

NEW PERSPECTIVES
ON EARLY KOREAN ART:
FROM SILLA TO KORYŎ

Edited by Youn-mi Kim

Early Korea Project
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MARK E. BYINGTON, EDITOR



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SEEING MAITREYA: ASPIRATION AND VISION IN AN IMAGE FROM EARLY EIGHTH-CENTURY SILLA

Rhi Juhjung

Extraordinary Images

In writing a narrative on early Korean Buddhist art, one faces perennial difficulties that stem from the inherent nature of materials in the field. In contrast to the fields of Chinese or Japanese Buddhist art, only a meager number of images that would have had high cultic importance to contemporaneous Buddhists remain. Literary evidence from both epigraphical and historical sources, which would have greatly helped in contextualizing images, is also extremely limited. This has not only restricted the methodological prospects of researchers, but has also led to the academic discourse on Korean Buddhist art being dominated by a small number of images, of which the most notable are probably two renowned pensive bodhisattvas (fig. 2.1) and the Buddha in Sökkuram 石窟庵.¹ Nonetheless, even with these three images, which feature prominently in modern accounts of early Korean Buddhist art, absolutely nothing is known from the epigraphical or historical sources about the pensive bodhisattvas, and we only have a brief account in the *Samguk yusa* 三國遺事 regarding the patronage of the Sökkuram Buddha by Kim Taesöng 金大城.²

¹ For illustrations of the other famous pensive bodhisattva and the Sökkuram Buddha, see Lena Kim, *Buddhist Sculpture of Korea* (Elizabeth, NJ, and Seoul: Hollym, 2007): Plates I-44, 45, II-26.

² *Samguk yusa* 三國遺事 5: “Taesöng hyo ise pumo Sinmunwangdae,” Han’guk Chöngsin Munhwa Yönguwn 韓國精神文化研究院 [Academy of Korean Studies], ed., *Yökchu Samguk yusa* 譯註 三國遺事 [Annotation and translation of the *Samguk yusa*] (Seoul: Ihoe Munhwasa, 2003), 4:376-382.

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Figure 2.1 Maitreya Bodhisattva. Silla, early seventh century. National Museum in Seoul. Courtesy of the National Museum of Korea.



*Figure 2.2 Maitreya
Bodhisattva, from Kamsan-
sa, Kyŏngju. Silla, 719.
National Museum in Seoul.
Courtesy of the National
Museum of Korea.*

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Two stone images, a Buddha and a bodhisattva from Kamsan-sa 甘山寺, a Buddhist temple in Kyōngju 慶州, are probably the most conspicuous exceptions in this regard (figs. 2.2, 2.3). Datable to around 719, they are large, visually gripping images, and were obviously installed as main cult statues in the temple. More importantly, they carry unusually long inscriptions carved on the back of their mandorlas, which provide rich information about the subjects of the images, the donor, his career and personal aspirations, and the reasons for the statues' creation (for translations of the inscriptions, see the appendix at the end of this chapter).³ As a result, we are exceptionally well informed about these images in terms of the circumstances of their dedication.⁴ This chapter explores these two images with a

³ The inscriptions have been published in a number of works, beginning with *Chōsen kinseki sōran* 朝鮮金石總覽 [Comprehensive collection of Korean epigraphy] (Keijō [Seoul]: Chōsen Sōtokufu, 1919): 1.34-36. The most frequently cited source (with a Korean translation) today is in *Han'guk kodae kimsōngmun* 韓國古代金石文 [Ancient inscriptions of Korea], ed. Han'guk Kodae Sahoe Yōn'guso 韓國古代社會研究所 [Research Institute of Ancient Korean Society] (Seoul: Karakuk Sajōk Kaebal Yōn'guwōn, 1992): 3.293-302 (trans. Kim Namyun 金南允), which is available on the website of the National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage (<http://gsm.nricp.go.kr>). Some mistakes found in this translation have been corrected in my translation in the appendix. See n. 74.

⁴ A number of studies have been written on these two images and their inscriptions: Suematsu Yasukazu 末松保和, "Kanzanji Miroku sonzō oyobi Amidabutsu no kakō kōki" 甘山寺彌勒尊像及び阿彌陀佛の火光後記 [Inscriptions on the back of the flame mandorla of the Maitreya and Amitābha images from Kamsan-sa], *Chōsen* 朝鮮 (Dec. 1932): 63-72, later compiled in Suematsu's *Shiragi shi no shomondai* 新羅史の諸問題 [Various problems in Silla history] (Tokyo: Tōyō Bunkō, 1954): 450-460 (citations in this chapter will refer to the 1954 edition); Ayukai Fusanoshin 鮎貝房之進, *Zakkō* 雜攷 [Miscellaneous observations] 6-1 (Keijō: Chikazawa Shuppansha, 1934): 13-24; Katsuragi Sueji 葛城末治, *Chōsen kinseki kō* 朝鮮金石考 [Study of Korean epigraphy] (Keijō: Ōsakayagō Shoten, 1935): 200-210; Nakagiri Isao 中吉功, "Shiragi Kanzanji sekizō Miroku Amidazō ni tsuite" 新羅甘山寺石造弥勒阿彌陀像について [On stone images of Maitreya and Amitābha of Silla from Kamsan-sa], *Chōsen gakubō* 朝鮮學報 9 (1956): 275-288; Chin Hongšōp 秦弘燮, "Kyōngju Kamsansaji Sungboksaji ūi chosa: Silla oak chosagi kisa" 慶州 甘山寺址 崇福寺址의 調査: 新羅五惡調査記 其四 [A survey of the sites of Kamsan-sa and Sungbok-sa in Kyōngju: The records of surveys on the Five Mountains of Silla, no. 4], *Kogo misul* 考古美術 6, no. 5 (1965): 73-74; Mun Myōngdae 文明大, "Silla Pōpsangjong (Yugajong) ūi sōngnip munje wa kŭ misul: Kamsan-sa Mirŭk posalsang mit Amit'a pulsang kwa kŭ myōngmun ūl chungsim ūro" 新羅 法相宗(瑜伽宗)의 成立問題와 그 美



Figure 2.3 Amitābha Buddha,
from Kamsan-sa, Kyōngju.
Silla, 719. National Museum
in Seoul. Courtesy of the
National Museum of Korea.

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special focus on the bodhisattva and addresses diverse aspects of Buddhist image-making in early eighth-century Silla.

Images and Inscriptions

These two images were first brought to the attention of modern scholars in 1915, when Japanese colonial officers found them lying in rice paddies near a mountain slope to the south of Kyŏngju. The same year they were transported to Seoul and displayed in an exhibition organized by the Japanese colonial government to promote industrial production in Korea. After the exhibition they entered the Colonial Government Museum, whose collections were

術: 甘山寺 彌勒菩薩像 및 阿彌陀佛像과 그 銘文을 中心으로 [The formation of the *Dharmalakṣaṇa* school of Silla and its art: With a focus on the Maitreya bodhisattva image and the Amitābha Buddha image from Kamsan-sa and their inscriptions], *Yŏksa hakpo* 歷史學報 62 (1974): 75-105, and 63 (1974): 133-162, later compiled with slight revision under the title “Silla Pöpsangjong (Yugajong) ūi sŏngnip munje wa Kamsan-sa Mirŭk Amit’a pulsang” 新羅 法相宗(瑜伽宗)의 成立 問題와 甘山寺 彌勒 阿彌陀佛像 in his *T’ongil Silla Pulgyo chogaksa yŏn’gu (sang): wŏnŭm kwa kojŏnmi* 統一新羅 佛教彫刻史 研究(上): 圖音과 古典美 [Study of the Buddhist sculpture of the Unified Silla, vol. 1: Perfect sound and classical beauty] (Seoul: Yegyŏng, 2003): 72-110 (citations in this paper refer to the 2003 edition); Kim Lina (Lena Kim) 金理那, “Shiragi Kanzanji nyoraisiki butsuzō no imon to Nihon butsuzō no kankei” 新羅甘山寺如來式仏像の衣文と日本仏像の關係 [Relationship between the drapery pattern of the Kamsan-sa Buddha type of Silla and that of Japanese Buddha images], *Bukkyō geijutsu* 佛教藝術 110 (1976): 3-24; Saitō Tadashi 齋藤忠, “Shiragi no sōsei kara mita Kanzanjiseki sekizō Amida nyōraizō Miroku bosatsuzō meibun no ichi kaishaku” 新羅の葬制から見た甘山寺跡石造阿彌陀如來像弥勒菩薩像銘文の一解釈 [An interpretation of the inscriptions of the stone Amitābha Buddha and Maitreya bodhisattva images from Kamsan-sa in light of Silla funerary practice], *Chōsen gakuhō* 99/100 (1981): 131-141; Kim Yŏngmi 金英美, “Sŏngdŏk wangdae chŏnje wangkwŏn e taehan il koch’al: Kamsan-sa Mirŭksang Amit’asang myŏngmun kwa kwallyŏn hayŏ” 聖德王代 專制王權에 대한 一考察: 甘山寺 彌勒像·阿彌陀像 銘文과 관련하여 [A reflection on the authoritarian kingship in the reign of King Sŏngdŏk: In relation to the inscriptions of a Maitreya image and an Amitābha image from Kamsan-sa], *Idae sawŏn* 梨大史苑 22/23 (1988): 369-392; So Hyŏnsuk 蘇鉉淑, “Kamsan-sa Mirŭk posal ipsang kwa Amit’a yŏrae ipsang yŏn’gu” 甘山寺 彌勒菩薩立像과 阿彌陀如來立像 研究 [Study of the Maitreya bodhisattva image and the Amitābha Buddha image from Kamsan-sa] (Ihwa Yŏja Taehakkyo sŏksa hagwi nonmun 梨花女子大學校碩士學位論文 [Ewha Womans University M.A. Thesis], 1999). Of these, the works by Mun Myŏngdae and So Hyŏnsuk present the most in-depth discussions regarding the religious significance of the images.

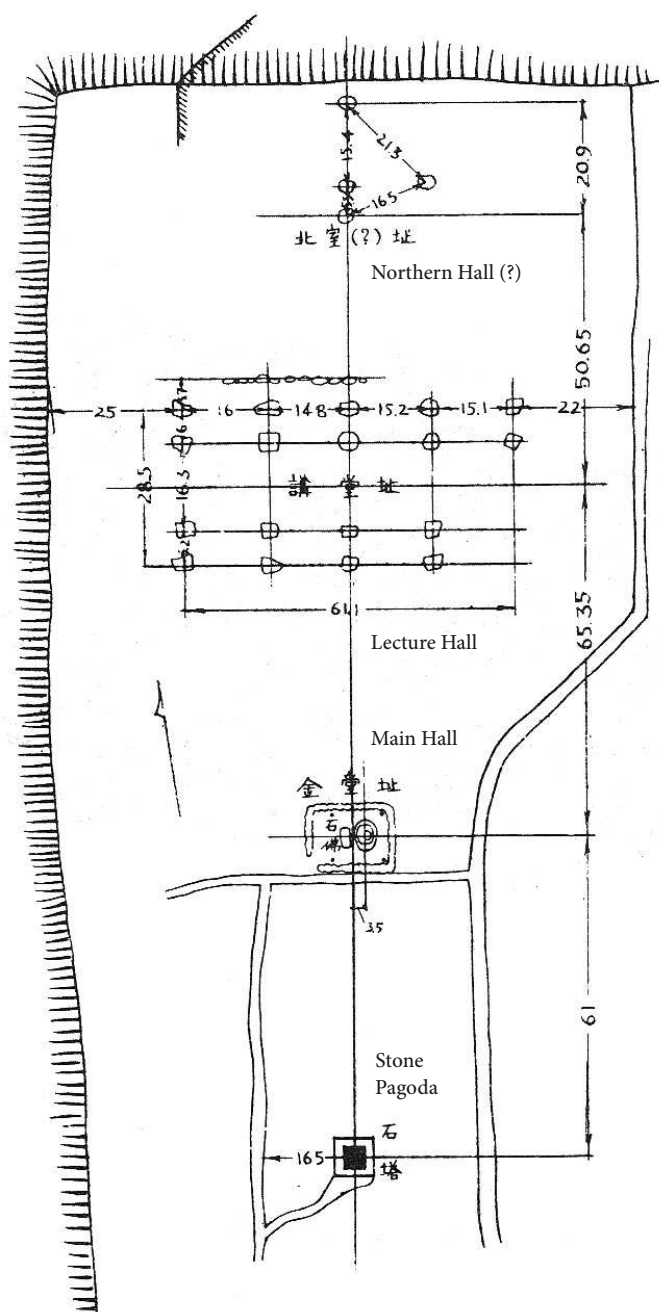


Figure 2.4 Plan of Kamsan-sa, from a survey in 1929. From Fujishima Gaijirō 藤島亥治郎, *Chōsen kenchiku shiron* 朝鮮建築史論 (Keijō [Seoul], 1935): fig. 131.

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eventually absorbed into the collection of the National Museum of Korea in Seoul. Remains of a temple were also located at the site in a survey conducted in 1929.⁵ The temple was of a modest size, its compound measuring sixty meters by thirty meters (fig. 2.4). Most of its buildings had disappeared long before its discovery, except for the remains of a three-story stone pagoda, which was partially reconstructed in 1965 (fig. 2.5).⁶ The site of a lecture hall on the northernmost side was indicated by the stone bases for wooden pillars, though the site of the main hall at the center of the temple was barely recognizable. Even the former is now no longer there, and a new modern temple has been built on the western side of the old temple site (fig. 2.6).⁷

The Buddha and the bodhisattva from Kamsan-sa, which are currently on display in the Buddhist sculpture gallery at the National Museum of Korea in Seoul, measure 174 and 183 centimeters high, respectively, not including the mandorla and pedestal of each. These measurements are approximately six *chōk* 尺, or *chi*, regardless of which *chi*, from Eastern Wei or from Tang, was used during this period.⁸ They correspond roughly to the

⁵ The information above about the discovery of the images and the site is from Fujishima Gaijirō 藤島亥治郎, *Chōsen kenchiku shiron* 朝鮮建築史論 [On the history of Korean architecture] (Keijō [Seoul], 1935): 196, and Nakagiri Isao, “Shiragi Kanzanji sekizō Miroku Amidazō ni tsuite,” 275. The 1929 survey was conducted by Fujishima, who was then working as a surveyor for the Japanese colonial government.

⁶ Chin Hongsōp, “Kyōngju Kamsansaji Sungboksaji ūi chosa: Silla oak chosagi kisa,” 73-74.

⁷ The most recent excavation was made in 2001 on the area around the stone pagoda and the assumed location of the main hall. The excavation revealed the remains of two buildings, perhaps the main halls from two different periods. However, the work, conducted on a small scale for less than a month, did not clarify the relationship of the two buildings to the plan made during the 1929 survey, and the report is rather clumsily written. See Chungang Munhwajae Yōn’guwōn 中央文化財研究院, *Kyōngju Kamsansa pōptangji* 慶州 甘山寺 法堂址 [Remains of shrines at Kamsan-sa of Kyōngju] (Kyōngju: Chungang Munhwajae Yōn’guwōn and Kamsan-sa, 2001).

⁸ The determination of measures used in the design of ancient Korean architecture or sculpture is a complex and controversial problem. It is generally believed that the *chōk* adopted from the Tang *chi* (c. 29.7 centimeters) was employed in Silla from the late seventh century. However, with Kamsan-sa, Fujishima Gaijirō, who conducted the 1929 survey, suggests that the *chi* of Eastern Wei (c. 29.97 centimeters) was in use. Arai Hiroshi points out that a deviation from the above measures, a unit of approximately 30.8 centimeters, was applied. Fujishima Gaijirō, *Chōsen kenchiku shiron*, 196-198; Arai Hiroshi 新井宏, *Maboroshi no kodai shaku* まぼろしの古代尺 [Phantasmal ancient



Figure 2.5 The site of Kamsan-sa with a pagoda (currently incomplete), facing south. Photograph by Rhi Juhyung.



Figure 2.6 Modern temple at the Kamsan-sa site. Photograph by Rhi Juhyung.

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average size of extant cult statues that were most likely installed indoors in Silla Buddhist temples. For instance, a sandstone Buddha at the Kyōngju National Museum is 174 centimeters high, and a gilded-bronze Buddha from Paengnyul-sa 栢栗寺 is 177 centimeters high, as are many other images from the Unified Silla period.⁹ Although sculptors probably did not measure dimensions as meticulously as architects did, they must have had a sense of what size—usually a little taller than an average-sized human—would fit an ordinary building. With their mandorlas and pedestals, the Kamsan-sa Buddha and bodhisattva are as tall as 275 and 252 centimeters, as other images of similar size would have been. We know at least that the bodhisattva image was enshrined in the main hall, whose exact dimensions are not clearly known.¹⁰ According to a survey conducted by Fujishima Gaijirō in 1929, the lecture hall facing south measured 18.51 meters wide and 8.63 meters long,¹¹ and we can assume that, as was usual, the main hall was smaller than the lecture hall. The dedication was thus an ambitious venture for the commissioner of the images.

The patron's name is known through the inscriptions on the images (for the following discussions concerning the inscriptions, also see the translations in the appendix). He was named Kim Chisōng 金志誠 in the inscription of the bodhisattva and Kim Chijōn 金志全 in that of the Buddha. It is clear that the two are different names for the same person, as all of the other details about his family relations recorded in the inscriptions are identical.¹² A Korean scholar,

shaku] (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1992): 21-53. Regarding the measures used in ancient Korea, also see Yi Chongbong 李宗峯, *Han'guk chungse toryanghyōngje yōn'gu* 韓國中世度量衡制研究 [Study of the weight and measure system in medieval Korea] (Seoul: Hyeon, 2001): 65-76; Pak Hūngsu 朴興秀, *Han-Chung toryanghyōng chedosa* 韓中度量衡制度史 [History of the weight and measure systems in Korea and China] (Seoul: Sōnggyun'gwan Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 1999): 518-555.

⁹ For the sandstone Buddha, see Hwang Suyōng 黃壽永, *Kukpo* 國寶 [National treasures], vol. 4 (Seoul: Yegyōng sanōpsa, 1985): pl. 74; for the Paengnyul-sa Buddha, see Lena Kim, *Buddhist Sculpture of Korea*, pl. II-31.

¹⁰ See p. 86.

¹¹ Fujishima Gaijirō, *Chōsen kenchiku shiron*, 198. The measurements originally given by Fujishima are in the Japanese *shaku* (Kr. *chōk*, Ch. *chi*): 61.1 *shaku* by 28.5 *shaku*, which equal 18.51 by 8.63 meters.

¹² Suematsu Yasukazu, "Kanzanji Miroku sonzō oyobi Amidabutsu no kakō kōki," 454-455; Ayukai Fusanoshin, *Zakkō*, 14-16; Katsuragi Sueji, *Chōsen kinseki kō*, 204-208; Mun Myōngdae, "Silla Pōpsangjong (Yugajong) ūi sōngnip munje wa Kamsan-sa Mirūk Amit'a pulsang," 78.

Ch'oe Wansu, has suggested that Kim Chisōng of the bodhisattva inscription changed his name to Kim Chijōn a year later, when the Buddha image was dedicated; according to Ch'oe, changing *sōng* 誠 meaning “sincerity” to *jōn* (chōn) 全 meaning “wholeness” may have accorded with the orders of the king, who lauded Kim’s propitious conduct.¹³ This is simply speculation, but it is a possible explanation for the change, unless the two names were simply used alternatively. The inscription informs us that Kim Chisōng (or Kim Chijōn; I will use the former throughout this paper to avoid confusion) built a temple called Kamsan-sa with a stone Amitābha image and a stone Maitreya image on the fifteenth day of the second month, seventh year of the Kaiyuan 開元 reign, the cyclical year *kimi* (or *jiwei*) 己未. Although the term Buddha or bodhisattva is not mentioned specifically, we can easily see that the Maitreya was meant for a bodhisattva image, as there is only one Buddha, not two Buddhas: though Maitreya can be either Buddha or bodhisattva, Amitābha cannot be a bodhisattva’s name. The bodhisattva was thus Maitreya, and the Buddha was Amitābha. The seventh year of the Tang Kaiyuan reign, the cyclical year *kimi*, corresponds to the eighteenth year of King Sōngdōk 聖德 (r. 702–737) of Silla and approximately to 719 of the Common Era. Interestingly, the last two lines of the Amitābha inscription indicate that after accomplishing this meritorious deed, Kim Chisōng died the following year, on the twenty-second day of the fourth month of the year *kyōngsin*, or *gengshen* 庚申, or 720 C.E., at the age of sixty-nine. This information was most likely added posthumously to the Amitābha image after the completion of the image and its inscription.¹⁴

¹³ Ch'oe Wansu 崔完秀, *Han'guk pulsang ūi wōllyu rŭl ch'ajasō 2: Mirŭk hasaeng kwa Amit'a ch'urbyōn* 韓國 佛像의 源流를 찾아서 2: 彌勒下生과 阿彌陀 出現 [Searching for the origin of ancient Korean Buddhist images 2: The descent of Maitreya and the emergence of Amitābha] (Seoul: Taewōnsa, 2007): 236–241. Ayukai Fusanoshin suggests the change was an attempt to avoid a name identical to that of the king (Sōngdōk), who, he presumes, changed the name from Chōnjung 天中 to Hūnggwang 興光 and to Chisōng between the king’s seventeenth year (when the Maitreya inscription was written) and two to three years later (when the Amitābha inscription was actually carved). Ayukai Fusanoshin, *Zakkō*, 15–16. However, if that is the reason, he would have changed the entire given name, not just the character *sōng*. Furthermore, the account that the king was also named Chisōng, which is, according to the *Samguk sagi* 三國史記, found in the *Tangshu* 唐書 but actually appears in another source, *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜 (dated 1005), is probably a mistake for reporting the name of the envoy Kim Chisōng, who was sent by the king to the Tang court in 705. See n. 15 in this chapter.

¹⁴ Katsuragi Sueji, *Chōsen kinseki kō*, 207–208. Mun Myōngdae disagrees with

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Though Kim Chisǒng is hardly known in literary sources, the inscriptions contain abundant information about him.¹⁵ They indicate that he had acquired the rank of *chungach'an* 重阿飡 or double *ach'an*, an advanced rank within that of *ach'an*, the sixth rank in the seventeen office ranks of Silla.¹⁶ Because he was awarded the rank of *chungach'an* rather than the higher fifth rank, *taeach'an* 大阿飡 (greater *ach'an*), scholars have suspected that he was of *yuktup'um* 六頭品 status, head-rank six in the bone-rank grades of Silla, members of which could not be promoted beyond the sixth rank.¹⁷

Katsuragi, suggesting that the Amitābha image was completed together with the inscription after the death of Kim Chisǒng. Mun Myǒngdae, "Silla Pōpsangjong (Yugajong) ūi sǒngnip munje wa Kamsan-sa Mirūk Amir'a pulsang," 97. Kim Yǒngmi raises the possibility that the remarks on the death of Kim Chisǒng's mother and father, which appear separately in the two inscriptions, are also later carvings. Kim Yǒngmi, "Sǒngdōk wangdae chǒnje wangkwǒn e tachan il koch'al," 373-374.

¹⁵ The only other instances in which Kim Chisǒng appears in literary sources are in the Chinese *Cefu yuangui* and the Korean *Samguk sagi*. The *Samguk sagi* says in a note, "The *Tangshu* 唐書 refers to [King Sǒngdōk] as Kim Chisǒng." *Samguk sagi* 8: King Sǒngdōk, first year, Han'gukhak Chungang Yǒnguwǒn, ed., *Yōkchu Samguk sagi* 譯註 三國史記 [Annotation and translation of the *Samguk sagi*] (Sǒngnam: Han'gukhak Chungang Yǒnguwǒn Ch'ulp'anbu, 2011): 1:190. However, neither the *Tangshu* nor the *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 has such an account, and this anomaly is apparently due to the confusion of Kim Pusik 金富弼, the author of the *Samguk sagi* (dated 1145). Kim Pusik's source must have been the *Cefu yuangui* (scroll 970), which says, "In the third month of the first year of Shenlong 神龍 [705; the fourth year of King Sǒngdōk], the king of Silla, Kim Chisǒng, sent an envoy to the [Tang] court." Based on the account in the *Samguk sagi* that King Sǒngdōk's name was Yunggi 隆基 and later Chǒnjug 天中, not Chisǒng, Suematsu Yasukazu has argued that the *Cefu yuangui* most likely put the character *qian* 遣 (meaning "send") mistakenly not after "the king of Silla," but after "Kim Chisǒng" and that the correct sentence should have been "... the king of Silla sent Kim Chisǒng as an envoy to the [Tang] court." Thus, this record actually refers to Kim Chisǒng's trip to China as a Silla envoy in 705. Suematsu Yasukazu, "Kanzanji Miroku sonzō oyobi Amidabutsu no kakō kōki," 459-460. Suematsu's interpretation is accepted by most scholars. The record for the same year in the *Samguk sagi* simply says, "In the third month, an envoy was sent to Tang and paid a tribute."

¹⁶ As to the seventeen official ranks of Silla, see Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea*, trans. Edward Wagner and Edward Shultz (Seoul: Ilchogak, 1984): 50-51.

¹⁷ Pyōn T'aesōp 邊大燮, "Silla kwandūng ūi sǒngkyōk" 新羅官等의 性格 [The nature of the official ranks of Silla], *Yōksa kyoyuk* 歷史教育 1 (1956): 62-82; Mun

In the office he rose as high as *sirang* 侍郎 (deputy minster) of the *Chipsabu* 執事部, the chancellery, and seems to have been a close aide to Prince Kaewön 愷元, the sixth son of King Muyōl 武烈 (r. 654-661), who served as *sangdaedŭng* 上大等, the head of the Silla aristocrats, between 695 and 704 (during the reigns of King Hyoso 孝昭 [692-702] and King Sōngdōk [702-737]).¹⁸ In the Maitreya inscription Kim Chisōng prays especially for Prince Kaewon “to get away from bustling worldly matters full of defilements and to attain the exquisite reward of no rebirth.”

Kim Chisōng was a cultivated man. The inscriptions say that he was an avid reader of Chinese classics, such as the *Laozi Daodejing* 老子道德經 and the *Zhuangzi* 莊子, and the Buddhist philosophical treatise *Yujia shidilun* 瑜伽師地論, a Chinese translation of the *Yogācārabhūmi-sāstra* by Asaṅga. This account of Kim Chisōng is specific enough not to be a mere embellishment, although we do not know how common such erudition was among contemporary Silla intellectuals.

Kim Chisōng made the two images principally for his deceased parents, but he also prayed for the king, Prince Kaewön, and his own brothers, sisters, deceased wife, and current wife. The Maitreya image was possibly meant for his mother, while the Amitābha image was intended for his father, as each of them is mentioned separately in the inscriptions on the two images. His father died at forty-seven, and his mother at sixty-six. Because Kim Chisōng was sixty-eight when he had the images made, the dedication was made at least twenty to forty years after the deaths of his parents. This suggests that the dedication was not simply planned to memorialize his deceased parents. Rather, and more importantly, it was intended to transfer merit to those from whom he benefited or with whom he had family ties while looking ahead to the end of his life, which was only a year away.

The donation of Kim Chisōng's estate at Kamsan 甘山 funded the building of the temple and the production of the two images. The carving of the images must have been a costly enterprise. Although Kim Chisōng was not of the highest aristocratic class in Silla, he apparently had enough resources to finance the project. The Amitābha inscription shows that the

Myōngdae, “Silla Pōpsangjong (Yugajong) ūi sōngnip munje wa Kamsan-sa Mirūk Amit'a pulsang,” 87-88.

¹⁸ *Samguk sagi* 8: King Hyoso, fourth year, King Sōngdōk, fifth year, *Yōkchu Samguk sagi*, 12:189, 190; Mun Myōngdae, “Silla Pōpsangjong (Yugajong) ūi sōngnip munje wa Kamsan-sa Mirūk Amit'a pulsang,” 88-89; Chōe Wansu, *Han'guk pulsang ūi wōllyu rŭl ch'ajaso* 2, 239-241.

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inscription, or both inscriptions,¹⁹ were composed by Ch'ong 聰, a *nama* 奈麻 in the eleventh office rank, who is sometimes identified as Söl Ch'ong 薛聰, the son of the great monk Wŏnhyo 元曉,²⁰ and that the calligraphy was done by the monk Sök Kyōngyung 釋京融 and the layman Kim Ch'wiwŏn 金騷源. In many ways, the inscriptions are invaluable documents for the social and intellectual history of contemporary Silla.

Maitreya and a Devotee

The two Kamsan-sa images demonstrate advanced three-dimensionality, bodily form, and dress and drapery types in comparison with earlier Korean images, such as the Buddha triads from Samhwaryōng 三花嶺 and Pae-ri 拜里 (fig. 2.7) in Kyōngju (both datable to the early seventh century), and one in the Kunwi 軍威 cave (late seventh century).²¹ The Kamsan-sa images follow generally the so-called Tang style in their predilection for naturalism

¹⁹ Remarks on Ch'ong as well as the two calligraphers appear near the end of the Amitābha inscription, and, as most scholars agree, it is not clear whether they also apply to the Maitreya inscription. Kim Yōngmi suggests that only the Amitābha inscription was composed by Ch'ong, while the Maitreya inscription must have been written by Kim Chisōng himself. Kim Yōngmi, “Sōngdōk wangdae chōnje wangkwŏn e tachan il koch'al,” 374. Although the deliveries are in the third person in both inscriptions, the tone is somewhat different, especially in the description of the donor. Laudatory remarks about the donor, which are more conspicuous in the Amitābha inscription, are not clearly visible in the Maitreya inscription; rather, we find in the latter humbling characterizations such as “While trying to amend wrongs without cleverness, he barely escaped judicial punishment.” Closely reading the two inscriptions, I find myself more than sympathetic with Kim Yōngmi's suggestion. Still, the prose styles are quite similar between the two inscriptions. It is, then, perhaps the case that the Maitreya inscription was written by Kim Chisōng and polished by Ch'ong, who wrote the Amitābha inscription by rephrasing Kim's words in the Maitreya inscription in a more coherent order. The Amitābha inscription specifies that Ch'ong wrote it by royal order. Although the two images were dedicated together, as indicated in the Maitreya inscription, the two inscriptions were possibly written under different circumstances.

²⁰ Katsuragi Sueji, *Chōsen kinseki kō*, 209-210. Mun Myōngdae has expressed skepticism about Katsuragi's suggestion without specifying a reason, while Ch'oe Wansu has agreed with Katsuragi. Mun Myōngdae, “Silla Pōpsangjong (Yugajong) ūi sōngnip munje wa Kamsan-sa Mirūk Amit'a pulsang,” 89. Ch'oe Wansu, *Han'guk kodae pulsang ūi wŏllyu rŭl ch'ajaso* 2, 241.

²¹ For the triad from Samhwaryōng and the Buddha in the Kunwi cave, see Lena Kim, *Buddhist Sculpture of Korea*, pls. I-33, II-2.

and corporeality, but they are somewhat stiffer and more restrained than contemporary or slightly earlier Tang images (fig. 2.8). As a result, Korean scholars have sought their parallels in Chinese images produced during the early part of the seventh century.²² Though this conservatism may be the product of idiosyncratic Chinese prototypes, which may have influenced them, images from Silla tend to exhibit a similar restraint in adopting naturalistic configurations transmitted from Tang. In any case, this is not seemingly the result of a delay or regression in the transmission of a visual style. Silla and Tang had close diplomatic ties during this period, and Silla sent envoys to the Tang court once or twice a year. Through such official as well as private contacts, such as frequent travels of Buddhist monks, the latest achievements in Chinese literary and material culture were promptly conveyed to Silla. For example, a Buddhist sutra called the *Wugou jingguang datuoluoni jing* 無垢淨光大陀羅尼經, or the *Great Dhāraṇī Sutra of Immaculate and Pure Light*, translated into Chinese by Mituo Shan 彌陀山 in 704, was found in a reliquary datable to 706 from a Buddhist pagoda at the site of Hwangbok-sa 皇福寺 in Kyōngju; this means that the sutra was transmitted to Silla within only two years of its Chinese translation.²³ Kim Chisōng himself was also an envoy sent to the Tang court in the third month of 705,²⁴ and some have suggested that he brought the sutra to Silla.²⁵ Kim Chisōng was in a position to be best informed about the most up-to-date developments in Chinese Buddhism. He could have been able to employ the latest visual style from China.

Though a virtual pair, the two images differ slightly, especially in their mandorlas and pedestals. Due to these differences, as well as anomalies found in the Amitābha inscription, some scholars have questioned the contemporaneity of these two images. In addition to the remark on Kim Chisōng's death in 720 in the Amitābha inscription, which was discussed above, as most likely a later carving, the inscription records the post he held

²² Mun Myōngdae, "Silla Pōpsangjong (Yugajong) ūi sōngnip munje wa Kamsan-sa Mirūk Amit'a pulsang," 92-99; Chōe Wansu, *Han'guk kodae pulsang ūi wōllyu rŭl ch'ajasō* 2, 242-253.

²³ Also for two golden Buddhas discovered inside a reliquary from the Hwangbok-sa pagoda datable to around 692 and 706 respectively, see Lena Kim, *Buddhist Sculpture of Korea*, pls. II-12, 13.

²⁴ See n. 15 above.

²⁵ So Hyōnsuk, "Kamsan-sa Mirūk posal ipsang kwa Amit'a yōrae ipsang yōn'gu," 41; Chōe Wansu, *Han'guk kodae pulsang ūi wōllyu rŭl ch'ajasō* 2, 239.

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in the *Chipsabu* as *sirang*. However, the *Samguk sagi* 三國史記, a major historical source about ancient Korea, tells us that *sirang* was created to replace *chōndaedūng* 典大等 as late as 747.²⁶ Based on this apparent anachronism, the Korean scholar Mun Myōngdae has argued that the Amitābha image, as well as the temple itself, was completed as late as thirty or more years after the creation of the Maitreya image.²⁷ However, it seems absurd that the carving of a stone statue of this size would have taken as many as three decades, even if we allow for an impressive amount of labor. Furthermore, if the Amitābha image had been created thirty years later, it would not have displayed the same visual homogeneity as the Maitreya image. As to the title *sirang*, the Japanese scholar Suematsu Yasukazu attributes the anomaly to a mistake in the *Samguk sagi*, an argument that makes more sense.²⁸ Perhaps an advanced technological examination of the inscription's calligraphy will solve this mystery, but this has not yet been attempted. I believe that the two images must have been made in the same workshop within a year of each other, while the minor differences in the mandorlas and pedestals are most likely the result of different hands.

The Maitreya inscription begins by mentioning the creation of a stone Amitābha image and a stone Maitreya image. Although the Amitābha image is named first, preceding the Maitreya image in the inscription, it was actually the Maitreya that was made first. Furthermore, the Maitreya was possibly the principal image in the main hall of the temple. The *Samguk yusa*, another important source for ancient Korean history, particularly on Buddhism, quotes part of the inscriptions on both the Maitreya and the Amitābha and calls the Maitreya “the primary [image] of the golden hall” (*kūmdangju* 金堂主).²⁹ The Amitābha inscription recorded in the same text right after the Maitreya inscription lacks the phrase at the beginning. It is not impossible that the phrase was omitted to avoid repetition. Even if this were the case, it is worth noting that this source places the Maitreya image before the Amitābha, and the relative importance of the Maitreya image is evident. Whether the two images were housed together in the main hall is not at all clear, but obviously, Iryōn 一然 (1206–1289), the author of the

²⁶ *Samguk sagi* 38: “Chikkwan sang,” *Yōkchu Samguk sagi*, 1:518.

²⁷ Mun Myōngdae, “Silla Pōpsangjong (Yugajong) ūi sōngnip munje wa Kam-san-sa Mirūk Amit’a pulsang,” 97–99.

²⁸ Suematsu Yasukazu, “Kanzanji Miroku sonzō oyobi Amidabutsu no kakō kōki,” 454–455.

²⁹ *Samguk yusa* 3: “Namwōlsan,” *Yōkchu Samguk yusa*, 3:306–308.



Figure 2.7 Buddha, Pae-ri, Kyōngju. Silla, early seventh century. From Hwang Suyōng 黃壽永, *Sōkpul 石佛* (Seoul: Yegyōng Sanōpsa, 1985): Plate 12.

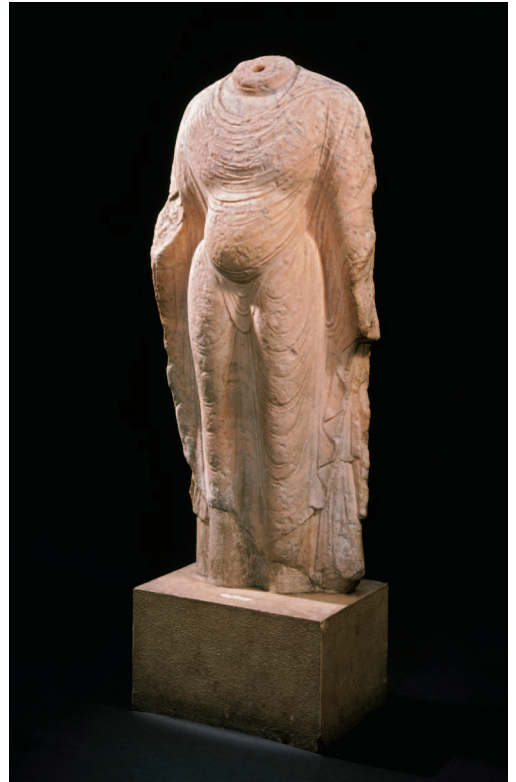


Figure 2.8 Buddha. Tang, early eighth century.
© Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Samguk yusa, saw the Maitreya image standing at the center of the main hall during the thirteenth century.

In the Buddhist pantheon, a Buddha is obviously superior to a bodhisattva in its hierarchy. But why then was the bodhisattva Maitreya treated as more important than the Buddha Amitābha at Kamsan-sa? This was obviously due to the special meaning attached to Maitreya bodhisattva by Kim Chisōng. The inscriptions repeatedly state that Kim Chisōng was an ardent admirer of the *Yogācārabhūmi*: “He aspired to the profundity and serenity of Asaṅga[’s treatise]”; “He thoroughly studied the teachings

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of the seventeen stages [of the *Yogācārabhūmi*]”; “Revering and yearning after the true creed presented by Asaṅga, he often read the *Yogācārabhūmi*.” Asaṅga (or Much’ak 無著 in the inscriptions) was an eminent Indian master of the Yogācāra school active in the fourth century, to whom the *Yogācārabhūmi* was conveyed by Maitreya bodhisattva from the Tuṣita heaven. The *Datang xiyuji* 大唐西域記 by Xuanzang 玄奘, who brought the Indian text to China in 645 and produced the first complete translation in Chinese several years later, writes:

To the southwest of the city [the capital of Ayodhyā] five or six *li*, in an extensive grove of mango trees, is an old monastery; this is where Asaṅga bodhisattva pursued his studies and directed the men of the age. Asaṅga bodhisattva went up by night to the palace of Maitreya bodhisattva, and there received the *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra*, the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*, the *Madhyāntavibhāga-śāstra*, etc., and by day declared these to the great congregations, in their deep principles.³⁰

Thus, the repeated reference to Asaṅga in the Kamsan-sa inscriptions does not merely indicate Kim Chisōng’s admiration for Asaṅga but suggests, more significantly, his devout reverence for the text’s ultimate exponent, Maitreya. The identity of Maitreya, who taught Asaṅga, is debated in modern scholarship—as to whether he was a celestial bodhisattva at the stage of *ekajātīpratibaddha* (on the candidacy of one more birth) or a historical person—but the second possibility seems to be taken less seriously at present.³¹ The attribution of the *Yogācārabhūmi* to Maitreya in Chinese Buddhism can be understood as the miraculous transmission of the text from Maitreya bodhisattva to Asaṅga. Along with the *Yogācārabhūmi*, this

³⁰ Samuel Beal, trans., *Si-yu-ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. 1 (London: Trübner, 1884): 226 (with modification); cf. T2085, 51:896b.

³¹ For various ideas regarding the identity of Maitreya in relation to the *Yogācārabhūmi*, see Ui Hakuju 宇井伯壽, *Indo tetsugakushi* 印度哲學史 [History of Indian philosophy] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1932): 335-386; Hakamaya Noriaki 袴谷憲昭, “Yugakōha no bunken” 瑜伽行派の文献 [Literature of Yogācāra], *Kōza daijō Bukkyō* 講座大乗仏教, vol. 8: *Yuishiki shisō* 唯識思想 (Tokyo: Shujūsha, 1982): 84-85; Florin Deleanu, *The Chapter on the Mundane Path (Laukikamārga) in the Śrāvakabhūmi: A Trilingual Edition (Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese), Annotated Translation and Introductory Study* (Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 2006): 1:154-156, 194-196.



*Figure 2.9 Detail of Figure 2.2.
Photograph by Rhi Juyung.*

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Figure 2.10 *Maitreya Bodhisattva*. Gandhara, second century. Photograph by Rhi Juhyung.



Figure 2.11 *Maitreya Bodhisattva*, from Hasra Kol, tenth century. Patna Museum. Photograph by EPIBM.

tradition must have been well known in Silla. It was thus Maitreya bodhisattva who lay behind Kim Chisōng's admiration for the *Yogācārabhūmi*, and Maitreya represented in the Kamsan-sa image is none other than the bodhisattva as the legendary exponent of the text.

Maitreya Descending

Here we face a more difficult question: Why does the Kamsan-sa Maitreya take such a singularly idiosyncratic form? The Kamsan-sa Maitreya is a standing image wearing a headdress decorated with a small Buddha in the center (fig. 2.9). This is iconographically almost unparalleled in the bodhisattva Maitreya in East Asia, including Korea. On the Indian subcontinent, standing images of Maitreya bodhisattva are found throughout history in the regions from Gandhara to eastern India. They usually hold a water bottle in the earlier periods (fig. 2.10) and later often a sprig of *nāgapuṣpa* flowers (fig. 2.11).³² A small Buddha in a headdress is not seen in any bodhisattvas that can be securely confirmed as Maitreya; instead, an Indian-style stupa is commonly carved on the headdress in later periods (fig. 2.11).³³ In China, images of Maitreya bodhisattva were commonly made during the fifth and sixth centuries, usually in the crossed-ankle pose (fig. 2.12), identified as the bodhisattva in the Tuṣita heaven, and occasionally in the penesive pose, perhaps identifiable as the bodhisattva in his last human incarnation (fig. 2.13).³⁴ However, the standing type is seldom found among images

³² Miyaji Akira 宮治昭, “Indo ni okeru Miroku zuzō no henshen” 인도における弥勒図像の変遷 [Transformation of the iconography of Maitreya in India], in his *Nehan to Miroku no zuzōgaku* 涅槃と弥勒の図像学 [Iconology of the *mahāparinirvāṇa* and Maitreya] (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1992): 355-386; Inchang Kim, *The Future Buddha Maitreya: An Iconological Study* (New Delhi: D.K. Printworld, 1997). For Maitreya images holding a *nāgapuṣpa* flower in Korea, see Son Yōngmun 孫永文, “Koryō sidae yonghwa suin Mirūk tosang yōn’gu” 高麗時代 龍華手印 彌勒圖像 研究 [Study of the iconography of Maitreya holding *nāgapuṣpa* in the Koryō period], *Misul-sabak yōn’gu* 美術史學研究 252 (2006): 122-129.

³³ Miyaji Akira presents two Indian examples from Kushan Mathura and Gupta Sarnath, but neither of them is clearly Maitreya. Miyaji Akira, “Indo ni okeru Miroku zuzō no henshen,” figs. 204, 211. Also see Inchang Kim, *The Future Buddha Maitreya*, 66-69, 128-129, figs. 35, 36, 104. I believe that the example that Miyaji cites from Kushan Mathura represents Siddhārtha bodhisattva. See Yi Chuhyōng (Rhi Juhyung) 李柱亨, “K’usyan sidae Mat’ura posalhyōng ilkki” 쿠산시대 마투라菩薩型 읽기 [Reading bodhisattva types from Kushan Mathura], *Kogo yōksabak chi* 考古歷史學誌 16 (2000): 405-406.

³⁴ For the identification of Maitreya in these two types as one in the Tuṣita heaven and one in the last human incarnation, see *Chūgoku sekkutsu Tonkō Bakkōkutsu* 中國石窟 敦煌莫高窟, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1981): explanations of plates 18, 19. Since the relevant remarks appear only in the Japanese edition, not in the Chinese edition, they are most likely the ideas of Tō Kengō 鄧健吾 (Higashiyama Kengō 東山健吾), who wrote supplements to the plate explanations originally written by Chinese



Figure 2.12 Maitreya Bodhisattva, Dunhuang Cave 275, China. Early fifth century. From 敦煌文物研究所 [Dunhuang Research Institute], ed., *Dunhuang Mogao ku 敦煌 莫高窟*, vol. 1. (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 1982): Plate 18.



Figure 2.13 Pensive Bodhisattva, Dunhuang Cave 275, China. Early fifth century, China. From 敦煌文物研究所 [Dunhuang Research Institute], ed., *Dunhuang Mogao ku 敦煌 莫高窟*, vol. 1. (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 1982): Plate 19.

identified as Maitreya by their inscriptions.³⁵ On the contrary, standing bodhisattvas are frequently identified as Avalokiteśvara, and often hold a lotus in the early period and a water bottle and/or a willow twig later on (fig. 2.14).³⁶ From the late sixth century on, a standing Avalokiteśvara frequently bears a small Buddha in the headdress (fig. 2.15). This pattern was generally followed in Korea, except that a crossed-ankle pose Maitreya was apparently never adopted. According to these iconographic conventions, the Kamsan-sa Maitreya is apparently much closer to bodhisattva images known as Avalokiteśvara. Without the inscriptions, modern scholars would have readily identified it as Avalokiteśvara.

How did this deviation from the conventional iconographic pattern come about? It is hard to imagine that this was a decision made by the sculptor. During the previous two centuries in Silla, Maitreya, both as a Buddha and a bodhisattva, enjoyed great popularity in the Buddhist cultic practice. The pensive type was well established in visual representations of

scholars. The identification of bodhisattva images in the pensive pose in China in general, often called *siwei* 思惟 figures in Chinese, is a much more complex issue. Although some scholars prefer to identify the majority of them as Siddhārtha (Jung-hee Lee, “The Origins and Development of the Pensive Bodhisattva Images of Asia,” *Artibus Asiae* 53.3/4 [1993]: 317-344), the presence of Maitreya among them is generally acknowledged despite differences in interpreting their significance (Yu-min Lee, “The Maitreya Cult and Its Art in Early China” [Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1983]: 301-315; Denise Leidy, “The Ssu-wei Figure in Sixth-Century A.D. Chinese Buddhist Sculpture,” *Archives of Asian Art* 43 [1990]: 21-37). For Maitreya images in the crossed-ankle pose in China, see Ishimatsu Hinako 石松日奈子, “Chūgoku kōkyaku bosatsuzō kō” 中国交脚菩薩像考 [Study of Chinese crossed-ankle bodhisattva images], in her *Hokugi Bukkyō zōzōshi no kenkyū* 北魏仏教造像史の研究 [Study on the history of Northern Wei Buddhist images] (Tokyo: Buryukke, 2005): 219-240.

³⁵ Maitreya bodhisattva in the standing type is found among only a handful of examples from the third and fourth centuries, which exhibit conspicuous influence from India. One of these rare examples is a gilded bronze image in the Fujii Yurinkan. Marilyn Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China and Central Asia*, vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1999): Plate. III and fig. 2.32. Also see Yu-min Lee, “The Maitreya Cult and Its Art in Early China,” 264-269; Lee Yumin 李玉珉, “Sui Tang zhi Mile xinyang yu tuxiang” 隋唐之彌勒信仰與圖像 [Maitreya cult and iconography during Sui and Tang], *Yishuxue* 藝術學 1 (1987): 91-117.

³⁶ For Chinese Avalokiteśvara images that hold a lotus, a jewel, or a willow twig as well as their significance, see Kang Hūijōng 姜煥靜, *Chungguk Kwanūm posalsang yōngu* 中國觀音菩薩像研究 [Study of Chinese Avalokiteśvara images] (Seoul: Ilchisa, 2004): 71-204.



Figure 2.14 Avalokiteśvara
Bodhisattva. Sui, late sixth
century. The Metropolitan
Museum of Art, Rogers Fund,
1912 (12.161) Image © The
Metropolitan Museum of Art.



*Figure 2.15 Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva, from Xiangdangshan, China.
Late sixth century. Penn Museum. Photograph by Rhi Juhyung.*

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Maitreya as a bodhisattva (fig. 2.1). Although in China the type was apparently used both for the prince Siddhārtha and the bodhisattva Maitreya, it seems to have been exclusively used for Maitreya in Silla.³⁷ Despite disagreement among specialists, I believe that the two famous gilded-bronze pensive images at the National Museum in Seoul were both in Buddhist temples in Kyōngju.³⁸ From the late seventh century on, Maitreya bodhisattva ceased to enjoy the same popularity in image-making, but there is no doubt that the two pensive images were worshipped in Kyōngju. If one were commissioned to make a Maitreya image, it would have been natural to turn to this eminent type. However, a different decision was made for the Kamsan-sa Maitreya.

Most likely, Kim Chisōng himself deliberately selected the unique iconography that we see in the Kamsan-sa image. What might have brought about this choice? One cannot rule out the possibility that a fresh impetus was provided by the transmission of a new prototype from outside Korea. Since such a type would have been hardly known in China, it might have been an Indian type, if not itself directly transmitted from India. During the sixth and seventh centuries in India, Maitreya bodhisattva was commonly portrayed as a standing attendant figure in a Buddha triad, along with Avalokiteśvara, as we see in Buddhist caves from this period in Aurangabad and Ellora.³⁹ A metal figurine representing Maitreya in such a form could have been brought to Silla. However, a weakness of this hypothesis is that Maitreya images from India usually have a stupa on the head-dress, not a Buddha, and there is little evidence to support it substantially. This theory of Indian inspiration is thus far short of being a satisfactory answer to our question. The Kamsan-sa Maitreya is a puzzling figure that cannot be explained by a transmission model familiar to art historians.

³⁷ For pensive bodhisattvas in China and Korea, see Denise Leidy, "The Ssu-wei Figure in Sixth-Century A.D. Chinese Buddhist Sculpture," 21-37; Junghee Lee, "The Origins and Development of the Pensive Bodhisattva Images of Asia," 317-349.

³⁸ Yi Chuhyōng (Rhi Juhyung), "Han'guk Pulgyo chogak ūi chasaengsōngnon ūl wihan sogo" 韓國 佛教彫刻의 自生性論을 위한 小考 [Reflections for a discourse on the autonomous character of Korean Buddhist sculpture], in *Han'guk misul ūi chasaengsōng* 韓國美術의 自生性 [The autonomous character of Korean art] (Seoul: Han'gilsa, 1999): 118-119. For the controversy regarding the origins of the two pensive bodhisattvas among the three kingdoms, see a brief survey by Kim Lina (Kim Lena), "Kukpo pan'ga sayusang chejakkuk ūl al su ōptta" 國寶 半跏思惟像 製作 國을 알 수 없다 [National-treasure pensive bodhisattvas: The countries of origin are unknown], *Gana Art* (July & August 1994): 40-43.

³⁹ Miyaji Akira, "Indo ni okeru Miroku zuzō no henshen," 365-376.

The most plausible source for the imagery of the Kamsan-sa Maitreya is perhaps Kim Chisöng's own visionary experience of the bodhisattva. Accounts concerning Maitreya's miraculous transmission of the *Yogācārabhūmi* to Asaṅga in Buddhist sources are full of elements that could have easily prompted visualization. An account in the *Posoupandou fashi zhuan* 婆藪槃豆法師傳 or the *Biography of Vasubandhu*, translated into Chinese by Paramārtha in the sixth century, is the most elaborate.

Thinking that it would not be right to drop it [the doctrine of nothingness peculiar to Hīnayāna] altogether, he [Asaṅga, called also Vasubandhu⁴⁰] went up to the Tuṣita heaven . . . and inquired of Maitreya, the bodhisattva, who expounded for him the doctrine of nothingness belonging to Mahāyāna. When he returned to Jambudvīpa he investigated by the methods explained to him, and soon became enlightened. . . . He afterwards often went up to the Tuṣita heaven in order to ask Maitreya the doctrine of the Mahāyāna sutras. The bodhisattva expounded it extensively for him. Whenever he acquired anything, he used to come back to Jambudvīpa to teach it to others. Most of those hearing him did not believe him. Asaṅga, teacher of the dharma, then prayed, saying: "I now intend to make all beings fully believe in the doctrine of Mahāyāna. I only pray thee, O Great Master, to come down to Jambudvīpa and propound Mahāyāna in order that all beings may be fully convinced of it." Maitreya, thereupon, in accordance with his prayer, came down to Jambudvīpa at night, flooding it with great rays of light, had a large assembly of those connected with (the dharma) called in a lecture hall, and began to recite the *Sutra of the Seventeen Stages* (*Saptadaśabhūmi*). After having recited a passage he would explain its purport. The *Seventeen Stages* was finished during the nights of four months. Although all were together in one and the same hall listening to the discourse, it was, nevertheless, only Asaṅga, teacher of the dharma, who had access to the bodhisattva Maitreya, while the others could merely hear him from afar. At night, all together heard the religious discourse by Maitreya, while in the daytime Asaṅga, teacher of the dharma, commented once again, for the sake of the others, upon

⁴⁰ Although Vasubandhu is known as a younger brother of Asaṅga, the *Biography of Vasubandhu* says that all three brothers of Asaṅga went initially by the same name, Vasubandhu.

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what was taught by the bodhisattva. In this way all the people could hear and believe in the doctrine of Mahayana.⁴¹

This text is by far the most detailed source for the miraculous encounter between Maitreya and Asaṅga. While the *Datang xiyuji* by Xuanzang speaks only of Asaṅga ascending to the Tuṣita heaven to hear lectures from Maitreya (see p. 88), the *Biography of Vasubandhu* tells of Maitreya descending to our world in a sumptuous vision.

The account in the *Biography of Vasubandhu* must have been well known to Buddhists in China and Korea during the seventh and eighth centuries. For example, the Chinese master Huizhao 慧沼, who succeeded Kuiji 窺基 as a patriarch of the Faxiang 法相 or *Dharmalakṣaṇa* school established with Xuanzang's translation of the *Yogācārabhūmi*, describes the incident in his *Chengweishilun liaoyideng* 成唯識論了義燈, a commentary on the *Chengweishilun*, and his narrative is obviously based on the *Biography of Vasubandhu*.

[Although Asaṅga heard the theory of emptiness pertaining to Hīnayāna from the *arhat* Piṇḍola] the meaning was not secure, and the logic was not proper. Therefore, with supernatural power he went up to the Tuṣita heaven and asked Maitreya bodhisattva. The bodhisattva explained the theory of emptiness pertaining to Mahāyāna. He came back and meditated, immediately attaining enlightenment. Thus, he was named Asaṅga, which means “No attachment.” Later many times he went to the Tuṣita heaven and questioned Maitreya on the meaning of Mahāyāna sutras. He explained to other people what he had heard, but many of them did not trust it. He suddenly made a wish that he would ask the Maitreya bodhisattva to descend and preach on Mahāyāna, having the sentient beings see the bodhisattva and all gain belief. Then, at night when the bodhisattva descended as Asaṅga had wished, he emitted great light and assembled those who had good conditions. Maitreya preached on the *Seventeen Stages* in Ayodhyā. Although they were in the same hall, only Asaṅga was able to have access to the bodhisattva, and the others only heard the preaching or saw mysterious occurrences. At the time, Master Asaṅga preached for

⁴¹ Takakusu Junjiro, trans., “The Life of Vasu-bandhu by Paramārtha,” *T'oung Pao*, 2nd ser., 5-3 (1904): 273-274 (with modification), cf. T2049, 50:188c.

the others, and thus they first developed belief in the meaning of the dharma of Mahāyāna.⁴²

A description in the *Yujialunji* 瑜伽論記, a vast commentary on the *Yogācārabhūmi*, by the Silla monk Tullyun 遁輪, who was active in China possibly during the late seventh century, is also similar.

Asaṅga attained the first stage (*bhūmi*) and achieved the great light *samādhi* and the great miraculous power. He paid homage to the Great Mercy [i.e., Maitreya] and asked to preach this treatise [*Yogācārabhūmi*], etc. Maitreya bodhisattva agreed to Asaṅga's wish. Every night, the bodhisattva descended from the Tuṣita heaven to Asaṅga's meditation cell⁴³ and preached on the verses of five treatises: the *Yujialun* 瑜伽論 (*Yogācārabhūmi*), the *Fenbieguansuo mingfenbie yujialun* 分別觀所名分別瑜伽論,⁴⁴ the *Dazhuangyanlun* 大莊嚴論 (*Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*), the *Bianzhongbianlun* 辨中邊論 (*Madhyāntavibhāga*), and the *Jingangboruolun* 金剛般若論 (*Vajracchedikaprajñāpāramitāsūtra-śāstra*).⁴⁵ At the time, among his disciples, some saw light without seeing the countenance of the bodhisattva or hearing the teaching; some saw the countenance without hearing the teaching; some saw the countenance and heard the teaching. However, as the succession of time is far away, their names

⁴² T1832, 43:659c-660a.

⁴³ *Chanxing* 禪省. This term seems to be found nowhere except for this text. Karashima Seishi, whom I consulted for its meaning, suggests that it was probably derived from the Sanskrit word *prabhāṇa-sālā* and was an equivalent for *chanfang* 禪坊 or 禪房. I thank Prof. Karashima for providing this information.

⁴⁴ A text by the name of the *Fenbieguansuo mingfenbie yujialun* does not seem to be found elsewhere in the Buddhist textual tradition, and what its title exactly means is not clear. In the Jinling 金陵 edition used for collation with the Shūkyō daigaku 宗教大學 edition in the creation of the Taishō edition, one of the characters in the title, *suo* 所, is written differently as *xing* 行, and my colleague Ahn Sungdoo (An Songdu 安性斗) suspects that the *Fenbieguanxing mingfenbie yujialun* 分別觀行名分別瑜伽論 perhaps makes better sense.

⁴⁵ It is interesting that Tullyun includes the *Vajracchedikaprajñāpāramitāsūtra-śāstra* as well as the text of an otherwise unknown title, *Fenbieguansuo mingfenbie yujialun*, as writings transmitted by Maitreya, while Xuanzang specifies only three texts, the *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra*, the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*, and the *Madhyāntavibhāga-śāstra*.

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are lost. Only Asaṅga and the celestial beings were edified by Maitreya and received all the teaching.⁴⁶

During the period when cultural contact between Tang and Silla was almost instantaneous, as we saw in the transmission of the *Wugou jingguang datuoluoni jing*,⁴⁷ these texts must also have quickly reached the Buddhists of Silla. The accounts of the miraculous encounter described in these texts would have left a deep impression on anyone who was interested in the *Yogācārabhūmi*, such as Kim Chisōng. Reading the *Yogācārabhūmi*, Kim Chisōng could have easily visualized Maitreya in the manner in which the bodhisattva is described in these texts. Kim Chisōng's vision of Maitreya was apparently the bodhisattva descending from the Tuṣita heaven. If it had been the vision of Maitreya residing in Tuṣita, he would have chosen a seated image instead of the standing one.⁴⁸

Seeing Maitreya

Visualization was a popular practice in early Chinese Buddhism; so was visualization directed to Maitreya, as attested by literary sources.⁴⁹ Chinese monastic experience in the Maitreya visualization usually speaks of monks in the middle of a *samādhi* ascending to the Tuṣita heaven and meeting

⁴⁶ T1828, 42:311b.

⁴⁷ It is also notable that the *Jingguangming zuishengwang jing* 金光明最勝王經 translated by Yijing 義淨 in 703 was brought to Silla in the next year by an envoy, Kim Sayang 金思讓, who reached China in 703. So Hyōnsuk, "Kamsan-sa Mirūk posal ipsang kwa Amit'a yörae ipsang yōn'gu," 40-41, cf. *Samguk sagi* 8: King Sōngdōk, third year, *Yōkchu Samguk sagi*, 1:190.

⁴⁸ When I presented this paper for the second time, at a meeting of the Association of Art History and Visual Culture in Seoul in June 2010, the discussant Nam Dongsin, a Buddhist history specialist, suggested that Sōl Chōng, the son of Wōnhyo, who has been identified as the composer of the Kamsan-sa inscriptions by some scholars, could have influenced Kim Chisōng's choice of the iconographic type for Maitreya. Chōng in the inscriptions was possibly none other than Sōl Chōng, and thus Nam Dongsin's imaginative suggestion is quite stimulating. However, it would be difficult to pursue this possibility without any supporting evidence.

⁴⁹ Liu Huida 刘慧达, "Beiwei shiku yu chan" 北魏石窟与禅 [Northern Wei caves and meditation], *Kaogu xuebao* 考古学报, no. 3 (1978): 337-352, especially, 346-349, cf. Alexander Soper, *Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China* (Ascona: Artibus Asiae, 1959): 214-216.

Maitreya.⁵⁰ Its principal scriptural source, the *Guan Milepusa shangsheng Doushuaitian jing* 觀彌勒菩薩上生兜率天經 or the *Sutra of the Visualization of Maitreya's Rebirth Above in the Tuṣita Heaven* translated by Juqu Jingsheng 沮渠京聲 in the fifth century, recounts in detail the way Maitreya in Tuṣita should be visualized, and describes Maitreya reborn in the Tuṣita heaven in the following words:

At the time, in the Maṇi hall on the Seven Treasures terrace in the Tuṣita heaven a lion pedestal will suddenly appear. [Maitreya will be] seated cross-legged on a lotus. His body will be in the golden *jambūnada* color. He will be sixteen *yojana* tall. All thirty-two *lakṣaṇas* and eighty *anuvyañjanas* will be present in beautiful form. The hair on the *uṣṇīṣa* will be of the color of purple *vaidūrya*. The celestial crown will be decorated with *śakrābhilagna maṇi* and thousands of billions of *kiṃśuka* jewels. The crown will have ten billion colors, and in each color innumerable hundreds of thousands of incarnate (*nirmāṇa*) Buddhas will be present with attendant incarnate bodhisattvas.⁵¹

The sutra also explains the merit to be obtained by making Maitreya images.

If a sentient being in the future, having heard the compassion of the bodhisattva, makes an image, decorates it with incense, flowers, clothes, banners and umbrellas, worships it, and meditates on it, then when that person is about to die, Maitreya bodhisattva will emit light from the *ūrṇā* on his eyebrows and arrive with heavenly beings to greet the person. Then, the person will immediately attain rebirth [in the Tuṣita heaven].⁵²

Numerous Maitreya images created in early Chinese Buddhist art—especially in the Dunhuang, Yungang, and Longmen caves during the fifth and sixth centuries—accord with these textual descriptions (fig. 2.12). It is

⁵⁰ *Gaosengzhuan* 高僧傳, T2059, 50:339c (Zhiyan 智嚴), 399b (Daofa 道法); *Mingsengzhuan chao* 名僧傳抄, in *Xuzangjing* 續藏經, no. 1523: 358b; cf. Soper, 32 (no. 33, Daofa).

⁵¹ T 452, 14:419c.

⁵² T 452, 14:420b.

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believed that they represent the bodhisattva in the Tuṣita heaven, and that a number of them are linked to the practice of visualization.⁵³ This early perception of and practice about Maitreya that parallels the *Sutra of the Visualization of Maitreya's Rebirth Above* must have affected the Buddhists of Silla when they imagined Maitreya, although the visual imagery of Maitreya in Korea took a somewhat different course, as Maitreya images in the crossed-ankle pose, the most prevalent type in China, were never employed in Korea.

In any case, that such visualization was taken seriously by the Buddhists of Silla is reflected in Wŏnhyo's commentary on the *Sutra of the Visualization of Maitreya's Rebirth Above*, the *Mirŭk sangsaenggyŏng chongyo* 彌勒上生經宗要. In this commentary Wŏnhyo discusses what visualization in the sutra means and what constitutes this practice.

Visualization here is of two kinds. The first is to visualize the majestic adornments of the [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 and so this [technique] is called *samādhi*.⁵⁴

While elucidating the concordances and discrepancies between three major sutras on Maitreya—the *Sutra of the Visualization of Maitreya's Rebirth Above*, the *Sutra on Maitreya's Rebirth Below* (*Mile xiasheng jing* 彌勒下生經),⁵⁵ and the *Sutra on Maitreya's Achieving Buddhahood* (*Mile*

⁵³ Ishimatsu Hinako, "Chūgoku kōkyaku bosatsuzō kō," 219-240; Stanley K. Abe, "Art and Practice in a Fifth-Century Chinese Buddhist Cave Temple," *Art Orientalis* 20 (1990): 8-9. Eileen Hisang-ling Hsu argues that a large number of pensive figures in sixth-century China, affixed with the word *siwei*, developed into representations of pious Maitreya devotees "in seated meditational posture visualizing (*siwei* or *guan* 觀) themselves in the company of Maitreya in Tuṣita." Eileen Hsiang-ling Hsu, "Visualization Meditation and the Siwei Icon in Chinese Buddhist Sculpture," *Artibus Asiae* 62.1 (2002): 5-32, especially, 8, 27. Her suggestion is interesting, but whether the term *siyu* can be interpreted in conjunction with visualization, as she argues, seems to need further corroboration.

⁵⁴ Alan Sponberg's translation in "Wŏnhyo on Maitreya Visualization," in *Maitreya, the Future Buddha*, ed. A. Sponberg and H. Hardacre (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988): 98, cited here with slight modification; cf. T1773, 38:299c.

⁵⁵ Besides the *Mile xiasheng jing* translated by Dharmarakṣa (T453), two other Chinese versions are extant with an identical title, *Mile xiasheng chengfo jing* (T454, T455), each translated by Kumārajīva and Yijing.

dachengfo jing 彌勒大成佛經)⁵⁶—Wŏnhyo returns to the problem of visualization, and distinguishes three different kinds of visualization according to the three different grades of people.

The highest grade of people are those who either cultivate the *samādhi* of Buddha visualization or who take repentance as their method of practice. In their present body they will succeed in seeing Maitreya. According to the quality of their mind, the image they see will be either great or small. This is taught in the *Sutra of the Sea of the Samādhi of Buddha Visualization* (*Guanfo sanmei hai jing* 觀佛三昧海經) and the *Expanded Dhāraṇī* (*Dafangdeng tuoluoni jing* 大方等陀羅尼經).

The middle grade of people are those who either cultivate the *samādhi* of Buddha visualization or who [practice] by performing pure deeds. After having given up this [present] body, they will be reborn in the Tuṣita heaven, there to see Maitreya and attain the stage of non-retrogression (*butuizhuan* 不退轉, *avinivartaniya*). This is as is taught in the *Sutra [of the Visualization] of Maitreya's Rebirth Above*.

The lowest grade of people cultivate the various good deeds—generosity (*dāna*), morality (*śīla*), etc.—and, upon that base, produce a vow wishing to see Maitreya. After giving up their [present] body, they incur rebirth in accord with their past deeds until the time when Maitreya completes the path [and is reborn on earth]. They will see Maitreya then and attain deliverance as part of the three assemblies. This is as taught in the *Sutra on Rebirth Below* and the *Sutra on Achieving Buddhahood*.

Thus those for whom the *Sutra [of the Visualization] of Maitreya's Rebirth Above* was [taught] are people of the middle grade, where the other two sutras are for the benefit of the people of the lowest grade.⁵⁷

According to Wŏnhyo, only those in the highest grade can visualize Maitreya in the present life, while for those in the lower grades visualization is possible in the Tuṣita heaven only after the current life or after numerous lives when Maitreya attains buddhahood. Because Kim Chisŏng's vision of Maitreya embodied in the Kamsan-sa image is apparently not a vision of

⁵⁶ Translated by Kumārajīva (T 456).

⁵⁷ Based on Sponberg's translation with slight modification: "Wŏnhyo on Maitreya Visualization," 99-100; cf. T1773, 38:300b.

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Figure 2.16 Maitreya Bodhisattva. Gandhara, second-third century. Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin. Photograph by Rhi Juhyung.

him in the Tuṣita heaven, but most likely an encounter with him in the present life, it is unique, unlike that of the *Sutra of the Visualization of Maitreya's Rebirth Above* or those of the other two major sutras on Maitreya. His visualization of Maitreya would thus correspond to that of the highest grade in Wŏnhyo's classification. Wŏnhyo does not mention the *Yogācārabhūmi* for visualization of this kind because the text does not specifically concern the practice of visualization.⁵⁸ The learned layman Kim Chisŏng quite possibly

⁵⁸ It is interesting to note that he speaks of the *Sutra of the Sea of the Samādhi of Buddha Visualization*, one of the primary scriptures that elucidate visualization. The sutra, which has been cited by some scholars to explain the distinctive significance embodied in Sōkkuram, was evidently well known in Silla. See Yi Kiyŏng (Rhi Ki-yong) 李箕永, "Sōkkuram kwa tongnyong: Sōkkuram choyŏng ūi sasangjŏk paegyŏng" 石窟庵 毒龍: 石窟庵 造營의 思想의 背景 [Sōkkuram and a poisonous dragon: Ideas behind the creation of Sōkkuram], in his *Chonggyo sahwa* 宗教史話 [Stories in the history of religion] (Seoul: Han'guk Pulgyo Yŏn'guwon, 1978): 89-94; Mun Myŏngdae, *T'ohamsan sōkkul* 吐含山石窟 [Mount T'oham cave] (Seoul: Hanŏn, 2000): 211-224.



*Figure 2.17 Maitreya Bodhisattva, Yongjanggye, Namsan, Kyöngju.
Silla, eighth century. Photograph by Rhi Juhyung.*

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read Wŏnhyo's works including this commentary, though we do not know whether he was conscious of the sophisticated distinctions of visualization in his aspiration for Maitreya. Also, we cannot tell whether Kim Chisŏng envisaged Maitreya through a systematic *samādhi* practice or simply in a casual dream. In terms of images thus created in the mind of Kim Chisŏng, the difference between the two methods would not have been significant.⁵⁹ In any case, Kim Chisŏng could have devised an iconographic type, unprecedented in earlier Buddhist visual imagery of Maitreya, based on his own visualization experience of Maitreya descending before him.

Maitreya in the crossed-ankle pose, an iconographic type probably created in the Northwest of the Indian subcontinent,⁶⁰ could also have originated in visualization experiences (fig. 2.16). The type was immensely popular and was thus replicated in large numbers in early Chinese Buddhism, but the moment of its origin was probably forgotten entirely among the Chinese. By contrast, parallels for Kim Chisŏng's Maitreya are rare in later Silla Buddhist art, and the image apparently did not leave a meaningful imprint on later developments in Silla Buddhist art. Instead, it seems to have been an incidental aberration, although one supposes that many people saw the image in Kamsan-sa.⁶¹ Perhaps his fellow Silla Buddhists

⁵⁹ In the *Pratyutpannasamādhi-sūtra*, one of the principal texts on visualization in early Indian Buddhism, envisioning in a dream is an important method of visualization. "If they concentrate their thoughts with undistracted minds on the *Tathāgata* Amitāyus for seven days and nights, then, when a full seven days and nights have elapsed, they see the Lord and *Tathāgata* Amitāyus. Should they not see that Lord during the daytime, then the Lord and *Tathāgata* Amitāyus will show his face to them in a dream while they are sleeping." Paul Harrison, *The Samādhi of Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present: An Annotated English Translation of the Tibetan Version of the Pratyutpanna-Buddha-Sammukhavathita-Samādhi-Sūtra* (Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 1990): 32.

⁶⁰ Ishimatsu Hinako, "Chūgoku kōkyakubosatsuzō kō," 220-221.

⁶¹ A stone Buddha quite close to the Kamsan-sa Amitābha is inside a cave at Mit'aam 彌陀庵, Yangsan 梁山. Chŏe Sŏng-ŭn 崔聖銀, *Sŏkpul maaebul* 石佛磨崖佛 [Stone Buddhas and rock-cut Buddhas] (Seoul: Yegyŏng, 2004): 110-111, Plate 33. It is slightly smaller in size, somewhat different in clothing, and stiffer in details, but otherwise very close to the Kamsan-sa Amitābha. Also identified as Amitābha, the Yangsan Buddha is most likely a copy of the Kamsan-sa Amitābha, which suggests that the latter was considered a valuable model for replication. The Kamsan-sa Maitreya may also have been copied, but a Maitreya in the identical form is seldom found among later images.



Figure 2.18 *Maitreya Bodhisattva, Sinsŏnam, Namsan, Kyŏngju.*
Silla, eighth century. Photograph by Rhi Juhyung.

thought the type too similar to the better-established standing bodhisattva type of Avalokiteśvara to be useful as a distinctive type for Maitreya, since *differentiation* is an important key to the success of an iconographic type. The *Samguk yusa* records a Maitreya image in the temple Yongjang-sa 茸長寺 adored by T'aehyŏn 太賢, a master of the Korean *Dharmalakṣaṇa* school



Figure 2.19 Maitreya Bodhisattva, the Kulbul-sa site, Kyöngju. Silla, mid-eighth century. Photograph by Song Jinhyup.

and active during King Kyōngdōk's reign (742-765) (fig. 2.17).⁶² This Maitreya was a seated image signifying the bodhisattvas's presence in the Tuṣita heaven.⁶³ Another bodhisattva carved on a rock face at Sinsōnam 神仙庵 near Ch'ilburam 七佛庵 in Kyōngju, which we can identify as Maitreya by the *nāgapuṣpa* twig held in his right hand, is seated on a cloud with his right leg hanging down, in a position somewhat similar to the pensive type (fig. 2.18).⁶⁴ The only example in the standing pose comparable to the Kamsan-sa Maitreya and also identifiable as Maitreya bodhisattva is an image carved on the north face of a square boulder at Kulbul-sa 掘佛寺 datable to the mid-eighth century (fig. 2.19).⁶⁵ This may have been a rare attempt to replicate the Kamsan-sa Maitreya type.

Two Destinations

In addressing the Maitreya image from Kamsan-sa, we also need to make sense of its relationship to the Amitābha image from the same temple. Where was the Buddha installed in the temple? What significance did it have in relation to the Maitreya?

As for the placement of the Amitābha, some scholars have suggested that it was installed in the lecture hall separately from the Maitreya in the main hall. A parallel has been drawn from another account from the *Samguk yusa*, in which a Maitreya Buddha and an Amitābha Buddha were placed separately in the main hall and the lecture hall of a temple on Mount Paegwŏl 白月 founded where the two practitioners Nohil Pudūk 努詰夫得 and Taldal Pakpak 怛怛朴朴 supposedly attained buddhahood as Maitreya and Amitābha respectively.⁶⁶ It has also been noted that in Kōfukuji

⁶² *Samguk yusa* 4: "Hyōn Yuga Hae Hwaōm," *Yōkchu Samguk yusa*, 4:197-203.

⁶³ Although many scholars usually regard this image as a Maitreya Buddha, Mun Myōngdae thought it a Maitreya bodhisattva. Mun Myōngdae, "T'aehyōn kwa Yongjang-sa ūi pulsang chogak" 太賢斗 茸長寺의 佛像彫刻 [T'aehyōn and a Buddha image at Yongjang-sa], in his *T'ongil Silla Pulgyo chogaksa yōn'gu sang: wŏnūm kwa kojōnmi* (2003): 123-127 (originally published in *Paeksan hakpo* 白山學報 17 [1974]).

⁶⁴ Son Yōngmun, "Koryō sidae yonghwa suin Mirūk tosang yōn'gu," 139-140.

⁶⁵ Kim Lina (Kim Lena), "Kyōngju Kulbulsaji ūi samyōn sōkpul e tachayō" 慶州 掘佛寺址의 四面石佛에 대하여 [On the four-sided Buddha images of the Kulbul-sa site in Kyōngju], in her *Han'guk kodae Pulgyo chogaksa yōn'gu* 韓國古代佛教彫刻史研究 [Study in the history of ancient Korean Buddhist sculpture] (Seoul: Ilchogak, 1989): 259 (originally published in *Chindan hakpo* 震檀學報 39 [1975]: 43-68).

⁶⁶ *Samguk yusa* 3: "Namwōlsan isōng Nohil Pudūk Taldal Pakpak," *Yōkchu Samguk yusa*, 3:216-232.

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興福寺 in Japan, a Maitreya and an Amitābha were placed separately in the main hall and the lecture hall during the Nara period (710-794).⁶⁷ However, in Kōfukuji the Maitreya is not the only image in the main hall, which also housed an image of Śākyamuni Buddha. Furthermore, the Maitreya of Kōfukuji was most likely a Buddha, not a bodhisattva. The Maitreya on Mount Paegwŏl was also a Buddha. Despite the fact that the legend speaks of Maitreya and Amitābha installed simultaneously on Mount Paegwŏl, we cannot be certain of the relevance of two images on Mount Paegwŏl and the Kamsan-sa images to each other. Alternately, considering the symmetrical configurations of the two images, especially in hand gestures, it has been suggested that they stood side by side in the main hall.⁶⁸ This is supported by a question: If the two images had been intended to be installed in separate halls, would they necessarily have been created in identical dimensions and formats? Although the current evidence does not allow us fully to answer these questions, it may be more reasonable to suppose that the two images were in the same building, which is the main hall of the temple.

Mun Myōngdae, who proposed the separate installation of Maitreya and Amitābha in the main hall and the lecture hall, has suggested that the simultaneous devotion to Maitreya and Amitābha was a distinctive phenomenon of the *Dharmalakṣaṇa* school in Silla, as in Kōfukuji, which was also a temple of the *Dharmalakṣaṇa* school in Japan.⁶⁹ However, even though Kim Chisōng was an avid reader of the *Yogācārabhūmi* and an ardent devotee of Maitreya, it is not at all clear whether he and his temple were affiliated with the *Dharmalakṣaṇa* school. Mun Myōngdae tends to stress prominent sectarianism in the visual imagery of Silla Buddhism, but this view has been questioned by a number of Buddhist history specialists.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ *Kōfukuji ryūki* 興福寺流記 [Records of Kōfukuji], in *Dainihon Bukkyō zensho* 大日本佛教全書 [Compendium of Japanese Buddhist literature], vol. 123: 6-7, 16-17.

⁶⁸ Chōe Wansu suggests that, for the reason above, the two images were originally made to be housed in the same hall, but in another place in the same book he writes that they were installed separately in the golden hall and the lecture hall. Chōe Wansu, *Han'guk kodae pulsang ūi wŏllyu rŭl ch'ajaso* 2, 240, 246. So Hyōnsuk thinks that the two images were together in the main hall. So Hyōnsuk, "Kamsan-sa Mirūk posal ipsang kwa Amit'a yŏrae ipsang yŏn'gu," 60-63.

⁶⁹ Mun Myōngdae, "Silla Pōpsangjong (Yugajong) ūi sŏngnip munje wa Kamsan-sa Mirūk Amit'a pulsang," 106-109.

⁷⁰ The nature of Buddhist sects or sectarianism is one of the pivotal issues in the study of early and medieval Korean Buddhism. According to the assessment of Hō Hūngsik, a specialist in medieval Korean Buddhism, sectarianism in the proper sense

Others point out, as negative evidence for Mun Myōngdae's theory, examples from China outside the context of the *Dharmalakṣaṇa* school in which Maitreya and Amitābha were simultaneously dedicated. For instance, in the sixth century Master Nanyue Huisi 南嶽惠思, despite being a devout follower of the *Lotus Sutra*, created and worshipped images of Maitreya and Amitābha together after hearing lectures from the two deities in a dream.⁷¹ Placing Maitreya and Amitābha together on a single monument or inside a single space, not for doctrinal reasons but to appropriate popular devotions, was not uncommon in Chinese Buddhist art.⁷²

Likewise, it is possible that Kim Chisōng, while creating a Maitreya based on his own experience of visualization, may have simply added an Amitābha, the Buddha of the Western Pure Land (Sukhāvātī) where many contemporary Buddhists in Silla aspired to be reborn. In doing so, he may have provided two potential destinations for rebirth for those on whose behalf he prayed. He perhaps hoped that his parents and many other deceased relatives would find a new abode in one of these two places—Maitreya's Tuṣita or Amitābha's Sukhāvātī. Kim Chisōng himself did not live long after the initiation of this project. No doubt he longed for a rebirth in the Tuṣita heaven, and perhaps considered Amitābha's Sukhāvātī as expedient means (*upāya*) for those not fully initiated.⁷³ However, when two differ-

appears in Korean Buddhism only in the ninth century during the late Unified Silla period. Hō Hūngsik 許興植, "Kyojong ojongp'asöl ūi pip'an" 教宗 五宗派說의 批判 [Criticism on the theory of five scriptural schools], in his *Koryō Pulgyosa yōn'gu* 高麗佛教史研究 [Studies in the history of Koryō Buddhism] (Seoul: Ilchogak, 1986): 127-144; also see Kim Yōngt'ae 金煥泰, *Han'guk Pulgyosa kaesöl* 韓國佛教史概說 [A comprehensive history of Korean Buddhism] (Seoul: Kyōngsōwōn, 1986): 18; Ch'ae Sangsik 蔡尙植, "Han'guk chungse Pulgyo ūi ihae panghyang" 韓國 中世佛敎의 理解 方向 [Toward understanding medieval Korean Buddhism], *Kogo yōksa hakchi* 9 (1993): 321.

⁷¹ T2060, 50:562c, cf. Li Yumin, "Sui Tang zhi Mile xinyang yu tuxiang," 92-94; So Hyōnsuk, "Kamsan-sa Mirūk posal ipsang kwa Amit'a yōrae ipsang yōn'gu," 43-44.

⁷² So Hyōnsuk, "Kamsan-sa Mirūk posal ipsang kwa Amit'a yōrae ipsang yōn'gu," 53-55.

⁷³ It is well known that Silla Buddhists debated the superiority of the two paradisiacal realms of Amitābha and Maitreya. For example, Wōnhyo thought Amitābha's Sukhāvātī superior to Maitreya's Tuṣita, while Kyōnghūng asserted otherwise. An Kychyōn suggests that Wōnhyo's view was expressed as an expedient means to recommend devotion to Amitābha from the standpoint emphasizing Amitābha, and not intended to support the absolute superiority of Amitābha's

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ent paradisiacal realms of rebirth are present, would one perceive either one of them to be more real? Fundamentally speaking, Maitreya's Tuṣita might have been as hollow as Amitābha's Sukhāvātī. In Kim Chisōng's case, however, even if the two images were placed side by side in the main hall of Kamsan-sa, he was not forced to face such disturbing questions, for he passed away before the Amitābha image was completed for dedication. We do not know whether he ever met Maitreya in the Tuṣita heaven afterward.

* The part of this chapter on the interpretation of the iconographic singularity of the Kamsan-sa Maitreya image was published in Korean with slight adaptation: "Mirūk ūl mannada: Kamsansa mirūk posalsang ūi hyōngsik kwa ūimi e taehan haemyōng" 미륵을 만나다: 감산사 미륵보살상의 형식과 의미에 대한 해명 [The vision of Maitreya in an image from Kamsan-sa], *Misulsa wa sigak munhwa* 미술사와 시각문화 9 (2010): 8-26.

Appendix: Translations of the Inscriptions of the Two Kamsan-sa Images⁷⁴

1. Maitreya inscription

開元七年己未二月十五日重阿淦金志誠奉
爲亡考仁章一吉淦亡妣觀肖里敬造甘
山寺一所石阿彌陀像一軀石彌勒像一軀
蓋聞至道玄微不生不滅能仁眞寂無去無來
所以顯法應之三身隨機拯濟表天師之十號
有願咸成弟子志誠生於聖世歷任榮班
無智略以匡時僅免罹於刑憲性諧山水慕莊
老之逍遙志重眞宗希無著之玄寂年六十有
七致王事於清朝遂歸田於閒野披閱五

Sukhāvātī. An Kyebyōn 安啓賢, *Silla chōngt'o sasangsa yōn'gu* 新羅淨土思想史研究 [Study of the history of thoughts in Pure Land Buddhism in Silla] (Seoul: Hyōnūmsa, 1987): 57-60, 92-98, 156-157.

⁷⁴ In making these translations, I have consulted translations by Kim Namyun, Mun Myōngdae, and Chōe Wansu along with comments by Suematsu Yasukazu, Ayukai Fushanoshin, Katsuragi Sueji, and Nakagiri Isao. For these works, see n. 3, 4, and 13 above. Attempts have been made to correct mistakes in both translations by Mun Myōngdae and Kim Namyun. I would like to thank Nam Dongsin for offering much help in this regard.

千言之道德弃名位而入玄窮研十七地之法
門壞色空而俱滅尋復降旌命於草廬典
邇都之劇務雖在官而染俗塵外之心無捨罄
志誠之資業建甘山之伽藍伏願以此微誠上
資國主大王履千年之遐壽延萬福之鴻
休愷元伊淦公出有漏之囂埃證无生之妙果
弟良誠小舍玄度師姊古巴里前妻古老里後
妻阿好里兼庶兄及漢一吉淦一憧薩淦聰敬
大舍妹首盼買里及无邊法界一切衆生同出
六塵咸登十號縱使誠有盡此願无窮劫石
已消尊容不无求不果有願咸成如有順此
心願者庶同營其善因也亡妣官肖里夫人
年六十六古人成之東海欣支邊散之

Kaiyuan 開元 seventh year (719),⁷⁵ the cyclical year *kimi* 己未, second month, fifteenth day,⁷⁶ Kim Chisōng in the rank of *chungach'an* 重阿淦⁷⁷ reverently built a temple, Kamsan-sa, and made a stone image of Amitābha and a stone image of Maitreya sincerely for his deceased father, Injang 仁章, who reached the rank of *ilgilch'an* 一吉淦,⁷⁸ and his deceased mother, Kwanch'ori 觀肖里.⁷⁹ One hears that the ultimate truth, which is profound and abstruse, is neither born nor destroyed, and that the Capable of Being Benevolent (*nūngin*, Ch. *nengren* 能仁, Buddha), who is truly serene, neither goes nor comes. Therefore, by revealing the three bodies [of Buddha] such as the dharma body (*pōp*, Ch. *fā* 法, *dharmakāya*) and the respondent body (*ūng*, Ch. *ying* 應, *sambhogakāya*), [the Buddha] delivers [sentient

⁷⁵ The eighteenth year of King Sōngdōk of Silla.

⁷⁶ The fifteenth day of the second month is the nirvana day of Śākyamuni Buddha. The date for the dedication of the two images or at least one of them may have been especially chosen for this occasion.

⁷⁷ Double *ach'an*. It is located between the sixth rank *ach'an* 阿淦 and the fifth rank *tae'ach'an* 大阿淦 in the office rank system of Silla. *Chungach'an* along with *samjungach'an* (triple *ach'an*) and *sajungach'an* (quadruple *ach'an*) is commonly understood to signify promotions from *ach'an* within the sixth rank for those belonging to the grade of head-rank six, who were not allowed to ascend beyond the sixth rank.

⁷⁸ The seventh rank in the office rank system of Silla.

⁷⁹ *Kwan* 觀 in Kwanch'ori is written with a different Chinese character, *kwan* 官, at the end of this inscription. The use of alternative Chinese characters for proper names was a common practice in Silla.

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beings] according to their capabilities,⁸⁰ and by manifesting his ten epithets (*sipho*, Ch. *shihao* 十號)⁸¹ such as the Teacher of Gods and Humans (*śāstā*

⁸⁰ The clause 所以顯法應之三身隨機拯濟, especially its first part, has not been properly translated in earlier works. Mun Myōngdae translates it into Korean, which could be rendered in English: “Therefore, the exoteric teaching follows this, and the Buddhas of the three bodies of the dharma, the reward (*sambhoga*) and the transformation (*nirmāṇa*) deliver sentient beings according to their capabilities.” He reads *hyōnbōp* (Ch. *xuanfa*) 顯法 as “exoteric teaching.” Mun Myōngdae, “Silla Pōpsangjong (Yugajong) ūi sōngnip munje wa Kamsan-sa Mirūk Amit’a pulsang,” 83. Chōe Wansu translates this in a similar way. With regard to reading *hyōnbōp* as the exoteric teaching, one should point out that the clause 顯法應之三身隨機拯濟 obviously parallels the following clause 表天師之十號有願咸成 structurally, and *hyōn* was apparently used as a verb corresponding to *p’yo* (Ch. *piao*) 表, therefore Mun and Chōe’s readings cannot be upheld. Chōe Wansu, *Han’guk kodae pulsang ūi wōllyu rŭl ch’ajasō* 2, 234. On the other hand, Kim Namyun thinks that *hyōn* signifies the “body of manifestation” in the sense of *nirmāṇakāya* and thus translates into Korean as: “Therefore, the Buddhas of the three bodies—the body of manifestation, the body of dharma, and the body of respondent—deliver according to [their] capabilities. . . .” See her translation in *Han’guk kodae kūmsōngmun*, 3:300. However, the *nirmāṇakāya*, usually *yingshen* 應身 or *huashen* 化身 in Chinese translations, was never translated as *xuanshen* (Kr. *hyōnsin*) 顯身 in the textual tradition, and the three bodies of the Buddha were never counted in any traditions in the order of *xuan* 顯, *fa* (Kr. *pōp*) 法, and *ying* (Kr. *ūng*) 應, i.e., *nirmāṇakāya*, *dharmakāya*, and *sambhogakāya*. Part of the reason for this confusion stems from the fact that in the phrase 法應之三身 the character *po* (Ch. *bao*) 報 (respondent) for *sambhogakāya* is omitted. But one should note that in the phrase 天師之十號 the character *in* (Ch. *ren*) 人, which should have been in *chōninsa* (Ch. *tianshishi*) 天人師 (*śāstā devamanusyānām*), is also missing. In the phrase 法應之三身, *ūng* (Ch. *ying*) 應 can be understood as either *sambhogakāya* or *nirmāṇakāya*, since it was used differently depending on whether the three bodies of the Buddha are counted as *fa-bao-ying* 法報應 or *fa-ying-hua* 法應化. I translated *ūng* in the sense of *sambhogakāya* because the preceding verb *hyōn* could imply the manifestation of *dharmakāya* and *sambhogakāya*.

⁸¹ Chōe understands *chōnsa* (Ch. *tianshi*) 天師 as the heavenly lord in Daoism and *sipho* (Ch. *shihao*) 十號 as the ten epithets of the Daoist deity. Chōe Wansu, *Han’guk kodae pulsang ūi wōllyu rŭl ch’ajasō* 2, 234. However, even if Kim Chisōng was fond of reading the Daoist writings of Laozi and Zhuangzi, the overall religious penchant in his inscriptions is prominently Buddhist, and the *chōnsa sipho* must also be read in the Buddhist context. For the *sipho* that appears later in this inscription, Chōe also translates it as being those of the Buddha. It seems unlikely that the same term was used with meanings derived from the two different contexts.

devamanuṣyānām), [the Buddha] makes whatever wishes fulfilled. The disciple Chisōng was born in a sacred time and took up honorable posts.⁸² While trying to amend wrongs without cleverness, he barely escaped judicial punishment.⁸³ By nature he harmonized with the mountains and rivers, admired the “Wandering Beyond” (*xiaoyao* 逍遙) of Zhuangzi and Laozi, cherished the true creed (Buddhism), and aspired to the profundity and serenity of Asaṅga[’s treatise].⁸⁴ At sixty-seven, having accomplished the royal affairs in the clean court, he retired to his land in a peaceful wilderness.⁸⁵ Reading through the *Daodejing* 道德經 in five thousand characters, he abandoned [desire for] fame and offices and entered the realm of the profound. Thoroughly studying teachings of the seventeen stages [of the *Yogācārabhūmi*], he [realized] the breaking down of form and emptiness and their total destruction. As the royal banner was hung over his thatched dwelling, he assumed [again] a bustling duty. Despite being in office and

⁸² Most parts of this inscription seem to have been originally composed on the basis of Kim Chisōng’s own words (see n. 19 above). However, it is written principally in the third person, although there are parts where the distinction between the first and third persons is not clear. In order to avoid confusion, especially in its relation to the Amitābha inscription, which was obviously written by a person other than Chisōng, I used the third person in my translation.

⁸³ Mun Myōngdae suggests that Kim Chisōng was perhaps expelled from the office with the *chungsi* Sunwōn 順元 on a charge of treason by the *ich’an* Kyōngyōng in the ninth year of King Hyoso (700). Mun Myōngdae, “Silla Pōpsangjong (Yugajong) ūi sōngnip munje wa Kamsan-sa Mirūk Amit’a pulsang,” 79. This may be a simple conjecture based on his presumption that Sunwōn had a close tie to Kaewōn. Ch’oe Wansu suspects, on the other hand, that Kim Chisōng was implicated along with Prince Kaewōn in the expulsion of Queen Sōngjōng 成貞 and the murder of the crown prince Chunggyōng 重慶, and that this infuriated the king.

⁸⁴ Based on this sentence as well as his remark on his reading of the *Daodejing* and the *Yogācārabhūmi*, many scholars have pointed out that Kim Chisōng’s devotion to Buddhism was intricately interwoven with his sympathy for Daoism. Sue-matsu Yasukazu, “Kanzanji Miroku sonzō oyobi Amidabutsu no kakō kōki,” 457-458; Katsuragi Sueji, *Chōsen kinseki kō*, 210; Nakagiri Isao, “Shiragi Kanzanji sekizō Miroku Amidazō ni tsuite,” 284-288. However, Mun Myōngdae disagrees, considering that Kim Chisōng’s attraction to Daoism was limited to its philosophical aspects only. Mun Myōngdae, “Silla Pōpsangjong (Yugajong) ūi sōngnip munje wa Kamsan-sa Mirūk Amit’a pulsang,” 80-81.

⁸⁵ If Kim Chisōng died at sixty-nine in 720 (see the last two lines in the Amitābha inscription), his retirement would have been in 718, a year before the founding of Kamsan-sa.

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[exposed to] corrupt mundanity, he never gave up his mind to outworldliness. Spending all of his possessions, he founded a temple at Kamsan. Prostrating himself, he prays that the lord of the kingdom, the great king, will enjoy the longevity of a thousand years and ten thousand great fortunes will be bestowed widely; that Prince Kaewŏn 愷元,⁸⁶ *ich'an* 伊飡,⁸⁷ will get away from bustling worldly matters full of defilements and attain the exquisite reward of no rebirth; that his younger brothers, Yangsŏng 良誠,⁸⁸ *sosa* 小舍,⁸⁹ the monk Hyŏndo 玄度, his elder sister Kop'ari 古巴里, his former wife Korori 古老里,⁹⁰ his second wife Ahori 阿好里, his stepbrothers, Kūphan 及漢, *ilgilch'an*, Ildong 一幢, *salch'an* 薩飡,⁹¹ and Ch'onggyŏng 聰敬, *taesa* 大舍,⁹² his younger sister Suhilmaeri 首勝買里, and all sentient beings in the endless realm of dharma will get out of the world of the six kinds of defilements and ascend to the realm of the ten epithets (Buddha). Even if the sincerity may have a limit, may the wish have no bound. Even if the stones may be worn down in endless eons, may the honorable countenances [of the Buddha and the bodhisattva] not [disappear]. If one seeks after, may there be a reward, and may whatever wishes be fulfilled. May those who vow for these wishes strive for this virtuous cause. His deceased mother, Lady Kwanch'ori 官肖里, passed at sixty-six, and [her remains] were scattered on the shore of the East Sea at Hūnji 欣支.⁹³

⁸⁶ See p. 83 above.

⁸⁷ The first rank in the office rank system of Silla.

⁸⁸ Yangsŏng 梁誠 in the Amitābha inscription.

⁸⁹ The thirteenth rank in the office rank system of Silla.

⁹⁰ Korori 古路里 in the Amitābha inscription.

⁹¹ The eighth rank in the office rank system of Silla.

⁹² The twelfth rank in the office rank system of Silla.

⁹³ Kim Yŏngmi thinks that this sentence is not part of the original written by Kim Chisŏng. See also n. 14 above. With regard to Hūnji 欣支, Ayukai identifies it with Kūnoji 斤烏支 in the Geography section of the *Samguk sagi*: "Imjŏng District 臨汀縣 was originally changed from Kūnoji District by King Kyŏngdŏk. It is the present Yŏngil District 迎日縣." *Samguk sagi* 34: "Chiri il," *Yŏkchu Samguk sagi*, 1:479. Ayukai suggests that Hūnji is derived from Kūnoji with *o* 烏 dropped, while *kūn* and *hūn* were interchangeable. Ayukai Fusanoshin, *Zakkō*, 17; Suetomatsu Yasukazu, "Kanzanji Miroku sonzō oyobi Amidabutsu no kakō kōki," 455. Kim Namyun translates, ". . . were scattered by the rocks on the East Sea" (*Han'guk kodae kūmsŏngmun*, 3:301, 302). Also, the remark on scattering bone ashes (*sankol* or *san'gu* 散骨) has been noted as evidence for the practice in ancient Korea. See Ayukai Fusanoshin, *Zakkō*, 18-19; Saitō Tadashi, "Shiragi no sōsei kara

2. *Amitābha inscription*

若夫至道者不生不滅猶表跡於周宵能仁者若去若來
尚流形於漢夢濫觴肇自西域傳燈及至東土遂乃
佛日之影奄日域以照臨貝葉之文越涓川而啓發龍
宮錯峙鴈塔駢羅舍衛之境在斯極樂之邦密爾有重
阿淦金志全誕靈河岳降德星辰性叶雲霞情友山水
蘊賢材而命代懷智略以佐時朝鳳闕而銜綸則授尚
舍奉御遂難林而曳綬則任執事侍郎年六十七懸車
致仕避世閑居倖四皓之高尚辭榮養性同兩疎之見
機仰慕無著真宗時時讀瑜伽之論兼愛莊周玄道日
日覽逍遙之篇以爲報德慈親莫如十號之力酬恩
聖主無過三寶之因故奉爲國主大王伊淦愷
元公亡考亡妣亡弟小舍梁誠沙門玄度亡妻古路
里亡妹古寶里又爲妻阿好里等捨其甘山莊田建此
伽藍仍造石阿彌陀像一軀伏願託此微因超昇
彼岸四生六道並證菩提
開元七年歲在己未二月十五日奈麻聰
撰奉教沙門釋京融大舍金驟源[] [] []
亡考仁章一吉淦年卅七古人成之東海
欣支邊散也後代追愛人者此善助在哉
金志全重阿淦敬生已前此善業造歲[]
十九庚申年四月廿二日長逝爲[]之

With regard to the ultimate truth, it is neither born nor destroyed, but its trace was [first] shown on a night in Zhou.⁹⁴ With regard to the Capable

mita Kanzanjiseki sekizō Amida nyōraizō Miroku bosatsuzō meibun no ichi kai-shaku,” 134-140.

⁹⁴ This reflects one of the Chinese traditions about the birth of the Buddha. The *Zhoushu yiji* 周書異記, attributed to Wang Fu 王浮 of Western Jin, states that the Buddha was born on the night of the eighth day of the fourth month in the twenty-fourth year of King Zhao 昭王 (r. ca. 995-977 B.C.E.; he is actually thought to have ruled for nineteen years). This became a prevalent tradition in China, and many important later sources, such as the *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 (twenty-sixth year of King Zhao) and the *Fozu lidai tongzai* 佛祖歷代通載 (twenty-fifth year of King Zhao), also adopt similar dates for the birth of the Buddha. This tradition was apparently known to ancient Korean Buddhists, as evidenced, besides the Kamsansa Amitābha inscription, in the correspondence between the Northern Qi monk Fashang 法上 and a Koguryō prime minister Wang Kodōk 王高德 during the late

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of Being Benevolent, he neither goes nor comes, but his form was [first] revealed in the dream of a Han [emperor].⁹⁵ The origin started in the western regions, and the dharma lantern reached the land in the east. Thus, the shadow of the sun of the Buddha shed light on the land where the sun had been hidden, and the scriptures on palm-leaves crossed the P'ae River 溟水⁹⁶ and enlightened [the people in the east]. Dragon palaces soar interlocking with one another,⁹⁷ and pagodas spread like wild geese. The region of Śrāvastī is right here, and the land of Sukhāvātī is nearby. Kim Chijŏn 金志全, *chungachan*, was born with spirit from mountains and rivers and bestowed with virtues by heavenly bodies. His character harmonized with clouds and sunset glows, and his sentiment befriended mountains and rivers. Endowed with wisdom and talent, he received the royal order and served with sagacity. He attended the court and cherished the royal order. Awarded the *pongŏ* 奉御 of *sangsa* 尚舍,⁹⁸ he reverently served the king and became prominent in Kyerim 雞林 (Silla), pulling the cord of the seal. Thus, he was appointed to *sirang* 侍郎 of *Chipsabu* 執事部. At sixty-seven, he resigned from officialdom. He shunned worldliness and lived in peace like the Four Graybeards (*sihao* 四皓)⁹⁹ with lofty virtues. He avoided

sixth century, cited in the *Xu gaosengzhuan* (T2060, 50:485b). See Ren Jiyu 任繼愈 ed., *Zhongguo fojiaoshi* 中國佛教史 [History of Chinese Buddhism], vol. 1 (Beijing: Zhongguo Shehui Kexue Chubanshe, 1981): 49-52.

⁹⁵ This refers to the famous tradition concerning the transmission of Buddhism to China, according to which the Buddha first appeared as a golden man in the dream of the emperor Mingdi 明帝 (r. 57-75 C.E.) of the Han dynasty. Ren Jiyu ed., *Zhongguo fojiaoshi*, vol. 1: 96-98.

⁹⁶ The present Taedong 大同 River, which became the border between Silla and Tang at the finalization of the unification war during the late seventh century.

⁹⁷ The dragon palaces here apparently indicate Buddhist temples. This sentence probably means that Buddhist temples stood majestically, like dragon palaces.

⁹⁸ Mun Myŏngdae considers *sangsa* as a post, which manages food and clothing in the palace, and Kim Namyun adopts this interpretation in her translation. Mun Myŏngdae, "Silla Pŏpsangjong (Yugajong) ŭi sŏngnip munje wa Kamsan-sa Mirŭk Amit'a pulsang," 85; *Han'guk kodae kŭmsŏngmun*, 3:298, n. 47. The *sangsa*, which is not found in the *Samguk sagi* or the *Samguk yusa*, is probably an office, like the one with the same name in Tang, that oversaw the installation and management of makeshift ceremonial facilities, and *pongŏ* is its director. Kim Yŏngmi, "Sŏngdŏk wangdae chŏnje wangkwŏn e taehan il koch'al," 387-388.

⁹⁹ Or called Shangshan *sihao* 商山四皓, the Four Graybeards of Shangshan. The four Chinese scholars, Dong Yuangong 東園公, Qi Liji 綺里季, Yongli Xiansheng 用

luxury and cultivated his mind like the Two Shu 疏¹⁰⁰ who saw the right time. Revering and yearning after the true creed of Asaṅga, he often read the *Yogācārabhūmi*. He also loved the profound path of Zhuangzi and read the chapter “Wandering Beyond” every day. In repaying parents’ kindness, nothing is comparable to doing it with the power of the ten epithets (Buddha), and in repaying the grace of the sacred lord, nothing surpasses doing it with the cause of the three jewels. Therefore, he donated his estate at Kamsan and founded this temple for the lord of the kingdom, the great king, Prince Kaewŏn, *ich’an*, his deceased father and mother, his deceased younger brothers, Yangsŏng, *sosa*, and the monk Hyōndo, his deceased wife Korori, his deceased sister Kobori 古寶里,¹⁰¹ and his present wife Ahori, and so forth.¹⁰² Also making a stone image of Amitābha, he prays in prostration that this small cause will lead one to ascend to the other shore and that the sentient beings of the four births and of the six paths will attain enlightenment. Kaiyuan seventh year, the cyclical year *kimi*, second month, fifteenth

里先生, and Xia Huanggong 夏黄公, had served as officials, but left the government and became recluses to protest against the despotic rule of Shihuangdi 始皇帝 of the Qin dynasty.

¹⁰⁰ The Two Shu are two Han-dynasty officials, Shu Guang 疏廣 and his nephew Shu Shou 疏受. They are lauded for having retired at the height of their careers.

¹⁰¹ As suggested by Ayukai, Kobori here is probably the same person as Kop’ari 古巴里 in the Maitreya inscription. A drawback to this supposition may be that Kop’ari is specified as *cha* (Ch. *zī*) 姊, an elder sister, while Kobori is written as *mae* (Ch. *mei*) 妹, a younger sister. However, Ayukai points out that in Korean *mae* is commonly used for a sister regardless of seniority, while *cha* was reserved for an elder sister, as we can see in the use of *chahyōng* 姊兄 (husband of an elder sister for a male) and *maebu* 妹夫 or *maehyōng* 妹兄 (husband of a sister for a male), and this was probably the case in ancient Silla. Ayukai Fusanoshin, *Zakkō*, 16.

¹⁰² Unlike the Maitreya inscription, many beneficiaries of the merit transferred with the making of the images in the Amitābha inscription are said to be dead, such as in Yangsŏng and the monk Hyōndo (the deceased younger brothers), Korori (the deceased wife), and Kobori (or Kop’ari, the deceased sister). It seems quite unlikely that all of them died suddenly within the short interval that might have existed between the writing of the two inscriptions, unless a disastrous epidemic had broken out, which then would have been noted somewhere in the Amitābha inscription. Probably they were already dead by the time of the writing of the Maitreya inscription, but were not specifically mentioned. There are slight differences in style between the two inscriptions, and one has to acknowledge that they were not written simultaneously.

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day, Ch'ong 聰,¹⁰³ *nama* 奈麻,¹⁰⁴ following the [royal] order, composed this, and the monk Sök Kyöngyung 釋京融 and Kim Ch'wiwön 金騾源, *taesa* 大舍,¹⁰⁵ [following the order, did the calligraphy].¹⁰⁶ His deceased father Injang, *ilgilchan*, passed at forty-seven, and [his remains] were scattered on the shore of the East Sea at Hünji. For the posterity who misses him, may there be help from this virtuous deed.¹⁰⁷ Kim Chijön, *chung'a'chan*, reverently accomplished this deed, and passed at [sixty-]nine,¹⁰⁸ the cyclical year *kyöngsin*, fourth month, twenty-second day.

¹⁰³ Ch'ong is quite possibly Söl Ch'ong, the son of Wönhyo. Although the classical Chinese employed in the two inscriptions occasionally shows domesticated Korean literary elements, they are beautifully written by one who seems quite knowledgeable scholastically, and Nam Dongsin suspects that there would have been very few who would have been capable of composing such prose in contemporary Silla. For a discussion of the Silla vernacular style visible in the inscriptions, see Ayukai Fusanoshin, *Zakkō*.

¹⁰⁴ The eleventh rank in the office rank system of Silla.

¹⁰⁵ The twelfth rank in the office rank system of Silla.

¹⁰⁶ Kim Yöngmi thinks that the inscription originally ended with this sentence. Kim Yöngmi, "Söngdök wangdae chönje wangkwön e taehan il koch'al," 373.

¹⁰⁷ The inscription would have been complete here, and the following last sentence, which refers to the death of Kim Chijön, must be an insertion made right after the incident. Katsuragi Sueji, *Chōsen kinseki kō*, 208.

¹⁰⁸ 歲 十九. Most scholars agree that this probably indicates the age of Kim Chisöng at the time of death and that the illegible character must be *-yuk* (Ch. *liu*) 六, six. A small anomaly is that the character *se* (Ch. *Sui*) 歲 is used here, while *nyön* (Ch. *nian*) 年 is found in other parts referring to the ages. Mun Myöngdae proposes an alternative: that the missing character may be *chae* (Ch. *zai*) 在 and the phrase could be read "in the year nineteen" of King Söngdök, which happened to be the year *kyöngsin* (720) when Kim Chisöng died. See Mun Myöngdae, "Silla Pöpsangjong (Yugajong) ūi söngnip munje wa Kamsan-sa Mirük Amir'a pulsang," 91-92.