

Bibliographical Characteristics of the Movable Metal Type and Woodblock-printed *Jikji* and *Quotations from Venerable Baegun*

Introduction

The only movable metal type print extant to date is that of *Baegun hwasang chorok buljo jikji simche yojeol* (*Anthology of Great Buddhist Priests' Chan Teachings Compiled by Venerable Baegun* 白雲和尚抄錄佛祖直指心體要節, hereinafter referred to as *Jikji*). Unlike its woodblock edition, in which both first and second volumes remain, only the second volume of the movable metal type edition is extant, currently housed at the National Library of France in Paris. This edition was published at Heungdeoksa Temple in Cheongju in July 1377 (Goryeo Dynasty), approximately three years after the passing of Venerable Baegun Gyeonghan 白雲和尚 景閑 (1298–1374). Produced using a different printing method, the woodblock edition was published at Chwiamsa Temple in Yeosu in June 1378, and one month later, *Baegun hwasang eorok* (*Quotations from Venerable Baegun* 白雲和尚語錄) was also produced at the same place. Since the movable metal type edition was published first, followed by the woodblock edition the following year, one might expect a deep mutual relationship between the two. However, it is difficult to conclude that the woodblock edition was reprinted based on the movable metal type edition. Considering the differences in the format and printing method, as well as the preparation period and the range of the participants involved in the woodblock print, the possibility cannot be ruled out that the production of the woodblock *Jikji* actually began earlier. Regarding the background of the movable metal type edition being published in Cheongju, much remains to be examined since hasty conclusions could be drawn without understanding the trends in Buddhist scripture publication and the human exchanges in Cheongju and Yeosu at the time. For instance, almost no research has been conducted on Venerable Baegun's disciples, Dalgam and Seokchan, who are presumed to have participated in the publication; furthermore, with excluding the nun Myodeok 妙德, the only figure with a

connection to the woodblock edition, in-depth research has not been carried out on the various figures involved in the publication of the woodblock-printed *Jikji* and *Quotations from Venerable Baegun* (such as Lady Won of Bukwon County 北原郡夫人 元氏 and Lady Lee of Guseong-gun 駒城郡夫人 李氏).

This paper examines extant copies of *Jikji* and *Quotations from Venerable Baegun* written by Venerable Baegun from a bibliographical perspective. All three—including the two *Jikji* editions—contain his writings and quotations; the movable metal type edition of *Jikji* was published at Heungdeoksa Temple and the woodblock edition at Chwiamsa Temple, while *Quotations from Venerable Baegun* was produced at the same place and at almost the same time as the woodblock *Jikji* print. Based on existing research materials, this study aims to identify the format characteristics of *Jikji* printed with movable metal type, compare the two different *Jikji* editions, and examine the features of the woodblock-printed *Quotations from Venerable Baegun*. Furthermore, as another copy of *Quotations from Venerable Baegun*, identical to the one housed at the Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies, was recently discovered at a temple in Gangneung, it is necessary to examine its basic bibliography. Through this, this paper intends to understand the status of books published at Chwiamsa Temple during that period, discuss the background that enabled their publication, and identify matters requiring further exploration. In particular, the focus was on presenting several research tasks by analyzing the records related to the publication of the woodblock-printed *Jikji* and the characteristics of its format.

The Format and Records of the Movable Metal Type-printed *Jikji*

Venerable Baegun Gyeonghan is a representative figure of the Zen Buddhism of the late Goryeo dynasty, along with Venerable Taego Bou 太古普愚 (1301–1382) and Venerable Naong Hyegeun 懶翁惠勤 (1320–1376), although less is known about Gyeonghan compared to the other two. Although there is no record of his exact year of birth, it is known based on the prefaces by Yi Saek 李穡 (1328–1396) and Yi Gu 李玖 in *Quotations from Venerable Baegun* that he was born in Gobu, Jeolla Province, in 1298, the 24th year of King Chungnyeol's reign. In addition, since no biography of his early years has been preserved, it is known only that he entered the monastic life at a young age, and the specific

timing or motive behind his ordination remains unknown. *History of Goryeo* records that after taking religious vows, Gyeonghan, at the age of 49, performed a rain-making ritual in 1346, the 2nd year of King Chungmok's reign.

According to the book, Gyeonghan, like other Seon monks of Goryeo at the time, went Jiangnan, China, to study. In May of 1351, the 3rd year of King Chungjeong's reign, he interacted with Master Shiwu Qinggong 石屋清珙, a representative Linji School monk of Chinese Chan Buddhism, at Tianhu Temple on Xiawu Mountain in China, and the Indian monk Zhikong 指空, who was at Fayuan Temple in Yanjing. After meeting with Master Shiwu Qinggong again in January of the following year, Gyeonghan attained enlightenment and was authorized. Afterward, he briefly stayed at Xiuxuan Hermitage, where Master Mengshan Deyi 蒙山德異 had lived during his lifetime, before returning to Goryeo in March of the same year. Although he met with Venerable Taego Bou immediately after his return, it does not appear that they maintained a particularly close relationship. In 1353, the 2nd year of King Gongmin's reign, he attained great enlightenment while contemplating a verse from the "Song of Enlightenment" at Bulgakseonsa Temple. In 1354, the following year, Fayan 法眼禪人, Master Shiwu Qinggong's disciple, brought his master's "The Farewell Song" 辭世頌 to Gyeonghan, while Gyeonghan sent several gathas to Zhikong. In 1357, he was summoned by the king through Venerable Taego's recommendation but declined. In 1365, he became the abbot of Singwangsa Temple in Haeju, the royal temple of Emperor Shun of the Yuan dynasty, upon the recommendation of Venerable Naong. Gyeonghan, who had maintained close ties with the royal family since then, served as the abbot of Heungseongsa Temple in 1368, which was established as a memorial shrine for Princess Supreme Noguk 魯國大長公主, the consort of King Gongmin. In September 1370, he also presided over *gongbuseon* 功夫選 at Gwangmyeongsa Temple, jointly with Venerable Naong and Venerable Cheonhui 千熙. *Gongbuseon* was a special monastic examination held at the temple by King Gongmin, after he parted ways with Sindon in 1370, the 19th year of his reign (the late Goryeo dynasty), to reorganize the Buddhist community by inviting Venerable Naong to serve as the chief director of the examination. Gyeonghan passed away at Chwiamsa Temple in Yeosu in 1374 at the age of 77. The extant works known to be his writings are the two copies of *Quotations from Venerable Baegun* and the two copies of *Jikji*.

The movable metal type print is the second volume of a two-volume *Jikji*,

compiled by Gyeonghan with supplements to the *Anthology of Great Buddhist Priests' Chan Teachings* in 1372, at the age of 75. He compiled the book at the request of his disciples Beoprin and Jeonghye, after receiving it from Master Shiwu Qinggong, the 18th Patriarch Venerable of the Linji School. The title, “Baegun hwasang chorok buljo jikji simcha yojeol,” carries the meaning of “direct pointing to the human mind” 直指人心, a concept mentioned in the famous phrase, “*bullip munja gyooe byeoljeon jikji insim gyeonseong seongbul*” 不立文字 教外別傳 直指人心 見性成佛, which is emphasized and advocated in Seon Buddhism as terms for attaining the realization of truth. The phrase refers to the deepest mind discussed in Seon Buddhism, summarizing and compiling teachings regarding Buddha-nature—the fundamental mind—from the words of Shakyamuni and subsequent patriarchs. In other words, the full title, “Baegun hwasang chorok buljo jikji simcha yojeol,” can be interpreted as “the profound teachings on Buddha-nature summarized and compiled by Venerable Baegun.”

Jikji is composed to convey, through Buddhist teachings and gathas, the moments of enlightenment attained by previous Seon masters and patriarchs, ranging from the Seven Buddhas of the Past, who are the essence of “directly pointing to the human mind” and “seeing one’s true nature and attaining Buddhahood” 見性成佛, to Master Fayen, a disciple of Master Shiwu Qinggong. The teachings of different Buddhas and eminent monks were carefully selected to enable anyone to approach the core of Seon practice. In other words, it was compiled by thoroughly studying relevant literature containing the teachings of Seon masters, such as *The Jingde Record of the Transmission of the Lamp* 景德傳燈錄 and *Compilation of Seon Public Cases* 禪門拈頌, and extracting essential elements for realizing the essence of Seon from the gathas, hymns, praises, inscriptions, writings, poems, Dharma sermons, preaching of Buddhas, patriarchs, and eminent monks of the past. The movable metal type edition of *Jikji* was published at Heungdeoksa Temple in Cheongju in 1377, three years after the passing of Venerable Baegun.

Currently, only the second volume of the movable metal type-printed *Jikji* remains extant, with the first book signature torn off. In addition, the title handwritten on the book cover differs from the title printed with movable type on the last page. However, the missing characters can be fully verified in the woodblock print published in 1378, which remains completely intact. The title on the last page is “Baegun hwasang chorok buljo jikji simche yojeol” 白雲和尚抄錄佛祖直指心體要節. Along with the title, the imprint is identified as

宣光七年丁巳七月日清州牧外興德寺鑄字印施, confirming that it was “printed with movable metal type at Heungdeoksa Temple located outside Cheongju Magistracy in the 7th year of Emperor Zhaozong of Northern Yuan China (1377).” Venerable Baegun’s disciples Seokchan and Daljam assisted in the publication, and the nun Myodeok served as a financial contributor.

The overall size of the movable metal type edition is 24.6 centimeters in height and 17.0 centimeters in width, while the printed area size is 21.0 centimeters in height and 14.8 centimeters in width. The frame is composed of single lines on all four sides and features lines separating the columns of characters. It consists of 38 sheets, each folded in half and with 11 columns of characters on each front and back side. Each column consists of approximately 18 to 21 characters printed with movable metal type (medium-sized). The number of type pieces typeset per line varies depending on the piece size. Overall, the printed pages exhibit uneven ink color due to height differences between the typeset pieces, and some pages were even double-printed. Characters printed faintly were sometimes touched up with brush strokes. Since the book was published with movable metal type cast at a local temple rather than by a government agency during the Goryeo dynasty, it is characterized by uneven type sizes and character shapes, inconsistent printing quality, and the use of smaller type pieces due to a shortage of medium-sized ones. *Jikji* embodies the earliest form of movable metal type printing, unreservedly demonstrating humanity’s book-printing technology from the earliest period.

The History of *Jikji*’s Transmission and the Significance of the Numbers on It

This paper examines the historical facts revealed by the extant bibliographic details recorded on *Jikji*’s surfaces. In particular, the records on the covers and the publication records in the last part hint at the publication date, the individuals involved, and the process of its transmission.

The movable metal type-print *Jikji* is currently housed in the National Library of France in Paris. Records and traces in the book tell its journey leading up to the library’s acquisition, after having been in the hands of Victor Collin de Plancy (1853–1922), the first French Diplomatic Minister to Korea, and then, the art collector Henri Vever (1854–1943). Even based solely on the

records and traces found on the covers and their back, it is evident that the book changed hands at least twice before being housed at the library. Exploring the records by chronologically tracing them back one by one will be more helpful for understanding *Jikji*'s history and giving it meaning.

First, the cover features a lotus-patterned flower in the center of each cell of a rhombus grid. This cover pattern appears in traditional Korean book covers produced at least since the 18th century, indicating that the extant cover was newly rebound at a later time. In other words, hundreds of years after *Jikji* was printed, someone added or rebound the cover, inserting a blank sheet between the cover and the book signatures. This practice is commonly seen in old books and can be identified by the distinct differences in color and quality of the back of the cover and the blank sheet. Furthermore, various handwritings and traces remaining on the cover and its back side suggest that it was newly bound at least around the time Collin de Plancy collected the book, or even earlier. Since it is confirmed that many of the ancient Korean books in his collection used the same patterned woodblock as that used on the cover of *Jikji*, it is presumed that he had the covers of several ancient documents rebounded at once after collecting them.

When looking at a photograph of *Jikji*, the first thing that stands out is the cover binding, along with the numbers marked along with the text. These numbers include 1377, 711, 3738, 9832, and 109; some of them indicate years, and the others are simply sequence numbers. However, considering the value of *Jikji* and its significance in the history of printing worldwide, it is necessary to understand the background behind these numbers, even if they appear to be nothing more than simple notes on the cover. This is because the recorded numbers clearly illustrate the process by which *Jikji* has been handed down to the present day. The meaning of each number will be examined below.

The first and most frequently mentioned number when discussing *Jikji* printed with movable metal type is 1377, which corresponds to the year of publication in the Gregorian calendar. This is also the translation of the 7th year of Emperor Zhaozong of Northern Yuan China 宣光七年, expressed in the Eastern calendar system, and is handwritten on the cover and the front page of the blank sheet. On the cover, the number was included in a note in black ink, which reads, "The oldest book published with movable metal type at Heungdeoksa Temple in 1377." On the blank page, a note was written in pencil, which reads, "Buddhist doctrine, the world's oldest and extant book

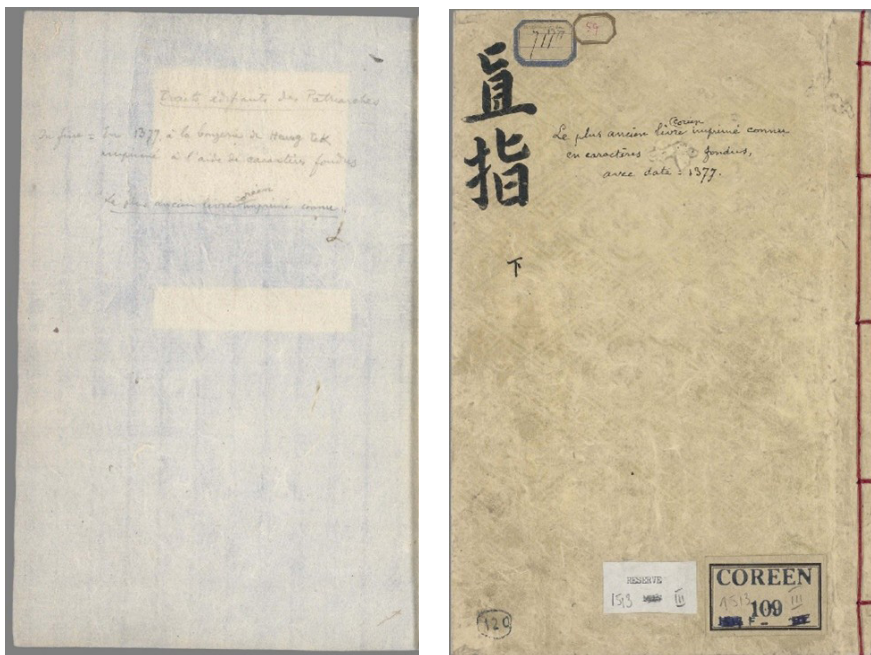


Figure 1. The Cover and the Front of the Blank Sheet of *Jikji*

printed with movable metal type at Heungdeoksa Temple in 1377.” In addition, the bookplate of Collin de Plancy, attached to the back page of the blank sheet, contains a handwritten note in pencil, which reads, “The oldest book printed with movable type in Korea—1377.”

The second number, 3738, is the bibliographic number of *Jikji* as listed in *Supplément à la Bibliographie Coréenne* (*Supplement to the Korean Bibliography*) by Maurice Courant (1865–1935). Collin de Plancy’s bookplate attached to *Jikji* contains a pencil inscription reading “B.C. no. 3738.” This signifies that it is the same book assigned the number 3738 in *Bibliographie Coréenne* by Courant.

What is the background behind *Jikji* being included in *Bibliographie Coréenne*? While attending the Faculty of Law in Paris in 1885, Courant enrolled at the National Institute for Oriental Languages and Civilizations to study Chinese and Japanese. After graduating in 1888, he was dispatched as an interpreter trainee to the French Legation in Beijing, China, in September of the same year. Later, he became the chief interpreter, and on May 23, 1890, he was transferred from Beijing to Seoul as a secretary interpreter. At that time, Collin de Plancy was the first French Legation in Korea, and at his recommendation, he

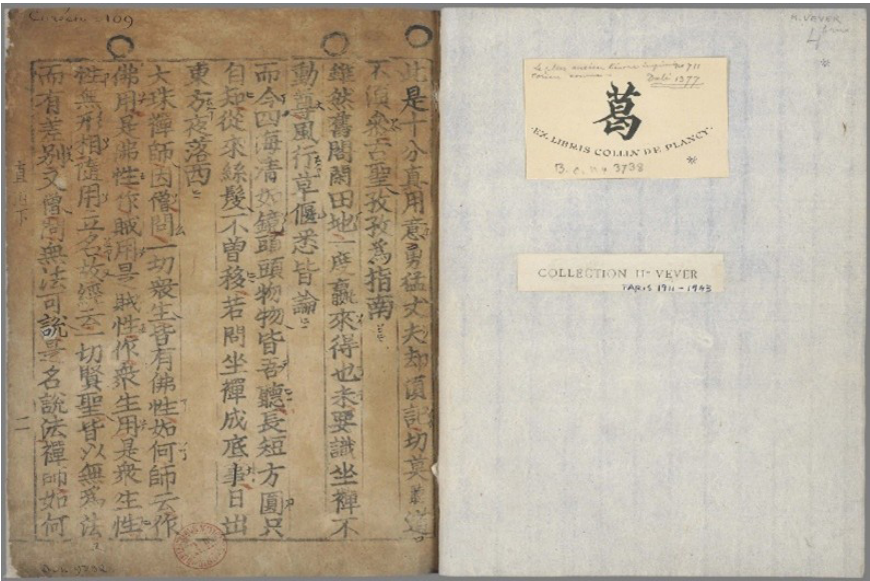


Figure 2. The Front of the First Body Signature and the Back Page of the Blank Sheet of *Jikji*

3738. 白雲和尚抄錄佛祖直指
心體要節

*Päik oun hoa syang tchyo rok poul
tjo tjik tji sim htyei yo tjel. — Traits
édifiants des patriarches rassemblés
par le bonze Päik-oun.*

1 vol. grand in-8° (2^e livre seul). (C. P.)

Ce volume porte à la fin l'indication
suivante : En 1377, à la bonzerie de *Heung-
tek* 興德, hors [du chef-lieu] du district
de *Tchyeng-tjyou* 清州, imprimé à l'aide
de caractères fondus. Si cette indication
est exacte, les caractères fondus, c'est-à-
dire mobiles, auraient été en usage vingt-
six ans avant le décret du roi *Htai-tjong*
(n° 1673), qui se fait gloire de l'invention
des types mobiles.

Il faut en outre remarquer la date; elle
est écrite : 7^e année de *SUEN-KOANG* 宣
光七年; ce nom de règne fut adopté en
1371 par *TCHAO-TSONG* 昭宗, prétendant
de la famille des *YUEN*.

Figure 3. Item No. 3738 *Jikji*, Contained in
Supplément à la Bibliographie Coréenne

compiled a list of all books published in Korea. According to the preface to the first volume of his *Bibliographie Coréenne*, Courant stated that Collin de Plancy initiated this book, and he joined the work based on his advice.

The record of the movable metal type-printed *Jikji* left by Courant is included in the fourth volume and the supplementary edition of *Bibliographie Coréenne* (*Supplément à la Bibliographie Coréenne*). *Bibliographie Coréenne* was published in a total of four volumes from 1894 to 1901; the first three volumes, published between 1894 and 1896, compiled 3,240 items from ancient Korean books, and the last volume was released in 1901 as a supplement. Most of Collin de Plancy's collection of ancient Korean books was included in the Supplement, which is why *Jikji* was contained there. Courant's commentary on No. 3738, *Jikji*, is of great significance as an item in the first catalog to include the book.

The item specifies the book's Chinese title, French pronunciation, and the title's meaning, along with the number 3738. It also states that the book consists of a single copy, with only the second volume remaining, in the size of *dae 8-jeolpan* (17 centimeters in width and 25 centimeters in height), and that it is owned by C.P. (Collin de Plancy). The bibliographic description of the imprint on the last page of *Jikji* is translated into "Printed with movable type cast at Heungdeoksa Temple in Cheongju Magistracy in 1377." It also includes his opinion that "If the record is accurate, the invention of movable type predates the records of King Taejong of Joseon by about 26 years." When writing this sentence, he took into account the year 1403, the year King Taejong cast the Gyeonmija Movable Metal Type, and it was such a curious issue that it was also mentioned separately in the preface of *Supplément à la Bibliographie Coréenne*. In this preface, he notes that while there is some confusion regarding the publication records of *Jikji*, which differ from the official records of type casting, he hopes to resolve the issue with new materials to be discovered in the future.

Meanwhile, Collin de Plancy's bookplate, marked with "B.C. no. 3738," contains "葛," the first character of his Chinese-character name "葛林德," along with "EX LIBRIS COLLIN DE PLANCY." This bookplate is easily identified because it is attached to most of his collection, held at the library of the National Institute for Oriental Languages and Civilizations and the National Library of France.

The third number, 711, is associated with the auction of *Jikji*. After the World's Fair was held in Paris in 1900, and the bibliographic cataloging work by Courant was completed, Collin de Plancy donated most of the ancient books

he had collected from Korea, China, Japan, and other regions to his alma mater, the National Institute for Oriental Languages and Civilizations, and put some up for auction held at the Hotel Drouot from March 27 to 30, 1911. His 883 items were auctioned, and about 700 of them were from Korea. The number 711, recorded on a piece of paper attached to the upper left corner of the cover, is the serial number assigned when the book appeared at the Drouot auction. Nos. 711 through 787 were assigned to ancient books, Nos. 788 and 789 to prints, and Nos. 790 through 798 to maps. According to the auction catalog released by Collin de Plancy, about 80 items were Korean ancient books, of which the National Library of France purchased 45 items. The prices at which the library purchased items ranged from 3 to 135 francs. It is revealed that the institution acquired ancient books, prints, and maps. However, No. 711, *Jikji*, and No. 712, *The Sixth Patriarch of Chinese Chan Buddhism* 六祖大師法寶壇經, both of which were printed in the Goryeo dynasty, were sold to art collector Henri Vever. *Jikji* was sold for 180 francs. Although the exact reason why the two books were sold to Vever has not been revealed, they were likely subject to competition at a relatively high price compared to other ancient Korean books, which must have been burdensome for the library that had purchased some of Collin de Plancy's books for a maximum price of around 135 francs at the time.

The fourth number, 9832, is written as "Don 9832" on the lower right corner of the front of the first book signature. *Jikji* had been owned by Henri Vever until his death in 1943 and was then donated to the National Library of France in 1952 in accordance with his will. "Don" signifies donation, and 9832 is the donation number assigned by the library at the time of the donation. A bookplate reading "COLLECTION H. VEVE" is attached immediately below that of Collin de Plancy on the back of the blank sheet. At the bottom of the library bookplate, "Paris 1911–1943" is written in blue to indicate the period during which Vever possessed the book.

The fifth number, 109, is the most prominent on the cover. A piece of paper printed with "COREEN 109" is attached to the bottom and the back of the cover, signifying "Korean Book No. 109" in the National Library of France's book numbering system. The number 109 was newly assigned as a book number when the library purchased ancient books from Collin de Plancy; Nos. 1 through 110 are ancient books, and Nos. 111 and onward are modern books, so 109 indicates that *Jikji* is the 109th item among the ancient books. The items acquired by the library from Collin de Plancy include general books from Nos.

1 through 72, various geography books and maps from Nos. 73 through 102, and tables of Chinese and Korean dynasties, almanacs, and a single-sheet printed *samjaebu* (amulet against three-year disasters) and Hangeul Syllabary Table from No. 103 to No. 108. Items up to No. 108 were collected directly from the Drouot auction, while Nos. 109 and 110 were assigned 32 years after Henri Vever had purchased them at the auction, as he passed away, and his grandson donated the books to the library in accordance with his will. The auction record states that Vever purchased the *Jikji* for 180 francs at the time. For reference, No. 110, the book which he acquired with *Jikji*, is an ancient book titled “The Sixth Patriarch of Chinese Chan Buddhism.” It is a woodblock print published in 1370 at Bakwangseonsa Temple in Namwon, Jeolla Province, during the late Goryeo period, based on an edition compiled by Venerable Mengshan Deyi during the Yuan dynasty. Like *Jikji*, a piece of paper printed as “COREEN 110” is attached to the bottom and the back of the cover.

Composition of *Jikji* Printed with Woodblock and Its Extant Copies

The woodblock edition of *Jikji* was published at Chwiamsa Temple in Yeosu in 1378, four years after Venerable Baegun’s passing. It was compiled by Seokchan, who was Baegun’s attendant, and was published with the participation of his disciples, including Beoprin and Jeonghye, and with support from financial contributors. Unlike the movable metal type print, of which only the second volume remains, both the first and second volumes of the woodblock edition have survived. Three copies of them have remained extant, which are housed at the Jangseogak Archives of the Academy of Korean Studies, the National Library of Korea (NLK), and Bulgapsa Temple in Yeonggwang, respectively. Among them, the Jangseogak edition is the most complete, while the other two copies lack a preface. The overall structure of the Jangseogak edition consists of prefaces by Yi Saek and Seong Sa-dal 成士達 (?–1380) at the beginning of the book, without a table of contents, and a postscript by Venerable Baegun at the end. The postscript is followed by the publication date (June 1378), the names of calligraphers—戈菴禪和, 天亘—the engravers—昂如, 信明—the fundraisers—法叢, 自明, 惠全—the disciples who helped with the fundraisers—妙德, 妙性, 靈照, 性空, 鈴平郡夫人 尹氏, 北原郡夫人 元氏,

駒城郡夫人 李氏, 正順大夫判通禮門事 金繼生—and the location of the woodblock carving and storage (Chwiamsa Temple in Yeosu).

Just like the movable metal type-printed *Jikji*, the woodblock print was compiled by widely reading historical and biographical literature, such as *The Jingde Record of the Transmission of the Lamp* and *Compilation of Seon Public Cases*, and extracting essential passages for realizing the essence of Seon from the writings of various Buddhas, patriarchs, and eminent monks throughout history. Venerable Baegun was 75 years old when he himself extracted and compiled this book. It is known that in 1351, at the age of 54, he sent answers to Master Zhikong's question with seven gathas, and in May of the same year, he received the *Anthology of Great Buddhist Priests' Chan Teachings* from Master Shiwu Qinggong of the Yuan dynasty. A brief overview of the extant woodblock *Jikji* editions is as follows.

The Jangseogak Edition

This edition is the most complete among the three extant versions. It is a two-volume book. Its format features a single-line border on four sides and a half-frame measuring 16.7 centimeters in height and 12.4 centimeters in width, making it slightly smaller than the other two copies. This is due to paper shrinkage over time, even though the woodblock itself is identical. A page consists of 11 columns of 20 or 21 characters, with double-line annotations, fine black lines, and black-fishtail fold marks pointing upwards and downwards. The overall size of the book is 21.4 centimeters tall and 15.7 centimeters wide. The title in the center column is “心要,” and the main text contains headnotes, which were handwritten later to facilitate searching of the content. It was designated as a National Treasure in 1992.

The book includes prefaces by Yi Saek and Seong Sa-dal before the main text, and a postscript by Venerable Baegun at the end. The year of the postscript written is identified as 1372, when he was 75 years old, from “歲在壬子年九月成佛山居老比丘景閑白雲手書 時年七十有五矣.” The postscript is followed by the inscription, which reads, “宣光八年戊午六月日刊,” revealing that it was carved at Chwiamsa Temple in Cheonnyeong (present-day Yeosu) in June 1378. This is 11 months later than the publication of the movable metal type edition. The imprint comes before a list of figures involved in the publication, and the inscription “留板川寧鷺嶺寺,” which identifies Chwiamsa Temple as both



Figure 4. The Imprint at the End of the Woodblock Jikji Print Housed at the Jangseogak Archives (Collection of the Jangseogak Archives, Academy of Korean Studies)

the publisher and the repository of the woodblocks. This Jangseogak edition is notable for its relatively clear printing quality, indicating it is an early print; furthermore, it is significant that its publication date differs by only one month from that of *Quotations from Venerable Baegun*, which was carved at the same location, and that the related figures are largely similar.

The NLK Edition

This edition consists of two volumes in one book. It is similar to the Jangseogak edition in overall format, featuring a four-sided single-line border, a half-frame measuring 17.2 centimeters in height and 13.5 centimeters in width, 11 columns of 20 characters per page, fine black lines, and up-and-down-pointing black fishtail fold marks. However, this edition differs in that the half-frame and overall dimensions (23.6 centimeters in height and 16.0 centimeters in width) are slightly larger than those of the aforementioned edition. Compared to the Jangseogak edition, the printing quality is low, with some areas blurry or worn, and it is confirmed that the top and bottom margins were trimmed at a later date. In addition, there are no prefaces by Yi Saek and Seong Sa-dal, while the postscript by Venerable Baegun and the imprint at the end are identical.

The Yeonggwang Bulgapsa Temple Edition

This edition was discovered in 1998 among the votive deposits inside the statues of the Shakyamuni Triad and the Sixteen Arhats in the Palsangjeon Hall of Bulgapsa Temple in Yeonggwang, South Jeolla Province. It was initially designated as a Tangible Cultural Heritage by the province and was later redesignated as a National Treasure.

It is bound with paper nails without a cover; a total of seven nails are identified. Judging by the remaining five stitch holes intended for cover binding, it appears that a cover was originally attached. Only the main text remains, lacking the prefaces by Yi Saek and Seong Sa-dal and the postscript by Venerable Baegun, originally included at the beginning and the end of the woodblock print, respectively. Since the beginning and end parts have suffered significant damage from insects and moisture, some letters are illegible in the first half of the first volume and the bottom of the second volume. The layout is identical to the Jangseogak edition. However, the half-frame measures 17.0 centimeters high and 13.5 centimeters wide, and the total book size is 25.5 centimeters in height and 15.7 centimeters in width, making it slightly larger than the copies possessed by Jangseogak and NLK. It appears to be an early print, and the printing quality is better than that of the NLK edition.

Current Status and Format Characteristics of the Woodblock-printed *Quotations from Venerable Baegun*

Quotations from Venerable Baegun was printed with woodblock at Chwiamsa Temple in Yeosu in 1378, four years after the passing of Venerable Baegun. It was compiled by his attendant Seokchan and published with the participation of his disciples, including Beoprin and Jeonghye, and the support of financial contributors. The copy housed at the Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies of the Seoul National University was previously known as the sole first printing. However, a new copy was recently discovered at Cheonghaksa Temple in Gangneung and confirmed to be identical to the Kyujanggak print. It consists of two volumes in one book. The first volume contains prefaces by Yi Saek and Yi Gu, followed by “神光寺入院小説,” “興聖寺入院小説,” “祖師禪,” “禪教通論,” “雲門三句釋,” “大陽三句釋,” “懶翁和尚三句與三轉語釋” (three phrases), “三轉語”

(two pieces), “因筆不覺葛藤如許示同菴二三兄弟,” “送亡僧,” “起函,” “下火,” and “洪武庚戌九月十五日承內教功夫選取御前呈以語句.” The second volume is composed of seven Seon texts, including “至正辛卯五月十七日師詣湖州霞霧山天湖庵呈以石屋和尚語句,” “師於癸巳正月十七日記霞霧山行示同菴二三兄弟,” and “至正甲午六月初四日禪人法眼自江南湖州霞霧山天湖庵石屋和尚辭世陪來十四日師於海州安國寺設齋小說”; 19 hymns and poems, including “己酉正月日寓孤山庵指空真贊頌”; and “臨終偈” at the end.

In his preface, Yi Saek explains the circumstances under which he came to write it, stating that Gyeonghan's disciples, Beoprin and Jeonghye, came with the woodblock carver Kim Gye-saeng to request a preface to be included in *Quotations from Venerable Baegun*. Yi added that during his time studying in Beijing, Venerable Naong had preached at Guangji Temple, causing the Goryeo people there to respect and adore him, though he was unaware of this fact at the time. He further noted that he expressed his regret at not having met with such a great monk like Gyeonghan, since he would have had no way of revering him, if Beoprin and others had not come to inform him.

Yi Gu, also known as Lay Devotee Tongam 通菴居士, stated that on an errand for King Gongmin, he met with Gyeonghan, who was serving as the abbot of Singwangsa Temple at the time. He further stated that after Gyeonghan passed away, he came to read *Quotations from Venerable Baegun* through a monk named Chanyeong 璨英, with whom he was acquainted, and subsequently wrote the preface to the book published by Gyeonghan's disciples, Daljam and Seokchan.

Regarding the woodblock print of *Quotations from Venerable Baegun*, only two copies remain; one is possessed by the Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies (古貴 1840-17), and the other is housed at Cheonghaksa Temple, which is almost identical in format and bibliographic characteristics to the former. In addition, a transcribed version is held at Kyujanggak, as well as a relatively large number of copies photoprinted in 1934 by the Faculty of Law and Literature at Keijo Imperial University, based on the woodblock Kyujanggak edition. The transcribed edition (古貴 1840-17A) housed in Kyujanggak contains every element, including the imprint dated 1378 at the end of the volume. However, it is not known when it was transcribed as there is no record of the circumstances or timing of the transcription. The title on the cover is “白雲和尚語錄.” The book size is 30.5 centimeters in height and 22 centimeters in width.

Both woodblock copies are the earliest impressions made in 1378, and



Figure 5. The Title on the Opening Page and the Imprint of Quotations from Venerable Baekun (Housed at Cheonghaksa Temple)

the center-column plate is “雲語.” They are complete editions containing the prefaces written by Yi Saek in 1378 and Yi Gu in 1377, and the imprint from the time of publication at Chwiamsa Temple in 1378. Based on the newly discovered Cheonghaksa Temple print, the woodblock format consists of a single-line border on four sides, a half-frame measuring 17.3 centimeters in height and 13.5 centimeters in width with fine black lines, 11 columns of 20 characters per page, and double-line annotations. The overall dimensions is 24.5 centimeters high and 16.0 centimeters wide. The cover is made of light-yellow paper, with some wear at the bottom. It appears to have been rebounded not recently but during the late Joseon period. The cover title is “白雲集.” The condition of the text is generally good, with no content missing. On the front of the 79th sheet of the first volume, the character “武,” the name of Hyejong 惠宗, the second king of Goryeo, is written with a stroke omitted to avoid using the royal name. The same practice can also be observed in the era name “洪武” on the back of the 90th sheet of the first volume.

Records and Value of the Publication of the Woodblock-printed *Quotations from Venerable Baegun*

The woodblock edition of *Quotations from Venerable Baegun* was published at Chwiamsa Temple in Yeosu, the same publisher of *Jikji*, one month after it was printed with woodblock. By comparing the formats of the printing blocks and the lists of individuals involved in the publication included at the end, it is easy to conclude that the two books were prepared together. The publication records at the end of the two woodblock editions that remain in their complete form today are as follows.

Table 1. Publication Records at the End of the woodblock-printed *Quotations from Venerable Baegun*

戊午七月日前護軍延昌朴叢爲金判閣書
留板于川寧鷲岩寺
宗軌 昂如 信明 等刊
門人 法弘 募緣
助緣 門人 等
比丘尼 妙德
北原君夫人 元氏
駒城君夫人 李氏
正順大夫判通禮門 金 繼生

Table 2. Publication Records at the End of the Woodblock-printed *Jikji* Housed at the Jangseogak Archives

宣光八年戊午六月日
書員 弑菴禪和 天亘
刻手 宗軌 昂如 信明
募緣 法弘 自明 惠全
助緣門人
比丘尼 妙德 妙性
靈照 性空
鈴平郡夫人尹氏
北原郡夫人元氏
駒城郡夫人李氏
正順大夫判通禮門事金繼生
留板川寧鷲岩寺

Examination of the above details reveals that the composition of figures involved in the publication of the two books is nearly identical. This indicates that the woodblock edition of *Quotations from Venerable Baegun* was published under conditions almost identical to those of the woodblock *Jikji* edition, a fact also reflected in the extreme similarity in the size and format of their printing blocks. During the late Goryeo period, it was common for disciples to compile their masters' sayings after they had passed away. *Quotations from Venerable Baegun* appears to follow that trend as well. It was compiled by Seokchan, who was Venerable Baegun's attendant, and published with the participation of his disciples, including Beoprin 法弘, Jeonghye 靜慧, Jonggan 宗軌, Chamyeo 昂如,

and Sinmyeong 信明, as well as with the assistance of various benefactors.

The book was published by and at Chwiamsa Temple in Cheonnyeong, which is the old name for present-day Yeosu, Gyeonggi Province. Once, it was called Sulcheon-gun (also known as Seongjima) during the Goguryeo dynasty, and Gicheon or Socheon during the reign of King Gyeongdeok of Silla. The name was changed to Cheonnyeong in the early Goryeo dynasty, and during King Hyeonjong's reign, it belonged to Gwangju, with an administrator (*gammu* 監務) appointed later. During the reign of King Taejong of Joseon, a magistrate (*byeongam*) was appointed to the region, which was merged into Yeosu to become a directly administered village (*jikchon*) during the reign of King Yejong. Both Gicheon and Cheonnyeong carry the meaning of "located by the water." This is because the region developed along Daegyocheon Stream, a tributary of the Namhangang River. It is connected to Jipyong to the northeast, Icheon to the southwest, Yeosu to the southeast, and Gwangju to the northwest.

According to the *Yeosu eupji* (*The Regional Records of Yeosu*), Yanghwayeok Station and Icheonchang Warehouse were located in this vicinity during the late Joseon dynasty, suggesting that agricultural products produced here were collected before being sent to Seoul. There was also Ipojin Quay in the region. In addition, Gicheon Confucian Academy was established during King Seonjo's reign and remained in existence until the end of the Joseon dynasty.

Until recently, the location of Chwiamsa Temple was not well known, although a presumed site has recently been excavated. The only record stated in *Dongguk yeoji seungnam* (*Survey of the Geography of Korea*) is that the temple was situated on Hyemoksan Mountain. However, in the late 1960s, bronze artifacts, including a drum, bell, scissors, and bowls, were discovered in Wolsan-ri, an area across from Seokbulyeok Station in Yangpyeong, Gyeonggi Province, confirming the existence of a temple named "Chwiamsa" during the Goryeo dynasty. Nearby temples included Silleuksa Temple, Godalsa Temple, and Yongmunsa Temple.

The names of individuals involved in the publication, specified following the imprints of the two woodblock editions, provide clues regarding their publication background and indicate their role in the publication. Among them, the nun Myodeok has been a subject of interest since the early days of research on *Jikji*, because she appears not only as the financial contributor of *Jikji* printed with movable metal type, which is well known as being inscribed on the Memory of the World Register, but also in the woodblock *Jikji* edition, which

is the National Treasure. She is believed to be the same person who financially contributed to the construction of the Stupa Stele of Master Zhikong and the Stele of Buddhist Monk Boje (Venerable Naong) at Silleuksa Temple, Yeosu, as confirmed by the inscriptions on them. The latter is a stele of the eminent monk Naong of the late Goryeo dynasty, also known as Royal Preceptor Seongak Hyegun, located at Silleuksa Temple in Cheonsong-ri, Buknae-myeon, Yeosu-gun, Gyeonggi Province. It was established in 1379, the 5th year of King U's reign, three years after Venerable Naong's passing, and the inscription was composed by Yi Saek and engraved by Han Su. Notably, the inscription also mentions Lady Won of Bukwon County as a benefactor. Furthermore, among the figures involved in the publication and listed at the end of the volume, the calligrapher Cheongeung 天亘 is one of the 107 Seon masters included in the inscription on the back of the Stele of State Preceptor Wonjeung at Taegosa Temple, erected in 1385, the 11th year of King U's reign. The stele is dedicated to State Preceptor Wonjeung Taego Bou, the eminent monk of the late Goryeo dynasty. Its inscription was composed by Yi Saek and engraved by Gwon Ju 權鑄 in the regular script. Considering the relationship between Venerable Taego Bou and Venerable Baegun, as well as their respective lifetimes, it is highly probable that Cheongeung appearing on the former stele and Cheongeung on the latter are identical. Kim Gye-saeng 金繼生, Orthodox and Obedient Grandee and the Director of the Reception Office 正順大夫判通禮門事, who appears at the end of the imprint, oversaw the publication of the two woodblock editions, although he is almost unknown. His name is also specified in the back inscription of the Stele for Royal Preceptor Seongak at Hoeamsa Temple Site, which was dedicated to Venerable Naong, just as the Stele of Buddhist Monk Boje. This stele was established in Hoeamsa Temple in Yangju-gun in 1377, the 3rd year of King U's reign, the year following the Royal Preceptor's passing.

Conclusion

The two woodblock editions and the movable metal type edition of *Jikji* examined above hold significant positions in the history of printing culture. Furthermore, as they clearly illustrate the Seon thought of Venerable Baegun Gyeonghan—a representative Seon monk of the late Goryeo period whose philosophy and activities are not well known—they serve as invaluable resources

for the study of Seon thought during the late Goryeo and early Joseon periods, which still requires much research.

In particular, *Quotations from Venerable Baegun*, the first woodblock printing published in 1378, the 4th year of Goryeo King U's reign, can be considered almost the only source that allows for the reconstruction of his life after his ordination, along with his Seon thought. In addition, given that it exhibits the same format as the woodblock *Jikji* edition and the figures involved in its publication are nearly identical, they appear to have been published around the same time. Although only one woodblock copy of the former was known to remain extant as being housed at the Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies, a copy held by Cheonghaksa Temple in Gangneung was recently discovered and confirmed to be the same edition as the Kyujanggak version.

Furthermore, the five numbers examined alongside the format and bibliographic characteristics of the movable type *Jikji* edition inspire new expectations as does its complex journey. Those numbers are as follows: *Jikji*, published in 1377, was listed with bibliographic number 3738 by Maurice Courant in 1901. On March 27, 1911, it appeared at the Drouot auction with the number 711 and was purchased by art collector Henri Vever. After his death in 1952, it was donated to the National Library of France, assigned the number 9832. Following the donation, it was assigned the number 109 in the library's numbering system. If all the five numbers are reconsidered with related individuals or organizations in mind, 1377 can be linked to the book's author, Venerable Baegun, and figures involved in its publication; 3738 to Courant, the compiler of the catalog; 711 to Victor Collin de Plancy, who put the book up for auction; 9832 to the donor, Henri Vever; and 109 to the National Library of France, the current holder of the collection. Which individuals or organizations might appear next in relation to these numbers? Questions about the timing of the movable metal type printing of *Jikji*, which Courant anticipated over 120 years ago, have largely been answered by numerous studies over the past few decades and by ceaseless efforts to have it inscribed on the Memory of the World Register. It is true, however, that there are still many questions to be answered. For instance, it is crucial to clarify its relationship with the woodblock edition of *Jikji* published in Yeosu, Gyeonggi Province in 1378, and to find the first volume of the movable metal type print, which appears to have been missing even before it was collected by Collin de Plancy. Furthermore, research is needed on the relationships among the figures who strove to publish movable type

editions at the time, as well as on other books printed with the same type. Just as a woodblock copy of *Quotations from Venerable Baegun* was newly discovered, the discovery of the first volume of *Jikji* printed with movable metal type is a pleasant thought to wish while contemplating the numbers on the book. The first volume to be discovered could be assigned a number after Courant's last catalog number, 3821, or a number 109-1; however, it would hopefully be newly assigned the number 1 in South Korea.

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OK Young Jung (gabinja@aks.ac.kr)
The Academy of Korean Studies

Translated by Hayoung LEE