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A Study on the Buddhist Pantheon in the *Samguk yusa**

Ho-ryeon Jeon (Ven. Hae-ju)

Abstract

This research focuses on the divinities in the Samguk yusa in relation to the Avatamsaka pantheon. Divinities may simply mean a group of gods in general but here the word ‘divinities (神衆)’ is used to refer to the shamanic gods syncretized with the Buddhist deities and the divinities of the Avatamsaka pantheon. The guardian god of dragon, for example, is also included in the guardian gods of the Avatamsaka deities.

During the Three Kingdom period the ancients would often appeal to shamanic deities for help and employed primitive magic to attain desired results. Yet, they also embraced the Buddhist idea of practice leading to enlightenment as necessary to attain the power of the Dharma so as to ensure national protection and wellbeing of all sentient beings.

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The gods of the national foundation, Dangun, and Hwanin, and other traditional shamanic deities, have all been syncretized with the Buddhist divinities, to encourage good, punish evil and protect the nation. In addition to practical interests and national prosperity, the syncretic inclusion of virtuous gods, such as Dharma Protector Dragons with Buddhist divinities, boosted efforts to propagate the Buddhist teachings while elevating these shamanic deities to the realm of Dharma protection divinities. Consequently, in addition to propagating the Buddha's teaching as a means to save all sentient beings, the sacred divinities of the Hwaeom pantheon were declared as deities offering protection to the nation.

Those 39 Sacred divinities in the Avatamsaka sutra and 104 deities of dharma protection are still worshipped by Korean Buddhists today throughout the peninsula.

Key words: Hwaeom, Divinities, *Samguk yusa*, Iryeon, Syncretization, Korean Buddhism.

I. Foreword

Ven. Iryeon (一然, 1206-1289) presents a comprehensive account of Korean worship and knowledge of ancient gods and divinities up to the middle Goryeo dynasty in his historical epic, *Samguk yusa*.

Samguk yusa (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms) is an unofficial historical compilation which focuses on Buddhist legends, from Dangun at the foundation of Old Joseon up to the Later Silla period. The divinities representative of the Three (or Four) Kingdoms and the Unified Silla period had been included in the traditional Korean pantheon from the very beginning of Korean history up until Iryeon's own time in the Goryeo period.

Deities of *Samguk yusa* include Korean folk gods, gods syncretized with Buddhist divinities, and the divinities of the Avatamsaka pantheon. All are described in accordance with mortals' six cycles of samsara. They occupy each of the six realms of samsara: hell, realms of hungry ghosts, animals, and

renegade gods, human realm, and heaven.¹ Inhabitants of the five realms encompass the human world, creating countless stories and lives through samsara.

This research focuses specifically on the gods in the *Samguk yusa* which are related to divinities of the Avatamsaka pantheon. While ‘divinities’ can simply mean a group of gods in general, here the word ‘divinities (神衆)’ refers to the shamanic gods which were syncretized with Buddhist deities and divinities of the Avatamsaka pantheon.

To summarize, this treatise reflects on *Samguk yusa* in order to understand how ancient Koreans viewed their divinities and what functions these divinities performed in their societies; such insight may assist contemporary readers to interpret the divinities of their tradition from the perspective of historical inheritance.

II. Types of Gods in the *Samguk yusa*

Samguk yusa records over a hundred episodes related to ancient Korean gods. In order to observe the different characteristics of these gods in detail we will classify them according to type and origination. Below is a brief classification of the gods of *Samguk yusa* (H. 6, 245-369).

¹ The world view in the *Samguk yusa* seems influenced by causation of good and bad through the three worlds, and the deities are described as similar to sentient beings in the six realms.

[Table 1] Vol. 1

Chap.	Legends/Episodes	Gods/Divinities
Wonders 1	Old Joseon	Dangun, Mountain God, Divine Heroes
	Namhae—the Second [King of Silla]	Ghosts (folkloric and shamanic god)
	King Naemul and Gim Jesang	The Divine Mother
	Lady Dohwa and Bihyeongrang	Mass of Ghost, Ghost Legion (good and evil spirits)
	Heavenly Jade Belt	Inner Jeseok Palace (Indra)
	Queen Seondeok and the Three Epiphanies	Four Heavenly God Temple, Four Devas, Indra (King of Indra)
	Gim Yusin	(Ghostly) Spirit, Guardian God, Three Gods (Goddesses)
	Taejong Chunchu	Heavenly gods and Mountain/River Spirits, Ghost Tree, Night Phantom, 33 Devas (Indra Kings)
	Jangchungrang, Parang	Ghosts

[Table 1] Vol. 2

Chap.	Legends/Episodes	Gods/Divinities
Wonders 2	King Munho Beopmin	Four Heavenly God Temple, Statues of Five Direction Gods, National Guardian God of Dragon
	Storm-Pacifying Flute (Manpasikjeok)	Sea Dragon, True Dragon
	Lady Suro	Sea Dragon
	King Gyeongdeok, Master Chungdam, Master Pyohun	Five Holy Mountains, Three Mountain Gods
	Eulogy of Giparang	Heavenly Emperor, Celestial Emperor
	King Wonseong	God of the Northern River, National Guardian God of Dragon
	Song of Cheoyong, Manghaesa Temple	Dragon of the East Sea (Cheoyong), God of Plague, God of the Southern Mountain, God of the Northern Mountain, Earth God, Sea God
	Queen Jinseong, Geotaji	Seohaeyak (God of the West Sea), Old Dragon
	King Gyeongmyeong	Four Heavenly God Temple (Four Deva Kings), Five Direction Gods

[Table 1] Vol. 3

Chap.	Legends/Episodes	Gods/Divinities
Propagation of the Dharma	Ven. Ado laid Foundation of Silla Buddhism	Blue Emperor (Spring God)
	King Weonjong's Propagation and Yeomchok's Sacrifice	The Holy Visitor
Pagoda Images	Ashoka Pagoda of Liaodong Fortress	Ghost Crowds, Gods
	Pasa Stone Pagoda of Geumgwang Fortress	Wave God
	Grand Buddha of Hwangnyongsa Temple	Yellow Dragon
	Nine-Story Pagoda of Hwangnyongsa Temple	Heavenly Gods, Immortals, Guardian Dragon of the Dharma, Ghosts
	Murals of Heungnyunsa Temple, Samantabhadra	Indra
	Three Gwaneum (Avalokitesvara) of Jungsaengsa Temple	Heavenly Angels
	Baengnyulsa Temple	Indra (King of Indra)
	Relic Storages	[the Avatamsaka] Celestial Army, Gods, The Palace of Indra, Heavenly Emperor, Divine Dragon, Celestial Heralds (angels)
	Mireuk Seonhwa and Misirang, Master Jinja	Mountain Spirits, the Immortals (Maitreya)
	Two Holies at Naksan, Gwaneum, Jeongchwi, Josin	Eight Divine Creatures, Dragon of the East Sea
	Buddha Image at Mt. Eosan (Fish Mountain)	Vicious Dragon, Fish Dragon of the East Sea, Five female Rakshasa, Female Dragon, Brahman King, Brahmans of the Thousand Heavens, God of Heaven and Earth, Evil Dragon, Great Dragon King, Dragon's Legion, Dragon King
	Fifty thousand True Bodies in Mt. Odaesan	Dragon, Earth God, 40 Sacred Divinities of the Avatamsaka, Indra (God of 33 Heavens), Pure Celestial Beings, Cave God, Sacred deities of the Avatamsaka
	Cheongnyongsa Temple	Temple Guardian God
	Mujangsa Temple	Divinities

[Table 1] Vol. 4

Chap.	Legends/Episodes	Gods/Divinities
Comprehension	Ven. Wongwang studied in the West	Ghosts (sound and voices), Devils, Fox Demon
	Ven. Boyang and a Pear Tree	Sea Dragon
	Monks gone to India	Rooster Gods
	Ven. Jajang Established Precepts	God, Dragon of Great Harmony
	Sabok Says No Word	Dragon (allegorical)
	Ven. Simji's Succession	Mountain Gods (Hell, Realms of hungry ghosts, animals, and renegade gods, Human Realm, and Heaven)

[Table 1] Vol. 5

Chap.	Legends/Episodes	Gods/Divinities
Holy Incantations	Ven. Milbon Subdued the Wicked	Great Demon, Minor Demon, Ghost Legion, Great Sword God, God of Heaven
	Ven. Hyetong Subjugated Dragons	Celestial Troopers (in White and Black Armors), Dragon (Vicious and Young Dragon), Bear God
	Myeongrang's Divine Seal	Sea Dragon
Divine Connection	Divine Mother Seondo Pleased with Buddhist Activities	Divine Mother of Mt. Seondo, Heavenly Gods, Six types of Sacred Divinities, Gods of Five Mountains
	Master Wolmyeong's Tusita Song	Sacheonwangsa Temple, Ghosts of Heaven and Earth
	Seonyul's Rebirth	Female Ghost
Hide and Seclusion	Ven. Nangji Walking on the Cloud and Samantabhadra Tree	Mountain Spirits, Mountain Lord (=Celestial Mistress, Dragon (of Taehwa Lake)
	Ven. Yeonhoi's Escape from Public Service and Manjuŕi Sanctuary	Music Goddess
	Posan's Two Saints	Mountain God
	Ven. Yeongjae Encountered Bandits	Hell
Filial Piety and Goodness	Ven. Jinjeong's Filial Piety and Virtuous Deeds	Niryeo (Hell)
	Daeseong's Filial Piety to Parents of Two Lives	God of Heaven, Ghost

Among the five volumes of *Samguk yusa*, accounts of various divinities feature in 52 of the 139 chapters and there may be additional references which are not explicit. Occurrences and types of divinities listed in the above table can be classified as follows:²

Dangun: 1 time

Sacred Divinities of *Hwaeom* (the Avatamsaka): 7 times

Hwaeom Celestial Soldiers (2), *Hwaeom* Divinities (2), Eight Divine Creatures (1), Group of Divinities (1), Six classes of Holy Divinities (1).

Deva King: 16 times

Four Deva Kings (4), Indra or Thirty-three Heavens (3), Brahma (2), God of Heaven or Indra (6), Pure Celestial King (1).

Heavenly Mistress: 4 times

Music Goddess (2), Celestial Herald (angel) (2).

Dragon: 23 times

Sea Dragon (7), National or Dharma Protector Dragon (4), Female Dragon (1), Evil or Vicious Dragon (3), Dragon (6), Dragon King (2).

Other gods: 34 times

Mountain gods (11), God of Heaven (5), Earth God (2), Sea God (2), Wave God (1), God of Five Directions (2), Divine Mother (2), Goddess (1), Rooster God (1), Bear God (1), God of Spring (1), Immortal (1), Cave God (1), God of Great Strength (1), River God (1), Temple Guardian God (1).

Ghosts/Spirits/others: 22 times

Rakshasi (1), Ghosts (Fox Demons, etc.) (10), Plague God (1), Demons (6), Spirit (1), Female Spirit (1), Hell (2).

² According to *Samguk yusa Concordance* (Lee, Giyeong et al. 1980), the number of occurrences are higher—for example, 55 times for dragons and 13 times Indra. However, for the purposes of this article, if a divinity makes multiple appearances in a single chapter it is counted only once.

Of the above, Dangun is equal to the God of Heaven, known also as Indra who is one of the Sacred divinities of the Avatamsaka pantheon. The divine dragon is also included in the Avatamsaka pantheon as one of the Eight Divine Dragons. However, since many of the divinities do not precisely fit into a single category, they have been expediently classified to provide the basis for a working hypothesis.

III. Sakradevanam Indra and Dangun

The divinities listed above can be classified into several groups according to function. The first divinities in the *Samguk yusa*, Sakradevanam Indra (Lord of High Heaven) and Dangun, are worthy of deeper investigation. Dangun, long recognized as the legendary founder of Korea, has recently been at the centre of heated religious tension in Korean society. The generally accepted view as it appears in secondary school textbooks, is that *Dangun* was the unifier of the competing chiefdoms in southern Liaoning and northwestern Korea. It is said he later founded the Kingdom of Old Joseon in 2333 BCE.

Dangun was preceded by Hwanung, son of Hwanin (Lord of Heaven), who descended to earth with the permission of his father Hwanin, along with three divinities in charge of wind, rain, and cloud respectively. Hwanung settled around Taebaeksan (Mt. Baekdu), established a nation known as the City of God (神市), and governed the nation with 360 means of human livelihood, including grain, life and death, disease, and a system for punishment. Then, the story goes, a bear approached Hwanung, beseeching to become human. After completing a harsh initiation the bear became a woman who then gave birth to Hwanung's child, Dangun. Dangun crowned himself king and established Asadal as the capital of Old Joseon. *Samguk yusa* chronicles the birth of Dangun as the birth of humanity, resulting from the union of Heaven (Hwanung) and Earth (Bear-woman)³. Dangun has thence been revered as the founder who established the nation under the spirit of the

3 Eunbong Lee's *Ancient Religious Thought in Korea* (1984), categorizes ancient Korean deities into three types according to their characters and functions, that is, God of Heaven, God of Earth, and God of Humans.

national foundation, “maximum benefits to humanity (弘益人間).” He was included in the pantheon of *Samguk yusa*, considered as a divine man,⁴ the son of the crown prince of the Heavenly God. According to *Samguk yusa*, the divine man was believed to have ruled for over a millenium before becoming a mountain god at the age of 1908. It is highly probable that Dangun was syncretized with corresponding Buddhist divinities, considering Dangun was worshipped equally with Buddhist Sakradevanam Indra.

Ven. Iryeon, the author of *Samguk yusa*, states in the very first chapter that Hwanin is Indra. From this we can conclude that Hwanin was worshipped as Indra, the Heavenly God of Buddhism. Indra is the Lord of the *Trayastrimśa* Heaven (忉利天), the second of the six desire-heavens which corresponds to *svarga* in Hindu mythology. The *Trayastrimśa* Heaven consists of thirty-three levels, one level being the palace of Jeseok who is the righteous god Indra who battles and defeats the gods of chaos (Asura).⁵ Indra, Lord of Heaven, is also included in the pantheon of the Avatamsaka sutra,⁶ the jewel net decorating his palace is an allegory for the whole Avatamsaka realm. Now Indra’s Net is a defining concept of Hwaem thought, and the Gate of Indra’s Net is also one of the Ten Mysterious Gates (十玄門) of the Avatamsaka, as it reveals the horizon of mutual penetration without boundary or end.

Hwanin became the Buddhist Jeseok who appears in the *Samguk yusa* and who ruled over the Four Deva Kings of the first desire heaven.⁷ The Deva Kings in turn supervised the mortal world through the control of Dragon Kings and spirits.⁸ The Deva Kings are also the divine gods that offered

4 For its historical and religious meaning, see Jangtae Geum (1997, 80-82).

5 Go (1989, 12, 59). It is often described, as a metaphor of the Ocean Seal Samadhi, that the Indra’s army fights against Asura. See “Chief in Goodness (賢首品)” in A60 (T. 9, 439) and *Beopgyedogi chongsurok* (H. 6, 822c-23a). Cf. Jeon (1993a, 150-51).

6 See A80 (T.10, 4) and A60 (T. 9, 396).

7 The King of the *devaloka* who appears in the *Samguk yusa* also occupies a higher position above the Four Deva Kings (S. vol. 1, Wonders 1, “Queen Seondeok and the Three Epiphanies”). Queen Seondeok Deokman made three predictions during her 26 year rule, one such prediction relates to the King of the *devaloka*. She told her subjects that she would die on a certain day and she wanted to be buried in the *devaloka*, even though she was healthy at the time. Her subjects asked her where is that place and she said it was south of Mt. Nangsan. After the Queen passed away they performed a religious service there. Ten years later people realized that the prediction had meant that the *devaloka* is above the Four Deva kings when King Munmu built Four Deva King’s Temple at the outskirt of the Queen’s tomb.

protection to the ‘Buddha Nation’ of Silla (Lee, Eunbong 1984, 78). For example, King Jinpyeong, according to *Samguk yusa*, received his jade belt from the Heavenly Emperor in the Indra’s Inner Palace (S. vol. 1, Wonders 1, “Heavenly Jade Belt”). General Gim Yusin was believed to have been a god of the 33 Heavens but was born on earth, and in order to protect his nation Silla, he would return to the place where he came from upon his death (S. vol. 1, Wonders 1 “Taejong Chunchu”). The highly venerated monk Pyohun, disciple of the great master Uisang (625-702), freely traveled to the heavens so that the Heavenly God had to warn him not to leak heaven’s plan to the mortals (S. vol. 2, Wonders 2 “The Eulogy of Giparang”). This episode is a rare example of a deity transcending and being separated from the mortal world, but most celestial gods are protectors to support for the prosperity and unification of the nation (Lee, Eunbong 1984, 79). Even that single example of the admonishment to Pyohun was caused by his request for an heir of King Gyeongdeok, which was not in the plan of the Heavenly God. The god of heaven warns him that, if the child who was not supposed to be born was born, he would put the nation in danger. Thus the Jeseok seems to have assumed the place of the shaman ‘*haneulnim*’ (God of Heaven), having converged in a religious system consistent with the Buddhist Indra, which interestingly, also happened in the Tantric tradition.

Despite being syncretized with local deities, Indra offers a great assistance for the propagation of Buddhism, especially of the Avatamsaka. A good example is Murals of Samantabhadra at Huengnyunsa Temple. Even though Jeseok did much for the reconstruction of Huengnyunsa Temple, he turned down the offer of the two monks to put his face on the murals as an expression of gratitude, insisting that his powers are nothing compared to Samatabhadra and it is Samatabhadra who should be painted on the mural. Samatabhadra along with Manjusri (God of Wisdom) is one of the two main bodhisattvas of the Avatamsaka sutra. He is the host of the descriptions about

8 The Jogye Order’s syllabus of Sangha Universities still includes the admonition, that “one rice grain equals seven pounds,” so to remind themselves of Indra’s supervision: a grain of rice weighs seven pounds, emphasizing the importance of frugality. If a grain of rice is abandoned and decomposes, Indra kneels down, and sheds teardrops like grain, and there is a decrease in human blessings.

the Buddha and enlightenment in the sutra and the protagonist of the Samatabhadra's vow and discipline, representing the Way of Single Vehicle Bodhisattva, that is, the adornment of the Buddha Nation in the Avatamsaka sutra (Jeon 1998, 30). The legend of Baengnyulsa Temple is another evidence of the Jeseok (Indra) worship. As seen above, Indra is a deity and a member of the Sacred Divinities of Hwaeom who benefits sentient beings by leading people to the good and patronizing the Dharma in cooperation with the Three treasures (Buddha, Dharma, Sangha), not a god of good or bad luck.

IV. Buddhist Divinities Syncretized with Shamanic Deities

Samguk yusa portrays numerous gods of folkloric and shamanic tradition, including Hwanin, Hwanung, and Dangun among many others. However, Dangun was worshiped as an immortal and national founding god while Hwanin was exalted the same as the Buddhist Indra of the Avatamsaka pantheon. *Samguk yusa* also introduces many others gods of good and evil, and the good deities are generally related with the divinities syncretized with the Buddhism. The evil gods include evil Spirits such as the Plague God, Devils, various ghosts, Great Demons, Minor Demons, etc. while virtuous gods include benign deities like the Dragon God who fight against the poisonous and vicious dragons to protect human beings.

Namhae, the 2nd King of Silla, was also called Chachaung, meaning 'shaman,' because he was venerated as a Mudang (shaman) worshipping spirits and performing rituals (S. vol. 1, Wonders 1, "Namhae, the Second King of Silla"). The ancient people worshipped the spirits, hoping benign spirits would defeat the devils and they would be protected from plagues. In other words, they worshipped the gods for the sake of their secular interests. They believed that ghosts and spirits can exert influence on human fortune and it was therefore necessary to worship them correctly in order to secure good fortune in their lives (Gim 1990, 32).

Therefore, it seems natural that *Samguk yusa* relates many stories of defeating evil spirits. In some cases the devil spirits are defeated by

benevolent shamanic deities, while in others, various ghosts are defeated by reciting scripture and performing esoteric magic.⁹ A good example is the tale of tale of Milbon (S. vol. 5, chap. 6, Holy Incarnation, “Milbon Repels Evil”). In this tale Master Milbon cures Deokman’s disease and she later became Queen Seondeok, and the young man later became Prime Minister Gim Yangdo.

Deokman, later Queen Seondeok, was ill for a long time before inviting Ven. Beopcheok from Heungnyunsa temple to attend her for a cure, but his visit was in vain. Later, Master Milbon was invited to the palace to attend the queen, and he read the *Bhaiṣajya sutra* (藥師經). Upon reciting this scripture his Six-Bell Staff flew into the queen’s chamber and thrust through an old fox and into Beopcheok. The queen’s illness was promptly cured, and to everyone’s surprise there appeared an aura of five colors which glowed around Milbon’s head.

When Premier Gim Yangdo was young there was a time when he was suddenly unable to speak or move, as his mouth was fastened shut and his body made rigid. But his eyes were unaffected and he caught sight of a large demon leading his smaller minions into the house and sampling the food. A priestess was called to conduct a ritual but the demons would only curse each other in utter chaos. Yangdo tried to send them away but was still unable to speak. His parents then invited a priest from Heungnyunsa who also recited scriptures, but the large demon ordered a minion to strike the priest with an iron mace until the priest spat blood and died. A few days later Master Milbon was invited and the demons trembled at the mere mention of his name. Yet the large demon was taken by arrogance and did not leave, instead, it proceeded to yell loudly at Milbon. At that point the gods of strength appeared from four directions to arrest and remove the demon, while many celestial gods watched and waited. Yangdo was healed even before Milbon turned the pages of his scripture, and he spoke of the ordeals he had suffered.

The majority of *Samguk yusa* gods appear to be benevolent but some are evil spirits desiring to hurt humans, the guardian god of Gim Yusin and

9 “Lady Dohwa and Bihyeongrang” describes a man called Bihyeongrang playing with ghosts who then controls them in order to build a bridge and expel evil spirits (S. vol. 1, Wonders 1).

the Mountain and Heaven gods are such examples.¹⁰ Sometimes, deities predict bad luck that will happen.¹¹ Some benevolent gods are fully converged with Buddhism and assist the monks' with their practice and the propagation of Buddhism, by supporting various Buddhist events and projects.¹² The legend of Gim Daeseong who constructed Bulguksa Temple and Seokguram Grotto is typical of such support:

Gim Daeseong was fond of hunting, and one day he killed a bear while he was climbing Mt. Toham. The bear appeared as a spiteful ghost in his dreams, asking "Why have you killed me? I will be born again and will eat you alive." Daeseong was frightened and begged for forgiveness, the bear-ghost responded with a demand that a temple be built for him. Shortly after Daeseong made a pledge in his dream to build the temple, he awoke find himself sweating profusely and lying in bedding that was soaking wet. From that time Daeseong stopped hunting and he built the promised Jangsusa Temple, at the very site of his encounter with the bear-ghost. In fulfilling his pledge he was divinely touched and went on to build Bulguksa temple to honor his present life parents, and Seokbulsa temple for his past life parents. He invited masters' Sillim and Pyohun to reside in the two temples, respectively. (S. vol. 5, chap. 9, Filial Piety and Goodness, "Daeseong's Filial Piety to Parents of Two Lives")

A passage in "Wongwang's Study in the West" (S. vol. 4, chap. 5, Comprehension) may help us to comprehend how it was possible for shamanic gods to be converged in Buddhism:

10 For example, mountain gods of the Five Rocky Mountains and Three Mountains were incarnated as the king's subjects to support him (S. vol. 2, Wonders 2, "King Gyeongdeok, Master Pyochung, Master Pyohun") and King Wonseong received crucial support for his kingship after he performed a service to the god of North River (S. vol. 2, Wonders 2, "King Wonseong").

11 Sometimes, mountain gods and gods of the earth give warnings in advance of a nation's falling. Before Baekje fell, ghosts wept, saying "Baekje is falling, Baekje is falling," and disappeared into the earth (S. vol. 1, Wonders 1, "Taejong Chunchu"). And the gods of South Mountain, North Mountain, and the earth, appeared to warn of the fall of the nation by dancing in front of King Heongang (S. vol. 2, Wonders 2, "Song of Cheoyong, Manghaesa Temple").

12 "Ashoka Pagoda of Liaodong Fortress" (S. vol. 3, chap. 4, Pagoda Images) writes, "According to an old document, King Ashoka ordered that 84 thousand stupas be erected, one each for a territory of 900,000 population, and that they be hidden among giant stones. And an old man named Jinja who helped a monk of Hwangnyongsa Temple to meet with Lady Mireuk (lit. Maitreya) by praying to Maitreya, was in fact, a mountain spirit in disguise (S. vol. 3, chap. 4, Pagoda Images, "Mireuk Seonhwa and Misirang, Master Jinja").

It was at the time when Wongwang was engaged in discipline upon Mount Samgisan. One night as he was reciting scriptures a spirit came to him full of praise for his worthy training. The spirit told Wongwang there was another monk residing on the other side of the mountain who was also engaged in recital, but the spirit said, this monk's recital was not worth anything, being only useless noise that prevented righteous thinking (正念). Besides, his house was blocking the spirit's passageway and so the spirit hated him and he beseeched Wongwang to ask the other monk to move away. When Wongwang went to the monk next day and told him what the spirit had said the monk just scolded him and said that a man of the robe should not be troubled by words of a mere fox spirit.

But that night there was much thunder and lightning, and the next day Wongwang saw that a landslide had buried the monk's temple. When the spirit came to Wongwang again it told him that it had already lived for 3000 years and possessed great sorcery so destroying a house was no great effort. The spirit said there was nothing in the world that it did not know and it could foresee the future. He told Wongwang that his present training would lead him to personal growth, but that this would not be of benefit to others. He urged Wongwang to go to China to study Buddhism so that he would have the means to save confused beings in his own country, Silla. Wongwang went to China and succeeded in achieving enlightenment with the spirit's aid, returning to Silla after 11 years.

On his return he went to Mt. Samgisan to express his gratitude to the spirit, upon which the spirit said it wished to receive the Buddhist precepts and spread the holy teachings in future lives. After revealing its form at Wongwang's behest, the spirit said that although its body possessed great powers it would not be able to avoid death, thus it would leave its body behind. The spirit asked Wongwang to give it a proper send-off to the afterworld. So Wongwang went to the place at the appointed time but all he saw was a very old black fox panting and breathing its last before it died.

Considering this was the spirit of a 3000-year-old fox, a primitive god of the Silla tradition, it is likely that this kind of native spirit abhorred the recital of the scriptures, as the traditional belief was that the fox god could overpower monk's magic. Yet here we witness a kind of conversion from the ancient faith to Buddhism, wherein the fox spirit helps Wongwang achieve enlightenment and then receives the Buddhist precepts and spreads the

Buddha's teachings. This legend shows us that the native religions of the Silla period were initially resistant to Buddhist divinities and rituals (Gim 1990, 71).

Another example can be found in "Buddha Image at Mt. Eosan (Fish Mountain)" (魚山佛影條) (S. vol. 3, chap. 4, Pagoda Images) which tells the tale of the Dragon King and the *Rakshasi* imps who prostrated to the Buddha and asked to receive the precepts; in return, Buddha taught them the Three Refugees and the Five Precepts. Although they had prayed to the deities in heaven and earth to stop disasters brought about by conspiring Vicious Dragon and Female Dragons that had transformed themselves from five *Rakshasi*, yet their prayers went unanswered. So they finally turned to Buddha and took refuge.

In the *Samguk yusa* we find many episodes of humans living together with gods, such as Celestial deities, Earth gods, Mountain gods, and Five Direction God, etc., but the most frequent of these references is to Dragons, which appear in 23 episodes (55 times in total).

Of course, there is also no shortage of evil dragons in the *Samguk yusa*, such as in the tale of Lady Suro who was dragged into the sea by a dragon as her husband the governor, was arriving at the site of present-day Gangneung, during the reign of King Seongdeok (S. vol. 1, Wonders 2, "Lady Suro"). There are also instances of repelling dragons with magical powers, such as when monk Hyetong went to Tang China at the invitation of Master Wuwei, in order to cure a princess. In this story, Hyetong asks for a private location, where he then places white beans in a silver vessel and black beans in a golden bowl and they transformed into celestial soldiers wearing white and black armor. The divine soldiers then proceeded to chase the demons of illness away, at which a juvenile dragon appeared and ran off and the princess was cured. But the dragon was very angry with Hyetong for driving him away and later, it came to Silla and went on a rampage killing many people. So Hyetong returned to Silla and repelled the dragon once more (S. vol. 5, chap. 6, Holy Incantations, "Hyetong Repels Dragon").

Nevertheless, the majority of dragons appear to be benign and offer their services to benefit humans and protect the nation from dangers. A good

example of this kind is the tale called the “Song of Cheoyong” (S. vol. 2, Wonders 2, “Song of Cheoyong, Manghaesa Temple”).

The 49th and great King Heongang erected a temple for the Dragon of the Sea, and the dragon sent forth his son Cheoyong to help with state affairs. A plague god was enamored of Cheoyong’s wife and attempted to accost her and lay with her, whereupon, Cheoyong walked away dancing and singing this song:

*I have played through the night at the Eastern Capital,
and returned to see my place.
I see legs and they are four,
two are mine but the other two?
Though she was wife, now she is taken.
Now what shall I do?*

The plague god was deeply moved by this and pledged he would not enter any house if it had so much as Cheoyong’s image upon the door. From that day forth Cheoyong’s picture was pasted upon doors to repel ill spirits and invite good fortune, and the king erected another temple in the dragon’s honor, naming it Manghaesa, or Shinbangsa.

The well known legends of Hwangnyongsa and Storm-Pacifying Flute are tell of National Protector Dragons that save Silla from danger and protect the nation from foreign invasions.¹³

Ven. Jajang was passing by the region of Taihe after an audience with Manjusri the Bodhisattva of Knowledge, when he met an Immortal. The Immortal stated to Jajang that although the Silla’s sovereign being a queen, is benevolent, she is not invested with force and authority, thus inviting invasion from Silla’s neighbors. He said: “The Guardian Dragon of Hwangnyongsa is my eldest son and he protects the temple on orders from the Supreme God Brahma. So,

13 The foundation legend of ancient Jalgapsa Temple, which is now Wunmunsa Temple at Cheongdo, is also related with the vow of a dharma protector dragon. “When Boyang returns from China after receiving the dharma, the Dragon in the Yellow Sea invited him to the palace and let him recite the Buddha’s teaching. The dragon gave him a golden robe in return. The dragon also asked him to take its son, Limok (璃目) with him, saying, ‘build a temple at Jalgap upon your return and then a wise king will arise who will protect the dharma in years to come and will conquer all kingdoms. Name the temple Jalgapsa’” (S. vol. 4, chap 5, “Boyang and a Pear tree”).

construct a nine-story pagoda and hold an Eight Precepts Ceremony, and no foreign enemy will trouble you again.” (S. vol. 3, chap. 4, Pagoda Images, Nine-Story Pagoda of Hwangnyongsa Temple)

The 31st King Sinmun constructed Gameunsa Temple in remembrance of his father the Great King Munmu. One day, the king went to Yigyeondae and looked upon Floating Mountain where he saw a bamboo plant that became two by day and one by night. The King took a boat to the floating land where a dragon welcomed him with a black jade belt. The King inquired of the dragon as to why the bamboo plant changed from two to one, to which the dragon replied: “Just as one hand alone makes no sound but two hands make sound when clapped together, so the bamboo can only make sounds when it is together. This is a lucky sign indicating that you as king, will rule the nation; so take the bamboo and make a flute and when you play it all under heaven will be pacified. The dragon said this treasure was the work of King Munmu, who had become a great dragon of the sea and Gim Yusin is a god in the heavenly realm, and instructed that the bamboo treasure of immeasurable value be delivered to the King. The bamboo was duly made into a flute and was known as he Manpasikjeok national treasure. When the flute was played, enemy armies retreated, illnesses were cured, rain ended droughts, winds were silenced and seas were made calm. (S. vol. 2, Wonders 2, “Storm-Pacifying Flute”)

The chanting of magical incantations associated with Esoteric Buddhism was also adopted as a means to cure disease and protect the nation. There was no real differentiation between magical incantations of non-Buddhist traditions and those of Buddhism, as they were all believed to have magical powers. What makes the Buddhist magical incantation distinct is the power of a bodhisattva’s benevolent will to save all sentient beings; this is why Buddhist magical incantation is known as “True Speech (眞言)” (Gim 1990, 32). Many wonders of such magical incantations are found in tales of Benign Dragons, such as the episode of King Munmu (S. vol. 2, Wonders 2). This tale tells of when Ven. Uisang returned from Tang China and informed the king of the Tang’s plan to invade Silla. King Munmu became so worried that he called a meeting of his subjects to plan defensive measures. Gim Cheonjon the Prime Minister at that time, reported that Master Myeongrang had recently

visited the Dragon King's palace to learn the "secret arts." Myeongrang was consulted and his advice to the king was to build a temple in the Divine Forest to the south of Mt. Rangsang (Wolf Mountain). By this time, Tang soldiers were already patrolling the Silla coast. Myeongrang led 12 yoga practicing monks to decorate the temple with silks and to construct the Five Direction God from grass, before performing tantric magic. The magic had a powerful effect, whipping up a storm and drowning all the ships of the Tang navy, even before the Silla fleet began to fight. The makeshift temple was later reconstructed and named Sacheonwangsa (lit. Four Deva Kings Temple).¹⁴

The most typical of dragons to be absorbed into the Buddhist faith according to *Samguk yusa*, is the Dharma Protector Dragon. In the preceding tale, tantrism and divine soldiers are linked together, as is the case with the Sacred deities of Dharma Protection. The tale of Myeongrang is another example of the Dharma Protector Dragon.¹⁵ Dragons are included in the category of Eight Heavenly Dragons and are also a member of the Sacred deities of Dharma Protection. The tale of the Great Buddha of Hwangnyongsa Temple¹⁶ shows that dragons are highly valued for their role in protecting the nation and aiding in the propagation of Buddhism.

The Dragon King, being a Dharma protection dragon, was elevated to the level of one of the Eight Heavenly Dragons and embraced as a member of the Hwaeom Sacred deities. This is evidence that Hwaeom influence was as critical as tantrism in the process of Buddhist syncretization of shamanic deities. The making of Silla into a Buddha nation is typical of Buddhist

14 In October, the 7th year of the 54th king Gyeongdeok, the bow strings of the Gods of Five Directions all snapped off (S. vol. 2, Wonders 2, "King Gyeongdeok"). This is another legend related to the fall of a nation.

15 According to the document of Geumgwangsa Temple, Myeongrang was invited to the palace of the Sea Dragon to teach secret arts, on his way back from Tang China. He received the alms of a thousand *nyang* of gold and travelled in disguise through an underground route, and arriving at his house by way of a well. He donated his house to build a temple on the spot and decorated the stupa with the gold the Dragon Kings had given him. The temple became known as Geumgwangsa (lit. Golden Light Temple) because it shone with light (S. vol. 5, chap. 6, Holy Incantation, "Myeongrang's Divine Seal").

16 In the 14th year of the 24th king Jingheung, Silla, a yellow dragon was discovered at the place where it was originally planned to build a new palace. The plan was changed in order to build a temple there and it took 17 years to complete construction. They named the temple Hwangnyongsa (lit. Yellow Dragon Temple), and enshrined a Sixteen Feet Buddha Statue in the hall, and erected a Nine-story Pagoda (S. vol. 3, chap. 4, Pagoda Images, "Grand Buddha of Hwangnyongsa Temple").

indigenization, by way of adopting traditional deities such as the Earth God. Indigenization also came about through the influence of Hwaeom thought (Go 1989, 66; Jeon 1993b, 164-68). Dharma Protector Dragons were already included in the Hwa-eom pantheon of Sacred divinities and we will discuss this in the next section.

V. Sacred Divinities of Hwaeom (華嚴神衆)

As we've seen in the above tales, the deities in the *Samguk yusa* are mostly folk deities, or deities absorbed into the Buddhist pantheon; such deities benefit humans and protect nations, in the guise of national protector gods or national protector dragons. They include significant female deities such as Female Dragon, Divine Mother, etc. The Hwaeom sacred divinities which correspond in features to *Samguk yusa* deities deserve proper investigation.

The Avatamsaka sutra was widely circulated in Korea even before the Three Kingdoms were unified. The main figures of the sutra are composed of 40 groups of world lords (世主), including Samanthabhadra and the 39 Sacred Deities of Hwaeom. Even today these deities, known as Sacred divinities of Hwaeom, are widely revered and accepted by Koreans, not only those of Hwaeom faith but also by the Buddhist faith in general. The deities have long been regarded as Buddha's disciples and protectors of the dharma. In Korean temples altars are divided into upper (上壇), middle (中壇), and lower (下壇) platforms, and the middle platform is the Altar of Deities (神衆壇) whereon sacred Hwaeom deities are enshrined.

This Altar of Deities is always next to the upper altar, or at least alongside the upper platform in the same sanctuary. Ceremony for revering the divinities occurs immediately after revering the Buddha which is located on the upper platform. At the dawn service the regular sequence is from upper to middle, and finally, the lower platform; and at the evening service it proceeds from lower to upper and then to the middle platform. Offerings placed on the middle platform are always transferred from the upper platform.

As already noted, Koreans have long revered these deities, believing

them to be divine protectors of Buddhism and Buddhist followers. The most famous and widely circulated text on Buddhist rituals in Korea is the service formulary text, *Seongmun uibeom* (釋門儀範), which introduces rituals related to the 39 Sacred divinities of Hwaeom and 104 deities (An 1982, 221-42; Jeon 1997, 92). The formulary was expanded from 39 divinities to 104 deities when traditional (shamanic) deities were syncretized with the divinities of Korean Buddhism.

The Hwaeom 39 sacred divinities are the dharma audience in the Avatamsaka sutra: the enlightened ones are, Vajra Guardian god, Multiple-body god, Omnipresent god, Temple Guardian god, Fortress Guardian god, Earth Guardian god, Mountain Guardian god, Forest Guardian god, Healing god, God of Grain, God of Rivers, God of the Sea, God of Waters, God of Fires, God of Wind, God of the Void, God of Directions, God of the Night, God of the Day, Asura (God of Chaos), Garuda, Kinnara, Mahoraga, Yaksa, Dragon king, Kumbhanda, Gandharva, God of the Sun, God of the Moon, Indra (God of the 33 Heavens, God of the Suyama Heavens, God of Tushita Heavens, God of Bliss, God of Joy Transference, God of Brahma Heavens, God of the Radiant Sound, God of the Pure Heavens, God of the Boundless Rewards, and Mahesvara.¹⁷

These divinities come together with the Hwaeom congregation in order to chant the greatness of Buddha's enlightenment and reciting verse in accordance with their realm of enlightenment. These readings relate to all stages of Hwaeom practice. The formulary for invoking the deities (神衆請) describes the Sacred divinities as incarnated entities of the Buddha rather than spirits or ghosts (An 1982, 346).

The Hwaeom deities of the Avatamsaka sutra also appear frequently in the *Samguk yusa*. The Four Deva Kings, Trayastrimṣas, and the Lord of 33 Heavens are all included in the Hwaeom pantheon, and they are revered under various names such as Eight Divine Guardians, Celestial soldiers, 40 Sacred

17 執金剛神·身衆神·足行神·道場神·主城身·主地神·主山神·主林神·主藥神·主稼神·主河神·主海神·主水神·主火神·主風神·主空神·主方神·主夜神·主晝神·阿修羅王·迦樓羅王·緊那羅王·摩睺羅伽王·夜叉王·龍王·鳩槃荼王·乾闥婆王·日天子·月天子·忉利天王·夜摩天王·兜率天王·化樂天王·他化自在天王·大梵天王·光音天王·遍淨天王·廣果天王·大自在天王。See "The Wonderful Adornments of the Leaders of the Worlds" in A80 (T. 10, 2-21).

divinities, Temple guardian god, and Sacred Hwaeom deities. The deities in the *Samguk yusa* are mostly related to the Hwaeom Sacred divinities, even though the *Lotus Sutra's* Sermon at the Holy Mountain and many other Mahayana scriptures portray similar deities, including the Eight Divine Guardians, Gandharva, and Asura.

The following is a summary of some of the representative legends associated with Hwaeom sacred divinities; these are presented in chronological order.

A. Vol. 3, chap. 4, Pagoda Images, 50 Thousand True Bodies at Mt. Daesan

Ven. Jajang traveled to Tang China in 636 CE, hoping to meet bodhisattva Manjusri at Mt. Wutaishan. Here he received a Sanskrit mantra in a dream while praying before a stone image of Manjusri at Lake Taihe. The next day a strange monk showed up and said that the mantra was a four line excerpt from the Avatamsaka sutra. The mysterious monk also bestowed a kasaya robe, an alms bowl, and a piece of Buddha's skull on Ven. Jajang. The monk encouraged Jajang to go to Mt. Odaesan in Silla to see Manjusri. Before disappearing he informed Jajang that ten thousand Manjusri were residing there. At Lake Taihe a dragon appeared to inform him that the mysterious monk was in fact Manjusri, and asked Jajang to build a temple and stupa.

The temple known today as Woljeongsa Temple at Mt. Odaesan is the place where Ven. Jajang stayed after he returned from meeting Manjusri at Mt. Wutaishan in China. Later, Prince Bocheon entered the Holy Cave at Mt. Odaesan and practiced meditation for 50 years under the protection of Indra, Gods of the Pure Heaven, and 40 Saints.

Bocheon served the 50 Thousand True Bodies throughout his lifetime, and on his last day he left instructions for conducting mountain ceremonies which he knew the nation would demand. The instructions included ceremonies for reconstruction of Bocheonam Sanctuary, rechristening the Hwajangsa

Temple sanctuary (Temple of Avatamsaka), and enshrinement of three Vairocana Buddhas and the Tripitaka. He also gave instructions that five monks should stay in the temple to recite the Tripitaka during the day and meditate on the names of the Sacred divinities of Hwaeom at night. In addition, Hwaeom Great Vehicle Assembly ceremonies should be held for a hundred days every year and Hwajangsa Temple should be the main temple at Mt. Odaesan. The Hwaeom Sacred divinities were to be served day and night in cooperation with Manjusri-gapsa Temple.

B. Vol. 3, chap. 4, Pagoda Images, Relic Storages

While Uisang was studying Avatamsaka thought at Zhixiang temple where Master Zhiyan resided, he visited the renowned teacher, Master Daoxuan, as both temples were located in the Mt. Zhongnan region. Daoxuan received all his daily food and provisions from heaven, so on this day he requested celestial food for Uisang as well. But the food was not delivered on that day and the angel only arrived with provisions after Uisang returned to his own temple. When Daoxuan asked why the delivery was delayed the angel responded that there was no way to get through because of the heavenly soldiers guarding Uisang, so he had to wait until Uisang had gone. Daoxuan was greatly impressed by the formidable celestial protection afforded Uisang, so he kept the provisions and invited both Uisang and Zhiyan to partake in them the next day.

C. Vol. 3, chap. 4, Pagoda Images, Two Saints and Gwaneum at Naksan

Upon returning from Tang China, Ven. Uisang heard that the Goddess of Mercy was living in a coastal cave. Uisang visited the coastal site and named it Naksan Mountain. He stayed and prayed there for seven days and then floated his seat on the water where one of the Eight Heavenly Dragons appeared to guide him into the cave. As he lifted his head up to adore the Heaven, crystal prayer beads were bestowed on him, and as he was leaving

the cave the East Sea Dragon offered him a great magic marble. After exiting the cave Uisang prayed for a further seven days before again, entering the cave. On this occasion he saw the face of Avalokitesvara. The true body of this Mercy Goddess informed Uisang that two bamboos would grow from his seat and he should erect a temple on that spot. When Uisang came out of the cave he found two bamboos had grown up right on that very spot and so he built a main sanctuary and enshrined a small statue inside, the statue was so beautiful it might have been born from heaven. The bamboo which had originally sprouted to mark the building spot had disappeared without a trace and Uisang realized the bamboo had sprouted where the True Body resided. When the building was completed he named it Naksansa Temple, Before leaving he placed the crystal prayer beads on the sanctum.

D. Vol. 5, chap. 8, Hide and Seclusion, 8. Ven. Namji Walking on the
Cloud and Samantabhadra Tree

Seven-year-old Jitong was travelling to Mt. Yeongchuksan to become a student of Ven. Nangji. While taking a rest he met Master Bohyeon (lit. Samantabhadra) who had suddenly appeared from nowhere and gave Jitong his precepts. Ven. Nangji was full of praise for Jitong who had renounced the world under the hidden auspices of mountain spirits, and he paid his respects to the young monk for receiving precepts directly from Samantabhadra; Jitong had prayed that he would meet him someday. The mountain spirit was Sarasvati in disguise, goddess of speech and learning.¹⁸

The order of importance of divinities in the legends is significant to our understanding, because the appearance of Hwaecom sacred divinities reflects the social status and influence of Buddhist orders during the unification period of the Three Kingdoms. Popular Folklore accounts of Hwaecom divinities sprung up at this time, which no doubt, played a significant role in spreading Hwaecom more widely, coupled with the sincere efforts of Hwaecom masters, such as Jajang, Uisang, and Jitong who were committed to propagating the

18 This Jitong is the disciple of Uisang who bequeathed *Jitonggi*, the summarized notes of Uisang's lectures on Hwaecom thought.

teachings in the unification period. The first tale (A) recounted above, reflects the time (636 CE) when Jajang entered Tang China to study. Tale B. is dated a little later, when Uisang was studying under Zhiyan at Zhixiang temple from 661-669 CE. While tale C. relates to the time immediately after his return from Tang, (ca. 671 CE), this last episode is associated with his disciple Jitong.

Ven. Jajang is the first Korean monk associated with Hwaecom thought in documented records (Jeon 1988, 258-61). Jajang transformed his house into a temple named Wollyeongsa Temple, and at the opening ceremony he recited verses from ten thousand stanzas of the Avatamsaka sutra. He is also legendary for the verse he received directly from Manjusri at Lake Taihe near Wutaishan Mountain, China. The verse reads:

Once all dharma is completely comprehended,
there is no place for Self-nature.
Likewise, upon penetrating the dharma nature,
you see Vairocana at that moment.
("Eulogies on Mount Sumeru," T. 10, 82a)
[了知一切法 自性無所有. 如是解法性 卽見盧舍那.]

Jajang built a temple for Manjusri at Mt. Odaesan after he returned from Tang and again, he met the bodhisattva. But according to the tale, his efforts to meet Manjusri at Mt. Taebaek were unsuccessful and he died without ever knowing that he had already met Manjusri in disguise on his way there. This tale presents a metaphor of Jajang who was the first monk to introduce Hwaecom thought into Silla; he even erected a temple to dedicate his faith to Hwaecom sacred divinities, but he failed to establish an order or a school of Avatamsaka thought. This task was left to Ven. Uisang who was recognized as the first patriarch of the Haedong Hwaecom school.

Having faith in both Avalokitesvara Goddess of Mercy and Amitabha, Ven. Uisang was diligent in his efforts to harmonize Hwaecom thought so as to give hope and comfort to his people who had undergone prolonged horror in the wars of the Three Kingdoms. According to the legends, even Uisang couldn't accomplish this without the support of Eight Heavenly Dragons,

Dharma Protector Dragons, and Celestial soldiers.

Four great disciples, 40 disciples, and three thousand students followed in the steps of their master, Uisang. His notable disciple, Jitong, joined the Sangha with the help of Samantabhadra and the mountain spirits. He later inherited the *Dharmadhatu Seal* from Uisang and wrote *Jitonggi*.

According to “Yeonhoi hides himself in the Manjusri Shrine” (S. vol. 5, chap. 8, Hide and Seclusion) Yeonhoi also met in person with Manjusri and Sarasvatidevi, and later became a national master. In the chapter titled “King Wonseong,” it is reported that King Wonseong prayed to the god of North River to be a king, and in gratitude for the fulfillment of his wish he invited monk Jihae from Hwangnyongsa Temple to give a series of lectures on the Avatamsaka sutra over a fifty day period (S. vol. 2, Wonders 2, “King Wonseong”).

Worshipping Hwaeom sacred divinities, including Eight Heavenly Dragons, has always been at the center of religious activity among Korean followers of the Hwaeom faith; and today, these sacred divinities continue to be popular with Korean Buddhists who appeal to them in supplication and prayer.

VI. Epilogue

This treatise has made a thorough observation of the *Samguk yusa* divinities central to ancient Korean worship, but the main focus has been on the Hwaeom (Avatamsaka) pantheon.

In the *Samguk yusa* period, Korean ancients often sought divine help from shamanic deities while exercising primitive magic in an effort to attain their desired results; sometimes they would use ‘secret and mysterious incantations’ to protect their nation. Yet concomitantly, they accepted the Buddhist idea of practice leading to enlightenment as necessary to attain the power of the Dharma so as to ensure national protection and wellbeing of all sentient beings.

The gods of the national foundation, Dangun, Hwanin and other

traditional shamanic deities, have all been syncretized with Buddhist divinities, to encourage good, punish evil and protect the nation. In addition to practical interests and national prosperity, the syncretic inclusion of virtuous gods such as Dharma Protector Dragons with Buddhist divinities boosted efforts to propagate the Buddhist teachings and elevated these shamanic deities to the realm of Dharma protection divinities. Consequently, sacred divinities of the Hwaeom pantheon were declared as national protection deities as well as propagating the Buddha's teaching in order to save all sentient beings.

These 39 sacred divinities in the Avatamsaka sutra and 104 deities of dharma protection are still worshipped today by Korean Buddhists throughout the peninsula.

Glossary of Chinese Terms

(K=Korean, C=Chinese, S=Sanskrit)

- Avalokitesvara (S), Gwaneum (K) 觀音
 Dangun (K) 檀君
 Haedong Hwaeom (K) 海東華嚴
 Hwaeom (K) 華嚴
 Hwanin (Lord of Heaven) (K) 桓因
 Hwanung (K) 桓雄
 Iryeon (K) 一然
 Jajang (K) 慈藏
 Jeseok (K) 釋帝
 Odaesan (K), Wutaishan (C) 五臺山
Samguk yusa (K) 三國遺事
 Sakradevanam Indra (S) 釋帝天王
 Tapsang (K) 塔像
 Trayastrimśa Heaven (S) 忉利天
 Uisang (K) 義相
 Wongwang (K) 圓光

Abbreviations

- A60 *Dafangguangfohuayanjing* 大方廣佛華嚴經 [Avatamsaka Sutra]. 60 vols. Chinese trans. Budhabhadra (佛馱跋陀羅). T. 9, no. 278.
- A80 *Dafangguangfohuayanjing* (大方廣佛華嚴經) 80 vols. Chinese trans. Siksananda (實叉難陀). T. 10, no. 279.
- Bp *Beopyedogi chongsurok* 法界圖記叢髓錄. H. 6
- H *Hanguk bulgyo jeonseo* 韓國佛教全書 [Collected Works of Korean Buddhism]. Seoul: Dongguk Univ. Press. 1979-2004.
- S *Samguk yusa* 三國遺事. H. 6, 245-369.
- T *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 [Japanese Edition of the Buddhist Canon]. Tokyo: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai. 1924-1935.

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