

Wonhyo's *Ilsim* Philosophy and Mass Proselytization Movement¹

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1. The Development and Significance of Wonhyo's Philosophy

Wonhyo (617-686) was one of the foremost Buddhist philosophers as well as the most popular monks throughout Korean history. Through a formidable number of works running to approximately 80 tomes and 150 volumes², he surmounted the then pressing issue in East Asian Buddhism of the conflict between schools favoring old and new translation of Buddhist scriptures and succeeded in establishing his *Ilsim* ("One Mind") philosophy. In this respect, he can be said to have contributed greatly to the development not only of Korean but of East Asian Buddhism as well. In addition, he sought to accommodate the ordinary layman's religious urges within the framework of his philosophy and reciprocate it to the laity, i.e., by actively proselytizing the masses. In this respect, although Wonhyo was just an individual, he was also representative of the age in which he lived.

In Korean history, the 7th century was an era of transition from the Three

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1 For romanizing Korean words, the government-approved McCune- Reischauer system has been adhered to, with the exception of the writer's name and the more familiar spellings, e.g. Seoul. For personal names, in keeping with the Oriental custom, the last name has been put before the first name without an intervening comma. Likewise, the traditional Wade-Giles and not the Pinyin system has been employed in transliterating Chinese words. [Translator's Note]

2. Nam Dong-shin, August 1995, *Wonhyo-ü Taejung Kyohwa-wa Sasang Ch'egye* (Wonhyo's Mass Proselytization and Philosophical System), Seoul National University Ph. D. Dissertation. See Table 2 "List of Wonhyo's Works," pp. 107-110

Kingdoms period of Koguryŏ, Paekche, and Silla to Unified Silla period. Wonhyo's main arena, Silla society, was changing as well: from the Mid-old Dynasty to the Middle Dynasty. The Middle Dynasty chose Confucianism as its ruling ideology³ and sought to put Buddhist orders under governmental control while implementing a highly centralized policy. Despite such efforts, however, Buddhism saw much growth during the Middle Dynasty period (654-780). With the unification of the Three Kingdoms, not only did it become possible for the various sects and schools of Koguryŏ, Paekche, and Silla to merge and form a single sphere of Buddhist culture, but the material and human resources which had hitherto been spent in the wars during the unification now could be concentrated on the construction of a new society and culture, therefore enabling Buddhism, the veritable cultural representative of this period, to expand as never before. On one hand, the royalty and nobility wholeheartedly supported Buddhism, which not only legitimized their worldly privilege but ensured its continuation well into the next world; on the other hand, the masses sought through Buddhism the guarantee of a life of everlasting happiness after one of toil and drudgery in this world. In particular, this period saw the development of Buddhist thoughts such as the Avatamsaka and Yogacara Schools and the activation of popular Buddhism emphasizing faith alone.⁴ The foundation of Korean Buddhism, in fact, may be said to have been laid down during the Middle Silla Dynasty. It was during this era that Wonhyo lived and worked.

The two principles that ruled the land and people of Wonhyo's Silla were the Bone-Rank System (class) and war (power). Wonhyo, born into a non-True Bone family, experienced the inherent contradictions of the two prevailing principles amid the violent wars among the Three Kingdoms, and sought in Buddhism the new principle which could overcome them. With the framework of Buddhism established during the Mid-old and Middle Dynasties crumbling due to its inevitable limitations of serving solely the ruling classes, a movement was emerging among certain Buddhist circles to arouse the ordinary people's religious interest. On the other hand, in the Buddhist orders of Ch'ang'an, the capital of T'ang China, Hsuan-tsang's new translations of Indian scriptures were raising fierce debates between the

3 Kim Ch'ŏl-jun, 1952, "Silla Sangdae-ŭi Dual Organization (The Dual Organization of Old Silla Dynasty) (II)," *Yŏksa Hakpo (History Journal)*, Vol III, pp. 90-96, 1990, *Han'guk Kodae Sahoe Yon'gu (Study of Ancient Korean Society)*, Seoul National University Press, pp. 147-154

4 Ch'oe Pyŏng-hŏn, October 1984, "Silla Pulgyo Sasang-ŭi Paljŏn (The Development of Silla Buddhist Thoughts)," *Yŏksa Tosŏ Kyŏngju (Historical City Kyŏngju)*, Yŏlhwadang, pp. 365-366

schools favoring old and new translations, which in turn were blazing all over East Asian Buddhist orders. In order to adjust to such internal and external agitation in the Buddhist world, Wonhyo endeavored to expand his awareness of the whole of the Buddhist canon. With a comprehensive understanding of Buddhist texts, he sought to compromise the different schools from a "Hwajaeng (Harmonization)" standpoint, and in turn to carry out the selfless practice of spreading that awareness to the laity. In this respect, he may be said to have revived the united spirit prevalent during Buddha's lifetime and bodhi-maga of the seminal days of Mahayana Buddhism. Ilsim philosophy, formed through such a process, is indeed the heart of Wonhyo's thoughts and a reflection of the age.

Wonhyo's Ilsim philosophy had its philosophical foundation in *Mahayanasraddhotpada-sastra* ("Awakening of Faith of the Greater Vehicle"), obtained its practice from *Vajrasamadhi-sutra*, and lastly was completed by *Avatamsaka-sutra*. By incorporating various ideas emphasized by each Buddhist school—Buddhata ("Buddha-Nature"), tathagata-garbha, prajna, alaya-vijnana, amala-vijnana—as a subordinate categories within Ilsim philosophy, he in fact augmented Ilsim as a comprehensive concept. Ilsim is the ultimate origin of everything which transcends both bhava and sunyata. The world does not exist objectively; rather, it is but a pravritti of Ilsim, from which no man is an exception. In this respect, all men are fundamentally equal. Buddha is a person who has recovered a state of spotless purity, and the layman is a person who is withheld or hidden from Ilsim by avidya and dukkha. Thus by ridding oneself of all avidya and dukkha can one recover the essence of Ilsim, and this is the way to attaining Buddhahood. Although the upaya of attaining Buddhahood may vary from person to person according to his particular situation and station in life, since the final converging point is "One Mind (Ilsim)," there can only be one way (ekamagga), one vehicle (ekayana), one state of enlightenment, and one taste. Because there is but one, Wonhyo sought to transcend the monastic/lay dichotomy and recommended the altruistic practice of matri-karuna rather than conflict and opposition between the different parties. Also, according to *Avatamsaka-sutra*, because "one" equals "all," all proselytization activities directed toward each individual, or unhindered practice, is possible. Wonhyo found in the lay believer or at-home bodhisattva the embodiment of the ideal of such unhindered practice. He therefore urged a return to the state of lay believer and an inner awakening regardless of class, regional, and cultural differences, by which Sukhavati or Paradise could be realized on earth.

As we have seen, Wonhyo's Ilsim philosophy contains an anthropocentric world view, an egalitarian view of man, and an altruistic model of human relationships

This is theoretically significant not only in that it is a unique philosophical system founded on a thorough and deep understanding of all Buddhist scriptures, but also in that it is a completely new way of thinking which has overcome the nature- (or god-) oriented world view and the hierarchical view of man espoused by traditional shamanism. Besides Wonhyo stressed proselytization of the masses in addition to textual studies; he himself put great effort into converting members of the working class such as the Kwangdök couple and Ŏmjang. As a result of his activities, the poor, uneducated masses who formed the majority of the laity came to embrace the Buddhist faith. The fact that Wonhyo came to a new understanding of Buddhism from the laity's viewpoint parallels the Middle Dynasty's implementation of various policies aimed at the lower classes based on Confucian political ideology. In this respect, the Buddhism of this era differed from the aristocracy-oriented one of the mid-Old Dynasty. Wonhyo's Buddhism in fact was an answer to the new Unified Silla society's call and thus may be assessed as the starting point of Middle-Dynasty Buddhism.

2. A Historical Verification of Wonhyo Studies

No less than 500 separate studies have been done of Wonhyo since the earliest days of modern Korean Buddhist studies,⁵ and the field covered in each study is as vast as Wonhyo's thoughts. Indeed, the history of Wonhyo studies may be called an epitome of modern Korean Buddhist studies

5 Yang Sök-yong, 1987, "Wonhyo Taesa Kwallyön Yön'gu Munhön Mongnok (Bibliography of Research Data Related to Master Wonhyo)," *Wonhyo Yön'gu Nonch'ong (Collection of Studies on Wonhyo)*, National Unification Board

Wonhyo Chönsö Kugyök Kanhaenghoe (Society for the Korean Translation of the Complete Works of Wonhyo), 1989, "Wonhyo Söngsa Kwangye Yön'gu Nonmun (Theses Related to Holy Master Wonhyo)," *Kugyök Wonhyo Söngsa Chönsö (Korean Translation of the Complete Works of Wonhyo)*, Vol IV

Ŭn Chöng-hüi trans., May 1991, *Wonhyo-ü Taesüngkisinnonso Pyölgü (Wonhyo's Treatise on Mahayanasraddhotpada-sastra and Addendum to Mahayanasraddhotpada-sastra)*, Appendix II "Wonhyo-e Kwanhan Yön'gu Öpchök (Accumulated Studies on Wonhyo)"

Dongguk University Institute of Buddhist Studies Data and Information Office, June 1933, "Wonhyo Kwan'gye Nonjö Ch'onghap Saekin (Complete Bibliography of Publications and Theses Related to Wonhyo)," *Tabo (Many Treasures)*, Vol VI

Kim Sang-hyön, March 1994, *Yöksa-ro Ingnün Wonhyo (Reading Wonhyo as History)*, Koryöwon, pp 323-374, "Bibliography"

The primary interest of Wonhyo scholars lay in his actual works. Because a Wonhyo bibliography was necessary to elucidating his thoughts, many researchers have been interested in compiling one since the first days.⁶ Despite continued arguments over the authenticity of some works cited as Wonhyo's, the entire scope of his works has been more or less clarified, thanks to our predecessors' efforts. The remaining task is that of compiling a timetable for Wonhyo's works in accordance with the historical development of his thoughts, which above all demands as prerequisite an understanding of his thoughts per se.

The question "What is the essence of Wonhyo's thoughts?" is in fact the essence of Wonhyo studies. In the beginning, Wonhyo was classified as an Avatamsaka monk.⁷ During the 1930s, however, a tendency to view his thoughts as "syncretic Buddhism" while maintaining the sectarian viewpoint grew⁸, which culminated in Dr. Cho Myong-gi's espousal of the Hwajaeng standpoint.⁹ Into the 1940s, at last, Japanese scholars also began to see Mahayanasraddhotpada-sastra as the core of Wonhyo's thoughts regardless of sects or schools, and, based on this, actively pursued the Mahayanasraddhotpada-sastra viewpoint in explaining Wonhyo's relationship with the Avatamsaka or Dharmalaksana School.¹⁰ The

6 For an overview of compiling a list of Wonhyo's works, in both traditional Buddhist scriptures and modern scholarly theses, vid Yi Pöm-hong, 1984, "Wonhyo-ü Ch'ansulsö-e Taehayö (On Wonhyo's Works)," *Ch'ölhak Hoeji (Philosophy Journal)*, Vol X, Ün Chong-hüü, trans., May 1991, *Wonhyo-ü Taesüngkisinnonso · Pyölgü (Wonhyo's Treatise on Mahayanasraddhotpada-sastra and Addendum to Mahayanasraddhotpada-sastra)*, Appendix II "Works by Wonhyo"

7 Kim Yöng-ju, November 12, 1918, "Chesö-e Hyönhan Wonhyo Hwaomso Kyoüü (Wonhyo's Avatamsaka Doctrine as Appears in Various Works)," *Chosön Pulgyo Ch'ongbo (Collection of Buddhist Journals of Korea)*, Vols XII and XIII

Chöng Kwang-jin, ed., December 1918, "Taesöng Hwajaeng-guksa Wonhyo Chösul Illamp'yo (Table of Works by the Great Reverend National Master Wonhyo)," *Chosön Pulgyo Ch'ongbo*, Vol XIII

8 "Hwaömjong (Haedongjong, Punhwangjong)-ü Chünjöngghan Ch'angnipcha (The True Founder of Avatamsaka School (Haedong School, Punhwang School)), [Ch'oe Nam-sön, 1930, "Chosön Pulgyo (Korean Buddhism)," *Pulgyo (Buddhism)*, Vol 74; *Yuktang Ch'oe Nam-son Chönyup (Complete Works of "Yuktang" Ch'oe Nam-sön)*, Vol II, reprinted] "Pöpsöngjong (Buddhata School)," [Kim Yöng-su, 1937, "O'gyo Yangjong-e Taehayö (On Five Doctrinal Schools and Two Dhyana Schools)," *Chundan Hakpo (Journal of Chundan Society)*, Vol III], "Wonyungjong (Wonyung School)," [Kwon Sang-no, May 1939, *Chosön Pulgyosa Kaesöl (Survey of the History of Korean Buddhism)*]-Although there are slight differences, these studies still have not overcome a sectarian viewpoint. These studies, however, are significant in that they defined Wonhyo's Buddhism as "syncretic Buddhism"

9 Cho Myöng-gi, 1937, "Wonhyo Chongsa-ü Sipmun Hwajaengnon Yön'gu (Study of Wonhyo's Treatise on the Harmonization of Disputes Among the Ten Schools)," *Kümgangjö (Vajra)*, Vol 22

Mahayanasraddhotpada-sastra approach, along with the later Hwajaeng approach, would form the basic frame of understanding for Wonhyo studies.

The Hwajaeng approach, presupposing Hwajaeng as the essence of Wonhyo's philosophy, endeavored to discover and elucidate concrete examples and the logic of the idea. What the scholars taking the Hwajaeng approach noticed from early on was the *Treatise on the Harmonization of Disputes Among the Ten Schools*, which may be termed the crystallization of Wonhyo's Hwajaeng philosophy. Important as the *Treatise on the Harmonization of Disputes Among the Ten Schools* is for showing us the overall structure of Wonhyo's Hwajaeng philosophy, regrettably only a fraction remains. Thus, studies up to now have concentrated on reconstructing the whole *Treatise on the Harmonization of Disputes Among the Ten Schools*.¹¹ Admittedly, scholars have limited their sources mostly to works by Wonhyo. When

10 Ocho Enichi, 1940, "Gengyo-no Nijoki-ni Tsuite (On Wonhyo's Summary of Chapter Two)," *Toho Gakuho (Oriental Journal)*, Vol. 11-1

Takamine Ryoshu, 1976, "Gengyo Oyobi Giso-to Sono Monryu (Wonhyo, Uisang and Their Followers)," *Kegon Sisoshi (History of Avatamsaka Philosophy)* (1976, restored, Hyakkaen, Kyoto)

Ocho Enichi and Muramatsu 庄文, 1979, *Shiragi Gengyo Sannishogi (The Significance of Silla Monk Wonhyo's Two Chapters)*, Heirakuji Shoten

In Japanese academia, the *Mahayanasraddhotpada-sastra* has become the established point of view in relation to Wonhyo's philosophy. Recent studies-石井公成, June 1990, "Shiragi Bukkyo-ni Okeru Daijo Kishinron-no Igi-Gengyo-no Kaishaku-o Chushin-to Shite (The Significance of *Mahayanasraddhotpada-sastra* in Relation to Silla Buddhism-Especially in Reference to Wonhyo's Interpretations)," *Nyoranzo-to Daijo Kishinron (Tathagata-garbha and Mahayana-sraddhotpada-sastra)* (Tokyo Shunjusha), 吉津宣英, July 1991, *Kegon Ichijo Shiso-no Kenkyu (Study on Avatamsaka Ekayana Philosophy)* (Tokyo Daito Shuppansha), Ch. 7, "Daijo Kishinron Giki-no Seiritsu-to Tenkai (Formation and Development of *Mahayanasraddhotpada-sastra*)"-testify to this fact. It must be mentioned that while 石井公成 probes Wonhyo's view of *Mahayanasraddhotpada-sastra* in depth as the logical ground for hoet'ong, 吉津宣英, in order to elevate Fa-ts'ang's Avatamsaka Ekayana philosophy, tends to criticize Wonhyo's Ekayana philosophy. For Japanese studies on Wonhyo conducted since the 1970's, vid An Kye-hwon, 1982, *Hanguk Pulgyosa Yongu (Study of the History of Korean Buddhism)*, pp. 152-163, "Ilbon-esŏn Wonhyo Yŏn'gu (Wonhyo Studies in Japan) "

11 Cho Myŏng-gi, 1937, *ibid*

Yi Chong-ik, 1977, *Wonhyo-ŭi Sipmun Hwajaeng Sasang Yŏn'gu (Study of Wonhyo's Treatise on the Harmonization of Disputes Among the Ten Schools)*, Tongbang Sasang Yŏn'guwon (Institute of Oriental Philosophies)

Kamata Shigeo, 1981, "Jumon Wasoron-no Shisoshiteki Igi (The Significance of *Treatise on the Harmonization of Disputes Among the Ten Schools* in the History of Philosophy)," *Bukkyogaku (Buddhist Studies)*, Vol. XI

Ch'oe Pŏm-sul, 1987, "Sipmun Hwajaengnon Pogwon-ŭl Wihan Moju-p-charyo (Collected Materials for

one considers that such theoretical disputes were a common interest throughout East Asian Buddhist circles, however, the ten discrepancies between Yogacara and Buddhata Schools put forth by Ch'eng-kuan (738-839) of the Chinese Avatamsaka School or the ten contentions put forth by Genei (- 829 -) of the Japanese Yogacara School should also be referred to.

With the accumulation of research from the Hwajaeng standpoint, the key disputes among Buddhist schools of the era and the logic behind Wonhyo, who harmonized them, became clearer.¹² A study mentioning Sunyata-mahayana and Bhava-mahayana, the two main ideas of Mahayana Buddhism, as the principal objects of Wonhyo's Hwajaeng philosophy had already appeared in the 1950s.¹³ In the 1960s, these were narrowed down to the Yogacara and Madhyamika Schools, and the Preface to *Addendum to Mahayanasraddhotpada-sastra* was looked into with respect to the logic of Hwajaeng as well.¹⁴ Moreover, in the 1970s, Wonhyo came to be understood as having successfully harmonized the conflict between Madhyamika (sunyata) and Yogacara (bhava) through "Ilsim Imun (One Mind and Two Gates: 眞如門 and 生滅門)" in *Mahayanasraddhotpada-sastra*.¹⁵ Such

the Reconstruction of *Treatise on the Harmonization of Disputes Among the Ten Schools*," *Wonhyo Yŏn'gu Nonch'ong (Collection of Studies on Wonhyo)*, National Unification Board

O Pŏp-an, 1989, *Wonhyo-ŭi Hwajaeng Sasang Yŏn'gu (A Study of Wonhyo's Hwajaeng Philosophy)*, Hongbobwon

Ch'oe Yu-jin, 1992, "Wonhyo-ŭi Hwajaeng Sasang Yŏn'gu-Sipmun Hwajaengnon (Study of Wonhyo's Hwajaeng Philosophy-Treatise on the Harmonization of Disputes Among the Ten Schools)," *Munjok Pulgyo (National Buddhism)*, Vol II.

12 There is a study which, through an analysis of *Vajrasamadhisutra-sastra*, looks at "Munpulsuil" in terms of Wonhyo's Hwajaeng logic (Sato Shikeki, 1993, *Wonhyo-e Isssŏ Hwajaeng-ŭi Nollh-Kŭmgang Sammaegyongnon-ŭl Chungsim-ŭro (The Logic of Hwajaeng with Respect to Wonhyo-Especially in Reference to Vajrasamadhisutra-sastra)*, Dongguk University Ph D Dissertation) However, Munpulsuil, like Hwajaeng, is but formal logic; it cannot be the *content* of Hwajaeng

13 Min Yŏng-gyu, August 1953, "Wonhyoron (Theory on Wonhyo)," *Sasanggye (World of Philosophy)*, Vol. 1-6 However, Dr Min Yŏng-gyu introduced a framework broader than that of Madhyamika vs Yogacara which was put into use more widely later by first dividing Mahayana into Sunyata-mahayana and Bhava-mahayana, then classifying *Catuhsaka-sastra*, *Madhyamika-sastra*, *Dvadasnikaya-sastra*, *Mahaparinirvana-sastra*, *Prajnaparamita-sastra*, and *Saddharmapundarika-sutra*, all of which deal with 實相論, within the former, *Mahayanasraddhotpada-sastra*, *Yogacarabhumi-sastra*, *Brahmajala-sutra*, *Mahayanasamgraha-sastra*, and Avatamsaka-sutra, which deal with Dvadasangaprati-tyasamutpada, within the latter

14 Pak Chong-hong, 1963 and 1964, "Wonhyo-ŭi Ch'ŏlhak Sasang (Wonhyo's Philosophy)," *Han'guk Sasang (Korean Thoughts)*, Vols VI and VII., 1982, *Pak Chong-hong Chŏnjŭp (Complete Works of Pak Chong-hong)*, Vol IV, Hyŏng'sŏl-ch'ulp'ansa, reprinted

outlooks reflect the accumulated results of studies which from the *Mahayanasraddhotpada-sastra* approach have focused on Ilsim as the crux of Wonhyo's thoughts.¹⁶

Wonhyo studies saw great development from the fusion of the approaches on *Mahayanasraddhotpada-sastra* and the *Treatise on the Harmonization of Disputes Among the Ten Schools*. The next major issues in Wonhyo studies were: whether or not he had overcome the Madhyamika vs. Yogacara disputes through the Ilsim Imun structure of *Mahayanasraddhotpada-sastra*; and what kind of philosophy he had finally come up with through the idea of Hwajaeng. While there were a number of studies which supplemented the results of existing ones while supporting them in assessing these issues,¹⁷ most scholars actually raised opposing opinions. The gist of the first refutation was that there is no ground whatsoever for the harmonization of Madhyamika and Yogacara in any of Wonhyo's works related to *Mahayanasraddhotpada-sastra*. Secondly, Wonhyo's view of *Mahayanasraddhotpada-sastra* in the Preface to *Addendum to Mahayanasraddhotpada-sastra* is greatly reduced or modified in the Preface to his *Treatise on Mahayanasraddhotpada-sastra*. Therefore, a reexamination of the previously widespread idea that Wonhyo attempted to harmonize Madhyamika and Yogacara through *Mahayanasraddhotpada-sastra* is inevitable.¹⁸ Since such

15 Ko Ik-jin, August 1973, "Wonhyo-ŭn Kisinonso Pyŏlgi-rŭl T'onghae Pŏn Chinsok Wonyung Muægwan (Wonhyo's View of Chinsok Wonyung Muæg and Theories on Its Formation as Seen through *Treatise on Mahayanasraddhotpada-sastra* and *Addendum to Mahayana-sraddhotpada-sastra*)," *Pulgyo Hakpo (Buddhist Journal)*, Vol X

16 This would apply to a series of studies conducted by Dr Yi Ki-yŏng on the Ilsim philosophy of *Treatise on Mahayanasraddhotpada-sastra* since the 1960's 1982, *Hanguk Pulgyo Yŏn'gu (Study of Korean Buddhism)*, Han'guk Pulgyo Yŏn'guwon (Institute of Korean Buddhism), thesis in 1994, *Wonhyo Sasang Yŏn'gu (Study of Wonhyo's Philosophy)*, Vol I

17 Ko Ik-jin, 1982, "Wonhyo-ŭi Hwaŏm Sasang (Wonhyo's Avatamsaka Philosophy)," Dongguk University Institute of Buddhist Culture, ed., *Han'guk Hwaŏm Sasang Yŏn'gu (Studies of Korean Avatamsaka Philosophy)*

Ŭn Chŏng-hŭi, 1982, "Kisinonso Pyŏlgi-e Nat'an-an Wonhyo-ŭi Ilsim Sasang (Wonhyo's Ilsim Philosophy as Appears in *Treatise on Mahayanasraddhotpada-sastra* and *Addendum to Mahayanasraddhotpada-sastra*)," Koryŏ University Ph D Dissertation

_____ 1985, "Wonhyo-ŭi Chunggwŏn Yusiksŏl (Wonhyo's Theories on Madhyamika and Yogacara)," *Seoul Kyodae Nonmunjip (Seoul National Education College Collection of Theses)*, Vol X, VIII

Kim Chong-sŏn, February 1992, "Wonhyo-ŭi Sasang Ch'egye-e Kwanhan Yŏn'gu (Study of Wonhyo's Philosophical System)," Pusan University Ph D Dissertation

disputes include the philosophical question of how the philosophical essence of Madhyamika, Yogacara, and *Mahayanasraddhotpada-sastra* themselves are to be viewed, they are very likely to enhance and deepen Wonhyo studies while becoming prolonged at the same time. The current disputes among academic circles have tended somewhat to focus only on whether or not the Preface to *Addendum to Mahayanasraddhotpada-sastra* is valuable as a research source. In relation to this problem, a reevaluation of the dating of the Preface is necessary

Hwajaeng is a prerequisite for any Buddhist monk or nun, who must live within the religious community. Then what is the uniqueness of Wonhyo's Hwajaeng philosophy? What kind of philosophy did he seek to establish at the end through Hwajaeng? With respect to these questions, the *Mahayanasraddhotpada-sastra* philosophy has been taken note of from early on¹⁹ and was viewed as tathagata-garbha philosophy.²⁰ However, refutations were raised: Fa-ts'ang of the Chinese Avatamsaka School first equated Hwajaeng with tathagata-garbha philosophies, a theory subsequently adopted by Japanese Buddhist scholars as legitimate dogma; however, such retrospective and uncritical application is not possible because Wonhyo actually is Fa-ts'ang's senior.²¹ In fact, by limiting the theory of tathagata-

18 Pak Söng-bae, 1979, "Wonhyo Sasang Chöngae-ün Munjeöm (Problems in the Development of Wonhyo's Philosophy)," *Kim Kyu-yöng Paksa Hwagap Kinyömm Nonmunjip Tongso Ch'ölhak-ün Chemunje (Festschrift for Dr Kim Kyu-yöng Problems in Oriental and Occidental Philosophies)*

Yi P'yöng-nae, 1987, "Yöraejangsöl-gwa Wonhyo (Wonhyo and the Theory of Tathagata-garbha)," *Wonhyo Yön'gu Nonch'ong (Collection of Studies on Wonhyo)*, National Unification Board

Ch'oe Yu-jün, 1988, "Wonhyo-ün Hwajaeng Sasang Yön'gu (Study on Wonhyo's Hwajaeng Philosophy)," Seoul National University Ph D Dissertation

Pak T'ae-won, 1990, "Wonhyo-ün Kisinnon'gwan-ül Tullössan Munjechömm Sogo-Pyölgü Taeünmun Kujöi-ün Ihae-rül Chungsim-üro (Study on the Problems Surrounding Wonhyo's View of *Mahayanasraddhotpada-sastra*-Especially with Reference to the Understanding of Passages in the Outline of Addendum to *Mahayanasraddhotpada-sastra*)," *Tongyang Ch'ölhak (Oriental Philosophy)*, Vol 1

_____, *Taesöngkisinnonso Sasang Yön'gu (Study on Treatise on Mahayanasraddhotpada-sastra Philosophy)* I, Ch 3, "Wonhyo-ün Kwanchömm (Wonhyo's Point of View)"

19 Ocho Enichi, 1940, *ibid*

20 Takamine Ryoshu, 1942, *Kegon Shisoshü (History of Avatamsaka Philosophy)*. (Kyoto Hyakkaen)

Yi P'yöng-nae, 1987, "Yöraejangsöl-gwa Wonhyo (Theory of Tathagata-garbha and Wonhyo)," *Wonhyo Yön'gu Nonch'ong (Collection of Studies on Wonhyo)*, National Unification Board

21. Ko Ik-jün, 1989, *Han'guk Kodae Pulgyo Sasangsa (History of Ancient Korean Buddhism)*, Dongguk University Press, p 237

garbha within 生滅門 of Ilsa Imun, Wonhyo specifically stipulates that the idea of Ilsa is superior to that of tathagata-garbha. On the other hand, when one pays attention to the fact that the compiler of *Mahayanasraddhotpada-sastra* and Wonhyo both devote far more interest to 眞如門 than to 生滅門, it naturally follows that the theory of tathagata-garbha occupies no small place in the *Mahayanasraddhotpada-sastra* philosophy.

Wonhyo constructed his Ilsa philosophy based on the idea of Hwajaeng. While the concept of Ilsa is one Wonhyo most stressed, it is also the central one to Buddhism. Therefore, in order to place Wonhyo's Ilsa philosophy within the history of Buddhist thought, its scriptural and textual background must first be clarified. Although some scholars have systemized Wonhyo's Ilsa philosophy solely on the basis of *Mahayanasraddhotpada-sastra*,²² more and more are coming to emphasize Avatamsaka as well as *Mahayanasraddhotpada-sastra* philosophies.²³

For the first step towards systemizing Wonhyo's thoughts, many scholars have looked to his Theory of the Four Scriptural Classifications.²⁴ Thus, the contents as

Ŭn Chŏng-hŭi, 1991, *ibid*, "Annotated Bibliography"

Pak T'ae-won, 1994, *ibid*, Ch 3 "Wonhyo-ŭi Kwanjŏm (Wonhyo's Point of View)"

22 Kim Hang-bae, 1976, "Wonhyo, Ilsa Sasang-ŭi Ponjil-gwa Kŭ Ironjŏk Kujo (The Essence and Theoretical Structure of Wonhyo's Ilsa Philosophy)," *Tongguktae Nonmunjip (Dongguk University Collection of Theses)*, Vol XV

23 Yi Ki-yŏng, 1975, *Pulgyŏng Inyong-e Nat'an-an Wonhyo-ŭi Tokch'angsŏng (Wonhyo's Uniqueness as Seen Through Quotations from Buddhist Sutras)*, *Sungsan Pak Kil-hong Paksu Hwagap Kinyŏm Nonmunjip-Han'guk Pulgyo Sasangsa (Festschrift for De Pak Kil-hong-History of Korean Buddhist Philosophy)*, 1982, *Hanguk Pulgyo Yŏn'gu (Studies on Korean Buddhism)*, reprinted

Ch'oe Yu-jin, 1988, "Wonhyo-ŭi Hwajaeng Sasang Yŏn'gu (Study of Wonhyo's Hwajaeng Philosophy)," Seoul National University Ph. D. Dissertation

Ko Ik-jin, 1989, *Han'guk Kodae Pulgyo Sasangsa (History of Ancient Korean Buddhism)*, Vol IV-2, "Wonhyo-ŭi Kisa-nnon Ch'ŏlhak-kwa Hwaŏmgyŏng-gwan (Wonhyo's Mahayanasraddhotpada-sastra Philosophy and View of Avatamsaka Sutra)," Dongguk University Press

24 Yi Ki-yŏng, 1974, "Kyop'an Sasang-esŏ Pon Wonhyo-ŭi Wich'i (Wonhyo's Place in the Philosophy of Scriptural Classification)," *Yi Sŏn-gŭn Paksu Kohŭi Kinyŏm Nonmunjip (Festschrift for Dr Yi Sŏn-gŭn)*

Kim Ch'ang-sŏk, 1978, "Gengyo-no Kyobankan (Wonhyo's View on Scriptural Classification)," *Komasawa Daigaku Daigakun Nempyo (Chronology of Komasawa University Graduate School)*, Vol XIII

Pak Sŏng-bae, 1980, "Kyop'annon-ŭl Chungsim-ŭro Pon Wonhyo-wa Ŭisang (Wonhyo and Ŭisang as Seen From Their Theories on Scriptural Classification)," *Silla Ŭisang-ŭi Hwaŏm Sasang (Avatamsaka Philosophy of Silla Monk Uisang)* [presented at the Third International Buddhist Studies Seminar, sponsored by Institute of Traditional Korean Buddhism]

well as the place and significance of the Theory of the Four Scriptural Classifications within the history of scriptural classification have become almost completely clarified. The task of systemizing Wonhyo's thoughts, however, has only begun. Because the Theory of the Four Scriptural Classifications itself is very concise, in order to unravel it and systemize Wonhyo's thoughts, it is necessary to apply the categories stipulated in the theory to Wonhyo's works in general. Of particular interest are Wonhyo's understanding of *Avatamsaka-sutra*, which is accorded the highest place in the Theory of the Four Scriptural Classifications and the placement of *Mahayanasraddhotpada-sastra*, which goes unmentioned in the theory.

In addition to an analysis of the theory of scriptural classification, a systematic analysis and synthesis of Wonhyo's philosophy itself has also been attempted.²⁵ The task of systemizing Wonhyo's philosophy itself, however, has just begun. A definition of Ilism is not an adequate explanation. Therefore, a systemization of the infrastructure of Wonhyo's philosophy, with Ilism at the apex, may be said to be one of the most urgent tasks. In addition to a philosophical inquiry with Ilism at the center, Wonhyo's mass proselytization must also be dealt with in no small measure. First, as the theoretical ground of his mass proselytization, his view of both vinaya and Sukhavati merits attention. Although vinaya is the daily regulations a Buddhist must abide by, in the case of Wonhyo, it is more a set of practical rules specifically for mass proselytization. According to a series of studies,²⁶ the core of Wonhyo's

Ko Ik-jin, 1982, "Wonhyo-ŭi Hwaŏm Sasang (Wonhyo's Avatamsaka Philosophy)," Dongguk University Institute of Buddhist Studies, ed., *Han'guk Hwaŏm Sasang Yŏn'gu (Study of Korean Avatamsaka Philosophy)*

Kim Chun-gyŏng, 1985, "Wonhyo-ŭi Kyop'an'gwan Yŏn'gu (Study of Wonhyo's View of Scriptural Classification)," Dongguk University Ph D Dissertation

Nam, Dong-shin, 1988, "Wonhyo-ŭi Kyop'an'gwan-gwa Kŭ Pulgyosaŏk Wich'i (Wonhyo's View of Scriptural Classification and Its Place in the History of Buddhism)," *Han'guksaron (Theory of Korean History)*, Vol 20

25 Ko Ik-jin, 1975, "Wonhyo Sasang-ŭi Silch'ŏn Wŏlli (The Practical Principle of Wonhyo's Philosophy)," *Sungsan Pak Kil-jin Paksa Hwagap Kinyŏm Han'guk Pulgyo Sasangsa (Festschrift for Dr "Sungsan" Pak Kil-chin History of Korean Buddhist Philosophy)*, pp 254-255, stipulating that Wonhyo's works, theory (*Treatise on Mahayana-sraddhotpada-sastra*), practice (*Vajrasamadhisutra-sastra*), and faith (Pure Land Buddhism) all maintain a consistency, defines the philosophical system as "Chinsok Wonyung Muae philosophy." On the other hand, Kim Chong-son, February 1992, "Wonhyo-ŭi Sasang Ch'egye-e Kwanhan Yŏn'gu (Study of Wonhyo's Philosophical System)," Pusan University Ph D Dissertation, through a conceptual analysis, defines Wonhyo's philosophical structure as "a world of Muae built on Ilism."

vinaya is Mahayanabodhisattva-sīla, and the fact that he accommodated Yoga-sīla with the spirit of Bīahmajala-sīla as the foundation has been pointed out as a characteristic. In comparison with other fields, however, studies on Wonhyo's view of vinaya is still inadequate. To accomplish this task, it is necessary to determine the relationship between Wonhyo's vinaya and the laws implemented by the contemporary Silla government with its policy on Buddhism in addition to understanding vinaya in general.

Pure Land faith applies to the content of Wonhyo's mass proselytization movement. From early on, Wonhyo's view of Sukhavatī has been one of the favorite subjects of Japanese academia.²⁷ Inquiring deeply into his doctrine on Pure Land Buddhism, they have uniquely categorized Simnyōmsōl, one of the major tasks of studies in the history of Pure Land Buddhism, into Ūnmilmun and

26 Yi Ki-yōng, 1967, "Wonhyo-ūi Posalgye'gwan (Wonhyo's View of Bodhisattva-sīla)," *Tongguktae Nonmunjip (Dongguk University Theses Collection)*, Vols III and IV

_____, 1967, "Wonhyo-ūi Posalgyegwan (Sok) (Wonhyo's View of Bodhisattva-sīla) (Supplement)," *Pulgyo Hakpo (Buddhist Journal)*

Ch'ae In-hwan, 1977, *Silla Pulgyo Kyeyul Sasang Yōn'gu (Study of the Vinaya Philosophy Silla Buddhism)*, Tokyo Tosho Kankokai, pp 273-351

木村宣彰, March 1980, "Bosatsukaihōjanyōki," *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku-ken (Research on Indo-Buddhist Studies)* [hereafter IBK], Vol 28-2

Ch'oe Won-sik, 1992, "*Silla Posalgye Sasangsa Yōn'gu (Study of the History of Silla Bodhisattva-sīla)*," Dongguk University Ph D Dissertation, Ch III "Wonhyo-ūi Posalgye Ihae-wa Kū T'ūksōng (Wonhyo's Understanding of Bodhisattva-sīla and Its Characteristics)"

27 Mochizuki Shinko, 1942, *Shina Jodo Kyorishi (History of the Doctrines of Chinese Pure Land Buddhism)*, Tokyo Hozokan, Ch 17 "Giso Gengyo Gijaku-rano Jodo Ronhei-ni Junensetsu (Simnyomsol on the Pure Land Buddhism Doctrines of Ūisang, Wonhyo, and Ūiyōk)"

Yaotani Takayasu, 1937, "Shiragi Shakai-to Jodokyo (Silla Society and Pure Land Buddhism)," *Shicho (The Wave of History)*, Vol 7-4

Kamata Shigeo, 1939, "Shiragi Shakai-ni Okeru Jodokyo (Pure Land Buddhism in Relation to Silla Society)," *Shina Bukkyōshigaku (Chinese Buddhist History Studies)*, Vol 3-4, *Chosen Bukkyōshi-no Kenkyū (Study of The History of Korean Buddhism)*, Tokyo Tosho Kankokai, reprinted

Ocho Enchi, 1939, "Jodokyo-ni Okeru Seimon Shiso-no Hatten (The Development of Sravaka Philosophy in Relation to Pure Land Buddhism)," *Shina Bukkyōshigaku*, Vol 3-4, 1977, *Chosen Bukkyōshi-no Kenkyū (Studies on Korean Buddhist History)*, Tokyo Tosho Kankokai, reprinted

惠谷隆成, March 1976, "Kankoku Jodokyo-no Tokusho (Characteristics of Korean Pure Land Buddhism)," *IBK*, Vol 24-2

Hara Hiroyuki, 1973, "Shiragi Jodokyo-no Tokushoku (Characteristics of Silla Pure Land Buddhism)," Kim Chi-gyōn and Ch'ae In-hwan, eds, *Silla Pulgyo Yōn'gu (Studies on Silla Buddhism)*, Sanhūbangpulsōrim

Hyölyllyomun and verified that it belongs to the doctrines of Hui-yuan of Chinging Temple in Korean scholars have conducted and produced many studies since the 1960s, from which we have had substantial results. Following these studies, it has been elucidated that because Wonhyo emphasized Amitabha-sukhavati over Maitreya-sukhavati, he tried to loosen the criteria for being reborn into Amitabha-sukhavati.²⁸ The biggest disputes among scholars trying to clarify Wonhyo's view of Sukhavati arose over whether or not he had actually authored *The Way of Bringing Troubled Minds to Rest*; the current verdict prevalent throughout academia is that he did not.²⁹ Therefore, existing studies which were based on the assumption that Wonhyo had indeed written *The Way of Bringing Troubled Minds to Rest* should be reexamined.

It has already been pointed out numerous times, as a characteristic of Silla Pure Land Buddhist doctrines, that the contemporary Silla Pure Land Buddhist scholars, as represented by Wonhyo, tried to loosen as much as possible the conditions for rebirth. However, recent studies have redefined such a characteristic as the establishment of a new view of man which reflects the socioeconomic change then taking place within Silla society, which deserves attention.³⁰ Such attempts, which even take chronology into consideration, need to take both a microscopic approach to Buddhist philosophy and a macroscopic approach, which includes an understanding of the relationships between Buddhism and traditional folk religion and between Buddhism and Confucianism as well as of general socioeconomic

28 An Kye-hyön, 1961, "Wonhyo-üi Mita Chöngt'o Wangsaeng Sasang (Wonhyo's Philosophy of Rebirth into Amitabha-sukhavati) (I)," *Yöksa Hakpo (History Journal)*, Vol XV, 1987, *Silla Chöngt'o Sasangsa Yön'gu (Studies on the History of Silla Sukhavati Philosophy)*, Hyönamsa, reprinted

_____, 1963, "Wonhyo-üi Mita Chöngt'o Wangsaeng Sasang (II)," *Yöksa Hakpo*, Vol X XI, reprinted in the above publication

_____, 1962, "Wonhyo-üi Mita Chöngt'o Wangsaeng Sasang," *Yöksa Hakpo*, Vols X VII and X VIII, reprinted in the above publication

Yi Ki-yong, 1982, "Wonhyo-üi Miruk Sinang (Wonhyo's Maitreya Faith)," *Han'guk Pulgyo Yön'gu (Study of Korean Buddhism)*, Han'guk Pulgyo Yön'guwon (Institute of Korean Buddhism)

29 Han Po-gwang, 1991, *Shiragi Jodo Shiso-no Kenkyu (Study of Silla Pure Land Buddhist Philosophy)*, Toho Shuppan, pp 299-328

30 Kim Yöng-mi, 1992, "Wonhyo-üi Yöraejang Sasang-gwa Chungsaenggwan (Wonhyo's Tathagata-garbha Philosophy and View of Bhava)," *Sönsa-wa Kodae (Prehistoric and Ancient Periods)*, Vol III, 1994, *Silla Pulgyo Sasangsa Yön'gu (Study of the History of Silla Buddhism)*, Minjoksa, reprinted

_____, 1993, "Wonhyo-üi Amita Sinang-gwa Chöngt'ogwan (Wonhyo's Amitabha Faith and View of Sukhavati)," *Kasan Hakpo (Kasan Scholastic Journal)*, Vol II, reprinted in the above publication

history, at the same time

An aspect also not to be omitted from any study of Wonhyo's thoughts is his place in the history of Buddhism. Although the development of Wonhyo's thoughts took place against the background of Silla Buddhism microscopically, they were closely related to the trends in the contemporary East Asian Buddhism macroscopically. In relation to his place in Korean Buddhism, the preservation and development of his Avatamsaka doctrines in Silla Buddhism³¹ and the rediscovery of his thoughts in Koryŏ Buddhism³² have been noted. With respect to the history of Chinese Buddhism, it has been clarified that Wonhyo was greatly influenced by the three Sui Masters Hui-yuan (523-592), Chih-i (538-597), and Chi-ts'ang (549-623)³³ and that his thoughts on Buddhism left an indelible mark on the compilation of Avatamsaka doctrines by Hsuan-tsang (643-712), his successor.³⁴ In addition, various attempts are being made to explicate how Wonhyo perceived Confucianism and Taoism.³⁵

31 吉津直英, 1986, "Shiragi-no Kegongaku-eno Itshiten-Gengyo Hozo-no Yugo Keitai-o Chushin-to Shite (An Outlook on Silla Avatamsaka Studies-Especially in Relation to the Synthetic Form of Wonhyo and Fa-ts'ang)," *Kankoku Bukkyogaku (Korean Buddhist Studies) SEMINAR*, Vol II

Ko Ik-jin, 1989, *Han'guk Kodae Pulgyo Sasangsa (History of Ancient Korean Buddhist Philosophy)*, Dongguk University Press, pp 337-366, "Wonhyogyo Hwaŏmhak-kwa Kŭ T'ŭkch'ing (Avatamsaka Studies in Wonhyo's Line and Its Characteristics)"

32 Ch'oe Pyŏng-hŏn, November 1987, "Koryŏ Pulgyogyo-esŏn Wonhyo Ihae—Ŭich'ŏn-gwa Iryŏn-ŭl Chungsim-ŭro (Understanding of Wonhyo in Koryŏ Buddhist Orders-Especially in Relation to Ŭich'ŏn and Iryŏn)," *Wonhyo Yŏn'gu Nonch'ong (Collection of Studies on Wonhyo)*, National Unification Board

Kim Sang-hyŏn, 1994, "Koryŏ Sidae-ŭi Wonhyo Insik (Awareness of Wonhyo During Koryŏ Dynasty)," *Chŏngsin Munhwa Yŏn'gu (Academy of Korean Studies Journal)*, Vol 54

33 木村宣彰, 1977, "Gengyo-no Nehanshuyo Tokuni Joeiji Keien-tono Kanren (A Summary of Wonhyo's Nirvana School Especially in Relation to Hui-yuan of Chinging Temple)," *Bukkyogaku Semina (Buddhist Studies Seminar)*, Vol 26

Kim Ch'ang-sŏk, March 1980, "Gengyo-no Kyoban Shiryo-ni Arawareta Kichizo-tono Kankei-ni Tsurete (On the Relationship Between Wonhyo and Chi-ts'ang as Appears in the Materials Related to Wonhyo)," *Indogaku Bukkyogaku-ken (Research on Indo-Buddhist Studies)*, Vol 28-2

福士慈秘, 1990, "Gengyo Chojutsu-ni Okeru Tendai-no Eikyo-ni Tsuite (On the Influence of White Lotus School in the Case of Wonhyo's Works)," *Indogaku Bukkyogaku-ken (Research on Indo-Buddhist Studies)*, Vol 39-1

34 Ocho Enchi, 1940, *ibid*

Kamata Shigeo, 1986, *ibid*

35 Kim Hun, Ch 6, *Yuanhsiao Szuhstang Yenchnu (Study of Wonhyo's Buddhist Thoughts)*, Peking University Ph D Dissertation, June 1995

Lastly, there remains the question of historically evaluating Wonhyo's philosophy. While South Korean academia highly praises Wonhyo's ideas as having contributed to the establishment of order in post-unification Silla,³⁶ Northern academia has vehemently attacked his tenets as "a reactionary and ideological philosophy that reflects the feudal exploitative relationship."³⁷ Such opposing evaluations are caused by differing views of history; this holds true for assessments of Buddhata also. Recently, South Korean academia has begun to judge favorably Wonhyo's theory of Buddhata, from the historical perspective that it announced the emergence of an entirely new view of man,³⁸ Chinese scholars, on the contrary, dismiss it as merely an ideology of the feudal ruling classes.³⁹ In order to assess Wonhyo's philosophy from a historical viewpoint, the actual historical situation of the times must be taken into consideration.

3. The Remaining Task and Prospects of Wonhyo Studies

We have hitherto examined the existing fruits of Wonhyo studies by research

36 Ko Ik-jm, *Han'guk Kodae Pulgyo Sasangsa (History of Ancient Korean Buddhist Philosophy)*, Ch 4, "Silla Chungdae Hwaŏm Sasang-ŭi Chŏnggae-wa Kŭ Yŏngnyang (The Development and Influence of Mid-Silla Avatamsaka Philosophy)," p 380, 1989

37 Chŏng Chin-sŏk, Chŏng Sŏng-ch'ŏl, and Kim Ch'ang-wŏn, 1961, *Chosŏn Ch'ŏlhaksa (History of Korean Philosophy)* II, P'yŏngyang Kwahagwŏn Yŏksa Yŏn'guso (P'yŏngyang Academy of Sciences History Research Center), 1988, *Chosŏn Ch'ŏlhaksa Yŏn'gu (Study of th History of Korean Philosophy)*, Kwangju, pp 24-25.

The historical assessment of Wonhyo in North Korea has vacillated slightly according to each era. During the 1960's, Wonhyo was seen as the representative of "a progressive clique within the feudal exploitative class", in the 1970's, an emphasis on the Juche ideology brought about a vehement criticism of Wonhyo, and in the 1980's, a philosophical analysis was greatly strengthened while restraining a class-oriented assessment.

38 Kim Yŏng-mi, 1994, Ch 3, "Amita Sinang-ŭi Sasangsaŏk Ŭnŭi (Philosophical Significance of the Amitabha Faith)," *Silla Pulgyo Sasangsa Yŏn'gu (Study of the History of Silla Buddhist Philosophy)*, Minjoksa, 1994

39 The reason the ruling classes of the Northern-Southern Dynasties in China favored the doctrine of Nirvana through Buddhata during the Northern and Southern Dynasties period lay in its social significance by pacifying the masses with a faith which claimed they could all attain Buddhahood through enduring the injustices and toils of this life and pursuing eternal happiness in a fictitious world, the ruling classes could ensure the feudal social order. Jen Chi-yu et al, eds, 1988, *Chungkuo Fochao-shih (History of Chinese Buddhism)*, Vol III, Peichung Shehui Kuahsueh Ch'upanshe, pp 392-393

topic. At this point, we will address several problems discovered from our examination and assess the prospects of future studies. First, it must be pointed out that a comprehensive and systematic understanding of Wonhyo's works and philosophy is greatly lacking. It was because of his deep interest in and knowledge of each and every contemporary Buddhist thought and school that Wonhyo was able to establish a unique philosophical system of his own. By focusing mainly on parts, however, research conducted up to now has failed to elucidate Wonhyo's tenet as a whole. In the future, scholars should strive for a more comprehensive and systematic interpretation of Wonhyo's doctrine, based on a full assessment of studies up to the present. A historical arrangement of some 500 studies and treatises on Wonhyo, above all, is in order. A historical organization will enable us to reflect on the past Wonhyo studies and predict a future direction.

Secondly, it must be stressed that studies of Wonhyo need to be conducted from a historical standpoint.⁴⁰ While Wonhyo's philosophy may be timeless in that he tried to overcome the philosophical and religious contradictions of his times, the fact that he lived in 7th-century Silla announces the fact that his ideas cannot but reflect that era. Therefore, if Buddhist scholars, stressing the former aspect, endeavor to elucidate the dogmatic and religious significance of Wonhyo's tenets, historians, on the other hand, should try to assess their historical importance. Studies up to the present, however, have been conducted by Buddhist scholars.

Of course, studies conducted from a historical viewpoint have not been entirely absent. But their primary interest lay in the life of Wonhyo. Although Buddhist scholars mentioned his life in their studies as well, there was a tendency to glide over it. It was historians who earnestly inquired into Wonhyo's life within the larger context of 7th-century Silla society for the first time.⁴¹ Following the findings of

40 Even within Buddhist academia, there have been opinions emphasizing the importance of a historical standpoint. Dr. Yi Ki-yŏng stressed the necessity of conducting research on Buddhist religious doctrines from a historical standpoint [1975, "Han'guk Pulgyo Yŏn'gu-ŭi Hyŏnsil-gwa Kwaje (The Reality and Tasks of Korean Buddhist Studies)," *Han'guk Hakpo*, Vol. I, 1982, *Han'guk Pulgyo Yŏngu*, p. 297]. The late Prof. Ko Ik-jin tried to reconstruct the ancient Korean Buddhist history by adapting a historical viewpoint [vid. Nam Dong-shin, 1991, "Samguk Mit T'ongil Sillagi Pulgyosa-ŭi Insil-kwa Pangbopnon (Recognition and Methodology of the History of Buddhism During the Three Kingdoms and Unified Silla Periods)," *Han'guk Kodaesa Nonch'ong*, Vol. II].

41 Yaotani Takayasu, 1952, "Shiragi-so Gengyoden-ko (Study of Biographies of the Silla Monk Wonhyo)," *Taisho Daigaku Gakuho (Taisho University Journal)*, Vol. 38; Yang Ŭn-yong, ed., *Silla Wonhyo Yon'gu (Study of Wonhyo of Silla)*, Wonkwang University Press, 1979.

Yi Chŏng-ik, 1960, "Wonhyo-ŭi Saeng'ae-wa Sasang (The Life and Philosophy of Wonhyo),"

these studies, much important information related to Wonhyo's biographical data—social class, process of initiation and ascetic training, attempts to study in T'ang China and his enlightenment, secularization and mass proselytization, later periods' general outlook on Wonhyo, etc.—has already been confirmed. The studies put out by historical circles, however, pale in number when compared to those of the Buddhist scholars and hitherto have concentrated mostly on reconstructing Wonhyo's life.

The first reason for the slack in Wonhyo studies among historians is the absolute inadequacy of Wonhyo's biography and of detailed historical documents on the contemporary Buddhist scene. Although Kosonsasodanghwasang-bi, a stone monument dedicated some 100 years after his decease, is important in that it is the oldest of the three main biographical materials on Wonhyo extant, due to damages only half of the inscriptions are legible. One of the Chinese materials, Book Four "Yüanhsiao-chuan (Life of Wonhyo)" of *Sung Kaosung-chuan* ("Lives of Eminent Monks of Sung China"), is limited in that it was compiled 300 years after his demise and in that the legend of how *Vajrasamadhi-sutra* came to be takes up two-thirds of the content. In addition, despite the fact that it gives us the most colorful

Han'guk Sasang (Korean Philosophy), Vol III, 1975, *Tongbang Sasang Nonch'ong (Collection of Treatises on Oriental Philosophy)*, Poryöngak

Motoi Nobuo, 1961, "Shiragi Gengyo-no Denki-ni Tsuité (On the Biography of the Silla Monk Wonhyo)," *Otani Gakuho (Otani Scholastic Journal)*, Vol 41-1, Yang Ūn-yong, ed., 1979, *Silla Wonhyo Yö'n'gu (Study of Wonhyo of Silla)*, Wöngkwang University Press

Kim Yöng-t'ae, 1980, "Chön'gi-wa Sölhwa-nül T'onghan Wonhyo Yö'n'gu (Study of Wonhyo through Biographies and Folk Tales)," *Pulgyo Hakpo (Buddhist Journal)*, Vol X VII

Yi Pöm-hong, 1982, "Wonhyo Haengjang Singo (A New Look at Wonhyo's Biography)," *Masan Taehak Nonmunjip (Masan University Treatise Collection)*, Vol 4, 1987, *Wonhyo Yö'n'gu Nonch'ong (Collection of Theses on Wonhyo Studies)*, National Unification Board

Buswell, Jr., Robert E., 1985, *The Korean Origin of "The Vajrasamadhi-Sutra": a case study in determining the dating, provenance, and authorship of a Buddhist*, University of California, Berkeley, pp. 140-162

Chön Mi-hüi, December 1988, "Wonhyo-üi Sinbun-gwa Kü-üi Hwaldong (The Social Status and Activities of Wonhyo)," *Han'guksa Yö'n'gu (Studies on Korean History)*, Vol 63

Mun Kyöng-hyön, February 1990, "Wonhyo-üi Sudoch'ö-e Taehayo (On Wonhyo's Meditation Sites)," *Samguk Yusa-üi Hyöngjangjök Yö'n'gu (An On-the-Spot Research on Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms) [Silla Munhwajae Haksul Palp'yohoe Nonmunjip (Collection of Treatises Delivered at the Silla Cultural Festival Symposium) Vol II, sponsored by the Silla Munhwa Sonyanghoe (Silla Culture Promotion Society)]*

Kim Sang-hyün, February 1994, *Yöksa-ro Ingnün Wonhyo (Reading Wonhyo as History)*, Koryöwon.

and popular version of Wonhyo's life, Book Four "Wonhyo Pulgi-jo (Section on Wonhyo Unfettered)" of *Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms* leaves much doubt as to its veracity because it depends heavily on non-extant biographical materials for details of his ascetic training and mass proselytization and because of the fact that it was compiled 600 years after his decease. Therefore, in order to overcome the defects in Wonhyo biography, data and materials from contemporary Chinese and Japanese Buddhist circles, which had close ties with that of Silla, must be actively sought out. While reinterpreting such data with respect to the history of the era, one needs to pay special attention to the relationship between Wonhyo and the masses, and that between him and the ruling classes; then, he should once again be compared and contrasted with the Buddhist monks of Old and Middle Silla Dynasties—e.g. Wongwang or Chajang. It is only through the accomplishment of such tasks that the history of Wonhyo's life may become clearer.

The second reason that has kept historians out of Wonhyo's life and thoughts is the burden of having to read Buddhist scriptures. Buddhist works read and written during Wonhyo's era, including his own, are far more numerous and plentiful than other existing historical documents. In order to analyze Wonhyo from a historical viewpoint, it thus becomes necessary to make full use of these original sources as historical data. In making use of Buddhist scriptures as historical texts, scholars should, by separately comparing and analyzing Wonhyo's commentaries and the sutras he commented on, elucidate his view of sutras and its significance as well. Taking a step further, by interpreting Wonhyo's works in relation to his actual words and deeds, scholars may also account for the social significance of his thoughts. "Wonhyo and his thoughts" understandably is one of the most important research topics in modern Korean Buddhist studies. It is necessary not only for understanding ancient Korean Buddhist philosophy but valid also for discovering the Buddhist roots within the modern Korean psyche. In addition, not only Korean but Chinese and Japanese, even American scholars are becoming more and more interested in Wonhyo's philosophy. This is because Wonhyo's era, the 7th century, saw unhindered growth of Buddhism in East Asia, and Wonhyo was one of the handful of figures of his times whose philosophical level, popular appeal, and international influence reached the apex. Wonhyo studies, therefore, are a step toward understanding the fundamentals of Buddhism. In this respect, Wonhyo studies will be carried out even more actively in the future

(Translated by Kim Yoo-seok, S.N.U.)

GLOSSARY

- Addendum to *Mahayanasraddhotpada-sastra* 大乘起信論別記
- Alaya-vijnana 阿賴耶識
- Amitabha-sukhavat 彌陀淨土
- Avatamsaka-sutra 華嚴經
- at-home bodhisattva 在家菩薩
- Avatamsaka School 華嚴宗
- Avidya 無明
- Bhava 有, 衆生
- Bhava-mahayana 有大乘
- Bodhi 菩提, 本覺
- Bodhi-magga 菩薩道
- Bone-Rank System 骨品制度
- Brahmajala-sila 梵網戒
- Buddhata 佛性
- Ch'ang'an 長安
- Chajang 慈藏
- Ch'eng-kuan 澄觀
- Chi-ts'ang 吉藏
- Chih-i 智顛
- Chinging Temple 淨影寺
- Dharmalaksana School 法相宗
- Dukkha 煩惱
- Ekamagga 一道
- Ekayana 一乘
- Fa-ts'ang 法藏
- Genei 玄叡
- Hinayana 小乘
- Hsuan-tsang 玄奘
- Hui-yuan 慧遠
- Hwajaeng 和諍
- Hyölyomun 顯了門
- Ilsm 一心
- Ilsm Imun 一心二門
- Iryön 一然
- Koguryö 高句麗
- Koryö 高麗
- Kosönsasö danghwasang-bi 高仙寺誓幢和上碑
- Kwangdök 廣德
- lay believer 居士
- Madhyamika 中觀
- Madhyamika School 三論宗
- Mahayana 大乘
- (Mahayana)bodhisattva-sila (大乘)菩薩戒
- Mahayanasraddhotpada-sastra 大乘起信論
- Maitreya-sukhavati 彌勒淨土
- Matri-karuna 慈悲
- Middle period 中代
- Mid-old period 中古期
- New period 下代
- Norther-Southern Dynasties 南北朝
- Omjang 嚴莊
- Paekche 百濟
- Prajna 般若
- Pravritti 流轉
- Pure Land Buddhism 淨土宗
- Rupa 色
- Samgukyusa 三國遺事
- Sila 戒
- Silla 新羅
- Simnyömsöl 十念說
- Sui 隋
- Sukhavati 淨土
- Sung Kaosung-chuan 宋高僧傳
- Süngnang 僧朗

Sunyata	空	True Bone	眞骨
Sunyata-mahayana	空大乘	unhindered practice	無碍行
syncretic Buddhism	通佛教	Unified Silla	統一新羅
T'ang	唐	Ŭnmilmun	隱密門
Tathagata-garbha	如來藏	Upaya	方便
The Way of Bringing Troubled Minds to Rest		Vajrasamadhī-sutra	金剛三昧經
	遊心安樂道	Vajrasamadhīsutra-sastra	金剛三昧經論
Theory of Four Scriptural Classification		Vinaya	戒律
	四教判論	Wonch'ŭk	圓測
Three Kingdoms	三國	Wonhyo	元曉
Treatise on Mahayanasraddhotpada-sastra		Wonhyo Pulgi-jo	元曉不羈條
	大乘起信論疏	Won'gwang	圓光
Treatise on the Harmonization of Disputes Among the Ten Schools		Yoga-sīla	瑜伽戒
	十門和諍論	Yogacara School	唯識宗
		Yuanhsiao-chuan	元曉傳