

## Imagining Ritual and Cultic Practice in Koguryō Buddhism

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### Introduction

The Koguryō émigré and Buddhist monk Hyeryang was named Buddhist overseer by Silla king Chinhŭng (r. 540–576). Hyeryang instituted Buddhist ritual observances at the Silla court that would be, in continually evolving forms, performed at court in Silla and Koryō for eight hundred years. Sparse but tantalizing evidence remains of Koguryō's Buddhist culture: tomb murals with Buddhist themes, brief notices recorded in the *History of the Three Kingdoms* (*Samguk sagi* 三國史記), a few inscriptions on Buddhist images believed by scholars to be of Koguryō provenance, and anecdotes in *Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms* (*Samguk yusa* 三國遺事) and other early Chinese and Japanese literary sources.<sup>1</sup> Based on these limited proofs, some Korean scholars have imagined an advanced philosophical tradition that must have profoundly influenced

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1 For a recent analysis of the sparse material in the *Samguk sagi*, see Kim Poksun 金福順, "4–5 segi *Samguk sagi* ūi sŭngnyō mit sach'al" (Monks and monasteries of the fourth and fifth centuries in the *Samguk sagi*). *Silla munhwa* 新羅文化 38 (2011): 85–113; and Kim Poksun, "6 segi *Samguk sagi* Pulgyo kwallyōn kisa chonūi" 存疑 (Doubts on accounts related to Buddhism in the sixth century in the *Samguk sagi*), *Silla munhwa* 新羅文化 39 (2012): 63–87.

the Sinitic Buddhist tradition as well as the emerging Buddhist culture of Silla.<sup>2</sup> Western scholars, on the other hand, have lamented the dearth of literary, epigraphical, and archeological evidence of Buddhism in Koguryō.<sup>3</sup> Is it possible to reconstruct illustrations of the nature and characteristics of Buddhist ritual and devotional practice in the late Koguryō period?

In this paper I will flesh out the characteristics of Buddhist ritual and devotional practice in Koguryō by reconstructing its Northeast Asian context.<sup>4</sup> I will first address the question of rituals by analyzing what is known about Hyeryang and discuss in detail the Convocation for the Recitation of the *Sūtra for Humane Kings* by a Hundred Eminent Monks (*paekkojwa kanghoe* 百高座講會) and recreate the Northeast Asian context of the Assembly of Eight Prohibitions (*p'algwanhoe* 八關會). Second,

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- 2 See, for instance, Kim Tonghwa 金東華, “Koguryō sidae ūi Pulgyo sasang” 高句麗時代의佛教思想 (Buddhist thought in the Koguryō period), *Asea yŏn'gu* 亞世亞研究 2, no.1(1959), 1–44; An Kyebyŏn 安啟賢, “Koguryō Pulgyo ūi chŏn'gae” 高句麗佛教의展開 (The development of Koguryō Buddhism), *Han'guk sasang* 韓國思想 7 (1964), 65–76; Kim Yŏngt'ae 金煥泰, “Koguryō Pulgyo sasang” 高句麗佛教思想 (Buddhist thought of Koguryō), in *Han'guk Pulgyo sasangsa: Sungsan Pak Kilchin paksa hwagap kinyŏm* 韓國佛教思想史: 崇山朴吉眞華甲紀念 (History of Korean Buddhist thought: In commemoration of the sixtieth birthday of [Sungsan] Dr. Pak Kilchin), ed. Sungsan Pak Kilchin Hwagap Kinyŏm Saŏphoe 崇山朴吉眞博士華甲紀念事業會 (Activities Association for the Commemoration of the Sixtieth Birthday of Sungsan Pak Kilchin) (Iri (Chŏlla pukto: Wŏn Pulgyo Sasang Yŏn'guwŏn 圓佛教思想研究院, Wŏn'gwang Taehakkyo 圓光大學校 1975), 24–39; Kim Sanghyŏn 金相鉉, “Koguryō ūi Pulgyo wa munhwa” (Koguryō Buddhism and culture), in *Koguryō ūi munhwa wa sasang* (The culture and thought of Koguryō), comp. Tongbuga Yŏksa Chaedan (North-east Asia History Foundation) (Seoul: Tongbuga Yŏksa Chaedan 2007), 82–98; and Chŏng Sŏnyŏ 鄭善如, *Koguryō Pulgyosa yŏn'gu* 高句麗佛教史研究 (Research on the Buddhist History of Koguryō) (Seoul: Sŏgyŏng Munhwasa, 2007).
- 3 John Jorgensen, “Goguryeo Buddhism: An Imported Religion in a Multi-ethnic Warrior Kingdom,” *The Review of Korean Studies* 15, no. 1 (2012): 59–107.
- 4 Chŏng Sŏnyŏ 鄭善如, “6 segi Koguryō Pulgyo sinang” (Buddhist faith in sixth-century Koguryō), *Paekche yŏn'gu* 百濟研究 34 (2001): 133–147.

I will describe devotional practices, such as the cult of the thousand buddhas, veneration of Maitreya and Amitābha. Third, I will describe the practice of meditation visualization and its relationship with pensive images.

## Buddhist Rituals

According to the *History of the Three Kingdoms*, in the second month of 375 Koguryō built Ch'omun Monastery 肖門寺 for Sundo 順道 (Ch. Shundao), a Chinese monk who was sent by Fu Jian 符堅, hegemon of the Former Qin 後秦 dynasty (351–394) centered on Chang'an 長安 in Northern China, to introduce Buddhism to Koguryō in 372, and Ibullan Monastery 伊弗蘭寺 for a monk named Ado 阿道 (Ch. Adao) who arrived from Jin 晉 in 375.<sup>5</sup> In 392, King Kwanggaet'o 廣開土 (r. 391–413) reportedly built nine monasteries in the capital P'yōngyang 平壤.<sup>6</sup> No other monasteries are mentioned until the founding of Kūmgang Monastery 金剛寺 is recorded in the eighth month of 502.<sup>7</sup> What kinds of ceremonies were performed in Koguryō monasteries using sūtras and images?

According to the short biographical narrative on Kōch'ilbu 居柴夫 in the *History of the Three Kingdoms*, the monk Hyeryang 惠亮 was a renowned lecturer on the Buddhist sūtras at his monastery, which was probably in Hanyang 漢陽, in the region of present-day Seoul north of the Han River 漢江. Hyeryang's monastery was probably in the Seoul area because Kōch'ilbu most likely travelled to this region to gain intelligence for Silla disguised as a monk prior to Silla's conquest of the region in 551.<sup>8</sup> Unfortunately, later gazetteers and other historiographical writings do not preserve any hints regarding the location of Hyeryang's monastery,

5 *Samguk sagi* 三國史記 18 (Sosurim 5); cf. *Samguk yusa* 3, T 2039, 49.986a5–18.

6 *Samguk sagi* 18 (Kwanggaet'o 2).

7 *Samguk sagi* 19 (Munja 7).

8 *Samguk sagi* 44 (Kōch'ilbu).

but it seems reasonable to intimate that it was large enough to support a reasonably-sized monastic community and, at least, possessed tenuous connections to monastic communities in the region, whether they were farther north in the Koguryŏ heartland or overseas on the Shandong peninsula 山東半島. Although Koguryŏ emissaries usually took the overland route from P'yŏngyang to the capitals of the Northern Dynasties, the most convenient route from the Han River Basin was by sea to the port cities on the northern coast of the Shandong peninsula, such as Dengzhou 登州. Shandong had a flourishing Buddhist community and several monasteries during the Northern and Southern Dynasties 南北國 (ca. 220–581) and Sui 隋-Tang 唐 periods (581–907).<sup>9</sup>

Although little is known about Hyeryang, we know that he submitted to the conquerors from Silla and requested to be sent to the capital. Something about Hyeryang's credentials, personality, or knowledge of Buddhism and its rituals must have impressed Silla king Chinhŭng 眞興 (r. 540–576) and other members of the court and nobility because he was the first monk in Silla to be given the position of saṃgha overseer (*sūngt'ong* 僧統), and he instituted the Convocation for the Recitation of the *Sūtra for Humane Kings* by One Hundred Eminent Monks and the Dharma Assembly of the Eight Prohibitions.<sup>10</sup>

The Convocation for the Recitation of the *Sūtra for Humane Kings* by One Hundred Eminent Monks (*Inwang-gyŏng paekkojwa kanghoe* 仁王經百高座講會) is the ritualized chanting or recitation of the "Protecting the State" chapter of the *Sūtra for Humane Kings* (*Renwang jing*, "Huguo pin" 仁王經, 護國品) by one hundred eminent monks. According to scholarly consensus, the *Sūtra for Humane Kings* is an apocryphal sūtra

9 F. S. Drake, "The Shen-t'ung Monastery and the Beginning of Buddhism in Shantung," *Monumenta Serica* 4, no. 1 (1939): 1–39.

10 *Samguk sagi* 44 (Kŏch'ilbu). The *Samguk sagi* calls these rituals *paekkojwahoe* 百座講會 and *p'alghan chi pŏp* 八關之法 respectively. For a slightly different approach to some of the same materials, see Kim Poksun, "6 segi *Samguk sagi* Pulgyo kwallyŏn kisa chonŭi", 69–70 for a brief discussion of Hyeryang and Kŏch'ilbu, and 78–80 for a discussion of the *paekkojwahoe*.

composed in Central Asia or Chinese Turkestan sometime in the third or fourth centuries C.E.<sup>11</sup> The Chinese monk-historian Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667) reports that eminent monks lectured on this sūtra at the request of rulers in both Northern and Southern China during the second half of the sixth century at roughly the same time that Hyeryang must have been active in Koguryō, before he instituted the practice in Silla.<sup>12</sup> The monk-historian Zhipan 志磐 (fl. 1258–1269), who lived during the Song 宋–Yuan 元 transition period, supports this assertion, although neither writer provides any great detail on the extent of royal or imperial support.<sup>13</sup> This does not preclude the possibility that monks performed this ritual in monasteries prior to this time. In other words, Hyeryang may merely have been transferring to Silla a ritual practice that was quite familiar and one that he performed regularly in Koguryō.

In the sūtra, the Buddha teaches the Indian King Prasenajit a method for protecting the state (*hoguk*, Ch. *huguo* 護國). The ritual prescription is as follows: The monks performing the ritual procedures are to (1) hold, read,

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- 11 For research on the *Renwang jing* in China, see Charles D. Orzech, “A Buddhist image of (Im)perfect rule in fifth-century China,” *Cahiers d’Extrême-Asie* 8 (1995): 139–153; Orzech, “Puns on the Humane King: Analogy and Application in an East Asian Apocryphon,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 109, no. 1 (1989): 17–24; and Orzech, *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom: The Scripture for Humane Kings in the Creation of Chinese Buddhism* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998). The first recorded performance of this convocation in China was in 585 in the state of Chen. In Japan, the first convocation using this sūtra was held in 660. See Marimus Willem de Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan; Sūtras and Ceremonies in use in the Seventh and Eight Centuries A.D. and Their History in Later Times*, 2 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1935), 1:116.
- 12 *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 2, T 2060, 50.436b29–c1 (Yancong 彥琮); roll 3, T 2060, 50.440c29–441a1 (Huize 慧曠); roll 17, T 2060, 50.565c10–11 (Zhiyi 智顛), and roll 24, T 2060.50.633c21–22 (Huisheng 慧乘).
- 13 *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 37, T 2035, 49.353b19 (Deyuan 德元 3 [?]); roll 39, T 2035, 49.363b28–29 (Tang Taizong 唐太宗 [r. 627–649]), roll 51, T 2035, 49.451a1–2 (Liang Wudi 梁武帝 [r. 502–549]), 451c24–25 (Chen 陳 dynasty [557–589]), and roll 53, T 2035, 49.466a2–4.

and recite this *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*; (2) adorn a ritual area by setting up one hundred Buddha images, one hundred bodhisattva images, and one hundred seats for Buddhist masters. Those who have commissioned the ritual are to (3) invite one hundred dharma masters to expound this scripture, (4) make offerings of flowers and lamps, clothes, and utensils, and burn incense. (5) Twice a day, during the course of the ritual, dharma masters are expected to expound the sūtra. The scripture promises that if a king, his great officers, and members of the saṃgha (monks and nuns) hear, read, and recite the sūtra, and practice the method, then disasters and difficulties will be eradicated in the country.<sup>14</sup>

Few Buddhist images that are indisputably products of Koguryō remain, but clay images like the standing clay bodhisattva image excavated at Wōnori (Wōnori ch'ult'o sojo posal ipsang 元吾里出土 塑造菩薩立像), gilt-bronze images like the seated gilt-bronze Buddha depicting the dhyāna-mudrā (kūmdong sōnjōngin yōrae chwasang 金銅禪定印如來坐像), the gilt-bronze standing Buddha excavated at Yangp'yōng (Yangp'yōng ch'ult'o kūmdong yōrae ipsang 楊平出土 金銅如來立像), and the standing gilt-bronze Avalokiteśvara excavated from Samyangdong in Seoul (Samyangdong ch'ult'o kūmdong Kwanūm posal ipsang 三陽洞出土 金銅觀音菩薩立像) were small, easy to transport, and would have been convenient for use in such an assembly.<sup>15</sup>

Different than the ritual utilizing the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* or *Sūtra of Golden Light* (*Jinguangming jing* 金光明經), which invokes the power of the four heavenly kings (*sach'ōnwang* 四天王) to protect the state, this convocation draws upon the merit produced by worshiping images of buddhas and bodhisattvas and the merit produced by eminent monks' reading, reciting, and lecturing on the sūtra. I suspect that one of the visual aspects of this convocation was similar to the practice of "coursing in a

14 *Renwang huguo bore boluomiduo jing* 仁王護國般若波羅蜜多經 2, T 246, 8. 840a3–c15.

15 Kang Ubang 姜友邦, *Han'guk Pulgyo chogak ū hūrūm* (The stream of Korean Buddhist sculpture) (Seoul: Taewōnsa, 1995), 118–123, 136–141.

sūtra” (*chǒn’gyǒng*, Ch. *zhuanjing* 轉經). “Coursing” in a sūtra combines a few aspects of the Buddhist cult of the book: the rolls of the sūtra would be unrolled and rolled up again; the “coursers” would perhaps chant some lines or sections of the sūtra or even lecture on a few particular points; the whole thing would be done to generate merit for the one who commissioned the coursing. In a broad sense, however, “coursing in a sūtra” is merely one way of rendering the idea of sūtra-recitation or sūtra-chanting into Buddhist Chinese. Other compounds include “reading sūtras” (*tok-kyǒng*, Ch. *dujing* 讀經), “chanting sūtras” (*p’unggyǒng*, Ch. *fengjing* 諷經), “chanting and reciting [sūtras]” (*p’ungsong*, Ch. *fengsong* 諷誦), “reciting sūtras” (*songgyǒng*, Ch. *songjing* 誦經), “looking at sūtras” (*kan’gyǒng*, Ch. *kanjing* 看經), and “contemplating sūtras” (*yǒnggyǒng*, Ch. *nianjing* 念經). Many Buddhist scriptures speak of the merit generated from reciting or chanting a Mahāyāna sūtra, such as the famous passage in the “Dhāraṇī” chapter in the *Lotus Sūtra* in which the Buddha teaches that people who chant, recite, or copy that sūtra will earn immeasurable amounts of merit. Furthermore, in the *Larger Pure Land Sūtra* (*Sukhāvativyūha-sūtra*; *Wuliangshou jing* 無量壽經) is a passage teaching that people will achieve the highest level of enlightenment if they accept the sūtra wholeheartedly in faith, chant the sūtra, and practice in accordance with its teachings.<sup>16</sup>

When Sundo introduced Buddhism to the Koguryō court, besides the sūtras and images he brought from Chang’an, he also probably introduced basic monastic ceremonies like the fortnightly *poṣadha* (*p’osal*, Ch. *busa* 布薩), as well as the cult of Maitreya. Furthermore, such practices would also have been spread by Tamsi 曇始 (Ch. Tanshi), a Chinese monk famed for his white feet who was active in Koguryō between 396 and 405, whom the Silla literatus Ch’oe Ch’iwōn 崔致遠 (857–d. after 908) thought was the first monk to promote Buddhism in Koguryō.<sup>17</sup> These monks

16 See *Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮花經 7, T 262, 9.58b10–12; *Wuliangshou jing* 無量壽經 2, T 360, 12.279a3–6.

17 See “Pongamsa Chijūng Taesa Chōkchot’ap pimun” 鳳巖寺智證大師寂照塔碑文

would also have introduced merit-making ceremonies for lay people, which would have been common by the time that Hyeryang introduced the Assembly of Eight Prohibitions in Silla in the late sixth century. The Assembly of Eight Prohibitions links the most fundamental of Buddhist ritual observances, the *poṣadha*, to Maitreya worship because the Maitreya sūtras encourage aspirants to hold “fasts of the eight precepts” (*p’algye chae*, Ch. *bajie zhai* 八戒齋).<sup>18</sup> A fast of the eight precepts appears to be another name for a fast of the eight prohibitions (*p’algwan chae*, Ch. *baguan zhai* 八關齋, Skt. *aṣṭāṅga-poṣadhe*, Pali: *aṭṭhaṅguposatha*). The *Lives of Eminent Korean Monks* (*Haedong kosung chōn* 海東高僧傳), which was compiled by Kakhun 覺訓 in 1215, reports that a fasting assembly of the eight prohibitions (*p’algwanjae hoe* 八關齋會) was held for the war dead in a monastery outside of the capital.<sup>19</sup> Medieval Chinese Buddhist records preserve accounts of fasts of the eight prohibitions being held in primarily in the Southern Dynasties.<sup>20</sup> A fast of the eight prohibi-

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(Stele Inscription on the Quiescent Radiance Pagoda of Great Master Chijūng at Pongam Monastery), in *Yōkchu Han’guk kodae kūmsōngmun* 譯註古代金石文 (Translated and Annotated Ancient Korean Epigraphy), ed. Han’guk Kodae Sahoe Yōn’guso 韓國古代社會研究所 (Research Institute on Ancient Korean Society), 3 vols. (Seoul: Karakkuk Sajōk Kaebal Yōn’guso, 1992), 3:175–198, esp. 178. For more on Tamsi, see *Gaoseng zhuan* 10, T 2059, 50.392b3–c7; and *Samguk yusa* 3, T 2039, 49.987a8–29. For a comparison and analysis of the versions of his life in the *Gaoseng zhuan* and *Samguk yusa*, see Richard D. McBride II, “Is the *Samguk yusa* Reliable? Case Studies from Chinese and Korean Sources,” *Journal of Korean Studies* 11, no. 1 (Fall 2006): 163–189, esp. 167–171.

- 18 *Guan Mile pusa shangsheng Doushuaitian jing* 觀彌勒菩薩上生兜率天經, T 452, 14.420a15; *Mile xiasheng jing* 彌勒下生經, T 453, 14.422c27; *Mile dachengfo jing* 彌勒大成佛經, T 456, 14.432a8–9.
- 19 *Haedong kosung chōn* 1, T 2065, 50.1019c4–5. The *Samguk sagi* calls it a *p’algwan yōnhoe* 八關筵會; cf. *Samguk sagi* 4:53 (Chinhūng 33).
- 20 *Gaoseng zhuan* 10, T 2059, 50.390c3–4 (Beidu 杯度); *Shenseng zhuan* 神僧傳 2, T 2064, 50.961a8 (Huishao 慧紹), roll 3, T 2064, 50.961c25–26 (Beidu); roll 6, T 2064, 50.989c27–28 (Hongfang 洪昉); *Fayuan zhulin* 6, T2122, 53.315a28–b2, roll 18, T 2122, 53.417c24, roll 40, T 2122, 53.601c1, roll 61, T 2122, 53.747a12;



tions refers to a fast kept by lay men (*upāsaka*) and lay women (*upāsikā*) in which they observe eight precepts for a full day and night: (1) not to kill living beings; (2) not to steal; (3) not to misuse sex; (4) not to lie; (5) not to drink intoxicants; (6) not to ornament the body with flowers or perfumes, sing, dance, or attend shows; (7) not to sleep on high or comfortable beds; and (8) not to eat at inappropriate times (viz. after noon). Āgama literature explains that the eight prohibitions refer to a special dharma assembly for lay men, particularly kings, in which they empower themselves by fasting and following eight precepts that a monk would follow for a specified period of time. Full-fledged monks usually reviewed and rededicated (i.e. empowered) themselves to the monastic precepts (*kyeyul*, Ch. *jielü* 戒律; Skt. *vinaya*, *śīla*) twice a month on the seventh and fifteenth days in a special dharma assembly (Skt. *poṣadha*) in which the monastic code was recited.<sup>21</sup>

The *poṣadha* combines fortnightly recitation of the basic Buddhist precepts with merit-making practices intended to benefit the fourfold saṃgha, which includes the laity. Ever since the 450s, however, most Buddhists in Northern China probably conceptualized or understood the purpose and function of such ritual observances through the extremely popular apocryphal sūtra, the *Book of Trapuṣa* (*Tiwei jing* 提謂經). The *Book of Trapuṣa*, which scholars suggest was composed by the monk Tanjing 曇靖 between 452 and 455, combines the *poṣadha* with repentance practices and encourages people to take refuge in the Buddha.<sup>22</sup> Because Koguryō

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roll 83, T 2122, 53.900c28–29.

21 *Baguanzhai jing* 八關齋經, T89, 1.913a–b; see An Kyehyōn 安啟賢, “P’algwanhoe ko” 八關會考 (Study of the Assembly of the Eight Prohibitions), *Tongguk sahak* 東國史學 4 (1956): 31–54.

22 Whalen Lai, “The Earliest Folk Buddhist Religion in China: *T’i-wei Po-li Ching* and Its Historical Significance,” in *Buddhist and Taoist Practice in Medieval Chinese Society: Buddhist and Taoist Studies II*, ed. David W. Chappell (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1987), 11–35; Tokuno Kyoko, “Byways in Chinese Buddhism: The *Book of Trapuṣa* and Indigenous Scriptures” (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1994).

had a close relationship with the Northern Wei, the ideas contained in this text, if not the apocryphal sūtra itself, probably circulated among Koguryō Buddhists as well. The *Book of Trapuṣa* encourages monks and laity to organize themselves into “communities of the righteous” (*ūiūp*, Ch. *yiyi* 義邑), in which people are adopted into the family of the Buddha. It further encourages the members of these communities to hold confessional *poṣadhas* every fourteen days.<sup>23</sup>

The *Book of Trapuṣa* also explains the five precepts that all Buddhists vow to observe in terms that would have more familiar to people with at least rudimentary education or exposure to moralistic “Confucian” principles. Hence, the precept to abstain from killing is explained as humane-ness (*in*, Ch. *ren* 仁), the precept eschewing adultery is described as righteousness (*ūi*, Ch. *yi* 義), the precept on avoiding drinking intoxicants is explained as propriety (*ye*, Ch. *li* 禮), the precept abjuring stealing is explicated as wisdom (*hye*, Ch. *hui* 慧), and the precept on “speaking proper words” (i.e., not lying) is clarified as trust or confidence (*sin*, Ch. *xin* 信).<sup>24</sup> The apocryphal sūtra also encourages people to chant “I take refuge in the Buddha” (*nammubul*, Ch. *nanwufo* 南無佛) and explains that people will receive five benefits if they circumambulate Buddhist images: good complexion in this life, a fine voice, rebirth in heaven, rebirth into the families of lords and nobles, and nirvāṇa.<sup>25</sup> The *Book of Trapuṣa* also stresses the importance of Buddhist precepts and warns readers that if they do not observe the precepts they will be reborn in hell. It also describes karmic retribution and rebirth among the five paths<sup>26</sup> according to the quality of one’s thoughts (*yōm*, Ch. *nian* 念).<sup>27</sup>

23 Lai, “The Earliest Folk Buddhist Religion in China”, 16–20.

24 Lai, “The Earliest Folk Buddhist Religion in China”, 22–23.

25 Lai, “The Earliest Folk Buddhist Religion in China”, 25–26.

26 Five paths (*odo* 五道) or five types of rebirth: gods in heaven (*ch’ōn* 天), humans (*in* 人), animals (*ch’uksaeng* 畜生), hungry ghosts (*kwisin* 鬼神 or *agwi* 餓鬼), and denizens of hell (*chiok* 地獄). A related list is that of the six paths (*yukto* 六道), which, adds titans, lit. *asura* 阿修羅, to the list.

27 Lai, “The Earliest Folk Buddhist Religion in China”, 28–30.

## Devotional Practices

One of the earliest forms of devotional practice in Koguryō for which there is material evidence is the cult of the thousand buddhas (*ch'ōnbul*, Ch. *qianfo* 千佛). Artistic representations of the thousand buddhas are also found in the Buddhist grottos Dunhuang 敦煌 (fourth to tenth centuries), Yungang 雲岡 (mid- to late fifth century), and Longmen 龍門 (late fifth to the tenth centuries) in Northern China, which date to the late fifth and early sixth century. In these cave temples, countless rows of tiny buddhas are depicted in meditative trance seated on lotus blossoms. Lines upon lines and rows upon rows of multiple buddhas illustrate the theme or motif of the thousand buddhas. In his introduction to reproductions of the paintings at Dunhuang, Arthur Waley paraphrases the story found in the *Sūtra on the Origin of the Thousand Buddhas* (*Qianfo yinyuan jing* 千佛因緣經): “Eternities ago, King Guangde asked his subjects to study the Vedas. One of the thousand sages heard a monk speak from the *triratna*, or ‘three jewels.’ Inspired by the radiance of the *triratna*, the king, together with his 999 fellow students, converted to Buddhism. In their next incarnation they were reborn as the ‘Thousand Buddhas.’”<sup>28</sup> The story of the Buddha Prabhūtaratna (Many Treasures; Tabobul, Ch. Dabaofu 多寶佛) in the *Lotus Sūtra*, in which he appears in his jeweled stūpa to hear the *Lotus Sūtra* being taught, also illustrates the image of thousands of buddhas, although Kumārajīva’s translation does not refer specifically to a thousand buddhas.<sup>29</sup> The worship of the thousand buddhas seems to be

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28 Nicole de Bisscop, “The Art of Longmen”, in *The Buddha in the Dragon Gate: Buddhist Sculpture of the 5<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> Centuries from Longmen, China*, ed. Jan van Alphen (Ghent: Snoek-Ducaju & Zoon, 2001), 61–95, esp. 84; see also Arthur Waley, *A Catalogue of Paintings recovered from Tun-huang by Sir Aurel Stein* (London: Printed by the Order of the Trustees of the British Museum and of the Government of India, 1931), L; *Qianfo yinyuan jing* 千佛因緣經, T 426, 14.65c–72a.

29 *Miaofa lianhua jing* 4, T 262, 8.32b–34b; see Leon Hurvitz, trans., *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 183–194.

representative of the acceptance of a doctrinally Buddhist outlook on time and cosmology, because I have not been able to isolate specific devotion-al practices, like those associated with the cults of Maitreya and Amitābha that will be treated below. The essential doctrines associated with the cult of the thousand buddhas are as follows: a thousand buddhas appear in the world during each the three kalpas of the past, present, and future, and Śākyamuni is the fourth buddha of the thousand buddhas of the present kalpa.<sup>30</sup> Tiantai Zhiyi 天台智顛 (538–597) held the position that “Māyā [Śākyamuni’s mother] was the mother of the thousand buddhas, Śuddhodana [Śākyamuni’s father] was the father of the thousand buddhas, and Rāhula [Śākyamuni’s son] was the son of the thousand buddhas.”<sup>31</sup>

The oldest Buddhist image in Korea that can be dated with certainty is a gilt-bronze standing image of the Buddha inscribed with the seventh year of the Yōn’ga reign period (Yōn’ga ch’illyōn myōng kūmdong yōrae ip-sang 延嘉七年銘 金銅如來立像). It was made in 539, about a hundred years after Koguryō moved its capital to P’yōngyang. The inscription on the backside of the mandorla (*kwangbae* 光背), a full-body halo or nimbus, reports that more than forty monks of the Eastern Monastery of Lelang (Nangnang Tongsa 樂良<sup>32</sup>東寺) made a vow together and commissioned a thousand buddha images.<sup>33</sup> The inscription also explains that a certain bhikṣu made an offering of the twenty-ninth of the thousand buddhas, the Buddha Causes Manifest Meaning (*inhyōnūi pul* 因現義佛). This serves as evidence that the cult of the buddhas of the present kalpa existed in Koguryō.<sup>34</sup>

30 *Fayuan zhulin* 1, T 2122, 53.274a27.

31 *Miaofa lianhua jing xuanyi* 妙法蓮華經玄義 6, T 1716, 33.756b15–16.

32 Reading *ryang* 良 as *rang* (-*nang*) 浪. Nangnang (Ch. Lelang) is usually written as 樂浪.

33 Kim Yōngt’ae 金煥泰, “Koguryō inhyōnūibulsang ūi chusōng sigi” 高句麗因現義佛像의 鑄成時期 (The period in which the Buddha Causes Manifest Meaning was molded in Koguryō), *Pulgyo hakpo* 佛教學報 34 (1997): 21–40.

34 See *Yōkchu Han ’guk kodae kūmsōngmun*, 1:127. For the name of the twenty-ninth buddha of the thousand buddhas see *Xianqie jing* 賢劫經 6, T 425, 14.46a27 (Qi-

Also, three-hundred and twelve pieces of clay Buddhist images (*sobul-sang* 塑佛像) were discovered at the site of a monastery in Wōno Village 元五里, Tōksan Township 德山面, P'yōngwŏn County 平原郡, in South P'yōngan Province 平安南道. Of these a seated Buddha image comprised two-hundred and four pieces and a standing bodhisattva image comprised the remaining one-hundred and eight pieces. All of the pieces were discovered in the ruins of an ancient building. Mun Myōngdae has argued persuasively that these Buddhist images belonged to a set of a thousand buddhas.<sup>35</sup>

The Buddhist encyclopedist Daoshi 道世 (ca. 596–683) provides a brief account of the devotional practices that might be associated with the cult of the thousand buddhas. He reports that Emperor Ming 明帝 of the Southern Qi dynasty 南齊 (r. 494–498) “copied all the sūtras, made images of the thousand buddhas, verbally intoned ‘Prajñā’ (*panya*, Ch. *bore* 般若), constantly observed the *Lotus Sūtra*, constructed and took refuge in monasteries, gathered together meditation monks, and constantly observed the six fasts.”<sup>36</sup> Daoshi’s contemporary, the Buddhist historian Daoxuan reports that images of the thousand buddhas and Avalokiteśvara were associated with campaigns for the promotion of relics during the Sui 隋 period (581–618).<sup>37</sup> He also preserved a story of the early Tang monk Hanzhao 含照 who made a vow to draw the thousand buddhas.<sup>38</sup> The making of gilt-bronze and clay images of the thousand buddhas in Koguryō fits well with these mainstream devotional practices of Sinitic Mahāyāna Buddhism.

Along with the veneration of buddha images, Koguryō Buddhists per-

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anfominghao pin 千佛名號品).

35 Mun Myōngdae 文明大, “Wōnori saji sobulsang ūi yōn’gu” (Research on the small Buddhist images from the monastery site at Wōnori: On the casting of the images of the thousand buddhas in Koguryō), *Kogo misul* 考古美術 150 (1981): 58–70, esp. 66.

36 *Fayuan zhulin* 100, T 2122, 53.1025b22.

37 *Guang hongming ji* 廣弘明集 17, T 2103, 51.214c3.

38 *Sanbao ganying yaolüe lu* 三寶感應要略錄 1, T 2084, 51.833c8–12.

formed devotional practices at pagodas (*t'ap* 塔; Skt. *stūpa*). Buddhist literature preserves an anecdote about the discovery and reconstruction of an Aśoka *stūpa* (Ayuk-wang *t'ap*, Ch. Ayuwang ta 阿育王塔) near Liaodong Fortress 遼東城, which was part of the Koguryō domain. According to Indian Buddhist tradition, the Mauryan king Aśoka (Ayuwang 阿育王, r. 268–232 B.C.E.) dispatched monks bearing relics of the Buddha and had them set up 84,000 Buddhastūpas throughout the world as a way to propagate the Buddhadharmā.<sup>39</sup> Daoxuan's *Combined Records of Spiritual Resonances of the Three Jewels in China* (*Ji Shenzhou sanbao gantong lu* 集神州三寶感通錄), which was first compiled in 664, first reports the following tale, which was repeated almost verbatim in Daoshi's *A Grove of Pearls in the Garden of the Dharma* (*Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林) and Iryōn's *Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms*:

With respect to the *stūpa* near the Liaodong Fortress in Koryō 高麗 [viz. Koguryō], an old gaffer perpetuates the tale that in days long past in Koryō a sage king appeared; and while he made a procession in his realm he came upon this fortress and saw a multicolored cloud covering over the land. Immediately a monk holding a metal staff emerged from within the cloud and stood on the ground. When [the king] drew close [the monk] conveniently disappeared and when he looked from far off [the monk] reappeared. Nearby there was a three-story earthen *stūpa* the top of which was like an overturned cauldron. [The king] did not know what it was. He again went searching for the monk, but there was only barren grassland. He dug deeply, about ten feet, and found a wooden staff and shoes. Then, he dug more and found an engraving upon which there was Brahma script (*pōmsō*, Ch. *fanshu* 梵書). The officials in attendance recognized it and said that it was a “Buddhastūpa” (*pult'ap*, Ch. *fota* 佛塔). The king asked an involved question. [The officials] answered saying, “They had them in the country of the Han 漢 [China, ca. 206 B.C.E.–220 C.E.]. This is

39 Iryōn alludes to this narrative; see *Samguk yusa* 3, T 2039, 49.989c18–21.

called ‘Buddha’ (*p’odo*, Ch. *putu* 蒲圖).” The king then, giving rise to faith [in the Buddha], erected a seven-story wooden stūpa. Afterwards, the Buddhadharma commenced [in Koguryō] and [the king] knew the whole of it from beginning to end. Now again it is spoiled in height. The original stūpa is rotten and ruined. This, verily, is one of the many places where King Aśoka set up stūpas in many places when he unified the continent of Jambudvīpa. It is incapable of working wonders.<sup>40</sup>

This narrative reports that a Koguryō king built a seven-story wooden pagoda at the site of a three-story earthen stūpa shaped like an overturned cauldron near Liaodong Fortress. The miraculous appearance of the monk figure and the staff, shoes, and engraving in Indic script served as evidence that it was a stupa containing relics of the Buddha erected by King Aśoka. Large multi-storied wooden pagodas were built in the Northern Wei capital of Luoyang 洛陽 during the early sixth century, so this tale may refer to something built in Koguryō about this time.<sup>41</sup> Although there is no other anecdotal evidence that Koguryō Buddhists worshipped at this site, the idea that Buddhist monks and devout lay people searched for and worshipped at sites believed to be places where stūpas had been erected by King Aśoka was also a common motif in hagiographies about Buddhist monks in China. For instance, the *Lives of Eminent Monks* (*Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳) reports that monk Huida 慧達 was told by a religious man that he should seek out Aśoka stūpas, worship at them and repent of his

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40 *Ji Shenzhou sanbao gantong lu* 1, T 2106, 52.409a24–b4; cf. *Fayuan zhulin* 38, T 2122, 53.588c10–19 and *Samguk yusa* 3, T 2039, 49.989b29–c9.

41 For example, the Northern Wei built a colossal nine-story wooden pagoda at Yongning Monastery 永寧寺 in 516. See *Luoyang qielan ji* 洛陽伽藍記 1, T 2092, 51.999b–1000a; see also Yang Chōngsōk 梁正錫, “Silla Hwangnyongsa, Puk Wi Yōngnyōngsa kurigo Ilbon Taegwan Taesasa: 5–7 segi Tongasia tusōngje wa kwallyōn hayō” (Silla’s Hwangnyongsa, the Northern Wei’s Yongningsi, and Japan’s Kudara ōdera: On the management of capitals in East Asia from the 5th–7th centuries), *Han ’guksa hakpo* 韓國史學報 9 (September 2000): 9–56.

transgressions to make penance for his sins.<sup>42</sup> Essentially, the same types of devotional and repentance practices associated with the confessional *poṣadha*, discussed above, were probably performed at stūpas.

The cult of Maitreya in China was originally associated with the vows of monastic practitioners to be reborn in Tuṣita Heaven (Tosolch'ōn, Ch. Doushuaitian 兜率天), the heaven connected to our realm of existence where Maitreya waits to be reborn into our world, or to be reborn in Ketumati (Kyedumal, Ch. Jitoumo, 雞頭摩 or Sidumal, Ch. Chitoumo 翅頭末), the pure land created by Maitreya when he is born on earth in the distant future. The goal in either case was so that aspirants might hear the Buddhadharmā directly from the mouth of the future Buddha Maitreya and thus attain Buddhahood. The elite monks, nobility, and royalty who patronized them, commissioned images of Maitreya, both standing and seated in meditation, as objects of worship and as aids for visualization. Standing images of Maitreya were often indicative of his preaching in Ketumati after his attainment of Buddhahood underneath the *nāgapuṣpa*, or “dragon-flower tree” (*yonghwasu*, Ch. *longhuashu* 龍華樹), and seated images, such as those in the “half-seated pensive pose” (*pan'ga sayu-sang*, Jpn. *hanka shiyui-zō* 半跏思惟象), are believed by some art historians to portray Maitreya's waiting in meditation in Tuṣita Heaven. Both styles of Maitreya are found closely connected in the art of the Northern Dynasties and demonstrate that these two aspects of the cult of Maitreya were interrelated in early China.<sup>43</sup>

In popular Chinese imagination, the Indian and Central Asian sūtras describing Maitreya's descent from Tuṣita in the distant future and his inauguration of a new period the Buddhadharmā assimilated with Daoist mil-

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42 *Gaoseng zhuan* 13, T 2059, 50.409b15–17; see also Koichi Shinohara, “Two Sources of Chinese Buddhist Biographies: Stupa Inscriptions and Miracle Stories,” in *Monks and Magicians: Religious Biographies in Asia*, ed. Phyllis Granoff and Koichi Shinohara (Oakville, Ontario: Mosaic Press, 1988.), 119–228.

43 Lee Yu-Min 李玉珉, “Ketumati Maitreya and Tuṣita Maitreya in Early China,” Part I: *National Palace Museum Bulletin* 19, no. 4 (1984): 1–11; Part II: *National Palace Museum Bulletin* 19, no. 5 (1984): 1–11.



lenarian stories and aspirations. As a result, Maitreya in the Sinitic cultural sphere was conceptualized as a savior being who would inaugurate a peaceful Buddhist millennium after years of warfare and the decline of the Buddhadharmā (*malbōp*, Ch. *mofa* 末法).<sup>44</sup> The worship of this powerfully compelling Maitreya began to spread throughout Chinese society in the Northern Dynasties due to the frequent warfare between the Northern Chinese states that had been founded by pastoral Turko-Mongol peoples. The sūtras associated with the cult of Maitreya mention both devotional and meditative practices to be reborn in the presence of Maitreya. The sūtras encourage people (1) to visualize themselves in the presence of Maitreya in Tuṣita now, (2) to make vows to be reborn in Tuṣita later (at their death), (3) to make vows to be reborn on earth when Maitreya comes later, and/or (4) to perform devotional practices in order to see incarnations of Maitreya here on the earth.<sup>45</sup> All of these practices were popular among the elites during the Northern Dynasties and, at the height of the cult in the sixth century, were transmitted to Silla probably through Koguryō.

The rise of the cult of Maitreya in Northern China traces back to the devotional practices promoted by the monk Daoan 道安 (312–385). Prophecies of Maitreya's presence in Tuṣita Heaven and of his future descent to the world had begun to emerge in the Buddhist literature of the period.<sup>46</sup> A key aspect of the cult for Daoan was his desire to be reborn in

44 See, for instance, Erik Zürcher, "Prince Moonlight: Messianism and Eschatology in Early Medieval Chinese Buddhism," *T'oung Pao* 98, nos. 1–3 (1982): 1–71; and Erik Zürcher, "Buddhist Influence on Early Taoism: A Survey of Scriptural Evidence," *T'oung Pao* 96, nos. 1–3 (1980): 84–147.

45 See Jan Nattier, "The Meanings of the Maitreya Myth: A Typological Analysis," in *Maitreya, the Future Buddha*, ed. Alan Spondberg and Helen Hardacre (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 23–32.

46 Tsukamoto Zenryū 塚本善隆, *Chūgoku bukkyō tsūshi* 中国仏教通史 (Comprehensive history of Chinese Buddhism), rev. ed. 3 vols. (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1979), 1:560–561; see also Hayami Tasuku 速水侑, *Miroku shinkō: mo hitotsu no jōdo shinkō* 弥勒信仰：もう一つの浄土信仰 (The Maitreya cult: One more Pure

Tuṣita Heaven in the presence of Maitreya so that his doubts concerning the Buddhist scriptures and, perhaps, access to suitable texts of the Buddhist precepts, could be resolved. Daoan's faith in Maitreya was well-known during his lifetime. Fu Jian, sent a portrait of Maitreya pieced together out of pearl, gilt images, and other gifts to Daoan. Daoan and his disciples pronounced vows in front of images of Maitreya expressing their desire to be reborn in Tuṣita. Daoan's veneration of Maitreya by wishing for rebirth in Tuṣita, the veneration of images of Maitreya, and their use as visual aids in his lecturing became the basic practices of the cult of Maitreya in East Asia.<sup>47</sup>

The cult of Maitreya continued to flourish under the conquest dynasties in Northern China, and probably flourished in Koguryō as well. In the Buddhist grottos of the Northern Wei 北魏 (386–534) and its successors, the Dunhuang, Yungang and Longmen caves, the oldest surviving examples of medieval Chinese Buddhist art, images of Maitreya, along with images of Śākyamuni, were the most numerous.<sup>48</sup> The Longmen caves signal the golden age of the Maitreya cult in Northern China. Tsukamoto Zenryū suggests that succession and inheritance of social position and dynastic authority might be important themes in the worship of Maitreya, since he is seen as the legitimate heir to the Buddha Śākyamuni.<sup>49</sup> After the first half of the Northern Wei, the Śākyamuni cult, most graphically depicted at Yungang, gave way to the Maitreya cult, most prominent at Longmen. However, the Longmen caves also signal the beginning of the rise of the Amitābha cult that would surpass the Maitreya cult during the

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Land cult) (Tokyo: Hyoronsha, 1971), 34–36; *Fangguang banruo jing* 放光般若經, 20 rolls, T 221, 8.1a–146c.

47 *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 5, T 2059, 50.352b13–17; see also Arthur E. Link, “Biography of Shih Tao-an,” *T'oung Pao* 46, nos. 1–2 (1958): 1–48, esp. 21, 36–37.

48 See Tsukamoto Zenryū 塚本善隆, *Shina Bukkyōshi kenkyū: Hokugihen* 支那佛教史研究：北魏篇 (Studies in Chinese Buddhist History: Northern Wei) (Tokyo, Kōbundō, 1942), 228–233; 368–369, 375–376, 377–382, 513; Hayami, *Miroku shinkō*, 37–39.

49 See Tsukamoto Zenryū, *Shina Bukkyōshi kenkyū*, 564–594, 605–609.

early Tang.

Although Daoan and his small circle of worshippers of Maitreya may have provided the original influence for the cult of Maitreya, the cult may have been effected more by the concurrent translations of scriptures dealing with the Pure Land of Amitābha and the rise of Amitābha's cult. The original appeal of this cult, nevertheless, may have focused around the belief that one could become a Buddhist sylph, like a Daoist immortal or transcendent (*sōn*, Ch. *xian* 仙), and dwell in the company of Maitreya like a Daoist immortal might reside in the Daoist heavens. Thus, the cult seemed to appeal to many people during the Northern Dynasties and played an important role in the initial conversion of the people to Buddhism.<sup>50</sup>

Little literary material has been preserved of the Buddhist history of both Koguryō, and even less has been preserved associated with the cult of Maitreya. Nevertheless, because the worship of Maitreya was so widespread in Northern China and because Koguryō had close relations with both Fu Jian's Former Qin and the succeeding Northern Wei dynasty, Buddhist monks and other aspirants in Koguryō must have been familiar to some extent with several of the sūtras on Maitreya and the ways of venerating him that were becoming increasingly widespread in the Sinitic cultural sphere.<sup>51</sup>

A small (8.5 cm), gilt-bronze image of a bodhisattva seated in the pensive pose that some art historians suggest is either from early sixth-century Koguryō or is an import from Northern Wei—and might be Maitreya—is in the possession of the National Museum of Korea. This attractive image follows the Northern Wei style and its size indicate that it was

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50 Tsukamoto, *Chūgoku bukkyō tsūshi*, 1:560–561.

51 Kim Yōngt'ae 金煥泰, "Samguk sidae ū Mirūk sinang" (The Maitreya cult in the Three Kingdoms period), in *Han'guk Mirūk sasang yōn'gu* 韓國彌勒思想研究 (Research on Korean conceptions of Maitreya), ed. Pulgyo Munhwa Yōn'guwōn 佛教文化研究院 (Buddhist Culture Research Center) (Seoul: Tongguk Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 1987), 11–60, esp. 12–35.

probably a votive image used in personal devotions in which individuals vowed to be reborn in Tuṣita Heaven in Maitreya's presence.<sup>52</sup> Many of the early pensive images found in Central Asia and Northern China dating to the Northern Wei period are intended as representations of Prince Siddhārtha's first meditative experience because they depict a youthful figure underneath the *jambu* tree and/or with his horse Kaṅṭhaka.<sup>53</sup> However, in the Northern Qi period 北齊 (550–577), in the late sixth century, pensive images come in a variety of creative forms, including altarpieces, marble statues, and even paired pensive figures.<sup>54</sup> Basing her study on a cache of images and image fragments discovered in the ruins of Xiude Monastery 修德寺 on the Shandong peninsula, Eileen Hsu crafted a persuasive argument that the pensive images of the Northern Qi were used in meditative visualization practices and depicted the aspirants themselves in

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52 See Jonathan W. Best, "Imagery, Iconography and Belief in Early Korean Buddhism," *Korean Culture* 13, no. 3 (Fall 1992), 23–33, esp. 29, fig. 9. Kang Ubang reports that this image is actually a Northern Wei image and that it is 9.1 cm. See Kang Ubang 姜友邦, *Wōnyung kwa chohwa: Han'guk kodae chogaksa ūi wōlli 圓融과 調和: 韓國古代彫刻史의 原理* (Perfect interpenetration and harmony: the principles of the history of sculpture in ancient Korea) (Seoul: Yōrhwadang, 1990), 72, figs. 26, 27. Ko Hyerin thinks that it is a Northern Wei image that is very similar to Buddhist images found in the Yungang caves. See Ko, *Mirūk kwa Tosolch'ōn ūi tosanghwa: Pulsōl kwan Mirūk posal sangsaeng Tosolch'ōn kyōng e kŭn'gōhayō: (Iconography of Maitreya and Tuṣita heaven: Based on the Sūtra on the Visualization of Maitreya's Rebirth Above in Tuṣita Heaven)* (Seoul: Ilchogak, 2011), 257, pl. 135.

53 Junghee Lee, "The Origins and Development of the Pensive Bodhisattva Images of Asia." *Artibus Asiae* 53, nos. 3–4 (1993), 311–357, esp. 312–318; Eileen Hsiangling Hsu, "Visualization Meditation and the *Siwei* Icon in Chinese Buddhist Sculpture," *Artibus Asiae* 62, no. 1 (2002), 5–32, esp. 10–14; see also Kang Hŭijōng 姜煥靜, *Kwanŭm kwa Mirūk ūi tosanghak: Han'guk kwa Chungguk ūi posalsang ūl chungsim ūro* (Iconography of Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya: Centered on Korean and Chinese images of bodhisattvas) (Seoul: Hagyoŏn Munhwasa, 2006), 189–205.

54 Denise Patry Leidy, "The Ssu-wei Figure in Sixth-Century A. D. Chinese Buddhist Sculpture," *Archives of Asian Art* 43 (1990), 21–37.

the glory of Tuṣita Heaven because several images contain inscriptions that clearly label these images as “pensive icons” (*sayusang*, Ch. *si-weixiang* 思惟像) and one icon even places Maitreya between two bodhisattva figures seated in pensive form.<sup>55</sup> However, not all art historians are persuaded by this interpretation, although they recognize that the art associated with the cult of Maitreya evolved during the Northern Qi period.<sup>56</sup> Furthermore, certain features found on pensive images carved and cast in Silla Korea in the first half of the seventh century suggest that prototypes may be found among the hoard of images dating from the Northern Qi period discovered in the ruins of Longxing Monastery 龍興寺 in the Shandong peninsula.<sup>57</sup> Koguryō had relatively close relations with the Northern Qi, having dispatched tribute-bearing missions at least seven times.<sup>58</sup> So, there were ample opportunities for images and other Buddhist works of art to enter Koguryō. Kang Woo-Bang identified two pensive images that are very similar to the types of images being cast in Northern China as being pieces of Koguryō Buddhist art: a gilt-bronze pensive image excavated from P’yōngch’ōlli in P’yōngyang (P’yōngyang P’yōngch’ōlli ch’ult’o kūmdong sayusang 平壤平川里出土金銅思惟像) and another gilt-bronze pensive image. There is also a set of several images, including pensive images, carved into a rock face on Mt. Haetkol on

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55 Hsu, “Visualization Meditation and the *Siwei* Icon in Chinese Buddhist Sculpture,” 14–25.

56 Kang, *Kwanūm kwa Mirūk ūi tosanghak*, 206–230.

57 Ōnishi Shūya, “The Monastery Kōryūji’s ‘Crowned Maitreya’ and the Stone Pensive Bodhisattva Excavated at Longxingsi,” in *Transmitting the Forms of Divinity: Early Buddhist Art from Korea and Japan*, by Hiromitsu Washizuka, Park Youngbok, and Kang Woo-Bang, et al. (New York: Japan Society, 2003), 54–67; see also Tanabe Saburōsuke, “From the Stone Buddhas of Longxingsi to Buddhist Images in Three Kingdoms Korea and Asuka-Hakuhō Japan,” *Transmitting the Forms of Divinity: Early Buddhist Art from Korea and Japan*, by Hiromitsu Washizuka, Park Youngbok, and Kang Woo-Bang, et al. (New York: Japan Society, 2003), 46–54.

58 See *Samguk sagi* 19 (Yangwŏn 6 [550], 7 [551], and 11 [555], and P’yōngwŏn 2 [560], 6 [564], 7 [565], 15 [573]).

Ponghwangni in Chungwōn in North Ch'ungch'ōng Province (Chungwōn Ponghwangni Haetkolsan mae pulsanggun 中原鳳凰里 磨崖佛像群). The pensive images carved on the rock face, thought to date from the mid-sixth century, share stylistic similarities with Northern Wei pensive images, serve as evidence of connections between Koguryō and Northern China.<sup>59</sup> I will describe the personal devotions that may have been associated with the use of pensive icons in the following section.

Buddhist themes and motifs appear in a few Koguryō tomb murals.<sup>60</sup> Changch'ōn Tomb no. 1 長川1號貴 depicts a man and a woman performing the five-pointed prostration (*och'e t'uji* 五體投地), a way of showing utmost respect in Buddhism.<sup>61</sup> The rear wall of the Tomb of the Dancers (Muyongch'ong 舞踊塚) portrays the tomb occupant listening to a sermon preached by the Buddha, and an inscription in the Tōkhūngni Old Tomb in 德興里古墳 reports that the occupant was a “disciple of Śākyamuni” (*Sōkkamun cheja* 釋迦文弟子). A wall mural in the Kamsin Tomb 龕神塚, in Namp'o City 南浦 in South P'yōngan Province 平安南道 in North Korea, depicts a deity that looks like a seated Buddha image wearing a reddish brown robe and a crown. The figure is flanked by standing attendants on the left and right. The Changch'ōn Tomb no. 1 also shows buddhas, bodhisattvas, *apsaras* (*pich'ōn* 飛天), lotus patterns and other symbols depicted on the upper portions of the wall and ceiling. There are even depictions of beings born in lotus blossoms (*yōnhwa hwasaeung* 蓮花化生), intimating something of a rudimentary understanding or belief in Amitābha's Pure Land Sukhāvātī. However, some elements also seem to conform to the *Sūtra on the Visualization of the Bodhisattva Maitreya's Rebirth Above in Tuṣita Heaven* (*Guan Mile pusa shangsheng Doushuaitian jing* 佛說觀彌勒菩薩上生兜率天經), which describes rebirth in Tuṣita Heaven as meeting or encountering Maitreya. It describes a va-

59 Kang Ubang, *Han'guk Pulgyo chogak ūi hūrūm*, 124–129, and 142–145, esp. 145.

60 For a study by an art historian, see Youngsook Pak, “Buddhist Themes in Koguryō Murals,” *Asiatische Studien/Études Asiatiques* 44, no. 2 (1990): 177–204.

61 See Kang Ubang, *Han'guk Pulgyo chogak ūi hūrūm*, 104–106.

riety of devotional and visualization practices as leading toward this goal and also illustrates something of the majesty of Tuṣita Heaven.<sup>62</sup> Art historians date the Changch'ŏn Tombs to the fourth century, just when Buddhism was being introduced to Koguryŏ. However, there is little archeological evidence for monasteries and other Buddhist buildings until the sixth century. So, do these tomb paintings show a widespread belief in Buddhism or are they merely funerary motifs that do not truly reflect the beliefs of Koguryŏ nobles? Until more evidence of Buddhism in fourth century Koguryŏ can be found, in my opinion this material is tantalizing but not yet completely compelling evidence of Buddhist devotional practices.

The earliest extant image of the Buddha Amitābha on the Korean peninsula, a small gilt bronze Amitābha triad, is believed to be from the northern Korean state of Koguryŏ. It was excavated in Koksan County 谷山郡 in Hwanghae Province 黃海道 in 1930. The inscription on the back of the mandorla illustrates the interactive relationship between the cults of Maitreya and Amitābha:

In the *sinmyo* 辛卯-year, the fourth year of the *kyŏng* 景 [reign period?], five bhikṣus and spiritual mentors (*sŏnjsik* 善知識; Skt. *kalyāṇamitra*) together commissioned one image of the Buddha

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62 Many scholars have written on this topic. See, for example, Kim Wŏnyong 金元龍, “Koguryŏ kobun e poinŭn Pulgyojŏk yoso” (Buddhist elements seen in the Koguryŏ tombs), in *Paek Sŏnguk paksa songsu kinyŏm Pulgyohak nonmunjip* 白性郁博士頌壽記念佛教學論文集 (Festschrift on Buddhist studies commemorating the long life of Prof. Paek Sŏnguk), ed. Paek Sŏnguk Paksa Songsu Kinyŏm Saŏp Wiwŏnhoe 白性郁博士頌壽記念事業委員會 (Committee for the Work of the Festschrift on Buddhist studies commemorating the long life of Prof. Paek Sŏnguk) (Seoul: Tongguk Taehakkyo, 1959), 224–299; Pak Young-sook, “Buddhist Themes in Koguryŏ Murals,” *Asiatische Studien/Études Asiatiques* 44, no. 2 (1990): 177–204; Kim Chinsun, “5 segi Koguryŏ kobun pyŏkhwa ŭi Pulgyojŏk yoso wa kŭ yŏnwŏn” (Buddhist elements in fifth-century Koguryŏ tomb paintings and their origins), *Misulsa yŏn'gu* 美術史學研究 258 (2008): 37–74.

Amitāyus (Muryangsu 無量壽) with the vow that their deceased masters and parents might always meet all the buddhas in their rebirths. The spiritual mentors, and so forth, vow to encounter Maitreya. In this manner we vow that we might be reborn together in one place, see the Buddha, and hear the Dharma.<sup>63</sup>

Although the name of the reign period is confusing, scholars are confident that it was cast in 571—rather than 631—because the buddha is referred to as “Amitāyus” in the inscription.<sup>64</sup> During the Northern Wei period and succeeding Northern Dynasties this buddha was commonly referred to as “Amitāyus” (Muryangsu, Ch. Wuliangshou.). In the succeeding Sui-Tang period, the name “Amitābha” (Amit’a, Ch. Amituo 阿彌陀) appears more frequently.<sup>65</sup> The inscription attests to the symbiotic relationship between the cults of Amitābha and Maitreya. The monks and believers who commissioned the icon apparently preferred to be reborn in the presence of Maitreya in Tuṣita Heaven, or at least to be among the three assemblies in attendance when Maitreya preaches the Buddhadharma in the distant future. However, that they made the Amitāyus image for

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63 The height of this icon, National Treasure no. 85, is 15.5 cm; the height of the main Buddha is 11.5 cm. See “Kyŏngsanyŏn sinmyomyŏng kŭmdong Muryangsu samjonbul” 景四年辛卯銘金銅無量壽三尊佛 (Gilt-bronze Amitābha triad with the inscription, *sinmyo*, fourth year of the Kyŏng reign period), in *Yŏkchu Han’guk kodaekŭmsŏngmun*, 1:129–131.

64 Kim Yŏngt’ae 金煥泰, “Hyŏnjon pulsangmyŏng ūl t’onghae pon Koguryŏ Mirŭk sinang” (The Maitreya cult in Koguryŏ as seen through existing inscriptions on Buddhist images), in *Ch’ou Hwang Suyŏng Paksa kohŭi kinyŏm misulsahak nonch’ong* 蕉雨黃壽英博士古稀紀念 美術史學論叢 (Festschrift of studies on art history in commemoration of the seventieth birthday of [Ch’ou] Dr. Hwang Suyŏng), comp. Ch’ou Hwang Suyŏng Paksa Kohŭi Kinyŏm Ch’onggan Kanhaenghoe 蕉雨黃壽英博士古稀紀念論叢刊行委員會 (Committee for the Publication of Festschrift of studies in Commemoration of the Seventieth Birthday of [Ch’ou] Dr. Hwang Suyŏng) (Seoul: T’ongmun’gwan, 1988), 443–453, esp. 446–449.

65 Kang Ubang, *Han’guk Pulgyo chogak ūi hŭrŭm*, 133–135.



the benefit of their deceased mentors and parents indicates that they sought to utilize Amitābha's saving power to draw these people into wholesome rebirths. Rebirth in Amitābha's Pure Land, Sukhāvātī (Kūngnak, Ch. Jile 極樂), is not mentioned explicitly. Instead, those who crafted the inscription seem to allude to a deeper doctrinal understanding: After individuals are reborn in the Pure Land, they will eventually return to the cycle of rebirth and death as bodhisattvas and encounter all the buddhas as they work to liberate all sentient beings. However, what is implicit is the funerary context. In other words, the image was made to invoke the power of Amitāyus and Maitreya for the benefit of the deceased.

On the backside of the mandorla of an image inscribed with the seventh year of the Yōnggang reign period (Yōnggang ch'illyōnmyōng kūmdong yōrae ipsang 永康七年銘 金銅如來立像), which was excavated the P'yōngch'ōn Village 平川里 in P'yōngyang in either 1945 or 1946, is an inscription that describes another aspect of the worship of Maitreya:

On behalf of our deceased mother we commissioned this image of the Honored Maitreya (Mirūkchon 彌勒尊) for merit and vow to cause the spirit of the deceased to ascend to enlightenment, participate in the first of the three assemblies of Maitreya (Chassi samhoe 慈氏三會), and awaken to that which is not produced, recollect the truth of the ultimate end, and attain the mental fruit of bodhi. If [the deceased] has sins, by means of the previous vow we will eradicate them all simultaneously. Those overwhelmed with joy together made this vow.<sup>66</sup>

Although the date is not completely certain, current scholarly opinion is that the seventh year of the Yōnggang reign period probably refers to 551,

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66 See Kim Yōngt'ae 金煥泰, ed., *Samguk Silla sidae Pulgyo kūmsōngmun kojūng* 三國新羅時代佛教金石文考 (Compilation of Buddhist epigraphy from the Three Kingdoms and Silla Periods), Han'guk Pulgyo kūmsōngmun kojūng 1 (Seoul: Minjoksa, 1992), 15.

the seventh year of Koguryō king Yangwōn 陽原 (r. 545–559).<sup>67</sup> More important than the date is the allusion to the aspects of the cult of Maitreya that seem to be relevant: merit-making, ascent to (understood as “re-birth in”) Tuṣita, attending the first of the three assemblies in which Maitreya will reestablish the Buddhadharmā, and the eradication of unwholesome karma.

### Meditation Visualization and Pensive Images

How did Koguryō Buddhists utilize their pensive images? Did they use them in the same way as their Northern Wei, Eastern Wei 東魏 (534–550), or Northern Qi cohorts? Or did they conceptualize them as representations of Maitreya as some art historians have suggested? Most art historians have emphasized connections between pensive images (*sayu*, Ch. *siwei* 思惟) and the worship of Maitreya. Some have emphasized the importance of the *Daśabhūmika* or *Sūtra on the Ten Stages* (*Shidi jing* 十地經) and its links to the Dilun school 地論宗.<sup>68</sup> Others have emphasized passages from the *Sūtra on the Visualization of the Bodhisattva Maitreya's Rebirth Above in Tuṣita Heaven* that indicate that aspirants should visualize the glories of Tuṣita Heaven and imagine themselves being reborn there.<sup>69</sup>

The *Sūtra on the Visualization of the Bodhisattva Maitreya's Rebirth Above in Tuṣita Heaven*, which was translated by the Buddhist lay householder Juqu Jingsheng<sup>70</sup> of the Northern Liang 北涼 regional regime in

67 Kim Sanghyōn, “Koguryō ūi Pulgyo wa munhwa”, 87.

68 Leidy, “The Ssu-wei Figure in Sixth-Century A. D. Chinese Buddhist Sculpture,” 24.

69 Hsu, “Visualization Meditation and the *Siwei* Icon in Chinese Buddhist Sculpture,” 26–28.

70 Juqu Jingsheng 沮渠京聲 (d. 464), the Marquis of Anyang (Anyang hou 安陽侯), was a cousin of the Xiongnu 匈奴 (Hun) ruler Juqu Mengxun 沮渠蒙遜, king of the Northern Liang 北涼 regional regime. Juqu Mengxun installed him as a marquis. From his birth he was closely associated with monks. He went to the small coun-

Western China in the fifth century, provides the best scriptural context for the use of pensive images in devotional or meditative practices. The sūtra describes several devotional practices for aspirants seeking rebirth in Tuṣita Heaven or for making other karmic connections to the Bodhisattva Maitreya. Toward the middle of this sūtra, after a detailed discussion of the characteristics, gods, goddesses, and other wondrous beings that populate Tuṣita Heaven, who can be acquired as one's attendants if one is reborn in that heaven, the Buddha exhorts aspirants to pensively contemplate Tuṣita Heaven:

The Buddha spoke to Upāli, “If there are bhikṣus and others in this whole great assembly who do not despise saṃsāra [the cycle of rebirth and death] and would take pleasure in rebirth in heaven, who lovingly revere the bodhi mind that is without superior, and who desire to be disciples of Maitreya, they should make this visualization. Those who make this visualization should observe the five precepts,<sup>71</sup> the eight prohibitions,<sup>72</sup> and the full precepts; and they should make

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try of Khotan (Yutian'guo 于闐國, 于填國) met Buddhasena (Fotuosina 佛陀斯那) in the Great Monastery of \*Kumadi 衢摩帝大寺 and received teachings. He received the *Chanyao mimi chibing jing* 禪要秘密治病經 and later returned to Hexi 河西 province. He translated *Chanyao mimi chibing jing*, *Baguanzhai jing* 八關齋經 (Sūtra on the Fast of the Eight Prohibitions, T 89), and the *Guan Mile pusa shangsheng Doushuaitian jing* (T 454) sixteen titles in seventeen rolls. See *Chu sanzang jiji* 出三藏記集 14, T 2145, 55.106b23–c19; *Chi changing biyao fa* 治禪病祕要法 (viz. *Chanyao mimi chibing jing*) 2, T 620, 15.342b7–14.

71 The five precepts (*wujie* 五戒, Skt. *pañcaśīla*) are to not (1) kill, (2) lie, (3) steal, (4) have illicit sex, and (5) drink intoxicants.

72 The fast of the eight prohibitions (*baguan zhai* 八關齋, Skt. *aṣṭāṅga-poṣadhe*, Pali: *aṭṭhaṅguposatha*) refers to a fast kept by lay men (*upāsaka*) and lay women (*upāsikā*) in which they observe eight precepts for a full day and night: (1) not to kill living beings; (2) not to steal; (3) not to misuse sex; (4) not to lie; (5) not to drink intoxicants; (6) not to ornament the body with flowers or perfumes, sing, dance, or attend shows; (7) not to sleep on high or comfortable beds; and (8) not to eat at inappropriate times (viz. after noon). Āgama literature reports that the eight

seminal progress in their body and mind.

“They should not seek to sever their attachments; but they should cultivate the ten wholesome dharmas. Each and every one should pensively contemplate (*sayu*, Ch. *siwei* 思惟) Tuṣita Heaven and the sublime joy found above. Making this visualization is called the ‘right visualization.’ Any other visualization is called a ‘wrong visualization.’”<sup>73</sup>

Then, toward the end of the sūtra, the Buddha once again describes how aspirants should pensively contemplate rebirth in the Tuṣita Heaven and transfer the merit from wholesome activities and observing the Buddhist precepts toward their desire for rebirth in Tuṣita Heaven.

The Buddha spoke to Upāli, “After the Buddha’s decease and deliverance, if those of the four classes of disciples,<sup>74</sup> gods, dragons, ghosts, and spirits desire to be reborn in Tuṣita Heaven, they should perform this visualization, make a binding recollection,<sup>75</sup> and pensive-

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prohibitions refer to a special dharma assembly for lay men, particularly kings, in which they empower themselves by fasting and following eight precepts that a monk would follow for a specified period of time. Full-fledged monks usually reviewed and rededicated (i.e. empowered) themselves to the monastic precepts (Skt. *vinaya*, *śīla*) twice a month on the seventh and fifteenth days in a special dharma assembly (Skt. *poṣadha*) in which the monastic code was recited. The assembly may have been held in conjunction with royal veneration of the future buddha Maitreya because three principal Mahāyāna sūtras treating the past and future ministry of this popular bodhisattva encourage aspirants to hold “fasts of the eight precepts” (*bajiezhai*), which is another name for the same type of assembly. *Guan Mile pusa shangsheng Doushuaitian jing*, T 452, 14.420a15; *Mile xiasheng jing*, T 453, 14.422c27; *Mile dachengfo jing*, T 456, 14.432a8–9.

73 *Guan Mile pusa shangsheng Doushuaitian jing*, T 452, 14.419c1–10.

74 The four classes of disciples or four groups of disciples (*sibu dizi* 四部弟子) are bhikṣus (monks), bhikṣuṇīs (nuns), upāsakas (male laity), upāsikās (female laity).

75 A binding recollection (*xinian* 繫念) refers to tying and placing one’s thoughts in one place continually. It is one of several expressions used to refer to focusing the

ly contemplate (*sayu*, Ch. *siwei* 思惟), recollecting Tuṣita Heaven. They should observe the Buddhist prohibitions and precepts and meditate on the ten wholesome practices<sup>76</sup> and the ten wholesome paths to rebirth<sup>77</sup> for from one day to seven days and take the meritorious virtue deriving from this and transfer the merit toward their desire for rebirth [in Tuṣita Heaven] in the presence of Maitreya and should make this visualization.

“If those who make this visualization see one god or one lotus flower, or if they chant the name ‘Maitreya’ for one thought-moment, these people will remove the sins of a thousand two hundred kalpas of saṃsāra. If they merely hear Maitreya’s name and join their palms in offering reverence, these people will remove the sins of fifty kalpas of saṃsāra. If there are those who revere and worship Maitreya, they will remove the sins of a hundred hundred-thousand kalpas of saṃsāra. In the case that they are not reborn in heaven, they will be reborn beneath the dragon flower [nāgapuṣpa] bodhi tree where they will also straightway meet [Maitreya] and produce the unsurpassed aspiration [to enlightenment].”<sup>78</sup>

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mind in continuous meditation to achieve a desired end, such as rebirth in a Pure Land. The idea of a binding recollection is often combined with another compound meaning “pensive thought” (*xinian siwei* 繫念思惟) See, for instance, *Renxian jing* 人仙經, T 9, 1.215c21-26; *Dabaoji jing* 大寶積經 (*Mahāratnakūṭa*) 80, T 310, 11.463b11–12.

76 The ten wholesome practices (*shishan* 十善; or *shi shanxing* 十善行) are not killing, not stealing, not committing adultery, not lying, not uttering harsh words, not uttering words that cause hatred and distrust among people, not engaging in idle talk, not being greedy, not being angry, and not having wrong views. *Chang ahan jing* 長阿含經 (*Dirghāgamasūtra*) 9, T 1, 1.57a26–28.

77 The ten wholesome paths to rebirth (*shishandao* 十善道, short for *shishan yedao* 十善業道) have this name because the ten wholesome practices are the road or path that leads to rebirth in wholesome places.

78 *Guan Mile pusa shangsheng Doushuaitian jing*, T 452, 14.420b21–c2.

The eminent seventh-century Buddhist scholar Wōnhyo 元曉 (617–686), a native of Silla, further explains the significance and purpose of these visualizations in his *Doctrinal Essentials of the Sūtra on Maitreya's Rebirth Above* (*Mirūk sangsaeng-gyōng chongyo* 彌勒上生經宗要), which may have been composed between 654 and 676. Wōnhyo's extant writings demonstrate a thoroughgoing understanding of Sinitic trends of Buddhist practice as well as intellectual endeavor dating back to the Northern and Southern Dynasties period, particularly with respect to his work on the *Sūtra on the Visualization of Maitreya's Rebirth Above in Tuṣita Heaven*. In effect, Wōnhyo is a product of the practical and intellectual exchange in Northeast Asia spanning the fifth to seventh centuries. Wōnhyo mentions that visualization practices (i.e. meditative techniques; *kwan* 觀) and other cultic or devotional practices (*haeng* 行) both lead to the same level of rebirth in the Tuṣita Heaven, without relapse from the bodhisattva path.

Although he describes two types of visualizations, which appear to be meditations that only people with superior spiritual capacity, those who have aroused the aspiration for enlightenment and have made the bodhisattva vow, can achieve:

The first is to visualize the majestic adornments (Skt. *alaṅkāra*) of [Tuṣita] Heaven as the setting for rebirth, and the second is to visualize the superiority of receiving rebirth there as a bodhisattva. One concentrates one's thoughts in a detailed visual examination (*chōnnyōm kwanch'al* 專念觀察) and so this [technique] is called *samādhi*. Nevertheless, it is not a [samādhi that produces] the wisdom of meditative cultivation, as it consists only of learning [about Maitreya's heaven] and reflecting upon it (*yujae munsa* 唯在問思). [Even so,] it is still called the "Lightning-bolt Samādhi" (*chōn'gwang sam-mae* 電光三昧).<sup>79</sup>

79 *Mirūk sangsaeng-gyōng chongyo* 1, T 1773, 38.299c3–5; HPC 1.548a1–4; translation adapted from Alan Sponberg, "Wōnhyo on Maitreya Visualization," in *Mait-*

These practices are supported by three types of non-meditative practices that can be performed by people with inferior spiritual capacity, such as ordinary lay believers.

(1) Hearing the name Great Mercy (*taeja* 大慈; i.e. Maitreya) and repenting with reverent mind the transgressions previously committed; (2) hearing the name Merciful One (Chassi 慈氏) and respectfully trusting (*angsin* 仰信) in the virtues manifested by his name; (3) undertaking the practice of the ritual acts of cleaning stūpas and replastering them (*sot'ap toji* 掃塔塗地), offering incense and flowers, and so forth, as taught in a subsequent passage [of this sūtra].<sup>80</sup>

Practitioners who perform either of these practices, Wōnhyo continues, will achieve spiritual rewards according to their spiritual attainments. He suggests that there are four kinds of results, which he likens to the growth process of a fruit tree: (1) the extinguishing of all one's past transgressions, which is likened to sprouting fruit; (2) the knowledge that one will never again fall into the evil destinies of rebirth or develop false views, which is equated to leaves and flowers in the shade; (3) rebirth in Tuṣṭita Heaven in the presence of Maitreya is analogous to the blossoming of fine flowers; and (4) reaching the stage of non-relapse on the path to buddhahood corresponds to the maturing of fragrant fruit. Wōnhyo says that people who perform the first practice only will receive the first reward, those who do the second only will receive the second, and so forth. To achieve the fourth reward, however, a practitioner must perform both the cultic practices and the visualization practices.<sup>81</sup>

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*reya, The Future Buddha*, ed. Alan Sponberg and Helen Hardacre (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 94–109, esp. p. 97.

80 *Mirūk sangsaeng-gyōng chongyo* 1, T 1773, 38.299c7–9; HPC 1.548a5–8; translation adapted from Sponberg, “Wōnhyo on Maitreya Visualization,” 97–98; Cf. *Guan Mile shangsheng Doushuaitian jing* 1, T 452, 14.420a10–15.

81 *Mirūk sangsaeng-gyōng chongyo* 1, T 1773, 38.299c; HPC 1.548a-b; for translation see Sponberg, “Wōnhyo on Maitreya Visualization,” 98.

Certainly, most Koguryō Buddhists (or Chinese ones for that matter) did not conceptualize their devotional practice in this manner, but some fervent monastic practitioners may have. Probably at least some Buddhists in Koguryō sought rebirth in Tuṣita Heaven by visualizing themselves being reborn there.

## Conclusion

The ritual and devotional practices of Koguryō Buddhism probably had much in common with that of its neighbors in Northern China. Buddhism flourished in Northern China from the late Northern Wei period through the Northern Qi period. The Koguryō monk Hyeryang, who eventually took refuge in Silla and became its first saṃgha overseer, probably had connections with the flourishing Buddhist communities on the Shandong peninsula across the Yellow Sea. His institution of the Convocation for the Recitation of the *Sūtra for Humane Kings* demonstrates his familiarity with key Buddhist rituals of the time, the position of eminent monks in society, and the crucial role of merit-making practices among the Buddhist laity. His introduction of the Assembly of the Eight Prohibitions makes evident the importance of the *poṣadha* in Buddhist communities and alludes to a host of devotional practices associated with observing the practices.

Extant images and image fragments suggest that the cult of the thousand buddhas was relevant in Koguryō, just as it was in the cave art in Dunhuang, Yungang, and Longmen. Furthermore, the inscriptions on the few Buddhist images of Koguryō provenance are congruent with what is known about Buddhist devotional practice in Northern China in the late sixth and early seventh centuries. The images bear witness of the importance of the cult of Maitreya and its complex relationship with the cult of Amitābha or Amitāyus by individuals and religious communities. The inscriptions on the images indicate that rebirth in Tuṣita Heaven was an important goal for Buddhist monks and laity. Although rebirth in Tuṣita



Heaven was an important goal for aspirants, an equally significant ambition was rebirth again on the earth when Maitreya comes in the future. Devotees sought to be on the earth when Maitreya preached the dharma in three assemblies. Evidence of these two aspects of the Maitreya cult are preserved in the sparse material remains of Koguryō Buddhism. Although the motif of beings born in lotus blossoms appears in Koguryō tomb paintings, it is difficult to know how well Koguryō Buddhists understood the doctrines associated with rebirth in Sukhāvātī and the cult of Amitābha. As is the case with Northern China during the time of the Northern Wei, the extant materials indicates the conflation of the cults of Maitreya and Amitābha.

The *Sūtra on the Visualization of the Bodhisattva Maitreya's Rebirth Above in Tuṣita Heaven* describes the devotional practice of meditation visualization, a way of using pensive images to aspire for rebirth in Tuṣita Heaven in the presence of Maitreya. Images suggesting this kind of practice were produced in the Northern Qi period in such monasteries as Xiudesi. The Silla monk Wōnhyo's analysis of the visualization practices of the sūtra suggests that aspirants were encouraged to imagine themselves as being reborn in Tuṣita Heaven, and the pensive images might represent the aspirants themselves. Although I do not think that all practitioners of the cult of Maitreya in Koguryō imagined themselves as bodhisattvas seated in pensive form and as being reborn in Tuṣita Heaven, it is certainly possible that some did. Regardless, the many of the basic elements of Buddhism in the Northern and Southern Dynasties period, including such things as the veneration of Aśoka stūpas, appear to have been adopted and adapted in Koguryō.

## References

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2. *Chi changing biyao fa* 治禪病祕要法. T 620, vol. 15.
3. *Chu sanzang jiji* 出三藏記集. T 2145, vol. 55.

4. *Dabaoji jing* 大寶積經 (*Mahāratnakūṭa*). T 310, vol. 11.
5. *Fangguang banruo jing* 放光般若經. T 221, vol. 8.
6. *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林. T 2122, vol. 53.
7. *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀. T 2035, vol. 49.
8. *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳. T 2059, vol. 50.
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&lt;Abstract&gt;

## Imagining Ritual and Cultic Practice in Koguryō Buddhism

*Richard D. McBride II*

Due to the scarcity of extant source materials, the ritual and devotional practices of Koguryō Buddhism cannot be known in any great detail, but they probably had much in common with those practiced in Northern China. Merit-making rituals like the Convocation for the Recitation of the *Sūtra for Humane Kings* and Assembly of the Eight Prohibitions show the relevance of the *poṣadha* in Buddhist communities and suggest a host of devotional practices associated with observing the practices. Extant images allude to the importance of the cults of the thousand buddhas, Maitreya, and Amitāyus. Inscriptions indicate that rebirth in Tuṣita Heaven was an important goal for Buddhist monks and laity, as well as rebirth on the earth in the distant future when Maitreya comes. Buddhist literature describes the devotional practice of meditation visualization, a way of using pensive images to aspire for rebirth in Tuṣita Heaven in the presence of Maitreya.

**Keywords:** Buddhism—Koguryō, Buddhism—rituals, Buddhism—devotional practices, Maitreya, Amitābha, Thousand Buddhas, Visualization Meditation; Buddhist art—Koguryō

〈국문초록〉

## 고구려 불교의 의례와 신앙관행을 상상하며

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고구려 불교의 의식 및 신앙관행에 관한 상세한 연구는 현전하는 사료의 부족으로 인해 불가능한 실정이나, 북중국에서 시행되던 의식 및 신앙관행들과 유사성을 가졌으리라고 추측할 수 있다. 예컨대 인왕경좌강회(仁王經座講會), 팔관회(八關會)와 같은 공덕을 쌓기 위한 의식들은 불교 공동체 내에서 포살(布薩)과의 연관성을 보여주며, 신앙관행의 주최자가 관행을 지키는 것과 연관되어 있음을 보여준다. 현전하는 도상(圖像)들은 천불(千佛), 미륵(彌勒), 아미타불(阿彌陀佛) 신앙의 중요성을 시사한다. 명문(銘文)을 통해 미륵이 출현할 먼 미래에 다시 태어나는 것 뿐만 아니라 도솔천(兜率天)에 상생하는 것이 불교 승려들과 신자들의 중요한 목표였음을 알 수 있다. 불교관련 문헌들은 미륵이 있는 도솔천에 다시 태어나기를 열망하며 사유상(思惟像)을 이용하는 방식인 명상 시각화(meditation visualization)라는 신앙관행을 보여 준다.

주제어: 고구려, 불교-의식, 불교-종교활동, 미륵, 아미타불, 천불, 명상 시각화, 불교예술-고구려

