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REVERSE SYNCRETISM AND THE SACRED AREA OF MUA-K-TONG:

The Accommodation of Korean Folk Religion to the Religious Forms of Buddhism

JAMES HUNTLEY GRAYSON

In a previous paper,¹ I discussed the question of the process of religious syncretism as an aspect of the transmission and development of Buddhism in the Three Kingdoms (Silla, Paekche, Koguryō) of ancient Korea. The syncretism of that period is an example of a missionary world religion accommodating itself to the fundamental religious ethos of the culture to which it has been transmitted. Here I will discuss another form of syncretism, a syncretism which is the reverse of the process normally observed to have occurred during the era of the Three Kingdoms, namely the accommodation of the autochthonous religion to the missionary religion. Although the evidence for the exact means by which this process of syncretism took place is slim, it is an obvious, if often overlooked feature of the contemporary Korean religious scene. After defining what I mean by syncretism, the bulk of my paper here is devoted to an examination of an unusually sacred site in Seoul. This site, Muak-tong, offers abundant illustrations of the reverse of the usual form of syncretism. I conclude with some suggestions for further research.

What is Syncretism ?

Religious syncretism is a process which may be understood as one part of the broader process of cultural diffusion. This has long been recognized to be the case by historians of religion and cultural anthropologists. James Moffatt (1870-1944), Carsten Colpe and others have observed that religious syncretism occurs as the result of the diffusion of culture, or elements of culture, from one ethnic group or cultural sphere to another ethnic group or cultural world.

Moffatt speaks of syncretism as a "blending of ideas and religious practices" which are "often preceded and accelerated by a new philosophical synthesis as well as by a new political re-arrangement."² Defined in this way, syncretism is placed squarely in a particular historical, cultural, and political context. Colpe goes further, and describes syncretism as both a state and as a process in which either the missionary religion or the indigenous religion predominates or in which a state of mutual balance between the two is achieved.³ E. H. Pyle points out that syncretism can occur as a spontaneous and natural result of inter-cultural contact, or can be the result of some plan, which may have religious and/or political dimensions. Not all syncretism, then, is unplanned or random.⁴ Pyle adds that it is important to understand this cultural process of syncretism in order to comprehend both the rise of the great, historical world religions and the emergence of various new religious movements which have occurred recently in the third world and elsewhere.⁵ Further, J. A. North, in discussing the formation of cults in the Roman empire, says that religious syncretism is "the merging of elements from different traditions, characteristically in

circumstances of political or cultural dominance/ subjection."⁶ North's definition, like Moffatt, points beyond the simple concept of inter-cultural contact leading to religious mixture, and stresses the unequal political and cultural relations which may exist between two peoples during the period of inter-cultural contact.

North cites as one example of the process of syncretism modifications made in the beliefs and practices relating to the worship of the indigenous Roman deities after the Romans came into contact with the Etruscans and the Greeks. This type of syncretism would occur when a significant cultural disparity between the two groups entering into contact is the principal non-religious factor. North also cites the example of tribal peoples within the empire, who applied the names of Roman deities to their own autochthonous spirits. Whilst there is an obvious cultural disparity between the two groups in this particular situation, it would seem that the political relations between the Romans and the tribal peoples was the dominant non-religious factor. North also cites a third case, the example of the *pax romana*, the condition of universal peace within the empire, providing a context in which the religions of subject civilisations such as Egypt could spread beyond the boundaries of their original nation and mix with the religions of the tribal peoples of the empire, and indeed the religions of the Romans themselves.⁷

Outside of the Roman empire, the most frequently cited examples of religious syncretism are Manichaeism and Ryōbu Shinto, both of which are examples of intentional syncretism. In the case of the Manichaean cult Mani (216-77), the founder, was a Parthian who had been brought up in a family which practised one of the gnostic cults. Through a series of revelations, Mani came to believe that he had been given the authority to create a new cult

which would be the fulfilment of the three world religions of his era—Buddhism, Christianity, and Zoroastrianism. Syncretism was here a conscious attempt to draw together the essential tenets of the principal religions of the Persian Empire.⁸

Ryōbu Shinto, although also a syncretism which was consciously attempted, is different in that it was an attempt to harmonize a world religion—Buddhism—with the indigenous religious practices of Japan. Following the introduction of Buddhism in the 6th century, there existed a state of tension between the foreign religion and the indigenous cults. Conflict was seemingly overcome during the era of Prince Shōtoku Taishi (573-621) when Buddhism finally gained official recognition. Nonetheless, even though Buddhism spread throughout Japan during the next two centuries, a state of uneasy peace must have existed between the practices and beliefs of the two systems. In the 8th century, the Shingon esoteric Buddhist sect developed a concept called Ryōbu Shinto, "Shinto with Two Aspects". In the adherents' view, native Shinto deities of Japan were seen to be the particular manifestations in Japan of the Buddha or bodhisattvas. In this way, Shingon Buddhists provided a universalistic and a particularistic explanation for their own practices. This at the same time aided the indigenization of Buddhism in Japan.⁹ The concept of Ryōbu Shinto is similar to the process by which the Romans identified their own gods with the gods of the Etruscans and the Greeks.

On the basis of my own experience, I have come to realize that there are at least two principal forms of syncretism which occur as the result of long periods of contact between a world religion (Buddhism, Christianity, Islam, and so forth) and a religion indigenous to a particular people. When there has been a high degree of syncretism by the transmitted religion to the indigenous religion, the

result will be that the core values of the indigenous religion will constitute the centre of the new religion with the missionary religion providing many external or superficial features. But, when there has been a low degree of syncretism by the missionary religion with the autochthonous cults, the core values of the missionary religion will form the central aspect of the new religion with the indigenous religion providing certain superficial features or details. I believe that every religion, whether a world religion, higher religion, or a folk religion, has a certain core set of values, concepts or beliefs. If these core values are altered, one can say that syncretic change has been made in a certain direction away from the traditional belief system. Likewise, in the absence of significant change in the core set of values, however many superficial changes may have been made (that is, changes in names of gods, and so forth), one can say that the process of syncretism was only superficial. Figure 1 illustrates the case where significant change in the core set of values of the missionary religion has taken place, whilst figure 2 illustrates superficial, syncretic change in the cultural and religious features of the missionary religion. I call the type of syncretism illustrated in figure 1 High Syncretism, and the type in figure 2 Low Syncretism. Although Korea provides examples of both high and low, here I only examine a case of High Syncretism, the accommodation made by the autochthonous religion of Korea to Buddhism.

What I call Low Syncretism, the more superficial accommodation made by a world religion with an indigenous cult, is what is usually understood to be the process of religious syncretism. In Korea, this particular process of syncretism may be observed in the Buddhist case where the *sansin-gak* (mountain spirit shrine), *samsin-gak* (three spirit shrine), or *ch'ulsŏng-gak* (seven-star [pole star] spirit shrine) have become constituent parts

Figure 1. The Process of Religious Encounter:
High Syncretism

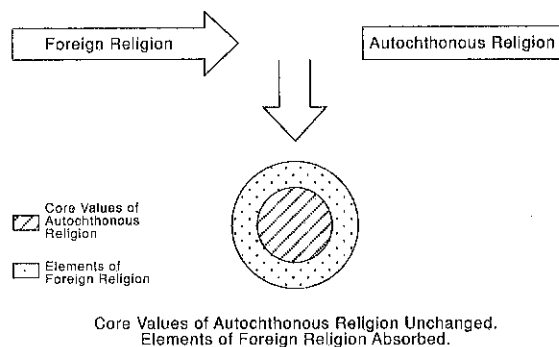
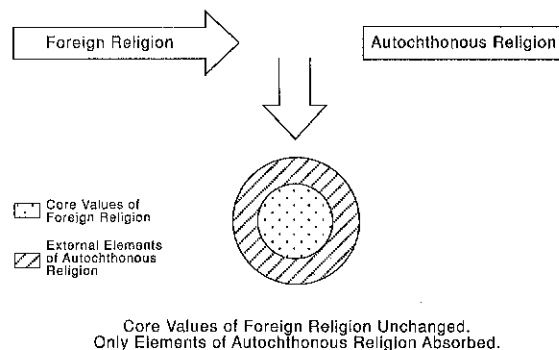


Figure 2. The Process of Religious Encounter:
Low Syncretism



of the layout of the temple precinct. These shrines, which are dedicated to autochthonous deities, have become subsidiary shrines within the total temple complex, and the rituals practised in them have become one component of the total ritual system practised at the temples. These subsidiary shrines are a prime illustration in Korea of a conscious attempt by a foreign religion, that is Buddhism, to absorb the external forms of the indigenous religion.¹⁰

The reverse of the "normal" form of syncretism is what I term High Syncretism. This, not often referred to as syncretism by historians of religions, has been widely observed by anthropologists. It is, in short, the accommodation made by an indigenous religion to the beliefs, practices and imagery of a world religion. To cite one illustration, Gary H. Gossen, in an examination of the Roman Catholic practices of the Mayan people in a remote part of the Yucatan peninsula, demonstrated the fact that their contemporary religious practices were simply the folk practices of a bygone era quite literally dressed up in the guise of Roman Catholicism. Names of saints, forms of rituals, and the dates for the performance of rituals, although ostensibly related to Catholic usage, in reality only expressed the primal concepts of the Mayan people.¹¹

We have seen another example of High Syncretism in the religions which emerged following inter-cultural contact between the Romans and the tribal peoples of the Empire. The latter, in a state of political subjugation to the Romans, came to apply the names of various Roman deities to the gods they worshipped. A similar situation of subjugation would have existed between the Spanish *conquistadores* and the Mayan people in the 16th century. A third example of High Syncretism would be the Cargo Cults, especially those which are derived from Christianity, which arose in New Guinea and other parts of Melanesia from the middle of

the 19th century onwards. In this case though, high syncretism was enabled not principally by conditions of political subjugation, but by perceived economic and cultural disparity.¹²

Although not often commented on, there was a similar process of accommodation made by the indigenous religion of Korea to Buddhism. This process of High Syncretism must have begun when Buddhism, as a world missionary religion, first entered Korea. It is also my view that this form of High Syncretism would have occurred more or less contemporaneously with the accommodation made by Buddhism with Korean primal religion. High Syncretism occurred under conditions of perceived cultural disparity rather than in a context of political subjugation. Although there is very little documentary evidence for this process, the results are distinctive and obvious to the observer of the contemporary Korean religious scene. I first began to recognize its existence as I read Laurel Kendall's anthropological study *Shamans, Housewives, and Other Restless Spirits: Women in Korean Ritual Life* (1985). Kendall notes the close relationship between autochthonous shamanism and Buddhism, and states that the *mansin* (shaman) and her clients "called their shrine worship *Pulgyo*, 'Buddhism'".¹³ She also remarks that the *mansin* she mainly worked with introduced her to others by saying that Kendall was "a student of Buddhism".¹⁴ I came to realize that to this point I had only looked at syncretism from the aspect of the accommodation made by Buddhism to indigenous practices.

A Case Study in Reverse Syncretism

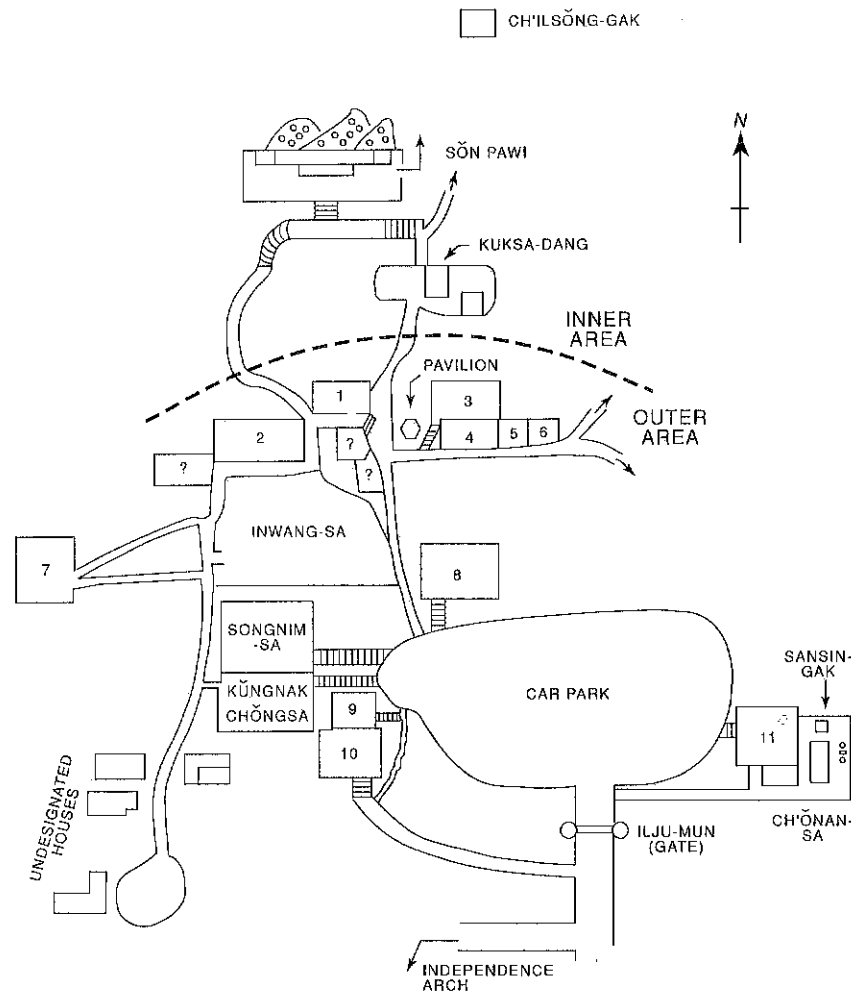
To illustrate the Buddhist form of syncretic folk religion, I will now examine the major centre in Seoul for the practice of shamanistic ceremonies, the sacred site at Muak-tong. Although I have visited this site regularly since 1971, most of my information here is based on a series of visits in August 1990.

When the Japanese colonial government decided to build the principle *Shinto* shrine for Korea on the slopes of Namsan, a decision was made to remove the shamanistic shrine called the *Kuksa-dang* from the top of the mountain. The *Kuksa-dang* would have overlooked the new shrine. In 1925, the proprietors agreed to allow the Japanese Government-General to move the shrine building to the sacred site around the rock formation known as the *Sŏn pawŭ*. During the inter-war years, further private constructions were made around the shrine until, by the 1960s, a village of temples and shrines had emerged. The sacredness of the *Sŏn pawŭ* became a magnet which drew the *Kuksa-dang* and then subsequent shrines, creating a complex, hierarchical sacred space.

Muak-tong: geography and general layout

Figure 3 shows that the site has three principle sections: i) the gate separating the whole sacred area from the profane world outside; ii) an outer sacred area comprising "temples" and shrines built beneath the core; iii) an inner sacred area or core precinct comprising the *Kuksa-dang* and *Sŏn pawŭ*.

Figure 3. The Sacred Site of Muak-Tong



1. Inwang-sa Tae-ung-jŏn - 인왕사 대웅전
2. Inwang-sa Pogwan-jŏn - 인왕사 복원전
3. Sŏngam chŏngsa - 성암 정사
4. Shop
- 5, 6. Houses
7. Yŏnpur-am - 연불암
8. Sŏrae-am - 西來庵
9. Naksae-am - 낙사암
10. Tae Han Pulgyo Chŏngt'o-jong Yongch'ŏn-sa - 대한불교 정토종 용천사
11. Former "temple", now undesignated house

1) The *Iljumun* gate

Durkheim,¹⁵ Eliade,¹⁶ and others have made much of the distinction between the sacred and the profane. In the layout of a temple or shrine, it is usual that there is some indication given that the ground around the temple is sacred, that it is "set apart". In the folk religion of Korea, a rope is used to indicate that an area is set apart, whereas in Buddhism the entrance to a temple compound is marked off by a sacred gate called an *iljumun*. The tradition of placing such gates at the entrance to Buddhist sacred precincts dates back at least to the practice of placing four gates at the four cardinal points around the *stupas* of Sanchi in India in the first century B.C.¹⁷

In the case of Muak-tong, the precinct is marked off by a large *iljumun* at the entrance. This bears the inscription *Inwang-san inwang-sa*. This follows normal Buddhist practice in that the temple name is given along with its location on a particular mountain. What is important to note here is the fact that although the name of the mountain and the temple are homophonous, they are not synonymous. The *inwang* (benevolent king) referred to in the name is the principle figure in the *Inwang-gyŏng* (Ch. *Renwang jing*, Sutra of the Benevolent King). This is one of the key scriptures of the esoteric schools of Buddhism introduced into the southern Silla kingdom from around the 7th century. This *inwang* promises protection to the nation which worships him. The *Paekchwa-hoe* (Assembly of 100 Seats) of Silla times, in particular, was dedicated to the adoration of this figure and to explaining the scripture dedicated to him.¹⁸ The appearance of this esoteric figure on the temple's name board is the visitor's first clue that buildings within the sacred precinct do not belong to traditional, orthodox Buddhism.

ii) The outer sacred precinct

In the outer sacred area there are a number of "temples", ancillary shrines to various "temples", several separate shrines not designated as a part of a particular "temple" complex, and several undesignated houses which are used for the performance of *kut*, Korean shamanistic ceremonies. Until a few years ago, one of the most striking features of this area was the fact that none of the "temples" claimed affiliation with any of the legally recognized Buddhist orders. This is no longer the case, for two of the "temples" now claim affiliation with major Buddhist denominations.

Every building which has a claim to being Buddhist within this area has a signpost on the outer perimeter of its grounds announcing what it is. For example, the signboard for the *Inwang-sa* says, *Taehan pulgyo inwang-san inwang-sa* (Korean Buddhism, Mount Inwang Inwang Temple). What is missing here is the designation which appears on every orthodox temple of affiliation to a particular Buddhist order. There is no such designation because one doesn't exist: the "temples" are private property.

When I visited this area in 1990 I noticed two new temples which claimed denominational affiliation. The signboard in front of *Yongch'ŏn-sa* claimed it was affiliated with the Pure Land Buddhist sect (*Taehan pulgyo chŏngt'o yongch'ŏn-sa*). This legally constituted sect, contrary to its antecedents in China and Korea, is one of the esoteric sects of modern Korean Buddhism. A different case is the signboard on the temple, *Ch'ŏnam-sa*, to the right of the entrance. This claimed it was a member of the *Chogye* sect, the dominant sect of orthodox, monastic Buddhism.

One further curious feature of the "temples" is the fact that the majority of signboards are written in *han'gŭl*

rather than in Chinese characters. Consequently, although one can guess at many of the characters behind the Korean script, it is not possible to know the exact designations of all of them.

There was some confusion, possibly deliberate, about the exact identification of the *Inwang-sa* temple mentioned on the *iljumun* entrance. There is one major shrine complex in the outer sacred precinct which in its centre has a large building designed as the *tae'ung-jŏn* (principle shrine) of a Buddhist temple. In an orthodox temple, this would be the building which contained the figure of the historic Buddha, Sakyamuni. However, north of this complex, just across the alley from the principle shrine, is another building which is claimed to be the *tae'ung-jŏn* of *Inwang-sa*. Both of these shrines appeared to have been doing a flourishing business in 1990.

Aside from the regular and irregular temples, there were eight other houses which had no signboards. These were quite simply houses used for the performance of shamanistic ceremonies. Each house had a long bamboo pole fixed in its courtyard announcing that this was a place where a *kut* could be performed. Amongst these houses was one which, during a previous visit in 1985, had been designated a "Buddhist hermitage." This now had no designation. The change in designation I take as an indication of the impermanence of such "Buddhist" institutions.

A further interesting feature was a hexagonal pavilion and a corner shop selling various household items and foods.

iii) The inner sacred precinct

A visitor to the sacred area at Muak-tong who intended to visit the *Kuksa-dang*¹⁹ would proceed from the outer precinct upwards through a declivity, passing the smaller of the two *Inwang-sa tae'ung-jŏn* on the left and the pavilion on the right. They would pass a large tree, the major limbs of which are severely sawn back. On the stumps of the limbs are hung brilliantly coloured cloths which have been used in shamanistic ceremonies. The use of this tree, close to the raised terrace on which the *Kuksa-dang* has been re-erected, is akin to the placement of strips of cloth on trees or bushes just before the crest of Korean mountain passes. Passage beyond this venerable tree indicates the passage from the outer to the inner sacred precinct.

The *Kuksa-dang* itself is a very old building, though whether it is as old as it is claimed can probably not be verified. It is said to date to T'aejong (r.1400-1418). The shrine is known to have been on Namsan at the end of the 19th century. The interior consists of one large room with two smaller rooms off to the left and right. Around the walls of the main room hang 28 paintings. Twelve of these are said to date from 1623, and the remainder date from the end of the 19th century. Among the figures depicted are *Ch'ŏn-sin* (Spirit [Ruler] of Heaven), *San-sin* (Mountain Spirit), *Su-sin* (Water Spirit), King T'aejo (r.1392-1398) founder of the Chosŏn dynasty, the monk Muhak, and the guardians of the five cardinal points of the oriental compass.

Although these spirits are all powerful figures in the native pantheon, their presence here indicates a certain concern for national affairs. It is said that while the *Kuksa-dang* was on Namsan, the most powerful shamans in the nation would go there to perform rites for national protection, preservation, and prosperity. It is alleged that at

the end of the 19th century, through the influence of Queen Min, rituals on behalf of the state were frequently performed. The name *Kuksa-dang* can be translated as "the shrine of the national preceptor." *Kuksa* was a title accorded certain eminent monks during the Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392). It was held by Muhak, the preceptor to the first Chosŏn king. It is probable, then, that the preceptor referred to in the shrine name is Muhak himself. This supposition is strengthened by the presence of an ancient painting of the great monk amongst the oldest shrine paintings.²⁰

Whatever the use of the *Kuksa-dang* was in the past, its present use is somewhat different. It functions in many ways like a contemporary *yesik-chang* wedding hall. That is, it is rented out for ceremonial purposes. Along the back wall of the shrine is a fitted altar. In the central section of this, just in front of a sacred picture, is a telephone and a box of business cards giving the address and telephone number of the *Kuksa-dang*. Time and space can be booked for the performance of a particular rite.

Proceeding north from the *Kuksa-dang*, one climbs up a series of stairs to a concrete terrace with ballustrades in front of the *Sŏn pawŭ*. Directly in front of the massive, pitted rock is a large altar divided into three sections. The principle section is the long central altar. To the right and left are two cabinets in the shape of tiled pavilions. Inside these are sets of electric votive candles which are lit to offer perpetual prayers for the repose of various souls or to ask for particular wishes. In front of the altar is centrally placed a smaller altar, a table for incense burners.

On the right of *Sŏn pawŭ* is a small iron gate that opens out to a path which ascends the bare rock face of Mount Inwang. Some way up, this path leads to the final shrine of

the entire sacred area, the *ch'ilsŏng-gak*. Although this shrine is supposed to be dedicated to the Spirit of the Pole Star, the picture in the shrine is the tiger, the messenger of the Mountain Spirit. The only other shrine to the Mountain Spirit is found on the grounds of *Ch'ŏnam-sa*.

Just beyond the precinct of the *Kuksa-dang*, and within the precincts of several "temples" are fresh water springs. While these serve the obvious purpose of providing water for thirsty hikers and attendants at ceremonies, it is important to remember that the worship of water spirits is an ancient practice in Korea.

iv) Functions of the shrines

All of the buildings in the inner and outer sacred precincts, whether designated or not as "temples," hermitages or shrines, are known to be locations for the performance of shamanistic ceremonies. In the undesignated buildings, pure shaman ceremonies are performed. In buildings designated as Buddhist, ceremonies are similar in format and intention to these, but incorporate Buddhist or Buddhistic elements. The spirits referred to in ceremonies are Buddhist figures; the clothing worn by the celebrants is Buddhist in appearance; many of the ceremonial paraphernalia and implements are similar to materials one would expect to see in an orthodox Buddhist temple. Prominent amongst the ritual items of "temples" are Buddhist statues and paintings, which lend an authentic air to the shrines. Several orthodox Buddhist festivals, such as Buddha's birthday, are also celebrated. Nonetheless, the format of the ceremonies performed in these "temples", and the reasons for performance, parallel the ceremonies given in undesignated buildings. It is for this reason that one can justifiably say all the shrines and

rituals are collectively an example of syncretic shamanism, a product of the accommodation made by the indigenous religion of Korea to Buddhism.

Observations

1. As in other cases where there has been contact between a world religion and a folk religion, there have been two processes of accommodation—a syncretism by the world religion with the folk religion, and a syncretism by the folk religion with the world religion.

2. The period during which this syncretism took place in Korea must have been the era when Buddhism was transmitted and emplaced in Korean culture. Unlike the examples of syncretism which occurred between the tribal peoples of the Roman empire and Roman religion, where political subjugation was the principle non-religious factor, the syncretism of Korean folk religion with Buddhism would have taken place under conditions of perceived cultural disparity. Syncretism here could be seen to be a part of a process of modernization which all three Korean kingdoms underwent at that time.

3. The process of syncretism by the folk religion of Korea with Buddhism could be called High Syncretism. Whilst many Buddhist elements have been absorbed, the core values of the autochthonous religion have not been significantly altered. A comparison of the practices of the "temples" in Muak-tong with the practices of the *Kuksa-dang* itself would show that, in spite of significant differences in form, there is little difference in substance.

4. There is a clear hierarchy of sacred space in Muak-tong. The most sacred area is the core precinct around the wierd *Sŏn pawŭ* rock, including the *Kuksa-dang*. Beneath this are the various shrines designated as Buddhist temples and several undesignated shaman houses. No "temple", however, is close to the sacred rock. This spatial distinction creates a clear religious and psychological differentiation between the two areas.

5. Further and more detailed research needs to be carried out into the ceremonies conducted at the "Buddhist" temples. This should include both structural studies of the character of the ceremonies and analytical work on the functions and purposes of the rites. Comparative studies should be made between Buddhistic rites and the rites offered at the *Kuksa-dang* and the shamanistic shrines to precisely determine the similarities and differences. One important comparative question would address the educational or economic differences between the people who attend rituals at different venues.

NOTES

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2. James Moffatt, "Syncretism", in James Hastings (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, 12, pp.155-157 (Edinburgh, T & T Clark, 1921).
3. Carsten Colpe, "Syncretism", in Mircea Eliade (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, 14, pp.218-227 (New York, Macmillan, 1987).

4. E. H. Pyle, "Syncretism", in John R. Hinnels (ed.), *The Penguin Dictionary of Religions*, p.317 (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1984).
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6. J. A. North, "Syncretism (Roman)", in John R. Hinnels (ed.), *The Penguin Dictionary of Religions*, p.317 (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1984).
7. Ibid, pp.317-318.
8. A good history and discussion of the conscious syncretism of the prophet Mani may be found in Gherardo Gnoli, "Manichaenism", in Mircea Eliade (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 9, pp.161-170 (New York, Macmillan, 1987).
9. Masaharu Anesaki, *History of Japanese Religion, with Special Reference to the Social and Moral Life of the Nation*, pp.136-138 (London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co, 1930) and Joseph M. Kitigawa, *Religion in Japanese History*, pp.58, 68-69 (New York, Columbia University Press, 1966). The Tendai sect had a similar concept called *sanno ichijitsu*. For a fuller discussion of the process of syncretism in Japanese Buddhism, see J. H. Kamstra, *Encounter or Syncretism: The Initial Growth of Japanese Buddhism* (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1967).
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12. Discussions of the history and anthropological interpretation of cargo cults may be found in Freerk C. Kamma, *Korori: Messianic Movements in the Biak-Numfor Cultural Area* (The Hague, Nijhoff, 1972), Frederich

- Steinbauer, *Melanesian Cargo Cults* (Saint Lucia, University of Queensland Press, 1979), and Peter Worsley, *The Trumpet Shall Sound: A Study of the Cargo Cults of Melanesia* (London, MacGibbon & Kee, 1957).
13. Laurel Kendall, *Shamans, Housewives, and Other Restless Spirits: Women in Korean Ritual Life*, p.84 (Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1985).
 14. Ibid.
 15. The classic statement of the distinction between the sacred and the profane from an anthropological or sociological point of view is to be found in Emile Durkheim's *Les Formes Elementaires de la Vie Religieuse* (Paris, F. Alcan, 1912).
 16. Mircea Eliade, in *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion* (New York, Harcourt Brace, 1959), elaborated on the distinction made by Durkheim.
 17. For a description and discussion of the great monument complex at Sanchi, see Sherman Lee, *A History of Far Eastern Art*, pp.84-86 (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice Hall/New York, Harry N. Abrams, 1964). A discussion of the diffusion of the sacred gate of Buddhism from India to East Asia may be found in Owen C. Kail, *Buddhist Cave Temples of India*, pp.17-18 (Bombay, D. P. Taraporevala, 1975).
 18. A description of this trend can be found in Peter H. Lee (trans.), *Lives of Eminent Korean Monks: The 'Haedong Kosŭng Chŏn'*, pp.14-16 (Cambridge, Mass, Harvard University Press, 1969).
 19. A discussion of this shrine and its setting may be found in Donald N. Clark and James H. Grayson, *Discovering Seoul*, pp.185-187 (Seoul, Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1986).
 20. This claim was first made by the missionary scholar Dr James Scarth Gale in "Hanyang (Seoul)", *Transactions of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 2 (1902), p.25.

GLOSSARY

ch'ilsŏng-gak	七星閣	Ch'ŏnam-sa	천암사
ch'ŏn-sin	天神	iljumun	一柱門
Inwangsan inwangsa	仁旺山 仁王寺	Kuksa-dang	國土堂
paekchwa hoe	百座會	samsin-gak	三神閣
sansin-gak	山神閣	Sŏn-pawi	禪 바위
su-sin	水神		
Tae Han Pulgyo Chŏngt'o Yongch'ŏnsa	대한 불교 정도 용천사		
tae'ung-jŏn	大雄殿	yeshik-chang	禮式場
Yongch'ŏn-sa	용천사		