

An Investigation of Wŏnhyo's Achievement in the *Samgukyusa*

Sang-hyun Kim

I. Introduction

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

Sang-hyun Kim is a Professor of History of Korea Buddhism at Dongguk University.

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

II. Ilyon's Description and Understanding of Wŏnhyo

Besides the Biography of Wŏnhyo in 'Anecdotes of Renowned Monks' (義解篇) of the *Samgukyusa* under the title of 'Wŏnhyo, the Unbridled Monk(元曉不羈條)', Ilyon posted many passages related to Wŏnhyo in *T'aejong Ch'unch'u-gong*(太宗春秋公條), the *Martyrdom of Yŏmch'ok*(元宗興法 厭讎滅身條), the *Ten Saints of Hŭngnyun Temple in the Eastern Capital*(東京興輪寺金堂十聖條), *Buddhist Relics Brought to Shilla*(前後所將舍利條), the *Two Buddhas of Naksan and Chosin, the Lovesick Monk*(洛山二大聖 觀音 正趣 調信條), the *Miracles of Hyesuk and Hyegong*(二惠同塵條), the *Ŭisang Transmits the Hwaŏm Sūtra to the Cardinal Temples*(義湘傳教條), *The Widow and Her Dumb Son*(蛇福不言條), the *Kwangdŏk and Ōmjang*, the *Two Friendly Monks*(廣德 嚴莊條), and the *Nangchi, the Cloud-Riding*

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

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

On the tale of Kŭmgang sammae gyŏngron, Kasan leejigwan sŭnim hwagap kinyŏm nonchong, Vol.1, 1992.

On Wŏnhyo's name, Namdoyŏng baksa gohŭi kinyŏm Sahak nonchong, Minjok munhwasa, 1993.

2 Yong-tae Kim, *On Wŏnhyos childhood name Sodang*, Hanguk bulgyohak Vol.5 (The Korean Association for Buddhist Studies, 1980); Bŏm-hong Lee, *New Study on the Wŏnhyo Haengjang* (Masan daehak nonmun jip Vol.4, 1982); Byŏng-hŏn Choi, *An Understanding of Wŏnhyo in Goryŏ Dynastys Buddhism* (Wŏnhyo yŏnku nonchong, Gukto tongil won, 1987); Mi-hŭi Chon, *Wŏnhyo's social status and his achievement* (Hanguksa yŏnku Vol.63, Hanguksa yonkuhoe, 1988); Tae-jun Kim, *Inheritance of The Records of Wŏnhyo's Lifetime* (Hanguk bulgyo munhak yŏnku Vol.2, Dongguk University Press, 1988); Jae-dong Sa, *Literary Study on the Wŏnhyo, the Unbridled Monk of Samgukyusa* (Baedalmal Vol.15, Baedalmal-hakhoe, 1990).

Monk(朗智乘雲 普賢樹條).

Ilyon referred to *Hyosa-Haengjang*(曉師行狀), *Hyosa-Ponjŏn*(曉師本傳), *Tangsŭngjŏn*(唐僧傳), and *Hyangjŏn*(鄉傳), and paid attention to folklore. *Tangsŭngjŏn* seems to be a miswriting of the *Sung Gaoseng zhuan*, while the Biography of Wŏnhyo in the *Sung Gaoseng zhuan* still currently exists. Since it is not clear whether *Hyosa-Ponjŏn* mentioned in *Kwangdŏk and Ŏmjang, Two Friendly Monks* is *Haengjang* or not, while other references do not currently exist, '*Wŏnhyo, the Unbridled Monk*' has a significant meaning as historical data. But the importance of '*Wŏnhyo, the Unbridled Monk*' as historical data does not mean that it is a significant biography. Although some researchers view '*Wŏnhyo, the Unbridled Monk*' as having essential biographical elements spanning Wŏnhyos lifetime including education and achievements (Tae-jun Kim, 1988, p.70), I do not consider it a systematic biography. Ilyon did not have any need to write a comprehensive biography of Wŏnhyo, but merely tried to record a couple of anecdotes from *Hyangjŏn*. "His companions, his adventures, his wits and his great achievements are all described in detail in the *Tangchŏn*(唐傳) and *Haengjang*(行狀), so here we will include only a few anecdotes from the *Hyangjŏn*(鄉傳)."

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

Ilyon addressed Wŏnhyo honorifically as 'The Sacred Monk Wŏnhyo' in the first passage of '*Wŏnhyo, the Unbridled Monk*'. Although other renowned monks are also addressed with honor, such as '.....saluted The Sacred Monk Podŏk's portrait(禮普(德)聖師之眞)', 'Two Sacred Monks, Shinrim and P'yohun(神琳表訓二聖師)', 'Two Sacred Monks, Kwanki and Dosŏng(觀機道成二聖師' in *Samgukyusa*, I think the first part of 'The Sacred Monk Wŏnhyo' reflects Ilyon's exceptional respect for Wŏnhyo. This view is supported by such passages as 'when he was

born, five-colored clouds covered the earth', 'he did not study with a teacher, but knew everything already', 'his native place, Puljich'on(佛地村)', and 'he has the ability to divide his body into 100 parts'. The title of honor, 'The Sacred Monk Wŏnhyo' had already been used in the latter part of the Goryŏ Dynasty period. Yet, Ilyon emphasized the greatness of Wŏnhyo citing that the 'Puljichon', 'Ch'ogaesa(初開寺)', 'Wŏnhyo' refer to the first dawning of the Buddhist faith on earth.

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

Although some researchers have the opinion that Ilyon disregarded Wŏnhyo as a philosopher, and stressed his role as a Buddhist activist for the public in the *Samgukyusa*, I do not agree with the opinion that "Ilyon understood Wŏnhyo as a Buddhist activist, and recorder of data related to Buddhist activities for the public"(Byong-hon Choi, 1987, p.662). This is because Ilyon did not try to write a comprehensive biography of Wŏnhyo and instead recorded a couple of anecdotes from *Hyangjŏn* in order to avoid overlapping with other biographies. Although he mentioned that he did not introduce detailed contents of *Wŏnhyo Haengjang* or *Sung Kao-seng Chuan*, but rather, summarized the *Kŏmgangsammaegyŏngron*, the tale of the origin, in *Sung-kao-seng-chuan* and added his own interpretation. "Guided by a sea dragon, he received a commandment from Buddha to write a song about the *Sammaegyong* (三昧經) while traveling. He put his ink-stone and his writing brush on the two horns of the ox he rode, and therefore people called him

Kaksung(角乘). The two horns represented the awakening of his inner self(本覺) and of the inner selves of others(始覺). He met Tæan Popsa(大安法師) who presented Wŏnhyo with writing paper, and they chanted the song together."

While the term Kaksung(角乘) is not found in the *Sung Gaoseng zhuan*, the above passage summarizes the central idea of it. Ilyon identified the fact that putting his ink-stone on the two horns of the ox was a symbolic expression of his inner self and of the inner selves of others, and that chanting together meant that Tæan and Wŏnhyo have a common purpose. Meanwhile, he introduced the tale of the origin of the *Kumgangsammaegyongron* because he thought it significant. The next song of praise supports this idea. "His Ox-horns unveiled the mystery of Sammae-gyong(角乘初開三昧軸); His gourd dance awoke the underworld to holy things(舞壺終掛萬街風). In the moonlit Jade Palace he enjoyed a spring dream and was gone (月明瑤石春眠去); Over the closed Punhwang Temple his shadow dances alone(門掩芬皇顧影空)."

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

III. Investigation of Wŏnhyo, the Unbridled Monk

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

While King Ch'inhung(眞興王) Sangju(上州) and Haju(下州) are organized, the main center of Sangju(上州) is Sangju(尙州 or 湘州) and the center of Haju is Ch'angnyong. Apryang County was originally a sub-prefecture of Haju. His birthplace is referred to as Sangju(湘州) in

Sung Kao-seng Chuan, but is named as Puljich'on of Chain-hyon, a sub-prefecture of Apryang county in *Samgukyusa*. However, it seems preferable to follow Ilyon's opinion because he came from the same native place as that of Wŏnhyo. His grandfather, otherwise called Choktae-kong, was held in such high esteem that his sanctuary still existed by the pond of Choktae(赤大淵) until the late 13th century.

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

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

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

Wŏnhyo was born under Sala-su(娑羅樹) in Yulgok(栗谷) north of Puljich'on(佛地村) south of Apryang county in 617, the 39th year of King Jinpyong. His mother conceived him after she had dreamed that a shooting star entered her bosom, and when he was born five-colored clouds covered the earth. Such passages related to Wŏnhyo's birth

Samgukyusa are consistent with those of *Sodang Hwasang Bi*. Thus, one can verify that the basis of these records had existed in an epigraph of the early 9th century. Ilyon recorded the tale of Wŏnhyo's birth that had been passed down in *Hyangjon*. "The birth of Wŏnhyo came about in this manner. When his mother was near her time she was passing under a chestnut tree to the southwest of Yulgok(Chestnut Valley). There suddenly her labor pains came upon her. As there was no time to reach shelter her husband's clothes were hung from the branches of the tree to hide her from view. The local folk call this chestnut tree Sala-su and its fruit Sala-yul. It has a peculiar shape and an uncommon flavor."

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

The relationship with Princess Yosok was a significant event throughout Wŏnhyo's whole life. Nevertheless, neither the the *Sung Gaoseng zhuan* nor Wŏnhyo *Haengjang* gave it much importance. *Sodang Hwasang Bi* also did not describe the relationship between Wŏnhyo and Princess Yosok, even though there are such references as, he returned to secular life, he looked like a common man and references to a grandson, Sol Jungup. The *Samguksaki* also speak of Wŏnhyo as the

father of Solch'ong(Solch'ongjon, *Samguksaki* Vol.46). Ilyon, however, recorded more detailed accounts of their relationship based on *Hyangjon*. "He walked through the streets of Kyongju singing, Who will lend me an axe that has lost its handle? I wish to cut a heaven-supporting pole." The passers-by laughed at him, not realizing the real meaning of his song, but T'aejong(King Mutyol) said when he heard it, "The love-lorn monk wants to marry a noble lady and get a wise son by her. If a sage is born, so much the better for the country." There was at this time a widowed princess living in Yosok Palace. The King told his servants to conduct Wŏnhyo to that palace, and they found that he had already descended Namsan(South Mountain) and reached Munch'on-gyo(蚊川橋). Here he deliberately fell into the stream and got his clothes wet. When he reached the palace the princess, supplied him with new clothes, and they passed the night together. The princess became pregnant as a result, and bore a son who was given the name, Sol Ch'ong. He was so intellegent that he mastered all the classical histories in his youth. He composed books on folk customs and the place-names of China and Shilla. Sol Ch'ong also translated the Six Chinese Classics(六經文學) into Korean and wrote commentaries on them. All these have been handed down to the scholars of the Korea. For his virtuous deeds and literary accomplishments, Sol Ch'ong is acclaimed as one of the ten sages of Shilla(新羅十賢)."Wŏnhyo seems to have met Princess Yosok between the age of 37 to 43 years, during the period of King Taejong Muyol's reign(654~661).

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

Who will lend me an axe that has lost its handle? I wish to cut a heaven-supporting pole(誰許沒柯斧 我斫支天柱) reflect Wŏnhyo's pride. Although King Taejong Muyol may have had political intentions in accommodating Wŏnhyo, it is not easy to understand the incident only within a political perspective. This was a turning point for Wŏnhyo and he returned considered this as a turning point to return to the secular life.

The relationship between Wŏnhyo and princess Yosok has been

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

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

There was an opinion that Wŏnhyo was the latter self of Dignaga. There is a passage Bodhisattva of other places appeared in this land in *Ch'okhyangpunlyebulgyŏlsamun*(觸香墳禮佛結社文), written by Ilyom(一念) from 806 to 820 and Ilyon referred to this as Dignaga of Punhwang, Pokae of Pusok, Naksan and Odaesan (The Martyrdom of Yomch'ok, *Samgukyusa* Vol.3). In other words, Dignaga of Punhwang, Pokae of Pusok, Avalokitesvara of Naksan, and Manjusri of Odaesan are Bodhisattvas of other places who appeared in this land. Here, Punwhang meant Wŏnhyo who lived at Punwhang Temple. Dignaga(480~540) is a scholar of the hetuvidya. Thus, Dignaga of Punhwang meant that Wŏnhyo is the latter self of a Dignaga. Japanese scholars

such as Chesom(濟暹, 1025~1115) and Changjun(藏俊, 1104~1180) also firmly agreed with this opinion (T.69, 572a; T68, 525).

Huayen explains the ascetic practices of a Bodhisattva as having 52 steps comprised of ten faiths, ten abidings, ten practices, ten dedications of merit, ten positions, equal enlightenment, and marvelous enlightenment. The position of Wŏnhyo was said to be the first position(*pramuditā*), and the *Samgukyusa* explained this as follows: "When Wŏnhyo wrote a commentary on the *Hwaŏmso* he stopped at the fortieth chapter at Punhwang temple, and divided his body into 100 pine trees because of lawsuits. Therefore, he was called the first position."

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

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

Wŏnhyo appeared as a hundred pine trees because of lawsuits. A similar expression, Wŏnhyo's division of his hundred bodies, is found in *Nangchi, the Cloud-Riding Monks* of *Samgukyusa*, and Uichon told about his appearance at 100 places simultaneously(*Dapdaesongwŏnsoyulsasŏ, Daegakguksamunjip* Vol.11). Such passages were based on recognition that he could be at 100 places at the same time because Wŏnhyo was a Bodhisattva of the first position. According to the *Huayen Sūtra*, The Bodhisattva of the first position is able to see 100 Buddhas, and to transform into 100 figures(*Huayen Sūtra* Vol.23, T.9, 547a).

The enlightenment activities of Wŏnhyo are as important as his

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

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

The dance of *Muae* originated with Wŏnhyo, and it subsequently survived into the Choson period. Kyeŭng(戒膺), Kwanyu(貫休), and In-ro Lee(李仁老) used to see the dance of *Muae* and write poems during the Koryo period(In-ro Lee, *Pahanjip*, Vol.2). Meanwhile, there were many symbolic meanings in the activities of dance. Waving sleeves twice meant breaking off two hindrances(二障), and waving legs three times meant escaping from the three realms of samsara. In addition,

curling the body up meant being obedient to people, and bending the back meant subsuming all things.

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

IV. Investigation of Other Passages

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

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

But this record does not tell us that when he tried to go to T'ang or the reason why he did not stay under Hsüan-tsang. There are several passages in the '*Ŭisang Transmits the Huayen sūtra to the Cardinal Temples*' of the *Samguk yusa* which tell us about the trials of going to T'ang.

Soon after becoming a monk, he decided to go to China to study Buddhist doctrine, and set out on his journey with Wŏnhyo.

But when he reached Liaotung he was arrested by a Koguryo border guard and detained for three days, after which he was allowed to return home.(This account is found in *Ch'oe Hu's Chronicles and Wŏnhyo Haengjang.*) In the first year of Ying-hui(650) he joined the party of a T'ang envoy returning to China and entered the Middle Kingdom.(*Samgukyusa* Vol.4)

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

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

Since *Pusŏkbonbi* gives us a more precise chronicle of Ŭisang, their first trip to China is seemed to be in 650, and Ŭisang's second trip in 661. Meanwhile, two documents have a different opinion on why they were not able to reach China in their first trip. *Pusŏkbonbi* is a condensed epitaph so that "some trouble" may be the reason explained in 'Ŭisang transmits the Hwaŏm Sūtra to the Cardinal Temples.' Similarly, Liaotung was the border area between Koguryŏ and T'ang, so that the places Wŏnhyo and Ŭisang were said to have turned back do not seem to be different in the two documents.

When they tried to go to T'ang in 650, tension between Koguryo and T'ang was mounting, and Liaotung was at the center of this tension(*Samguksaki* Vol.21). Thus, Wŏnhyo and Ŭisang were wrongly identified as spies. Moreover, several monks joined in scouting at that time(Bok-sun Kim, 1992).

Ŭisang built Naksan Temple(洛山寺) near the east coast in 670, and the temple is famous as the residence(常住處) of the Incarnation of Avalokitesvara. The *Samgukyusa* tells us that Wŏnhyo visited Naksan

Temple to worship the Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva by himself.

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

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

The point of this is that what the tale tried to emphasize, was the historical evidence that Wŏnhyo did not meet *Avalokitesvara*, and that Wŏnhyo had a conversation with women who were incarnated Buddhas. *Donggukyŏjisŏngnam* (東國輿地勝覽) said that Wŏnhyo had a jesting conversation with incarnated Buddhas and drank water from the cold stream. Lim Ch'un also wrote about Wŏnhyo and Ŭisang meeting

Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva. One cannot meet *Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva* face to face, but can only see incarnated Buddhas. So we must read between the lines of this tale about a jesting conversational between Wŏnhyo and incarnated Buddhas.

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

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

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

Nangji taught the *Lotus sūtra* in Yongchi Mountain. The Faith of Fahua *Lotus sūtra* was pervasive in the early 7th century of Shilla, and among those, the lecture and the creed of Nangji's *Fahua sūtra* were prominent. He seemed to live a long life, more than 135 years, because he went to Yongchi Mountain in the 14th year of King Puhŭng(527), and met Jit'ong(智通) in the 1st year of King Munmu(661). It is highly possible that Wŏnhyo learned the *Lotus sūtra* from Nangji. Wŏnhyo left commentaries about *Lotus sūtra* such as *Pŏbhwagyŏng Chongyo*(法華經宗要), *Pŏbhwagyŏng Bangp'yŏnp'um Yogan*(法華經方便品料簡), and *Pŏbhwagyŏng Yaksul*(法華經略述).

Hyegong(惠空) also influenced Wŏnhyo. Besides several fables, other materials on Hyegong do not exist. He seemed to live around the early

7th century, a generation ahead of Wŏnhyo since he met Kucham-gong (瞿?公). an elite youth(花郎), in the period of King Jinpyŏng(579-632)'s reign, and got a couple of achievements in the period of Queen Sŏndŏk(632-646).

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

There is no record about Hyegong's writing. But his philosophical ideas were thought to be similar to Sengchao(僧肇)³. Sengchao(384 ~ 414) was a great monk who was one of the four philosophers(四哲) under Kumarajiva(鳩摩羅什). Wŏnhyo also seemed to be influenced by *Chaolun*(肇論). In the preface of *Kŭmgangsammaegyŏngron*, Wŏnhyo wrote, the mystic unity of truth(妙契環中), and it may have originated from the passage the harmonization between principle and spirit, 'the mystic unity of truth'(道與神會 妙契環中) in *Chaolun*(T.45, 157a). In addition, he referred to the following phrases of Sengchao in *Kŭmgangsammaegyŏngron*.

The religious doctrine is not far away.

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

Holiness is not far. Our physical body is holy

(聖遠乎哉 體之卽神). (HPC, 1-674)

Sengchaos impact on Wŏnhyo is found in texts written by Wŏnhyo. It is significant that 1) Sengchao affected Wŏnhyo, 2) Hyegong seemed to be the latter self of Sengchao, and 3) Wŏnhyo was influenced by Hyegong.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Gyu-bo Lee wrote this tale on August 12, 1200, after he visited Wŏnhyo-bang and heard the story there. These are important passages since they were written about 80 years before the *Samguk yusa* carried the tale. The historical background of this tale is as follows:

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

Wŏnhyo-bang was where Wŏnhyo used to stay (*Donggukisangkukjip* Vol.9). Wŏnhyo studied teachings of the Mahāyāna sūtras such as the *Nirvāṇa sūtra*(涅槃經) and *Vimalakīrtinīrdeśa sūtra*(維摩經) from Podok(普德) with Ŭisang(*Daegakguksamunjip* Vol.17), after Podok moved to Odae-san in Wansanju. Wŏnhyo-bang and Ŭisang-am(義湘庵) were near Kyŏngbok Temple(景福寺) where Podok stayed. It is probable that the tale of Sapo and Wŏnhyo survived because the portraits of Wŏnhyo and Sapo were enshrined in Sorae Temple(蘇來寺).

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

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

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

ground.

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

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

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

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

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

Firstly, there is a difference in time between the writing of the two. Story A was written about 80 years before story B. In other words, A may be closer to a factual account than B. Secondly, the places where the stories originated are different. A was circulated at Wŏnhyo-bang in Puan, but B had Kyŏngju as its background. Thirdly,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Wŏnhyo wrote commentaries on *Kūmgwangmyŏng-gyŏng*(金光明經), a Sutra for defending the country. *Jŏngronpum*(正論品) of the text said that the country would perish if the king followed the evil power so the king had to block the vice. In the notes on this part, Wŏnhyo referred to *Aewang-gyŏng*(愛王經) to give several examples of the kings fault.

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

According to the *Samgukyusa*, Wŏnhyo built or lived at temples such as Punhwang(芬皇寺), Koson(高仙寺), Oo(吾魚寺), Pango(磻高寺), Hyol(穴寺), Chogae(初開寺), and Sala(娑羅寺). He built Chogae Temple in memory of the old house in his hometown, and he constructed Sala Temple by the tree where he was born. He wrote *Ch'ojangkwanmun* and *Anshinsashimron* under Nangji when he stayed at Pango Temple in

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

V. Conclusion

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

Ilyon did not wrote about Wŏnhyo comprehensively or systematically so as to avoid redundant contents with *Hyosa Haengjang* and sustain the characteristics of the *Samgukyusa*. On the contrary, he introduced singularly a couple of anecdotes of Wŏnhyo from *Hyangjon*,

biographies of Shilla. Ilyon addressed Wŏnhyo honorifically the sacred monk Wŏnhyo(聖師元曉), and understood him as a freeman who was unbridled by any categories and left outstanding performances in studies and enlightenment activities.

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

Wŏnhyo twice tried to go to T'ang to searching for the law of Buddha with Ŭisang in 650 and 661. Although the *Samgukyusa* said "Wŏnhyo did not study with a teacher, but knew everything already," he learnt from many teachers. For instance, Nangji taught him Pophwa thinking and Hyegong made Wŏnhyo receive the influence from *Chaolun*. I did not mention in this paper, but he was also learnt *Nirvāṇa sūtra* and the *Vimalakirtinirdesa sūtra* from Podok.

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

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