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CHAPTER TWENTY-SEVEN

DAOISM IN KOREA

JUNG JAE-SEO*

DESCRIPTION

Korean culture is generally taken as an expression of Confucian culture, and any discussion of the cultural milieu of East Asian Confucianism must include Korea. In addition to Confucianism, Buddhism has also been vital to Korean culture. In fact, with the exception of the last dynasty, the Chosôn 朝鮮 (1392-1910), Buddhism was for the most part the national system and a most important cultural feature. This was true under the Koryô 高麗 (918-1392), the Unified Shilla 統一新羅 (668-935), and in Three Kingdoms period 三國時代 (57 B.C.E.- 668 C.E.).

From this perspective it would appear that Daoism, in comparison to Confucianism or Buddhism, is relatively unimportant to Korean culture. However, when Korean scholars discuss what Korean culture means, they devote equal space to Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism (or *sôn* 仙). Daoism nonetheless has never been as developed or as influential in Korean history as Confucianism or Buddhism and has never actually had an organized system of ordination (*jiaotan* 教壇), and yet it dominated the internal aspect of Korean culture and was latent in the Korean consciousness. Korean Daoism has had a profound and fundamental influence upon shamanism, popular customs and new religions, and has even seeped into Confucianism and Buddhism, being intimately connected with both indigenous and aspects of imported culture throughout Korean history.

Most Korean scholars believe that Korean Daoism was not imported from China at one particular time but is an intrinsically Korean tradition that shares characteristics with Chinese Daoism. The official historical records note that in ancient Korea, around the seventh century C.E., organized Daoism was transmitted from Tang China, but prior to this there existed an indigenous form of belief and worship highly similar to Chinese Daoism and often described as indigenous Korean Daoism. Evidence cited in support of this includes the so-called *kuksôn* 國仙 (national immortals),

* Translated by James Miller

recluses who engaged in free and easy wandering, just like Chinese immortals. Also, the stories of Dangun 檀君 and the myths surrounding the founding of Korea are evidently influenced by tales of immortality. Seen from this angle, Korean Daoism is intimately connected with ancient indigenous culture. It has been decisive in shaping the unique character of Korean culture, and it has been particularly significant at those times in history when it has underscored Korean political and cultural identity. For example, the Donghak religion 東學 (Eastern Doctrine), which arose from a critical consciousness toward Western power, was strengthened by Daoist influence, and it was a Daoist scholar who wrote the *Kyuwon sahwa* 揆園史話 (Historical Tales of the Kyuwon Garden), which overturned the dominant Sinocentric tradition (Han 1984, 278-82). Both are evidence that Daoism has historically strengthened Korean identity.

Although Korean Daoism has thus a very ancient and authentic Korean component, it developed in completely new dimensions with the introduction of organized Daoism that came to be transmitted from Tang China. Ultimately these two components merged to form a Korean Daoism with both similar and disparate characteristics to Chinese Daoism. Ever since the seventh century, Korean Daoism has been influenced by Chinese Daoism in its organization and doctrine, and has grown substantially richer in its structure and scholarship. The Koryô and Chosôn dynasties established national Daoist temples, such as the Bokwon gung 福源宮 (Palace of Original Happiness) and the Sogyôk sô 昭格署 (Bureau of Brilliant Investigation). Through them the doctrines and practices of Chinese Daoism became the object of disciplined practice and scholarship among Koryô and Chosôn intellectuals. Nevertheless, Korean Daoism was not limited to imported Chinese Daoist theories. Its adepts independently composed Daoist texts and developed their own doctrines; such as Jung Ryôm's 鄭磏 (1506-1549) *Yong ho bikyôl* 龍虎秘訣 (Secret Formula of Dragon and Tiger) and Hô Jun's 許浚 (1546-1615) *Dongui bogam* 東醫寶鑒 (Precious Mirror of Eastern Medicine). Moreover, Lee Kyukyông's 李圭景 (1788-?) essay *Dokyo sônsô dokyông byônjûngsôl* 道教仙書道經辨證說 (Investigative Theories on Daoist Scriptures and Immortality Books) critically examines Daoist materials and attempts to analyze them objectively. This was the forerunner to Lee Nûnghwa's 李能和 (1868-1945) *Chosôn dokyosa* 朝鮮道教史 (History of Korean Daoism) completed in the beginning of the twentieth century.

In the modern period, research into Korean Daoism has been relatively limited in comparison to that of Confucianism and Buddhism, but Daoist studies have increased since 1980 and have actively examined the intrinsic, fundamental values of Korean Daoism. There are now many scholarly associations, excavations, conferences and academic journals. An abundance of material still needs to be unearthed and assessed, and there is a

mountain of potential research topics on every aspect of Korean Daoism. It will yet provide a wealth of material for Daoist studies across the world.

History

ORIGINS. The academic world is divided on the issue of whether Korean Daoism originated in China or arose indigenously. Chinese scholars of cultural transmission have detected elements of foreign propagation in the Elite Youth Corps (*Hwarang do* 花朗徒) of Shilla (Fu 1978, 179-91). In general Chinese, Japanese and most foreign scholars of Daoism have adopted the position that Korean Daoism was transmitted from China. For example, the Japanese three-volume work *Dôkyô* 道教 (Daoism) has a section on Daoism in Korea in its third volume on "The Transmission of Daoism" (道教の傳播), which clearly states the Chinese origin of Korean Daoism (Fukui et al. 1983, 49-129).

All scholars base their theories on the *Samguk sagi* 三國史記 (Records of the Three Kingdoms), at present Korea's most ancient written document. According to this, in the seventh year of King Yôngryu 榮留王 of the Koguryô 高句麗 (624), the Tang Emperor Gaozu sent Daoist priests to present him with a statue of the Heavenly Worthy and provide instruction in Daoist practices (ch. 20). Foreign scholars take this to mark the official introduction of Daoism into Korea. Korean Daoist scholars, however, read this passage differently and assume that it refers only to the establishment of an organized Daoist ordination system in Korea that began with the Tang dynasty's missionary activity in Korea, not diminishing the practice of a preexisting, indigenous Daoist culture which it expanded and systematized. They believe that the primordial Daoist culture, i.e., the legends and ideas about immortality were already present in Korea before the arrival of Gaozu's envoys.

To give an example of such a view, Lee Nûnghwa, the founding father of modern Korean Daoist studies, compared the ancient Korean beliefs in three divinities, Hwanin 桓因, Hwanwung 桓雄 and Dangun 檀君, with Chinese myths about the sacred mountains Penglai 蓬萊, Fangzhang 方丈 and Yingzhou 瀛洲, and proposed that immorality cults in Yan 燕 and Qi 齊 came, contrary to common view, from an ancient Korean range of indigenous beliefs surrounding the sacred Mount Baekdu 白頭山, the Changbai shan 長白山 of the Chinese (see Lee N. 1977, 30-40). Following in his footsteps, Cha Juhwan 車柱環, Do Kwangsun 都珖淳 and others similarly analyzed the myth of Dangun and the customs of the Elite Youth Corps in an attempt to prove that there existed a form of indigenous Korean Daoism before organized Chinese Daoism was formally transmitted (Cha 1986, 95-105; Do 1983, 51-71). In any case, ancient northern Korea

and the Chinese regions of Yan and Qi were geographically and culturally connected, and shamanism and mountain worship flourished in both. Some scholars therefore think that an original form of Daoist culture was shared between ancient Korea and China (Jung 1994, 68-69). Ultimately, the best way of dealing with this question is to regard Korean Daoism as comprising key elements of indigenous ideas and practices similar to those of Chinese Daoism and originally part of Korean culture. These elements were then fused with, and formalized under the influence of, the systems and doctrines of Chinese Daoism later transmitted to Korea.

THE THREE KINGDOMS AND THE UNIFIED SHILLA. The Three Kingdoms denotes the kingdoms of Koguryô in the north, Paekjae in the southwest, and Shilla in the southeast. Data from the kingdom of **Koguryô** 高句麗 (37 B.C.E. – 668 C.E.), predating the formal transmission of Chinese Daoism in the seventh century, suggest the existence of a form of Daoist culture. For example, Tao Hongjing's (456-536) *Zhenglei bencao* 證類本草 (Critical Classfied Pharmacopoeia) in the section on "Gold-Based Drugs" records that Koguryô had a technique for using gold for medicine, which some scholars take to imply that they were using techniques of laboratory alchemy (Miki 1962, 7-8). Similarly, immortals riding cranes or holding bowls of medicine appear on grave murals around the sixth century, implying that immortality ideas were already prevalent. In addition, the *Samguk yusa* 三國遺事 (Tales of the Three Kingdoms, ch. 3), in a later edition of the *Samguk sagi*, records that Celestial Masters Daoism, then called the Five Pecks of Rice sect (Wu doumi dao 五斗米道) was popular in Koguryô at the beginning of the seventh century, suggesting that this form of Daoism was transmitted to Korea by the northern Celestial Masters (Cha 1986, 180-83).

There are two subsequent instances of the formal transmission of Daoism. The first was in the seventh year of King Yôngryu 榮留王 (624), when the Tang Emperor Gaozu sent two Daoist priests to present a statue of the Heavenly Worthy, provide instruction in Daoist practices and give lectures on the *Daode jing*. The second transmission was in the second year of King Bojang 寶藏王 the last Koguryô king (643), who followed the enthusiastic recommendation of the powerful official Yôn Gaesomun 淵蓋蘇文 and applied to the Tang for a renewed transmission of Daoism. In response, the *Samguk sagi* records that the Tang Emperor Taizong sent eight Daoist priests and a gift of the *Daode jing*. This implies that Daoism was imported for the political purpose to restrain the power of Koguryô Buddhism (Cha 1986, 110-112; Jung 1995, 178-81). The Tang had previously intended to promote Daoism in order to restrain the expansion of Buddhism, and this was what the Koguryô court also intended to do.

This is all the evidence we have, fragmentary indeed, and it does not afford more than a glimpse of the vague outlines of Koguryô Daoism, while

the detailed circumstances of its system and nature remain shrouded in mystery.

As concerns the kingdom of **Paekjae** 百濟 (18 B.C.E.- 660 C.E.) there are no formal records on the transmission of Daoism, but we can infer that Daoist culture was already widespread. The *Nihonshoki* 日本書記 (Chronicle of Japan) records that in the tenth year of Emperor Taiko (602), the Paekjae monk Kwanrûk 觀勒 arrived in Japan and presented the emperor with astrological writings, calendars, texts dealing with calendrical calculation and methods of magic. This is understood as circumstantial evidence that Daoism was already present in Paekjae. Clearer evidence is found in archaeology. A "broad mountain" incense burner (*boshan lu* 博山爐), recently discovered in the ruins of a workshop in the Paekjae palace, bears the image of Penglai, the paradise of the immortals, in gold and copper plating. There are a number of bricks with landscape designs (*san kyông munjôn* 山景文塼), carved in the shape of three sacred mountains and Daoist temples, as well as formal tomb contracts, all excavated from the tomb of King Munyông 武寧王 (501-523). This suggests that Daoist culture was alive and strong in the kingdom of Paekjae. As Paekjae had, moreover, close political and cultural contact with the kingdoms of the southern Chinese dynasties, we can also assume a close connection between Paekjae Daoism and that of south China. Again, the details remain elusive.

The kingdom of **Shilla** 新羅 (57 B.C.E.-935 C.E.) received Chinese culture somewhat later than Koguryô or Paekjae, and in the literature there is no record of specifically Daoist beliefs. Myths concerning immortals, however, are prolific, and it is not difficult to discover essential features of Daoism in its indigenous thought, religion and folk customs. The Elite Youth Corps, established before organized Daoism was transmitted, was the key political and religious organization of the state—also known as the Way of Elegance (*pungryu do* 風流道). Its members, the elite corps or national immortals, combined a warrior spirit with the attitudes of Daoist cultivation. Among them were the so-called *sasôn* 四仙 (four immortals), such as Yôngrang 永郎, Namrang 南郎, Sulrang 述郎 and Ahnsang 安祥. Many myths about their love of nature and the arts resemble tales of Chinese immortals. (Cha 1989, 9-25; Yang 1994a, 13-24).

It was during the UNIFIED SHILLA (668-935) that the Daoism of organized alchemical lineages first entered Korea and became popular among the intellectual classes. We know from the *Haedong chôndo rok* 海東傳道錄 (Record of the Transmission of the Dao to the Eastern Sea Country [Korea]), a work by Han Muwae 韓無畏 (1517-1610) of the Chosôn dynasty, that Choi Sûngwu 崔承祐, Kim Kagi 金可記 and the monk Jahae 慈惠 went to study in China during the reign of the Tang Emperor Wenzong (827-841). There they made contact with the Daoist priests Shen Yuanzhi 申元之 and Zhongli Quan 鍾離權 and received training in inner alchemy,

which they brought back to Korea. There is a record of Kim Kagi's ascension as a celestial immortal in Shen Fen's 沈汾 *Xuxian zhuan* 續仙傳 (Supplementary Immortals' Biographies), and a stele on his activities was discovered recently on Mount Zhongnan 終南山 near Xi'an. The *Haedong chôndo rok* also contains an account of the late-Shilla literatus and Daoist Choi Chiwon 崔致遠 (b. 857). An official at the Tang court, he was both a practitioner of Daoist magical arts and an official on the staff of the military commander Gao Pian 高駢. It therefore seems that the new tendency in Daoism toward the Zhong-Lü school of inner alchemy 鍾呂金丹道 entered Shilla through those who had studied in China (see Cha 1988, 11-38).

KORYÔ 高麗 (918-1392). With the advent of the Koryô dynasty, clear examples of the flourishing of Daoism become more numerous. Although Koryô was a Buddhist state, the royal court favored Daoism in its early period, using legitimation stories of various divinations and secret records about King Taejo's 太祖 (r. 918-943) accession which closely resemble the myths surrounding founders of Chinese dynasties and often involved his celestial approval through a renowned Daoist. This suggests that there was a sympathetic relationship between the founder, King Taejo, and contemporary Daoist adepts both before and after his accession to the throne. Thus Daoist aspects in the originally Buddhist ceremony called *Palkwan hwe* 八關會 (Assembly of the Eight Views) include sacrifices to the god of Heaven 天神, the five mountains, famous hills and great rivers. In the seventh year of his reign, he set up the Kuyo dang 九曜堂 (Hall to the Nine Luminaires) as a venue for Daoist offerings (*jiao* 醮) to the stars, further consolidating his authority by elevating Daoism to an equal rank with the state religion of Buddhism.

Continuing along these lines, the Koryô not only maintained the Kuyo dang, but also implemented Daoist principles and practices at fifteen sites, including the Bokwon gung, the Jôndan 甸壇 (Padded Altar), the Sôngsu jôn 星宿殿 (Palace of the Constellations), the Jôngsa saek 淨事色 (Bureau of Pure Affairs), the Daechông gwan 大清觀 (Temple of Great Clarity) and the Sokyôk jôn 昭格殿 (Sanctuary of Brilliant Investigation). Numerous *jiao* offerings were performed there, including those directed to the birth star, the Northern Dipper, the Great One, the constellations, the Three Worlds 三界, the multitude of divinities 百神 and the planets 天星—indicating of a rich and complex religious scene.

The most important innovation regarding Koryô Daoism, moreover, was the establishment of the Bokwôn gung in the tenth year of King Yaejong 睿宗 (1115; see Yang 1988b, 485-505), which was specially designated to allow the performance of Daoist purification ceremonies (*zhai* 齋) and offerings for the protection of the state. The project was greatly supported by the Northern Song emperor and Daoist sponsor Huizong (r. 1101-1126), who sent two Daoist adepts to assist. Even before this time, King Yaejong

had developed an interest in Daoism, and in the second year of his reign (1107), installed a statue of the Heavenly Worthy in his palace. Offerings were held every month, and in the fourteenth year (1119), he decreed that lectures on the *Daode jing* be given at the Chôngyôn gak 淸讌閣 (House of Pure Debate).

Even after Yaejong, Daoism continued to receive strong state support, and under King Injong 仁宗 (1122-1146), the Palsông dang 八聖堂 (Hall to the Eight Sages) was erected in Pyôngyang, following the recommendation of the monk Myochông 妙淸. Portraits of the eight Korean immortals were installed there. Like the nationally venerated figures of the immortal Taebaek 太伯, who had similar abilities as the bodhisattva Manjusri, and the immortal Pyôngyang 平壤, who was like the Buddha Dipamkara, they represented a fusion of Buddhism and Daoism while also being deeply rooted in original Korean culture. Their worship was felt central to political stability, and numerous offerings were held in their honor, especially under King Eûijong 毅宗 (r. 1146-1170), who thereby depleted the resources of the royal treasury.

The official favor granted to Daoism in the Koryô period gave rise to the widespread private practice of Daoist cultivation among intellectuals, and also to a form of Lao-Zhuang philosophy. Lee Jahyôn 李資玄 and Lee Myông 李茗 rapidly rose to fame for their lives as hermits practicing Daoist cultivation. Jung Jisang 鄭知常 and Han Ahnin 韓安仁 made profound achievements in Lao-Zhuang studies. Lee Inro 李仁老 and Lim Chun 林椿 admired the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove in the Jin dynasty (3rd c.) and in their imitation formed the Juklim gohûi 竹林高會 (Lofty Gathering of the Bamboo Grove). Their works are densely interwoven with the philosophy of Daoism and immortality ideas (see Lee JG 1989, 81-100).

CHOSÔN 朝鮮 (1392-1910). The Chosôn dynasty adopted Confucianism as the state doctrine, and the fifteen sites for Daoist offerings and other rites that had been established under the Koryô were almost all abolished, even including the Bokwôn gung and the Daechông kwan. King Taejo 太祖 (r. 1392-1398) had been interested in Daoism before his accession and even performed Daoist sacrifices to the planet Venus, but in the first year of his reign the Ministry of Rites 禮曹 recommended that he should abandon all the places of Daoist worship. As a result, he retained only the services of the Sokyôk jôn, which was preserved until the Japanese invasion of 1592 and became the only national Daoist institution of the Chosôn. In Taejo's third year, court officials were still debating whether or not to move to a new capital, and Taejo personally conducted divination at the Sokyôk jôn to decide the matter. This shows that during the early years of the Chosôn, the Sokyôk jôn continued to function and still enhanced the tradition of previous dynasties.

Under King Saejo 世祖 (r.1455-1468), the Sokyôk jôn was renamed Sogyôk sô 昭格署 (Bureau of Brilliant Investigation). This implies that it was no longer recognized as a religious institution, but was reduced to an executive state office. Nonetheless, it continued, as in Koryô times, to be the main venue for offerings and rites that exorcised evil influences and procured good fortune. Under King Taejong 太宗 (r. 1400-1418), Kim Chôm 金瞻, the head of the Sokyôk jôn, proposed the installation of state worship of the Great One and of offerings to the Great Lord of Heaven, also urging Taejong to sacrifice to the national gods. His proposal, however, was not adopted.

Under King Chungjong 中宗 (1506-1544), a faction of court officials led by the Confucian reformer Cho Kwangjo 趙光祖 petitioned for the abolition of the Sogyôk sô, as a result of which the temple was closed. Later, however, an opposing faction gained influence and King Chungjong issued an edict to reinstate the Sogyôk sô. It was finally abolished after the Japanese invasion, marking the end of the official organization of Korean Daoism (Lee JG 1988, 109-12).

The fate of the Sokyôk sô is typical for the overall devastation that official Daoism suffered during the Chosôn. On the other hand, important developments occurred on a less official level, where Daoists formed centers to conduct studies and experiments in inner alchemy. They were known collectively as the Danhak pa 丹學派 (**School of Alchemical Studies**) and can be traced back to groups of intellectuals who had practiced Daoist methods in private and independent of organized or national Daoism, from the Three Kingdoms through the Koryô. Prominent figures include Kim Kagi and Choi Chiwon of the Shilla, as well as Lee Jahyôn, Lee Myông and others under the Koryô.

With the improved organization of Daoists pursuing alchemical studies in the Chosôn, the dominant direction of Korean Daoism shifted from being national and disciplined to being private and experimental (Jung 1995, 188-89). The salient features of the new trend are presented in Cho Yôjôk's 趙汝籍 (fl. 1588) *Chônghak jip* 青鶴集 (Collection of Master Blue Crane) and Hong Manjong's 洪萬宗 (1645-1725) *Haedong yijôk* 海東異蹟 (Record of Eastern Sea Immortals; see below), which both trace Chosôn ideas and practices back to Korean myths about Hwanin, Dangun and others. In contrast, Han Muwae's *Haedong chôndo rok* sets forth a more historically plausible account of the transmission of Korean Daoist lineages from Choi Chiwon, the Shilla student at the Tang court, through the Koryô period, to Kim Sisûb 金時習 (1435-1493) who transmitted Daoism to Hong Yuson 洪裕孫 (1431-1529), Jung Hiryang 鄭希良 (b. 1469), Jung Ryôm 鄭磏 (1506-1549) and others.

Alchemical studies under the Chosôn broadly incorporated practices of inner alchemy as undertaken in the Zhong-Lü tradition and Quanzhen

全真 (Complete Perfection). Nevertheless, its followers did not simply take over Chinese theories of inner achemy, but attempted, through a pattern of scholarship and commentary, to deepen their own understanding and interpretation. Kim Sisûb, in his *Yongho ron* 龍虎論 (Discussion on Dragon and Tiger), developed his own critical theory of inner alchemy using the language of Neo-Confucianism (see Yang 1988a, 85-86), while Jung Ryôm wrote the earliest Korean work on inner alchemy, the *Yôngho bikyôl* 龍虎秘訣 (Secret Formula of Dragon and Tiger). The latter not only became the basic textbook of the period, but also had a great influence on the formation of the distinctively Daoist medical system represented in the Chosôn medical text *Dongui bogam* (see Lee JS 1988, 217-18; Jung 1992, 158-59; Yang 1994b, 398).

Kwon Kûkjung 權克中 (1585-1659), the great master of late-Chosôn inner alchemy, moreover, established a systematic *neidan* philosophy in his *Chamdongkae juhae* 參同契註解 (Commentary to the *Cantong qi*). It offered a complete ontology, theory of human nature, system of alchemical practice and doctrine of immortality. Sô Myôngûng 徐命膺 (1716-1787) similarly wrote the *Chamdong ko* 參同攷 (Study of the *Cantong qi*), which added an original commentary and textual criticism to the Chinese scripture and established its formal study in Korea (see Kim Y. 1990, 283; 1995, 533-35).

Chosôn intellectuals were also deeply interested in **Lao-Zhuang** studies. Lee Yi 李珥 (1536-1584) wrote a commentary on the *Daode jing* called *Sunôn* 醇言 (Naive Words); Park Saedang 朴世堂 (1629-1703) authored the *Shinju dodôkkyông* 新註道德經 (New Commentary to the *Daode jing*) as well as the *Namhwakyông juhae* 南華經註解 (Interpretation of the *Zhuangzi*); and Han Wonjin 韓元震 (1682-1751) composed the *Jangja byônhae* 莊子辨解 (Analysis of the *Zhuangzi*). All sought to establish a critical interpretation of Lao-Zhuang thought from a metaphysical standpoint (see Song 1995, 383; Cho 1997, 215), following the trend of their time to submit objects of scholarship to analysis and research from a Daoist perspective. Lee Kyukyông accordingly included a long discussion of Daoism in his *Oju yônmun jangjôn sanko* 五洲衍文長箋散稿 (Miscellaneous Collections of Essays from the Five Islands) and gives a thorough analysis and interpretation of Daoist and immortality scriptures. This work stands out especially as an exposition of the essence of Daoism.

In the late Chosôn, another form of Daoism became popular: Chinese-style **morality books** 善書. The first among them to be transmitted to Korea was the *Yinzhi wen* 陰騭文 (Text of Secret Blessings) in six hundred sections. It was sent by the Ming Emperor Chengzu (Yongle; r. 1403-1425) to the Chosôn king Taejong 太宗. After this nothing more was published until 1796, when the comprehensive morality book *Jingxin lu* 敬信錄 (Record of Respect and Faith) was published in Korean under the title *Kyôngshin*

rok ôhnsôk 敬信錄諺釋 (Korean Interpretation of the *Jingxin lu*). It was highly popular, as were the *Guansông jaegun myôngsông kyông ôhnhae* 關聖帝君明聖經諺解 (Korean Interpretation of the Sacred Scripture of Lord Guandi), the *Sansheng xunjing* 三聖訓經 (Systematic Scripture of the Three Sages) and the *Guohua cunshen* 過化存神 (Transformation through Visualization of Spirit). Morality books typically contained practical precepts and simple prayers; being well received among ordinary people, their application in Korean society ushered in a new aspect of popular Daoism in the late Chosôn. Their popularity can be attributed to several factors, including the abolition of the Sogyôk sô and the decline of official Daoism after the Japanese invasion of 1592, the cult of the god Guandi as transmitted from Ming China, and the encouragement given to morality practice by Kojong 高宗 (r. 1863-1907) and other kings.

Popularity, moreover, was not limited to the Chinese texts that had been disseminated, but extended to independent editions and commentaries. The *Kagsae shinpyun palgam* 覺世新編八鑑 (Eight New Chapters on the Enlightenment of the World; dat. 1856), for example, contributed a commentary and supplementary notes to the *Ganying pian* 感應篇 (Treatise of Impulse and Response), the *Wenchang dijun yinzhi wen* 文昌帝君陰騭文 (Lord Wenchang's Text of Secret Blessings), the *Guandi baoxun* 關帝寶訓 (Precious Exposition of Guandi) and other major morality books (Lee K. 1988, 456; Choi 1997, 130-34).

While these books were at the heart of popular Daoism, on a more official level the Japanese invasion of 1592, the Manchu invasion of 1636 and disputes among aristocratic factions prompted doubts about the monarchy and the Confucian worldview. Some of the declining clans then embraced an anti-establishment mentality and, having obtained a pessimistic prognosis about the fate of the dynasty through divination and other Daoist methods of fortune-telling, advocated a new world order. One trend focused on the *Jung gamrok* 鄭鑑錄 (Prophecy of Master Jung), which adopted popular Daoist views on divination. As the power of the monarchy wavered toward the end of the Chosôn, this trend became even more widespread, and ultimately became an invisible force on as broad a scale as an armed rebellion (Jung 1995, 201).

With the end of the monarchy approaching, popular religion increasingly was infected by a rebellious spirit. Popular Daoism at this time disintegrated and was reconstituted in the so-called **new religions**. Among them were Donghak 東學 (Eastern Doctrine), established in 1860 by Choi Jaewu 崔濟愚 (1824-1864), and Jûngsan kyo 甑山教 (Teaching of Jûngsan), created in 1901 by Kang Ilsun 姜一淳 (1871-1909), and they filled the spiritual vacuum at the end of the Chosôn still remaining to date. Daoism plays a key role in their doctrines and practices, for example, in their worship of the Jade Emperor, Guandi and other Daoist gods; their use of talismans and

pursuit of immortality; and also their practice of visionary journeys to the celestial realms (see Yun 1989, 327-43; Kim Tak 1994, 294-359). Jûngsan kyo even calls its leader "celestial master," and one of its central doctrines is *haewon* (resolving a revenge) as described in the *Taiping jing*, a connection that deserves closer examination (Jung 1995, 204-5).

THE MODERN PERIOD. From the end of the Chosôn to the present day, Korean Daoism has maintained its vitality in three areas. First, it has been absorbed into new religious movements, such as Donghak and Jûngsan kyo, as well as merged with popular Buddhism and shamanism. Donghak today is called Chôndo kyo 天道敎 (Teaching of Heavenly Principles), and Jûngsan kyo has become Jûngsan do 甑山道 (Way of Jûngsan) or again Daesun jinri hûi 大巡眞理會 (Great Truth Congregation). These groups all propagate their own specific doctrines, but certain key elements remain Daoist. Not only there, but even in Korean Buddhism and shamanism the seven gods of the Northern Dipper and a number of gods are worshiped as are the Jade Emperor and Guandi.

Second, Daoism survives in the countryside in the form of folk traditions that contain traces of the worship of various gods as well as of the stove god and the city gods, showing influence of both Daoism and Chinese popular religion. Third, Daoist practices have been handed down individually or in small-scale movements, and they are increasingly organized in large-scale institutions that pervade the entire country, such as the Hankuk yônjông won 韓國研精院 (Daoist Cultivation Circle of Korea) and the Kuksôn do 國仙道 (Way of the National Immortals). Although rooted in the Chosôn, they have recently exerted considerable influence on the new wave of *qigong* and *yangsheng* activities that has swept the country.

The pervasive presence of Daoism in Korean culture has moreover given rise to an atmosphere of rigorous academic inquiry. As pointed out earlier, Lee Nûnghwa (1868-1945) paved the way for modern Korean Daoist studies with his exemplary "History of Korean Daoism" (see Lee N. 1977)—in continuation of the objective academic spirit of Lee Kyukyông 李圭景. The main research venue today is the Hankuk dokyo munhwa hakhûi 韓國道敎文化學會 (Korean Association for the Study of Daoist Culture)—whose members participate in research in many areas, including literature, art, philosophy, history, religion, folklore, and medical science. They discover, classify and report new materials and engage actively in association conferences every spring and autumn. Their annual journal is entitled *Dokyo munhwa yônku* 道敎文化硏究 (Studies in Daoist Culture), and it is now in its thirteenth year.

TEXTS

HAGIOGRAPHY. ***Haedong chôndo rok*** 海東傳道錄 (Record of the Transmission of the Dao in the Eastern Sea Country [Korea]; handwritten Chinese characters; Kyujanggak Library), by Han Muwae 韓無畏 (1517-1610). A record of Korean Daoist lineages, the text describes how Choi Sûngwu, Kim Kagi and the monk Jahae went from Shilla to China during the reign of the Tang Emperor Wenzong (827-841) to learn about the Dao from the Daoist Shen Yuanzhi and Zhongli Quan. Among the books they received were the *Qinghua miwen* 青華秘文 (Secret Writing of Blue Florescence), the *Lingbao bifa* 靈寶畢法 (Final Methods of Numinous Treasure), the *Jin'gao* 金誥 (Golden Declaration) and the *Tiandun lianmo jue* 天遁鍊魔訣 (Formula to Exorcise Demons in Accordance with Heavenly Ryhthms). Later, the Shilla monk Hyunjun 玄俊 also visited Tang China and studied methods of deliverance from the corpse. He wrote the *Bosa youin sul* 步捨遊引術 (Arts of Bodily Regeneration) and the *Kaya boin bob* 伽耶步引法 (Methods of Bodily Regeneration from Mount Kaya). These various techniques were then transmitted to Choi Chiwon who duly became the founder of Korean inner alchemy.

The *Haedong chôndo rok* further describes the lineage leading from Choi Chiwon to Kwon Chông 權清 of the Koryô, to Kim Sisûb of the Chosôn and to Han Muwae, the author himself. Scholars assume, according to this book, that the lineage before Kim Sibûb is rather spurious and that Korean inner alchemy derives from Chinese Quanzhen models (Kim N. 1987, 138-46). Besides the lineages outlined by the author, the work also has a postface by the literatus Lee Sik 李植 and several texts on inner alchemy (see below).

Chônghak jip 青鶴集 (Collection of Master Blue Crane, photolithograph edition from Ahsia munhwasa 亞細亞文化社), by Cho Yôjôk 趙汝籍 (fl. 1588). This records in note form the activities and conversations of people in the circle of immortality adepts that surrounded the author's teacher, We Hanjo 魏漢祚 or Master Blue Crane 青鶴上人. The introduction describes the activities of the legendary immortal Lee Sayôn 李思淵, also known as Master Cloud Crane 雲鶴先生 and discusses his lineage of teaching, mentioning the tradition of Korean immortality. The text presents anecdotes and life stories of immortals, as well as their techniques, writings, and so on. It begins the Daoist lineage with the mythical figure Hwanin 桓因 and relates how he transmitted the Dao to his son, the celestial king Hwawung 桓雄. He, in turn, passed it on to his son, Dangun 檀君, who rode around on an ox and governed the kingdom for 1048 years before becoming an immortal. Later, Master Munbak 文朴氏 transmitted the Dao of Dangun to subsequent generations.

Also appearing in the divine lineage are the goddess Bodôk 寶德 of the Mahan state 馬韓國; the immortal Chamsi 昆 始真人 of the Garak state

駕洛國; Yôngrang, Mulgaeja 勿稽子 and Choi Chiwon of the Shilla; and Lee Myông 李茗 and Kwak Yô 郭輿 of the Koryô. These various figures have no direct connection with each other and are, for the most part, spurious. Nevertheless, the book also contains a detailed record of the lineage of teachers from the times of King Yônsankun 燕山君 (r. 1494-1506) to its author. They excelled at a variety of Daoist practices, including the five thunder rites, calendar calculation, prognostication, clarivoyance, vitality accumulation and dream control. The text is a profound literary achievement and its figures all have outstanding immortal qualities.

The lineage of immortals in the *Chônghak jip* is different from that in the *Haedong chôndo rok*, which indicates that there were probably many different branches of Daoist practice in Chosôn times. Moreover, unlike the *Haedong chôndo rok*'s concern with Chinese Quanzhen Daoism, the *Chônghak jip* focuses more on the myth of Dangun and the ancient origins of Korean Daoism, revealing a nationalistic agenda (Choi 1990, 40-47).

Haedong yijôk 海東異蹟 (Record of Eastern Sea Immortals; typed Chinese characters; in Hong Manjong's collected works), by the literatus Hong Manjong 洪萬宗 (1645-1725) of the mid-Chosôn. It introduces a succession of famous immortals in chronological order, from antiquity to the Chosôn period. Figures include: Dangun, the ancient ancestral founder of Korea; Kings Hyôkgôsae 赫居世 and Dongmyông 東明 of antiquity; Kim Kagi and Choi Chiwon of the Shilla; Kang Gamchan 姜邯贊 of the Koryô; and Kim Sisûb, Jung Ryôm, Nam Sago 南師古 and Kwak Jaewu 郭再祐 of the Chosôn. Hong Manjong traces their lives on the basis of historical and literary texts, using textual criticism and commentary to construct their biographies. Eleven of the altogether thirty-eight personages are also desribed in the *Haedong chôndo rok*.

Hong's intent was to prove that Korea had immortals just like those described in the Chinese *Liexian zhuan* (Biographies of Immortals) asserting that Korean Daoism had had indigenous origins. Some of the themes in his book, however, are so similar to the *Liexian zhuan* and the *Liaozhai zhiyi* 聊齋志異 (Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio) that they can be said to imitate the Chinese stories (Nozaki 1992, 240-41). Nevertheless, the fact that the *Haedong yijôk* was composed by a famous literatus and that it systematically documents the families of Korean immortals, means that it is of vital significance for Korean Daoist studies. Hwang Yunsôk 黃胤錫 (1729-1791) later studied the book and supplemented further biographies to it, creating the *Haedong yijôk bo* 海東異蹟補 (Supplement to the Record of Eastern Sea Immortals), which comprises a total of 102 figures (Choi 1993, 154-63).

Ogae ilji jip 梧溪日誌集 (Record of Ogae's Daily Routines, handwritten Chinese characters; Dongkuk University Library), by Lee Uibaek 李宜白 (b. 1711), an intellectual unappreciated in his own time and student of Han Hyuhyu 韓休休, who spent his life wandering around the country-

side befriending people. The book is an edited collection of his observations and can be divided into three main sections. The first describes important Daoist figures of the ancient Chosôn and Three Kingdoms periods. It shows that Korean Daoism arose independently and that its ancient origins are not Chinese at all. Dangun is accordingly revered as the founding ancestor of Korean immortality (Choi 1990, 41-42).

The second section relates the eccentric activities of immortals and recluses of different ages in the form of a novel. It describes the lives of the immortal Han Hyuhyu 韓休休, the Daoist Sônwu 鮮于, the goddess Bodôk and the literatus Choi Chiwon, including their practices and writings. The third section concerns Daoist arts and scriptures. It records examples of practicing and testing methods of deliverance from the corpse, magical arts, geomancy, divination, talismans and spells, and describes in detail Han Hyuhyu's book of divination, the *Hongyôn jinkyôl* 洪煙真訣 (Perfect Formula of the Vast Smoke). It also conveys details of Hwanwung's text on immortality, the *Hyônmyo kyôl* 玄妙訣 (Formula of Mystery and Wonder). As the author Lee Uibaek, moreover, was a fourth generation descendant of Lee Sayôn, an important figure in the *Chônghak jip*, the text's Daoist lineage and intellectual orientation are closer to the *Chônghak jip* than to the *Haedong chôndo rok*.

COLLECTIONS. ***Doga jikji dokjo kyông*** 道家直指獨照經 (Mirror of Instructions and Reflection on Daoism; typed Chinese characters; National Central Library), edited by Shin Donbok 辛敦復 (1692-1779). The book comprises two distinct sections and approaches, the *Jikji mun* 直指門 (Gate of Instruction), and the *Dokjo mun* 獨照門 (Gate of Reflection), which were later also published separately. The first is divided into three sections, dealing with physical practices, such as arts of the bedchamber, the equal cultivation of yin and yang, and extending life. The second has one section on a more meditative approach, focusing on the cultivation of purity and tranquility.

The book as a whole is composed of materials taken from the Ming collection *Daoshu quanji* 道書全集 (Complete Collection of Daoist Texts) and Kwon Kûkjung's *Chamdongkae juhae*. It also draws on the Ming works *Shouyang congshu* 壽養叢書 (Encyclopedia on Nourishing Longevity), *Zunsheng bajian* 遵生八箋 (Eight Memoranda on Honoring Life) and *Wanbing huichun* 萬病回春 (Complete Recoveries from Every Illness). It also makes use of the Chosôn works *Namgung sônsaeng jôn* 南宮先生傳 (Biography of Master Namgoong) and *Dongkuk jôndo biki* 東國傳道秘記 (Secret Record of the Transmission of the Dao in Korea). The editor systematically compiled materials from these texts in accordance with a Daoist worldview (see Kim Y. 1996, 288-91).

The text discusses Daoist theories of cosmology and the human condition, but also includes ontological theories, methods of inner alchemy and

descriptions of specific steps for various levels of practice. The text presents an almost complete collection of the principles of moral enlightenment required before practicing inner alchemy, the main themes of spiritual and physical discipline, from practical plans for physical training to self-cultivation through taking herbs and regulating the interior fire. All this implies that inner alchemy in the late Chosôn had attained a certain level of profundity and that theoretical inquiry was more wide-ranging than ever. Shin Donbok can be seen as continuing the tradition of inner alchemy studies of Kwon Kûkjung and others, in addition to which he incorporated the whole range of schools of Chinese Daoism.

Chinese inner alchemical materials used in the book include the *Cantong qi* as well as works from all manner of schools, but mainly focus on the Southern School as represented by Zhang Ziyang's 張紫陽 *Wuzhen pian* 悟真篇 (Awakening to Perfection) and *Yuqing jinsi shilu* 玉清金笥實錄 (Record of the Golden Casket of Jade Clarity), Chen Niwan's 陳泥丸 *Xuan'ao jicheng* 玄奧集成 (Collection of Mystery and Profundity), Chen Zhixu's 陳致虛 *Jindan dayao* 金丹大要 (General Principles of the Golden Elixir) among others. From this it becomes clear that while early inner alchemy in Korea was influenced by northern Chinese schools, including Quanzhen, late Chosôn practice relied heavily on the Southern School.

Juyôk chamdonggae yônsôl 周易參同契演說 (Interpretations of the *Cantong qi*; handwritten Chinese characters, Library of Seoul National University), dat. 1857, by Kang Hônkyu 姜獻奎 (1797-1860). The title of this is misleading, because it is not, in fact, a commentary on the *Cantong qi*, but a collection of important materials on Daoist practice. Its can be divided into five sections:

(1) the *Shier danjin* 十二丹錦 (Hidden Wisdom for Twelve Elixirs) and other Chinese Daoist texts;
(2) Han Muwae's *Haedong chôndo rok*;
(3) Kwak Jaewu's *Yangshim yokyôl* 養心要訣 (Essential Formula of Mental Cultivation), a compilation of highlights from the *Bokki jap-bôp* 服氣雜法 (Various Breathing Exercises), the *Bokki shipsa* 服氣十事 (Ten Forms of Breathing Exercises) and the *Baopuzi neipian*;
(4) the *Lingbao bifa zhijie* 靈寶畢法直解 (Direct Understanding of the Final Methods of Numinous Treasure);
(5) an appendix to the *Hwangkûm okcho* 黃金玉抄 (Jade Compendium of Yellow Gold), composed of selections copied from the *Huangting neijing* and the *Wuzhen pian*.

This book, and the slightly earlier *Doga jikji dokjo kyông*, are typical Korean Daoist collections. They systematically consolidate selections from Korean and Chinese texts dealing with inner alchemy, cultivation, breathing exercises, gymnastics and morality, and are of great importance.

INNER ALCHEMY. ***Yongho bikyôl*** 龍虎秘決 (Secret Formula of Dragon and Tiger; handwritten Chinese characters; Yonsei University Library), by Jung Ryôm (1506-1549), an exposition of instructions on inner alchemy and cultivation techniques from the early Chosôn period. The author is also known as Bukchang 北窗 (Northern Chamber), and hence his book is sometimes referred to as *Bukchang bikyôl* 北窗秘訣 (Secret Formula of the Northern Chamber). It is closely related to the *Cantong qi* and other esoteric Daoist texts, so that early scholars encountered considerable difficulty in understanding its techniques. Nevertheless, the text has been greatly favored by Korean practitioners to the present day. It is divided into three sections, on "Breath Control" (*biqi* 閉氣), "Embryo Respiration" (*taixi* 胎息), and "Regulating the Fire throughout the Cycle" (*zhoutian huohou* 周天火候), each with later commentaries. It criticizes the methods of laboratory alchemy, emphasizes embryo respiration and holds the essence of the human being to be in the relationship of body 形, energy 氣 and spirit 神.

The book details a clear program of cultivation. The first task is to concentrate the mind and control one's breathing, and then to obtain a vision of the "mysterious female" (*xuanpin* 玄牝). Next come embryo respiration and the regulation of the alchemical fire, after which the embryo is formed (see Yang 1994b, 396-401).

Dansô kukyôl 丹書口訣 (Formula Delivered Orally on Internal Elixir; 16 j.; handwritten Chinese characters; in the *Haedong chôndo rok*). This is a theoretical work of unknown authorship on inner alchemy in the early Chosôn. The work is contained together with the *Danka byôlji kukyôl* 丹家別旨口訣 (Formula Delivered Orally on Inner Alchemy) in an appendix to the *Haedong chôndo rok*. It takes the subtle theories of inner alchemy as the principal Daoist doctrine and argues that Daoism reigns supreme among the three teachings (Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism) and is, in fact, the major element of their common source. When *qi* is centrally aligned, according to the text, it gives rise to the human and the cosmic realms. A balanced and harmonious *qi*, therefore, is vital for a program of cultivation.

Probably influenced by the *Cantong qi*, the *Dansô kukyôl* describes the process of cultivation as "holding the One" (*baoyi* 抱一) a term from the *Daode jing*. The aim of cultivation is to transcend the limits of ordinary expectation and be manifested as a celestial or earthly immortal. "Holding the One" is necessary for this process, the "One" being the *qi* of perfection before creation, literally "before Heaven" (*xiantian* 先天) and signifying the primordial *qi* at the origin of humankind. The text applies inner alchemy to interpret the *Daode jing*, so that "holding the One" comes to mean the formation of an elixir. In addition, it places great emphasis on human relations and sets great store on the practice of virtue. Along the same lines, chapter eleven

of the *Danka byôlji kukyôl* gives concrete suggestions for virtuous conduct, specifying that only after accumulating three thousand merits and eight hundred good actions can one attain the Dao.

The text also explains that the adept should place an ancient mirror and sword in his room to ward off the attacks of demons when practicicing cultivation. It also suggests worshiping the seven stars of the Northern Dipper and ways to prolong life by driving away the three corpses (*sanshi* 三尸). Clearly, systematic theories of inner alchemy in the Chosôn period did not completely eliminate elements of religion and necromancy (Kim N. 1987, 146-65).

Chamdongkae juhae 參同契註解 (Commentary to the *Cantong qi*, 5 j.; handwritten Chinese characters; Kyujanggak Library), dat. 1639, by Kwon Kûujung 權克中 (1585-1659), a scholar and practicing alchemist of late Chosôn. Originally a Confucian, Kwon authored commentaries on Confucian, Daoist and Chan-Buddhist philosophy, and established his own systematic philosophy of inner alchemy based on the harmonization of the three teachings. His "Theory of the Matching of the Three in Inner Alchemy and Yijing" 人円鳥同論 was based on the principles of the *Yijing* used in inner alchemy. His concept, moroever, of the common origin of immortality and Buddhism combined both Chan and alchemy, while his understanding of the dual practice of Chan meditation and inner alchemy combines the Chan cultivation of one's nature with the alchemist's refinement of *qi*. On this basis he then developed his encompassing theory of inner alchemy, with the purpose to soften the harsh criticism of Daoism by the Confucianism and Chan-Buddhism of his time and to lay a solid foundation for a systematic Daoist worldview.

He took the Great Ultimate (Taiji 太極) and the one *qi* before Heaven (*xiantian yiqi* 先天一氣) to be the root from which the myriad beings stemmed, and which in human beings formed inner nature (*xing* 性) and destiny or life (*ming* 命). He then advocated the dual cultivation of inner nature and life and suggested concrete practices for cultivating life first and then nature. When cultivating life it is necessary (1) to harmonize the water-*qi* and fire-*qi* within the body, (2) to grasp the one *qi* before Heaven, and (3) to accord with the cosmic cycles. Then the one *qi* will flow into the human body, whose inherent natural *qi* will accordingly transform into its pre-Heaven counterpart. When this stage is complete, the adept proceeds to the cultivation of nature. This is like the samâdhi (*chanding* 禪定) of Chan Buddhism, in which all concepts are abandoned and no-mind at one with the Dao harmonizes with the realm of the Dao. Then one's life and nature before Heaven, in their original substance, can be eternally liberated, and one reaches a state thoroughly different from the finite, after-Heaven life and nature in the actual world. Thus those who attain immortality through cultivating life and nature possess a liberated spirit and are truly immortal.

This unique vision of inner alchemy, which includes a valid ontology and metaphysics, makes Kwon a vital figure in the history of Korean Daoism and his work a document of great importance (see Kim N. 1990b, 182-200).

MORALITY BOOKS. ***Kyôngshin rok ôhnsôk*** 敬信錄諺釋 (Korean Interpretation of the *Jingxin lu*; typewritten Korean script; ed. in *Hankuk ôhak jaryo chongsô* 韓國語學資料叢書 [Collection of Materials about Korean Linguistics], vol.3), dat. 1796. This is a Korean translation, published in the Bulamsa Temple 佛巖寺 near Seoul. A second edition was made in 1880 by order of King Kojong 高宗. The original Chinese edition comprised nineteen morality books, but there are only fifteen in the Korean edition. Texts in the collection include the *Ganying pian*; *Wenchang dijun yinzhi wen*; *Wenchang dijun quanxiao wen* 文昌帝君勸孝文 (Exhortations to Filial Piety by Lord Wenchang); the *Wenchang dijun jiujie baozhang* 文昌帝君救劫寶章 (Lord Wenchang's Precious Verses for Salvation through the Kalpas); *Jingzao pian* 敬灶篇 (On Worshiping the Stove God); *Xing bu feiqian gongde li* 行不費錢功德例 (Virtuous Examples of How to Live without Wasting Money); *Gongguo ge zuanyao* 功過格纂要 (Essentials of Reckoning with the Ledgers of Merit and Demerit); as well as a variety of other records of efficacious practices. The last section of the text explains the original purpose of publishing a Korean edition: regardless of sex, age, wealth or social status, many who read the book will practice good, reform their evil ways and live a peaceful and happy life. The value of the book lies in its exhorting people to be good in the world and practice sincerity and honesty. It gives people clear moral guidelines and explains how good and evil actions inevitably entail good and evil rewards (Choi 1997, 134-41).

Kagsae shinpyôn palgam 覺世新編八鑑 (Eight New Chapters on the Enlightenment of the World, 11 j., 6 vols.; typewritten Chinese characters; National Central Library), dat. 1856, edited by Choi Sônghwan 崔瑆煥, an official under King Chôljong 哲宗. In imitation of the Chinese White Lotus Society (Bailian hui 白蓮會), he established a religious society called Myoryônsa 妙蓮社 (Wondrous Lotus Circle), through which he published many morality books, often inspired by planchette writing. Thus, for example, the *Jejung gamro sô* 濟眾甘露序 (Introduction to the Sweet Dew That Saves the People) was written under the inspiration of the bodhisattva Guanyin 觀音 and Lord Fuyou 浮佑帝君.

In content, the first two volumes of the collection contain the *Jueshi sanjing* 覺世三經 (Three Texts on Enlightening the World), which includes commentaries on the *Ganying pian*, the *Wenchang dijun yinzhi wen*, and the *Guandi baoxun* 關帝寶訓 (Precious Words of Guandi) plus an appendix of mostly popular Daoist material. Volume III has the *Jisong kam* 持誦鑑 (Recitation Instructions), which expounds the practice of chanting scriptures: recite for nine days the names of four senior deities, such as the Heavenly Worthy of Grand Transformation, perform rites to gods that

control life expectancy, such as the Northern Dipper and the stove god, and respectfully recite the *Jueshi sanjing*. This should bring peace to home and world, as well as infinite blessings.

The fourth volume contains the *Yiryun kam* 彝倫鑑 (Morality and Ethics), which emphasizes Confucian ethical practice and lists sayings and proverbs categorized according to the five relationships. In Volume V, the *Sŏkja kam* 惜字鑑 (Concern for Letters) provides advice on writing and explains how veneration of Lord Wenchang can help in studying for and passing the civil service examinations, while the *Kaŭm kam* 戒淫鑑 (Abstention from Sensuality) contains warnings from the scriptures of Lord Wenchang and Lord Fuyou to stay away from sensual desires, which are the root of all evil.

In Volume VI, the *Ŏnkŭp kam* 恩及鑑 (Reaching out in Benificence) considers benevolence to be the life-giving *qi* of heaven and earth and states that a mind whose life-giving *qi* is harmed will inevitably result in malevolent actions. One should accordingly refrain from accumulating an unlimted amount of things and from killing living beings. The last work of the collection, the *Uiyak kam* 醫藥鑑 (Medical Treatments and Medicine), finally, lists a variety of prescriptions on the premise that good medicine can help cure people.

Worldview

Daoism, together with Confucianism and Buddhism, is a vital component of Korean culture, despite the fact that historically there was no ordination-based, organized Daoism in the country. Korean Daoism was therefore unlike Chinese Daoism and never accepted the Highest Lord Lao or the Jade Emperor as a leading deity and had a significantly different understanding of its origins and its highest gods. The majority of Korean Daoist texts describing lineages of Korean immortals assume that its origins do not lie with the Yellow Emperor or Laozi but with Hwanin, Dangun and other key figures of Korean mythology. In ancient Korea, shamanism and mountain worship flourished, and the views of these indigenous religions are apparent in the Koguryô ritual *Dongmang* 東盟 (worshiping Heaven) There were also the *yŏngko* 迎鼓 (receiving the drum) rite in Buyô 夫餘, and the *Muchŏn* 舞天 (dancing for Heaven) rite in Dongyae 東濊. In all these, the sacred mountains, situated between heaven and earth, were venerated by shamans as intermediaries and served to unite heaven and earth.

The myth of Dangun, moreover, is a verbal expression of these rituals. According to the myth, Hwanin, the Lord of Heaven, conceived of the idea "to benefit all humankind" (*hongik inkan* 弘益人間) and sent his son Hwanwung down to Mount Baekdu. The latter married Wungnyô 熊女 (Bear

Woman) and conceived Dangun who became the first king of ancient Korea. After a long reign, he became an immortal. The myth of Dangun symbolizes the harmony between heaven and earth, and this harmony is signified by the birth of Dangun, and in the fact that he pursued the principles of benefitting all humankind while also cultivating himself. The doctrine of the integral harmony of heaven, earth and humanity is known as *samil sasang* 三一思想, or the "notion of conceiving three as one." Following this thinking, later generations also believed that the three persons of Hwanin, Hwanwung and Dangun were ultimately one. These myths were very influential in Korean culture and also in Korean Daoism (see Cha 1986, 33-36, 95-105; Song 1987, 20-33; Yu 1987, 62-63).

After the early figures, who are shrouded in myths, Master Munbak—as described in the *Chônghak jip*, succeded to the way of Hwanin and passed it on to Yôngrang, one of the four immortals of the Elite Youth Corpse of Shilla. Their training included physical exercises, martial arts, and self-discipline in ethics, morality and spirituality. They enthuasiastically participated in state events, and when the country was prosperous, they travelled through the countryside and delighted in the arts. Choi Chiwon, a later representative of Shilla immortality, integrated the ideas of Confucius, Buddha and Laozi with his worldview. The notion of harmonizing the three teachings had already appeared in China in the Six Dynasties, but in Shilla it came from the indigenous "three-in-one" thinking. It consolidated the spirit of benefitting all humankind and advanced the pursuit of self-cultivation.

This Korean tendency then influenced organized Daoism as it was transmitted from China in the seventh century C. E. and made part of an indigenous Korean culture. Although first transmitted in the late Koguryô period, Daoism was not established nationally as a form of organized religion, and only after the mid-Koryô the Bokwôn gung and Sogyôk sô alternated in performing Daoist rituals. Evidence for this is plentiful in the liturgical prayers (lit., "pure words" 青詞) composed at that time.

According to them, Daoist belief cherished a faith in the multiple divine personae of the highest deity, so that faith in one high god coexisted with faith in a multiude of divinities. In other words, the high god was not the only god, but existed under many different names and in many different aspects, each with the same reality, so that Heaven, Dao, Shangdi, the Three Pure Ones, and the Great One were all of the same rank and status and presented simply varying manifestations of the highest deity. Koryô Daoist thought, therefore derived from the belief in a high god—as also found in Shangqing and Quanzhen Daoism—which was linked with the cult of the highest deity of indigenous Korea, again with the help of the concept of three-in-one (see Kim S. 1987, 117-21). Among lower ranking deities, there are also the Northern Dipper, the Fate Star and the Six Ding

六丁 (gods of time), with the Dipper taking a central place in popular practice, reflecting its importance also in traditional shamanism. Another example of the integration of Chinese and indigneous Korean religion is found in the offerings held on Mount Mari 摩利山. Tradition has it that Dangun sacrificed there to Heaven, instituting offerings that combined the cult of the traditional Korean gods, mountain worship and Chinese Daoist rituals for the benefit of the world by obtaining a harmonious frame of mind, long life, good fortune and the avoidance of disasters.

From the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries, Korean Daoism saw the world of human affairs as functioning in harmony with a cosmology based on a supreme god who coexisted with many deities, both indigenous and foreign. From the mid-Chosôn, organized Daoism as centered on the Sogyôk sô went into decline, and inner alchemical studies became popular among intellectuals. Nevertheless, the basic worldview of an integrated, harmonized Daoism never changed. Jung Ryôm, for example, advocated the merging of Confucian, Buddhist and Daoist doctrine and identified the mysterious pearl that condenses in the Niwan palace 泥丸宮 after the bright and pure *qi* has been established in a full cycle of proper regulation of the fire, with the relics of the Buddha.

Kwon Kûkjung, the expert in *Cantong qi* studies in the late Chosôn, similarly continued Jung Ryôm's position. Under the premise of harmonizing Confucianism and Daoism, he argued that Daoism and Buddhism came from the same origin and that the realm of immortality pursued in inner alchemy was the equivalent of the highest realm of Buddhist practice. Kwon thought that the aim of inner alchemy was the same as that in Buddhist doctrine, namely to return to the Great Ultimate and attain a state beyond life and death. He advocated that Chan meditation and inner alchemical cultivation be undertaken at the same time, seeing the two as complementary. For him the spiritual cultivation of an enlightened mind and the physical cultivation of a refined *qi* should always go together. Kwon thereby continued both the harmony of Confucianism and Daoism as reflected in the *Cantong qi* and the dual cultivation of nature and life as developed by Zhang Boduan and Chen Zhixu (Kim N. 1990b, 194-95). He persisted in the pursuit of the harmonized and integrated worldview handed down from ancient, indigenous Korean culture.

Practice

STATE DAOISM. Because of the dominance of shamanism and mountain worship in ancient Korea, the most popular rituals were sacrifices to Heaven and rituals to the major mountains and rivers. These can be related to the ancient rituals of immortals and indigenous Korean Daoism, but we

lack the material to investigate them in detail. Relevant information collected in the *Dongmun sôn* 東文選 (Collection of Korean Traditional Good Writings) is of a later date and concerns Daoist purification ceremonies and offerings. The text specifically contains Daoist liturgical prayers 青詞 used in *jiao* rituals from the mid-Koryô to the early Chosôn. Beginning with the reign of King Hyônjong 顯宗 (r. 1009-1031), Daoist offerings became the state practices and were held inside the palace complex. After King Sônjong 宣宗 (r. 1083-1094), their frequency increased and they were no longer restricted to the capital Kaekyông 開京 (modern Kaesông), but were held throughout the country. This pattern continued until the middle of the thirteenth century. Under the Koryô, there were a total of 191 *jiao* rituals, with the highest frequency occurring under kings Yaejong and Ûijong (r. 1146-1170). Performed by Daoist priests in accordance with Chinese Daoist liturgy as transmitted under the Song and formanlized through the establishment of the Bokwon gung, they included offerings to high Daoist gods, such as the Lord of Heaven, the Three Pure Ones and the Great One, to longevity deities, such as the Life Star and the Old Man Star, to various constellations and planets, to the seven demonic and five benign spirits, to the southern dawn for liberation from peril and others for the purpose of exorcising disaster and illness. In addition, there were offerings to the Great One praying for rain and to the eleven luminaries and twenty-eight constellations of the zodiac for state divination. Their general purpose was to secure peace for the royal family and the country and to save the people; they were thus conducted both for personal reasons and with the intention of benefiting others (Kim C. 1996, 188).

Under the Chosôn, Daoist rituals were still conducted with the favor of the royal family; they continued the legacy of the Koryô though somewhat scaled back in scope. Faced with the strenuous opposition of Confucian officials, particularly in the beginning of the dynasty, official Daoist rituals declined, and the duties and assignments of the only Daoist temple, the Sogyôk sô, were taken over by a government bureau. The latter employed one supervisor (*jaejo* 提調), several officials and ten Daoist students. To become an official at the temple, candidates had to be able to recite the *Jintan* 禁壇 (Ordination Precepts) and the *Lingbao jing* 靈寶經 (Scripture of Numinous Treasure), and were examined on three texts selected from among the *Yansheng jing* 延生經 (Scripture on the Extension of Life), the *Taiyi jing* 太一經 (Scripture of the Great One), the *Yushu jing* 玉樞經 (Scripture of the Jade Pivot), the *Zhenwu jing* 真武經 (Scripture of the Perfect Warrior) and the *Longwang jing* 龍王經 (Scripture of the Dragon King). Chosôn Daoist rituals, like those of the Koryô, were therefore held according to Chinese liturgy. They included offerings to the Northern Dipper and the Three Primes, the planets Mars and Venus, the Ruling Star and various comets, as well as sacrifices to the gods of good fortune and pure life, and

prayers for health, for rain and for strengthening the army. They served to secure peace for the royal family and the country.

Other state rituals, such as those on Mount Mari, however, continued to have strongly indigenous elements and were not conducted according to the Daoist calendar but at the times of the ancient Korean sacrifices to Heaven, such as on certain auspicious days in late spring, showing that the ancient indigenous liturgy still persisted. Since offerings on Mount Mari included sacrifices made to Heaven, Confucian officials believed that only the Son of Heaven, i.e., the Chinese emperor, could conduct them, and accordingly voiced objections to holding them in Korea because of its state as a fiefdom. Nonetheless, the rituals were continuousloy conducted in Korea.

As far as Daoist state rituals go, they ended when the Sogyôk sô was abolished. After this, Daoist rites either took place as part of personal cultivation or popular religion. For example, Jung Jisûng 鄭之升, a mid-Chosôn alchemist, retired to the country to sacrifice to Heaven and hold formal offerings—possibly indicating an extension of existing individual practices or again the transfer of state practices to the individual level. Within popular religion, Daoist rites persisted in the new religious movements that arose by the end of Chosôn. Choi Jaewu, the founder of Donghak, for example, very much like Zhang Daoling and Kou Qianzhi in medieval China, obtained the Dao through a mystical experience while practicing self-cultivation in the mountains. He had a vision of the high god and received incantations and numinous talismans, then instructed his followers to recite incantations and swallow the ashes of talismans dissolved in boiling water to cure sickness—again like the Celestial Masters in China. The texts of his incantations and writings of his talismans, on the other hand, did not come from Chinese Daoism but were newly composed by himself.

Then again, Kang Ilsun, the founder of the Jûngsan kyo, claimed that he was the incarnation of the Jade Emperor; he, too, instructed his disciples to recite incantations and drink talisman water, but his spells and talismans show more active Daoist influence. The latter are particularly found in his *Hyônmu kyông* 玄武經 (Scripture of the Dark Warrior), while his invocations were directed at the Great One, various immortals and spirit generals, at Guan Yunchang 關雲長 and the seven stars of the Dipper (Kim Tak 1994, 337-46).

POPULAR DAOISM. Many popular customs of the late Chosôn were related to Daoism, and many aspects of contemporary Korean shamanism find their roots in it. The three most commonly worshiped Daoist gods in modern popular religion are the city or village god, the seven stars of the Dipper and the stove god (Kim T. 1988, 533-35). Local gods can be found at the entrance to villages or in temples on hillsides, then known as Sônang-dang. Their cult was first transmitted from China around the reign of the

Chosôn King Munjong 文宗 (1450-1452) and soon integrated with the traditional Korean cult of mountain spirits. The gods of the Dipper are worshiped as granters of children and health or longevity. They are not entirely of Chinese origin, but were already worshiped in shamanism and ancient Korean religion. The stove god resides in the kitchen, worshiped by housewives who offer him fresh spring water every morning—a combination of traditional Korean beliefs and the Chinese god of fire and the hearth.

In addition, the most salient custom derived from Daoism is the *gengshen* 庚申 vigil, first practiced in Koryô times. The belief is that there are three parasitic worms or corpses in the body who ascend on every *gengshen* day to report to the celestial administration and come back with orders to punish people by making them sick and causing death. By staying awake on the *gengshen* night, the corpses can be prevented from ascending. As a result, on these days people would meet to drink wine, perform music and stay up through the night. This became a national custom, and under the Chosôn, it was practiced even in the royal palace until it was banned under King Yôngjo 英祖 (r. 1742-1776). The remaining custom of staying up on New Year's Eve is a relic of this practice. There was also the Chosôn custom of posting the words "Built by Jiangtai gong 姜太公 on the *gengshen* day of such and such a month and year" on the door of new homes. This was probably derived from the popular Chinese Daoist belief that Jiangtai gong could prevent illness from entering homes (Lee N. 1977, 271-73).

Other Chosôn practices were connected with Daoist constellation cults. When the age of a man or woman corresponded with the ruling constellation, for example, he or she would make a straw figure (*churyông* 芻靈) and, on the eve of the day of Upper Prime (middle of the first month), throw it onto the road to ward off evil influences. This was one of the many customs to do with worshiping the Northern Dipper popular because of the influence of the *Yushu jing*.

Another popular Daoist custom since the Koryô was the practice of the blind making divinations or reciting scriptures, especially the *Yushu jing*, to point out good and evil, cure illnesses and save people from danger. They used the government agency known as the Bureau of Lucidity (Myôngtong si 明通寺) as the center of their activities, and even the king sometimes commanded rituals to be performed there to pray for rain or to cure an illness. Perhaps the fact that blind people officiated at these rituals is a uniquely Korean phenomenon; and since there were no organized Korean Daoist priests or temples, it was left to blind people to take their place (Lee N. 1977, 253; Cha 1986, 86).

DAOIST TEMPLES AND CULTIVATION ORGANIZATIONS. There is no way of knowing whether the Shilla Elite Youth Corps had an established Daoist temple, but it is generally assumed that unlike in China,

folk-developed Daoist temples did not exist in Korea; there were only national Daoist temples. The official Daoist temples documented in Korean history are represented by the Bokwon gung of the Koryô and the Sôgyôk sô of the Chosôn. The former was both a Daoist temple and part of the royal palace and, together with several Buddhist temples inside the palace complex, served the royal family and state religion. Architecturally influenced by Song Daoism, it probably resembled a Chinese temple. Located in the north of the palace compound, it comprised two halls, one devoted to the Lord of Heaven, the other to the Three Pure Ones. It was guarded by barracks and permanently staffed by Daoist priests. Presumably this meant that the temple also included accommodations for the priests, but according to the *Gaoli tujing* 高麗圖經 (Koryô Illustrated , j. 18) by the Song literatus Xu Jing 徐兢 (dat. 1123), Koryô Daoist priests worked in the temple during the day and returned to their private quarters at night. Thus the activities of the Bokwon gung were not as strictly disciplined as those in Chinese Daoist temples, and the priests did not have to be celibate to practice cultivation.

The Chosôn temple, Sogyôk sô, was not directly connected to the royal family, but also used by court officials. It had two halls, one for the Great One, the other for the Three Pure Ones, and its supervisor and officials held offerings according to Chinese Daoist liturgies. However, later the laws governing the temple were relaxed, and the rites became just a matter of formality, so that the Sogyôk sô no longer served as a venue for Daoist cultivation.

In addition to the two major state temples, the worship of Guandi had been introduced from China in the late sixteenth century, and a temple to the deity was built in the eastern part of Seoul. There were also small-scale cultivation groups and organizations which continued from generation to generation. The various lineages of immortality mentioned in the *Haedong chôndo rok*, the *Chônghakjip* and the *Ogae ilji jip* are good examples. At the end of the Chosôn, popular cultivation organizations gained even greater influence, and Daoist-inspired ordination lineages were established by the new religions, such as Donghak and Jûngsan kyo.

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