Golden Buddha began to shed tears, which flowed down to its feet and dampened the floor for a foot around it. This weeping of the statue was an omen of the King's death, which occurred the next year.

Some say this Buddha image was made during the reign of King Chinp'yong (579-632), but this is not true. In an old book it is written that King Ayuk was born one hundred years after the death of Sakyamuni.¹⁶ In order to honor the Buddha, he attempted three times to cast an image of iron and gold, and was three times unsuccessful. Noticing that the Crown Prince did not take part in the project, the King asked him the reason for his indifference. "I knew that Indian iron and gold workers could not succeed in casting such an image unaided so I kept out of it," was his reply.

"You are right," the King declared. "If we cannot do it here in India we had better leave it to more skillful hands in some other Buddhist nation." He had the gold and iron loaded on a ship and ordered the captain to sail around the Buddhist world of sixteen large nations, 500 medium-sized nations and 10,000 small nations in southern India, calling at 80,000 ports. But the captain met with no success until he landed in Silla, where King Chinhung received the gold and iron and had it cast into a Buddha image at Muning-nim, with exquisite workmanship by Silla sculptors and iron and gold workers. The captain reported this great success to King Ayuk, who expressed exceeding joy.

Many years later the great Silla monk Chajang went to China to study. When he arrived at Mt. Wutai, he met the incarnate Bodhisattva Munsu,¹⁷ who pronounced an oracle to him: "Hwangnyong Temple in Silla is a divine place where Sakyamuni and the Kasop Buddha abode and lectured on the holy life. The stone pedestal of the Kasop Buddha is still there. King Muwu (No Grief, King Ayuk) of India sent a boat laden with yellow iron to drift on the sea for 1,300 years, till it arrived in your country (Silla) for the building of Hwang-nyong-sa, for this iron was predestined to guard the site of that temple." When the sixteen-foot Golden Buddha was made, the three images in Tongch'uk Temple in Kyongju were moved to the new temple.

In the Records of Hwangnyong-sa we read, "In the sixth year of King Chinp'yong, in the year of the dragon (584) the Golden Hall (main hall) of the temple was erected, and during the reign of Queen Sondok (632-647) T'an-hui (a prince of the blood), Chajang, Hyehun and Sangnyul were successively appointed chief priests of the temple." The great Buddha image and the images of the two Bodhisattvas have melted and disappeared in the flames of war, leaving only a small image of Sakyamuni in the temple.

Song of Praise to the Sixteen-Foot Golden Buddha

Buddha's palace is everywhere under the sun,
Yet the fire of his incense burns most brightly in our country;
King Ayuk's gold and iron came to Wolsong
To become the image of Buddha facing its old pedestal.

71. The Nine-Story Pagoda at Hwangnyong Temple

This pagoda was built on the site of its present ruins in the heart of Kyongju in the fifth year of Queen Sondok, the tenth year of T'ang Chen-kuan (636) by Chajang Popsa, the great Silla monk, upon his return from China, where he received an oracle from a divine being. It was completed according to the design of Abiji of Paekje and two hundred Paekje architects who followed him to Kyongju. Igan Yong-ch'un (Yong-su, father of King Muryol) supervised the construction.

According to the old book Ch'alju-gi, the pagoda measured forty-two feet above and 183 feet below the iron base of the tower. The Tongdo Songnip-ki (History of the Eastern Capital) compiled by An Hong, a renowned scholar of Haedong (Korea) says that each of the nine stories represented a people who had attacked Silla, namely, from bottom to top, Japan, Chunghwa, Wu and Yueh, Takna, Ungyu, Malgal, Tankuk, Yojok and Yemaek. The tower was dedicated to Buddha with the prayer that these nations be subdued by Silla and pay her annual tribute.

As the years passed the great tower was damaged by fire and lightning and was repaired many times until the Mongol invasion (1238), when fire destroyed it completely. Now only its foundation stones bespeak its majestic appearance in bygone days.

Tradition says that when the great Silla monk Chajang Popsa was studying the spiritual world of Buddha with the Bodhisattva Munsu deep in the Wutai mountains in China, one day his master said to him, "Your Queen is the incarnation of the King of Chalichong¹⁸ in Ch'onch'uk (India), who believed in Buddha. Her people are not so wild as the eastern barbarians, but because of the rugged mountains and ugly streams in her kingdom the characters of her people are coarse and distorted, and so they worship evil spirits, which provokes the wrath of Heaven from time to time. However, the presence of enlightened monks will bring peace to your country, and all shall enjoy Buddha's blessing from the throne to the plow." With these words, the Bodhisattva disappeared from sight.

Spellbound, the Silla monk rose from his hermitage and wandered about the lotus pool called T'aihuo-ch'ih. There he met a divine being who said to him, "Because your country is ruled by a fair frailty (alluding to the Queen) who does not possess the stamina of royal dignity above her shining virtues, neighboring countries come to attack and rape your fair land. The King Dragon of Hwangnyong Temple is my eldest son. He is now protecting the temple under the orders of King Buddha in India. Go and protect the King Dragon of Buddha at his temple by building a nine-story pagoda before him. Then your neighbors will surrender and the Nine Hans (the nine enemies referred to earlier) will send tribute to the court of Silla and pray that its prosperity be coeval with heaven and earth.

"When the pagoda is finished, see to it that the great festival ¹⁹ (P'algwan-hoe) is held and a general amnesty granted to all prisoners. Also do not forget to erect a shrine in the southern part of Kyongju dedicated to my spirit. Perhaps I can be of help to Silla within the limits of my power." So saying, the divine being presented a jade bead to the Silla monk and vanished like a mist.

The Records of Hwangnyong-sa state that Chajang Popsa received the construction plans for the pagoda from "Wonhyang Sonsa" on the South Mountain of Changan, the T'ang capital. ("Sonsa" is the title of a priest of the Yuga sect.)

After receiving many gifts including robes and Buddhist scriptures from the T'ang Emperor, Chajang Popsa returned to Silla in the seventeenth year of Chen Kuan (643). There he reported his experiences with the Bodhisattva and the divine being to the Queen and advised Her Majesty to build a pagoda at the King Dragon's temple. The Queen approved the plan and called Abiji from Paekje to help build the pagoda.

Accepting the Queen's invitation, Abiji arrived in Kyongju with two hundred Paekje architects and commenced building the pagoda. But one night he had an ominous dream in which he saw the Paekje kingdom falling in ruins like a crumbling pagoda. This made him so sad that he stopped construction before the great posts supporting the pagoda had been put in place. But suddenly in the darkness, amidst thunder and lightning, an old monk entered the Golden Palace gate followed by a Herculean wrestler. They put the tall, heavy posts in their proper places and vanished.

With mixed emotions of wonder and remorse Abiji resumed work and continued until he had completed a tower of majestic beauty. Chajang, who

had been supervising the great project, buried beneath the front post of the pagoda one hundred Buddha relics which he had received from the divine being in China. (Ilyon says that some other relics were buried at T'ongdo-sa and Taehwa-sa in Ulju, also built by Chajang Popsa. The relics were reputed bones of Buddha, but there were so many of them by this time that this is scarcely believable.)

Soon afterward the Silla kingdom increased in power through the blessing of Buddha, thus paving the way for the unification of the Korean peninsula under her single rule.

Many years later when the King of Koryo (Wang-Kon, the founder of the dynasty) took possession of the fallen Silla kingdom, he ordered his soldiers not to violate or lay hands on the three sacred treasures of Kyongju—The sixteen-foot Golden Buddha and the nine-story pagoda at Hwangnyong-sa and the heaven-sent jade belt of King Chinp'yong in the Ch'onjon-go (High Heaven Vault). These were comparable to the Nine Sacred Vessels of the kingdom of Chou, for fear of which the men of Ch'u refrained from attacking that kingdom when it was tottering to its fall in the north.

According to the Samguk Sagi and an old record of Hwangnyong-sa, after King Chinhung created the temple in the year of the cock (553) the nine-story pagoda was built by Queen Sondok in the nineteenth year of Chen-kuan, the year of the snake (645). It was struck by lightning in the seventh year of King Hyoso, in June of the first year of Sheng-li, the year of the dog (698) and rebuilt during the reign of King Songdok, the next king, in the year of the monkey (720).

The pagoda was again struck by lightning during the reign of King Kyongmun, in June of the year of the rat (868) and was repaired by that King. It was struck by lightning for the third time in the fifth year of King Kwangjong of Koryo, in October of the year of the ox (953) and repaired in the thirteenth year of King Hyonjong of Koryo in the year of the cock (1021). It suffered damage from lightning a fourth time in the second year of King Chongjong, the year of the boar (1035) and was repaired during the reign of King Munjong in the year of the dragon (1064). It was struck by lightning for the fifth time in the last year of King Honjong, the year of the boar (1095) and was repaired during the reign of King Sukjong in the year of the rat (1096).

Five times the pagoda succumbed to lightning and five times it rose again, until the whole structure, together with the Golden Buddha and the temple buildings, were finally leveled to the ground on the Western Hill by great fires set by the Mongol invaders in the sixteenth year of King Kojong (1238).

Song of Praise to the Nine-Story Pagoda

Gods in heaven and earth protect the royal capital with divine spells,
The golden walls heighten the winged eaves with wind-bells;
The Nine Hans bow their heads before Silla's invincible might,
Peace reigns beneath the sun through Buddha's holy light.

72. The Bell of Hwangnyong Temple

In the thirteenth year of T'ien-pao, the year of the horse (754), King Kyongdok had a bell cast which was ten feet three inches high and nine inches thick and weighed 497, 581 pounds and had it hung in the belfry at Hwangnyong-sa. It was a gift to his first queen, Lady Sammo, and was designed by a slave of a noble family named Isang-taek. During the reign of this same king, when Su-tsung, the son of T'ang Hsuan-tsung was on the throne (in China), a new bell (six feet eight inches in height) was cast to be hung in the same temple.

73. The Image of Bhechadjagura in Punhwang Temple and the Bell of Pongdok Temple

A year after the casting of the Hwangnyong-sa bell, King Kyong-dok had a bronze image of Bhechadjagura weighing 306,700 pounds cast and placed in Punhwang Temple. It was the work of Kanggo-Naemi of Ponp'ipu. Moreover, the King donated 120,000 pounds of copper for the casting of a bell to be dedicated to his deceased father King Songdok. When this bell was completed by his son Kon-un (King Hyegong) in December of Tali, the year of the dog (770), it was hung in the belfry of Pongdok Temple, which had been built by King Hyo-song in the twenty-sixth year of Kai-yuan in the year of the tiger (738). The bell bears the inscription, "Great King Songdok's Heavenly Bell."

King Songdok was the father of King Kyongdok, King Hyosong's brother, with whose gift of gold and copper the bell was made.

74. The Sixteen-Foot Golden Buddha at Yongmyo Temple

The Biography of Yangji Popsa contains a minute description of the building of Yongmyo Temple and of the sixteen-foot Golden Buddha there

during the reign of Queen Sondok. In the twenty-third year of King Kyongdok (764) this image was gilded anew and the expenses paid with 23,700 *sok* (one *sok* is about five bushels) of rice-(The Biography of Yangji Popsa actually says that this amount of rice covered the initial production cost of the image.)

75. The Four-Buddha Mountain, the Buddha-Digging Mountain and the Ten-Thousand Buddha Mountain

To the east of Chuknyong (Bamboo Pass) about one hundred *li* away, soaring high into the sky, there stands a mountain. In the ninth year of King Chinp'yong, the year of the monkey (587), this mountain shook with a thundering sound, and from its peak in the heavens a great rock fell. It was ten feet square, carved with Buddhist images on all sides, and wrapped in a red silk cloth.

Hearing of this marvellous event, the King journeyed to the place. There he prostrated himself before the wonderful rock and ordered a temple built nearby, calling it Taesong-sa (Greater Vehicle, i.e. Maha-yana). A monk who had recited the Lotus Sutra all his life was put in charge of the temple and told to burn incense before the four Buddhas day and night without stopping once. The mountain was called Sabul-san (Four-Buddha Mountain). When the monk died and was buried, a lotus flower bloomed on his grave.

One day while King Kyongdok was traveling to Paengnyul-sa (Temple of Pinenuts and Chestnuts) he heard a voice from underground on a mountainside crying "Namuami Tabul! Namuami Tabul! Namuami Tabul!" (Ritual calling on the name of Buddha). Intrigued, he ordered his servants to dig in the place from whence the sound came. No sooner had they begun to dig than they unearthed a great rock with Buddha images carved on it facing in the four directions. In great joy, the King ordered a temple built on this auspicious site and called it Kulbul-sa (Buddha-Digging Temple). This temple has now fallen in ruins, leaving only the stone with the Buddhas facing in the four directions standing by the roadside to remind travelers of this wonderful story.

King Kyongdok learned that Emperor Tai-tsung of the T'ang Dynasty in China was a worshipper of Buddha. He therefore had an artificial mountain made (ten feet high) on a five-colored canvas, with sandalwood, gold and jewels, and with representations of hills, streams, flowers, trees, birds, butterflies, dancers and musicians, and also towers, palaces, whales and fish

(striking bronze bells), temples, monks, nuns and myriad Buddhas. It was called Manbul-san (Ten Thousand Buddha Mountain).

When the wind blew there arose from this beautiful miniature landscape the harmonious sounds of birdsong, musical instruments, chanting monks, bells, and rushing cataracts, while dancers in quaint costumes swung round with the fluttering butterflies.

The King sent this creation as a gift to the T'ang Emperor, who was astonished at its superhuman workmanship and praised it as a heavenly treasure. He spread a fan of nine lights above the mountain crests in the Silla work, which he called Buddha's Light. On the eighth day of the fourth moon (Buddha's birthday) the Emperor held a great festival during which he exhibited the Manbul-san in his palace and ordered monks to worship the ten thousand Buddhas. He also bade the visiting Indian priest Samjang Pulgong to chant the Diamond Sutra in praise of Silla for her great achievement in Buddhist art as seen in this creation.

Song of Praise to the Ten Thousand Buddhas

Heaven has sent four-direction Buddhas bright as the moon,
Earth sped upward illuminating hills and hair;²⁰
Wondrous hands chiseled ten thousand Buddhas in mercy meet,
Nine holy lights flood heaven, earth and man.

76. The Stone Image of Maitreya Buddha at Saeng-ui Temple

During the reign of Queen Sondok there lived at Tojung Temple a kind-hearted monk whose name was Saeng-tu. During a noonday nap one day he dreamed that he met a white-haired monk who led him to the summit of South Mountain in Kyongju and bade him tie some tall grass into a knot to mark the place where they were. Then when they had climbed down to the southern foot of the mountain the strange monk said, "I am buried deep in this valley. Dig me up and let me stand on the mountaintop."

When the monk awoke from his dream he went to South Mountain with a friend. Sure enough, high on the summit he found a bunch of knotted grass. In great curiosity he hastened to the valley, where he soon discovered a stone image of Maitreya buried in the ground. He set it up on the crest of Samhwa-ryong (Three-Flower Peak).

In the twelfth year of Queen Sondok, in the year of the dragon (644) the good monk built a temple near this image and lived in it thereafter. After he died people called it Saeng-ui-sa after his name. It was to this stone

Maitreya that the renowned Silla monk Ch'ungdam offered tea of his own making twice a year, on March 3 and September 9.

77. The Pohyon Bodhisattva in the Mural at Hungnyun Temple

During the reign of King Kyongmyong (917-924) the south gate of Hungnyun Temple and the long covered shelters on its two sides were destroyed by fire. Chonghwa and Honggye, two of the temple monks, were planning to rebuild the gate and its annexes by collecting donations when on the fifteenth of May in the seventh year of Chen ming, in the year of the snake (921) the god of Chesok²¹ descended to the Left Palace of Buddha in the temple (i.e. Hongnyun-sa) and sat on a lofty throne there for ten days, covering the halls, pagodas and trees in the temple precincts with fragrant five-colored clouds, while the fish and dragons in the South Pond leaped for joy.

Multitudes of people from far and near gathered in the temple and worshiped Buddha in gratitude for these unusual and auspicious signs, offering him gold, jewels, brocades and food grain, which were heaped mountain high. Moreover, famous architects came to help in the reconstruction, and in a few days the lost buildings were restored to their former beauty and grandeur.

When the god of Chesok rose from his throne to return to his lotus palace in heaven, the two monks prostrated themselves before him and said, "We wish to draw thy august face so that we may offer daily sacrifices to it in recompense for thy heavenly grace. We pray thee to pose for this drawing so that thy holy portrait may bring perpetual peace to the human world under the heavens."

The voice of the god rang out: "My power of mercy is no match for the universal creative strength of the Pohyon Bodhisattva,²² the Buddha of universal wisdom; hence thou shalt make a likeness of his figure and offer him thy sacrifices day and night with devoted hearts." With these words he soared high into the sky, riding the same five-colored clouds.

Obeying the command of the Chesok god, the two monks had a mysterious portrait of the Pohyon Bodhisattva painted on the wall of Hungnyun Temple, where it is still to be seen, a fine work of art.

78. The Three Portraits of Kwanum at Chungsaeng-sa

(The divinity referred to in this section derived from the Indian Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, who was a man. Somehow, as Mahayana Buddhism developed in China, a change of sex occurred, and the divinity,

whose Chinese name is Kuan Yin, became popularly known and worshipped as the "goddess of mercy." Her name is pronounced Kwanum in Korean and Kannon in Japanese.)

An old Silla book contains this story. Once upon a time, the Celestial Emperor of China had a favorite whose beauty was unexcelled by any other woman in the kingdom, nor was her like to be found in any pictures of girls as fair as May roses or June peonies in all ages and climes. Wishing to look upon her always in the bloom of her youth and beauty, the Emperor decided to have her portrait painted.

The court artist was therefore ordered to paint the portrait. The name of this artist is not known with certainty, but he is believed to have been Chang Seng-yao, a renowned painter of the state of Wu. During the time of Liang T'ien-chien he served the kingdom of Wu-ling as court artist, right general and magistrate of Wu-hsing. If this be true, then the emperor in the story must have ruled between the Liang and Chen periods. The Silla book refers to him as a T'ang emperor, but this is simply because the people of Silla were accustomed to refer to China as T'ang. (The T'ang Dynasty ruled China during most of the Unified Silla period.)

Whoever he was, the artist painted a faithful portrait of this peerless beauty. However, while he was adding the finishing touches to the picture, he was so filled with rapture at the beauty of the woman unfolding before him that his hand trembled and let the brush slip, and it made a mark like a mole just below the portrait's navel. In consternation he tried to paint it out, but could not. "It must be one of her birthmarks," thought the artist, "but even in a picture women are ashamed of moles on the innermost parts of their bodies."

When the portrait was presented to the throne the Emperor scrutinized it closely and then spoke angrily to the artist: "This picture is too realistic! How could you have known there was a mole under her navel, and how could you dare to put it in your picture?" The infuriated Emperor had the artist imprisoned and gave orders for his execution the next day, for his burning jealousy of the man's evident intimacy with his beloved knew no bounds.

The artist was fairly caught. He would have been hanged immediately but for the intervention of the prime minister, who said, "He is as straight as a bamboo, and has known no woman but his wife."

The Emperor nodded and spoke again to the artist. "Since you are so wise as to paint the mole on my woman when you have not seen it, paint a lifelike picture of the lovely woman whom I saw in a dream last night and you shall have my special pardon."

The artist painted the graceful figure of the eleven-faced Kwanum Bodhisattva and presented it to the throne. "This is she!" exclaimed the Emperor. "Now you shall have your liberty."

After this narrow escape the artist no longer wished to live in his native country. Accompanied by a wise man named Pun-chol, he crossed the sea to Silla, and there he made portraits of the Merciful Goddess in three incarnations, which were placed in Chungsaeng-sa (Temple of the Myriad Creatures). The people of Kyongju admired the holy beauty of these pictures and prayed to the goddess to fulfill their wishes with heavenly blessings.

During the closing year of Silla, in the T'ien-cheng period (926-'929), the childless wife of the nobleman Ch'oe Un-song prayed to Buddha at Chungsaeng-sa to give her a son. Her prayer was heard, and she soon conceived and bore a baby boy. But before the child was three months old the tiger general of Later Paekje (Chin Hwon) sacked Kyongju, and many people lost their wives and children. Carrying the tiny baby in his arms, Un-song fled to the temple and implored the aid of the merciful Bodhisattva, saying "The enemy soldiers run amuck in the King's capital, attacking women and killing babies. If my son was born through your holy blessing, care for him now and nourish him in your bosom till I come again." He wrapped the child warmly and laid him beside the lotus pedestal of the seated goddess, said a tearful farewell and departed.

Two weeks later, when the enemy had evacuated the city, Ch'oe Un-song returned to the temple and found the child in robust health. His body was as white as if he had been newly washed, his breath smelled of fresh milk, and his face beamed with a bright smile. Ch'oe picked the child up in his arms and took him home, where he grew up to be a strong and intelligent man.

This was Ch'oe Sung-no, who rose to the highest posts in the government and had many children who also achieved high position at court, generation after generation. Ch'oe Un-song had followed Kim Pu (King Kyongsun, the last Silla monarch) to Koryo and had been ennobled by that court.

In March of the tenth year of T'ung-huo (992), Song-t'ae, the abbot of Chungsaeng-sa, knelt before the image of the goddess and said, "I have lived at this temple for many years and I have kept the incense burning in the censer day and night. But now the income from the temple lands has ceased, so that it is impossible for me to continue this service. I must bid you farewell and move to another place."

As he finished speaking, the monk was suddenly attacked by drowsiness and fell into a trance. In this state, he heard the low, sweet voice of the goddess whisper in his ear: "My good monk, do not leave, but abide with me yet. I will go round and get donations for the temple supplies."

The monk awoke joyfully from his trance and remained in the temple. Two weeks later two stout countrymen led into the temple grounds a caravan of horses and oxen fully loaded with supplies. The sexton ran out to meet them. "Where have you come from?" he enquired.

"We have come from Kumju (Kimhae)," they replied. "A few days ago a strange monk came to our village and told us that he had lived at Chungsaeng Temple in the Eastern Capital (Kyongju) for many years. He said that he had come to ask for donations for the temple, which was in great want, and so we collected six large bags of rice and four large bags of salt as gifts. We placed them on the backs of our strong horses and oxen, and here they are. Please come and help us to unload them."

"No monk from this temple has gone out to ask for alms," the abbot said. "Perhaps you have come to the wrong place."

"The monk guided us," the countrymen replied, "as far as a well which he called Sinkyon-jong (God seeing Well) below the hill, and pointed to this temple, saying, 'Go carefully up the mountain, and you will find a temple above the clouds. I will join you on the temple grounds.' So here we are."

In wonderment the monk entered the Golden Hall with the two countrymen. He was amazed to see them prostrate themselves before the image of Kwanum, whispering to each other that it looked exactly like the monk who had come asking for donations. From that time gifts of rice and salt never ceased to flow into the temple to nourish the Bodhisattva and her devotees.

One evening the temple gate caught fire. All the people living nearby rushed up the hill to help put out the fire, and went into the Golden Hall to rescue the image of Kwanum first of all. But when they arrived it was not

there, and was found outside in the courtyard. All were astonished at this wonder-working of the almighty Bodhisattva.

In the thirteenth year of Ta-ting, the year of the snake (1173) a monk named Chomsung lived at Chungsaeng-sa. He was illiterate, but his inward eye saw Buddha's mind, and he kept the incense-burner alight with holy flame from morning till night as he knelt before the image of the merciful Bodhisattva.

Another monk who wanted the temple for himself appealed to the Angel of Shirts, saying, "Chungsaeng Temple was created to invoke Buddha's grace and blessings on all the myriad creatures in this nation, and therefore a learned person should be its proprietor. This poor monk knows only enough to say 'Namuami-Tabul' and 'Kwanum Bodhisattva' waking and sleeping. He should be turned out of the temple."

"Very well," the angel replied, "I will test him." The written appeal was presented upside down to Chomsung, and he took it and read all the sentences aloud in a musical voice, without making a mistake.

The angel was astonished at this unusual intelligence and clapped his hands, saying "Again!" But this time Chomsung remained stubbornly silent. "Thy soul is aflame with holy inspiration. Such a monk as thou art Silla's boast," the angel exclaimed. "Stay where thou art and be happy, and may Buddha bless thee!"

This story was told to the village elders near the temple by the hermit Kim In-pu, who had been a bedfellow of the wonderful monk Chomsung. It has been relayed from mouth to mouth throughout Silla until today.

(Since the Silla Kingdom had ceased to exist more than two centuries before the date given, fly on must be using the name in a purely geographical sense, to indicate the area of the old kingdom before the unification. This is an excellent example of his efforts to preserve oral traditions which might otherwise have been lost.)

79. Paengnyul-sa (Temple of Pinenuts and Chestnuts)

(Translator's note; The name "Kumgang" used here is derived from the Kumgang-gyong, the Diamond Sutra, the scripture most read in Far Eastern Buddhism. The names used to describe temples and rocks are also derived from this scripture and have nothing to do with actual precious stones, although the mountains so named are known to foreigners as the Diamond Mountains. The Kumgang near Kyongju is a miniature version of the mountain range in Kangwon Province, about fifty miles in diameter,

where the “Twelve thousand sky-kissing peaks,” picturesque rocks, deep ravines full of green vegetation, sapphire pools and cataracts above and below antique monasteries form a veritable fairyland in all seasons. It was here that the Hwarang of Silla used to go for mental and physical training so as to increase the nation's military power.)

The North Mountain of Kerim (Kyongju) is called Kumgang-nyong (Mountain of Diamond Peaks). On the southern side of this mountain is a monastery called Paengnyul-sa, and seated in its Golden Hall is a Buddha image which has worked many wonders. Although the history of the image is unknown, tradition says that it was made by heavenly sculptors from China as was the image at Chungsaeng-sa, at about the same time. This Buddha is said to have ascended to Tori-ch'on (one of the thirty-three heavens) and to have re-entered the Golden Hall after stamping his feet on the stone steps at the entrance, leaving footprints which are still there today. But other accounts claim that the Buddha made these footprints when he returned triumphantly with Puryerang, a renowned Hwarang (Flower Youth) whom he had rescued from a pagan people in the north who were enemies of Silla. The story is as follows.

On the seventh of September in the third year of T'ien-shou, in the year of the dragon (692), King Hyoso of Silla made Puryerang the son of Taehyon-Salch'an his favorite Hwarang and placed a thousand youths under his command. Among these youths An Sang became his lieutenant and intimate follower.

In March of the second year of Chang-shou, in the year of the snake (693), Puryerang led his youthful followers on a pleasure trip to Kumnan (T'ongch'on in Kangwon Province). But when the party arrived at a point north of Puk-myong (near Wonsan Bay) it was attacked by a band of armed thieves and Puryerang was taken captive. (These appear to have been a group of Malgal, a fierce nomadic tribe of the north.) There were so many of them that the Silla youths were overwhelmed and had to flee for their lives. But An Sang stayed and followed his master into the enemy camp. This happened on March 11.

The King was dismayed. He said to his courtiers, “Since my royal father handed down the sacred flute to me, I have kept it safe in the High Heaven Vault together with the Hyon-gum (a harp with six silk strings), which protect us from all evils with their holy might. Why has my favorite Hwarang fallen into the hands of thieves?”

While His Majesty thus lamented, a sea of clouds appeared in the sky and shrouded the High Heaven Vault. More troubled still, the King ordered his servants to examine it to see if anything was amiss. Sure enough the two treasures—the harp and the flute—had disappeared. The King's grief knew no bounds. “One misfortune rides on the neck of another,” he exclaimed. “First I lost my favorite Hwarang, and now I have lost the harp and flute, the most sacred possessions of my royal heritage and the dearest treasures of the nation. Ah, the sad day!” In great rage he imprisoned the five vault-keepers, including Kim Chong-ko.

In April the King offered a reward to anyone who would recover the harp and flute, together with a year's exemption from taxes in kind. Meanwhile, Puryerang's father and mother worshipped in the Golden Hall of Paengnyul-sa every night until the fifteenth of May, praying for the safe return of their son. On that night they found the harp and flute on the table of the incense-burner and Puryerang, attended by An Sang, standing behind the Buddha image. The old parents fell upon the neck of their beloved son weeping for joy, and asked him how he had returned.

“My honored parents,” he said, “when the enemy carried me away, they made me a cowherd of Taedo-kura, their chief, and I was set to caring for his cattle in the field of Taejo-rani. (Ilyon says there was also a rumor that he was ordered to watch cattle grazing in a meadow called Taemaya.) There a kind-looking monk holding a harp in one hand and a flute in the other appeared and said, 'My good lad, don't you feel homesick?'

“Partly overawed by his noble face and partly overcome with grateful emotion at his gentle words, I fell to my knees and answered, 'Honorable monk, carry me back to Kyongju. I long to see my King and my parents in my native land, a thousand *li* far away to the south.'

“‘Come with me, my lad,’ he interposed, and took me by the hand and led me to the seacoast, where I met An Sang once again. Here the monk broke the flute in two and handed each of us a piece, 'Ride on them!' he said, while he rode the harp. We flew high above the clouds and in a twinkling we had landed here.”

When all this was reported to the King he rejoiced exceedingly and sent out courtiers to receive Puryerang like a prince of the blood. So Puryerang repaired to the palace, taking the harp and flute with him.

The King praised his valor and good fortune, and graciously rewarded the flying monk from Paengnyul Temple with two sets of gold dishes each

weighing fifty yang, five fine robes, 3,000 rolls (one roll was forty yards) of gray hempen cloth and 1,000 *kyong* of farmland to recompense the grace of the Buddha. Moreover, the King granted a general amnesty to all prisoners, promoted each official by three ranks, exempted the people from taxes in kind for three years, and transferred the abbot of the temple to a higher ranking monastery named Pong-song-sa.

Puryerang was made Tae-Kakkan (Prime Minister), his father Taehyon Ach'an was made Tae-tae Kakkan (Supreme Elder Statesman) and his mother Lady Yongbo became Princess of Kyongjong in Saryang-pu, while An Sang was made Chief Priest of the State. The five vault-keepers were all pardoned and promoted to the fifth grade in rank.

On the twelfth of June a comet appeared in the eastern sky, and on the seventeenth another in the west. The royal astrologer reported to the throne that these signs had appeared because the harp and flute had not been promoted to the fourth rank of the higher grade. The King therefore gave to the flute the title Man-man-p'a-p'a-sik-jok (the Flute to Calm Ten Thousand Times Ten Thousand Waves) instead of Man-p'a-sik-jok (the Flute to Calm Ten Thousand Waves), whereupon the comets disappeared.

There are endless tales of the wonders wrought by the Buddha of Paengnyul-sa, all of them indescribably interesting.

80. Minjang Temple

There was once a poor woman in Ugum-ni named Po-kae who had a son named Chang-ch'un. In order to improve their lot, the boy joined the crew of a merchant ship, and for a long time nothing was heard from him. His lonely old mother waited long in vain. Finally she visited Minjang Temple (which had been built with funds donated by Minjang Kakkan, a Kyongju nobleman), and prayed for seven days to the Kwanum Bodhisattva to bring her son home safe. As she rose from her prayers on the seventh day and raised her eyes to heaven, thinking of her son, there he was standing before her. She greeted him joyfully and asked him how he had come. Chang-ch'un related his adventures as follows.

“My good mother, we set sail before a favorable wind, but when we were out in the open sea, suddenly dark clouds hid the sky and a great storm came up, with foaming waves which tossed our ship about like a toy. Then a whirlpool appeared which seized the ship, and the valuable cargo and all the crew except myself went to the bottom. I managed to cling to a plank

and floated on the waves until I was cast ashore on the coast of Wu in south China.

“A kind-hearted old man in that country took me in and set me to plowing his fields. One day a strange monk came to comfort me, and bade me walk with him as far as the bank of a stream. There he seized me in his arms, and leaped into the sky, flying higher and higher and then swooping low again until my feet lightly touched the ground. I was dazed, my head spun like a top, and my ears hummed like a hive of bees. But I heard the voices of men, women and children speaking in Korean, and, opening my eyes, found I was back in Silla.

“It was interesting to fly through the air, though I was a little frightened. We left Wu at the hour of the monkey (between three and five in the afternoon) and arrived here early in the hour of the dog (between eight and nine in the evening).”

Mother and son alike wept with gratitude. Hand in hand they bowed low before the image of the Kwanum Bodhisattva and thanked her again and again.

This event happened on the eighth of April (Buddha's birthday) in the fourth year of T'ien-pao, the year of the cock (745). When King Kyongdok heard this wonderful story, he bestowed rice fields and many other gifts on Minjang Temple.

81. Buddhist Relics Brought to Silla

(As has been pointed out before, these relics abounded in the Orient. The “sari” (sarira in Sanskrit) were generally small white balls, believed to be fragments of Buddha's bones and also believed, as we have seen earlier, to confer magic powers. The pagodas which are common features of Buddhist temples were usually built to house such relics. A genuine tooth of Buddha would have been extraordinarily rare and valuable.

(The Mongols invaded China early in the thirteenth century and eventually conquered her, taking the dynastic title Yuan. This involved domination of Korea also, and for a time the Koryo government resisted, moving the court from the capital (Kaesong) to Kanghwa Island at the mouth of the Han River. When at last resistance was seen to be futile the court returned to Kaesong in 1270. A few die-hards held out, first on Kanghwa and later on Cheju Island, but they were ultimately wiped out. Ilyon lived during the period of Mongol domination.)

According to the Samguk Sagi, in the third year of Ta-ch'ing, in the year of the snake (549), the Liang Emperor sent some *sari* (to Silla) with his envoy Shen-hu. In the seventeenth year of Chen-kuan, in the year of the Hare (643) Chajang Popsa, the great Silla monk, brought back a skull, a cheek-tooth of Buddha, and a red-striped, gold-embroidered robe which Buddha had worn. The *sari* were divided into three groups; some were enshrined in Hwangnyong Pagoda and some in Taehwa pagoda, and the rest were laid, together with the robe, on the two-story altar at T'ongdo Temple (near Pusan). The stone urn containing the *sari* on the upper story had a lid shaped like an inverted pot.

Tradition says that during the early days of Koryo a bold local magistrate on two occasions bowed before the altar and lifted the lid of the urn. The first time a large snake was seen coiled within and the second time there was a large toad crouching in the receptacle. No one dared touch it after that time.

More recently, general Kim I-saeng, accompanied by the court official Yusok, proceeded to the south at the command of the King (Kojong of Koryo) to take command of the army which was fighting the Mongol invaders east of the Nakdong River. One day he visited the temple (T'ongdosa) and attempted to lift the lid of the urn with his bow, but was warned off by the chief monk lest the snake or the toad be still there. He then commanded his soldiers to lift the lid, and they obeyed. There was no snake or toad inside, but only a stone box enclosing a glass tube containing four *sari*. The tube was cracked, so Yusok, who was with the general, presented the temple with a crystal tube to replace it. This account was placed in the court diary for the year of the goat (1235), the fourth year after the removal of the court from Songdo (Kaesong) to Kanghwa Island during the Mongol invasions.

The old record says there were one hundred *sari* which were divided into three groups and preserved in three places, but in the present instance we find only four of them. This is not greatly to be wondered at, however, because the number of *sari* seen depends upon the seer.

Folk tales relate that when Hwangnyong Pagoda caught fire the stone vessel inside incurred a large spot on its side. (It still bears this mark.) The fire broke out in the third year of Ying-li of Liao, in the year of the ox (953), the fifth year of King Kwangjong of Koryo, the third time the pagoda burned. Chogyo-Muui-ja (punning nickname for Hyetam, a monk who lived

during the reigns of Kings Sinjong and Kjong of Koryo) lamented in a poem, "When the King Dragon's pagoda went up in flames, nothing was left after the spreading fire."

After the years of Chin-yuan (1264) envoys from Yuan (i.e. from the Mongol court in China) and courtiers from the royal court at Songdo (Kaesong) worshipped the *sari* urn at T'ongdo-sa more frequently than ever, while pilgrims thronged the temple precincts to see the famous relics. It was found that only the four genuine *sari* had survived, while the counterfeit ones had been crushed to powder and were scattered outside the urn, spreading a wonderful perfume to the four winds.

In the fifth year of T'ang Ta-chung, in the year of the goat (851), Won Hong, a Koryo (obvious mistake for Silla) envoy brought back a cheek-tooth of Buddha from China. Nobody now knows the whereabouts of this tooth, but it is said to have arrived during the reign of King Munsong of Silla (839-856).

In the first year of Hou-T'ang Tung-kuang, in the year of the goat (923), when T'aejo (the founder) of Koryo had been on the throne for six years, Yun Chil, a Koryo envoy, brought back from China the images of the Five Hundred Nahans (disciples of Buddha), and they were placed in Sinkwang temple on Mt. Puksung. In the last year of Ta-Sung Hsuan-huo, in the year of the hare (1119), when King Yejong had been on the throne for fifteen years, two Koryo tribute envoys, Chong Kuk-yong and Yi Chi-mi, brought some cheek-teeth of Buddha from China. These were enshrined in the inner palace of the King.

According to folktales, in the old days, when the famous Silla monk Uisang Popsa was studying under Chih-yen Tsun-tzu at Chih-sang Temple on the South Mountain of Changan, the T'ang capital, there was a holy man named Hsuan-lu-shu in a neighboring monastery. He subsisted on provision which were prepared and sent down from heaven each time he performed the Buddhist service for the dead. One day Hsuan-lu-shu invited Uisang to participate in the ceremony, and the Silla monk solemnly took his place in the Golden Hall. But the food from heaven did not appear, and after waiting a long time Uisang rose and departed with an empty bowl.

When Uisang had gone, the angel came down from heaven with the table spread with offerings from the heavenly emperor as usual. On being asked why he was so late, the angel replied, "We were unable to gain access to your monastery because a company of heavenly spirits blocked the way."

From this Hsuan-lu-shu understood that Uisang was protected by heavenly guards, and admired his superior attainments. Leaving the heavenly food untouched, he invited both Chih-yen and Uisang to the services next day and told them what had happened.

Uisang said to his host in a gentle voice, "I have heard that one cheek-tooth of Buddha is being kept in the Chesok Temple in heaven. Since you are so much loved by the heavenly emperor, would you kindly ask him to bless us by sending that tooth to the human world?"

Hsuan-lu-shu forwarded Uisang's wish to heaven through the angel, and the heavenly emperor delivered the tooth of Buddha to Uisang on condition that it be returned after seven days. (This was not to be taken literally, as we shall see.) Uisang thanked heaven and kept the tooth in a sanctuary near the palace gate.

When Hui-tsung was on the throne of Ta-Sung (Sung Dynasty Emperor, 1100-1125), his people worshipped the left-way gods (i.e. were Taoists). They were encouraged by the yellow turbans (Taoist priests) to spread a prophecy that the "men of gold" would ruin the nation. Moreover, the yellow turbans bribed the royal astrologer to interpret this prophecy to the throne as meaning that the "men of gold" were the Buddhists, and that they were plotting the subversion of the state. The court was alarmed, and the Emperor contemplated suppressing Buddhism, massacring the monks, burning the Buddhist scriptures, and placing the tooth of Buddha on a small boat to drift away on the sea.

A diplomatic mission from Koryo was visiting China at this time. When they learned of this situation, they bribed the ship's captain with fifty sticks of "heaven flower" antlers and 300 rolls of china-grass to give them the tooth of Buddha. This he did, and they returned and presented the tooth to the King. The King (Yejong) was greatly rejoiced, and enshrined the tooth in the Left Hall of the Palace of Ten Saints, under lock and key, with incense-burning lanterns hung at the door-posts, and worshipped it whenever he visited this palace.

In the nineteenth year of King Kojong (1232), when the court moved to Kanghwa Island, the tooth of Buddha was left behind in the hurry and confusion of departure. In April of the year of the monkey (1236) the King visited Sinhyo Temple to pray to Buddha for the peaceful repose of his patriotic warriors (who had been slain by the Mongols). On this occasion, Onkwang, the chief monk asked the king to pay his respects to Buddha's

tooth. His Majesty ordered the grand chamberlain to look for it in the detached palace, but it was not there, whereupon Ch'oe Ch'ung, the court inspector, ordered his man Sol-sin to search the quarters of all the palace officers.

Kim Sung-no the grand chamberlain, then said, "Look in the Purple Gate Diary (the official record of daily events at court)." When this was checked, an entry was found to the effect that the chief eunuch Yi Paek-chon had the box containing Buddha's tooth. The eunuch, however, presented a receipt to the throne showing that Kim So-ryong, a palace officer, had the tooth. When this official was interrogated, he could say nothing of the matter. The King then approved a suggestion of Kim Sung-no and imprisoned all the temple and shrine officials who had been in service during the five years between Im-jin and Pyong-sin (i.e. during the past five years), but all investigation proved fruitless.

On the third night of the interrogations a great noise was heard in the garden of Kim So-ryong's house by an object apparently thrown over the wall from outside. In the torchlight it was found to be the vessel containing Buddha's tooth. It had originally been protected by layers of aloewood, gold, silver, glass and mother-of-pearl, but now only the glass container remained, Kim So-ryong took the glass vessel to the palace and presented it to the King. The court authorities planned to behead Kim So-ryong and all of the temple and shrine officials for neglect of their duty to preserve Buddha's tooth. However, the Chinyang-pu presided over by Ch'oe Wu opposed killing so many people involved in Buddhist affairs, and all the prisoners were released. (The Ch'oe family had at this time established a sort of military dictatorship with the King reduced to a figurehead. The Chinyang-pu was a supra-government organ through which they ruled.)

The King had a special shrine built in the middle court of the palace (Sip-won-jon) in which he kept the holy treasure under strong guard. Then on an auspicious day he summoned thirty monks headed by Onkwang, the chief priest of Sinhyo-sa, to the palace for a ceremony to commemorate the happy event. The court secretary Ch'oe Hong, generals Ch'oe Kong-yon and Yi Yong-chang, eunuchs and tea officials each held the vessel containing the tooth on their heads in turn in order to pay the highest respect to it. There were some *sari* scattered around the tooth which the Chinyang-pu placed in a silver vessel on the altar of the shrine.

When these rites had been completed the King said to his courtiers, "When the tooth of Buddha was lost, I had four suspicions: first, that it had ascended to its place in heaven after the expiration of the seven-day period; second, that during the Mongol invasion the wonderworking treasure had moved to a sanctuary in a quieter Buddhist nation; third, that thieves had taken the valuable container and thrown the tooth away; and fourth, that some treasure and curio collector had stolen it and later repented, but too late to confess his guilt. Now I see that my fourth suspicion was correct." And with these words the King burst into a loud cry and all the courtiers attending him wept in chorus and shouted "Long live the King!" Some of the more emotional ones burned their foreheads and forearms in token of their resolution to become monks. Kak-yu, the former chief priest of Chirim Temple, who was the ritualist of the inner palace temple at that time, was an eyewitness of these events and told me about them, and they are also recorded in the court annals.

Later, in the year of the horse (eleventh year of King Wonjong, 1270), when the King returned with his court to Kaesong, great disturbances arose on land and sea. Rebels under the command of local heroes who contended for mastery fought battles fiercer than those in the year of Imjin (when the court had moved to Kanghwa. The "rebels" were the leaders of diehard resistance to the Mongols, to whom the government had now submitted.) Amid the tumult of war a monk named Simgam, braving all dangers, took Buddha's tooth to a place of safety. The King rewarded him by placing him in charge of Ping-san temple. I heard this story from the monk himself.

In the sixth year of Chen T'ien-chia (565) when King Chinhung was on the throne of Silla, the Chen state in southern China sent to Silla an envoy named Liu Szu and a monk named Ming-kuan, who brought with them 1,700 volumes of Buddhist commentaries. In the seventeenth year of T'ang Chen-kuan (643) Chajang Popsa brought back from China three Buddhist scriptures, consisting of the Buddha's teachings, the laws and commentaries in 400 boxes and preserved them at T'ongdo Temple. (This description would fit the full Buddhist canon, or Tripitaka, the "three baskets" of Buddhist scriptures.) During the reign of King Hungdok, in the first year of T'ang Ta-huo (827), Kudok, a former Koguryo monk who had been studying in China, brought back more boxes of Buddhist scriptures from the Celestial Empire. The King, followed by Silla monks, received the gift at Hungnyun Temple.

In the fifth year of Ta-chung of T'ang (851) Won Hong, the Silla envoy, also brought back valuable Buddhist books from China, and Poyo Sonsa, a great Silla monk, twice visited Wu and Yueh in southern China and returned with large shipments of Buddhist books. He was the founder of Haeryong-wang-sa (Sea Dragon Temple).

In the year of the dog (1094) during the reign of Ta-sung Yuan-yu, a poet eulogized the portrait of Poyo Sonsa: "Glory to the founder priest! How graceful his noble features look! Twice he went to Wu and Yueh and twice he brought back gems of Buddhist books. The King bestowed on him the glorious title 'Poyo' (Light of the Universe) in a royal prescript proclaimed over the four seas on this happy occasion. His moral integrity shines above the white moon and the cool breeze."

During the years of Ta-t'ing (in the reign of King Oijong, 1146-1170) another poet, P'aeng Cho-jok, in his book Hannam Kuan-gi, praised Poyo in the following lines: "Floating between water and cloud is the quiet temple where dwells the Buddha; protected under heavenly wings are its peaceful precincts, where crouches the sea-dragon. Who in succession will keep this holy abode of Buddha, who descended from the southern heaven to this eastern land?" In a note added to the poem the writer told the following story.

While our immortal monk Poyo Sonsa was on his first return voyage from Nan-Yueh bringing Buddhist books to Silla, a storm raged at sea and his tiny ship was almost swallowed by an angry sea-dragon, which bellowed at him to throw the treasured books overboard. He pronounced a spell over the monster, saying, "Sir dragon! No more of your mischievous frolic! It is a sin against Buddha and threatens my life. Instead, escort the ship, and I will provide you a peaceful abode on land far better than the sea." Immediately the howling wind grew calm and the roaring waves subsided, and the sea became as smooth as a crystal mirror. The white-sailed ship glided over the blue water as swiftly as an arrow and on the morrow made port in Silla, with the sea-dragon pushing it to the shore. The monk traveled to all the famous mountains (in Silla) to find a quiet place for the abode of Buddha and of the dragon.

When Poyo Sonsa climbed a certain high mountain, auspicious clouds descended from heaven to its top. Aided by Honggyong, his chief disciple, he built a beautiful temple under its crest and called it Haeryong-sa (Temple

of the Sea Dragon). P'aeng Cho-jok concludes, "The eastward spread of Buddhism really began at that time."

The Hall of the Sea Dragon King at this temple has worked many wonders since the dragon escorted the ship carrying Buddhist scriptures.

In the third year of Hou T'ang T'ien-cheng (928) Muk-Hwasang (the Silent Monk) brought back more Buddhist scriptures from China, and when King Yejong was on the throne of Koryo" (1105-1122) the renowned monk Hyejo purchased three copies of the same books, which had been compiled in the state of Liao. These still exist, one copy being preserved at Chonghye-sa, one at Haein-sa and one at the home of Ho Ch'am-jong.

In the second year of Liao Ta-an (1086), during King Sonjong's reign, Uich'on, another great monk, visited China and brought back a large shipment of Buddhist books called Ch'ondae Kyo-kuan. In addition many other monks went abroad and brought back innumerable Buddhist works to Silla and Koryo, thus bringing Buddhist religion and Buddhist culture and art from India to the east through China and making the young Koryo Kingdom and the two-thousand-year-old India of the Deer Park one in the Buddhist world. (The Deer Park at Benares in India is said to have been the place where Buddha preached his first sermon.)

(The paragraphs which conclude this section are not Ilyon's. A note in the original informs us that they were written by Muguk, his chief disciple.)

According to the account of Uisang in the present work, in the early T'ang Ying-hui period (650) he traveled to China, where he visited Chih-yen, a mysterious monk in that country. But an inscription on a stone monument at Pusok Temple says that Uisang was born in the eighth year of T'ang Wu-te (625) and became a monk as a young man in the first year of T'ang Ying-hui (650). Accompanied by Wonhyo (another famous Silla monk) he started out on the long journey to China by way of Koguryo, but was forced to turn back because of a war in that country.

In the first year of T'ang Lung-shuo (661) Uisang succeeded in reaching China, where he studied under Chih-yen until the latter's death in the first year of Tsung-chang (668). In the second year of T'ang Hsien-heng (671) he returned to Silla, where he died in the second year of Chang-an (702) at the age of seventy-eight. Therefore he would have received the tooth of the Buddha from the palace in heaven some time between Sin-yu (661) and Mu-jin (668), after he had participated with Chih-yen in the Buddhist service conducted by Hsuan-lu-shu.

In the year of the dragon (1232) when King Kojong moved his court to Kanghwa Island, he thought that the seven-day period of the tooth's sojourn on earth had expired, but this was a mistake, for in the Torich'on heaven one day and one night are equal to a hundred years on earth. Thus at this date 693 years would have passed since Uisang first arrived in China in the year of the cock (661). (Here and in the next paragraph Muguk's arithmetic is obviously faulty.)

The year of the rat (1240) in the reign of King Kojong would be the seven-hundredth year, when the heavenly seven-day period expired, and the seventh year of Chih-yuan (1270) when the court moved back to Kaesong was the 730th year, thirty years after the expiration date. If the Buddha's tooth returned to heaven on the seventh day of its sojourn on earth as the heavenly emperor had stipulated, then the tooth which Sin-gam Sonsa carried from Kanghwa and presented to the King in Kaesong could not have been the genuine one.

Before leaving Kanghwa for Kaesong the King assembled all the leading monks in the detached palace and prayed for the discovery of Buddha's tooth and the *sari* which had been lost, but to no avail. Perhaps they had already ascended to heaven at the expiration of their stay on earth.

In the twenty-first year of Chih-yuan (1284), when the Golden Pagoda of Kukch'ong Temple was repaired, the King and his Queen Changmok-Wanghu visited Myogak Temple, where he worshipped the tooth of Buddha presented by Sim-gam, the Naksan crystal rosary and the Yo-ui-ju (a special kind of *sari* said to have magical powers). He then placed them in the pagoda amid the profound reverence of the courtiers and of the great multitude of people who had gathered there. I had the honor to be present at this ceremony, and I saw the Buddha's tooth with my own eyes. It was about three inches long, but there were no *sari* with it.

—Written by Muguk

82. The Fairy Flower of Maitreya (Miruk Sonhwa), Mirirang and Chinja

(This is the legendary account of the founding of the Hwarang order. Modern historians believe it was actually a development from ancient tribal custom. The word "fairy" here is to be understood as indicating a sort of divine or semi-divine being, not in the sense it has in European folklore.)

The family name of King Chinhung (the twenty-fourth Silla sovereign) was Kim, and his childhood name was Sam-nung-jong or Sim-nung-jong.

Upon ascension to the throne in the sixth year of Liang Tai-t'ung (450) he devoted himself to the worship of Buddha and had many temples built throughout the country, as his uncle King Pophung had done.

The King loved elegance and physical beauty and believed in Sin-son and Son-nyo (male and female fairies). He chose pretty maidens by holding beauty contests and called them Wonhwa (original flowers), and taught them modesty, loyalty, filial piety and sincerity so that they would become good wives and wise mothers.

In one such contest Nammo and Chunjong, two of these "original flowers," were the leading contenders among three or four hundred budding Silla beauties. Becoming jealous of Nammo, Chunjong invited her to a party and made her drunk with strong wine. She then led Nammo to the bank of the Northern Stream, where she struck her fair brow with a stone and buried her body in the sand.

Nammo's admirers missed their queen and could not find her, so they sang a doleful song and went back to their homes. But someone who knew of the crime composed an elegy and had it sung by all the children in the streets. Finally the followers of the murdered beauty found her body beside the stream.

Infuriated, the King had Chunjong put to death and issued a royal decree abolishing Wonhwa. In its place he created Hwarang (Flower Youth), for which he recruited noble young men of physical beauty and mental virtue. He believed that he could enhance the fortunes of the kingdom by training young men in a decorous mode of life. They were taught the five cardinal principles of human relations (kindness, justice, courtesy, intelligence and faith), the six arts (etiquette, music, archery, horsemanship, writing and mathematics), the three scholarly occupations (royal tutor, instructor and teacher), and the six ways to serve the government (holy minister, good minister, loyal minister, wise minister, virtuous minister and honest minister). A youth named Sol-Wonnang was made head of the order with the title of Kukson. There is a stone monument at Myongju (now Kang-nung) which was erected in his memory. This was the beginning of Hwarang.

During the reign of King Chinji (576-579) there was a monk named Chinja at Hungnyun Temple who worshipped the image of Maitreya Buddha, praying that the Buddha be incarnated as a Hwarang so that he might attend him as chief servant. One night he saw an old priest in a

dream. "If you go to Suwon Temple in Ungch'on (Kongju)," the priest said, "you will meet a Maitreya Flower Youth."

Joyfully the monk woke and went immediately to the temple, where he met a noble youth of great physical beauty. The youth smiled and showed him into a guest room in the temple.

"I am a stranger to you," the monk said. "Why this kind reception?"

"I am also a traveler from Kyongju visiting this temple," the youth replied. "It is simply my duty to be kind to a fellow human creature." After a short conversation the youth left the room and disappeared.

While the monk was pondering this singular event, the abbot of the temple told him to go to Ch'onsan (Thousand Mountains), where he might meet superhuman beings. The monk climbed into the hills, and there he saw a mountain-god who changed into a white-bearded old man. "What are you doing here and whom do you seek?" the old man asked.

"I want to see a Maitreya Flower Youth," the monk replied.

"You saw him at the entrance to Suwon Temple, didn't you?" said the old man. Chinja was surprised and returned to his temple in Kyongju.

King Chinji heard this story and summoned the monk to court. "I understand the Maitreya Flower Youth told you he lived in Kyongju," the King said. "Sages and Buddhas do not lie. Why don't you seek him within the city?"

Chinja gathered his followers and sought the flower youth. Soon he caught sight of a handsome youth strolling under a big tree northeast of Yongmyo Temple. In rapture the monk approached the youth and said, "You are the Maitreya Flower Youth (Miruk Sonhwa)! What is your name and where is your home?"

"My given name is Miri," the youth replied, "but I do not know my family name since I lost my parents in infancy."

Chinja conducted the youth to the palace in a palanquin. The King loved Miri and put him at the head of all the Hwarang. The wondrous youth taught his Hwarang disciples social etiquette, music and song and also gave them lessons in patriotic behavior, raising the fair name of Hwarang to its zenith. After seven years he disappeared into the fairyland of Sin-son, and the King and all the people missed his noble qualities.

Chinja's grief at the loss of Miri-rang knew no bounds, but when he meditated on the flower youth, his image in his Maitreya form was reflected on his inward eye and he was comforted in his solitude. Chinja purified his

heart after the model of Miri-rang, and finally his awakened soul was transported to the spiritual world, leaving his life's end on earth shrouded in mystery to this day.

Scholars say that this story is partly based on the fact that the Chinese characters for the name "Miri" can also be pronounced "Miruk" (Maitreya) in Korean. People called a sin-son (fairy) a Miruk-Sonhwa (Fairy Flower of Maitreya) and the leader of the Hwarang Kukson. (This last works out to "National Fairy," which sounds a little strange but made sense in the traditional Korean scheme of things.) "Miri" was a divine go-between according to the tradition handed down by the monk Chinja.

Not only moved by the devoted heart of Chinja but also attracted by predestined affinity, the great Buddha often appeared in Silla in human form.

Song of Praise to the Fairy Flower

I wandered looking for my Fairy Flower, thinking of him with every footstep.

I've run over hill and dale, but he has vanished from my sight;

Wilt thou not blossom on my breast in the next spring

As Shanglin-hung blooms before her royal lover in his flowery garden?

("Shanglin-hung" —literally "Upper Forest Red"—is an allusion to the court beauties of the Han dynasty, who are compared to red flowers pressed to the hearts of their royal lovers.)

83. Nohil Puduk and Tal-tal Pak-pak, the Two Saints of the White Moon Mountains

This account is taken from the Biography of the Two Saints who Became Living Maitreyas in the White Moon Mountains.

Paegwol-san, the White Moon Mountains, rise in the north of Kusa County (Uian-gun) in Silla. Thousands of grotesque peaks soar into the sky in a long undulating ridge overlooking ten thousand deep ravines over a distance of several hundred *li*, making the place a veritable fairyland.

White-haired mountaineers say that long, long ago the T'ang Emperor carved a lotus pond in a valley, with a lion-rock in the middle, and under the moonlight the majestic rock cast its shadow over the glimmering wavelets, which reflected the dancing flowers on the hills all around.

The Emperor commanded a painter to make a picture of the mountain and the pond and then dispatched an envoy to compare this picture with the

actual landscape, of renowned grandeur and beauty. The envoy went to Silla and visited the wonderful mountains, where he found the lotus pool and the lion-rock, with a three-peaked hill called Hwasan (Flower Mountain) nearby, just as they were in the picture.

Unable to be completely sure of the picture's accuracy, the envoy left one of his shoes on the lion-rock and returned home to report on his experiences in Silla. The shadow of the T'ang envoy's shoe was also reflected in the pool under the full moon, so the Emperor called it (the picture?) the White Moon Mountains. Strange to say, there were no shadows on the pool ever afterwards.

Approximately three thousand paces southeast of these mountains there was a quiet village called Sonch'on-ch'on (Village of the Fairy Stream). Here lived two men, Nohil Puduk and Tal-tal Pak-pak, who possessed uncommon physical beauty and who meditated deeply on life. At the age of twenty they both became monks, shaving their heads and living with their wives at two temples close to each other, working on their farms by day and worshipping Buddha by night. (There were and still are orders of married monks in Korea.)

Food was plentiful, the joy of married love was overflowing, and their homes were like paradises on earth. But the two monks reflected that earthly pleasures were not half so good as the joy of the lotus pool in heaven,²³ where they could chant the call of everlasting life with a thousand Buddhas and disport themselves with parrots and peacocks.

The two men left their homes and their wives behind in the mundane world and hid themselves in a deep valley where, after their long journey, they fell fast asleep. The dying moon in the west flooded their faces with radiant white light, and in its beams a golden hand descended from heaven and smoothed the foreheads of the sleeping monks. They awoke in astonishment and told each other their dreams, and when these were found to correspond exactly they were even more delighted, and entered a deeper valley called Mudung-gok. Here Pak-pak built an eight-foot square log cabin by the lion rock under the northern peak in which to live and worship. Puduk made his cell in a rocky cave under the eastern peak. Puduk worshipped Maitreya and Pak-pak devoted his heart and soul to Kwanum, the goddess of mercy.

Three years passed, and in the eighth year of King Songdok (706) on Buddha's birthday (eighth day of the fourth moon) a young woman of

twenty came to the cell of Pak-pak. She was not only a graceful and elegant beauty, but fragrant with the scents of rock-orchid and musk-deer which emanated from her body in the twilight breeze.

“Where the traveler goes the sun sets too soon,
A thousand mountains are veiled in the evening mist;
The way is long and the city is far—
I wish to rest my weary feet in your cell.
O merciful monk, be kind and do not chide me.”

She sang this song in a beautiful voice which almost melted the lonely heart of the monk after his long celibacy. He replied,

“A Buddhist temple, large or small,
Should be kept clean, and you are not
Qualified to enter my cell;
Go away quickly lest your rosy flesh
Tempt my rising passion.”

The woman blushed with shame, and bent her steps to the cell of the other monk where she sang her song again,

“My beautiful lady,” said Puduk, “where have you come from on this night so deep?”

“Under the clear sapphire sky I come and go as I please,” she said. “I heard of your wish and admired your high moral conduct, so I am here to help you become a Bodhisattva. Listen to my song:

The sun is down and a thousand mountains are dark,
As I travel on my lone heart knows no bounds;
Where the pine and bamboo deepen the green shadows in the valley,
The blue water sings a fresh tune;
The weary traveler asks for a night's hospitality,
Not because she has gone astray
But because she wants to lead you to a noble path—
Listen to my request, but do not ask who I am.”

Surprised, Puduk answered, “This is a holy place which must not be defiled by women. But to come to the aid of all creatures is one of Buddha's commands, much more to hear the appeal of a woman who seeks asylum in

this lonely valley. Come in. You can rest in my cell, though it is too bare and humble for a noble lady like you.”

The woman entered the cell and the monk lowered the wick of the burning candle in the niche and chanted Buddhist prayers without stopping a moment in order to keep the temptation of a pretty woman out of his pure mind.

At midnight the woman called the monk and said, “I am sorry but I am going to have a baby unexpectedly and unfortunately in your presence tonight. Kindly bring a straw mat for me.”

“Women are most pitiful when giving birth,” said Puduk. “Let me raise the wick of the flickering candle before I do as you ask. Ah, the baby is already born. I hear its loud cry.”

“Yes, the baby has been born sooner than I expected,” she replied, “Now please bring me a tub of hot water so I can bathe myself and the baby.”

Puduk was ashamed at seeing the naked body of a woman and trembled from head to foot, but he took pity on her, and having prepared a tub of hot water, placed her in the middle of it and washed her milk-white body with trembling hands. He was astonished to perceive that the tub was filled with a sweet scent and that the water had changed into a golden liquid. “Ah, wonder of wonders,” he murmured.

“You, too, bathe in this water,” the woman told him. The monk was even more ashamed to bare his body before a woman, but he obeyed. As he bathed, he felt his mind becoming ennobled with a fresh spirit, his skin turned the color of gold, and the tub became a lotus pedestal.

“Ah, wonderful sight!” said Puduk.

“Dear monk,” said the woman, “be seated on this lotus pedestal. I am Kwanum Boddhisattva, the goddess of mercy, and I have come to help you become a great Bodhisattva yourself.” With these words the woman disappeared in the twinkling of an eye.

On the following morning Pak-pak, thinking that Puduk had surely broken the commandment of Buddha and enjoyed the woman during the night, called on his fellow monk to remonstrate with him. To his astonishment his friend was seated on a lotus pedestal as a Maitreya Buddha, radiating brilliant light from his golden body.

Pak-pak bowed respectfully and asked, “Who has made you a Bodhisattva?”

“A beautiful woman,” Puduk replied. “She wanted to rest in my cell, so I suffered her to come in; she wanted to bathe after childbirth, so I gave her a hot bath; she told me to bathe in the same tub and in the same golden water, so I did, and I became a golden Buddha. As she left she said that she was the goddess of mercy. Because I showed her mercy, she returned my kindness by making me an image of mercy.”

“You are not only a kind-hearted man but a strong-hearted one as well,” sighed Pak-pak. “As for me, I was too weak to resist her charming beauty, and turned her away for fear of falling in love with her and going to hell instead of heaven. My inhumane treatment of a fellow creature has lost me the golden opportunity of becoming a god of mercy.”

“Don't be so sad,” replied Puduk. “There is still some golden water left in the tub in which you can bathe.”

Pak-pak bathed in the golden, aromatic liquid, and the moment he emerged from the tub he was transformed into another Maitreya and took a position facing his friend. The villagers flocked around the twin divinities with wondering eyes. The two gods of mercy spoke to them, preaching sermons full of golden sayings. Then they flew up to heaven, riding chariots above the clouds.

In the first year of King Kyongdok of Silla (755), the King heard this wonderful story and in the year of the cock (757) he ordered the construction of a large temple on the scene of these events, to be called the South Temple of the White Moon Mountains.

On the fifteenth of July in the second year of T'ang Kuang-te in the year of the dragon (764), when the temple had been completed, an image of Maitreya was placed in its Golden Hall with a golden panel above it inscribed, “Palace of the Incarnate Maitreya.” In the Lecture Hall was an image of Amitabha with a similar panel above it which read, “Palace of the Incarnate Amitabha of Everlasting Life.”

The heroine of this story was an incarnation of Buddha in a woman's body. In the Buddhist book Hwaom-gyong it is written, “Lady Mahamaya of goodness and mercy shining over the 'eleven lands' gave birth to Sakyamuni Buddha with a vision of the gate of Buddhist salvation, casting off worldly passions.” (In the Indian legends Buddha's mother is named Maya. “Maha” is a Sanskrit prefix meaning “great.”) Thus the birth of Buddha was re-enacted by the goddess in the White Moon Mountains.

She sang her song to the hermits in a plaintive tone like that of a lovesick fairy from heaven. Had she not taken the form of a young and beautiful woman and talked to them in “Dharani” (Buddhist spells in Sanskrit), she could not have communicated with them in working this wonder. In her song of temptation she might have said, “The winds of heaven mingle forever in sweet emotion; why can I not mingle with thee into a single being?” But because she was a goddess she could not allow herself to sound like a vulgar woman in a ballad.

Song of Praise to the Northern Hermitage

In the twilight who knocks at this silent stone door in the deep, deep mountains?

Ah, it is a woman, a phantom of delight, a moment's ornament!
You may go to the Southern Cloister, which is not far away—
Do not tread on the green moss of my doorstep,
Do not stain my clean cot with your woman's presence.

Song of Praise to the Southern Hermitage

In the deep dusky valley from whence comes this fair lady
Who like the radiant moon shines on my solitary cot?
Welcome, lady, rest thy weary feet under my southern window.
As the night deepens my perplexed heart with thy beauty brightens,
Only the baby's cries keep my pretty guest awake the whole night.

Song of Praise to the Holy Woman

She wandered over hill and dale and under the lonely ten-*li* pine grove
To tempt the lonely monks in the night cells;
When she had borne two babies, she rose from her bath at dawn
And flew far, far away into the western sky.

84. The Goddess of Mercy and the Blind Child at Punhwang Temple

During the reign of King Kyongdok (742-765) there lived at Hanki-ri a woman whose name was Hui-myong. She had a son, but he became blind at the age of five. One day this unhappy mother carried her child in her arms to the Left Hall of Punhwang Temple. There she had him sing a song before the portrait of the Thousand-Handed Goddess of Mercy on the northern wall while she offered a prayer. Immediately, the child recovered his sight.

Song of the Blind Child

I fall on my knees and clasp both my hands
To pray thee to have mercy on me, O Kwanum Bodhisattva!
Thou hast touched so many dark eyes with thy thousand hands
And made them bright as daylight;
Pray give me one eye for love and another for charity.
If thou givest me mine eyes, I will sing thy great mercy.

Song of Praise to the Goddess of Mercy

Riding a bamboo horse, playing an onion pipe.
I played on hills and streams.

But alas, in a twinkling I lost the sight of both eyes! Had the goddess not given me back my bright eyes, How many springs would have come and gone without my seeing the pussy-willows!

85. The two Buddhas of Naksan and Chosin, the Lovesick Monk

In the olden days, when Uisang Popsa had returned from his first visit to China, he heard that the goddess of mercy (Kwanum) had taken up her abode in a cave on the seacoast. He therefore called the place Naksan, after the Indian mountain Pota-Nakka-san, which is better known as So-Paekhwa (Small White Flower) because the graceful white-clad image of Kwanum Bodhisattva there resembled a white flower on a slender stem.

(Uisang evidently went to this place for a religious retreat of some sort). On the seventh day of his purification, Uisang stood up and pushed his cushion into the sea so that it would float away on the morning tide. Eight gods from the Four Deva Kings then conducted him into the cave. There he looked up to heaven and worshipped Buddha, and a crystal rosary was given to him. He took it, and as he stepped backward the Dragon of the Eastern Sea offered him a beadlike gem (Cintamani), which he also accepted. Uisang purified himself for a further seven days, after which he beheld the splendid face and graceful figure of the living Buddha.

The Buddha said, "If you climb this mountain you will see a pair of bamboos growing at the top. There build a palace for me." When Uisang had left the presence of the Buddha he climbed the mountain, and above the cave two bamboo plants shot suddenly out of the ground and then disappeared. Uisang therefore knew that this was the holy abode of Buddha, and on this spot he built a temple called Naksan-sa with a lifelike image of

the graceful Buddha in its Golden Hall, where he also deposited the crystal rosary before his departure.

Soon afterward Wonhyo, another famous Silla monk, made a pilgrimage to worship this Buddha. When he arrived at the southern foot of the mountain, he saw a woman harvesting rice in a field. Wonhyo liked women and pleasantries, so he said to her jestingly, "Will you give me some rice?"

"No, I am sorry, I cannot," she replied. "It is a lean year and beggars are not welcome."

Proceeding further, he met a woman washing her menstrual band in running water under a bridge. She too he addressed in jest: "Let me have a drink of the cool water."

"All right, come and drink," rang out her clarion voice, and she scooped up some of the unclean water in a half-moon-shaped gourd and pressed it to his lips. Wonhyo drained the gourd and dipped more water from the mountain stream to quench his thirst.

As he did so, a blue bird in a pine tree nearby called to him "Come on, my good monk Huiche-Hwasang!" and disappeared, leaving a woman's shoe under the tree. When Wonhyo reached the temple he found another shoe, of the same size and shape, by the pedestal of the Kwanum Bodhisattva. He then realized that these shoes belonged to the two women whom he had met, and that they were both incarnate Buddhas. From that time on people called the pine from which the bird had called the Kwanum pine.

Wonhyo wished to enter the cave and see the graceful figure of the living Buddha there, but a storm was raging at sea and his little boat almost capsized, so he was forced to desist.

Many years later Pomil, the founder of Kulsan Temple, traveled to China in the years of T'ai-huo (827-835) and visited Kaikuo Temple in Mingchow. There, occupying the lowest place in the temple, he met a strange monk whose left ear was missing. This monk said to Pomil, "I am one of your fellow countrymen. My home is in Tokki-pang, Iknyong-hyon, on the boundary of Myongju (Yangyang in Kangwon Province). When you return home, visit my native place and build a house for me."

Pomil visited all the famous Chinese temples and learned much esoteric Buddhist doctrine. When he returned home in the seventh year of T'ang Hui-ch'ang, the year of the hare (847) he founded Kulsan-sa. On the night of the fifteenth of February in the twelfth year of T'ang Ta-chung, in the

year of the tiger (858), Pomil had a dream about the one-eared monk whom he had met years before in China. The monk stood under his bedroom window and said, "You made me a promise at the temple in Mingchow. Why are you so late in keeping it?" In great surprise Pomil arose and gathered a party of fellow monks to seek the native place of the one-eared monk near Iknyong (Wing Pass).

In a village at the foot of Naksan he met a woman named Tokki whose eight-year-old son was accustomed to play near a stone bridge south of the village. One day the child said to her, "Mother, one of my playmates has a face that shines with golden rays." The woman told this to Pomil, who in great joy took the child with him to the stone bridge. Under the bridge in midstream he found a stone Buddha image. When it was taken from the stream he saw that it exactly resembled the monk he had met in China—its left ear was missing. This was the noble image of Chongch'wi Bodhisattva. Pomil selected an auspicious site on Naksan and built a temple, enshrining the holy image in its Golden Hall.

(Ilyon notes here: In an old book the stories of Pomil are placed before those of Uisang and Wonhyo. But since Uisang and Wonhyo lived during the reign of T'ang Kao-tsung in China(649-683) and Pomil in the days of Hui-ch'ang 170 years later, this is a mistake in chronology. Some scholars say that Pomil was a disciple of Uisang, but this also is a mistake.)

In a forest fire which broke out a hundred years after these events, all the temples and shrines on Naksan went up in flames except the temples of the Kwanum and Chongch'wi Bodhisattvas.

After the Invasion of the West Mountain (the Mongol invasion, 1253-1254) the images of the two Bodhisattvas together with the two jewels were moved to Yangju-song (Yangyang, Kangwondo). When the city was about to fall to the Mongols, Ahaeng the abbot (formerly called Hoi-ko) tried to save the rosaries by hiding them in a brass vessel. Kolsung, a temple slave, buried this vessel in the ground and swore an oath: "If I do not escape death in this war these treasures will vanish from the human world forever, but if I survive I will present them to the King."

Finally, on the twenty-second of October in the year of the tiger (1254) Ahaeng was killed when the city fell, but Kolsung escaped. When the enemy had evacuated the ruined city he dug up the brass vessel and presented it to Yi Nok-yu, the keeper of the royal treasury, to be preserved under strong guard. In October of the year of the horse (1258) Kakyu, the

abbot of Chirim-sa, said to the King, "The two rosaries are sacred treasures of the nation. Before the fall of Yangju Kolsung the temple slave buried them in the city, and after the enemy left he dug them up and presented them to the royal treasury in Myongju. Now Myongju is in imminent danger of falling into enemy hands, so they should be transferred to Your Majesty's inner palace."

The King approved this plan and sent ten soldiers to Myongju by night to fetch the rosaries and bring them to his inner palace. He rewarded the ten soldiers with one pound of silver and five large bags of rice each.

During the Silla period when the Kings ruled in Kyongju there was in Nalli county in Myongju prefecture a manor belonging to Sekyu Temple (now called Honggyo-sa). The abbot of this temple appointed a young monk named Chosin caretaker of the manor. No sooner had he arrived to take up his duties than Chosin fell in love with the daughter of Kim Hun-kong, the county magistrate. She was a girl of sixteen, fairer than the moon and more charming than all the flowers put together. But though she smiled on him she was unyielding, like a bell-flower growing between rocks too high for his hands to reach.

At length he knelt before the goddess of mercy, who now appeared to him in the semblance of his love, and prayed, "Oh great Buddha! Only make this girl my wife for even a moment's joy if not for life, for she is my jewel, which I wish to cherish in my bosom in love's palace on earth before I enter the lotus paradise in heaven. So be it, Namu-amitabul!"

Thus he prayed all through the flowering spring and the rainy autumn, but all in vain, for the girl was betrothed to another man. When he thought of the blooming bride in her glittering jewels and compared the richly-dressed bridegroom with himself—a poor monk in a grey hemp robe—he shed tears of bitter despair.

At last the wedding day arrived, and as Chosin knelt for his evening prayers he saw in his mind's eye the magnificent wedding feast and the lovemaking of the young couple. A flame of jealousy rose in his heart, and he said to himself, "Go and kill the bridegroom! Set fire to the rich man's house! Destroy everything and jump into the flames! If you die you will forget the girl and everything else in this tragic world."

Chosin writhed in an agony like that of death, complaining to Buddha for not answering his prayer. At last, worn out with weeping, he fell asleep in the Buddha Hall.

Suddenly an autumn breeze blew out the candles. Chosin looked toward the door, which was ajar, and as he did so it was flung open and there in the moonlight stood the bride, fresh as a rosebud in her wedding dress. She threw her arms around his neck and pressed her face to his bosom, sobbing softly.

Chosin was dumbfounded with joy and surprise. "This is your wedding night," he said. "Why have you forsaken your bridegroom?"

"He is my parents' choice," she said softly through her tears. "I do not want him. You have my love." And her slender body moved in his arms like a butterfly dancing on a flower.

"You love me?" Chosin asked.

"A woman is kept within her garden walls," the girl replied. "She is forbidden to meet young men. Though I am a girl of gentle birth, since we met in the rosebed under the tunnel of wildflowers, eye to eye and lip to lip, I have not forgotten you for a moment. I am yours, and I have come to live with you and be your love until we go together to the same grave."

Chosin clasped his bride in his arms and danced for joy. Then he took her hand and led her from the Buddha Hall and down a mountain path, until they reached a quiet valley near his native place. Here he built a snug cottage in the green forest. It was only a one-room cabin but it was sweet to Chosin, for he and his wife loved each other passionately. He was familiar with the forest and made his living by cutting wood and hunting hare and deer, which he and his love-mate cooked in a pan over crackling flames and ate with good appetite.

Time sped by like a warrior's arrow, and at last they had lived together in the forest for forty years, during which five children were born to them. They had been able to live for some time by selling the bride's jewelry, but at last it was all gone and they were reduced to abject poverty. There was not a grain of rice or barley in the house and the family had to subsist on grass and roots. Chosin hunted and cut wood as diligently as he was able, but he could not supply his now large family with even the bare necessities of life. He knew that killing the mountain creatures was against the commandment of Buddha, not to speak of the sin of living with a woman, but now he would have killed even human beings to keep his wife and children from starvation.

The whole family wandered in rags through the mountain villages begging for food. As they were crossing Haehyon-nyong (Crab Pass) their

fifteen-year-old eldest son fell dead of hunger. With many tears Chosin and his wife buried the beloved child on the mountainside and continued with the remaining four to Ugok-hyon (now U-hyon), where they built a lowly cottage with a thatched roof.

More years passed. Now Chosin and his wife were as grey as if snow had fallen on their heads, and thin and pale as death. Both of them fell ill, while their children cried for food. The ten-year-old daughter walked fifteen miles through the mountain villages begging for food for the family. She was bitten by a stray dog and collapsed in pain on her return. Tears streamed down the sunken cheeks of the aged couple.

At last, wiping away her tears, the old wife spoke to her husband: "When I married you in the flower of my youth and beauty, you kissed my blushing cheeks and called them roses. Then we had fine clothes to wear and good food to eat, and our married love deepened as long as the mellow wine flowed from our barrels, But now my rosy cheeks and cherry lips and the glow of strength in your eyes are gone. Nothing is left to us but sunken stomachs, the pains of old age, sorrow and the fear of death. No one in this wide world will give us so much as a night's sojourn in a storeroom or a bottle of soy-sauce. We have become a laughing-stock.

"If we cannot feed our own children, how can we enjoy our remaining years in love? Coquettish smiles have vanished like the dew, and the pledge of our love has fled like the pussy-willows on the four winds. The passionate, carnal desires of our green youth have led only to this bottomless grief of the grey winter. It would be better to be a lone bird pecking at a mirror and calling for its mate than a pair dying with its young in hunger and cold. It is intolerable that lovers should meet in wealth and part in poverty, but such is the end of our ill-fated love. Since there is no other remedy, let us kiss and part, each taking two of the children."

Chosin consented, though he grieved deeply at the thought of parting from his loving wife and two of his children. "Farewell, husband," said his wife. "I am going to my old home in the north; you go south." At this bitter parting, Chosin gave a great cry, and awoke.

It had all been a dream. He lay in the Buddha hall, before the altar, where the candle he had lighted had burned down to a stump. In one night he had tasted all the sweetness and bitterness of life. Tears of disillusion stood in his eyes. As the dying moon sank into the bosom of the sea, the dawn light revealed that his hair and beard had turned white in a few hours.

With his disenchantment with love came a turning away from all worldly ambition. He was tired of work, and the hot flame of greed in his heart melted away as if it had been cold ice. In shame and remorse he turned his eyes from the holy Buddha images to the frost-covered tiles of the temple roof, which shone like spearheads. Chosin then went to Haehyon-nyong (Crab Pass) where he had buried his son in the dream. Digging in the place of the imagined grave, he discovered a stone image of Maitreya Buddha, which he enshrined in a nearby temple. After this he returned to his home temple in the capital and resigned from the position of caretaker of the country manor at Myongju. Before his death he built Chongt'o-sa (Temple of the Purified Land) with funds from his private fortune.

Reading this story, we realize that not only Chosin but many people like him dream the same dream, and we give them warning in the following lines.

Youth and beauty may meet in love for a moment's joy,
But rosy cheeks soon pale in sadness, like autumn leaves;
Wealth and nobility are like floating clouds,
And this temporal life of desire is only an empty dream;
Men's good or bad behavior stems from their inner minds,
Yet young men dream of fair brows and thieves of treasure;
Behold how one night's dreaming under the autumn sky
Can lead a man to enjoy the cool air with closed eyes.

86. The Reflection of Buddha on Fish Mountain

(In what follows, Ilyon first tells a story which was evidently taken from Indian sources and applied to Korea, then quotes the Indian source itself. The place-names he uses, however, are mainly Korean, perhaps derived from the Chinese versions of Indian place names. The country of Buddha's birth, for example, is given as "Nakal." Buddhist tradition places Buddha's birth at the town of Lumbini in the present kingdom of Nepal.)

In an antique record it is written that the site of Man-o-sa (Temple of Ten Thousand Fish) was formerly called Mt. Chasong or Mt Ayasa (Mayasa, meaning fish). Nearby was Karakuk, where an egg descended from heaven on the seacoast from which came a man who ruled over that country. This was King Suro.

In those days there was a poisonous dragon in the mountains which lived in a jade pond and carried on with five female ogres (Nach'al-nyo) on the sapphire waves, calling up thunderstorms and devastating crops of the five grains throughout the four seasons.

Using his magic art, the King pronounced spells against the dragon to stop his mischief, but to no avail. It was not until he prayed to Buddha to enforce his Five Commandments on the monsters that they ceased to do harm. Then the fish and dragons of the Eastern Sea came to these mountains and filled a valley with water and lived there, making music by striking jade stones with their heads and tails.

In the eleventh year of King Myongjong of Koryo (1180). Man-o-sa was first built on this mountain, It had been reported to the King by the monk Porim that there were three wonders in this area that resembled those of Karakuk in North Ch'onch'uk (India) where a reflection of Buddha is found. These wonders were a jade pond where a poisonous dragon lived; an auspicious rainbow stretching from the jade pond to the mountaintop and illuminating the clouds with orchestral music; and to the northwest of the reflection of Buddha a shining rock where Buddha washed his robe in a basin which ever since has been filled with crystal water all the year round, so the tradition goes.

This is the story told by Porim. During my pilgrimage to this mountain I saw with my own eyes two awe-inspiring things. First, two thirds of the rocks on hill and dale emitted musical sounds like gold and jade bells. Second, there was a mysterious image which was seen at a distance but disappeared when approached.

The following interesting story is written in detail in the language of North Ch'onch'uk (Probably meaning Sanskrit). The passage quoted is found in Volume VII of the "Kaham" Kwanbul Sammae-gyong.

"When Buddha visited the Olive Farm Flower Forest of the Poison Dragon on Kosonsan Mountain in Yakon-Karakuk, he came to the southern side of Anasa Hill and stood in the Nach'al cave, whose entrance is to the north of the Blue Lotus Fountain in that forest. Here he saw five female ogres called Nach'al who had been turned into dragons twisting and twining with the poisonous dragon in love embraces, dancing and yelling for joy. Amid this ecstasy the poison dragon sent down hail and the man-eating ogres committed all kinds of outrages, devastating farms and spreading plagues throughout the four seasons.

“Seized with fear, the King offered sacrifices to the gods of heaven and earth to stop these calamities, but his prayers went unanswered. Then a wise Brahman priest said to the King, 'The crown prince of King Chongpan in Kapira-kuk has attained spiritual enlightenment and is now called Sakyamuni Buddha. He is working wonders.'

“The King was delighted at these words and prayed to Buddha, saying, 'Today thy brilliant sun shines over all the universe; wilt thou not come down to this kingdom on earth?' And suddenly Sakyamuni, followed by a fairy youth who commanded the six elements of nature, appeared to fulfill the wishes of the King of Nakon-Kara. From his forehead flashed ten thousand rays like sunbeams, which all became Buddhas and appeared in the cave.

“The poison dragon and the female ogres prostrated themselves and begged Buddha to give them his commandments. In response the august Buddha preached them a sermon on the Three Treasures and the Five Prohibitions.²⁴ The dragon king fell on his knees with hands palm to palm and desired Buddha to remain permanently, saying, 'If you go away bad thoughts will take root again in my heart and I will never become an Ayo-Bodhi (attain enlightenment).'

“But the heavenly king of the Brahmans bowed to Buddha and said, 'Pakapa (honorific term for Buddha) should think of the myriad creatures to come in the world above and not a small dragon on earth. Leave him alone.' And hundreds of thousands of Brahman kings shouted in chorus, 'Leave him alone!'

“The dragon king presented to Buddha a seven-treasure stand decorated with gold, silver and jewels, but Buddha shook his head and said, 'I have no need of gold or jewels. I would rather you offered me the stone cave of the Nach'al.' The dragon king agreed with a glad heart, and Buddha comforted him with a promise to stay in the cave in a seated posture for one thousand five hundred years.

“So saying, Buddha entered the stone chamber, which instantly became a hall of mirrors, reflecting the images of the dragons inside but allowing the visage of Buddha to pass through and be seen from outside. All the dragons knelt and worshipped Buddha with clasped hands, beholding his radiant face both day and night. Buddha sat erect beside the stone wall with his calves folded against his thighs (the “lotus position” in which Buddha is usually represented in sculpture), and his image appeared on it when seen

from afar, but vanished on a nearer view. When the heavens offered sacrifice to this reflection a voice was heard preaching and when Buddha moved his feet the mountains resounded with the sound of gold and jade bells.”

In the Kosting-jon (Biographies of Great Monks) we read, “Hye-won heard that in Ch'onch'uk there was a reflection of Buddha which remained on the Mirror Rock at the request of the dragon king long, long ago. This reflection was found in the stone chamber of an ancient divinity to the south of Nakalkasong in Woljikuk, North Ch'onch'uk (India).”

According to Pophyon's Soyok-jon (History of India) there is on the Nakal border about half a yusun's distance south of Nakal city a stone chamber southwest of Paksan. In this chamber there is a reflection of Buddha which appears bright and lifelike at a distance of ten foot-spans, but which becomes dimmer and dimmer as one retreats, until it vanishes altogether. The kings of many nations have sent their best painters to try to make true representations of this reflection, but all have failed. The people of the country say that a thousand Buddhas have left their reflections on the wall of this chamber, including Sakyamuni, who descended from heaven to save the souls of all the myriad creatures of the earth. They also say that about a hundred foot-spans west of the reflection is a rock where Buddha used to shave his head and cut his fingernails when he lived in the human world. In volume II of Songham's Soyok-ki (A Trip to India), we read, “During the lifetime of Buddha a poison dragon changed into a cowherd who offered milk and butter to the king. One day he offended His Majesty and was severely reprimanded. To vent his spite he bought a bouquet and offered it at a stupa, swearing that he would be reborn as a devil-dragon, kill the king and ruin his kingdom.

“He then committed suicide by dashing himself against a stone wall, and, reborn as a dragon king, made mischief until he was subdued by the spiritual power of Buddha. When the dragon saw Buddha he repented of his sins, and after receiving Buddha's commandment against killing, prayed Buddha to stay in his cave and accept his offerings. But Buddha replied, 'I shall surely die, but I will leave my reflection in your cave. Whenever wicked thoughts rise in your heart, look on this reflection and they will subside.'

“So saying Buddha entered the stone chamber and became a god. Ever afterward his reflection would come into sight at a distance and vanish on a

closer view. The local inhabitants call the footprints of Buddha on the rocks the seven treasures.”

This story is found in the Buddhist scriptures. The people of the Land of Haedong (Korea) named the mountain (mentioned at the beginning of this section) Anasa, but it should be called Manasa, meaning fish, since it is supposed to be named after the mountain in North Ch'onch'uk.

87. The Fifty Thousand Images of Buddha on Mt. Odae

According to an old mountain legend, it was Chajang Popsa who first called Mt. Odae the abode of Buddha. In the tenth year of T'ang Chen-kuan (636) when Queen Sondok was on the throne, Chajang visited China in order to see the Munsu Buddha at Wutaishan. (Ilyon notes that the T'ang Biographies of Monks makes this the twelfth year, (638), but says he is following the dating in Samguk Sagi.)

Arriving at T'aiho-chih in China, he prayed before a stone image of Munsu beside a pond there, in fulfillment of a long-cherished desire. On the seventh night of his worship, he had a dream in which Buddha recited to him a verse composed of four phrases. He awoke in wonderment and recited the verse from memory, but he could not understand it because it was in Sanskrit.

On the following morning a strange monk appeared, bringing with him a robe of gold-shot red brocade, a Buddhist begging bowl and a relic of the Buddha. Addressing Chajang he said, “You look pale with anxiety. What ails you? Tell me and perhaps I can help you.”

Chajang replied that he had received a verse from Buddha but that since it was in Sanskrit he could not interpret the sense of it. He recited the verse to the monk.

“O I see,” the monk said quickly. “Listen to my translation: 'Karapajwarang' means 'I understand all the laws of Buddha'; 'Talsa-takoya' means 'My own mind is void'; 'Nangkasakarang' means 'I interpret the Buddha's mind in this way'; and 'Talsanosana' means 'Soon I will see Nosana(i.e. Buddha).’” The monk then gave the robe and other things to Chajang and said, “These were the personal effects of Sakyamuni; you are expected to preserve them as heavenly treasures. On Odae-san (Korean Pronunciation of Wutaishan), which rises on the border of Myongju to the northeast of your country (Silla), ten thousand Munsu Buddhas make their permanent abode; go there and see them.” And with these words he disappeared like a mist.

Chajang could find no trace of the mysterious monk, and so was about to begin his homeward journey when the dragon of the T'aiho-chih (pond) appeared and asked him to sacrifice to Buddha for seven days, and Chajang did so. While he was sacrificing the dragon said to him, "The old monk who interpreted the verse to you the other day was the true Munsu Buddha, so you must build a temple and a pagoda in his honor." (Ilyon notes that this paragraph is found in a separate biography of monks, but gives no title.)

In the seventeenth year of T'ang Chen-kuan (643) Chajang climbed Odae-san in order to see Munsu Buddha, but due to a thick fog which veiled the whole mountain in darkness for three days he returned to Wonyong-sa, where he met Munsu Buddha in person. Some years later he went to live at Kalbonch'o, which is now called Chongam-sa. (Ilyon notes that this paragraph is also found in a separate biography of monks.)

Many years passed, during which a friar named Sinui, a disciple of Pomil, came to this mountain and lived in a cell which he built near Chajang's old hermitage. After Sinui's death his cell became dilapidated, so the famous monk Yuyon of Suta-sa repaired it and lived there. It is now called Woljong-sa.

When Chajang returned from China to Silla, Poch'on and Hyomyong, the two sons of the great King Chongsin, traveled to Haso-pu (in Myongju) and stayed overnight at the house of Sehon Kakkan. (Ilyon inserts a long note here to the following effect: In the Samguk Sagi there is no record of a King Chongsin or of Princes Poch'on and Hyomyong. However, at the end of that book it is written that a temple was built in the first year of T'ang Shen-lung, in the year of the snake (705), when King Songdok had been on the throne for four years. This King's personal name was Hung-kwang, his childhood name was Yung-ki, and he was the second son of King Sinmun. King Songdok's elder brother, Hyojo, was called I-kong or Hong. King Sinmun's childhood name was Chong-myong and his nickname was Il-jo. "Chongsin" in this paragraph is probably a contraction of Chongmyong-Sinmun, and "Hyomyong" is a mistake for Hyo-jo or Hyo-so. There is also no record in the Samguk Sagi of the building of a temple by Hyo-myong as described below, during the years of Shen-lung. It must have been King Songdok who erected this temple.)

On the following day they crossed a high mountain called Taeryong (Great Pass), each leading a thousand followers to Song-o-p'yong to enjoy the beauty of the mountain scenery. There suddenly the two brothers

decided to leave this sensual world and escape to the sacred Mt. Odae. (Here there is another long note by Ilyon: An antique record says that in early August of the first year of T'aehwa (647) the King hid himself in the mountains, but this seems to be an error because King Hyojo or Hyoso ascended the throne in the third year of T'ien-shou in the year of the dragon (692) at the age of sixteen, and died in the second year of Chang-an in the year of the tiger (702) at the age of twenty-six and was succeeded by the twenty-two-year-old King Songdok. Thus the old record errs by forty-five years and places these events in the reign of King Munmu (Actually it errs more than that. The year 647 was the first year of Queen Chindok.)

The young men who had been accompanying the two princes on the excursion could not find them anywhere, and so returned to Kyong-ju in disappointment.

When the two princes were deep in the mountains, suddenly a graceful blue lotus appeared from the ground and opened its golden heart in the fragrant air. The elder prince built a hermitage near this lotus, calling it Poch'on-am. About six hundred foot-spans further to the northeast another blue lotus bloomed at the southern foot of the North Terrace, and here Hyomyong, the younger prince, lived in a hermitage which he built with his own hands.

Living thus solitary, they both became engrossed in the study of the deep truths proclaimed by Buddha. One day the two princes made a pilgrimage to Obong (Five Peaks) high in the mountains. Here they beheld a vision of Buddhas through the unveiling clouds: ten thousand Kwanums on Manwol-san (Full Moon Mountain) above the Eastern Terrace; ten thousand Chijang (earth gods) headed by the eight great Bodhisattvas on Kirin-san (mountain of the Giraffe, a fabulous monster) above the Southern Terrace; ten thousand Seji gods led by Buddhas of everlasting life on Changnyong-san (Mountain of the Long Pass) above the Western Terrace; five hundred Nahan (disciples of Sakyamuni) led by their master on Sangwang-san (Mountain of the King Elephant) above the Northern Terrace; and ten thousand Munsu Buddhas led by Piro Ch'ana on P'ungno-san (Mountain of the Wind Furnace) otherwise called Chiro-san (Mountain of the Earth Furnace) above the Central Terrace.

With wondering eyes the two princes worshipped the fifty thousand Buddhas who thus appeared in their real persons. But the greatest wonder was that every morning at daybreak the great Buddha of Munsu descended

to Chinyowon (now Sangwon) and appeared in thirty-six different shapes, changing from one to another: jewels, Buddha's face, Buddha's eyes, Buddha's hands, Buddha's feet, ten thousand Buddha heads, ten thousand lanterns, treasure pagodas, golden bridges, golden drums, golden bells, golden castles, golden wheels, golden barrels, golden hairpins, diamond pestles, five-colored lights, five-colored coronas, auspicious grass, blue lotus flowers, gold and silver farms, lightning, gushing Buddhas, gushing earth-gods, a golden phoenix, golden crows, magpies, horse-born lions, cow-born lions, a chicken-born phoenix, blue dragons, white elephants, running wild boars and twisting blue snakes.

Every morning the two princes drew water from a mountain stream and made tea to offer to the Buddhas, and in the evening they meditated on the spiritual world.

At this time the younger brother of King Chongsin (Sinmun) quarreled with the King over the succession to the throne. The people of Silla deposed the King and sent four generals into the mountains to bring back the two princes. The generals approached the hermitage of Hyomyong first, and shouted, "Mansei!" (long live the prince!) upon which five-colored clouds veiled the mountains for seven days-Seeing these auspicious clouds, a large multitude gathered in the mountains with palanquins and horses to escort the royal brothers back to the palace. Poch'on wept and refused to go, so they placed Hyomyong in a carriage and returned to Kyongju, where they seated him on the throne.

(Lyon notes here a record that says this King ruled twenty years, and points out that this is a mistake, since he only ruled ten years and died at twenty-six. The same record, he notes, says that the younger brother of King Sinmun tried to take the throne for himself, but there is no mention of this in the Samguk Sagi.)

A few years later, in the first year of Shen-lung, when King Song-dok had ruled for four years (705) on the fourth of March the King and his courtiers civil and military ascended the mountain and had a Buddhist palace called Chinyowon built there with a statue of Munsu Buddha seated in its Golden Hall. Moreover, the King ordered five learned monks to transcribe the Hwaom Sutra and to organize the Hwaom sect. (This was a syncretic sect that attempted to harmonize various conflicting Buddhist doctrines.) To pay the expenses of perpetual offerings to Buddha, he ordered the magistrates of the neighboring prefectures to contribute one

hundred large bags of rice and one large barrel of purified oil regularly each spring and autumn. The King also established a large manor of fifteen kyol (unit of land measure) plus six kyol of forest land and two kyol of farmland, yielding firewood, chestnuts and grain. This land extended over Monijom and Koi-hyon, 6,000 foot-spans to the west of Chinyowon, and these supplies were sufficient to maintain the Buddhist palace.

Prince Poch'on drank from the sacred springs in the mountains, so that later in life he flew through the air and landed at Changch'on-kul (Cave of the Heavenly Palm) in Uljinkuk beyond the Yusa River (Yonghae in North Kyongsang Province). There he made it a daily practice to recite Dharani (Buddhist spells) which enabled him to accomplish his every wish.

The god of the cave appeared before the Prince and said, "I have lived in this cave for two thousand years, but today I have heard the truth of Dharani for the first time in my life. I wish you to tell me the commandments of the Bodhisattvas." The Prince expounded the law to him as he desired, and on the following day the cave disappeared, leaving neither form nor shadow. Prince Poch'on was surprised. He stayed in a wonderland for twenty days and then moved to another holy cave on Mt. Odae. There he pursued the truth for fifty years, during which time the gods of the Torich'on heaven listened to his sermons three times a day. The heavenly hosts served him hot tea, the forty sages flew ten feet above his head to protect him day and night, and his metal staff spun in his chamber like a top, with a musical sound, revolving three times a day so that he used it as a clock to mark the time during his studies. From time to time Munsu Buddha poured water on his brow and gave him esoteric scriptures for his spiritual enlightenment.

At last the days of Prince Poch'on drew to a close. On his death he left behind a list of annual events to be observed in the mountains for the benefit of the country. It contained the following passage.

"This mountain (Odae-san) is part of the great mountain range that extends down from Paektu-san (The Ever-White Mountain in north Korea) and each of its peaks and terraces is an abode of Buddhas. Blue is the color of the eastern terrace below its northern peak and the northern terrace at its southern foot. Here you shall build a hall for Kwanum Buddha with a sculptured image seated in the hall. Decorate the hall with ten thousand portraits of Kwanum painted on blue backgrounds and station here five charity farm overseers to read aloud eight volumes of the Golden Scriptures

and the Inwang and Panya Sutras by day and to chant the Kwanum Ceremonial Repentance by night. You shall call this hall Wont'ong-sa (Shrine of Awakening).

“Red is the color of the Southern Terrace facing south, Here you shall build a hall for the Chijang (earth god) with a sculptured image seated in the hall. Decorate the hall with ten thousand portraits of Chijang led by eight Bodhisattvas on red backgrounds and station here five charity farm overseers to read aloud the Chijang Sutra and the Kumgang-Panya Sutra by day and to chant the Fortune-Telling Ceremonial Repentance by night. You shall call this hall Kumgang-sa (Diamond Shrine).

“White is the color of the Western Terrace facing south. Here you shall erect a hall for Maitreya, with a sculptured image of the Buddha of Everlasting Life seated in it. Decorate this hall with ten thousand portraits of Seji gods led by the Buddha of Everlasting Life on white backgrounds and station here five charity farm overseers to read aloud eight volumes of the Pophwa Sutra by day and to chant the Maitreya Ceremonial Repentance by night. You shall call this hall Sujong-sa (Crystal Water Shrine).

“Black is the color of the Northern Terrace facing south. Here you shall build a hall for the Nahan with a sculptured image of Sakyamuni seated in it. Decorate the hall with five hundred portraits of Nahan led by Sakyamuni Buddha on black backgrounds and station here five charity farm overseers to read aloud the Pul-Poun-gyong (Sutra of Buddha's Favor) and the Yolban-gyong (Nirvana Sutra) by day and to chant the Nirvana Ceremonial Repentance by night. You shall call this hall Paeknyon-sa (White Lotus Shrine).

“Yellow is the color of the Central Terrace at Chinyowon. Here you shall build a hall for the unmoving Buddha of Munsu with his statue seated in it. Decorate the hall with pictures of the thirty-six changing forms of Munsu led by Piro-ch'ana and station here five charity farm overseers to read aloud the Hwaom Sutra and the six hundred Panya by day and to chant the Munsu Ceremonial Repentance by night. You shall call this hall Hwaom Shrine.

“You shall also found Poch'on Hermitage, calling it Hwajang-sa, with three sculptured figures of Piro-Ch'ana seated in the hall and the Taejang-gyong (Buddhist scriptures) preserved therein and station there five charity farm overseers to read aloud the Changmunjang-gyong by day and to chant the Hwaom-Sinjung (myriad gods of Hwaom) by night. You shall see to it

that a Hwaom meeting is held here for a hundred days each year and call this temple Popnyun-sa (Shrine of the Sacred Wheel).

“You shall make Hwajang-sa the cathedral of these five Buddhist halls. If you keep incense burning in it day and night through the services of purified overseers of charity farms, the King will enjoy long life, the people will have peace and happiness, civil and military officials will work together in harmony and all the food grains will be abundant in their seasons.

“You shall add Munsu-Kapsa in Hawon, and order seven charity farm overseers to chant the Ceremonial Repentance of Hwaom-Sinjung. The funds for the offerings by these thirty-seven charity farm overseers shall be supplied from taxes in kind collected in the eight prefectures of Haso-pu (Kangnung, Kangwon-do). If my words are observed the successive Kings will have good fortune without fail.”

88. Crown Prince Pojilto on Myongju-Odae Mountain

(This is mainly a retelling of the previous section, perhaps because Ilyon found it in a different source.)

Pojilto, the crown prince of King Chongsin of Silla, accompanied by his younger brother Prince Hyo-myong, traveled to the north and stopped overnight at the house of Sehon Kakkan. On the following day, each accompanied by a thousand youths, they crossed the high mountain pass called Tae-ryong and arrived at Song-o-p'yong, where they paused to enjoy the scenic beauty of the mountains for several days. On the fifth of August in T'aehwa the two princes hid themselves in a forest on Mt. Odae. Their astonished escort searched but could not find them, and so returned to Kyongju without their royal chiefs.

The crown prince, seeing a blue lotus blooming on the mountainside at Chinyowon to the south of the Central Terrace, built a grass-roofed hermitage there with his own hands. Prince Hyo-myong saw another blue lotus opening on the mountainside to the south of the Northern Terrace and settled there in a separate hermitage of his own building.

The two princes studied the scriptures daily and performed regular Buddhist ceremonies. They also visited various places in the mountains where they saw the thousands of Buddhas who lived there: ten thousand Kwamim Buddhas above the Hill of the Full Moon on the blue Eastern Terrace; ten thousand Chijang led by eighty thousand Bodhisattvas above the Hill of the Kirin on the red Southern Terrace; ten thousand Seji

Bodhisattvas led by the Buddha of Everlasting Life above the Hill of the Long Pass on the white Western Terrace; five hundred Nahan led by Sakyamuni above the Hill of the King Elephant on the black Northern Terrace; and ten thousand Munsu Buddhas led by Piro-Ch'ana above the Hill of the Wind Furnace (or Earth Furnace) on the yellow Central Terrace. And wonder of wonders, the great Munsu Buddha appeared at dawn in the mountains around Chinyowon with a myriad of faces and in thirty-six forms. (These are described in the previous section.)²⁵ The two princes worshipped these forms and every morning they drew water from a fountain to make tea, which they offered to the ten thousand Munsu Buddhas.

At this time the younger brother of King Chongsin of Silla quarreled with the King over the succession to the throne and was put to death. The people of Silla sent four generals to Mt. Odae to bring back the two princes. The generals approached the hermitage of Hyo-myong and shouted "Long live the prince!" whereupon all at once clouds of five colors veiled the mountaintops and their radiance shone all over Silla.

The generals followed these auspicious clouds up the mountains until they found the two princes, and asked them to return to Kyongju. But Crown Prince Pojilto (Poch'on) wept and refused to go, so they brought Hyo-myong alone to the capital and elevated him to the throne. On the eighth of March in the first year of T'ang Shen-lung (705) when the King had been on the throne for twenty years, a monastery was built at Chinyowon. (This is a chronological error. King Hyoso ruled for only ten years, and the date referred to is in the fourth year of King Songdok's reign.)

Pojilto drank regularly from a holy fountain for a long time, after which he flew high into the blue sky and landed at the Cave of the Heavenly Palm in Uljin-Taeguk after flying over the Yusa River. After meditating in this cave for some days, he returned to Mt. Odae and lived in another cave where he studied the scriptures for fifty years. Odae-san (the Mountain of Five Terraces) rises in the great mountain range stretching down from Paektu-san (Ever-White Mountain) and on each terrace of this mountain living Buddhas have their permanent abodes.

89. The Five Saints of Woljong Temple on Mt. Odae

According to an antique record of Woljong Temple, Chajang Popsa once said he had visited Odae-san and lived under a thatched roof at the foot of the mountain in order to see the holy image of the living Buddha. When it

had not appeared to him after seven days he went to Myopom-san, where he built a new temple called Chongam-sa.

Some years later a hermit named Sinhyo-Kosa (who was believed to have been an incarnation of Yudong Bodhisattva)²⁶ lived in Kyongju, where he dutifully cared for his old mother. Since his mother had to have meat with her meals or she would not eat, Kosa often went out hunting in the mountains and fields. One day he saw five cranes alighting on a rice paddy near a mountain path. He shot an arrow at them, but the startled birds flew quickly away, leaving a single feather behind. Kosa picked up the feather and covered his eyes with it, whereupon all the people he saw seemed to be birds and beasts. Without saying a word he cut a pound of flesh from his thigh and gave it to his mother to eat. He soon became a monk and made his house a temple which is now called Hyoga-won (Temple of the Dutiful Son.)

(This story combines the Confucian virtue of filial piety with the Buddhist prohibition against taking life. It was believed that the souls of the dead were reborn as various creatures according to the degree of their virtue, which is why Kosa saw people as birds and animals when he looked through the feather. This was, in effect, an admonition against his killing animals to feed his mother.)

When Kosa came to Hasol (Kangnung) from Kyongju and looked at people through the feather, they all seemed to be dolls. He saw an old woman and asked her where he could find a good place to settle down. She pointed to Soryong (West Pass) and said, "If you cross the mountain pass, you will come to a village facing north. There you will find a cozy cottage to live in." And with these words she vanished like a mist. Kosa thought she must have been an incarnation of Kwanum who had come to guide him.

With a light heart he went on his way through Song-o-p'yong and came to the thatched cottage, which he made his home. One day five strange monks came up to him and one of them said, "You tore a piece from the train of my robe, didn't you? Where do you keep it?" Kosa was dumbfounded. "You picked it up and looked at people through it all the time," the monk went on.

"Oh, I see!" nodded Kosa. He fumbled in his sleeve and brought out the feather.

The monk fixed it between the torn seams of his robe, exclaiming, "This is exactly what I had lost and was looking for!" When Kosa looked at the

feather again he saw that it was a piece of hemp cloth, but it was not until he had said farewell to the monks that he realized that they were five incarnate saints.

Woljong-sa was first built with a thatched roof by Chajang and then inhabited by Sinhyo-Kosa. Sinui Dut'a (Dhuta in Sanskrit, which means friar) then built a hermitage over its ruins, and finally Yuyon, the abbot of Suta-sa, made it a famous temple. The nine-storeyed stone pagoda in its precincts is a relic of the five saints. Many distinguished geomancers have admired the site of Woljong-sa, saying that it is the most auspicious of the nation's mountains, where Buddha rose to power and glory for ages to come.

90. Kamsan Temple on Namwol-san (South Moon Mountain)

Kamsan-sa is situated approximately twenty li to the southeast of Kyongju. In an antique record (Postscript to the Firelight of the Master of the Golden Hall Maitreya Image) we read as follows:

“On the fifteenth of February in the year of the goat, the seventieth year of Kaiyuan of Hsuan-tsung of T'ang (719) Chon Mang-song built Kamsan-sa and placed a stone image of Maitreya in its Golden Hall. It was dedicated to the spirits of his father Inchang Ilkilkan, his mother Lady Kwanch'ori Kaewon Ich'an, his two brothers Kansong-Sosa and Hyonto (a monk), his two sisters Kopari and Supunmae, his two wives Korori and Ahori, and his relatives by illicit unions Makil-Kilch'an, Iltang-Salch'an and Ch'ongmin-Taesa. The ashes of his mother Lady Ch'ori were scattered over the eastern sea.”

In the postscript to the Firelight of Maitreya it is written, “Chung Ach'an Kim Chi-chon (a mistake for Kim Chi-song) attended the King as Sang-ui (a title) and was later promoted to Chipsa Sirang (an official post). At the age of sixty-seven he retired from court and contributed his manor in Kamsan to a temple in memory of Kukju-Taewang and Ich'an-Kaewon, Inchang Ilkilkan (his father), his mother, Yang-song and Hyonto the monk (his brothers), Korori (his wife) and Kopari (his sister), and also that of Ahori (his second wife). In addition he placed a stone image of Maitreya in this temple, dedicated to the spirit of Inchang Ilkilkan his father, whose ashes were scattered over the eastern sea.

“According to the royal geneology of Silla, Prince Kaewon Kakkan was T'aejong Kim Ch'un-ch'u's younger son born of Queen Munhui. Kim Chi-chon seems to be a mistake for Kim Chi-song, the son of Inchang Ilkilkan.

'Scattering ashes' probably refers to the funeral at sea of Popmin (King Munmu) in the Eastern Sea." (Kim Ch'un-ch'u was King Muryol, 654-660, the predecessor of King Munmu.)

91. Ch'onnyong-sa (Temple of the Heavenly Dragon)

Rising to the south of Namsan (South Mountain) in Kyongju is a sky-kissing peak which the people call Eagle Mountain. To the south of this peak stands a temple which the people call the Temple of the Heavenly Dragon. In the book T'oron-Samhan-chip it is written, "There are three streams of guest water and one stream of backward-flowing water in Kerim; if the sources of these streams cannot suppress natural calamities, the Heavenly Dragon will bring about a catastrophic overturn of the country." Folk-tales relate that the backward-flowing water, falling in a cataract from a pool above the temple, runs into a stream on the southern outskirts of Madung-o-ch'on, a small village facing south.

Lo P'eng-kuei, a Chinese envoy, once visited this temple and remarked, "Should it be destroyed, the nation will soon fall into ruin."

Tradition says the donor had two daughters named Ch'on-nyo (Heavenly Maid) and Yong-nyo (Dragon Maid) for whom their parents built this temple and called it Ch'onnyong-sa (Temple of the Heavenly Dragon) to help the people cultivate the Buddhist religion in the midst of the awe-inspiring scenery. At the close of the Silla kingdom the long-neglected temple fell into ruins.

(The restoration of the temple came about in the following manner.) Sung-no the son of Ch'oe Un-song had drunk of the milk of the Goddess of Mercy at Chungsaeng Temple. He was the father of Suk and Suk was the father of Che-an the Prime Minister. By order of the King Che-an restored the temple to its former glory, with a ten-thousand-day monastery of Sakyamuni in its precincts, and deposited a copy of his will there. After his death he became a guardian deity of the temple and worked many wonders.

The Will

I, Ch'oe Che-an, His Majesty's Prime Minister and President of the Privy Council, the donor of this temple, hereby make known my will.

Seeing the prolonged dilapidation of Ch'onnyong-sa on Eagle Mountain at Kyongju, I, Che-an, a disciple of the holy Buddha, wishing for the long life of the King and the everlasting prosperity of the nation, have erected a

Golden Hall in the temple with a stone image and several plaster statues of Buddha enshrined therein, and a ten-thousand-day monastery of Sakyamuni established within its precincts in addition to the living quarters of the monks.

Since the rehabilitation of the temple is for the welfare of the nation, it is proper for the government to appoint an abbot to preside over the rites and to manage the affairs of the temple. However, the monks are likely to be concerned over whether the right sort of person will be chosen. I have observed the practices of other temple such as Chijang-sa in Kongsan with its donated farm of 200 kyol, Toson-sa on Pisul-san with its donated farm of twenty kyol, and Samyonsan-sa in Sogyong with its donated farm of twenty kyol, and seen that the products of these farms are sufficient to support the temples. I took note of the fact that these temples make it a permanent rule to choose as abbots only prelates who keep Buddha's commandments and who possess outstanding administrative ability, whether they hold official positions or not, to comply with the wishes of the Holy Order.

I, Che-an, a disciple of the Buddha, being pleased with this custom, do hereby establish as a standard rule for our Ch'onnyong-sa that its abbot be chosen from among priests possessing both virtue and accomplishments, worthy of being pillars of the state. For this purpose, I leave this document with the chief official of the temple. The assembly of the monks are hereby notified of a certificate deposited with the local government indicating that such is my will.

(The will ends here and Ilyon comments: The will is dated in June of the ninth year of Chung-hsi, and is countersigned by the competent authorities. Chung-hsi was the reign title of Hsing-tsung of the Khitan and the date corresponds to the seventh year of King Chongjong of Koryo (1040, actually the sixth year of Chongjong.)

92. The Palace of Amitabha at Mujang Temple

To the north of Amgok-ch'on, about twenty *li* northeast of Kyong-ju, there is a temple called Mujang-sa. It was built by Tae Agan Hyo-yang (posthumously entitled Myongdok-Taewang, the father of King Wonsong, 785-798) and dedicated to P'ajinch'an, his uncle. It stands between soaring clouds and great trees on a tall cliff overlooking a valley that stretches away to the horizon, so that it is an ideal place for a solitary monk to pursue the way of Buddha.

Above the temple there was once a palace of Amitabha which was connected with a sad event. When King Sosong died (800) his Queen Kyehwa grieved exceedingly, weeping over the body of her royal husband until blood flowed from her swollen eyes and beating her rosy breast with her white hands. And indeed the days of their love had been all too brief, for the King had hardly ascended the throne when he was struck down.

Reflecting on the bright virtues of her husband, the Queen thought of a way in which her prayers for the repose of his soul might be perpetuated. She had heard that Amitabha, the Buddha of the West, would clasp to himself the soul of anyone who prayed to him from a sincere heart. Drying her tears, she donated six of her royal gowns and treasures from the privy purse for the carving of an image of Amitabha and of several statues of the lesser divinities associated with him, to be enshrined in a palace. She summoned the most skilful sculptors in the land to do this work.

(The cult of the Bodhisattva Amitabha was an extremely popular one ,for obvious reasons. It was said that anyone who called upon his name with sincerity was sure to be received into the “Western Paradise” at death, and thus would escape being reborn into the world or condemned to one of the numerous Buddhist hells.)

At the aforementioned Mujang temple there lived an old monk. Some time before these events he had had a dream in which he saw a living Buddha sitting on a hill to the southeast of the temple's stone pagoda and delivering a sermon to a multitude which was gathered in the west. The monk therefore believed that this would be an auspicious; place for the habitation of a Buddha, but kept the idea to himself until the construction of the Amitabha palace was planned.

(The monk evidently pointed out the place of his dream and suggested that the palace be built there.) Seeing the tall, rugged cliff and the mountain streams roaring down the ravines, the carpenters and sculptors complained that it would be very difficult even to carry their building materials to the site. But the monks persisted, telling them that this was the ideal place. And when they investigated further, and dug behind some of the rocks, there indeed was a large piece of level ground, and there they built the palace of Amitabha. All the people who came to visit it admired its holy site.

The palace of Amitabha stood for many hundred years, a flower of Buddhist art, but at last it crumbled to the ground, although the temple survived. According to folk tales, T'aejong (King Muryol), after the

unification of the three kingdoms under his single rule, stored his weapons and helmets in the valley beneath the cliff, and so the people called the temple Mujang-sa, which means Helmet Temple.

(The ruins of this temple are still to be seen in Amgok-ni, Naetong-myon, Wolsong county. It is a bit difficult to interpret the word “palace” in this section. Obviously, however, it is not to be taken literally but means a religious building of some sort.)

93. The Buddha Relics (Sari) in the Stone Pagoda at Paegom Temple

On the twenty-ninth of October in the third year of Hou Tsin Kai-yun, in the year of the horse (946) this inscription was placed on the Imdo Taegam milestone on the border of Kangju (now Chinju); “Paegom Temple of the Son (Zen) sect was situated in Ch'op'al-hyon (now Ch'ogye), and Kanyu, its chief monk, was 39 years old, but the history of this temple is unknown.”

According to an antique biography, during the days of old Silla this temple was built over the ruins of the Office of Northern Houses. (That is, the local government office for the northern quarter of Kyong-ju. The city was renowned for its palatial mansions, of which there are said to have been thirty-five, which were known as the Golden Houses.) After a time it was closed, and remained so for many years.

(The temple must have been reopened, but the text gives no date.) In the year of the tiger (1026) Yangpu, a monk from Samok-kok, became abbot of this temple and remained in the post until his death in the year of the ox (1037). In the year of the cock (1045) Kung-yang, a monk from Huiyang (now Mungyong) stayed at the temple for ten years, returning to Huiyang in the year of the goat (1055). In the same year Sint'ak, a monk from Paegam-sa in Namwon, became abbot.

In November of the first year of Hsien-weng (1065) Surip the new abbot (better known under his posthumous name Tugomijong-Taesa) proclaimed permanent regulations for the temple in ten articles. These included the building of a five-storey pagoda with forty-two sari enshrined therein; the offering of sacrifices to Buddha and to the holy monks Om Hun and Paek Hun (who became the guardian deities of the temple) and to another holy monk, Kunak, the expenses of these sacrifices to be defrayed from the private purse of a financial guild; and the grinding of rice (for the sacrifices) in a wooden bowl with a miniature pestle before the image of

Bhechadjagura (the Buddha of healing) in the Golden Hall early each month.

Tradition says that Om Hun and Paek Hun donated their dwellings to this temple, whence the name Paegom-sa, and that the two monks were honored as its guardian deities.

94. Youngch'u-sa (Temple of the Holy Eagle)

According to an old record at Youngch'u-sa, in the second year of Ying-shun of T'ang Kao-tsung (683; Samguk Sagi says the first year, but this is a mistake) when King Sinmun was on the throne, Ch'ung-won-kong the Prime Minister went to bathe in the hot springs at Chang-san-kuk (Tongnae, near Pusan; there are indeed hot springs there). While he was resting at Tongji-ya near Kuljong post-station (near Changgi) on his way back to Kyongju, he saw a fowler launch his falcon after a pheasant. The startled pheasant flew over Kumak (Golden Mountain) and was lost to view.

Seized with curiosity, the Prime Minister followed as the fowler went along a winding mountain path ringing his bell and chasing his falcon. At length they reached a well to the north of the Kuljong-hyon local government office. Here they found the falcon perched in a tree above the well and the pheasant fluttering in the bloodstained water, covering two little ones with its wings. The falcon looked down with pitying eyes and would not swoop upon the bird to kill it.

Ch'ungwon-kong's heart was also moved with pity at this sight. He told the story of the falcon and the pheasant to a fortune-teller and asked for his advice. The latter replied the place must be an auspicious site for a temple. When Ch'ungwon-kong returned to Kyongju he reported his experience to the King and suggested that the Kuljong-hyon office be removed to another place to make way for a temple by the well. The King gladly approved this plan, and when the temple was built it was named Yongch'u-sa (the Temple of the Holy Eagle), substituting an eagle for the falcon.

95. Yudok-sa (the Temple of Virtue)

Ch'oe Yu-dok the Tae-tae-kakkan (highest official rank) of Silla, contributed his private residence to the building of a temple, which was given his name, Yudok (man of virtue). Long afterward his descendant Ch'oe 6n-wi, a meritorious vassal of Samhan, enshrined a portrait of his ancestor the founder in this temple and erected a stone monument to his memory in its precincts.

96. The Stone Pagoda at Munsu Temple on Mt. Odae

The stone pagoda which stands on the grounds of Munsu Temple was probably built by the people of Silla. Even though it is simple, without elaborate workmanship, this monument has worked indescribable wonders. Among others I heard the following story from some old people.

“Long, long ago, a man from Yon'gok-hyon (Kangnung) fitted out a boat with fishing tackle and put out to sea to fish. But a pagoda followed his boat, and its shadow so startled the fish that they scattered and fled in all directions and he was unable to catch a single one. Transported with rage, he chased the shadow until he found the real pagoda on land. He took his heavy ax and struck it repeatedly and then sailed home empty-handed, leaving scars on the corners of the pagoda.”

As I gazed upon this pagoda with awe and admiration, my attention was drawn to the fact that it stood on the eastern side of the courtyard and not in the center (as is usual). As I pondered this, I noticed a panel with the following inscription:

“Ch'ohyon, a lonely monk who lived at this temple in celibacy, wished that good luck might come to him, He therefore moved the pagoda from the east side of the courtyard to the center, and waited for twenty years, but the pagoda worked no wonders. One day an astrologer visited the temple looking for a fortunate site. He breathed a deep sigh and said, 'The center of the courtyard is not the proper place for a pagoda. Why don't you move it to the east?' The monks, astonished at his wisdom, moved the pagoda back to its original position in the east, where it now stands.”

Though not a lover of wonders, as a son of Buddha I could not remain silent when I saw the majestic spirit of Buddha in the shadow of the pagoda to bestow merciful benefits on ten thousand living creatures so effectively, hence the above note.

Written in October of the first year of Cheng-p'eng in the year of Pyong-ja (1156) by White Cloud.

(This section, as indicated above, was added by one of Ilyon's disciples. In giving the date, he refers to the ruler of the semi-barbarian Kin or Chin state. The proper title of this reign era is Cheng-lung, but White Cloud wrote Cheng-p'eng because the character “Lung” (Pronounced “nyung” in Korean) was the personal name of Wang Nyung, the father of Wang Kon the Koryo founder, and thus taboo.)

Footnotes to Book Three

1. Compiled in 1215 with the authorization of King Kojong
2. Mentioned in the Nihon Shoki, one of the most ancient Japanese chronicles as King Ahwa, perhaps due to a clerical slip or a misreading.
3. There are records of a Liang monarch sending gifts of Buddhist scriptures and incense to a Silla King but it cannot have been Nulji, who-lived before the Liang state was founded.
4. This is an allusion to an ancient Chinese belief that the Yellow River, notorious for its muddiness, turned clear to presage the coming of a sage-king.
5. Chinese names Kai-tzu-t'sui and Hung Yen, legendary heroes. The first fed his starving king with his own flesh, while the second committed suicide after reporting in due form to all that was left of his dead lord, a liver.
6. This is a mistake, for Ungch'on at this time was in Paekje territory.
7. This is both a symbol of the heavenly vehicles of ancient kings and of Buddhism. The "wheel of the law" is one of the commonest symbols in Buddhist iconography from the earliest times.
8. "Tsita" in Sanskrit. This is the fourth of the "Six Heavens of Desire" in Mahayana Buddhism. It is ruled by Maitreya.
9. The Koryo government designated the capitals of the ancient kingdoms by their directions from Kaesong, the Koryo capital. Kyongju is meant here.
10. Kasop was the last of the seven Buddhas who preceded Sakyamuni, the historical Buddha, in Mahayana doctrine.
11. "Agana" in Sanskrit. It contains the sayings of Sakyamuni.
12. The present world, as distinct from the two other major realms.
13. This is a reference to the Emperor Asoka, who ruled over the Maurya Empire in India from 269 to 236 B. C. He was converted to Buddhism and became one of its most enthusiastic supporters and propagators. Obviously his reputation had become somewhat inflated by the time it reached Korea.
14. Jawhu Dripa, one of the four geographical divisions of India, also used as a name for India as a whole.
15. A sermon preached by Sakyamuni immediately before his death.
16. The traditional dates for Buddha's life are 563-483 B. C, which would put Asoka two centuries later rather than one.

17. The Buddha of Wisdom, who traditionally sits to Sakyamuni's left.
18. This is not a place at all, but a reading of “Kashatreya,” the second, warrior caste in India, to which Sakyamuni's family belonged. The implication is that the Queen was an incarnation of Sakyamuni.
19. This was a Buddhist rite customary in China.
20. A reference to the “third eye” often seen on the foreheads of Buddha images. Here it is thought of as a white hair growing between Buddha's eyebrows. It is one of the distinguishing features of a Buddha and symbolizes his enlightenment.
21. An Indian divinity described as “ruler of the thirty-three heavens.”
22. Sanskrit name Samantabhadra, described in scripture as working together with Munsu to aid Sakyamuni in the work of salvation.
23. The reference is to the abode of Vairocana, the Buddha of Illumination.
24. The Three Treasures are the Buddha, Buddhist teaching and the order of monks. The Five Prohibitions are against killing, stealing, sexual indulgence, taking the name of Buddha in vain and drinking alcoholic beverages.
25. This happens to be the number of arrangements of the eight trigrams, composed of broken and unbroken lines, described in the Confucian I-Ching (Classic of Changes, a book of divination and prophecy). Four of them can be seen on the Korean national flag. (T'aeguk and P'alkwae).
26. Actually the name of Sakyamuni in one of his previous lives.

BOOK FOUR

V. Anecdotes of Renowned Monks

91. Wonkwang, Who Studied in the West

In the thirteenth volume of the T'ang Biographies of the High Monks we find the following information. The family name of Wonkwang (Round Light, i.e. Buddha's Halo), the monk of Huanglung Temple in Silla (Hwangnyong-sa) was Pak, and his home was in Chin-han, one of the three Han nations—Pyonhan, Chinhan and Mahan. (These are very ancient designations for certain parts of southern Korea.) His family had lived in Haedong (East of the Sea, i.e. Korea) for many generations, and he inherited the noble and magnanimous traditions of his ancestors. From his youth he loved to read history and biographies of monks, and soon began to write such compositions himself, and his literary fame quickly spread all over Hankuo (Hankuk, Korea). But though he had established a reputation for erudition and strong memory in Silla, he felt the need to obtain wider knowledge by studying in the Middle Kingdom (China). For this purpose he set sail for Chinling (Nanking) at the age of twenty-five.

(The following is somewhat misleading. Chen was not a dynasty in the sense that it ruled all China. It was one of the last of the evanescent states which appeared during the period after the breakup of the Han dynasty in 220. It lasted about thirty years and was conquered in 589 by the Sui, who briefly ruled all China and were succeeded by the great T'ang dynasty in 618. Also Wonkwang is here described as visiting "Wu." There was no such state at the time, but this may be simply a geographical expression.)

In those days China, under the rule of the Chen dynasty, was flourishing in literature and the arts. When Wonkwang attended the lectures of the disciples of Chang-yen wen-kung on Buddhism, he realized that his own unsurpassed talent in the study of worldly books was as valueless as a withered flower, and asked the Emperor for permission to become a monk. This the Emperor granted, and he was thus enabled to attend lectures on the more esoteric aspects of the religion (to which laymen were not admitted). In a short time he had committed to memory the golden sayings of the Nirvana Sutra and had skimmed through the essays on the three sections of

the Buddhist scriptures (the Tripitaka or "Three Baskets"). He visited Hushan (Tiger Mountain) in Wu, where he continued his studies on the awakening of the Buddhist mind, and the people there would gather around him like clouds to listen to his spiritual teaching. After he had finished reading the Aham Sutra his mind became vacant of worldly greed, round and straight like a bamboo tube. He resolved to live on this mountain and make pilgrimages to various holy monasteries.

At this time a Chinese hermit who lived at the foot of the mountain invited him to give a series of lectures. At first he stood on ceremony, but after repeated requests he lectured on Panyagyong (Prajna in Sanskrit), a book on intelligence, and gave such correct interpretations in such fine rhetoric that his audience was moved to tears of gratitude. Soon his fame had spread all over China, and multitudes came from afar to hear him lecture on the teachings of Buddha.

After a time the Sui Emperor conquered Chen and destroyed it. When the Sui army entered Yangtu (the capital), Wonkwang was taken captive and was about to be killed. But just at that moment, the Sui general noticed that the temple pagoda was in flames. He rushed forward to save the historic treasure from fire, but on a nearer view he saw that the pagoda was not burning despite the flames which enveloped it, and that Wonkwang, bound hand and foot, was kneeling before its holy pedestal. The general was awe-struck by the Silla monk, who no doubt was working wonders through the providence of Buddha even in a time of emergency, and set him free at once.

Wonkwang was praised in Wu and Yueh in South China as a holy monk of the highest learning. But as he wished to see the old civilizations of Chou and Ch'in (the names of two ancient Chinese dynasties) in north China, he visited the Sui capital of Changan in the ninth year of Kai-huang (589). There he expounded the mysteries of Buddhism and quoted from its scriptures to the admiration of the Chinese people, among whom Buddhism was just beginning to grow at that time. Wonkwang wished to spread the same enlightenment in his own country, and asked the Emperor for permission to return to Kyongju. The Emperor granted his request and sent him off after a sumptuous farewell banquet in the inner palace.

When Wonkwang returned home after his long absence (Samguk Sagi says twelve years) the people of Silla, men and women, young and old,

welcomed him heartily, and the King received him in audience with the highest respect, treating him as a sage.

Wonkwang was a quiet man devoid of passion, loving and giving by nature. His face always wore a warm smile and never gave the least sign of anger. All the King's personal letters to the Emperor, the credentials issued to envoys to China, and other state correspondence with the Celestial Empire were drafted by this learned monk, from whose brush poured elegant phrases like a cataract falling from the Milky Way. The King entrusted him with the moral government of the state, and the noble monk, who never wore the court dress of embroidered brocade, presented the throne with wise counsels and was a living model for fine deeds. When he was bent and hoary with age, he entered the palace in a carriage drawn by richly caparisoned horses, and the King entertained him in person with nourishing food and medicine and gave him the warmest clothes. Before his death the King asked him how to achieve good government, and he revealed the signs of good or evil fortune for the state from the throne to the plow, according to whether the administration was moral or immoral.

In the fifty-eighth year of Konpok during the reign of King Chinp'yong (640, but this must be a mistake. Chinp'yong ruled from 579 to 632) when he was ninety-nine years old, Wonkwang complained of a mild indisposition, and after seven days passed away, sitting in an erect posture at Hwangnyong Temple where he had resided for so long, leaving behind an earnest will. This was in the fourth year of T'ang Chen-kuan (this must be a mistake for the fourteenth year). When he breathed his last the sound of music was heard to the northeast of the temple and the air was filled with a strange fragrance. All who gathered in the hall to pay their last respects to him were moved to tears at his inspired spirit, working such wonders even after his death. His ashes were buried in the suburbs of Kyongju with the funeral ceremony due a prince.

Many years later a worldly man whose child had been born dead, believing the vulgar superstition that if such a child were buried in the grave of a person who had lived a good life the same good fortune would descend to its family, buried the embryo in Wonkwang's tomb. But on the same day the little corpse was struck by a thunderbolt and hurled out of the tomb. Seeing this punishment, all the people worshipped his spirit with still greater respect.

Wonkwang's disciple Wonan was a man of great intelligence and a seeker of truth. He traveled to Hwanto in the north and Pullae in the east (the first of these was an ancient capital of Koguryo on the Yalu and the second is modern Anbyon in the old lands of the Ye tribe) and to Yen-wei (in north China) in the west. When he visited Changan, the capital of the T'ang Empire, he studied the customs of the Chinese and various essays on religion. Later on he became engrossed in the study of Buddhism, following in the footsteps of his master Wonkwang. While he was residing at a temple in Changan the T'ang Emperor, on the recommendation of the courtier Su Wu, invited him to live at Tsinliang Temple, where he was given comfortable accommodations and the four necessities were furnished him six times daily. (This last is a conventional Chinese expression. The four necessities were housing, clothing, food and herb medicine and the six times were sunrise, midday, sunset, early evening, midnight and before going to bed.)

In a memorandum about his master Wonkwang, Wonan wrote, "The King of Silla was taken seriously ill and no medicine could do him any good. His Majesty called on Wonkwang to stay in the palace and expound the mysteries of Buddhism to him. Wonkwang obeyed, and explained to the King Buddha's commandments of repentance and faith. One evening the King glanced at Wonkwang and was astonished to see that he was enveloped in a shining halo. The Queen and the court ladies begged the holy monk not to leave the royal presence. Shining like the evening sun, Wonkwang obeyed, and soon the King's malady was cured.

"Wonkwang gave lectures on Buddhism in Chinhan and Mahan (old names for southern Korea) in order to lead the younger generation along the path of Buddhism. When he received personal gifts from people he always gave them away to be used for the maintenance of temples, so that when he died he left behind only his robe and tableware." (Quoted from Tal-ham, a Buddhist Book.)

In an antique record preserved in the home of Chong-hyo, a retired official in the Eastern Capital (Kyongju), there are the following stories about the life of Wonkwang:

Wonkwang's secular family name was Sol and he was a native of Kyongju. At the age of thirty he began a solitary life in a quiet hermitage on Mt. Samgi (southwest of modern Ankang) to pursue his studies. Four years later another monk built a hermitage nearby and lived there for two years.

This monk was of a ferocious temperament and loved to chant spells and work magic. One night while Wonkwang was reciting the scriptures to himself a ghost suddenly called his name and said, "Fine monk! Fine deed! Monks may recite the scriptures, but few act in accordance with Buddhist principles. Look at the monk next door. He is shouting all kinds of spells, but he gains nothing. On the contrary, his loud noise interferes with the quiet meditations of his neighbors. Still worse, his house blocks my way, forcing me to make a long detour in my nightly rounds, so I hate him. I wish you to tell him to move to another place, or he will be terribly punished."

The following morning Wonkwang warned the monk as the ghost had asked, but he only laughed and said, "What a hermit you are! You are enchanted with a devil. Don't worry about the words of the ghost of a female fox."

That night the ghost reappeared and asked "What did the monk say about my warning?"

Wonkwang feared that the ghost might vent its anger on him, so he answered in a roundabout way, "I have not yet told him, but if I deliver your warning he will not dare to disobey."

"Never mind," the ghost interposed, "I have already heard your conversation. Why do you not speak the truth? Now be silent and watch what I shall do."

At midnight that night Wonkwang heard a thunderous sound that shook heaven and earth, and in the morning he saw that a mountain had collapsed and buried the other monk's dwelling. The ghost appeared for the third time and said, "How do you feel about this?"

"I am quite surprised," Wonkwang answered.

"I am three hundred thousand years old," the ghost said, "and in magic I am second to none. To destroy a mountain is a simple trick and nothing to be surprised at. I know all coming events, for I am familiar with the affairs of both heaven and earth.

"You live here now in solitude, and this may be of benefit to you, but not to other people. If you do not make yourself known you will never reap the fruits of your hard study. You must go to the Middle Kingdom and study Buddhism there so that you may become a guiding light to the people of your dark country."

“It is my cherished hope to study Buddhism in the Middle Kingdom,” Wonkwang replied, “but I cannot travel to a land so far away across the sea, nor am I well informed about that country.”

The ghost laughed and gave him an itinerary for a trip to China which contained all the information he needed. Wonkwang took courage and sailed to China where he stayed for eleven years, during which he mastered the major Buddhist scriptures as well as the Confucian Classics. In the twenty-second year of King Chinp'yong (600) he returned in the party of a T'ang envoy. (Slight confusion here since the T'ang rulers were not in full control of China until 618.) He went to his old residence on Mt. Samgi in order to thank the ghost, and when night fell it appeared.

“Did you enjoy your visit to the Middle Kingdom?” the ghost asked.

“By your grace,” said Wonkwang, “I had a successful visit to China and a pleasant voyage home.”

“Good!” said the ghost. “Now I will give you my promise concerning mutual salvation from rebirth.”

“Can I see your true appearance?” Wonkwang asked.

“If you wish to see my true appearance,” the ghost replied, “look up into the eastern sky tomorrow morning.”

When Wonkwang looked at the eastern sky next morning he saw a long rainbow-like arm in the clouds building a bridge from earth to heaven. That evening the ghost appeared again. “Did you see my long arm?” it asked.

“Yes, it was magnificent,” Wonkwang said. (Ilyon says that from this time the name of the place was changed to Pijang-san, Long-arm Mountain.)

“Even though I have stayed long on this earth,” the ghost said, “I cannot escape death some day, and so soon I must throw myself from yonder mountain pass. Come and bid my parting soul farewell.”

When Wonkwang arrived on the mountain pass at the appointed time, he found an old black female fox, which panted its last breath and died, stretching out its four limbs and long tail. (The account in the “antique record” ends here and Ilyon resumes.)

When Wonkwang returned from China the King and court honored him as a great teacher and attended his lectures on the Taesung Sutra. At this time Koguryo and Paekje were attacking Silla border towns and disturbing peace and order. The King was greatly worried and wished to ask the Sui government for aid. He summoned Wonkwang and commanded him to

write an official letter to the Emperor. So well did Wonkwang execute this task that the Emperor ordered out 300,000 troops and led them in person against Koguryo. After this Wonkwang was also praised for his accomplishments in Chinese literature, and the writing skill capable of moving the hearts of men. He died at the age of eighty-four and his ashes were buried on a hill west of Myonghwal Castle.

In the book *Samguk Yoljon* it is written that Kwisan, a country squire in Saryang-pu had a friend named Ch'uhang. One day as they were conversing one of them said, "If we are to mingle in polite society we must learn how to behave like gentlemen with honest hearts in order not to bring dishonor upon ourselves." They heard that Wonkwang Popsa had just returned from China and was living at Kasul-got. (Ch'ongdo. Uyon says that about 9,000 footspans east of Unmun Temple there is a mountain called Kasul-hyon and north of this mountain are the ruins of Kasfil-got, which is also called Kaso Temple.)

The two men visited the eminent monk and asked him to give them a golden maxim which would serve to guide their behavior through life. Wonkwang replied, "There are ten commandments of the Bodhisattvas, but since you are the subjects of a king you can hardly keep them. (That is, these commandments would require them to become monks.) The five secular commandments are: 1) Serve the King with loyalty, 2) Honor your parents with filial piety, 3) Treat friends with sincerity, 4) Fight the enemy with bravery, and 5) Kill living animals with discriminating mercy. You should observe these commandments consistently, without the least neglect."

Kwisan said, "We can understand all the other commandments, but we do not know how to kill living animals with discriminating mercy."

Wonkwang replied, "This means no killing on the six purification days (six days each month on which certain Buddhist rituals were performed) or in the spring and summer months; no killing of domestic animals such as horses, cattle, fowl or dogs; and no killing of small fish or fish eggs. Moreover, there should be no killing of other animals for food beyond what is absolutely necessary. These are the commandments for doing good in this world."

Kwisan and his friend pledged that they would keep these commandments without fail. Some years later they were called to the colors and performed many a feat of arms with unexcelled valor.

In the autumn of the thirtieth year of Konpok when King Chin-p'yong had been on the throne for thirty-five years, the Sui envoy Wang Shih-i came to Silla and sponsored a hundred-seat seminar at which eminent monks lectured on the Buddhist scriptures. Wonkwang presided over this seminar.

. Since the time when Wonjong (King Pophung) had established Buddhism as a bridge of salvation, the deeper meaning of Buddhism had not yet been expounded to the people in order to lead them to reliance on the Three Treasures (Buddha, Buddhist doctrine and the order of monks) and to repent their sins. Therefore a foundation was established to interpret the signs by which the state of the believers' souls might be interpreted. (Ilyon actually says "divination foundation.") At that time a pious monk donated a farm of a hundred kyol for the foundation's support. This farm is located in Tongp'yong county.

Wonkwang was a quiet man of mild temperament who always smiled and never showed anger in his looks. In his old age the King gave him free access to the palace in a carriage. He was unexcelled in virtue and accomplishment. His deep knowledge of both Buddhist and Confucian literature and his great ability as a writer were much admired by his contemporaries. He died in his eighties during the years of T'ang Chen-kuan. His tomb is at Kungok Temple on Mt. Samgi, to the west of Myonghwal Castle (Sonam-dong, Anhang. This was a stone mausoleum in which relics of eminent monks were enshrined).

The T'ang and Silla biographies differ as to Wonkwang's family name, one saying it was Pak and he became a monk in the East (Korea) and the other saying it was Sol and he became a monk in the West (China), as if they were describing two different people. In neither biography is any mention made of Chakgot, Imok or Unmun. Kim Ch'ok-myong, a Silla writer, included in his Biography of Wonkwang Popsa quotations from folktales and confused the deeds of Wonkwang with those of Poyang, the founder of Unmun Temple. Later the author of the Biographies of the Monks of Korea confused his readers by repeating the same errors. I have therefore quoted extensively from both accounts. In the days of Chen-Sui few men from Haedong (Korea) crossed the sea to study Buddhism in the Middle Kingdom until Wonkwang made himself famous in the West (China) and opened the way for other monks to follow him.

Song of Praise to Wonkwang

He crossed the sea and climbed the clouds
To open a new road in the land of Han;
How many people came and went to build virtue!
The antique traces remain in the blue hills—
The old shadow in Kungok-Kaso tells his long story.

98. Poyang, the Pear-Tree and the Dragon

The Biography of Poyang contains no information about his family background or his native place. According to an old record in the Ch'ongdo county office for January in the eighth year of T'ien-fu (943) when T'aejo (Wang Kon) had been on the throne for twenty-six years, the monastery on Mt. Unmun was bounded on the east by Kaso-hyon and on the south by Anijom. The temple and its forest land were managed by Poyang Hwasang (High Priest), Hyon-hoe (Abbot) and Chikse Sinwon Sonsa (priest). This statement is based on the land register of Ch'ongdo county office.

In the third year of Kai-yuan it was inscribed on the boundary tower that the temple had eleven landmarks, including Anijom, Kaso-hyon, Myo-hyon, Sopuk-mae-hyon and Puk-chojok-mun.

In the Chinyang-pu Record (dated the year of the tiger) a surveyor named Yi Son recorded the foundation dates and condition of all the monasteries of the Son (Zen) sect in each province. In September of the sixth year of Cheng-p'eng, (1161) when King Uijong was on the throne, an old record was found in the house of Yi Ch'uk-chong (a former military officer in Ch'ongdo) in which this survey was certified by Kim Yang-sin, Min Yuk, Yun Ung, Chin Ki and Yong Song, all retired local officials. At that time the country magistrate, Yi Sa-ro, was eighty-nine years old.

The five old temples of Silla—Greater Chakgot, Lesser Chakgot, Sobogot, Ch'onmungot and Kasdgot—were all destroyed during the wars of Samhan (the conflicts leading to the fall of Silla) and the burnt timbers were piled on the ruins of Greater Chakgot Temple. When Chisik (Poyang), the founder of this temple, was returning to Silla from the Middle Kingdom, the King Dragon of the Western Sea welcomed him to his watery palace. The dragon chanted Buddhist scriptures, gave Poyang a gold-laced robe, and commanded his son Imok to escort the monk on his homeward journey, saying, “At present the three kingdoms in your country are at war and are without a king who believes in Buddha, but if you go home with my son and build a temple at Chakgot (Magpie Cape) and live there, you will be

safe from attack until a wise king appears who worships Buddha and will pacify the nation.”

Poyang bade the King Dragon farewell and returned to Chakgot. Here he met an aged monk calling himself Wonkwang who gave him a seal-box and disappeared. In fact, Wonkwang went to China in the closing days of the Chen state and returned to the East (Silla) during the years of Kai-huang. He resided at Kasdgot and died at Hwang-nyong Temple. Had he been alive at the time mentioned he would have been 300 years old. It would seem, therefore, that Poyang, upon returning home, lamented over the ruins of the temples of Silla and had a vision of their restoration in the future.

Poyang wished to reconstruct a dilapidated temple and climbed the Northern Peak, where he had seen a five-storeyed yellow pagoda. But when he came closer it vanished, and in its place there was a flock of magpies pecking at the ground. Remembering what the King Dragon had said about Chakgot (Magpie Cape), he dug a hole where the birds had been and soon found great quantities of ancient bricks. He built a pagoda of these and founded a new temple nearby, calling it Chakgot-sa. Soon King T'aejo (Wang Kon) unified the country and donated 500 kyol of farmland on the five capes to this temple, honoring Poyang, who lived there.

In the fourth year of Ch'ing-t'ai (937) Imok, the son of the King Dragon of the Western Sea, took up residence in a deep pool near the temple to help Buddhism flourish in the kingdom. One year a drought withered all the fruit trees and there were not even any vegetables to eat. Poyang commanded Imok to bring rain to refresh the withered vegetation.

One day Imok told Poyang that a heavenly god was trying to kill him, so the good priest hid the dragon under his bed. Suddenly an angel appeared before Poyang and demanded that he surrender the dragon, but the quick-witted priest pointed to a pear-tree in his garden. Immediately a deafening thunderbolt struck the tree and the angel vanished. The dragon knit together the broken branches and gave new life to the tree. (Some say, Ilyon remarks, that Poyang revived the tree by his magic art.) In recent years this tree fell to the ground, so a man made two staffs from it and placed one each in the Golden Hall and the dining hall of the temple. The staffs bear inscriptions concerning this story.

When Poyang returned to Silla from China he first lived at Pong-song-sa in Ch'uhwa (Miryang). At that time King T'aejo had set out on his

eastern expedition and arrived at Ch'ongdo, where he laid siege to Kyonsong, or Dog Fortress. (Ilyon says it was so called because it was near a projecting rock in the shape of a dog's muzzle on the mountainside.) The men in the fortress refused to surrender, and T'aejo was at his wits' end. He visited Poyang, who lived at the foot of the mountain, and asked him how the stubborn defenders might be brought to submission.

“The dog keeps vigil by night and sleeps by day,” Poyang told him. “It watches in front but does not look back. If you attack the fortress from the north in broad daylight you will defeat the outlaws who now bark their war-cries at night whenever your soldiers come near.” T'aejo took this advice and, just as the wise monk had foretold, surprised the outlaws in their sleep and forced them to sue for peace. T'aejo admired Poyang's wisdom even in military strategy and conferred annual gifts of fifty large bags of rice on the temple, to keep the censer burning before the portraits of the two sage monks in its Golden Hall, and named the temple Pongsong-sa (Temple of the Sages).

Some years later Poyang moved to Chakgot. These anecdotes about him are not found in the old biography but there is a Silla legend that he became the blood-brother of Sokkul Pihosa, known also as Piro. The three temples—Pongsong, Sokkul and Unmun—stood above the clouds on the three peaks of the mountain, and communicated frequently with each other.

Writers in later generations ascribed the stories of the Magpie Pagoda and the dragon's son to the life of Wonkwang and that of the Dog Fortress to Piho, basing themselves on Silla sources and thus creating great confusion. Moreover the author of Haedong Sungjon (Biographies of the Monks of the East) has greatly falsified the life of Poyang with his embellishments.

99. Yangji's Magic Staff

(One of the rules of conduct for Buddhist monks is that they shall not be gainfully employed or handle money, but support themselves by begging their food. The layman who gives food to a monk improves his chances of a better life in his next incarnation.)

Nobody knows who Yangji's ancestors were or where he was born, but the following story is told about him. During the reign of Queen Sondok in Silla (632-647) there lived a monk whose name was Yangji. He had a magical metal staff. He tied a large bag to the end of it and pronounced a spell over it ending with the Buddhist invocation, “*Namuami Tabul.*” The

staff then walked away by itself and visited each house in the neighboring villages. When the housewives heard it clacking on the road they came out and put rice and money in the bag, smiling happily. When the bag was full the staff returned to its master. This went on every day of the monk's life until he died, and the temple where he lived was therefore called Sokjang-sa, the Temple of the Metal Staff.

Yangji worked many wonders of this sort and was also an artist of great talent, adept at painting, sculpture and calligraphy. The three sixteen-foot images of Buddha and the statue of the heavenly king, besides the roof-tiles and pagodas at Yongmyo-sa (Temple of the Holy Shrine), the eight heavenly generals beneath the pagoda at Ch'Sn-wang-sa (Temple of the Heavenly King), the three images of Buddha at Popnim-sa (Temple of the Buddha Forest), and the Herculean wrestlers guarding the gate of this last temple are all his work. He wrote the inscriptions for the panels at Yongmyo-sa and Popnim-sa, and modeled three thousand Buddhas in beautiful designs on bricks from which he built a small pagoda for his home temple and worshipped it.

While he was working on the sixteen-foot Buddha image at Yongmyo-sa he modeled the clay while keeping his mind as vacant as a clear mirror (the basic prerequisite for Buddhist meditation). The people of Kyongju competed in supplying him with clay, singing a ballad as they did so: "Coming, coming, this body is coming! Oh how heavy and sad was my heart, but now it is light and gay, for I see Buddha with my own eyes." Even today the country folk sing this ballad while pounding rice.

The images Yangji made cost 23,000 large bags of rice. (This may actually be the cost of regilding the images, Ilyon says.) Indeed he was a hidden national treasure both in virtue and accomplishments.

Song of Praise to Yangji

When the Buddhist ceremony was duly over,
The metal staff lay idle in the Golden Hall;
After burning sandalwood with many incantations,
There was no more work to do;
He sculptured statues of perfect beauty
And gazed upon them with folded hands.

100. The Monks Who Traveled to India

(As will have been seen in other sections, knowledge of India was vague even in Ilyon's own time. The name Ch'onch'uk-kuk means land of the heavenly bamboos, and its division into five kingdoms simply corresponds to the five directions—the four points of the compass plus the center.)

In the Kwangham Kupop-jon (Biographies of the High Monks) it is written that Arina (Ariya) Palma, the monk, was a native of Silla. In order to study the Buddhist religion he first traveled to China, where he was encouraged to make an extensive pilgrimage to various holy places in India. During the years of Chen-kuan (627-650) he departed from Changan and made his way to the five Ch'onch'uk kingdoms of India. There he stayed at Naranta Temple and studied books of Buddhist doctrine and commentaries, which he copied out on the leaves of the Paitara tree in order to take them back to Silla. But unfortunately he was taken ill on the eve of his departure and died at the temple. He was then more than seventy years old.

Later other Silla monks including Hyeop, Hyont'ae, Kupon, Hyonkak, Hyeryun, Hyonyu and two others (whose names are lost) journeyed to Middle India to study Buddhism. Some died on the way and some arrived safely and resided at temples, but none ever returned to Kerim (Silla) or to China except Hyont'ae. However, nobody knows where he died.

The people of Ch'onch'uk called Haedong (Silla) Kukuta-Yesolla. Kukuta means chicken and Yesolla means dear. The combination of the two Chinese characters for these words is Kekwi, which is another name for Kerim. The Indians said that the Silla people worshipped the god of chickens and wore cocks' feathers about their persons as decorations.

Song of Praise to the Monks who Traveled to India

Over ten thousand peaks far away to Ch'onch'uk
The pilgrims climbed and climbed on weary feet:
How many times have their lone ships sailed from the east!
Once gone, they returned no more;
Year after year the floating clouds sail back
Yet we never hear the tap of their staffs journeying homeward.

101. Miracles of Hyesuk and Hyeogong

The monk Hyesuk was in his youth a follower of Hoserang, one of the most renowned of the Hwarang of Silla. When his master was excluded from this order, Hyesuk retired to a mountain villa called Chokson-ch'on

(Chokkok-ch'on in Ankang-hyon), where he led the life of a religious recluse for twenty years.

One day Kugam, a noble Hwarang came riding to hunt in the mountains near his residence. Hyesuk ran out to meet him and held his horse's head. "Welcome, master," he said. "Permit me to follow you in the hunt. I can keep up with your steed on my flying feet."

"Fine!" said Kugam. "Come along, then." They had a long chase-over the hills, and when they had killed many birds and animals with their arrows they sat down to rest while the meat was cooked and fell into conversation.

"I have some meat more delicious than this," Hyesuk said. "May I serve it to you?"

"Good, bring it," said Kugam. "I have a good appetite today."*

Hyesuk thereupon cut a piece of flesh from his thigh with a sharp knife and set it before Kugam. "Please help yourself," he said.

"What are you doing?" Kugam exclaimed in astonishment.

Then Hyesuk admonished him. "I thought you were a kind-hearted gentleman and merciful to your fellow creatures, so I followed you in admiration of your high virtues. But now I see that you are a cruel and selfish man who likes to kill living creatures, doing harm to others in order to fill your stomach. This is not the way of benevolence and you do not belong to our order." And with these words he went away.

"Ah, the sad day," said Kugam, blushing with shame. "But what is this? I have eaten my fill, and yet the table is still spread with the same dishes and appears untouched."

Kugam returned and told his strange story to King Chinp'yong-The King thought that Hyesuk must be an uncommon monk, and sent an official to fetch him to the court. When the official arrived he found Hyesuk (as he thought) lying in bed with a woman, and cursing him for his shameless breach of Buddhist law turned back. But he had gone only seven or eight li when he met the same monk coming from the opposite direction. "Hello, good monk," he said, "where have you been?" "I have been at a rich man's house in the city," Hyesuk said. "I officiated at a memorial service and offered prayers for the departed soul for seven days, and now I am returning to my home in the mountains."

The official went and reported his experience at court. Puzzled, the King sent a messenger to the house Hyesuk had mentioned and found that

indeed the monk had been there when he said he was.

Not long after this Hyesuk died and the village people buried him on a hill east of E-hyon (Ear Pass). But while his friends were still crowded around the grave a traveler arrived from the other side of E-hyon who said that he had just met Hyesuk over the hill. When asked where he was going, Hyesuk had said, "I have lived too long in this mountain village and now I am going on a sight-seeing trip." Then, the traveller said, the monk had mounted a cloud and soared into the sky about half a mile from where he had said goodbye. Amazed, the villagers dug into the grave they had just finished, and found in it only one of the monk's old shoes.

Even today there is a temple called Hyesuk-sa north of Ankang-hyon, where the mysterious monk lived, and visitors can see his image in bas-relief on one of its walls.

Another famous Silla monk was named Hyegong. He was the son of a woman servant in the house of Ch'onjin-kong and his childhood name was Ujo. One day the master of the house was taken seriously ill with a malignant growth, and felt that death was approaching. The house was constantly full of people, noble and common, who came to enquire after his health. Ujo was only seven years old, but he knew that something unusual had happened.

"O my mother," the child said, "What has brought so many people into this house?"

"Don't you know," she replied, "that the master of the house is very sick, and lies upon his deathbed?"

"I can cure his disease," said Ujo.

"What! You can, can you?"

"Yes I can."

With a wondering heart the woman told Ch'onjin-kong what her child had said, and the nobleman sent a servant to fetch the lad. When Ujo appeared he sat down at the foot of the sick man's bed with his mouth shut tight. Then suddenly the abscess burst and the patient was saved. Ch'onjin-kong did not wonder greatly at this, however, considering it to have been a mere coincidence.

When Ujo had grown into a youth he tamed Ch'onjin-kong's pet falcon, and was such a good fowler that his master could not help liking him. One day Ch'onjin-kong's younger brother set out on a long journey to take up a new official post in the country and took this hawk with him by permission

of the nobleman. But one night Ch'onjin-kong bethought him of his faraway falcon and decided to send Ujo to bring it back early the next morning.

Ujo knew the mind of his master. Magically, he brought the falcon back in an instant and presented it to Ch'onjin-kong before daybreak. The latter reflected that this was the same lad who had cured his abscess earlier. "I did not know a great sage was living in my house," he exclaimed, "and I abused him with mad words and discourtesy. How can I apologize enough to you? And he stepped down into the courtyard and made a low bow to the fowler boy.

When Ujo's wonder-workings had become widely known in the world he became a monk, changing his name to Hyegong, and went to live at a small temple. He often drank wine like a whale and staggered about the streets singing and dancing like a madman, with a pan-shaped refuse basket slung over his shoulder. The people called him Pugwe-Hwasang (Basket-carrying monk) and named his temple Pugae-sa (a corruption of Pugwe-sa).

He often went down into the temple well and would not come out for two or three months, so this well was named after him. When he did come out a heavenly being dressed in blue was sure to precede him. Stranger still, even though he had been sitting in the water for so long, his robe never got wet.

Late in life he went to live at Hangsa-sa (now Oo-sa in Yongil-hyon), where he associated with the great monk Wonhyo, who was then compiling a commentary on the Buddhist scriptures. Wonhyo asked him all sorts of difficult questions which he did not understand, but he would always answer quickly and in jest. One day the two monks went fishing and made a good catch. While they were eating some of the fish on a rock, Hyegong laughingly said, "You eat my fish." From that time the people called the temple 05-sa (My Fish Temple.)

One day when Kugam-kong was out on a picnic he found the body of Hyegong on a mountain path, mouldering in the open air and infested with maggots. He mourned over the body of the faithful follower of his Hwarang days and returned to Kyongju, where he found Hyegong singing and dancing merrily in his cups. (This sounds as if Hyegong had gotten confused with Hyesuk.)

Another time Hyegong twisted rice-straw into a long rope and wrapped it round and round the Golden Hall and the south gate tower of Yongmyo-sa. Then he said to the chief monk, "Undo this fastening in three days and

you will see a miracle.” The dumbfounded monk followed his directions and sure enough, in three days the beautiful Queen Sondok visited the temple and the flames of Chigwi, the “Love fire of the heart” swallowed the temple pagoda, but the Golden Hall and the tower were not damaged.¹

Myongnang, the founder of Sinin-sa (Heavenly Seal Temple) also founded Kungang-sa (Diamond Temple) and held a ceremony on this occasion in which the nation's most eminent monks participated. Hyeogong was absent, and it was not until after Myongnang had lighted incense and chanted prayers that he appeared in the temple. He came through a heavy downpour but his robe was not wet, nor were his feet soiled with mud. He smiled at Myongnang and said, “You called me, so here I am.”

After working countless wonders like this he disappeared into the sky, from which thousands of sari fell to earth. While in this life he read the “Commentary on Buddha” by one Cho, an illustrious monk, and said, “This book was written by myself long, long ago.” From this it would appear that Cho was one of his previous incarnations.

(Some of the antics of Hyeogong are strongly suggestive of the tenets of the Son (Zen) sect, which held that the study of scripture was worthless and that only pure meditation could bring salvation. The apparently pointless tricks of the monks of this sect were intended to detach the neophyte's mind from the logic and conventions of the material world so that it might more readily penetrate to the spiritual reality behind it and thus achieve enlightenment.)

Song of Praise to Hyesuk and Hyeogong

Suk! You go out hunting birds in the fields

And return to sleep in a woman's bed.

Gong! Going out, you drink, sing and dance,

And returning, sleep in the well.

Where are your buried shoe and your floating body?

You are a pair of treasures, like two lotus blossoms in a flame.

102. Chajang Establishes the Buddhist Laws

The family name of the great monk Chajang was Kim-ssi and he was the son of Murim, a nobleman of Chingol (royal) stock who was honored with the third-rank title of Sopan in Chinhan. His father was an important court official who, since he had no son, prayed to Kwanum Boddhisattva, pledging, “If I have a son I will make him a bridge to the world of Buddha.”

On the night when he ended his prayer, his wife dreamed that a star fell from heaven and entered her bosom. She conceived that very night and in due time bore a son. This was Chajang. Because he was born on Buddha's birthday he was named Sonjongnang.

Chajang was pure of heart and keen of mind. He had no use for worldly pleasures and occupied himself solely with literature and art. In his youth fine verses rich in noble conceptions already flowed from his brush. He was orphaned early in life. Tired of the annoyances of worldly society he took leave of his wife and children and gave away his estates to found a temple called Wonyong-sa. There he lived a hermit's life in the deep mountains, unafraid of tigers and wolves, and meditated on the transience of this life, seeing all human beings as no more than withered bones.

In order to combat weariness and idleness he built a small cell whose four walls were covered with brambles and thorns and whose ceiling consisted of chestnut burrs. He sat naked and erect in the middle of this cell with his head tied to a roof-beam to help keep his mind in full awareness.

At that time a ministerial post fell vacant at court and Chajang was repeatedly asked to fill it in view of his noble birth,² but he consistently refused. The King was displeased and sent a message saying, "If you do not accept this official position I will have your head cut off for disobedience to your King."

But the dauntless monk replied, "I would rather die in one day for the sake of keeping Buddha's commandments than live for a hundred years while breaking them." When the King received this reply, he finally gave formal permission for Chajang to remain a monk for life.

There was nothing to eat among the rocks and trees where he lived, and he would surely have starved to death had it not been for a strange bird which brought him dainty and nourishing fruit for his daily food. One day he fell into a trance in which a heavenly being appeared to him and expounded the Five Commandments of Buddha. After this he walked down into the valley and began explaining these commandments to the people, who gathered from near and far with great rejoicing.

Chajang lamented that his development was hampered in the Eastern corner of little learning (Korea) and so decided to study in the West (China) in order to obtain wider knowledge. Having received Queen Sondok's royal sanction in the third year of Inp'yong (the Queen's reign title), that is in the tenth year of Chen-kuan of T'ang T'ai-tsung (636) he set out for China with

ten attendants including his disciple Sil and went to Ch'ingliangshan. On this mountain there was a clay statue of Munsu Buddha said to have been made by heavenly sculptors under the personal direction of the Chesok god, according to Chinese legends.

Chajang bowed to this image and worshipped it. As he meditated he fell into a deep trance, in which the image stroked his head and taught him a verse in Sanskrit. When he awoke he remembered this verse exactly but could not understand its meaning. The next morning a strange monk appeared and interpreted the verse for him, adding "Even though you study ten thousand texts, none of them will excel these four lines." The monk then gave him a robe and some sari and vanished. (The details of this story are found in Book Three. Ilyon says that because Chajang at first kept this event to himself, it was not recorded in the T'ang Biographies of Monks.)

Chajang realized that he had received a precious saying of Buddha in that verse. He climbed down Peitai, passed T'aiho pool and reached Changan, the T'ang capital. Emperor T'ai-tsung sent an imperial messenger to conduct him to a monastery named Shengkuang-pieh-yuan, showing him special favor, bestowing gifts upon him, and giving him the finest accommodations. But Chajang disliked splendor and state, and eventually he built himself a low cottage under a rock on Nanshan (South Mountain) to the east of Yunchi Temple. There he lived for three years, during which time he worked many wonders. When he returned to Changan the Emperor presented him with 200 rolls (of 40 yards each) of silk for use as clothing.

In the seventeenth year of Chen-kuan (643) Queen Sondok of Silla sent a personal letter to the Emperor requesting that Chajang be allowed to return home, and the Emperor granted this wish. His Majesty invited Chajang to a farewell banquet in the inner palace and bestowed on the great monk one suit of silk and 500 suits of brocade. The T'ang Crown Prince also gave him 200 suits of brocade in addition to many other gifts. Chajang wished to take with him a copy of the Buddhist scriptures (Taejang-gyong), various Buddhist banners and certain flowers, and these also were given him. So with a large cargo of precious gifts from China Chajang returned to Silla and received an enthusiastic welcome.

The Queen established him in Punhwang Temple (the T'ang Biography says Wangfen-szu) with regular provisions for his daily life and personal guards. One summer he was invited to the palace to lecture on the way to achieve the ideals of the living Buddha. On another occasion he lectured at

Hwangnyong Temple for seven days and nights on the commandments of the Bodhisattvas. During this time sweet rain fell from heaven and mild clouds covered the hall, causing the audience to admire his wonder-working power.

At this time the court gave Chajang the title of Great National Priest and made him the head of all Buddhist organizations in the kingdom, with power to draft a set of uniform regulations by which they should henceforth be ruled.

(Here follows a list of precedents for this action, first Chinese and then Korean.) During the years of T'ien-pao Pei-ch'i divided each diocese in the kingdom into ten districts and appointed priests and great priests. Liang and Chen appointed national priests, provincial priests, country priests and abbots affiliated with the Chao-hsien Ts'ao (Supervisor of monks and nuns). The T'ang rulers named ten great priests.

In the eleventh year of King Chinhung of Silla (550) Anjang Popsa was named Taesosong with two Sososong under him. In the following year Hyeryang Popsa of Koguryo was appointed national priest and entitled temple master. Poryang Popsa was appointed Taedoyuna with nine provincial priests and eighteen country priests under him.

Chajang was appointed great national priest, but this was not an active administrative post but an honorary title like T'ae-Tae-Kakkan (Elder Statesman), a title conferred on Kim Yu-sin when Puyerang was appointed Tae-Kakkan (Prime Minister). Later King Wonsong (785-798) appointed monk officials with one Taesa and two Sa (master teacher and teachers) on the permanent working staff. Therefore, the purple-robed monks belong to separate branches of the temples.

In a local biography from Silla it is written, "When Chajang was visiting China Emperor T'ai-tsung invited him to the palace (Wuch'ientien) to lecture on Hwaom doctrine and in the midst of his lecture heaven sent down honeydew, so the Emperor made him a national priest." But neither the T'ang biographies nor the Samguk Sagi makes any mention of this incident.

Chajang availed himself of this appointment to propagate Buddhism throughout Silla by establishing the following regulations: 1) In the five monasteries and nunneries more of the ancient scriptures were to be taught; 2) Seminars on the Buddhist commandments were to be held for a half-moon period in winter and spring each year, and all monks and nuns were to

undergo examinations on these commandments; 3) An administrative office was to be set up and officials sent regularly on tours to ascertain the condition of temple property and to warn the clergy against error, while encouraging them to care for the images in the temples and to conduct religious ceremonies regularly.

As a result, a new order of Buddhism flourished in Silla, like the flourishing of Confucianism in China when the great sage (Confucius) returned to Lu from Wei to revive the elegant odes of Ya and Sung, eliminating lewd ballads and publishing artistic lyrics which ennobled the human heart. (This refers to Confucius' decision to abandon his attempts at a political career, return to his native place (Lu) and turn his attention to editing the books which later became known as the Confucian Classics. His traditional dates are 551-479 B.C.)

At this time eight or nine of every ten families in Silla wanted to have their sons and daughters become monks and nuns, and the number increased yearly. T'ongdo Temple (near Pusan) was therefore established (as a place of initiation) where applicants to join the order were received after taking an oath and purifying themselves.

Chajang donated his country home to the foundation of a temple called Wonyong-sa, and on the day of its completion gave a lecture on the verses of Buddha (Ten Thousand Songs of Flowers), at which time fifty-two heavenly maidens appeared in the audience. Chajang had his disciples plant memorial trees according to the number of these maidens and named them Chisik-su (Trees of Knowledge) to commemorate this miracle of Buddha.

Chajang proposed to the royal court the use of the T'ang court dress because of its elegance and dignity. Queen Chindok approved of the plan, and in the third year of her reign (649) the T'ang costume was first worn by herself and her court, In the following year the T'ang calendar was adopted in Silla and events were thenceforth dated by the T'ang Emperors' reign titles and eras beginning with Ying-hui of T'ang Kao-tsung (third T'ang Emperor, 649-683) in both official and unofficial records, From this time the Silla envoy took precedence over those of all other tributary states at the T'ang court.

When Chajang had reached an advanced age he bade farewell to Kyongju and went to Kangnung county (now Myongju), where he founded Suta Temple as a place to live quietly. One night in a dream a strange monk resembling the one he had met at Peitai (Wutaishan) appeared and said he

wanted to meet Chajang at Taesongjong the next day. Chajang arose in wonder and went to the appointed place, where the Munsu Buddha appeared to him in human shape and said, "I will see you again at Kalbonchi in the T'aebaek Mountains," and then vanished from sight. (In Songjong, Ilyon says, no brambles grow and no hawks make their nests to this day.)

Chajang climbed the T'aebaek mountains and found a large snake coiled under a tree. "This is Kalbonchi," he told his attendants. He built a temple there called Soknamwon (now Chongam-sa), and awaited the descent of the sage. After a while a ragged old hermit carrying a dead puppy in an arrowroot basket appeared and said to an attendant, "I have come to see Chajang."

"Who are you," the attendant retorted, "and why this mad calling on the name of our master?"

The stranger coolly replied, "Go and tell your master that I am here to see him—only that and nothing more."

When the incident was described to Chajang he wondered if the fellow were a madman. But when they shouted at him to go, the old man said "How can a Narcissus see me?" and turned his basket upside down. Out of it came, not a dead puppy but a lion on a throne, radiating a dazzling light for a moment, and then the old man vanished. (A symbol of Buddha as preeminent among both men and beasts.)

Informed of this miracle, Chajang hastened to pursue the light until he reached Namnyong (South Pass), where it vanished in a mist. As it did so, Chajang fell dead. He was cremated there and his bones enshrined in a cave.

During his lifetime Chajang founded more than a dozen temples and pagodas, and on each such occasion unusually auspicious signs appeared. This brought faithful followers to him in crowds to help complete the sacred buildings quickly. His personal effects, including, his wooden pillow (carved with a duck design) and his robe (once worn by Buddha), which had been presented to him by the dragon of T'aiho pool in China, are now preserved in T'ongdo Temple.

In Honyang-hyon (now Onyang) there is a temple called Apyu-sa. It was so named in honor of the duck carved on Chajang's pillow which used to play there and did some miracles. A monk named Wonsung preceded

Chajang to China and returned to Silla with him to help in the propagation of Buddhism there.

Song of Praise to Chajang

When he awoke from a dream at Ch'ingliangshan and returned home,
Seven volumes and three collections of commandments opened before
his inward eye.

Ashamed of the coarse robes of the courtiers.

He reformed the dress of the East to that of the West.

103. Wonhyo, the Unbridled Monk

The family name of the sacred monk Wonhyo was Sol-ssi, His-grandfather was Ingp'i-kong, otherwise called Choktae-kong, whose shrine now stands near Choktaeyon pool. His great-grandfather was Tamnal-naemal.

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

(This story is remarkably similar to that of the birth of Buddha as recorded in the scriptures. "Sala" is the name of the tree under which Buddha is said to have departed this life and entered Nirvana.)

There is a legend that long, long ago an abbot gave his temple slave two chestnuts for his supper. The indignant slave brought suit against the abbot because of his meager rations. The local magistrate ordered the slave to produce the chestnuts, and when he did so it was observed that one of them was large enough to fill a wooden bowl. The magistrate therefore ruled that henceforth only one chestnut should be given for a meal. Since that time the place where these chestnuts grew has been called Yulgok (Chestnut Valley).

When Wonhyo became a monk he gave away his house for the foundation of a temple called Ch'ogae-sa (Temple of First Opening) and near a tree in his garden he built another temple named Sala-sa.

In his biography Wonhyo is represented as a man of Kyongju because his grandfather lived there, but the T'ang Biographies of Monks describes

him as a native of Ha-Sangju. In the second year of Lin-te (665) King Munmu of Silla divided the old land of Sangju and Haju to create Sapnyangju in the new territory. Haju is now Ch'ang-nyong county and Apnyang county was originally a sub-prefecture of Haju. Pulchich'on was part of the Chain-hyon of today, a sub-prefecture of Apnyang county.

Wonhyo's childhood names were So-tang (Pledging Flag) and Sin-tang (New Flag). On the night he was conceived his mother dreamed that a shooting star entered her bosom, and when he was born five-colored clouds covered the earth. This was in the thirty-ninth year of King Chinpyong of Silla (617).

As the boy grew into a healthy and handsome youth he proved to be an uncommon person. He did not study with a teacher, but knew everything already. He was a playboy. His companions, his adventures, his wits and his great achievements are all described in detail in the T'ang Biographies of the Monks and in his autobiography, so here we will include only a few anecdotes from the Biographies of Silla.

One day Wonhyo saw bees and butterflies flitting from flower to flower, and he felt a strong desire for a woman. He walked through the streets of Kyongju singing, "Who will lend me an axe that has lost its handle? I wish to cut a heaven-supporting pole." The passers-by laughed at him, not realizing the real meaning of his song, but T'aejong (King Muryol) said when he heard it, "The love-lorn monk wants to marry a noble lady and get a wise son by her. If a sage is born, so much the better for the country."

(Wonhyo's song alludes to a poem in the Book of Odes, one of the Confucian Classics. In this poem the axe-handle symbolizes the male sexual organ, so that an axe without a handle means a widow. Wonhyo is looking for a go-between to find a widow to be his lover, and the King agrees to play this part. This is one more example of Wonhyo's disregard of convention, since Confucian custom forbade widows to remarry or otherwise have to do with men.)

There was at this time a widowed princess living in Yosok Palace (now a monastery, Ilyon says). The King told his servants to conduct Wonhyo to that palace, and they found that he had already descended Namsan (South Mountain) and reached Munch'on-gyo, the Mosquito Stream Bridge. Here he deliberately fell into the stream and got his clothes wet. When he reached the palace the princess, already in bridal attire, suffered him to

change into a bridegroom's robes, and so they were married and passed the night together.³

The princess became pregnant as a result, and bore a son whose name was Sol Ch'ong. He was so intelligent that he mastered all the classical histories in his youth. He composed books on folk customs and the place-names of China and Silla, using the "Idu" system of simplified Chinese characters as phonetic signs to convey the Korean language. Until then there had been no method of writing the Korean language and people who wished to be educated had to read and write in Chinese, although the spoken Korean language is distinctly different from Chinese.

Sol Ch'ong also translated the Six Chinese Classics (Probably the Confucian Classics are meant) into Korean by this method and wrote commentaries on them. All these have been handed down to the scholars of the East (Korea). For his virtuous deeds and literary accomplishments, Sol Ch'ong is acclaimed as one of the ten sages of Silla. (Unfortunately, all but one of Sol Chong's works are lost.)

Having broken a Buddhist commandment by his union with the princess and the birth of Sol Ch'ong, Wonhyo doffed his monk's robe and put on secular dress, adopting the punning nickname Sosong Kosa (Little Hermit). One day he met an actor and performed a gourd dance, wearing a grotesque mask on his face. He made a utensil in the shape of a gourd and called it Mu-ae (Boundless; this is an allusion to the Hwaom sect scriptural phrase, "Both life and death are Nirvana and paradise when a sage king rules within the bounds of decorum and music"). He composed a song about the gourd for this dance. Wearing the mask and carrying the gourd he performed his dance in every corner of the country, so that even usurers and poor old bachelors (both much despised) could understand the golden sayings of Buddha and the Buddhist invocation, Namuami-tabul. His native place Pulji (Buddha Land), his temple Ch'ogae (First Opening) and his religious name Wonhyo (Breaking Dawn) all refer to the first dawning of the Buddhist faith on earth.

When he wrote a commentary on the Hwaom scripture he stopped at the fortieth chapter, and when he lived at Punhwang temple in early life he was constantly occupied with public affairs. For these reasons he never rose above the lowest ranks of the monks. Guided by a sea dragon, he received a commandment from Buddha to write while traveling a song about Sammae-gyong. He put his ink-stone and his writing brush on the two horns of the

ox he rode, and therefore people called him Kaksung (Horn Rider). The two horns represented the awakening of his inner self and of the inner selves of others. He met Taeon Popsa, another famous monk, who presented Wonhyo with writing paper, and they chanted the song together.

When Wonhyo died his bones were crushed and incorporated into a lifelike image of him which his son Sol Ch'ong enshrined in Pun-hwang-sa, where he held a memorial service and chanted a dirge in his father's memory. As Sol Ch'ong prostrated himself to one side of the image, it suddenly turned its head toward him. This image is still to be seen, with its head turned to one side. Legend says that Sol Ch'ong lived in a cottage near a cave where his father had once lived. The ruins of this cottage are still there.

Song of Praise to Wonhyo

His Ox-horns unveiled the mystery of Sammae-gyong;
His gourd dance awoke the underworld to holy things.
In the moonlit Jade Palace he enjoyed a spring dream and was gone;
Over the closed Punhwang Temple his shadow dances alone.

104. Uisang Transmits the Hwaom Sutra to the Cardinal Temples

Uisang's father was Han-sin and his family name was Kim. At the age of twenty-nine he shaved his head and became a monk, residing at Hwangpok Temple. Soon afterward he decided to go to China to study Buddhist doctrine, and set out on his journey with Wonhyo. But when he reached Liaotung he was arrested by Koguryo border guards and detained for ten days, after which he was allowed to return home. (Ilyon says this account is found in Ch'oe Hu's Chronicles and in Wonhyo's Autobiography.)

In the first year of Ying-hui (650) he joined the party of a T'ang envoy returning to China and entered the Middle Kingdom. When he arrived at Yangchow, the Chinese military commander there gave him a luxurious reception and provided him with living quarters in the government headquarters. After a few days he visited the monk Chih-yen on the South Mountain of Changan. Chih-yen had had a dream the night before in which he had seen a great tree growing in Haedong (Silla) whose boughs and leaves covered the whole of Shenchow (Land of God, i.e. China) and in the top of which was a phoenix nest. He climbed the tree, and his eyes were dazzled by Manipao (jewels said to have been emitted from the brain of a king dragon) whose light radiated far and wide. Waking in wonder and

surprise, he tidied his house and waited until Uisang knocked at his door. After receiving his guest with special ceremony he said, "In a dream last night I saw signs of your coming." The two sat facing each other and discussed the mysteries of the Hwaom Sutra to the profoundest depths. Chih-yen was glad to hear the intelligent words of Uisang, and declared that his visitor outshone him on many points of Buddhist scripture.

At this time the Silla ministers Kim Hum-sun (another book says Kim In-mun, Ilyon notes) and Yang-to were detained in Changan by T'ang Emperor Kao-tsung, who was planning to attack Silla with a large army. Uisang was informed of this by Hum-sun, who urged him to return home at once and warn the court. Therefore, in the first year of Hsien-heng (670), Uisang returned to Silla and told King Munmu of the imminent danger. At the same time he ordered Myongnang, a clever monk, to improvise a secret Buddhist altar to deceive a Chinese envoy who had come to Kyongju for purposes of espionage. Thus the King was able to surmount the crisis.

Hsuan-shou Fa-tsang, a Chinese monk and fellow student of Uisang at Chih-yen's monastery, sent Uisang a copy of his Selections from Sou-hsuan-shu and a personal letter in the most cordial terms which read as follows:

"Fa-tsang, a monk at Ch'ungfu Temple in the Western Capital (Changan) presents this letter to the attendant of Hwaom Popsa in Silla. Since we two parted twenty years ago you have been ever in my mind, but the wide seas have kept us ten thousand li apart, separated by the sailing clouds and rolling waves. My longing to see you knows no bounds. By Karma (Sanskrit; the accumulation of merits and demerits by which future incarnations are determined) we have often been acquainted, and we studied under the same teacher who, by divine ordinance, transmitted to us his knowledge of the great mysteries of the Buddhist scriptures.

"I have learned with great joy that after your return you held seminars on the Hwaom Sutra in order to enhance the glories of Buddha. You have reflected the heavenly jewels of the Chesok Palace in your Buddhist nation to share the blessings of Buddha with all people. This, news shows me that it is you who have brought Buddha's sunlight and turned the Wheel of the Law to propagate his gospel on earth since Sakyamuni entered the Lotus Paradise.

"I, Fa-tsang, have made few achievements in my studies. I am ashamed when with my inward eye I see you and our textbook, the Hwaom Sutra.

The statements of Hwasang (a Buddhist priest) in the Sou-hsuan-shu have rich meanings, but are too brief, so that the younger generation will find it difficult to understand their full significance. I have therefore recorded his dark sayings and added commentaries for novices to read. Sungchon Popsa will soon finish copying my manuscript and deliver it to you. I will be fortunate if you will read it and correct the errors I have made.

“In our next incarnations, when together we receive the supreme, inexhaustible law of Buddha in the universally illumined kingdom of Nosana and perform the precepts of Pohyon, my sins will be redeemed. Please do not forget our long acquaintance and continue to lead me on the righteous path. Hoping to hear from you through messengers or correspondence from time to time....”

(Ilyon says this letter is included in the Taemun-nyu, the Collection of Great Men's Letters.)

Uisang ordered the ten cardinal temples, including Pusok-sa on Mt. T'aebaek, Pimara-sa in Wonju, Haein-sa on Mt. Kaya, Okch'on-sa in Pistil, Pomo-sa in Kumjong and Hwaom-sa in Namak, to propagate Buddhism on the principles of the Hwaom Sutra. In addition, he made a schematic chart of Buddhist doctrine (Mandala) for the temples to keep for the instruction of monks for a thousand years. He left no other writings, but one piece of meat is enough to flavor the soup. This chart and explanation, his only literary work, were made in the first year of Tsung-chang (668, the year that Chih-yen died), just as Confucius wrote the final chapter of his book after receiving the gift of a Kirin. (Confucius is said to have composed the final chapter of the Ch'unchiu (Spring and Autumn Annals) after receiving the gift of a Kirin (Giraffe), a fabulous monster said to symbolize benevolence.)

Legend says that Uisang was an incarnation of the Bodhisattva on the Jeweled Throne. His ten disciples were Ochin, Chit'ong, P'yohun, Chinjong, Chinjang, Toyung, Yangto, Sangwon, Nungin and Uijok. They are all known as sages of the second rank and each has a biography.

Ochin lived at Koram Temple on Mt. Haga, from which he stretched his arm each night to light the lamp at Pusok Temple. Chit'ong wrote the book Ch'udong-gi (The Village of Gimlets) in which he told many interesting stories in clever phrases. P'yohun lived at Pulguk Temple and traveled to and from the heavenly palace.

When Uisang was at Hwangpok Temple he used to mount the pagoda and turn around in the air, without touching the steps. When the other

monks followed him, all floating three feet off the ground, he looked back and said, "If the commoners should see us flying this way they would think us monsters, so we had better not teach them this heavenly art."

Song of Praise to Uisang

He pushed through brambles and war-dust,
Sailing on and on till the Chihshang Temple door opened;
When he planted Hwaom's flowering trees in his own garden,
Nanshan (China) and Mt. T'aebaek (Silla) sang the same spring.

105. The Widow and her Dumb Son

In a remote village called Manson-Pungni in the vicinity of Kyong-ju a widow conceived without sleeping with a man and bore a son. Until the age of twelve he did not speak a word or walk a step, and people called him Sapok or Sadong (Snake Boy) because he wriggled about on his belly. His mother died while the great monk Wonhyo was living at Koson Temple. Sadong appeared in a vision to Wonhyo, who rose to meet him with palms pressed together in a Buddhist salute. The young visitor did not return the courtesy but addressed him in a dignified voice.

"The cow (meaning his mother) on which you and I loaded our Buddhist scriptures long ago is now dead. Let us go together and hold a funeral service for her."

"Let us do so," Wonhyo replied.

When they came to the place where the dead woman was, Wonhyo recited an Upasatta (Sanskrit prayer for the dead): "Do not be reborn, for death is pain; do not die, for birth is pain."

But Sadong interrupted: "Your prayer is too clumsy. It should be, 'Both life and death are pain.'" They carried the coffin to the eastern hill called Hwalli-san.

"Would it not be fitting," Wonhyo said, "to bury the Chihye-ho (Tigress of Wisdom, the dead woman's Buddhist name) in the Chihye-rim (Forest of Wisdom)?"

"You are right," Sadong replied. "I will sing an elegy (Gatha) in praise of the Buddha: As Sakyamuni Buddha entered Nirvana under the Sala tree long ago, so now his kindred goes to the magnificent palace in the lotus paradise of Nirvana."

As he spoke he pulled up grass by the roots. Beneath these roots there opened a bright, clean empty world with a seven-treasure bridge leading to

dazzling pavilions of gold and jewels such as are not to be found in this world. Sadong took his mother's body on his back and descended this subterranean staircase, whereupon the earth closed above his head as waves rush together, leaving Wonhyo in darkness on the quivering ground.

Long afterward devout Buddhists erected a temple called Tojang-sa on the eastern side of Mt. Kumgang in Kyongju in honor of Sadong and his mother. On the fourteenth day of the third month each year they held memorial services for the two human Buddhas who returned to eternity.

Song in Praise of the Snake Boy

A sleeping dragon in the depths cannot be idle:

When he wakes and twists his body the womb of earth opens and closes.

The pains of both life and death are lasting grief;

There is floating rest in the lotus paradise of eternal peace.

(This is plainly a tale of reincarnation, though of whom is not clear. Uposatta and Gatha are Sanskrit ritual texts, and the lotus paradise is, of course, one of the many Buddhist heavens.)

106. Chinp'yo Receives Divination Sticks from Maitreya

The monk Chinp'yo was a native of Mangyong-hyon in Wansan-ju (Chonju) who lived at Kumsan Temple. His father was Chinnaemal, his mother was Kilborang and his family name was Chong. He became a monk at the age of twelve and was a disciple of Sungche Popsa, who had studied under Shantao Santsang in China and later gone to Wutaishan, where he saw the living Munsu Bodhisattva and received from him the Five Commandments.

One day Chinp'yo asked his master, "When can I receive the Buddha's commandments?"

"If your devotion is sincere, you can receive them within a year," was the reply. Encouraged by his master's words, Chinp'yo made a pilgrimage to various famous mountains and then settled at Pulsau-am (Wonder Hermitage) on Mt. Son'gye. There he underwent various ordeals for the confession of his sins. First he struck his head and his four limbs against a rock for seven nights, with earnest prayers. His arms and legs were torn and his blood rained on the rock, but no sign came. He continued this practice for another week, until the end of the fortnight's prayer, and the Chijang

Bodhisattva (a spirit of mercy and protector of children) appeared and gave him his commandments of purification. This happened in the hour of the dragon and the year of the dragon, on the fifteenth of the third moon in the twenty-eighth year of Kai-yuan, when Chinp'yo was twenty-three years old.

Wishing to see Maitreya, he moved to Yongsan Temple, also known as Pyonsan or T'ongga san. There, after further ordeals, Maitreya appeared to him and gave him the two volumes of the Chomch'al-gyong, the Buddhist book of divination. (Ilyon says this was a Chinese version compiled toward the beginning of the Sui dynasty, whose rule began in 589.) Maitreya also gave him 189 divination sticks, saying "The eighth and ninth sticks are my fingerbones and the rest are made of aloewood and sandalwood. They will predict the annoyances of the mortal world. You are to use them as rafts of salvation by the gospel of Buddha" Chinp'yo thereafter held annual divination services on a newly built altar before large multitudes of Buddhist believers.

(Divination with sticks was not originally a Buddhist practice. It is mentioned in some of the earliest Chinese documents and was associated in China mainly with Taoism.)

When Chinp'yo arrived at Asullaju, the fish and turtles of the sea formed a long bridge between the islands and conducted him to the dragon palace at the bottom, where he delivered the commandments of Buddha to the dragons in a sermon. This was in the eleventh year of T'ien-pao (752).

King Kyongdok of Silla heard of Chinp'yo's fame and summoned him to the palace. The King received the commandments of the Bodhisattvas from the monk and gave him 77,000 large bags of rice. The Queen and her family received the same commandments and presented him with 500 rolls of silk and 50 yang of gold. Chinp'yo distributed all these gifts to various temples for the support of Buddhist services.

When Chinp'yo died his bones were enshrined in Pohyon Temple-on the seacoast, near the place where he had given the Buddha's commandments to the fish and turtles. His chief disciples were Yong-sim, Pojong, Sinpang, Ch'ejin, Chinhae, Chinson and Ch'ung, who all founded temples in the deep mountains. He left the divination sticks to Yongsim, who took them to Mt. Songni to continue the services at the Buddhist altar, upon which were the six wheels of divination. (A mandala is indicated here, but again there is some confusion. A mandate is a sort of cosmic diagram connected with the

esoteric doctrines of certain Buddhist sects. Its original purpose was not divination.)

According to the T'ang Seng-chuan (Biographies of Monks) in the thirteenth year of Kai-huang (593) there lived at Kwangchow (Canton) a monk who performed confession ceremonies for Buddhist devotees. He made two leather tablets inscribed respectively with the-Chinese characters for good and evil. People would toss them into the-air, and those for whom the "good" character turned up were declared! lucky. Furthermore this monk claimed to be able to redeem the sins of all people by a self-torturing method of confession. Crowds of fanatics, men and women, gathered around him to have their fortunes told.

In time this custom spread as far north as Tsingchow (in Shantung). The government authorities condemned it as witchcraft, but the Buddhist believers said it was based on the Book of Divination and that the "pagoda" method of confession was described in another scripture which said that striking the head and four limbs on the ground made a thundering noise like the crumbling of a mountain.

The Emperor heard about this matter and sent an official named Li Yuan-shan to Tahsing Temple to seek an explanation from the monks. Two of them, Fa-ching and Yen-tsung, replied that there were two volumes of the Book of Divination and that the first chapter, on the "Lantern of Bodhi" (enlightenment) had been translated from Sanskrit into Chinese in a foreign country, but that the real title of the book, the name of the translator and the place where it had been translated were all unknown. They said that the "pagoda" confession was different in performance from other confessions. The Emperor prohibited the practice by imperial decree.

The account given by the monks of Tsingchow somewhat resembles the story told by some Confucian scholars, who say that the Shih Ching and the Shu Ching (the Book of Odes and the Book of Kings, two of the Confucian Classics) were discovered in an old tomb. (Chinese documents do allude to such a discovery.) But this comparison is like trying to draw a tiger and producing a dog, and is exactly what Buddha forbids. If people doubt the authenticity of the Book of Divination because its translator and place of translation are unknown, they are like a magician who picks up a coil of hemp and calls it a gold ring.

To do it justice, the Book of Divination expounds the mysteries of the Bodhisattva altar (Mandala), and nothing excels it in expunging all flaws

and unclean things from the thoughts of idle fellows. It is therefore called Taesung-ch'am (Great Ferry Confession, i.e. a conveyor of the soul to paradise) dealing with the six roots (eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body and mind). In the Buddhist document of Kai-yuan and Chen-yuan it is called Chongjang, to indicate Buddha's presence if not his nature. It must not be compared to the T'ap-pak-i-ch'am (pagoda confession and self-torture confession).

In the book, Questions of Sarina Buddha it is written, "Buddha said to Changjajapunya-Dala, 'You should confess your sins for seven days and seven nights to cleanse all evil from your heart.' Dala performed the confession ceremony with devotion, and on the fifth night many things such as towels, dusters, brooms, knives, gimlets and axes fell like rain into his room. Joyfully he asked Buddha what this signified, and Buddha answered 'These cutting and wiping instruments signify the phase of departure from worldly dust.'"

This appears to be the same phase as that attained by throwing the wheel in the Book of Divination. We can therefore understand Chinp'yo's obtaining the sticks after making his confession and receiving the Buddhist law. Had this been false Maitreya would not have conferred the sticks on him in person. If the Book of Divination is condemned then the Questions of Sarina Buddha should be condemned also. Yen-tsung and his fellow monks were blinded to man by gold.

Song in Praise of Chinp'yo

Born in a corrupt generation, he aroused the deaf and the idle;
Holy mountains and fairy streams responded to his inspiration.
He spread the Pagoda Confession far and wide in earnest;
The converted fish and turtles of the eastern sea made a bridge for him to tread.

107. The Stone Monument at Ponyon Temple in Kwantong-P'ung-ak (Maple Mountain)

(This is a variant account of the life of Chinp'yo. A note at the beginning says it is based on an inscription composed by Yongcham, the abbot of Ponyon Temple, for a stone monument erected in the fourth year of Chen-an (1199). Kwantong is Kangwon Province on the East Coast and P'ung-ak is a poetic name for Kungang-san, the Diamond Mountains.)

Chinp'yo Yulsa was a native of Taejong-ni, Nasanch'on, Pyokkol-gun, Chonju. At the age of twelve, with his father's consent, he went to Sunche Popsa the abbot of Kumsan Temple and became a monk. The abbot gave him the Sami (Sanskrit Sramanera, a catechism used by novices) together with one volume on the secret sacrificial offerings and two volumes of the Book of Divination on good and evil and the law of causation, saying "Go to Maitreya and Chijang with these laws and confess your sins to the two Buddhas. When they have taught you a further law you must spread it over the world." Chinp'yo departed and visited all the famous temples at the age of twenty-seven.

In the first year of Shang-yuan (760), at the age of twenty-seven, Chinp'yo entered a hermitage called Pulsau-bang (Room of Wonder) in Pyonsan, Poan-hyon (North Cholla Province) with twenty mal (five bushels) of steamed and dried rice for his food. He ate five hop (about a handful) daily and gave one hop to the rats. He prostrated himself before the image of Maitreya and prayed for three years to be blessed with the holy commandments, but the Buddha gave no sign. In shame and remorse he tried to kill himself by leaping from a tall cliff, but a blue boy caught him with both hands in midair before he could be crushed in the valley below and seated him on a rock.

Filled with new resolution, Chinp'yo resumed his self-torturing confession on a twenty-one-day program, striking his body against a rock. By the third day his hands and arms had been torn from his body, but on the night of the seventh day Chijang Bodhisattva waved a golden wand over the monk's head and his hands and arms grew back and his body was restored to its normal condition. The Bodhisattva gave him a robe and a bowl (signifying his full admission to the order of monks) and his heart was filled with a deep and holy inspiration.

When the twenty-one-day period was fully over his heavenly eyes were opened (he achieved the insight into reality which is the goal of Buddhist meditation) and he saw a host of saints coming toward him from the Tosol heaven. Chijang and Maitreya smoothed his brow and said, "Well done, strong monk! Your earnest confession and self-sacrifice have made you worthy to receive Buddha's commandments." Chijang gave him a copy of the commandments and also two wooden tablets, one inscribed Kuja (nine men) and the other Palja (eight men).

“These,” Chijang said, “are the finger bones of my two hands, bespeaking my two previous awakenings. Nine laws and eight are my reborn seeds, and you shall understand all retributions by looking on them. You shall cast off your flesh and fly up to the Tosol heaven in the body of a great king.” And with these words the two Buddhas disappeared. It was the twenty-seventh day of the fourth moon in the year of the tiger.

Chinp'yo Yulsa decided to found Komsan Temple. When he had descended the mountain (from his hermitage) as far as Taeyon Pool, a King dragon emerged from the water and presented him with a robe of jade, and guided him to Kumsan Forest with an escort of 80,000 dragons. Men and women gathered from all directions to help him, and within a few days the temple was completed in perfect beauty. Maitreya descended from the Tosol heaven on a cloud to accompany Chinp'yo as he received Buddha's commandments. Chinp'yo Yulsa was filled with a heavenly spirit. He had a sixteen-foot image of Maitreya cast in iron and enshrined in the Golden Hall, while a picture (showing the descent of Maitreya and the monk's reception of Buddha's commands, Ilyon says) adorned the southern wall. Both of these were the work of an artist who also donated building materials to the temple. The image was begun on June 9 in the year of the dragon (764) and was enshrined on May 1 in the year of the horse (766). This was the first year of the Tali era of T'ang Tai-tsung.

While Chinp'yo Yulsa was climbing down Kumsan, he met a man riding at the head of a long train of ox-carts. (When he appeared) the lead ox suddenly knelt before him, bellowing and shedding tears, and all the other oxen followed suit. The man jumped down from his cart in surprise. “Who are you and where are you coming from, my good monk?” he asked. “Why do my oxen bellow at the sight of you?”

“I am Chinp'yo, a monk from the forest of the Golden Mountain,” the other explained. “I entered the Room of Wonder at Pyonsan, where I received the Buddha's commandments in the presence of Maitreya and Chijang, who also gave me two sacred tablets. After building a temple in the forest, I have started on a journey to seek a quieter place to live out my days. Though foolish in outward appearance, these oxen are wise in their inward souls. They know that I have received the laws of Buddha and so they worship him, weeping for joy.”

“If even the beasts of burden have faith, how much more should a man!” exclaimed the ox-driver. “I cannot remain unfeeling and idle.” And

he took up his scythe and began to shave his head. Deeply moved, Yulsa shaved the man's head for him and helped him to receive the Buddha's commandments.

Arriving at Mt. Songni, Chinp'yo came upon a host of emerald clover, or Kilsang-ch'o (emblem of heavenly beauty). He marked the spot and continued his journey along the coast of Myongju. An army of fish and turtles appeared on the seashore and formed a bridge from the earth to the sea. He passed over this bridge into the depths, and there he recited the Buddhist commandments. Emerging from the waves, he traveled on through Kosong county and reached Kaegol-san, the mountains of all bones (another name for the Diamond Mountains), where he founded temples in the Ponyon Forest and held seminars on the land of divination.

After Chinp'yo had lived seven years in the forest the crops failed in Myongju and there was a great famine. He preached a sermon on the law of the Buddha of mercy to a large audience of believers in the Three Treasures. Suddenly fish all along the seacoast leaped ashore and died in countless numbers. The people danced for joy and collected the fish for food, thus escaping starvation.

It was not until he returned to his old hermitage (the Room of Wonder) at Pyonsan that he visited his parents at his childhood home and stayed in the house of Chinmun, a famous monk.

At this time Yongsim, Yungjong and Pult'a came to him and said. "We have walked a thousand li to receive the laws of Buddha from you." Chinp'yo remained silent. The three thereupon climbed a tall tree nearby and dashed themselves to the ground head first, with a courageous confession of their sins. Then Chinp'yo Yulsa consented to teach them. He anointed their brows and gave them robes and bowls (that is, initiated them into the order of monks). He also gave them a book on the secret sacrifices, two books on the daily divination of rewards and punishments, 189 inscribed tablets of Buddha, and the "eight-man" and "nine-man" tablets of Maitreya, representing the laws of Buddha and his rebirths. He gave them this instruction: "I have given you these sacred treasures. Take them with you to Mt. Songni, where you will find a hill of emerald clover which I have marked conspicuously. Build a temple on that hill in order to spread Buddhism according to the Lord's teachings for ages to come." Chinp'yo held regular meetings there on the law of divination.

Chinp'yo Yulsa returned to Ponyon with his father late in life to worship Buddha and honor his parents. When his life was drawing to a close he climbed a tall rock to the east of Ponyon Temple, and there he fell dead.

His disciples offered sacrifices for his soul but did not move his body until his bones lay scattered on the ground. When at last the bones were conveyed to the dark regions under ground, a pine tree suddenly shot up nearby and quickly grew high into the sky. As the years passed this tree withered, and a young tree grew from the same root. This happened several times, and even today twin pines stand near the grave and lucky pilgrims find fragments of Chinp'yo's bones under it.

I feared that these sacred bones might be lost altogether, and so in the ninth moon of the year of the snake (1197) I filled a tube with three hop of his relics. I built a stone monument under the twin pine on the tall rock where Chinp'yo died and enshrined his sari under it.

The history of Chinp'yo Yulsa in this record is somewhat different from that in the inscription on the stone monument at Ponyon Temple, so I have here summarized the record of Yongcham for the information of our wise readers.

—Muguk

(It appears from the above statement that this entire section is the work of Ilyon's chief disciple. As before, the date given is about a century too early.)

108. The Monk Sungchon Preaches to Stone Skeletons

Little is known about the monk Sungchon except some adventures in China. Early in life he sailed to the Middle Kingdom and studied under Hsien-shou until he had penetrated the depths of esoteric Buddhist doctrine. Hsien-shou had been a fellow student of Uisang when they both received instruction from Chih-yen Hoshang in Changan.

Hsien-shou wrote a letter to Uisang and entrusted it to Sungchon, who was returning to Silla. (The two frequently corresponded in this way, Ilyon says.) Enclosed in the letter were some essays on righteousness, written in his own hand and based on the teachings of his master. Under separate cover he sent a parcel of manuscripts which he had copied out of the Buddhist scriptures, including twenty volumes of the Search for Mystery (of which two were unfinished, Hyon says), three volumes of the Teachings of Buddha, one volume of the Mystical Definitions, one Hwaom text in

Sanskrit, two on the beliefs, one on the Twelve Gates and one on non-discrimination in the World of Buddha.

The letter read as follows: "... The other day Hyoch'ung, a Silla monk, brought me nine pun of gold and said it was your gift to me. Thank you very much. In return I send you an Indian water-bottle (for purification of the hands) through the kindness of Sungchon Popsa to express my sincere wishes for your good health. If you accept it I shall be very happy."

When Uisang received these manuscripts he felt as if he were again receiving instruction from his old teacher Chih-yen. He finished reading them in a month and gave them to his disciples to use in teaching these subjects throughout the kingdom. Thanks to the good monk Sungchon the perfect teachings of Buddha spread in the East.

Later another monk named Pomsu brought a second series of Hwaom scriptures from China to Silla and lectured on it in the year of Chen-yuan (799).

Sungchon founded a temple on the borders of Kaenyong county in the Sangju territory and gave lectures on Hwaom doctrine to a large audience of government officials represented by stone skeletons. Kagwi, an intelligent Silla monk and Sungchon's successor as a Buddhist teacher, wrote a book called Fountain of Thought in which he described these lectures of his master and the various topics he discussed with his stone audience at Kalgyong-sa Temple. According to his account, about eighty of the stone skeletons are still at the temple working wonders. Other tales of Sungchon, the uncommon monk who did uncommon things, are inscribed on his stone monument, and this inscription is identical with the account given in the Authentic Record of Taegak Kuksa, the National Priest of the Great Awakening.

(This business of the stone skeletons is extremely mysterious. There are two possible explanations, but these are only speculative. First, it was the custom to place inscribed stone tablets in lines before the audience hall of a royal palace to mark the places where officials were to stand during court ceremonies. This would have Sungchon lecturing before the royal court, which is quite possible. Second, a double row of stone statues of officials and various animals often leads up to a royal grave. This would have Sungchon lecturing at a king's tomb, which is less likely.)

109. Simji and the Bamboo Sticks

The monk Simji was a son of King Hondok (809-826). He was intelligent, good-natured, filial to his royal parents and affectionate to his brothers and sisters from his childhood. At the age of fifteen he shaved his head and entered Chung-ak (Kong-san) to become a monk.

Simji heard that Yongsim had received the sticks representing Buddha's finger bones from Chinp'yo Yulsa and was holding confession meetings on Mt. Songni. He therefore went to the mountain to participate, but being late arriving he was not admitted into the lecture hall. Simji sat on the ground and beat his breast as he confessed with the monks within.

After seven days there was a heavy snow which covered the courtyard, but not a single flake fell within ten feet of Simji's seat. Then finally the wonder-struck audience invited him into the hall. Simji, however, pretended illness and retired into a guest room where he worshipped Buddha with his eyes fixed on the lecture hall. Blood flowed from his brow and arms just as Chinp'yo had bled on Son'gye-san. The Chijang Bodhisattva came to comfort him every day.

When the confession meeting was over Simji started his return journey, but on the way he found two bamboo sticks (the ones mentioned at the beginning of this section) caught in the hem of his robe. He retraced his steps and gave the sticks to Yongsim, who exclaimed, "Impossible! I keep them in a sealed box." But when the box was opened it was empty. Wonderingly Yongsim wrapped the sticks carefully and put them away under lock and key.

Simji set off again, but again he found the bamboo sticks in the hem of his robe and brought them back. Admiring the great virtue of the royal monk, Yongsim said, "It is the will of Buddha. You had better take them with you."

Carrying the two sticks on his head, Simji returned to Chung-ak. There the Mountain Spirit and two fairies came to meet him. The Spirit led Simji to a high rock and prostrated himself beneath it with the fairies until he had received the commandments of Buddha from the royal monk. Then Simji said to him. "Now we must enshrine these divine treasures in an appropriate place. Let us throw the bamboo sticks from the highest peak of this mountain and mark the spot where they fall." They climbed the peak and threw the sticks high into the air toward the west. As they flew into the blue sky, the Mountain Spirit sang a song:

Rugged rocks become smooth floors;
Scattered leaves sweep the ground.
We find the Buddha-bone sticks wherever they fall;

We enshrine them on a clean spot and worship them. As the Spirit sang, the sticks fell into a well in the forest. A hall was duly built over the well to enshrine the sticks. Even today this well is found to the north of the Hall of Divination at Tonghwa-sa (Temple of the Paulownia Flowers).

King Yejong of Koryo (1078-1122) received these bamboo sticks into his palace and worshipped them as divine treasures, but he lost one and replaced it with a tooth of the Buddha before he sent them back to the temple. Now it has turned a different color, appearing to be neither bone nor jade.

According to the first volume of the Book of Divination there are 189 methods of fortune-telling, of which the ten most important indicate 1) Seeking the highest and deepest place in the Kingdom of Buddha; 2) Demonstrating the results obtained from this seeking; 3, 4) Seeking the middle and low places in the Kingdom of Buddha; 5) Achieving the end through spiritual power; 6) Achieving the end through mercy and charity; 7) Achieving the end through the power of divine beings; 8) Choosing what is to be received and what is to be given; 9) Keeping what has been received; 10) Seeking the lowest place in the Kingdom of Buddha without strongly rooted belief. The next is seeking the middle place in the Kingdom of Buddha without a strongly rooted belief. (Uyon notes after 9 that this explains the saying of Maitreya that new commandments are given in this life, old commandments were given in former lives, and further commandments will be given in the future, but these old and new commandments have nothing to do with the old and new commandments inherent in the minds of monks and nuns.)

The first 172 steps are concerned with good and evil, gain and loss in the past and present world. The 173rd step is abandoning oneself and going to hell. These are all retributions in the coming world. The 174th step is becoming a beast in one's next life. The 189 classes include demon (Preta), cutthroat, Herculean wrestler (Asura), man, king, heaven, heavenly king (Deva), hearing Buddha, monk, sage monk, living in Tosol, living in paradise, seeing Buddha, low rider, high rider, middle rider (on the ship of

souls) and deliverance of soul, which means ascending from lower to higher and entering paradise without retrogression.

These things show the differences between the rewards and punishments of three lives. If we apply them we obtain the following results: When a man's mind is equal to his deeds, Buddha works wonders through him; if this is not so his mind will collapse in error. The two bamboo sticks inscribed with the figures “eight” and “nine” are among the 189 sticks. The Seng-chuan (Biographies of Monks) mentions 108 sticks of divination, for unknown reasons. Perhaps this refers to the 108 annoyances of worldly passion rather than to the Buddhist scriptures.

In the two volumes of royal chronology compiled by Kim Kwan-Gi of Koryo it is written “Ch'ung, a great monk of Silla in the closing days of that kingdom, presented the robe of Chinp'yo Yulsa and 189 bamboo sticks of Buddha's commandments to T'aejo (Wang Kon) of Koryo.” It is doubtful, however, whether these are identical with those presently preserved at Tonghwa-sa.

Song in Praise of Simji

Born in the golden palace, he left the cage of worldly glory;
Diligence, intelligence and civility were his heaven-sent virtues.

In snowdrifts in the courtyard the divine bamboo sticks flew into his robe,

And came to rest on the top of the Paulownia-Flower Temple.

110. Taehyon and Pophae and Their Doctrines

Taehyon, the founder of the Yuga sect (in Korea) lived at Yong-jang Temple on Namsan in Kyongju. It was his regular practice to circumambulate a sixteen-foot stone image of Maitreya in the courtyard of the temple, and the image would always turn its head to face the monk. The doctrines of the Yuga sect (Fa-shang-tsung in Chinese) were so difficult to understand that Pai Chu-i (a famous T'ang poet) and other Chinese scholars gave up its study, saying that they were unable to follow the labyrinth of its reasoning. But Taehyon, by his superhuman wisdom and intelligence, easily mastered it, and soon his mind was enlightened concerning its obscurities, enabling him to perceive what was wicked and corrupt in the light of its revelations. For this reason all his juniors in the East followed his teachings and many scholars in the Middle Kingdom took him as a model.

When rain did not fall as usual during the twelfth year of T'ien-pao (753) King Kyongdok summoned Taehyon to the inner palace to chant the Kumgwang-gyong (Golden Light Sutra) and to pray for rain. As he was chanting the scripture and offering sacrifices to Buddha one day, he uncovered his wooden bowl so that it could be filled with water for purification. But the King's servant was late in bringing the water, and a palace official rebuked him. The servant excused himself, saying "The palace well is drained to the bottom, and I had to go to a spring deep in the mountains."

When Taehyon heard this, he raised the burning censer in his hands, and fresh, cool water leaped from the palace well seventy feet into the sky in a solid jet like the flagpole at a temple, to the amazement of the King and the palace officials. From that time the well was known as Kumgwang-jong (Well of the Golden Light).

Taehyon adopted the nickname Ch'onggu Samun (Monk of the Blue Hill. Samun—Sramana in Sanskrit—means monk).

Song in Praise of Taehyon

Round the Buddha image he walked on South Mountain

And the image turned its head to follow him;

In the sky above the Blue Hill the Buddha's sun hangs high.

People saw him command the palace well to spout water;

Well he knew the mystery in a plume of smoke from the censer. In the summer of the following year, the year of the horse (754), the King summoned the monk Pophae (Sea of Buddha) to Hwangnyong-sa to chant the Hwaom Sutra and pray for rain. His Majesty in person burned incense on the altar and said to the monk. "Last summer Taehyon Popsa chanted the Kumgwang-gyong and the dry well at the palace spouted cool, fresh water seventy feet into the sky. What can you do today?"

"That is a small miracle and nothing to be wondered at," replied the monk. "It would be easy for me to cause the blue sea to overflow the East Mountain and sweep away the whole capital city."

The King laughed this off as a pleasantry but that afternoon, as the monk continued to chant the scripture and burn incense, loud weeping was heard from the inner palace and a servant of the Queen ran into the Golden Hall of Hwangnyong-sa and announced, "The East Pool has overflowed and washed away fifty rooms of the palace!"

The King was astonished and at a loss what to do, but Pophae smiled and said, “This is only the beginning of the deluge. I have just opened the water valve on land in order to pour the sea into it, and the valve leaked a little.” The King was awed by this remark.

On the following day the abbot of Kamun-sa on the eastern seacoast reported to the King, “Early yesterday afternoon the sea rose and flooded the temple courtyard up to the stone steps of Buddha's palace and did not subside until nightfall.” The King honored Pophae and worshipped Buddha with deeper devotion.

Song of Praise to Pophae

The tide of Pophae filled the Buddha's world:

The four seas rose and fell at his will.

Do not say ten billion Sumi Mountains are high—

When our master's finger moves, the sea will cover the highest peaks. (The Sumi Mountains or Snow Mountains are the Himalayas.)

Footnotes to Book Four

(1). The story of Chigwi will be found in the translator's Folk Tales of Old Korea. Korean Cultural Series Vol. VI, in the chapter “The Queen and the Beggar.”

(2). Only aristocrats could fill important official posts in Silla.

(3). Wonhyo's love-story is told in detail also in the translator's Folk Tales of Old Korea.

BOOK FIVE

VI. Miracles

111. Milbon the Exorcist

Queen Sondok (Tok-man, 632-647) fell seriously ill. Popch'ok, a monk from Hungnyun-sa, was summoned to attend her, but his treatment had no effect, and so the courtiers called on Milbon Popsa, a monk of great virtue.

Milbon stood at the door of the Queen's chamber and read aloud from the Yaksa-gyong, the Book of Bhechadjagura (the Buddha of Healing). Then he cast his magical staff with its six metal rings into the room, and it pierced the hearts of an old fox and of Popch'ok and hurled the two monsters into the courtyard. The Queen was cured of her malady from that moment. A five-colored light flashed from the forehead of Milbon as he retired, saying "Long live the Queen!"

Once when Kim Yang-to, who later became a high official at court, was a small boy, he suddenly lost the powers of speech and motion at the sight of a large ghost followed by a train of smaller ones, which sampled all the food in the house and showered curses on the sorceress who danced and screamed in an effort to chase them away. The father summoned a monk from Popnyu-sa to read from an exorcist text, but the large ghost commanded the others to strike the monk on the head with heavy iron hammers. This they did, and the monk fell dead, swimming in blood.

A few days later Milbon was sent for. When the servant who had been sent to fetch him returned to announce his coming the smaller ghosts trembled with fear and said, "When Milbon Popsa comes we must escape."

"You little cowards," said their leader, "don't you have your iron hammers to hit him on the head and send him to hell?"

Suddenly gigantic spirits wearing golden armor and brandishing long spears appeared and bound the ghosts hand and foot with red cords. Then a host of warriors descended from heaven and stood at attention as an honor guard for Milbon, who now entered the sick boy's room. Even before the monk had finished reading from his mysterious book, the lad rose from his bed restored and told the story of his adventure with the ghosts.

From that time until the end of his life he worshipped Buddha, and in later years had images representing Gautama Buddha, Maitreya and a Bodhisattva placed in Hungnyun-sa and a golden mural painted in the main hall of the temple in honor of Milbon Popsa, who had saved his life.

When Milbon lived at Kumgok-sa General Kim Yu-sin, the famous Silla soldier, had a friend, a hermit whose name has been lost. Once the general asked the hermit to come and care for his kinsman Such'on, who had been suffering for some time from a malignant disease. When Inhyesa, a monk friend of Such'on who had come a long journey from Chung-ak (P'algongsan near Taegu) to treat the sick man, saw this hermit, he spoke to him contemptuously. "You look like a cunning fox," he said. "How can you cure a man's disease?"

"I am a poor doctor indeed," the hermit replied, "but I have been obliged to come at the special request of the general."

"Never mind, fellow," said Inhyesa. "Stand aside and observe my magic power of communication with the spirits." And he held up an incense-burner and chanted a spell, at which five-colored clouds gathered and heavenly flowers fell about the head of the patient.

"The power of your spell is wonderful," the hermit said, "but I also have a little magic art which I will show you. Stand up!" The hermit made a ring with the thumb and forefinger of his left hand and flicked the forefinger against the proud monk's forehead. The monk instantly rose ten feet in the air, turned a somersault and crashed to earth with his head stuck like a peg in the ground and his trembling feet stretching heavenward. The people in the house rushed out and tried to free the monk but he was as stiff as a post, as if fixed in cement, with his feet in the air.

The hermit laughed and went away, leaving the arrogant monk to spend the whole night in this position. The next day Suchon sent an errand-boy with a request that the hermit relieve his magical punishment. He returned and said "Upside down!" whereupon the monk rose in another somersault and fell at the hermit's feet.

"I swear upon my honor," the monk said, "that I will never boast of my small magic again. I swear in the name of Buddha. Namuami Tabul!"

Song in Praise of Milbon

Deep red and purple mixed are confused with vermillion;
Fish eyes delude foolish men and women.

Had the hermit not flicked his finger lightly,
All the people would have put pretty stones into their jade boxes.

(Fish eyes look like pearls and people are easily deceived by their luster.)

112. Hyet'ong Conquers the Evil Dragon

Nobody knows the family name of Hyet'ong. When he was still wearing white clothes (before he put on the robe of a monk) he lived in a village on the bank of a stream called Unch'on (Silver Stream) which flows along the western side of Namsan near Kyongju. One day while playing in this stream he killed an otter. After stripping off its soft pelt he threw the body into his garden.

The next morning the body was missing and there was a trail of blood leading to the stream. Hyet'ong followed it and found that the skinless otter had returned to her den and stood guarding her five young ones. As he beheld this mysterious spectacle he was awakened. He forsook his home and adopted the Buddhist name Hyet'ong (Awakened Wisdom). He then went to China and asked a famous monk named Wuwei San-tsang to be his teacher.

“How can a man from Wu-i (the Eastern Barbarian Land) expect to be a disciple of Buddha?” San-tsang asked. The young Silla monk was hurt, but he did not give up. However, though he served the haughty Chinese monk for three years he was still not allowed to attend the lectures on esoteric Buddhist doctrine.

Finally Hyet'ong decided to resolve matters. He went and stood erect before the Chinese monk with a burning charcoal brazier on his head. After a time the crown of his head burst with a thunderous sound. San-tsang came and removed the brazier of glowing coals. Touching the wound with his fingers he chanted a spell, and it healed, leaving a scar in the shape of the character “wang” (king)—three horizontal strokes joined by a vertical one. The great priest nicknamed Hyet'ong Wang Hoshang (King Monk), and cherished him thereafter and taught him all the esoteric Buddhist doctrines.

At that time the favorite daughter of the T'ang Emperor Kao-tsung fell sick, and the Emperor asked Wuwei San-tsang to cure her. But he recommended Hyet'ong in his place, and so Hyet'ong was received in audience by the Emperor and ordered to cure the princess.

He poured a bushel of white beans into a silver bowl, and immediately they changed into white-armored heavenly warriors and attacked the devil which was tormenting the princess, but fell back without victory. Then he poured a bushel of black beans into a golden bowl and they became black-armored heavenly warriors, whom he ordered to join the white army in the attack. When this was done a monstrous dragon suddenly flew out of the princess' bedchamber, and her royal body was freed of its monstrous affliction.

Resentful of being driven out of its luxurious home near the beautiful princess, the dragon went to live in a forest (Muning-nim) in Silla, where it did much harm and preyed upon human lives for revenge.

When Hyet'ong heard of this from Chong Kong, who had come to China as an envoy, he returned to Silla in the second year of Lin-te (665) and again defeated the monster. The dragon was now angry at Chong Kong for having reported it to Hyet'ong, and entered a big willow tree that stood at the gate of Chong Kong's house. Chong Kong, who loved the thick foliage and the slender branches swinging in the breeze, was unaware that a resentful dragon was hiding in their shade.

About this time King Sinmun died (692) and was succeeded by King Hyoso. The new king ordered the willow tree cut down, for it stood in the way of a road that was being built to accommodate processions between the palace and the royal tombs. Chong Kong was very angry, and shouted at the workmen from the palace, "Cut off my head rather than cut down my willow tree."

Enraged at this news, the King said, "Chong Kong, relying on the magic art of Wang Hoshang, dares to disobey the King's command and even asks to have his head cut off. Very well, he shall have his wish." So they cut off his head and destroyed his house. The courtiers advised that Wang Hoshang should also be executed because of his close association with Chong Kong. The King ordered a company of soldiers to arrest Hyet'ong at Wangmang Temple.

When the great monk saw his enemies approaching he went up to the roof of the temple, taking with him a white bottle and an ink-stone with vermilion ink and a brush. When the soldiers drew near he said to them, "Look what I am doing. I draw a red line around the neck of my white bottle; now let every man look at his neck." The soldiers looked, and indeed each man had a red line around his neck. As they paused in alarm, Hyet'ong

shouted, "If I break the neck of this bottle all of your necks will be instantly broken."

The soldiers retreated with cries of alarm and returned to the King. When they had showed their red-lined necks to him, he sighed deeply and said, "Wang Hoshang possesses the power of spirits. Human strength is no match for it. Let him be."

Not long after this event the King's daughter was stricken by a mysterious malady and Hyet'ong was summoned to the palace to effect a remedy. The monk approached her bed and uttered a spell, and she rose as if she were awakening from sleep, to the great joy of the King.

Hyet'ong explained to the King that Chong Kong had perished because of the dragon's resentment. The King repented and cancelled the sentence of execution against Chong Kong's wife and children. He also promoted Hyet'ong to the rank of Royal Monk. (In Chinese legal practice the family of a condemned criminal was punished with him.)

The dragon, having avenged himself on Chong Kong, retreated to a forest in Kijang-san, where he changed to a giant bear and did more harm to human creatures. Hyet'ong entered forest, found the bear and commanded, "Kill no more," From that time there were no more bear-bites in that forest.

Before this, King Sinmun had an ulcer on his back and asked Hyet'ong to cure him. The monk uttered a short spell and the King was healed immediately. Then Hyet'ong said, "Your Majesty, in a previous incarnation you were the grand vizier of a king. By mistake you employed a man of good family named Sin-ch'ung as a slave and held him in bondage too long. Whenever this resentful soul is reborn into this world he brings mischief on you in retaliation. I suggest that you build a temple and pray for the repose of his soul, which now wanders in the nether regions."

The King followed Hyet'ong's advice and immediately had a temple built, calling it Sinch'ung Pongsong-sa. On the day of its dedication, as a large table of sacrifice was being offered to the slave's departed spirit, a voice was heard from the sky—

"The King has built a new temple for me;

I can escape from the hell of pain.

Now my soul is free—my enmity has melted away."

A hall named Cholwon-tang (Enmity Melting Shrine) was built where this song was heard. The temple and the shrine, weather-beaten and overgrown with moss, still stand on the mountain.

After Milbon, a high monk named Myongnang entered the dragon palace to receive a holy seal (Munduru in Sanskrit) and founded a temple in Sinyurim (God's Forest, now Ch'onwang-sa, the Deva Temple) to pray for the repulse of frequent invasions from neighboring nations. (This paragraph is probably out of place as it refers to the previous section.)

Hyet'ong the Wang Hoshang traveled throughout the country exorcising devils and building temples to mollify the grudges of oppressed souls. He preached the spirit of Wu-wei (No Fear, the name of his Chinese mentor) and brought moral reform to the corrupt world. Buddhist institutions such as Ch'ongji-am on Ch'onma-san and Chusogwon in Mo-ak all belonged to the school handed down from Milbon (by Hyet'ong, presumably.)

Some people say that Hyet'ong was Chonsung Kakkan, a prime minister of Silla, but his actual services to the court were not seen or heard (i.e. were of a spiritual nature). Others say that he killed a wolf and a jackal by shooting them, but that is an unreliable story.

Song in Praise of Hyet'ong

The mountain peach and the brook apricot reflect on the hedge—
Spring is deep on the hilly paths and flowers are red on both banks.
Fortunately our young lord caught the otter by his strength,
And chased the devil dragon far away from the King's capital.

113. Myongnang and the Holy Seal

According to an antique record at Kumgwang-sa (Temple of the Golden Light). Myongnang was born in Silla and went to China for Buddhist studies. During his return voyage he was invited to enter the palace of the King Dragon of the Sea, and instructed the dragon in esoteric Buddhist prayers. The dragon gave him 1,000 yang (pounds) of gold and escorted him through a submarine tunnel which ended under a well from which he sprang into his home garden. He then donated his home for conversion into a temple and decorated its pagoda with the gold given him by the dragon. The glittering gold shone far and wide to the four directions, and so the temple was named Kumgwang-sa, the Temple of Golden Light. The biographies of the Monks erroneously calls it Kumu-sa (Temple of the Golden Feather).

Myongnang was the son of Chae-ryang, a Sagan official of Silla. His mother was Lady Namgan, otherwise called Popsungnang (Maid of the Buddha Boat), a daughter of Sopan Murim, Kim-ssi and a sister of the great

monk Chajang. Chae-ryang had three sons—Kukkyo, Uian and Myongnang—who all became monks. Myongnang was the youngest. His mother dreamed that she swallowed a blue jewel when she conceived him.

In the first year of Queen Sondok (632) Myongnang went to China, returning in the ninth year of Chen-kuan (635). In the first year of Tsung-chang (668) the Chinese general Li Chi led a large army against Koguryo and destroyed that kingdom with the aid of Silla. The T'ang general then stationed his troops in (the former territory of) Paekje in order to destroy Silla also, but the brave Silla soldiers, inspired by the Hwarang spirit, hurled back the invaders. Infuriated, the Emperor (T'ang Kao-tsung) commanded Hsueh Pang, a fierce general, to launch a second attack on Silla by sea.

King Munmu of Silla, fearful of this formidable enemy, called upon Myongnang to use his esoteric prayers and thus the attack was forestalled, as it is written in the biography of that king. From that time on Myongnang was honored by the whole nation as the founder of Sinin-jong (the Holy Seal Sect).

Early in the reign of King T'aejo (Wang Kon, the founder of Koryo) there were frequent attacks on the country's shores by pirates. The King requested two famous monks, Kwanghak and Taeyon, the heirs of Anhye and Nangyung, to suppress the disturbances by means of the esoteric prayers handed down from Myongnang. At the same time, King T'aejo elevated Myongnang to the same rank as the nine royal fathers of Silla beginning with Yong-su, and founded Hyonsong-sa (Temple of the Appearing Sage) to perpetuate the sect which he had founded.

About twenty li to the southeast of Kyongju is a temple called Wonwon-sa. Folk tales relate that it was founded at the desire of four monks (Anhye, Nangnyung, Kwanghak and Taeyon) and also of Kim Yu-sin, Kim Ui-won and Kim Sul-jong. They also say that the bones of the four monks are buried on the eastern peak above the temple, which is called Chosa-am (Rock of the Founder Monks) on Saryong-san (Mountain of the Four Spirits), honoring them as high monks of Silla.

The milestone at Tolbaek Temple bears the following inscription: "Long ago there lived in Kyongju a petty official whose title was Ho-jang and whose name was Koch'on. His mother was Ajinyo, her mother was Myongjunyo, and her grandmother was Chokninyo. Chokninyo had two sons, Kwanghak Taedok and Taeyon Samjung (childhood name Sonhoe)

who both became monks. In the second year of Chang-hsing (931) these two brothers followed T'aejo to Songdo (Kaesong), where they burned incense on the altar and prayed for the prosperity of the royal household. T'aejo praised their loyalty and donated a farm for a 'Po' foundation to support annual memorial services for the parents of the two monks.”¹

It is clear from this inscription that Kwanghak and Taeyon were in the train of T'aejo and that Anhye collaborated with Kim Yu-sin in the founding of Wonwon Temple. Although the two brother monks are buried in the tombs of the four holy men, this does not mean that all four were concerned in the foundation of Wonwon-sa, or that all four of them went with T'aejo to Songdo on his triumphant return.

VII. Tales of Devotion

114. The Goddess Mother of the Fairy Peach

During the reign of King Chinp'yong (579-632) a nun named Chihye lived at Anhung Temple, which she wished to have repaired and redecorated. One night in a dream she saw a beautiful fairy bedecked with jewels and necklaces who said to her in a kind but solemn voice, “I am the goddess-mother of Fairy Peach Mountain and I am very pleased to know that you are going to repair the palace of Buddha. I will give you ten keun of gold for the project. Take it from under my seat and decorate the three main images of the temple. On the walls paint fifty-three Buddhas, together with heavenly saints, goddesses, and the god-kings of the five mountains (T'oham-san in the east, Chiri-san in the south, Keryong-san in the west, T'aebaek-san in the north and Pu-ak or Kong-san in the center of Silla). On the tenth day of each month in spring and autumn, let all the devoted followers of Buddha gather in the temple for prayer.” (Ilyon notes here that this story has a strong resemblance to one from China which relates that the dragon of Kulbul-chi appeared to the Emperor in a dream and asked him to establish a seminary in honor of Bhedjagura, the Buddha of healing, on Yongch'u-san, the Holy Eagle Mountain in order to open a smooth sea passage—that is, a means of entering paradise.)

Chihye awoke in amazement. Early the next morning she found one hundred and sixty yang of gold under the seated image of the goddess-mother in her shrine and carried out her plan.

The goddess-mother first came to Chinhan and gave birth to a heavenly son, Kyokkose, who became the first King of Silla, and a daughter, Aryong, whom he married. This is why she was called the goddess-mother. She lived on Sondo-san (Fairy Peach Mountain) where she wove red silk into court robes with the assistance of all the heavenly fairies and presented them to her husband. Chinhan was called Keryong, Kerim or Paekma (Cock Dragon, Cock's Forest or White Horse) because the cock belongs to the west.

The goddess-mother was a Chinese princess named Shasu. She learned the magic of the fairies and flew through the air to visit the scenic beauties of the Land of the Morning Calm, often staying long. Her father the Emperor tied a letter to the foot of a hawk and sent it to her. The message read: "Build your new palace on the mountain where the hawk perches to rest."

The princess flew with the hawk and saw it stop on So-ak (West Hill in Kyongju). She landed there and became the mountain spirit, calling the hill Soyon-san (West Hawk Mountain). From then on she did many wonders.

King Kyongmyong (917-924) went hunting on this mountain and lost his hawk. He therefore prayed to the goddess-mother, saying, "If I should see my hawk return, I will bestow a title on him." When he returned to the palace he found the hawk perched on his jade table, and in great joy gave his favorite bird the title of Sir Hawk.

In the Samguk Sagi it is written, "When Kim Pu-sik (the author of the Samguk Sagi) visited China as the King's envoy in the years of Chen-huo (1100-1125) he worshipped at a shrine of gods and goddesses called Yushenkuan, where he saw a seated image of a fairy. The reception official, Wang-pu, said to him, 'This is a goddess of your country. Didn't you know that?' The learned official explained as follows: 'Long ago a princess of China went adrift and was cast upon the shores of Chinhan, where she gave birth to a son who became the founder of a kingdom in Haedong (East of the Sea). The princess became an earth-spirit and lived long on the Mountain of the Fairy Peach. Here is her lifelike image.' "

When Wang Hsiang, a Sung envoy, came to Koryo, he offered sacrifice to the goddess-mother and read a memorial which said in part, "She gave birth to a sage who founded a nation."

Shasu donated gold to make a Buddhist image. She lighted the incense and established a ferry and bridge, not for herself to enjoy long life, but for

all creatures to enter paradise. (Here is a perfect example of the way in which Buddhism assimilated the beliefs which it encountered. The goddess-mother, who very probably constitutes a legend antedating the coming of Buddhism, is incorporated into the Buddhist scheme of things by being given the attributes of a Bodhisattva.)

Song in Praise of the Goddess-Mother of the Fairy Peach

Many a starry night and frosty day she lived alone on the West Hill of the Hawk;

She called the heavenly emperor's daughters to weave her rainbow dress.

How she envied wondrous thrills in her long human life!

She saw the golden spirit (Buddha) and became a jade empress (goddess).

115. Ukmyon, the Slave Girl who Entered the Lotus Paradise

During the reign of King Kyongdok (742-765) a group of devoted Buddhists in Kangju (now Chinju) built a temple called Mita-sa in a grove of trees and began to worship Buddha for ten thousand days in order to enter the lotus paradise. Among the worshippers was a female slave belonging to the aristocratic family of Kwi-jin whose name was Ukmyon. She followed her noble master to the temple every evening and offered a prayer, standing outside in the courtyard and bowing toward the august image in the main hall.

Her unkind master did not like this. He gave her two large bags (ten bushels) of rice to pound to pearly white each day, to keep her busy at home. But she worked so diligently that she was able to attend prayers before dawn and after sunset each day. Moreover, as a sign of her devotion, she gouged holes in her two hands and passed a straw rope through them, which was then tied to two pegs on opposite sides of the temple courtyard.

One evening the assembled worshippers heard a voice from the sky, which said, "Ukmyon, my faithful maid, enter the main hall of the Buddha and offer your prayer." They invited the poor girl to enter, and she approached the image of the merciful Buddha on her knees and murmured her prayer in a low voice, lifting her eyes in rapture to the half-closed eyes of Buddha. Suddenly the sound of heavenly music was heard from the west, and a swift whirlwind swept into the palace of the Buddha. Ukmyon was lifted into the sky through a gaping hole in the ceiling and roof, higher and

higher as she flew toward the western side of the temple. There her mortal body fell away and she became a Kwanum (Goddess of Mercy) seated on a lotus pedestal and flew to the lotus paradise while heavenly music continued from the sky and brilliant rays illuminated the rapturous spectators below.

Another version of this story is found in the Book of Monks (Sung-jon). Tongnyang-P'aljin, an incarnation of Kwanum, organized a Hwarang order of one thousand men and divided them into two groups, one for physical labor and one for mental culture. One of the members of the labor group violated the Buddhist commandments and in consequence was reborn as a cow at Pusok Temple. While carrying Buddhist books on her back the cow died and was reborn as a human being by the power of the books. This was Ukmyon, a slave in the household of Kwijin, a nobleman.

One day Ukmyon went on an errand to a mountain called Haga-san, and there she experienced a trance in which she saw Buddha and was possessed with the holy spirit.

Mita-sa, founded by Hyesuk Popsa, was not far from the house of Kwijin. For nine years, whenever her master went to worship Buddha in that temple, Ukmyon followed him to offer her prayers.

On the twenty-first day of the first month of the tenth year, while she was worshipping Buddha, she soared up into the sky, breaking through the ceiling and roof of the palace of Buddha. She flew above the highest peak of Sobaek-san, where she dropped one of her straw shoes. The first Bo Temple was built near this mountain crest. The second Bo Temple was built in a grove of Bo trees (Bodedrum) below the mountain, where she shed her earthly shell and her soul entered the lotus paradise. At Mita-sa there was hung a gilt panel which read "Ukmyon's Ascension Palace."

In the roof of the temple there was a hole large enough for a man to pass through, and wonderful to tell, even during heavy rain and snow the palace of Buddha where her image was seated never got wet. In later generations, however, the admirers of Ukmyon filled the hole by building a gilt pagoda on the floor of the temple, decorated with lotus petals and buds, and on this pagoda they inscribed the story of Ukmyon the slave girl.

After Ukmyon had gone to the lotus paradise, Kwijin donated his house to the monks, declaring it to be a holy place where an angel had lived. When it had been remodeled into a temple he called it Popwang-sa. He also donated farmland to the temple.

After many years, when the temple lay in ruins on a hillside, a pious monk named Hoegyong, together with Yusok and Yi Won-chang, two local officials, promoted its reconstruction. Hoegyong, the strong monk, carried the timbers on his shoulders. In a dream one night an old man gave him two pairs of shoes woven of hemp and arrowroot vines, led him to the old shrine, and pointed out some giant trees in the forest, giving him instruction in Buddhist doctrine. (When he awoke) Hoegyong felled the trees and used them in building the temple, which was finished in five years. This was the famous temple of slaves in the southeast. All the pilgrims who visited it said that Kwijin had been reborn as Hoegyong, the good monk.

An old local legend book says the miracle of Ukmyon occurred during the reign of King Kyongdok, whereas the Biography of Jin says that she lived during the reign of King Aejang and did this wonder in the third year of Yuan-huo (808). There were four kings between the reigns of Kings Kyongdok and Aejang during a period of more than sixty years. In fact, Kwijin came first and Ukmyon last. The biography differs from the legend in introducing them the other way around.

(This is fairly mystifying as the present text represents them as contemporaries.)

Song in Praise of Ukmyon

When Buddha's lantern was bright in the old western temple,
She finished pounding rice to worship Buddha at midnight;
She punctured her clasped hands with a straw rope to mortify her flesh;
As she murmured softly in prayer she flew to heaven in Buddha's arms.

116. Kwangdok and Omjang, Two Friendly Monks

During the reign of King Munmu (661-681) two friendly monks lived in Kyongju. Kwangdok lived in a quiet place in the western precincts of Punhwang Temple with his wife and made his living by weaving straw shoes, and Omjang worked on a farm near a hermitage which he had built in the valley of Nam-ak.

One evening as the last rays of sunlight illuminated the silent treetops. Omjang heard a voice: "I am going to the lotus paradise. Be faithful to Buddha and come to see me there soon. Goodbye."

Omjang saw that a rainbow had made a bridge from earth to heaven, while sweet music played above the clouds. He envied his friend, who had gone to the world of eternal peace and comfort ahead of him, and sighed,

“Ah me! It is his voice telling of his journey home to paradise. Indeed, we promised to inform one another of our final departure from earth to heaven, and now the angels have taken him first.”

Early next morning Omjang visited the home of Kwangdok and saw that he was dead. He helped the widow with the funeral arrangements, and afterward as night came on he sat down and talked with her.

“Now your husband is no more, would you like to come and live with me?”

“I am willing,” she replied.

“Come and lie with me! We will prove all the pleasures imaginable on the first night of our married joy.” And he began to undress her.

“I am blushing with shame,” she said, “and yet I pity you in your heated passion. You seek the clean paradise with a muddled soul, like a man who tries to catch fish by climbing a tree.”

“Kwangdok did so,” he objected, “and yet he entered the lotus paradise. Why not I? I must enjoy you tonight as he did on many nights as man and wife.”

“My husband Kwangdok,” the woman said, “lived with me for more than ten years, but he never slept in the same bed with me or embraced me in unclean passion. Every night he and I knelt erect and recited in unison the names of Ami-Tabul and the sixteen doorways leading to the lotus paradise. When he saw a vision of the wondrous world we redressed the balance of our bodies by sitting cross-legged with our thumbs and middle fingers almost touching, as Buddhist images do. He was a devoted follower of Buddha. Where else could he have gone but to the home of Buddha in the lotus paradise? You are running to the east while trying to reach the west.”

Much ashamed, Omjang apologized to the widow and then visited Wonhyo Popsa, to whom he confessed his advances to this wonderful woman. The great monk taught him how to regain admittance to paradise by reciting the names of the sixteen doorways.

Omjang repented his sins and gave up his lust, concentrating on awakening his soul so as to be worthy to enter the gates of heaven, and at length he also entered the lotus paradise. The recital of the names of the sixteen doorways is explained in the Biography of Wonhyo Popsa and also in the Biographies of the Haedong Monks.

As for the woman, she was a nun at Punhwang temple, where she became one of the nineteen Kwanums. There is a song about her:

Moon, moon, lady moon! Are you sailing to the west?
When you reach home first, tell the heavenly king
There is a man praying to Buddha of everlasting life,
Praying with clasped hands to the Buddha of the eternal vow,
“I long to go to paradise, I long to go to paradise!”
Ah, if you leave and forsake me, can you have all your forty-eight wishes?

117. Kyonghung Meets a Holy Man

During the reign of King Sinmun in Silla (681-692) a monk lived in Ungch'onju whose religious name was Kyonghung and whose family name was Su. By the time he was eighteen, he had mastered all three parts of the teachings of Buddha—sermons, laws, and doctrines—and the world rang with his praise.

In the first year of Kai-yao (681) when King Munmu was on his deathbed, he said to his successor (King Sinmun), “Kyonghung Popsa is worthy of the office of Kuksa (National Teacher); do not forget my command.” When King Sinmun ascended the throne he therefore appointed Kyonghung to this office, with his residence at Samnang Temple.

But Kyonghung fell ill and was confined to his bed for many months. Then one day a nun came to visit him, and said, “In the Hwaom scripture there is a golden saying: 'A good friend heals illness.' Now you are ailing because of the melancholy and anxiety in your heart. If you laugh and forget everything you will be restored to health.” And she brought out an eleven-faced puppet and made it perform humorous dances before Kyonghung, with comic gestures and sarcastic gestures, scene after scene in rapid succession, until the monk nearly split his sides with laughter, and his health was immediately restored.

The nun then bid him goodbye and went to Namhang Temple to the south of Kyonghung's temple. There she hid herself, leaving her staff in front of the picture of the eleven-faced Dharmas in the Golden Hall. (Kwanum is often pictured with eleven faces, and there is a suggestion here that Kyonghung had been visited by the Bodhisattva.)

One day Kyonghung came to visit the palace mounted on a beautifully caparisoned horse and followed by a long train of servants. Everyone made

way for the procession except a haggard-looking hermit (or monk) with a basket containing a fish on his back, who stood leaning upon his staff on the dismounting platform in front of the palace.

“Get out, fellow!” the servants shouted. “How can you wear a monk's robe and carry a fish, which the Buddhist religion forbids you to touch or eat?” (Monks are supposed to be strictly vegetarian.)

The monk drew himself up with dignity and said, “Who is more to blame, a man who carries a dead fish on his back or a man who holds living flesh between his legs?” And with these words he departed.

Eventually Kyonghung came out of the palace and was about to mount his horse when he heard his servants discussing the strange monk. In great surprise he sent them to find out where the man lived. Seeing the servants coming after him, the monk threw down his basket outside Munsu Temple and disappeared, and they found only his staff in front of the image of Munsu Buddha. In the basket they found, not a dried fish but a piece of pine bark

When the servants told Kyonghung what they had seen, he sighed deeply and said, “A great sage has descended from heaven to warn me not to ride horses.” And from that day until his death he was never again seen mounted on a horse.

A record of Kyonghung's virtuous deeds was written by the monk Hyonpon and inscribed on a stone monument at Samnang-sa.

In the Pohyon Sutra it is written, “The Maitreya Bodhisattva said, I will be reborn in Yompuche (in India) to save the descendants of the disciples of Sakyamuni, but I will exclude all mounted monks, for they will never see Buddha.’

Song in Praise of Kyonghung

Great is the ancient sage's model deed shown to the multitude;
Why should not the descendants diligently follow his example?
If a monk should shamelessly carry a fish on his back,
How could he proudly wear the dragon's flower on his head?

(The last line refers to the flowering tree under which Maitreya was sitting when he became a Buddha.)

118. Two Ragged Monks

(The first of these moral tales refers to one of the most famous incidents in Chinese history, the rebellion of An Lu-shan against the T'ang Emperor Hsuan-tsung (not "Ming-wang" as in certain popular ballads). In his sixties this Emperor took as a concubine the beautiful Yang Kuei-fei ("consort" Yang) and is said to have fallen completely under her influence. She showed great favor to a general named An Lu-shan, and is rumored to have been his lover. Eventually he revolted and was at first successful. The Emperor was forced to flee, and his discontented soldiers insisted upon the execution of Yang Kuei-fei and her brother. The rebellion was crushed soon afterwards. Though it survived for another century and a half, the T'ang dynasty was permanently weakened by this rebellion.

(The second story has nothing to do with Korea and is evidently included simply because of its resemblance to the first.)

After the reign of the Empress Wu, who in the first year of Chang-shou (692) set aside the rightful sovereign and usurped the throne for twenty years in China, Emperor Chung-tsung resumed the throne and ruled for nine years. At this time King Hyoso of Silla came to the throne and began building Mangdok Temple, which was dedicated to the T'ang royal family.

In the fourteenth year of King Kyongdok (755) the pagoda in the courtyard of Mangdok-sa was shaken from top to bottom. This was the same year that An Lu-shan made an alliance of love with Yang Kuei-fei and led a rebellion, with an attempt upon the life and throne of T'ang Ming-wang (Hsuan-tsung). The people of Silla denounced the adulation of the T'ang rulers by their royal family, asserting that it was natural that the pagoda was shaken to its foundation, since the temple had been built in flattery of the decadent T'ang royalty.

A festival was held at Mangdok-sa on its completion, and the King attended the ceremony in person. There he saw an unmarried monk, dressed in rags and bent with age, standing in the courtyard. "Your Majesty," the monk said, "allow this poor monk to participate in the ceremony."

"With great pleasure," the King replied. "Please take a seat and worship the great Buddha on this happy day."

When the ceremony was over the King said jokingly, "My good monk, where do you live?"

"I live under Pip'a-am (Harper's Rock)," he replied.

"When you go home," the King said, "do not tell anybody that you offered sacrifices to the great Buddha in the company of the King."

“My good King,” laughed the monk, “please tell nobody that you offered sacrifices to the incarnation of Buddha.” And he rose into the air and flew away toward the south.

In great surprise and shame the King bowed in that direction and sent courtiers to find the flying monk. After a time they returned and reported that they had found the monk's bronze staff and wooden bowl on a rock in Samsong-gok (Three Star Valley) near Namsan, but the monk was nowhere to be found.

The King had a Sakya Temple built beneath Harper's Rock, and another called Pulmu-sa (No Buddha Temple) on the spot where the monk disappeared, with his staff and bowl preserved in it.

In volume IV of Chiron (Book on Intelligence) we find the following story. Long, long ago there lived in Kashmir in India a wandering monk named Kebin San-tsang (which simply means “learned monk of Kashmir”) who always dressed in shabby clothing. One day during a lecture tour to Aranya (Sanskrit for temple) meetings, he came to Ilwang-sa (One-King Temple) and found that a company of rich people were offering large quantities of good food and wine as sacrifices to Buddha. Thrice he entered the temple gate and thrice he was pushed out by the gatekeepers because his clothing was not neat and tidy.

After a time he returned wearing a fine robe and the same gatekeepers let him pass. The worshippers said, “Here comes a noble guest! Come in! Please be seated! Help yourself! The ceremony is over, Buddha has had his breakfast, and now we are enjoying a good dinner with the food and wine we offered him.” (That is, the spiritual essence of the offering has been accepted by Buddha and the worshippers are now free to consume its material part.)

Instead of putting the food and wine into his mouth, the monk put them on his robe, saying, “Eat, drink and be merry!” All the company thought this very strange and asked the monk why this toast to his robe. “Because,” he replied, “it is not me but my fine robe to which you are serving all this good food and wine.”

In this mortal world of vainglory men and women are treated according to their looks, their clothes, their ornaments. People worship Buddha for his fine image, intricately carved and richly gilded, and small-minded monks

are more interested in eating the food offered to Buddha than in chanting prayers to him.

These two stories are written in the same spirit.

Song in Praise of the Two Ragged Monks

The feasting monks call their rich friends to feed their gilded images,
And to admire their newly made pictures of silver Buddhas;
The living Buddha in the human mind is often lost sight of,
Just as the faint moon over Harper's Rock is overcast with clouds,
And its somber shadow is reflected in the pool with dim and broken rays.

119. Wolmyong's Lyric Songs

On April 1 in the nineteenth year of King Kyongdok (760) two suns appeared in the sky and remained for ten days, an omen of catastrophe on earth. Alarmed, the King summoned his courtiers together and asked them what should be done. The royal astrologer said, "In order to avert the coming disaster we must find a lucky monk to compose and, read aloud the prayer 'Sanhwa-kongdok' (Virtue of scattering Flowers)."

The King ordered his servants to build a purified temporary altar in front of the audience hall and proceeded to Ch'ongyang-nu (Spring Pavilion) to await the coming of the lucky monk who was predestined to perform this great feat. Just then Wolmyong-sa (Moonlight Priest) was seen walking along the road south of the palace. He was quickly brought before the King.

"My good monk," the King said, "I command you to compose a prayer and read it aloud before the Buddhist altar. Perhaps the spiritual power of your music will charm away my grief over the two suns in the sky."

"Your Majesty," Wolmyong replied, "I am a monk of the Kukson Hwarang order (a religious adjunct of the Hwarang). I know Hyang-ga (native folksongs) but I am not well versed in Sanskrit music."

"Never mind," said the King. "Since you are the one chosen today, you may compose a fine song in our native language rather than an Indian song, so that all my people can sing it."

Wolmyong then improvised a 'Tosol-ga' (Song of the Tsita Heaven) as follows.

I sing as I scatter thee, O flowers!
Fall and obey the decree of a straight mind;

Attend the King Maitreya on his throne. This song may be paraphrased as follows:

I sing of scattering flowers on the dragon pavilion;
As I send a petal to the blue clouds today
For it to serve a sincere, straight mind
And enter the spiritual home in the faraway heaven of Tsita.

In vulgar language this is called 'Sanhwa-ga' (Song of Scattering Flowers) but it should be 'Tosol-ga' (Song of the Tsita Heaven). Sanhwa-ga is a different song of many verses in vulgar words, and so has been omitted from these pages.

Soon after the song was sung the mysterious sign of calamity in the heavens disappeared, and one blazing sun shone upon the earth as the sole ruler of the day.

Greatly delighted, the King rewarded the monk with a package of fine tea and a rosary of 108 crystal beads. Suddenly a handsome youth appeared from the western service gate bearing the gifts in his hands. Wolmyong thought he was one of the Queen's pages, while the King guessed he was a follower of Wolmyong, but both were wrong, for he vanished from their sight like a mist. The King sent servants to fetch him back, but he hid himself in the Naewon Pagoda, leaving the tea and the rosary before the southern mural painting of Maitreya.

Seeing how Wolmyong's devotion thus moved the Buddha, the people of Silla admired his virtues. The King paid him the highest respect and gave him a gift of one hundred rolls of silk.

One day Wolmyong offered sacrifice to the spirit of his dead sister and sang an elegy of his own composition to Hyang-ga music:

I depart in tears; farewell.
O.... stay! Why hurry away without saying all your words?
Like leaves in the autumn wind hither and thither
We scatter from the branch where we grew together.
But don't you know where you are going?
I shall build a road to Amitabha land
And wait there till we meet again.

As he sang this doleful song with many tears a mad wind arose in the sky and blew the paper money away to the west. (Special paper money was used in memorial services for the dead.)

Wolmyong played the flute very often when he was living at Sach'on-wang-sa (Temple of the Four Deva Kings). One night as he strolled along the road in front of the temple playing his flute in the moonlight, the orbed maiden of the sky paused in her journey across the Milky Way and looked down upon him as if charmed by his heartfelt music. The people named that part of the road Wolmyong-ni (Moonlight Village) and his fame as a musician spread far and wide. Wolmyong was a disciple of Nungchun-Taesa, a renowned monk of Silla. The people loved to sing Hyang-ga folksongs, which moved even the hearts of spirits in heaven and earth on many occasions.

Song in Praise of Wolmyong

The high winds blew away the paper money to pay for his sister's journey to the other world;

The trill of his flute moved the lady Moon to make a Heng-o of her.

Do not say that heaven-stretching Tosol is far away;

We reach it with a song of ten-thousand-virtue flowers.

(Tosol, Tsita in Sanskrit, is the fourth of the Buddhist heavens, where all earthly passions are forgotten. Heng-o (Hang-a in Korean) is the name of the spirit of the moon, here compared to Wolmyong's sister.)

120. Sonyul Returns from Death

Sonyul, a good monk of Mangdok Temple, used the donation he received from local people to pay for the copying of the six hundred volumes of the Buddhist scripture called Panya-gyong (a book on the intelligence, Prajna in Sanskrit). But before he could finish the work the messenger of death came and took him to the Yellow Spring (the world of the dead).

The sorrowful monk stood before the King of Hell in the Hall of Judgment. Before him were a mirror and a scale, which reflected and weighed the sins of the dead. On the basis of their evidence, the court decided whether to send the soul to hell, purgatory or heaven. (This is not to be understood in the Christian sense, for every soul is eventually reborn until it reaches Nirvana in Buddhist doctrine. No other state is permanent.)

The King looked into the mirror and then at the monk's face and asked, "What was your occupation during life in human society?"

“I was a monk,” Sonyul answered. “I began copying the six hundred volumes of a Buddhist scripture, but before I could complete it I was brought to Your Majesty's dark palace.”

“Hum!” said the King. “You are a good monk and have sinned against nobody. According to my records your life is now over and your soul must say farewell to your flesh. But since your long-cherished noble work has not been finished, I shall give you a special pardon, and allow you to return to life until all of the sacred volumes are compiled and copied. You may go.”

During his journey back to the land of the living, Sonyul encountered the soul of a woman, who, bowing to him and weeping, said, “I was a native of Silla in Namyomju. Because my parents stole part of a rice field belonging to Kumgang Temple, I entered this dark world and have been subjected to unspeakable torment. When you return to life, please tell my father and mother to return the land immediately. During my lifetime I hid a bottle of sesame oil under my toilet box and a roll of my hand-spun silk between the folds of my quilt. If you burn the oil in the temple lantern and sell the silk to pay for your copying expenses, I will be freed from the torments of the Yellow Spring by your grace.”

“Where was your home on earth?” Sonyul asked.

“You will find it southwest of Kuwon Temple in Saryang-pu,” she replied.

Sonyul came to life again after he had been buried at the foot of Namsan for ten days. He called loudly from his grave for three days, and at last a cowherd heard him and ran to the temple to tell the strange news. Soon a group of sturdy monks arrived, dug into the grave, and released the resurrected monk from the grassy mound. Breathing a sigh, Sonyul related to them his adventures in the world of the dead.

He visited the home of the woman whom he had met on the banks of the Yellow Spring, as she had requested. She had been dead for fifteen years, but the sesame oil and the silk were still there, and as fresh as new. Sonyul prayed to Buddha for her soul, and one night she came to him in a dream and said. “Thanks to your grace, my soul is now at peace.”

All the people admired the great virtue of the resurrected monk and assisted him in copying the treasured volumes, until the fine series was completed. They are now kept in the archives of the monks of Kyongju, and

twice a year, in spring and autumn, the ancient pages are spread in the sun to banish devils and catastrophes.

Song in Praise of Sonyul

I envy your victory over death;

Your soul flies home to its old forests and fountains.

When my parents ask about my fate in the lower world,

Tell them to restore a furrow of farmland for me.

121. Kim Hyon and the Tigress

During the reign of King Wonsong in Silla (785-799) there lived a young man named Kim Hyon. In those days there was a strange superstition that anyone who had a great wish in his heart could have it granted if he prayed every night from the eighth to the fifteenth of February every year while walking around the tall pagoda in the precincts of Hungnyun Temple.

Kim Hyon had such a wish, and one night at midnight as he paced around the pagoda whispering his prayer, he heard the rustle of a woman's dress behind him. Looking back in surprise, he saw in the faint moonlight a beautiful maiden, walking and praying as he was.

Now this girl was not so shy as might have been expected. She approached Kim Hyon and said, "Pardon me for having surprised you like this. To speak the truth, I too have a wish, which is why I am here, but I am lonely. Please allow me to follow in your footsteps." Kim Hyon was charmed by her beauty and readily assented. Every night they walked around the pagoda hand in hand, and there they fell in love. (Something more substantial than mere sentiment is implied here.)

Love is sweet, but love is sad. Soon the final evening of their prayers had come, and they were forced to part. Kim Hyon took the girl's hand and accompanied her to her home in a forest remote from other human habitation. It was a low thatched house and there seemed to be no-one about except an old woman who appeared to be the girl's mother.

The old woman stared hard at Kim Hyon and said to her daughter, "Who is this who is so bold as to keep you company?" Feeling that concealment would be useless, the girl explained what had happened between herself and the young man. "That's too bad," the old woman grumbled, "but since there's no help for it we must hide him somewhere before your three brothers come home."

Hardly had they hidden him in a corner of the house when the thunderous roars of three tigers in the distance broke the silence of the night, and made the young man tremble from head to foot. Nearer and nearer they came, until the door was flung open and a tiger said, "Oh, good smell! Human flesh!"

"Nonsense!" the old woman said angrily. "There's no human flesh in this house. Listen, you fools! A dreadful thing has happened. Tonight an oracle descended from heaven, saying that since you have killed so many living creatures you must be punished immediately." The tigers looked pale and trembled with fear.

Then the maiden interposed. "My brothers, you have promised the merciful Buddha not to harm living creatures any more. But you have broken this promise time and again, and continue your cruel old game, nor have you heeded my prayer at the temple to stop your bad habit. Now your doom is upon you. Repent and be gone, and I shall redeem your sins by suffering the heavenly punishment myself. Go, go quickly or they will kill you."

The three tigers looked very sad, hanging their heads and twitching their long tails nervously. Then, in a twinkling, they were gone. The maiden woke Kim Hyon from a swoon and said to him, "Through a singular adventure I have enjoyed your passionate love, but unfortunately I am not human. Nevertheless, I can never forget your tender caresses. I have decided to take upon myself the consequences of my brothers' evil deeds. In other words, my life will soon be ended by the tigers' victims. It will make me happy, therefore, to die by your sword. Perhaps in this way I can repay your kindness somewhat. Listen! Tomorrow I will run amuck in the west market and frighten all the citizens. Nobody in the kingdom will dare to fight me and the King will offer a prize to anyone who can. Then have no fear, but only chase me into this forest, where I will await the stroke of your sword."

Kim Hyon felt alarmed and shamed. "How can I kill my lover even though she is not human?" He replied. "I'll not sell the life of my love for gold or title." And he chided her gently for wanting him to commit so inhuman an act.

"Do not say so," she responded. "My death in the prime of life is heaven's will, your happiness, my family blessing and the nation's joy. Please listen to me! If you build a temple for me after my death and pray for

my soul, you will do me a great favor.” When he saw that nothing would avail, the youth embraced his lovely mistress and gave her a long farewell kiss, as tears rained down her cheeks.

The following day a large tigress appeared in the marketplace, roaring and tearing at people, and everybody screamed and ran about the streets crying “Tiger! Tiger!” The King was alarmed and ordered a tiger hunt, offering as a prize the second order of nobility. But there was nobody brave enough to face the tigress.

Kim Hyon then came and prostrated himself before the King, swearing to execute his command and free the people of the tiger. The King was highly pleased and conferred the title on him in advance.

The young man girded on his sword and ran swiftly into the forest, where the tigress maid awaited him. She saw him and ran to meet him. Taking his hands in hers she pressed them to her breast and said, “Last night when we said farewell I asked you to come and meet me here today, and my heart is bright with joy to take your last embrace. Now I may die in peace. I wish you long life and happiness. I am sorry to have scratched some people, but if they will anoint their wounds with the soy sauce of Hungnyun-sa while listening to the bell of that temple, the sores will heal.” (This remedy for tiger bites and scratches is still in use, Hyon says.) As quick as lightning she snatched her lover's sword and plunged it deep into her throat.

Kim Hyon stood aghast over the body swimming in blood, but when his eyes cleared he saw that it was no longer a maiden but a beautiful tigress. Soon a large crowd gathered, shouting “Long live Kim Hyon!” They brought him to the palace and presented the tigress' skin to the King to spread upon his throne. Highly pleased, the King gave Kim Hyon additional rewards of gold and silver and promoted him to an official position.

Kim Hyon was sad at heart, for though he had gained honor and riches, he had lost his beautiful lover. He could not forget her gentle love or the manner in which she had given her life to bring him happiness. He had a temple built on the spot where she had died near the western stream, and there he chanted passages from the Buddhist sutra Pommang-gyong. The temple was named Howon-sa, the Temple of the Tigress' Wishes. He knelt in prayer for many days and nights for the repose of her soul.

Just before he died Kim Hyon wrote down the story of his adventure with the beautiful tigress, and it filled the world with wonder. People called the grove of trees where she had loved Nonhorim (Tiger Forest).

There is a similar Chinese story which has a different tone. In the ninth year of Chen-yuan (793) a yellow-cap (commoner) named Shen Tao-cheng started on a long journey to Hanchow to assume his new post as deputy magistrate of Shihfang-hsien. Climbing mountains and crossing valleys he came to a place ten li east of Chenfu-hsien and there, as night came on, he lost his way. Worse still, it began to snow heavily. He was glad to halt his horse at a humble cottage and ask for a night's hospitality. He was led into a warm-floor room where he saw an aged couple and a young girl seated around a charcoal brazier in the faint light of an oil lamp.

The girl was fourteen or fifteen years old. Though she wore dirty clothes her tender skin was smooth and white as snow, her face was as lovely as a peony under her unkempt hair, and her movements were as graceful as a fairy's.

"My honored guest, you must be very cold," his host said. "Come near the fire and warm yourself."

"The night is dark and snow is falling," he replied, "and my destination in the western prefectural office is far off. Suffer me to rest here."

"We have only one room, and it is too humble," the old man said. "But if you don't mind that we will obey you."

Shen unsaddled his horse and spread his bedding in the room. As he was doing this the girl washed her face and changed into fresh clothing. As she appeared from behind the rosy curtain her elegant figure was like that of an Oriental bride coming to her husband on her wedding night.

"Your daughter is bright and intelligent," he said to his host. "If she is not yet engaged, I should like to act as my own go-between."

"If our honored guest wishes to have her for his wife, it will be a great honor," the man replied.

Shen passed the night with the girl, and on the morrow he took her on his horse with him and proceeded on his journey to his post in a country office. He had only a small salary there, but he was happy with his young wife.

Moons waned and flowers scattered, but love remained. A son and a daughter were born to them, and he loved them all with adoration. One day he gave his wife the following poem:

"When I became an official I made Mei-fu blush;
In three years I made Meng-Kuang envy.
What can be compared to my happiness?

We are like a pair of mandarin ducks swimming in a silvery stream.”

(Mei-fu was a celebrated official during the Han dynasty, and Meng-Kuang, a woman, figured in a sort of proverbial symbol of marital happiness, like the English Darby and Joan.)

His wife recited this poem to herself constantly and intended to write an answer, but kept it in her heart. Eventually Shen quit his official post and returned to his native place with his wife and children to enjoy a quieter life in his own fields and gardens. But his wife grew suddenly sad, and one day she said to him, “I will answer the poem which you gave me. Listen! Even though our married love is dear, I long to see my maiden home in the deep forest. My heart grows heavier with the changing seasons as I think of the burden of a hundred years' love with you!”

Shen sympathized with his wife, and so he took her to her maiden home in the green forest. But the house was empty, and she cried all day long, thinking of her parents. But then she spied a tigress' skin hanging on the wall and burst out laughing. “I didn't know it was still here,” she said. She took the skin from the wall and draped it around her body, and instantly she was transformed into a tigress which leaped through the door and disappeared into the forest. Shen clutched his children to him in consternation. He searched the forest for many days calling her name loudly, but she returned no more.

The heroes of both these stories fell in love with tigresses in human shape, but one wrote a disloyal poem to her husband and deserted him with roars and scratches, whereas the other hurt people only unwillingly and even so gave her man a good remedy for tiger bites. If even beasts of prey can be so kind hearted, why are so many human beings inferior to beasts?

Attracted by the man who prayed at the pagoda and moved by heaven's call for punishment of evil, the loving tigress redeemed the sins of all tigers, bequeathed a remedy to save human lives, and inspired her lover to build a temple and recite the Buddha's commandments. This miracle occurred not merely because of the beast's good nature, but by the universal benevolence of Buddha, who thus rewarded Kim Hyon and the tigress with eternal blessings in the life to come.

Song in Praise of the Tigress

Unable to bear the cruelties of her three brothers in the forest,
The dying orchid breathed a fragrant promise:
Since so many lives lacked righteousness,

She gave her own life for ten thousand deaths.
When she lay stretched out beneath the green trees,
Falling flowers scattered over her bleeding body.

122. Priest Yungch'on Banishes a Comet

During the reign of King Chinp'yong (579-632), three Hwarang named Koyollang, Silch'o-rang and Podong-nang once decided to go on a picnic in P'ung-ak (Maple Mountains, another name for the Diamond Mountains because of the autumn foliage). But they interrupted their journey in foreboding when they saw a comet in the constellation called Simtae-song. It was not until the priest Yungch'on composed a Hyang-ga and sang it loudly that the mysterious star disappeared and the invading Japanese soldiers ran away. Thus the power of his music turned a misfortune into a blessing.

The King was highly pleased and sent the Hwarang to P'ung-ak to enjoy their picnic without having to worry about war or heavenly calamity, at which times the Hwarang were obliged to take arms to protect the throne and defend the country.

The Song of the Comet

Long ago there was a castle on an eastern beach where grandma Kondalpa played;

When the Wai (Japanese) soldiers came, she raised a signal torch toward the castle.

Now when the three Hwarang climb the mountain in sport

Lady moon gives her light early to show them their way

And a broom-star sweeps the path of her light.

Yet people look on that star and call it a comet.

The moon has sailed down over the hill;

What comet could there be?

123. The Monk Chongsu Saves a Freezing Woman

During the reign of King Aejang (800-809) a monk named Chongsu lived at Hwangnyong Temple. One snowy winter night as he was returning from Samnang-sa, he saw a beggar woman who had just been delivered of a child lying uncovered outside the gate of Ch'onon-sa, all but frozen to death. The monk took her in his arms and warmed her with his body until she regained consciousness. Then he covered her with his robe and

underclothes and returned to his temple, where he covered his own nakedness with some rice-straw.

At midnight a heavenly voice rang out over the royal palace, saying, "Chongsu, the monk of Hwangnyong Temple, ought to be awarded the title of Wang-sa (Royal Priest)." The King sent servants to the temple to find out what it was all about, and they soon returned and reported to him the noble deed of the monk. The King donned his dragon robe and received the good monk in audience in the inner palace, where he bestowed upon him the title of National Priest for his uncommonly virtuous deed.

VIII. Seclusion

124. Nangchi, the Cloud-Riding Monk

On Yongch'u-san (Holy Eagle Mountain) a strange monk once lived in a hermitage for many years. Nobody in that remote area knew who he was or even what his name was. He was always reciting the Buddhist scripture Pophwa-gyong, and he possessed wonderworking powers.

In the first year of Lung-shuo (661) there lived a novice (Sramana in Sanskrit) whose name was Chit'ong, who had been a slave in the house of Iryang-kong. When he left his master's house to become a monk at the age of seven, a crow flew up to him and cawed, "Go to Yongch'u-san and become a disciple of Nangchi."

Chit'ong accordingly went to the mountain, and as he was resting under a tree a strange man appeared before him and said, "I am Po-hyon Taesa (a Bodhisattva) and I have to give you Buddha's commandments." He taught the laws of Buddha to the child and disappeared into the mist. Chit'ong was mature and perfectly intelligent from that time forward.

Continuing his journey, he met a monk, and asked him, "Where can I find Nangchi Popsa?"

"Why do you wish to see him?" the monk retorted. Chit'ong recounted the message of the divine bird. The monk smiled on him and said, "I am he. The crow just flew into my hermitage and said, 'A holy child is coming to see you. Go and meet him.' So here I am." And he took Chit'ong by the hand in admiration, saying, "Today's miracle is a gift of the mountain spirit." (Ilyon says there was a legend that this spirit was Pyonjae Ch'onnyo, Talking Spirit, originally an Indian goddess of eloquence and intelligence, who came to live on the Holy Eagle Mountain in Silla.)

Chit'ong was choked with emotion, but as Nangchi was about to give him Buddha's commandments he said, "I have already received the formal law from Pohyon Taesa under a tree at the entrance to this mountain village."

"Wonderful!" exclaimed Nangchi. "From my birth I have wished to meet a great sage, and have prayed to Buddha morning and evening to fulfill my wish. Today my wish has been granted. You are far superior to me." And he bowed to the child, and called the tree "Pohyon."

Chit'ong asked the old monk, "How many years have you been living on this mountain?"

"I first came here in the year of the goat during the reign of King Pophung (527)," Nangchi replied. "It was a long time ago and I don't know how many years have passed since then."

As Chit'ong came to the mountain in the year of the cock, when King Munmu ascended the throne (661), 135 years had passed since Nangchi arrived at his hermitage.

Later Chit'ong visited Uisang and saw many mysterious things in his hall. These things were the source material for his book Ch'u dong-gi. When Wonhyo was living at Panko Temple he visited Nangchi, who asked him to compose two essays, Ch'ojang Kwan-mun and Ansin-Sasim-non. When Wonhyo had finished the work he sent the two volumes to Nangchi by courtesy of Munson, a hermit. Nangchi wrote an epilogue to these books with an ode in Gatha (Sanskrit) which may be interpreted as follows:

The low monk in the western vale bows low and salutes
The high priest on the eastern hill far above the rock;
He blew little particles of dust and heightened the Holy Eagle Peak;
He sprinkled tiny drops of water and swelled the Dragon's Pool.

Taehwa Stream, which flows to the east of Holy Eagle Mountain, was called Dragon's Pool in honor of the blessing dragon of Tahuo pool in China.

Chit'ong and Wonhyo both became disciples of Nangchi, which shows the high standard of his teaching. Nangchi made a daily round trip on the clouds to Chingliang-shan in China to attend a series of Buddhist lectures together with a multitude of others. The Chinese monks thought him one of their fellows from a neighboring mountain, but none knew where he lived.

One day each member of the audience was asked to bring a celebrated flower and a rare plant from his home place and present them in the auditorium.

On the following morning Nangchi picked a branch from a rare mountain plant and presented it to the presiding monk, who said, "This plant is 'Talcheka' from India, called Red Tree in China. It grows only on the two Holy Eagle Mountains in India and in Silla. These two mountains belong to the tenth Buddhist heaven, inhabited by Bodhisattvas, so the man who picked this branch must be a saint." Finally it was seen from his appearance that Nangchi came from the Holy Eagle Mountain. His fame spread throughout the world, and his countrymen named his hermitage Hyokmok, Red-Tree Temple. Its ruins are still visible on its northern hill.

According to the annals of Yongch'u Temple. Nangchi once said "This temple is built on the ruins of Kasop Buddha," and dug two lanterns out of the ground then and there.

When we examine the passage in the Hwaom scripture concerning the Tenth Heaven, it is seen that Nangchi's riding on the clouds resembles Buddha's counting on his ring finger and Wonhyo's division of his hundred bodies.

Song in Praise of Nangchi

Though he lived a hundred years in meditation on a high rock,
His fame did not ring out in the low world;
Only the idle mountain birds twittered in endless talk
Where he sailed on the clouds in the boundless skies.

125. Yonhoe and the Munsujom

Yonhoe, a high monk, led a hermit life on the mountain of the Holy Eagle, where he studied the Yonhwa-gyong (Book of the Lotus), cultivated wisdom and meditated on the virtues of the Pohyon Bodhisattva. In his garden pond two lotuses bloomed throughout the four seasons, never fading or losing their petals. The Yongjang-jon or Dragon Palace at the Holy Eagle Temple is the old residence of Yonhoe.

The reigning King, Wonsong (785-799), heard of Yonhoe's auspicious and wonderful deeds and wished to summon him to court in order to confer the title of National Priest upon him. When Yonhoe heard of this he abandoned his hermitage and fled toward the rocks of the Western Peak. On

the way an old man who was ploughing a field saw him and said, "How far are you going on your flying feet, my good monk?"

"The King wants to tie me to his court by giving me a high post," Yonhoe said, "and so I am making haste to escape and hide myself in a distant place."

"I see," said the old man. "That is a good market for your trade. Why take the trouble of fleeing to a distant place? Men like you take pleasure in selling their names."

Yonhoe considered this an insult, and sped on without heeding the old man. Some miles further on he encountered an old woman on the bank of a stream, and she too asked him where he was going. He made the same reply as before, and she asked, "Did you meet an old man on your way here?"

"Yes," Yonhoe said, "and he insulted me, so I am traveling in great vexation."

"That was Munsu Buddha," the old woman said. "Why did you not heed his warning?"

Yonhoe was surprised. He retraced his steps in haste and prostrated himself before the old man. "I am sorry that I did not recognize you," he said, "and I repent my attempt to escape. By the way, who was the old woman I saw by the mountain stream?"

"That was Pyonjae Ch'onnyo, the talking fairy," the old man said, and vanished from sight. (For Pyonjae Ch'onnyo see previous section.)

With a light heart and light footsteps Yonhoe returned to his hermitage. When the royal messenger once more summoned him to court, he felt that he must obey. He was received at the palace and given the title of Kuksa (National Priest). The place where he met Munsu was thereafter called Munsujom, and the place where he met the old woman was called Anijom.

(Ilyon notes here that the Biographies of the Monks place these events in the reign of King Honan (857-861), adding that Yonhoe was made a royal priest of the two courts and given the title Cho (Shining), and that he died "in the fourth year of Hsien-tsung." This makes Yonhoe's career much later than the above account, and Uyon says he cannot tell which dating is correct.)

Song in Praise of Yonhoe

Trying to escape the eyes of the metropolis he fell into error;
A gimlet in a pouch cannot conceal its sharp point.

Because of the blue lotus, he went wrong,
Not because of his remote hermitage under the shrouding clouds.

126. Hyehyon Seeks a Quiet Life

Hyehyon was a man of Paekje who became a monk in his childhood. He recited the Pophwa-gyong and prayed to Buddha for blessings, and Buddha responded with wonderful communications. At first he lived at Sudok Temple, where he lectured on Buddhism to the people who came to worship and recited the scriptures when he was alone. People came from far and near to listen to his esoteric teaching, and the temple was always crowded with his admirers. Finally he grew tired of this noisy world and retired to Mt. Talla in the south. The mountain is so high and rugged that few venture to climb it, and the thick forest was infested with fierce tigers. Hyehyon lived quietly in his hermitage, chanting the scriptures and beating on a wooden gong in order to forget the world and himself, until at last he died.

When monks from neighboring temples had laid his body in a stone chamber, a tiger suddenly appeared and devoured it, leaving only the tongue. This remained red and tender for three years, despite changes of temperature, after which it changed into a hard, reddish substance like stone. All the monks and laymen in the neighborhood revered this wonderful tongue and enshrined it in a stone pagoda. Hyehyon died in the first year of Chen-kuan (around 600) at the age of fifty-eight.

Even though he ended his life in seclusion and never went abroad, his fame reached China and an account of his life is found in the T'ang Biographies of monks.

P'ayak, a Koguryo monk, went to T'ientaishan in China, where he was inspired by the truth of Buddhist doctrine to do many wonders, until his death there. Mysterious tales about him are also found in the T'ang Biographies of monks.

Song in Praise of Hyehyon

He preached Buddha's gospel on the deer's tail until he was weary;
The sound of his recital echoed to the clouds.
His name was sung in the annals of a foreign country.
After-the fire, his fragrant tongue floats in the red lotus.

(In Buddhist lore carriages drawn by deer, oxen and goats convey the souls of the dead to paradise, and the deer-drawn carriage is the finest.)

127. Sin-ch'ung and the Pinenut-Tree

Before he became King, Hyosong (737-742) diverted himself by playing checkers with Sin-ch'ung, a wise man, under a pinenut-tree in the garden of the palace. One day in autumn the Prince said to his old friend, "If I should forget you when I am king, I shall turn into that pinenut-tree." Sin-ch'ung rose and bowed to the Prince to express his gratitude.

A few months later the Prince succeeded to the throne and wore the golden crown, but he forgot Sin-ch'ung and omitted him from the list of courtiers entitled to honors and rewards. The old man complained that the King had forgotten his word. He wrote a poem on a piece of paper and pasted it to the pinenut-tree, upon which the tree suddenly withered.

Wondering at this, the King ordered his courtiers to investigate. When they brought him the poem which they had discovered on the tree, he was greatly astonished. "Dear me," he said, "I have forgotten my Kak-kung (Horn Bow),² my good old friend, more precious than my royal kindred." He summoned Sin-ch'ung and bestowed a title and an annual stipend upon him, and, wonderful to relate, the pine-nut-tree was restored, its trunk and foliage as fresh and green as before.

Song of the Pine

When in autumn the pine-nuts withered and fell
You vowed by the pine-tree not to forget me,
And I bowed to your noble person as my joy knew no bounds.
Alas! The moonbeams clasp the ripples in the old pond—
Now all the world is sad, as I gaze at the white-washed sand.
(The second stanza has been lost, Ilyon says.)

After this Sin-ch'ung became a favorite of the King. Finally, in the twenty-second year (763) of King Kyongdok, the younger brother of King Hyosong, he retired from the court and went to Mt. Chiri, where he shaved his head and became a monk. There he built a temple called Tansok-sa (Away From the Mortal World) dedicated to the royal Silla household. He prayed for the King and his kindred until he died in a silent valley near that wonderful mountain, leaving behind his portrait on a wall of the Golden Hall of the temple.

To the south of the temple is a village once known as Sokhyu, which is now called Sohwa-ri. (Ilyon notes here that the Sam Hwasang-jon, the

Biographies of Three Buddhist Priests, confuses Tansok-sa with Sin-ch'ung Pongsong-sa. Since more than a hundred years separate the reign of King Kyongdok from that of King Sinmun, he says, the Sin-ch'ung represented as an intimate of King Sinmun in this book must be a different person.)

In another book there is a story about Yi Chun (the Biographies of High Monks calls him Yi Sun, Ilyon says) who lived in the reign of King Kyongdok. He always said, "When I am fifty years old I will become a monk." And indeed, in the seventh year of T'ien-pao (748), when he had reached that age, he rebuilt a small temple called Cho-yon-sa, renamed it Tansok-sa, and shaved his head and became a monk, taking the name Kong-Koeng-Changnoja. He lived at the temple until his death twenty years later. This story is at variance with the account given in the Samguk Sagi.

Song in Praise of Sin-ch'ung

Though your service is small, your hair has turned silvery;

Though the King's bounty is great, the furrows deepen on your brow.

Often you have looked across the streams for a dreamland in the mountains;

Go burn incense and pray to Buddha to bless our King.

128. The Two Saints on P'osan

During the Silla Dynasty two saints, Kwanki and Tosong, lived on Mt. P'o. (Ilyon says the countryfolk called it Mt. Sosul, which is Sanskrit for Mt. P'o, now Pisul in Hyonp'ung). Ki had a hermitage on the southern peak and Song lived in a cave on the northern peak. They were about ten li (four kilometers) apart, but the two visited each other often, climbing the cloud-veiled peaks and singing "Moonlight Songs." When Song wished to call on Ki all the mountain trees swung their branches to the south, and when Ki went to meet Song they did the opposite. In this way the two friends associated with one another for many years.

Song used to sit quietly on the brink of a hanging cliff behind his hermitage. One day his body slipped down between two rocks and then flew up into the air in a robe of feathers. Some people say it landed in Such'ang county (now Susong county) and fell dead. Ki soon followed him on the wing and also fell dead. Beneath the cliff (called Tosong-am) and beside a cave, people built a temple in their memory.

In the seventh year of T'ai-ping (982) a monk named Songpom visited this temple and founded a school to teach the doctrine of Amita Buddha

which lasted for fifty years, during which many auspicious signs appeared. At that time twenty converts in Hyonp'ung formed an association to offer incense to the temple. They went to the mountain and gathered fragrant red sticks, which they chopped, dried, and piled in bamboo baskets. These sticks shone brilliantly at night like burning candles. The local people donated congratulatory funds to the association members, who rejoiced at this light. They believed that it was sent by the two saints through the providence of a mountain spirit named Chongsong-Ch'onwang (Heavenly god of silent holiness) who had received an oracle from the Buddha in the Kasop-pul period in the remote past. This Buddha had promised the spirit that he would achieve salvation when a thousand converts appeared on that mountain.

At present there is a legend written at this same mountain relating the miracles of nine saints—Kwanki, Tosong, Pansa, Ch'opsa, Toui (in the ruins of Paegam Temple), Chayang, Songpom, Kummulnyo and Paegusa.

Song in Praise of the Two Saints

The two aged travelers trod the moonlight and played in the cloud-springs long ago;

The old trees are shrouded in haze over ten thousand vales.

The shadows of the green leaves still wave to and fro in the cold wind,

As if the two friends were calling each other to come and go.

Two other saints, Pansa and Ch'opsa, hid themselves in caves, away from the human world. They sewed leaves together to protect themselves from the weather and to cover their nakedness, and therefore they are named after the two trees Pan and Ch'op, which the mountaineers call Umok (Rain Tree) and Kaul-mok respectively. Such names as P'ung-ak (Maple Mountains, another name for the Diamond Mountains) are suggestive of the mysterious lives of hermits in ancient days.

When I visited P'osan I composed a poem in praise of the virtues of the two saints:

Covering their bellies with purple bark and yellow skins,

Making clothes of green leaves—

There is no silkworm-feeding or hemp-weaving.

When the tall pines swing to the cold wind on the rocky crests,

The sun is down and the woodsmen are gone from the forest.
They meditated long under the bright moon at night;
They flew off aimlessly on the fluttering wings of the wind.
On the iris bed they lay and fell fast asleep;
Their souls were not tied to earthly cares even in dreams.
The unfeeling clouds sail over the two ruined hermitages as of yore;
In glens untrodden by men only the deer leap in wild joy.

129. Youngjae and the Thieves

Youngjae was a humorous monk and a good singer of the folksongs called Hyang-ga in the golden days of Silla, and he cared little for money.

When he had reached the twilight of his earthly life, he decided to spend his remaining days quietly in the bosom of nature, and so he started on a long journey to the forests of Mt. Chiri. When he reached the top of the steep mountain pass called Taehyollyong, a band of sixty thieves emerged from the forest brandishing swords and threatening to kill him.

Youngjae was quite calm and showed no sign of fear. “Good morning, my forest gentlemen,” he said. “You are wonderful dancers and I have never seen such a fine sword-dance in my life.”

“Sword-dance!” said the bandit chief. “Can you say that even as our great swords whirl above your head? You are a wonderfully humorous grey-haired old monk. What is your name?”

“Youngjae is my name,” he replied, “but I am better known as a monk.”

“Ah,” laughed the chieftain, “you are the great singing monk. We have heard much of your fame and we are glad to see you. Now that we have performed our sword dance as you say, it is your turn to sing a song.”

Youngjae sang:

Here comes an old monk on aimless feet
As he forgets the old shadows in his mind;
He fears lest his frail body should break Buddha's commandments.
Now he has seen these fine sharp swords,
A new day dawns on his poor soul—
Away with all evils and welcome only what is good.

“Wonderful!” the chieftain said. “You are a good singer indeed. You have not only entertained us with your beautiful music but moved our hearts as well, bringing tears to our eyes. On behalf of myself and all the

other thieves I apologize to you and give you a small present. Please accept two rolls (eighty yards) of our finest brocade.”

“Fine goods and bribery lead men and women to hell,” the monk admonished them. “I have been awakened to this truth, and now I am on my way to a remote mountain to spend my remaining days. How can I dare to accept your gift?” And he threw the brocade to the ground.

Much ashamed and deeply moved, the thieves threw down their swords and spears and followed Youngjae to Mt. Chiri. There they had their heads shaved and became faithful disciples of the great monk, never again appearing in the outside world or harming other people. Youngjae was ninety years old at this time, which was during the reign of King Wonsong of Silla (785-799).

Song in Praise of Youngjae

With a bamboo staff and a harp he was glad to tarry in the deep mountains;

No brocade or jewels could rule his steadfast heart.

Though the gentlemen of the forest offered him rich gifts,

He did not wish to carry gold to hell.

130. Mulkeja the Brave Soldier

When King Naehae had been on the throne of Silla for seventeen years (212) the allied troops of eight states including Poraguk (now Kosong) and Samulguk (now Saju) invaded the border towns of Silla. The King ordered out a large army under the command of Crown Prince Nalum and General Ilpol to hurl back the enemy. After a fierce battle all eight states surrendered to Silla.

(These cannot have been states in anything like the modern sense. They were probably tribal groupings.)

During the battle the brave soldier Mulkeja performed the greatest military feats, but the Crown Prince hated him and omitted his name from the list of those to be rewarded. His friends said, “Have you no resentment against the prince? Why don't you appeal to the King?”

“A loyal subject can never complain of his prince,” Mulkeja replied, “and a patriotic soldier does not risk his life for reward, much less should he appeal to the throne in order to gain a reputation at the expense of others. I simply do my duty. Time will tell.”

Three years later the kings of three states, headed by the prince of Kolp'o-guk (now Happon) attacked Kalhwa (or Kulbul, now Ulju). The King of Silla led his army in person and routed them. Mulkeja cut off the heads of more than a score of enemy soldiers, but the court never praised his valor. He said to his wife, "I have heard that the way of a loyal subject of a King is to risk his life in time of emergency, forgetting about personal safety and living only for king and country. The battles of Pora and Kalhwa were national crises which endangered the life of my King but I failed to fight for the King at the risk of my life so I am a disloyal subject. Since I have been disloyal to my King and brought discredit upon my ancestors, I am an unfilial son. Since I have lost the way of loyalty and filial piety I can no longer mingle in the shining circles of the court or even with the lowest ranks of society." Then he shouldered a komungo (a kind of six-stringed lute) and with disheveled hair he went off to a remote mountain called Sach'e-san and there composed odes of grief over the fate of a straight bamboo, swaying but unyielding. He sang to the accompaniment of his lute and of the babbling of a brook, living the life of a hermit. He returned to this noisy world no more.

131. Yongyo, who Disappeared

No one knows the family background of Yongyo, the monk of Silje Temple, although his virtuous deeds were highly praised. King Kyongdok summoned him to officiate at a sacrificial ceremony at the palace. Yongyo came and conducted the rites in the presence of His Majesty. After the ceremony the King appointed servants to escort the monk back to his temple. The moment they arrived at the temple gate Yongyo disappeared, and his whereabouts were unknown ever afterward. When this was reported to the King he conferred the title of National Priest upon Yongyo in admiration of his virtuous deeds and high principles.

Even today his temple is known as the National Priest's cell.

132. The Five Monks of Mt. P'och'on (in the Days of King Kyongdok)

Rising to the northeast of Sapnyangju (Yangsan, near Pusan) about twenty li off is a high mountain called P'och'on-san, which is famous for a beautiful cave which seems to be both carved by nature's hand and chiseled by human sculptors.

Long long ago five unknown monks came to live in this cave, where they prayed to Amitabha Buddha to receive them into the pure land in the

West for ten years. At last a host of saints came from the West to meet them. The five monks, each seated upon a lotus, flew through the air until they came to T'ongdo Temple. There they stayed for several days, performing heavenly music and preaching to the T'ongdo monks on the vanities of this ephemeral world. Then they cast off their mortal shells and flew on to the West, while a great light filled the sky. The hearts of the monks left behind were filled with rapture as they watched this glorious flight to the lotus paradise. Afterward they built a pavilion on the spot where the five monks had ascended and named it Ch'iru (Left-Behind Tower). It still stands today.

133. The Monk Who Called upon Amitabha

At the eastern foot of Namsan near Kyongju there is a village named P'irich'on and near it a temple named P'iri-sa. Many years ago a strange monk lived at this temple. He told nobody his name, but only prayed to Amitabha, chanting "Namuami-tabul! Namuami-tabul!" day and night in a loud yet musical voice without any variation. The sound filled the whole city of Kyongju, ringing through all the 170,000 houses in the 360 wards and subwards. Deeply moved, all the people worshipped Buddha, and named the monk Yombul-sa (Buddha-Calling Priest).

After his death the people made a lifelike plaster statue of him which they placed in Minjang Temple. They renamed the temple where he had lived Yombul-sa. Near it stands another temple, Yangp'i-sa, named after a neighboring village.

IX. Filial Piety

134. Chinjong the Filial Monk

Before his entry into the temple Chinjong was a Silla soldier. He was so poor that he couldn't get married, and during his leaves from military service on engineering work he sold his labor to buy rice for his mother. They had no kitchen utensils except an iron kettle with broken legs.

One day a monk came striking a wooden gong and begging for donations of iron to help build a new temple. The kind-hearted woman gave him her only iron kettle. Soon Chinjong came home.

"My son," she said, "a monk has just visited our house and asked for iron to help build a new temple, so I gave him our cooking kettle."

“Good!” said Chinjong. “You have done very well. It is a noble deed to make a gift for the service of Buddha. We can do our cooking without a kettle. See how I cook food on tiles and in earthen pots to make it more tasty.

“Mother, I have heard good news from my comrades in the army. Uisang Popsa is preaching at his temple in the lofty T'aebaek mountains, ennobling the souls of thousands of people and enabling them to enter the lotus paradise. When I have fulfilled my duty as a son I wish to enter his temple, have my head shaved and study the way of the Buddha under him, for I admire Uisang very much.”

“The way to Buddha is long and life is short,” his mother said. “If you wait until you have done your filial duty, will it not be too late? Rather it would please me to know that you had awakened to the way of Buddha during my lifetime. Say no more but go today.”

“I am the only one who can take care of you in your old age,” Chinjong protested. “How can I leave you alone in this bleak house?”

But she was adamant. “If because of your mother you do not join the order, denouncing your home and the world, you are leading me to hell. Even though you feed me good food, so long as I have no peace of mind or your mind is inclined toward hell, it cannot be called filial piety. I shall enjoy my remaining days begging from door to door, so say no more if you want to make me happy.” (Some time evidently elapses here.)

“I have cooked seven bowls of rice as provisions for your long journey, because cooking on the way would delay you. Eat one bowl before my eyes and put the other six in your knapsack to eat as you travel through the mountains.”

Chinjong wept. “To leave an infirm old mother alone is painful to a son's heart,” he said. “It is much worse to take away the little rice and soy sauce left in the house and leave her to hunger. Heaven and earth will censure me for this.” “Don't worry about me,” his mother said. “Go, my son.” Chinjong could not disobey his mother's command. He bowed to her and started on his journey, and after traveling three days and three nights reached the T'aebaek Mountains, where he was warmly received by the great monk Uisang Popsa. Having shaved his head, he became Uisang's disciple.

Three years later Chinjong heard the sad news of his mother's death. He was so deeply affected that he sat up seven days and seven nights in the

posture of a Buddha praying for the repose of her soul, and at length saw her reborn into a noble life.

Hearing this story, Uisang moved to a new thatched cottage, followed by three thousand people to whom he lectured on the Hwaom scripture for ninety days. Chit'ong, one of his learned disciples, wrote down the outlines of these lectures and published them in two volumes called "Ch'udong Diary."

On the last night of the lectures Chinjong saw his mother in a dream and heard her say. "My good son, I have returned to life in a heavenly paradise."

135. Kim Tae-song, twice a Dutiful Son (Reign of King Sinmun)

In the small village of Moryang-ni (otherwise called Pu-un-ch'on) on the western outskirts of Kyongju there lived a poor woman named Kyong-cho who had an odd-looking son. The child was the laughingstock of the village because of his big head and flat forehead, like a wall. The people called him Tae-song (Big Wall).

His mother was too poor to feed him, so she gave the lad to a rich neighbor named Pog-an as a farm laborer. Tae-song worked so hard that his master liked him very much and gave him a small rice field to feed his mother and himself.

About that time Chomkae, a virtuous monk from Hungnyun Temple, visited the house of Pog-an and asked for a donation for a great ceremony at the temple. Pog-an gave him fifty rolls of cotton cloth. The monk bowed in thanks and said, "You are loving and giving. The great Buddha is so pleased with your donation that he will give you ten thousand times what you have donated, and bless you with long life and happiness."

Tae-song overheard this and ran home and told his mother, "Now we are poor, and if we do not give something to the temple we will be poorer. Why not give our little rice field for the ceremony so that we may have a great reward in our afterlives?" His kind-hearted mother readily consented and the rice field was donated to the temple through Chomkae.

A few months later Tae-song died. On the night of his death a voice from heaven was heard above the house of Kim Mun-yang, the prime minister, saying "Tae-song, the good boy of Moryang-ni, will be reborn in your family."

In great astonishment the prime minister sent servants to the village, and they found that Tae-song was indeed dead. Wonderful to relate, in the same hour as the heavenly announcement the prime minister's wife conceived,

and in due course gave birth to a boy. The child kept the fingers of his left hand tightly clenched until seven days after his birth, and when at last he opened them the characters for Tae-song were seen written in gold on his palm. They gave him his old name again and invited his previous mother to care for him.

When Tae-song had grown into a strong youth he loved hunting. One day he climbed high on Mt. T'oham, and there he killed a big bear. As night was coming he slept in a village at the foot of the mountain, and dreamed that the bear's ghost appeared to him and said, "Fellow! Why did you kill me? I will come back to life and kill and eat you."

Tae-song trembled with fear and said, "Do not say so! I love sport and I was only testing my courage and strength against yours, risking my life in a fair fight in which you had an equal chance. Now the game is over. I beg your pardon and would gladly shake you by the paw."

"You are a jolly fellow," the ghost said, "but no more of your jokes! Will you build a magnificent temple for me?"

"I take your paw and swear," Tae-song replied. The bear's ghost gave him a gentle scratch and he awoke with a loud cry. His bed was wet with sweat.

From that time on Tae-song gave up hunting, and he built a temple on the spot where he had killed the bear. He called it Changsu-sa (Temple of Long Life) and dedicated it to the bear.³

His heart moved by heavenly grace, Kim Tae-song built the beautiful Pulguk Temple in memory of his two sets of parents and also founded the wonderful grotto of Sokkul-am. He invited the two distinguished monks Sillim and P'yohun to supervise these temples. He had his fathers and mothers represented among the images in these temples in gratitude for bringing him up as a useful man.

After the great stone Buddha for Sokkul-am was finished, Kim Tae-song was working on the lotus pedestal when suddenly it broke into three pieces. He wept bitterly over this, and at length fell into a trance. During the night gods and goddesses descended from heaven and restored the stone to its original condition. Tae-song awoke in joy and climbed the southern peak of Mt. T'oham, where he burned incense and worshipped the celestial deities. People thereafter called the place Hyang-nyong (Incense Peak).

The two stone bridges of the blue and white clouds, the seven-treasure lotus flowers and the two pagodas, Tabo-t'ap (Pagoda of Many Treasures)

and Sokka-t'ap (Pagoda of Sakyamuni) at Pulguk-sa, in addition to the seated image of Buddha and the bas-reliefs of Kwanum on the walls and ceiling of Sokkul-am, are unsurpassed in exquisite workmanship among the art works in the temples of Korea.⁴

In addition to the above account, which is derived from old legends, the official records of these two temples give the following information: "During the reign of King Kyongdok, Tae-song, the King's first minister, commenced the construction of Pulguk-sa in the tenth year of T'ien-pao (742). Tae-song died during the reign of King Hyegong, on the second of December in the ninth year of Ta-li (774); the construction of the temple was finished some years later."

Song in Praise of Kim Tae-song.

When spring ended in Moryang he donated three furrows of land;

When autumn came to Hyang-nyong he harvested ten thousand pieces of gold.

His mother knew poverty, wealth and nobility in a hundred years;

Her son rose from a low servant to a high aristocrat in a dream.

136. Hyangduk-Saji Feeds his Father with His Own Flesh

In Ungch'onju a man named Hyangduk-Saji lived on a little farm. One year famine visited the land and the poor soil would yield no crop, so that his old father was all but starved to death. Hyangduk cut some flesh from his thigh and fed the old man. Deeply moved, the people of the province reported this to King Kyongdok. The King praised this unusual deed of filial piety and gave Hyangduk five hundred large bags of rice as a reward.

137. Son Sun Offers to Sacrifice his Son.

During the reign of King Hungdok a poor man named Son Sun lived in the mountain village of Moryang-ni near Kyongju. After the death of his father (Hak-san) he and his wife worked at a neighboring house as day laborers and supported his old mother with the rice and vegetables they earned in this way.

Son Sun had a little son. This baby ate all the food served to his grandmother, for she was very fond of her grandson and would put the dainties she got into his mouth.

"This is good for our son but bad for my mother," Son Sun said. "We may have another son but we can never have another mother. We must get

rid of this hindrance to our first duty.” His wife was deeply moved by her husband's filial piety and readily agreed.

One night the mother took the child and carried it at her breast while her husband carried a spade on his shoulder, and they climbed the northern side of Mt. Ch'wi northeast of the village. With heavy hearts and many tears they began to dig a grave in which to bury their son alive. But Son Sun's spade struck a stone which gave a musical sound, and when he dug it out he found it was a small bell of exquisite beauty, about the size of the water jars which women carry on their heads.

The young couple looked at the bell with wondering eyes. They hung it on a tree and struck it with a pebble and it rang with a wonderful sound. In great joy the wife exclaimed, “We have discovered a wonderful bell, a God-sent gift. My good husband, do not bury my child, but spare his life.” Son Sun agreed. With singing hearts and dancing feet they descended the hill with the bell and the baby.

On reaching home at daybreak they hung the bell under the eaves of their thatched house, and it swung in the wind and rang out its music far and wide. The King heard it in his palace and said, “I hear the wonderful sound of a bell ringing in the western wind. Who will go and find it?”

“May your majesty live ten thousand years!” the servants responded, and went in search of the wonderful bell. When they had found it they reported the good news to the throne.

The King greatly admired the good conduct of Son Sun and his wife, and said, “In the olden days, when Kuo-chu was about to bury his child, heaven sent down a golden cauldron, and now when Son Sun was about to bury his child earth yielded up a stone bell.⁵ Such men are good models of filial piety, sure to be rewarded by heaven and earth.” The King gave Son Sun a fine house and fifty large bags of rice annually to encourage others to honor their parents with pure hearts.

Son Sun donated his old home for the foundation of a temple. People called it Honghyo-sa (Temple of Filial Piety), and the bell was enshrined in it.

During the reign of Queen Chinsong (888-898) bandits of Later Paekje attacked this village and stole the bell, but the temple escaped destruction. The mountainside where the bell was found was called Wanhop'yong, but now the local people call it Chiryangp'yong.

138. The Beggar Girl Who Supported her Mother

Hyojongnang, a noble Hwarang, gave a banquet in the P'osok-jong, the stone abalone pavilion, also called Samhwa-sul; (Three-flower Arbor) at the foot of Namsan near Kyongju, and all his followers and friends gathered early except two, who arrived very late. When the noble Hwarang asked them why they had not arrived on time, they told the following story:

“In the eastern village near Punhwang Temple we saw a girl who seemed to be about twenty years old holding her blind mother in her arms and crying loudly.

“We asked the villagers what was going on, and they explained that the girl was so poor that she had begged from door to door for years to support her mother. Then there was a bad harvest and she could no longer get any income from begging, so she sold her labor to a rich man's house and entrusted her master with thirty large bags of rice from her wages.

“She worked hard in that house every day, and at twilight she brought home a bowl of rice which she cooked for her mother and herself. She slept with her mother and at daybreak she rose quietly and went back to work in the rich man's house. She supported her mother in this way for several years.

“One day her mother said to her. 'I had peace of mind when I ate coarse food, but my heart is troubled these days, as if the good food hurt my stomach. Can you tell me why?'

“The good daughter told the truth, whereupon her mother burst out crying and the daughter cried too, lamenting between sobs that she had fed her mother's mouth but had failed to comfort her mind. We stayed to observe this pitiful sight, which is why we are late for your banquet.”

The Hwarang took pity on this mother and daughter and sent them a hundred bushels of grain and some fine clothes, while his followers collected a thousand large bags of rice to help the needy family.

When this story reached the throne, Queen Chinsong rewarded the dutiful daughter with an additional five hundred large bags of rice, and gave her a fine house to live in with her mother. She also sent soldiers to guard the house. The Queen also ordered the building of a pavilion in the girl's honor at the entrance to her village, and named it Hyo-yang-ni (Filial Sustenance Village) to commemorate her good conduct. Later the girl donated her house to a temple called Yangjon-sa (Temple of the Two Buddhas).

Footnotes to Book Five

(1). A “Po” was a sort of fund donated by the pious for some special religious purpose. It may be compared to the donation of funds to the church in medieval Europe to pay for masses for the soul of an individual.

(2). This is a reference to a poem in the Book of Odes, one of the Confucian Classics, in which the loyal kinsmen complain that King Yao of Chou pays more attention to flatterers than to his own family.

(3). It is possible that this story is connected with a very ancient folk belief. It will be recalled that Tangun, the legendary founder of Korea, was born of a woman who had been a bear. Probably this indicates the practise of totemism in ancient times.

(4). There is a tradition that the sculptor who carved these bas-reliefs was in love with the King's daughter and used her as the model for the image of Kwanum in order to immortalize her beauty.

(5). The Chinese story of Kuo-chu, which dates back to the Han dynasty, is almost identical to the present one, except that Kuo-chu dug up a golden cauldron rather than a bell.

Epilogue

The wood blocks for printing the Samguk Sagi and the Samguk Yusa kept in the government archives have become illegible except for four or five characters to the line. Scholars nowadays wish to widen their knowledge of peace and war on earth and the rise and fall of nations and wonders done in various places. Much research is needed in our country to broaden knowledge of our national affairs.

With this in mind the compiler of this volume has sought for several years for one of the original printed copies, but to no avail, for they are very rare. This is most unfortunate, for this valuable history is in danger of being lost, and we shall be unable to pass on to our descendants the history of this eastern nation.

Fortunately, his honor Kwon Chu, the magistrate of Songju, hearing of my search, obtained a perfect copy and sent it to me. I showed it to Governor An Tang and Director Pak Chon, informing them of my printing project, and they gladly approved of my plan. I have therefore had the book printed in several counties and donated copies to provincial governments for preservation.

It is natural that old things are lost and lost things are found again as nations and peoples rise and fall. Realizing this, I have had this book reprinted to preserve permanently a literary treasure of our scholars for all ages to come. Late Winter, Imsin Year of Ming Cheng-te (1512)

Written by Prince Chon P'yong, Yi Kye-pok, Merit Subject, Lord Kason, Prefect, Military Commander, Kyongju-chin Area.

(Yi Kye-pok was raised to the rank of Merit Subject by King Chungjong (1488-1544) of the Yi Dynasty for his assistance in the deposition of the tyrant Prince Yonsan.)

THE END

Chronology of Kings and Queens of the Three Kingdoms and Karak

The dates here given are traditional ones and may not be accurate for the earlier periods. All dates are A.D. unless otherwise noted.

KOGURYO

1. Tongmyong 37. B.C.-19 B.C.

Founder, son of legendary Tangun. Family name Ko, given name Chumong.

2. Yuri 19 B.C.-18 A.D.

Son of Tongmyong, but took the family name Hae. In 3 A.D. moved the court to Kuknae-song, also called Puli-song, on the Yalu River.

3. Taemusin 18-44

Third son of Yuri, family name Hae.

4. Minjung 44—48

Son of Taemusin, given name Upchu.

5. Mobon 48-53

Elder brother of Minjung, given name Aeryu.

6. Kukjo 53-146

Also known as Taejo wang. The official history of the Later Han dynasty says, "No sooner did he leave his mother's womb than he opened his eyes and looked around him." Abdicated late in life in favor of his mother's brother.

7. Ch'adae 146-165

Given name Su. Brother of Kukjo's mother. In 165 when Kukjo was 119 years old his two younger brothers were murdered by King Sindae.

8. Sindae 165-179

Given name Paekko or Paekku, See above.

9. Kogukch'on 179-197

Given name Namho or Imo. Posthumous title is the name of the place where he was buried.

1. Sansang 197-227
2. Tongch'on 227-248
3. Chungch'on 248-270
4. Soch'on 270-292

Given name Yakno or Yaku.

14. Pongsang 292-300

Also called King Ch'igal. Given name Sangpu.

15. Mich'on 300-331

Also called King Hoyang, given name Ulpul or Upul.

16. Kugwon 331-371

Also called King Kangsang, given name Soe or Sayu. Extended the city wall of P'yongyang. In 342 moved the court to Anshih-ch'eng (Wantu-ch'eng).

1. Sosurim 371-384 Given name Kupu.
2. Kugyang 384-392

Given name Isok or Ojichi.

1. Kwanggaet'o 392-413 Given name Tamdok.
2. Changsu 413-491

Given name Sin or Yon. In 427 moved the national capital to P'yongyang-song.

21. Munja 491-519

Also named Myong-ni-ho, Naun and Koun.

1. Anjang 519-531 Given name Hung-an.
2. Anwon 531-545 Given name Poyong.
3. Yangwon 545-559

Also called King Yanggang, given name P'yong-song.

25. P'yongwon 559-590

Also called King P'yonggang, given name Yangsong.

26. Yongyang 590-618

Also called King P'yongyang, given name Won or Taewon.

1. Yongnyu 618-642 Given name Konmu.

2. Pojang 642-668

Koguryo conquered by Silla and T'ang forces 705 years after the traditional founding date.

PAEKJE

1. Onjo 18 B.C.-28 A.D.

Legendary founder, reputedly the third son (some sources say the second) of King Tongmyong, the legendary Koguryo founder. Court in Wirye-song (some sources say Sach'on, now Chiksan) until 5 B.C., then moved to Hansan, now Kwangju, Kyonggi Province

1. Taru 28-77 Second son of Onjo.

2. Kiru 77-128 Son of Taru.

3. Kaeru 128-166 Son of Kiru.

4. Ch'ogo 166-214

Son of Kaeru, also called Sogo.

6. Kusu 214-234

Son of Ch'ogo, also called Kwisu.

7. Saban 234

Son of Kusu; deposed.

8. Koi 234-286

Brother of Ch'ogo's mother.

9. Ch'aekkye 286-298

Son of Koi.

1. Punso 298-304 Son of Ch'aekkye

2. Piryu 304-344

Second son of Kusu and younger brother of Saban.

1. Kye 344-346 Son of Punso

2. Kunch'ogo 346-375

Second son of Piryu. In 371 moved the court to Puk-Hansan.

1. Kungusu 375-384 Son of Kunch'ogo.
2. Ch'imnyu 384-385 Son of Kungusu.
3. Chinsa 385-392

Younger brother of Ch'imnyu.

17. Asin 392-405

Son of Chinsa, also called Abang.

18. Chonji 405-420

Given name Yong, also titled Chinji; son of Asin.

1. Kusini 420-427 Son of Chinji.
2. Piyu 427-455 Son of Kusini
3. Kaero 455-475 Given name Kyongsa.
4. Munju 475-477

Son of Kaero. Moved the capital to Ungch'bn.

1. Samgun 477-479 Son of Munju.
2. Tongsong 479-501

Given name Motae. Cousin of Samgun.

25. Muryong 501-523

Given name Sama. Second son of Tongsong. In the Nan-shih it is written, "his name was Puyo-Yung." but this is wrong. Yung was the crown prince of King Pojang (Uija). His story is told in the T'ang-shih. (A bit of confusion here. Pojang was the last king of Koguryo and Uija the last king of Paekje.)

26. Song 523-554

Son of Muryong, given name Myongnong. In 538 moved the capital to Saja-song, which he renamed Nam-Puyo.

27. Widok 554-598

Given name Ch'ang, also called Myong.

28. Hye 598-599

Given name Kye or Myong, also called King Hon; son of Widok.

29. Pop 599-600

Given name Hyosun. Son of Hye

30. Mu 600-641

Given name Ilgi-sadok, also called King Mugang.

31. Uija 641-660.

Son of Mu. Paekje conquered by Silla and T'ang 678 years after its traditional founding date.

KARAK (KAYA)

1. Suro 42-199

Said to have been born from a golden egg which descended from heaven, hence his family name was Kim (Kum), meaning gold. Also said to have reigned for 158 years, though this does not correspond to the recorded dates.

2. Kodung 199-259

Son of Suro and Empress Ho. Again there is some discrepancy in the dates.

3. Map'um 259-291

Son of Kodung and Lady Mojong, daughter of Sin Po, Lord of Ch'onpu.

4. Kojilmi 291-344

Also called Kummul. Son of Map'um and Lady Hogu.

5. Ip'um 344-407

Son of Kojilmi and Lady Aji.

6. Chwaji 407-421

Also called King Kunt'o. Son of Ip'um and Lady Chongsin.

7. Ch'wihui 421-451

Son of Chwaji and Lady Poksu.

8. Chilji 451-492

Son of Ch'wihui and Lady Indok.

9. Kyomji 492-521

Son of Chilji and Lady Pangwon.

10. Kuhyong 521-532.

Karak absorbed by Silla 490 years after its traditional founding date.

SILLA

1. Hyokkose 57 B.C.-4 A.D.

Pak clan. Said to have been born of a big egg. Queen Ayong or Aryong. Country then called Sorabol or Kerim (but some sources say the name Kerim was adopted in King T'alhae's reign). In 37 B.C. built Kumsong, meaning golden castle.

2. Namhae 4-24

Son of Hyokkose and Lady Aryong, Pak clan. Queen Lady Unje.

3. Norye 24-57

Also called Yuri. Used the title Nijilgum. Son of Namhae and Unje. Queen Sayo Kimsi, daughter of Horu-wang.

4. T'alhae 57-80

Sok clan. Son of King Hamdalpa of Wanha-kuk and the Princess of Choknyo. Queen Lady Aro, daughter of King Namhae. When he died his body was buried on an eastern hill and then his bones were encased in a plaster figure and buried on the same hill.

5. Pasa 80-112

Pak clan. Son of Norye and Sayo. Queen Lady Sach'o.

6. Chima 112-134

Also called Chimi, son of Pasa and Sach'o. Queen Lady Aerye, Princess of Majekuk. Destroyed Umjilkuk (now Angang) and Apnyangkuk (now Kyongsan).

7. Ilsong 134-154

Son of Norye's elder brother and Lady Ikan. Queen daughter of Chima.

1. Adala 154-184

2. Polhyu 184-196 Sok Clan.

1. Naehae 196-230

2. Chobun 230-247

3. Chomhae 247-262

Also called Ihae. Brother of Chobun's mother. Established first relations with Koguryo.

13. Mich'u 262-284

Also called Miso or Mijo. First king from the Kim clan. Son of Kudo Kalmun-wang and Saengho (Lady Sullye), daughter of Ibi Kalmun-wang of the Pak clan. Queen Lady Kwangmyong, daughter of Chepun-wang.

14. Yurye 284-298

Sok clan. Also called Serichi. Son of Chepun-wang and a woman of the Pak clan. Reconstructed Wolsong (Moon Castle).

15. Kirim 298-310

Also called Kirip. Second son of Chepun and Lady Aihye. He called his country Silla.

16. Kolhae 310-356

Son of Urotim-kakkan, the second son of King Naehae. In 329 he had constructed a huge dam and reservoir for irrigation. During his reign Paekje soldiers first invaded Silla.

17. Naemul 356-402

Kim clan. Commencing with his reign the throne became permanently hereditary in the Kim clan. Son of Kudo Kalmun-wang. Some sources say he was the younger brother of King Miso. His mother was Lady Hyurye.

18. Solsong 402-417

Also called Silju or Pogum. Son of King Mich'u's younger brother, Taesoji Kakkan and Lady Yesaeng. Queen Lady Aryu.

19. Nulji 417-458

Also called Naeji. Son of Naemul and Lady-Naeryehui, the daughter of King Mich'u.

20. Chabi 458-479

Son of Nulji and Lady Aro, the daughter of King Silsong. His queen was the daughter of P'aho Kalmun-wang, though some say she was the daughter of Mijil Kakkan. Opened commerce with the Wu state in China. In 479 Japanese soldiers invaded Silla, and the King had Myonghwal fortress built as a refuge. The Japanese laid siege to the castle but were beaten off and departed.

21. Soji 479-500

Also called Pich'o. Third son of Chabi and a daughter of Mihun Kakkan. His queen was a daughter of Kibo Kalmun-wang.

22. Chijung 500-514

Also called Chich'ollo. Son of Kibo Kalmun-wang, King Nulji's younger brother, and Lady Osaeng, King Nulji's daughter. Queen Lady Yongje.

23. Pophung 514-540

Given name Wonjong. Son of Chijung and Lady Yongje. The use of reign titles (he called his reign title Konwon) and posthumous royal titles in Chinese fashion began with this reign. His mausoleum is north of Aegong Temple. His queen Lady Pado became a Buddhist nun with the religious name Popnyu and lived at Yonghung Temple. This king ordained laws prohibiting the taking of life on ten days of each month and permitted people to become monks and nuns.

24. Chinhung 540-576

Given name Sammaekjong, also Sim (Maekpu). Son of Pophung's younger brother and Lady Chiso, the daughter of Yonsa Kakkan of the Pak clan. Became a monk. He adopted the reign titles, 'Kaeguk' (551), 'Taech'ang' (568), and 'Hongje' (572)

25. Chinji 576-579

Given name Saryun or Kumnyun. Son of Chinhung and Lady Saekto of the Pak clan. Queen Lady Chido, also of the Pak clan.

26. Chinp'yong 579-632

Given name Paekchong. Son of Crown Prince Tongnyun and Lady Manho or Mannyong, the daughter of Ipchong Kalmun-wang. Queens first Lady Maya and second Lady Sungman. He called his reign title, 'Konpok' (584)

27. Queen Sondok 632-647

Given name Tokman, daughter of Chinp'yong and Lady Maya. Succeeded when her father died without male issue. Prince consort Um Kalmun-wang. Her reign title was Inp'yong.

28. Queen Chindok 647-654

Given name Sungman, daughter of Chinp'yong's younger brother and Lady Ani; reign title; Taehwa.

29. Muryol 654-661

Also known by the posthumous honorary title T'aejong. Son of Yongch'un and grandson of King Chinji. His mother was Lady Ch'onmyong, a daughter of King Chin'pyong. Queen Lady Hunje (Kim Yu-sin's younger sister Munhui).

30. Munmu 661-681

Given name Popmin, son of Muryol and Lady Hunje. Queen Cha-ui, daughter of Sonp'um Haegan. His tomb is on a rock in the sea east of Kamun Temple. Paekje and Koguryo were conquered during his reign.

31. Sinmun 681-692

Given-name Chongmyong or Ilso. Son of Munmu and Cha-ui. Queen Sinmok-wanghu, daughter of Kim Un-kong.

32. Hyoso 692-702

Given name I-kong. Son of Sinmun and Sinmok-wanghu. His tomb is east of Mangdek Temple.

33. Songdok 702-737

Given name Hung-kwang, childhood name Yung-ki, Hyoso's younger brother. First queen Paeso-wanghu, second Chommul-wanghu. His tomb is

south of Tongch'on (some sources say Yangjang-gok).

34. Hyosong 737-742

Given name Stingkyong. Son of Songdok and Chommul-wanghu. Queen Hyemyong-wanghu. Cremated at Popnyu Temple and his ashes scattered over the eastern sea.

35. Kyongdok 742-765

Son of Songdok and Chommul-wanghu. First queen Lady Sammo, who could bear no sons and left the palace. Second queen Lady Manwol. First buried in a stone tomb west of Kyongji Temple and later moved to the valley of Yangjang-gok.

36. Hyegong 765-780

Son of Kyongdok and Lady Manwol. First queen Lady Sinp'a, second Lady Ch'angsa.

37. Sondok 780-785

Given name Yang-sang. Son of Hyobang-haegan and Lady Saso, the daughter of King Songdok. Queen Kujok-wanghu.

38. Wonsong 785-799

Given name Kyong-sin. Son of Hyoyang Tae-agan and Lady Chio. Queen Lady Sukjong. His tomb is at Kok-sa (now Sungbok-sa).

39. Sosong 799-800

Son of Hyech'ung T'aeja and Songmok Taehu. Queen Kyehwa-wanghu.

40. Aejang 800-809

Given name Chung-hui or Ch'ongmyong. Son of Sosong and Kyehwa-wanghu. Murdered by his two uncles Hondok and Hungdok.

41. Hondok 809-826

Given name Onsong. King Sosong's brother. Queen Kwisung-nang. His tomb is north of Ch'onnimch'on.

42. Hungdok 826-836

Given name Kyonghwi. Hondok's brother. Queen Lady Ch'anghwa. King Sosong's daughter. Tomb north of Angang, with that of his queen.

43. Huigang 836-838

Given name Kaeryung, also called Che-u. Son of Honjong Kakkan and Lady Mido.

44. Minae 838-839

Son of Ch'unggong Kakkan and Lady Kwip'a, the daughter of Hyech'ung. Queen Muyong Wanghu.

45. Sinmu 839

Given name U-jing. Son of Kyunjong Kakkan and Lady Chonggyo. Queen Chongjong.

46. Munsong 839-857

Given name Kyong-ung. Son of Sinmu and Chongjong-t'aehu. Queen Somyong-wanghu.

47. Honan 857-861

Given name Uijong. Younger brother of Sinmu, son of Lady Hunmyong.

48. Kyongmun 861-875

Given name Ung-nyom. Son of Kyemong Kakkan, grandson of King Huigang. Mother Lady Kwanghwa, daughter of King Sinmu. Queen Munja Hwanghu, King Honan's daughter.

49. Hongang 875-886

Given name Chong. Son of Kyongmun and Munja Hwanghu.

50. Chonggang 886-888

Given name Hwang. Minae's brother.

51. Queen Chinsong 888-898

Given name Manhon. King Chonggang's sister by the same mother. Spouse Wihong Tae-kakkan. Abdicated in favor of Hyogong, an illegitimate son of King Hongang, and died soon after. She was cremated and her ashes scattered over the western hill in Moryang, otherwise called Mihwang Mountain.

52. Hyogong 898-913

Given name Yo. Son of Hongang and Munja-wanghu. He was cremated on the northern hill of Saja-sa and his bones were buried on the eastern hill of Kujje.

53. Sindok 913-917

Pak clan, a descendant of King Adala. Queen Chasong-wanghu. He was cremated and his bones buried south of Chamhyon.

54. Kyongmyong 917-924

Pak Clan Given name Sungyong, son of Sindok and Chasong. Queen Changsa-taek. Cremated at Hwangpok Temple and his bones scattered over Songdung Mountain.

55. Kyongae 924-927

Pak clan. Given name Wi-ting. King Kyongmyong's brother.

56. Kyongsun 927-935

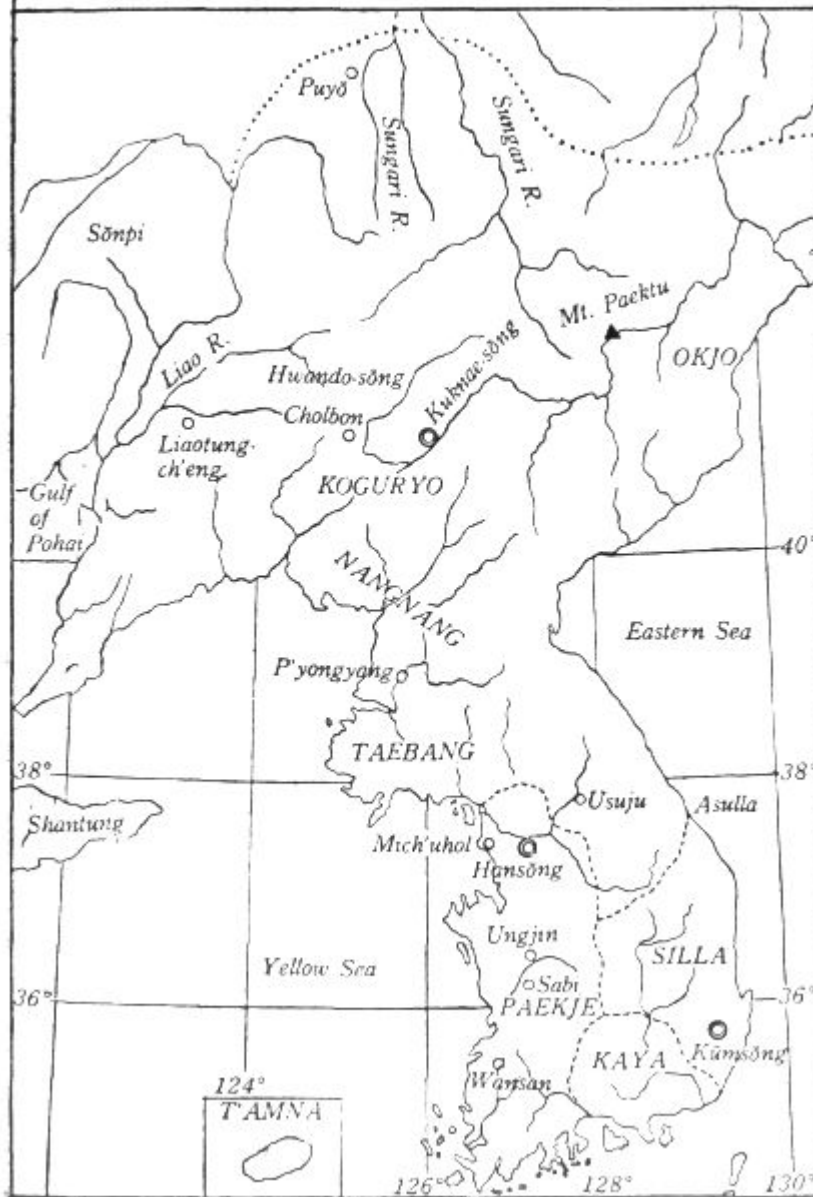
Kim clan. Given name Pu, son of Hyojong Ikan and Kyea t'aehu, King Hongang's daughter. In 935 surrendered Silla sovereignty to Wang Kon, the founder of the Koryo dynasty. He died in 978 and his tomb is in Tonghyang-dong. The Silla kingdom came to an end 992 years after its traditional founding date

APPENDIX

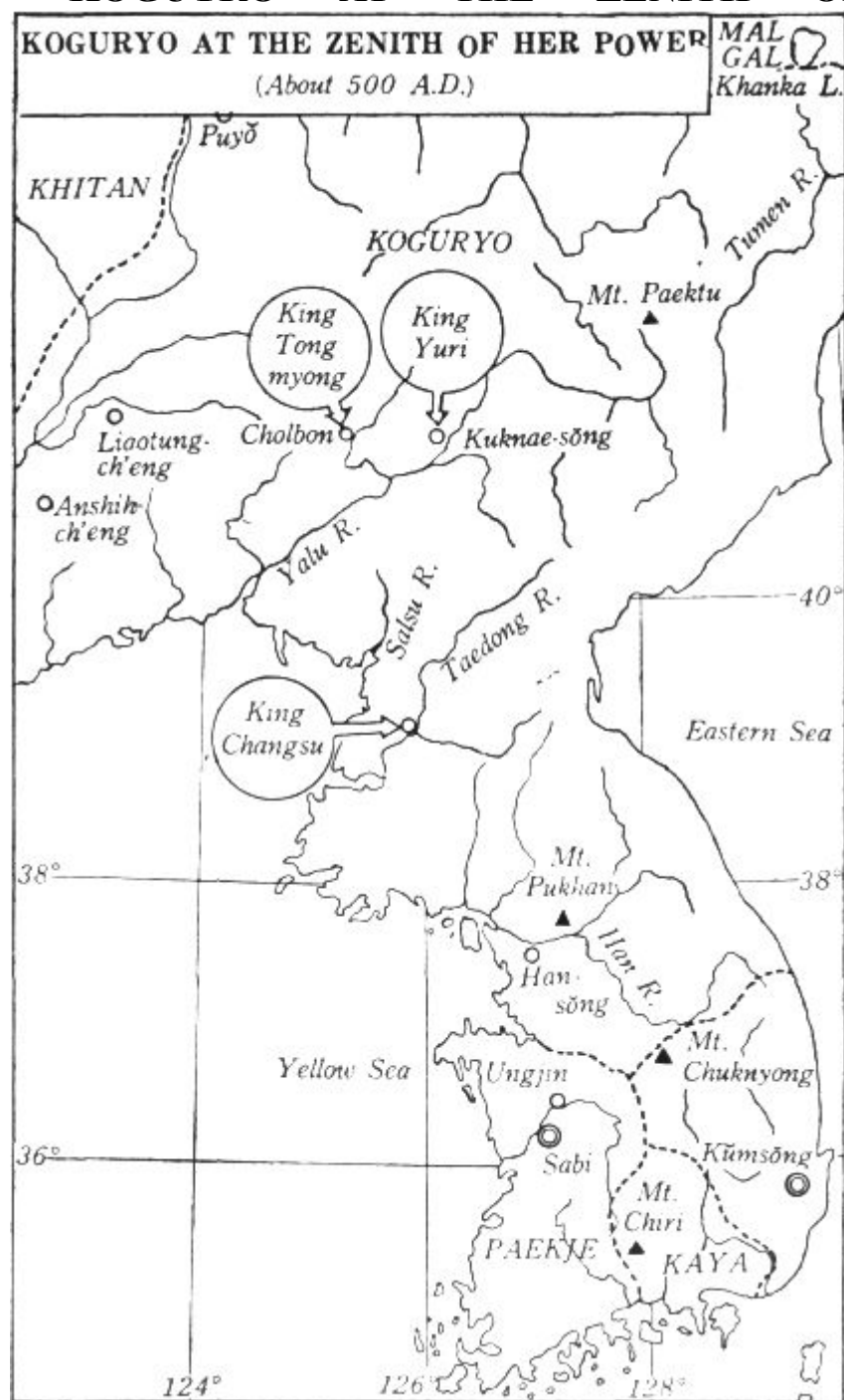
TRIANGULAR POSITION OF THE THREE KINGDOMS

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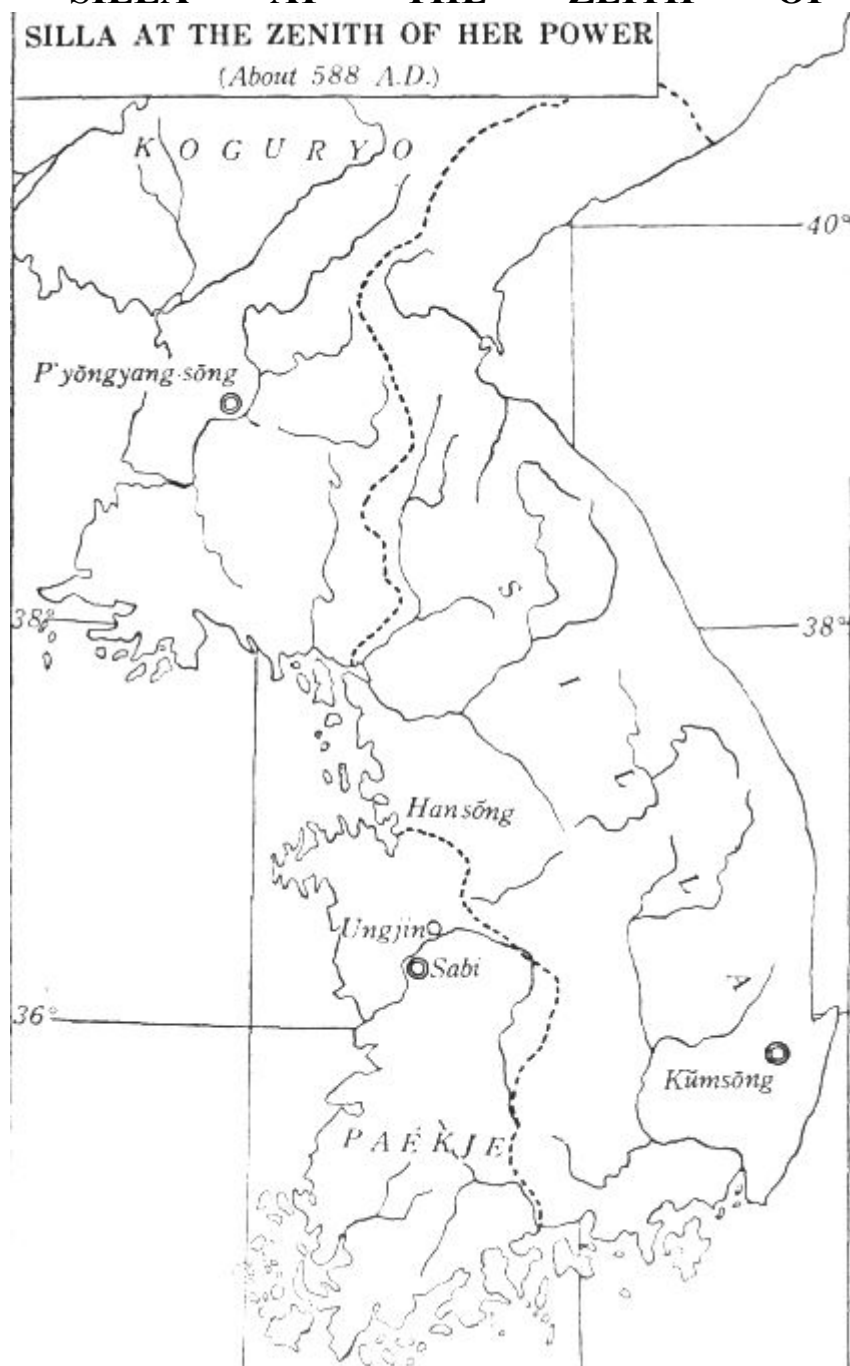
(About 400 A.D.)



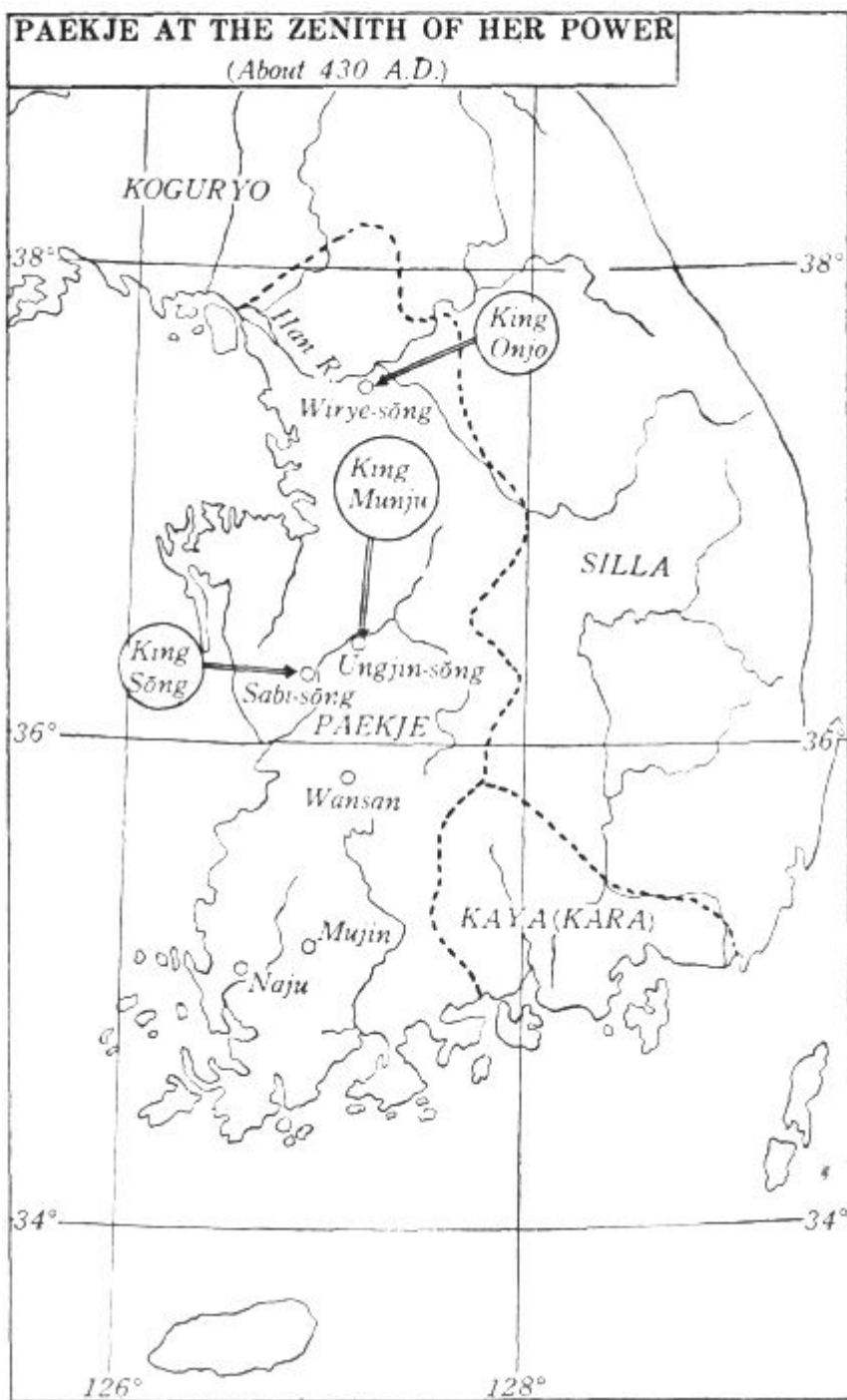
KOGUYRO AT THE ZENITH OF HER POWER



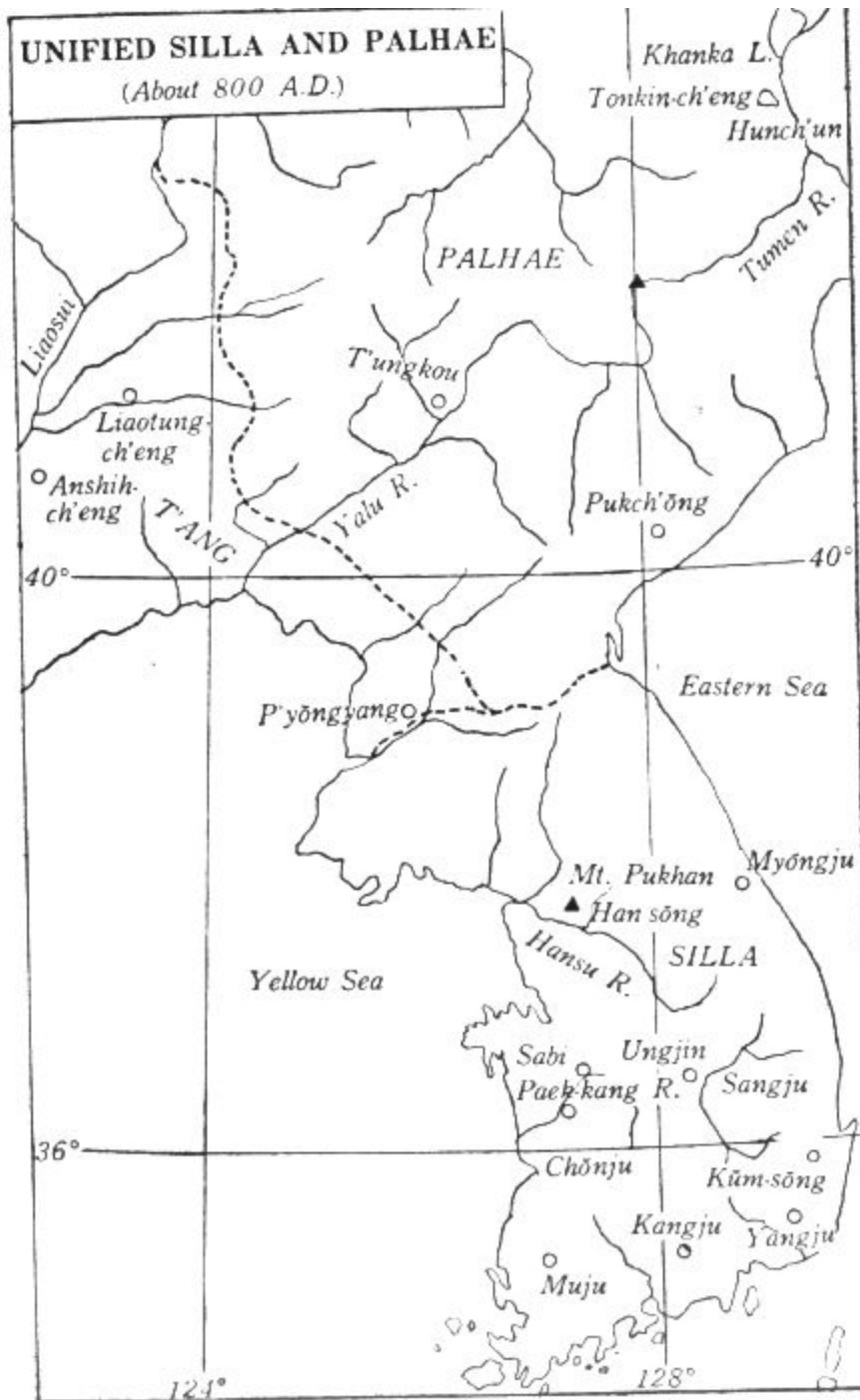
SILLA AT THE ZEITH OF HER POWER



PAEKCHE AT THE ZENITH OF HER POWER



UNIFIED SILLA AND PALHAE AND PAEKCHE



Translator's Note: A serious study of Samguk Yusa was done by a well-known historical scholar Ch'oe Nam-son and published in a Monthly, "Kyemyong" (1921-1933), a scholarly journal published by the Kyemyong Book Company, Seoul, under the editorship of Cho'e Nam-son, whose articles on Samguk Yusa appeared in it (March, 1927, No. 18), Later, the same appeared in book form in several editions.

The modern publications of Samguk Yusa are:

1. Ch'oe Nam-son, Samguk Yusa Haeje (An Introduction to the Book, Samguk Yusa), 1 vol.
2. Yi Byung-Do, Samguk Yusa with Hangul Translation and Annotations, 1 vol.
3. Yi Chae-ho, Samguk Yusa in Hangul with Footnotes, 2 vols.
4. Chosun Sahak-Hoe, Samguk Yusa (Reprint of Cheng-te Text), 2 vols.