

## 政治拠点における寺院成立とその仏教思想

### ―百済後期と高麗初期の例

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#### I. はじめに

本発表は古代の百済後期と中世の高麗初創期において、政治拠点として成立した寺院である、百済の王興寺と弥勒寺、高麗の奉恩寺と開泰寺に注目し、その創建理由とそれに関わる仏教思想について検討することを目的とする。百済においても、高麗においても、政治を行う上で仏教の寺院や僧侶は非常に重要な役割を果たしている。とすれば、寺院成立と関連する考え方を支えている仏教思想があると想定できる。本発表は、このような視点から政治拠点としての寺院にその時代の仏教思想を関連付けてみる試みである。

#### II. 百済における政治拠点としての寺院と仏教思想

##### 一. 中央政治拠点としての陵寺と王興寺

##### 1. 創建理由

百済における中央政治拠点の中で、陵寺と王興寺は銘文の残っていることでその創建理由とそれに関わる仏教思想が推測できる。まず、陵寺は聖王（＝聖明王）を追善のため建立られたと推測される勅願刹である。陵寺の存在（寺の正式名称は不詳）は 567 年の銘文をもつ舍利龕<写真 1>の発見によって確認されている。

銘文は「百済昌王十三季太歳在 丁亥妹兄公主供養舍利（百済昌王の 13 年、年は丁亥、妹兄公主が舍利を供養する。）」とあり、この短い銘文により、王系の人が舍利を供養する主体になっていることがわかる。これに関しては武寧王時代より確認される骨族意識から舍利供養が行われたと読み取る解釈も存在する<sup>1</sup>。百済において骨族意識は聖王の治世（在位 523～554）から明らかに現れる。聖王は在位期間中に他称として聖王と呼ばれたようである<sup>2</sup>。自称ではないが、骨族意識のもと仏教の理想的君主である転輪聖王を夢見た可

Establishment of Temples in Political Centers and their Buddhist Thought

- examples of late Baekje and early Goryeo

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#### I. Introduction

The purpose of this presentation is to focus on temples that were established as political centers in the late ancient Baekje period and the early medieval Goryeo period, namely Wangheungsa Temple and Mireuksa Temple in Baekje, and Bongeunsa Temple and Gaetaesa Temple in Goryeo, and to examine the reasons for their establishment and the Buddhist thought associated with them. In both Baekje and Goryeo, Buddhist temples and monks played a very important role in conducting politics. If this is the case, it can be assumed that there is a Buddhist thought that supports the ideas related to the establishment of temples. From this perspective, this presentation is an attempt to relate the Buddhist thought of the time to temples as political centers.

#### II. Temples and Buddhist Thought as Political Centers in Baekje

##### 1. Neungsa Temple and Wangheungsa Temple as Central Political Bases

##### 1 Reasons for Founding

Among the central political bases in Baekje, Neungsa Temple and Wangheungsa Temple have inscriptions that allow us to infer the reasons for their founding and the Buddhist ideology associated with them. First, Neungsa Temple is a temple built to commemorate King Seong (King Seongmyeong). The existence of Neungsa Temple (the temple's official name is unknown) was confirmed by the discovery of a relic niche (Photo 1, Relic niche in the Emperor temple) with an inscription from 567.

The inscription reads, "In the 13th year of King Chang of Baekje, the year is Jeonghae, Princess of Mae-hyong offers a memorial for the relics." This short inscription shows that the royal family were the ones who were responsible for offering the memorial for the relics. There is also an interpretation that the sarira memorial service was performed because of the same tribe consciousness that was confirmed from the time of King Muryeong<sup>1</sup>. The same tribe consciousness in Baekje clearly appeared from the reign of King Seong (reigned 523-554). It seems that King Seong was called Seong-King by others during his reign<sup>2</sup>. Although it was not a self-proclaimed name, it is possible that he dreamed of becoming a Wheel-Turning Holy King, an ideal Buddhist monarch, based on the same tribe consciousness<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> 金寿泰,「百済法王代の仏教」,『先史と古代』15, p.8でいうように骨族意識は排他的である。仏教に基づくとは言っても、排他性を放棄しないと考えられる。参考までに、『日本書紀』には百済国主の骨族として武寧王の純陀太子の名がみえる。

<sup>2</sup> 『三国史記』「聖王元年」

<写真 1>陵寺の石製舍利龕



能性もありうる<sup>3</sup>。そしてそのような転輪聖王の流れを組むという意識から威徳（昌）王の時代に舍利供養がなされたとみられる。なお、威徳王はこの年から南朝だけでなく、北朝とも本格的に交流するが、舍利供養はこの時期中国仏教からの影響で行われたとみられる<sup>4</sup>。

王興寺に関しては、記録の錯綜によって定めにくい面があるが、当面は王興寺発掘調査によって発見された舍利荘厳具に刻まれた銘文<写真 2>による年代から考えながら、『三国史記』と『三国遺事』

の記録を併用する。

<写真 2><舍利荘厳具>



[https://www.heritage.go.kr/heri/cul/culSelectDetail.do?ccbaCpno=1113403270000&pageNo=1\\_1\\_1\\_1](https://www.heritage.go.kr/heri/cul/culSelectDetail.do?ccbaCpno=1113403270000&pageNo=1_1_1_1)  
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<写真 2>の銘文は「丁酉年二月 十五日百済 王昌為亡王 子立刹本舍 刹二枚葬 時神化為三」（丁酉年(577) 2月15日に百済王昌、亡き王子のため刹を立てるが、本来 2 枚だった舍利が葬時に神の造化によって 3 枚になった。）とあり、この記録から寺の創建年代と創建理由が読み取れる、①創建は 577 年である。②亡き王子を弔うため刹（＝塔或いは寺）を立てたということなので、勅願刹である<sup>5</sup>。

王興寺址の位置は「春の二月に王興寺

が完成した。その寺は水を臨んで彩飾は壮麗であった。王は毎度舟に乗って寺に入り行香した」（『三国史記』武王 35 年）とあるように創建当時は河に面したと推測される。

It is believed that the sarira memorial service was performed during the reign of King Ideok (Chang) out of the consciousness of following in the footsteps of such a Wheel-Turning Holy King. It is also believed that King Ideok began to have full-scale exchanges not only with the Southern Dynasty but also with the Northern Dynasty from this year, and it is believed that the sarira memorial service was performed during this period under the influence of Chinese Buddhism<sup>4</sup>).

Regarding Wangheungsa Temple, it is difficult to determine due to the confusion of records, but for the time being, we will consider the date based on the inscription engraved on the sarira ornament discovered during the excavation of Wangheungsa Temple (Photo 2, Relic ornaments), and use the records in the "Samguk Sagi" and "Samguk Yusa" in combination. The inscription on <Photo 2> reads, "On the 15th of the second month of the year of Jeongyu, King Chang of Baekje erected a tower for the deceased prince. Two relics were originally erected, but at the time of his funeral, they became three due to the divine intervention." From this record, the date and reason for the temple's founding can be inferred: 1) It was founded in 577. 2) It is a temple (= pagoda or temple) built to mourn the deceased prince, so it is a temple built at the request of the emperor<sup>5</sup>).

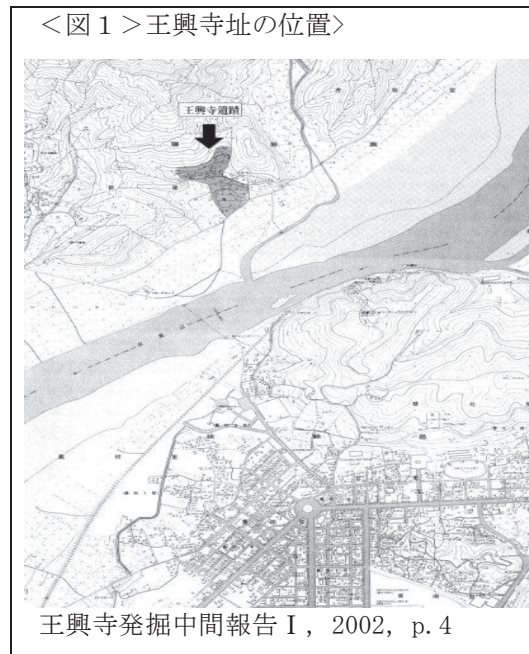
The location of Wangheungsa Temple site is assumed to have faced a river when it was first built, as it is written in the Samguk Sagi, "Wangheungsa Temple was completed in the second month of spring. The temple faced the water and was beautifully decorated. The king would always enter the temple by boat to offer incense" (35th year of King Mu's reign, Samguk Sagi).

<sup>3</sup> 河上麻由子,「梁武帝の『阿育王経』転輪聖王標榜と百済聖王」,『木簡と文字』24, 2020, p. 124では儒教の聖人とみることを提案する。但し、百済の聖王の活動時期と重なる新羅の法興王が仏教的文脈で聖法興大王, 聖王と呼ばれた例があるし、その次の真興王の時代には確実に転輪聖王を目指したことから、百済の聖王は自称まではしなかったものの、仏教的聖王を念頭に入れたかもしれない。金英美,「新羅人の理想的人間像－聖人観を中心に」,『韓国思想史学』23, 2004, 223～251と、崔seonja『新羅転輪聖王研究－真興王代を中心に』建国大博士論文, 2021を参照されたい。

<sup>4</sup> 申光燮,『百済泗沘時代陵寺研究』,中央大博士論文, 2006, pp. 95～96.

<sup>5</sup> 大橋一章,「六世紀後半の百済寺院の舍利安置について」,『早稲田大学大学院文学研究科紀要 第3分冊』, 2010, pp. 109～126では、歴史の記録との相違に関しては決めにくいだが、中国舍利安置の方法について、丸のみの時代が終わり、百済の葬送の作法も取り入れる工夫考案した時代の産物として評価する。

この河沿地域は当時の百済にとってどの意味があったのであろうか。『三国史記』太宗武烈王条には「(660) 11 月」 5 日に王は溪灘を越え王興寺岑城を攻めて七日目に勝って 700 人を殺した」とある。即ち、この記録から遡ってみると王興寺が亡き王子のため建立した勅願刹でありながら、百済の王権を最後まで守るための要害として認識されていたと考えられる。その意味を念頭におきながら、王興寺の銘文を検討してみると、仏教が関わっている中央政治拠点として役割も見えてくる。



## 2. 寺院の成立と関わる仏教思想

### 2.1 仏教に基づいた骨族思想

まず、最も注目すべきは、舍利が二つから三つに増えたとの銘文である。威徳王が父聖王の血筋を継承しているとの意識を持っていたことはすでに述べたが、父聖王が転輪聖王と他称されたならば、威徳王はその思想を舍利信仰を通じて継承したかったとも読み取れる。そして貴族や百姓には、舍利への貴重品などの布施（写真 3）によって<sup>6</sup>、舍利供養による感応としての現世利益や来世にいい場所に生まれ変わることを求めることが予想される。こうした信仰行為は集団の結束を図るにも役立てるが、舍利が二つから三つになる神異を知ることによって結束は一層深くなるだろう。そして、そうした神秘的な変化こそ骨族の能力によるもので、為政者の政治的な力を強化するにも役立てる。

## 2.2 釈迦仏信仰なのか弥勒信仰なのか

### 2.2.1. 釈迦仏信仰

銘文に明らかにされている 2 月 15 日はあくまでも象徴である。2 月 15 日は釈迦牟尼の涅槃日としてよく知られているが、『弥勒上生経』によると、弥勒が兜率天に行くため滅定に入った日でもある。これまでは釈迦の涅槃日に注目し<sup>7</sup>、『弥勒経』に関してはほとん

What significance did this riverside area have for Baekje at that time? In the Samguk Sagi, the section on King Taejong Muyeol states, "On the 5th day of November (660), the king crossed the Gye Bay and attacked Wangheungsa Minseong Fortress, and on the 7th day he was victorious, killing 700 people." In other words, going back from this record, it is thought that Wangheungsa Temple was a temple built for the deceased prince, but was also recognized as a stronghold to protect the royal authority of Baekje until the end. With this meaning in mind, when we examine the inscriptions at Wangheungsa Temple, we can see its role as a central political base where Buddhism was involved.

## 2. Buddhist thought related to the establishment of the temple

### 2.1 Buddhism-based same tribe thought

First, the most noteworthy thing is the inscription that the number of relics increased from two to three. As already mentioned, King Ideok was aware that he inherited the bloodline of his father, King Seong, and if his father was also called the Wheel-Turning Holy King, it can be interpreted that King Ideok wanted to inherit that idea through the belief in the relics. It is also expected that the nobles and peasants would ask for benefits in this life and to be reborn in a good place in the next life as a result of the offering of the relics by donating valuables to the relics (Photo 3; Memorial items)<sup>6</sup>. Such acts of faith are useful for uniting the group, but unity will be deepened even more by knowing the mystical phenomenon that caused the number of relics to increase from two to three. And such mysterious changes are due to the abilities of the same tribe, and they also help to strengthen the political power of the rulers.

### 2.2 Belief in Shaka Buddha or Maitreya(Mireuk)?

#### 2.2.1. Belief in Shaka Buddha

February 15, as revealed in the inscription, is merely symbolic. February 15 is well known as the day of Shakyamuni's nirvana, but according to the Maitreya Sutra, it is also the day Maitreya entered nirvana to go to Tushita Heaven. Until now, attention has been focused on the day of Shaka's nirvana<sup>7</sup>, and little attention has been paid to the Maitreya Sutra.

<sup>6</sup> 鈴木靖民, 「百済・王興寺と飛鳥寺の創建」, 『古代日本の東アジア交流史』, 勉誠出版, 2016, p. 41~71では、中国・百済・日本の供養品などを比較している。

<sup>7</sup> 新川登亀男, 「古代朝鮮半島の舍利と舍利銘文」, 『古代東アジアの仏教と王権 - 王興寺から飛鳥寺へ』, 勉誠出版, 2010, pp. 53~58では南本『涅槃経』と『釈迦譜』の影響が強いと指摘しながらも、この日に関しては意識され続けていた形跡はなく、王興寺に突出しているとの見解を示している。他の研究も涅槃日に注目する。

ど注意を払っていない。

まず、『涅槃經』を通じて考えると、王興寺の位置と舍利記銘文のことが説明できる。『涅槃經』には次のようにある。

かつて仏陀は、アジタ  
ヴァティ川アジタの近くにある  
マラスの地のクシナガラ  
に滞在しており、そこに

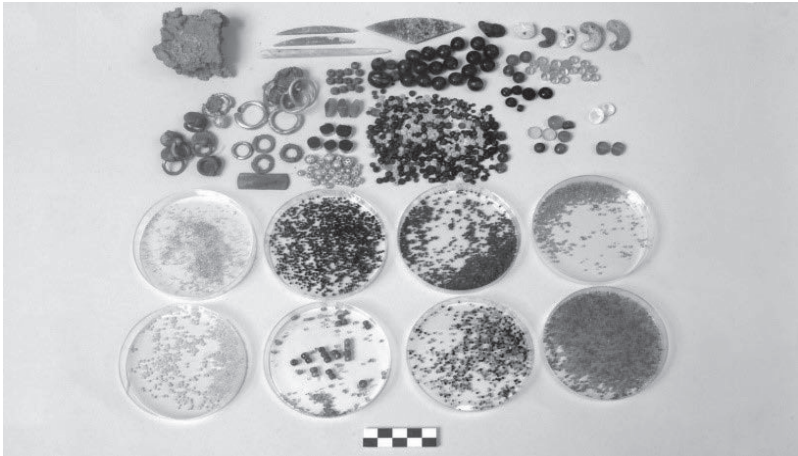
は双沙羅の木が立っていた。その時に（中略）、2月15日、涅槃に望みたもうとき）（新国訳大蔵經『涅槃經』）

この經典で描写したように釈迦は河の畔で2月15日に涅槃の準備に入る。王興寺の位置は『涅槃經』に表現されている釈迦涅槃の場所とオーバーラップする。銘文の2月15日のことは釈迦の涅槃日を象徴しているといえる<sup>8</sup>。なお、釈迦の火葬方法や舍利が増える神秘的な故事などの情報が百済に入っていた可能性はすでに指摘されている<sup>9</sup>。

ここで舍利が増えることに関しては、威徳王が真身舍利を供養できる聖なる能力を備えた王であることを立証するという意味で、転輪聖王のなすことを直接実践した王として王興寺を建立したと解釈している<sup>10</sup>。もし、寺の位置と銘文の内容が『涅槃經』と舍利信仰に依拠しているならば、当時百済の威徳王は何を期待していたのか。短い銘文からは何を言っても推測の枠を超えないが、『涅槃經』の内容に照らし合わせて推測してみたい。

聖王が梁に涅槃經・疏などを求めたのは541年であり、その関連資料は百済に入る。なお、『続日本記』に武寧王の太子で純陀の名前がみえる。純陀は釈尊に最後に供養した人として『涅槃經』に出てくる名前である。このことから少なくとも『涅槃經』に基づく情

＜写真3＞供養具



<https://www.heritage.go.kr/heri/cul/imgHeritage.do?ccimId=1626691&ccbaKdcd=13&ccbaAsno=04270000&ccbaCtcd=34>  
(韓国文化財庁提供)

First, by considering the Nirvana Sutra, the location of Wangheungsa Temple and the inscription on the Sarigi can be explained. The Nirvana Sutra states the following:

Once upon a time, the Buddha stayed in Kushinagar in the land of Maras near the Ajitavati River, where a twin-sala tree stood. At that time (omitted), on February 15th, he aspired to Nirvana. (New Japanese Translation of the Tripitaka, Nirvana Sutra)

As described in this sutra, Shakyamuni prepares for Nirvana by the river on the 15th of the second month. The location of Wangheungsa Temple overlaps with the location of Shakyamuni's Nirvana described in the Nirvana Sutra. The date of February 15 in the inscription symbolizes the day of Shakyamuni's Nirvana<sup>8</sup>. It has already been pointed out that Baekje may have had information about the cremation method of Shakyamuni and the mysterious story of the increase in the number of relics<sup>9</sup>. As for the increase in the number of relics, it is interpreted that King Ideok built Wangheungsa Temple as a king who directly put into practice the work of the Wheel-Turning Holy King, proving that he was a king with the holy ability to offer a memorial service for the real relics<sup>10</sup>. If the location of the temple and the content of the inscription are based on the Nirvana Sutra and the belief in relics, what was King Ideok of Baekje hoping for at the time? Anything we say from this short inscription cannot go beyond the bounds of speculation, but we would like to make a guess based on the contents of the Nirvana Sutra.

King Seong requested the Nirvana Sutra and commentaries from Liang in 541, and the related materials date to Baekje. Furthermore, the name of Junda, the crown prince of King Muryeong, appears in the Shoku Nihongi. Junda is the name that appears in the Nirvana Sutra as the last person to make an offering to Shakyamuni.

<sup>8</sup> 堀裕氏は、王興寺を王宮の後苑とみる田中俊明氏の説を紹介しながら、批判はしないが検討の余地が残るとし、王興寺は追善のために建立されたので、中国の王宮外の寺院と比較すべきではないと意見を加えている。堀裕「東アジア王宮内仏教施設の比較研究—南朝・百済・倭を中心に」、『東アジアの王宮・王都と仏教』、勉誠社、2023、pp.177～178。

<sup>9</sup> 周昶美、「百済王興寺址出土舍利莊嚴具と6世紀東アジア仏教文化」、『百済研究』67、2018、pp.51～86。

<sup>10</sup> 周昶美、同上、pp.74～77。但し、舍利が増えることと転輪聖王の関係については述べていない。

報は熊津百済の時代に入っていたことになる。聖王は『涅槃經』の理解の進展を図るため、梁に涅槃などの経義を求めている。

その時期、百済に入った可能性の高い、或いは銘文の背景になっている『涅槃經』は二種類である。2月15日を明記した經典と轉輪聖王の葬儀を明確に述べた經典は異なるからである。經典翻訳の年代を勘案した際に、釈迦牟尼の涅槃日を2月15日としたのは、法顯訳『仏説大般泥洹經』(T12. 6巻)と南・北本『涅槃經』(T12)である。これに舍利信仰と関連して釈迦牟尼の葬儀に関して詳しく述べているのは、法顯訳で非大乘に分類される『大般涅槃經』(T1. 3巻)があげられる。すると、二種類の經典からこの銘文を支える仏教思想が推測できる。

まず、上に紹介した<写真3>の供養具をみると、それぞれ人に貴重な装飾品のようである。法顯訳の非大乘の『涅槃經』では、仏の4大聖地に行つて拝むと大きな功德があるとされているし<sup>11</sup>、布施すると福德を獲得し涅槃に至るという<sup>12</sup>。2月15日の釈迦牟尼に入寂した聖地に因んで王興寺を創建したとみれば、經典によって布施(=供養)して福德を願っていたかもしれない。なお、舍利に関しては、『涅槃經』には舍利が増える例はないにせよ、舍利供養による福德は非大乘の『涅槃經』にも、大乘の『涅槃經』にも説かれている<sup>13</sup>。以上のように2月15日が釈迦牟尼の涅槃日を象徴的に表す場合、舍利供養による現世と未来の福德を迎えることができよう。

2.2.2. 弥勒信仰

『弥勒上生經』には、弥勒は2月15日に生まれた処に戻つて結跏趺坐にして滅定に入るとし、紫金色の全身舍利を残して兜率天に行くと説かれている。そして、その身からは首楞嚴三昧と般若波羅蜜の字と義が明らかであるとする<sup>14</sup>。ここでいう字と義とは意味がよく分からないが、三昧と般若智慧が明らかに我々にも認識される意味になろう<sup>15</sup>。この經典には仏が入寂した後に、仏(弥勒)の形像を念じ、弥勒を称名し、礼拝し、兜率陀天を思惟するなどの人は、命終して兜率天に往生することが説かれている。こうした実践による得益については、後の註釈ではあるが百済出身の璟興の『疏』にもあるように、大きく滅罪

<sup>11</sup> 『大般涅槃經』卷2「於我滅後，能故發心，往我四處，所獲功德不可稱計，所生之處，常在人天，受樂果報，無有窮盡」(CBETA, T1, 199c)  
<sup>12</sup> 『大般涅槃經』卷2：「布施者獲福， 慈心者無怨， 為善者消惡， 離欲者無惱。 若行如此行， 不久般涅槃」(CBETA, T1, 198c9)  
<sup>13</sup> 『涅槃經』卷30「如來為益衆生福德，故碎其身而令供養」(CBETA, T12, 806a)；『涅槃經』卷2「若有衆生，懸繪幡蓋，燒香散華，及然燈燭，禮拜讚歎我兜婆者，此人長夜獲大福利」(CBETA, T1, 200a)  
<sup>14</sup> 『弥勒上生經』(CBETA, T14, 419c)  
<sup>15</sup> 基『觀彌勒上生兜率天經贊』卷2 (CBETA, T38, 292b)

This means that at the very least, information based on the Nirvana Sutra dates to the time of Ungjin Baekje. King Seong requested the teachings of the sutra, including nirvana, from Liang in order to advance his understanding of the Nirvana Sutra.

There are two types of Nirvana Sutras that are likely to have entered Baekje during that period or that are the background for the inscription. Because the sutra that specifies February 15th is different from the sutra that clearly describes the funeral of the Chakravartin. When considering the dates of the translation of the sutras, the date of Shakyamuni's Nirvana is set to February 15th in the translation of the Mahāparinirvana Sutra (T12, vol. 6) and the Southern and Northern versions of the Nirvana Sutra (T12). In addition, the Mahāparinirvana Sutra (T1, vol. 3), which is classified as a non-Mahāyāna sutra in the translation of Faxian, describes Shakyamuni's funeral in detail in relation to relic worship. From these two types of sutras, we can infer the Buddhist thought that supports this inscription. First, looking at the offerings in <Photo 3; Offered objects> introduced above, they seem to be valuable ornaments for people. In the non-Mahayana Nirvana Sutra translated by Faxian, it is said that visiting and worshiping at the four great holy sites of the Buddha brings great merit<sup>11)</sup>, and that making donations will bring good fortune and lead to Nirvana<sup>12)</sup>. If Wangheungsa Temple was founded in honor of the holy site where Shakyamuni passed away on February 15, people may have prayed for good fortune by making donations (i.e. offerings) in accordance with the sutra. Regarding sarira, although there are no examples of relics increasing in the Nirvana Sutra, the good fortune that comes from offerings to the Buddha is described in both the non-Mahayana Nirvana Sutra and the Mahayana Nirvana Sutra<sup>13)</sup>. As described above, if February 15 symbolizes the day of Shakyamuni's Nirvana, offerings to the Buddha may bring good fortune in this life and in the future.

2.2.2. Maitreya Faith

The Maitreya Sutra states that Maitreya will return to the place where he was born on the 15th of February, sit in a cross-legged position, and enter samadhi. He will leave behind a purple-gold body relic and go to Tushita Heaven. His body clearly embodies the characters and meanings of Shurengan Samadhi and Prajna Paramita<sup>14)</sup>. The meanings of the characters and meanings here are unclear, but they are clearly recognizable to us as samadhi and Prajna Wisdom<sup>15)</sup>. This sutra states that after the Buddha enters nirvana, those who remember the image of the Buddha (Maitreya), chant the name of Maitreya, worship him, and contemplate Tushita Heaven will be reborn in Tushita Heaven after death. The benefits of such practices can be broadly divided into those from eliminating sins and those from listening to the Dharma, as explained later in the Commentary by Gyeongheung of Baekje.

益と聞法益とに分けられる。即ち、帰依、礼敬、聞名、聞称、悔過することによって滅罪の利益が得られるし、更には聞法により、無上道を得たり、弥勒や諸仏に見えるか、授記が得られる<sup>16</sup>。

『弥勒経』の中身や『疏』の解釈をみるならば、王興寺の銘文は、弥勒を奉ることによって滅罪という現世利益でだけでなく、兜率天に行くという弥勒上生信仰とも関連付けられる。特に亡き人に対する儀礼やそれと関連する弥勒信仰は中国や高句麗からの影響によるとみられる<sup>17</sup>。『三国遺事』によると王興寺は弥勒寺ともいうが<sup>18</sup>、2月15日を弥勒信仰と関連付けるなら理解できる。

### 2.3 転輪聖王思想

王興寺という名称は管見の限り百済にしか見えない。すると、王興寺はどのような意味をもっているのか。既存の研究では興王と理解していたが<sup>19</sup>、ここではあえて転輪聖王と結び付けてみたい。

梁僧祐の「釈迦譜」巻5によれば、アショーカ王が三宝に広く供養を興り、この世（閻浮提）に八萬四千塔を起し、仏法を興隆させたとする<sup>20</sup>。なお、『正法華経』巻7〈13 安行品〉には、転輪聖王が兵を興ると周りの諸々の国が従うことが説かれている<sup>21</sup>。こうして法を興し、兵を興すことは、転輪聖王の時代に弥勒が下生して説法をするという『弥勒下生経』とも関連できる。王興とは、当時に百済に伝わっている転輪聖王の概念を取り入れて、弥勒の時代を念頭に入れて名称を付けたとも読み取れる。なお、ちょうどこの時期に新羅で弥勒下生が望まれていたのも<sup>22</sup>参考になる。

以上のように、王興寺の背景にある思想とは、単純に一つの思想や信仰に基づいているというより、複合的な思想や信仰から成り立つとみてよい。釈迦仏のゆかりを参拝するこ

<sup>16</sup> 憬興『三彌勒經疏』〈彌勒上生經料簡記〉（CBETA, T38, 317a）

<sup>17</sup> 平岡定海、『日本弥勒浄土思想展開史の研究』、大蔵出版、1977、pp. 34～37. 北魏の弥勒像は「亡息」「七生父母」など儒教的孝の理念に基づき兜率天に上生した菩薩の姿が多いとされる。北魏の影響を多く受け入れた高句麗の弥勒信仰の傾向も同じである。西松日奈子、『北魏仏教造像史の研究』、ブリュシケ、2005、pp. 247～253. ；金永皇、「弥勒仏信仰と仏像—韓国古代弥勒信仰を中心に」『仏教文化学会紀要』16、平成20年、pp. 2～5を合わせて参照されたい。

<sup>18</sup> 『三国遺事』巻3「其寺亦名彌勒寺」（CBETA, T49, 988b）

<sup>19</sup> 吉基泰、『百済泗泚時代の仏教信仰研究』、西京文化社、2006、pp. 133～137では、王権が興す意味として理解しているようである。

<sup>20</sup> 「我般涅槃百歳之後。當作国王字阿輪迦（阿育之別名也）其次小兒當作大臣。共領閻浮提一切国土。興顯三宝広設供養。分布舍利遍閻浮提。起八萬四千塔」（CBETA, T50, 82c）

<sup>21</sup> 「溥首！譬有大力転輪聖王、威徳弘茂順化所領、諸余敵国未率伏者、不敢闕口。若転輪王 興拳軍兵、当有所討、不賓之臣 欲距大邦、雄猛将士 奮武剋捷、莫不稽顙」（CBETA T9, 109b）

<sup>22</sup> 『三國遺事』巻3「及真智王代。有興輪寺僧真慈（一作[3]貞慈也）每就堂主彌勒像前發原誓言。願我大聖化作花郎。出現於世」（CBETA T49, 995a）[3] 貞【大】、員【甲】；真智王（在位：576～579）

That is, by taking refuge, paying respects, hearing the name, reciting the name, and repenting, one can obtain the benefit of erasing one's sins, and by listening to the Dharma, one can attain the supreme path, see Maitreya and other Buddhas, and receive predictions<sup>16</sup>). If we look at the contents of the Maitreya Sutra and the interpretation of the commentaries, the inscriptions at Wangheungsa Temple are not only related to the worldly benefit of erasing one's sins by offering Maitreya, but also to the belief in Maitreya's rebirth in the Tushita Heaven. In particular, the rituals for the deceased and the associated Maitreya belief appear to have been influenced by China and Goguryeo<sup>17</sup>).

According to the Samguk Yusa, Wangheungsa Temple is also called Mireuksa Temple<sup>18</sup>), which makes sense if February 15th is associated with the Maitreya belief.

### 2.3 The idea of the Wheel-Turning Holy King

From what I can see, the name Wangheungsa Temple can only be associated with Baekje. So what does it mean? In existing research, it has been understood as King Heung<sup>19</sup>), but here I would like to link it to the Wheel-Turning Holy King.

According to Volume 5 of the "Shakapu" by Yang Seung-u, King Ashoka established widespread offerings to the Three Jewels, built 84,000 pagodas in this world (Jambuddha), and promoted Buddhism<sup>20</sup>). In addition, Volume 7 of the "Zheng fa hua jing" teaches that when the Wheel-Turning Holy King raises an army, the surrounding countries will follow<sup>21</sup>). This establishment of the law and raising an army can also be related to the "Maitreya Descent Sutra," which says that Maitreya will descend to earth and preach during the reign of the Wheel-Turning Holy King. Wangheung can also be interpreted as a name that incorporates the concept of the Wheel-Turning Holy King, which was known in Baekje at the time, and was named with the age of Maitreya in mind. It is also instructive that Maitreya's Descending Birth was desired in Silla at this time<sup>22</sup>).

As mentioned above, the ideology behind Wangheungsa Temple can be seen as being composed of a complex set of ideologies and beliefs, rather than being based simply on one ideology or belief.

とによって功德を得る釈迦仏信仰、弥勒の舍利に供養するか称名するかなどの実践によって現世の福德を得て、未来に往生する弥勒思想、そして寺の名称から窺われる転輪聖王思想である。百済王においては、こうした信仰こそ百済を強くすると信じ、それによって平和に国を統治することを望んでいたと思われる。

#### 2. 4. 仏教思想とかかわる人物

背後にいる人物は誰なのか。百済から中国に留学して帰ってきている僧侶として発正が思い浮かぶ。発正は梁天鑑(502-519)に留学して 30 年ほど学んだとする。彼は『法華経』を中心に修学していた。また、王興寺が創建される頃には中国慧思の弟子である玄光も百済に戻ってきたずである。二人とも『法華経』を基盤に修行する僧である。『法華経』の菩薩像である観世音菩薩と弥勒菩薩は彫刻としては同時出現するほど親密である<sup>23</sup>。また『法華経』「普賢菩薩勸発品」には弥勒上生のことが説かれている<sup>24</sup>。発正や玄光は『法華経』修行者だったので、『法華経』に基づきながら、弥勒思想を受け入れやすかったと考えられる。

### 二. 地方政治拠点としての弥勒寺

#### 1. 創建理由

益山の弥勒寺は 639 年に完成した。この寺は弥勒の三会に備えて三塔式の寺院であり、弥勒下生思想に基づいていることが認められている。ところで、同じく『三国遺事』によると、この弥勒寺は王興寺とも呼ばれたようである<sup>25</sup>。その記載を尊重すれば、弥勒寺は弥勒思想を根本に国を強くするための政治拠点としての役割を念頭に入れた寺院であるといえる。2009 年に発見された舍利銘文からは弥勒思想らしい文章は見当たらないが、その内容は王興を連想させる銘文ともいえる。結論的に言えば、構造は弥勒三会に備えているが、銘文を合わせてみると、弥勒寺は明らかに王興寺的な二重構造となっている。なぜそう言えるかについて二つの面から追究したい。

まず、その弥勒寺と王宮里との関係であり、次は銘文から考えられ仏教思想である。王

<sup>23</sup> 石松日奈子,『北魏仏教造像史の研究』, 星雲社, 2005, p. 245, 247には、551年の『法華経』の文化基盤と思われる三世仏の造像、562年の観音と勢至とを脇侍として弥勒像が報告されている。なお、打本和音,『弥勒信仰の初期形態についての基礎的研究 ―いわゆる「上生信仰」を中心に―』, 2018, 龍谷大学大学院文学研究科博士論文, pp. 133～136に『法華経』と弥勒像の関係について述べられている。

<sup>24</sup> 『妙法蓮華経』巻7〈28 普賢菩薩勸發品〉「若有人受持、讀誦, 解其義趣, 是人命終, 為千佛授手, 不恐怖, 不墮惡趣, 即往兜率天上彌勒菩薩所。彌勒菩薩, 有三十二相大菩薩眾所共圍繞, 有百千萬億天女眷屬, 而於中生, 有如是等功德利益」(CBETA, T09, 61c)

<sup>25</sup> 『三國遺事』巻2「額曰彌勒寺(國史云王興寺)」(CBETA, T49, 979c)」

The belief in Shakyamuni Buddha, in which merit is gained by visiting places associated with Shakyamuni Buddha; the Maitreya belief that merit can be gained in this life by making offerings to Maitreya's relics or chanting his name, and that one will be reborn in the afterlife; and the Wheel-Turning Holy King belief, which is implied in the name of the temple. The Baekje king believed that these beliefs would strengthen Baekje, and it seems likely that he hoped to govern the country peacefully through them.

#### 2.4. People Associated with Buddhist Thought

Who is the person behind this? Baljeong comes to mind as a monk who returned from Baekje after studying in China. Baljeong studied under Liang's Tianjian (502-519) for around 30 years. He mainly studied the Lotus Sutra. Also, around the time Wangheungsa Temple was founded, Hyeongwang, a disciple of the Chinese Huisi, had also returned to Baekje. Both were monks whose training was based on the Lotus Sutra. The Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara and Bodhisattva Maitreya, which are bodhisattva statues in the Lotus Sutra, are so close that they appeared as sculptures at the same time<sup>23</sup>). Also, the "Encouraging Rebirth of Bodhisattva Samantabhadra" chapter of the Lotus Sutra teaches about Maitreya's rebirth<sup>24</sup>). Baljeong and Hyeongwang were practitioners of the Lotus Sutra, so it is thought that they found it easy to accept the idea of Maitreya while basing their training on the Lotus Sutra.

### 2. Mireuksa Temple as a local political base

#### 1. Reasons for its construction

Mireuksa Temple in Iksan was completed in 639. This temple is a three-pagoda style temple in preparation for the three Buddhist sermon assemblies of Maitreya, and is recognized as being based on the idea of Maitreya's descending birth. Incidentally, according to the same "Samguk Yusa," this temple also appears to have been called Wangheungsa Temple<sup>25</sup>). If we respect this description, we can say that Mireuksa Temple was a temple that was based on Maitreya thought and had the role of a political base to strengthen the country. Although there are no sentences that seem to be related to Maitreya thought in the inscription on the relics discovered in 2009, the contents can be said to be inscriptions that are reminiscent of Wangheung. In conclusion, the structure is prepared for the three assemblies of Maitreya, but when the inscriptions are taken into consideration, Mireuksa Temple clearly has a double structure like Wangheungsa Temple. I would like to explore why this can be said from two perspectives.

First, there is the relationship between the temple and Wanggung-ri, and secondly, the Buddhist thought that can be considered from the inscription.

宮里の近くには帝釈寺址がある。この帝釈寺については『観世音応驗記』によると、その寺に銅版金剛経が納められたとする。まず、帝釈寺に関しては、新川登亀男氏の論考で解明されているように、不思議な世界という百済独自の秩序を天（舍利、釈尊、金剛般若経など）を介在として構築することであり、それこそが百済仏法の大きな結実だったと述べている<sup>26</sup>。趙景徹氏は、益山に対して神都と規定して、帝釈天は忉利天、弥勒寺は兜率天という聖地として営んでいくことを目指していたとみている<sup>27</sup>。崔鉉植氏は帝釈寺の『金剛経』については天台の慧思が『般若波羅蜜経』を収めて弥勒の説法を待っている「立誓願文」に影響を受けている可能性を指摘し、また神都説を一部受容して王宮は弥勒が出生する家、帝釈寺は弥勒が出家する場所、弥勒寺は3会の説法場所に想定している<sup>28</sup>。

ここでは先行研究を少し補いながら述べたい。まず、新川氏は帝釈寺に安置した銅版金剛経は、梁の武帝の影響、当時『金剛経』が流行した影響も考えるべきであると指摘する<sup>29</sup>。『金剛経』には経典を受持することが第一希有とあるし、その功德も財物を布施することより勝れると説かれている。『金剛経』を安置したのはこのような効果を期待していたとみられる。ところで、帝釈寺を弥勒思想と関連してみる場合、弥勒経類には、経典の受持と修行などを関連づける文言がないので、帝釈寺に安置した銅版金剛経についてどう考えるべきか問題になる。

半島三国の君主や日本の聖徳太子などの東アジアの為政者は中国の梁武帝から端を発したともいえる転輪聖王という理想の君主を夢見ていたのであろう。弥勒寺を創建した武王にしてもその理想は変わらない。そこで、弥勒経類の中で、転輪聖王が登場するのは、『弥勒下生経』と『弥勒成仏経』である。『弥勒下生経』では、閻浮提が理想的な時期になって、法王として転輪聖王が翅頭（末）という城で正法を以て理想的な政治を行っている。その時に、弥勒は転輪聖王の大臣に託し生まれ、間もなく城から遠くない道樹の下で出家したその日に道果を成就するという。

よく言われる弥勒三会の説法は何を指すのか定めにくい、『下生経』、『成仏経』を読む限り、道樹・翅頭城・狼跡山の三か所で数回にわたって説法し、それを包み込んで三会という用語を使っている。道樹は弥勒が出家し、悟って、説法を行う場所であり、翅頭城は転輪聖王の居場所でありながら、時には弥勒の説法が行われる。狼跡山は迦葉が弥勒を待っていた山であり、弥勒はそこで迦葉に会ってから説法する。

<sup>26</sup> 新川登亀男, 「古代朝鮮半島の舍利と舍利銘文」 4. 百済「帝釈精寺」の意義, 『古代東アジア仏教と王権—王興寺から飛鳥寺』, 勉誠出版, 2010, pp. 63~69.

<sup>27</sup> 趙景徹, 「百済武王代神都建設と弥勒寺・帝釈寺創建」, 『百済文化』39, 公州大百済文化研究所, 2008, pp. 118~122.

<sup>28</sup> 崔鉉植, 「百済後期弥勒思想の展開と特徴」, 『韓国思想史学』37, 2011, pp. 22.

<sup>29</sup> 新川登亀男, 前掲論文, 2010, pp. 63~67.

Near Wanggung-ri is the site of Jeseoksa Temple. According to the “Kannon Ogenki”, the copperplate Diamond Sutra was kept at this temple. First, as explained by Tokio Shinkawa in his study, Jeseoksa Temple aims to establish Baekje's unique order of a mysterious world through the medium of heaven (Sarira, Shakyamuni, Diamond Sutra, etc.), and this was the great fruition of Baekje Buddhism<sup>26</sup>). Cho Gyungcheol believes that Iksan was designated as the sacred capital, and that the aim was to operate Jeseokcheon (Sakra Devanam Indra) as Trayastrimsa Heaven and Mireuksa Temple as Tushita Heaven<sup>27</sup>). Regarding the Diamond Sutra at Jeseoksa Temple, Choi Yeonsik points out the possibility that it may have been influenced by the "Vow Text" written by Tiantai's Huisi, who kept the Perfection of Wisdom Sutra and awaited Maitreya's preaching. He also partially accepts the Divine Capital Theory and assumes that the royal palace is the house where Maitreya was born, Jeseoksa Temple is the place where Maitreya became a monk, and Mireuksa Temple is the location of the three sermons<sup>28</sup>).

Here, I would like to supplement previous research. First, Shinkawa points out that the influence of Emperor Wu of Liang and the popularity of the Diamond Sutra at the time should also be considered when considering the copperplate Diamond Sutra that was enshrined at Jeseoksa Temple<sup>29</sup>). The Diamond Sutra states that upholding the sutra is the most precious thing, and that its merit is greater than donating wealth. It is believed that the Diamond Sutra was enshrined at Jeseoksa Temple in hopes of achieving such an effect. However, when considering Jeseoksa Temple in relation to Maitreya thought, there is no text in the Maitreya Sutra that links up upholding the sutra with ascetic practices, so the question arises as to how to interpret the copperplate Diamond Sutra that was enshrined at Jeseoksa Temple.

East Asian rulers such as the rulers of the three countries over peninsula and Shōtoku Taishi of Japan probably dreamed of an ideal ruler, the Wheel-turning Holy King, which can be said to have originated from Emperor Wu of Liang in China. This ideal did not change even for King Wu, who founded Mireuksa Temple. Among the Maitreya sutras, the Wheel-Turning Holy King appears in the Maitreya Sutra on Descent to Birth and the Maitreya Sutra on Enlightenment. In the Maitreya Sutra on Descent to Birth, Jambudvipa reaches an ideal time, and the Wheel-Turning Holy King, as the Dharma King, governs ideally with the correct teachings in the fortress of Chitoumo. At that time, Maitreya is born in the care of the minister of the Wheel-Turning Holy King, and shortly thereafter, he becomes a monk under the Dosu tree, not far from the fortress, and on the day he achieves enlightenment.

It is difficult to determine what the commonly mentioned Three Maitreya sermons refer to, but as far as the Sutra on Descent to Birth and the Sutra on Enlightenment are concerned, Maitreya preaches several times in three places, Bodhi tree, Chitou Castle City, and Mt. Langjishan, and the term Three Sermons is used to encompass all of these. Bodhi tree is the place where Maitreya becomes a monk, attains enlightenment, and gives sermons, and Chitou Castle City is the residence of the Wheel-Turning Holy King, but also where Maitreya sometimes gives sermons. Mt. Langjishan is the mountain where Kashyapa was waiting for Maitreya, and Maitreya met Kashyapa there and preached to him.

中国の塔には須弥山があって、地上と天上（弥勒の兜率天）をつなぐ機能を果たしていたとの解釈を参照すれば<sup>30</sup>、帝釈寺はそれを象徴する。即ち、仏陀（＝舍利）を供養する功德によって、須弥山（＝帝釈寺）を通じてその二つ上の天となる兜率天の弥勒菩薩が感応して帝釈寺に降神する。そして、『金剛經』は慧思に倣って弥勒が下生した時に説法する經典として期待していただろう。

『弥勒下生經』と『成仏經』によれば、弥勒が無上道を得た時に、釈提桓因（＝帝釈天）と大梵天などを含む無数の天子が道樹の花林園龍花樹に行って弥勒仏に法輪を勧請する。そして王は弥勒仏に出家を果たして阿羅漢となる。このように弥勒に説法を請うのが帝釈寺らの天の機能である。帝釈天にはもう一つの能力がある。帝釈天が修羅と戦う主役であることは周知のごとくであるが、欲界で転輪聖王の挙兵を率いる役を象徴的に帝釈寺に任せたのではではないかと考えられる。

帝釈天（釈提桓因）は欲界の忉利天の王でありながら、転輪聖王の兵士を率いて法治を助けるし、『金剛經』を受持する功德によって弥勒が成道した際に勧請し弥勒三会を切り開く役を期待していただろう。そして弥勒菩薩は弥勒下生信仰の結晶体である理想的時期の理想的地域に身を降ろして成仏し衆生を救済する。よって王宮、帝釈寺、弥勒寺は、趙景徹氏のいうように神都であり<sup>31</sup>、理想的政治拠点として企画された都市であるといえる。

＜図2＞は上が弥勒寺、下が王宮里と隣の帝釈寺址になっているが、以上の説明と『弥勒經』とを関連付けるなら、弥勒寺は弥勒の成道の地、すなわち龍花樹であり、王宮里は転輪聖王の宮である。そして帝釈寺は、天から降りる弥勒を仲介し、説法の勧請、挙兵の大きな役を果たして、王興の時に法治を助ける。こうした関係図の企画の完成を象徴するのが弥勒寺である。



If we consider the interpretation that Chinese pagodas have Mt. Sumeru, which functions to connect the earth and the heavens (Maitreya's Tushita Heaven)<sup>30</sup>, Jeseoksa Temple symbolizes this. In other words, by making offerings to the Buddha (= Sarira), Maitreya Bodhisattva in Tushita Heaven, the heaven two levels above, is inspired through Mt. Sumeru (= Jeseoksa Temple) and descends to Jeseoksa Temple. Following Huisi's example, the Diamond Sutra would have been expected to be a sutra to preach when Maitreya descends to earth.

According to the Maitreya Sutra on Descent to Birth and the Enlightenment Sutra, when Maitreya attains the Unsurpassed Realm, countless heavenly beings, including Shaktikanin (= Jeseokcheon) and Mahabharata, go to the Flower Grove Garden of Bodhi tree to repuest Maitreya Buddha to turn the Dharma wheel. The king then becomes a monk to Maitreya Buddha and becomes an arhat. In this way, the function of the heavens such as Jeseoksa Temple is to ask Maitreya to preach. Jeseokcheon has another ability. It is well known that Jeseokcheon is the main char Jeseokcheon who fights against Asura, but it is thought that he symbolically entrusted the role of leading the Wheel-Turning Holy King's uprising in the Desire Realm to Jeseoksa Temple.

Jeseokcheon (Shaktikanin) is the king of Trayastri Heaven in the Desire Realm, but he leads the Wheel-Turning Holy King's soldiers to help govern the law, and he would have been expected to invite Maitreya when he attains enlightenment due to the merit of upholding the Diamond Sutra and open the three Maitreya assemblies. And Maitreya Bodhisattva will descend to the ideal place at the ideal time, which is the crystallization of the belief in Maitreya's descent, attain Buddhahood, and save all living beings. Therefore, the royal palace, Jeseoksa Temple, and Mireuksa Temple can be said to be sacred cities<sup>31</sup>, as Cho Gyungcheol says, and cities planned as ideal political bases.

In Figure 2 (; Location of Mireuksa Temple and Wanggung-ri), the top is Mireuksa Temple, the bottom is Wanggung-ri and the neighboring Jeseoksa Temple site. If we relate the above explanation to the Maitreya Sutra, Mireuksa Temple is the place where Maitreya attained enlightenment, that is, the Dragon Flower Tree, and Wanggung-ri is the palace of the Chakravartin King. Jeseoksa Temple then mediated between Maitreya who descended from heaven, played a major role in both praying for thr coming of a deity and raising an army, and helped with the rule of law at the time of the rise of the king. Mireuksa Temple symbolizes the completion of this relationship map project.

<sup>30</sup> 向井佑介, 『中国初期仏塔の研究』, 臨天書店, 2020, pp. 67～81.  
<sup>31</sup> 趙景徹, 前掲論文, 2008, pp. 122.

## 2. 寺院成立と関わる仏教思想

### 2.1 弥勒思想

創建説話や『三国遺事』の記録より弥勒寺が弥勒思想、特に下生経類に寄っているのは確かである。その創建とまつわるに伝承から弥勒思想が読み取れる。すなわち、弥勒寺縁起によると、「百済の王と王妃が師子寺へ向かっている途中で、山の麓の大きな蓮池を通りかかった時、蓮池から弥勒三尊が現われた。この地に寺を建てて欲しいと王に頼んだ。師子寺の知明法師に聞いて、知明法師の神通力によって蓮池を埋めて寺を建てた。」とし、弥勒寺は弥勒下生の時に 3 回の説法を通じて衆生を救済することを目指して、それを象徴する伽藍配置ということに関して異論はない。即ち、弥勒の三会を龍花樹での説法と認めているのである。

### 2.2 転輪聖王思想

ところで、上に述べたように弥勒寺は王興寺とも呼ばれた。そして、弥勒寺の「舍利記銘文」を見ると百済王権が長くなることを願う文章が目立つ。「舍利記銘文」の文章に関しては、瀬間正之氏によって、その構造や典拠による思想背景について詳しく分析されている<sup>32</sup>。私は瀬間正之氏の分析に同意するが、そうした「舍利記」と転輪聖王思想はどのように関連するのか簡単に検討したい。銘文は王后が発願主体のようなので王との関連を見つけ出しにくい。その中で、端的にいうと、“宝曆は天の地と共に久しく、上は正法を弘め、下は蒼生を化さむことを。”という文章から弥勒寺が王興寺とも呼ばれた由、すなわち転輪聖王思想が垣間見える<sup>33</sup>。

### 2.3. 仏教思想と関わる仏教人物

「舍利記銘文」に関する瀬間正之氏の分析をまず簡略にまとめてから論を進めたい。瀬間正之氏はこの内容について、＜第一段＞ 釈迦の出生と入滅、＜第二段＞王后による伽藍造立と仏舍利奉安、＜第三段＞供養による大王と王后の福德と分けている<sup>34</sup>。ここで瀬間正之氏は、「舍利記」の典拠に関して、仏教經典章疏、歴史書などを調べ尽くして提案しているので、それに異存はない。その趣旨をまとめると、梁の南朝仏教を淵源に隋・初唐

## 2. Buddhist thought related to the establishment of the temple

### 2.1 Maitreya thought

It is certain that Mireuksa Temple is based on the Maitreya thought, especially the Sutra of the Descent of Birth, from the founding legend and the records of the "Samguk Yusa". The Maitreya thought can be read from the legends surrounding its founding. That is, according to the History of Mireuksa Temple , "When the king and queen of Baekje were on their way to Sajasa Temple and passed a large lotus pond at the foot of the mountain, the Maitreya Triad appeared from the lotus pond. They asked the king to build a temple on this land. After hearing about it from the monk Jimyung of Sajasa Temple, the lotus pond was filled in with the supernatural powers of the monk Jimyung, and the temple was built." There is no disagreement that Mireuksa Temple aims to save all living beings through the three Buddhist sermon assemblies at the time of Maitreya's descent, and that the layout of the temple is symbolic of this. In other words, the three sermons of Maitreya are recognized as the sermon at the dragon flower tree.

### 2.2 The idea of the Wheel-Turning Holy King

As mentioned above, Mireuksa Temple was also called Wangheungsa Temple. Furthermore, when one looks at the "Sarira bowl Inscription" of Mireuksa Temple, one notices passages wishing for the Baekje monarchy to be long-lasting. Regarding the text of the "Sarira bowl Inscription," Mr. Masayuki Sema has analyzed in detail its structure and ideological background based on the sources. I agree with Mr. Masayuki Sema's analysis, but I would like to briefly consider how such a " Sarira bowl" is related to the idea of the Wheel-Turning Holy King. Since the inscription seems to have been made by the queen, it is difficult to find a connection with the king. In short, the reason why Mireuksa Temple was also called Wangheungsa Temple, that is, the idea of the Wheel-Turning Holy King, can be seen from the passage, "May the Treasure last as long as the heavens and the earth, and above spread the true Dharma, and below transform the living beings<sup>33</sup>."

### 2.3. Buddhist figures involved in Buddhist thought

I would like to begin by briefly summarizing Masayuki Sema's analysis of the "Sarira bowl Inscriptions" before proceeding with my argument. Masayuki Sema divides the contents of the inscriptions into the following sections: <Section 1> The birth and death of Shakyamuni, <Section 2> The construction of temples and the enshrinement of the Buddha's relics by the queen, and <Section 3> The blessings of the king and queen through memorial services<sup>34</sup>. Masayuki Sema has thoroughly researched Buddhist sutras, commentaries, and historical books to propose the sources of the "Sarira bowl" so I have no objection to it.

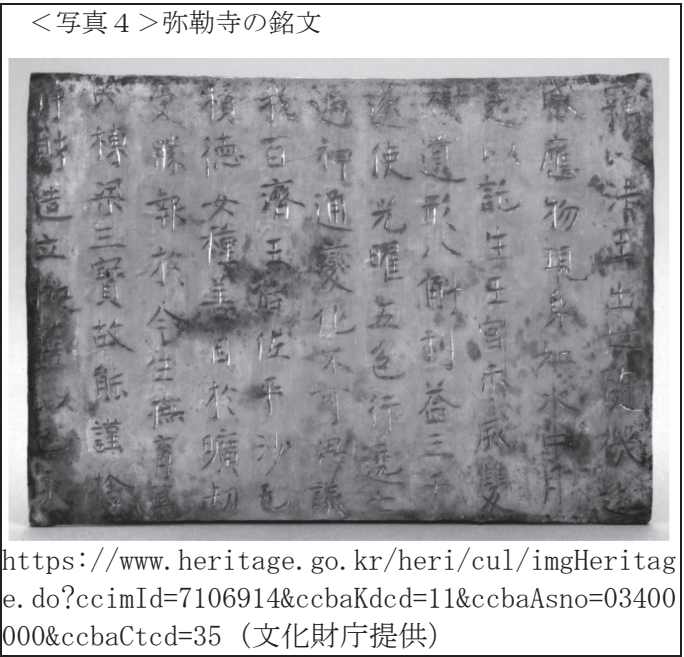
<sup>32</sup> 瀬間正之, 「文字表現から観た「弥勒寺金製舍利奉安記」―典拠を中心に」, 新川登亀男編『仏教文明の東方移動』, 2013, pp. 129～152.

<sup>33</sup> 韓国で弥勒寺の創建と思想的背景をめぐる研究は多くある。朴賢淑, 「益山弥勒寺址出土の金製舍利奉迎記研究の争点と課題 - 文献史を中心に」, 『韓国古代史研究』106, 2022, pp. 32～36を参照されたい。そこでは、法華思想、弥勒信仰、釈迦仏信仰などの主張が発表されている中、弥勒仏の理想国家実現に関して肯定的な意見が多い。

<sup>34</sup> 全文は省略する。＜写真 4＞は半面。

にかけて同時代の交流の中で書かれたし、具体的な典拠として、法雲の『法華義記』と百濟人とされる慧均の『大乘四論玄義記』の影響に注目し、他に『金光明経』、吉蔵、智顗の名前をあげている。これに少し付け加えると、舍利と関連しては『涅槃経』との関係が認められるし、「光曜五色」とは『法苑珠林』に「五色光曜」となって、それに関わる梁の普通年間の話が紹介されていることや「七世久遠」という表現からは梁武帝の『慈悲道場懺法』との関連がいえる。これらは、瀬間氏の指摘していた「舍利記」にみえる南朝仏教の影響を補う例に属する。

瀬間正之氏は「舍利記」と深くかかわる沙宅氏に関しては資料を通じてその役割を説明していると同時に<sup>35</sup>、思想の背後にある僧侶として、慧均をはじめとして、発正、玄光の名前をあげている<sup>36</sup>。確かに弥勒寺の伝承に登場する知命法師は、弥勒思想の持ち主で「舍利記」の文章とはほぼ関係が求められない。



となると、弥勒寺を立てる思想を根拠を提供した知命法師と「舍利記」を書いた人とは、役割が分担されたとみた方が良いだろう。弥勒寺の思想形態は少なくとも二人の僧侶の合作によって、創立されたとみてよいと考えられる<sup>37</sup>。

Ⅲ. 高麗における政治拠点としての寺院とその背後の仏教思想

一. 中央政治拠点としての奉恩寺

1. 創建理由

高麗時代の政治拠点における寺院は、訓要十条の第一条に現れたような<sup>38</sup>高麗太祖王建の

<sup>35</sup> 瀬間正之氏の論考と共に、연민수, 「泗泚時代沙宅氏の位相と滅亡以降の古代氏族」, 『韓国学』44-1, pp. 215～252を参照されたい。  
<sup>36</sup> 瀬間正之, 前掲論文, pp. 151～152.  
<sup>37</sup> 当時百済に弥勒信仰が流行したことは、百済が滅びたのちに、近江に定着した百済亡命人の影響で日本に急に弥勒信仰が勃興した例からも窺われる。中井真孝, 『朝鮮と日本の古代仏教』, 東方出版, 1994, pp. 36～40.  
<sup>38</sup> 第一条は“我国家の大業は諸仏の護衛の力に資するが故に禅教の寺院を創る”とある。

To summarize the gist of the inscriptions, it was written during the exchanges of the same period, originating from the Buddhism of the Southern Dynasties of Liang, and extending to the Sui and early Tang dynasties. As specific sources, he focuses on the influence of Fayun's "Lotus Flowering Records" and Hyegyun's "The Mysterious Records of the Four Treatises of Mahayana", who is said to be from Baekje, and also cites the "Golden Light Sutra" Gijang, and Jiye. To add a little, the relationship with the Sarira bowl is recognized in the Nirvana Sutra, and the "five colors of light" is written as "light of five colors" in the Fayuanzhulin, and a story related to it from the Liang Dynasty is introduced. The expression "seven ages of eternity" suggests a connection with the Liang Wu Emperor's "Cibei Daochang chanfa". These are examples that supplement the influence of Southern Dynasty Buddhism seen in the Sarira bowl, as pointed out by Sema.

Masayuki Sema explains the role of the Shataku family, who are deeply involved in the Sarira bowl, through materials<sup>35</sup>, and at the same time lists the names of Hyegyun, Baljeong, and Hyeongwang as monks behind the ideas<sup>36</sup>.

It is true that Jimyeong, who appears in the legend of Mireuksa Temple, is a holder of the Maitreya idea and has almost no connection to the text of the Sarira bowl.

In that case, it would be better to consider that Jimyeong, who provided the basis for the idea of establishing Mireuksa Temple, and the person who wrote the Sarira bowl shared roles. It is safe to say that the ideological structure of Mireuksa Temple was established through the collaboration of at least two monks<sup>37</sup>.

III. Temples as political bases in Goryeo and the Buddhist ideas behind them

1. Bongeunsa Temple as a central political base

1. Reasons for its establishment

Temples in political bases during the Goryeo period were likely to have been based on the founding ideals of the Goryeo king Taejo Wang Geon, which was related to Buddhism, as stated in the first of the Ten Ruls<sup>38</sup>.

仏教と関連する建国理想が貫いていたと思われる。そのような理解を中央政治拠点の真殿寺院である奉恩寺と地方経政治拠点の王室寺院である開泰寺から読み取りたい。

高麗時代の祖先崇拜のための施設は、陵、真殿、太廟、景靈殿などがあるが、この中で真殿こそ仏教との関わりが深い。真殿は王、王の太后といったように王室と直接関連のある場合に限って使う用語である。高麗の都である開京の重要寺院はほとんど真殿寺院であるとされる<sup>39</sup>。そして、太祖の顕陵と真殿寺院である奉恩寺が同じく城南に位置しているように、真殿寺院は陵の付近に建立する例が多いと推測されている<sup>40</sup>。真殿寺院を創建する理由は、祖先崇拜という孝思想もあるが、王権を正当化する意図も込めている<sup>41</sup>。真殿寺院の中で、特に太祖は別格の崇拜の対象となるし<sup>42</sup>、その意味で最も重要な真殿寺院が太祖王建の真影があった奉恩寺である。

奉恩寺は高麗代光宗2年（951）に開京の南に創建された<sup>43</sup>。光宗は王権の正当性を保つ策として奉恩寺を創建して、そこに王建の真影を奉って太祖を崇拜し、その上に、太祖の銅像を安置することによって王権の神聖化を図ったと見られる<sup>44</sup>。光宗の時代に奉恩寺に等身の銅像はさることながら、真影さえ安置されていなかったとの見方もあるが<sup>45</sup>、もしそうだとすると高麗を通じて奉恩寺が最も重要視されたのは間違いない。

奉恩寺が最も重要な真殿寺院であったことは、真殿を守る圍宿軍が他の真殿寺院より倍の多い4人が配置されることや王の行幸が最も多かったことから窺われるとされている<sup>46</sup>。時には、奉恩寺が事件解決の場所、遷都のため吉凶を占う場所、政策を決定する場所になるほどである<sup>47</sup>。というのは、奉恩寺が単なる宗教施設の枠を超えて、政事を執り行ったことを意味している。

それは光宗の時代からの政策上の趣を受け継いだ結果と言える。特に光宗は王権の強化と同時に仏教以て先王の崇拜を制度化した<sup>48</sup>ともいわれるので、奉恩寺は太祖の真殿寺院と

<sup>39</sup> 許興植,『高麗仏教史』Ⅰ. 高麗社会の仏教的基盤、1986, p. 60.

<sup>40</sup> 同上, p. 84.

<sup>41</sup> 최봉준, 「祖先崇拜儀礼の確立とその意味」, 『奎章閣』56, 2020, p. 8

<sup>42</sup> 豊島悠果, 「高麗王室の祖先崇拜と仏教・儒教」, 『東アジアの王宮・王都と仏教』, 勉誠社, 2023, p. 343.

<sup>43</sup> 韓基汶, 「高麗時代における開京奉恩寺の創建と太祖真殿」, 『韓国思想史学』33, 2008, pp. 210～212には、奉恩寺の位置比定が如何に難しいかを述べている。

<sup>44</sup> しかし、実際に奉恩寺における太祖崇拜は徳宗時代(1031～1034)からであると推定されている。(韓基汶, 前掲論文, 2008, p. 210.)

<sup>45</sup> 최봉준, 前掲論文, pp. 16～18.

<sup>46</sup> 許興植, 前掲書, 1986, p. 69.

<sup>47</sup> 박윤진, 「高麗時の開京一帯寺院の軍事的・政治的性格」, 高麗史学会『韓国史学報』3-4, 1998, p. 78～120. ; 禹成勳, 「国家権力の都市支配装置としての開京寺院」, 『日本建築学会企画系論文集』2004, pp. 167～172. こうした高麗時代における寺院の政治的な役割は、奉恩寺に限られているのではなく、開京、即ち都の寺院がもつ性格と言ってよい。

<sup>48</sup> 許興植, 前掲書, 1986, p. 71.

We would like to read that understanding from Bongeunsa Temple, the portrait hall temple of the central political base, and Gaetaesa Temple, the royal temple of the local economic and political base.

Facilities for ancestor worship during the Goryeo period included tombs, portrait halls, Taemyo, and Gyeonryeongjeon, but of these, portrait halls are the ones that are most closely related to Buddhism. Portrait halls are a term used only in cases directly related to the royal family, such as the king or the king's dowager. It is said that most of the important temples in Gaegyeong, the capital of Goryeo, were portrait hall temples<sup>39</sup>. And, as Taejo's Hyeonreung and portrait hall temple Bongeunsa are both located south of the capital, it is assumed that portrait hall temples were often built near tombs<sup>40</sup>. The reason for establishing a portrait hall temple was not only the idea of filial piety, the worship of ancestors, but also the intention to justify royal authority<sup>41</sup>. Among portrait hall temples, Taejo was especially worshipped<sup>42</sup>, and in that sense the most important portrait hall temple was Bongeunsa Temple, where the true portrait of Taejo Wang Geon was kept.

Bongeunsa Temple was founded south of Gaegyeong in the second year of the reign of King Gwangjong (951) during the Goryeo dynasty<sup>43</sup>. Gwangjong founded Bongeunsa Temple as a measure to maintain the legitimacy of royal authority, worshipped Taejo by enshrining the true portrait of Wang Geon there, and is thought to have sought to sanctify royal authority by placing a bronze statue of Taejo on top of it<sup>44</sup>. Some say that during Gwangjong's reign, Bongeunsa Temple did not even house a true portrait, let alone a life-size bronze statue<sup>45</sup>, but even if this is the case, there is no doubt that Bongeunsa Temple was the most important temple throughout the Goryeo Dynasty.

The fact that Bongeunsa Temple was the most important portrait hall temple can be seen from the fact that the number of guards to protect the portrait hall temple was four, twice as many as at other portrait hall temples, and that it was the temple where the king visited most frequently<sup>46</sup>. At times, Bongeunsa Temple was used to resolve disputes, to read fortunes for the relocation of the capital, and to decide on policies<sup>47</sup>. This means that Bongeunsa Temple went beyond being a mere religious facility and conducted political affairs.

This is the result of inheriting the policy ideas from the time of Gwangjong. In particular, Gwangjong is said to have strengthened royal authority and at the same time institutionalized the worship of the previous king through Buddhism<sup>48</sup>, so it can be said that Bongeunsa Temple achieved a certain purpose throughout Goryeo by becoming the portrait hall temple of Taejo.

なつて高麗を通じて一定の目的が達成されたといえる。この奉恩寺に関連する仏教思想は記録の不在で確認できないが、宗派と王建の銅像を関連して論じてみたい。

## 2. 寺院成立と関わる仏教思想

直ちに真殿寺院と関わる仏教思想を推測することは記録上に見出しにくい。許興植氏は高麗時代の僧政が宗派ごとに行われたことを利用する手法で宗派を当てた結果、〈表 1〉のように奉恩寺は禅宗となる。しかし、宗派がなかったとの見方もある<sup>49</sup>。

なお、国師・王師の制度からみると、太祖の時代には、2人とも禅宗の人で、太祖の真殿寺院を奉恩寺にした光宗代には禅宗が3人、華嚴宗が2人である<sup>50</sup>。〈表1〉に太祖と王後の真殿寺院の所属宗派が異なることは、もちろん光宗の意図ではあるが、太祖の宗派に対する思いも反映されたとみられる。太祖は国師・王師は禅宗の人物を登用しながらも、海印寺の希朗のような華嚴宗の人の後援を受けているし、後に触れる開泰寺には華嚴僧二人を住させているなど、王建の時代には後三国の統一のためどの宗派に対しても均等に待遇し、その上、

| 眞觀寺院         | 眞觀의 王斗 王位 | 設置時期 | 所屬宗派 | 所屬宗派의 宗徒       |
|--------------|-----------|------|------|----------------|
| 奉恩寺          | 太祖        | 光宗   | 禪宗   | 本營, 眞覺 僧正      |
| 佛日寺          | 神明王后      |      | 華嚴宗  | "              |
| 萬壽寺          | 成宗        |      | 華嚴宗  | "              |
| 眞觀寺          | 獻翼王后      |      | 華嚴宗  | "              |
| 重光寺          | 安宗        |      | 華嚴宗  | "              |
| 文化寺          | 順宗        | 顯宗   | 染加宗  | "              |
| 大雲寺          | 元惠王后      |      | 神印宗  | "              |
| 興王寺          | 文宗        | 文宗   | 華嚴宗  | "              |
| 國清寺          | 仁德太后      | 肅宗   | 天台宗  | "              |
| 天壽寺          | 肅宗, 明懿太后  | 肅宗   | 天台宗  | "              |
| 安和寺          | 肅宗, 文懿王后  | 仁宗   | 禪宗   | "              |
| 雲通寺          | 仁宗, 恭禧太后  | 觀宗   | 華嚴宗  | "              |
| 宜孝寺          | 毅宗        | 明宗   | 染加宗  | "              |
| 龍興寺          | 明宗        |      | 華嚴宗  | "              |
| 箕泉寺<br>(景靈殿) | 康宗        |      | 神印宗  | 『三國遺事』卷5, 明神神師 |
| 妙經殿          | 高宗        |      |      |                |
| 妙蓮寺          | 元宗        |      |      |                |
| 妙蓮寺          | 忠烈王, 濟國公主 | 忠肅王  | 天台宗  | 『益寶集』妙蓮寺遺興記    |
| 神興寺          | 忠惠王, 德寧公主 |      |      |                |
| 洪明寺          | 忠肅王       |      | 禪宗   | 本營, 眞覺 僧正      |
| 普濟寺          | 恭愍王, 魯國公主 | 禪王   | 禪宗   |                |

許興植, 『高麗佛教史』 p. 87

仏教に対する統制も行われたと解釈されている<sup>51</sup>。それは太祖の僧侶統合策とも言われる<sup>52</sup>。とはいえ、王建に禅宗との関係が華嚴宗より深かった。〈表1〉で確認できるように光宗が太祖の眞殿寺院を禅宗の奉恩寺に、王後の眞殿寺院を華嚴宗の仏日寺はにしたのは、太祖のこうした禅と華嚴に対する取り扱いが主に関連して均衡を合わせた形である。

奉恩寺は花祭りの燃灯会の後太祖の忌日の法要が行われるほど重要な寺であり、そこには、太祖を釈迦と同一な位置で崇拜しようとする意識があったと解されている<sup>53</sup>。まさに太祖の神格化と言える。真殿寺院の奉恩寺に王建の銅像が安置されたことからもうかがえる

Although the Buddhist ideology related to Bongeunsa Temple cannot be confirmed due to the absence of records, I would like to discuss it in relation to the sect and the bronze statue of Wang Geon.

## 2. Buddhist ideology related to the establishment of temples

It is difficult to find records that directly suggest the Buddhist ideology related to the Portrait Hall Temple. Heo Heung sik used a method to guess the sect by taking advantage of the fact that the Goryeo Dynasty's monastic government was conducted by sect, and as a result, Bongeunsa Temple is Zen Buddhist, as shown in <Table 1; The True Hall Temple and its sect>. However, there are also views that it did not have a sect<sup>49)</sup>.

In addition, looking at the system of National Masters and Royal Masters, during the reign of Taejo, both were Zen Buddhists, and during the reign of Gwangjong, who turned Taejo's

Table1. Portrait hall temples and their sect

| Potrait hall temples   | King and Queen                     | period       | sect    | source                                                              |
|------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------|---------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Bongunsa Temple        | Taejo                              | Gwangjong    | Zen     | History of Goryeo Buddhism                                          |
| Bulisa Temple          | Queen Shinmyeong                   |              | Hwaom   | History of Goryeo Buddhism                                          |
| Sungseonsa Temple      | Seongjong                          |              | Hwaom   | History of Goryeo Buddhism                                          |
| Jingwansa Temple       | Queen Heonae                       |              | Hwaom   | History of Goryeo Buddhism                                          |
| Juggwangsang Temple    | Anjong                             |              | Hwaom   | History of Goryeo Buddhism                                          |
| Hyeonhwasa Temple      | Hyeonjong                          | Hyongjong    | Yoga    | History of Goryeo Buddhism                                          |
| Daeunsa Temple         | Queen Weonhye                      |              | Shinin  | History of Goryeo Buddhism                                          |
| Hungwangsang Temple    | Munjong                            | Munjong      | Hwaom   | History of Goryeo Buddhism                                          |
| Kukcheongsang Temple   | Queen Dowager Inye                 | Sukjong      | Tiantai | History of Goryeo Buddhism                                          |
| Cheonsusa Temple       | Sungjong/ Queen Dowager Myongi     | Yejong       | Tiantai | History of Goryeo Buddhism                                          |
| Anhwasa Temple         | Yejong/ Queen Mungyong             | Injong       | Zen     | History of Goryeo Buddhism                                          |
| Yeongtongsang Temple   | Injong/ Queen Dowager Kongye       | Uijong       | Hwaom   | History of Goryeo Buddhism                                          |
| Seonhyosa Temple       | Uijong                             | Myongjong    | Yoga    | History of Goryeo Buddhism                                          |
| Yonghungsa Temple      | Uijong                             |              | Hwaom   | History of Goryeo Buddhism                                          |
| Hyonseongsang Temple   | Myongjong                          |              | Shinin  | The Three Kingdoms, vol.5                                           |
| (Kyeongryongjeon)      | Kojong                             |              |         |                                                                     |
| (Kyeongryongjeon)      | Weonjong                           |              |         |                                                                     |
| Myoryeonsa Temple      | King Chugryol / Princess Jeguk     | King Chuseuk | Tiantai | Bonsai Collection, Chronicle of the restoration of Myonrenji Temple |
| Shinhyosa Temple       | King Chunghye/ Princess Deoknyeong |              |         |                                                                     |
| Gwangmyeongsang Temple | King Chungsusuk                    |              | Zen     | History of Goryeo Buddhism                                          |
| Bojesa Temple          | King Kongmin/ Princess Noguk       | King U       | Zen     | History of Goryeo Buddhism                                          |

Portrait Hall Temple into Bongeunsa, there were three Zen Buddhists and two Huayan Buddhists<sup>50</sup>). The fact that the Portrait Hall Temples of Taejo and the Queen belong to different sects in <Table 1> was of course Gwangjong's intention, but it also seems to reflect Taejo's feelings about sects. While Taejo appointed Zen Buddhists as National Master and Wang Master, he was supported by Huayan Buddhists such as Huirang of Haeinsa Temple, and two Hwaom Buddhist monks were living at Gaetaesa Temple, which will be

mentioned later. It is interpreted that during the reign of Wang Geon, all sects were treated equally in order to unify the Later Three Kingdoms, and that Buddhism was also controlled<sup>51</sup>). This is also said to be Taejo's policy to unify monks<sup>52</sup>). However, Wang Geon's relationship with Zen Buddhism was deeper than that of Hwaom Buddhism. As can be seen in Table 1, Gwangjong made the Zen temple of Bongeunsa Temple for Taejo and the Huayan Buddhist temple of Bulilsa Temple for the queen, which was mainly related to Taejo's treatment of Zen and Huayan, and thus balanced it out. Bongeunsa Temple was so important that a memorial service for Taejo's death was held there after the Lotus Lantern Ceremony of the Flower Festival, and this is interpreted as there having been an intention to worship Taejo in the same position as Shakyamuni<sup>53</sup>). It can be said that Taejo was deified. As can be seen from the fact that Wang Geon's bronze statue was placed in the main temple, Bongeunsa Temple, it is likely that Bongeunsa Temple was primarily responsible for his deification.

<sup>49</sup> 韓基汶, 「高麗時代における開京奉恩寺の創建と真殿寺院」, 『韓国思想史学』 33, 2008, pp. 215

<sup>50</sup> 許興植，前揭書，1986，p. 90.

<sup>51</sup> 同上, p. 88.

<sup>52</sup> 金杜珍,「王建的僧侶統合とその意図」,『韓国学論叢』4, 国民大学校, 1981, pp. 127~154.

<sup>53</sup> 許興植，前掲書，1986，pp. 299～300.

ようにその神格化は主に奉恩寺が担う役割であったに違いない。

〈写真 5〉 王建の銅像 2006. 3. 29 (中央日報)



この神格化は釈迦信仰ともいえるが、王建の銅像には転輪聖王の特徴がみられるとの意見もある<sup>54</sup>。弥勒仏を表現したとも理解し、これによって王建が信仰の対象化となっていくとも言われている<sup>55</sup>。こうした仏教を背景にした政治思想と、王建の銅像よりみられる釈迦信仰、或いは転輪聖王思想ともいえる太祖の神格化は、訓要十条の第一条にあるような、仏教の力を借りて国を守るべきとの王建の誓願が貫いていた証左と言える。それは、奉恩寺の宗派的な均等政策により生まれ、多様な人物から受けた諮問より生まれた発想であろう。

## 二. 地方政治拠点としての開泰寺

### 1. 創建理由

後三国の統一事業が完遂した後に最初に創建されたのが開泰寺である。開泰寺は朝鮮時代には廃墟となり、現代に入って 6 回の発掘が報告されている<sup>56</sup>。開泰寺の創建理由は王建自身が書いた「華嚴法会疏」(以下、「疏」と略称)にあるように、後三国の統一を可能にした仏と神霊への報恩のためであった。これは宗教的理由であるが、この地域の地政学的重要性も創建理由となる<sup>57</sup>。この開泰寺が位置している連山は、黄山と呼ばれた地域である<sup>58</sup>。この地域は交通の中心地だった上に、新羅と百済の最後の激戦地であって、高麗が後百済の投降を得て統一を完遂した地でもあった。その意味だけでもその立地の重要性は充分に納得できる。

<sup>54</sup> 최봉준, 「高麗顕宗～定宗代王室の真影中心の祖先崇拜とその意味」, 『奎章閣』 56, 2020, pp. 11～12.

<sup>55</sup> 菊竹淳一, 「高麗時代裸形男子倚像」, 『デアルテ』 21, 九州芸術学会誌, 2005, 67～84.

<sup>56</sup> 이호경, 「開泰寺の調査成果と現況」, 忠清南道歴史文化研究院, 『開泰寺の現況と課題』, 2016, pp. 11～29.

<sup>57</sup> 이현숙, 「高麗王室寺刹開泰寺と連山」, 忠清南道歴史文化研究院, 『開泰寺の現況と課題』, 2016, pp. 33～50. この論稿では、連山の交通、遺跡、記録などを通じて、この地域の重要性について説明している。 ; 정성권, 「開泰寺三尊仏立像再考」, 『白山学報』 92, 2012, pp. 222～223.

<sup>58</sup> 이현숙, 前掲論文, 2016, pp. 33～50.

This deification can be called a belief in Shaka, but some say that Wang Geon's bronze statue shows the characteristics of a Wheel-Turning Holy King<sup>54</sup>).

It is also understood to represent Maitreya Buddha, and it is said that this is how Wang Geon became an object of worship<sup>55</sup>).

The political ideology with a Buddhist background and the deification of Taejo, which can be seen in Wang Geon's bronze statue as a belief in Shaka or a Wheel-Turning Holy King ideology, are evidence that Wang Geon's vow to protect the country with the help of Buddhism, as stated in the first of the Ten Articles of the Hunyo, was consistent.

This idea was born out of Bongeunsa Temple's policy of equality across sects, and was born out of the consultations he received from a variety of people.

### 2. Gaetaesa Temple as a local political base

#### 1. Reasons for its establishment

Gaetaesa Temple was the first temple to be established after the unification of the Later Three Kingdoms was completed. Gaetaesa Temple was abandoned during the Joseon period, and six excavations have been reported in modern times<sup>56</sup>). The reason for its establishment, as stated in the "Hwaeom Beophoe Commentary" (hereafter abbreviated as "Commentary") written by Wang Geon himself, was to show gratitude to the Buddha and the spirits who made the unification of the Later Three Kingdoms possible. This is a religious reason, but the geopolitical importance of this region was also a reason for its establishment<sup>57</sup>). The mountain range where Gaetaesa Temple is located is an area called Hwangsan<sup>58</sup>). This region was not only a transportation hub, but also the site of the last fierce battle between Silla and Baekje, and the place where Goryeo obtained the surrender of Later Baekje and completed unification. In that sense alone, the importance of the location is fully understandable.

その上に、他に創建の理由がある。王建は後三国統一戦争において重要な要害となる地域に行っては、その地域に高僧を住することを請うて民心を高麗に傾けるようにし、戦争に有利に持っていくことを図った。王建とかかわりが深かったのは主に禅僧だったが、その一環として華嚴宗海印寺の希朗も重要な支援者で 944 年までは海印寺にいたとみられる<sup>59</sup>。開泰寺に最初から二人を住させたのは、二人が寺の創建にかかわった海印寺との関係も想定できるが<sup>60</sup>、二人に地域の人を高麗に向けて糾合せしめる期待が高かったからであろう。即ち、位置的には都と地方をつなぐ交通の中心地であるので、まさにそこに寺を創建し仏心を通して後百済地域の民心を糾合するに容易だったと思われる。これは宗教的かつ地政学的理由によるものである。

開泰寺の本尊は<写真 6>のような石造三尊像であるが、これによっても王建の宗教的かつ政治的立場を想像することもできる。石造三尊像は華嚴宗の道場でよくみられる毘盧遮那仏の智券印ではなく施無畏印である<sup>61</sup>。石造仏の表情からは高麗の力を表現し豪族を抑えながらも、施無畏印は高麗の包容力を示すともいえる。そもそも地方豪族の権力に対して、政治的メッセージを強化する必要もあれば、仏教の包容力によって包み込む必要もあったから、石造三尊像が立てられたと考えられる。要するに開泰寺は地方の政治的重要拠点だった。なお、創建当時ではないが、後に開泰寺には太祖の真影が設置されていたので地方の真殿寺院の役割を担っていた。統一戦争の有縁の寺に太祖真影は多数あるが、開泰寺は、地方の寺院としてはまれに護国のための願文、神託、凶讖の寺に役割を拡張しているし、銅像もあったようである<sup>62</sup>。地方の真殿寺院の中でもっとも重要だったと考えられる<sup>63</sup>。

以上のように開泰寺の創建には、確かに一つの理由ではなく、宗教の基盤の上、政治、地理、地域民心などの統一を図るための多様な理由があった。それらを実現させるため王建自身の仏教信仰が開泰寺の創建のもっとも大きい理由であったと考えられる。以下、開泰寺の創建と関わる仏教思想について詳しく検討する。

<sup>59</sup> 최원식, 「新羅下代の海印寺と華嚴宗」, 『韓国史研究』 49, 1985, pp. 1~25.

<sup>60</sup> 崔聖恩, 「開泰寺石造三尊仏立像の研究」, 『美術研究』 385, pp. 171~173では美術様式の面での影響を述べている。そのうえ、海印寺の創建に順次二人の僧侶がかかわったことも影響していると考えられる。

<sup>61</sup> 崔聖恩, 前掲論文, pp. 170~171. その当時は毘盧遮那仏の手印に施無畏印像が結構あったとする。

<sup>62</sup> 開泰寺, 前掲書, 2022, pp. 84~90.

<sup>63</sup> 菊竹淳一, 前掲論文, 2005, 67~84. ; 開泰寺, 前掲書, 2022, pp. 98~100.

In addition, there are other reasons for its establishment. Wang Geon visited important areas during the war to unify the Later Three Kingdoms, and invited high priests to reside there to turn the hearts of the people towards Goryeo, thus gaining an advantage in the war. Wang Geon was closely associated with Zen priests, and as part of this, Huirang of the Hwaecom sect's Haeinsa Temple was also an important supporter and is thought to have been at the temple until 944<sup>59</sup>). The reason why the two priests were allowed to reside at Gaetaesa temple from the beginning could be due to their connection with Haeinsa Temple<sup>60</sup>), where they were involved in the founding of the temple, but it was also likely because there was a high expectation that the two priests would rally the local people towards Goryeo. In other words, since it was located at the transportation hub connecting the capital and the provinces, it would have been easy to establish a temple there and rally the hearts of the people of the Later Baekje region through the Buddhist spirit. This was for religious and geopolitical reasons.

The principal image of Gaetaesa Temple is a stone triad as shown in Photo 6 (Three standing stone Buddhist statues of Gaetaesa Temple), which also allows us to imagine Wang Geon's religious and political stance. The stone triad is not the wisdom seal of Vairocana Buddha, which is often seen in the training halls of the Hwaecom sect, but the fearless seal<sup>61</sup>). The facial expression of the stone Buddha expresses the power of Goryeo and suppresses the powerful clans, while the fearless seal can be said to show the tolerance of Goryeo. It is thought that the stone triad was erected because it was necessary to strengthen the political message against the power of the local powerful clans, and to embrace them with the tolerance of Buddhism. In short, Gaetaesa Temple was an important political base in the region. Although not at the time of its founding, Gaetaesa Temple later had a portrait of King Taejo installed, so it played the role of a local temple. There are many portraits of King Taejo at temples related to the Unification War, but Gaetaesa Temple is rare for a local temple in that it expanded its role to a temple for prayers, oracles, and divination for the protection of the country, and it seems to have had a bronze statue<sup>62</sup>). It is thought to have been the most important of the local main temples<sup>63</sup>).

As mentioned above, there was certainly no single reason for the founding of Gaetaesa Temple, but rather a variety of reasons for unifying the area on a religious basis as well as political, geographical and local public sentiment. Wang Geon's own Buddhist faith, which was a necessary step in realizing these goals, is thought to have been the biggest reason for the founding of Gaetaesa Temple. Below, we will take a closer look at the Buddhist ideas surrounding the founding of Gaetaesa Temple.

＜写真6＞開泰寺三尊仏立像



## 2. 寺院成立と関わる仏教思想

既に述べたように開泰寺の創建には仏教及び民間の山霊信仰などが関わるが<sup>64</sup>、ここでは「華嚴法会疏」（以下「疏」と略称）を通じて仏教思想に限定して検討したい。「疏」の全文は崔瀞（최해, 1287～1340）の『東人之文四六』に載っている。この「疏」については既に崇仏君主として回向の性格と帯びているし、発願の内容からは仏教的経世観が現

## 2. Buddhist thought related to the establishment of the temple

As mentioned above, the founding of Gaetaesa Temple was related to Buddhism and the folk belief in mountain spirits<sup>64</sup>), but here I would like to focus on Buddhist thought through the "Hwaecom Beophoe Commentary" (hereafter abbreviated as "Commentary"). The full text of the "Commentary" is found in "Donjinzhimunsorul" (East Inhabitants' Wen Sorul) by Choi Hae (1287-1340). This "Commentary" already has the character of a dedication as a Buddhist revered monarch, and the content of the vow is said to express a Buddhist view of the world<sup>65</sup>). In other words, this is a "Commentary" that expresses a wish to build a good country from a Buddhist perspective while turning the great achievement of unifying the Later Three Kingdoms into the blessings of Buddha. The contents of the "Commentary" are explained in four sections<sup>66</sup>). However, this study does not go into detail about the Buddhist thought expressed in the "Commentary". In this section, we will select passages that reveal Buddhist thought and consider their meaning.

Firstly, we learn in the "Commentary" that two Huayan monks served as the first chief priests of Gaetaesa Temple, and it is possible that at Haeinsa Temple there was a man named Huirang, also known as Taejo's fortune fields, who continued to exert influence up until 940, when the "Commentary" was written<sup>67</sup>). If we accept this speculation, it makes sense that, just as Haeinsa Temple was founded by Suneung and Ijeong<sup>68</sup>), they would have appointed these two as chief priests at Gaetaesa Temple. If this is the case, it is entirely conceivable that the monks of Haeinsa Temple also influenced the content of Wang Geon's "Commentary." If we accept this possibility, we would like to consider what Buddhist thought of the time can be linked to the "Commentary" here.

In the commentary, it is written that "I take refuge in all the Buddhas of the three eras in the ten directions, all the Bodhisattvas, the Arhat saints, the four kings of Brahma and Shakyamuni, the sun, the moon, the stars, the eight heavenly dragons, as well as the mountains, the seas, the great mountains, the great rivers, and all the spirits of heaven and earth, and so, they are asking for "approval" from the object of their prayer.

わしているとされている<sup>65</sup>。つまり、後三国統一の偉業を仏の恩恵に回しながら、仏教的に良い国を築き上げたいとの発願が書かれた「疏」であるという意味だろう。そして、「疏」の内容を四つに段分けして説明している<sup>66</sup>。但し、この研究には「疏」に現わされている仏教思想については詳しく書いていない。本節では、仏教思想が分かる文章を抜粋してその意味について考えてみる。

まず、「疏」では開泰寺の初代住職として華嚴僧二人が務めることがわかるが、その海印寺には太祖の福田といわれる希朗のがいて、「疏」が書かれた 940 年まで影響力を及ぼしていた可能性も残っている<sup>67</sup>。こうした推測を認めると、海印寺が順応と利貞という二人によって創立されたことと同様に<sup>68</sup>、開泰寺に二人を住職させたことが理解できる。とすれば、王建の「疏」の内容にも海印寺の僧侶が影響を及ぼしたことも十分に考えられる。今回はその蓋然性を認めるなら、「疏」の中で、当時のどんな仏教思想と関連付けられるか検討したい。

「疏」では「十方の三世一切諸佛・諸尊菩薩・羅漢聖衆・梵釈四王・日月星辰・天竜八部、及び岳鎮海瀆・名山大川・天地一切靈祇等に歸依するので、照知し<sup>ことこと</sup>く印可を垂れることを普く請う」とするが、この願う対象に「印可」を求めている。ここで「印可」とは「証明」

<sup>64</sup> 김갑동, 「開泰寺の特徴と性格」, 忠清南道歴史文化研究院, 『開泰寺の現況と課題』, 2016, pp. 53～69.

<sup>65</sup> 梁銀容, 「高麗太祖親製「開泰寺の華嚴法會疏」の研究」, 『韓國佛教文化思想史 : 伽山李智冠 스님華甲紀念論叢』, 伽山佛教文化研究院, 1992, p. 817.

<sup>66</sup> 同上, p. 817. ①撰述縁起 ②統韓経緯 ③創寺設会 ④発願回向

<sup>67</sup> 崔聖恩, 前掲論文, 参照.

<sup>68</sup> 崔致遠「新羅迦耶山海印寺善安住院壁記」

と同様の意味である。慧思の『立誓願門』には「諸仏世尊が同く証知し、梵釈四王は証明となり。日月参辰及び星宿、金剛大士及び神仙、五嶽四海及び名山、諸大聖王もまた証明となり。願わくは、慈悲以て我を擁護し、この誓願が速く得成せるように」(CBETA, T46, 792a)という発願文が参照されたとしてもおかしくないが、「証明」を禅の用語である「印可」に変えている。

「伏して思うに、真如は寥廓であるので、達者でないとその源を究することできず、至道は希微であるので、凡夫においてその際めを窮し難い」とあるが、この中で、慧日と慈雲の対句は仏教文章でよく使っている。真如寥廓と至道希微の対句であるが、それぞれに一致する例は見当たらず、似ている表現なら検索できる。

法蔵『起信論義記』巻1「夫真心寥廓。絶言象於筌蹄」(CBETA, T44, 240c)

澄観『華嚴経疏』巻1〈1 世主妙厳品〉「夫真身寥廓，与法界合其体」(CBETA, T35, 505c)

澄観『大華嚴経略策』「法性寥廓 縁起難思」(CBETA, T36, 703a)

李通玄『新華嚴経論』巻6「夫智身寥廓，總万像以成軀」(CBETA, T36, 756c)

次の至道希微については、

『広弘明集』巻15〈3 仏徳篇〉：「神道希微願言所属」(CBETA, T52, 200a)

唐彦惊『集沙門不応拜俗等事』巻5〈3 聖朝議拜篇(五-六)〉：「竊聞。道迹希微」(CBETA, T52, 468c)

唐複礼『十門辯惑論』巻2〈答大子文学権無二釈典稽疑。8 随教抑揚門(中)〉「辯惑曰。真身寂靜豈存言説。至理希微本亡性相」(CBETA, T52, 556a)

『旨妄尽還源観』「竊見玄綱浩瀚，妙旨希微」(CBETA, T45, 637a13)などの表現がみえるが、それも法蔵、李通玄、澄観といった華嚴宗と関連が深い表現である。

「仮に楮牋を録し告しなくても自然に蓮眼は照知す」の蓮眼とは仏を指すが、元々は『80 華嚴経』「紺髮青蓮眼 梵声金色光」(CBETA, T10. 409b)や『40 華嚴経』巻25〈入不思議解脱境界普賢行願品〉「仏開広大青蓮眼」(CBETA, T10, 775b)のように華嚴関連の用語である。

「願わくは轅門が住した所を以て鹿野の基を開けて、仏聖の維持にお答え、山霊の賛助に酬えることお許し頂き、特に司局に命じて蓮宮を創造させ」とあるが、鹿野=鹿野伽藍の略字であろう。鹿野伽藍は『西域記』や『慈恩伝』の唐代の紀行文や伝記類に見受けられる。蓮宮は、宋太宗(939-997)の『御製秘蔵詮』巻1には『華嚴経』から端を発する用語であるとの説明も存するが<sup>69</sup>、西方蓮宮という表現が浄土宗でよく使われ、禅宗でも同じほど

In this case, the “approval” has the same meaning as "proof." It would not be strange if this was a reference to the vow in Huisi's Gate of Vows, which reads, "All the Buddhas and the World-Honored Ones have all recognized it, and the four kings of Brahma and Shakyamuni are proof. The sun, moon, three stars, and the stars, the great Vajra and the immortals, the five mountains, the four seas, and the famous mountains, and the great sages are also proof. I pray that you will protect me with mercy, so that this vow may be quickly attained." (CBETA,T46,792a) However, he has changed "proof" to the Zen term "yinke." "In my humble opinion, since the true nature is a hidden place, it is impossible to pursue its source unless one is adept, and since the path to attaining it is rare, it is difficult for ordinary people to grasp its limits." Among these, the couplet of the true nature is a hidden place and the path to attaining it is rare, but there are no examples that match each other, and similar expressions can be searched for.

Fajang “Gisinruniji” Volume 1, “The true heart of a person is very clear. The true heart is very clear, and there is nothing that can be said about it” (CBETA, T44, 240c). Chenggwan “Huayanjingshu”, Volume 1, “The True Body of the World” (CBETA,T35,505c) Lee Tungshan “New Huayanjinglun” Vol. 6, "Fuji body's wealth, all images are created” (CBETA, T36,756c)

For the next rare thing about the supreme path, see Gwanghongmingji, Vol. 15, 3. Buddhist Virtue Edition: " Mystical Tao is rare" (CBETA, T52, 200a)

But these are also expressions closely related to the Huayan school, such as Fajang, Lee Tungshan, and Chenggwan. The lotus eyes refers to the Buddha, but originally it was a term related to the Avatamsaka Sutra, such as "The blue hair, green lotus eyes, the golden sound of Sanskrit light" (CBETA,T10.409b) in the 80th Avatamsaka Sutra and "The Buddha opens his vast green lotus eyes" (CBETA,T10,775b) in the 40th Avatamsaka Sutra, Volume 25 (The Chapter on the Practice of Samantabhadra, the Chapter on Entering the Wonderful Realm of Liberation). The Lotus Palace is a term that originated from the Avatamsaka Sutra<sup>69</sup>), but the expression Western Lotus Palace is often used in the Pure Land sect, and is used equally in the Zen sect.

<sup>69</sup> 「言蓮宮者，華嚴經說蓮華藏世界毗盧遮那佛出現，其中名蓮宮也。此乃如來真教耀於蓮宮，永

使われる。

「それで、有司に命じて、毎年、冬と夏に敬んで長講法会を置き、それぞれ 21 日を例となすようにして、上は諸仏聖賢の護持に答え、次に土地神祇の出贄に資することにした。」とある。諸仏聖賢の例は多いが、土地神祇の例は宗密の『円覚経道場修証儀』巻 2 にしか見えないのは注目に値する<sup>70</sup>。

「伏して生生世世、般若の慈航に終に攀り、子子孫孫、永く法門の檀越になりたいことを願います。」とある。この中、「般若之慈航」という表現が延寿(904-975)の『万善同帰集』と一致する。もし、延寿が若い時に著されたとすれば、その文献が高麗に入ってる可能性は残る。960 年には高麗から延寿に留学僧を送ったから、彼の文献もしくは関連伝承がすでに入ったかもしれない。よって、年代からやや厳しいが、無視できない。

こうして「疏」の文章を仏教思想と関連付けてみると、華嚴と禅の関係が浮き彫りになる。その中で、法蔵、澄観、宗密、延寿といった中国の新しい華嚴宗の流れを取り入れたようにも解釈できる。禅の影響も念頭に入れる必要があるだろう。海印寺がそもそも牛頭宗とのかかわりがあるからこそ<sup>71</sup>、こうした「疏」の文章になったかもしれない。

そして、王建が願うことをみると、「子子孫孫 永法門之檀越」「宮院康和」「禎祥雨集於一邦」など、後に王建の神格化や転輪聖王思想につながる表現も見受けられる。それで、光宗から本格的に太祖を仲介して高麗を永く繁盛させる願望を企画したのが奉恩寺と開泰寺といった真殿寺院である。

#### IV. 結語

以上、百済後期、高麗初期における政治拠点としての成立寺院とその背後に存する仏教思想について検討した。百済が滅びた場所と高麗が最終的に勝利した場所がほぼ一致する点もあり、それぞれ未来を見据えて寺院を創立したことも似ている。

百済の陵寺、王興寺、弥勒寺は骨族意識による建てられた寺である。王興寺と弥勒寺は単純に中央と地方の宗教拠点ではなく、中央の王興寺から地方益山の帝釈寺を介在して弥勒寺まで弥勒＝王興という理想を実現するため、舍利、帝釈天、転輪聖王、そして仏教の力を借りて千年或いは万年を見据えて実現させようとした企画の勅願寺院である。

高麗の真殿寺院である奉恩寺と開泰寺も仏の力や土俗の神の保護を受けて、仏教を隆盛

於塵劫也」(CBETA, K35, 824a)

<sup>70</sup> 〈礼懺法八門〉「此處土地神祇。僧伽藍内。護正法者」(CBETA, R128, 735b)

<sup>71</sup> 海印寺と牛頭宗との関係についてはいろいろ説がある。김심흥 「牛宗朝半史考辨」, 『禪學』 52, 2019, pp. 32～56.

"Therefore, I have instructed the officials to hold long lectures in winter and summer every year, usually on the 21st of each month, to respond to the support of the Buddhas and sages, and to contribute to the donation of the local deities." There are many examples of Buddhas and sages, but it is noteworthy that the only example of a local deity appears in Volume 2 of the The God of Earth of The Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment and Realization Ceremony by Jongmi<sup>70</sup> .

"I humbly hope that in all my life, I will finally reach the merciful voyage of wisdom, and that my descendants will continue to be followers of the teachings for many years to come." The expression "merciful voyage of wisdom" matches that of Yanshou (904-975) in his Wanshantongguiji. If Yeonsu wrote the work when he was young, there is still a possibility that the document was in Goryeo. In 960, Goryeo sent a monk to study, so his documents or related traditions may have already been in the country. Therefore, although the date makes it a little difficult to say, it cannot be ignored. When we relate the text of the commentary to Buddhist thought in this way, the relationship between Huayan and Zen becomes clear. It can also be interpreted as incorporating the new Chinese Huayan school of thought, such as Fajang, Chenggwan, Zongmi and Yanshou. The influence of Zen must also be considered. The commentary may have been written because Haeinsa Temple had ties to the Udu sect in the first place<sup>71</sup>).

And when we look at Wang Geon's wishes, we can see expressions that later led to the deification of Wang Geon and the idea of a Wheel-Turning Holy King, such as "May my descendants continue to serve the temple of eternal law," "May the palace be prosperous," and "May the righteous rains of the nation be gathered together." Thus, it was Bongeunsa Temple and Gaetaesa Temple, the true hall temples that planned the wish of King Gwangjong to use King Taejo as an intermediary to ensure the long-lasting prosperity of Goryeo.

#### IV. Conclusion

Above, we have examined the temples that were established as political bases in the late Baekje and early Goryeo periods and the Buddhist thought behind them. The place where Baekje was destroyed and the place where Goryeo finally won are almost the same, and they are also similar in that they founded temples with the future in mind.

Baekje's Neungsa, Wangheungsa, and Mireuksa are temples built with a bone tribe consciousness. Wangheungsa and Mireuksa are not simply religious bases between the center and the region, but are imperially-petitioned temples that were planned to realize the ideal of Mireuk (Maitreya) = Wangheung, with the help of Sarira, Jeseokcheon, Wheel-Turning Holy King, and Buddhism, from the central Wangheungsa to the local Jeseoksa in Iksan and then to Mireuksa, with a view to a thousand or ten thousand years.

させると共に、高麗の太祖を釈迦や転輪聖王のように神格化することによって、千年万年の未来まで高麗をつなげようとした。特に開泰寺における石造仏像はものとしてその勢いを象徴する。

もう少し具体的に言えば、百済と高麗の政治拠点における寺院では信仰心（舎利信仰、弥勒信仰、釈迦信仰）を通して権力と民心を結束させたり、祖先崇拜（願刹）乃至祖先の神格化（2月15日、銅像）を通して、それに伴う儀礼（供養品、王の寺への幸次など）を通して、寺院創建の際に建てられた念願が長く（長寿の発願）継承させる希望もあった。為政者である王、王族、貴族たちには、国を千年も万年も隆盛させるための遠大な企画のもと、仏教を含む神々の力に頼って実現させようとしたとみられる。

その企画の上、それを継承するため、釈迦信仰、転輪聖王思想、弥勒思想、華嚴思想などが互いに遮ることなく融和する。そうした思想は、百済の場合に主に留学から戻った僧侶たちが諮問に応じて提案したと思われる。高麗の場合には、奉恩寺では宗派協同策を講じ、開泰寺は、海印寺とも関連があるし、澄観、宗密、延寿といった禅を受け入れた新しい華嚴思想との関連が深いと考えられる。

Bongeunsa Temple and Gaetaesa Temple, the main temples of Goryeo, also received the power of Buddha and the protection of local gods to promote Buddhism, and by deifying Goryeo's founder like Shakyamuni or Wheel-Turning Holy King, they tried to connect Goryeo to the future for one thousand or ten thousand years. In particular, the stone Buddha statue at Gaetaesa Temple symbolizes this momentum.

More specifically, temples in the political centers of Baekje and Goryeo united power and the hearts of the people through faith (belief in relics, Maitreya faith, Shakyamuni faith), and through ancestor worship (voting) or deification of ancestors (February 15, bronze statues) and the accompanying rituals (offerings, royal visits to the temple, etc.), there was also hope that the wishes made at the time of the temple's founding would be passed down for a long time (a wish for longevity). It seems that the rulers, the kings, the royal family, and the nobles, had ambitious plans to have their countries prosper for one thousand or ten thousand years, and tried to realize these plans by relying on the power of gods, including Buddhism.

In order to plan and carry on this tradition, beliefs in Buddha, the idea of the Wheel-Turning Holy King, the idea of Maitreya, the idea of the Huayan thought, and other ideas were integrated without them interfering with each other. In the case of Baekje, such ideas were probably proposed in response to consultations by monks who had returned from studying abroad. In the case of Goryeo, Bongeunsa Temple implemented a policy of cooperation between sects, and Gaetaesa Temple, which is also related to Haeinsa Temple, is thought to have had a strong connection with the new Avatamsaka sect that embraced Zen, such as Chenggwan, Zongmi and Yanshou.

<notes>

1 As Kim Su tae, "Buddhism of King pop era in the Baekje Dynasty," Prehistory and Ancient Times 15, p.8, says, the Bone tribe consciousness is exclusive. Even though it is based on Buddhism, it is thought that it did not abandon its exclusivity. For reference, the name of Prince Junda of King Muryeong appears in the Nihonshoki as a Bone tribe ruler of Baekje.

2 "Samguk Sagi" "First Year of King Seong"

3 Mayuko Kawakami, "The Call for the Turning of the Wheel of Sacred King in the Ayuwang Sutra' by Emperor Wu of Liang and the Sacred King of Baekje," Wooden Tablets and Characters 24, 2020, p.124, proposes that he be considered a Confucian saint. However, there is an example of King Beopheung of Silla, whose period of activity overlaps with the Sacred King of Baekje, being called King Seong Beopheung the Great and King Seong in a Buddhist context, and the next King Jinheung certainly aimed to be a Sacred King of the Wheel of Sacred King, so although the Sacred King of Baekje did not call himself a Sacred King, he may have had a Buddhist saintly king in mind. Please refer to Kim Yeong mi, "The Ideal Image of a Silla Person - Focusing on the View of a Saint," Korean Thought History 23, 2004, pp. 223-251, and Choi Seon ja, "Study of the Silla Turning of the Wheel of Sacred King - Focusing on the Reign of King Jinheung," Doctoral Dissertation, Geonguk University, 2021.

4 Shin Gwang seop, "Study of Neungsa Temple in the Sabi Period of Baekje," Doctoral dissertation, Chuo University, 2006, pp. 95-96.

5 Kazuaki Ohashi, "Regarding the Placement of Relics in Baekje Temples in the Latter Half of the 6th Century," Bulletin of the Graduate School of Letters, Waseda University, Volume 3, 2010, pp. 109-126, states that while it is difficult to determine whether there are any discrepancies with historical records, the Chinese method of placing relics is evaluated as the product of an era when the era of swallowing relics had ended and when Baekje funeral customs were being incorporated.

6 Yasutami Suzuki, "Founding of Baekje's Wangheungsa Temple and Asukadera Temple," in "Ancient Japan's History of Exchange with East Asia," Bensei Publishing, 2016, pp. 41-71, compares offerings from China, Baekje, and Japan.

7 Tokio Shinkawa, "Relics and Relic Inscriptions on the Ancient Korean Peninsula," in "Buddhism and Royalty in Ancient East Asia - From Wangheungsa Temple to Asukadera Temple," Bensei Publishing, 2010, pp. 53-58, points out the strong influence of South text "Nirvana Sutra" and "Genealogy of Śākyamuni" but expresses the view that there is no evidence that this day was continuously taken into consideration, and that it stands out in favor of Wangheungsa Temple. Other studies also focus on the Nirvana Day.

8 Yutaka Hori introduces Shunmyo Tanaka's theory that Wangheungsa Temple was the rear garden of the royal palace, but while he does not criticize it, he says there is room for further investigation, and adds that Wangheungsa Temple was built for the memorial service and should not be compared with temples outside the royal palaces of China. Yutaka Hori, "Comparative Study of Buddhist Facilities in East Asian Royal Palaces - Focusing on the Southern Dynasties, Baekje, and Wa," Royal Palaces, Capitals, and Buddhism in East Asia, Benseisha, 2023, pp.177-178.

9 Joo Gyeong mi, "Sari Mansion Sculptures Excavated from the Wangheungsa Temple Site in Baekje and 6th Century East Asian Buddhist Culture," Baekje Studies 67, 2018, pp.51-86.

10 Joo Gyeong mi, *ibid.*, pp.74-77. However, her does not mention the relationship between the increase in relics and the Wheel-Turning Holy King.

11 “Great General Nirvana”, Volume 2 ( CBETA, T1, 199c1)

12 "Great General Nirvana" Volume 2 (CBETA, T1,198c9)

13 The Nirvana Sutra, Volume 30, (CBETA, T12, 806a6); Volume 2 (CBETA, T1, 200a17)

14 "Mitreya's Shangseng Sutra" (CBETA, T14, 419c)

15 Gi "Gwan Mire Shangseng Tuṣita Heaven zan" Volume 2 (CBETA, T38,292b)

16 Gyeongheung "Sam Mireuk Gyeongso" (Simplified Record of Maitreya Shangsheng Journal) (CBETA, T38,317a))

17 Jōkai Hiraoka "Research on the History of the Development of Maitreya Pure Land Thought in Japan," Daizō Shuppan, 1977, pp. 34-37. Maitreya statues from the Northern Wei Dynasty are said to be often depicted as bodhisattvas reborn in Tushita Heaven, based on Confucian ideas of filial piety such as "dead son" and "seven lifetimes of parents." The Maitreya faith of Goguryeo, which was heavily influenced by the Northern Wei Dynasty, also shows the same tendency. Hinako Nishimatsu, "Research on the History of Buddhist Statues in the Northern Wei Dynasty," Brüsckhe, 2005, pp. 247-253. See also Kim Yong hwang, "Maitreya Buddha Faith and Buddhist Statues: Focusing on Ancient Korean Maitreya Faith," Journal of the Buddhist Culture Society 16, 2008, pp. 2-5.

18 "Samguk Yusa" Volume 3 "The temple is also called Mireuksa" (CBETA, T49, 988b)

19 Kil Gi tae "Research on Buddhist Faith in the Sabi Period of Baekje", Seokyeong Munhwasa, 2006, pp. 133-137, seems to understand this to mean that the temple was established by royal authority.

20 “Genealogy of Śākyamuni” (CBETA, T50, 82c3)

21 “Zhengfa hua jing” (CBETA T9, 109b25)

22 "Samguk Yusa" Volume 3 (CBETA T49,995a6); King Jinji (reigned: 576-579)

23 Hinako Ishimatsu, "Research on the History of Buddhist Statues in the Northern Wei Dynasty," Seiunsha, 2005, pp. 245-247, reports on the creation of a statue of the Three Worlds Buddha in 551, which is thought to be the cultural foundation of the Lotus Sutra, and a Maitreya statue in 562 with Avalokitesvara and Mahasthama-prapta as attendants. In addition, Kazune Uchimoto "Basic Research on the Early Forms of Maitreya Faith - Focusing on the So-Called 'Faith on rebirth to the pure land ", 2018, Doctoral Dissertation, Graduate School of Letters, Ryūkoku University, pp. 133-136, discusses the relationship between the Lotus Sutra and the Maitreya statue.

24 “The Sutra of the Lotus Sutra, Volume 7 (28):” (CBETA, T09,61c10)

25 “Samguk Yusa Volume 2, “The name of the temple is Mireuk Temple (Wangheungsa Temple in the National History).” (CBETA, T49,979c) 」

26 Tokio Shinkawa "Sari and relic inscriptions in the ancient Korean peninsula," 4. The significance of Baekje's "Jeseokseongsa Temple," Ancient East Asian Buddhism and Monarchy: From Wangheungsa Temple to Asukadera Temple, Bensei Publishing, 2010, pp. 63-69.

27 Jo Gyeong cheol "Construction of the sacred capital during the reign of King Mu of Baekje and the founding of Maitreya Temple and Jeseoksa Temple," Baekje Culture 39, Gongju Baekje Culture Research Institute, 2008, pp. 118-122.

28 Choi Yeon sik "Development and characteristics of Maitreya thought in the late Baekje period," Korean Intellectual History 37, 2011, pp. 22.

29 Tokio Shinkawa, *op. cit.*, 2010, pp. 63-67.

30 Yusuke Mukai "Research on Early Chinese Pagodas", Rinten Shoten, 2020, pp.67-81.

31 Jo Gyeong cheol, *op. cit.*, 2008, pp.122.

32 Masayuki Sema "The Record of the Enshrinement of the Golden Relics of the Mireuksa Temple as Seen from the Viewpoint of Written Expressions: Focusing on Authorities," in Tokio Shinkawa (ed.), The Eastward Migration of Buddhist Civilization, 2013, pp. 129-152.

33 There have been many studies in Korea on the founding of Mireuksa Temple and its ideological background. Please refer to Park Hyeon sook, "Issues and Problem in the Study of the Record of the Enshrinement of the Golden Relics of Mireuksa Temple Excavated from the Site of Mireuksa Temple in Iksan: Focusing on the History of Documents," Studies of Ancient Korean History 106, 2022, pp.

32-36. There, while assertions such as Lotus Sutra thought, Maitreya faith, and Shaka Buddha faith are presented, there are many positive opinions regarding the realization of the ideal nation of Maitreya Buddha.

34 The whole text is omitted. Photo 5 shows one side of the page.

35 Yeon Min su "The Status of the Sadaek Clan in the Sabi Period and the Ancient Clan after its Fall," Korean Studies 44-1, pp.215-252, along with Masayuki Sema's essay.

36 Masayuki Sema, op. cit., pp.151-152.

37 The prevalence of Maitreya faith in Baekje at that time can also be seen from the sudden rise of Maitreya faith in Japan after Baekje was destroyed, influenced by Baekje refugees who settled in Omi. Masataka Nakai, Ancient Buddhism in Korea and Japan, Toho Shuppan, 1994, pp.36-40.0

38 The first rule, "The great task of our nation is to build a Zen temple because it contributes to the protection of the Buddhas."

39 Heo Heung sik, History of Goryeo Buddhism I. The Buddhist Foundation of Goryeo Society, 1986, p.60.

40 Ibid., p.84.

41 Choi Bong jun, "Establishment of Ancestor Worship Rites and Their Meanings," Gyujanggak 56, 2020, p.8

42 Yuka Toyoshima, "Ancestor Worship and Buddhism · Confucianism in the Goryeo Royal Family," Royal Palaces, Capitals, and Buddhism in East Asia, Benseisya, 2023, p.343.

43 Han Gi mun "Foundation of Bongeunsa Temple in Gaegyeong and Taejo True Hall in the Goryeo Period," Korean Thought History 33, 2008, pp.210-212, describes how difficult it is to determine the location of Bongeunsa Temple.

44 However, it is believed that the worship of Taejo at Bongeunsa Temple actually began during the reign of King Taejo (1031-1034). (Han Gi mun, op. cit., 2008, p. 210.)

45 Choi Bong jun, op. cit., pp. 16-18.

46 Heo Heung sik, op. cit., 1986, p. 69.

47 Park Yun jin "Military and political characteristics of temples in the Gaegyeong area during the Goryeo Dynasty," Journal of Korean History, 3-4, 1998, pp. 78-120.; Woo Seong dong, "Gaegyeong temples as a device for state power to control the city," Architectural Institute of Japan, Planning Papers, 2004, pp. 167-172. This political role of temples during the Goryeo Dynasty was not limited to Bongeunsa Temple, but could be said to be the character of temples in Gaegyeong, that is, the capital.

48 Heo Heung sik, op. cit., 1986, p. 71.

49 Han Gi mun, "Foundation of Bongeunsa Temple in Gaegyeong and True Hall Temples during the Goryeo Dynasty," Journal of Korean Intellectual History, 33, 2008, pp. 215-

50 Heo Heung sik, op. cit., 1986, p. 90.

51 Ibid., p.88.

52 Kim Du jin "Wang Geon's Unification of Buddhist Monks and Its Intentions," Collection of Korean Studies 4, Gukmin University, 1981, pp.127-154.

53 Heo Heung sik, op. cit., 1986, pp. 299-300.

54 Choi Bong jun "The True Portrait-Centered Ancestor Worship of the Royal Family of Goryeo Hyeonjong to Jeongjong and Its Meaning," Gyujanggak 56, 2020, pp. 11-12.

55 Junichi Kikutake, "A Nude Male Sitting Statue from the Goryeo Period," De Arte 21, Kyushu Art Association Journal, 2005, pp. 67-84.

56 Lee Ho gyeong "Survey Results and Current Status of Gaetaesa Temple," Chungcheongnam-do History and Culture Research Institute, Current Status and Issues of Gaetaesa Temple, 2016, pp. 11-

29.

57 Lee Hyeon suk " Goryeo Royal Temple Gaetaesa and Yeonsan," Chungcheongnam-do History and Culture Research Institute, Current Status and Issues of Gaetaesa, 2016, pp.33-50. This paper explains the importance of this region through the transportation, ruins, and records of the mountain ranges: Jeong Seong gwon, "Rethinking the 57 Gaetaesa Triad Standing Buddha," Baeksan Hakbo 92, 2012, pp.222-223.

58 Lee Hyeon suk, op. cit., 2016, pp.33-50.

59 Choi Won sik, "Haeinsa Temple and the Hwaom School in the Lower Silla Period," Korean History Research 49, 1985, pp.1-25.

60 Choi Seong eun, "Study of the Stone Standing Buddha Triad at Gaetaesa Temple," Art Research 385, pp.171-173, discusses the influence of artistic style. In addition, it is thought that the involvement of two monks in the founding of Haeinsa Temple in succession also had an influence.

61 Choi Seong eun, op. cit., pp.170-171. He claims that at that time there were quite a number of statues of the Abhaya mudra of Vairocana Buddha.

62 Gaetaesa, op. cit., 2022, pp.84-90.

63 Junichi Kikutake, op. cit., 2005, 67-84.; Gaetaesa, op. cit., 2022, pp.98-100.

64 Kim Gap dong, "Characteristics and Characteristics of Gaetaesa Temple," Chungcheongnam-do History and Culture Research Institute, Current Status and Issues of Gaetaesa Temple, 2016, pp.53-69.

65 Yang Eun yong, "Study of the 'Hwaom Beophoe Commentary of Gaetaesa Temple' written by King Taejo of Goryeo," History of Korean Buddhist Culture and Thought: Gasan Lee Ji gwan Professor Hwagap Memorial Series, Gasan Buddhist Culture Research Institute, 1992, p.817.

66 Ibid., p.817. ①Commentary on the origins of the unification of Korea ②The process of unifying Korea ③The temple founding committee ④Aspirations and dedication

67 Choi Seong eun, see the above article.

68 Choi Chi won "Wall inscriptions of Seonanjuwon Temple, Haeinsa Temple, Gayasan, Silla"

69 “The Lotus Palace refers to the Lotus Treasury World where Vairocana Buddha appeared, as mentioned in the Avatamsaka Sutra. This is the true teaching of the Tathagata shining in the Lotus Palace, forever in the dust and earth.” (CBETA, K35,824a)

70 <Yecheonbeoppalmun> ”Here the land is sacred. Inside the Buddhist temple. Protector of the Dharma” (CBETA, R128, 735b)

71 There are various theories regarding the relationship between Haeinsa Temple and the Udu sect. Gam Sim heum "A review of the history of the Ujong Dynasty", Seon Hak 52, 2019, pp. 32-56.