

A STUDY OF KOREAN PAGODAS  
*Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu*

## A Study of Korean Pagodas: *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu*

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The Samboryun (Three-Jewel-Wheeled) symbolizes the ideas of Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism: this symbol involves the faith in Three Jewels of the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṃgha and Two Traditions of Seon (Meditation) and Gyo (Doctrine); and means harmonizing all the clergy and laypeople and realizing the Pure Land of Buddha by way of religious propagation.

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Korean Buddhism Library  
Collected Works of Modern Korean Buddhism

A STUDY OF  
KOREAN PAGODAS  
*Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu*

by Go Yuseop  
Annotated Translation and Introduction by Lee Seunghye

Series Editor  
Kim JongWook, *Dongguk University*



Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism

## Foreword

Culture communicates. Culture flows smoothly just like the wind blows, clouds drift, and the birds fly in the air. So it did, even in the old times when lofty mountains and deep valleys interrupted the course of people's mutual exchanges. Culture flows in like a stranger, but as people share it, their individual gazes, touches, and breaths embody it with different appearances. Furthermore, it brings their gazes, touches, and breaths to their neighbors in a way that is meaningful to them. The culture exchanged is one and yet two; two and yet one.

Such is the case with Korean Buddhism. Buddhism, having originated in India, came to be one of the East Asian religions as Buddhist literature was translated into literary Chinese in China. Korea, a land neighboring China, acquired literary Chinese from the third to fifth centuries of the Common Era, which enriched its cultural vitality. Importing the translated Buddhist scriptures, Koreans established a Buddhist tradition themselves and expressed the essence of Mahāyāna Buddhism in their own way. Korea also played a dynamic role as a cultural messenger in transmitting Buddhism to Japan.

In this manner, Korean Buddhism was formed and continually evolved through lively exchange with Chinese Buddhism, and in the process developed the characteristic form of Korean Buddhism.

Buddhist culture flourished in the Unified Silla period (668–935) and this early Korean state established itself as a center of contemporary East Asian Buddhism. The Goryeo dynasty (918–1392) adopted Buddhism as the state religion and employed it as the state ideology. As a result, Korea currently has various forms of Buddhist cultural treasures, such as Bulguksa 佛國寺 Temple, the Dabotap

多寶塔 and Seokgatap 釋迦塔 Pagodas, Seokguram 石窟庵 Grotto, and exquisite statues of Buddhist figures seated in the pensive pose (半跏思惟像), as well as *Essentials of the Buddhas and Patriarchs Pointing Directly to the Essence of Mind* (*Buljo jikji simche yojeol* 佛祖直指心體要節) which is the earliest extant text printed by metal type, the *Goryeo Buddhist Canon in Eighty Thousand Woodblocks* (*Palman daejanggyeong* 八萬大藏經), and paintings of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara which are the acme of religious aesthetics.

In the Joseon dynasty, in which the Korean alphabet (Han'geul) was invented, a foremost state project was to translate the whole corpus of Buddhist scriptures into Han'geul. In the second half of the fifteenth century the Office for Sūtra Publication (Gan'gyeong dogam 刊經都監) was eventually established and published Buddhist canonical texts in the Korean language.

In 2010, the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism published the *Collected Works of Korean Buddhism* in thirteen volumes, English translations of *Han'guk jeontong sasang chongseo*, for the purpose of introducing the excellence of Korean Buddhism to the world. This collection was compiled by carefully selecting representative works from the *Complete Works of Korean Buddhism* (*Han'guk Bulgyo jeonseong* 韓國佛教全書) from the Unified Silla through Joseon periods. These include *Wonhyo*, *Chinul*, *Hyujeong*, *Hwaŏm* (I, II), *Doctrinal Treatises*, *Gongan Collections* (I, II), *Seon Dialogues*, *Seon Poems*, *Korean Buddhist Culture*, *Exposition of the Sutra of Brahma's Net*, *Anthology of Stele Inscriptions of Eminent Korean Buddhist Monks*. Although the works in the collection are not enough to reveal the whole picture of Korean Buddhism, I hope that the collection helps people understand main features of premodern Korean Buddhism.

Now we have selected ten works of modern Korean Buddhism and translated them into English to introduce them to an international audience. During the early twentieth century, a turbulent era in East Asia, such Korean Buddhist monks and laymen as Gyeongheo 鏡虛 (1849–1912), Yongseong 龍城 (1864–1940), Seokjeon 石顥 (1870–1948), Manhae 卍海 (Han Yongun, 1879–1944),

Choe Namseon 崔南善 (1890–1957), Yi Neunghwa 李能和 (1869–1943), Go Yuseop 高裕燮 (1905–1944), published many works in various fields. This period in East Asia witnessed the influx of Western civilization and the imperial expansion of Japan, which was then ahead in the modernization process, resulting in some countries becoming colonized by Japan. As Korean Buddhism endured along with Korean people and shined its capability at every crisis in history, it developed its own identity accepting the current of the modern times on the one hand and confronting external challenges on the other. The efforts made in the darkest times in Korean history to maintain the Korean tradition will be not only a precious asset of Korean Buddhism but also a significant record of East Asian Buddhist history.

For the current project of English translation focusing on modern Korean Buddhist works, we have selected ten documents that have significance in terms of the modernization process of Korean Buddhism as well as being representative works in their own right. These works include the writings of Buddhist lay thinkers as well as the discourse records or treatises of Buddhist monks, cover various subjects such as comparative religion, editorial writing, criticism on current affairs, literature, history, art, and so forth. A Korean proverb says that “even the easy pace of a cow finally makes a thousand miles” (*ubo cheolli* 牛步千里) or that “a journey of a thousand miles must begin with the first step.” Although it is impossible to express the rich and complicated features of Korean Buddhism through only these ten volumes, I hope that readers will regard the project as a second step taken by the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism toward the globalization of Korean Buddhism.

Most of the writings from the period covered by this series are written in literary Chinese, but some employ Korean vernacular endings along with literary Chinese, and some are written all in the Korean vernacular script. The importance of modern Korean Buddhism lies in the fact that Korean Buddhism was conducted through the Korean language. The full-fledged usage of Korean

language in Buddhist activities was the achievement of modern Korean Buddhism, and Korean culture was thereby enriched. However, it is not easy for non-Koreans to understand such works in their original form. Therefore, the translation of the works into English—the international language—is an unavoidable task in our cultural communications, just as medieval East Asians shared literary Chinese—the common literary language of the time—to communicate and understand each other.

I really appreciate the translators who have sympathized with the aspiration of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism and have completed their translations despite various difficulties. I also would like to express my sincere gratitude to all of the other contributors to each volume for their valuable comments, reviews, and corrections. Lastly, I would like to thank the members of the Editorial Board for spending time and effort at the initial stage of planning the project and selecting the works and to Dongguk University Press for their constant support in the publication of the series. My special thanks go to the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism of the Republic of Korea for providing strong support to the Publication Committee of Modern Korean Buddhism.

With the Palms of My Hands Joined in Reverence

Haebong Jaseung 海峰 慈乘

The 34th President of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism  
President, Publication Committee of Modern Korean Buddhism

## Editor's Preface

One thousand seven hundred years have passed since Buddhism, which originated in India, arrived on Korean Peninsula via China. The goal of Buddhism in ancient India was the attainment of enlightenment with respect to the dharma and the realization of Buddhahood, which was based on consistent religious practice in the repetitive cycle of birth and death. When Buddhism was transmitted to China, the goal of Indian Buddhism was accepted in a transformed form. For Chinese people, who also aspired to attain Buddhahood but, unlike Indians, were both temporarily and geographically separated from the Buddha, the Buddhist doctrine that all living beings have innate Buddha-nature emerged as one of the most efficient ideas. It is in this context that in Chinese Buddhism “enlightenment” (覺) is mostly interpreted as “original enlightenment”(本覺); “Buddha” is often regarded as “Buddha-nature”(佛性); and the fundamental doctrine of dependent origination (緣起) is sometimes replaced by the “the (unconditioned) arising of the (original) nature” (性起). The unique transformation of Buddhism in China, which is oriented to the idea of original Buddha-nature, led to the emergence of distinctive Chinese Buddhist schools, such as the Tiantai and Huayan schools that focus on doctrines and the Chan and Pure Land schools that emphasize practices.

These Chinese schools, along with the foundational doctrine of original Buddha-nature, were accepted in Korea and Japan, neighboring countries that also used classical Chinese as their literary language. In the case of Korea, the way in which Buddhism was adopted has a distinctive feature, which is an ecumenical tendency to synthesize various teachings or harmonize contrasting doctrines of the schools as much as possible. We see this ecumenical

tendency of Korean Buddhism in several cases. For example, Wonhyo 元曉 (617–686), the pioneer of Buddhist scholasticism in Korean Buddhism, sought to harmonize various schools. Jinul 知訥 (1158–1210), the founder of Korean Seon school, also advocated the unity of Buddhist practice and doctrine (禪教一致). The attempt to unite Hwaeom and Seon teachings in Buddhist educational system during the Joseon period (1392–1910) is another example. If Chinese Buddhism is marked by its establishment of individual schools on the basis of the idea of original nature, Korean Buddhism may be characterized by its consistent attempts to synthesize the schools by embracing their doctrinal distinctions.

The decline of the Joseon dynasty and subsequent colonization by Japan, however, brought contemporary Buddhists a double task: they had to preserve the identity of Korean Buddhism on the one hand and accommodate traditional Buddhism to Western modernity on the other. Until the liberation day arrived, Korean Buddhists endured nationwide hardships together with all Korean people and also steadily carried out the challenging task by inheriting traditional Buddhist culture as well as transforming it into a modern form. In spite of such problems as incessant foreign incursions and disruptions at the end of Joseon period and an identity crisis in Korean Buddhism derived from the forced importation of Japanese Buddhism, prominent Buddhists of those days left remarkable writings. In this way, they contributed to the process of developing the received Korean Buddhist tradition and shaping the ground for modern Korean Buddhism after liberation.

In 2012, the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism published the English Edition of the *Collected Works of Korean Buddhism* as a project promoting the globalization of Korean Buddhism with the support of Korean government. This is a collection of representative Buddhist works selected from the *Han'guk Bulgyo jeonseo* 韓國佛教全書, a compilation of three hundred and twenty three Korean Buddhist writings from the Silla to Joseon periods. To succeed and further develop upon this project, we are translating and publishing

representative Buddhist writings by modern Korean intellectuals in English and introducing them abroad. The fruit of this initiative is the Translation-Publication Project with Representative Works of Modern Korean Buddhism, which the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism has been administering since 2013 with the support of the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism. The collection contains selected works of modern Buddhist literature written by eminent Buddhist monks and scholars, such as Gyeongheo 鏡虛 (1849–1912), Yongseong 龍城 (1864–1940), Seokjeon 石顥 (1870–1948), Manhae 卍海 (1879–1944).

The Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism established several organizations to facilitate the project: a publication committee chaired by Ven. Jaseung, a management group chaired by Ven. Jin-Gak, and an editorial board chaired by me, Prof. Kim JongWook. In particular, the editorial board, which was entrusted with the work of translation and publication, surveyed more than three hundred and twenty Korean Buddhist writings written between 1900 and 1945 and carefully selected significant works in several genres, compiling them in ten volumes. For instance, *The Gyeongheo Collection*, *Sun Over the Sea of Enlightenment*, and *An Anthology of East Asian Commentaries on the Nyāyapraveśa* belong to the genre of philosophy or intellectual thought; *Sheaves of Korean Buddhist History* to history; *A Study of Korean Pagodas* to art; *Harmonizing the Hundred Teachings* to comparative; *The Temple of Words: An Anthology of Modern Korean Buddhist Poetry* to literature; *Essential Compendium for Buddhists: A Modern Buddhist Liturgy* to rituals; *Tracts on the Modern Reformation of Korean Buddhism* and *A Collection of Modern Korean Buddhist Discourses* to social criticism. The broad range of materials selected from various genres is intended to exhibit a dynamic picture of modern Korean Buddhism in multiple aspects.

*The Gyeongheo Collection*, the collected dharma-talks and Seon poetry by Gyeongheo, the figure responsible for reviving modern Korean Seon Buddhism, is a significant text in that it shows us the mode of the transformation of Korean Buddhist thought during the interim period until modern times. Yongseong's *Sun Over the*



*Sea of Enlightenment*, one of the most representative works of this time, represents the author's earnest intent to reform and modernize Korean Buddhism. This work also elucidates essential points of Seon practice and Buddhist doctrine. Seokjeon's *An Anthology of East Asian Commentaries on the Nyāyapraveśa*, a variorum text on Buddhist logic, is an important Buddhist philosophical text that shows the research level of modern Korean Buddhism in Buddhist logic. Gim Yeongsu's *Sheaves of Korean Buddhist History*, a Buddhist historiography, provides chronological accounts of Buddhist history since the first transmission of Buddhism during the Three Kingdoms period. The text also provides a systematic description of the history of Korean Buddhist orders and schools, including the "Five Doctrinal [schools] and Nine Mountains [traditions of Seon]" (Ogyo Gusan 五教九山) and the "Five Doctrinal [schools] and Two [Meditative] Traditions" (Ogyo Yangjong 五教兩宗). Go Yuseop's *A Study of Korean Pagoda*, which contains explanations of Korean stone pagodas from the perspective of their architectural style, is a monumental work in the field of Korean Buddhist art history because it not only established in scholarship the standard style of Korean Buddhist pagodas but also created the basic framework in the periodization and appreciation of Korean pagodas.

Yi Neunghwa's *Harmonizing the Hundred Teachings*, a work that compares Buddhism to other eleven religions, such as Confucianism, Taoism, Christianity, Islamism, Brahmanism, and so on, reveals the level of religious studies during the modern period in Korea. Choe Chwiheo and An Jinho's *Essential Compendium for Buddhists: A Modern Buddhist Liturgy*, the earliest modern text on Buddhist rituals, shows not only how Buddhist rituals changed during the modern times but also how Buddhism was popularized and modernized. *The Temple of Words: An Anthology of Modern Korean Buddhist Poetry*, a compilation of Buddhist verse written by modern Buddhist poets such as Han Yongun, Seo Jeongju, and Jo Jihun, demonstrates that the Buddhist spiritual world served as the foundation of poetic lyricism for the modern intellectuals. *Tracts on the Modern Reformation of*

*Korean Buddhism* is a collection of essays written by modern Buddhist reformers, such as Gwon Sangro, Han Yongun, Yi Yeongjae. These writings reflect these Buddhists' awareness of the contemporary need to respond the changing times with the appropriate transformation of Buddhism. These texts show us the social and historical situation that Korean Buddhism had to confront in modern times. *A Collection of Modern Korean Buddhist Discourses*, written by such modern Korean thinkers as Choe Namseon, Kang Yumun, Gwon Sangro, Gim Beomnin, Gim Yeongsu, Gim Taeheup, and so forth, is a collection of editorials that discuss issues related to the Korean Buddhist tradition and its modernization. These writings may be said one of the most representative Buddhist works of the time because they contain discourses on immediate social and ideological problems of the day.

For each of the ten volumes, the Editorial Committee invited a specialist in each subject and entrusted them with the responsibility of the translation. Both domestic and foreign scholars participated in proofreading and reviewing the translation, by comparing the draft to the original and checking the appropriateness of English expressions. In this way, the Editorial Committee has done its best so that both accuracy in translation and the translators' intention are preserved. The translators of the volumes include David McCann, John Jorgensen, Tonino Puggioni, Seonjoon Young, Pori Park, Suh Junghyung, Kim Sung-uk, Lee Seunghye, Ham Hyoung Seok, and Dan B. Jung. Those who worked as the proofreaders and reviewers are Richard D. McBride II, Mark Nathan, Cho Eun-su, Yun Woncheol, Kim Yongtae, Kang Hosun, Lee Sumi, Koh Seung-hak, Kim Jongjin, Park Inn-Suk, Kim Sooyoun, Hyeon Seo Seunim. Kim Junghee, the coordinator of the current project, has been devoted to her role throughout the process of translation and reviewing. Yi Deokyeol carried out the editing work during the final process of publication. Shim Jongsub worked for binding and printing the volumes. Yoo Hanrim, head of the publication department, supervised the whole process of publication. The project was only possible with the enthusiastic effort and selfless dedication of all of

these people.

I cannot let this opportunity pass without saying about the consistent interest and support from Ven. Jaseung, president of the Jogye Order, and Ven. Hyeoneung, president of Education Bureau of the Jogye Order. Ven. Jaseung, as president of Publication Committee, superintended the entire project in a responsible way. Ven. Hyeoneung particularly spared no pains to offer his helpful advice from the beginning stages of planning through the final publication. I would like to express my gratitude for his insightful assistance and encouragement whenever we were in need. Ven. Jin-Gak, chair of Executive Committee, and Ven. Su-Kyoung, director of Research Institute of Buddhist Studies, served as consultants to facilitate the process of planning, editing, and publication. Lee Seog-sim of Department of General Affairs contributed to maintaining a cooperative relationship with the government during the planning and implementation phases of the project. Park Yong Gyu and Ko Sang-hyun, and Choi Ae-Ri as well, resolved administrative issues and problems in a timely manner.

Without the dedicated participation and concerted effort of all these people, this project would not have been completed successfully. At this moment, we cannot but contemplate the Buddhist truth of dependent origination that everything comes to arise through mutual relationships based on numerous conditions. Lastly, as chair of the Editorial Board, I sincerely hope that the publication of the *Collected Works of Modern Korean Buddhism* contributes to the rediscovery of the value of Korean Buddhist culture by informing the whole world of the fact that Korean Buddhism absorbed the impact of modernity in its own way and thereby preserved its traditional identity throughout one thousand and seven hundred years of history.

Kim JongWook

Professor, Department of Buddhist Studies, Dongguk University  
Series Editor & Chair of the Editorial Board,  
*Collected Works of Modern Korean Buddhism*

## Contents

Foreword	_iv
Editor's Preface	_viii
List of Figures	_xvi
Acknowledgments	_xviii
Conventions	_xix

## Introduction \_1

Chapter 1	Significance of Pagodas	_35
Chapter 2	Records on Beginnings of Korean Buddhism	_39
Chapter 3	Building of Temples and the Changing Significance of Buddhist Halls and Pagodas	_44
Chapter 4	Relics of the Buddha and Changes in Historical Accounts of the Founding of Temples	_79
Chapter 5	The True Character of Korean Pagodas (Wooden Pagodas)	_96
Chapter 6	Brick Pagodas of Korea	_118
Chapter 7	Craft Pagodas of Korea	_132
Chapter 8	Stone Pagodas of Korea	_139

Notes \_188

Bibliography \_298

Appendix: Photographs of Korean Pagodas \_325

List of Plates \_327

Index \_453

Contributors \_462

The Committee Organization of the Publication Project of the *Collected Works of Modern Korean Buddhism* \_464

Korean Buddhism Library's *Collected Works of Modern Korean Buddhism* \_468

## List of Figures

The list provides the sources of photographs published in this book. Those in the collection of the author are marked as “Go Yuseop Archive” with his notes written on the back of them, regarding the building material, dimensions, building date, change in the location, and the name of a photographer or donor if there are any.

**Figure I.** Structure of a Stone Pagoda.

After Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu* (1948), 33, Fig. 1 (adopted with modifications).

**Figure 1.** Plan of the temple site at Cheongam-ri, Pyeongyang.

After Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu* (1948), Fig. 3 (adopted with modifications).

**Figure 2.** Plan of the Mireuksa site, Iksan (before excavation).

After Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu* (1948), 147, Fig. 4 (adopted with modifications).

**Figure 3.** Plan of the ruins of a temple site at Gunsu-ri, Buyeo.

After Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu* (1948), 148, Fig. 5 (adopted with modifications).

**Figure 4.** Relic pagoda of Bohyeonsa, Yeongbyeon, Pyeonganbuk-do.

Go Yuseop Archive. [Joseon. Photographed by Go Yuseop on June 4, 1938.]

**Figure 5.** Pagoda at the Won'gaksa site, Keijō [Seoul], Tapdong Park.

Go Yuseop Archive. [Marble. [Built in] the fourth month of twelfth year of King Sejo (1466).]

**Figure 6.** Pagoda of Magoksa, Gongju, Chungcheongnam-do.

Go Yuseop Archive. [28 *cheok* 8 *chon* (8.72 meters) high.]

**Figure 7.** Thirteen-storied gilt-bronze [miniature] pagoda. Private collection in America.

Andre Eckardt, *Geschichte der koreanischen Kunst* (Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann, 1929).

**Figure 8.** Five-storied pagoda of Jeungsimsa, Gwangju, Jeollanam-do.

Go Yuseop Archive. [Photographed by Imaseki Mitsuo 今關孝夫 on March 18, 1935.]

**Figure 9.** Dae'ungjeon (Hall of the Great Hero) of Ssangbongsa, Hwasun, Jeollanam-do.

Go Yuseop Archive. [*Chōsen kōseki zūfu*, 12:5735.]

**Figure 10.** Three-storied stone pagoda at the Hyangseongsa site, Yangyang, Gwangwon-do.

Go Yuseop Archive. [4.678 meters high in total, one side of the platform measuring 2.68 meters wide. Photograph provided by Nakagiri 中吉 of the Museum of the Government-General of Korea in 1942.]

**Figure 11.** West five-storied stone pagoda at the Janghang-ri temple site, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do.

Go Yuseop Archive. [30.8 *cheok* (9.33 meters) high in total, platform measuring 7.67 *cheok* (2.32

meters) high in total, the first-story pagoda body measuring 4.91 *cheok* (1.48 meters) high and 5.89 *cheok* (1.78 meters) wide. Restored in 1932 (collapsed in 1925). Photograph provided by Keijō Imperial University.]

**Figure 12.** West five-storied pagoda at Hwaeomsa, Gurye, Jeollanam-do.  
Go Yuseop Archive. [Photographed by Imaseki Mitsuo on March 24, 1935.]

**Figure 13.** Five-storied stone pagoda at the Gaesimsa site, Yecheon, Gyeongsangbuk-do.  
After Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu*, 1:287, Fig. 48.

**Figure 14.** East (above) and west (below) three-storied pagodas of Silsangsa, Namwon, Jeollabuk-do.  
Go Yuseop Archive. [South pagoda, measuring 8.2 meters high in total, north pagoda, measuring 8.2 meters high in total. Photograph provided by Bak Hyeongjin 朴衡鎭.]

**Figure 15.** Three-storied stone pagoda at the Yongjangsa site, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do.  
After Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu*, 1:295, Fig. 50.

**Figure 16.** Relic pagoda [Diamond Ordination Platform] of Tongdosa, Yangsan, Gyeongsangnam-do.  
After Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu*, 1:296, Fig. 51.

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## Conventions

Ch. Chinese

Jp. Japanese

Kr. Korean

Skt. Sanskrit

Korean transcriptions are noted by Kr. only when they are accompanied by Chinese or Japanese transcriptions.

T: *Taishō shishū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 [Taishō Edition of the Buddhist Canon], ed. Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 et al. 85 vols. Tokyo: Taishō issaikyō kankōkai, 1924–1933. Also in CBETA electronic database <http://www.cbeta.org/index.htm>. Texts are abbreviated as T, followed by the work number, volume number, page number, the register (a, b, or c), and line number(s).

X: *Wan xu zang jing* 卍續藏經. 150 vols. Taiwan: Xinwenfeng Chuban Gongsi, 1968–1970 (Reprint of *Dai Nihon zoku zōkyō*. 150 vols. Kyoto: Zōkyō Shoin, 1905–1912). Texts are abbreviated as X., followed by the work number, volume number, page number, and the registry column (a or b).

Transcriptions of Asian languages follow the standard romanization systems used in academic publication: revised romanization for Korean, pinyin for Chinese, and revised Hepburn for Japanese.

Citation from the *Samguk yusa* 三國遺事 is listed in the following manner: title of the work in romanization; volume number of the original manuscript; and title of the article in English translation supplemented by transliteration and Chinese characters and followed by the reference to the passage in the *Taishō* canon—for example, *Samguk yusa* 5, “Myeongnang of the Secret Seal” (Myeongnang Sinin 明郎神印); *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.1011b08.

Citation from the *Samguk sagi* 三國史記 is listed in a similar manner, and based on the 2011 edition by the Academy of Korean Studies. The “Bon’gi” 本紀 (Annals) sections of the *Samguk sagi* are listed as follows—for example, *Samguk sagi* 4, “King Jinpyeong,” nineteenth year; Han’gukhak jungang yeon’guwon 韓國學中央研究院, ed., *Yeokju Samguk sagi* 譯註 三國史記 [Translation and Annotation of the *Samguk sagi*] (Seongnam: Han’gukhak jungang yeon’guwon, 2011), 1: 139.

When appeared again, the *Samguk yusa* or *Samguk sagi* account is listed in an abbreviated format—for example, *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.1010b26–b27 or *Samguk sagi* 5, “Seondeok wang,” third year; *Yeokju Samguk sagi*, 1: 144.

Citations from other primary texts, including the *Goryeosa* 高麗史, the *Goryeosa jeoryo* 高麗史節要, the *Dongguk yeoji seungnam* 東國輿地勝覽, the *Dongguk Yi sangguk jip* 東國李相國集, and the like, follow a similar citation style, which identify the volume numbers of both the original manuscript and modern reprint. If there are English translations of the works cited, I have provided them in translator’s notes when applicable.

As of the Romanization of Korean terms and names, this series has some exceptions for its application as far as the revised romanization system allows. Firstly, the Korean author’s name is identified by his or her chosen spelling, otherwise it is romanized following the revised romanization for Korean. Secondly, to avoid the phonetic confusions, hyphens and apostrophes are used in some cases: an apostrophe usually lies in between letters not to join and make a phoneme, but a hyphen does specifically in a person’s name. Thirdly, the surnames of Kang, Noh, Shin, and Yi are alternatively transcribed as such to avoid supposedly uncomfortable implications or phonetic confusions of their romanized names. Lastly, the names of Korean Buddhist temples are romanized in a following manner—for example, Mireuksa 彌勒寺.

Traditional Chinese characters are used for both primary and secondary sources. Accordingly, simplified Chinese characters or Chinese characters unique to Korea and Japan are converted to traditional Chinese characters.

## Introduction

The *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu* 朝鮮 塔婆의 研究 (A Study of Korean Pagodas, 1948), authored by Go Yuseop 高裕燮 (1905–1944), is one of the earliest book-length studies entirely devoted to Korean pagodas. Originally an unpublished manuscript that Go Yuseop worked on until his death, the *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu* marks the culmination of his lifelong involvement with Korean Buddhist pagodas as an academic pursuit. It remains still one of the most important books not only in the studies of Korean Buddhist pagodas, but also in the historiography of Korean art history in its entirety. Historical significance of this canonical work is closely intertwined with its author, who occupies a unique position in the field of Korean art history.

Go Yuseop, whose pen name was Uhyeon 又玄, is remembered for his intellectual rigor, and unique scholarly breadth on the history of art and architecture of Korea. He was the first and sole Korean art historian who received modern academic education during the Japanese colonial period (1910–1945). His scholarship, encompassing painting, sculpture, crafts, and architecture of Korea, is built upon stylistic analysis of art objects, backed by solid documentations that he culled from a wide range of primary sources. Though Go Yuseop passed away at the age of mere forty-five years, his scholarly contributions to Korean art history have outlived its author.<sup>1</sup> From the 1970s onward, Go Yuseop and his scholarship on Korean art and the Korean sense of beauty received intense scholarly attention from aestheticians and art historians, who unanimously recognized him as a pioneer of Korean art history. Much has been said on the “achievements” and “limitations” of Go Yuseop’s scholarship.<sup>2</sup> Complete works of Go Yuseop have been published twice,<sup>3</sup> and a

few symposia were held in commemoration of centenary of his birth in 2005.<sup>4</sup> In retrospect, the crowning of Go Yuseop as a luminary in the field is inseparable from the “unfortunate beginning of Korean art history” at the turn of the twentieth century.<sup>5</sup> Go Yuseop was honored partly because he wrote against Japanese government scholars who had been studying artistic legacies of Korea as part of a larger colonial project. In this respect, Go Yuseop was rather discovered, or upheld at the least, by a new generation of Korean art historians who aimed to overcome the vestiges of Japanese colonial view of history. Thus, a few words are in due regarding Go Yuseop’s pioneering endeavors in historical context, before delving into the formation, structure, and translation of the *Joseon tappa ui yeon’gu*.

### **The Formation of a Scholar in Its Historical Context**

Go Yuseop was the first Korean who studied art and architecture of his home country from a modern art historical perspective, oftentimes combined with an aesthetic perspective. The integration of aesthetics and art history in Go Yuseop’s scholarship, which sounds a bit unusual in light of disciplinary boundaries today, originated from his educational background. In 1925, aged 21, Go Yuseop was admitted to Keijō Imperial University (京城帝國大學, hereafter Keijō), the only modern university in Korea during the Japanese colonial period.<sup>6</sup> Located in present-day Seoul, Keijō was the sixth Imperial University of Japan founded in 1924 as part of the transitory policy from the military government to cultural government. As a colonial university, Keijō was run by the Government-General of Korea (Jp. Chōsen sōtokufu 朝鮮總督府, 1910–1945) unlike other imperial universities located in Japan. Having completed two-year preparatory course, Go Yuseop chose to major in aesthetics and art history in the Department of Philosophy in an attempt to study the nature of beauty in Korean art.<sup>7</sup> The combined major in aesthetics and art history was a uniquely Japanese product: art historical studies were still considered being rooted in aesthetic values, and for that reason,

aesthetics professors gave classes on Western art history in the early twentieth-century Japan.<sup>8</sup> At Keijō, during the years between 1927 and 1930, Go Yuseop took Introduction to Aesthetics, Introduction to Art, and Western Art History from Professor Ueno Naoteru 上野直昭 (1882–1973), head of the aesthetics section and his advisor.<sup>9</sup> He studied Chinese and Japanese art in the classroom of Professor Tanaka Tōjo 田中豊藏 (1881–1948), the only art history professor in the department.<sup>10</sup> Although Go Yuseop attended lectures on ancient Korean culture given by Fujita Ryōsaku 藤田亮策 (1892–1960),<sup>11</sup> he could not take courses on Korean art history because Tanaka was an expert of Chinese painting history. Accordingly, Go Yuseop appears to have formulated his own perspective on Korean art outside the classrooms at Keijō by critically reading writings of Japanese scholars.<sup>12</sup>

Go Yuseop managed to work as a research assistant in the aesthetics section of the Department of Philosophy at Keijō from March 1930 to March 1933 following his graduation. A segment of his diary dated December 5, 1929 offers a glimpse of what this young, ambitious Korean intellectual planned to do right after the graduation. He resolved to write a book on the history of Western art within a year of assistantship, and conduct research on Bulguksa 佛國寺 in Gyeongju 慶州 and the history of Buddhist art within two years.<sup>13</sup> It was at this time that Go Yuseop shifted his interest from aesthetics to more specific art historical studies, according to the Japanese art historian Nakagiri Isao 中吉功 (b. 1908), a former colleague at the aesthetics section at Keijō.<sup>14</sup> Nakagiri recalled that he urged Go Yuseop to study stone pagodas of Korea since there had only been Sekino Tadashi's (關野貞, 1868–1935) studies on the subject. Nakagiri appears to have referred to Sekino's "Chōsen no sekitōba" 朝鮮の石塔波 (Korean Stone Pagodas), originally published in five installments in the journal *Kokka* 國華 from 1912 to 1913.<sup>15</sup> Go Yuseop is said to have said that Nakagiri's words triggered his interest in Korean stone pagodas.<sup>16</sup>

Korean art history was still an unexplored field during the early

1930s. The most widely available monograph on Korean art history was Sekino Tadashi's *Chōsen bijutsushi* 朝鮮美術史 (History of Korean Art), published in 1932.<sup>17</sup> Although the Western interest in Korean art had resulted in publication of books on Korean art such as Ernst Zimmermann's *Koreanisch Kunst* (1902) and Andreas Eckardt's (1884–1971) *Geschichte der koreanischen Kunst* (1929),<sup>18</sup> these works were not widely read among students of Korean art for whom the primary research languages were modern Japanese and classical Chinese. Sekino's *Chōsen bijutsushi*, in fact, marks the culmination of his three-decades of field research in Korea.<sup>19</sup> Many scholars have pointed out that studies of Korean art history had already begun with surveys of ancient artworks and historic sites by Japanese scholars at the turn of the twentieth century, and that such efforts were not purely intellectual but driven by the imperialist agenda of Japanese government.<sup>20</sup> Sekino—an architect, architectural historian, and field researcher trained at Tokyo Imperial University—was one of the first academics who were sent to conduct fieldwork in Korea in the beginning of the twentieth century. In 1902, Tokyo Imperial University sent Sekino to Korea to survey historic remains of Korea. Two years later, Sekino's two-month investigations resulted in the publication of the first academic report, entitled *Kankoku kenchiku chōsa hōkoku* 韓國建築調査報告 (Report of the Survey of Korean Architecture), featuring descriptions, sketches and photographs of all the known historical remains located at Gyeongju, Gaeseong 開城, Pyeongyang 平壤, and Gyeongseong 京城. Written in a period when the disciplinary divides among archaeology, art history and architectural history were still blurry, it foreshadowed reports of similar sort to be published in the next forty years under the Japanese colonial rule. From 1909 to 1915, Sekino and his assistants traveled across the Korean Peninsula to conduct comprehensive surveys of Korea's historical remains and antiquities for three to four months in every autumn.<sup>21</sup> The survey results were published as the *Chōsen koseki zufu* 朝鮮古蹟圖譜 (Album of Ancient Korean Sites and Monuments), fifteen volumes in total, from 1915 to 1935 by the Government-

General of Korea.<sup>22</sup> In this well-known series, historical remains and architectural monuments of Korea are represented by photographs and drawings without detailed descriptions.<sup>23</sup> In other words, from 1905 onward the Korean art objects and monuments were excavated, identified, photographed, and classified into categories that had not existed, not to mention that they were placed in an order given by Japanese government scholars and by extension, the Japanese colonial government.<sup>24</sup>

After all, Sekino's *Chōsen bijutsushi* was written on the basis of surveys of Korean art and architecture sponsored by the Government-General of Korea. The book is based on Sekino's notes for the lecture series, entitled Chōsenshi kōza 朝鮮史講座 (Lectures on Korean History), organized by Chōsenshi gakkai 朝鮮史學會 (Korean History Association) in 1923.<sup>25</sup> Composed of seven main chapters, the book examines Korean art according to the dynastic divisions of Korean history, beginning with the Han dynasty Commandery of Lelang and ending with Joseon. It narrates history of Korean art from a perspective based on Japan's colonialism, which is most clearly manifested in the theories of environmental determinism and artistic heteronomy.<sup>26</sup> Sekino argued that Korean art was entirely derived from Chinese art. He further claimed that Korean art reached its climax in the Unified Silla and then gradually declined through the Goryeo and Joseon dynasties. Sekino's meticulous examination of objects and comparison of details among similar works were merely in support of the larger colonial perspective. Go Yuseop once assessed that it is "valuable for its historical materials, although it simply lists registered art objects."<sup>27</sup>

Japanese interest in the subjects of ancient art, Buddhist architecture, and Goryeo celadons appear to have oriented Go Yuseop's scholarly interest, even though he was keenly aware of their limitations.<sup>28</sup> The research data and scholarship that had been accumulated by Japanese scholars became a departure for Go Yuseop. In the *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu*, Go Yuseop frequently cited Japanese research including books and papers on archaeology, art history, and

architecture by Sekino Tadashi, Hamada Kōsaku 濱田耕作 (1881–1938), Umehara Sueji 梅原末治 (1893–1983), and Fujishima Gaijirō 藤島亥治郎 (1889–1961) among others. The most often-cited works are Sekino's *Chōsen koseki zufu* and *Chōsen no kenchiku to geijutsu* (1941) and Fujishima's series of articles entitled "Chōsen kenchikushi ron" 朝鮮建築史論 [Study on the History of Korean Architecture] (1930). The catalogue of Go Yuseop's book collection provides a glimpse of what he read and what he wrote against.<sup>29</sup> In addition to the works just mentioned, the publications on Korean art and architecture by the Government-General of Korea, such as annual reports of the archaeological survey, are prominent. However, as we will see shortly, Go Yuseop departed from previous studies by Japanese scholars in terms of methodology and eventually transcended them, since the latter focused on pinpointing commonalities between ancient Korean and Japanese art.

### Go Yuseop's Study of Korean Pagodas

Collecting materials is the first difficulty, followed by the problem of establishing an interpretive methodology. Acquiring enough material on historical context is yet another hurdle. Due to the lack of studies on the history of ideas in Korea, it is hard to satisfy my intention to see a work of art as more than a manifestation of superficial changes in style.<sup>30</sup>

The unpublished manuscript, "Academic Difficulties" (Hangan 學難), best exemplifies Go Yuseop's academic concerns in the 1930s. The first difficulty seems to have been overcome by Go's tireless efforts to discover primary sources, both visual and textual. His research method is characterized by a combination of field research, which includes firsthand examination of objects of study, taking measurements and photos, and thorough textual documentation. Although this may sound obvious today, it was not easy to travel firsthand to examine monuments *in situ* during the 1930s and to secure photographic



reproductions of art objects. During his assistantship at the aesthetic section at Keijō, Go Yuseop set out to collect more concrete resources by means of making frequent research trips to temples and historical remains, collecting photographs of pagodas, and drawing accounts relevant to art and architecture from various textual sources. A professional photographer, named Enjōji Isao 円成寺熏 of photo studio at Keijō, aided Go Yuseop's research on Korean pagodas. The results were shown in an exhibition, entitled "Exhibition of Photographs of Korea" (Jp. *Chōsen no shashin tankan* 朝鮮の寫眞展觀), at a middle-classroom at Keijō in March of 1934.<sup>31</sup> Sixty-three were selected from hundreds of photographs for the exhibition. The geographical locations of pagodas captured in photographs attest to Go Yuseop's untiring field research, traversing the north and south of the Korean Peninsula.<sup>32</sup> Search of visual and textual sources for the study of Korean art continued after Go Yuseop moved to Gaeseong to start for his new post as director of Gaeseong Prefectural Museum in 1933.<sup>33</sup>

To overcome the second academic difficulty, Go Yuseop turned to new methods and terminology, developed in European academia at the turn of the twentieth century. Go Yuseop's keen interest in methodology distinguishes him from his contemporary art critiques.<sup>34</sup> In "Academic Difficulties," Go Yuseop summoned three influential European art historians by name, representative of different art historical methods: Heinrich Wölfflin (1864–1945), who argued for the need to find out the style characteristic of a period in works of art; Alois Riegl (1858–1905) of the Vienna School, who conceived the *Kunstwollen*, or "artistic will," which drives the evolution of style; and V. M. Friche (1870–1929), a Russian Marxist art historian who argued for the need to understand art objects within their socio-historical contexts.<sup>35</sup> However, the third academic difficulty originated from insufficient sources in related fields kept him from fully realizing his intention.

His application of formalism is best exemplified by the decade-long study of Korean pagodas. In 1932 Go Yuseop published his first

paper on the topic, entitled “Joseon tappa ui gaeseol” 朝鮮塔婆의 概說 (Introduction to Korean Pagodas) in an academic magazine, *Sinheung* 新興.<sup>36</sup> Go Yuseop classified pagodas according to three criteria of founding motives, building materials, and plan. His study of Korean pagodas was much more advanced in “Joseon tappa ui yeon’gu,” articles in three installments that he published in the journal *Jindan hakbo* 震檀學報 from 1936 to 1940.<sup>37</sup> The *Jindan hakbo* articles provide an overview of Korean pagodas in typological order of brick pagodas, wooden pagodas and stone pagodas. Of the three types of Korean pagodas, Go Yuseop elaborated upon stone pagodas, which have survived abundantly, from their emergence to full-fledged development by means of comparative stylistic analysis of extant examples. He defined “the prototypical style” (*siwon yangsik* 始原樣式), based on which “the standard style” (*jeonhyeong yangsik* 典型樣式) was established, and discussed the changes in the standard style. The articles represent the quintessence of Go Yuseop’s scholarship on Korean pagodas. Go Yuseop’s methodology allowed him to argue against Sekino’s then obsolete theory of Korean pagodas and, by extension, biased perception of Korean art. It is best manifested in Go Yuseop’s argument on the dating of two stone pagodas of Baekje: the stone pagoda of the Mireuksa site (彌勒寺址) in Iksan and “Pyeongjetap” 平濟塔 (hereafter Pyeongje Pagoda) in Buyeo. The intellectual atmosphere of the time, in which Go Yuseop and his contemporary Japanese scholars were writing, is best summarized by Go Yuseop’s own words:

In retrospect, it might have been unreasonable to ask Dr. Sekino to analyze the pagoda in stylistic terms since he was active in a period of surveying and collecting data when their analysis was yet to be done. That no revisions or dissenting arguments have been proposed until now, almost forty years after his time, is it because there have been no objections or because no one dares to challenge his authority? No matter what the reason, it is regrettable for academia. With regard to Korean cultural relics, there has been almost no scholarly consensus

reached by written discussion or argument; they are mostly discussed among dilettanti at unofficial occasions or gatherings, or debated orally; the next thing one knows it is that those conclusions are codified with no author's name attached; given these circumstances, perhaps revisions or different views may have been published in some magazines or periodicals.<sup>38</sup>

Although the issue of mutual relation between the Mireuksa Pagoda to the Pyeongje Pagoda still remains unresolved, Go Yuseop's argument against Sekino in a period when nobody would dare challenge his authority has become an important part of historiography of Korean pagodas. The methodological framework—establishing a temporal sequence of the pagodas by means of formal analysis of a given pagoda and comparative analysis of style embodied in multiple examples, backed by textual accounts and documentations—came to serve as a standard for situating undated pagodas in their places in history. By means of stylistic analysis, Go Yuseop transcended Sekino and his successors' works.

Another major contribution Go Yuseop made is found in his effort to establish terminology for the study of Korean stone pagodas. In retrospect, Go Yuseop turned to Japanese academia in search for terms to describe complex structural components of a stone pagoda.<sup>39</sup> He introduced a set of terms, originally used in reference to corresponding parts of a Japanese timber-frame pagoda, in the form of a drawing with notations of individual components of a stone pagoda in the second installment of his *Jindan hakbo* articles (1939).<sup>40</sup> A slightly modified version of the drawing was published in *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu*, the first posthumous publication of his studies of Korean pagodas in 1948.<sup>41</sup> In this drawing, a stone pagoda is first divided into three major parts of “platform” (*gidan* 基壇), “pagoda body” (*tapsin* 塔身), and “finial” (Kr. *sangnyun* [Jp. *sōrin*] 相輪). Of particular note is the finial part, the vertical shaft protruding above the main structure of a pagoda. He further divided the finial into several components from “dew plate” (Kr. *noban* [Jp. *roban*])

露盤),<sup>42</sup> “inverted bowl” (Kr. *bokbal* [Jp. *fukubachi*] 覆鉢),<sup>43</sup> “upturned flower” (*anghwa* 仰花),<sup>44</sup> “precious disk” (Kr. *boryun* [Jp. *hōrin*] 寶輪),<sup>45</sup> “precious canopy” (Kr. *bogae* [Jp. *hōgai*] 寶蓋),<sup>46</sup> “water flame” (Kr. *sujeon* [Jp. *suien*] 水烟),<sup>47</sup> “dragon vehicle” (Kr. *yongcha* [Jp. *ryūsha*] 龍車),<sup>48</sup> “precious jewel” (Kr. *boju* [Jp. *hōju*] 寶珠),<sup>49</sup> to “temple pole” (*chalgan* 擦竿) or “temple pillar” (*chalju* 擦柱)<sup>50</sup> towards top. Some of them such as “finial,” “dew plate,” or “inverted bowl” often appear in traditional Buddhist texts and had been widely used in reference to structural components of pagodas, buildings, and architectonic objects throughout East Asia. It is unclear where the term *anghwa* was originated.<sup>51</sup> The expression *chalju* had been used in Korea as attested by its appearance in the “Record of the Central Pillar” (*Chalju gi* 剎柱記) of 872, which documents the history of the famous Nine-Storied Pagoda of Hwangnyongsa 皇龍寺 in Gyeongju.<sup>52</sup> In contrast, the “dragon vehicle” and “water flame” are known to have been coined during the Edo 江戸 (1603–1868) period in Japan.<sup>53</sup> After all, it was modern Japanese scholars who first devised this set of terms and codified their usages in academic writings on pagodas.<sup>54</sup> For instance, the Japanese art historian Sugiyama Nobuzō 杉山信三 (1906–1997), an acquaintance of Go Yuseop,<sup>55</sup> introduced almost identical set of terms with exceptions of *ukebana* 請花 in lieu of *anghwa* and *honi* 鉢 in place of *chalju* in his study of Korean pagodas.<sup>56</sup> Go Yuseop must have known Sugiyama’s work given that it was included in his book collection. Considering that the book was published in March, 1944—three months before Go Yuseop’s passing—, Go was not able to incorporate his response to Sugiyama’s work in his study. Go Yuseop’s terminology has become standard in later studies on the subject to date,<sup>57</sup> despite dissenting opinions that have recently surfaced regarding its validity.<sup>58</sup>

The methodological framework discussed above echoes Go Yuseop’s definition of the practice of art history: “searching out various works of art and organizing them in time and space so that the spirit and culture of a period or era can be more clearly understood.”<sup>59</sup> Go Yuseop’s empirical analysis of Korean pagodas is

built upon close observations and comparisons among similar works, as well as supported by historical documentation. It differs markedly from Sekino's previous work, which is little more than listing factual information of individual pagodas. Go Yuseop's method of dating pagodas, most of which remain anonymous and undated, has been firmly established as a fundamental method for later generations of scholars. More importantly, the pagoda—the object of worship in Buddhism—was transformed for the first time into an object of modern scholarly discipline in his studies.<sup>60</sup>

### **Synopsis of the *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu***

*Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu* (1948), widely regarded as the major work of Go Yuseop, traces out historical unfolding of Korean Buddhist pagodas through meticulous stylistic analysis. Originally, Go Yuseop envisioned a book devoted to Korean pagodas consisting of two parts for Japanese readers. The first half, entitled “Overview” (Chongnon 總論), would provide comprehensive introduction to the topic, beginning from a discussion on the definition of the term pagoda and ending with a stylistic analysis of stone pagodas of Korea. The second half, entitled “Topical Treatises” (Gangnon 各論), would include focused discussions of individual pagodas. The structure of the book manifests Go Yuseop's intention to write history of art, differing from poetic appreciation without scholarly basis and a collection of descriptions of individual artifacts and monuments registered in inventory. In other words, in his original plan, the “Overview” would provide a necessary introduction to the reader and the “Topical Treatises” would lead the reader to individual pagodas on which the author based his arguments. The manuscript of *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu* was edited and translated into Korean by his protégé, Hwang Suyeong—one of the pioneers in the field of Korean art history—,<sup>61</sup> and published for the first time in 1948 by Euryu munhwasa 乙酉文化社 four years after author's premature death. However, the book was not published in the form that he envisioned to be at the

time. The 1948 edition of the *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu* is composed of two parts. The first part corresponds to the *Jindan hakbo* articles, and included in this edition under the subtitle of “Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu (gi il)” 朝鮮 塔婆의 研究 (其一) [Research on Korean Pagodas 1]. The second part, entitled “Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu (gi i)” 朝鮮 塔婆의 研究 (其二) [Research on Korean Pagodas 2], corresponds to the “Overview” from the unpublished manuscript that the author worked on until his death in 1944. The *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu*, on which the present translation is based, corresponds to the second part of the 1948 edition.

*Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu* (1948), the original text of this translation, extends the scope of the *Jindan hakbo* articles by adding introductory discussions on various matters fundamental to the study of pagodas such as the definition of the pagoda, introduction of Buddhism to Korea, accounts of the founding of temples and pagodas, and relationship between Buddhist relics and pagoda, as well as adding a chapter newly written on craft pagodas. The first half of the book, chapters one to four, is intended to guide the reader to the world of pagodas.

Chapter 1, “Significance of Pagodas” serves as an introduction to the entire text by providing explanation on the meaning, both semantic and religious, of the pagoda. The term *tap* is derived from a Sanskrit word, *stūpa* that originally means a tomb in which relics of the Buddha were held. In this sense, *stūpa* differs from a *caitya*, which primarily functions as a commemorative monument. The construction of pagodas to enshrine relics of the Buddha, an embodiment of the Buddha, was a significant act of devotion for Buddhist across Asia, and entailed changes in significance and forms in accordance with the development of Buddhist doctrines.

Chapter 2, “Records on Beginnings of Korean Buddhism” sheds light on Korea's reception of Buddhism, an essential precondition for the construction of pagodas. The chapter offers a brief overview on the spread of Buddhism to the three Korean kingdoms of Goguryeo 高句麗 (37 BCE–668 CE), Baekje 百濟 (18 BCE–660 CE) and Silla 新羅

(57 BCE–935 CE), as well as the changes of Buddhism following the dynastic divisions of Korean history. The primary sources upon which Go Yuseop based his discussions are the *Samguk yusa* 三國遺事 (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms) and the *Samguk sagi* 三國史記 (History of the Three Kingdoms)—the two earliest surviving texts on early Korean history.<sup>62</sup> Goguryeo and Baekje received Buddhism via China sometime between the latter half of the fourth century and the first half of the fifth century, where Silla, located in the southeastern corner of the peninsula, approved Buddhism officially in the first half of the sixth century. However, the last days of Goguryeo witnessed decline of Buddhism. Korean Buddhism reached its height in the Unified Silla. Mixing of Buddhism with indigenous beliefs during the Goryeo 高麗 (918–1392) brought about various negative effects, which eventually led to suppression of Buddhism in following Joseon 朝鮮 (1392–1910) dynasty.

Chapter 3, “Building of Temples and the Changing Significance of Buddhist Halls and Pagodas,” draws our attention to the issue of shifting importance of Buddha hall and pagoda in Buddhist temples. The author conducted a comprehensive examination of textual accounts of Buddhist temples and pagodas that he painstakingly had collected in primary sources vis-à-vis extant temples and ruins of temple sites, most of which were subject to his field surveys. The earliest records on the introduction of Buddhism to the Three Kingdoms are focused on the production of Buddhist images or founding of temples, while being reticent about the erection of pagodas. Go Yuseop complemented lack of textual evidence by bringing in archaeological data yielded from excavations, however cursory. This type of data was totally new to most Korean scholars and surely a byproduct of colonial investigations. The excavations of temple sites, whose early founding dates are confirmed by textual accounts, cemented the fact that a pagoda, or twin pagodas in the Unified Silla, was built without exception when a temple was founded. Go Yuseop demonstrated that the significance of Buddha hall where the Buddhist images were installed gradually surpassed the

pagoda with the passage of time through a comparison of the area that a pagoda and a Buddha hall occupied in the sites of Geumgangsang of Goguryeo, of Mireuksa of Baekje, and of an unidentified temple site in Gunsu-ri in the former territory of Baekje. For Go Yuseop, a distinctive layout of temples in which twin pagodas stood in front of the Buddha hall emerged for the same reason. He convincingly demonstrated that the arrangement of buildings within the temple precinct changed in accordance with the competing importance of pagoda and Buddha hall.

Chapter 4, “Relics of the Buddha and Changes in Historical Accounts of the Founding of Temples,” presents Go Yuseop’s view on driving forces behind the founding of Buddhist temples through an examination of textual accounts. According to Go Yuseop’s explanation, the transmission of relics of the Buddha entailed founding of temples within which Buddha images were to be installed and pagodas to be erected. Temples began to be founded in wish for worldly benefits from the late Silla period onward following a theory of “supplementing and remedying”—a kind of geomantic theory that appeared in the late-Silla. By the Goryeo period, temples were erected not to worship relics of the Buddha but to pray for worldly benefits. The author’s argument regarding the decline of Korean Buddhism, manifested in the form of secularization, mirrors contemporary Japanese scholars’ portrayal of Korean Buddhism and Korean history.

The latter half of the book provides a discussion of pagodas, which are roughly classified into four types following their materiality. Each is devoted to timber, brick, metal and others, and stone in sequence.<sup>63</sup> In particular, an evolutionary narrative of Korean pagodas forms the backbone of chapter 5, “The True Character of Korean Pagodas (Wooden Pagodas),” chapter 6, “Brick Pagodas of Korea,” and chapter 8, “Stone Pagodas of Korea.” The narrative is backed by author’s formal comparisons of extant pagodas representative of each type and country. Korean pagodas began to be built with wood. Stone pagodas of Baekje were built in the style of



wooden architecture, whereas stone pagodas of Silla were born out of visual idioms appropriated from wooden and brick pagodas. The latter constituted a standard style of Korean stone pagodas, which became degenerated and showcased increasing degree of decorative aspects. This argument has been proven to be valid: early Baekje pagodas show structural affinities with the timber-frame buildings and Silla pagodas demonstrate formal aspects of wooden and brick pagodas. In particular, Go Yuseop's discussion of the Mireuksa Pagoda and Pyeongje Pagoda (i.e. the five-storied pagoda at Jeongnimsa site) bears the hallmark of his methodology. The relationship between these two Baekje pagodas has become one of controversial issues that are still debated among scholars.<sup>64</sup>

### **Translation of the *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu***

The present book offers an annotated translation of the "Overview" from the 1948 edition of the work. The piece, written from autumn of 1943 until the last days of Go Yuseop, was completed by the author although it was published posthumously. As such, it best represents Go Yuseop's refined perspective on Korean pagodas and stands for his academic achievements. The original text has been reprinted for four times by different publishers. Although my English version of the book has been based on the 1948 edition, I have also consulted the revised and latest edition of the book, published by Youlhwadang in 2010.<sup>65</sup> The primary objective in translating the *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu* was to make it possible for the modern English speaker to experience firsthand the complex, and often limited, academic environment of Korea in the early twentieth century. Another objective was to bridge the temporal gap between the original text and the state-of-the-art research, as well as the spatial gap that remains between Korean academia and the English language scholarship by means of annotations. Since the 1970s, the field of Korean art history has grown to a degree that Go Yuseop would have never imagined. The archaeological scholarship has experienced

rapid growth during the last several decades, too. In particular, the sites of Buddhist temples located in the southern part of Korean Peninsula have been extensively surveyed and excavated by a number of research institutions. Writing in the age of the first archaeological surveys of Korean Buddhist temples by Japanese scholars, Go Yuseop incorporated archaeological findings as much as possible in his studies of Korean pagodas. Following in the footsteps of the author, this translation aims to make the latest archaeological findings available to a wider community of readers. Author's original notes appear in endnotes at the end of the book, followed by translator's notes that supply more information on unclear terms and passages and introduce readers to relevant secondary sources.

Go Yuseop mentioned many works of traditional Korean texts, in addition to modern art historical research by their titles only without providing specific references or citing which editions he used. I have tried my best to provide more exact bibliographic information of citations, accompanied with references to the editions commonly used in Korean studies. In most cases, titles of primary and secondary sources are transcribed first, followed by characters in original language, and rendered in English. An English title already familiar to some readers has been used as in the case of the *Lotus Sūtra* (*Fahua jing*). For titles of secondary sources, new translations were devised in most cases. Unless otherwise noted, all English translations of citations appearing in author's original text are by the translator. As for Buddhist terminology, I have consulted the *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism* edited by Charles Muller and the *Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism* edited by Robert E. Buswell, Jr. and Donald Lopez. I have relied upon the *Japanese Architecture and Art Net Users System* for architectural terminology. Names, places, book titles, reign names, official titles, and titles for Buddhist schools originally written in Chinese characters are transcribed according to nationality. Terms and concepts are translated into English, accompanied by transcription and characters in original language. The first romanization of proper nouns and terminology are supplemented

by the addition of Korean, Chinese or Japanese characters for the convenience of readers. Traditional measurements are transcribed in Korean regardless of their nationality to minimize possible confusion. It is difficult to determine which measurement system was used in the design of ancient Korean sculpture or architecture. Numerical values of quantities appearing in traditional sources are converted into metric system only when the measurement system in question can be determined with certainty to avoid grave errors. Approximate results are then put in parentheses for readers' convenience. When Go Yuseop cited measurements taken by contemporary authors, I have assumed that they used the Japanese measurement system defined in 1891.

I have let the reigns of Chinese emperors and the sexagenarian years of the lunar calendar stand and added the corresponding dates of the Common Era in parentheses. Go Yuseop dated events in a rather unique way by counting years from the unification of Silla in 668 in the case of the Three Kingdoms and Unified Silla periods. Those dates are put in round brackets ([ ]) to differentiate them from the corresponding dates of the Common Era that I added. Go Yuseop's interlinear notes are, likewise, inserted within round brackets in keeping with the original convention of the 1948 edition. In addition, I have also put some of author's interlinear notes, which were originally put in parentheses in the 1948 edition, in round brackets in order to distinguish them from translator's notes in parentheses. Obvious misprints were corrected by the translator's discretion without individual comment in the notes. I have used pointy brackets (< >) to differentiate interlinear notes originally appearing in quotations, which are not authored by Go Yuseop. Translator's notes other than dates in the main text are put in square brackets ([ ]).

Although only the "Overview" of the book that Go Yuseop planned to publish is translated for want of space and time, illustrations in the "Topical Treatises" published by Youlhwadang in 2010 are included in this volume to help readers better understand

the conditions of pagodas that Go Yuseop made close observations for writing this book. When the pagoda in question is discussed in “Topical Treatises,” the editor marked it in parentheses in the original text to let the readers know. In this translation, I have kept Hwang Suyeong’s original notes in the main text and provided references to the corresponding topical treatises published in the 2010 edition by Youlhwadang in translator’s notes.

The illustrations contained in this volume are limited to black-and-white photographs commissioned or collected by Go Yuseop, referred to as the Go Yuseop Archive, as well as black-and-white photographs taken until the 1940s. Photographs from that era hold historical significance since they contain traces of the past, some of which disappeared due to destruction or restoration, never to be recovered. Needless to say, it is impossible to show Korean pagodas with a single book, no matter how many photographs are provided. Likewise, it is impossible to demonstrate Go Yuseop’s towering academic achievements with this translation of only a small part of his extensive writings. Yet, I sincerely hope that this annotated translation with ample illustrations would help readers get a glimpse of Korean pagodas, which virtually transforms the Korean Peninsula into a forest of pagodas, and to which this talented scholar devoted much of his scholarly career.

## Notes

- 1 Go Yuseop's scholarly legacy was carried on by his immediate protégés, Hwang Suyong 黃壽永 (1918–2011) and Chin Hongsup 陳弘燮 (1918–2010), who were preeminent scholars on their own in the field of Korean Buddhist art and architecture. Another successor is Choe Sunu 崔淳雨 (1916–1984), an influential art historian and museum professional.
- 2 In the 1970s, Mun Myeongdae published a series of articles criticizing Go Yuseop for being influenced by the Japanese scholars' colonial perspective of history. His articles sparked a heated controversy regarding Go Yuseop's scholarship. For a representative example, see Mun Myeongdae 文明大, "Han'guk misulsa ui teuksu seonggyeok non" 한국미술사의 특수성격론 [On Distinctive Characteristics of Korean Art], *Munhak gwa jiseong* 문학과 지성 20 (1975). A number of scholars have reconsidered Go Yuseop's works from the 1990s onward. See Kim Imsu 金任洙, "Go Yuseop yeon'gu" 高裕燮研究 [A Study on Go Yuseop] (PhD diss., Hongik University, 1991); Kim Young-ae 金英愛, "Misulsaga Go Yuseop e daehan gochal" 미술사가 고유섭에 대한 고찰 [A Study on Art Historian Go Yuseop] (MA thesis, Dongguk University, 1991); Mok Suhyeon 목수현, "Han'guk gomisul yeon'gu e natanan Go Yuseop ui yesulgwang gochal" 한국 고미술 연구에 나타난 고유섭의 예술관 고찰 [Go Yuseop's Concept of Art in the Study of Korean Traditional Art] (MA thesis, Seoul National University, 1991); Park Raegyeong 박래경, "Han'guk misul johyeonggwang ui yesul cheolhakjeok yeon'gu: Go Yuseop gwa Yanagi Sōetsu ui sagwan bigyo reul jungsim euro" 韓國 美術 造形觀의 藝術 哲學的 研究: 高裕燮과 柳宗悅의 史觀比較를 中心으로 [Art and Philosophical Study on Korean Plastic Art Theory: A Comparative Study of Go Yuseop and Yanagi Sōetsu] (PhD diss., Hanyang University, 1993). More references are given at relevant points.
- 3 Reconsideration of Go Yuseop was not limited to the academia. The Ministry of Culture & Tourism of Korea selected him as the Cultural Figure of the Month in September 1992. It was followed by the first publication of Go Yuseop's complete works by Tongmun'gwan in 1993. The *Uhyeon Go Yuseop jeonjip* 又玄 高裕燮 全集 [Complete Works of Go Yuseop], ten volumes in total, was published from 2007 to 2013 by Youlhwadang.

- 4 Incheon Foundation for Culture held the “International Symposium on the 100th Anniversary of Go Yuseop’s Birth: The Origin of the Modern Aesthetics in East Asia” (우현 고유섭 선생 탄생 100주년 기념 국제학술심포지엄: 동아시아 근대 미학의 기원) in August 2005, and published the proceeding, entitled *Amudo gaji aneun gil: Han’guk mihak ui seon’guja Uhyeon Go Yuseop* 아무도 가지 않은 길: 한국미학의 선구자 又玄 高裕燮 [A Path that No One Has Trodden: A Pioneer in Korean Aesthetics Uhyeon, Go Yuseop] in 2006. Another symposium, entitled “Uhyeon Go Yuseop’s Scholarship” (우현 고유섭의 학문세계), was held by the Art History Association of Korea in February 2005. Selected papers given at the symposium were published in the journal *Misulsahak yeon’gu* 美術史學研究 in December 2005.
- 5 See Mok Suhyeon, “Uhyeon Go Yuseop ui misulsagwan” 우현 고유섭의 미술사관 [Uhyeon, Go Yuseop’s Perspective on Art History], *Hwanghae munhwa* 황해문화 33 (2001): 257–262.
- 6 The official mission of the university was to foster scholarship for the sake of the nation, to promote studies of Korea in order to facilitate the colonial rule of Korea, and to develop studies of Asian culture for supporting the colonial policies. The university education was entirely conducted in Japanese, and most of faculty members were graduates of Tokyo Imperial University (today’s University of Tokyo), who had studied in the West for two to three years as “Members of the Department of Education Studying Abroad” by the Government-General of Korea. At Keijō the entering students first enrolled in “preliminary course” (*daehak yegwa* 大學 豫科) for two years before they advanced to register at “university proper” (*daehak bongwa* 大學 本科) where they chose their majors. The university was closed by the United States Army Military Government in Korea in 1946 after the end of World War II and later merged with nine other colleges into Seoul National University. There has been increasing number of studies on this imperial university across diverse disciplines from the 2000s onward. For a comprehensive introduction to Keijō Imperial University, see Jung Keunsik 정근식 et al., *Singmin gwollyeok gwa geundae jisik: Gyeongseong jeguk daehak yeon’gu* 식민권력과 근대지식: 경성제국대학연구 [Colonial Power and Modern Knowledge: Research on Keijō Imperial University] (Seoul: Seoul daehakgyo chulpan munhwawon, 2011).
- 7 Kim Young-ae, “Go Yuseop ui saengae wa hangmun segye” 고유섭의 생애와 학문세계 [The Life and Scholarly World of Go Yuseop], *Misulsahak yeon’gu* 190/191 (1991): 130–131. The College of Law and Literature at Keijō, opened in 1926, was composed of four departments: law, literature, history, and philosophy. The Department of Philosophy offered majors in

philosophy, history of philosophy, ethics, psychology, religion, aesthetics and art history, education, Chinese philosophy, and sociology. Go Yuseop was the sole ethnic Korean student majored in aesthetics and art history at Keijō until the liberation of Korea in 1945.

- 8 Youngna Kim, “The Achievements and Limitations of Ko Yu-seop, a Luminary in Korean Art History,” *Archives of Asian Art* 60 (2010): 80–81. Literature on Go Yuseop and his scholarship has been accumulated to a great deal in Korean academia. However, previous studies on the subject outside Korean academia are still very few. This article, a revised version of author’s earlier study published in Korean in 2002, offers an in-depth discussion of Go Yuseop’s education and scholarly legacy. I will refer to this article instead of earlier one for the convenience of readers. For her earlier Korean article, see Kim Youngna 김영나, “Han’guk misulsa ui taedu Go Yuseop: geu ui yeokhal gwa wichi” 한국미술사의 태두 고유섭: 그의 역할과 위치 [Go Yuseop, a Luminary in Korean Art History: His Role and Position], *Misulsa yeon’gu* 미술사연구 16 (2002): 503–518.
- 9 Ueno Naoteru graduated from the Department of Philosophy at Tokyo Imperial University in 1908. Right after his appointment as a lecturer at Keijō, Ueno was sent to Europe and America as an overseas researcher by the Government-General of Korea on a mission to study aesthetics and art history. In 1926 he was appointed professor at Keijō, a post he started in the following year and maintained until 1941. At Keijō he lectured on aesthetics and Western art history.
- 10 Tanaka Tōjo graduated from the Department of Chinese Philosophy at Tokyo Imperial University in 1911. Following his appointment as a lecturer in the College of Law and Literature of Keijō, he studied Asian art in Germany, France, England, America, and India as an overseas researcher of the Government-General of Korea. In 1928 he started teaching at Keijō where he lectured on Asian art history.
- 11 Fujita Ryōsaku studied history under the guidance of Kuroita Katsumi 黑板勝美 (1874–1946) at Tokyo Imperial University. In 1922 Fujita was hired as a surveyor for the surveys of ancient remains of Korea administered by the Government-General of Korea on the recommendation of his advisor. From this time on, Fujita participated in archaeological surveys of Korea until the end of World War II. While working at the Museum of the Government-General of Korea (Jp. Chōsen sōtokufu hakubutsukan 朝鮮總督府博物館), Fujita gave lectures twice a week at Keijō as an assistant professor since the summer of 1928. In 1932 he was appointed a professor of Korean history at Keijō and taught there until 1945.

- 12 Youngna Kim, “The Achievements and Limitations of Ko Yu-seop,” 81.
- 13 Kim Young-ae, “Go Yuseop ui saengae wa hangmun segye,” 133.
- 14 Nakagiri Isao, “Go Yuseop shi no omoide” 高裕變氏の思い出 [Remembering Mr. Go Yuseop], *Gogo misul* 考古美術 47/48 (1964): 551.
- 15 The articles were reprinted in *Chōsen no kenchiku to geijutsu* 朝鮮の建築と藝術 [Korean Architecture and Art], edited by Sekino’s former student Fujishima Gaijirō 藤島亥治郎 and published posthumously by Iwanami shoten in 1941 and 2005 respectively.
- 16 Citing Go Yuseop’s short travelogue to Geumgangsan, the art historian Kim Junghee proposed that Go Yuseop focused on pagodas in lieu of earlier timber-frame architecture that had gone long before. Go Yuseop wrote that pagodas were architecture and simultaneously, art objects embodying infinite artistic creativity. See Kim Junghee 김정희, “Uhyeon Go Yuseop gwa minjok mihak ui gaecheok” 又玄 高裕變과 민족미학의 개척 [Uhyeon, Go Yuseop and Pioneering of the National Aesthetics], *Hwanghae munhwa* 1 (1993): 218–219.
- 17 Sekino Tadashi, *Chōsen bijutsushi* (Keijō: Chōsenshi gakkai, 1932). When the book was included in *Chōsen no kenchiku to geijutsu* in 1941, 2 illustrations and 108 figures were newly added to this edition. For a reprint of the 1932 edition in Korean translation, see Sekino Tadashi, *Joseon misulsa* 朝鮮美術史 [History of Korean Art], trans. Sim Useong (Seoul: Dongmunseon, 2003).
- 18 See Mok Suhyeon, “Uhyeon Go Yuseop ui misulsagwan,” 258–262. It should be noted that Go Yuseop was aware of Eckardt’s book though he did not rate it highly.
- 19 For an introduction to Sekino’s research on Korean art and architecture, see Woo Don-son 禹東善, “Sekino Tadashi ui Han’guk go geonchuk josa wa bojon e daehan yeon’gu” 關野貞의 한국고건축 조사와 보존에 대한 연구 [A Study on Sekino Tadashi’s Research and Conservation for Korean Traditional Architecture], *Daehan geonchuk hakhoe nonmunjip gyeboekgye* 대한건축학회논문집 계획계 22, no. 7 (2006): 135–146; Kang Heejung 姜嬉靜, “Ilje gangeomgi ui Joseon Bulgyo misul josa wa bogwon: Han’guk Bulgyo misul yeon’gu ui chulbaljeom” 일제강점기의 조선 불교미술 조사와 복원: 한국 불교미술 연구의 출발점 [The Investigation and Restoration of Korean Buddhist Art during the Japanese Occupation of Korea: The Starting Point of Studies of Korean Buddhist Art], *Misulsa wa sigak munhwa* 미술사와 시각문화 9 (2010): 150–151.
- 20 See Youngna Kim, “The Achievements and Limitations of Ko Yu-seop,” 81. For more on the topic, see Hyung Il Pai, “The Search for Korea’s Past: The



- Legacy of Japanese Colonial Archaeology in the Korean Peninsula,” *Shih: East Asian History* 7 (1994): 25–48 and Kang Heejung, “Ilje gangjeomgi ui Joseon Bulgyo misul josa wa bogwon,” 147–149.
- 21 A monograph on the 1909 survey has been recently published. See Gungnip munhwajae yeon’guso, *1909-nyeon Joseon gojeok josa ui gieok* 1909년 朝鮮古蹟調査의 기억 [Memories of the Survey of Historical Remains in Korea in 1909] (Daejeon: Gungnip munhwajae yeon’guso, 2016).
  - 22 Chōsen sōtokufu, *Chōsen koseki zufu*, 15 vols. (Keijō: Chōsen sōtokufu, 1915–1935).
  - 23 The series was apparently well-known to the West due to active promotion by the Government-General of Korea.
  - 24 The Government-General of Korea promoted architectural surveys of ancient remains of Korea in an attempt to find out empirical evidence for tracing the continental origins of Japanese art and civilization. The Government-General of Korea only sponsored publication of works, including archaeological reports, written in Japanese and sometimes in English, French, or German. See Hyung Il Pai, “Resurrecting the Ruins of Japan’s Mythical Homelands: Colonial Archaeological Surveys in the Korean Peninsula and Heritage Tourism,” in *Handbook of Colonial Archaeology*, ed. Jane Lydon and Uzma Z. Rizvi (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2010), 99–100.
  - 25 The Chōsenshi gakkai was founded by Japanese officials of and scholars affiliated with the Government-General of Korea, major political and economic figures, and some Korean aristocrats and scholars. The association published and distributed lecture notes prepared for the lecture series that it held for a year since its foundation in 1923. Sekino’s lecture note was republished in 1932 to meet increasing public interest in Korean art.
  - 26 Sekino Tadahi has been studied in the fields of archaeology, art history, and architectural history. In particular, Korean art historians have criticized the colonial perspective inherent in Sekino and his successors’ research. For representative critiques on Sekino’s colonial perspective on Korean art history, see Mun Myeongdae, *Han’guk misulsahak ui iron gwa bangbeop* 한국미술사학의 이론과 방법 [Theories and Methods of Korean Art History] (Seoul: Youlhwadang, 1977), 20–28 and Jo Seonmie 趙善美, “Ilbon gwanhakjadeul ui Han’guk misulsahak yeon’gu e gwanhayeo” 일본관학자들의 한국미술사학 연구에 관하여 [On the Studies of Korean Art History by Japanese Official Scholars], *Misulsahak* 미술사학 3 (1991): 81–118. For a Japanese reconsideration of Sekino’s historical perspective, see Takagi Hiroshi 高木博志, “Ilbon misulsa wa Joseon misulsa ui seongnip”

- 일본미술사와 조선미술사의 성립 [Japanese Art History and the Establishment of Korean Art History], in *Guksa ui sinhwa reul neomeoseo* 국사의 신화를 넘어서 [Beyond Myth of National History], ed. Lim Ji-hyun and Yi Seongsi (Seoul: Hyumeoniseuteu, 2004), 175–189.
- 27 The English translation is adopted from Youngna Kim, “The Achievements and Limitations of Ko Yu-seop,” 81. The cited passage occurs in author’s unpublished manuscript datable to the mid-1930s. Fuller information will be given later.
- 28 Youngna Kim, “The Achievements and Limitations of Ko Yu-seop,” 81.
- 29 Go Yuseop collected more than 1,600 books by the 1930s. The book collection was scattered after his demise, yet the catalogue was kept by Hwang Suyeong. For the entire catalogue, see Go Yuseop, *Joseon geumseokhak chogo* 朝鮮金石學草稿 [A Draft of Korean Epigraphy] (Paju: Youlhwadang, 2013), 145–163.
- 30 The unpublished manuscript came to light in Kim Young-ae’s study. She dated it to sometime around 1935 when Go Yuseop deeply engaged in research and writing. The transcription of the manuscript, now in the collection of Dongguk University Library, is published in its entirety in Kim Young-ae, “Go Yuseop ui saengae wa hangmun segye,” 152. The English translation is adopted from Youngna Kim, “The Achievements and Limitations of Ko Yu-seop,” 82.
- 31 Nakagiri Isao, “Go Yuseop shi no omoide,” 551
- 32 Kim Junghee, “Uhyeon Go Yuseop gwa minjok mihak ui gaecheok,” 219–220. For a list of pagodas that Go Yuseop examined firsthand, see Park Kyoung-shik 朴慶植, “Go Yuseop gwa tappa yeon’gu” 고유섭과 탑파연구 [Go Yuseop and His Study of Pagodas], *Misulsahak yeon’gu* 248 (2005): 51.
- 33 Kim Young-ae, “Misulsaga Go Yuseop e daehan gochal,” 134. Fujita Ryōsaku recommended Go Yuseop for the position in response to Gaeseong Prefecture, which was looking for a Korean candidate, see Nakagiri Isao, “Go Yuseop shi no omoide,” 552.
- 34 Yun Sejin 윤세진, “Misul e daehan yeoksa ui gonggwa: Go Yuseop gwa geundaejeok misul damnon” 미술에 대한 역사의 공과: 고유섭과 근대적 미술담론 [On the Advantage and Disadvantage of History for Art: Go Yuseop and Modern Discourses on Art], *Han’gukhak yeon’gu* 한국학연구 13 (2004): 52–53.
- 35 See Kim Young-ae, “Misulsaga Go Yuseop e daehan gochal,” 152 for the original passage and 136–141 for more discussion on his art historical methodology. Also, see Youngna Kim, “The Achievements and Limitations of Ko Yu-seop,” 81–83 and Mok Suhyeon, “Uhyeon Go Yuseop ui

misulsagwan,” 256–257.

- 36 The magazine was founded in 1929 by a group of graduates of the College of Law and Literature at Keijō. It mostly published articles in economy, philosophy, and Korean studies, in addition to poems and novels.
- 37 Go Yuseop, “Joseon tappa ui yeon’gu (il)” 朝鮮塔婆의 研究(一) [Research on Korean Pagodas 1], *Jindan hakbo* 6 (1936): 1–31; “Joseon tappa ui yeon’gu (i)” 朝鮮塔婆의 研究(二) [Research on Korean Pagodas 2], *Jindan hakbo* 10 (1939): 59–99; and “Joseon tappa ui yeon’gu (sam)” 朝鮮塔婆의 研究(三) [Research on Korean pagodas 3], *Jindan hakbo* 14 (1941): 51–95. *Jindan hakbo* is a journal published by the Jindan Academic Society. It was organized in 1934 by several Korean scholars in an attempt to promote Korean studies, which had been initiated and dominated by Japanese scholars.
- 38 See author’s note 16 in this book.
- 39 The issue of terminology has been revisited by Joo Kyeongmi after the recent restoration and deciphering of three manuscripts, originally discovered in the relic crypt of the three-storied stone pagoda that had been called Seokgatap 釋迦塔 of Bulguksa in Gyeongju. The two of the three manuscripts, dated to 1024 and 1038 respectively, contain terms describing structural components of a stone pagoda. Her meticulous examination demonstrated that the eleventh-century terms markedly differ from the current ones established by Go Yuseop. See Joo Kyeongmi 周昶美, “Seokgatap chulto mukseo jipyeon ui seoktap bujae gwallyeon yongeo gochal” 석가탑 출토 목서지편의 석탑 부재 관련 용어 고찰 [On the Terminology for Structural Members of a Stone Pagoda Shown in the Manuscripts Excavated from Seokgatap], *Dongyang gojeon yeon’gu* 東洋古典研究 32 (2008): 391–424.
- 40 Go Yuseop, “Joseon tappa ui yeon’gu (i),” 66. For a glossary of terms widely used in the current academia, see Park Kyoung-shik, *Han’guk ui seoktap* 한국의 석탑 [Stone Pagodas of Korea] (Seoul: Hageyon munhwasa, 2008), 516–525.
- 41 Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon’gu* (1948), 33. Comparing the two drawings published in 1939 and 1948, the architectural historians Cheon Deukyoum and Her Jihye attributed modifications shown in the latter to Hwang Suyeong, who edited the manuscript posthumously, without providing supporting evidence. See Cheon Deukyoum 천득염 and Her Jihye 허지혜, “Han’guk seoktap yongeo jeongui siron” 韓國石塔 用語定義 試論 [Preliminary Examination on the Terminology of Korean Stone Pagodas], *Han’guk geonchuk yeoksa hakhoe haksul balpyo daehoe nonmunjip* 한국건축역사학회 학술발표대회논문집 (Spring 2015): 150. However, there is a possibility that

Go Yuseop may have made changes to his original drawing prior to his passing.

- 42 It is a common abbreviation of *seungnoban* 承露盤 (Ch. *chenglupan*, Jp. *shōroban*), which is attested in Buddhist texts from early medieval China. It refers to the small box-like structure placed at the lowest part of the finial.
- 43 The small inverted bowl-like part placed on the “dew plate” over the peak of a wooden or stone pagoda. It corresponds to *anda* (meaning egg), a hemispherical dome of an Indian stūpa.
- 44 A support in the shape of an open, upturned lotus flower, which is placed upon the “inverted bowl.”
- 45 The term refers to varying number of disks attached to or carved onto the tapered central pillar, which extends above the uppermost roof stone of a multi-storied stone pagoda. It is placed upon the “upturned flower” part of a stone pagoda.
- 46 A canopy-shaped part that is placed atop the “precious wheel” of a stone pagoda. It also refers to a canopy hung from the ceiling above a Buddhist statue. It is said to have been derived from parasols used by Indian nobility.
- 47 It refers to four decorative pieces attached at right angle to the central spire that forms the core of the entire finial. Shaped like flame, the part is said to have symbolized protection from fire. In Japanese timber-frame architecture, the corresponding part was originally called “blazing flame” (Jp. *kaen* 火煙) but the first character meaning “fire” was replaced by the character meaning “water” for the former had a horrifying connotation for the Japanese.
- 48 Placed between the “water flame” and “precious jewel” of a stone pagoda, the “dragon vehicle” refers to the round or oval section of a pagoda finial.
- 49 A ball shaped object that tops the central metal spire forming the core of the finial. The precious jewel is considered sacred in Buddhism, since it is believed to have the power to drive away the evil, cleanse corruption, and fulfill wishes.
- 50 It refers to the pointed end of the finial of a stone pagoda. It seems to have been a vestige of the central pillar or shaft (Jp. *shinbashira* 心柱) that forms the axis of a wooden pagoda. More specifically, the “temple pole” corresponds to the uppermost part of the central pillar from the point where it rises beyond the roof. That section was usually tapered and became circular since various metal pieces were fitted to the central pillar to support the spire.
- 51 Yun Changsuk interpreted it to be a symbolic representation of lotus throne but did not provide evidence for its etymology. See Yun Changsuk 尹昌淑,

- “Han’guk tappa sangnyunbu e gwanhan yeon’gu” 韓國 塔婆 相輪部에 관한 연구 [A Study on the Finial Part of Korean Pagodas], *Gogo misul* 187 (1990): 27–28.
- 52 During Go Yuseop’s time, only a small part of the “Chalju gi” was available in the form of citation survived in the thirteenth-century text. But, it is hard to ascertain whether Go Yuseop derived it from the “Chalju gi” or other Korean sources. Given that Go Yuseop used the Chinese character “*chal*” 擦 (Jp. *satsu*) in place of “*chal*” 刹, he may have borrowed it from Japanese academia in which the former is used in reference to the central pillar.
- 53 Ōnishi Shūya 大西修也, “Tōdaiji shichijūtō roban kō” 東大寺七重塔露盤考 [Examination of the Dew Plate of the Seven-Storied Pagoda at Tōdaiji], *Bijutsushi* 美術史 101 (1976): 1.
- 54 It is notable that the Japanese terminology underwent changes over time, too. As Ōnishi Shūya’s study has shown, the eighth-century terms are considerably different from the contemporary ones that were codified by modern Japanese scholars. See Ōnishi Shūya, “Tōdaiji shichijūtō roban kō,” 17 and Joo Kyeongmi, “Seokgatap chulto mukseo jipyeon,” 408–409.
- 55 Sugiyama Nobuzō, an employee of the Government-General of Korea, appears to have provided Go Yuseop at least one photograph of a pagoda. For the reproduction, see Plate 50 (Appendix).
- 56 See Sugiyama Nobuzō, *Chōsen no sekitōba* 朝鮮の石塔 [Stone Pagodas of Korea] (Tokyo: Shōkokusha, 1944), 17 (Fig. 1). The comparison was first made in Joo Kyeongmi, “Seokgatap chulto mukseo jipyeon,” 408.
- 57 A comparison between Go Yuseop’s drawing and a drawing and glossary included in a widely used textbook illustrates this point. For the latter, see Park Kyoung-shik, *Han’guk ui seoktap*, 516–525.
- 58 Critical re-examination of Go Yuseop’s terminology has been also conducted in the field of architectural history. The architectural historian Lee Hee-bong discussed Go Yuseop’s rather uncritical borrowing of Japanese terms and proposed alternatives. See Lee Hee-bong 이희봉, “Tap yongeo e daehan geunbon gochal mit jean: Indo seutupa eseobuteo Han’guk seoktap euroui byeonhwan eul batang euro” 탑 용어에 대한 근본 고찰 및 제안—인도 스투파에서부터 한국 석탑으로의 변환을 바탕으로— [Fundamental Reconsideration of the Terminology of Buddhist Pagodas and a Suggestion: Based on the Transformation from Indian Stūpa to Korean Stone Pagoda], *Geonchuk yeoksa yeon’gu* 건축역사연구 71 (2010): 55–70.
- 59 Go Yuseop, “Godae misul ui yeon’gu eseo uri neun muyeot eul eodeul geosin’ga” 고대미술의 연구에서 우리는 무엇을 얻을 것인가 [What Will We

Obtain from the Study of Ancient Art?], *Chosun ilbo* 朝鮮日報, January 4, 1937. English translation is adopted from Youngna Kim, “The Achievements and Limitations of Ko Yu-seop,” 81.

60 Mok Suhyeon, “Uhyeon Go Yuseop ui misulsagwan,” 263.

61 Hwang Suyeong engaged in editing of Go Yuseop’s manuscripts from 1945 for more than twenty years. In his postscript to *Joseon tappa ui yeon’gu* (1948), Hwang Suyeong speculated that Go Yuseop wrote it in Japanese to engage in scholarly debate on Korean pagodas with Japanese scholars. Go Yuseop’s manuscripts are now in the collection of Dongguk University Library in Seoul. See Hwang Suyeong, “Uhyeon 50-jugi e saenggak naneun ildeul” 又玄 50周忌에 생각나는 일들 [Things I Remember on the Fiftieth Anniversary of Go Yuseop’s Death], *Munhwa sahak* 文化史學 1 (1994): 12–14.

62 Go Yuseop appears to have consulted them through the editions published by Joseon gwangmunhoe 朝鮮光文會 (Association for the Promotion of Korean Classics), an organization founded in 1910 by a couple of Korean intellectuals in Seoul for collection, preservation and publication of Korean classics.

63 Chapter 7, “Craft Pagodas of Korea,” discusses miniature pagodas made of metal, rock crystal, and so on. It might be more appropriate to call them reliquaries in the shape of pagodas or miniature pagodas functioning as relic containers.

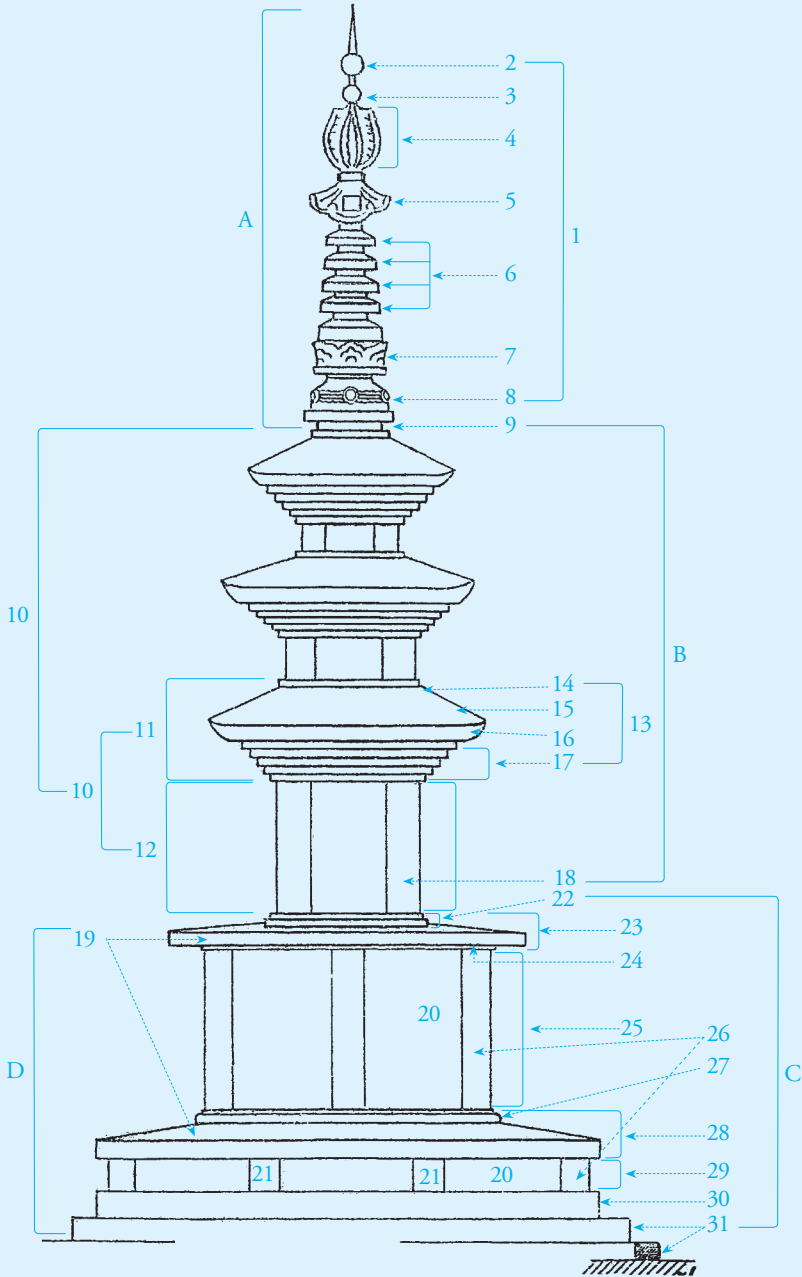
64 Kang Pyŏnghee, in her review of the *Joseon tappa ui yeon’gu*, examined a scholarly debate on the dating of the two pagodas, see Kang Pyŏnghee 康炳喜, “Ajikdo neomeo seoji motan tappa yeon’gu ui gojeon: *Joseon tappa ui yeon’gu* (Go Yuseop, Euryu munhwasa, 1948)” 아직도 넘어서지 못한 탑과 연구의 고전—《朝鮮塔婆의 研究》(高裕燮, 乙酉文化社, 1948)— [A Classic of Pagoda Studies, Yet to Be Surpassed: *A Study of Korean Pagodas* (Go Yuseop, Euryu munhwasa, 1948)], *Yeoksa wa hyeonsil* 역사와 현실 17 (1995): 215–230. The results of the excavation conducted at the Jeongnimisa site from 1979 to 1980 revealed hitherto unknown aspects of the temple and thus led many scholars to rethink previous dating of the temple to the late seventh century. The temple was founded right after Baekje’s transfer of the capital from Gongju to Buyeo in 539, and it was destroyed when the kingdom collapsed in 661. The archaeologist Yun Mbyeong argued that the pagoda, built at the time of temple’s founding, predates the Mireuksa Pagoda built in the early seventh century. Yun Mbyeong 尹武炳, *Jeongnimisa ji balgul josa bogoseo* 定林寺址發掘調査報告書 [Report of the Excavation of the Jeongnimisa Site] (Daejeon: Chungnam daehakgyo bangmulgwan, 1981). Based on a stylistic analysis of clay Buddha images recovered during the

excavation, Mun Myeongdae argued that the pagoda must have been built around the year 550. Mun Myeongdae, “Baekje bultap ui gochal” 百濟佛塔의 考察 [Examination of Buddhist Pagodas of Baekje], in *Soheon Nam Doyeong baksa hwagap ginyeom sahak nonchong* 素軒 南都泳博士 華甲紀念 史學論叢 [Festschrift on History in Honor of Soheon, Dr. Nam Doyeong on His Sixtieth Birthday], ed. Soheon Nam Doyeong baksa hwagap ginyeom sahak nonchong ganhaeong wiwonhoe 素軒 南都泳博士 華甲紀念 史學論叢 刊行委員會 (Seoul: Taekhaksa, 1984), 32–33. However, Kim Jeonggi claimed that the foundation of the Jeongnimsa Pagoda was not built for a stone pagoda, and thus the pagoda was not erected in the early years of temple. Kim Jeonggi 金正基, “Mireuksa tap gwa Jeongnimsa tap” 彌勒寺塔과 定林寺塔 [The Mireuksa Pagoda and the Jeongnimsa Pagoda], *Gogo misul* 164 (1984): 2–8. For a review of previous studies on the issue, see Eom Gipyo 嚴基杓, “Baekje seoktap ui seonhu e gwanhan yeon’gu” 百濟石塔의 先後에 관한 研究 [A Study on the Chronology of Baekje Stone Pagodas], *Munhwa sahak* 16 (2001): 32–44.

- 65 Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon’gu*, 2 vols. (Paju: Youlhwadang, 2010).

Figure I. Structure of a Stone Pagoda

The drawing, produced by the author, shows standard features of a stone pagoda with the appellations of each part. *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu* (1948) contains a modified version of the drawing appearing first in author's earlier article, "Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu (gi i)," published in *Jindan hakbo* in 1939.





A pagoda's superstructure (*tapdu bu* 塔頭部)

B pagoda body part (*tapsin bu* 塔身部)

C platform part (*gidan bu* 基壇部)

D foundation part (*tapgi bu* 塔基部)

1. finial (*sangnyun* 相輪): the central pillar (*jungsimju* 中心柱), which is called *chalju* 擦柱 or *chalgan* 擦竿
2. precious jewel (*boju* 寶珠)
3. dragon vehicle (*yongcha* 龍車)
4. water flame (*suyeon* 水烟)
5. precious canopy (*bogae* 寶蓋)
6. precious disk (*boryun* 寶輪)
7. upturned flower (*anghwa* 仰花)
8. inverted bowl (*bokbal* 覆鉢)
9. dew plate (*noban* 露盤)
10. pagoda body (*tapsin* 塔身)
11. roof (*okgae* 屋蓋)
12. pagoda body underneath the roof (*oksin* 屋身)
13. roof stone (*okgaeseok* 屋蓋石)
14. descending corner ridge (*anggak* 仰角 or *udong* 隅棟)
15. water-dripping side (*naksumyeon* 落水面)
16. corner of the underside of the roof stone (*jeon'gak* 轉角)
17. underpinnings of the roof stone (*okseok batchim* 屋石 받침)
18. corner pillar (*uju* 隅柱)
19. curbstone (*gapseok* 甲石)
20. siding (*myeonseok* 面石)
21. stone strut (*taengseok* 撐石)
22. support for the pagoda body (*oksin goeim* 屋身 괴임)
23. curbstone of the upper platform (*sangdae gapseok* 上臺甲石 or *bokseok* 覆石)
24. support for the curbstone (*gapseok buyeon* 甲石副緣)
25. intermediate stone of the upper platform (*sangdae jungseok* 上臺中石)
26. stone strut (*useok* 隅石 or *taengju* 撐柱)
27. support for the intermediate stone of the upper platform (*jungseok batchim* 中石 받침 or molding)
28. curbstone of the lower platform (*hadae* 下臺 [or *jeodae* 底臺] *gapseok* 甲石)
29. intermediate stone of the lower platform (*hadae* [or *jeodae*] *jungseok*)
30. bottommost stone of the lower platform (*hadae* [or *jeodae*] *jeoseok* 底石 [or *haseok* 下石])
31. ground stone (*jidaeseok* 地臺石)



# A STUDY OF KOREAN PAGODAS





## Chapter 1

### Significance of Pagodas

The word “*tappa*” 塔婆 is today commonly abbreviated to the single character “*tap*” 塔. It originally derives from the term *stūpa* in Sanskrit and *thūpa* in Pāli.<sup>1</sup> The Sanskrit term is variously rendered as *joldopa* 卒都婆, *soldopa* 窣堵婆, *sodopa* 素覩波, *sudupa* 藪斗婆, *sutupa* 藪偷婆, *sayupa* 私鎗簍 or *sudupa* 數斗波.<sup>2</sup> Others like *yupa* 鎗婆, *dupa* 兜波, *tappa*, or *tap* seemingly correspond to transliterations of the Pāli term. In addition, the terms *budo* 浮圖, *budo* 浮屠, *podo* 蒲圖, or *buldo* 佛圖 seem to have been transliterations of the word “Buddha.” According to the *Bukkyō daijiten* 佛教大辭典 (Encyclopedia of Buddhism), the older generation of translators consider the term *budo* and the like to be phonetically derivative of *Bulta* 佛陀, whereas new generation even takes them to be phonetically derivative of *tap*.<sup>3</sup> The entry cites a passage, reading: “*Soldopa* is equivalent to what has been previously translated as *budo*.” [《Da Tang xiyu ji 大唐西域記 1》]<sup>4</sup> Another passage cited in the entry reads as follows: “*Budo* is called *sodopa*. *Tap* is called *jehangri* 制恒里.” [《Fanyu zaming 梵語雜名》]<sup>5</sup>

Herein, we encounter one theory that regards *tap* as “*jehangri*.” *Jehangri* is a transliteration of the term *caitya* or *chaitya*, which is similarly rendered as *jehangra* 制恒羅, *jejeoya* 制底耶, *jejeo* 制底, *jeche* 制體, *jeda* 制多, *jije* 支提, *sajeo* 斯底, *jije* 支帝, *jijing* 支徵, *jije* 脂帝, *jiljeo* 質底, or *jijeoga* 只底柯.

Here, the *stūpa* or *thūpa* seems distinguished from *caitya*. In fact, there are two views regarding this: the first tends to differentiate the two, while the second does not. First of all, let us see examples of the former:

If there are relics [inside],<sup>6</sup> it is called *tap*. If there are no relics, it is

called *jije*. [Mohe sengji lü 摩訶僧祇律<sup>7</sup>]

The *Samyuktābhidharma-hṛdaya-śāstra* (Za xin 雜心) relates that if there are relics, it is called *tap*, while one without relics is called *jije*. It is called *tap* or *tappa*. It is also called *tupa*. <This is called tomb (*chong* 塚). It is also called square tomb (*bangbun* 方墳).> *Jije* refers to mausoleum (*myo* 廟). <*Myo* means tomb (*mo* 貌).> [Xingshi chao 行事鈔<sup>8</sup>]

It is newly called *soldopa*. This refers to a lofty place (*gohyeon* 高顯). It means to build a square tomb (*bangbun*). It refers to a place where bodily bones are enshrined. [Excerpt from *Fahua wenju ji* 法華文句記<sup>9</sup>]

*Jejeo* is translated as accumulated merit (*bokchwi* 福聚). It means that the entire merit of all the buddhas is accumulated inside of it. All make offerings to and venerate it since all the people in the world gain merit from it. [Dari jing shu 大日經疏]<sup>10</sup>

It is wrong to refer *jeda* (Ch. *zhiduo*) 制多 (Skt. *caitya*) as *jije* in previous [translations]. This is called mausoleum (*yeongmyo* 靈廟). That is, it is a shrine where holy spirits are enshrined. [Zonglun lun shu ji 宗輪論述記<sup>11</sup>]

When the Great Teacher, the World-honored, entered into nirvāṇa, and men and gods assembled together, to burn his remains in the fire, people brought there all kinds of perfumes until they made a great pile, which was called *citi* (*jiljeo* 質底), meaning “piling.” Derived from this we have afterwards the name of *caitya* (*jejeo* 制底). [Nanhai jigui zhuan 南海寄歸傳<sup>12</sup>]

There are textual references that do not differentiate *jije* from *tappa*:

Or, it is called *soldopa*. Its meaning is identical to this. <This refers to *jije*.> In the past, all [translators] called them *tap*. Now it is differently called *jije*. This is all wrong. [Nanhai jigui zhuan<sup>13</sup>]

Do not ask for presence. <Regardless of presence of relics>, all are named *jije*. [Cited from *Fahua yi shu* 法華義疏 where it is referred to as *dechisuo* [Kr. *jijiso*] 地持所<sup>14</sup>]

However, as it is said that *stūpa* originally means the building set up with earth and stones to contain bodily bones and *caitya* means accumulation, so *stūpa* has been translated as square tomb, circular tomb (*wonchong* 圓塚), lofty place (*gohyeon cheo* 高顯處), etc, and *caitya* as mausoleum, pure place (*jeongcheo* 淨處), accumulated merit (*bokchwi* 福聚), place where pure belief arises (*saeng jeongsin cheo* 生淨信處), place that is worthy of offering (*ga gongyang cheo* 可供養處), and so on, distinguishing the two in terms of contents. In other words, *jije* has a meaning of a commemorative monument indicating ancient, miraculously efficacious sites, whereas *tappa* refers to a tomb where the bodily bones of the Buddha are enshrined. Since *jije* is a commemorative monument indicating ancient spiritual site, it could only exist in regions with historical and biographical associations with Śākyamuni Buddha. Other regions could have only had *tappa* where bodily bones of the Buddha are enshrined. As for Buddha's relics, however, the finite amount of relics could not meet the Buddhist devotees' demand. It resulted in the change of ideas of Buddhist relics along with the development of Buddhist doctrines. It means that beliefs in relics as Buddha's authentic bones and bodily remains in earlier ages have gradually changed into those in ashes and soils collected where the body of the Buddha was cremated. As this was still not sufficient to meet ardent devotees' demand, the notion of relics further extended to items that recall the Buddha in his final life on earth. Since it was still far from enough, depictions of scenes from the Buddha's life or images of the Buddha came to appear on the surface of a *stūpa*, or Buddhist scriptures began to be considered relics of the Buddha with emergence of cult of dharma relics (*beopsin sari* 法身舍利) that sees the Buddha in the transmitted teachings of the Buddha.<sup>15</sup> Buddhist established a strong tradition of building pagodas to enshrine relics. The pagoda was regarded as a

fundamentally indispensable object of worship and venerated as the center of devotion. The meaning of building and adorning pagodas changed through times and places from means to adorn the state, to protect and preserve the state, to make connection to the Buddha, to pray for the deceased and to equip the temple precinct in accordance with changes in Buddhist doctrines or amalgamation with local practices.

The centrality of pagodas weakened as the transmitted teachings took their place with the development of doctrines. Pagodas, as objects of worship, were also shadowed by iconic representations of the Buddha, an artistic tradition developed in the region of Gandhāra.<sup>16</sup> The Buddha hall, a shrine where the images were enshrined, began to be adorned and considered as more important than the pagoda. However, Buddhism is the teaching of the Buddha. Buddhists are those who uphold the teaching of the Buddha. Buddhists could never forget the Buddha in his living body, no matter how the teaching declined and devotions were paid to anthropomorphic images instead of pagodas. Relics of the Buddha should be venerated incessantly by Buddhist disciples. Buddhists never ceased to build pagodas to enshrine relics of the Buddha although they often changed forms and styles of pagodas. While pebbles of sacred Ganges River could have been used as substitute of relics in India, miraculous tales of attainment of Buddha relics have been told profusely in East Asia and Korea in particular where even such substitutes could not be obtained. Great pagodas were built in places where relics were sought and thus attained. All things in the world depend on belief. It is not to be regulated by reason. This preliminary explanation of the significance of pagodas must suffice here, since what I aim to accomplish is not doctrinal explanation of pagodas in general but stylistic analysis of Korean pagodas.



## Chapter 2

### Records on Beginnings of Korean Buddhism

Korean pagodas appeared with the spread of Buddhism to the Korean Peninsula. The *Samguk sagi* 三國史記 (History of the Three Kingdoms)<sup>1</sup> relates that Buddhism first reached the land of Hwando 丸都<sup>2</sup> on the northern bank of Amnokgang 鴨綠江 in the second year of the reign of King Sosurim (小獸林王, 372) [295 years prior to unification<sup>3</sup>] of the Goguryeo kingdom (37 BCE–668 CE).<sup>4</sup> It was then transmitted to the land of Hansanju 漢山州<sup>5</sup> in the Han'gang basin in the first year of the reign of King Chimnyu (枕流王, 384) [283 years prior to unification] of the Baekje kingdom (18 BCE–660 CE).<sup>6</sup> Finally, it reached the land of Gyeongju 慶州<sup>7</sup> in the fifteenth year of the reign of King Beopheung (法興王, 528) [140 years prior to unification] of the Silla kingdom (57 BCE–975 CE).<sup>8</sup> Yet, these dates merely correspond to the moments when the states officially approved Buddhism. Buddhism must have been partially practiced even before the states' approval. For instance, Zhidun Daolin 支遁道林 of the Eastern Jin dynasty (東晉, 317–402) gave a religious practitioner (*doin* 道人) from Goguryeo a piece of writing praising the lofty life of Zhuqian 竺潛 [Gaoseng zhuan 高僧傳 (Biographies of Eminent Monks) 4, "Biography of Zhuqian"].<sup>9</sup> Given that Zhidun Daolin died in the first year of the Taihe 太和 reign (366) [301 years prior to unification] of the Eastern Jin, Zhuqian's anecdote must have happened as late as the final years of Emperor Ai (哀帝, r. 361–365). It may have happened seven or eight years prior to the second year of King Sosurim. There are divergent records regarding the transmission of Buddhism to Silla, while there are none for Baekje's case. The *Samguk yusa* 三國遺事 (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms) contains references to the monks who transmitted Buddhism to each of the Three Kingdoms.<sup>10</sup> The headings read:

“Sundo Laid Foundation of Buddhism in the Goguryeo Kingdom” (Sundo jo Ryeo 順道肇麗); “Mālānanda Opened the Way for Buddhism in the Baekje Kingdom” (Nanta byeok Je 難陀闢濟); and “Ado Established the Foundation of Buddhism in the Silla Kingdom” (Ado gi Ra 阿道基羅).<sup>11</sup> In the fifth year of his reign, King Sosurim (r. 371–384) of Goguryeo founded Seongmunsa 省門寺 and had the monk Sundo from the Fu Qin 符秦 dynasty (351–394) reside there. The king also founded Ibullansa 伊弗蘭寺 where the monk Ado took residence. Ado <also rendered Ado 阿度>, stayed at Morye’s 毛禮 residence when he came to Ilseon-gun 一善郡<sup>12</sup> [present-day Seonsan-gun 善山郡 in Gyeongsangbuk-do 慶尙北道] of Silla to propagate Buddhist teaching. It took place during the reign of King Bicheo (毗處王, r. 479–500) [also called King Soji 炤智王], postdating Goguryeo’s approval of Buddhism in the fifth year of King Sosurim by approximately one hundred years. The *Samguk yusa* and the *Samguk sagi* relate that a man named Mukhoka 墨胡子<sup>13</sup> came to Morye’s residence where he propagated the Buddhist teaching during the reign of King Michu (未鄒王, r. 262–284) or that of King Nulji (訥紙王, r. 417–458) prior to that of King Bicheo.<sup>14</sup> Comparing the “Silla Annals” (Silla bon’gi 新羅本紀) from the *Samguk sagi* and “Stele Inscription of Ado” (Ado bonbi 阿道本碑) in the *Samguk yusa*, the author of the *Samguk yusa* posited that Mukhoja and Ado are the same person who was active during the reign of King Nulji.<sup>1</sup> It is a very reasonable assumption. If Ado, that is Mukhoja, propagated the teaching during the reign of King Nulji, the transmission of Buddhism to Silla postdates that of Goguryeo by some forty years and that of Baekje by about thirty years. King Jabi (慈悲王, r. 458–479), King Soji, and King Jijeung (智證王, r. 500–514), who ruled Silla between the times of King Nulji and King Beopheung, had already been granted posthumous titles with Buddhist overtones. This also lends credibility to the theory of transmission of Buddhism to Silla during the reign of King Nulji. Buddhism seems to have reached Silla by this time, but it soon got into a hiatus. It was not until King Beopheung’s reign that Buddhism received the state recognition. What might have caused this hiatus?

An answer is found in the article, entitled “Shooting Arrows at the Zither Case” (Sa geumgab 射琴匣) in fasc. 1 of the *Samguk yusa*. Let me cite the whole text though it is lengthy:

The twenty-first monarch, King Bicheo (also known as King Soji). In the tenth year of his reign, cyclical year of *mujin* 戊辰 (488), the king went to Cheoncheonjeong 天泉亭. There was a crow and a rat croaking. The rat said in human language, “Follow where this bird goes.” [Interlinear note omitted.] The king had his cavalryman follow it. The cavalryman went southward and reached Pichon 避村. Halting to watch a fight between two boars, he lost track of the crow and wandered along the road. At this time an old man appearing in the middle of a pond offered a letter. The inscription on the envelope reads: “If you open and read this, two persons will die. If not, one person will die.” The cavalryman came back and presented it to the king. The king said: “If two persons would die, it is worse than having one person dead without opening the letter.” A diviner told, “Two persons refer to commoners whereas the one person refers to the king.” The king thus opened the letter and read it. The letter reads, “Shoot arrows at the zither case.” Having returned to the palace, the king saw the zither case and shot arrows at it. Hidden inside the case were a monk who had conducted Buddhist services in the palace and a royal concubine who were in the middle of having sexual intercourse. The two were executed. From this time on, national customs have been established: on the first days of swine (*sanghae* 上亥), rat (*sangja* 上子), and horse (*sango* 上午) of the first month of every year,<sup>15</sup> people mind all affairs and refrain from going outside; and making the fifteenth day of the first month the anniversary of crow, people hold a memorial service with offerings of boiled glutinous rice. Up till now, people practice them. It is proverbially called *daldo* 恒切, meaning prohibit all matters in grief. The king had that pond named Seochulji 書出池 (lit. Letter-Yielding Pond).<sup>16</sup>

In other words, this ominous incident that took place shortly after

the transmission of Buddhism must have cast suspicion on Buddhist monks and had a bad influence on their missionary work. Only after the miraculous martyrdom of Ichadon 異次頓 (503–527) [also known as Bak Yeomchok 朴厭觸]<sup>17</sup> during the reign of King Beopheung did the state approve Buddhism.<sup>2</sup> Here we see the account of martyrdom for the first time in Silla in the history of Buddhism's spread. It was a necessary sacrifice in order to compensate for previous mistakes such as the monk who had Buddhist services in the inner quarter of the palace.

To sum up, Buddhism seems to have reached the Korean Peninsula by the time between the latter half of the fourth century or the first half of the fifth century. Only the Old Silla, located in the southeast part of the peninsula, officially approved Buddhism in the first half of the sixth century. However, the aforementioned circumstance adds special interest to the issue. Nevertheless, Korean Buddhism did not progress favorably even after the official approval by the Three Kingdoms. The state recognition of Daoism in the latter days of Goguryeo kingdom caused a fierce rivalry among the three religions,<sup>18</sup> which brought about the decline of Buddhism. For instance, the monk Bodeok 普德 (d.u.) of Ballyongsa 盤龍寺 reported to the throne with anxiety that as the non-Buddhist way thrived day by day, the fate of the state was at stake. Since the king did not give careful attention to his advice, the monk moved his residence to the room of the head monk (*bangjang* 方丈) at Godaesan 孤大山 in Wansanju 完山州 (present-day Jeonju 全州). Silla also necessitated the martyrdom of Ichadon in order to recognize Buddhism officially. Baekje is the only kingdom that did not face any difficulties in the propagation of Buddhism. The “Record of Baekje” (Baiji zhuan 百濟傳) in the *Beishi* 北史 (History of the Northern Dynasties) even relates that “There are monks and nuns. There are many temples and pagodas. However, there are no Daoist masters.”<sup>19</sup> Buddhism prospered further as the founding of the unified kingdom on the peninsula reached maturity. The development of Buddhism reached its climax with Silla's unification of the Three Kingdoms. During the Goryeo

高麗 dynasty (918–1392), Buddhism infiltrated into the minds of commoners as it intermingled with indigenous folk beliefs to the extent that the Joseon 朝鮮 (1392–1910) state oppressed Buddhism for its wrongdoing. Building of temples and the changes of pagodas, indeed, attest to the rise and fall of Buddhism.

### Chapter 3

## Building of Temples and the Changing Significance of Buddhist Halls and Pagodas<sup>1</sup>

As mentioned previously, Buddhism was first transmitted to Korea in the latter half of the fourth century. Several opinions have been raised with regard to the issue of when the Buddha image began to be made in the Indian subcontinent. Indian Buddhists seem to have started making Buddha images around the second-to-first century BCE. In other words, the Three Kingdoms on the Korean Peninsula received Buddhism almost four to five hundred years after the emergence of the first Buddha image. A golden image measuring sixteen *cheok* 尺<sup>2</sup> in height is said to have appeared in a dream when Buddhism first spread to China in the latter half of the first century CE. Cai Yin 蔡愔, the envoy dispatched in search of the Buddhist law, is said to have acquired a painting of Śākyamuni Buddha seated with his legs pendant in the Western Regions [《Gaoseng zhuan》1, “Biography of Kāśyapa-Mātāṅga” and “Biography of Zhu Falan.”<sup>3</sup>] This indicates that pagodas and images were all revered when Buddhism was first transmitted to China. It is easy to imagine that Korea, which received Buddhism two-to-three centuries later than China, soon witnessed building of temples equipped with halls and pagodas. The biography of Sundo included in fasc. 1 of the *Haedong goseung jeon* 海東高僧傳 (Lives of Eminent Korean Monks) reads as follows:

In the sixth month of the summer in the second year of King Haemiryu (解味留王) <also known as King Sosurim>, the seventeenth monarch of Goguryeo, cyclical year of *imsin* 壬申 (372). Fu Jian 符堅 (r. 357–385) of the Qin dynasty dispatched an envoy and the monk Sundo, and had them deliver Buddhist images and scriptures. Therefore, the king and his retainers exercised due courtesy, and

received them at the city gate. . . . The king had Seongmunsa founded for the first time and installed the monk Sundo there. . . . The name of the temple was miswritten as Chomun 省門 later on.<sup>4</sup>

In other words, the Buddha image was transmitted as well at the time of Buddhism's initial transmission. The transmission of the Buddha image must have necessitated the building of Buddha hall (*buljeon* 佛殿) [in order to enshrine them]. Approximately twenty years later [in the second year of King Gwanggaeto (廣開土王, r. 391–413)], the Goguryeo kingdom witnessed the founding of nine temples along the bank of Daedonggang 大同江 in Pyeongyang. These building activities in Pyeongyang seem to have corresponded to the significance of the city, which had been administered as the second capital since the first half of the third century [during the reign of King Dongcheon (東川王, r. 227–248)]. The names of Goguryeo Buddhist temples known to date through historical accounts are listed as follows:

- Seongmunsa 省門寺. Founded in the fifth year of King Sosurim (375). The Chinese character reading “*seong*” 省 is also rendered as “*cho*” 肖. Located in Hwando 丸都.<sup>5</sup> [ *Samguk yusa* 3, “Sundo Laid Foundation of Buddhism in the Goguryeo Kingdom”;<sup>6</sup> *Samguk sagi* 18<sup>7</sup> ]
- Ibullansa 伊弗蘭寺. Founded in the fifth year of King Sosurim. Located in Hwando. [ *Samguk yusa* 3, “Sundo Laid Foundation of Buddhism in the Goguryeo Kingdom”;<sup>8</sup> *Samguk sagi* 18<sup>9</sup> ]
- Nine temples in Pyeongyang. Founded in the second year of King Gwanggaeto (392). Located in Pyeongyang. [ *Samguk sagi* 18 ]<sup>10</sup>
- Geumgangsasa 金剛寺. Founded in the seventh year of King Munja (文咨王, 498). Located in Pyeongyang. [ *Samguk sagi* 19;<sup>11</sup> *Dongguk yeoji seungnam* 東國輿地勝覽 (Survey of the Geography of Korea) 51, “Pyeongyang,” “Ancient Relics” (Gojeok 古蹟)<sup>12</sup> ]
- Ballyongasa 盤龍寺. [Also known as Yeonboksa 延福寺.] Prior to the ninth year of King Bojang (寶藏王, 650). Pyeongyang. [ *Samguk yusa* 3, “Bodeok Moved His Cloister” (Bodeok iam 普德移庵);<sup>13</sup> *Dongguk Yi sangguk jip* 東國李相國集 (Collected Works of Prime Minister Yi of Korea) 1.<sup>14</sup> ]

- Geumdongsa 金洞寺<sup>15</sup>. Founded by the monk Musang 無上 and his disciple Gim Chwi 金趣 et al. [*Samguk yusa* 3, “Bodeok Moved His Cloister”]<sup>16</sup>
- Jin’gusa 珍丘寺<sup>17</sup>. Founded by the two monks Jeongmyeol 寂滅 and Uiyung 義融. [*Samguk yusa* 3, “Bodeok Moved His Cloister”]<sup>18</sup>
- Daeseungsa 大乘寺. Founded by Jisu 智數. [*Samguk yusa* 3, “Bodeok Moved His Cloister”]<sup>19</sup>
- Daewonsa 大原寺. Founded by Ilseung 一乘, Simjeong 心正, Daewon 大原 and others. [*Samguk yusa* 3, “Bodeok Moved His Cloister”]<sup>20</sup>
- Yumasa 維摩寺. Founded by Sujeong 水淨. [*Samguk yusa* 3, “Bodeok Moved His Cloister”]<sup>21</sup>
- Jungdaesa 中臺寺. Founded by Sadae 四大, Gyeyuk 契育 et al. [*Samguk yusa* 3, “Bodeok Moved His Cloister”]<sup>22</sup>
- Gaewonsa 開原寺. Founded by the monk Gaewon 開原. [*Samguk yusa* 3, “Bodeok Moved His Cloister”]<sup>23</sup>
- Yeon’gusa 燕口寺. Founded by Myeongdeok 明德. [*Samguk yusa* 3, “Bodeok Moved His Cloister”]<sup>24</sup>
- Yeongtapsa 靈塔寺. Founded by Bodeok. Below Daebosan 大寶山 to the west of Pyeongyangseong 平壤城. [*Samguk yusa* 3, “Yeongtapsa of Goguryeo” (Goryeo Yeongtapsa 高麗靈塔寺)]<sup>25</sup>
- Yugwangtap 育王塔. Yodongseong 遼東城.<sup>26</sup> [*Samguk yusa* 3, “Yugwangtap of Yodongseong” (Yodongseong Yugwangtap 遼東城育王塔)]<sup>27</sup>

The eight temples from Geumdongsa to Yeon’gusa listed above were mostly established by disciples of the monk Bodeok who was active at the end of the Goguryeo kingdom. It is thus open to question whether these temples should be dated to the Goguryeo period and located in the Goguryeo territory. Seongmunsa and Ibullansa—one of the first Buddhist temples in Goguryeo history—are the oldest according to the textual accounts, but neither the temples nor their sites are known to us. The nine temples of Pyeongyang as well as Ballyongsa remain completely unknown. There is, however, an account of Yugwangtap and Yeongtapsa in fasc. 3 of the *Samguk yusa*:



Compiled in the *Sanbao gantong lu* 三寶感通錄 (Record of Auspicious Response of the Three Jewels).<sup>28</sup> As for the pagoda standing near the Yodongseong of the Goguryeo kingdom, tradition states that when a sage king (*seongwang* 聖王) of Goguryeo took an inspection tour to the border area long ago,<sup>29</sup> he reached this fortress and saw a five-colored cloud covering the earth. As the king stepped into the cloud, he encountered a monk standing with a staff. As the king drew near, the monk disappeared. When the king stepped backward, the monk appeared again. Beside the monk was an earthen pagoda with three stories, the upper portion of which looked like an inverted cauldron. He was unable to figure out what it was. The king stepped forward once again only to find a vast wilderness instead of the monk. When the king had the ground dug ten *jang* 丈 (thirty meters) deep, he obtained a staff and a pair of straw shoes. Further digging yielded an object, of which top was inscribed with Sanskrit letters. A retainer recognized it, saying: “This is a Buddhist pagoda.” As the king inquired further, he responded that “This used to belong to a Han dynasty king whose name was Putu<sup>30</sup> <originally named King Xiutu<sup>31</sup> who sacrificed to Heaven and the Golden Man.<sup>32</sup>> Then the king made a vow, and built a seven-storied wooden pagoda. After the Buddhist law had reached [Goguryeo] for the first time, people could understand all the circumstances in detail. This pagoda collapsed while its upper stories were being removed to shorten it. King Aśoka built pagodas everywhere on the Jambudvīpa he unified. It is not a matter of surprise. . . .<sup>33</sup>

The *Seungejeon* 僧傳 (Lives of Monks) reads as follows.<sup>34</sup> The monk Bodeok’s sobriquet is Jibeop 智法. He is from Yonggang-hyeon 龍岡縣 in Goguryeo. . . . He took residence within Pyeongyangseong. There was an old monk from the mountains who came and asked him to lecture on the scriptures. Although the monk Bodeok steadfastly declined it, he could not avoid it. He went on to lecture on some forty fascicles of the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*.<sup>35</sup> Having finished the lecture-meeting, he went out to reach a meditation cave on Daebosan to the

west of the walled city and sat in meditation. A divine being came and asked him to stay there. Then, the heavenly deity set a staff on the ground in front of him. Pointing to that spot, the heavenly deity said: “Below this is an eight-sided and seven storied stone pagoda.” When the ground was dug, it was as the heavenly deity said. Therefore, the monk Bodeok built a temple, which he named Yeongtapsa, and took residence there.<sup>36</sup>

Given that all these make no sense, the account is not worthy of consideration. That the Yugwangtap takes the form of a cauldron, in fact, reflects the situation after the Liao 遼 dynasty (907–1125);<sup>1</sup> there is no way to establish the historicity of the stone pagoda at Yeongtapsa. Of the temples listed above, Geumgangsapa is the sole instance with valuable historical information that deserves scholarly examination.

October, the thirteenth year of Shōwa 昭和 (1938).<sup>37</sup> There was a scenic historic place on the western slope of Juamsan 酒岩山 on the right bank of the upper Daedonggang, located three kilometers away to the northwest from Morandae 牡丹臺 in Pyeongyang-bu. Excavation revealed it to be a site of a huge temple. A brief report suffices here, since details of the excavation have been published in the report [*Shōwa jūsan-nendo koseki chōsa hōkoku* 昭和十三年度古蹟調査報告 (Archaeological Investigation Report for Year 13 of Shōwa) (Keijō [Seoul]: Chōsen koseki kenkyūkai, 1940)]. At the center is the site of a building in octagonal plan (*palgak wondang* 八角圓堂),<sup>38</sup> each side of which measures from 10.02–10.23 meters. There is the site of a gate [plan unknown], located 10.57 meters south of the site of the building in octagonal plan. There is the site of a hall [north-south axis measuring 27 meters and east-west 12 meters], located 11.72 meters away to the west. It forms a symmetrical plan together with another building site [north-south axis 23.48 meters, east-west unknown] to the east of the site of the building in octagonal plan. There is the site of a huge hall [east-west 32.46 meters, north-south 19.18 meters], located 14.65 meters to the north of the site of the

building in octagonal plan. Although there is no mention of further excavation in this report, Yoneda Miyoji 米田美代治 (d. 1942),<sup>39</sup> who participated in the 1938 excavation, has made reference to an additional excavation of the site in his article, entitled “Chōsen jōdai no kenchiku to garan haichi ni oyoboseru tenmon shisō no eikyō” 朝鮮上代の建築と伽藍配置に及ぼせる天文思想の影響 (The Influence of Astronomical Conceptions in the Planning of Buddhist Temples and Architecture in Ancient Korea), published in vol. 21 of *Kenchiku gakkai ronbunshū* 建築學會論文集.<sup>40</sup> Yoneda has discussed the three building sites arranged in the form of the Chinese character “*pum*” 品 to the north, and another building site located at the far rear (Figure 1).

This is a temple site with a very distinctive plan. Let us reconstruct the site of the octagonal hall, mentioned in the excavation report, on the basis of the site plan. On the north, south, east, and west sides of this octagonal building are paths paved with small boulders<sup>41</sup> leading to the east hall, west hall, north hall, and south gate. They correspond to four entrances (*tonggu* 通口) on the four cardinal sides of the building. Therefore, I posit that the sides with entrances had five bays (*gan* 間),<sup>42</sup> whereas the sides between them had four bays. The site plan supports this supposition, although this is not mentioned in the excavation report. Each side of the building measures approximately 9.5 meters long. According to the excavators, the existence of a foundation stone for supporting the central pillar of a pagoda (Kr. *simcho* [Jp. *sasso*] 心礎) was not identified since the central section had been severely damaged. Therefore, it is hard to ascertain whether the architectural structure once stood at this site was a simple, single-storied or double-storied building in octagonal plan or an octagonal pagoda in the style of a pavilion with multiple stories soaring high into the sky. The authors, in the conclusion of the excavation report mentioned above, suggest that this temple site corresponds to Geumgangsā listed in the article, “Ancient Relics” in the section on Pyeongyang in fasc. 51 of the *Dongguk yeoji seungnam*, which reads “Geumgangsā <the remaining site is located eight *ri* 里<sup>43</sup> away to the northwest from the prefecture.>”<sup>44</sup> If this is the case, this temple site corresponds to Geumgangsā, which

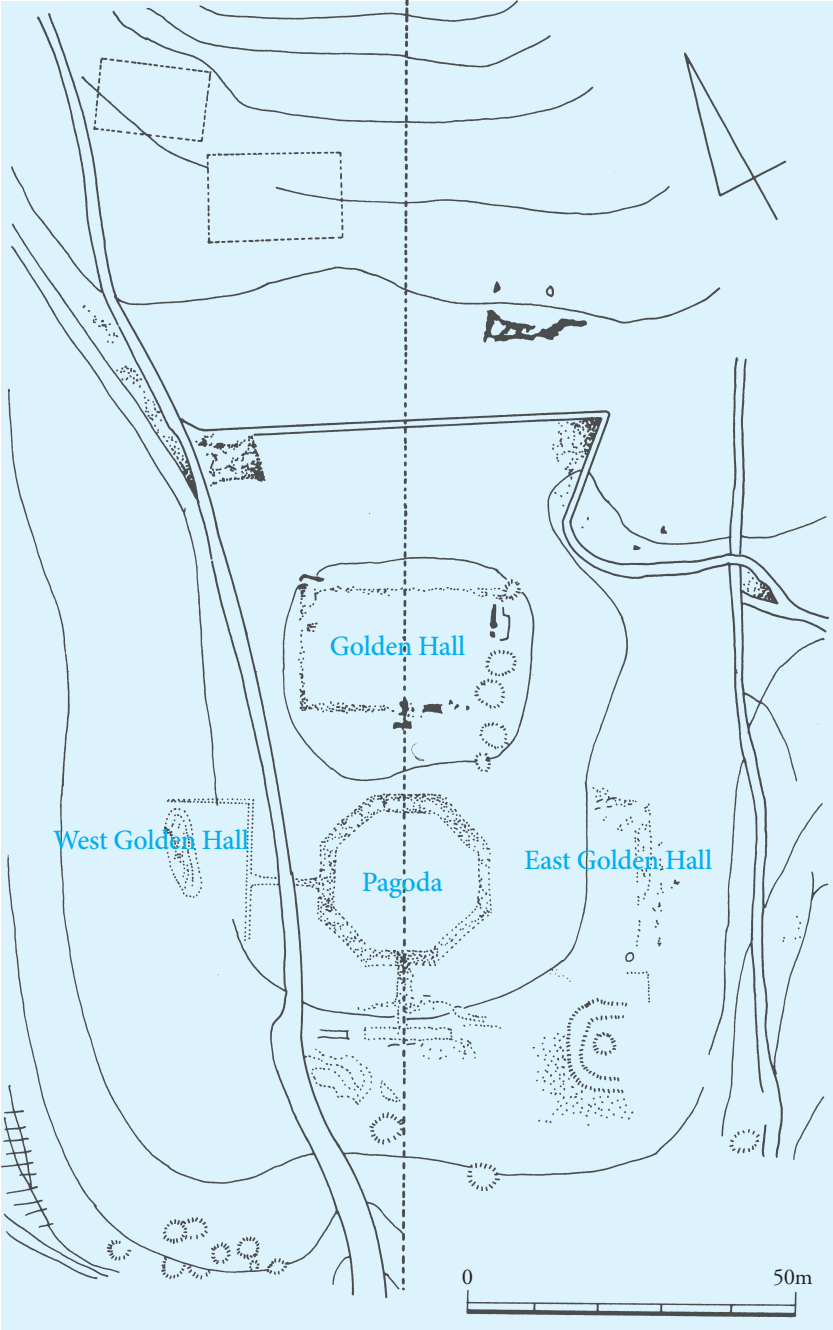


Figure 1. Plan of the temple site at Cheongam-ri, Pyeongyang

is said to have been built in the seventh month of the seventh year of King Munja (497) of Goguryeo in the “Goguryeo Annals” (Goguryeo bon’gi 高句麗本紀).<sup>45</sup> It may have agreed with “the site of an ancient pagoda” recorded in the *Goryeosa* 高麗史 (History of Goryeo) 1, “King Sukjong” 肅宗, seventh year (1102), ninth month:

On the day of *sinchuk*, the king went to Geumgangsā and offered meals to monks. Consequently, the king saw the remains of an old pagoda. Thereupon, the king had the crown prince look around the place where the service was held by the riverside and Tonghan’gyo.<sup>46</sup>

This site is reported to have yielded diverse kinds of Buddhist artifacts, belt ornaments, and vessels made of gilt-bronze, bronze, or iron dating from the Goguryeo to Goryeo periods, as well as lots of roof tiles from the Goguryeo period. In addition, it is reported to have yielded roof tiles datable to the Goryeo period. It is unlikely that the temple, which originally stood at the site, was built in the Goguryeo period and lasted until the Goryeo period. Rather, it seems to have been rebuilt in the Goryeo period. Yet, the attribution of this site to Geumgangsā, which remained to the time of rebuilding, must have been considered significant. Furthermore, the Goryeo Koreans may have considered this site to be that of an old pagoda. It makes this octagonal building site the single historical evidence of Goguryeo pagodas known to date. In addition, a site of an octagonal building structure of a similar sort was excavated at Sango-ri 上五里, Imwon-myeon in Daedong-gun, yet the nature of the site has not yet been identified.<sup>2</sup> The excavation of a Goguryeo temple site at Wono-ri 元五里, Deoksan-myeon 德山面 in Pyeongwon-gun 平原郡, in May of Shōwa twelfth year (1937), yielded a number of clay Buddhist statues of the time.<sup>47</sup> Yet, it was impossible to define the form of its building(s) and pagoda(s). Although extant temples such as Yongmunsa 龍門寺 in Yeongbyeon 寧邊, Pyeonganbuk-do 平安北道, Yeongmyeongsa 永明寺 on Morandae in Pyeongyang, etc, are said to have been built during the Goguryeo period, they are mostly later

attributions of little historical basis.

Let us examine building of Buddhist temples in Baekje. As mentioned previously, Buddhist faith reached Baekje in the first year of King Chimnyu (384) [283 years prior to unification]. Namely, on the ninth month of this year a foreign monk (*hoseung* 胡僧) named Mālānanda [Marananta 摩羅難陀, translated as Donghak 童學] from Eastern Jin of the Southern Dynasties was received in audience by the king; the king had him reside in the palace and paid respect to him; in the following year, the cyclical year of *euryu* 乙酉, the king had a Buddhist temple built in Hansanju [present-day Keijō 京城] and had Mālānanda ordain ten men.<sup>48</sup> Neither the name nor organization of the temple is known to us. Buddhism in Baekje did not flourish until the reign of King Seongmyeong (聖明王, r. 523–554). It is not necessary to elaborate upon this since it is recorded in the *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (Chronicles of Japan) rather than Korean historical sources.<sup>49</sup> Suffice it to say that King Seongmyeong is the last king to have held his court at Gongju 公州 by Ungjin'gang 熊津江 as well as the first king to transfer the capital to Sabiseong 泗沘城 [also known as Sobu-ri 所夫里] by Geumgang 錦江 [in the sixteenth year of his reign (538)].<sup>50</sup> There are a few more sources that could complement our knowledge on Buddhist temples that once existed in Gongju. They include:

- Heungnyunsa 興輪寺. Founded during the reign of King Seongmyeong. [Mireuk *bulgwangsa sajeok* 彌勒佛光寺事蹟 (Historical Record of Mireuk bulgwangsa), “Biography of the Monk Gyeomik” (*Samun Gyeomik jeon* 沙門謙益傳)]<sup>51</sup>
- Daetongsa 大通寺. Founded in the fifth year of King Seongmyeong (527). [Samguk yusa 3, “Wonjong’s Promotion of Buddhism” (Wonjong heungbeop 原宗興法)]<sup>52</sup>
- Suwonsa 水源寺. Founded between the twenty-third and twenty-fifth year of King Wideok (威德王, r. 554–598). Located on Wolseongsan 月城山. [Samguk yusa 3, “Biography of Jinja” (Jinja jeon 眞慈傳)]<sup>53</sup>
- Seohyeolsa 西穴寺. Located on Mangwolsan 望月山.

The location of Heungnyunsa is not known. Yi Neunghwa 李能和 (1868–1943)<sup>54</sup> cited an account of the temple in the *Mireuk bulgwangsa sajeok*:

In the seventh year of King Seong (聖王, r. 523–554) of Baekje, cyclical year of *byeongo* 丙午 (529), the monk Gyeomik, who pledged himself to obtain the *vinayapitaka*, sailed around and reached Great Vinaya Temple in Saṅghāna in central India. He studied Sanskrit texts for five years and became well-versed in Indic language. He studied the solemn essence of precepts of the vinaya in depth. Gyeomik brought back five recensions of the vinaya in Sanskrit when he returned to Baekje along with the Tripiṭaka Master Vedatta (Kr. Baedalda 倍達多). The king of Baekje in bird-feather attire gave a welcoming ceremony with drumming and piping, and received them outside the city wall in person. The king installed them at Heungnyunsa, and summoned twenty-eight eminent Baekje monks to translate seventy-two fascicles of vinaya texts together with the Dharma Master Gyeomik. He is called the founder of the vinaya school of Baekje. [Yi Neunghwa, *Joseon Bulgyo tongsa* 朝鮮佛教通史 (Comprehensive History of Korean Buddhism) (Keijō [Seoul]: Sinmun'gwan, 1919), 2: 103.]<sup>55</sup>

This indicates that Heungnyunsa was located in Gongju. [Another temple] Daetongsa was located within Gongju-eup. The section on “Wonjong’s Promotion of Buddhism” in fasc. 3 of *Samguk yusa* reads:

In addition, in the first year of Datong 大通, cyclical year of *jeongmi* 丁未 (527), a temple was built in Ungcheonju 熊川州 for the sake of the emperor of Liang, and was named Daetongsa. <Ungcheonju corresponds to Gongju. It was because the region belonged to Silla at that time. Yet, it seems not to have been built in the cyclical year of *jeongmi*, but in the first year of Zhongdatong 中大通, the cyclical year of *giyu* 己酉 (529). It was hard for the Silla court to build a temple in other cities in the *jeongmi* year, the time when it began to build Heungnyunsa.><sup>56</sup>

Although *Samguk yusa* attributes the building of Heungnyunsa to King Beopheung of Silla, it is clearly mistaken since Gongju by this time was the capital of Baekje. It is absurd [to suppose] that the Silla king built a temple in Gongju. The recent excavation of a stone trough, a roof tile with the pattern of a single lotus petal (*yeonhwa danbyeon mun* 蓮花單瓣紋), and so on at this temple site proves it to be a Baekje site. There is a pair of stone supports for a banner staff<sup>57</sup> dating from the Unified Silla period, yet regrettably traces of the temple remain uncertain. Suwonsa is the place where the monk Jinja 眞慈 [also known as Jeongja 貞慈] of Silla's Heungnyunsa 興輪寺 is said to have seen a Maitreya incarnate (*Mireuk seonhwa* 彌勒仙花), during the reign of Baekje's King Wideok [that of Silla's King Jinji (眞智王, r. 576–579)] [*Samguk yusa* 3, “A Maitreya Flower of Youth, Misirang, and Master Jinja” (*Mireuk seonhwa Misirang Jinja sa* 彌勒仙花 未尸郎 眞慈師)].<sup>58</sup> It is associated with an intriguing legend. Currently, there is a town also known as Suwon-dong 水源洞 in Ongnyong-ri 玉龍里 to the east of Gongju.<sup>59</sup> The *Dongguk yeoji seungnam* also relates it to be located on Wolseongsan in Gongju. The temple seems to have existed until the early years of Joseon dynasty, yet its remains have not been identified thus far. Seohyeolsa is also mentioned in the *Dongguk yeoji seungnam*.<sup>60</sup> Excavators have discovered roof tiles with the pattern of a single lotus petal of the Baekje period, as well as two stone Buddha statues from the Unified Silla period at the former site of this temple. There are two or three more sites where old roof tiles, stone troughs, and stone aureoles of the Buddha from the Baekje period were found, yet none of them have revealed architectural remains of temples. In contrast, we have more knowledge of temples built after the transfer of capital to Sabiseong [Buyeo 扶餘], or the Nambuyeo 南扶餘 period.<sup>61</sup>

- Sajasa 師子寺. It had already been in existence during the reign of King Mu (武王, r. 600–641). Located on Yonghwasan 龍華山 in Iksan 益山. [*Samguk yusa* 2, “King Mu” (Muwang 武王)]<sup>62</sup>
- Mireuksa 彌勒寺. Founded during the reign of King Mu. The temple site presently exists at Giyang-ri 箕陽里, Iksan-myeon



益山面 in Iksan-gun.<sup>63</sup> [Samguk yusa 2, “King Mu”]<sup>64</sup>

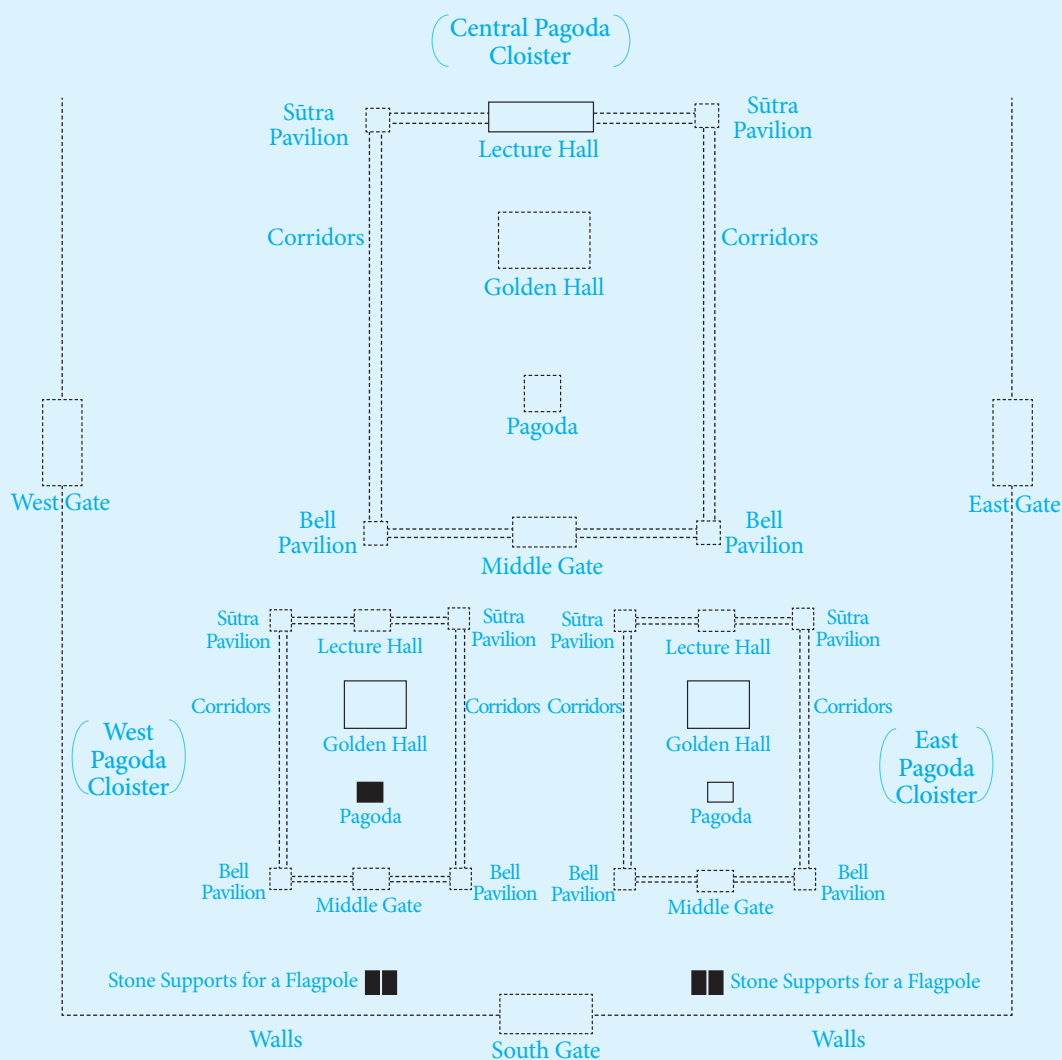
- Ogeumsa 五金寺. Founded during the reign of King Mu. Located to the south of Bodeokseong 報德城 in Iksan. [Dongguk yeoji seungnam 33, “Iksan”]<sup>65</sup>
- Bogwangsa 普光寺. Located on Godeoksan 高德山 south of Jeonju 全州. [Seen in the record written by Yi Gok 李穀, compiled in the Dongguk yeoji seungnam 33, “Jeonju”]<sup>66</sup>
- Wangheungsas 王興寺.<sup>67</sup> The building of this temple began in the second year of King Beop (法王, 600) and finished in the thirty-fifth year of King Mu (634). The temple site is located at Sin-ri 新里 [also known as Sin’gu-ri 新九里 and Wangeun-ri 王隱里], Gyuam-myeon 窺岩面 in Buyeo-gun. [Samguk yusa 2, “King Mu”; Samguk yusa 3, “King Beop Prohibited Killing” (Beopwang geum sal 法王禁殺);<sup>68</sup> Samguk sagi 27<sup>69</sup>]
- Hoamsa 虎嵒寺. Hoam, meaning tiger rock, on the eastern slope of Yeongchwibong 靈鷲峰 in Gyuam-myeon, Buyeo-gun at present. [Samguk yusa 2, “Nambuyeon”]<sup>70</sup>
- Ohoesa 烏會寺. Also known as Bugak Ohamsa 北岳烏含寺. [Yi Neunghwa, in vol. 1 of his *Joseon Bulgyo tongsa*, annotated upon the text, reading “The temple was renamed to Seongju” (易寺榜爲聖住), which is taken from the “Stele Inscription of the Pagoda of Dae Nanghye Baegwol bogwang” (Dae Nanghye Baegwol bogwang ji tapbi myeong 大朗慧白月葆光之塔碑銘). Yi Neunghwa noted that “The temple was originally named Ohapsa 烏合寺.” The temple in question corresponds to the site of Seongjusa 聖住寺 at Nampo 藍浦, Boryeong-gun 保寧郡. However, Yi Neunghwa did not specify basis of his annotation.<sup>71</sup>] [Samguk sagi 28, “King Uija,” fifteenth year]<sup>72</sup>
- Chiraksa 漆岳寺. Royal visit in the second year of King Beop (600). [Samguk sagi 27]<sup>73</sup>
- Cheonwangsa (pagoda). 天王寺(塔). [Samguk sagi 28, “King Uija,” twentieth year]<sup>74</sup>
- Doyangsa (pagoda). 道讓寺(塔). [Samguk sagi 28, “King Uija,” twentieth year]<sup>75</sup>
- Baekseoksa (lecture hall). 白石寺(講堂). [Samguk sagi 28, “King Uija,”

twentieth year}]<sup>76</sup>

- Bukbu Sudeoksa 北部修德寺.<sup>77</sup> [Samguk yusa 5, “Biography of the Monk Hyecheon” (Seok Hyecheon jeon 釋惠現傳)]<sup>78</sup>

Listed below are identified as Buddhist temples of Baekje on the basis of attributions or excavation of artifacts.

- Goransa 皐蘭寺. The Chinese character reading “go” 皐 is also written as “go” 高. A nunnery dating from the Baekje standing on the northern slope of Busosan 扶蘇山 in Buyeo-myeon, Buyeo-gun. The vicinity of Sabiru 泗沘樓 on Busosan. The spot where a gilt-bronze triad was found.
- Ruins of Cheongnyongsa 靑龍寺. Northeast of Busanseong 浮山城 in Gyuam-myeon, Buyeo-gun. Attributed.
- ● Temple site with Pyeongje Pagoda (平濟塔).<sup>79</sup> Located at Dongnam-ri 東南里, Buyeo-gun. There is a five-storied stone pagoda of the time.
- Ruins of a temple in Gatap-ri 佳塔里. This is where a gilt-bronze standing Buddha image was found. See *Shōwa jūsan-nendo koseki chōsa hōkoku*.<sup>80</sup>
- ● Ruins of a temple site in Gunsu-ri 軍守里. See *Shōwa jūichi-nendo koseki chōsa hōkoku* 昭和十一年度古蹟調査報告.<sup>81</sup>
- ● Ruined temple site in Dongnam-ri 東南里. See *Shōwa jūsan-nendo koseki chōsa hōkoku*.<sup>82</sup>
- Ruined temple site in Oe-ri 外里, Gyuam-myeon. See *Shōwa jūichi-nendo koseki chōsa hōkoku*.<sup>83</sup>
- Ruins of Nocunsa 老隱寺. Located in Seongmok-ri 石木里, Buyeo-gun. Attributed.
- Ruins of Gyeongnyongsa 驚龍寺. Allegedly, there remain fragments of cornerstones, stone trough, and so on. Northwest of Cheongmasanseong 靑馬山城 in Buyeo.
- Jeonggaksa 正覺寺. It exists halfway up the southwest slope of Taejobong 太祖峰 in Seokseong-myeon 石城面, Buyeo-gun. Attributed.



Based on the drawing produced after the survey of Fujishima Gaijirō with modifications made by the author.

- ▤ Parts marked with dotted lines are supposed to have buildings.
- ▢ Parts marked with lines have remains of foundation stones.
- Parts painted in black are locations where buildings remain.

Figure 2. Plan of the Mireuksa site, Iksan (before excavation)

- Ruins of Docheonsa 道泉寺. Below Cheonaesan 天涯山 in Eunsan-myeon 恩山面, Buyeo-gun. On the basis of the “Stele of History” (Sajeok bi 事蹟碑) standing on the temple site.
- Muryangsa 無量寺. It exists below Mansusan 萬壽山 in Oesan-myeon 外山面, Buyeo-gun. Attributed.

Only those temple sites marked with black dots (●) in the list above have identifiable remains.

The layouts of the Mireuk-sa site, the site with Pyeongje Pagoda, and the site at Gunsu-ri are composed in accordance with that of Shitennōji 四天王寺<sup>84</sup> in Naniwa 浪波 (present-day Ōsaka 大阪), Japan, consisting of a pagoda and a hall aligned along the north-south axis at the center, a lecture hall in the north, and the middle gate in the south. The entire site of Mireuksa, consisting of three identical temple sites arranged in the shape of a Chinese character reading “*pum*” 品 (Figure 2),<sup>85</sup> is particularly famous for having the oldest and largest stone pagoda in Korea. As I will elaborate shortly, it shows a very particular type of temple layout; one of the three temple sites has a stone pagoda, whereas each of the other two seems to have had a wooden pagoda respectively judging from architectural remains. At the Gunsu-ri temple site, to the south of remains of the golden hall (Kr. *geumdang* [Jp. *kōndo*] 金堂) exists the foundation of a wooden pagoda and to the farther south are remains of the central gate. A site of lecture hall has been excavated to the north of the golden hall. There are two rectangular building foundations on either side of the lecture hall site. One has been identified as the site of a sūtra pavilion (*gyeongnu* 經樓), while the other being that of a bell pavilion (*jongnu* 鍾樓). Of particular interest is the layout of the two rectangular building foundations arranged almost symmetrically east and west of the main hall. This accords well with the spatial layout of the Cheongam-ri temple site in Pyeongyang, identified as Geumgangsā, where two building sites lie east and west of the octagonal building site (Figure 3). All of these temple sites have a pagoda as well as a worship hall. It indicates that the spatial layout of Korean Buddhist

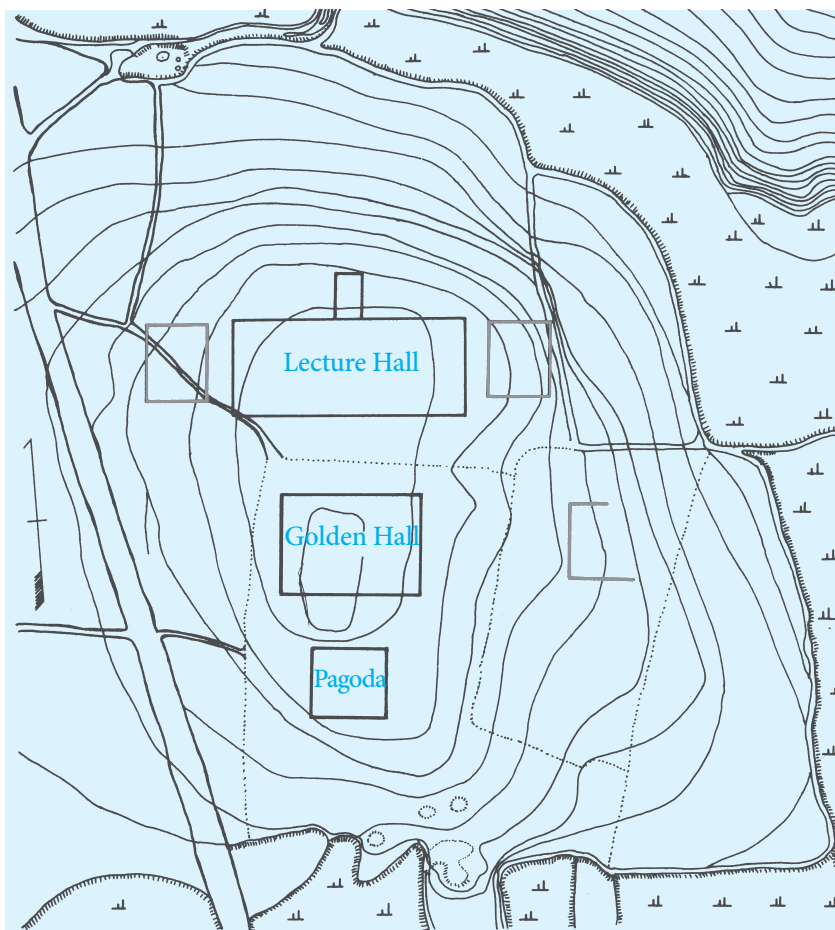


Figure 3. Plan of the ruins of a temple site at Gunsu-ri, Buyeo

temples consists from the very beginning of a pagoda and a worship hall, aligned along the north-south axis. As far as the area ratio of pagoda to worship hall is concerned, it amounts to 0.7 at the Geumgangs site of Goguryeo, approximately 0.6 at the Mireuksa site of Baekje, and 0.39 at the Gunsu-ri temple site. It indicates that the area of pagoda reduces compared to that of worship hall by the passage of time. The building date of the Gunsu-ri temple site is not known, and it is far smaller than the Mireuksa site. It must have been

built later than Mireuksa, which was founded during the reign of King Mu of Baekje. The stone pagoda and stone Buddha image on its north at the temple site where Pyeongje Pagoda stands allow us to identify the approximate location of a worship hall, the size of which remains unknown. The fact that the Dongnam-ri temple site in Buyeo has no traces of a pagoda indicates that a temple without a pagoda had already appeared at the end of the Three Kingdoms period.

Let us leave this issue aside and first consider Buddhist temples in Silla before its unification of the Three Kingdoms.<sup>86</sup> There are some Buddhist temples of unknown dates. Let us examine those founded until the seventh year of Queen Jindeok (眞德王, r. 647–654) prior to the accession of King Muyeol (武烈王, r. 654–661) to the throne [the fifth year of Yonghui 永徽 reign of the Tang 唐 (654)]:

- ● Heungnyunsa. First founded in the fourteenth year of King Beopheung, the cyclical year of *jeongmi* 丁未 (527). Building activities began in the twenty-first year, cyclical year of *eulmyo* 乙卯 (534). Finished in the fifth year of King Jinheung (眞興王, r. 540–576), cyclical year of *gapja* 甲子 (544). There were the golden hall, a pagoda, corridors<sup>87</sup> on both sides, south gate, sūtra pavilion on the left, and pond in the south. The first Buddhist temple ever built in the Silla Kingdom. [Samguk yusa 3, “Wonjong’s Promotion of Buddhism” and “Ado Established the Foundation of Buddhism in the Silla Kingdom”];<sup>88</sup> Samguk sagi 4<sup>89</sup>]
- ● Yeongheungsa 永興寺.<sup>90</sup> Founded together with Heungnyunsa. Queen of King Jinheung, who had taken tonsure, took residence therein. [Samguk yusa 3, “Wonjong’s Promotion of Buddhism” and “Ado Established the Foundation of Buddhism in the Silla Kingdom”];<sup>91</sup> Samguk yusa 4<sup>92</sup>]
- ● Hwangnyongsa 皇龍寺.<sup>93</sup> Also written as Hwangnyongsa 黃龍寺.<sup>94</sup> Building began in the fourteenth year of King Jinheung, cyclical year of *gyeyu* 癸酉 (553), and finished in the twenty-seventh year (566). Pagoda was built in the fourteenth year (645) of Queen Seondeok (善德王, r. 632–647).<sup>95</sup> [Samguk yusa 3, “The Sixteen-cheok

Buddha Image at Hwangnyongsa” (Hwangnyongsa jangnyuk 皇龍寺丈六) and “The Nine-Storied Pagoda at Hwangnyongsa” (Hwangnyongsa Gu-cheungtap 皇龍寺九層塔);<sup>96</sup> *Samguk sagi* 4 and 5<sup>97</sup>]

- Dongchuksa 東竺寺. Seen in the account of King Jinheung’s reign. Located to the east of Hagok-hyeon 河曲縣 in Ulsan 蔚山. [《*Samguk yusa* 3, “The Sixteen-*cheok* Buddha Image at Hwangnyong-sa”]<sup>98</sup>
- Giwonsa 祈園寺. Completed in the twenty-seventh year of King Jinheung (566). [《*Samguk sagi* 4】<sup>99</sup>
- Siljesa 實際寺. Completed contemporaneously with Giwonsa. *Samguk sagi* 4]<sup>100</sup>
- □ Daeseungsa 大乘寺. Founded in the ninth year of King Jinpyeong (眞平王, r. 579–632), cyclical year of *gapsin* 甲申 (587). [It is hard to verify the claim since the ninth year of King Jinpyeong corresponds to the cyclical year of *jeongmi*, while the cyclical year of *gapsin* is the forty-sixth year of the king (624).] Presently, it is located on Sabulsan 四佛山 in Sangju 尙州. [《*Samguk yusa* 3, “Buddha Mountain” (Bulsan 佛山);<sup>101</sup> *Dongguk yeoji seungnam* 28, “Sangju”]<sup>102</sup>]
- ● Nae Jeseokgung 內帝釋宮. Also called Cheonjusa 天柱寺.<sup>103</sup> Founded during the reign of King Jinpyeong. There was a wooden pagoda. [《*Samguk yusa* 1, “Heaven Bestows a Jade Belt” (Cheonsa okdae 天賜玉帶); *Samguk yusa* 5, “The Monk Wolmyeong and the Song of Tushita” (Wolmyeong sa Dosolga 月明師兜率歌)<sup>104</sup>]
- ● Sinwonsa 神元寺. Seen in the account of King Jinpyeong’s reign. There is a bridge named Gwigyo 鬼橋 over the northern creek. [《*Samguk yusa* 1, “Gentleman Biheong” (Biheong rang 鼻荊郎)]<sup>105</sup>
- ● A temple on Namsan (*Namsan ji sa* 南山之寺).<sup>106</sup> Seen in the account of the ninth year of King Jinpyeong (587). It had a courtyard and monks’ quarters. [《*Samguk sagi* 4】<sup>107</sup>
- ● Samnangsa 三郎寺.<sup>108</sup> Completed in the nineteenth year of King Jinpyeong (597). [《*Samguk yusa* 4】<sup>109</sup>
- ● Geumgoksa 金谷寺. Prior to the twenty-second year of King Jinpyeong (600). Dharma Master Won’gwang (圓光法師) took residence. It was located on Samgisán 三岐山. [《*Samguk yusa* 4, “Won’gwang’s Studies in China” (Won’gwang seohak 圓光西學);<sup>110</sup> *Samguk*

*yusa* 5, “Milbon Exorcized Evil Spirits” (Milbon choesa 密本摧邪).<sup>111</sup>]

- □ Gasilsa 加悉寺. Also known as Gaseulgapsa 嘉瑟岬寺. The temple where the Dharma Master Won'gwang resided after his return in the twenty-second year of King Jinpyeong (600). It is also said to be known that the monk reached it in the thirty-fifth year of the king (613). East of the present-day Unmunsa 雲門寺 in Cheongdo-gun 淸道郡. [ *Samguk sagi* 45, “Gwisan” (Gwisan *jeon* 貴山傳); *Samguk yusa* 4, “Won'gwang's Studies in China”<sup>112</sup>]
- □ Hyesuksa 惠宿寺. Hyesuk resided therein during the reign of King Jinpyeong. It was located north of An'gang 安康 in Gyeongju. [ *Samguk yusa* 4, “Hyesuk and Hyegong Mingled with the Dust” (Ihye dongjin 二惠同塵)<sup>113</sup>
- Mitasa 彌陀寺. Founded by the monk Hyesuk. [ *Samguk yusa* 5, “Ukmyeon, a Female Servant Who Flew to the Western Pure Land While Chanting” (Ukmyeon bi yeombul seo seung 郁面婢念佛西昇)<sup>114</sup>
- Bugaesa 夫蓋寺. Residence of the monk Hyegong 惠空. [ *Samguk yusa* 4, “Hyesuk and Hyegong Mingled with the Dust”<sup>115</sup>
- ● Hangsasa 恒沙寺. Also written as O'eosa 吾魚寺. Located at Yeongil 迎日. [ *Samguk yusa* 4, “Hyesuk and Hyegong Mingled with the Dust”<sup>116</sup>
- Anheungsas 安興寺. Residence of the nun Jihye 智惠 during the reign of King Jinpyeong. [ *Samguk yusa* 5, “Divine Mother Seondo Loved Buddhist Events” (Seondo seongmo suhui bulsa 仙桃聖母隨喜佛事)<sup>117</sup>
- ● Beopgwangsa 法光寺. Located below Bihaksan 飛鶴山 to the west of Sin'gwang-hyeon 神光縣. Allegedly, King Jinpyeong had Wonhyo 元曉 (617–686) raise money to build a two-storied hall, commonly known as the golden hall. [ *Donggyeong japgi* 東京雜記 (Miscellaneous Accounts of the Eastern Capital) 2, “Buddhist Temples” (Buru 佛宇)<sup>118</sup>
- Jillyangsas 津梁寺. Residence of Wonan 圓安, the eminent disciple of Won'gwang. Founded at Namjeon 藍田. [ *Samguk yusa* 4, “Won'gwang's Studies in China”<sup>119</sup>
- Yeongmisa 零味寺. Prior to the first year of Queen Seondeok (632).



Located within Cheongdo-gun. [Samguk yusa 1, “Iseo Kingdom” (Iseoguk 伊西國)]<sup>120</sup>

- ● Bunhwangsa 芬皇寺. Completed in the third year of Queen Seondeok (634). [Samguk sagi 5]<sup>121</sup>
- ● Yeongmyosa 靈廟寺.<sup>122</sup> The Chinese character reading “myo” 廟 is also rendered as “myo” 妙. There were the golden hall, a sūtra pavilion on both sides, the south gate, corridors, and a wooden pagoda. The building on the left is three-storied.
- Dojungsa 道中寺. Residence of the monk Saengui 生義 during the reign of Queen Seondeok. [Samguk yusa 3, “Stone Maitreya at Saenguisa” (Saenguisa seok Mireuk 生義寺石彌勒)]<sup>123</sup>
- Saenguisa 生義寺. Founded and residence of the monk Saengui in the twelfth year of Queen Seondeok (643). Located at Samhwaryeong 三花嶺 on Namsan. [Samguk yusa 3, “Stone Maitreya at Saenguisa”]<sup>124</sup>
- ● Seokjangsa 錫杖寺. Residence of the monk Yangji 良志. [Samguk yusa 4, “Monk Yangji” (Seok Yangji 釋良志)]<sup>125</sup>
- Beomnimsa 法林寺. [Samguk yusa 4, “Monk Yangji”]<sup>126</sup>
- □ Beomnyusa 法流寺. Existed prior to the reign of Queen Seondeok. [Samguk yusa 5, “Milbon Exorcized Evil Spirits”]<sup>127</sup>
- □ Manseon doryang 萬善道場. The monk Anham 安含 died here in the ninth year of Queen Seondeok (640). [Haedong goseung jeon]<sup>128</sup>
- □ Geumgangs 金剛寺. Founded by the monk Myeongnang 明郎. [Samguk yusa 4, “Hyesuk and Hyegong Mingled with the Dust”]<sup>129</sup>
- ● Geumgwangsa 金光寺. The monk Myeongnang donated his residence to build a temple after the fourth year of Queen Seondeok (635). [Samguk yusa 5, “Myeongnang of the Secret Seal” (Myeongnang Sinin 明郎神印)]<sup>130</sup>
- Wonnyeongsa 元寧寺. During the reign of Queen Seondeok (?). Jajang 慈藏 (590–658) made his birthplace over into a temple. [Samguk yusa 4, “Jajang Established the Vinaya” (Jajang jeongyul 慈藏定律); Samguk yusa 3, “Fifty Thousand True Bodies on Odaesan” (Daesan oman jinsin 臺山五萬眞身)]<sup>131</sup>
- ● Tongdosa 通度寺. Founded by Jajang. Located at Yangsan-gun 梁山郡. [Samguk yusa 4, “Jajang Established the Vinaya”; Samguk yusa 3,

“Fifty Thousand True Bodies on Odaesan”]<sup>132</sup>

- □ Sudasa 水多寺. Founded by Jajang during the reign of Queen Seondeok (?). [《*Samguk yusa* 3, “Fifty Thousand True Bodies on Odaesan”]<sup>133</sup>
- □ Seoknamwon 石南院. Also known as Jeongamsa 淨岩寺.<sup>134</sup> Founded by Jajang during the reign of Queen Seondeok (?).<sup>135</sup> Located on Taebaeksan 太白山. [《*Samguk yusa* 3, “Fifty Thousand True Bodies on Odaesan”<sup>136</sup> and “Five Kinds of Sacred Assembly at Woljeongsa on Odaesan” (Daesan Woljeongsa oryu seongjung 臺山月精寺五類聖衆)<sup>137</sup>]
- □ Daehwasa 大和寺. Founded by Jajang during the reign of Queen Seondeok or that of Queen Jindeok (?). Also known as Daehwaji 大和池 or Daehwatap 大和塔. Located at Ulsan. [《*Samguk yusa* 3, “Fifty Thousand True Bodies on Odaesan” and “Five Kinds of Sacred Assembly at Woljeong-sa on Odaesan”]<sup>138</sup>
- Abyusa 鴨遊寺. Founded by Jajang. Located at Eonyang 彦陽. [《*Samguk yusa* 3, “Fifty Thousand True Bodies on Odaesan” and “Five Kinds of Sacred Assembly at Woljeongsa on Odaesan”]<sup>139</sup>
- Hongboksa 弘福寺. Jajang gave lectures here after his return to Silla in the twelfth year of Queen Seondeok (643). [《*Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 (Continued Biographies of Eminent Monks)]<sup>140</sup>
- Yeongchwisa 靈鷲寺. Also called Hyeongmogam 赫木庵. Nangji 朗智 is said to have resided there from the cyclical year of *jeongmi* 丁未 in King Jinpyeong’s reign. [《*Samguk yusa* 5, “Nangji Rode a Cloud” (Nangji seungun 朗智乘雲)]<sup>141</sup>
- Chogaesa 初開寺. Wonhyo took tonsure and made his residence over into the temple (587). [《*Samguk yusa* 4, “Wonhyo the Unbridled” (Wonhyo bulgi 元曉不羈)]<sup>142</sup>
- Sarasa 娑羅寺. The temple was built by Wonhyo under the Sara tree at his birthplace. [《*Samguk yusa* 4, “Wonhyo the Unbridled”]<sup>143</sup>
- Jachusa 刺楸寺.<sup>144</sup> The Chinese character reading “*ja*” 刺 is also rendered as “*beop*” 法. Founded during the reign of King Beopheung (?). [《*Samguk yusa* 3, “Wonjong’s Promotion of Buddhism”]<sup>145</sup>

Most of the temples listed above seem to have been built prior to the reign of King Muyeol (r. 654–661), whose posthumous title was Taejong 太宗. Remains of ones marked with black dots have been clearly identified, while those with squares (□) are possibly identifiable. However, it is very difficult to identify whether they were fully equipped with pagoda(s) and building(s) on the basis of textual sources or architectural remains.

First of all, Heungnyunsa is the first Buddhist temple ever built in the Silla kingdom when Buddhism was initially transmitted there. Its site has been identified as Heungnyunpyeong 興輪坪 in Sajeong-ri 沙正里, Gyeongju-myeon,<sup>146</sup> which was explained by Godoryeong 高道寧, the mother of Ado, as one of seven locations where Buddhist temples from the age of past buddhas had stood (Seven Sites of Buddhist Temples, Chilcheo garam 七處伽藍) in the capital.<sup>147</sup> Heungnyunsa was built in Cheongyeongnim 天鏡林, which lies east of a bridge over Secheon, named Geumgyo 金橋 [commonly known as Songgyo 松橋]. It was founded not until the fourteenth year of King Beopheung, cyclical year of *jeongmi* (527), with a very humble hut with thatched roof. In the twenty-second year, cyclical year of *eulmyo* (535), as the trees at Cheongyeongnim were cut down, all the pillars [necessary for temple building] were obtained here. The foundation of stairs (*gyecho* 階礎) and stone niches were all prepared here. The temple building was completed in the fifth year of King Jinheung, cyclical year of *gapja* (544). It took approximately ten years to complete the temple building. When the construction was completed, the king refused to wear a crown and wore a monk's robe; had royal relatives (*gungcheok* 宮戚) made temple slaves (*sarye* 寺隸); ruled over all the ministers and finished all the commands; and bestowed the plaque reading "Daewang Heungnyunsa" 大王興輪寺 on it. He personally became the abbot of the temple and endeavored to propagate the teaching. He shaved his head and wore a monk's robe, and named himself Beobun 法雲 in the latter years of his life.

Accounts of Heungnyunsa in the *Samguk yusa* and *Samguk sagi* allow us to reconstruct its architectural facilities. Heungnyunsa had

the golden hall in which clay statues of the ten saints of Silla (*Silla sipseong* 新羅十聖)<sup>148</sup> were placed against the east and west walls. A hall named Odang 吳堂 enshrined clay statues of Amitābha Buddha and two attendant bodhisattvas as its principal icons. The hall was filled with paintings in gold. There was a south gate, also known as Gildalmun 吉達門, and corridors on either side. Given that there was Jwagyeongnu 左經樓 [Left Sūtra Pavilion], there seems to have been Ujongnu 右鐘樓 [Right Bell Pavilion]. There was a pond named Namji 南池. There must have been a pagoda, considering that the people of Silla were scrambling to circumambulate the hall and pagoda at Heungnyunsa from the eighth to the fifteenth of the second month of the lunar calendar every year in order to accumulate merit. As the south gate and corridors on either side burnt down during the reign of King Gyeongmyeong (景明王, r. 917–924), the fifty-fourth monarch of Silla, the two monks Jeonghwa 靖和 and Honggye 弘繼 planned to raise money to embark on the repair of the temple. On the fifteenth day of the fifth month of the seventh year of the Zhenming 貞明 reign, the cyclical year of *sinsa* 辛巳 (921), Indra (Jeseok 帝釋) descended on Jwagyeongnu of Heungnyunsa and stayed there for ten days.<sup>149</sup> The hall and pagoda, plants and trees, and earth and stone all exuded a marvelous fragrance; a five-colored cloud covered the whole temple; and the fish-dragon (*eoryong* 魚龍) of Namji jumped for joy. People from the entire country gathered to see it, praised this unprecedented event, and donated jade, silk, millet, and rice that were piled up like a mountain. Craftsmen came of their own accord and finished the repairs in less than a day. When Indra was about to leave, the two monks asked, saying: “Let us portray the sacred visage in order to pay sincere respect and to pacify this world.” Indra replied, saying: “The power of my vow to save sentient beings (*wollyeok* 願力) is not like Samantabhadra bodhisattva’s (Bohyeon bosal 普賢菩薩) universal unfolding of profound teaching.<sup>150</sup> Portray this bodhisattva, pay respect to his image, and do not cease.” Upon receiving the teaching, the two monks had an image of Samantabhadra bodhisattva painted between the walls. This image survived until the end of the Goryeo

dynasty [during the reign of King Chungnyeol 忠烈王 [r. 1274–1308]].

The above is all we know about how Heungnyunsa was adorned. However, there merely remain the earthen mound of the golden hall site—according to Dr. Fujishima Gaijirō's 藤島亥治郎 (1899–2002)<sup>151</sup> “Chōsen kenchikushi ron,” the golden hall had seven bays and was four-sided, and the earthen mound measures about 166 *cheok* (50.30 meters) from east to west and 101 *cheok* (30.6 meters) from south to north with a height of approximately 8 *cheok* (2.42 meters)—,<sup>152</sup> and several cornerstones. The article, entitled “Ancient Remains” (Gojeok 古蹟) in fasc. 2 of the *Donggyeong japgi*, relates that the prefectural governor (*buyun* 府尹) Yi Pilyeong 李必榮 had a stone trough<sup>153</sup> of the temple, measuring 7 *cheok* 2 *chon* long and 3 *cheok* 5 *chon* wide, moved to the northern courtyard of Geumhakheon 琴鶴軒 to plant white lotus, and had it carved with an inscription to commemorate this affair.<sup>154</sup> Yet, it is uncertain whether this stone trough survives to date. Whereabouts of several stone Buddha images mentioned in the account remain unknown as well. Fortunately, the recent discovery of patterned roof tiles and patterned bricks in great numbers and of high quality allows us to reconstruct the adornment of the temple to a certain extent.

Yeongheungsa, founded along with Heungnyunsa, is known to have stood on the present-day compound of Gyeongju Train Station, yet its further architectural adornment remains unknown. [The only relevant account is found in fasc. 4 of *Samguk sagi*; it relates that in the thirty-sixth year of King Jinpyeong (614), as the clay Buddha statue of the temple collapsed, there was an inauspicious event of the queen's death.<sup>155</sup>] Cheonjusa, reportedly the oldest temple in Silla, was called Nae Jeseogwon 內帝釋院 or Naebuldang 內佛堂,<sup>156</sup> since it was located south of Anapji 雁鴨池.<sup>157</sup> It corresponds to the inner place (*naejeon* 內殿) where the inauspicious ordeal of the “Shooting Arrows at the Zither Case” took place during the reign of King Bicheo, also known as King Soji [refer to the *Donggyeong japgi gano* 東京雜記刊誤 (Revisions of the *Donggyeong japgi*)<sup>158</sup> and *Donggyeong japgi* 2, “Buddhist Temples, Cheonjusa” (Buru Cheonjusa 佛宇 天柱寺)<sup>159</sup>]. The account

“Heaven Bestows a Jade Belt,” in fasc. 1 of the *Samguk yusa*, relates its founder to be King Jinpyeong, however.<sup>160</sup> It further relates that when the king stepped on the stone stairs, three pieces of stones were broken side by side; the king ordered his ministers not to move these stones and to preserve them for posterity; they are one of the five immovable stones (*o budong seok* 五不動石) in the walled city. Yet, it is unclear whether the temple was rebuilt during King Jinpyeong’s reign after it had been closed due to the infelicitous incident during King Soji’s reign. At any rate, the “The Monk Wolmyeong and the Song of Tūṣita” in fasc. 5 of the *Samguk yusa* records a wooden pagoda with an image of Maitreya painted on its south wall, implying that the site was imbued with inconceivably marvelous experience (*yeonggi* 靈異).

Next to Heungnyunsa, the foundation of Hwangnyongsa is recorded in the “Silla Annals” [from fasc. 1 to fasc. 12 of the *Samguk sagi*]:

□ [King Jinheung], fourteenth year (553), spring, second month. The king ordered the relevant department to build a new palace to the east of Wolseong 月城, and a golden dragon appeared at that site. The king wondered about it, and ordered to convert the palace into a Buddhist temple. The king had it named Hwangnyong.<sup>161</sup> [This was 115 years prior to the unification (in 668).]

□ [King Jinheung], twenty-seventh year (566), spring, second month. Building of the two temples named Giwon and Silje was completed. The king invested Prince Dongnyun 銅輪 as the crown prince. The king dispatched envoys to pay tribute of principal local products to Chen 陳 (557–589). The building of Hwangnyongsa was completed.<sup>162</sup> [This was 102 years prior to the unification.]

□ [King Jinheung], thirty-fifth year (574), spring, third month. Making of the Sixteen-*cheok* Buddha Image at Hwangnyongsa was completed. The bronze weighed 35,007 *geun* 斤, whereas the gold used to gild the image weighed 10,198 *pun* 分.<sup>163</sup> [This was ninety-four years prior to the unification.]

□ [Queen Seondeok], fourteenth year (645), third month. The Hwangnyongsa Pagoda was built at the request of Jajang.<sup>164</sup> [This was twenty-three years prior to the unification.]

However, these accounts are far from enough to give the entire picture of the great Hwangnyongsa. Let us take a detour to examine the account of how Hwangnyongsa was adorned taken from the *Samguk yusa*:

[*[Samguk yusa]* 3, “Pagodas and Images” (Tapsang 塔像) 4, “Stone on which Kāśyapa Buddha Sat in Meditation” (Gaseopbul yeonjwa seok 迦葉佛宴坐石)]<sup>165</sup> According to the *Ongnyong jip* 玉龍集 (Jade Dragon Collection),<sup>166</sup> the *Jajang jeon* 慈藏傳 (Biography of Jajang), and various biographies of other Buddhist monks, “There is a stone on which Kāśyapa Buddha sat on meditation in the southern part of the Dragon Palace (Yonggung 龍宮), located in the eastern part of Wolseong in the Silla kingdom. [The *Donggyeong japgigano* relates that Silla people called the royal palace Dragon Palace.<sup>167</sup>] This site is the place where a temple had stood at the time of previous buddhas. [The account, “Ado Established the Foundation of Buddhism in the Silla Kingdom” in fasc. 3 of the *Samguk yusa* relates that there are the Seven Sites of Buddhist Temples within the capital and that the third is said to have been located south of the Dragon Palace.] The present site of Hwangnyongsa is where one of the Seven Temples had stood.<sup>168</sup> According to the *Guksa* 國史 (State History),<sup>169</sup> in the second month of the fourteenth year of King Jinheung, the third year after the founding of the state, cyclical year of *gyeyu* 癸酉 (553), an illustrious dragon appeared at the site east of Wolseong where a new palace was being built. The king held the event to be extraordinary and converted the intended palace into a temple named Hwangnyong [Illustrious Dragon]. The seated meditation stone is located behind the Buddha hall.<sup>170</sup>

[*[Samguk yusa]* 3, “Pagodas and Images” 4, “The Sixteen-*cheok* Buddha Image at Hwangnyongsa”] In the second month of the *gyeyu* year, the

fourteenth year of the reign of King Jinheung (553), the twenty-fourth monarch of Silla, when the palace was about to be built to the south of the Dragon Palace, a yellow dragon appeared near the site of construction. As a result, the king changed the intended palace into a temple and named it Hwangnyongsa [Temple of the Yellow Dragon].<sup>3</sup> The temple was surrounded with walls and roofs in the *gichuk* 己丑 year (569), so the whole construction was completed in seventeen years. Some years later, a large ship appeared from the southern sea and cast anchor at Sapo 絲浦, Hagok-hyeon 河曲縣 <the present-day Gokpo 谷浦 in Ulju 蔚州>. The ship was ransacked and a royal message was found, reading: “King Asoka of West India gathered 57,000 *geun* of yellow iron and 30,000 *pun* of gold for the casting of the Śākyamuni triad but he failed to realize his aspiration. <Another legend mistakenly mentions 407,000 *geun* of iron and 1000 *nyang* 兩 of gold.<sup>171</sup> Another legend says 37,000 *geun*.> He loaded a ship with those materials and set it afloat on the seas, praying that it might reach a land that would, by its karmic affinity, deserve to receive the materials, and that a sixteen-*cheok* image of Buddha would be created.” The ship also took on one Buddha and two bodhisattva images that could serve as models. The county magistrate reported this matter to the throne, who ordered his messenger to found Dongchuksa [lit. India of the East] in a clean and high site east of that town fortress, where the three models should be kept, and to transport the laden gold and iron to the capital city. In the third month of the *gabo* 甲午 year, the sixth year of the Taijian 太建 reign (574). <The record from the temple states that the image of Buddha was cast on the seventeenth day of the tenth month of the *gyeyu* year (553).><sup>172</sup> . . . King Jinheung had it cast at Muningnim 文仍林. . . . After the image was manufactured, the three images at Dongchuksa were transferred to and installed at Hwangnyongsa. A record preserved at Hwangnyongsa states, “In the *gapjin* 甲辰 year, the sixth year of King Jinpyeong’s reign (584), the golden hall was built.” . . . The great Buddha statue and the two Bodhisattva images melted away in the flames of war [the military campaign of Mongolian soldiers] and a small image of Śākyamuni alone survives in the temple. . . .<sup>173</sup>



[[*Samguk yusa*] 3, “The Nine-Storied Pagoda at Hwangnyongsa”] In the fifth year of the twenty-seventh ruler of the Silla kingdom, Queen Seondeok, the *byeongsin* 丙申 year, the tenth year of the Zhenguan 貞觀 reign (636), Master Jajang went to China to study. . . . When the master passed by the bank of Taihechi 太和池 in China, a divine being appeared and asked him, “Why have you come here?” Jajang answered, “I came to seek enlightenment.” The divine being paid respect to him and asked him again, “With what difficulties is your country faced?” Jajang said, “Our country adjoins Malgal in the north and Japan in the south, and Goguryeo and Baekje have taken turns violating the borders. The neighboring enemies are swaggering around our country and the people are in great anxiety.” The divine being said, “Your country now has put on the throne a woman who has virtues without royal dignity, so neighboring countries devise plans to attack your land. Return to your home country as soon as possible.” Jajang asked, “What should I do for the benefit of the country after I return home?” The divine said, “The dragon protecting the dharma at Hwangnyongsa is my eldest son. Upon receiving the orders of Brahmā,<sup>174</sup> he went there to protect the temple. If you return to your country and build a nine-storied pagoda within the temple, the neighboring countries will surrender, the Nine Han (Gu Han 九韓) will pay tribute to your king, and your throne will enjoy permanent peace. If the Assembly of the Eight Prohibitions (Palgwanhoe 八關會)<sup>175</sup> is held after the pagoda is completed and a general amnesty is granted to all prisoners, no more foreign enemies will do damage to your country. If you furthermore build a hermitage in the southern coastal part of the capital and invoke a blessing on me, I will return your favor.” After he concluded his speech, the divine being presented a piece of jade to the master, and disappeared as if by magic. <The record from the temple relates that Master Jajang heard the reason why a pagoda should be erected at the Meditation Master Yuanxiang’s 圓香 dwelling on Mount Zhongnan (終南山).><sup>176</sup> On the sixteenth day of the *gyemyo* 癸卯 year, the seventeenth year of the Zhenguan reign (643), [Master Jajang] returned to home country after receiving many gifts including Buddhist scriptures, Buddhist images,

and monk's robe from the Tang emperor, and reported to Queen Seondeok on the origin and circumstances of the reason why a pagoda should be erected. The monarch discussed this matter with her many subjects, who answered, "The pagoda can be built after a craftsman is called from the Baekje kingdom." The royal messenger was sent to Baekje, carrying treasures and gifts with him, to invite a craftsman. A craftsman called Abiji 阿非知 received the queen's order, arrived at Gyeongju, and trimmed timber and stones. The Igan 伊干<sup>177</sup> Yongchun 龍春<sup>178</sup> <also known as Yongsu 龍樹> had charge of the public works (*gan'go* 幹蠱), accompanied by two hundred artisans. On the day when the central pillar (*chalju* 刹柱) of the pagoda was first set up,<sup>179</sup> the craftsman had an ominous dream in which he saw the Baekje kingdom go to ruin. The dream aroused such a doubt in his mind that he stopped the construction. All of a sudden, heaven and earth quaked and the sky darkened. In the darkness, an old monk and a muscular man went out the gate of the golden pavilion, and erected that pillar. The monk and the muscular man all disappeared. The craftsman regretted having stopped the work and completed the pagoda. The "Chalju gi" says,<sup>180</sup> "The pillar rises to a height of 42 *cheok* above its iron plate (*cheolban* 鐵盤) and 183 *cheok* below [the iron plate]."<sup>181</sup> Jajang divided [into three parts] 100 relic grains that he received on Mount Wutai (五臺山)<sup>182</sup> and enshrined one share inside the central pillar of the pagoda at Hwangnyongsa, another share at the ordination platform at Tongdosa, and the other in the pagoda at Daehwasa. This distribution was made at the request of the dragon at the pond. <Daehwasa is located to the south of Agok-hyeon 阿曲縣, which corresponds to the present-day Ulju, and which was also founded by Master Jajang.> Soon after the pagoda was erected, the Silla kingdom enjoyed the blessings of peace and brought the Three Han states under her single authority. Thus, how can the peace and prosperity of the kingdom not be attributed to the miraculous efficacy of the pagoda? When the king of Goguryeo attempted to attack the Silla kingdom later on, he said, "It is impossible to invade the Silla kingdom, since it has the three treasures (*sambo* 三寶)."<sup>183</sup> What did he refer to? They are the Sixteen-*check*

Buddha Image, the Nine-Storied Pagoda at Hwangnyongsa, and King Jinheung's Jade Belt Bestowed by Heaven. The king of Goguryeo consequently gave up the scheme to attack. It is like when the Chu 楚 had no chance to attack the north, since the Zhou 周 kingdom had the Nine Tripods.<sup>184</sup> [The eulogy is omitted.] The *Dongdo seongnip gi* 東都成立記 (Record of the Formation of the Eastern Capital), written by Anhong 安弘 (d.u.), a renowned scholar of Silla, relates that "The queen was set on the throne as the twenty-seventh monarch of the Silla kingdom, who established royal principles but lacked royal dignity, so the nine states and tribes are attacking the kingdom. If a nine-storied pagoda were erected at Hwangnyongsa south of the royal palace, the kingdom could suppress the invasions of the neighboring countries. The first story is designed to deter Japan, the second to repress China, the third to repress Wuyue 吳越, the fourth to repress Tangna 托羅, the fifth to repress Yingyou 鷹遊, the sixth to repress the Malgal, the seventh to repress Danguo 丹國, the eighth to repress the Nudi 女狄, and the ninth to repress the Yemaek 獺貊."<sup>185</sup> The accounts found in the *Guksa* and the old record preserved in the temple suggest that Hwangnyongsa was founded in the *gyeyu* year (553) under the reign of King Jinheung and the pagoda was first erected in the *eulsa* year (645), the nineteenth year of the Zhenguan reign that corresponded to the reign of Queen Seondeok. In the sixth month of the *musul* year (698), the founding year of the Shengli 聖曆 reign, the seventh year of the reign of King Hyoso (孝昭王, r. 692–702), the thirty-second monarch, the pagoda was struck by lightning. <The old record preserved in the temple states it to be the era of King Seongdeok (聖德王, r. 702–737). This is wrong. This era did not include the *musul* year.> The pagoda was rebuilt in the *gyeongsin* year (720) during the reign of King Seongdeok, the thirty-third monarch. [It is not recorded in the "Silla Annals."] It was struck for the second time by lightning in the sixth month of the *muja* year (868) during the reign of King Gyeongmun (景文王, r. 861–875), the forty-eighth monarch, and was repaired for the third time during his reign.<sup>186</sup> [The article of the thirteenth year of King Gyeongmun in the "Silla Annals" relates that the pagoda measured twenty-two *jang* 丈 at this time.<sup>187</sup>]

The pagoda suffered damage by lightning for the third time in the tenth month of the *gyechuk* year (953), the fifth year of the reign of King Gwangjong (光宗, r. 949–975) of this dynasty [referring to Goryeo dynasty].<sup>188</sup> [*Goryeosa* 53, “King Jeongjong,” fourth year (949), tenth month, *eulmyo*. The Nine-Storied Pagoda at Hwangnyongsa in Gyeongju burnt.]<sup>189</sup> It was repaired for the fourth time in the *sinyu* year (1021), the thirteenth year of the reign of King Hyeonjong 顯宗. [This is King Hyeonjong 顯宗 (r. 1009–1031).] [The account for the fifth month in the third year of King Hyeonjong, cyclical year of *imja* (1012), in fasc. 4 of the *Goryeosa* relates that the Hwangnyongsa Pagoda was repaired with timbers from Joyugung 朝遊宮 in Gyeongju.<sup>190</sup> It did not happen in the *sinyu* year (1021), the thirteenth year of the king.] The pagoda was struck by lightning for the fourth time in the *eulhae* year (1035), the second year in the reign of King Jeongjong. [The *Goryeosa* and *Goryeosa jeoryo* 高麗史節要 (Essentials of Goryeo History) relate that there was an earthquake.] It was repaired for the fifth time in the *gapjin* year (1064) by King Munjong 文宗 (r. 1046–1083). [This is not recorded in the *Goryeosa* and *Goryeosa jeoryo*.] It was struck by lightning for the fifth time in the *eulhae* year (1095), the final year of the reign of King Heonjong 憲宗 [King Heonjong 獻宗 (r. 1094–1095)]. [According to fasc. 53 of the *Goryeosa*, the Hwangnyongsa Pagoda in the Eastern Capital was burned on the *muin* day in the sixth month in the founding year of the reign of King Heonjong (1095).<sup>191</sup> Fasc. 10 of the *Goryeosa* relates that the king ordered the repair of the Hwangnyongsa Pagoda in the Eastern Capital on the *gapsin* day of the eighth month in the *eulhae* year (1095), the founding year of his reign.<sup>192</sup>] The pagoda rose again for the sixth time in the *byeongja* year (1096) during the reign of King Sukjong (r. 1095–1105). [This is not recorded in the *Goryeosa* and *Goryeosa jeoryo*.] However, the whole structure together with the pagoda, the temple, the Sixteen-*cheok* Buddha Image, and the temple buildings were all destroyed by great fires set by the Mongol invaders in the winter of the *musul* year (1238), the sixteenth year during the reign of King Gojong 高宗 (r. 1213–1259). [The sixteenth year does not correspond to the *musul* year, and the *Goryeosa* does not mention this. The *musul* year corresponds to the twenty-fifth year (1237), which does appear in the *Goryeosa*, too.]<sup>193</sup>

[[*Samguk yusa*] 3, “The Bell of Hwangnyongsa” (Hwangnyongsa jong 皇龍寺鍾)<sup>194</sup>] In the *gabo* year (754), the thirteenth year of the Tianbao 天寶 reign, thirty-fifth ruler of the Silla kingdom, King Gyeongdeok (景德王, r. 742–765) had the bell of Hwangnyongsa cast, which was 1 *jang* 3 *chon* high and 9 *chon* thick, and weighed 497,581 *geun*. The Iwang<sup>195</sup> Hyojeong 孝貞,<sup>196</sup> and Lady Sammo (三毛夫人) donated the bell to the temple, and a minor official of the noble family of Isang (里上宅) designed it. During the reign of King Sukjong, a new bell was cast, which rose to a height of 6 *cheok* 8 *chon*.<sup>197</sup>

[[*Samguk sagi* 48, “Collected Biographies” (Yeoljeon 列傳) 8, “Solgeo” 奉居] Solgeo is a man of Silla. His family line is not recorded, since he was coming from a humble background. He was born good at painting. In the past, he drew an old pine tree on the wall of Hwangnyongsa. The tree trunk and thick stalks were ragged, whereas twigs and leaves were entangled and bent. Looking at them, crows, kites, swallows, sparrows, and so on often flew onto them, and fell off since there was no place to perch. As the painting became discolored by the passage of time, the monks at the temple painted it over. Crows and sparrows never again flew in.<sup>198</sup>

The accounts enumerated above demonstrate architectural features of Hwangnyongsa. The disparities in the excerpts from the *Samguk sagi* and *Samguk yusa* pose a mystery. The *Samguk sagi* relates that building of the temple began in the fourteenth year of King Jinheung (553) [115 years prior to unification (668)] and was completed in the twenty-seventh year (567) after fourteen years of construction; the Sixteen-*cheok* Buddha Image was made nine years later, and the pagoda was built seventy-two years after the making of the Buddha image. The *Samguk yusa*, however, relates that the building of the temple began in the fourteenth year of King Jinheung, the cyclical year of *gichuk* (553), and finished 17 years later (570). That is, there is a disparity of three years. It further relates that casting of the Sixteen-*cheok* Buddha Image was finished in the thirty-fifth year of

his reign [the sixth year of Dajian 大建, cyclical year of *gabo* (574)], and that building of the golden hall was completed eleven years after the making of the Buddha image. It is unclear what the phrase reading “*pilgong*” 畢工 [literally, “end of the works”] appearing in the twenty-seventh year [Samguk yusa] and the thirtieth year [Samguk yusa] actually means. In the twelfth year of Queen Seondeok (643) [the seventeenth year of the Zhenguan reign of the Tang], sixty years after the completion of the golden hall, it was proposed to build a pagoda. The pagoda building was finished two years later in the fourteenth year of Queen Seondeok (645). That the nine stories were meant to pacify nine states and tribes does not accord with historical fact but is a forced analogy attributed later on.<sup>199</sup> The purpose of the pagoda building was inclined toward the protection of the state rather than the worship of the Buddha relics, even if the Buddha relics that Jajang brought back were indeed enshrined therein.

Of temple sites dating from the Old Silla, the Hwangnyongsa site is a single instance that shows the relationship between pagoda and Buddha hall comparatively well. The ratio of pagoda area [each side having seven bays] to Buddha hall area [each side having nine bays] amounts to 0.5. Let us rank the temple sites in accordance with the ratio of pagoda area to Buddha hall area. The first is the site identified as Geumgangsa built in the reign of King Munja of Goguryeo; the ratio of pagoda area to Buddha hall area amounts to 0.7. The second is the Mireuksa site in Iksan from the reign of King Mu of the Baekje kingdom, which shows the ratio of approximately 0.6. The Hwangnyongsa Pagoda, erected in the final years of Queen Seondeok, marks the third, and the spatial ratio between pagoda and Buddha hall is 0.5. The ratio of pagoda area to Buddha hall area reduces further the later the temple was founded. In other words, the pagoda area progressively decreased, whereas the Buddha hall area increased.

There are no temple sites among Buddhist temples of the Old Silla mentioned previously, which clearly show the spatial layout of a pagoda and a Buddha hall even if their locations have been identified.

Although we know through textual accounts that Yeongmyosa, Geumgwangsa, and Daehwasa each had a pagoda and a Buddha hall, we know nothing about the spatial ratio between a pagoda and a Buddha hall. Though Bunhwangsa survives today, the area of its Buddha hall is far from certain. For instance, Dr. Fujishima Gaijirō surmised that each side of the Buddha hall of Bunhwangsa had five bays and that each bay measured 10 *cheok* (3.03 meters) [refer to section 4 of “Chōsen kenchiku shiron sono ichi” 朝鮮建築史論 其一 (Study on the History of Korean Architecture 1)].<sup>200</sup> Each side of the Bunhwangsa Pagoda measures 24 *cheok* 5 *chon* and 5 *pun* (7.43 meters). Therefore, the spatial ratio of the pagoda to the Buddha hall only amounts to 0.3. It is even lower than that of the Gunsu-ri temple site in Buyeo. The Bunhwangsa Pagoda is not made of timber, but belongs to a distinctive type, one built of stones trimmed like bricks (*mojeon tap* 摸磚塔).<sup>201</sup> Therefore, this does not show a general trend of the time. Admittedly, each case mentioned previously is one of a kind. It is far from sufficient to infer the general trend from comparison of this single instance. However, it is inevitable for now since there are no further research materials.

Suffice it to say, the Buddha hall became more important than the pagoda in terms of the spatial layout of Buddhist temples of the time. We may surmise that a temple with twin pagodas appeared as the pagoda came to be considered less important than the Buddha hall. Hashimoto Gyōin 橋木凝胤 (1897–1978),<sup>202</sup> for example, saw that Indians built two, one being a *stūpa* to enshrine relics of the Buddha, the other a *caitya* to commemorate, but Chinese and Japanese imitated only the form of two pagodas standing together without retaining their original meaning [refer to Hashimoto’s article in *Tōba no kenkyū* 塔婆之研究 (Study of Pagodas), vol. 10 of *Yumedono* 夢殿.<sup>203</sup>] This surely counts as one interpretation. However, I suspect that the notion of *caitya* as a commemorative monument never developed in Korea. The emergence of a temple with twin pagodas seems to have been based in the spread of the beliefs in the *Lotus Sūtra* (*Fahua jing* 法華經), even though this spatial layout traces back to that of the Tang

Buddhist temples. A good example is found in the twin pagodas of Bulguksa in Gyeongju. The east pagoda is called Dabotap 多寶塔 [Many Treasures Pagoda], whereas the west pagoda is called Seokgatap [Śākyamuni Pagoda]. The Many Treasures Pagoda type in which two buddhas sit together is seen in cave temples of China such as those at Longmen 龍門 and Yungang 雲岡.<sup>204</sup> In addition, images of twin buddhas are seen in the first story of the Many Treasures Pagoda cast in relief on the bronze plate, which describes the preaching of the *Lotus Sūtra*, in the collection of Hasedera 長谷寺.<sup>205</sup> These images are certainly based on the account listed below appearing in the eleventh chapter of the *Lotus Sūtra*, which is entitled “Chapter of the Vision of the Jeweled Pagoda”:

At the time, dividing the seat in half inside the Many Treasures Pagoda, Prabhūtaratna Buddha offered half his seat to Śākyamuni Buddha. Then he said, “Śākyamuni Buddha, may you take this seat?” Then, Śākyamuni Buddha entered this pagoda, and sat on that half seat with his legs crossed.<sup>206</sup>

The twin pagodas are symmetrically distributed in the east and west. This spatial layout seems to have represented the moment when Prabhūtaratna Buddha manifested himself to prove the truth of the *Lotus Sūtra* that Śākyamuni Buddha had just preached, prior to his granting of the half-seat to Śākyamuni Buddha. This is why the west pagoda is referred to as the “pagoda where Śākyamuni resides eternally preaching” (*Seokga sangju seolbeop* 釋迦常主說法) and the east pagoda is called the “pagoda where Prabhūtaratna Tathāgata resides eternally to prove” (*Dabo yeorae sangju jeungmyeong* 多寶如來常主證明). Whether all the twin pagodas were built to express this thought remains a contentious issue, but most of them are, I believe, based on this.



## Chapter 4

### Relics of the Buddha and Changes in Historical Accounts of the Founding of Temples<sup>1</sup>

A temple without a pagoda, like the temple site in Dongnam-ri in Buyeo, appeared at the end of the Three Kingdoms period. It is hard to ascertain whether this is a mere coincidence or has a certain doctrinal basis since no materials have survived to date. However, no pagoda was built due to doctrinal reasons in Buseoksa 浮石寺 of Taebaeksan 太白山 in Yeongju 榮州, founded by the eminent Hwaeom Master Uisang 義湘 (625–702)<sup>2</sup> following the royal command in the second month in the spring of the sixteenth year (676) of King Munmu (文武王, r. 661–681) [nine years after unification]. A passage from the “Preface to the Inscription” (Myeong seo 銘序) [composed by Go Cheong 高聽 and written by Im Ho 林顥 by royal command during the reign of King Munjong of Goryeo] carved on the “Epitaph of the National Preceptor Wonyung” (Wonyung guksa bi 圓融國師碑)<sup>3</sup> at Buseoksa relates that:

This temple was founded after his return by Uisang, who had wandered westward and reached China where he received the wick of the dharma from Zhiyan 智嚴.<sup>4</sup> Enshrined inside the Buddha hall is a single image of Amitābha Buddha without attendant bodhisattva images beside it.<sup>5</sup> Also, there is no shadow pagoda (*yeongtap* 影塔) [in front of the Buddha hall].<sup>6</sup> When a disciple asked about it, the Master Uisang replied, “The Master Zhiyan said that Amitābha Buddha of the one vehicle (*ilseung* 一乘) did not enter nirvāṇa since he does not have arising and ceasing aspect of the mind by taking the pure lands of the ten directions as his body.” The chapter on “Entry into the Realm of Reality” of the *Flower Garland Sūtra* states that those who

receive the consecration (*gwanjeong* 灌頂)<sup>7</sup> and assurance of Buddhahood in the future (*sugi* 授記) from Amitābha Buddha and Avalokiteśvara bodhisattva completely fill the dharma realms, filling every space and place. Since the Buddha did not enter nirvāṇa, there is no time [or place] without the Buddha. This is why there is no image of □□ bodhisattva. Not building a shadow pagoda, this is the profound meaning of the one vehicle. . . .

On the other hand, one after another there emerged temples with twin pagodas like Sacheonwangsa 四天王寺 [completed in the nineteenth year of King Munmu (679)], Gameunsa 感恩寺 [in the second year of King Sinmun (神文王, 682)], and Mangdeoksa 望德寺 [in the fifth year of King Sinmun (685)]. In other words, the latter half of the seventh century witnessed a sea change in the layout of Buddhist temples. Looking back on the past, the Goguryeo kingdom received Buddhist images and scriptures first when Buddhism initially reached the Korean Peninsula. Investigation has only identified the site of Geumgangsang where a pagoda stands; textual sources mention one instance of the construction of a seven-storied wooden pagoda on top of the earthen mound of the Yugwangtap in Yodongseong; and a stone pagoda situated below Daebosan in Pyeongyang is said to have remained.

The Baekje kingdom received artisans and painters together with the *Niepan jing yi* 涅槃經義 (Meaning of the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*) from the Liang dynasty in the nineteenth year of the reign of King Seong [myeong] (532) after a considerable time had passed since the initial transmission of Buddhism. The transmission of Buddhist relics is rarely mentioned in historical sources. The “Record of Baekje” from the *Beishi* says, “There are monks and nuns. There are many temples and pagodas.”<sup>8</sup> The “Baekje Annals” mentions pagodas at Cheonwangsa and Doyangsa. In terms of identified sites and monuments, there are a Buddha hall and a pagoda at the Gunsu-ri temple site in Buyeo, a Buddha hall and a pagoda commemorating the conquest of Baekje, and a Buddha hall and a pagoda at the Mireuksa site. The Silla kingdom completed the Nine-Storied Pagoda

at Hwangnyongsa, one of the three jewels of the state, only after it invited an architectural artisan [i.e. Abiji] from the Baekje kingdom. When the Baekje kingdom transmitted Buddhist teachings to the Yamato 大和 court [located in the present-day Nara 奈良 area], it first sent a gilt bronze image of Śākyamuni Buddha, some banners and canopies, and several scriptures and commentaries [recorded in the entry of the thirteenth year of the reign of Emperor Ginmei (欽明王) of Japan (551)], but sent sculptors (*jobul gong* 造佛工) and temple masters (*josa gong* 造寺工) along with several scriptures and commentaries, vinaya masters (*yulsa* 律師), meditation masters (*seonsa* 禪師), nuns, and spell masters (*jugeum sa* 呪嚩師) in the sixth year of the reign of Emperor Bidatsu (敏達王, 577) of Japan [during the reign of King Wideok]. Considering these accounts, Baekje had a well developed technology of making images and building temples. Monks and artisans from Baekje seem to have led the making of images and construction of temples in the early years of the Yamato court, considering relevant textual accounts in the *Nihon shoki*, *Genkō shakusho* 元亨釋書 (History of Buddhism of the Genkō Era),<sup>9</sup> *Honchō kōsōden* 本朝高僧傳 (Biographies of Eminent Clerics of Japan),<sup>10</sup> and so on. The “Annals of Emperor Sushun” (Suhun tennō ki 崇峻天皇紀) describes relics of the Buddha, which are not seen in the “Baekje Annals”:

The founding year of the reign (587). The Baekje kingdom dispatched envoys and monks Hyechong 惠聰, Yeonggeun 令斤, Hyesik 惠寔 to present relics of the Buddha. Baekje kingdom dispatched the Eunsol 恩率<sup>11</sup> Susin 首信, the Deoksol 德率<sup>12</sup> Gaemun 蓋文, the Nasol 那率<sup>13</sup> Bokbumisin 福富味身 to present local products. Also, it presented relics of the Buddha, monks such as the Vinaya Master Yeongjo (聆照律師), Yeongwi 令威, Hyejung 惠衆, Hyesuk 惠宿, Do'eom 道嚴, Yeonggae 令開, temple masters (Jp. *teratakumi* 寺工)<sup>14</sup> Taeryangmitae 太良未太 and Mun'gagoja 文賈古子, pagoda artisans (Jp. *roban hakase* 鑪盤博士)<sup>15</sup> the Jangdeok 將德<sup>16</sup> Baekmaesun 白昧淳, tile manufacturers (Jp. *kawara hakase* 瓦博士) Naema Munno 奈麻 文奴, Yanggwimun 陽貴文, Neunggwimun 陵貴文, Seokmajemi 昔麻帝彌, and the painter Baekga 白加. Soga no

Umako no Sukune 蘇我馬子宿禰 invited monks and others from Baekje and asked them about how to receive the precepts, and had Zenshinni 善信尼 and others accompany the Baekje envoys Eunsol Susin and others upon their return to Baekje in order to study Buddhist precepts. Asuka no Ginunuinomiya tsuko 飛鳥衣縫造 tore down his grandfather Gonoha's 樹葉 residence and built Hōkōji 法興寺<sup>17</sup> instead.<sup>18</sup>

Needless to say, since then Buddhism flourished, and images were made and temples were built abundantly in the Yamato.

The Liang court sent envoys and the monk Gakdeok 覺德, who had come to Liang in search for the law, together with relics of the Buddha to Silla, which had received Buddhism later than Goguryeo and Baekje, in the tenth year of King Jinheung's reign (549), five years after the completion of Heungnyunsa in the fifth year. The king sent out his ministers at the road in front of Heungnyunsa in order to receive relics of the Buddha. This is the earliest account of relics of the Buddha in Korea since the introduction of Buddhism. Silla also sent a Buddha image to the Yamato court [*Nihon shoki* 20, Emperor Bidatsu, eighth year]. There is no account of Silla's dispatch of sculptors or building artisans. An account of Silla's sending of a gold pagoda and relics of the Buddha is found in the annals of the thirty-first year of Empress Suiko (推古王) [*Nihon shoki* 22]:

Silla dispatched the envoy Namal 奈末<sup>19</sup> Jisei 智洗爾. Imna 任那 dispatched the Dalsolnamal 達率奈末<sup>20</sup> Ji 智. They had an audience together, following which they presented an image of the Buddha and a gold pagoda, relics of the Buddha, a banner for the great consecration, and twelve small banners. The Buddha image was then enshrined in Utsumasadera (秦寺) at Kadono 葛野. Buddha relics, a gold pagoda, consecration banner, and others were all donated to Shitenōji.<sup>21</sup>

Silla has the richest legends regarding relics of the Buddha. The article, "Relics Preserved in the Past and Present" (Jeonhu sojang sari

前後所將舍利), in the section 4, “Pagodas and Images” in fasc. 3 of the *Samguk yusa* is almost entirely devoted to this subject.

The *Guksa* states, “In the *gisa* 己巳 year, the third year of Taiping 太清 reign (549) that corresponded to the era of King Jinheung, the Liang dispatched an envoy named Shen Hu 沈湖 to deliver some relic grains. [“Silla Annals” 4. In the spring of the tenth year of King Jinheung’s reign (549), the Liang dispatched an envoy and the Silla monk Gakdeok who went there to study in order to deliver relics of the Buddha. The king had his ministers receive them reverently on the road in front of Heungnyunsa.]<sup>22</sup> In the *gyemyo* 癸卯 year, the seventeenth year of the Zhenguan reign that corresponded to the era of Queen Seondeok [the twelfth year of Queen Seondeok (643)], Master Jajang brought back a parietal bone of the Buddha, a tooth relic of the Buddha, and one hundred relic grains of the Buddha, and a suit of a red-silked surplice with golden stripes that the Buddha had worn. Those relics were divided into three groups; one group of which was preserved in Hwangnyongsa, one in Taehwatap 太和塔, another group together with the surplice were placed beneath the ordination platform at Tongdosa. The whereabouts of the other things are unknown. The platform is two-storied. On the upper level is enshrined a stone lid shaped like an inverted cauldron. . . . In recent years, the Superior General (*sang janggun* 上將軍) Gim Isaeng 金利生, accompanied by the Attendant Gentleman (*sirang* 侍郎) Yuseok 庾碩, visited the temple with a proof of royal accreditation when they took command of the army in the region east of Nakdonggang in obedience to the royal order during the reign of King Gojong [of Goryeo]. The general wanted to lift the lid and make a bow. . . . They found a small stone box. Enshrined inside the box was a glass container in which four grains of relics were placed. . . . The old record (*gogi* 古記) states that there were one hundred relic grains that were divided into three groups and preserved in three distinct places. However, only four of them remain currently. There is no need to wonder at the number of relic grains because they are hidden or appear in small or large number, depending on people. It is also told

that when Hwangnyongsa caught fire, the stone vessel incurred a large stain on its eastern side, which still remains. This took place in the *gyechuk* 癸丑 year, the third year of the Yingli 應曆 reign of the Great Liao (953) that corresponded to the fifth year of King Gwangjong of this dynasty. It was the third calamity that the pagoda suffered. . . . After the *gapja* 甲子 year during the Zhiyuan 至元 reign (1264), Chinese envoys vied with one another in making veneration in order to invoke a blessing for the emperor and many itinerant monks thronged to the temple to worship the urn. Some of them lifted the lid to see the relics while others did not attempt to do that. Besides four true body relics (*jinsin sari* 眞身舍利),<sup>23</sup> the transformation body relics (*byeonsin sari* 變身舍利) were crushed to pieces [as small as] grains of sand and scattered outside the urn,<sup>24</sup> exuding a strong, extraordinary perfume that sometimes did not disappear for many days. This phenomenon is thought of as one of the wondrous events that took place in some places during the age of decadence. In the *sinmi* 辛未 year, the fifth year of the Dazhong 大中 reign of the Tang (851), Won Hong 元弘, an envoy to the Tang empire, brought back a tooth of the Buddha from China. The whereabouts of the tooth is now unknown, but it is said to have arrived during the reign of King Munseong (文聖王, r. 839–857) of the Silla kingdom. . . . It is said that Master Uisang once went to the Tang empire and reached Zhixiang Temple (至相寺) on Mount Zhongnan where the eminent monk Zhiyan resided. In the vicinity was the Vinaya Master Xuanlüe 宣律 who often received food offerings from devas. . . . Uisang said to Xuan in a gentle voice, “I heard that a tooth of the Buddha, one of his forty teeth in all, is kept in Indra’s palace in heaven. Since you have already been blessed by Indra, would you ask him on my behalf to send that tooth to human beings and bless them?” Vinaya Master Xuan later forwarded Uisang’s wish to Indra through the heavenly messenger. Indra delivered the tooth of the Buddha to Uisang on condition that it should be returned after seven days. Uisang bowed respectfully to heaven and enshrined the tooth in the inner palace. . . .<sup>25</sup>



Figure 4. Relic pagoda of Bohyeonsa, Yeongbyeon, Pyeonganbuk-do

This is a record of the transmission of relics that took place in the Old Silla period, as well as a special record of the relics brought to Korea by Jajang, Uisang and others. In particular, Master Jajang's transfer of relics is a significant event in Korean Buddhism. The record of the division of those relics came to be appropriated as the founding myth of many pagodas in various temples afterwards.<sup>26</sup> The most famous examples are the relics of Hwangnyongsa Pagoda in Gyeongju, the relics at Diamond Ordination Platform (Geumggang gyedan 金剛戒壇) at Tongdosa, and the relics of Daehwasa Pagoda that we have previously examined. Besides, there are pagodas that are claimed to hold relics inside them (*tap sari* 塔舍利): a relic pagoda at Bohyeonsa 普賢寺 on Myohyangsan 妙香山 (Figure 4), a relic pagoda at Galbansanasa 葛盤薩那寺 on Taebaeksan in Jeongseon-gun [this is



also identified as Jeongamsa 淨巖寺], a relic pagoda at Yongyeonsa 龍淵寺 on Biseulsan 毘瑟山 in Dalseong-gun, a relic pagoda at Donghwasa 桐華寺 in Daegu 大邱, a relic pagoda at Woljeongsa on Odaesan in Pyeongchang-gun 平昌郡, a relic pagoda at Jeongamsa [(also known as) Seoknamwon 石南院] on Taebaeksan in Jeongseon-gun [which is also known as Sumanotap 水瑪瑙塔 or Gallaetap 葛來塔], a stone relic pagoda on Sajasan 獅子山 in Jeongseon-gun, a relic pagoda at Geonbongsa 乾鳳寺 on Geumgangsan 金剛山 [Buddha's tooth], a relic pagoda at Bongjeongam 鳳頂庵 on Seoraksan 雪嶽山 in Inje-gun [relics mentioned after those of Bohyeonsa are included in vol. 2 of Yi Neunghwa's *Joseon Bulgyo tongsa*], and so on. All these temples claim that their relics were derived from those brought by Jajang from China regardless of historical reliability. There are more instances of self-claimed enshrinement of the Buddha relics, which are valuable resources indicating flourishing of the relic cult despite their historical reliability.

The division or obtaining of relics always accompanied the construction of pagodas in which relics of the Buddha were to be enshrined. In addition the construction of pagodas based on the relic cult, many Buddha images and Buddhist temples were built in accordance with the notion of reinforcing or moderating the deficiencies of a geomantic landscape (*bibo* 裨補) in hopes of secular benefits.<sup>27</sup> Hwangnyongsa was built in hope of pacifying neighboring states and protecting the state. Silla's building of Sacheonwangsa was intended to drive away Tang soldiers by the divine army summoned by the practice of "Mundurū" 文豆婁.<sup>28</sup> Sungboksa 崇福寺 on Chowolsan 初月山 [founded during King Gyeongmun's era] was founded for the benefit of the royal tomb of Great King Wonseong (元聖大王, r. 785–798) [refer to the "Stele Inscription for Sungboksa" (Sungboksa bi 崇福寺碑) composed by Choe Chiwon 崔致遠 (857–908)]. Buddhism utilized promises for worldly benefits such as prolonging life and preventing calamities, granting fortune to the state and benefiting people, being reborn in the Western Paradise, and obtaining blessings in the next life as important means to propagate its teaching. It is also



understood that the foolish turned to Buddhism because of [relics], donating their fortunes to build temples and foster the three jewels. Doing the utmost pure practice and understanding is impossible except for genuine intellectuals. It is only possible when the politics and religion of the state are pure. However, it is hard to be utmost pure in general. The mysterious power and merciful compassion of the miraculous and supernatural are where the dependent, desperate wishes are focused in accordance with the arising of wishes or feeling of weakness on the part of devotees. There is never a peaceful generation in the human realm. There seems to be no period without desperate wishes regardless of being affluent or not. If the politics and religion were all degenerated and the symptoms of the decadence became conspicuous in human ethics and the world, pure practice and understanding cannot be expected, and the seeking of worldly benefits, praying for good fortune, and averting calamities naturally increase.

This aspect became particularly strong in Korean Buddhism during the ninth century. The aspects of Buddhism for the sake of good fortune (*gido Bulgyo* 祈禱佛教) became conspicuous due to the fusion of traditional Chinese geomancy, which was said to have been established by the Meditation Master Yixing 一行 (683–727) at the end of the Tang empire, and traditional Korean ritual services of shamans. The monk Doseon 道詵 (827–898) [who was born in the 163 years after the unification and who lived for 72 years] is regarded as the progenitor [of this tradition] in Korea. Almost every construction of Buddhist temples after the Goryeo dynasty seems to have been based on this thought. The “Stele Inscription of Doseon” (Doseon bi 道詵碑) composed by Choe Yucheong 崔惟清 (1093–1174) of Goryeo states:

At first, prior to his siting of Ongnyong[sa] 玉龍[寺] the master had temporarily stopped building a hermitage at Guryeong 甌嶺 of Jirisan 智異山. A strange man came and addressed the master, saying, “For has been several hundred years since I have lived in reclusion outside the world. I am able to serve the venerable master since I have a little

skill. If you do not take it as a humble divination, you will certainly receive something at the seashore at Namhae 南海 one day. This is also a way of a great bodhisattva's saving the world and delivering people." Then, the man suddenly disappeared, which the master thought strange. When he visited the place that he had been told, he indeed encountered the man. The man made mountains and rivers by piling up sand, and showed the master the force of right and wrong (*sunyeok ji se* 順逆之勢). When the master looked back, the man had already disappeared. That place is now located beneath Hwaeomsa 華嚴寺 in Gurye-hyeon 求禮縣. The master stayed at Hwaeomsa at night, while watching the force of sands during the day and copying down the secret book every day. The locals are said to refer to the place as Sadochon 沙島村 (lit. Village of Sand Island). The master gained understanding from this and intensified his study of the art of yin and yang and the Five Elements. Even the deep and profound secrets of gold altar and jade bookcase, he kept all of them in his mind. Hence, King Taejo's vow to Heaven and accomplishing [it] with subtle wisdom all derive from our master.

King Taejo (太祖, r. 918–943) of Goryeo, later in life, summoned the Daegwang 大匡<sup>29</sup> Bak Sulhui 朴述熙 (d. 945)<sup>30</sup> and gave him the "Ten Injunctions" (Hunyo sipjo 訓要十條) in person.<sup>31</sup> The first and second injunctions state that:

First. For the great enterprise of our country, it is necessary to procure the protective power of all the buddhas. Therefore we have established Seon 禪 school and Gyo 教 temples and sent out abbots to practice and manage their respective doctrines.<sup>32</sup> . . .

Second. All the temples have been established following Doseon's fathoming of the properties of the landscape. Doseon has said: "Except for the places designated, no construction ought to be added, or else the virtue of the land will be damaged and the dynasty will not reign eternally." We consider that if, in later generations, kings, princes, consorts, concubines, and court ministers designate their personal

prayer temples or build temples, there will be reason to worry! At the basis of Silla's collapse lies the competitive building of pagodas toward the end of the dynasty, making the land's virtue diminish. We should guard against this!<sup>33</sup>

The "Choe Eung" 崔凝<sup>34</sup> in the section entitled "Collected Biographies" of the *Goryeosa* states:

King Taejo told Choe Eung, saying: "In the past, Silla built the Nine-Storied Pagoda [Hwangnyongsa Pagoda] and accomplished consequently the great achievement of unification. Now, I wish to build a seven-storied pagoda in Gaegyeong 開京 and a nine-storied pagoda in Seogyong 西京 [Pyeongyang].<sup>35</sup> Borrowing the profound virtue, I wish to eliminate many [enemies] and unify the Three Han 三韓 into one family. Compose a dedicatory commentary for my sake." Choe Eung accordingly wrote and submitted it.

In Korea, when the rule is corrupt and the state begins to divide, a prayer of so-called "unifying the Three Han states into one family" is dedicated. The building of the Nine-Storied Pagoda at Hwangnyongsa had already been carried out with a similar intention. The Goryeo king Taejo's building of a seven-storied pagoda in Gaegyeong and a nine-storied pagoda in Pyeongyang was undertaken following this historical precedent and in accordance with this belief.

Iryeon's encomia are found in the *Samguk yusa* 3, "Wonjong's Promotion of Buddhism and Yeomchok's Sacrifice of Himself." He wrote that:

From that time on, every family who offered a Buddhist service lived in splendor generation after generation and everyone who put the teachings of Buddha into practice was led to see the truth of Buddhism.

Buddhist temples glittered against the sky like stars and pagodas stood

in lines like flights of wild geese. Buddhist banners were set up in the yards of temples and temple bells were hung in the bell towers. Strong and brave monks who were busy practicing asceticism like elephants on the land and dragons in the sea became the best officials to carry the blessings of Buddhism to every corner of the land. The Lesser and Great Vehicle Buddhist doctrines became the clouds of mercy over the capital city. . . . so the Three Han states were united into one nation and the whole world become one family.<sup>36</sup>

The article of “Yongamsa” 龍巖寺 in the section “Buddhist Temples” of “Jinju-mok” in fasc. 30 of the *Dongguk yeoji seungnam* contains a record of Pak Jeonji 朴全之<sup>37</sup> (1250–1325) of the Goryeo dynasty, saying:

In the past, Doseon stated that if three temples named Amsa 巖寺 were to be founded, the Three Han would be unified into one state and the war would end by itself. Therefore, Seonamsa 仙巖寺, Unamsa 雲巖寺, and this temple were founded.<sup>38</sup>

It is of a kindred nature. The record commemorating the renovation of the five-storied pagoda at Yeonboksa 演福寺 [a record composed by Gwon Geun 權近 (1352–1409)<sup>39</sup> sometime between the end of Goryeo and beginning of Joseon] also relates that:

The way of the Buddha considers compassion and joyful giving as virtue, and takes the fact that there is no wrong in retribution as verification. From kings, dukes, and ministers above to foolish men and women below, all of them seek benefits and there is no one who does not believe. Temples, pagodas, and shrines rear up facing one another, filling up the world. We in the East, from the end of Silla, have all the more venerated the Buddha. Temples within the walled city outnumbered private houses, and the splendor and height of their Buddhist halls have remained to the present. It is unimaginable how fervent the veneration was at that time. The kings of Goryeo,

from the beginning of the unification, followed [Silla] without any changes and established lots of temples, which are called remedial (*bibo* 裨補) [temples], in hope for covert aids. Consequently, in the capital and countryside they established lots of temples. These are so-called temples of remedial assistance.<sup>40</sup> As for Yeonboksa, it is located next to the street within the capital . . . inside the temple are dug three ponds and nine wells. To the south, a five-storied pagoda was also built in order to conform to the geomancy (*pungsu* 風水). Since its account is amply recorded, herein I shall not elaborate. Above was enshrined with relics of the Buddha.<sup>41</sup> In the middle was stored the tripiṭaka,<sup>42</sup> and below an image of Vairocana Buddha was set up.<sup>43</sup> It was meant to accumulate merit for the sake of the state and to eternally benefit the ten thousand generations.<sup>44</sup>

The five-storied, wooden pagoda of Yeonboksa was analogous to Silla's Nine-Storied Pagoda of Hwangnyongsa as well as Goryeo's seven-storied pagoda in Gaeseong and the nine-storied pagoda in Pyeongyang. We do not find a dedicatory wish like the unification of the Three Han states but only wishes such as "to contribute to Buddhism and benefit the state," "may the sage king serve the royal court and kingdom for ten thousand years," and "may the great happiness continue for thousands and billions of years," since there was no internal division but a mere dynastic revolution at that time.

Ever since the spread of Buddhism, the state-sponsored building of temples and pagodas largely aimed to benefit the state and the people, whereas those established by eminent monks and master craftsmen served for practice and propagation of the teaching. Kings and nobles, and persons of high rank built temples and pagodas out of a wish for the repose of the deceased or for their personal benefit since Silla's unification, but it was not prominent. Although temples built around royal tombs gradually appeared, they did not grow to the extent of damage to the state.

However, the end of the Silla kingdom seems to have witnessed troubles caused by crowding of prayer halls (*wondang* 願堂),<sup>45</sup> given

that the second of the “Ten Injunctions” left by King Taejo of Goryeo dynasty, says “We consider that if, in later generations, kings, princes, consorts, concubines, and court ministers designate their personal prayer temples or build temples, there will be reason to worry!” King Taejo had them controlled by means of Doseon’s secret record.<sup>46</sup> Choe Seungro 崔承老 (927–989),<sup>47</sup> who served the court from the reign of King Taejo of the Goryeo dynasty and died at the age of sixty-three in the eighth year of the reign of King Seongjong 成宗 (r. 981–997), lamented in his biography [Goryeosa 93] that: “At the end of Silla, scriptures and images were all made out of gold and silver. Extravagance reached to the extent of collapse of the kingdom. The merchants melted down Buddhist images and traded them with one another in order to make a living. Even to the recent years, the custom did not disappear but still remains.”<sup>48</sup> Discussing the malaise of Silla Buddhism, Gim Busik 金富軾 (1075–1151) [the compiler of *Samguk sagi*], who lived in the reign of King Injong (仁宗, r. 1122–1146), wrote that: “[Silla] venerated the Buddhist teaching without knowing its malady, therefore residential districts were lined with temples and the army and farming waned day by day as the people fled away and became monks. How could one not wish for the kingdom not to collapse in disorder and go to the ground?”<sup>49</sup> Though much later in date, King Munjong stated in the ninth year of his reign (1055):

Ancient kings’ veneration of Buddhism is recorded in texts. Furthermore, ever since the reign of the sage king (*seongjo* 聖祖; i.e. King Taejo) [the kings of Goryeo] founded Buddhist temples for generations in order to take them as the foundation of blessedness and felicity ever since the reign of the sage king (*seongjo* 聖祖; i.e. King Taejo). Natural calamities happened many times since my succession to the throne, because I did not practice virtuous rule. Relying on the power of the dharma,<sup>50</sup> I wish to benefit and advantage the state. Therefore, I order the administrative officials (*yusa* 有司) to select a site and build the temple.<sup>51</sup>

In response to this, the chancellery for State Affairs (Munhaseong 門下省)<sup>52</sup> remonstrated that:

From ancient times, among sage rulers and wise kings, there were none who accomplished peace by founding temples and erecting pagodas. If one simply reveres the Buddhist teaching, takes care of politics and religion, and does not harm the endeavors of the people, then the royal court and state will become auspicious and long-lasting of their own accord. In the past, Bodhidharma<sup>53</sup> told Emperor Wu [of the Liang dynasty] that “As for building temples and pagodas, there is no merit.”<sup>54</sup> This means not to revere the merit arising from action (*yumi* 有爲), but to revere the merit arising from inaction (*muwi* 無爲). Moreover, that the sage king [i.e. King Taejo] founded temples, on the one hand, is to repay [the Buddha] for achieving the wish to unify the Three Han states, but on the other hand, it is to prevent mountains and rivers violating each other (sancheon ji wibae 山川之違背). If you were to additionally found new temples now, then it would charge the people with forced labor for a matter that can wait. Therefore, it would incur resentment here and there. It would harm the veins of the qi (gimaek 氣脈), therefore natural calamities should happen and the spirits and humans all become angry. This is not the way to achieve a general peace.<sup>55</sup>

The king said that “it is unacceptable.” An earlier incident that happened during the reign of King Gwangjong is mentioned in the aforementioned biography of Choe Seungro:

The people, under the name of planting good roots, build temples in accordance with what they individually want. They are very numerous. In addition, monks in the capital and countryside competitively advised to build temples in provinces and counties. Local officials conscript the people and force them to work faster [for building temples] than for public works. People suffer from it severely.<sup>56</sup>

There are many fabricated legends about Doseon.<sup>57</sup> However, he was used as a pretext to suppress the malady of thoughtless building of temples, and his secret record was also used as a shield to sponsor and protect the private prayer halls (*saga wondang* 私家願堂). Doseon said that “if there were more temples to be founded besides those in the locations that I personally divined, it would harm the virtue of the land and therefore the kingship would not last long.”<sup>58</sup> This is a good reason to deter reckless building of pagodas and temples. However, if someone were to insist that “This is also a temple that Doseon personally divined,” no one would dare to suppress it. And, no one would be able to discriminate truth from falsehood. Yixing told this to Doseon when he transmitted the teaching. [Yixing died in the fifteenth year of the Kaiyuan 開元 reign of Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 of the Tang dynasty (727), whereas Doseon was born one hundred and one years later in the first year of the Taihe 太和 reign of Emperor Wen (文宗, 827). Yet, the ignorant masses believe it without a doubt, and oftentimes make up stories. What is to be feared is the trend of public sentiment.]

My teaching is destined to be in the Eastern Country [Silla]. You are a man of the Eastern Country. The mountains and rivers of the Eastern Country are beautiful, yet replete with bad fortune and harm (*hyunghae* 凶害). There are those who compete to fight against one another and there are those who are battered and flee away. There are so many of them. Therefore, the state meets with the disaster of division and the people is exhausted with anxiety. That thieves arise continuously and that flood and drought do not accord with each other are all because of the disease of mountains and rivers. Moreover, since the land is similar to a ship, it is necessarily supported by other things in order to avoid ending up drifting or sinking. If you take pagodas and temples as mugwort to treat the disease of mountains and rivers by moxibustion, the three calamities (*samjae* 三災)<sup>59</sup> could be eradicated and the fortune of the state will be prolonged. One must examine the topography carefully, and remedy deficiencies with temples. Those who are oppressed may be supported with pagodas. Those who steal



may be prevented by means of monks' pagodas (*budo* 浮屠)<sup>60</sup> and pacified by stone Buddha images. If the number amounts to three thousand, then the people of the Three Han states may be unified into One Han state. . . . [Excerpts from the "Doseon guksa sillok" 道說國師實錄 (Veritable Record of the National Preceptor Doseon) in vol. 1 of the *Chōsen jisatsu shiryō* 朝鮮寺刹史料 (Historical Sources on Korean Temples)<sup>61</sup>]

Almost all the temples located in the Honam region [Chungcheong-do and Jeolla-do] are associated with Doseon in the Goryeo and Joseon. They are always called those divined by Doseon. This type of founding myths of temples is recorded many times in the *Chōsen jisatsu shiryō*. It shows that a change occurred in the founding myth of temples in Korea.

## Chapter 5

### The True Character of Korean Pagodas (Wooden Pagodas)

When temples and pagodas were built at the beginning of Buddhism's spread to Korea in the Three Kingdoms period, was there necessarily acquisition or reception of Buddha relics? Or, did Koreans blindly adopt and imitate the formal layout of Chinese temples? Currently, there are no records that allow us to determine which is right. At any rate, ample evidence has survived to testify to the fact that building of Buddhist pagodas together with that of Buddhist halls was an essential component of a temple in general. Previous accounts have already suggested that the wooden pagoda was the mainstream in Korea as it had been in China.

Yugwangtap in Yodongseong and the stone pagoda at Yeongtapsa of the Goguryeo kingdom are out of the question, considering that they cannot be identified archaeologically and that their accounts have strong fictional aspects. Reliable evidence that attests to the existence of wooden pagodas in Korea is rather found in the site of an octagonal wooden pagoda situated at the site identified as Geumgangsā in Cheongam-ri, Pyeongyang, and the site of an octagonal platform (*gidan* 基壇)<sup>1</sup> located in Sango-ri, Imwon-myeon, Daedong-gun. The wooden pagoda held a dominant position not only in Baekje, but also in Silla. Famous Silla temples, such as Heungnyunsa, Cheonjusa, Yeongmyosa, and Hwangnyongsa, must have had them. In particular, the Hwangnyongsa Pagoda is the most evident example in terms of both textual and archaeological evidence. Preserved in relatively good condition, each side of the pagoda site, which is square in plan, has 7 bays. It consists of a square earthen mound, rising up 4 *cheok* (1.21 meters) high, on which were [originally] set 64 huge stone bases. The stone bases are square in plan, each side

measuring 3 *cheok*, 3 *chon*, and 5 *pun* (1.01 meters) approximately. Some of them have a round indent, however those without this feature seem to have been original. The length of one side of the pagoda measures 72 *cheok* 9 *chon* and 3 *pun* (22.09 meters), or 72 *cheok* 8 *chon* and 6 *pun* (22.07 meters) depending on investigators. The *Samguk yusa* states that the pagoda rose up 42 *cheok* above the iron plate and measured 183 *cheok* below it.<sup>2</sup> According to fasc. 11 of the “Silla Annals,” the Hwangnyongsa Pagoda began to be rebuilt in the eleventh year of King Gyeongmun’s reign (871) and was completed in the thirteenth year (873), and it had nine stories measuring 22 *jangs* (78.38 meters).<sup>3</sup> The two hundred and twenty-five *cheok*, mentioned in the *Samguk yusa*, amounts to two hundred and twenty *cheok* and five *pun* (65.46 meters) in Tang measure (Ch. *Tang chi* 唐尺).<sup>4</sup> This is four *cheok* and nine *chon* (4 feet 9 inches) shorter than the original height of the pagoda, when repaired during King Gyeongmun’s reign it measured 215 *cheok* and 6 *chon* (76.81 meters).<sup>5</sup> [The cubic heart stone (Jp. *shinso* 心礎) of this pagoda measures 4 *cheok* (1.21 meters) wide with the height of 2 *cheok* 7 *chon* and 5 *pun* (0.83 meters). The roughly indented center of the foundation stone has a shallow, almost round mortise (*yehyeol* 柄穴) measuring 6 *chon* (18 centimeters) approximately. There are two layers of the inner sanctum (Kr. *naejin* [Jp. *naijin*] 内陣).<sup>6</sup> One [the outer section originally] had six foundation stones on each side, whereas the other [the inner section originally had] four, making sixty-one foundation stones in total. Based on Fujishima Gaijirō’s article contained in vol. 10 of the *Yumedono* 夢殿.<sup>7</sup>]

Located on Hamwolsan 含月山 is Girimsa 祇林寺. According to the article, “A Flute That Calms Raging Waves” (Manpasik jeok 萬波息笛)<sup>8</sup> in fasc. 2 of the *Samguk yusa*, in the second year of King Sinmun’s reign (682) [fifteen years after unification], the king obtained the Manpasik jeok when he went to Gameunsa and came by Girimsa on his return to the palace.<sup>9</sup> According to a record preserved in the temple,<sup>10</sup> it was founded by the sage Gwangyu 光有 in the twelfth year of Queen Seondeok (645) [twenty-five years before the unification]. However, Dr. Fujishima Gaijirō made his case that there was a three-

storied wooden pagoda on the basis of two supporting evidence: first, the record of history of the temple<sup>11</sup> relates that “There was a three-storied building, which is namely the relic shrine (*sari gak* 舍利閣) of Dīpaṃkara Buddha (Jeonggwangbul 定光佛)<sup>12</sup>”; second, as in the Hwangnyongsa site, there remain foundation stones with flat top, foundation stones to support the four heavenly pillars (Kr. *sacheonju* [Jp. *shitenbashira*] 四天柱),<sup>13</sup> and a heart stone with a two-tiered square recess, measuring seven *chon* and five *pun* (22 centimeters) wide and five *chon* (15 centimeters) deep, at the center. Fujishima determined that each side of the square pagoda measured 18 *cheok* 6 *chon* and 8 *pun* (5.56 meters), and had 3 bays each 6 *cheok* 2 *chon* and 3 *pun* (1.88 meters). Besides, he made no comment about how the exterior of the pagoda was adorned<sup>14</sup> [Fujishima Gaijirō’s article contained in vol. 10 of *Yumedono*].<sup>15</sup> Another question concerns the issue of whether this pagoda site dates from the Old Silla period. Given that the now lost pagoda was three bays square and that the floor area lies in between that of the Sacheonwangsa Pagodas and that of the Mangdeoksa Pagodas in terms of size, the Girimsa Pagoda may have been erected after the unification.

Sacheonwangsa is the first instance of a temple with twin pagodas. Located at Sinyurim, on the southern slope of Nangsan 狼山 in Gyeongju, it is one of what is called the Sites of Seven Temples within the capital.<sup>16</sup> Identified as the land of Tuṣita Heaven, the site came to have deep religious association since the reign of Queen Seondeok (r. 632–647).<sup>17</sup> When Emperor Gaozong 高宗 (r. 649–683) of the Tang dynasty was about to conquer the Silla kingdom,<sup>18</sup> Master Uisang, who had gone to China in order to study, was taught by Gim Inmun 金仁問 (629–694),<sup>19</sup> Gim Yangdo 金良圖 (d.u.),<sup>20</sup> and others who were held in prison. Upon his return to Silla in the tenth year of King Munmu (670), Master Uisang submitted to the throne a report about the impending invasion. Master Uisang had the famous Master Myeongnang, who excelled in *sinin* 神印 (lit. supernatural seal)<sup>21</sup> build a temporary structure (*gagu* 假構) with five colors of silk, installed the deities of the five directions (Kr. *obangsin*

[Ch. *wufangshen*] 五方神) with grasses, deployed twelve famous Yōga (Yuga 瑜伽) monks,<sup>22</sup> practiced the secret method of Munduru,<sup>23</sup> and drove away the Tang troops. The following years witnessed the full-scale building of halls and pagodas at Sacheonwangsa until the nineteenth year of King Munmu's reign (679). As several Tang attempts to invade the Silla kingdom all failed, Emperor Gaozong of the Tang dynasty interrogated Gim Inmun in prison concerning the mystery of the situation. Gim Inmun replied that the Silla court had founded Sacheonwangsa and held dharma ceremonies for a long time for the longevity of the emperor. Upon hearing this, the emperor was pleased and dispatched Yue Penggui 樂鵬龜, who held the office of Attendant Gentleman of the Ministry of Rites (Ch. *Libu shilang* 禮部侍郎), with a mission of verifying it. Upon hearing the news of Tang envoy's visit to Silla, the Silla court, not being able to show Sacheonwangsa, hurriedly built Mangdeoksa and pretended that it was Sacheonwangsa. Standing in front of the gate, the Tang envoy said that this is not Sacheonwangsa but a temple on a distant mountain with the virtue of praying for the emperor (*mangdeok yo san* 望德遙山). As the envoy did not enter the temple, the Silla officials gave him gold weighing one thousand *nyang* 兩.<sup>24</sup> Returning to China, the Tang envoy submitted the throne of a report that Silla had founded Cheonwangsa and prayed only for the longevity of the emperor at the new temple. Therefore, the Silla kingdom could remain intact. Consequently, this temple was named Mangdeoksa.

The construction of a Buddha hall and pagodas at Mangdeoksa lasted until the fifth year of King Sinmun's reign (685). The sites of the two temples are currently all located on the southern slope of Nangsan in Baeban-ri, Naedong-myeon 內東面.<sup>25</sup> The distance between the two, located side by side at the northeast and southwest, measures approximately three hundred meters. Centering on the golden hall, the south and north sides of the two temples were surrounded by long corridors. The site of the middle gate is identified in the center of the south corridor, while that of a lecture hall is found in the center of the north corridor. At the Sacheonwangsa site,

the golden hall site is located between these corridors, whereas the ruins of the left sūtra pavilion and right sūtra pavilion are located in the eastern and western sides of the northern area,<sup>26</sup> and the sites of the east and west pagodas are located eastern and western sides of the southern area. The overall layout of the temple recalls the composition in which the main buddha is in the center with the Four Heavenly Kings guarding the four cardinal directions.<sup>27</sup>

Both the east and west pagodas are three bays square in plan.<sup>28</sup> The granite foundation stones, whose top are trimmed in the same way. The heart stone, measuring 3 *cheok* 8 *chon* (1.15 meters) wide and 3 *chon* (9 centimeters) thick, has a square two-tiered recess [measuring one *cheok* (30 centimeters) deep] at the center. The first tier measures 1 *cheok* (30 centimeters) wide and the second measures 8 *chon* (24 centimeters) wide. Around the heart stone are placed base stones for holding the four heavenly pillars, which are worthy of note. It is known that the earthen mound measures around 4 or 5 *cheok* (1.21 or 1.51 meters); the distance between each base stone is 5 *cheok* 1 *chon* (1.54 meters); one side of the base stones measures 23 *cheok* 5 *chon* (7.12 meters); and the distance between the centers of east and west pagoda sites is 136 *cheok* (41.21 meters). [It is, according to Dr. Fujishima's reconstruction, 21 square *cheok* in (38.9 sq meters) Tang measure, which amounts to 20 *cheok* 5 *chon* and 8 *pun* (38.81 sq meters).] This temple site has yielded numerous artifacts including roof tiles decorated with outstanding arabesque pattern in relief, floor bricks (*bujeon* 敷磚), green-glazed bricks with flowery lozenge pattern (*hwaneung hyeong* 花菱形), bricks with relief images of the Four Heavenly Kings,<sup>29</sup> and so on. The details are to be found in the report of the investigation conducted in the second year of the Taishō reign (1922),<sup>30</sup> and Dr. Fujishima's articles, entitled "Chōsen kenchikushi ron" Suffice it to say that this type of sculpture is mentioned in the biography of the monk Yangji in the *Samguk yusa*,<sup>31</sup> and that it has already been widely known in history. This allows us to imagine what a wooden pagoda might have looked like at that time.

At the site of Mangdeoksa, which was built seven years later than

Sacheonwangsa, the golden hall site is located to the north within a passageway (*borang* 步廊),<sup>32</sup> which is longer north to south; the east and west pagodas are placed in the front; the middle gate is located in the middle of the south corridor; the lecture hall is situated in the middle of the north corridor; overall layout of Mangdeoksa is simpler than that of Sacheonwangsa.<sup>33</sup> The earthen foundation mounds at the east and west pagoda sites have already been considerably damaged. The earthen mound of the east pagoda site measures approximately 2 to 3 *cheok* (0.60 to 0.90 meters) high, and that of the west pagoda site is about 4 *cheok* (1.21 meters). Although there remained only two base stones that originally formed flanks of the west pagoda,<sup>34</sup> there were approximately ten base stones in the east pagoda site. Judging from the remains of east pagoda site, the pagoda seems to have been three bays square, of which each side consists of four base stones, and each of the four sides seems to have been about 18 *cheok* (5.45 meters) long [one bay measuring five *cheok* five *chon* (1.66 meters) long, making sixteen-*cheok* five *chon* (4.99 meters) in total.] The central base stone was not found in the east pagoda,<sup>35</sup> but the octagonal heart stone is still extant in the pagoda site. It has been reported that each side of the heart stone of the west pagoda measures 2 *cheok* 1 *chon* (63 centimeters) long and has a two-tiered recess, measuring 1 *cheok* (30 centimeters) deep, at the center [the upper tier of the recess is one *cheok* 1 *chon* (33 centimeters) long and measures 3 *chon* (9 centimeters) deep; the length of each side and depth of the lower tier are all 8 *chon* (24 centimeters)].<sup>36</sup> Other base stones have a raised square form, of which one side measures 2 *cheok* 1 *chon* approximately [based on the *Taishō jūichi-nendo koseki chōsa hōkoku*<sup>37</sup>; the numbers given are Fujishima's field measurement values]. Numerous roof tiles with excellent decorative patterns have also been found in the Mangdeoksa site, though they are typologically different from those discovered at the Sacheonwangsa site. However, the pagodas of Mangdeoksa seem to have had the strongest national implication, as attested by several accounts of their shaking recorded in the "Silla Annals." They include articles like the "King Gyeongdeok," fourteenth year (755); "King Wonseong (元聖王)," fourteenth year

(799); “King Aejang (哀莊王),” fifth year (804); and “King Heondeok (憲德王),” eighth year (816) among others. The annotation on the article, “King Gyeongdeok,” fourteenth year, particularly states:

The *Xinluo guo ji* 新羅國記 (Record of Silla Kingdom) by Ling Hucheng 令狐澄 (d.u.) of Tang relates that “That country founded this temple for the sake of the Tang, this is why it is named so. The two pagodas face each other, with a height of thirteen stories. Suddenly, while shaking, they became conjoined and then detached. They were as if falling onto the ground for several days. That year witnessed Lushan’s rebellion.”<sup>38</sup> This seems to have a resonance to it.<sup>39</sup>

It has been suggested that the passage, reading “*Xinluo guo ji* by Ling Hucheng,” should be corrected as the *Xinluo guo ji* by Gu Yin 顧愔.<sup>40</sup> [*Haedong yeoksa* 海東釋史 (History of Korea) 45, “Record of Literature and Art” (Yemun ji 藝文志).<sup>41</sup>] Besides this issue, this account speaks of the “pagoda with a height of thirteen stories” although the current pagoda site is three bays square with an area of only about eighteen square *cheok* (29.7 sq meters) or 16 *cheok* 5 *chon* square *cheok* (24.9 sq meters).<sup>42</sup> While dating from much later periods, the stone pagoda at the site of Gyeongcheonsa 敬天寺 in Gaeseong or the stone pagoda at the site of Won’gaksa 圓覺寺 (Figure 5) are commonly referred to as thirteen-storied pagodas in old records despite of being ten-storied in architectural terms. I will explain the reason for this shortly in the relevant section. Suffice it to say that there is a conceivable reason. Given the conditions of the pagoda sites at Mangdeoksa, I have some doubts about whether there were indeed thirteen-storied pagodas. In other words, I suppose that the account is recorded in conceptual rather than factual manner under the possible influence of thoughts such as the thirteen-storied pagoda of the dharma realm (*beopgye sipsam-cheung tap* 法界十三層塔).

However, all the accounts compiled in the “Silla Annals” relate “two pagodas hitting each other” (*itap sanggyeok* 二塔相擊) or “two pagodas fighting” (*itap jeon* 二塔戰). This type of description differs





Figure 5. Pagoda at the Won'gaksa site, Keijō [Seoul], Tapdong Park

from those found in the accounts of Hwangnyongsa Pagoda, reading “thunder struck the Hwangnyongsa Pagoda” (*jin Hwangnyongsa tap* 震皇龍寺塔) or “Hwangnyongsa Pagoda shook severely” (*Hwangnyongsa tap yodong* 皇龍寺塔搖動). The expressions like “hitting each other” or “fighting” may have been attributed to the fact that the two pagodas faced each other. However, the distance between the centers of the two pagoda sites today is one hundred and eight *cheok* (32.72 meters). Although the two pagodas were located at some distance, the authors of the accounts still described them being “hitting each other.” In this respect, the height of thirteen stories is not to be discarded as false. It recalls the form of a thirteen-storied pagoda at Jeonghyesa 定惠寺 [the character “*jeong*” 定 is also written as “*jeong*” 淨] at Oksan 玉山 in Gyeongju.<sup>43</sup> It also corresponds to the form of a thirteen-storied pagoda in Tanzanjinja 談山神社 in Yamato, Japan.<sup>44</sup> The thirteen-storied pagodas at Mangdeoksa seem to have, after all, visual affinities with the pagodas mentioned just above. This marks the first instance of the atypical pagoda (*ihyeong tappa* 異形塔婆).

Another issue to consider is the ratio of the pagoda area to the golden hall area. At the Sacheonwangsa site, the area of the golden hall is 60 x 39 (214.70 sq meters) whereas that of the pagoda is 23.5 *cheok* square (50.69 sq meters). In other words, the area ratio of the pagoda to that of the golden hall amounts to 0.472. The area of the golden hall at Mangdeoksa, which remains unknown though, is 45 x 31 according to Dr. Fujishima's reconstruction [“Chōsen kenchiku shiron sono ichi”],<sup>45</sup> and the area of the pagoda is 18 *cheok* square (29.70 sq meters). This makes the area ratio of the golden hall to the pagoda 0.465. [In calculating the ratio I doubled the pagoda area since they are twin pagodas.] Even so, the area ratio of the pagoda to the golden hall is smaller than 0.7 of the Geumgangsa site of Goguryeo, 0.6 of the Mireuksa site of Baekje, and 0.5 of the Hwangnyongsa site, yet larger than 0.403 of the Gusu-ri site in Buyeo.

There is a temple site in the present-day Bomun-ri, Naedong-myeon in Gyeongju. It has been identified as the site of Bomunsa (普門寺址) on the basis of an inscribed brick found *in situ*. No textual

references to this temple have been found.<sup>46</sup> The ruins indicate that east and west wooden pagodas once stood there. The spatial layout of the temple is similar to that of Mangdeoksa. A stone lantern was located between the two pagodas and the golden hall. There also remain base stones and stone supports for a banner staff. The Bomunsa site has received particular attention for its distinctive architectural adornment. Unfortunately, the original forms of the Golden hall and pagodas are lost because the archaeological remains have been severely damaged. According to Dr. Fujishima's reconstruction, the Golden hall had seven bays wide, measuring 60 *cheoks* (17.82 meters) in Tang measure, and five bays deep measuring 44 *cheok* (13.06 meters) in Tang measure; the two pagodas each seem to have been three bays square in three stories with each bay measuring approximately 8 *cheok* (2.37 meters)<sup>47</sup> [based on "Chōsen kenchiku shiron sono ni" 朝鮮建築史論 其二 (Study on the History of Korean Architecture 2)].<sup>48</sup> The area ratio of the [two] pagodas to the golden hall is 0.436, which is smaller than that of Mangdeoksa. Does the fact that the area ratio of a pagoda to the golden hall at the ruined temple site in Gunsu-ri, Buyeo is far smaller than these temples built after Silla's unification indicate the weakening of Baekje? Or, does it relate to the reduction of the area? It is incomprehensible, yet at the same time reasonable. It is hard to include Girimsa in this comparison because the plan of its golden hall is not known. As for Bomunsa, Dr. Fujishima commented that:

The east and west sides of the corridor are much longer than the north and south sides. Similar example is not to be found in Japan at all, and this proportion seems to have appeared toward the end of Silla. Korean Buddhist temples today have, as I will explain later, Dae'ungjeon 大雄殿 (Hall of the Great Hero)<sup>49</sup> [i.e. the Golden Hall] at the center front, which is flanked by monks' cells east and west; given that the proportion between the two is generally similar to this, it became the standard for Korean Buddhist temples for a long time. It has to be interpreted that the proportion was the same as that of Japanese

Buddhist temples at the beginning, but the east and west sides got extended gradually. [Cited with paraphrasing<sup>50</sup>]

He also stated that:

Compared to the Sacheonwangsa site, the distance between the two pagodas is much greater [176 *cheok* (52.27 meters) in Tang measure; 172 *cheok* 4 *chon* and 8 *pun* (52.26 meters) in the Japanese unit of measurement (Jp. *kanezaku* 曲尺) used currently]; the corridors enclosing the temple precinct are almost square in plan; and almost all the numerical values used in the construction are multiples of four. Given the particularities of the site listed just above, the form of the site, and the excessively elaborate craftsmanship,<sup>1</sup> I believe that the construction of Bomunsa was much later than the founding of Sacheonwangsa and Mangdeoksa and that it already contained formal elements shown in Buddhist temples of Goryeo and Joseon periods. [Cited with paraphrasing<sup>51</sup>]

I do not intend to discuss the nature of the temple because it is neither the focus of this study, nor my area of expertise. According to Dr. Fujishima's theory, a question of the area ratio of pagodas to golden hall arises herein. It is thought that the area ratio of pagodas to golden hall was greater than 0.4 in general at least until the end of Silla. Stone pagodas replaced wooden pagodas after the Silla unification, and became a major characteristic of Korean pagodas. That the layout of twin wooden pagodas facing each other was still maintained at the end of Silla despite this change in general trend indicates that, although stone pagodas were established as a peculiar feature, the majority of Korean pagodas were of wood in accordance with the general trend across East Asia.

Most Korean temple sites have not been examined to date, and those with wooden pagodas in particular remain unexamined. Ssangbongsa 雙峯寺, Neungju 綾州<sup>52</sup> in Jeollanam-do was founded by the Meditation Master Cheolgam 澈鑑<sup>53</sup> sometime between the

reigns of King Munseong (文聖王, r. 839–857) and King Gyeongmun (景文王, r. 861–875). The three-storied pavilion,<sup>54</sup> currently called Dae'ungjeon, is built upon the former site of a wooden pagoda and, as such, it offers rare research material for the study of wooden pagodas in Korea. Yet, the issue of how the wooden pagoda site relates to the Golden hall site has not yet been examined. Beopjusa 法住寺<sup>55</sup> in Bo'eun 報恩, Chungcheongbuk-do was also founded in the middle of Silla, and has a five-storied wooden pagoda<sup>56</sup>—a single instance of its sort in Korea though built at the end of the Joseon dynasty. The relationship between the pagoda and Buddha hall at Beopjusa has not been examined, either. Korean temples of the past and present await further academic research.

Wooden pagodas were still considered important even in the Goryeo dynasty when stone pagodas have become prevalent. It is difficult to know whether the seven-storied pagoda in Gaeseong [Gaegyong] and the nine-storied pagoda in Pyeongyang were built of stone or wood due to the lack of textual evidence. However, they were built after the Nine-Storied Wooden Pagoda at Hwangnyongsa in hope for the unification of the Three Han states. Given their nature, the pagodas were most likely built of wood. In particular, the nine-storied pagoda in Seogyong seems to have corresponded to the famous nine-storied pagoda in Jungheungsa 重興寺. The article included in the section “Five Elements” (Ohaeng 五行), in fasc. 53 of the *Goryeosa* relates that “On the *byeongsin* 丙申 day in the tenth month of the second year of King Jeongjong's 定宗 reign (947), the nine-storied pagoda at Jungheungsa in Seogyong burnt down.”<sup>57</sup> It is only five years after the death of King Taejo although the founding date of the temple remains unknown. Although King Taejo of Goryeo held court in his birthplace Gaeseong, he originally wanted to set up the capital in Pyeongyang in order to gain supremacy over the Korean Peninsula and Manchuria. According to the admonition (*yugo* 諭告) issued in the fifteenth year of King Taejo's reign (932), “The reconstruction and transfer of people to Seogyong last time were meant to pacify the Three Han states relying on the power of

earth (*jiryeok* 地力) and to set up the capital here.”<sup>58</sup> One of the Ten Injunctions also states that “I achieved the great work of founding the state thanks to the clandestine help of the mountains and rivers of the Three Han states. As for Seogyong, the virtue of water is harmonious and gentle. It is regarded as the foundation of our country’s veins and the land where the great work would last for ten thousand generations.”<sup>59</sup> King Taejo, in the first year of his reign (918), already stated that “[I] will transfer people to dwell there and strengthen the defenses to benefit one hundred generations,”<sup>60</sup> and made it the *dae dohobu* 大都護府 (grand protectorate). In the second year of his reign, King Taejo ordered the repairs of ruined temples and images in the two capitals [Gaegyeong and Seogyong] and in the fifth year of his reign to build the *jaeseong* 在城<sup>61</sup> [saengseong 生城] in Pyeongyang. The nine-storied pagoda at Jungheungsa seems to have been built in response to these undertakings.<sup>2</sup>

According to the record for the “King Hyeonjong, first year (1010), twelfth month *gyechuk*” in fasc. 4 of the *Goryeosa*, “The Khitan troops reached Seogyong and burnt the pagoda at Jungheungsa 中興寺.” Jungheungsa mentioned here seems to correspond to Jungheung-sa 重興寺. The Chinese characters “jung” 中 and “jung” 重 are pronounced identically in Korean. Also, Jungheung-sa 中興寺 is rarely mentioned in the *Dongguk yeoji seungnam*.

King Taejo of Goryeo set up the capital in Gaeseong in the year following the founding of the state (919), and founded ten temples within the capital.<sup>62</sup> The temples are named Beobwang 法王, Jaun 慈雲, Wangnyun 王輪, Nae Jeseok 內帝釋, Sana 舍那, Cheonseonwon 天禪院 [i.e. Bo’eung 普膺], Sinheung 新興, Munsu 文殊, Wontong 圓通, and Jijang 地藏. Regrettably, it is hard to clarify their layouts of pagoda and main hall. Wangnyunsa is known to have had a stone pagoda according to a text recording its repair in the ninth year during the reign of King Chungnyeol (忠烈王, 1283).<sup>63</sup> Of these temples, Cheonseonwon seems to correspond to Gwangtong bojesa 廣通普濟寺, which was later renamed as Yeonboksas.<sup>64</sup> The temple built below the royal tomb of King Gongmin (恭愍王, r. 1351–1374) for its



upkeep was also called Gwangtong boje seonsa 廣通普濟禪寺. Because their names are identical, the two temples have been confused with each other from time to time. However, the latter is a separate temple that was originally called Unam 雲巖, Changhwa 昌化, or Gwangam 光岩.

The *Gaoli tujing* 高麗圖經 (Illustrated Account of Goryeo)<sup>65</sup> states that:

The name plaque of the temple is hung in the middle gate facing south towards the official road.<sup>66</sup> The plaque reads “Sintong jimun” 神通之門 (Gate of Spiritual Capacity). The main hall is extremely magnificent to the extent of surpassing the royal palace. Its plaque reads, “*Nahan bojeon*” 羅漢寶殿 (Precious Hall of the Arhats). At the center were placed three statues of the golden sage (*geumseon* 金仙) [i.e. Buddha], Mañjuśrī, and Samantabhadra, flanked on either side by five hundred statues of arhats. The appearances of the statues are refined and ancient. Also, both sides of the corridor are painted with images of these figures. To the west of the hall is a pagoda of five stories, rising up over two hundred *cheok* (59.4 meters).<sup>67</sup> Behind it is the dharma hall. Next to it lie monks’ cells.<sup>68</sup>

Nahan bojeon was later renamed Neunginjeon 能仁殿 (Hall of Śākyamuni).<sup>69</sup> The “five-storied pagoda lying to the west of the hall” had six pillars (*yeong* 楹) on each side when it was repaired sometime between the end of Goryeo and the beginning of Joseon. [The repair began in the second month in the seventeenth year under King Gongyang’s (恭讓王) rule, cyclical year of *sinmi* 辛未 (1391), and completed in the twelfth month in the winter of the first year of King Taejo’s reign, cyclical year of *imsin* 壬申 (1392), during the Joseon dynasty. The inauguration ceremony was performed in the fourth month of the following year.] Although its actual measurements are not known, the pagoda had a square plan of five bays. Palsangjeon 捌相殿 (Hall of Eight Phases of the Buddha’s Life) at Beopjusa in Bo’eun-gun, Chungcheongbuk-do—the only extant wooden pagoda in Korea—is a five-storied pagoda with a

square plan of five bays. The pagoda at Yeonboksas seems to have been an earlier instance of a five-storied pagoda with a square plan of five bays. The area of the first floor of the five-storied pagoda at Beopjusa is thirty-seven *cheok* five *chon* square (129.04 sq meters). It measured approximately eighty *cheok* (24.24 meters) high. The area of the Yeonboksas Pagoda is not known. Supposing that the maximum distance between pillars was ten *cheok* (2.97 meters), the pagoda would have had a plan measuring fifty *cheok* square (220.52 sq meters) and a height of over two hundred *cheok* (59.4 meters). Silla's Hwangnyongsa Nine-Storied Pagoda had a square plan of seven bays with the area of seventy-two *cheok* eight *chon* six *pun cheok* square (487.08 sq meters) [the distance between pillars is about ten *cheok* four *chon* (3.15 meters)]. Although it was surmised that its height would have measured two hundred and twenty-five *cheok* in total, this seems too short. I think it would have risen up three or four hundred *cheok* (90.90 or 121.21 meters) high. [Dr. Fujishima has proposed a similar opinion on this issue.] The record commemorating renovation of the Yeonboksas Pagoda mentions that "[The workers] dug the old site and filled it with wood and stones in order to solidify the foundation"; that "It had six pillars on each side. It is very strong and spacious. It is stacked up to the five stories and topped by a flat stone"; and that "It is painted and decorated in polychrome. Gold and azurite shine brightly. It glitters in midair. Above are enshrined with relics of the Buddha. In the middle is stored the tripitaka. Below is installed an image of Vairocana Buddha."<sup>70</sup> The record provides a detailed account of the pagoda including features of the base and "dew plate" part, adornment of the exterior, and the kinds of objects enshrined inside. The *Dongguk yeoji seungnam* even states that "The rich merchants who presently dwell within the walled city donated their property to repair the structure. Gold and azurite are glittering bright. The sound of chimes reaches several *ri*."<sup>71</sup> The account portrays the adornment of the pagoda around eighty-nine years after the founding of Joseon dynasty.

A few accounts and sites attest to the existence of some wooden



pagodas during the Goryeo dynasty. Examples include a pagoda at Gaeguksa, a pagoda at Hyeil junggwangsa 慧日重光寺, a nine-storied pagoda at Jin'gwansa, twin pagodas at Heungwangsa 興王寺, a pagoda at Mincheonsa 旻天寺, a pagoda at Botongwon 普通院, and a pagoda at Manboksa 萬福寺. Gaeguksa was founded outside Bojeongmun 保定門 (Gate of Protecting Stability) in the eighteenth year of King Taejo's reign (935) following the advice of a geomancer (*sulga* 術家). The temple was renovated in the intercalary fourth month in the ninth year of King Hyeonjong's 顯宗 reign (1018), cyclical year of *muo* 戊午.<sup>72</sup> At that time, the relics of the Buddha were enshrined and the ordination platform was installed to ordain approximately three thousand and two hundred monks. The temple site preserved to date attests to the existence of a wooden pagoda. Unfortunately, it is difficult to reconstruct its original appearance because of private tombs built in the center of the pagoda site.

Hyeil junggwangsa was founded upon the royal command in the ninth month in the eighteenth year of King Hyeonjong's reign (1027), cyclical year of *jeongmyo* 丁卯. [The site is located in Junggwanghyeon 重光峴 to the west of Yongghosan 龍虎山 in Jangdan-gun 長湍郡.] It had a wooden pagoda, given the account saying that "Lightning struck the pagoda at Hyeil junggwangsa, therefore the buddha pavilion and sūtra pavilion were burnt" in the ninth month of the ninth year of King Munjong's reign (1055). The Jin'gwansa site indicates that the nine-storied pagoda, constructed in the tenth year of King Mokjong's 穆宗 reign (1007), cyclical year of *jeongmi*, was built of wood. [The temple site is located in Jin'gwan-ri 眞觀里 on Yongsusan 龍首山 in Gaeseong.] Heungwangsa began to be built in the *byeongsin* 丙申 year, the tenth year of King Munjong's reign (1056). It was completed twelve years later in the *jeongmi* 丁未 year, the twenty-first year of the king (1067). The Heungwangsa site indicates that there stood twin wooden pagodas.<sup>73</sup> [The site is located in Heungwang-ri 興旺里 on the eastern slope of Jinbongsan 進鳳山, to the south of Gaeseong.] Mincheonsa was altered from Suryeonggung 壽寧宮 in the founding year of King Chungseon (忠宣王, 1309)<sup>74</sup> [the 392nd year since the founding of Goryeo; the site is

originally located to the west of the Namdaemun (South Gate) of Gaeseong, yet has become a street now]. The entry for the “King Chungsusuk, twelfth year (1325), ninth month” [contained in the *Goryeosa* 53, “Treatise on the Five Elements”] relates that “An owl hooted at the three-storied pavilion of Mincheonsa.”<sup>75</sup> It is recorded that “On the night of the *gasul* day 甲戌, the king led his favored retainers and climbed up the pavilion at Mincheonsa. While catching pigeons, they started a fire by mistake and burnt the pavilion” in the fourth year of King Chunghye’s (忠惠王) second reign (1343), cyclical year of *gyemi* 癸未 [Goryeosa 36].<sup>76</sup> The article, “King Gongmin, eighth year (1359),” states that “Vapors like smoke arose from the roof ornament (*chimi* 鷗尾)<sup>77</sup> of the three-storied hall of Mincheonsa” [Goryeosa 54].<sup>78</sup> A question arises as to whether the structure, referred to as three-storied pavilion (*gak* 閣) [or hall (*jeon* 殿)], was a wooden pagoda. A tentative identification would suffice here. It might have been a pagoda, considering that it was clearly not a Buddhist hall and there seems to have been no other identifiable structure. Botongwon consisted of two temples, each of which was located in the east of Imjin’gang 臨津江 and west of Yeseonggang 禮成江. The one discussed here corresponds to Seo Botongwon 西普通院, located outside Yeongpyeongmun 永平門 (Gate of Eternal Peace).<sup>79</sup> The biographical account of Yi Saek 李穡 (1328–1396)<sup>80</sup> relates that when the pagoda at Seo Botongwon was repaired in the thirteenth year during the reign of King U (禡王) (1387) [the 479th year since the founding of Goryeo (1387)], Yi Saek composed a commemorative record. The record reads, “Now that Your Highness has repaired the pagoda like this, the mind of Your Highness corresponds to that of King Taejo. It is indeed evident. Ah, although the Zhou is an old country, its rule is still new. That is why its name lasts until now despite it had disappeared!”<sup>81</sup> Given the verbose style of writing, the phrase must have referred to a multi-storied wooden pagoda.

The old site of Manboksa is located in Namwon, Jeollabuk-do. Fasc. 39 of the *Dongguk yeoji seungnam* states that “It is located on Girinsan 鹿麟山. In the east is a five-storied hall. In the west is a

two-storied hall. Installed inside is a bronze buddha with a height of thirty-five *cheok* (10.39 meters). It was founded during the reign of King Munjong (r. 1047–1082) of Goryeo.”<sup>82</sup> The temple is completely ruined now. It has several stone artifacts and a five-storied stone pagoda, which must have been a replacement for the original wooden pagoda after its destruction by fire. At any rate, what is noteworthy here is that while Yeonboksa was composed with a hall located in the east and a pagoda in the west (*dongjeon seotap* 東殿西塔), Manboksa was composed with a hall situated in the west and a pagoda in the east (*seojeon dongtap* 西殿東塔). In other words, the former bears affinities with the layout of hall and pagoda at Hōryūji 法隆寺<sup>83</sup> in Yamato, Japan, whereas the latter is similar to Hokkiji 法起寺<sup>84</sup> in terms of the arrangement of buildings. This distinctive Korean cases postdate Hōryūji and Hokkiji temples by approximately four hundred years.

These Korean cases are seemingly modeled upon the spatial layouts of Hōryūji and Hokkiji temples, but there is another possibility to reflect upon. It is the arrangement of buildings found in the temple precinct of Bunhwangsa in Gyeongju, whose construction was completed in the third year of Queen Seondeok's reign (634) [the first year of Inpyeong 仁平 (634–647) of Silla].<sup>85</sup> Dr. Fujishima seems to consider that Bunhwangsa has a spatial layout, which is similar to the system of arranging the main hall in the north and the pagoda in the south (*bukdang namtap je* 北堂南塔制) of Shitennōji in Naniwa [“Chōsen kenchiku shiron sono ichi”].<sup>86</sup> The present author would like to raise at least one question. Although the layout of the hall and the pagoda seems to have followed the north-south relationship, the hall and its main buddha image face west. The pagoda is understood facing south on the basis of a stone table (*seoksang* 石床), which is put in front of the niche on the south side of the pagoda. However, this pagoda was in a severely ruined state before its repairs.<sup>87</sup> The sill (*dabipdae* 踏入臺) of the niche on the west side was almost completely damaged, while the pagoda body and niche on the north side were all caved in and fell down. During the repairs, the four corners of the platform (*gidan*) were each installed with a statue of a lion. At that time, the

west side was defined as the front by installing a statue of a crouching lion with its head raised there. However, it is questionable to what extent this reconstruction was faithful to the original. The niche on the south side had been sealed prior to the repairs in contrast to the original appearance. However, the niche on the west side had stone doors (*seokbi* 石扉) that opened prior to the repairs, giving an impression that this might have been the front side. [Dr. Fujishima] surmised that a lecture hall was located in the north of the Buddha hall. Yet, monks' cells are located in the north, west, and south, and the site of the lecture hall is not clearly identifiable. In particular, the river bed of Bukcheon 北川 is located only several bays to the north of the Buddha hall. If the lecture hall were to be located here, it would have been prone to flooding by the stream. I have doubts about the proposition that the lecture hall was located to the north of the Buddha hall.<sup>88</sup> Located far away to the southwest of the pagoda is a pair of stone supports for a banner staff, facing east. The pair of stone supports for a banner staff in other temple sites usually face the front of the temple. There is no other instance of stone supports for a banner staff that are placed counter to the central axis of the temple, facing left and right. Even though it requires further investigation, we need to consider an account seen in the article, "Thousand-Handed Avalokiteśvara at Bunhwangsa" (Bunhwangsa Cheonsu daebi 芬皇寺千手大悲), contained in fasc. 3 of the *Samguk yusa*:

During the reign of King Gyeongdeok (r. 742–765), a woman named Huimyeong 希明 lived in Han'gi-ri 漢岐里. She had a son who became blind at the age of five. One day she carried her child in her arms to the image of the Thousand-Handed Avalokiteśvara drawn on the north wall of the left hall (jwajeon 左殿) of Bunhwangsa and made him compose and sing a song. . . .<sup>89</sup>

Does the left hall mentioned here imply the existence of the right pagoda (*utap* 右塔)? it is not an arbitrary renovation of later times that the Buddha hall [i.e. Bogwangjeon 寶光殿] faces west in the present day,

implying the existence of the left hall in relation to the right pagoda. In Goguryeo, the ruins of temple sites in Cheongam-ri [attributed to Geumgangsa] and Sango-ri in Imwon-myeon in Daedong-gun had sites of a pagoda and a hall at the center, flanked by sites of left hall and right hall located in the east and the west respectively. However, in Silla this type of temple layout has not been discovered yet.<sup>90</sup> Bulguksa in Gyeongju had one hall, named Dae'ungjeon, in the center and another hall, named Geungnakjeon 極樂殿 (Hall of Paradise), in the west. However, it is not an appropriate example of this type of layout. Although the layout of Bunhwangsa has not been examined yet, the current condition and the left hall mentioned in the textual record point to the layout, consisting of pagoda on the right and hall on the left. It is worthy of consideration in the study of the arrangement of buildings within the precinct of a temple.

In the Joseon dynasty, Buddhism suffered from suppression, even though people still venerated and prayed to the Buddha under the surface, a practice that had penetrated Korea for well over a millennium. Almost no temples were newly built. Few temples were newly founded by the royal court. Therefore, accounts of the construction of a pagoda, in particular those of wooden pagodas, are rarely found in historical sources. Nevertheless, a five-storied wooden pagoda was built at Heungcheonsa 興天寺<sup>91</sup>—a royal prayer temple built for the sake of Jeongneung 貞陵, the tomb of Queen Sindeok (神德王后, 1356–1396) who was a queen of King Taejo of the Joseon dynasty. Relics of the Buddha were enshrined in the pagoda.<sup>3</sup> The following is a summary of relevant accounts scattered in the *Jungjongillok* 中宗實錄 (Annals of King Jungjong), the *Eumaejip* 陰崖集 (Collection of Eumae) by Yi Ja 李紆 (1480–1533), and the *Yeollyeosilgisul* 燃藜室記述 (Narratives of Yeollyeosil):

On the twenty-eighth day of the third month in the fifth year of King Jungjong's reign (1510) [the 119th year since the founding of Joseon], the Sarigak 舍利閣 (Relic Pavilion) of Heungcheonsa burnt down. The temple was originally founded during the Silla. Grieving over the death of Queen Sindeok, King Taejo ordered to place her

tomb within the temple precinct and then built Sarigak. Soaring up to a height of five stories, the pavilion towered over the capital. Furthermore, treasures and Buddhist scriptures were stored inside the pavilion. From the reign of King Yeonsan'gun 燕山君 (r. 1494–1506), it was closed and converted into the Royal Stable Court (*Saboksi* 司僕寺).<sup>92</sup> After King Jungjong (r. 1506–1544) ascended the throne, the king first had the temple, besides its Sarigak, burnt in order to build a government office there. On this day, as the drum rolled at the first hour of the night, fire began to break out and flames hid the sky.<sup>93</sup>

It must have been the most prominent of the wooden pagodas erected in the Joseon dynasty. The only caveat is that it is not called a pagoda but a relic pavilion. Taking the account, “Soaring up to a height of five stories, the pavilion towered over the capital,” into consideration, the structure must have been an imposing five-storied wooden pagoda. Nevertheless, it is called Sarigak. The “three-storied pavilion” (*sam-cheung gak* 三層閣) [also called hall (*jeon* 殿)] at Mincheonsa of Goryeo may have been an earlier instance of this type of description. The *Hoeamsa jungchang gi* 檜巖寺重創記 (Record of the Reconstruction of Hoeamsa), composed by Gim Suon 金守溫 (1410–1481) [active in the reign of King Sejo 世祖 (r. 1455–1468)], gives a phrase, reading the “Sarijeon of two bays” (*Sarijeon ikan* 舍利殿二間).<sup>94</sup> This seems not to have been a pagoda but a small hall (*sojeon* 小殿). The five-storied pagoda at Beopjusa on Songnisan in Bo'eun is hung with a plaque, reading “Palsangjeon” 捌相殿. The four walls between the four heavenly pillars are painted with the eight events of Śākyamuni's life. It might have been of the same nature as the stūpa at Barhut,<sup>95</sup> a funerary monument enshrining the relics of the Buddha that is decorated with reliefs illustrating *jātaka*<sup>96</sup> tales of the Buddha and that is venerated as an object of worship. Therefore, the Palsangjeon is also a Buddhist pagoda. In other words, the Palsangjeon is another name for a Buddhist pagoda that had developed into a funerary monument to enshrine relics of the Buddha in a more inclusive sense.<sup>97</sup> Consequently, the Palsangjeon in a clearly defined hall-style

(*jeondang sik* 殿堂式), like the one at Dasolsa 多率寺 in Gonyang-gun 昆陽郡, Gyeongsangnam-do came to appear.<sup>4</sup>

Further research into textual and archaeological sources would yield far more evidence for wooden pagodas that had existed in history. For example, the *Cheommodang jip* 瞻慕堂集 (Collection of Cheommodang) by Im Un 林芸 [born in the twelfth year of King Jungjong (1517), died at the age of fifty-four years] contains a poem about a wooden pagoda at Samsuam 三水庵.<sup>5</sup> That the mainstream of Korean pagodas resides in wooden pagodas would be known accordingly. That appellations of pagoda—the funerary structure to enshrine relics of the Buddha—changed over time and that the funerary monuments built for the relics were not always in the form of pagodas would become known as well. In sum, these reflect changes in the notion of or belief in the relics themselves. It is very unfortunate that we cannot see aesthetic value and architectural beauty in Korean wooden pagodas [since most of them have been lost]. However, the stone pagodas of Korea are valuable enough to counterbalance this grief.

The “Verse on the Buddha Pagoda” (Bultap ge 佛塔偈) of Jajang says:

The *cakravartin* of the ten thousand generations, the lord of the three realms,

A few thousand years have already passed since the Buddha showed the nirvāṇa at the twin trees.

The true body relics of the Buddha still exist to date.

It universally allows living beings not to cease veneration.<sup>98</sup>

In brief, Heaven gives happiness to the faithful and whether there is belief is somehow endowed with happiness. The Korean pagodas are blessed with this creation of stone pagodas.

## Chapter 6

### Brick Pagodas of Korea

Ever since the spread of Buddhism to China, the pagoda in the temple was built of wood in the form of a high pavilion. Many scholars have already examined this. The Wei 魏 and Jin 晉 periods (220–420) witnessed emergence of stone pagodas in the form of reliefs and sculptures inside the grottoes at Yungang, Longmen, and Mountain Tianlong (天龍山).<sup>1</sup> A freestanding stone pagoda in a temple on Chinese soil has not yet been known to the world.

In China, adorned pagodas (*jangeom tap* 莊嚴塔) that substituted for wooden pagodas are called “pagodas built of bricks” (Ch. *zhuanzao tapo* 磚造塔婆) or “brick pagodas” (Ch. *zhuan ta* 磚塔) in abbreviation. There seem to have been two reasons for the emergence of brick pagodas as substitutes of wooden pagodas. First of all, from ancient times Chinese favored using bricks in built structures and replaced wood with bricks due to the former’s ephemeral, vulnerable nature. Another reason seems to have been a strong Chinese notion of a stūpa being a multi-storied building. In the beginning of Buddhism’s spread to China, Chinese seems not to have had direct knowledge of an Indian stūpa, but may only have had a notion that it is a high-stacked structure. Or, high-rise pagodas in neighboring countries in the Western Regions may have been known to Chinese. In the Indian subcontinent, there was a wooden pagoda like the Kanishka Stūpa (Jangni budo 雀離浮屠).<sup>2</sup> However, wooden stūpas are rather exceptional in India. Most of stūpas are in the shape of a round mound like an inverted bowl (*wonbun bokbal hyeong* 圓墳覆鉢形), built of earth and bricks. It is unlikely that such few exceptions [of Indian stūpas] became the model for Chinese pagodas in general.

Yet, ever since the Wei and Jin periods, more and more Indian



missionary monks came to China in order to spread the Buddhist law. As India interacted with China more frequently, the original form of stūpas in India and the Western Regions seems to have reached China gradually and Chinese, in turn, seems to have created brick pagodas in an attempt to get closer to the stūpa that originated from India and the Western Regions. Knowledge of stūpas may have played a role: the *Four Part Vinaya* (Skt. *Dharmaguptaka-vinaya*; Ch. *Sifen lü* 四分律), translated into Chinese in the Yao Qin 姚秦 (384–417) period, describes a method of making stūpas, built of wood and bricks and covered with clay on the surface; and the *Mahāsāṃghika-vinaya* (Ch. *Mohe sengqi lü* 摩訶僧祇律), translated into Chinese by Faxian 法顯 (fl. ca. 400) of the Eastern Jin, mentions a brick stūpa adorned with seven treasures (*chilbo jeontap* 七寶塔). Generally speaking, brick stūpas were common in central India where stones are relatively few; stūpas in northern highlands as well as eastern and western India were mainly built of stone with addition of bricks. Brick pagodas followed after wooden pagodas at a relatively early stage of Chinese pagoda building. Nowadays, brick pagodas constitute one of major characteristics of Chinese pagodas. The oldest extant brick pagoda is believed to be the twelve-sided and fifteen-storied brick pagoda at Songyue Temple (嵩岳寺) on Mountain Song (嵩山) in Henan Province, built in the fourth year of Zhengguang 正光 reign (523) of Emperor Xiaoming (孝明帝, r. 515–528) of the Northern Wei (北魏, 386–534).<sup>3</sup> The second oldest is said to have been the Simenta 四門塔, built in the second year of Wuding 武定 reign (544) of the Eastern Wei (東魏, 534–550), at Shentong Temple (神通寺) in Jinan-fu 濟南府, Shandong Province.<sup>4</sup>

The flowering of brick pagodas took place in Korea's neighboring country in the west. Goguryeo and Baekje did not have brick pagodas, but Silla finally emulated them. It was during the Zhenguan reign of the Tang, corresponding to the thirty-four years before Silla's unification [the first year of the Inpyeong reign of Silla (634)]. Silla seems to have followed the precedents of the Sui 隋 (581–618) and Tang dynasties during which brick pagodas enjoyed great popularity.<sup>5</sup>

Traditionally, Korea does not have structures completely built of bricks. Bricks were mostly used in walls, chimneys, and so on for decorative purposes. In palace and temple architecture, they were partially used to pave the ground (known as *bujeon* 敷壇) and to decorate the walls (known as *byeokjeon* 壁壇 or *byeok* 壁). This might have been because the quality of the Korean soil was less suited for making bricks. Bricks were used to a major part in the building of burial chambers (*hyeonsil* 玄室) of tombs ever since the period of the Four Commanderies of Han (Han sagun 漢四郡).<sup>6</sup> However, there are almost no remains of brick structure in the former territory of Goguryeo, a kingdom that was established on the land where the Four Commanderies of Han had existed [though there are tombs in which bricks were partially used]. With regard to Baekje, one or two tombs built of bricks have been found in Gongju,<sup>7</sup> yet using bricks never became the mainstream. [A temple site in Oe-ri 外里, Gyuammyeon, Buyeo has recently yielded several bricks with reliefs of excellent quality that fall into the category of *bujeon*. In sum, they correspond to *bujeon*.<sup>8</sup>] Of course, no examples of brick tomb have been found in Silla. Although excellent patterned bricks and glazed bricks were for the first time found at the Sacheonwangsa site, they were primarily used for decoration. The brick-style pagoda (*jeonyang tappa* 磚樣塔婆)<sup>9</sup> at last appeared in a pagoda at Bunhwangsa in Gyeongju. However, this is not to be considered as an authentic brick pagoda. It emulates the architectural style of a brick pagoda by piling up dark grey stones, known as andesite (*ansanam* 安山岩),<sup>10</sup> which were cut into small rectangles in the shape of bricks. The site of a ruined temple, lying east of the Hwangnyongsa site in Guhwang-ri, Gyeongju, had a pagoda built of stone cut in the shape of bricks like the Bunhwangsa Pagoda. Yet, this pagoda had already collapsed, leaving its original appearance open to question. The late Dr. Sekino Tadashi suggested that the Bunhwangsa Pagoda is structurally similar to the Small Wild Goose Pagoda (Xiao'an ta 小雁塔) at Jianfu Temple (薦福寺) in Xi'an-fu 西安府, and that it has affinities with the Great Wild Goose Pagoda (Dayan ta 大雁塔) at Ci'en Temple (慈恩寺) located also in Xi'an-fu in

terms of its rather high degree of diminution [*Chōsen no kenchiku to geijutsu* 朝鮮の建築と藝術, 666–667].<sup>11</sup> The Small Wild Goose Pagoda is known to have been built during the Jinglong 景龍 reign (707–710)<sup>12</sup> [corresponding to the period spanning from the forty-one to forty-three years after the unification of Silla], whereas the Great Wild Goose Pagoda is said to have been first built in the third year of Yonghui 永徽 reign (652) [sixteen years before Silla's unification] and rebuilt during the Chang'an 長安 reign (701–704)<sup>13</sup> [corresponding to the period spanning from the thirty-five to thirty-eight years after Silla's unification]. Both pagodas postdate the Bunhwangsa Pagoda for several decades. The discussion cannot prove the real influence among them, yet shall be redirected on the issue of whether they share common traits. Given that Koreans deliberately trimmed stones like bricks with the intention of emulating brick pagodas, they intended to follow in the footsteps of China where brick pagodas enjoyed great popularity. As I will discuss shortly, the birth of the “pseudo-brick pagoda” (*uijeon tap* 擬磚塔) in Silla foreshadowed the style of stone pagodas in Silla, which appeared before long.

The intent to emulate brick pagodas began with this pagoda at Bunhwangsa and the brick-imitation pagoda at the site of a ruined temple lying east of the Hwangnyongsa site for the first time in Korean history. It was during the reign of Queen Seondeok (r. 632–647) of Silla, which is analogous with the Zhenguan reign of the Tang dynasty. The biographical account of the monk Yangji, contained in the fasc. 4 of the *Samguk yusa*, states that:

No detailed account of monk Yangji's ancestors and hometown has been given, but the trace of his deeds is found only during the years of the reign of Queen Seondeok of the Silla dynasty. When he tied a large sack to the end of his staff,<sup>14</sup> it flew to the house of a benefactor by itself and shook itself to make sounds. The householder came to put rice offered to Buddha in the sack, and the staff flew back to the monk after the sack had been tightly packed [with rice]. Thus, monk Yangji's abode was called Seokjangsa 錫杖寺 [lit. Monk's Staff Temple].<sup>15</sup> The

monk worked many unusual wonders of this sort and was proficient in miscellaneous arts, so his marvels were unrivaled. Monk Yangji was an artist of great talent who was skilled in painting, calligraphy, and sculpture. He sculpted three sixteen-*cheok* images of Buddha and the statue of the Heavenly Kings and made the roof tiles of the Buddha hall and pagoda at Yeongmyosa 靈廟寺. He also engraved the Eight Kinds of Heavenly Generals beneath the pagoda at Cheonwangsa 天王寺, the main buddha triad at Beomnimsa 法林寺, and the two vajra deities at both sides of the temple gate. They are all his works. He wrote the inscriptions for the tablets hanging at Yeongmyosa and Beomnimsa. Also, he made a small pagoda at Seokjangsa by carving on bricks, and images of three thousand buddhas. He enshrined that pagoda inside the temple and venerated it.<sup>16</sup>

The marvels (*sini* 神異) of the monk Yangji recall those of the Venerable Myōren (命蓮尊者), related in the *Shigisan engi* 信貴山緣起 (Legend of Mount Shigi).<sup>17</sup> Monk Yangji is a person of note, who was active and performed wonders in the early years of brick making in Korea. Sacheonwangsa was constructed in the nineteenth year of the reign of King Munmu (679). As mentioned previously, a lot of brick artifacts of excellent workmanship have been found there. The deeds of monk Yangji lead us to think about how much he contributed to the development of brick making in Korea.

As the Korean Peninsula was unified under the Silla rule and prospered as a unitary state, the culture of High Tang 盛唐 (713–765) period was imported to Korea. As a result, pagodas entirely built of bricks were soon to be made. Of the extant Korean brick pagodas, a representative is the seven-storied brick pagoda at the temple site, identified as Beopheungsa 法興寺, in Sinse-dong 新世洞, Andong 安東.<sup>18</sup> Fine examples of the Silla brick pagodas built after the unification include the five-storied brick pagoda at the site identified as Beomnimsa 法林寺 in Dongbu-dong 東部洞,<sup>19</sup> the five-storied brick pagoda at Jotap-dong 造塔洞 in Iljik-myeon 一直面,<sup>20</sup> and the five-storied pagoda at Songnimsa 松林寺 in Chilgok-gun 漆谷郡.<sup>21</sup>

According to Dr. Fujishima Gaijirō's report [published in *Kenchiku zasshi* 建築雜誌 (May 1934)],<sup>22</sup> Namhu-myeon 南後面 and Giran-myeon 吉安面,<sup>23</sup> both of which are located in Andong-gun, are known to have a brick pagoda respectively. Since they have not been examined, their appearances remain unknown. No clear answer has been advanced as to why brick pagodas converged on Andong-gun.<sup>24</sup> The "Bujang dapsan gi" 府藏踏山記, compiled in the oldest Korean geographical book *Gyeongsang-do jiriji* 慶尙道地理志 (Geographical Gazetteer of Gyeongsang-do), reads that:

In the first year of the Wufeng 五鳳 reign (57–54 BCE) of Emperor Xuan (先帝, r. 74–49 BCE), of the Former Han (前漢, 206 BCE–8 CE), cyclical year of *gapja* 甲子, Master Yeomsang (念尙道士) looked for an auspicious site. He first founded Changnyeongguk 昌寧國 and then founded Ilgye-gun 一界郡, Jipyong-gun 地平郡, Hwasan-gun 花山郡, Goryeong-gun 古寧郡, Gojang-gun 古藏郡, Seongneung-gun 石陵郡, Andong-bu 安東府, and Yeongga-gun 永嘉郡. Since appellations of Gilju 吉州 changed from generation to generation, details are not documented in the record.

Changnyeongguk is an old name for Andong. The places listed after Ilgye-gun are all different names for Andong. The record by Gim Suon [died in the twelfth year of the reign of King Seongjong 成宗 (r. 1469–1494) of the Joseon dynasty, cyclical year of *sinchuk* 辛丑 (1482) at the age of seventy-three] on Gwanpungnu 觀風樓 included in fasc. 24 of *Dongguk yeoji seungnam* relates that:

To the south of Joryeong 鳥嶺 lie magnificent garrisons (*beonjin* 藩鎮) and large counties (*mok* 牧) like fog gathering and cauldrons piling up. As for the appellation of *dae dohobu* 大都護府 (grand protectorate),<sup>25</sup> why is only Yeongga-bu 永嘉府 called this and not other counties? King Gongyang of the previous dynasty . . . bestowed the name, Andong, and promoted it to the *dae dohobu*, making it the top of all counties in Yeongnam 嶺南.<sup>26</sup> From this time on, famous surnames and big

families shine in the capital and the countryside, and through the centuries there has been no lack of those who are promoted generals or ministers. The prosperity of its people and local products is far beyond that of other counties.<sup>27</sup>

Established by the Master Yeomsang at the time when the first king of Silla, Hyeokgeose 赫居世 (r. 57 BCE–4 CE) founded Silla, this region was one of the leading large cities in Korea through all ages. However, why brick pagodas are concentrated in this region is still open to question. This is probably because of the lack of evidence that resulted from the erasure of the history of Buddhism. Given that temple names, such as Beopheungsa or Beomnimsa, implying the flowering of Buddhism still exist, the region may have played a considerable role in the flourishing of Buddhism in Silla. A few more brick pagodas were built in countryside under the Silla rule thereafter. Well-known to people throughout history is the five-storied brick pagoda at Jakgapsa 鵲岬寺 on Unmunsan 雲門山 in Cheongdo-gun. The story “Monk Boyang and a Pear Tree” (Boyang imok 寶壤梨木) in fasc. 4 of the *Samguk yusa* relates that:

Jakgapsa (lit. Magpie Peak Temple) and big and small temples were erected in this region [Cheongdo-gun] during the Silla period. Five temples, such as Dae jakgap 大鵲岬, So jakgap 小鵲岬, Sobogap 小寶岬, Cheonmungap 天門岬, and Gaseogap 嘉西岬, were all destroyed during the wars of the Later Three Han states [corresponding to the final years of the Silla Kingdom]. The burnt pillars of the five temples were piled on the ruins of Dae jakgapsa. When the monk who founded this temple [referring to Boyang mentioned above] was returning from China, the dragon of the West Sea invited him to his sea palace to chant sūtras. The dragon gave the patriarch a gold-laced silk surplice and ordered his monster serpent son to accompany him on his homeward journey. The dragon said, “The Three Kingdoms in your country [the three kingdoms refer to the Silla, Later Baekje (後百濟, 892–936), and Taebong 泰封 (901–918)] are involved in wars and do not have a monarch who

embraces Buddhism. However, if you return home with my son and build a temple at Jakgap, where you will take up your abode, you will be safe from attacks. Some years later, a wise king who intends to safeguard Buddhism [i.e. King Taejo of Goryeo] will certainly appear and pacify the nation.” The monk bade the dragon farewell and arrived at this valley, where he suddenly met an aged monk calling himself Won’gwang 圓光. The aged monk gave him a seal box (*ingwe* 印櫃)<sup>28</sup> and disappeared. [Interlinear note omitted.] Master Boyang climbed the northern pass to reconstruct a ruined temple and looked down at a five-storied yellow pagoda in the yard. When he came down from the pass, however, he could find no traces of the temple. He climbed the pass again and saw a flock of magpies pecking at the ground. Remembering what the sea dragon had said about Jakgap, he dug the ground where the birds had been and found really a great number of ancient bricks (*yujeon* 遺磚). When he finished piling up the bricks to erect a pagoda, he had no bricks left over. He realized that the ground was a former temple site, built a new temple, where he dwelt, and called it Jakgapsa. Some years later, King Taejo [of the Goryeo dynasty] heard that Master Boyang had taken up his abode at the temple. The king donated to the temple the upland fields of five hundred *gyeol* 結<sup>29</sup> combined from the five temples. In the *jeongyu* 丁酉 year, the fourth year of the Qingtai reign,<sup>30</sup> the king bestowed a tablet hanging at the temple on which “Unmun-seonsa” 雲門禪寺 (Unmun Seon Temple) was inscribed, and he ordered the silk surplice to be worshipped for its miraculous nature.<sup>31</sup>

Nowadays, Unmunsa has two excellent three-storied pagodas but there is no traces of the five-storied pagoda.<sup>32</sup> At Buryeongsa 佛靈寺<sup>33</sup> in Yongsan-dong 龍山洞, Maejeon-myeon 梅田面 are preserved a high pile of fragments of a brick pagoda, rectangular bricks [approximately one *cheok* (30 centimeters) long and two *chon* (6 centimeters) high]—each side of which has an image of a seated Buddha and a three-storied pagoda in alternation—, and rectangular bricks pressed with exquisite arabesque patterns in intaglio (*hyeongap* 型押). According to the

*Shiragi kogawara no kenkyū* 新羅古瓦の研究 [Study on the ancient tiles of the Silla Kingdom] coauthored by Drs. Hamada Kōsaku 濱田耕作<sup>34</sup> (1881–1938) and Umehara Sueji 梅原末治<sup>35</sup> (1893–1983), similar bricks have been discovered in Nongso-myeon 農所面, Ulsan-gun in Gyeongsangnam-do, the Samnangsa site in Gyeongju, at Geumjang-ri 金丈里 in Hyeongok-myeon 見谷面, and the Wolseong site.<sup>36</sup> In particular, the Nongso-myeon finds have the design of a buddha pavilion (*bulgak* 佛閣) positioned between clouds with a dragon head-cum-demon face (*yongsu gwimyeon* 龍首鬼面) decorating the ends.<sup>37</sup> In addition, some bricks found in Nongso-myeon and Buryeongsa bear the design of birds flying amid the arabesque pattern on their faces. The Sacheonwangsa site in Gyeongju has yielded far more exquisite examples of bricks decorated with the arabesque pattern. Some bricks excavated in Chwiseonsa 驚仙寺 in Ulsan-gun are reportedly decorated with the anthemion pattern (*indong mun* 忍冬文) in fine lines, while others are in the shape of a convex roofing tile (*wonwa hyeong* 圓瓦形) decorated with lotus flower design. Some of these finds seem to have been used to adorn walls instead of being used in the construction of pagodas.

Nonetheless, extant remains of brick pagodas built after the unification of Silla demonstrate the use of this type of adornment in bricks. Currently, we can see one example in the five-storied pagoda at Jotap-dong, Iljik-myeon, Andong. Particularly well-known is the multi-storied pagoda in Silleuksa 神勒寺 in Yeosu-gun 麗州郡, Gyeonggi-do [discussed in topical treatises].<sup>38</sup> Although it is open to question whether this pagoda is of Silla date, it still indicates that brick pagodas of Korea have received this type of decoration ever since the Silla period.<sup>39</sup> In brief, it is considered to be one type of treatment originating from the conception that places high importance on brick pagodas. The decorations on bricks found in the Manwoldae 滿月臺<sup>40</sup> and other sites of temples and palaces indicate the continuation of this method of decorating bricks during the Goryeo dynasty.

Some scholars argue that Korean brick pagodas “only appeared in



Andong and Yeosu during the Silla dynasty.” But, that is not always the case as attested by the examples mentioned above. Musintap 無信塔 is further mentioned in the article, “Yeongju-gun, Gyeongsangbuk-do,” contained in fasc. 25 of the *Dongguk yeoji seungnam*,<sup>41</sup> whereas a brick pagoda at Baektap-dong 白塔洞 is recorded in the article, “Gapsan-gun 甲山郡, Hamgyeongnam-do” in fasc. 49 of the same book.<sup>42</sup> [It is controversial whether this pagoda was built by Koreans.] A detailed account of the seven-storied pagoda, built by King Taejo of the Goryeo dynasty, is found in the article, “Anyangsa 安養寺 in Geumju 衿州, Gyeonggi-do” in fasc. 10 of the *Dongguk yeoji seungnam*.<sup>1</sup>

[The *Jungsin gi* 重新記 (Record of the Renovation)<sup>43</sup> written by Yi Sungin 李崇仁<sup>44</sup> (a minister active at the end of Goryeo dynasty, 1347–1392).] . . . In the beginning years of King Taejo’s founding of the Goryeo dynasty, there was the one who counseled the throne with the theory of Buddha’s power of aid and remedy. Adopting his advice, the throne established numerous pagodas and temples. The present pagoda at Anyangsa in Geumju is one of them. Mr. Im, the superintendent of the two roads (*yangga do seungdong* 兩街都僧統) and the patriarch of the Ja’eun school (慈恩宗師), came to me, saying “The pagoda at Anyangsa is an old one built by the first king. Since it has been already dilapidated, the Duke Choe [Choe Yeong 崔瑩<sup>45</sup> (1316–1388)]—the Lord of Cheorwon (Cheorwon buwon’gun 鐵原府院君) and the President of the Chancellery for State Affairs (*munha sijung* 門下侍中)—together with the present abbot of the temple, monk Hyegyem 惠謙 (d.u.) repaired and made it anew. . . . The temple legend has it that King Taejo passed by this place on his way to conquer the unsubjugated. As he stared at the mountaintop, the clouds formed five colors. Wondering about it, the king sent a man to observe it. There was indeed an old monk beneath the clouds. He was named Neungjeong 能正. What he said accorded well with the mind of King Taejo. This is the origin of the founding of this temple. In the south of the temple is a pagoda of seven stories piled up with bricks and topped with roof-tiles. The lowest story of the pagoda is surrounded by corridor of twelve bays.

Each wall of the lowest story is painted with images of buddhas, bodhisattvas, humans, and gods. The outer part is enclosed by a balustrade in order to limit access. Its grandeur and splendor have not been seen in other temples. . . . The construction began sometime during the eighth month of this year [the seventh year of King U's reign (1381)], and it was finished sometime in the ninth month. The ceremony celebrating the completion was carried out sometime in the tenth month. On this day, the throne sent the eunuch Bak Wonye 朴元桂 (d.u.) to offer incense and had one thousand monks to perform a grand Buddhist service and enshrined twelve pieces of relics together with the tooth relic of the Buddha within the pagoda. The four groups of Buddhist followers who offered alms amounted to nearly three thousand. The paintwork (*danhwak* 丹轆)<sup>46</sup> of the exterior was done in the second month of the spring in the *imsul* year (1382). The images were painted in the eighth month of the fall in the *gyehae* year (1383). As for the four interior walls of the pagoda, the east wall is painted with the assembly of the Medicine Buddha (Yaksa *hoe* 藥師會); the south wall is painted with the assembly at Śākyamuni Buddha's nirvāṇa (Seokga *yeolban hoe* 釋迦涅槃會); the west wall is painted with the assembly of Amitābha Buddha in his Western Paradise (Mita Geungnak *hoe* 彌陀極樂會); and the north is painted with the assembly of the heavenly deities of the *Golden Sūtra* 金經神衆會 (*Geumgyeong sinjung hoe*). As for the twelve bays of the corridor, each wall is painted with one image, the so-called buddhas of the twelve years (*sibi haengnyeong bul* 十二行年佛).<sup>47</sup>

The pagoda at Bunhwangsa, the first pseudo-brick pagoda in Korea, has an image of a crouching lion at each corner of the platform (*gidae* 基臺). Each side of the first story of the pagoda has a niche in which is an image of the Buddha, representing the buddhas of the four directions (*sabang bul* 四方佛), is enshrined. Both sides of the door panels (*munbi* 門扉) are flanked by a stone image of guardian spirits (*inwang* 仁王)<sup>48</sup> in high relief. The pseudo-brick pagoda at the temple site lying east of the Hwangnyongsa site seems to have been in the

identical form. The five-storied pagoda in Sanun-myeon 山雲面, Uiseong-gun 義城郡 in Gyeongsangnam-do is one of the early stone pagodas appearing shortly thereafter, which is entirely built of stones while emulating the style of brick pagodas. Yet, this five-storied pagoda has a niche only on the south side of the first story with no sculptural decorations like images of guardian spirits. Later examples showing this style are the five-storied stone pagoda in Binggye-dong 氷溪洞, Chunsan-myeon 春山面 in Uiseong-gun, the five-storied stone pagoda at the site of Jukjangsa (竹杖寺址) in Seonsan-gun, and the three-storied stone pagoda in Naksan-dong 洛山洞 in Haepyeong-myeon 海平面, Seonsan-gun. These pagodas showcase formal changes in the platform (*gidan*) and other parts. Yet, they too show the tradition of making a niche only on the south side of the first story of the pagoda's body. The stone pagodas in the brick-imitation form mentioned below do not have a niche on the south side except for the pagoda standing in the north of Sanjakji 山雀趾<sup>49</sup> in Seoak-ri 西岳里, Gyeongju. The south side of this pagoda has a niche, the two sides of which are each carved in relief with an image of a guardian spirit.

However, the seven-storied brick pagoda at the site identified as Beopheungsa in Andong, which postdates the unification, has a niche only on the south side of the first story of the pagoda. Though it does not show reliefs of guardian spirits, the sides of the granite platform are carved with images of sturdy heavenly beings and the slanting top of the roof (*okgae myeon* 屋蓋面) of each story bears traces of having been covered with roof tiles. A similar example is found in the five-storied brick pagoda at the site identified as Beomnimsa in Andong-eup: the roof of each story is covered with roof tiles, whereas the south side has a niche. In particular, the south side of the second story of this pagoda has a granite slab on which a pair of guardians is carved in high relief, whereas the west side has a small niche. In addition, the south side of the third story has a small niche. This seems to show a peculiar form. It goes against the symmetry, considering that the west side has a small niche but the east side has

none. This seems to have originated from the unclear state of the east side at the time of repairs. To take the five-storied pagoda at Iljik-myeon, Andong-gun as an example, the first story of this pagoda is entirely built of stone and has a niche on the south side, both sides of which display a standing image of a guardian spirit. In other words, the standard style of having a niche on the south side of the first story and being covered with roof tiles on each story seems to have started with the seven-storied pagoda at the site identifiable as Beopheungsa.

The pagoda at Anyangsa seems to have also followed this tradition. Interestingly, it is recorded to have had a winding corridor (*jumu* 周廡) of twelve bays at the lowest story of the pagoda and walls that were painted with images of buddhas, bodhisattvas, humans, and heavenly beings. Also, each wall is reported to have been painted with an image of the buddhas of the twelve years. The inner sides of the four walls were reportedly painted with images of the Medicine Buddha assembly (east), Śākyamuni's nirvāṇa assembly (south), Amitābha Buddha's Western Paradise assembly (west), and the heavenly deities of the *Golden Sūtra* assembly. Railings are said to have been erected outside, whereas the pagoda received the paintwork. The pagoda body on the first story seems to have been installed with something similar to a pent roof enclosure (Jp. *mokoshi* 裳階) and decorated with paintings on both the interior and exterior. As such, the pagoda had peculiar facilities that are not to be found in the tradition of pagoda building in Korea. It is not clear when the pagoda collapsed. Several bricks and roof tiles from the pagoda remains are currently in the collection of the National Museum.<sup>50</sup> Some of them have several images of a seated buddha in intaglio, indicating tradition of brick making comparable to that of bricks from Buryeongsa and Nongso-myeon.

Korea had another distinctive pagoda. It was a pagoda comprising a stone core and earthen sheath (*seoksim topi tap* 石心土皮塔) at a temple site in Sangbyeong-ri 上丙里, Oenam-myeon 外南面, Sangju-gun 尙州郡 in Gyeongsangbuk-do. On the lowest story, the south side measured 4 *cheok* 5 *chon* (1.36 meters), while the east side measured four *cheok* 8

*chon 3 pun* (1.46 meters) with a height of about 19 *cheok* (5.75 meters). The pagoda was preserved up to the level of the sixth story, when it was published in the *Chōsen koseki zufu*.<sup>51</sup> The catalogue entry of the pagoda is summarized as follows: “It seems to have been originally composed of seven stories. The stone base is huge yet roughly trimmed. The pagoda body is built of andesite cut small and large. The south side of the first story of the pagoda has a niche with a small hole (*sogong gamsil* 小孔龕室). As for the eaves (*heon* 軒), they are built of three or four layers of stone upon which thin stone plates are placed to serve as roof. The pagoda body above the second story is not high, while tapering towards top. The original pagoda must have been plastered with earth upon which limewash mixed with hemp were applied. Most of it has peeled off, leaving the traces merely on the east side of the second story.” Does this pagoda adopt the method of building a pagoda out of stones and earth described in the *Four Part Vinaya*?<sup>52</sup> This is the first extant example of pagodas built of stones and earth apart from the legendary Yugwangtap in Yodongseong in Goguryeo. This pagoda completely collapsed during a hurricane in the Taishō period (1912–1926).<sup>53</sup> When the present author examined it, only the southeastern part of the pagoda’s first story remained. No other examples of this kind have survived in Korea.

In Korea, brick pagodas enjoyed popularity under the influence of Chinese brick pagodas of the Sui and Tang dynasties. Generally speaking, brick pagodas are noticeably concentrated in the former territory of the Old Silla, namely regions located in Gyeongsang-do, such as Andong, Chilgok, Cheongdo, Ulsan, Yeongju, and Sangju. A few examples are located in Yeosu and Geumju in Gyeonggi-do. It is open to question whether the pagoda reportedly located at Gapsan in Hamgyeongnam-do was built by Koreans. All in all, this type of brick pagodas is considered to be a temporary phenomenon geared towards splendid yet peculiar decoration, rather than representing the true colors of Korean pagodas. The building of such pagodas was not limited to Silla but extended to the Goryeo period.

## Chapter 7

### Craft Pagodas of Korea<sup>1</sup>

Besides wooden, brick, or stone pagodas that have architectural structures, Korea had clay pagodas (*itap* 泥塔), jade pagodas (*oktap* 玉塔) [pagodas made of jade in broad sense such as glass pagoda (*pari tap* 玻璃塔), crystal rock pagoda (*sujeong tap* 水晶塔), and so on], and metal pagodas. However, these are considered to be craftworks in small size, and all appear to be the so-called “*tap sari*” 塔舍利 or architectural reliquary. Of course, this type of miniature pagoda was also made of wood, bricks, and stones.

For instance, a small architectural pagoda built of wood like the five-storied pagoda at Kairyūōji 海龍王寺 in Yamato [Japan] is not to be found in Korea.<sup>2</sup> Still, there are wooden pagodas [four in total] from the site of Nam Bohyeonsa (南普賢寺址) in the collection of Jangansa 長安寺 on Geumgangsan in Gangwon-do.<sup>1</sup> With regard to brick pagodas, the biographical account of the monk Yangji in the *Samguk yusa* lists a small brick pagoda at Seokjangsa though its actual appearance remains unknown.<sup>3</sup> Speaking of clay pagodas, there are some examples that can be considered as such. As for the type known as jade pagodas, glass pagodas and rock crystal pagodas are relatively well preserved. They have formal affinities with small-sized *gorintō* 五輪塔,<sup>4</sup> and were mainly built as funerary pagodas rather than relic pagodas.

Clay pagodas have been examined by many scholars including Dr. Ishida Mosaku 石田茂作<sup>5</sup> (1894–1977), Tanigawa Iwao 谷川盤雄, Shimada Sadahiko 島田貞彦, and Higo Kazuo 肥後和男 among others. Korean clay pagodas have been discussed in Ishida Mosaku’s *Man-Sen kōko angya* 滿鮮考古行脚 (Archaeological pilgrimage of Manchuria and Korea).<sup>6</sup> I shall not discuss them since they are products of cultic practice without artistic beauty or craftsmanship.<sup>2</sup>

Next are metal pagodas generally showing craftsmanship with some examples according to textual accounts having architectural structures. An example is found in the “Jangnaksa” 長樂寺 compiled in the article, “Buddhist Temples” in the section on Anju 安州 [Pyeongando] in fasc. 52 of the *Dongguk yeoji seungnam*. It is recorded that the temple is “located on Bongdeoksan 鳳德山 and has a bronze nine-story pagoda.”<sup>7</sup> A commentary on this account is found in the *Daedong jiji* 大東地志 (Geography of Korea),<sup>8</sup> saying: “There is a nine-story iron pagoda on the mountaintop, twenty *ri* east of Bongdeoksan in Anju. It was originally the bronze (sic) nine-story pagoda at Jangnaksa.” Given the tone of the description, it seems to have been a high and large structure. According to an account in the *Beomu go* 梵宇攷 (Buddhist Temples, Past and Present),<sup>9</sup> at Gayasa 伽倻寺 in Deoksan 德山 [Chungcheongnam-do] is a stone pagoda with an iron spire; the four sides of the pagoda each have a stone niche with a stone image of Buddha; and the pagoda is commonly called a golden pagoda (*geumtap* 金塔) due to its fine workmanship.<sup>10</sup> This example, though it is a pagoda of considerable height, seems to have been a multi-storied and multi-sided stone pagoda that is topped with a miniature representation of a metal pagoda like the pagoda at Magoksa 麻谷寺 (Figure 6) in Gongju, Chungcheongnam-do, or a pagoda of which only the rings at the top were made of iron or gilt-bronze, such as the eight-sided and nine-storied stone pagoda at Woljeongsa in Pyeongchang-gun, Gangwon-do, the nine-storied stone pagoda of square plan at Yujeomsa 楡岾寺 on Geumgangsan, or the seven-storied stone pagoda in square plan at Naksansa 洛山寺 in Yangyang-gun, Gangwon-do. Neither the Jangnaksa Pagoda nor the Gayasa Pagoda survive today; examples of metal pagodas (*geumtap*) are not rare if this type of pagodas are also included. However, the term metal pagoda usually refers to a miniature pagoda, which is a craftwork by nature, and the present author recalls examples listed below:

- A square pagoda of seven stories and a square pagoda of thirteen stories in the collection of the Yi Royal Museum (Yi Wangga





Figure 6. Pagoda of Magoksa, Gongju, Chungcheongnam-do



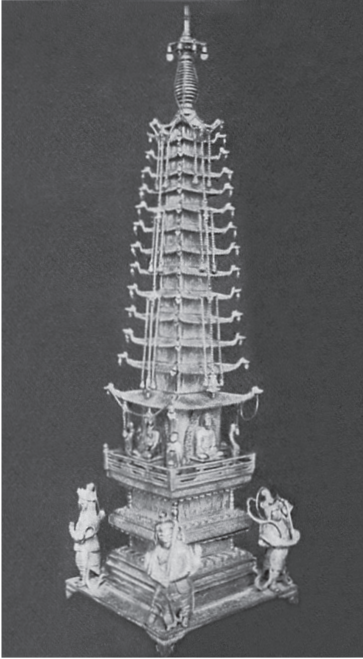


Figure 7. Thirteen-storied gilt-bronze [miniature] pagoda. Private collection in America



Figure 8. Five-storied pagoda of Jeungsimsa, Gwangju, Jeollanam-do

Misulgwan 李王家美術館).

- A square pagoda of seven stories, a square pagoda of nine stories, and a square pagoda of nine stories. [Found in a stone pagoda at Sujongsa 水鐘寺 in Yangpyeong-gun 楊平郡] in the collection of the National Museum [currently displayed at Gaeseong Museum (開成博物館)].
- [A gilt-bronze pagoda of thirteen stories] in a private collection, U.S.A. Published in Andre Eckardt, *Geschichte der koreanischen Kunst* (Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann, 1929), Fig. 109 (Figure 7).
- A multi-storied pagoda in the collection of Uchida 内田 of Gongju, Chungcheongnam-do [According to hearsay].
- A square pagoda of five stories contained in a stone pagoda at Jeungsimsa 證心寺 in Gwangju 光州, Jeollanam-do (Figure 8).

- A square, multi-storied pagoda found in a stone pagoda at the site of Dansoksa 斷俗寺 in the collection of Tongdosa in Yangsan, Gyeongsangnam-do.
- One story of a miniature octagonal pagoda found in Haeju 海州, Hwanghae-do in the author's collection.
- A gilt-bronze square pagoda of three stories in the collection of Ozaki Shunbo 尾崎峻甫 in Gaeseong-bu 開城府.

Almost all square pagodas (*bangtap* 方塔) have four sides of three by three bays, but smaller ones show only one bay on each side. Other examples include one in the form of an octagonal building,<sup>11</sup> which bears resemblance to a funerary pagoda [found inside the funerary pagoda at Muryangsa] in the collection of Buyeo Museum,<sup>12</sup> and a small pagoda in the shape of an inverted jar (*bogong hyeong* 覆瓮型) excavated at Wolchulbong 月出峰 of Geumgangsan in the collection of the National Museum.<sup>13</sup> The former originates from a type of stone funerary pagoda of which the whole is in octagonal plan that became prevalent from the late Unified Silla, whereas the latter was made as a Lamaist pagoda (Lamatap 喇嘛塔)<sup>14</sup> [of the type that] was transmitted to the Korean Peninsula at the end of the Goryeo period. These metal pagodas had already appeared [in the Korean Peninsula] a long time ago, and their emergence traces back to the reign of King Gyeongdeok (r. 742–765) of Silla [corresponding to the period from 76 to 98 years after the unification of Silla]. It is recorded in the account, titled “Ukmyeon, a Female Slave Who Flew to the Western Pure Land While Chanting” in fasc. 5 of the *Samguk yusa*:

During the reign of King Gyeongdeok, the family of the *agan* 阿干<sup>15</sup> Gwijin 貴珍 had a female slave named Ukmyeon 郁面. She followed her master, *agan* to Mitasa 彌陀寺 founded by the monk Hyesuk. [It is also said to have been established by several scores of male Buddhists in Gangcheon 康川 (present-day Jinju 晉州); alternatively, it is said to have been located at Gangju 剛州 (renamed as Sunan 順安 in present-day Yeongcheon 榮川)] and recited prayers for nine years. In the fourteenth year of King

Gyeongdeok, cyclical year of *eulmi* (755), upon paying homage to the Buddha, she broke through the crossbeam of the temple. Reaching Sobaeksan 小伯山, she dropped one of her straw shoes where Borisa 菩提寺 was built afterwards. She cast off her body at the foot of the mountain, and there another temple named Bori was built. They are the two Front and Rear Borisa. In the hall where Ukmyeon broke through the crossbeam was hung a plaque reading, “Ukmyeon’s Ascension Place.” A curiosity seeker later donated a gilt pagoda, on which was inscribed the story of this miracle and which was placed in the ceiling of the hall. Presently [during the reign of King Chungnyeol], this pagoda with the inscription (*bangtap* 榜塔) still remains.<sup>16</sup>

The meaning of the Chinese character “*jeon*” 甃 in the term *jeongeum tap* 甃金塔 is unclear: it may have been a misspelling of another Chinese character reading “*jeon*” 甃 [meaning brick]. Considering that the five-storied yellow pagoda at Jakgapsa appearing in the account of “Monk Boyang and a Pear Tree” in the same book is in fact a brick pagoda, it might have been a brick pagoda.<sup>3</sup> However, by the Goryeo period, this practice of making metal pagodas had become well established and was frequently recorded in historical documents.

King Munjong, thirty-second year, cyclical year of *muo* (1078). At Heungwangsa, a golden pagoda was made. Silver was used in making its interior, and gold for the surface. The silver weighed four hundred and twenty-seven *geuns*. The gold weighed one hundred and forty-four *geuns*. [*Goryeosa* 9]<sup>17</sup>

King Seonjong 宣宗, sixth year, cyclical year of *gisa* (1089). A newly made gold pagoda of thirteen stories was enshrined in the Hoegyeongjeon,<sup>18</sup> and a commemorating assembly was held [*Goryeosa* 10].<sup>19</sup> [What was installed at Gukcheongsa 國淸寺 in the tenth year of King Sukjong, cyclical year of *euryu* (1105), was this pagoda.]<sup>20</sup>

King Gojong, tenth year (1223). Donated two hundred *geuns* of

gold. Made thirteen-storied pagoda and flower vase(s) and enshrined them at Heungwangsä. [See the biographical account of Choe Yi 崔怡 (1180–1249) compiled in the *Goryeosa* 129, “Collected Biographies” 42, “Choe Chungheon” 崔忠獻 (1149–1219).]<sup>21</sup>

The three pagodas listed above, given that they are documented in official historical records, must have been splendidly adorned. Not a single adorned-pagoda like these remains to date, yet the pagoda in an American private collection is particularly outstanding, which allows us to imagine how those seen in historical records might have looked.

## Chapter 8

### Stone Pagodas of Korea

According to the *Da Tang xiyu ji*, various kingdoms spreading from the so-called Western Regions to India had clay pagodas, brick pagodas, stone pagodas, seven-jeweled pagodas (*chilbotap* 七寶塔),<sup>1</sup> and gilt-bronze pagodas. Furthermore, various scriptures mentioned dung pagodas (*buntap* 糞塔) [pagodas made of cow dung] and sand pagodas. In other words, pagodas made of all kinds of materials had already been built in several Buddhist kingdoms. A passage from the *Vibhāṣā-śāstra* (Ch. *Piposha lun* 毘婆沙論)<sup>2</sup> relates that “if a man builds a great stūpa at the place where the Tathāgata turned the wheel of the dharma or if a man takes a small stone and makes a stūpa, the merit arising from the latter is equivalent to the former because all are noble. If Great Brahmā built a great stūpa or a small stūpa for the sake of the Tathāgata, the merit is immeasurable since what he did is identical.”<sup>3</sup> The most natural material for building pagodas in Korea was stone even though the history of Korean pagodas began with wooden pagodas under the Chinese influence and later led to brick pagodas as knowledge of them became available. As told in the *Vibhāṣā-śāstra* and other various scriptures, or as our knowledge of Western and Indian examples indicates, there are no restrictions as to material for the construction of pagodas. Building of stone pagodas prospered to a great deal when Koreans came to a realization that they could build pagodas out of stone, the most durable and efficient material, considering the fact that benefits and virtues arising from the act of building pagoda are identical regardless of materials used; that wooden pagodas are not durable; and that brick-making is unproductive. Given the historical transmission of objects in general or mutual relations, one easily comes to a conclusion

that Korean stone pagodas emerged under the influence of Chinese stone pagodas. The very notion of stone pagoda may have been like this. Yet, the technique of building and style are profoundly unique to Korea, and this can be resolved without any dispute when one traces the history of Korean pagodas from their birth to their transformation. Then, how was the state of affairs?

Korean stone pagodas originated from two types. One may have started with imitation of the wooden pagoda style as a traditional multi-storied pavilion in square plan, whereas the other seems to have begun by representing the style of Chinese brick pagodas, which became suddenly prevalent since the Sui and Tang periods. Chronologically speaking, Korean stone pagodas began to be made in the first half of the seventh century. Legendary examples include the seven-storied octagonal stone pagoda at Yeongtapsa on the slope of Daebosan in Pyeongyang [Samguk yusa 3, “Yeongtapsa of Goguryeo”] and the Pasa Stone Pagoda 婆娑石塔,<sup>1</sup> a square five-storied pagoda at Hogyesa 虎溪寺 in the state of Geumgwan 金官 of Garak 駕洛. Although the former may have had a bit of historical basis, the latter must have been fabricated in later years. In addition, they have no relevance to the present matter since any objects or sites are survived.

The present author would like to discuss the multi-storied pagoda at the Mireuksa site at the foot of Yonghwasan in Giyang-ri, Geumma-myeon, Iksan-gun in Jeollabuk-do as the first example to imitate a style of wooden pagodas with a multi-storied pavilion in square plan, which became one prototype for Korean stone pagodas.<sup>4</sup> [discussed in topical treatises].

The pagodas of Baekje period known today are represented by a five-storied stone pagoda in Dongnam-ri, Buyeo-myeon, Buyeon-gun in Chungcheongnam-do, the so-called Pyeongje Pagoda [discussed in topical treatises].<sup>5</sup> The pagoda body at the first story is carved with an inscription, entitled “Stele of Great Tang Empire’s Conquest of the Baekje Kingdom” (Dae Dang pyeong Baekjeguk bi 大唐平百濟國碑), reading “built on the fifteenth day of the eighth month in the fifth year of Xianqing 顯慶 reign, cyclical year of *gyeongsin*

(660)” [the twentieth year of King Uija (義慈王, r. 641–660) of Baekje; the seventh year of King Muyeol] of the Tang dynasty. This inscription once led to the conclusion that this pagoda was built by the Tang army at the said date. Yet, the same stele inscription is also carved on a stone trough of the Baekje period, currently preserved in the Buyeo Branch of the National Museum.<sup>6</sup> Considering that the current state of the temple site where the pagoda stands and that the stele inscription is repeated on this stone trough, the pagoda and trough must have been made prior to the Tang army’s reuse of the monuments to inscribe a piece of writing to commemorate their military merit. In other words, the Pyeongje Pagoda is clearly established as a stone pagoda of Baekje. This pagoda has the outward appearance of a square, five-storied wooden pagoda. Furthermore, it is thought to show considerable development in style and structure for a stone pagoda. Then, which part demonstrates the stylistic development of this pagoda? First of all, we may consider its simplified style represented by a square plan of one by one bay. The Dae’ungjeon (Figure 9) in the form of a three-storied pavilion<sup>7</sup>—still standing in the precinct of Ssangbongsa in Ssanbong-ri, Iyang-myeon, Hwasun-gun in Jeollanam-do, which was first built from the ninth year of King Munseong to the eighth year of King Gyeongmun [i.e. 847–868] of the late Silla—must have been built upon the former site of a pagoda each side of which had one bay. At the end of the Silla period, this type of wooden pagodas with one bay square in plan must have been built.

However, among the plans of wooden pagodas built at the end of the Three Kingdoms period, or in the beginning of the Unified Silla that are known to date, bigger ones have seven bays square in plan [e.g. the site of the Nine-Storied Pagoda at Hwangnyongsa in Silla]; smaller ones have three bays square in plan [e.g. those at the sites of Sacheonwangsa, Mangdeoksa, Bomunsa, Girimsa, and so on]; but no example shows one bay square in plan. This is a matter of course, given that during this period when Buddhism just transmitted to Silla the devotion to pagodas was fervent. Take Chinese and Japanese examples into





Figure 9. Dae'ungjeon (Hall of the Great Hero) of Ssangbongsa, Hwasun, Jeollanam-do

consideration, there is indeed no trace of wooden pagodas with one bay square in plan. Although similar examples are found in relief carvings on the interior walls of several grottoes in China, these are all iconographical or decorative motifs in small size. They are not to be discussed together since they do not have architectural structure, unlike the Pyeongje Pagoda in Buyeo.

In addition, there are brick pagodas some of which might be said to have one bay square in plan like the pagoda at Bunhwangsa in Gyeongju. However, these examples emerged from an intention to simply accumulate without considering the number of bays, and therefore they have no relevance to the current discussion. After all,



the one bay square in plan as seen in the pagoda at Buyeo must have been intended to convey the most significant outward appearance of a wooden pagoda of the time regardless of actual number of its bays. In this respect, this pagoda, which is made of stone yet faithfully representing the outward appearance of a wooden pagoda, marks a transition from prototype to model (*mohyeong* 模型). This tendency towards imitation centering on the outer appearance on a reduced scale (*mohyeonghwa* 模型化) is seen in details all over the pagoda.<sup>8</sup> The first is to be found in the form of the platform (*gidan*).<sup>9</sup> A foundation stone (*jibanseok* 地盤石) is laid upon the ground in order to firmly hold the platform, that the platform is shallow and small altogether adds a model-like quality to the pagoda. One layer of wide and flat stones, placed upon the stones forming the walls of the pagoda body, represents a lintel (*aekbang* 額枋) [Jp. *kashiranuki* 頭貫],<sup>10</sup> or an upper lintel [*byeonbang* 桁枋]<sup>11</sup>; upon this layer are again put underpinnings [Jp. *mochiokuri* 持送],<sup>12</sup> corresponding to capitals<sup>13</sup> that recall the shape of a wide and flat bearing block (Jp. *daito* 大斗) [of the bracket system]; the four corners of the upper side of a roof stone are carved like half round descending corner ridges (Jp. [*sumi*]*kudarimune* 隅降棟)<sup>15</sup>; and all these features reflect a model-like quality of the pagoda.

Secondly, the structural development is shown in the joint method of components. Namely, pillars are built individually of dressed stones; walls are built individually of dressed stones; and likewise, other parts are all built individually with stones so that each modular part is clearly defined [as in timber-frame architecture]. When it is hard to make one modular-structure with a single stone, several stones are joined in a very systematic manner. For example, the walls forming the pagoda body on the first story are built of two stone panels (*myeon panseok* 面板石) [Jp. *hame itaishi* 羽目板石]<sup>16</sup> of equal size; lintel beams (*miryang seok* 楣樑石)<sup>17</sup> are built of four pieces of long, rectangular stones (*gujungseok* 矩長石) that are laid staggered, and the tiered “underpinnings” (*cheunggeubhyeong batchim* 層級形 받침)<sup>18</sup> underneath the roof stones are composed of eight equal pieces of stone. The stone plates for supporting the pagoda body (*bandaeseok*

盤臺石) [oksŏn goim 屋身 고임]<sup>19</sup> above the second story are also laid in a staggered pattern, and the joints on each story are put in a way so they are not tilted to one side. The method of joining eight equal stone panels is also applied in the curbstone (*gapseok* 甲石)<sup>20</sup> of the platform and roof stones, and the joined sides are in neat order. The number of joints reduces as the pagoda rises up according to the increasing degree of reduction, and accordingly the number of connected joints decreases, yet the strict rule is maintained. Therefore, the existence of regulated joints adds a pleasant rhythm in the process of tapering that unfolds towards the top. As a result, one senses the beauty of clear contour and of standardization that comes from a movement with good rhythm in this Pyeongje Pagoda.

This artistic effect should be taken as a major artistic modification, which does not originate from the mere intention to copy the appearance of a wooden pagoda out of stone. This fact thus urges us to place this Pyeongje Pagoda not at the initial stage of the developmental phase but to consider it as having a well-established style. To put it in a different way, there must have been a precedent for a pagoda with such an orderly form. The precedent is found neither in China nor in Japan. We are indeed able to find the precedent in Korea itself, which lies between the two regions. It is the multi-storied pagoda extant in the Mireuksa site in Iksan. This pagoda, a faithful copy of a wooden pagoda, has yet to show an intention towards copying (*mohyeonghwa*), and does not have any modular adjustment with regard to the transformation of the material. An intention towards copying or modular modification was secondary to representing the actual appearance of wooden pagodas. In addition, it does not even have a stylized platform (*gidan*) like the Pyeongje Pagoda. In this respect, the Mireuksa Pagoda, though made of stone, is closer to a wooden pagoda in terms of actual appearance, and is an incipient one, which does not demonstrate a new style derived from the new material, stone. On the contrary, the Pyeongje Pagoda shows a departure from the actual appearance of a wooden pagoda, and is in the stage of showing new stylistic development.

Furthermore, the form of the stone platform in the Pyeongje Pagoda reflects a considerably advanced stage in the actual developmental history of wooden architecture. In general, there was only a large and high “earthen mound” (*todae* 土臺) before a similar type of stone platform arose, as demonstrated by the architecture built prior to the unification of Silla that have been already discussed in the section on wooden pagodas. It is also observed in other sites of buildings and pagodas at the Mireuksa site, which is discussed in contrast here. It is inferred from the Mireuksa site that its stone pagoda, though it has lost its original appearance, had an “earthen mound” like this. In other words, the earthen mound of the stone pagoda at Mireuksa site was based on the old style, whereas the “stone platform” of the Pyeongje Pagoda in Buyeo demonstrates the adoption of the new style. As a result, we may posit a [stylistic] link between the two. The stone pagoda at Mireuksa site represents the first experiment of copying appearances of a wooden pagoda in stone; there was no intention to create a pagoda in a different style by means of using a different material; and therefore, it can be regarded as a wooden pagoda built in a different material rather than a stone pagoda in a different style. Pyeongje Pagoda, guided by the pagoda at Mireuksa site, holds significance as a work of art created under the awareness of the possibility that a different material necessitates a different way of construction and under the belief that a new, different material leads [the maker] to adopt a different style. The affinities between the Pyeongje Pagoda and the stone pagoda at Mireuksa site are found in the treatment of architectural members and style. For instance, the columns were assembled from different stones (*byeolseok* 別石);<sup>21</sup> they are similar to the so-called entasis in terms of form;<sup>22</sup> and accordingly the entire pagoda body takes a stable form of the so-called “inward leaning” (*naejeon* 內轉), tapering towards the top. What is noteworthy here is the existence of a form that is similar to the entasis shown in the column [in wooden architecture]. This feature, though Korea has numerous stone pagodas, is not to be seen except for later works that were modeled upon these two pagodas. It is a partial characteristic

that is only found in these two pagodas and a five-storied stone pagoda located in Tamni-dong 塔里洞, Sanun-myeon, Uiseong-gun in Gyeongsangbuk-do, which shall be discussed shortly [discussed in topical treatises].<sup>23</sup> Next, in the two pagodas, the eaves ends (*cheomdan* 檐端) of the roof stones stretch out horizontally, and the roof stones are turned slightly upward at the four corners of the eaves. This also speaks to a genealogical connection between the two pagodas. That the four corners of the roof stones were made in identical size so as to function as a modular unit attests to the connection. In the stone pagoda of Mireuksa site the roof stones in the middle are composed of many pieces of stones, whereas in the Pyeongje Pagoda they consist of a single stone with the exception of the roof stone on the fifth story where a single stone is even omitted in accordance with the reduction ratio maintained towards the top. This is because the roof stones of the stone pagoda at Mireuksa site are quite wide, whereas those of the Pyeongje Pagoda are narrow. While the area of the pagoda body of the stone pagoda at Mireuksa site is as if it represents the actual plan of a three by three bay room, that of the Pyeongje Pagoda corresponds to a reductive style that conveys an adumbrative outer appearance in summary. When one more step is omitted, the intermediary stone (*jungganseok* 中間石) is entirely left out as in the case of later stone pagodas that will be discussed shortly; when another step is further reduced, the form of roof stone consisting of a single stone that is commonly seen in many pagodas appears. Herein, we may establish that the stone pagoda of Mireuksa site preceded the Pyeongje Pagoda in the developmental phase of style, and that considering affinities shown in partial formal features, the Pyeongje Pagoda was born out of the stone pagoda at Mireuksa site and shows a change. If this relationship is disregarded and, as some have done, the stone pagoda at Mireuksa site is discussed as postdating Pyeongje Pagoda, the two pagodas would have no relation whatsoever, as though born out of different conceptions, and a systematic analysis of stylistic development cannot be done. This, in turn, would lead one to ignore the existence of a systematic stylistic connection among

the stone pagodas of Korea, and it would have resulted in nothing but chaos regardless of the real fact.

However, even if the present author puts these two pagodas squarely in a genealogical relationship, he is well aware of the fact that these two pagodas have a fundamental difference. The difference is found in the form of tiered underpinnings. The underpinnings in the stone pagoda at Mireuksa site were made by stacking stones so that each tier protrudes over the one below (*jeokchulsik* 積出式), but the underpinnings of the Pyeongje Pagoda, as discussed previously, are shaped like the largest bearing blocks placed upon capitals, by cutting away all sides of their lower edges [to make them fit within the circumference of the tops of the pillars]. The form of the latter is a feature uniquely shown in the parts of this pagoda, not seen elsewhere except for two or three imitative stone pagodas of later times, the form of which is considered to be a common one widely adopted in later Korean stone pagodas. The evidence is found in the fact that this form of tiered underpinnings created by piling had already appeared as a standard form from the incipient stage; each tiered underpinning had as many as five tiers; and its typological appearance is shown in the three-storied pseudo-brick pagoda (*uijeon tap*) at Bunhwangsa in Gyeongju, considered to be the prototype of Silla stone pagodas. [The color and appearance of its stones, as well as the method of construction used in this pagoda are very close to those of a brick pagoda as I will discuss shortly.] The stone pagodas that entirely follow the style of a brick pagoda such as the five-storied pagoda in Tamni-dong, Sanun-myeon, Uiseong-gun in Gyeongsangbuk-do and a series of pagodas belonging to the same category have this type of underpinning. Given that typical, standard Korean stone pagodas have this type of underpinning, this type of underpinning is eventually derived from the method of underpinning of brick pagodas. That Korean pagodas came to have that type of underpinning seems to have been derived from the dissemination of knowledge of a pagoda in the style of a brick pagoda such as the pseudo-brick pagoda at Bunhwangsa. Thus, the identical type of underpinnings showcased in the stone pagoda of Mireuksa site is

considered to belong to this category after all, and it was thought to postdate the building of the Bunhwangsa Pagoda.<sup>2</sup> However, we should consider that the form of underpinning in the stone pagoda of Mireuksa site, though it belongs to the category of a tiered underpinning laid with the upper one protruding over the one below, is different from the method applied in several Silla pagodas, which inherits the tradition formed since the Bunhwangsa Pagoda. The height between each successive tier is a little greater than the width to which the eaves project, giving a steep impression, whereas [in the Silla pagodas] the height between each tier is more than double the width to which the eaves project, giving a relaxed impression.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, early Silla pagoda and later pagodas, which follow them, all have five-tiered underpinnings, but after the mid-Unified Silla the number of tiers gradually decreased from four to three. Since the pagoda body of each story reduces in size, the number of tiers in the underpinning of the upper and lower stories is not identical, but decreases from bottom to top. On the contrary, in the stone pagoda at Mireuksa site, the number of tiers in the underpinning starts from three and increases to four in the upper stories. This is analogous to the method in which the stones for supporting the pagoda body (*bandaeseok* or *oksin goim*) on each story above the second increase from single to double tiers above the third story. This is a unique method to be found nowhere other than at this pagoda at the Mireuksa site. This method of increasing the number of stacked tiers forming the underpinning appears to have been caused by concerns for adjusting the angle of elevation, and we see that method in wooden pagodas. An example is found in the bracket sets (*po* 包) of the five-storied pagoda at Beopjusa on Songnisan [refer to note 63 of the “Joseon tappa ui yeon’gu (gi il)”],<sup>25</sup> which is the sole extant wooden pagoda in Korea. It is intended to adjust the reduction ratio of the whole structure by having a one-stepped bracket complex (*danang* 單昂) [Jp. *degumi* 出組] on the first story, a bracket complex composed of two steps (*jungang pojak* 中央包作) [Jp. *hutatesaki* 二手先] from the second to fourth stories, while on the fifth story the brackets [Jp. *jodu* 組斗]<sup>26</sup> were made in the form of a three-stepped-bracket complex (Kr. *samjung gyodu*

[Ch. *sanzhong qiaotou*] 三重翹頭<sup>27</sup> [Jp. *mitesaki* 三手先] with the complete omission of the pagoda body. This pagoda dates from the end of the Joseon dynasty, yet this way of increasing the number of brackets along the stories may have had its origin in antiquity. With regard to this aspect, the builders of the stone pagoda at Mireuksa site faithfully copied this method used in actual wooden pagodas. Other Korean stone pagodas do not follow this method; the Bunhwangsa Pagoda, another source for Korean stone pagodas, pseudo-brick-pagodas and brick-imitation-pagodas such as the pagoda at Sanun-myeon, Uiseong, and a small number of extant brick pagodas do not show this method, either. This indicates that the stone pagoda at the Mireuksa site originated from a different source and emerged unrelated to brick pagodas. Yet again, let us list the differences between the form of underpinning (*batchim*) in several Silla pagodas, which seems to have started from the brick pagoda style, and that of the stone pagoda at Mireuksa site; in the former, the thickness of each tier of the underpinning is identical, whereas in the latter the first tier of the underpinning was separately made a little higher than that of remaining two tiers with identical thickness. The first tier seems to have a different meaning like the lintel-beam stone (*miryangseok*) located below the underpinning of Pyeongje Pagoda in Buyeo. Considering the differences between the two, the method of stacking tiers in the underpinnings shown in the stone pagoda at Mireuksa site must have been a departure with independent and creative meaning rather than appearing necessarily after the spread of the knowledge of the brick pagoda, or the formation of the brick pagoda style embodied in the brick-imitation pagoda at Bunhwangsa. As for the comparison between the sequentially increasing number of tiers in the underpinnings of the stone pagoda at Mireuksa site and the number of projecting bracket arms (*gyodu* 翹頭) in the wooden pagoda of Beopjusa, we may posit that the form of tiered underpinnings may have corresponded to the method of making bracket arms (翹頭) projecting outwards in the wooden pagoda. However, as generally considered, that the bracket set was built in the form of a single tier, single

projection—even if it had already existed, the method exceeding the two-stepped bracket complex appeared for the first time in the Chinese style (Jp. *Karayo* 唐様) architecture after the Song dynasty—compels the present author to refrain from interpreting this point. However, given that the tail rafters (Kr. *muchu* [Jp. *odaruki*] 尾樑) superimposed upon another had already appeared in the architecture of Japan,<sup>28</sup> if I were to make a forced analogy, the imitation of this form [i.e. the method of sequentially increasing the number of projecting bracket arms along the stories] corresponds to the tiered underpinning projecting outwards [upwardly] in the stone pagoda at Mireuksa site. The imitation of the actual superimposed form is found in the underpinning of this pagoda [i.e. the Mireuksa Pagoda]; and while disregarding the number of tiers and paying attention to the contour of the whole in the form of a “turtle’s belly” (*gwibok sik* 龜腹式),<sup>29</sup> only conveying the comprehensive, external appearance can be interpreted as the form of underpinnings in the Pyeongje Pagoda. Simultaneously, the underpinnings whose lower corners are softly rounded (*samyeon gubae sik* 斜面勾配式) in the Pyeongje Pagoda seem to have been in line with the form of a “coved ceiling” (Kr. *jeolsang cheonjang* [Jp. *oriage tenjō*] 折上天障)<sup>30</sup> that appeared in the inner chamber of tombs scattered in the Buyeo area at the end of the Baekje kingdom; it shows a general taste of the last days of the kingdom; and therefore, the Pyeongje Pagoda accords with the trend of the time during which this type of tomb was constructed. Yet, it is said that the form of the underpinning created by stacking one tier upon another to project outwards in the stone pagoda at Mireuksa site does not agree with the form of a projecting bracket arm [Jp. *degumi* 出頭] or the form of a projecting bracket arm composed of superimposed heads [Jp. *atama* 頭] of tail rafters in the wooden architecture; or even if it might be considered as being derived from the technique of a brick pagoda, we may rethink from a revisionist perspective. Namely, it is not a technique formed by imitating of the brick pagoda style, but derives from a general technique of brickwork. With regard to this brickwork technique, it appeared in Baekje earlier than Silla, and Goguryeo acquired knowledge of it earlier than Baekje. It reflects the duration of



continuous relationship with the Han Chinese. The art form that eventually emerged is seen in the construction method of tombs, and it naturally developed into two types. There are tombs with a rear chamber built of bricks in Gongju-eup, the capital of the kingdom during the mid-Baekje period;<sup>31</sup> there remain stepped masonry tombs, among which are stone tombs with a rear chamber built with bricks, in the early capital of Goguryeo in Hwando [present-day Ji'an-xian 輯安縣] located on the northern bank of Apnokgang. As for the rear chambers not built of bricks, the void interior of the rear chamber in a tomb built of rubble (*japseok chuk* 雜石築) forms contour like a cannonball—a mechanically natural form—or has a corbelled-dome ceiling with each tier being narrower than the one below. These are found abundantly in the rear chambers of Baekje tombs. As for the Goguryeo tombs, even the rear chambers of tombs built of huge stones have a corbelled-dome ceiling. This technique is also shown in the ceiling of corridors in the inner chamber of the stone pagoda at Mireuksa site. Although it is commonly used technique in brick architecture—for example when reducing or expanding the space with small building materials, or when reducing or expanding the volume of a cube—in any case, it can manifest fundamentally without a mechanical inevitability as to structural means being derived from elsewhere. In this line of thinking, there is no reason to think that the tiered underpinning projecting outwards [upwardly] in the stone pagoda at Mireuksa site necessarily appeared after the emergence of the brick pagoda in Korea. If the form of underpinning akin to the turtle belly-form in the Pyeongje Pagoda were to be a creative, new technique emerging from a trend of the late Baekje period, the tiered underpinning projecting outwards [upwardly] in the stone pagoda at Mireuksa site is another creative, new technique—though seemingly akin to the brick architecture technique—was born out of mechanical necessity. There is no reason to believe that the stone pagoda at Mireuksa site postdates the emergence of brick pagodas in Korea, given that the first tier of each underpinning has different height [from the upper tiers]; the tiered underpinning on each story did not fall into

mannerism yet; and they recall the structure of lintel beams (*miryang* 楣梁) or the form of brackets in the wooden pagoda or building. On the basis of the stylistic comparison with the Pyeongje Pagoda above, I do not regret to establish the stone pagoda at the Mireuksa site as one of the prototypical pagodas that spread the style of wooden pagodas in Korea prior to the Pyeongje Pagoda.

However, there is one pagoda in question. If previous studies were to be disregarded, it is without any issues according to my stylistic analysis; however, since the past scholarship has influenced the common knowledge to a great deal, it requires an overall demonstration here in order to correct its errors. The stone pagoda in question is the five-storied stone pagoda at Wanggung-ri 王宮里, Wanggung-myeon in Iksan-gun [discussed in topical treatises],<sup>32</sup> which has led Dr. Sekino Tadashi to establish the stone pagoda of Mireuksa site to be a work dating from the time of Silla's unification.

This stone pagoda has stylistic affinities with the stone pagoda at Mireuksa site in terms of its three-tiered underpinning, the construction method, the form of the roof stones, the relationship between the roof stones and the eaves projection, and outer appearance; these features have led scholars to date it around the same time as the stone pagoda at Mireuksa site. However, if we closely examine the differences between the two, the five-storied pagoda at the site of a royal palace [i.e. Wanggung-ri Pagoda]<sup>33</sup> imitates the stone pagoda at Mireuksa site and conveys aspects of the latter's form and technique, while adding new forms and techniques of a new generation. Specific details or techniques are also derived from the Pyeongje Pagoda. For example, its pagoda body has a one by one bay square plan—however, the first story of the pagoda body is two by two bays in plan—and the roof stones are composed of eight or four stones. Technical differences are found in that the corner pillar stones of the pagoda body [i.e. *oksinseok* 屋身石, lit. the stones forming the main body of the pagoda] are [not] made separately: they are not inserted between stone slabs forming the walls but carved in relief at the four corners in a symbolic manner; and that entasis disappeared

in the corner pillars. The stone plates for supporting the pagoda body (*bandaeseok*) above the second story are not made separately but are carved on the upper side of the roof in a handy manner; the original condition of the platform (*gidan*) remains unknown to date, but the present shape of the high earthen mound allows us to estimate the prior condition of the stone platform in a certain form.<sup>34</sup> This pagoda not only showcases facilitation and simplification of an old style, but also manifests a new form. It is stylistically similar to the five-storied stone pagoda at Nawon-ri in Gyeongju [discussed in topical treaties]<sup>35</sup> and the seven-storied stone pagoda in Tapyeong-ri 塔亭里, Gageum-myeon, Chungju, to be examined later. [discussed in topical treaties]<sup>36</sup> [I] would like to date these three pagodas to the same time-period, centering on the reign of King Sinmun (r. 681–692) of Silla. Therefore, when Dr. Sekino estimated the founding date of the stone pagoda at Mireuksa site, he assumed it to be the construction of King Anseung (安勝王) of the Bodeok kingdom (報德國);<sup>37</sup> it would have a lot of validity, I believe, if Dr. Sekino's reasoning were to be accepted in determining the founding date of this pagoda.

The present author would like to establish the stone pagoda at Mireuksa site as one prototype of Korean stone pagodas, and establish the Pyeongje Pagoda—a metamorphosis of the former—as corresponding to a general artistic trend of the late Baekje. The pagoda at the royal palace site, even if it is similar in appearance to the stone pagoda at Mireuksa site, already shows an outgrowth of idioms and techniques found in the Unification period; it should thus be established as a work of the 680s, soon after the unification of Silla.<sup>38</sup>

There is another prototype of Korean stone pagodas. The oldest of this type is the pseudo-brick-pagoda (*uijeon tap*) at Bunhwangsa in Gyeongju [discussed in topical treaties],<sup>39</sup> and the next is the brick-imitation-pagoda at Tamni, Sanun-myeon, Uiseong-gun [discussed in topical treaties].<sup>40</sup> The pseudo-brick-pagoda at Bunhwangsa was built with the intention of constructing a brick pagoda in stone; it is as though even if the stone pagoda of Mireuksa site was built of

stone, its style entirely belongs to that of a wooden pagoda; and even though this pagoda was built of stone, its form is equivalent to that of brick pagoda. Simultaneously, even though these pagodas belong to wooden pagodas or brick pagodas in terms of form, they can be also called stone pagodas as long as they are built of stone.

With regard to the founding date of Bunhwangsa, the “Silla Annals” dates it to the third year of Queen Seondeok (634), and we cannot doubt it unless there is different evidence. Furthermore, we cannot help but believe the record in the “Silla Annals,” given that the eight guardian figures inserted on either side of the niche on the four walls of the first story of the pagoda bear resemblance to sculptures dating from the last years of the Six Dynasties and sculptures of the Asuka 飛鳥 period (593–710) in Japan. However, we need to consider one thing; the implication behind Dr. Sekino’s intentional change of the date of the founding of Mireuksa during the reign of King Mu of Baekje recorded in the *Dongguk yeoji seungnam* [an attribution actually derived from the *Samguk yusa*] to the reign of King Anseung of the Bodeok kingdom lies in that if Mireuksa was, as allegedly known, founded during the reign of King Mu of Baekje, one must admit the fact that King Jinpyeong of Silla helped it by dispatching all kinds of artisans; in this case, the stone pagoda at Mireuksa site would predate the Bunhwangsa Pagoda, and it contradicts with the proposition that the form of the tiered underpinning projecting outwards in the stone pagoda at Mireuksa site appeared after the emergence of brick pagodas in Korea, even though Dr. Sekino did not make this point clear. He might have dated it to the reign of King Anseung of the Bodeok kingdom in order to resolve this contradiction. Dr. Sekino wrote in his “Chōsen no seki tōba” 朝鮮の石塔婆 (Stone Pagodas of Korea): “if this pagoda [i.e. the Mireuksa Pagoda] was built at the time of founding, it should have been built two years prior to the building of the Bunhwangsa Pagoda and twenty-eight years before the Pagoda of Great Tang Conquering Baekje [i.e. Pyeongje Pagoda]. If so, it would be the oldest extant architecture in the present-day Korea. I cannot agree with this on the

basis of stylistic analysis. I think that it should be dated to the time of the king of the Bodeok [kingdom]. It leaves room for questions, and it should await further examination.”<sup>41</sup> This indicates that he must have had a stylistic reasoning, which did not allow him to put the stone pagoda of Mireuksa site before the Bunhwangsa Pagoda or Pyeongje Pagoda. That Dr. Sekino wrote “two years prior to the building of Bunhwangsa Pagoda and twenty-eight years before the Pagoda of Great Tang Conquering Baekje” demonstrates his meticulousness: he considered the founding of Mireuksa very carefully to the extent of putting its alleged founding in the year of King Mu’s accession to the throne (600) in brackets tacitly, and putting the founding date much later than it should be thanks to its alleged connection to King Jinpyeong. However, in my opinion, the founding of Mireuksa seems to have happened in the year of King Mu’s accession to the throne (600).<sup>42</sup> As for the account of King Jinpyeong’s assistance in dispatching all kinds of artisans, the completion date of Mireuksa is not found in the *Dongguk yeoji seungnam* or the *Samguk yusa*; even if King Jinpyeong sent all kinds of artisans to help, it seems to have been a fact in the process of building the temple; and given that it is hard to pinpoint the date of his dispatching of artisans, it may have been after the [building of] the Bunhwangsa Pagoda. The dating of the Mireuksa Pagoda twenty-eight years later than the Pyeongje Pagoda is based on the record of “the fifth year of the Xianqing reign” (660) inscribed on the Pyeongje Pagoda at a later time; as told repeatedly, the stele inscription of “the fifth year of Xianqing” refers to the completion date of the stele, and does not correspond to the building date of the pagoda; and the pagoda was certainly built prior to it, which makes the actual building date unknown. As I examined previously, I can only say that it [i.e. the Pyeongje Pagoda] postdates the Mireuksa Pagoda and was built prior to the fall of Baekje.

According to my theory concerning the sequential order of stylistic development,<sup>43</sup> the emergence of the Mireuksa Pagoda does not have any relevance to the formation of the Bunhwangsa Pagoda, yet it merely predates the Pyeongje Pagoda; and there is no need

to posit a link between the Bunhwangsa Pagoda and the Mireuksa Pagoda in terms of date or style. Namely, the Mireuksa Pagoda emerged as the Mireuksa Pagoda and the Bunhwangsa Pagoda occurred as the Bunhwangsa Pagoda without any relation to each other. In other words, one was born out of the taste of the Baekje kingdom, whereas the other was generated from the taste of the Silla kingdom; and they should be put in contrast as the result of separate, independent artistic will.<sup>44</sup> If there were commonalities between the two, they are to be acknowledged in so far as both expressed each kingdom's taste in stones. Did one influence the other? Or, did they start separately yet came to share similarities by chance? I do not have any evidence at hand to conclude this issue, however we should acknowledge here the Korean changes of intention in the making of pagodas to transform the style of wooden or brick pagoda into stone in the first half of the seventh century. To put it in a different way, the first half of the seventh century was the period of finding the material, endowed by nature, which was unique and appropriate to Korea. It was also the period of experimenting in styles; in the land of Baekje, the style of wooden pagoda in the Chinese tradition was imitated [the stone pagoda at Mireuksa site], yet again with a metamorphosis of the former, a new style emerged following a new taste as shown in the Pyeongje Pagoda; but it ended up being isolated and experimental. In the land of Silla, the style of brick pagoda formed in the Chinese tradition was similarly imitated and served as one point of departure [the pseudo-brick-stone pagoda at Bunhwangsa], yet again with a metamorphosis of the former, a new style appeared in accordance with the direction of another new taste as shown in the five-storied brick-imitation pagoda in Tamni-dong, Sanunmyeon, Uiseong-gun; however, this too ended up being isolated and experimental. Being isolated and experimental refers to the fact that it could not become a standard for the style of Korean stone pagodas even if there appeared a few copies later on.

When we consider trends in Baekje and Silla in this age of stylistic search, we see an incomprehensibly similar phenomenon. That is

to say, the relation of the Sanun-myeon pagoda to the Bunhwangsa Pagoda in Silla is analogous to that of the Pyeongje Pagoda to the Mireuksa Pagoda. Also, there is no reason to compare the relation of the Wanggung-ri Pagoda to the Mireuksa Pagoda in Iksan on that of the ruined pagoda at the temple ruins located southeast of Bunhwangsa<sup>3</sup> to the Bunhwangsa Pagoda. The difference lies in that the relationship between the ruined pagoda at the ruined temple southeast of Bunhwangsa to Bunhwangsa Pagoda is more stylistically relevant and closer in time than the relationship between the Wanggung-ri Pagoda and the Mireuksa Pagoda. That a prototype and its copy appear in the same region and that another work with considerable transformation appears in a different region [in both Baekje and Silla] is a strange phenomenon.

The five-storied brick-imitation pagoda at the ruins of a temple site in Tamni-dong, Sanun-myeon, Uiseong-gun has been discussed as a work of the time of Silla's unification, but no examination has been made with regard to its stylistic orientation. Calling it "brick-imitation pagoda" is no more than a formal distinction, which acknowledges its derivation from the style of brick pagodas. However, now is the time to carry out a stylistic analysis of it. I would like to place this pagoda next to the Bunhwangsa pagoda and the ruined pagoda at the ruins of a temple site located southeast of Bunhwangsa, and place it before the three-storied stone pagoda at the Goseonsa site (高仙寺址) in Gyeongju<sup>45</sup> as well as the three-storied east and west pagodas of the Gameunsa site (感恩寺址), both of which I will discuss shortly. When we try to analyze the Uiseong pagoda in stylistic terms, we venture to take the Goseonsa site pagoda and the two pagodas at the Gameunsa site as comparanda.<sup>46</sup> The reason is that these three pagodas are identical in style and datable to a similar period, and that they are considered as having typical, normative meaning and value for the first time in the history of Korean stone pagodas. The first thing that should be compared is the form of their platforms (*gidan*). First of all, the Goseonsa site pagoda [discussed in topical treatises]<sup>47</sup> and the Gameunsa site pagodas [discussed in

topical treatises<sup>48</sup> have an identical two-level platform in stone.<sup>49</sup> The intermediate pedestal stone (*jungdaeseok* 中臺石)<sup>50</sup> of the lower platform has four corner pillar stones and three struts (*taengju* 撐柱)<sup>51</sup> at regular intervals on each side, whereas the intermediate pedestal stone of the upper platform has four corner pillars and two evenly spaced struts on each side. All these corner pillars and struts are carved in relief and have no entasis. The underside of the curbstone of the upper platform (*sangdan gapseok* 上壇甲石) is carved with a molding (*buyeon* 副緣).<sup>52</sup> The stones supporting the first story of the pagoda body are two-stepped and carved out from the curbstone (*gapseok*). The top of the curbstone of the lower platform is slightly tilted, and the spot on which the intermediate pedestal stone of the upper platform sits has two tiers of carving, one in the angled-step form, the other showing the quadrant circle form, akin to the contours of a turtle's belly. The form of platform in later standard Korean stone pagodas all followed this style; and only the number of struts decreased as generations went by. But the Uiseong pagoda has a single-level platform and it has four corner pillars and four struts, both of which were separately made with wide and strong entasis in form. As far as platforms are concerned, the platform of the Uiseong pagoda has a more incipient and prototypical meaning than that of the Pyeongje Pagoda. In other words, that of Baekje is already formalized and shows a tendency towards copying (*mohyeonghwa*), however this [platform of the Uiseong pagoda] does not show these traits and has flexibility as well. That no ground stone (*jibanseok* 地盤石) was laid underneath the platform is one such characteristic. Considering the ratio of the width of the pagoda body on the first story to the width of the platform, the Pyeongje Pagoda is at a ratio of 1 to 1.267 and has a platform, which is [much] narrower in proportion than other pagodas. This relationship in the Uiseong pagoda is at a ratio of 1 to 1.848, and it has a platform that is wider than the pagoda body when compared with other pagodas. When we observe this in the Bunhwangsa Pagoda, it is at a ratio of 1 to 4.636, which means that its platform is far larger in proportion to the pagoda body. In the Gameunsa site pagodas, the



ratio is 1 to 1.74, which is smaller than that of the Uiseong pagoda. The relationship between the width of the platform and that of the pagoda body in the Pyeongje Pagoda is similar to their proportion in wooden architecture, whereas the Bunhwangsa Pagoda seems to have a proportion resulting from efforts to stabilize the brick pagoda regardless of imitating the proportion in wooden architecture. The ratio of the Uiseong pagoda is far larger than that of the Pyeongje Pagoda; it indicates that the makers of the Uiseong pagoda did not directly copy the base relationship in wooden architecture; and the fact that the ratio is much smaller than that of the Bunhwangsa Pagoda indicates the builders' intention to get closer to the base in wooden architecture, while departing from the relation in the brick pagoda. That the Gameunsa site pagodas stand next to the Uiseong pagoda indicates that this base relation was copied from the Uiseong pagoda. In addition, adding one tier of stones supporting the pagoda body on the first story above the curbstone of the platform in the Uiseong pagoda is a new technique not found in the Pyeongje Pagoda as well as a translation of the extant technique shown in the Bunhwangsa Pagoda; the insertion of one tier of stones to support the pagoda body in the first story of the Gameunsa site pagodas and the Goseonsa site pagoda shows a development of the formal technique applied in the Uiseong pagoda—which was originally derived from the Bunhwangsa Pagoda. This form of platform allows us to say that the Uiseong pagoda has enough features to date it prior to the Goseonsa and Gameunsa pagodas. As far as the form of platform is concerned, the Uiseong pagoda would predate the Pyeongje Pagoda; however, one is of Baekje origin and the other is from Silla; therefore, it is difficult to connect the products of two different countries, which had different political and cultural situations. Not to mention that the stylistic origins [of the two pagodas] are different.

Compared next is the formal technique used in the pagoda body. The Bunhwangsa Pagoda, imitating the standard brick pagoda style, has a simple square plan with no reference to the number of bays, whereas the Uiseong pagoda appears to have a one by one bay

square plan considering that the four corners of the pagoda body on the first story are carved with four corner pillars; yet, this fact is derived from a recapitulative method, which had already been achieved in the Pyeongje Pagoda, and later pagodas all adopted this style. Of special note is the expression of those four corner pillars; as in the Mireuksa Pagoda and Pyeongje Pagoda, they faithfully represent the form of entasis with narrow top and wide bottom, and furthermore, they carry bearing blocks (Jp. *daito*) atop capitals. But, in the Goseonsa site pagoda and Gameunsa site pagodas, the four corner pillars are separately made with different stones and the walls are erected by inserting separate stone slabs (*byeok panseok* 壁板石); they followed an older style in this respect, while not carving the form of bearing blocks and losing the form of entasis in the corner pillars. In other words, they show less interest in portraying the original as well as propensities for formalization, facilitation, and simplification; this respect once more proves that the Goseonsa site pagoda and the Gameunsa site pagodas were built later than the Uiseong pagoda in the sequence of stylistic development. But, the four sides of the pagoda body on the first story of the Goseonsa site pagoda have niches carved in relief, and the bulging rims of those niches completely imitate the form of [niche on the south side of] the Uiseong pagoda; while the Uiseong pagoda's niche is substantial, the Goseonsa pagoda niches are merely decorative and metaphoric. This indicates that the stone pagoda of Goseonsa site was built later than the Uiseong pagoda.

Goseonsa is the temple where the monk Wonhyo took residence and it had already been built before Wonhyo's demise in the sixth year of King Sinmun (682); Gameunsa was built in the second year of King Sinmun. As will be said later, Goseonsa seems to have been built prior to Gameunsa, therefore the Uiseong Pagoda must have been built prior to the building of these two temples and its place is sometime between the Bunhwangsa Pagoda and the Goseonsa site pagoda. Some scholars seem to regard the Uiseong Pagoda as being akin to the brick pagoda extant in the ruins of a temple site attributed

to Beopheungsa, in Sinse-dong, Andong-eup. This view seems to be based on similarities in appearance, formal affinities of having a niche only on the south side of the first story, and so on. However, as for this pagoda in Andong, the form of the platform (*gidan*) shows a later formal phase that is considerably developed and transformed; its pagoda body does not have the form of corner pillars; furthermore, it does not have a naturalistic expression in the form of lintel beams. In general, it is a work with considerable temporal distance, which cannot be placed in the same generation. Yet, the mysterious part in the Uiseong pagoda is found in a post installed at the center of each wall of the pagoda body in the second story and above, a feature that is meaningless; this corresponds to the meaningless feature, found in the Wanggung-ri Pagoda in Iksan, which has a pilaster in the center of the first story. That is to say, should we take it as an expression of painstaking care with regard to how to deal with the expression of the number of bays in actual wooden pagodas? Later on, during the Goryeo period, there is a seven-storied pagoda in square plan in the Dongbangsa site (東方寺址) [also known as the Uigongsa site (醫公寺址)] in Dongnam-ri, Seongju-gun 星州郡, Gyeongsangbuk-do,<sup>4</sup> yet it cannot be used as a reference to interpret this form. Another feature that should be noted in the Uiseong pagoda is the method of handling materials; this pagoda, like the Mireuksa Pagoda, shows a fine taste in terms of composing the outward appearance, yet it had not attained the order as shown in the Pyeongje Pagoda. However, compared to the Mireuksa Pagoda, it shows a slight sense of order, although it does not have any relation to them, in terms of a sense of order achieved in form, it can be situated between them. Yet again, the Uiseong Pagoda partially demonstrates a propensity toward making structural members out of a single block of stone (*ilseokhwa* 一石化); for example, the propensity toward monolithic construction shown in the corner pillars and sidings appears to descend from the Pyeongje Pagoda. All in all, the Uiseong pagoda should be considered as a separate case; for now, without further supporting evidence for dating, it will suffice to date the Uiseong pagoda to

the first half of the seventh century, predating the pagodas at the Goseonsa site and the Gameunsa site.

The stone pagodas of Korea, as discussed above, developed from two departures; one is to transmit the style of wooden pagodas by means of stone, whereas the other is to transmit the style of brick pagodas using stone; these two tendencies are shown in the Pyeongje Pagoda and the Uiseong pagoda respectively; as these formed a comprehensive transformation, the standard form of a pagoda, which became the traditional style of Korean stone pagodas, was generated at last. Those are the pagodas at the sites of Goseonsa and Gameunsa in Gyeongju. In brief, their form of platform (*gidan*) formed the mainstream of later stone pagodas, while showing changes in detail with the passage of time. What should be considered here is that in Japan this type of a two-level platform is seen in the golden hall, pagoda, and Yumedono 夢殿 (Hall of Dreams) of Hōryūji,<sup>53</sup> and is said to have become a defining feature of the Asuka period, to be replaced in the Nara period by the single-level platform. This relationship is rather contrary when it is considered on the basis of the platform of Korean stone pagodas where the multi-level platform developed from the single-level platform; the single-level platform is the older form in the ancient period, while the multi-level platform is a new form in the new age, corresponding to a tendency that appeared after Silla's unification. Therefore, the form of platform in Korea seems to propose a possibility for a revision in the consideration of the form of platform in Japan.

At any rate, the pagodas at the Goseonsa site and Gameunsa site developed from the Uiseong pagoda with addition of new features. They have a more advanced form of platform as well as the form of roof stone with transformed appearance. That the tiered underpinnings projecting outwards are of identical height and width [on all stories], and that the width of the sides connected to the eaves are equal with that of the underpinnings showcase the form used in the Uiseong pagoda; however, they show a change in the

roof stone, which is closer to the form of a roof in actual wooden architecture, by changing the form of the upper side of roof stones from being built in steps [as in brick pagodas] to a pyramidal style of roof constructed over a square building (*bohyeng saju* 寶形四注),<sup>54</sup> and this aspect corresponds to a changing form, which shows a further development toward copying wooden architecture by means of using stone that is shown in the Uiseong pagoda. Also, as shown in the Uiseong pagoda, the imitative (*mohyeongjeok*) method used in entasis, bearing blocks (Jp. *daito*), and lintel beams (*miryang*) of the four corner pillars is completely omitted; as for the treatment of materials, the underpinning sections are composed of four equal parts, and the roof stones are also composed of four equal parts; and the codified, disciplined clarity shown in the organization method also demonstrates a turning point.

When we compare the Goseonsa site pagoda to the Gameunsa site pagodas, they show identical form and method, yet the former still shows a sense of clumsiness, while the latter shows that of lightness. This difference between the two seems to have derived from the fact that the former has a more steeply pitched roof stone, whereas the latter has a shallower one. That the former is steep is, after all, understandable since the steepness of the upper side of roof stone in the Uiseong pagoda is maintained, while only the style is translated into a pyramidal form of roof; that the roof stones in the Gameunsa site pagodas are shallower means that the builder(s) had assimilated the actual form of contemporary wooden architecture by referring to the Mireuksa Pagoda, Pyeongje Pagoda, and Wanggung-ri Pagoda. The remains of the Goseonsa site have not yet been investigated;<sup>55</sup> given that the present stone pagoda stands to the left of the golden hall site, it must have been a so-called temple with twin pagodas (*yangtapsik garam* 兩塔式伽藍), originally with another pagoda on the right; since the right pagoda site did not yield any fragments of a stone pagoda, some scholars assumed that a wooden pagoda may have stood there and considered it to be the first case of replacing a wooden pagoda with a stone one. That is to say, it corresponds to the

case of the Mireuksa, where only the western cloister among its three cloisters had a stone pagoda, whereas the two other cloisters had wooden pagodas; in this respect, Goseonsa should be considered as having an earlier form of temple layout in comparison to Gameunsa, where both the east and west pagodas were built of stone.<sup>5</sup> According to the “Pagoda Stele of the Monk Seodang” (Seodang hwasang tapbi 誓幢和上塔碑)<sup>56</sup> and the *Samguk yusa*,<sup>57</sup> Goseonsa thrived as the residence of Wonhyo at least until the final years of King Munmu’s reign; when considering the stylistic sequence of these pagodas [i.e., Goseonsa and Gameunsa pagodas] that show the identical form and method, this circumstantial evidence is of some value for us to determine their temporal sequence.

However, when taking the three Stone pagodas in these two sites together, they appear to show the first standard form of Korean stone pagodas that developed approximately in the latter half of the seventh century. Namely, they are products of the period during which Silla unified the Three Kingdoms and organized vigorous activities as the unified state, as well as works of art made in accordance with the political and social situations. To put it in a different way, they correspond well to the transformations of politics and society of the time. As for those showing some stylistic transformations but, which are almost contemporaneous, we list three cases of the five-storied stone pagodas at Nawon-ri in Gyeongju [discussed in topical treatises],<sup>58</sup> the five-storied stone pagoda at the royal palace site in Iksan [discussed previously], and the seven-storied stone pagoda at Tapjeong-ri in Chungju [discussed in topical treatises].<sup>59</sup> These three demonstrate differences more or less in the platforms (*gidan*). It is not clear in the [platform of] stone pagoda at the royal palace site in Iksan; the pagoda of Tapjeong-ri in Chungju is similar to the Nawon-ri Pagoda in Gyeongju in many respects, yet it shows a later aspect in that it has one less strut in the lower level of a two-level platform. [The Tapjeong-ri Pagoda] shows an earlier element similar to the Uiseong pagoda, in that it has a layer of stones (*bandae* 盤臺), which supports the pagoda body on the first story, made of separate stones; that the four corner

pillars of the first story are made of separate stones is similar to the Goseonsa site pagoda and Gameunsa site pagodas; that the walls are made of two stone panels (*panseok* 板石) is reminiscent of the method applied in the Pyeongje Pagoda. The composition of stories from the second story and above is not the same; rectangular stone slabs with corners carved as corner pillars are joined staggered; or both corners of two stones to be set front and back are carved with the form of corner pillars, whereas simple rectangular stones are inserted on the right and left; many elements indicate that the norm of how to compose a stone pagoda was not established.

As for the roof stones, the first story is composed of eight pieces, whereas some stories gradually reduce to four; the pagoda body and roof stones of the upper stories are made of a single block; in this respect, it shows a transitional character, transforming from a structural to a sculptural appearance. Variations shown in the composition correspond to the pagoda at the site of the royal palace in Iksan. A similar tendency is shown in the pagoda at Nawon-ri, Gyeongju; for instance, only one corner of a single stone is carved with the corner pillar form and four identical stone slabs are joined staggered to form the main pagoda body; and the roof stones, which are joined in the same way, are composed of eight at first, gradually reduce to four, and finally one. The confusing appearances, which indicate indecision in the structural method resulting from the immensity of the pagoda, have ample primitive implications; however, this pagoda belongs to a phase stylistically later than the Goseonsa site and Gameunsa site pagodas because it shows more simplified and stylized methods compared to them. That there is not much time lag is based on the fact that when the three-storied stone pagoda at the site attributed to Hwangboksa (皇福寺址) [discussed in topical treatises]<sup>60</sup> on Nangsan in Gyeongju—modeled upon the pagoda at Nawon-ri, Gyeongju, yet showing far more reduction—was disassembled for repairs, a plaque with an inscription recording that this pagoda was built by King Hyoso (孝昭王, r. 692–702) for the sake of King Sinmun was discovered;<sup>61</sup> the Nawon-

ri Pagoda, which precedes it stylistically, must have been completed during the reign of King Sinmun (r. 681–692), and the pagoda at the royal palace site, as mentioned previously, is considered to be built in King Sinmun's time; therefore, the pagoda at Tapjeong-ri, Chungju, which occupies the same place in stylistic terms, seems to have been built in the same period [discussed in topical treatises].<sup>62</sup> Accordingly, while the final years of the Three Kingdoms period, i.e. the first half of the seventh century, was a period of searching for the style of stone pagodas of Korea, the second half of the seventh century witnessed the acquisition of the style yet with little success in the search for structural method.

It was the eighth century that witnessed the production of Korean stone pagodas with completed style and structural method. In other words, the eighth century was the classical period (*gojeon sidae* 古典時代) of Korean stone pagodas. The representative examples were mostly built in Gyeongju, and then spread to other regions of the kingdom from the latter part of the eighth century. They were prevalent in Gyeongsangnam-do and Gyeongsangbuk-do, which were in the former jurisdiction of the Old Silla. The list of them classified by locations is as follows:

- Twin three-storied stone pagodas at the Hwangnyongsa site (黃龍寺址) in Gyeongju-myeon, Gyeongju-gun [Collapsed].
- Three-storied pagoda in the west of Bulguksa [i.e. Seokgatap] in Naedong-myeon, Gyeongju-gun.
- Three-storied pagoda at the site of Jangsusa (長壽寺址) in Gyeongju-gun.
- Three-storied pagoda at the site of Hwangboksa in Gyeongju-gun [repaired].
- Twin three-storied pagodas at the site of an unidentified temple in Namsan-ri 南山里, Gyeongju-gun [collapsed].
- Three-storied pagoda at a temple site in Okjeonggok 玉井谷 in Namsan-ri, Gyeongju-gun [collapsed].
- Twin three-storied pagodas at the site of an unidentified temple



in Cheongun-ri 千軍里, Gyeongju-gun [rebuilt].

- Twin three-storied pagodas at the site of Wonwonsa (遠願寺址) in Oedong-myeon, Gyeongju-gun [rebuilt].<sup>63</sup>
- Twin five-storied pagodas at the site of an unidentified temple in Janghang-ri 獐項里, Yangbuk-myeon 陽北面, Gyeongju-gun [west pagoda rebuilt].<sup>64</sup>
- Three-storied pagoda at the site of an unidentified temple in Myeongjang-ri 明莊里, Seo-myeon 西面, Gyeongju-gun.
- Three-storied pagoda at the site of an unidentified temple in Bonggi-dong 鳳岐洞, Punggak-myeon 豐角面, Cheongdo-gun 淸道郡.
- Twin three-storied pagodas at Galhang-sa 葛項寺 in Nam-myeon 南面, Gimcheon-gun 金泉郡 [transferred to Keijō].
- Three-storied pagoda at the site of an unidentified temple in the eastern part of Suljeong-ri 述亭里, Changnyeong-myeon 昌寧面, Changnyeong-gun 昌寧郡.
- Three-storied pagoda at the site of Hyangseongsa in Janghang-ri, Docheon-myeon 道川面, Yangyang-gun 襄陽郡, Gangwon-do 江原道 (Figure 10).

All the examples listed above share commonalities in that the form of their platforms is identical with those of the Goseonsa site and Gameunsa site pagodas with one less strut (*taengju*) in the lower level of a two-level platform; the pagoda body as well as roof stones are made of a single stone respectively; the underpinnings for the eaves have five tiers. Partly, for example, like the three-storied pagoda at Hwangboksa site, it still shows traces of building parts separately as shown by fact that the stones supporting the top story are made of separate stones, which is the oldest form; overall, the individual parts belong to the same kind. In terms of generation, there are one or two cases belonging to the next generation datable to the ninth century due to their degree of stylization and reduction like the three-storied stone pagoda in Myeongjang-ri, Seo-myeon, Gyeongju, the three-storied stone pagoda at the Hyangseongsa site in Yangyang, and the



Figure 10. Three-storied stone pagoda at the Hyangseongsa site, Yangyang, Gwangwon-do

like; there are also those showing an earlier phase of development dating from the end of the seventh century such as the Hwangboksa site pagoda; but, most examples belong to a single generation, which is datable to the eighth century.

These pagodas lost solemn majesty and spirit, while gradually showing refined and graceful appearance. They do not demonstrate any confusion in construction of materials and show a well-structured, unitary method. Namely, this indicates the establishment of a norm in form and construction; the only thing to be newly added is decorative work. The first is to express the form of doors on the pagoda body in metaphorical terms. The first example is found in the Goseonsa site pagoda. The door form is carved on the four

sides of the pagoda body on the first story; the doorposts (*munju* 門柱), lintel beams (*munmi* 門楣) and thresholds (*munhan* 門限), and supports for doorposts (*gakchi* 閣峙) [ *chukcheong* 軸請 ] are faithfully modeled after the form of the doorframes (*gwangyeon* 框緣) on the Uiseong pagoda; at the centers of the left and right door leaves in the form of a pair of swing doors, or “*kannonbiraki*” 觀音開<sup>65</sup> that have doorknobs with rings in the design of animal heads (*suhwan* 獸環) carved in high relief; on the door panels remain traces of several vertical and horizontal lines of protrusions that are trimmed like the heads. The structure of the doors on the four sides on the first story of the pagoda body imitates the door form in a wooden pagoda; it has been already been seen in prototypical cases such as the Mireuksa Pagoda in Iksan and the Bunhwangsa Pagoda in Gyeongju; the Uiseong Pagoda does not have them except on the south side, while the Goseonsa Pagoda has, on the contrary, door forms on all four sides in accordance with the older form. The lattez still retain the form of doors on all four sides, while using them as decoration for the first story only are the twin five-storied stone pagodas in Janghang-ri, Gyeongju (Figure 11), in which a simplification had already taken place: the threshold is made of a single, long slab (*jangbang* 長方); there are no supports for the doorposts; there are no representations of nail heads on the doors, instead of doorjambs with animal heads, standing images of vajrapanis (*geumgang yeoksa* 金剛力士) with haloes are carved in relief against the walls, and corner pillars are located besides the door frames on each side as decorations. This feature had already appeared in the Bunhwangsa Pagoda in Gyeongju; yet, in the latter the figures are very small considering the size of the pagoda as a whole—a feature making them look like door gods placed in front of the gate of an enormous structure; in the Janghang-ri Pagoda, the images are far bigger in relation to the pagoda body proper, therefore we sense a miniaturization of the pagoda body. In the pagodas built in this period, the metaphoric expression of doors became secondary, whereas the carving of heavenly figures for decoration became deemed primary. In fact, the expression of



Figure 11. West five-storied stone pagoda at the Janghang-ri temple site, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do

doors temporarily disappeared in the works from this period, being replaced by the decorative theme of heavenly figures. Representative examples include the east and west three-storied stone pagodas at the Galhangsa site in Gimcheon [discussed in topical treatises]<sup>66</sup> and the east and west three-storied pagodas at Wonwonsa site [discussed in topical treatises].<sup>67</sup> The entire pagoda body of the former appears to have been covered with golden Sheets on the basis of nail holes and traces on the surface of the stones; it must have had the most majestic decorations of its kind. This instance gives credence to the case recorded in the *Samguk yusa*, “Spiritual Response” (Gamtong 感通) 6, “Myeongnang of the Secret Seal”:

Master Myeongnang was born in the Silla kingdom and went to the Tang empire to study Buddhist doctrines. While he was returning to his home country, the dragon of the sea invited him to the Dragon King's Palace. The master initiated the dragon in the secret method (*bibeop* 秘法) and he received 1,000 *nyangs* of gold as alms. (Another version mentions the offering of 1,000 *geuns* of gold.) He traveled through a subterranean tunnel and sprang from a well into his home garden. He donated his house for conversion into a temple, decorated its pagoda and an image of Buddha with the gold the Dragon King gave him, and named it Geumgwangsa 金光寺 [lit. Temple of the Golden Light] because of the spectacular sparkle of the gold.<sup>68</sup>

The phrase, reading “decorated its pagoda and an image of Buddha with the gold,” seems not merely refer to decorating Buddhist images, scriptures, ritual objects, and the like with gold, but to indicate the existence of a highly decorated pagoda if we take the Galhangsa Pagoda into consideration.<sup>6</sup> But the east and west three-storied pagodas at the Wonwonsa site not only have decorations of the Four Heavenly Kings carved in relief directly on the surface of the pagoda body, but also bear images of the Twelve Zodiac animal deities seated on lotus seats sculpted in relief, each of which is allocated to one bay of the stone blocks inserted to form the intermediate pedestal [stone] in the upper level of a two-level platform. We have seen a precedent in the founding of Sacheonwangsa in Gyeongju. Namely, Master Myeongnang used bolts of colored silk to build a temporary temple, set up the deities of the five directions, served as the head of twelve eminent monks of the Yōga, practiced the secret teachings of the Munduru, and drove away the Tang soldiers.<sup>69</sup> At that time, twelve eminent monks of the Yōga were deployed, and the pagodas of Wonwonsa—founded by Myeongnang's dharma disciples, Anhye 安惠 and Nangyung 朗融, together with the principal ministers of the Silla kingdom, Gim Yusin 金庾信 (595–673), Gim Uiwon 金義元 (d.u.), Gim Suljong 金述宗 (d.u.) and so on—came to embody [Munduru practice] by means of a stylized, decorative method. Previously,

while discussing the adornment of the Geumgwangsa Pagoda, I have deduced that it had a special decoration with golden light like the Galhangsa Pagoda since Geumgwangsa was also founded by the Master Myeongnang. Later on, the Munduru sect (文豆婁宗), transplanted by Master Myeongnang, or the secret teachings of Sinin (Sinin milgyo 神印密教) transplanted by Master Myeongnang exerted considerable influence in Korea and the prayer to avert calamities (*giyang eop* 祈禳業) was for a long time practiced on this basis. The account of “Hyetong Subjugated the Evil Dragon” in the section on “Divine Spells” (Sinju 神呪) 6 of the *Samguk yusa* relates that:

Monk Hyetong . . . went to the Tang empire and asked the Tripitaka Master Wuwei (無畏三藏)<sup>70</sup> for teachings. . . . [Hyetong] returned to the Silla kingdom in the *eulchuk* year (665), the second year of the Linde reign [the fifth year of the reign of King Munmu of Silla]. . . . Master Myeongnang, who succeeded Master Milbon, entered the Dragon King’s Palace, where he received the divine seal, and founded a temple in Sinyurim [Cheonwangsa of today], where he repelled frequent invasions from neighboring countries. Now the master [Hyetong] went all over the mundane world, preaching the essentials of Master Wuwei’s doctrine, redeeming human beings, and exerting a good influence on all things . . . the morals of the secret teachings (*milgyo* 密教) were greatly improved and widely spread. Chongjiam 總持崑<sup>71</sup> on Cheonmasan 天磨山 and Juseogwon 呪錫院<sup>72</sup> on Moaksan 母岳山 all belonged to the thought handed down from it.<sup>73</sup>

The secret teachings of Sinin, first transmitted in the reign of King Munmu (r. 661–681) was greatly developed under King Sinmun’s reign and exerted an influence during the Goryeo; adorning pagodas with images of the Twelve Zodiac Animal Deities as well as the Four Heavenly Kings and Eight Kinds of Beings (Palbujung 八部衆) originated from this.

Two known examples carved with images of the Twelve Zodiac animals are the west five-storied stone pagoda standing in front of

Dae'ungjeon of Hwaeomsa in Gurye (Figure 12)<sup>74</sup> and the five-storied stone pagoda at Gaesimsa site (開心寺址) in Yecheon 醴泉;(Figure 13)<sup>75</sup> there is an example—a stone lantern base carved with this imagery in the private residence of Mr. Choe Yeongjin 崔泳鎭 in downtown Gyeongju; those considered to be vertical stone slabs (*ipseok* 立石) of platforms remaining in the ruins of temples include examples found in the sites of Hwangboksa in Gyeongju, an unidentified temple in Baeban-ri 排盤里, Naedong-myeon in Gyeongju, and Donggoksa 洞鵠寺 in Malbang-ri 末方里, Oedong-myeon 外東面 in Gyeongju; it is said that one example carved with this imagery is an object that seems to be a stone base for a stone stele, at the Mujangsa site (務藏寺址) in Amgok-ri 暗谷里, Naedong-myeon.<sup>7</sup> However, where this imagery of the Twelve Zodiac animals appears most frequently are the stone bas-reliefs, surrounding the lower part of a tomb mound, for decorative purposes; as for the Silla kingdom, there remain approximately eight examples of royal tombs including one allegedly identified as that of King Seongdeok (聖德王, r. 702–737), which is the oldest of them; the number increased in the Goryeo dynasty during which the imagery was almost certainly used in the stone screens, painted on the inner walls of the burial chamber, and incised on the stone coffin.

The Twelve Zodiac animals in Buddhism, as investigated already by Nose Ushizō 能勢丑三 (1899–1954),<sup>8</sup> may have been gods of directions, who are attendants of Bhaiṣajyaguru Buddha as shown in the *Yakushi mandara* 藥師曼荼羅. However, given that it was not solely used in the Buddhist monuments but appropriated in tombs, its usage indicates the great degree of influence that geomantic thought wielded in Korea where Chinese culture was highly revered. Among the examples of using the images of Twelve Zodiac animals as guardians of tombs, the way of locating them in the square tomb in Gujeong-ri 九政里, Gyeongju concurs with that used in the cosmic board (Ch. *shizhan tiandi pan* 式占天地盤) since the Han dynasty of China; it indicates that the Twelve Zodiac animals are not only gods of directions but also gods of time. [The idea] is to have the gods of





Figure 12. West five-storied pagoda at Hwaeomsa, Gurye, Jeollanam-do

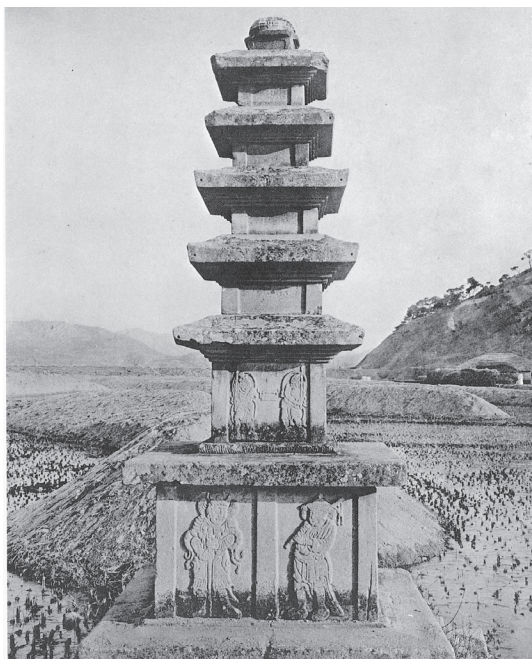


Figure 13. Five-storied stone pagoda at the Gaesimsa site, Yecheon, Gyeongsangbuk-do



time and space guard the soul in the tomb; herein, we see the increase of image-making derived from the mixture of esoteric Buddhist thought and geomancy; that its concrete expression appeared in the eighth century does not simply explain the decoration on pagodas but illuminates a cultural phenomenon of the time; therefore, it is research material that demands our attention.

But, there is a mystery. That is to say, there are concrete expressions of the Twelve Zodiac animals, promoted as the gods of directions and time by the secret teachings of Sinin, as well as those of the Four Heavenly Kings—the generals deter attacks from the outside under the command of Indra; but there are no concrete expressions of the Eight Kinds of Heavenly Generals (Palbu sinjang 八部神將) led by the Four Heavenly Kings. However, there is a precedent of its metaphoric expression. It is the diamond throne (*geumgang jwa* 金剛座) located in the precinct where the pagoda stands (*tapgu* 塔區),<sup>76</sup> surrounding the Seokgatap (Śākyamuni Pagoda), a three-storied stone pagoda at Bulguksa in Gyeongju. The main section of the pagoda precinct consists of eight circular stones carved with lotus imagery, which seems to correspond to the “diamond seat platform in the eight directions” (*palbang geumgang jwadae* 八方金剛座臺) in the *Bulguksa gogyeum changgi* 佛國寺古今創記 (Architectural History of Bulguksa).<sup>77</sup> As for the diamond seat, the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra* (Ch. *Zhidu lun* 智度論) says:

The earth is caused as the reward of hindrance of karma in which all the sentient beings deceive each other; for this reason, they cannot become [bodhisattvas]. When a bodhisattva aspires to attain Buddhahood, at this time the place where the body of true form and wisdom sits becomes adamant. Some say that earth is located above a golden wheel; the golden wheel is located above the diamond; it springs from the end of the diamond like a lotus platform and it rises at once to protect the spot where the bodhisattva is seated, making it not cave in. For this reason, the seat in this site of enlightenment is called adamant.<sup>78</sup>

According to this account, the diamond throne of the lotus platform refers to a platform that protects the bodhisattva. There is another account:

[The bodhisattva] can sit on the lotus flower because he wishes to manifest supernatural power by means of its soft and undefiled nature, making it indestructible. Also, it is because he sits [on the lotus] by means of the grand and wonderful law. Furthermore, all other flowers are small and are not comparable to this flower. . . . therefore Brahmā sits on the lotus flower. Thus, all the buddhas followed the convention. Therefore, they are seated with their legs crossed and soles upward upon the precious flower.<sup>79</sup>

According to this account, the lotus throne is identified as the seat of Brahmā and is used as the seat for the Buddha in accordance with the convention, revealing the change in the function of the lotus throne from the throne for Brahmā to that of the Buddha. The *Darījīng shu* also says:

If people of the world takes lotus flower as being auspicious, its purity can delight the mind of beings. Presently, among the secret stores, the lotus flower of the greatly compassionate womb store and wonderful law is taken as the most secret and auspicious, thus the body empowered by the whole range of teachings takes its seat on this flower platform. However, lotus flowers in this world have innumerable hierarchical differences. There are differences in the size of their opening and closing, and in color and intensity. In this way, stamen and calyx of flower also have differences in the expedient and true as well as in opening and closing. In the case of the Buddha there blooms a white lotus flower (Skt. *punḍarīka*) with eight petals, which is the white lotus flower, that flower is to be in full blossom and to be spread in four directions. A bodhisattva, may also have this flower throne, but the flower should be half open and not bloom to the fullest. The *pratyekabuddha* and *śrāvaka* should sit on the petals

or petals of all the *gumulduhwa*. From devas in the Heaven of Pure Devas to devas in the realm of form, who are called *brāhmaṇa* in the secular world, all are seated on red lotus flowers.<sup>80</sup>

The passage cited above demonstrates a development in the differentiated usages. In particular, the differences found in the lotus thrones can to a certain extent be expressed in accordance with the teaching. However, as for sculptures, differences in form can be expressed yet those in colors cannot. The images of Twelve Zodiac animals appearing in the twin pagodas at the Wonwonsa site and the images of celestial protectors (*inwang* 仁王) on the east and west five-storied stone pagodas in Janghang-ri, Gyeongju are all standing upon lotus seats in full bloom; regardless of differences in colors, it is hard to know how the sculptors understood differences in form. However, since the celestial protectors are originally a transformation body (*byeonhwasin* 變化身) of the bodhisattva-mahāsattva (*bosal mahasal* 菩薩摩訶薩), they are mounted upon the lotus seat in accordance with their original body. At any rate, given the convention of installing images of celestial protectors as well as the Twelve Zodiac animals upon the lotus seat at the time, it is unclear without the installation of figures whether the eight-directional diamond throne of the three-storied pagoda at Bulguksa was intended as the seat of the Eight Kinds of Bodhisattvas (Palbu bosal 八部菩薩) or the seat of the Eight Kinds of Heavenly Generals; in any case, even though the actual appearances do not exist, this type of monument seems to be built in symbolic and metaphorical terms. The platform of the seven-storied brick pagoda in Andong-gun, which has been identified as the Beopheungsa site, is carved with seated images of devas even though it may have been built a bit earlier than this pagoda. However, this does not preserve its original appearance and the images are not clear due to weathering; furthermore, the images that remain amount to twenty-eight, a number that cautions us against coming to a hasty conclusion that they represent the Eight Kinds of Beings; yet it is a precedent for representing images of devas on the platform. An

earlier example of representing the Eight Kinds of Heavenly Generals under the pagoda is discovered at the site of Sacheonwangsa founded during the reign of King Munmu as recorded in the biographical account of monk Yangji section five entitled “Exegetes” (Uihae 義解) in the *Samguk yusa*.<sup>81</sup> However, pagodas carved with images of the Eight Kinds of Beings are presently not found among the series of pagodas listed in the previously mentioned list, yet they can be found in pagodas with one strut in the upper level of a two-level platform, which belong to the next generation of pagodas in stylistic terms. Namely, they are found in pagodas datable to the ninth century—a mystery in the eyes of the present author.

The decorative tendency in the adornment of stone pagodas of this period caused a transformation in the pagodas themselves, eventually leading to the building of stone pagodas in a different style, which might be called a subtype. The representative work is Dabotap at Bulguksa in Gyeongju.<sup>82</sup> In contrast to preceding examples of placing identical pagodas in the east and west as well as the standard temple layout of later times, this unique, creative idea of placing pagodas in different forms deserves far more attention rather than being considered as an individual case of a single pagoda. The placement of two pagodas, on either side of the golden hall, bears a resemblance to the buddha triad, consisting of the central Buddha with two attendant bodhisattvas on both sides; it shows a great transformation in pagoda worship, which started from the original temple layout centering upon the pagoda, went through the second phase of transformation during which an image hall and a pagoda coexisted, and proceeded to the emergence of a temple without a pagoda. On the other hand, as the basis of this placement of two pagodas, the present author has interpreted it as an explanatory expression of the narrative in which Śākyamuni Buddha eternally resides and preaches (*Seokgabul sangju seolbeop* 釋迦佛常住說法), while Prabhūtaratna Buddha bears witness in eternal residence (*Dabobul sangju jeungmyeong* 多寶佛常住證明) based on the *Lotus Sūtra*; in the placement of different types of pagodas at Bulguksa, he sees that

the will to adorn the hall and pagoda reached its climax even to the extent of affecting the layout of the entire temple. That is to say, the majestic view of the past days, which is described as “in carving stone and wood to build cloud bridges and stone pagodas, there are none to excel the temples in the Eastern Capital” [Samguk yusa 5, “Daeseong Was Twice Dutiful to His Parents in His Previous and Present Existences” (Daeseong hyo ise bumō 大城孝二世父母)],<sup>83</sup> has all gone now, but there is nothing to match the stairway (*dapgye* 踏階) that still remains,<sup>84</sup> the beauty of [the two] pagodas and images, and the ingenuity of the temple layout.

The Dabotap at Bulguksa is surely a unique instance among Korean stone pagodas, but the present author suggests that it may have been based on the method of making pagodas seen in the *Mahāsāṃghika-vinaya*. Furthermore, there are not a few later examples, such as the Konpon daitō 根本大塔<sup>85</sup> on Mount Koya (高野山) in Japan that is known to have been built by Kōbō-Daishi 弘法大師.<sup>86</sup> However, the Dabotap at Bulguksa and Konpon daitō were built approximately seventy years apart; it is not hard to surmise that they imitated and reproduced a pagoda style that had been already prevalent in China. Yet, delivering such a complex architectural style in stone and bringing changes in fine detail on top of that must be taken as a result of Silla’s pagoda-making technique, which achieved the greatest degree of development in imitation (*mohyeonghwa*) and ornamentation. With the conception and production of this pagoda as a momentum, there emerged several eccentric pagodas. They include the thirteen-storied pagoda at the former site of Jeonghyesa (淨[定]慧寺址) on Oksan 玉山 in Gyeongju [discussed in topical treatises],<sup>87</sup> the three-storied pagoda with lion-platform (*sajadan* 獅子壇) at Hwaeomsa in Gurye [discussed in topical treatises],<sup>88</sup> the three-storied pagoda at Baekjangam 百丈庵 (Figure 14),<sup>89</sup> a sub-temple of Silsangsa 實相寺 in Namwon [discussed in topical treatises], and the like, all of which are considered to have been made in the ninth century. The thirteen-storied pagoda at the Jeonghyesa site and the three-storied pagoda at Baekjangam are, like the Dabotap



Figure 14. East (above) and west (below) three-storied pagodas of Silsangsa, Namwon, Jeollabuk-do

at Bulguksa, one-of-a-kind pagodas with no later copies, yet the three-storied pagoda with lion-platform at Hwaeomsa in Gurye is closely associated with some later pagodas. For example, there are the Notap 露塔 standing in front of the Gakhwangjeon 覺皇殿 (Hall of the Enlightened Emperor) at the same temple [discussed in topical treatises],<sup>90</sup> the five-storied pagoda at the former site of Sajabinsinsa (獅子頻迅寺址) in Hansu-myeon 寒水面, Jecheon-gun 堤川郡, Chungcheongnam-do [discussed in topical treatises], the three-storied pagoda at the site of Geumjangam (金藏庵址) on Geumgangsari, Gangwon-do, and the ruined pagoda at the site of Jurisa (主吏寺址) in Haman-gun 咸安郡, Gyeongsangnam-do. Given that they do not have any affinities in terms of building dates or provenance, they must have been copies that were rooted in the locales and times regardless of temporal and regional contexts or norms.

There are also a series of brick-imitation pagodas, another subtype of pagoda, which deserve our attention. The first instance of brick-imitation-pagodas is the five-storied pagoda in Sanun-myeon, Uiseong-gun. It is one prototypical work of Korean stone pagodas; it appeared after the pseudo-brick-pagoda at Bunhwangsa in Gyeongju and, as previously mentioned, it paved the way for the production of typical works at the Goseonsa site and Gameunsa site in Gyeongju, and an unidentified temple site in Nawon-ri, Gyeongju; once the typical style was established, this type of pagoda stood in isolation as if they had been forgotten. By the eighth century, with the development of ornamentation of pagodas and the emergence of subtypes of pagoda, the style of brick-imitation-pagodas became prevalent again. On the one hand this appears to be a phenomenon caused by the prevalence of brick pagodas themselves. The extant Korean brick pagodas postdate the eighth century. At any rate, when those in the style of brick-imitation pagoda, like the Sanun-myeon Pagoda, were represented in different terms as one special type of pagoda, those in the earlier form were not remade as they were, but featured formal methods of a new era. Examples are found in the five-storied pagoda at the site of Jukjangsa in Jukjang-dong 竹杖洞,



Seonsan-myeon 善山面, Seonsan-gun 善山郡 in Gyeongsangbuk-do [discussed in topical treatises]<sup>91</sup> and the three-storied pagoda at the unidentified temple site in Naksan-dong, Haepyeong-myeon, Seonsan-gun in Gyeongsangbuk-do [discussed in topical treatises].<sup>92</sup> These two pagodas, at first glance, have platforms in a form different from that of the pagoda at Sanun-myeon, Uiseong-gun, yet are equipped with the two-level platforms that had become popular ever since [the building of] the pagoda at Goseonsa site. The form of their platforms has affinities with several works listed in the table among those pagodas datable to the eighth century mentioned previously. However, given minor modifications and the decrease in the number of underpinnings of the eaves of the roof stones, the present author considers them to be works of the latter half of the eighth century. The brick-imitation pagodas remaining in Gyeongju yet again demonstrate a transformation; several pagodas standing at unidentified temple sites in Namsan-ri, Naedong-myeon [discussed in topical treatises],<sup>93</sup> Seoak-ri, Gyeongju-myeon [discussed in topical treatises],<sup>94</sup> and Yongjanggye 茸長溪 (Figure 15) in Naenam-myeon 內南面 [discussed in topical treatises]<sup>95</sup> became small three-storied pagodas as the pagoda body was further reduced, the underpinnings below the eaves as well as the stepped upper sides of pyramidal roof stones were all made of a single blocks, respectively, and the platforms came to stand as a massive cube, in comparison with the pagoda body, without any ornamentation. Given the handling of roofs, they are all considered to date from the ninth century, yet by the tenth century this type of pagodas, which was [at first] only prevalent in Gyeongsangbuk-do—the former territory of Silla—appeared in Jeollanam-do; they were erected in Unjusa 雲住寺 on Datapbong 多塔峰 in Neungseong-gun 綾城郡, at the Wolnamsa site (月南寺址) in Wolnam-ri 月南里, Seongjeon-myeon 城田面, Gangjin-gun 康津郡, and so on; and each of them shows uniqueness in the technique of making platforms with no connections to one another. The three-storied pagoda standing at the unidentified temple site in Hari-dong 下里洞, Pungsan-myeon 豐山面, Andong-gun belongs to the same





Figure 15. Three-storied stone pagoda at the Yongjangsa site, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do

kind. These last three instances do not have any artistic value, and are no more than vestiges of this brick-imitation-pagoda style.

Yet, there is one comparatively fine work of the tenth century. It is the five-storied brick-imitation-pagoda at the Bingsansa site (氷山寺址) in Binggye-dong 氷溪洞, Chunsan-myeon 春山面, Uiseong-gun [discussed in topical treatises];<sup>96</sup> its appearance is pretty similar to the five-storied brick-imitation pagoda in Tamni-dong, Sanun-myeon, Uiseong-gun; although it shows simplification in the treatment of platform, pagoda body, and the underpinning for the roof and has less artistic appeal, it still maintains a dignified appearance compared to other brick-imitation-pagodas. In general, it is the result of having a model in the vicinity, and this relationship is comparable to that between the five-storied pagoda in Wanggung-

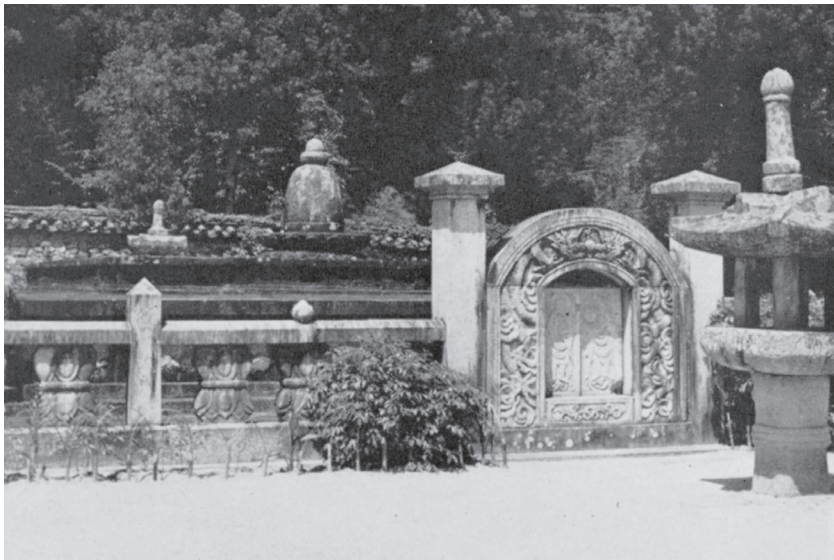


Figure 16. Relic pagoda [Diamond Ordination Platform] of Tongdosa, Yangsan, Gyeongsangnam-do

ri, Iksan and the pagoda at Mireuksa site. But the generational gap between the Bingsansa site pagoda and the Sanun-myeon Pagoda is not comparable to that between the Wanggung-ri Pagoda and the Mireuksa Pagoda; they were built almost three centuries apart. It is an unusual work for a pagoda built in the tenth century. In sum, the style of brick-imitation-pagoda is considered to be born out of Silla's inclination, which led to the birth of stone pagodas by means of imitating brick pagodas.

There are a few more examples of special pagodas built as buddha pagodas. The earliest example is found in a stone pagoda on the Diamond Ordination Platform at Tongdosa (Figure 16) in Yangsangun, Gyeongsangnam-do. That it served as a shrine to hold relics brought by the Vinaya Master Jajang and that it was highly revered as such in Korean Buddhism have been discussed in the chapter 4; according to the "Relics Preserved in the Past and Present," in section four, "Pagodas and Images" in fasc. 3 of the *Samguk yusa*,

during Jajang's time a two-level platform was built and topped with a stone lid that looked like an inverted cauldron in order to enshrine relics. The same source relates that since Jajang's founding it was repaired due to several episodes of destruction, and the "History of Tongdosa's Founding" (Tongdosa changchang yuseo 通度寺創脩由緒) and other documents compiled in the *Chōsen jisatsu shiryō* mention a few repairs including those done in the thirtieth year of King Sukjong's 肅宗 reign, cyclical year of *gapsin* 甲申 (1704) and more recently in the forty-fourth year of Meiji 明治 reign (1911). Therefore, the original condition does not remain due to the number of repairs, yet the overall appearance can still be seen. The "History of Tongdosa's Founding" relates that:

In the *byeongo* year [the fifteenth year of Queen Seondeok (647), twenty-two years before Silla's unification] [Jajang] and Queen Seondeok traveled together; when they were about to arrive beside Guryongyeon 九龍淵 (Nine Dragon Pond) under Chwiseosan 鷲棲山, Jajang together with a dragon preached to the eight evil dragons to surrender and leave. As one dragon begged to remain to guard the site, the pond was filled up and then the Diamond Ordination Platform was built. The four sides measured forty *cheok* in total. In the center was installed a stone casket, in which a stone bench was put. Above it were enshrined three kinds of outer and inner caskets. One casket held four relic grains in three different colors. One casket housed a tooth relic measuring two *chons*. One casket was enshrined with a parietal bone and a finger bone measuring about two *chons* in length and width. In the middle were installed palm-leaf sūtra manuscripts. They were concealed with a stone lid. From top to bottom each of the four sides had three stories. The seven stars had separate seats. The four directional points and the four corners, eight in total, were erected side by side. The stone lid in the shape of a lotus flower (*yeonseok* 蓮石) on top was merely topped with a bell-shaped stone (*seokjong* 石鐘).<sup>97</sup>

It is doubtful whether this record bears any credibility; presently,

there is a two-stepped pagoda section (*tapgu*) built of flagstones (*buseok* 敷石), of which the front of the lower level has stone images whereas standing images of the Four Heavenly Kings are installed underneath the four corners of the upper level, corresponding to the second level; the centers of four sides on the wall stones (*byeokseok* 壁石) of the lower level are carved with four images of seated buddhas in relief, flanked by images of devas on either side; on top of the upper level is set a stone pedestal carved with a lotus flower (*yeonhwadae seok* 蓮花臺石), on which a stone pagoda resembling [an Indian] stūpa stands. In front of the relic altar (*saridan* 舍利壇) are placed a stone lantern on the left and a stone incense burner stand (*bongnodae* 奉爐臺) on the right. All of them bear changes derived from several times of repairs; although none of them maintain the original condition, they still convey the scale and form of the original. If the record holds true, Silla not only achieved the building of high-storied brick-imitation-pagodas in square plan—a form transmitted from China—as demonstrated by the Bunhwangsa Pagoda, but also translated the original form of Indian stūpas in stone; yet it is beyond discussion in so far as the so-called relic altar does not now remain intact. The relic altar in this form was not followed by similar ones, and only during the tenth century two examples appeared in Geumsansa 金山寺 in Gimje-gun 金堤郡, Jeollabuk-do and at the site of Burilsa (佛日寺址) in Jangdan-gun 長湍郡, Gyeonggi-do.<sup>98</sup> As for the former, the relic altar is surrounded by what appear to be standing images of the Eight Kinds of Heavenly Beings; in front of the relic altar stands a five-storied stone pagoda; and the wall stones of the two-level platform are carved with images of devas, bodhisattvas, and Brahmā; on top of a square foundation (*banseok* 盤石), whose four corners are carved with dragon heads (*yongsu* 龍首), stands a stone bell in the shape of a stūpa; and the stone bell is topped with a stone cover carved with a nine-headed dragon in the round. It should be based upon the legend of nine dragons. The relic altar at the Burilsa site is almost completely destroyed, but generally demonstrates a similar taste; the four corners of its two tiers are lined with standing images of the Four Heavenly

Kings and sides of the platform bear seated images of devas and heavenly beings, whose number remains unknown. The stone bell in the shape of a stūpa shares formal affinities with the relic pagoda at Geumsansa, apart from a feature that the bell stands on a round lotus seat.

## Notes

### Chapter 1 Significance of Pagodas

#### Translator's Notes

- 1 Stūpa, originally a grave marker in ancient India, refers to a structure built to enshrine the relics or possessions of the Buddha or a saint, usually contained within a reliquary. The beginning of Buddhist stūpa worship is generally credited with the building of the eight original stūpas built by his lay followers to enshrine relics of the Buddha left after his cremation. Emperor Aśoka of the Maurya dynasty in the third century BCE is said to have opened the eight original stūpas in order to redistribute the relics inside by means of building eighty-four thousand stūpas, a feat conducted in an attempt to accumulate merit and protect his realm. Stūpa worship continues to flourish in almost every region where Buddhism spread. The architectural form of stūpas varies to a great deal from a region to another, as their different appellations depending on regions where they stand suggest. Yet, the two basic meanings of this important monument—e.g. a funerary marker and an architectural reliquary—were never forgotten across the Buddhist Asia. For more on the symbolic meaning and regional developments of the stūpa, see Adrian Snodgrass, *The Symbolism of the Stūpa* (New York: Southeast Asia Program, 1985).
- 2 Here I provide modern Korean pronunciations of the original Chinese transliterations.
- 3 “Tō” トウ, in Mochizuki Shinkō 望月信亨, *Bukkyō daijiten* 佛教大辭典 (Tokyo: Bukkyō daijiten hakkōjo, 1936), 5: 3832c–3839b. Throughout this section the author relies heavily on this entry.
- 4 This is cited from the Tang dynasty monk Xuanzang’s 玄奘 (602–664) *Da Tang xiyu ji*, T 2087.51.872a23–24. For an English translation of Xuanzang’s travelogue, see Samuel Beal, trans., *Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1906).
- 5 *Fanyu zaming*, T 2135.54.1239b15 and 1239b17. It is a dictionary of various Indian terms rendered in classical Chinese.

- 6 *Sari* (Ch. *sheli*) 舍利, which I have translated as relics throughout this book, is a transliteration of the Sanskrit term *śarīra*. The term originally referred to “body” in both literal and metaphoric sense, yet it came to mean a corpse or the remains of the Buddha or of a monk. In Buddhist context, it usually refers to relics or ashes of a buddha or saint culled from the funerary pyre. Chinese Buddhist exegetes including Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667) and Daoshi 道世 (d. 683) preferred to use this term over similar terms like bones and body (*golsin* 骨身), body (*sinche* 身體), or remains (*yugol* 遺骨) in fear of confusing relics of the Buddha with bones of a layman, which are deemed trivial and even filthy. See *Ji shenzhou sanbao gantong lu* 集神州三寶感通錄, T 2106.52.404a and *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林, T 2122.53.598c. Different classificatory schemes of relics developed across Buddhist Asia. Generally speaking, relics include partial-body relics (*swaesin sari* 碎身舍利)—portions of the physical body ranging from a parietal bone, a finger bone, a tooth, locks of hair, fingernails to crystallines that are understood to be the condensation of the sanctified remains of an enlightened person that occurs during cremation—whole-body relics (*jeonsin sari* 全身舍利)—the mummified remains of an eminent monk—dharma relics (*beop sari* 法舍利 or *beopsin sari* 法身舍利)—Buddhist scriptures, spells, or verses that were regarded equivalent to the teaching of the Buddha. For more on the topic, see Gregory Schopen, “Relics,” in *Critical Terms for Religious Studies*, ed. Mark C. Taylor (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 256–268 and Joo Kyeongmi, *Jungguk godae Bulsari jangeom yeon'gu* 中國 古代 佛舍利莊嚴 研究 [A Study on the Relic Veneration of Ancient and Medieval China] (Seoul: Iljisa, 2003), 14–21. For more on the notion of dharma relics, see note 15 of chapter 1.
- 7 *Mohe sengqi lü*, T 1425. 22.498b20–21.
- 8 *Xingshi chao*, T 1804.40.133c25–26. The title is an abbreviation of *Sifen lü shanfan buque xingshi chao* 四分律刪繁補闕行事鈔, composed between 626–630 by the monk Daoxuan of the Tang dynasty.
- 9 *Fahua wenju ji*, T 1719.34.202b22–23.
- 10 *Dari jing shu*, T 1796.39.628b25–27. *Dari jing shu* is an abbreviated title of the *Da Piluzhena chengfo jing shu* 大毘盧遮那成佛經疏 [Commentary on the *Mahāvairocana-abhisambodhi-tantra*]. It is a commentary on the first 31 chapters (6 fasc.) of the *Mahāvairocana-abhisambodhi-tantra* (*Dari jing* 大日經, T 848) and was written by the Chinese monk Yixing 一行 (683–727) probably between 724 and 727.
- 11 *Yibu Zonglun lun shu ji* 異部宗輪論述記, X 844.53.575c1.
- 12 *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan* 南海寄歸內法傳, T 2125.54.222b21–23. It was written in 691 by the Tang dynasty monk Yijing 義淨 (635–713), who



travelled in Indian and South Asian countries. The travelogue is an extremely valuable source for knowledge of the Buddhist practices at that time in this region. The translation cited here is taken with slight modifications from J. Takakusu, trans., *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practiced in India and the Malay Archipelago (A.D. 671–695)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1886), 121.

- 13 *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan*, T 2125.54.222b25–26.
- 14 *Fahua yi shu*, T 1721.34.621a6–7. Composed of twelve fascicles in total, it is a commentary on the *Lotus Sūtra* authored by the monk Jizang 吉藏 (549–623).
- 15 *Beopsin sari* or *beop sari*, literally meaning “the relics of the dharma [body],” refers to Buddha’s scriptures, spells, or verses in which his teachings or the dharma are embodied. For this reason, the textual relics of the Buddha came to be enshrined inside Buddhist pagodas. The rationale for worshipping the corpus of Buddhist literature left by the Buddha is already spelled out in the *Lotus Sūtra*: “Whenever it [i.e. the *Lotus Sūtra*] may be preached, or read, or recited, or written, or whatever place a roll of this scripture may occupy, in all those places one is to erect a stūpa of the seven jewels, building it high and wide and with impressive decoration. There is no need even to lodge *śarīra* in it. What is the reason? Within it there is already is a whole body of the Thus Come One [i.e. the Buddha]. This stūpa is to be showered with offerings, humbly venerated, held in solemn esteem, and praised with all manner of flowers, scents, necklaces, silk banners and canopies, music skillfully sung and played.” *Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經, T 262.9.31b26–c2; the English translation is adapted from Leon Hurvitz, trans., *Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma* (1976; reprint, New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 178–179.
- 16 In the late nineteenth century, an earlier generation of European scholars argued that the Buddha image had been invented around the first century CE in the region of Gandhāra, located in the northwestern part of the Indian subcontinent, under the artistic influence of the Greek world. The “Greek origin of the Buddha image,” as the art historian Alfred Foucher put, soon met severe criticism by a few European and Indian scholars, represented by Ananda Coomaraswamy, who showed that the Buddha image had been created in Mathurā in India proper around the same time regardless of Gandhāran counterpart. Most scholars today see that images of the Buddha were simultaneously invented in both Gandhāra and Mathurā. For more on this issue, see Juhyung Rhi, “Reading Coomaraswamy on the Origin of the Buddha Image,” *Artibus Asiae* 70, no. 1 (2010): 150–172.



## Chapter 2 Records on Beginnings of Korean Buddhism

### Author's Notes

- 1 See *Samguk yusa* 3, “Ado gira” 阿道基羅 [Ado Established the Foundation of Buddhism in the Silla Kingdom].
- 2 See *Samguk yusa* 3, “Wonjong heungbeop Yeomchok myeolsin” 原宗興法 厭禱減身 [Wonjong’s Promotion of Buddhism and Yeomchok’s Sacrifice of Himself].

### Translator's Notes

- 1 The *Samguk sagi* was compiled in 1145 by Gim Busik (1075–1151), the chancellor of the Department of the Chancellery (*munha sijung* 門下侍中), and his team of ten historians by the order of King Injong (仁宗, r. 1122–1146) of Goryeo dynasty. It is the oldest extant history of the Three Kingdoms and Unified Silla era of Korean history, covering a period spanning from the first century BCE to 935 CE. Using the standard Chinese history (Ch. *zhengshi* 正史) format, the compiler documented the key events and figures from the founding of the Three Kingdoms of Silla, Goguryeo, and Baekje through the fall of Unified Silla and the advent of Goryeo. As such, it is the foremost primary source for the study of that period.
- 2 Hwando became the capital of Goguryeo in the third century. It is located in Shanchengzi 山城子 in Ji'an 集安, Jilin Province (吉林省) in northeast China.
- 3 The “unification” throughout the text refers to Silla’s unification of the Korean Peninsula in 668. Go Yuseop must have considered Silla’s unification to be one of the foremost historical events to the extent of giving important historical dates calculated on the basis of it. It is noteworthy that Go Yuseop used the term “Old Silla” (Go Silla 古新羅) for the period between 57 BCE and 668 CE, while referring to the period spanning from 668 to 935 as the “Silla’s Unification” (Silla tongil 新羅統一), which is slightly different from the more commonly used term, “Unified Silla” (Tongil Silla 統一新羅). Go Yuseop used similar expressions for Goryeo and Joseon dynasties, such as “twenty-five years after the founding of Goryeo, namely the first year of King Jeongjong,” which corresponds to the year 945. It has been suggested that Go Yuseop used a rather unusual way of indicating dates to avoid using Japanese reign dates, which was compulsory under the Japanese occupation

- of Korea. A discussion on the modern coinage of the term “Unified Silla” is found in Richard D. McBride II, Introduction to *State and Society in Middle and Late Silla*, ed. Richard D. McBride II (Cambridge, MA: Korea Institute, Harvard University, 2010), 3. Also, see Yun Seontae 윤선태, “‘Tongil Silla’ ui balmyeong gwa geundae yeoksahak ui seongnip” ‘통일신라’의 발명과 근대역사학의 성립 [On the Invention of the Notion “Unified Silla” and the Formation of Modern Historical Studies], *Silla munhwa* 新羅文化 29 (2005): 125–142.
- 4 *Samguk sagi* 18, “Sosurim wang,” second year; Han’gukhak jungang yeon’guwon 한국학중앙연구원, ed., *Yeokju Samguk sagi* 譯註 三國史記 [Annotation and Translation of the *Samguk sagi*] (Seongnam: Han’gukhak jungang yeon’guwon chulpanbu, 2011), 1:288. For an English translation of the relevant passage, see Kim Pusik, *The Koguryō Annals of the Samguk Sagi*, trans. Edward J. Shultz and Hugh H.W. Kang with Daniel C. Kane and Kenneth H.J. Gardiner (Seongnam: The Academy of Korean Studies, 2012), 139.
  - 5 Hamsanju, which corresponds to the present-day Seoul, is one of nine regional administrative units established by Silla after its unification of the Korean Peninsula. Due to the fact that the region was strategically as well as geographically significant, it became the arena of the struggle among Goguryeo, Baekje, and Silla in the Three Kingdoms period. In particular, it served as the first capital of Baekje from 18 BCE to 475 CE.
  - 6 *Samguk sagi* 24, “Chimnyu wang,” first year; *Yeokju Samguk sagi*, 1:358. The “Baekje bon’gi” [Baekje Annals] has been translated into English with substantial annotations. For an English translation of the passage in question, see Jonathan Best, *A History of the Early Korean Kingdom of Paekche, Together with an Annotated Translation of The Paekche Annals of the Samguk sagi* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2007), 262–263, and 79–81 for a relevant discussion on the beginnings of Buddhism in Baekje.
  - 7 Almost all the Silla temples to be discussed throughout this book are located in Gyeongju, the capital of Silla for almost a millennium from its founding to its fall. For a succinct yet informative introduction to the city, see Juhyung Rhi, “The Ancient City Gyeongju: Space and Monuments,” in *Silla: Korea’s Golden Kingdom*, ed. Soyoung Lee and Denise P. Leidy (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013), 13–29.
  - 8 *Samguk sagi* 4, “Beopheung wang,” fifteenth year; *Yeokju Samguk sagi*, 1: 132–133. For an English translation of the relevant passage, see Kim Pusik, *The Silla Annals of the Samguk Sagi*, trans. Edward J. Shultz and Hugh H.W.

Kang with Daniel C. Kane (Seongnam: The Academy of Korean Studies, 2012), 119–121.

- 9 *Gaoseng zhuan*, T 2059.50.348a10–13. Completed in 519 by the monk Huijiao 慧皎 (497–554), it contains biographies of eminent monks and nuns, covering the period spanning from 67 to 519. It is highly valued as one of the most significant sources for the study of early Chinese Buddhism. It is also known as the *Liang gaoseng zhuan* 梁高僧傳 [Liang Biographies of Eminent Monks].
- 10 The *Samguk yusa* is believed to have been compiled by the renowned monk Iryeon 一然 (1206–1289) in the 1280s under the Goryeo dynasty. It is a collection of myths, legends, anecdotes and historical accounts primarily related to Goguryeo, Baekje and Silla, collectively known in Korean history as the Three Kingdoms. It stands as the primary source for the study of literature, religions, the arts and architecture, and history of Korea from the ancient to medieval periods. The *Samguk yusa* narrates ancient Korean monarchs' deeds and achievements from the religious perspective, while adding a great deal of materials omitted in the official history, which were deemed absurd and improper in the eyes of the Confucian historian. As a result, the latter has served as the foundation for the historical study of early Korean Buddhism and Buddhist art despite its late compilation date and the inclusion of myths and miracle tales. For an introduction to the text, see Jung Byung-sam, "The Cultural-Historical Significance of the *Samguk yusa* (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms)," trans. Michael Finch, in *Korean Buddhist Culture: Accounts of a Pilgrimage, Monuments, and Eminent Monks*, ed. Roderick Whitfield (Seoul: Jogyeo Order of Korean Buddhism, 2012), 31–68. Currently, two English translations of the text are available. See Taehung Ha and Grafton K. Mintz, trans., *Samguk yusa: Legends and History of the Three Kingdoms of Ancient Korea* (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1972) and Kim Dal-yong, trans., *Overlooked Historical Records of the Three Korean Kingdoms* (Seoul: Jimoondang, 2006). Annotated English translation of the sections four and five, entitled "Tapsang" 塔像 [Pagodas and Images] and "Uihae" 義解 [Exegetes] respectively, are available in Michael Finch's translation, see Roderick Whitfield, ed., *Korean Buddhist Culture*, 177–578. It is noteworthy that the compiler's quotations in the *Samguk yusa* do not add incorrect or fabricated information although often abbreviate and rephrase the original texts. See Richard D. McBride II, "Is the *Samguk yusa* Reliable? Case Studies from Chinese and Korean Sources," *The Journal of Korean Studies* 11, no. 1 (2006): 163–190. Needless to say, Go Yuseop made ample use of the *Samguk yusa* and *Samguk sagi*, which complement

- and, sometimes, contradict each other, throughout this book. When the compiler provided wrong information in the cited passages, Go Yuseop used interlinear notes to correct them. For an examination of Go Yuseop's use of the *Samguk yusa* accounts, especially those from section four, see Eom Gi-pyo, "Uhyeon Go Yuseop ui *Samguk yusa* tapsang insik: 'Tapsang' pyeon eul jungsim eruo 又玄 高裕變의 『三國遺事』 塔像 인식—塔像篇을 중심으로— [Uhyeon, Go Yuseop's Understanding of Pagodas and Images Recorded in the *Samguk yusa* with a Focus on the Section, "Pagodas and Images"], *Han'guk Bulgyosa yeon'gu* 한국불교사연구 5 (2014): 115–146.
- 11 *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.954c8–9.
  - 12 Ilseon-gun was apparently a major transportation point. Both the Gyeripryeong 鷄立嶺 and Jungnyeong 竹嶺, the major routes to the north, pass Ilseon-gun.
  - 13 Mukhoja (lit. son of a dark barbarian) was probably of Central Asian origin. For more about Mukhoja, see Richard D. McBride II, *Domesticating the Dharma: Buddhist Cults and the Hwaŏm Synthesis in Silla Korea* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 14–15.
  - 14 *Samguk sagi* 4, "Beopheung wang," fifteenth year; *Yeokju Samguk sagi*, 1: 132–133; and Kim Pusik, *The Silla Annals of the Samguk Sagi*, 119–120.
  - 15 In East Asia, the twelve basic units have been used to measure time including the days and the months. The units are named after animals, namely rat, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, serpent, horse, ram, ape, fowl, dog, and swine.
  - 16 *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.967b24–c9.
  - 17 Ichadon, who advocated the introduction of Buddhism to Silla, was executed for his activities. When he was beheaded, milk instead of blood is said to have sprayed in the air from his beheaded corpse. A stone stele commemorating the martyrdom of Ichadon, which originally stood in the site of Baengnyulsa 栢栗寺 in Gyeongju, is housed in the Gyeongju National Museum. This hexagonal monument, measuring 1.04 meters high, bears a scene of Ichadon's beheading in relief on its first side and a lengthy inscription running on other five sides. Although the inscription has faded badly, the legible parts agree well with relevant accounts in the *Samguk sagi* and *Samguk yusa*. Although there is no mention of dates or reign names in the remaining inscription, the stele has been dated to either 817 or 818.
  - 18 The three religions collectively refer to Buddhism, Daoism and Confucianism.
  - 19 *Beishi* 94, "Liezhan" 82, "Baiji zhuan"; Guksa pyeonchan wiwonhoe 國史編纂委員會, ed. and trans, *Jungguk jeongsa Joseon jeon yeokju* 中國正史朝鮮傳譯註

[Translation and Annotation of the Accounts of Korea in Chinese Official Histories] (Gwacheon: Guksa pyeonchan wiwonhoe, 1990; reprint, Seoul: Sinseowon, 2004), 2:46. The *Beishi*, completed between 643 and 659 by the Tang scholar Li Yanshou 李延壽 (fl. seventh century), documents the histories of Northern Wei, Western Wei, Eastern Wei, Northern Zhou, Northern Qi, and Sui dynasties. Composed of one hundred fascicles in total, the book devotes twelve fascicles to the annals (Ch. *benji* 本紀) and eighty-eight to the collected biographies (Ch. *liezhuan* 列傳). The “Baiji zhuan,” the “Gaoguri zhuan” and the “Xinluo zhuan” compiled in the book serve as valuable primary source for the study of ancient Korea.

## Chapter 3 Building of Temples and the Changing Significance of Buddhist Halls and Pagodas

### Author's Notes

- 1 Iryeon [National Preceptor Bogak (普覺國師)], the author of the *Samguk yusa* who accepted the Aśoka stūpa at Liaodongcheong recorded in the *Sanbao gantong lu*, appears to record everything that has research value in an attempt to describe the prosperity of Korean Buddhism. About the Aśoka legend, he commented as follows: “According to an old legend, King Aśoka had spirits build a pagoda in every locale where 900 million people dwelt. In this way, he erected eighty-four thousand stūpas in Jambudvīpa, hidden under gaint stones. Everywhere, all of them exhibited auspicious signs. This is because of the true body relics. The spiritual response is inconceivable.” Needless to say, these reports are not to be considered as historical fact, but to be taken as proof of one’s faith. Later on, there developed a considerable cult of Aśokan stūpas in Korea. The “Indogoseung geum bu bulgol” 印度高僧今付佛骨 [The Indian Eminent Monk Now Delivering Buddha’s Bone], compiled in vol. 2 of Yi Neunghwa’s 李能和 *Joseon Bulgyo tongsa* 朝鮮佛教通史 [Comprehensive History of Korean Buddhism], relates that: “Gapsa on Gyeryongsan, Daeheungsa on Duryunsan <the *Daedun Gazetteer* says that two Aśoka stūpas, one big and the other small, stand in the middle of Manilam>, Cheongwansan of Jangheung-gun, Guwolsan of Sincheon-gun, Wolchulsan of Yeongam-gun, Unmunsa in Cheongdo-gun, and the western terrace of Sinheungsa on Seoraksan in Inje-gun in Korea, all have heavenly true stūpas built by King Aśoka” (朝鮮之鷄龍山岬寺 頭輪山之大興寺 <大菴誌云阿育塔 大小二塔在挽日庵庭中> 長興郡之天冠山 信川郡之九月山 靈巖郡之月出山 清道郡之雲門寺 麟蹄郡雪岳山神興寺之西臺 皆有育王天真塔). It is thought that knowledge of the Aśoka stūpas was transmitted through the *Ayuwang zhuan* 阿育王傳 [Legend of King Aśoka] compiled in the *Shijia pu* 釋迦譜 [Genealogy of Śākyamuni] and others ever since the Liang 梁 and Jin 晉 dynasties, and believed in Korea from early on; however, it seems to be after the late Goryeo dynasty that claims of Aśokan stūpas standing on Korean soil appeared.
- 2 I have not yet been able to consult the report documenting the result of an archaeological excavation of the ruined temple site in Sango-ri, Imwon-myeon, Daedong-gun. A short report by Saitō Tadashi 齋藤忠 (1908–2013) was published in vol. 30, no. 1 of *Kōkogaku zasshi* 考古學雜誌 (January

1940): “The site is located approximately 20 *jeong* 町 (2.182 kilometers) southeast from the ruined temple site in Cheongam-ri, excavated in Shōwa 13 (1938), and 4 to 5 *jeong* (436.4 to 545.5 meters) north from the bank of Daedonggang. Excavation revealed an octagonal platform, of which one side measures about 10 *cheok* (3.03 meters), at a point of approximately 1 *cheok* and several *chon* 寸 below ground; this was built by installing rocks collected near the river of 7 to 8 *chon* (21 to 24 centimeters) in four columns, while making them form a border neatly; its inside has cut stones, which are arranged gradually in a row, located about 12 *cheok* (3.63 meters) away from the outer border; they seem to have been used to form a square measuring 72 *cheok* (21.81 meters) north-east and 80 *cheok* (24.24 meters) east-west. In addition, in-between this row of cut stones and the outer border are rows of rocks collected near the river in the east and the north. There are no traces of foundation stones either in a deep spot in the middle or other spots. To the east and west of this octagonal platform are flat construction stones, measuring 5 *cheok* 2 *chon* (1.57 meters) long and 2 *cheok* 2 *chon* (0.66 meters) wide, which are put in parallel; they are connected to the building sites, measuring 41 *cheok* 5 *chon* (12.57 meters) east-west and 84 *cheok* (25.45 meters) south-north, which form a symmetrical layout in the east and west. As for these two building sites, the western one is remains of a platform with several well-preserved cut stones and its border is surrounded by square granite column bases with intervals of approximately 7 *cheok* (2.12 meters). These are thought to be bases for stone struts of a balustrade; ones with tenons and others with mortises are set deeply in the ground in alternation.

The survey ends at this point, revealing monuments discussed above; yet a survey of the north and south sides of the octagonal platform as well as the exterior of eastern and western platforms, which must be present, is scheduled to be conducted next year [1941]; it is noteworthy that an octagonal platform had been found in the ruined temple site at Cheongam-ri [i.e. Geumgangsā site], and that the east and west platforms of the two sites show a similar layout; the survey scheduled is expected to provide valuable research materials in the study of Goguryeo temple sites by revealing its full picture. Of the excavated objects, roof tiles vary greatly and show twenty different types, all of which have characteristics unique to Goguryeo. Not a few concave roof tiles are stamped with a Chinese character meaning ‘east’ 東. In addition, the excavation yielded gilt-bronze objects including pointed architectural components and heart-shaped floral ornaments among others.”

- 3 There are two ways of writing the name of Hwangnyongsa; one is to write it as “Hwangnyongsa” 皇龍寺, which is based on the old convention, whereas the other is to write it as “Hwangnyongsa” 黃龍寺. The “Silla Annals” relates that “East of Wolseong, an illustrious dragon appeared. It was converted to a Buddhist temple and was bestowed a name reading Hwangnyongsa 皇龍寺 [lit. Temple of the Illustrious Dragon].” The *Samguk yusa* documents both ways of writing by recording that “An illustrious dragon appeared. It was remade into Hwangnyongsa 皇龍寺” and that “A yellow dragon appeared. [The temple was] named Hwangnyongsa 黃龍寺.” But, the section on “Buddhist Temples” in fasc. 2 of the *Donggyeong japgí* records that “Hwangnyongsa is located 30 *ri* east from the prefecture” (黃龍寺在府東三十里); presently, the site of Hwangnyongsa (黃龍寺址) has been identified at Jasagok 字寺谷, Hwangnyong-ri 黃龍里, Naedong-myeon, Gyeongju, and there are known to exist ruins of two three-storied stone pagodas. That is to say, this “Hwangnyongsa” 黃龍寺 is different from the other “Hwangnyongsa” 黃龍寺, which is related to “Hwangnyongsa” 皇龍寺; although the historical origin of this “Hwangnyongsa” 黃龍寺 is unknown, it is certainly a different Hwangnyongsa 黃龍寺. Although it is prone to confusion, there are not many instances of writing “Hwangnyongsa” 皇龍寺 as “Hwangnyongsa” 黃龍寺; still, it demands caution.

### Translator's Notes

- 1 In this chapter, Go Yuseop mainly discussed the arrangement of buildings within the precinct of a temple, commonly referred to as *garam baechi* (Jp. *garan haichi*) 伽藍配置 in modern scholarship, and traced out the historical process in which the main hall (i.e. golden hall) became more important than the pagoda by means of comparing areas of the two. The position and area of the main hall and pagoda(s) varied with the course of time and depending on nations. The spatial layout of temples is one of major issues in the architectural study of ancient Buddhist temples. Such orientation of the modern scholarship was partly shaped by what remains on earth. The wooden structure of temple buildings, which is prone to decay and destruction, had long gone, leaving only some of foundation stones on and below the ground. For more about the temple layout in early medieval East Asia, see Gungnip Buyeo munhwajae yeon'guso 國立扶餘文化財研究所, *Han Jung Il godae saji bigyo yeon'gu I : moktapji pyeon* 한·중·일 고대사지 비교연구 I —목탑지편— [Comparative Study on the Temple sites of Ancient Korea,



- China and Japan 1: The Wooden Pagoda Sites] (Buyeo: Gungnip Buyeo munhwajae yeon'guso, 2009); Gungnip Buyeo munhwajae yeon'guso, *Dong Asia godae saji bigyo yeon'gu II : geum dang ji pyeon* 동아시아 고대사지 비교연구 II —금당지편— [Comparative Study on the Sites of the Buddha Hall in East Asia 2: The Golden Hall Sites] (Buyeo: Gungnip Buyeo munhwajae yeon'guso, 2010); and He Lique, "Buddhist State Monasteries in Early Medieval China and their Impact on East Asia" (PhD diss., Heidelberg University, 2013): 73–140.
- 2 The *cheok* and *chon* are traditional units for measuring length in East Asia. One *cheok* (ten *chon* 寸) is 1/10 of one *jang* 丈. Prior to the Tang period, one *cheok* measured approximately 24 centimeters, but from the Tang forward, it measured approximately 30 centimeters. The compound *jangyuk* (Ch. *zhangliu*) is an abbreviation of *il jangyuk cheok* 一丈六尺, which corresponds to sixteen *cheok*. The expression derives from several Buddhist scriptures in which the Buddha is said to have measured sixteen *cheok* high. Originally, it was chosen to describe the marvelous appearance of the Buddha's bodily form. Interestingly, it came to designate an actual Buddha image in China by the fourth century with the translation of scriptures centering on the practice of visualization such as *Guanfo sanmei hai jing* 觀佛三昧海經 [Sūtra on the Ocean-Like Samādhi of the Visualization of the Buddha]. For more on this point, see Cha Yoonjeong 차운정, "Hwangnyongsa jangyuk, Yeongmyosa jangyuk: yeongi seorhwa ui jae haeseok" 황룡사 장육, 영묘사 장육—緣起 설화의 재해석 [The Sixteen-*cheok* Buddha Images of Hwangnyongsa and Yeongmyosa: Revisiting the Founding Myths], *Silla munhwaje haksul balpyo nonmunjip* 新羅文化祭學術發表會論文集 37 (2016): 7–17.
- 3 See *Gaosen zhuan*, T 2059.50.322c15–323a23. Here, Go Yuseop referred to an account, commonly known as the dream of Emperor Ming (明帝, r. 58–75) of the Later Han dynasty (後漢, 25–220), relating to Buddhism's entry into China. For more about this story, see Erik Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1972), 22.
- 4 *Haedong goseung jeon*, T 2065.50.1016a6–17. The *Haedong goseung jeon*, compiled by the Goryeo monk Gakhun 覺訓 (d. u.) by the royal order in 1215, contains hagiographies of famous Korean Buddhist monks who were mostly active in the Three Kingdoms period. For an English translation of Sundo's biography, see Peter H. Lee, trans., *Lives of Eminent Korean Monks: The Haedong Kosŭng Chŏn* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), 30–32.
- 5 For the location of Hwando, see note 2 of chapter 2.

- 6 *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.986a10–11.
- 7 *Samguk sagi* 18, “Sosurim wang,” fifth year; *Yeokju Samguk sagi*, 1:288; and Kim Pusik, *The Koguryō Annals of the Samguk Sagi*, 139.
- 8 *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.986a11.
- 9 *Samguk sagi* 18, “Sosurim wang,” fifth year; *Yeokju Samguk sagi*, 1:288; and Kim Pusik, *The Koguryō Annals of the Samguk Sagi*, 139.
- 10 *Samguk sagi* 18, “Gwangaeto wang,” second year; *Yeokju Samguk sagi*, 1:289; and Kim Pusik, *The Koguryō Annals of the Samguk Sagi*, 143.
- 11 *Samguk sagi* 19, “Munja wang,” seventh year; *Yeokju Samguk sagi*, 1:297; and Kim Pusik, *The Koguryō Annals of the Samguk Sagi*, 161.
- 12 *Dongguk yeoji seungnam* 51, “Pyeongang-do,” “Pyeongyang-bu,” “Gojeok”; Minjok munhwa chujinhoe 民族文化推進會, trans. and ed., *Gugyeok Sinjeung Dongguk yeoji seungnam* 國譯新增東國輿地勝覽 [Translation of the Newly Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea] (Seoul: Minjok munhwa chujinhoe, 1982), 6: 117 (reverse pagination). The *Dongguk yeoji seungnam* was compiled in 1481 by Noh Sasin 盧思慎 et al by the order of King Seongjong (成宗, r. 1469–1494) of the Joseon dynasty. This officially sanctioned gazetteer documents history, geography, maps, and figures of each province of Korea. A revised and much enlarged edition (55 fascicles in total), entitled *Sinjeung Dongguk yeoji seungnam*, was published in 1530 under the royal command of King Jungjong (中宗, r. 1506–1544). In this edition, each entry starts with the original contents from the *Dongguk yeoji seungnam* and ends with additions and emendations prefaced with the phrase “sinjeung” 新增 (lit. new enlargements).
- 13 *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.988b26.
- 14 *Dongguk Yi sangguk jip* 23, “Namhaeng woril gi” 南行月日記; Minjok munhwa chujinhoe, ed., *Han’guk munjip chonggan* 韓國文集叢刊 (Seoul: Minjok munhwa chujinhoe, 1990), 1:529. Yi Gyubo 李奎報 (1168–1241) wrote that Bodeok’s original residence, named Yeonboksa 延福寺, was located on Bannyongsan 盤龍山. The *Dongguk Yi sangguk jip*, composed of fifty-three fascicles in thirteen books, contains writings of Yi Gyubo, an eminent scholar-official of the late Goryeo.
- 15 Geunmdongsa is located on Odosan 悟道山 in Anju-gun, Pyeongannam-do.
- 16 *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.989a8–9.
- 17 It is located in Imsil-gun, Jeollabuk-do.
- 18 *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.989a9–10.
- 19 *Ibid.*, T 2039.49.989a10.
- 20 *Ibid.*, T 2039.49.989a10–11.

- 21 Ibid., T 2039.49.989a11.
- 22 Ibid., T 2039.49.989a11–12.
- 23 Ibid., T 2039.49.989a12.
- 24 Ibid., T 2039.49.989a12–13.
- 25 Ibid., T 2039.49.990a15–22.
- 26 Yodongseong, or Liaodongcheng in modern Chinese, corresponds to present-day Liaoyang 遼陽 in Liaoning Province of China.
- 27 *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.989b28–c24.
- 28 It is an abbreviated title of the *Ji shenzhou sanbao gantong lu* 集神州三寶感通錄 [Record of Auspicious Response of the Three Jewels in China], compiled in 664 by the renowned monk Daoxuan of the Tang dynasty. The text is an invaluable resource for the study of religious visual culture of the Tang dynasty China due to its ample records of the temples, pagodas, images and miraculous experiences of monks and nuns from the Later Han to the beginning of the Tang.
- 29 Later in this article, the compiler introduced a view, identifying this Goguryeo monarch as the Sage King Dongmyeong (東明聖帝, r. 37–19 BCE). Yet, he cast a doubt on it since the Sage King Dongmyeong, a foreign vassal, could not have known about Sanskrit letters when even the Han empire had not yet received Buddhist texts. See *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.989c13–17. Building upon this view, Go Yuseop elsewhere argued that the account was, in fact, a misrepresentation of a pagoda built during Balhae 渤海 (698–926)—a kingdom of the Goguryeo and Malgal peoples that ruled the northern Korean Peninsula and southeastern Manchuria where Yodongseong was located. See Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu* 朝鮮塔婆의 研究 [A Study on Korean Pagodas] (Seoul: Youlhwadang, 2010), 1:40.
- 30 Putu (Kr. Podo) 浦圖 was a translation of the Sanskrit word Buddha into classical Chinese.
- 31 Hyudo (Ch. Xiutu) 休圖 was one way of transliterating the term Buddha into Chinese. Michael Finch provides a detailed explanation on this term, see “Samguk yusa (Stūpas and Images),” in *Korean Buddhist Culture*, 190 (note 34).
- 32 In Chinese classical texts, the term Golden Man (Ch. *jinren* [Kr. *geumin*] 金人) is used either in reference to Buddha or a Buddha statue.
- 33 *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.989b29–c9. As implied in the cited passage, Yugwangtap means a pagoda built by King Aśoka (Kr. Ayugwang [Ch. Ayuwang] 阿育王)—the great emperor of the Maurya dynasty of India in the third century BCE. Tradition has it that the Indian King Aśoka had

collected all the bodily relics of Śākyamuni Buddha and distributed them throughout his empire in 84,000 stūpas. Chinese Buddhist sources from the fifth century claim that China had its own share of such stūpas. The number of such stūpas increased from six to more than twenty by the Tang dynasty. Scholars nowadays, however, admit that Chinese Aśokan stūpas were built after the transmission of Buddhism to China in the first century CE. The Yugwangtap in question first appeared under the title of “Goryeo Yodongseong bangtap” 高麗遼東城傍塔 [A Pagoda Standing Beside the Yodongseong of Goguryeo] in fasc. 1 of the *Ji shenzhou sanbao gantong lu*. Daoxuan made the Korean origin of the pagoda clear by adding “Goryeo” (meaning Goguryeo) at the front of the title. For the original Tang dynasty account of the pagoda, see *Ji shenzhou sanbao gantong lu*, T 2106.52.409a24–b4. An almost identical passage is repeated in *Fayuan zhulin*, T 2122. 53.588c10–c19. For classic studies on the Aśokan legend and its religious implications, see Alexander C. Soper, *Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China* (Ascona: Artibus Asiae, 1959); Erik Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, 277–280; and John S. Strong, *The Legend of King Aśoka: A Study and Translation of the Aśokāvadāna* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983). A comprehensive examination of the Chinese Aśokan stūpa lore is found in Joo Kyeongmi, “Jungguk ui Ayugwangtap jeonseung yeon’gu” 中國의 阿育王塔 傳承研究 [A Study on the Aśokan Legends in China], *Dongyang gojeon yeon’gu* 東洋古典研究 28 (2007): 370–408.

34 *Seungeon* refers to Gakhun’s *Haedong goseung jeon*.

35 The *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* (*Niepan jing* 涅槃經) is a generic name for a group of sūtras entitled *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, said to have been preached by the Buddha at the end of his life.

36 *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.990a16–22.

37 Writing in the period of Japan’s colonial occupation of Korea, Go Yuseop used Japanese reign dates for contemporary affairs and sources. I kept them throughout this translation in order to maintain the integrity of the original text, while converting them to Western years in brackets.

38 The term *palgak wondang* (Jp. *hakkaku endō*), which I have translated as “a building in octagonal plan,” literally means an “eight-angled (circular) hall.” The term frequently appears in both Japanese and Korean writings on traditional art and architecture. Korean scholars generally use it in reference to monks’ funerary pagodas in octagonal plan.

39 From 1933 until his death in 1942, Yoneda Miyoji participated in archaeological surveys of Silla temples and Goguryeo temple sites. A

graduate of the Department of Architecture at Nihon University, Yoneda worked as a part-time employee (Jp. *shokutaku* 嘱託) of the Bureau of Education (Jp. Gakumuku kyoku 學務局) of the Government-General of Korea. In particular, he was a de facto supervisor of investigation on the ruins of a temple site in Cheongam-ri, conducted by the Committee on Korean Antiquities (Jp. Chōsen koseki kenkyūkai 朝鮮古蹟研究會) appointed by the colonial government. The investigation of the Cheongam-ri temple site shed light on understanding of the temple architecture of the Asuka 飛鳥 period (593–710) in Japan. He is also known for the production of various drawings published in the *Bukkokuji to Sekkutsuan* 佛國寺と石窟庵 [Bulguksa and Seokguram] (Keijō [Seoul]: Chōsen sōtokufu, 1938). Yoneda's participation in this project turned out to have led him to study ancient temples of Korea. In Gyeongju, he participated in archaeological surveys of the Sacheonwangsa site (四天王寺址) and Mangdeoksa site (望德寺址), and supervised the restoration of two stone pagodas at the temple site in Cheon'gun-ri 千軍里. His works were posthumously published as *Chōsen jōdai kenchiku no kenkyū* 朝鮮上代建築の研究 [A Study of Korean Ancient Architecture] (Osaka: Akitaya, 1944).

- 40 See Yoneda Miyoji, "Chōsen jōdai no kenchiku to garan haichi ni oyoboseru tenmon shisō no eikyō," *Kenchiku gakai ronbunshū* 21 (1941): 34–39.
- 41 *Okseok* 玉石, pronounced *tama-ishi* in Japanese, refers to a small boulder about 15 to 30 centimeters across. Rounded naturally by a river or ocean waves, it is used as foundation stones to support walls or pillars.
- 42 *Gan*, pronounced as *kan* in modern Korean, is a unit for measuring the size of a building. Translated as "bay," it refers to a space between two pillars.
- 43 *Ri* is a unit of measuring distance in traditional East Asia. One *ri* corresponds to approximately 0.393 kilometers.
- 44 *Dongguk yeoji seungnam* 51, "Pyeongang-do," "Pyeongyang-bu," "Gojeok"; Minjok munhwa chujinhoe, *Gugyeok Sinjeung Dongguk yeoji seungnam*, 6: 117.
- 45 *Samguk sagi* 19, "Munja wang," seventh year; *Yeokju Samguk sagi*, 1:297; and Kim Pusik, *The Koguryō Annals of the Samguk Sagi*, 161.
- 46 *Goryeosa* 11, "Sega" 11, King Sukjong, seventh year, ninth month; Jeong Inji 鄭麟趾 et al., *Bugyeok Goryeosa* 北譯高麗史 [North Korean Translation of the *History of Goryeo*], trans. Gojeon yeon'gusil 古典研究室 (Seoul: Sinseonwon, 1992), 2:42.
- 47 See Chōsen sōtokufu, ed., *Shōwa jūni-nendo koseki chōsa hōkoku*

- 昭和十二年度古蹟調査報告 (Keijō [Seoul]: Chōsen koseki kenkyūkai, 1938), 63–68.
- 48 *Samguk sagi* 24, “Chimnyu wang,” first year and “Chimnyu wang,” second year; *Yeokju Samguk sagi*, 1:358; and Jonathan Best, *A History of the Early Korean Kingdom of Paekche*, 262–263.
  - 49 The *Nihon shoki* was compiled in the Nara 奈良 period (710–794) under the court patronage in an attempt to emulate Chinese dynastic histories and to claim legitimacy. It is one of essential works to understand early Japan.
  - 50 *Samguk sagi* 26, “Seong wang,” sixteenth year; Han’gukhak jungang yeon’guwon, *Yeokju Samguk sagi*, 1:375; and Jonathan Best, *A History of the Early Korean Kingdom of Paekche*, 328.
  - 51 Yi Neunghwa, *Joseon Bulgyo tongsa* 朝鮮佛教通史 [Comprehensive History of Korean Buddhism] (Keijō [Seoul]: Sinmun’gwan, 1919), 2:103. When quoting accounts compiled in primary sources, Go Yuseop often referred them not by their original, full titles but by abbreviated titles that he devised as in this case, which is originally titled “Gyeomik jae beombon ji yulmun” 謙益齋梵本之律文 [Gyeomik Brought Back Vinaya Texts in Sanskrit]. I maintain the titles Go Yuseop used in the body of the book for the integrity of the text, while providing their original titles in notes when necessary.
  - 52 *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.988a26–28. Wonjong is the first name of King Beopheung, the twenty-third monarch of the Silla kingdom.
  - 53 *Ibid.*, T 2039.49.995a6–11. The article is originally “Mireuk seonhwa Misirang Jinja sa” 彌勒仙花 未尸郎 眞慈師 [A Maitreya Flower of Youth, Misirang, and Master Jinja].
  - 54 Considered as the “founding father of Korean religious studies,” Yi Neunghwa was a prolific author who devoted his life to studies of Korean religions and folk culture. He learned Chinese classics during his childhood and youth, yet began to train himself in foreign languages, including spoken English, Chinese and French, and culture at modern language schools in Hanseong 漢城 (present-day Seoul) from 1887 to 1897. Following the annexation of Korea by Japan in 1910, Yi Neunghwa appears to have turned to the research of Korean religions and folk culture. In 1922, he became a member of the Korean History Compilation Committee (Jp. Chōsenshi hensan iinkai 朝鮮史編纂委員會; renamed Chōsenshi hensukai 朝鮮史編修會 in 1925) when it was founded in 1922 by the Government-General of Korea. The *Joseon Bulgyo tongsa*, published four years before his joining the committee, remains his most

- widely known and significant work. The voluminous work presents an encyclopedic compilation of Buddhist records culled from both textual and epigraphical sources in Korea in chronological order. For introductions to life and scholarly achievements of Yi Neunghwa, see Yi Jonggeun 李鍾殷 et al., *Yi Neunghwa yeon'gu: Han'guk jonggyosahak eul jungsim euro* 李能和研究: 韓國宗教史學을 中心으로 [Research on Yi Neunghwa: Focusing on His Study on Korean Religions] (Seoul: Jipmundang, 1994) and Jongmyung Kim, “Yi Nūnghwa, Buddhism, and the Modernization of Korea: A Critical Review,” in *Makers of Modern Korean Buddhism*, ed. Jin Y. Park (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2010), 91–108.
- 55 An almost identical account appears in Yi Neunghwa, *Joseon Bulgyo tongsu*, 1:33–34. For an English translation of that passage, see Peter H. Lee, ed., *Sources of Korean Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 1:38–39.
- 56 *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.988a26–28.
- 57 The *danggan jiju* 幢竿支柱 refer to pairs of supports, usually made of stone, which are erected to hold a banner staff. When there was a ceremony or ritual, a banner staff was usually installed between them. Since the supports were generally erected near the entrance of a temple, their location suggests the edge or boundary of the original temple. Extant examples are mostly dated after the Unified Silla period.
- 58 *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.994c1–995b13.
- 59 *Dongguk yeoji seungnam* 17, “Chungcheong-do,” “Gongju-mok,” “Buru” 佛宇; Minjok munhwa chujinhoe, *Gugyeok Sinjeung Dongguk yeoji seungnam*, 3: 9 (reverse pagination). The ruins of a temple site located in Ongnyong-dong, Gongju was considered to be the site of Suwonsa 水源寺 on the basis of the *Dongguk yeoji seungnam* account. In 1967, a preliminary survey was conducted on the pagoda site within the temple precinct by the Gongju National Museum. In 1989, Gongju University Museum conducted a trial dig of the site, which led to the full-scale excavation in 1991. However, the excavations of the pagoda site, building sites, and foundry site did not reveal remains predating the Unified Silla period. As a result, excavators concluded that the site is hard to identify as Suwonsa founded in Baekje. See Lee Namseok 李南奭 and Yi Hun 李勳, *Suwonsa ji* 水源寺址 [The Suwonsa Site] (Gongju: Gongju daehakgyo bangmulgwan, 1999) and Lee Namseok, “Suwonsa wa Suwonsa ji” 水源寺와 水源寺址 [Suwonsa and the Problem of Its Location], *Yeoksa wa damnon* 역사와 답론 32 (2002): 1–24.
- 60 *Dongguk yeoji seungnam* 17, “Chungcheong-do,” “Gongju-mok,” “Buru”;



Minjok munhwa chujinhoe, *Gugyeok Sinjeung Dongguk yeoji seungnam*, 3: 9 (reverse pagination). The Sehyeolsa site is located on the southern slope of Mangwolsan (260 meters high). A fragment of tile bearing inscription reading “Seohyeolsa” 西穴寺 was found during the survey on the temple site conducted in 1929. The results of the investigations conducted in 1969 and 1970 suggest that the temple was founded in Baekje period and developed into a full-fledged temple under the Unified Silla.

- 61 Most known sites of Baekje Buddhist temples, founded in the Sabi period, are concentrated in the Buyeo area. A review of major sites is found in Lee Byeongho 이병호, *Baekje Bulgyo sawon ui seongnip gwa jeon'gae* 백제 불교 사원의 성립과 전개 [A Study of Buddhist Temples in the Baekje Kigdom] (Seoul: Sahoe pyeongnon, 2014), 247–273.
- 62 *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.979c10–11.
- 63 Iksan-myeon corresponds to today's Geumma-myeon.
- 64 *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.988b7–15. According to this account, Mireuksa was founded by King Mu and his queen, the Princess Seonhwa (善花公主) who was the third daughter of Silla's king Jinpyeong, beneath Yonghwasan. Yet, the patronage of the temple has been intensely questioned ever since the 2009 discovery of the relic deposits including the dedicatory inscription, entitled the “Sari bongan gi” 舍利奉安記 [Record of the Enshrinement of the Relics], inside the west stone pagoda at the Mireuksa site. The dedicatory inscription carved on a gold sheet, found in the first story of the west pagoda, relates that the temple was founded in 639 by Queen Sataek (沙毛王后, d. 642)—a daughter of the Baekje aristocrat Sataek Jeokdeok 沙毛積德 who became a queen of King Mu. The discovery of this reliquary inscription has thus provoked controversy regarding the identity of King Mu's queen, as well as the historical validity of the *Samguk yusa* account. Examinations of the founding of Mireuksa prior to the 2009 discovery were almost entirely built upon Iryeon's account of King Mu, which is heavily colored by folkloric and legendary aspects, due to lack of other textual accounts. For more on this point, see Shin Jongwon 辛鍾達, “‘Sari bongan gi’ reul tonghae bon *Samguk yusa* ‘Mu wang’ jo ui ihae” 舍利奉安記를 통해 본 『三國遺事』 武王條의 이해 [Understanding of the Article, “Mu wang” in the *Samguk yusa* in Light of the “Record of the Enshrinement of the Relics”], in *Iksan Mireuksa wa Baekje* 益山彌勒寺와 百濟 [Mireuksa of Iksan and Baekje] (Seoul: Iljisa, 2011), 61–78. A number of studies on diverse issues related to Mireuksa and its west pagoda have appeared since the 2009 discovery. Arguing for a balanced approach to both the received text and epigraph, Joo Bodon pointed out that it is



- unclear whether Queen Satak commissioned the building of all three cloisters of Mireuksa. He further suggested that 639 was the year when the relic deposits were enshrined in the west pagoda sometime after the founding of Mireuksa. See Joo Bodon 朱甫墩, “Mireuksa ji chulto ‘Sari bongan gi’ wa Baekje ui wangbi” 彌勒寺址 출토舍利奉安記와 백제의王妃 [On the “Record of the Enshrinement of the Relics,” Excavated at the Mireuksa Site and Queens of Baekje], *Baekje hakbo* 百濟學報 7 (2012): 31–55. Kang Jongwon proposed a theory that Mireuksa was founded by the commission of Princess Seonhwa and her supporters based in Iksan, whereas Queen Satak patronized the reconstruction (*jungchang* 重創) of the temple and building of the west pagoda. Kang Jongwon 강종원, “Baekje Mu wang dae ui jeongguk byeonhwa wa Mireuksa joyeong” 백제 무왕대의 정국변화와 미륵사 조영 [Changes in the Political Situation during the Reign of King Mu of Baekje and the Construction of Mireuksa], *Baekje munhwa* 백제문화 54 (2016): 285–310. The excavation of the relic crypt and its results have ignited the renewed interest in Mireuksa and its visual culture among art historians. A dissertation has been written on Mireuksa and the Maitreya cult during the Baekje. See Hyejeong Choi, “Mireuksa, a Baekje Period Temple of the Future Buddha Maitreya” (PhD diss., The Ohio State University, 2015), esp. 43–69 for a discussion on the reliquary inscription. For studies on the method of enshrining relic deposits and stylistic features of the reliquaries found inside the Mireuksa Pagoda, see Joo Kyeongmi, “Mireuksa ji seoktap sari jangeomgu ui guseong gwa uiui” 彌勒寺址 石塔舍利莊嚴具의 構成과 意義 [Composition of Reliquaries Found in the Stone Pagoda at the Mireuksa Site and their Implications], *Baekje yeon’gu* 百濟研究 59 (2014): 73–112 and Joo Kyeongmi, “Han’guk seoktap chulhyeongi sari jangeom bangsik ui byeonhwa yangsang” 韓國 石塔 出現期 舍利莊嚴方式의 變化 樣相 [On the Changes in the Enshrining Method of Relic Deposits in the Incipient Period of Korean Stone Pagodas], *Baekje yeon’gu* 62 (2015): 71–99.
- 65 *Dongguk yeoji seungnam* 33, “Jeolla-do,” “Iksan-gun,” “Buru”; Minjok munhwa chujinhoe, *Gugyeok Sinjeung Dongguk yeoji seungnam*, 4:131 (reverse pagination).
- 66 *Dongguk yeoji seungnam* 33, “Jeolla-do,” “Jeonju-bu,” “Buru”; Minjok munhwa chujinhoe, *Gugyeok Sinjeung Dongguk yeoji seungnam*, 4:127 (reverse pagination).
- 67 The site was identified on the basis of a fragment of a roof tile bearing an inscription reading “Wangheung” that was found in 1934. The Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage has conducted

excavation of the site from 2000 to the present. In 2007, during the eighth excavation, a reliquary set was discovered in the relic crypt in the form of a rectangular recess measuring 16 centimeters wide, 12 centimeters long, and 16 centimeters deep in the center of the southern side of the foundation stone that initially supported a wooden pagoda. The reliquary set was composed of a bronze circular casket (H. 10.3 centimeters), a silver bottle (H. 6.8cm), and a gold bottle (H. 4.6cm), which were nested. The body of the bronze casket is engraved with an inscription bearing the date, patron, and purpose of the founding of the temple. The inscription reads: "In the fifteenth day of the second month of the *jeongyu* year [577]. King Chang of Baekje for the sake of the deceased prince erected the temple [or the pagoda]. When two grains of relics were to be interred, they were transformed into three by means of spiritual power" (丁酉年二月/十五日百濟/王昌爲亡王/子立刹本舍/利二枚葬時 神化爲三). However, the name of the temple is not mentioned, and the founding date of the temple recorded in this reliquary inscription does not agree with Iryeon's record in the *Samguk yusa*. For more about the Wangheungsa site, see Gunnip Buyeo munhwajae yeon'guso, *Wangheungsa ji III: moktap ji geumdang ji balgul josa bogoseo* 王興寺址 III: 木塔址 金堂址 發掘調査 報告書 [Wangheungsa Site III: Excavation Report of the Pagoda and Golden Hall Sites] (Buyeo: Gunnip Buyeo munhwajae yeon'guso, 2009), esp. 51–57 and 70–73.

68 *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.979c16 and 988b10–b11.

69 *Samguk sagi* 27, "Beop wang," second year and "Mu wang," thirty-fifth year; *Yeokju Samguk sagi*, 1:379, 382; and Jonathan Best, *A History of the Early Korean Kingdom of Paekche*, 349–350, 363.

70 *amguk yusa*, T 2039.49.979b02.

71 Yi Neunghwa, *Joseon Bulgyo tongsa*, 1:140.

72 *Samguk sagi* 28, "Uija wang," fifteenth year; *Yeokju Samguk sagi*, 1:386; and Jonathan Best, *A History of the Early Korean Kingdom of Paekche*, 383.

73 *Samguk sagi* 27, "Beop wang," second year; *Yeokju Samguk sagi*, 1:379; and Jonathan Best, *A History of the Early Korean Kingdom of Paekche*, 350.

74 *Samguk sagi* 28, "Uija wang," twentieth year; *Yeokju Samguk sagi*, 1:389; and Jonathan Best, *A History of the Early Korean Kingdom of Paekche*, 388.

75 *Samguk sagi* 28, "Uija wang," twentieth year; *Yeokju Samguk sagi*, 1:389; and Jonathan Best, *A History of the Early Korean Kingdom of Paekche*, 388.

76 *Samguk sagi* 28, "Uija wang," twentieth year; *Yeokju Samguk sagi*, 1:389; and Jonathan Best, *A History of the Early Korean Kingdom of Paekche*, 388.

77 It is a miswriting of Sudeoksa 修德寺.

78 *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.1016a10–23. The article is originally entitled,

“Hyehyeon gu jeong” 惠現求靜 [Hyehyeon Sought the Calming of Affliction].

- 79 Japanese scholars in the early twentieth century called this pagoda Pyeongje (lit. meaning a pagoda commemorating the conquest of Baekje), which stands at a then-unidentified temple site. This appellation derives from an inscription carved on the first story of the pagoda body, which is entitled the “Dae Dang pyeong Baekjeguk bi” 大唐平百濟國碑 [Stele of Great Tang Empire’s Conquest of the Baekje Kingdom]. The inscription turned out to be a later addition to the pagoda, carved by the order of the Tang general Su Jingfang 蘇定方 (592–667) in the year 660 to commemorate Tang’s conquest of Baekje. The initial excavation of the site in 1942 and 1943 led by Fujisawa Kazuo 藤澤一夫 yielded a fragment of roof tile with an inscription bearing a date corresponding to the year 1028 and the name of Jeongnimsa 定林寺. It indicates that Jeongnimsa was in operation at the site during the early Goryeo. Due to lack of other evidence, it is hard to ascertain whether the name Jeongnimsa traces back to the Baekje period. Leaving uncertainty aside, it is currently designated as the Jeongnimsa site, and the pagoda is likewise called the five-storied pagoda of the Jeongnimsa site. The temple site was subject to comprehensive archaeological excavations from 1979 to 1980 and from 1983 to 1984 by the Chungnam National University Museum. The excavation conducted between the years 1979 and 1980 demonstrated that the temple was reconstructed in the year 1028, and yielded a number of fragments of clay figurines, fragments of roof tiles datable to the Baekje and Goryeo periods, and so on. The latest excavation of the site, conducted by the Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage from 2008 to 2010, brought to light hitherto unknown sites of monks’ quarters located in the northern part of corridors and behind the site of a lecture hall. I maintain the previous appellation of the pagoda, i.e. Pyeongje Pagoda, throughout this book in order to let the reader know about the historical conditions in which Go Yuseop was writing. Later in this book, Go Yuseop devoted quite a few paragraphs to this issue, analyzing why Pyeongje is a misnomer. For reports of the excavations conducted at the site, see Yun Mubyeong, *Jeongnimsa ji balgul josa bogoseo*; Gungnip Buyeo munhwajae yeon’guso, *Buyeo Jeongnimsa ji balgul josa bogoseo* 扶餘 定林寺址 發掘調査報告書 [Excavation Report of the Jeongnimsa Site in Buyeo] (Buyeo: Gungnip Buyeo munhwajae yeon’guso, 2011).

- 80 See Chōsen sōtokufu, ed., *Shōwa jūsan-nendo koseki chōsa hōkoku* 昭和十三年度古蹟調査報告 (Keijō [Seoul]: Chōsen Koseki Kenkyūkai, 1940), 43–46.

Go Yuseop referred to the ruins of a temple, located on the southeastern slope of Geumseongsan 錦城山, excavated by the Japanese scholars Ishida Mosaku 石田茂作 (1894–1977) and Saitō Tadashi in 1938. It was more of a trial digging rather than a full-fledged archaeological excavation.

- 81 See Chōsen sōtokufu, ed., *Shōwa jūichi-nendo koseki chōsa hōkoku* 昭和十一年度古蹟調査報告 (Keijō [Seoul]: Chōsen koseki kenkyūkai, 1937), 45–55. The site was excavated by Ishida Mosaku, Saitō Tadashi and others in 1935 and 1936 respectively. It was the first Baekje temple site that was archaeologically excavated. The temple site became well-known due to the discovery of the site of a wooden pagoda, an image of the seated Buddha in soapstone, and an image of the standing Maitreya bodhisattva. Since the excavations did not yield artifacts inscribed with the name of a temple, the ruins were simply called the Gunsu-ri temple site after the village where the temple site was located. The site was the subject of a comprehensive excavation from 2005 to 2011 by the Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage, which revealed the exact locations and sizes of the sites of a wooden pagoda and the golden hall. In addition, a slanting path (*sado* 斜道) was discovered to the west of the foundation of the central base stone at the site of the wooden pagoda. Nevertheless, the name of the temple still remains unknown. For the results of the excavation undertaken at the Gunsu-ri temple site from 2005 to 2007, see Gungnip Buyeo munhwajae yeon'guso, *Buyeo Gunsu-ri saji I: moktap ji geumdang ji balgul josa bogoseo* 扶餘軍守里寺址 I—木塔址·金堂址 發掘調査報告書一 [The Gunsu-ri Temple Site I: Excavation Report of the Wooden Pagoda and Golden Hall Sites] (Buyeo: Gungnip Buyeo munhwajae yeon'guso, 2010). For the results of the excavation of the site of west corridors in 2011, see Gungnip Buyeo munhwajae yeon'guso, *Buyeo Gunsu-ri saji II: seo hoerang ji ildae balgul josa bogoseo* 扶餘軍守里寺址 II—西廻廊址 一帶 發掘調査報告書一 [The Gunsu-ri Temple Site II: Excavation Report of the Site around the West Corridor] (Buyeo: Gungnip Buyeo munhwajae yeon'guso, 2013).
- 82 See Chōsen sōtokufu, ed., *Shōwa jūsan-nendo koseki chōsa hōkoku*, 36–43. It has been known as a temple site since Ishida Mosaku's investigation in 1930. The site was subject to an extensive excavation by the Chungnam National University Museum from 1993 to 1994. This excavation revealed that the temple did not have corridors and that the golden hall was a rectangular building with a plan of five by three bays plan. See Gungnip Buyeo bangmulgwan, ed., *Baekje garam e damgin Bulgyo munhwa* 백제가람에 담긴 불교문화 [Buddhist Culture in Baekje Temples] (Buyeo: Gungnip Buyeo bangmulgwan, 2009), 28–29.

- 83 See Chōsen sōtokufu, ed., *Shōwa jūichi-nendo koseki chōsa hōkoku*, 65–73.
- 84 The Shitennōji style (四天王寺式) refers to a particular way of arranging buildings within the temple precinct in which the main gate, five-storied pagoda, the main hall, and lecture hall are aligned along the north-south axis and are enclosed within the roofed corridors. This type of spatial layout is known to have been the oldest of its kind in Japan. Shitennōji is the first and oldest among many historic temples that are said to have been founded by Prince Shōtoku (聖德太子, 573?–622)—a politician, devout Buddhist, and cultural giant of the Asuka Japan. Three Baekje artisans invited by the prince are known to have led the construction of this temple in 593. Although the temple buildings have been rebuilt over the centuries, the arrangement of buildings within the temple precinct are considered to be original.
- 85 For a plan of Mireuksa with English notations, Hyejeong Choi, “Mireuksa, a Baekje Period Temple of the Future Buddha Maitreya,” 203, fig. 15.
- 86 Gyeongju drew intense attention from Japanese scholars and dilettanti from the very beginning of the twentieth century. Research conducted prior to 1910 was focused on understanding of the current situation of the sites. Since then the scope of research became greatly extended to architectural excavation of temple sites, measurement of archaeological remains and artifacts, and restoration of stone pagodas among others. Also, the newly discovered sites were attributed to particular temples appearing in various textual sources. For more on the surveys and studies on Silla temple sites in Gyeongju during the Japanese colonial period, see Yi Sunja 李順子, *Ilje gangjeomgi gojeok josa sa'eop yeon'gu* 일제강점기 고적조사사업 연구 [Study on the Investigations of Historical Sites during the Japanese Occupation of Korea] (Seoul: Gyeongin munhwasa, 2009). A brief review of the investigations of temple sites in Gyeongju up to 2012 is found in Gungnip Gyeongju munhwajae yeon'guso 국립경주문화재연구소, ed., *Gyeongju jiyeok pyesaji gicho josa-yeon'gu* 경주지역 폐사지 기초조사·연구 [Preliminary Research on the Silla Temple Sites in the Gyeongju Area] (Gyeongju: Gungnip Gyeongju munhwajae yeon'guso, 2012), 30–47. Two relevant essays are contained in this volume, see Cha Suncheol 車順喆, “Ilje gangjeomgi Gyeongju jiyeok ui Silla pyesaji josa wa uimi” 日帝強占期 慶州地域의 新羅 廢寺址 調査와 意味 [Surveys of the Ruins of Silla Temples Located in the Gyeongju Area during the Japanese Occupation of Korea and Their Implications], 206–217 and Kim Dongha 金동하, “Keishū koseki hozonkai ui Bulgyo yujeok josa wa Keishū koseki oyobi ibutsu chōsho (Daichō)” 경주고적보존회의 불교유적조사와

- 『慶州古蹟及遺物調書(臺帳)』[Association of Preservation of Historic Sites in Gyeongju and the *Historic Sites and Artifacts of Gyeongju (Ledger)*], 225–241.
- 87 *Nangmu* 廊廡 refers to a long, narrow, roofed, semi-enclosed corridor, which is in general one bay wide. It is also called *hoerang* 廻廊, or *jurang* 走廊. Originally, it was constructed to surround the most sacred precinct containing the golden hall and pagoda. While the outer side is enclosed, the inner side is open. Window openings that are filled with vertical, square lattice are set in the outer side of corridors at an angle to allow air to flow through.
- 88 *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.986c6–7.
- 89 *Samguk sagi* 4, “Jinheung wang,” fifth year; *Yeokju Samguk sagi*, 1:134; and Kim Pusik, *The Silla Annals of the Samguk Sagi*, 123.
- 90 The area, designated currently as 1491–1, Seoak-dong, Gyeongju-si, Gyeongsangbuk-do, has been identified as the site of Yeongheungsa. See Bulgyo munhwajae yeon’guso 佛教文化財研究所, ed., *Han’guk saji chongnam* 韓國寺址總覽 [Temple Sites of Korea] (Seoul: Munhwajaecheong and Bulgyo munhwajae yeon’guso, 2010), 1: 110. For a summary of previous research on the Yeongheungsa site, see Gungnip Gyeongju munhwajae yeon’guso, *Gyeongju jiyeok pyesaji gicho josa-yeon’gu*, 96–104.
- 91 *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.986c7–8.
- 92 *Samguk sagi* 4, “Jinheung wang,” thirty-seventh year; *Yeokju Samguk sagi*, 1:137; and Kim Pusik, *The Silla Annals of the Samguk Sagi*, 132. Also, see *Samguk sagi* 4, “Jinpyeong wang,” eighteenth year, thirty-sixth year; *Yeokju Samguk sagi*, 1:139, 140; and Kim Pusik, *The Silla Annals of the Samguk Sagi*, 137, 139.
- 93 The site of Hwangnyongsa, excavation of which began in 1976 and ended in 1983, lies in Gyeongju National Park, in a valley near Tohamsan 吐含山. Excavations have yielded more than forty-thousand artifacts including gilt bronze Buddhist images, bronze wind bells, gilt-bronze earrings, and so on. For a report of the excavation results, see Munhwajae gwalliguk 文化財管理局, *Hwangnyongsa yujeok balgul josa bogoseo* 皇龍寺 遺蹟發掘調査報告書 [Report of the Excavation of the Hwangnyongsa Site] (Seoul: Munhwajae Gwalliguk, 1984) and Munhwajae gwalliguk, *Hwangnyongsa yujeok balgul josa bogoseo: dopan pyeon* 皇龍寺 遺蹟發掘調査報告書—圖版編一 [Report of the Excavation of the Hwangnyongsa Site: Illustrations] (Seoul: Munhwajae gwalliguk munhwajae yeon’guso, 1982).
- 94 Go Yuseop elaborated upon the name of this temple and relevant issues later in the chapter. See author’s footnote 5. Hwangnyongsa 皇龍寺 means

temple of the illustrious dragon, while Hwangnyongsa 黃龍寺 is translated as temple of the yellow dragon. The former is used in the epigraphical evidence yielded from the temple site as well as in most modern scholarly writings. For more on the relevant inscription found *in situ*, see note 180 of chapter 3.

- 95 The *Samguk sagi* simply records that this pagoda was first created (*changjo* 創造) in 645. However, the reliquary inscription found in the relic crypt of this pagoda, which will be discussed later, gives a slightly yet meaningfully different account. The latter records that the construction of the pagoda began in 645, so did the erection of the central pillar; yet the construction of the pagoda was completed in 646.
- 96 *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.990a23–c1 and 990c2–991a29.
- 97 *Samguk sagi* 4, “Jinheung wang,” fourteenth year, twenty-seventh year, *Samguk sagi* 5, “Seondeok wang,” fourteenth year; *Yeokju Samguk sagi*, 1: 135, 136, and 148; and Kim Pusik, *The Silla Annals of the Samguk Sagi*, 125, 128, and 156.
- 98 *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.990b4.
- 99 *Samguk sagi* 4, “Jinheung wang,” twenty-seventh year; *Yeokju Samguk sagi*, 1:136; and Kim Pusik, *The Silla Annals of the Samguk Sagi*, 128.
- 100 *Samguk sagi* 4, “Jinheung wang,” twenty-seventh year; *Yeokju Samguk sagi*, 1:136; and Kim Pusik, *The Silla Annals of the Samguk Sagi*, 128.
- 101 *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.991b20–26.
- 102 *Dongguk yeoji seungnam* 28, “Gyeongsang-do,” “Sangju-mok,” “Sancheon”; Minjok munhwa chujinhoe, *Gugyeok Sinjeung Dongguk yeoji seungnam*, 4: 16 (reverse pagination).
- 103 The site of Cheonjusa has been attributed to the area, north of Wolseong and west of Donggung and Wolji 月池 (476–5, Inwang-dong, Gyeongju-si, Gyeongsangbuk-do). For more on the Cheonjusa site, see Gungnip Gyeongju munhwajae yeon’guso, *Gyeongju jiyek pyesaji gicho josa-yeon’gu*, 105–111.
- 104 *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.968b13–14.
- 105 *Ibid.*, T 2039.49.968a26–27.
- 106 Namsan is the most important sacred mountain in Gyeongju, dotted with sites of Buddhist temples and covered with Buddhist monuments including stone pagodas, statues, and lanterns, datable to the seventh and eighth centuries. Although the mountain is actually named Geumosan 金烏山, it was and continues to be called Namsan (South Mountain) due to its geomantic position as southern guardian peak of Silla’s capital.
- 107 *Samguk sagi* 4, “Jinpyeong wang,” ninth year; *Yeokju Samguk sagi*, 1:139;



- and Kim Pusik, *The Silla Annals of the Samguk Sagi*, 136.
- 108 The Samnangsa site is located 600 meters north of the Gyeongju Intercity Bus Terminal. The site has been identified as such since Okuda Tei 奥田悌 (1867–1933, also known as Okuda Yasushi) collected a tile bearing a fragmentary inscription reading “nangsa” 朗寺 in 1918 there. The location was again identified as the Samnangsa site in Okuda Tei, *Shiragi kyūto Keishū shi* 新羅舊都慶州誌 [Gazetteer of Gyeongju, the ancient capital of Silla] (Taikyū [Daegu]: Tamamura shoten, 1920) and Ōsaka Gintarō 大坂金太郎, “Keishū ni okeru Shiragi haijishi no jimei suitei ni tsuite” 慶州における新羅廢寺址の寺名推定に就て [On the Estimation of the Name of the Ruins of Temple Sites of Silla], *Chōsen* 朝鮮 197 (October 1931): 81–93. The arrangement of buildings or architectural remains of the Samnangsa site are not known since it has never been excavated thus far. Today, there remains a pair of stone supports for a banner staff. For more on the Samnangsa site, see Gungnip Gyeongju munhwajae yeon’guso, *Gyeongju jiyek pyesaji gicho josa-yeon’gu*, 81–89.
- 109 *Samguk sagi* 4, “Jinpyeong wang,” nineteenth year; *Yeokju Samguk sagi*, 1: 139; and Kim Pusik, *The Silla Annals of the Samguk Sagi*, 137.
- 110 *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.1003a20.
- 111 Ibid., T 2039.49.1010b26–b27.
- 112 Ibid., T 2039.49.1002c26–28.
- 113 Ibid., T 2039.49.1004b10–c4.
- 114 Ibid., T 2039.49.1012a18 and 1012b4.
- 115 Ibid., T 2039.49.1004c19.
- 116 Ibid., T2039.49.1004c22–23.
- 117 Ibid., T 2039. 49.1011c12–13.
- 118 *Donggyeong japgi* 2, “Buru”; Min Jumyeon 閔周冕, *Donggyeong japgi* (Keijō [Seoul]: Joseon gwangmunhoe, 1913), 2:3. The *Donggyeong japgi*, compiled in 1669 by Min Jumyeon (1629–1670), is a revised and enlarged edition of the *Donggyeong ji* 東京誌 [Gazetteer of the Eastern Capital] of unknown authorship. Eastern Capital is a byname for Gyeongju during the Goryeo dynasty. Since it is a local gazetteer of the ancient capital of Silla, it provides ample historical resources with regard to Silla such as entries on Buddhist temples, historical remains, and figures.
- 119 *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.1002a24–29.
- 120 *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.963b10–13. Iseo kingdom is one of small kingdoms that was annexed by Silla during its early days. It ruled the region encompassing present-day Iseo-myeon and Hwayang-eup, both located within Cheongdo-gun, Gyeongsangnam-do.



- 121 *Samguk sagi* 5, “Seondeok wang,” third year; *Yeokju Samguk sagi*, 1:144; and Kim Pusik, *The Silla Annals of the Samguk Sagi*, 148.
- 122 Yeongmyosa was located at the end of Namcheon 南川 in the present-day Seonggeon-dong, Gyeongju in Gyeongsangbuk-do. It is one of the Seven Sites of Buddhist Temples (Chil cheo garam 七處伽藍) of Silla, temples that were believed to have been founded during the age in which the seven buddhas of the past, including Śākyamuni, had lived. The monk Ado is said to have identified it as where Kanakamuni Buddha, the fifth of the seven buddhas of the past, had resided. Legend has it that a group of spirits, called *duduri* 頭頭里, filled a pond and founded the temple overnight during the reign of Queen Seondeok. The temple was famous for its Buddhist images, wooden pagoda, roof tiles and so on, all created by the famous monk-artisan Yangji. The sites of the golden hall and two buildings that stood in front of it were discovered in the Yeongmyosa site. Besides, there remains a pair of flagpole supports and tiles stamped with the name of a temple reading either “Yeongmyosa” 靈妙寺 or “Yeongmyosa” 靈廟寺 are found from time to time. For more about the Seven Sites of Buddhist Temples of Silla, see note 147 of chapter 3.
- 123 *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.991c22.
- 124 *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.991c21–27.
- 125 *Ibid.*, T 2039.49.1004a7–8. The article is originally entitled “Yangji sa seok” 良志使錫 [Yangji’s Magic Staff]. Seokjangsa was located in today’s Seokjang-chon, Geumjang-ri, Hyeongok-myeon, Gyeongju-si, Gyeongsangbuk-do. Allegedly founded by the monk Yangji, the temple seems to have existed until the early years of Joseon dynasty. In 1917 Ōsaka Gintarō, one of the Japanese scholars who undertook surveys of historic sites in Gyeongju, investigated the Seokjangsa site that had been used as a cemetery, see Ōsaka Gintarō, “Keishū ni okeru Shiragi haijishi no jimei suitei ni tsuite”; cited from Cha Suncheol 車順喆, “Ilje gangjeomgi Gyeongju jiyek samyeong chujeong gwajeong geomto” 日帝強占期 慶州地域寺名 推定過程 検討 [Examination of the Attribution Process of the Temple Names during the Japanese Occupation of Korea], *Sillasa hakbo* 新羅史學報 7 (2006): 17. The temple site was excavated by the Dongguk University Museum at Gyeongju in 1986 and 1992. Although the temple site was in ruins, the excavations revealed the site of the golden hall with a plan of three by one bays from the Goryeo period, and yielded diverse Buddhist artifacts such as bricks bearing a design of buddhas and pagodas with an inscription “Verse of Dependent Arising” (Yeon’gi beopsong 緣起法頌) among others. The white porcelain bowl, bearing an ink inscription

- reading “Seokjang” 錫杖, cemented the identification of the site as being that of Seokjangsa. See Dongguk daehakgyo Gyeongju kampeoseu bangmulgwan 동국대학교경주캠퍼스박물관, *Seokjangsa ji* 석장사지 [The Seokjangsa Site] (Gyeongju: Dongguk daehakgyo Gyeongju kampeoseu bangmulgwan, 1994), 96–97. Currently, nothing remains above ground at the temple site. Also, see Gungnip Gyeongju munhwajae yeon’guso, *Gyeongju jiyeok pyesaji gicho josa-yeon’gu*, 50–58.
- 126 *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.1004a10.
  - 127 *Ibid.*, T 2039.49.1010b17.
  - 128 *Haedong goseung jeon*, T 2065.50.1021c7–1022a11.
  - 129 *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.1005a4–5.
  - 130 *Ibid.*, T 2039.49.1011b08.
  - 131 *Ibid.*, T 2039.49.1005c6–7 and 998c9.
  - 132 *Ibid.*, T 2039.49.991a3–4, 993b3–4, 1005c5, and 1006a1.
  - 133 *Ibid.*, T 2039.49.998c12.
  - 134 Jeongamsa is located on Taebaeksan in Gohan-ri, Gohan-eup, Jeongseong-gun, Gangwon-do. It is one of the temples that are believed to enshrine the authentic relics of the Buddha, known as *jeongmyeol bogung* 寂滅寶宮 (lit. treasure palace of nirvāṇa). In this type of temple, a relic pagoda is positioned in the rear of the Buddha hall.
  - 135 *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.1005c18–19.
  - 136 *Ibid.*, T 2039.49.998c10.
  - 137 *Ibid.*, T 2039.49.1000a12–13.
  - 138 Daehwasa 大和寺 also appears in the entry, “The Nine-Storied Pagoda at Hwangnyongsa,” see *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.991a4.
  - 139 Abyusa also appears in the entry, “Jajang Established the Vinaya,” see *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.1006a2.
  - 140 *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T 2060.50.639c1–2. Compiled by the monk Daoxuan, this text includes biographies of about five hundred people who lived in the period stretching from the Liang dynasty to the year 645. It is also known as the *Tang gaoseng zhuan* 唐高僧傳 [Tang Biographies of Eminent Monks].
  - 141 *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.1015a29–c18.
  - 142 *Ibid.*, T 2039.49.1006a18–19.
  - 143 *Ibid.*, T 2039.49.1006a19.
  - 144 Jachusa is believed to have been founded in the fourteenth year of King Beopheung (527) in commemoration of the martyr Ichadon. There are two hypotheses regarding the location of the temple: one identifies Baengnyulsa, which stood in the middle of Geumgangsan 金剛山 located

in present-day Dongcheon-dong, Gyeongju, whereas the other identifies the site where the Buddha triad is carved on the cliff, located about twenty meters north from the summit of Geumgangsán. The former is based on the stone pillar carved with a scene of Ichadon's beheading, which was originally erected at Baengnyulsa and is currently in the collection of Gyeongju National Museum.

- 145 *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.987b3–c20.
- 146 The sites of a pagoda and buildings were partially excavated on four occasions from the early 1970s to early 1980s. However, there are dissenting scholarly opinions on whether it is the site of Heungnyunsa or that of another temple, Yeongmyosa. For a review of the excavation results and their implications, see Shin Changsoo 申昌秀, “Heungnyunsa ui balgul seonggwa geomto” 興輪寺의 發掘成果 檢討 [A Review of the Excavation Results of the Site Attributed to Heungnyunsa], *Silla munhwa* 20 (2002): 287–308.
- 147 *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.986b. The Seven Sites of Buddhist Temples refers to seven sacred sites that were believed to have been founded during the age in which the seven buddhas of the past, including Śākyamuni, had lived. According to the account “Ado Established the Foundation of Buddhism in Silla” in the *Samguk yusa*, the mother of Ado, who was born in Goguryeo, told her son that there were sites of the seven temples dating from the period in which the seven buddhas of the past had lived in the capital of Silla and that a sage king would appear and to make the Buddhist law flourish after three thousand months. She further asked him to go there to transmit Buddhism. The seven sites are: (1) Cheongyeongnim 天鏡林 located east of Geumgyo 金橋 (corresponding to Heungnyunsa); (2) Samcheongi 三川岐 (Yeongheungsa); (3) south of the Dragon Palace (Yonggung 龍宮) (Hwangnyongsa); (4) north of the Dragon Palace (Bunhwangsa); (5) end of Sacheon 沙川 (Yeongmyosa); (6) Sinyurim 神遊林 ([Sa]cheonwangsa [四]天王寺); and (7) Seocheongjeon 婿請田 (Dameomsa 曇嚴寺). Most of these temples were built by the Silla monarchs, a fact suggesting that portions of the Silla royalty were aware of being removed from India and were eager to forge a karmic linkage with the birthplace of Buddhism. Consequently, this account has been interpreted as evidence showing Silla people's conceptualization of Silla as a buddha-land (*bulgukto* 佛國土). For an English translation and discussion of the passage in question, see Richard D. McBride II, *Domesticating the Dharma*, 22–27. For more on the notion of Silla as a buddha-land, see Rhi Ki-yong 李箕永, *Han'guk Bulgyo yeon'gu* 韓國佛教研究 [Research on

- Korean Buddhism] (Seoul: Han'guk Bulgyo yeon'guwon, 1982), 513; Rhi Ki-yong, "Brief Remarks on the Buddha-land Ideology in Silla during the Seventh and Eighth Centuries," trans. Antonino Forte, in *Tang China and Beyond: Studies on East Asia from the Seventh to the Tenth Century*, ed. Antonino Forte (Kyoto: Istituto Italiano di Cultura Scuola di Studi sull'Asia Orientale, 1988), 170.
- 148 The ten saints of Silla collectively refer to those who endeavored to propagate Buddhism in Silla. It consists of Ado, Yeomchok (also known as Ichadon), Hyesuk, Anham, Uisang 義湘, Pyohun 表訓, Sapa 蛇巴, Wonhyo, Hyegong, and Jajang. It is unclear on what grounds they were selected, nor when the clay images of them were enshrined at Heungnyunsa.
  - 149 Indra, the mighty lord of devas, is one of the two tutelary gods of Buddhism. He is believed to dwell in the Palace of Correct Views (Seon'gyeonseong 善見城) at the summit of Mount Sumeru (須彌山). He is in the Trāyastriṃśas Heaven (Dori cheon 仞利天), the second of the Thirty-Three Heavens, where he inquires into the moral state of the secular world based on the reports of the kings of the four quarters.
  - 150 Samantabhadra bodhisattva, whose name means universal sagacity, represents the practice and meditation of all the buddhas, as contrasted to Mañjuśrī (文殊) who represents wisdom and realization. He is the right hand attendant of Śākyamuni in Buddhist temple iconography, symbolizing the teaching, meditation, and practice of the Buddha, and is often portrayed mounted on a white elephant with six tusks.
  - 151 Fujishima Gaijirō, a graduate of the Department of Architecture at Tokyo Imperial University, was a Japanese architectural historian. In the 1920s he conducted surveys of temple sites, dating from both Old and Unified Silla periods, located in the Gyeongju area. They include Bulguksa, Hwangnyongsa, Heungnyunsa, Bunhwangsa, Sacheonwangsa, Mangdeoksa, Bomunsa 普門寺, Gamsansa 甘山寺, as well as unidentified temple sites situated at Cheon'gun-ri, Malbang-ri 末方里, and Tapjeong-ri 塔政里. He continued the examination and preservation of Korean architecture, while serving as a member of the Conservation Committee of Treasures, Historic Sites, Scenic Spots, and Natural Monuments of Korea from 1933 to 1945.
  - 152 Fujishima Gaijirō, "Chōsen kenchiku shiron sono ni" 朝鮮建築史論 其二 [Study on the History of Korean Architecture II], *Kenchiku zasshi* 建築雜誌 44, no. 3 (1930): 487.
  - 153 The stone trough (*seokjo* 石槽) is a kind of vessels made to hold water. It was usually made of a big boulder, the center of which was hollowed out.

- It was often used as a sink in which dishes were washed after feasts or large assemblies at great Buddhist temples.
- 154 *Donggyeong japgi* 2, “Gojeok”; *Donggyeong japgi*, 2:17.
- 155 *Samguk sagi* 4, “Jinpyeong wang,” thirty-sixth year; *Yeokju Samguk sagi*, 1:140; and Kim Pusik, *The Silla Annals of the Samguk Sagi*, 139.
- 156 Naebuldang refers to a Buddha hall established within the palace precinct. In the account, “The Monk Wolmyeong and the Song of Tusita,” it was also called *naegung* 內宮 or *naewon* 內院. See *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.1013c3, c5.
- 157 Anapji, originally called Wolji, is located in present-day In’gyo-dong, Gyeongju-si, Gyeongsangbuk-do. The pond, subsidiary to Imhaejeon 臨海殿 (the crown prince’s residence), was built in 674 by King Munmu (文武王, r. 661–681). The soil taken out was used to build a mound where the king grew flowers and raised different kinds of animals.
- 158 *Donggyeong japgi gano*; *Donggyeong japgi*, 1:1–17. It was compiled by Gwon Ijin 權以鎭 in 1712 as a corrective to the *Donggyeong japgi*.
- 159 *Donggyeong japgi* 2, “Buru,” Cheonjusa; *Donggyeong japgi*, 2:3.
- 160 *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.968b13–14.
- 161 *Samguk sagi* 4, “Jinheung wang,” fourteenth year; *Yeokju Samguk sagi*, 1:135; and Kim Pusik, *The Silla Annals of the Samguk Sagi*, 125.
- 162 *Samguk sagi* 4, “Jinheung wang,” twenty-seventh year; *Yeokju Samguk sagi*, 1:136; and Kim Pusik, *The Silla Annals of the Samguk Sagi*, 128.
- 163 *Samguk sagi* 4, “Jinheung wang,” thirty-fifth year; *Yeokju Samguk sagi*, 1:137; and Kim Pusik, *The Silla Annals of the Samguk Sagi*, 129. One *geun* 斤 measures approximately 600 grams. One *pun* 分 can mean either approximately 0.25 centimeters or 28.4 grams.
- 164 *Samguk sagi* 5, “Seondeok wang,” fourteenth year; *Yeokju Samguk sagi*, 1:148; and Kim Pusik, *The Silla Annals of the Samguk Sagi*, 156.
- 165 Kāśyapa is the sixth of the seven past buddhas, who appeared prior to Śākyamuni.
- 166 The *Ongnyong jip* has been identified as one of prophetic books (*docham seo* 圖讖書) written during the Goryeo dynasty. A number of such books, compiled in the Goryeo dynasty, were attributed to the geomancer-monk Doseon, who for thirty-five years resided in Ongnyongsa 玉龍寺. For this reason, these books were often called *Ongnyong gi* 玉龍記 [Jade Dragon Record] or *Ongnyong jip*. See Yi Byeongdo, *Goryeo sidae ui yeon’gu* 高麗時代의 研究 [Studies of the Goryeo period] (Seoul: Euryu munhwasa, 1948). For more on Doseon and his geomantic theory, see note 57 of chapter 4.

- 167 *Donggyeong japgi gano*; *Donggyeong japgi*, 1:1–17.
- 168 For more on the Seven Sites of Buddhist Temples, see note 147 of chapter 3.
- 169 There are differing opinions regarding the identity of this text, which is repeatedly quoted in the *Samguk yusa*. It can either mean the *Samguk sagi* or earlier texts on the history of Silla.
- 170 *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.989a22–28.
- 171 One *nyang* is approximately 37.5 grams.
- 172 The *sajung gi* 寺中記 and *sajung gogi* 寺中古記, which I have translated as “the record from the temple” and “old record from the temple” respectively, appear to be epigraphic documents collected from specific temple and pagoda sites that cite them in the sections of the *Samguk yusa*. For a recent discussion of this issue, see Youn-mi Kim, “(Dis)assembling the National Canon,” in *New Perspectives on Early Korean Art: From Silla to Koryŏ*, ed. Youn-mi Kim (Cambridge: Korea Institute, Harvard University, 2013), 141.
- 173 See *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.989a23–990b28.
- 174 Brahmā (Beomwang 梵王), originally a Vedic god, occupies the role of leader of guardian deities after being incorporated into the Buddhist pantheon. Brahmā and Indra, as coupled guardian deities, play significant roles in Buddhist scriptures: Brahmā entreats the Buddha to preach, whereas Indra guards the relics of the Buddha. For an iconographical analysis of the pair in Buddhist art of Silla, see Huh Hyeong-uk 許亨旭, “Seokguram Beomcheon · Jeseokcheon sang dosang ui giwon gwa seongnip” 석굴암 梵天 · 帝釋天像 도상의 기원과 성립 [The Iconography of Brahmā and Indra in Seokguram: Its Origin and Formation], *Misulsahak jeon’gu* 246 · 247 (2005): 5–46.
- 175 The Assembly of the Eight Prohibitions was introduced to Silla by the monk Hyeryang 惠亮, a Goguryeo immigrant to Silla after the conquest of the Han’gang Basin in 551. Originated from a special dharma assembly for laymen, the Assembly of the Eight Prohibitions was used to empower the monarchs and prosper the kingdom during the Silla. The assembly was held at an unnamed temple on behalf of deceased soldiers for the first time in recorded history. See Richard D. McBride, *Domesticating the Dharma*, 27–28. For more on this practice, see Sem Vermeersch, “The P’algwanhoe: From Buddhist Penance to Religious Festival,” in *Religions of Korea in Practice*, ed. Robert E. Buswell, Jr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 86–99.
- 176 Mount Zhongnan, located south of present-day Xi’an 西安 in Shaanxi Province of China, was a renowned Buddhist center dotted with numerous

temples.

- 177 The title *igan* was given to a second-rank official in Silla's seventeen-rank hierarchy of officials.
- 178 Yongchun (fl. seventh century), a son of King Jinji (眞智王, r. 576–579) and Lady Jido (知道夫人), was the father of Gim Chunchu 金春秋 who ascended the throne as the twenty-ninth monarch of Silla. He was granted posthumous epithet of Great King Munheung (文興大王) after his son's enthronement.
- 179 The term *chalju* 刹柱, literally meaning “temple pole,” refers to the central pillar of a wooden Buddhist pagoda. It functions to maintain the center of a wooden structure by serving as the vertical axis to which other structural members are joined and functions to integrate multiple stories. Though it was long believed that the central pillar served as a primary vertical load-bearing member of the structure, the “heart pillar” (Jp. *shinbashira* 心柱) of the five-storied wooden pagoda at Hōryūji shows otherwise. The heart pillar of the Hōryūji Pagoda is currently suspended in the air, since its base had rotted away with age. It turns out that the structural role of the central pillar resides in bracing against horizontal loads from wind and earthquake. For more about this, see Eric M. Field, “The Central Core Structural System: A Three-Dimensional Analysis of the Five-Story Pagoda of Hōryūji,” in *Hōryūji Reconsidered*, ed. Dorothy C. Wang and Eric M. Field (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2008), 26–47, esp. Pl. 11. I am very grateful to Profs. Youngsook Pak and Roderick Whitfield for directing my attention to this source. In addition, the relics of the Buddha were often enshrined inside the central base stone supporting the central pillar (Jp. *sinsho* 心礎 or *sasso* 擦礎). The location was chosen to prevent theft of the relics and other precious offerings, since it is impossible to take them out without moving the enormous central pillar.
- 180 The “Chalju gi” corresponds to the inscription engraved on inside and outside of three remaining walls of a gilt-bronze casket, which was originally enshrined inside a cavity hewn out of the central base stone of the pagoda. The seventy-four lines of inscription is entitled the “Hwangnyongsa chalju bon'gi” 皇龍寺刹柱本記 [Record of the Central Pillar at Hwangnyongsa] after the location where it was enshrined. The inscription came to light in the 1960s when looters took out the relic deposits from their original location. The stolen objects were sent to the National Museum of Korea two years after the robbery when the looters were caught. Given that the actual reliquary set was enshrined inside the central base stone, the compiler of the *Samguk yusa* was not able to read



the inscription engraved on the actual object and must have acquired this reliquary inscription in the form of epigraphs. For this point, see Youn-mi Kim, “(Dis)assembling the National Canon,” 136–140. Hwang Suyong was the first among scholars who pointed out Iryeon’s quotation of this particular reliquary inscription. See Hwang Suyong, “Silla Hwangnyongsa Gu-cheung moktap ‘Chalju bon’gi’ wa geu sarigu” 新羅 皇龍寺 九層木塔 刹柱本記와 그舍利具 [The “Record of the Central Pillar” of the Nine-Storied Wooden Pagoda of Hwangnyongsa from Silla and the Pagoda’s Reliquary], *Dongyanghak* 東洋學 3 (1973): 278–279. A transcription of the inscription in its entirety with annotations is found in Hwang Suyong, “Silla Hwangnyongsa Gu-cheungtap ji: ‘Chalju bon’gi’ e daehayeo” 新羅 皇龍寺 九層塔誌: 刹柱本記에 대하여 [Record of the Nine-Storied Pagoda at Hwangnyongsa from Silla: Regarding the “Record of the Central Pillar”], *Dongyanghak* 3 (1973): 499–507.

- 181 Youn-mi Kim has alternatively translated this sentence as follows: “The pinnacle of the pagoda is 42 *cheok* tall and the body of the pagoda is 183 *cheok* tall.” See Youn-mi Kim, “(Dis)assembling the National Canon,” 139, esp. note 33. The iron plate, often rendered as “dew plate,” refers to the box-like structure at the bottom of the metal finial of a wooden pagoda. The original height of this pagoda including the finial has been estimated as approximately 80.2 meters, since one *cheok* in the measurement unit known as the Goryeo *cheok* 高麗尺 was 35.63 centimeters. For more detailed discussion of the Goryeo *cheok*, see note 5 of chapter 3.
- 182 Mount Wutai is located in the northeast part of Shanxi Province of China. This famous mountain was believed to be an abode of Mañjuśrī bodhisattva. It has been regarded as one of the most sacred sites in China. The mountain was visited by numerous pilgrims both from China and its neighbors including Korea, Japan, as well as Vietnam. For the latest monograph devoted to this mountain and its visual culture, see Wei-cheng Lin, *Building a Sacred Mountain: The Buddhist Architecture of China’s Mount Wutai* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014). The account of Jajang’s journey to Mount Wutai and reception of the Buddha relics are intertwined with the process of the making of Odaesan, a Korean counterpart of Mount Wutai, and the making of Silla as a land of the Buddha. For more about this, see Eun-su Cho, “Manifestation of the Buddha’s Land in the Here and Now: Relic Installation and Territorial Transformation in Medieval Korea,” in *Images, Relics, and Legends: The Formation and Transformation of Buddhist Sacred Sites* (Essays in Honor of Koichi Shinohara), ed. James Benn, Jinhua Chen, and James Robson



- (Oakville, Ontario: Mosaic Press, 2010), 138–163.
- 183 The so-called three treasures were the attributes of state Buddhism in Silla. For a classic study on the subject, see Kim Yeongtae 金煥泰, “Silla Bulgyo hoguk sasang” 신라불교 호국사상 [State-Protection thought in Silla Buddhism], in *Silla Bulgyo yeon'gu* 新羅佛教研究 [A Study on Silla Buddhism] (Seoul: Minjok munhwasa, 1987), 165–185. For a critical review of how the state-protection Buddhism has been discussed in modern scholarship, see Sem Vermeersch, *The Power of the Buddhas: The Politics of Buddhism during the Koryŏ* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, Harvard University Center, 2008), esp. 13–20.
- 184 The Nine Tripods collectively refer to the legendary ritual vessels that are said to have been made by Yu the Great (禹王), the founder of Xia 夏 dynasty in ancient China. Legend has it that Yu the Great had them made, using tribute metal presented by the governors of the nine provinces of ancient China. The Nine Tripods came to embody the power and legitimacy of the ruling dynasty with strict regulations imposed as to their use. For more on the symbolism embodied in the Nine Tripods, see Wu Hung, *Monumentality in Early Chinese Art and Architecture* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995), 1–16.
- 185 The *Dongdo seongnip gi* does not survive today.
- 186 See *Samguk sagi* 11, “Gyeongmun wang,” eighth year; *Yeokju Samguk sagi*, 1: 228; and Kim Pusik, *The Silla Annals of the Samguk Sagi*, 367.
- 187 *Samguk sagi* 11, “Gyeongmun wang,” thirteenth year; *Yeokju Samguk sagi*, 1: 229; and Kim Pusik, *The Silla Annals of the Samguk Sagi*, 369.
- 188 *Goryeosa jeoryo* 2, Gwangjong Daeseong daewang 光宗大成大王, fourth year, tenth month; Gim Jongseo 金宗瑞 et al., *Sinpyeon Goryeosa jeoryo* 新編高麗史節要, trans. Minjok munhwa chujinhoe (Seoul: Sinseowon, 2004), 1: 104. The *Goryeosa jeoryo*, compiled in 1452, is an abridged version of the *Goryeosa* in 135 fascicles. This book, composed of 35 fascicles, documents the major events that occurred in each year including information on leading people, the activities of the king, and diplomatic events through year to year. It offers a succinct overview of records compiled in the *Goryeosa*. Also, it contains some records not found in the longer version, and vice versa. Selected annals of the eighteenth to twenty-third Goryeo monarchs, spanning the period between 1146 and 1259, have been translated into English, see Kim Chongsŏ et al., *Koryŏsa chŏryŏ II: Essentials of Koryŏ History*, trans. Edward J. Shultz and Hugh H. W. Kang (Paju: Jimoondang, 2014).
- 189 *Goryeosa* 53, “Ji” 志 7, “Ohaeng” 五行 1, King Jeongjong, fourth year, tenth

- month, *eulmyo*; Jeong Inji et al., *Bugyeok Goryeosa*, 5:321.
- 190 *Goryeosa* 4, “Sega” 4, King Hyeonjong, third year, fifth month, *gisa*; Jeong Inji et al., *Bugyeok Goryeosa*, 1:199. Joyugung was a detached palace (*byeolgung* 別宮) located in Gyeongju during the early years of Goryeo.
- 191 *Goryeosa* 53, “Ji” 7, “Ohaeng” 1, King Heonjong, founding year, sixth month, *muin*; Jeong Inji et al., *Bugyeok Goryeosa*, 5:322.
- 192 *Goryeosa* 10, “Sega” 10, King Heonjong, founding year, eighth month, *gapsin*; Jeong Inji et al., *Bugyeok Goryeosa*, 1:485.
- 193 *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.990c2–991a29.
- 194 The full title of the article reads “Hwangnyongsa jong Bunhwangsa Yaksa Bongdeoksa jong” 皇龍寺鍾芬皇寺藥師鳳德寺鐘 [The Bell of Hwangnyongsa, the Image of the Medicine Buddha at Bunhwangsa, and the Bell of Bongdeoksa].
- 195 The title *iwang* 伊王 may be corrected as *ichan* 伊飡, which was given to a second-rank officials in Silla’s seventeen-rank hierarchy.
- 196 Hyojeong (d.u.) was a true-bone (*jin’gol* 眞骨) aristocrat from Silla, who held the post of an administrative head, *jungsi* 中侍 from 714 to 718.
- 197 *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.991b1–6.
- 198 *Samguk sagi* 48, “Yeoljeon” 8, “Solgeo”; *Yeokju Samguk sagi*, 1:617.
- 199 Most scholars share Go Yuseop’s view on the nine states and tribes since they do not reflect the historical condition of the Silla kingdom during the seventh century. It is interesting to note that the term “Han” had been used in texts related to Goguryeo and Baekje, referring to newly conquered frontier areas or a neighboring state that was under their influence. For more on this issue, see Jeon Jin-kook 田鎮國, “‘Guhan’ ui yongnye wa ‘Han’ e daehan insik” ‘九韓’의 용례와 ‘韓’에 대한 인식 [The Usage of “Guhan” and Perception of “Han”], *Sillasa hakbo* 36 (2016): 105–141.
- 200 Fujishima Gaijirō, “Chōsen kenchiku shiron sono ichi” 朝鮮建築史論 其一 [Study on the History of Korean Architecture I], *Kenchiku zasshi* 44, no. 2 (1930): 297–300.
- 201 For more about the term, see note 98 of chapter 5.
- 202 Hashimoto Gyōin was a renowned scholar-monk of the Hossō sect (法相宗). He served as the abbot of Yakushiji 藥師寺 in Nara from 1939 to 1967. A graduate of the Department of Indian Philosophy at Tokyo Imperial University, Hashimoto was well known for his participation in the compilation of the *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*, the Japanese edition of the Chinese Buddhist canon.
- 203 See Hashimoto Gyōin, “Bukkyō kōri sijō yori mitaru tōba” 佛教教理史上より視たる塔婆, *Yumedono* 10 (1933): 45–70. As the subtitle *Tōba no kenkyū*

suggests, the tenth volume of *Yumedono* contains nineteen articles with ample illustrations relating to various aspects of Buddhist pagodas of India, China, Korea, to Japan. The issue was included in Go Yuseop's book collection.

- 204 Historically, the “many treasures pagoda” refers to a specific type of pagodas, which derive their name from the pagoda of Prabhūtaratna Tathāgata (多寶如來) described in the *Lotus Sūtra* (see *Fahua jing*, T 262.9.32c19). The motif occurs frequently in the cave temples of Longmen, located near Luoyang 洛陽, Henan Province (河南省), and Yungang, situated near Datong 大同 in Shanxi Province. Extant examples of the many treasures pagoda at the two cave temple sites generally have three stories, one of which has images of Sākyamuni Buddha and Prabhūtaratna Tathāgata seated together. Or, images of the two buddhas appear without the frame of pagoda. Such images are called “twin buddhas who are seated together” (*i bul byeongjiwa sang* 二佛竝坐像) in modern art historical scholarship.
- 205 The bronze plate, measuring 83.3 centimeters high and 74.2 centimeters wide, has been dated to sometime between the seventh and eighth centuries. For a reproduction of the image, see Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan 奈良國立博物館, *Hakuhō: hana hiraku bukkyō bijutsu* 白鳳一花ひらく佛教美術一 [Hakuhō: The First Full Flowering of Buddhist Art in Japan] (Nara: Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, 2015), 168, Cat. 117.
- 206 *Fahua jing*, T 262.9.33c5–c8. For an alternative rendering of the passage, see Leon Hurvitz, trans., *Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma*, 188.

## Chapter 4 Relics of the Buddha and Changes in Historical Accounts of the Founding of Temples

### Translator's Notes

- 1 Title added by the editor Hwang Suyeong at the time of publication in 1948.
- 2 Uisang is one of the most eminent scholar monks who lived in the early years of Silla. Unlike his close friend Wonhyo, he traveled to China where he studied under the influential Huayan 華嚴 Master Zhiyan 智儼 at Mount Zhongnan. He was considered as the founder of the Korean Hwaom school. For his short biography, see *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳, T 2106.50.729a3–c3.
- 3 Wonyung is a posthumous title conferred by King Munjong on the eminent monk Gyeoreung 決凝 (964–1053) of the early Goryeo dynasty, who was respected for his deep grasp of Hwaom. Nothing is known about Go Cheong and Im Ho other than this record.
- 4 Zhiyan (602–668), a learned monk, was later designated as the second patriarch of the official Chinese Huayan tradition. He was the student of Dushun 杜順, and the teacher of Uisang and Fazang 法藏. For his biography, see *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T 2060.50.644a8.
- 5 The Buddha hall corresponds to Muryangsujeon 無量壽殿 (Hall of Immeasurable Life), which is dedicated to Amitābha Buddha who expounds the dharma in his Western Pure Land. The building was repaired during the reign of King Hyeonjong of Goryeo, yet the repaired one was destroyed by fire. The building currently standing at the temple was rebuilt in the second year of King U (禡王, r. 1374–1388) of Goryeo. It was subject to extensive repairs in 1916.
- 6 To the best of my knowledge, it is unclear whether a shadow pagoda refers to a specific type of pagoda or corresponds to the name of a particular pagoda.
- 7 Various rendered as consecration, coronation, lustration, or baptism, it derived from the ancient Indian custom on the investiture of a king known as *abhiṣeka*, during which the head of a king was sprinkled with water drawn from the four seas and from the rivers in his domain. In esoteric Buddhism, it is practiced for conferring the precepts on a person.
- 8 *Beishi* 94, “Liezhuān” 82, “Baiji zhuan”; Guksa pyeonchan wiwonhoe, ed. and trans., *Jungguk jeongsa Joseon jeon yeokju*, 2:46.

- 9 The *Genkō shakusho* was compiled in 1322 by the monk Kokan Shiren 虎関師鍊 (1278–1346). It is the first Buddhist history ever written in Japan, which covers about 700 years since the initial transmission of Buddhism to Japan.
- 10 This text was written by Mangen Shibā 正元師蠻 (1626–1710) of the Rinzai sect in 1702. It includes biographies of 1,662 Japanese priests from the sixth century onward, regardless of their sectarian affiliations.
- 11 The title *eunsol* was given to a third-rank official in Baekje's sixteen-rank hierarchy.
- 12 The title *deoksol* was given to a fourth-rank official in Baekje's sixteen-rank hierarchy.
- 13 The title *nasol* was given to a sixth-rank official in Baekje's sixteen-rank hierarchy.
- 14 The term *sagong* 寺工 seems to refer to a skilled artisan in the field of architecture and building construction in general.
- 15 The term *roban hakase* 鑪盤博士 refers to an artisan specializing in making of the finial of a pagoda. Given that the finial of a wooden pagoda was made of metal, the roban hakase must have been skilled in casting.
- 16 The title *jangdeok* was given to a seventh-rank official in Baekje's sixteen-rank hierarchy.
- 17 Hōkōji 法興寺, also known as Asukadera 飛鳥寺 or Gangōji 元興寺, was the first Buddhist temple built in Japan. The construction of the temple began in 587 and finished in 609. For a comprehensive study on Asukadera and its architecture, see Donald F. McCallum, *The Four Great Temples: Buddhist Archaeology, Architecture, and Icons of Seventh-Century Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009), 23–82.
- 18 In translating this passage, I have consulted the annotated Korean translation of the text and Donald F. McCallum's discussion. For the relevant sections, see Toneri Shinnō 舍人親王 et al., ed., *Yeokju Ilbon seogi* 譯註 日本書紀 [The Annotated Translation of the *Chronicles of Japan*], trans. Yeon Minsu 연민수 et al. (Seoul: Dongbuga yeoksa jaedan, 2013), 3:31–32 and Donald F. McCallum, *The Four Great Temples*, 40–42.
- 19 The title *namal* 奈末 was given to an eleventh-rank official in Silla's seventeen-rank hierarchy.
- 20 This title is a combination of *namal* (the eleventh-rank in Silla's seventeen-rank hierarchy of official) and *dalsol* (the second-rank in Baekje's sixteen-rank hierarchy of officials).
- 21 I have referred to the annotated Korean translation of the passage in Toneri Shinnō et al., ed., *Yeokju Ilbon seogi*, 3:81.

- 22 *Samguk sagi* 4, “Jinheung wang,” tenth year, spring; *Yeokju Samguk sagi*, 1: 134; and Kim Pusik, *The Silla Annals of the Samguk Sagi*, 124.
- 23 This term is a combination of the two disparate terms “true body” and “relics.” In the Chinese Buddhist canon, the term “true body” is used in two major ways: it appears in the theory of Buddha’s body, or it is used as an epithet for physical remains of the Buddha. The second usage of the term is found in Dharmakṣema’s 曇無讖 (385–433) translation of the *Golden Light Sūtra* (*Jingguangming jing* 金光明經, T 663.16.354a12–13). The modern Korean scholar Rhi Juhyung has pointed out that the term does not appear in the Sanskrit original and that it was inserted by Dharmakṣema and his assistants during the course of translation. In this passage and many other instances, whether it appears in scriptures or epigraphs, the term “true body” seems to have been used as an honorific prefix to relics with the claim of authenticity. In this sense, the term implies a suspicion cast on relics of the Buddha that were often denigrated as bones of unknown origin or tested to prove their provenance. Although the term had already appeared in the fifth century, it was not until the tenth century that the term in the second sense was used frequently. See Rhi Juhyung 李桂亨, “‘Jinsin’ e gwanhayeo” ‘眞身’에 관하여 [On the “True Body”], *Inmun nonchong* 人文論叢 45 (2001): 227–261. The best known example of a “true body relic” is without doubt the finger bone relic of the Buddha housed in Famen Temple (法門寺), which received regular worship and lavish offerings from the Tang court. Eugene Y. Wang’s study of the Famen Temple relics has turned out to be an intriguing examination of the term in Chinese Buddhist context, see his “Of the True Body: The Famen Monastery Relics and Corporeal Transformation in Tang Imperial Culture,” in *Body and Face in Chinese Visual Culture*, ed. Wu Hung and Katherine R. Tsiang (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center. Harvard University Press, 2005), 79–118.
- 24 The term “transformation body relics” in this context seems to have referred to relics that separated from the true body relics of their own accord, or which made an appearance in response to fervent prayers of the devout. The reliquary inscription found in the site of Wangheungsa, which I have introduced previously, shows that there had been a belief in the miraculous self-multiplication of the relics. For the inscription in question, see note 68 of chapter 3.
- 25 *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.993a2–993c11. The English translation of the passage is adopted with modifications from Kim Dal-yong, trans., *Overlooked Historical Records of the Three Korean Kingdoms*, 226–229.
- 26 For more about this point, see Eun-su Cho, “Manifestation of the Buddha’s

Land in the Here and Now,” 147–150.

- 27 See note 57 of chapter 4 for the notion of *bibo*.
- 28 For the Munduru Ritual, see note 23 of chapter 5.
- 29 *Daegwang*, also rendered as *taegwang* 太匡, was a title originally used in Taebong 泰封 (901–918, formerly called Later Goguryeo 後高句麗), a state established by Gung Ye 弓裔 (r. 901–918) on the Korean Peninsula. King Taejo, who began his service under Gung Ye’s command, maintained the hierarchy of officials, including *daegwang*, which had been used in Taebong. *Daegwang* began to be used from the second year of King Taejo (919) as the highest rank that was given to both civil and military officials. However, it was demoted to the third-rank in the sixteen-rank hierarchy in 936 when King Taejo re-established the hierarchy of officials after the unification of the Later Three Kingdoms.
- 30 Bak Sulhui was a military official during the early years of Goryeo. He started his career as a guard for Gung Ye at the age of eighteen, yet came to serve Wang Geon, becoming his chief advisor. He assisted at Wang Geon’s investiture of Wang Mu 王武 (the future king Hyejong 惠宗, r. 943–945) as the crown prince.
- 31 King Taejo is said to have dictated the Ten Injunctions—a list of instructions for future rulers—to Bak Sulhui one month before his death. Although doubts have been raised regarding the authorship and production date of the Ten Injunctions, most scholars nowadays accept them as the guiding principles of King Taejo’s government. The first and second injunctions, which are cited and discussed by Go Yuseop below, insist that without upholding Buddhism and geomantic ideas the dynasty will not survive. For the contents of the Ten Injunctions, see *Goryeosa* 2, “Sega” 2, King Taejo, twenty-sixth year, fourth month; Jeong Inji et al., *Bugyeok Goryeosa*, 1: 115–118. For an English translation of the injunctions, see Peter H. Lee, ed., *Sourcebook of Korean Civilization*, 1: 263–266. A critical review of the scholarly debate regarding the authenticity of the Ten Injunctions is found in Sem Vermeersch, *The Power of the Buddhas*, 91–92.
- 32 On the notion of “*eop*” 業, which I have translated as “doctrine,” see Park Kwang-youn 박광연, “Goryeo jeon’gi Bulgyo gyodan ui jeon’gae yangsang” 高麗前期 佛教 教團의 전개 양상 [On the Development of the Buddhist Order in the Early Goryeo Dynasty], *Han’guk jungsesa yeon’gu* 한국중세사연구 34 (2012): 211–242.
- 33 *Goryeosa* 2, “Sega” 2, King Taejo, twenty-sixth year, fourth month; Jeong Inji et al., *Bugyeok Goryeosa*, 1:115. The English translation of the first and second injunctions is adopted with minor changes from Sem Vermeersch,

- The Power of the Buddhas*, 92, and see 93–112 for an extensive discussion on them.
- 34 Choe Eung (898–932) was a civil official during the early Goryeo. He started his career under the command of Gung Ye, yet came to serve Wang Geon. He was favored by King Taejo, holding various offices after the founding of Goryeo.
- 35 Seogyong 西京 (lit. Western Capital), corresponding to present-day Pyeongyang, was considered important during the Goryeo. Major facilities and institutions were installed there, and many kings frequently visited the city following the geomantic theory.
- 36 The English translation is adopted with modifications from Kim Dal-yong, trans., *Overlooked Historical Records of the Three Korean Kingdoms*, 184–186.
- 37 A native of Jukju 竹州 (present-day Juksan, Anseong in Gyeonggi-do), Bak Jeonji was a civil official in the late Goryeo.
- 38 *Dongguk yeoji seungnam* 30, “Gyeongsang-do,” “Jinju-mok,” “Buru”; Minjok munhwa chujinhoe, *Gugyeok Sinjeung Dongguk yeoji seungnam*, 4: 60 (reverse pagination).
- 39 Gwon Geun, whose pen name is Yangchon 陽村, was a scholar-official who lived and served during the transitional period between the Goryeo and Joseon dynasties. He advocated the pro-Ming policy. He played a major role in the consolidation of royal authority in the early years of Joseon by arguing for the abolition of private soldiers. He was one of the first Neo-Confucian scholars at the dawn of the Joseon dynasty, annotating Jeong Dojeon’s 鄭道傳 (1342–1398) anti-Buddhist polemic work, entitled *Bulssi japbyeon* 佛氏雜辨 [Buddha’s Focused Thinking]. His literary works are preserved in the *Yangchon jip* 陽村集 [Yangchon Collection].
- 40 Temples that were thought to redress geomantic imbalance were granted special status and economic privileges. For more on this issue, see Sem Vermeersch, *The Power of the Buddhas*, 297–300.
- 41 In his earlier article published in *Jindan hakbo* (1936), Go Yuseop noted that the word “sang” 上, which I have translated as “above,” probably referred to the inverted-bowl part of the finial. He further explicated that “there are two ways of enshrining Buddha relics inside a pagoda; one is to enshrine them inside the inverted bowl located in the lower section of the finial, whereas the other is to enshrine them within the heart stone of the central pillar within the pagoda body on the first story.” See Go Yuseop, “Joseon tappa ui yeon’gu (il),” *Jindan hakbo* 6 (1936): 414, 428 for note 38; reprinted in Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon’gu*, 1: 56, 335 for note 38.
- 42 *Daejang* 大藏, which I have translated as tripiṭaka is an abbreviation of



*daejanggyeong* 大藏經—the whole Buddhist canon including sūtras, śāstras, commentaries, vinaya texts, histories, hagiographies, and so on. The tripitaka stored in the five-storied pagoda of Yeonboksā was the second edition of the *Tripitaka Koreana* 高麗大藏經 or the *Korean Buddhist Canon*, which was printed from wood blocks prepared from 1236 to 1251. It was reprinted in 1393 by the royal command of King Taejo (Yi Seonggye 李成桂, r. 1392–1398) of Joseon dynasty.

- 43 Biro 毗盧, an abbreviation of Birojana 毗盧遮那, refers to Vairocana Buddha—the central buddha of the *Flower Garland Sūtra*. Meaning “resplendent” or “universal illumination” in Sanskrit, Vairocana, whose wisdom penetrates everywhere, is one of the major Buddhas in East Asian Buddhism. With the growing popularity of the *Flower Garland Sūtra*, Korean images of Vairocana Buddha began to be made in numbers from the middle of the eighth century onward. They are characterized by a unique hand gesture (*jigwon in* 智拳印, literally meaning knowledge-fist mudra) in which the right hand grasps the index finger of the left hand.
- 44 Go Yuseop cited parts of the “Yeonboksā tap jungchang bimun” 演福寺塔重創碑文 [Stele Inscription Commemorating the Reconstruction of the Pagoda at Yeonboksā] composed in 1394. The stele inscription narrates the history of the five-storied pagoda at Yeonboksā, located in the Goryeo capital Gaeseong, which was repaired under the patronage of Yi Seonggye, the founder of the Joseon dynasty. It was destroyed by fire in 1563. The original text with a modern Korean translation of the work by the historian Jung Byung-sam 鄭炳三 can be found at [http://gsm.nricp.go.kr/\\_third/user/frame.jsp?View=search&No=4&ksmno=1676](http://gsm.nricp.go.kr/_third/user/frame.jsp?View=search&No=4&ksmno=1676) (accessed December 12, 2016). Although the body of the stele had long gone, the base in the shape of a turtle (*gwibu* 龜趺) and capstone (*isu* 螭首) were transferred to Seoul about a century ago.
- 45 The *wondang* 願堂, which I have translated as “prayer hall,” refers to a hall established to offer prayers especially for the repose of the deceased.
- 46 The *bibu* 秘付, which I have translated as “secret record,” appears to correspond to the geomantic book attributed to Doseon, entitled *Doseon bigi* 道詵秘記 [Doseon’s Secret Record]. The book, which is now lost, is mentioned in the *Goryeosa*. It is considered to have greatly influenced Goryeo politics and society.
- 47 A native of Gyeongju, Choe Seungro was a sixth-rank aristocrat under Silla. He moved to Gaegyeong when the last monarch of Silla, King Gyeongseon (敬順王, r. 927–935), defected to Goryeo.
- 48 *Goryeosa* 93, “Yeoljeon” 6, “Jesin,” Choe Seungro; Jeong Inji et al., *Bugyeok*

- Goryeosa*, 8: 186–187. It is, in fact, Item 18 of the Twenty-Eight Items on Current Issues (時務二十八條), submitted to the throne by Choe Seungro.
- 49 *Samguk sagi* 12, “Gyeongsun wang,” commentary; *Yeokju Samguk sagi*, 1: 242; and Kim Pusik, *The Silla Annals of the Samguk Sagi*, 405.
- 50 *Beomnyeok* 法力, which I have translated as the “power of the dharma,” was believed to do away with calamity and subdue evil.
- 51 *Goryeosa jeoryo* 4, Munjong Inhyo daewang, ninth year, tenth month; Gim Jongseo et al., *Sinpyeon Goryeosa jeoryo*, 1: 368–369.
- 52 The Munhaseong was the highest institution that was in charge of the affairs of state during the Goryeo. It was also called the Directorate of Chancellors (Jaebu 宰府).
- 53 The Indian monk Bodhidharma 菩提達磨 (ca. late fourth to early fifth centuries) is the putative founder of the Chan school (禪宗) in Chinese Buddhism. He is said to have come from India to teach the direct transmission from mind to mind, not relying on scriptural sources.
- 54 Emperor Wu (武帝, r. 502–549), whose personal name was Xiaoyan 蕭衍, was the first emperor of the Liang dynasty and is renowned for his fervent patronage of building many temples, as well as promoting Buddhist studies. His dialogue with Bodhidharma, appearing in the quotation, is a well-known anecdote in Chan literature. It is recorded in the *Lidai fabao ji* 歷代法寶記, see T 2075.51.180c19–23 and the *Bi yan lu* 碧巖錄 [Blue Cliff Record], see T 2003.48.140b09–10.
- 55 *Goryeosa jeoryo* 4, Munjong Inhyo daewang, ninth year, tenth month; Gim Jongseo et al., *Sinpyeon Goryeosa jeoryo*, 1: 368–369.
- 56 *Goryeosa* 93, “Yeoljeon” 6, “Jesin,” Choe Seungro; Jeong Inji et al., *Bugyeok Goryeosa*, 8: 185–186. It is Item 16 of the Twenty-Eight Items on Current Issues that Choe Seungro submitted to the throne.
- 57 Tradition credits Doseon, a Seon monk and geomancer, with the reformulation of the Chinese *fengshui* 風水 theory in a way that was more compatible with the specific natural features of the Korean Peninsula. The theory of *bibo*, literally meaning “assisting and supplementing,” is one of Doseon’s major geomantic ideas as well as a key feature distinguishing Korean *pungsu* from Chinese *fengshui*. It argues for remedying locations with weak channels of good energy or inauspicious forms by constructing temples or erecting pagodas on the basis of controlling the flow of mountain and water. Later on, Doseon’s theory was used as pretexts for building temples and erecting pagodas. For more on Doseon and his theory, see Choi Byōng-hōn, “Tosōn’s Geomantic Theories and the Foundation of Koryō Dynasty,” *Seoul Journal of Korean Studies* 2 (December 1989): 65–92;

- Hong-key Yoon, *The Culture of Fengshui in Korea: An Exploration of East Asian Geomancy* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2006); and Sem Vermeersch, “Buddhism as a Cure for the Land,” in *Religions of Korea in Practice*, ed. Robert E. Buswell, Jr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 76–85.
- 58 *Goryeosa jeoryo* 1, Taejo Sinseong daewang, twenty-sixth year, fourth month; Gim Jongseo et al., *Sinpyeon Goryeosa jeoryo*, 1: 86–87.
- 59 There are two kinds of the three calamities: the minor kind refers to wars, pestilence, and famine, while the major (*dae samjae* 大三災) are fire, floods, and storms. For its textual basis, see *Jushe lun* 俱舍論, T 1559.29. 213c17.
- 60 This is a Chinese transliteration of the Pāli term *thūpa*, which means a pagoda of the Buddha. In traditional epigraphs as well as modern art historical scholarship, the term refers to a funerary pagoda of eminent monks.
- 61 See Chōsen sōtokufu, comp. and ed., *Chōseon jisatsu shiryō* (Keijō [Seoul]: Chōsen sōtokufu, 1911), 1: 202–213. The *Chōseon jisatsu shiryō* was published in 1911 by the Ministry of Home Affairs (Jp. Naimu bu 内務部) of the Government-General of Korea. It is an extensive collection of texts that have bearings on Korean Buddhist temples. The compilation features lots of typos and does not include data related to Chungcheongnam-do and Jeollabuk-do since the texts compiled were collected and edited not by scholars but through the administrative organization of the Japanese Government-General. Still, the book serves as one of the most important primary sources for the study of Korean Buddhism, history, arts and architecture, and epigraphy among many others.

## Chapter 5 The True Character of Korean Pagodas (Wooden Pagodas)

### Author's Notes

- 1 The layout of the Bomunsa site is known to be similar to that of the Sacheonwangsa site. The site of the golden hall, for example, is known to be in the stepped form with two stories and to have distinctive carvings on side stones (*cheukseok* 側石) of the platform. In addition, the flagstones (*panseok* 板石) in the middle (*junggan ji* 中間址) are said to be carved with bodhisattvas or heavenly guardians in relief, and the stone supports for a banner staff are also known to have lotus-like patterns. Especially, with regard to the heart stone of the west pagoda site, it is recorded that:

On top of a square stone platform (*daeseok* 臺石), of which each side measures 4.47 *cheok* (1.35 meters), is a lotus throne measuring 4.11 *cheok* (1.24 meters) in diameter and 8.3 *chon* (25 centimeters) high; on its top is placed a wheel that measures 7.7 *chon* (23 centimeters) wide and has a hole at the center, measuring 1.03 *cheok* (31 centimeters) in diameter. These are made of a single stone. The lotus throne is composed of eight petals with a central ridge: they swell out voluminously so that the tips have graceful twists. The cross section of the seed receptacle is semi-circular, and the holes and wheels at the center correspond to the carpels. All of them show classical grace, which dates them to the high Silla period; it is neither delicate, nor strong; no doubt it is an especially fine work of art. No comparable Japanese and Chinese examples, using such a solemn manner in the foundation stone at the center of a pagoda, are known to me. . . . It is thought that the central foundation stone of a Silla pagoda was quite different from others and embellished with diverse decorations. An example is found in the octagonal foundation stone at the center of the west pagoda at Mangdeoksa discussed earlier. But, the degree of solemnity found at this pagoda site is never to be found. Given that it was the period during which even roof tiles, which are normally have decorations only when seen from below, were embellished with extremely fine reliefs, there was nothing strange that such a carving was done on the relic pagoda of the Buddha—the most revered monument in a temple.

Dr. Fujishima, while acknowledging that this central foundation stone was made in the high Silla period, considered that the proportion (*bijang* 比長) of temple's corridors show signs of decadence, and thus concluded that this temple was built towards the end of Silla; as for its overall program, he thought that it must have been built after the founding of Sacheonwangsa and Mangdeoksa, and that it already shows formal affinities with Buddhist

temples from the Goryeo and Joseon periods. After all, he did not clearly define the founding date of the temple.

- 2 Like the Nine-Storied Pagoda at Hwangnyongsa in Gyeongju, the one with the most frequent records of earthquake during the Goryeo is the pagoda at Jungheungsa in Seogyong.

[*Goryeosa* 53, “Ohaeng” 2.] King Jeongjong, second year (946), tenth month, *byeongsin*. The nine-storied pagoda at Jungheungsa in Seogyong burnt down.

[*Goryeosa* [4], “Sega” [4].] King Hyeonjong, first year (1010), twelfth month, *gyechuk*. The Khitan soldiers reached Seogyong and burnt the pagoda at Jungheungsa 中興寺.

[*Goryeosa* 53, “Ohaeng” 1.] King Yejong, fifth year (1110), fifth month, *eulchuk*. An earthquake shook the Jungheungsa Pagoda in Seogyong.

[*Goryeosa* 53, “Ohaeng” 1.] King Yejong, fifteenth year (1120), eighth month, *gyeongin*. An earthquake shook the Jungheungsa Pagoda in the Seogyong.

[*Goryeosa* 53, “Ohaeng” 1.] King Injong, seventh year (1129), ninth month, *musin*. An earthquake shook the Jungheungsa Pagoda in Seogyong.

[*Goryeosa* 53, “Ohaeng” 2.] King Injong, eighth year (1130), ninth month, *gapja*. The Jungheungsa Pagoda in Seogyong was struck by lightning and burnt.

[*Goryeosa* 53, “Ohaeng” 2.] King Myeongjong, second year, eighth month, *gimyŏ*. An earthquake shook the Jungheungsa Pagoda in Seogyong.

[*Goryeosa* 53, “Ohaeng” 1.] King Huijong, fourth year (1208), fifth month, *byeongo*. The Jungheungsa Pagoda in Seogyong. Clouds and mists covered it and beams of lightning shone for three days. Consequently, thunder struck the columns in the temple.

Given the examples listed above, the nine-storied pagoda at Jungheungsa corresponded to the so-called the nine-storied pagoda in Seogyong, and it was considered most important by the state. But, the seven-storied pagoda in Gaeseong is harder to identify. Historically speaking, Gaeguksa 開國寺 seems to be the most plausible candidate.

The “Gaeguksa jungsu gi” 開國寺重修記 [Record of Renovating Gaeguksa], written by Yi Jehyeon 李齊賢 (1287–1367) relates that:

Think of our King Taejo with respect, since the unification of the Three Han states, everything he did was beneficial to the state. It is thought that Śākyamuni can help rule and transform the evil people through the truth of Buddhism. The Buddhist followers were not treated as subjects and were allowed to expound its teachings. As for building pagodas and shrines, he had them necessarily scrutinized as to whether they would offend or please the energy of yin and yang of the mountains and streams; only if there were gains

and overwhelming victory, were they constructed. It was not like the Liang 梁clan, who sought out of fear in search of merit. . . . In the eighteenth year of Qingtai 清泰 (935) King Taejo, upon hearing the words of a diviner, founded a temple and placed therein those who wore monastic robes and studied the precepts vehicle, and named it Gaeguksa. At the time the work of conquest had been accomplished and myriad affairs began. Soldiers were recruited as workmen and spears and shields were destroyed to supplement the structures, thereby showing the intention to stop wars and allow the people to rest.

The “Sega” 世家 [Generational Houses] in the *Goryeosa*, in the first year of King Jeongjong (945) [twenty-nine years after the founding of Goryeo; thirteen years after the founding of Gaeguksa] records that:

The king, in his official attire, transported the relics of the Buddha and walked to Gaeguksa, located ten *ri* away, to enshrine it. Also, [he] donated seventy thousand *seok* 石 of grain to several great temples, in each of which was installed an Institute for Publishing Buddhist Sūtras (Bulmyeong gyeongbo 佛名經寶) and an Extensive Scholarship Treasury (Gwanghakbo 廣學寶) in order to promote the learning of the Buddhism.

For the intercalary fourth month of the ninth year of King Hyeongjong (1018), it is recorded in the same text that:

[The king] repaired the Gaeguksa Pagoda, enshrined the relics [therein], installed the ordination platform, and issued ordination certificates to 3,200 monks.

The article for the “*gichuk* day in the third month of the thirty-seventh year of King Munjong (1083)” relates that:

[The king] ordered the crown prince to receive the tripiṭaka bestowed by the Song and enshrine it at Gaeguksa, and then set up a ceremony.

The *Goryeosa* 53, “Ji” 7, “Ohaeng” contains entries, saying:

King Yejong, second year (1106), fourth month, *gapsin*. The lightning struck the Gaeguksa Pagoda.

King Injong, tenth year (1132), tenth month, *gichuk*. There was a storm and thunder, and lightning struck the Gaeguksa Pagoda.

But, the temples founded by King Taejo of the Goryeo mentioned in the “Sega” of the *Goryeosa* and in a chronological table in the *Samguk yusa* do not include Gaeguksa; the grand events to venerate the Buddha conducted during the reigns of King Jeongjong and King Hyeongjong were held at many other temples, but none of them at Gaeguksa. That the painted

images of the Five Hundred Arhats, which were brought from the Later Liang (後梁, 907–923) by the Bokbugyeong 福府卿 Yun Jil 尹質 (fl. tenth century), were enshrined at Sungsansa 嵩山寺 in Haeju 海州; that parts of the tripitaka brought by ship from the Min Prefecture (閩府) of the Tang by the monk Honggyeong 洪慶 (fl. tenth century) of Silla were received by the king in person at the Yeseonggang 禮成江 and installed at Jeseogwon 帝釋院; and that the king received an Indian Tripitaka Master Mahura 摩睺羅 formally and had him reside in Gusansa 龜山寺, all these accounts are noteworthy yet all of them predate the founding of Gaeguksa. As for accounts related to pagodas during the early Goryeo, that of the nine-storied pagoda at Jin'gwansa 眞觀寺 comes to the mind first; it was a pagoda standing in a temple founded as the royal prayer hall (*wondang* 願堂) of the empress dowager (*taehu* 太后) in the second year of King Mokjong 穆宗 (998), yet there is no particular mention of it. Although there were many temples and monasteries during the early Goryeo, there is no case like Gaeguksa, which has ample accounts of the relic enshrinement, repairs of the temple and its pagoda, earthquakes, establishment of treasuries (*bo* 寶), and ordination of monks and nuns. The term “Qingtai,” appearing in Yi Jehyeon’s account of King Taejo’s founding in the eighteenth year of Qingtai, corresponds to the reign name of the dethroned emperor of Later Tang (後唐, 907–960) that only lasted two years. Generally speaking, it is thought that the eighteenth year of Goryeo’s King Taejo (935) was dubbed with the reign name of Qingtai and so the year is usually taken to be the eighteenth year of Goryeo’s King Taejo. It is unclear whether Yi Jehyeon’s chronology is confused. Therefore, as for the founding of Gaeguksa, we may posit that a certain temple founded by King Taejo had been renamed Gaeguksa by the time of the first year of King Jeongjong (945). In sum, the present author posits that the pagoda at Gaeguksa was the “seven-storied pagoda in Gaeseong.”

- 3 At Heungcheonsa, as discussed in the text, a five-storied wooden pagoda was built to enshrine the relics of the Buddha. Considering that Queen Sindeok died in the sixth year of King Taejo of the Joseon dynasty (1396), it might have been built in the sixth or seventh year of his reign. It was destroyed by fire in the fifth year of King Jungjong (1510). By the way, a record of the first year of King Sejong (1419) relates that “The emperor of the Ming dynasty asked about the relics housed at Heungcheonsa. Gim Jeom 金漸 (1369–1457) reported, “The monk Chukgu 竺丘 said to me that the stone pagoda encased four relic grains, which had been enshrined therein generation after generation since the Silla and also had marvelous

wonders, and that he wished to stay there to protect the teaching.” That is to say, Heungcheonsa was a temple with a long history and originally had a stone pagoda. Additionally, between the sixth and seventh year of King Taejo a wooden pagoda was built. It is curious how the stone pagoda was related to the wooden pagoda at this time.

- 4 The *Samguk yusa* 3, “Jeonhu sojang sari 前後所將舍利” [Buddhist Relics Preserved in the Past and Present] relates that “The King had a special shrine for the tooth relic of the Buddha (Burajeon 佛牙殿) built in the inner yard of Sibwonjeon 十員殿.” It indicates that a hall, corresponding to so-called relic shrine (*sarijeon* 舍利殿), was built to house the relics instead of building a pagoda. What is called the pagoda cloister (*tabwon* 塔院) refers to cases in which a great number of small pagodas, like the one million pagodas (Jp. *hyakumantō* 百萬塔), are enshrined in a single hall. Conceptually, it is in line with the account of Mount Kukkuṭapāda (Gyejoksan 鷄足山) in *Da Tang xiyu ji*, 9:

It is a custom in India to make little stūpas of powdered scent made into paste; their height is about five or six *chon*, and they place inside them some written extract from a sūtra; this they call dharma relics. When the number of these has become large, they then built a great stūpa, collected all of them within it, and continually made offerings to it. [The English translation is adopted with minor changes from Samuel Beal, trans. *Si-yu-ki. Buddhist Records of the Western World*, chapter 9, 146.]

Yet, the shrine for the tooth relic of the Buddha, mentioned previously, refers to a casket simply holding the tooth relic of the Buddha. That is to say:

The casket originally consists of multi-layered cases, enclosed by the innermost case of aloes wood, and then successively by cases of pure gold, silver, glass, and mother-of-pearl. So does each wrapper.

In brief, it is considered to be one of reasons lying behind coining of terms like relic shrine or relic pavilion; it might have been the case that actual pagodas enshrining relics later came to be called halls or pavilions.

- 5 The wooden pagoda in front of a gate (among the eight poems recited at Samsuam)

In front of a small hermitage at a place where white clouds overcast  
Standing tall and supporting the remote sky.  
The pure dust of the heaven should not be distant  
Relying upon it, I would like to pay respect to immortals.



Writing things as I felt, while climbing up the southern tower of Samsuam

The gate soaring one hundred *cheok* high in front of Samsuam  
 Clear and high, it is suitable for immortals on earth to enjoy.  
 Sounds of a stream surrounds the resting place, as if it rains despite the clear  
 weather  
 Like colors of the mountain at the window, it is like autumn even in summer.  
 Though not having mounted upon a white phoenix outside the world,  
 The human realm indeed has an abode of immortals.  
 Thousand peaks are silent in the cries of monkeys at dusk  
 Pleasure continues on, seated facing the mist and sunset.

### Translator's Notes

- 1 The term *gidan* 基壇, which I have translated as “platform” throughout this book, is also translated as base, stylobate, stereobate, plinth, or podium. It bears the load of the superstructure and protects the pagoda from the ground. A detailed study on the construction method of platforms of Korean stone pagodas has recently been published. The article features ample drawings and photographs showing the inner structure of platforms. See Hong Daihan 홍대한, “Han’guk seoktap ui gidan gwa gichobu chukjo bangsik gochal: Silla wa Goryeo seoktap ui gichobu chukjo bangsik gwa moktap ui yeonghyang eul jungsim euro” 韓國石塔의 基壇과 基礎部 築造方式 考察—신라와 고려석탑의 기초부 축조방식과 목탑의 영향을 중심으로 [Examination of the Construction Methods Used in the Platform and Foundation of Korean Stone Pagodas: Centering on the Issues of Construction Method Employed in the Foundation of Silla and Goryeo Stone Pagodas and Influence from Wooden Pagodas], *Bulgyo misulsahak* 佛教美術史學 12 (2011): 53–102.
- 2 For more about the height of this pagoda, see note 181 of chapter 3.
- 3 *Samguk sagi* 11, “Gyeongmun wang,” eleventh year, thirteenth year; *Yeokju Samguk sagi*, 1:229; and Kim Pusik, *The Silla Annals of the Samguk Sagi*, 368–369.
- 4 Tang measure is a traditional system of measurement. It was introduced to Korea from Tang China during the Unified Silla period. One *cheok* in this system corresponds to 29.694 centimeters approximately, while one *chon* measures 3 centimeters and one *pun* measures 0.3 centimeters approximately. In retrospect, Go Yuseop’s discussion of the Hwangnyongsa site reflects the Japanese scholarly interest of the 1920s and 1930s. At that time Japanese architectural historians endeavored to figure out the

measurement system used in the planning of Buddhist temples in order to shed light on the origin of ancient Japanese architecture. Methodologically speaking, they determined measurement system used on the basis of the length of a bay, and used the data as the major criterion for dating the given structure. One of widely accepted theory was that Baekje and Silla used the Goryeo *cheok*, see Kim Sukgyeong 김숙경, “Hwangnyongsa garam gyehoek cheokdo yeon’gu” 황룡사 가람계획 척도 연구 [A Study on the Units of Measuring Scale in the Planning of Hwangnyongsa], *Geonchuk yeoksa yeon’gu* 25, no. 4 (2016): 66, esp. note 9. For more on the measures used in ancient Korea, see Yi Jongbong李宗峯, *Han’guk jungse doryanghyeongje yeon’gu* 韓國中世度量衡制研究 [Study of the Weight and Measure System in Medieval Korea] (Seoul: Hyeon, 2001), 65–76 and Park Heungso朴興秀, *Han-Jung doryanghyeong jedosa* 韓中度量衡制度史 [History of Weight and Measure System in Korea and China] (Seoul: Seonggyun’gwan daehakgyo chulpanbu, 1999), 518–555.

- 5 Ogawa Keikichi 小川敬吉 (1882–1950), an employee of the Government-General of Korea from 1916 to 1944, was the first who took measurements of the archaeological remains at the Hwangnyongsa site in the 1920s. Based on the measurement value of the golden hall and wooden pagoda sites, Ogawa concluded that the two structures were planned using the Eastern Wei *chi* (東魏尺) in which one *cheok* measures approximately 35.6 centimeters. He further demonstrated that the golden hall was located 140 *cheok* away from the pagoda, and so did the pagoda and middle gate. Ogawa’s field measurement value was cited by several Japanese scholars including Hasegawa Teruo 長谷川輝雄 (1896–1926), Sekino Tadashi, and Fujishima Gaijirō, and Korean scholars even after the archaeological excavation of the Hwangnyongsa site begun in 1976. For example, Ogawa’s drawing of the sites of middle gate, wooden pagoda, and golden hall at Hwangnyongsa site was published in Hasegawa Teruo, “Shitennōji kenchiku ron” 四天王寺建築論 [On the Architecture of Shitennōji], *Kenchiku zasshi* 39, no. 12 (1925): 664 (fig. 8). In the 1920s, the measurement system was called Eastern Wei *chi* since the “Goryeo *cheok*” used in the construction in Asuka Japan was thought to have derived from the former. However, Chinese scholars in the 1930s have shown that one *cheok* in the Eastern Wei measurement system corresponds to 30.05 centimeters. See Park Chanhong 박찬홍, “Goguryeo cheok e daehan yeon’gu” 고구려척에 대한 연구 [A Study on Goguryeo’s Measurement System], *Sachong* 사총 44 (1995): 11. Most scholars today consider that the measurement system in question was developed in Goguryeo and refer to it as the Goryeo *cheok*. The authors

of the archaeological report of the Hwangnyongsa site, published in 1984, wrote that the major buildings including the wooden pagoda were planned using the Goryeo *cheok*, while the bell pavilion, sūtra pavilion, and middle gate, dating from the mid-ninth century, were built in accordance with the Tang measure. Regarding the units of measurement used in the planning of Hwangnyongsa, a new theory has been proposed by the architectural historian Kim Sukgyeong in recent years. One of her major points is that the current pagoda site must have dated from the 870s when the pagoda was reconstructed during the rule of King Gyeongmun, although the central base stone shows no signs of moving despite repeated reconstructions. She further suggested that the original size of the pagoda, built in 645, was smaller than the one rebuilt. My discussion above is indebted to her “Hwangnyongsa garam gyehoek cheokdo yeon’gu,” 65–73.

- 6 The inner sanctum may occupy part or all of the core of the main halls of a Buddhist temple or a Shinto shrine. It contains the statue of a deity or the main object of worship.
- 7 Fujishima Gaijirō, “Chōsen tōba no yōshiki to hensen ni tsuite” 朝鮮塔婆の様式と變遷に就いて [On the Style of Korean Pagodas and its Changes], *Yumedono* 10 (1933): 114–115. This article only gives the dimensions and form of the central base stone. There is no mention of the composition of the inner sanctum or the number of remaining foundation stones. Therefore, this part seems to have been based upon a different source or author’s firsthand observation. Fujishima was the one who conducted the first systematic survey of the Hwangnyongsa Pagoda site in August 1928 and August 1929, the results of which were published in 1930. See Fujishima Gaijirō, “Chōsen kenchiku shiron sono ichi,” 278–297. In this article, Fujishima noted that when he investigated the pagoda site, the southern part including the central base stone was located within the walls of residential buildings. Since the investigation was limited to a ground survey, Fujishima was not able to examine all the remaining foundation stones firsthand. It seems that Fujishima counted the number of foundation stones visible above the ground. In addition, Fujishima suggested that the Baekje artisans in charge of the pagoda building used the Eastern Wei measures, based on his measurements of the distance between foundation stones visible on the ground. However, he did not make it clear that the two hundred and twenty-five *cheok* mentioned in the *Samguk yusa* was in Tang measure or Eastern Wei measure. He also proposed a restoration plan of the temple, composed of one pagoda and one Buddha hall, which was widely accepted until the comprehensive excavation of the Hwangnyongsa

site from 1976 to 1983. The excavation of the pagoda site confirmed that the pagoda was originally built upon sixty-four foundation stones plus one central base stone. It revealed that two foundation stones were lost, making the rest sixty-two in total, see Munhwajae gwalliguk, *Hwangnyongsa yujeok balgul josa bogoseo*, 59–60 (Fig. 12, 13). More importantly the excavation revealed that Hwangnyongsa had one pagoda and three main halls. Later in this chapter, Go Yuseop examined the area ratio of the pagoda to the golden hall. Yet, the area ratio he estimated should be revised given that Hwangnyongsa originally had three Buddha halls instead of one. For a comprehensive study on the Hwangnyongsa Pagoda, see Kwon Jongnam 권종남, *Hwangnyongsa Gu-cheungtap: Han'guk godae moktap ui gujo wa uijang* 皇龍寺九層塔: 한국 고대 목탑의 구조와 의장 [The Nine-Storied Pagoda of Hwangnyongsa: Structure and Adornment of a Wooden Pagoda in Ancient Korea] (Seoul: Misul munhwa, 2006). For a critical review of the Hwangnyongsa studies up to the early 2000s, see Yang Jeongseok 梁正錫, “Hwangnyongsa ji josa wa yeon'gu ui chu'i” 皇龍寺址 調査와 研究의 推移 [Changes in the Investigations and Studies of the Hwangnyongsa Site], *Silla munhwaje haksul balpyo nonmunjip* 22 (2001): 211–247 and Yang Jeongseok, *Hwangnyongsa ui joyeong gwa wanggwon* 皇龍寺의 造營과 王權 [The Building of Hwangnyongsa and the Royal Power] (Seoul: Seogyong munhwasa, 2004), 24–53.

- 8 Manpasik jeok is a legendary flute, which is said to have been made of marvelous bamboo growing on a floating mountain in the Eastern Sea. It is believed to calm the seas and dispel any worries.
- 9 *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.973b13.
- 10 The *sajeon* 寺傳, which I have translated as “a record preserved in the temple,” appears to correspond to the *Girimsa jungchang gi* 祇林寺重創記 [Record of Reconsturciton of Girimsa], written by the monk Hyechong 慧聰 in 1705 and originally carved on a wooden plaque. According to Hyechong's record, the temple was founded under the name Imjeongsa 林井寺 by the Indian monk Gwangyu, and it was renamed Girimsa by Wonhyo a few years later. But, the founding of the temple is hard to verify due to the lack of corroborating evidence.
- 11 The *sajeokgi* 寺蹟記, which I have translated as “record of history of the temple,” corresponds to the *Silla Hamwolsan Girimsa sajeok* 新羅咸月山祇林寺事蹟, compiled in 1740. It is reproduced in Han'gukhak munheon yeon'guso 韓國學文獻研究所, ed., *Bulguksa ji* 佛國寺誌 [Gazetteer of Bulguksa], *Han'guk saji chongseo* 韓國寺志叢書 [Temple gazetteers of Korea] (Seoul: Asea munhwasa, 1983), 11: 101–144, esp. 105.

- 12 Dipaṃkara Buddha, also known as Yeondeungbul 然燈佛, is one of previous buddhas who preceded the current Buddha Śākyamuni. He is well-known as a protagonist of a *jātaka* in which he assured Māṇava Bodhisattva (Yudong 儒童)—one of Śākyamuni's previous incarnations—that he would attain Buddhahood, and was thereupon designated as a coming buddha. In Buddhist art, he is often depicted with Śākyamuni and Maitreya, forming a triad of the three buddhas of the past, present, and future.
- 13 The “four heavenly pillars” are four pillars that are placed around the central pillar to form a square area on the first story of a wooden pagoda.
- 14 Vol. 15 of the journal *Bulgyo misul* 佛教美術, published in 1998 by the Dongguk University Museum, has been devoted to the Buddhist architecture of Girimsa.
- 15 Fujishima Gaijirō, “Chōsen tōba yōshiki to henshen ni tsuite,” 113.
- 16 For more on the Sites of the Seven Temples within the capital, see note 147 of chapter 3.
- 17 The *Samguk yusa* relates that Queen Seondeok wished to be buried at the center of Tuṣita Heaven. As her subjects inquired about its location, she replied that it is south of Nangsan. About ten years later, King Munmu built Sacheonwangsa below her tomb. Apparently, Silla people interpreted it as one instance of Queen Seondeok's sacred spirituality. It is because the Tuṣita Heaven, the fourth of six heavens, is believed to exist above the abode of the Four Heavenly Kings on top of Mount Sumeru in Buddhist cosmology. See *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.968c9–13.
- 18 Silla was able to defeat Baekje and Goguryeo through its military alliance with the Tang, yet Silla's relationship with Tang was exacerbated as a serious territorial dispute emerged over the former territories of Baekje and Goguryeo, eventually leading to the Silla-Tang War (670–676). In the passage below, Go Yuseop discussed this historical situation in which Sacheonwangsa was founded on the basis of the account, “Munho wang Beommin” 文虎王法敏 [King Munmu Whose Posthumous Title Was Beommin] in the *Samguk yusa*.
- 19 Gim Inmun, the second son of King Muyeol and the younger brother of King Munmu, was a noted aristocrat, scholar, and official of Silla. He aided Gim Chunchu and Gim Yusin in a series of wars to conquer Baekje and Goguryeo. He spent his life in the Tang empire, and endeavored to resolve political disputes and diplomatic issues between the two countries.
- 20 Gim Yangdo was a well-known aristocrat active in the middle of Silla. Following the lead of Gim Yusin, he served in the wars against Baekje and Goguryeo from 660 to 668. His name appears in the inscription, titled

“Dae Dang pyeong Baekjeguk bi,” carved on the first story of the Pyeongje Pagoda. When he was dispatched as an envoy with the *gakgan* 角干 Gim Heumsun 金欽純 (598–680) to the Tang empire in 669 on the brink of the Silla-Tang War, he was held in jail and eventually died there the following year.

- 21 The biographical accounts of Myeongnang (fl. seventh century) are scattered in various sections of the *Samguk yusa* from “Munho wang Beommin,” “Ihye dongjin,” “Uisang jeon’gyo” 義湘傳教 [Uisang’s Transmission of the Teaching], “Hyetong hangryong” 惠通降龍 [Hyetong Subjugated the Dragon], to “Myeongnang Sinin” 明郎神印 [Myeongnang of the Secret Seal]. He was a son of the *sagan* 沙干 Jaeryang 才良 and Lady Namgan (南澗夫人) who was a sister of the eminent Vinaya Master Jajang. He went to the Tang empire in 632 and three years later returned to Silla where he propagated the teachings of esoteric Buddhism. He is best known for the practice of the Munduru Ritual to defeat the invading Tang troops, which led to the founding of Sacheonwangsa. Tradition also credits him with the establishment of the temples Geumgwangsa and Wonwonsa—which became the center of esoteric Buddhist activity in Korea. He was revered as the founder of the Sinin school (神印宗)—one of two Korean esoteric Buddhist schools—during the Goryeo. Although most Korean scholars argue that the Sinin school was founded during the time of Myeongnang, Seo Yungil claimed that the Sinin school became an independent school as late as 936 under the following dynasty Goryeo. See Seo Yun-gil 서윤길, *Han’guk milgyo sasangsa* 한국밀교사상사 [History of Korean Esoteric Buddhist Thought] (Seoul: Unjusa, 2006), 324–326.
- 22 Yōga monks in this context refer to monks who practice three mysteries of esoteric Buddhism (Yuga sammil 瑜伽三密)—the mutual relation of hand, mouth and mind embodying manifestation, incantation, and mental operation respectively, see Seo Yun-gil, *Han’guk milgyo sasangsa*, 174–175. For more on the three mysteries appearing in early Buddhist texts, see Charles D. Orzech and Henrik H. Sørensen, “Mudrā, Mantra, Mandala,” in *Esoteric Buddhism and Tantras in East Asia*, ed. Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, and Richard K. Payne (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011), 83–87.
- 23 The seventh fascicle of the *Foshuo guanding jing* 佛說灌頂經 [Consecration Sūtra], in which a ritual named “Wentoulou” (Kr. Munduru) 文頭婁 is prescribed, has been identified as the primary textual source of the “Munduru” Ritual described in the *Samguk yusa*. See *Foshuo guanding jing*, T 1331.21.495a–536b. Not only do the names of the two rituals

match closely, but also the principal deities of the rituals—the deities of the five directions—are identical. See Park Taehwa 朴泰華, “Silla sidae ui milgyo jeollae go” 新羅時代の密教傳來考 [Study on the Transmission of Esoteric Buddhism during the Silla Period], in *Hyoseong Jo Myeonggi baksa hwagap ginyeom Bulgyo sahak nonchong* 孝城趙明基博士華甲記念佛教史學論叢 [Festschrift on Buddhist History in Honor of Hyoseong, Dr. Jo Myeonggi, for His Sixty-First Birthday], ed. Hyoseong Jo Myeonggi baksa hwagap ginyeom Bulgyo sahak nonmujip ganhaeng wiwonhoe 孝城趙明基博士華甲記念佛教史學論叢刊行委員會 (Seoul: Dongguk daehakgyo, 1965), 73–74. However, questioning the historical reliability of Iryeon’s account of the ritual, Henrik H. Sørensen has proposed that the practice of the Munduru Ritual probably began only in the eleventh century under the Goryeo. See his “On the Sinin and Cho’ngji Schools and the Nature of Esoteric Buddhist Practice under the Koryō,” *International Journal of Buddhist Thought and Culture* 5 (2005): 49–84, esp. 58–59. For a recent critique on Sørensen’s argument, see Youn-mi Kim, “(Dis)assembling the National Canon,” 142–148.

- 24 The *nyang* is a unit of measuring weight in traditional East Asia. One *nyang* weighs about 37.5 grams.
- 25 The ruins of Sacheonwangsa began to receive scholarly attention from archaeologists and art historians alike from the beginning of the twentieth century as floor tiles and fragments of glazed terracotta reliefs were scattered at the temple site. For instance, Ayukai Fusanoshi 鮎貝房之進 (1864–1964), Harada Yoshito 原田淑人 (1885–1974), and Fujita Ryōsaku 藤田亮策 (1892–1960) measured the size of remaining foundation stones of lost buildings and collected roof tiles and terracotta reliefs from the ruins during their investigation of the temple site. The reports on the investigation of the Sacheonwangsa site from 1918 to 1922 were published in Chōsen sōtokufu, ed., *Taishō shichi-nendo koseki chōsa hōkoku* 大正七年度古蹟調査報告 [Archaeological Investigation Report for Year 7 of Taishō] (Keijō [Seoul]: Chōsen sōtokufu, 1922); Chōsen sōtokufu, ed., *Taishō jūichi-nendo koseki chōsa hōkoku* 大正十一年度古蹟調査報告 [Archaeological Investigation Report for Year 11 of Taishō] (Keijō: Chōsen sōtokufu, 1925), 1:15–23, Pl. 22–23. The black and white photographs of floor tiles and fragments of terracotta reliefs were also published in the Japanese colonial period, see Chōsen sōtokufu, ed., *Chōsen koseki zūfu*, 5:636–638 and 644. A brief history of the investigations conducted at the Sacheonwangsa site during the Japanese colonial period is found in Gungnip Gyeongju munhwajae yeon’guso, *Sacheonwangsa I: geumdang ji balgul josa bogoseo* 四天王寺 1: 金堂址



발굴조사보고서 [Sacheonwangsa 1: Golden Hall Site Excavation Report] (Gyeongju: Gungnip Gyeongju munhwajae yeon'guso, 2012), 58–60. For a bibliography of scholarly publications on Sacheonwangsa, see Gungnip Gyeongju munhwajae yeon'guso, *Silla hoguk ui yeomwon: Sacheonwangsa 신라 호국의 염원: 四天王寺* [Silla's Wish for State Protection: Sacheonwangsa] (Gyeongju: Gungnip Gyeongju munhwajae yeon'guso, 2008), 149–153.

- 26 Go Yuseop discussed the unique stone foundations situated behind the golden hall site as sūtra pavilions—an identification first proposed by Fujishima Gaijirō in an article published in 1930, which is based on his investigation of the Sacheonwangsa site in the previous year. The twin sūtra pavilion sites are, in fact, two sets of twelve square stones, which are placed facing each other in the east and the west within the courtyard between the golden hall and the lecture hall. Fujishima admitted that there is no convincing explanation for the function of these base stones that remain at the two building sites. Yet, many scholars including Go Yuseop believed that they were ruins of twin sutra pavilions, or a paired sūtra pavilion and bell pavilion. A new identification was first proposed by the Korean art historian Jang Chungsik 張忠植 in two articles published in 1996 and 2002 respectively. Based on the accounts of the Munduru Ritual in the *Samguk yusa*, he argued that they were not bases for wooden architecture but the remains of the altars (*danseok* 壇席) on which the ritual was practiced by Myeongnang. See Jang Chungsik, “Silla Nangsan yujeok ui je munje (1): Sacheonwangsa ji reul jungsim euro” 新羅 狼山遺蹟의 諸問題(1)—四天王寺址를 中心으로— [Various Problems of Silla's Cultural Remains on Nangsan (1): Centering on the Sacheonwangsa Site], *Silla munhwajae haksul balpyohoe nonmunjip* 17 (1996): 15–36; Jang Chungsik, “Silla Sacheonwangsa ji danseok ui gochal” 新羅 四天王寺址 壇席의 考察 [Examination of the Ritual Altars at the Sacheonwangsa Site from Silla], *Bulgyo hakbo* 佛教學報 39 (2002): 7–23. The excavation of the Sacheonwangsa site conducted by Gyeongju National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage from 2006 to 2012 has accepted Jang Chungsik's argument. These two stone remains are tentatively identified as “sites inferred to be ritual altars” (*chujeong danseok ji* 推定壇席址) in the excavation report of 2012, and established as “sites of ritual altars” (*danseok ji* 壇席址) in the excavation report of 2013. See Gungnip Gyeongju munhwajae yeon'guso, *Sacheonwangsa I*, 82–86 and Gungnip Gyeongju munhwajae yeon'guso, *Sacheonwangsa II: hoerang naegwak balgul josa bogoseo* 四天王寺 II: 回廊 內廊 발굴조사보고서 [Sacheonwangsa 2: Excavation Report of the Area Located within the Corridors] (Gyeongju: Gungnip Gyeongju munhwajae yeon'guso, 2013), 120–133. For the results of the



excavation of the area to the south of the temple precinct, see Gungnip Gyeongju munhwajae yeon'guso, *Sacheonwangsa Ⅲ: hoerang oegwak balgul josa bogoseo* 四天王寺 3: 回廊 外廊 발굴조사보고서 [Sacheonwangsa Ⅲ: Excavation Report of the Area Located Outside the Corridors] (Gyeongju: Gungnip Gyeongju munhwajae yeon'guso, 2014).

- 27 For the full ground plan of Sacheonwangsa revealed by the seven-year excavation, see Gungnip Gyeongju munhwajae yeon'guso, *Sacheonwangsa 1*, esp. 8, Fig. 4.
- 28 For an up-to-date description of the twin pagoda sites, *Ibid.*, 72–119.
- 29 The “bricks with relief images of the Four Heavenly Kings,” which turned out to be glazed terracotta tiles, have received intense scholarly attention from the very beginning of the modern archaeological and art historical investigation of Sacheonwangsa. These artifacts of outstanding quality were collected during the survey of the west pagoda site conducted in 1915 and 1916. See Moroga Hideo 諸鹿央雄, “Chōsen Keishū hatsuken ūden” 朝鮮慶州發見釉磚 [Glazed Tiles Found at Gyeongju, Korea], *Kogogaku zasshi* 6, no. 8 (1916). The tiles with relief images of guardian deities in armor were widely accepted as images of the Four Heavenly Kings—a seemingly incontrovertible identification given the very name of the temple (lit. temple of the Four Heavenly Kings). For a representative study, among others, supporting this identification, see Kang Ubang 姜友邦, “Sacheonwangsa ji chulto chaeyu cheonwang bujosang ui bogwonjeok gochal: obangsin gwa sacheonwang sang ui johyeongjeok seuphap hyeonsang” 四天王寺址 出土彩釉天王浮雕像의 復元の 考察: 五方神과 四天王像의 造形的 習合現象 [Examination and Restoration of the Glazed Heavenly Kings relief Images Excavated from the Sacheonwangsa Site: Formal Synthesis of the Deities of the Five Directions and the Four Heavenly Kings], *Misul jaryo* 美術資料 25 (1979): 1–46. The images were also identified as representations of the Eight Kinds of Beings (Palbujung 八部衆), see Mun Myeongdae, *Woneum gwa jeokjomi: Tongil Silla Bulgyo jogaksa yeon'gu, ha* 圓音과 寂照美: 統一新羅 佛教彫刻史研究(下) [Beauty of the Buddha's Perfect Voice and Wisdom: Research on the History of Buddhist Sculpture of the Unified Silla 2] (Seoul: Yegyong, 2003), 28 and 242–244. Yet, the seven-year excavation of the Sacheonwangsa site has compelled scholars to reconsider previous identifications introduced just above. The excavation has revealed that there were three kinds of terracotta images. Given that two sets of the three images were attached to each side of the pagoda's platform, twenty-four such images originally surrounded the pagoda. In recent years, Im Youngae argued that these terracotta images are not Four Heavenly Kings or Eight Kinds of Beings,

but are generic guardian deities. According to her argument, they should be understood as representations of *shenwang* 神王—the guardian deities frequently appearing in the *Foshuo guanding jing*. She suggested that images of the Four Heavenly Kings, which did not survive, were likely enshrined inside the pagoda or the golden hall of Sacheonwangsa. See Im Youngae 林玲愛, “Sacheonwangsa ji sojosang ui jonmyeong” 四天王寺址 塑造像의 尊名 [Name of the Images Modeled with Clay from the Sacheonwangsa Site], *Misulsa nondan* 美術史論壇 27 (2008): 7–37. Youn-mi Kim further suggested that these images were known under the more generic name *sinjang* 神將 (guardian general) instead of *shenwang*. See Youn-mi Kim, “(Dis)assembling the National Canon,” 166–168. For a critical review of the past scholarship on these images, see Choe Seongeun 崔聖銀, “Tongil Silla Sacheonwangsa nogyu sojo sinjangsang ui yeon’gu seonggwa wa haynghu gwaje” 통일신라 四天王寺 녹유소조신장상의 연구 성과와 향후 과제 [Review of Studies on the Glazed Tiles of the Guardian Images from the Sacheonwangsa Site and Remaining Issues], *Sillasa hakbo* 26 (2012): 165–202. Another issue that should be mentioned here is the original location of these terracotta relief images. The excavation of the west pagoda site in 2006 has revealed that they were used as the siding (*myeonseok* 面石) of a stone platform.

30 Chōsen sōtokufu, ed., *Taishō jūichi-nendo koseki chōsa hōkoku*.

31 See *Samguk yusa*, T 2039. 49.1004a4–23. According to this account, Yangji made a sixteen-*cheok* image of the Buddha, image(s) of guardian deities, and tiles of the Buddha hall and pagoda at Yeongmyosa, images of the Eight Kinds of Beings under the pagoda at Cheonwangsa (i.e. Sacheonwangsa), and the Buddha triad and the twin images of *vajrapāṇi* at Beomnimsa 法林寺, and all of them were formed out of earth. This account has received intense attention from art historians for two main reasons. Firstly, it provides name of a sculptor for the first time in Korean history. Secondly, his “marvelous” works were thought to have been found through archaeological discoveries, and therefore can be examined. The terracotta relief images found at the Sacheonwangsa site, though lacking any inscription, have been widely considered as works of Yangji or, at least, reflecting Yangji’s style. See Kang Heejung, “Yangji sa seok’ siron: Yangji ui nambang doraе ganeungseong e daehayeo” 良志使錫 試論: 양지의 남방도래 가능성에 대하여 [A Preliminary Examination of “Yangji’s Magic Staff” in the *Samguk yusa*: Regarding Yangji’s Southeast Asian Orign], *Seogang immun nonchong* 서강인문논총 43 (2015): 122–123.

32 The *borang* 步廊, a style of passageway, is usually roofed with both sides open.

- 33 Japanese scholars conducted a brief investigation of the Mangdeoksa site during the Japanese colonial period. The site was subject to an archaeological field survey in 1965, and two archaeological excavations in 1969 and 1970 respectively. The fuller accounts of the excavations have recently been published, see Gungnip Gyeongju munhwajae yeon'guso, *Gyeongju Mangdeoksa ji balgul josa bogoseo* (69·70-nyeon balgul josa) 경주 망덕사지 발굴조사보고서 (69·70년 발굴조사) [Report of the Archaeological Excavations on the Mangdeoksa Site in Gyeongju: Excavations Conducted in 1969 and 1970] (Gyeongju: Gungnip Gyeongju munhwajae yeon'guso, 2015). An archaeological survey was conducted again in 1984 by Dongguk University Museum at Gyeongju as part of a close investigation of historical sites located on Nangsan, Gyeongju, see Jang Chungsik, *Silla Nangsan yujeok josa* 新羅狼山 遺蹟調査 [Investigation of Historical Sites on Nangsan from Silla] (Gyeongju: Dongguk daehakgyo Gyeongju kaempeoseu bangmulgwan, 1985). A preliminary archaeological excavation in 2013 has revealed the location of a lecture hall and yielded fragments of celadon and tiles, among others, which are datable to the Unified Silla and early Goryeo, see Gyeongju-si 慶州市 and Gyerim munhwajae yeon'guwon 鷄林文化財研究院, *Gyeongju Mangdeoksa ji jeongbi giban gyehoek* 경주 망덕사지 정비 기본계획 [Basic Plan for Maintenance of the Mangdeoksa Site, Gyeongju] (Gyeongju: Gyeongju-si and Gyerim munhwajae yeon'guwon, 2013), 32–35 and 44.
- 34 When the excavation of the west pagoda site was conducted, there remained no base stones. see Gungnip Gyeongju munhwajae yeon'guso, *Gyeongju Mangdeoksa ji balgul josa bogoseo*, 43.
- 35 The 1969 excavation of the east pagoda site revealed the central base stone, which is also octagonal in plan and has a hole for storing relic deposits in the center. The excavation also revealed fifteen base stones in total. The square platform of the east pagoda originally measured 8.1 by 8.1 meters. The pagoda appears to have had stairs at each side of its platform. For a description of the east pagoda site, see Gungnip Gyeongju munhwajae yeon'guso, *Gyeongju Mangdeoksa ji balgul josa bogoseo*, 41–43.
- 36 Thus far, they are the only instance of octagonal central base stones that have been discovered in the ruins of wooden pagodas of Silla. For more on the central base stone found at the west pagoda site, see Gungnip Gyeongju munhwajae yeon'guso, *Gyeongju Mangdeoksa ji balgul josa bogoseo*, 43.
- 37 Chōsen sōtokufu, ed., *Taishō jūni-nendo koseki chōsa hōkoku*, 1: 23–26, Pl. 28–31.
- 38 Lushan's rebellion (Lushan luan 祿山亂, 755–763), rendered as the An Lushan Rebellion in modern scholarship, was a rebellion raised by the

- general An Lushan 安祿山 (703–757) against the Tang dynasty of China. The rebellion continued after An Lushan's death under his son An Qingxu 安慶緒 (d. 759) and his successor Shi Shiming 史思明 (703–761), spanning the reigns of three Tang emperors before it was finally quashed.
- 39 *Samguk sagi* 9, “Gyeongdeok wang,” fourteenth year; *Yeokju Samguk sagi*, 1: 201; and Kim Pusik, *The Silla Annals of the Samguk Sagi*, 298–299.
  - 40 Quoting the *Xinluo guo ji*, the compilers of the *Samguk sagi* misidentified its author as Liang Hucheng. The Tang envoy Gu Yin wrote this book after his visit to Silla in 768. Some parts of this travelogue survive in the form of quotations in the *Samguk sagi* and *Haedong goseung jeon*.
  - 41 *Haedong yeoksa* 45, “Yemun ji” 4, “Gyeongjeok” 經籍 2, “Jungguk seomok” 中國書目 2; Han Chiyun, *Haedong yeoksa*, ed. Choe Namseon 崔南善 (Keijō [Seoul]: Joseon gwangmunhoe, 1912), 4: 66. It was written by Han Chiyun 韓致滄 (1765–1814), a scholar belonging to the school of practical learning (*sirakpa* 實學派). It is composed of two parts: 70 fascicles written by Han Chiyun and 15 fascicles added later by his nephew Han Jinseo 韓鎭書.
  - 42 Go Yuseop cast doubt on the number of stories because the areas of the twin pagoda sites seem to be too small for a thirteen-storied pagoda.
  - 43 At the Jeonghyesa site, the thirteen-storied body of the pagoda stands on top of an earthen mound, fortified with stones on its exterior. The distinctive form of the pagoda is not to be found elsewhere. The pagoda has been dated to the ninth century.
  - 44 The shrine has a thirteen-storied wooden pagoda (d. 1532), a reconstruction of the original structure built by the monk Jo'e 定惠 in the Asuka period. It is the only wooden thirteen-storied pagoda extant today. One distinguishing feature of this pagoda, measuring 17.5 meters, is found in the treatment of the pagoda body, which seems to have been devised to achieve desired number of stories. Unlike common three-storied or five-storeid wooden pagodas, the pagoda body between roofs is too short to be called a proper story. This type of pagoda is called *entō-zukuri* 簷塔造 (eave pagoda style) or multi-eaved pagoda since the entire structure appears to be only roofs and eaves. The number of thirteen-storied pagodas increased during the Kamakura 鎌倉 period (1185–1333).
  - 45 Fujishima Gaijirō, “Chōsen kenchiku shiron sono ichi,” 319–329. The area of the entire platform is approximately 16.3 × 12.4 meters. See Gunnip Gyeongju munhwajae yeon'guso, *Gyeongju Mangdeoksa ji balgul josa bogoseo*, 37.
  - 46 The location was first attributed to Bomunsa during the investigation of historic sites undertaken by the Government-General of Korea in 1916.

Roof tiles engraved with inscriptions reading “Bomunsa” 普門寺 or “Bomun” 普門 were found in the vicinity of the temple site. Fujishima Gaijirō conducted an investigation of the temple site, leading to the production of a layout of the architectural remains. Archaeological surveys were undertaken in 1968 by the Cultural Heritage Bureau and in 1991 by the Gyeongju National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage. A reference to Bomunsa has been discovered in the reliquary inscription from the Hwangnyongsa Pagoda, which was known to the world in the 1960s. The inscription states that the head monk (*sangjwa seung* 上座僧) Eunjeon 隱田 of Bomunsa participated as the *dogamjeon* 道監典 in the renovation of the Hwangnyongsa Pagoda. Another reference to the temple has been found in the inscription engraved on a cylindrical bronze sutra container in the collection of Gyeongju National Museum. The monk Hyeonyeo 玄余 of Bomunsa, according to the inscription (dated to 883), patronized the production of seventy-seven miniature pagodas and their enshrinement within the larger pagoda following the *Wugou jingguang jing* 無垢淨光經 [Sūtra of the Pure Immaculate Light]. For more on the Bomunsa site, see Gungnip Gyeongju munhwajae yeon’guso, *Gyeongju jiyeok pyesaji gicho josa-yeon’gu*, 172–182.

- 47 The east and west pagodas were located about 23 meters away from each other.
- 48 Fujishima Gaijirō, “Chōsen kenchiku shiron sono ni,” *Kenchiku zasshi* 44, no. 3 (1930): 447–503.
- 49 *Daeungeon*, which is also called *daeungbojeon* 大雄寶殿 (jeweled hall of the great hero) is dedicated to Buddha Śākyamuni, and generally situated at the center of temple complex. In general, the hall is enshrined with images of Buddha Śākyamuni flanked by two attendant bodhisattvas, Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra.
- 50 Fujishima Gaijirō, “Chōsen kenchiku shiron sono ni,” 457–458.
- 51 *Ibid.*, 459–460.
- 52 Neungju corresponds to present-day Hwasun 和順.
- 53 The Seon Master Cheolgam 澈鑒禪師 is a posthumous name given to the monk Doyun 道允 (798–868) by King Gyeongmun of the late Silla. He was trained under the major Chan teacher Nanquan Puyuan 南泉普願 (748–835) in Tang China and founded the Sajasanmun 獅子山門, one of the nine schools of Korean Seon (*gusan seonmun* 九山禪門), which were established in connection with nine different mountain temples. His family name was Bak 朴 and his pen name was Ssangbong 雙峰.
- 54 The building discussed by Go Yuseop was rebuilt in 1724 and was destroyed by fire in 1984. The building presently standing at the site was rebuilt in

1986.

- 55 Located on Songnisan 俗離山, Beopjusa is believed to have been founded in 553, during the reign of King Jinheung. The famous Hwaeom master Uisang is said to have participated in its construction.
- 56 The “five-storied wooden pagoda” corresponds to Palsangjeon 捌相殿 (Hall of Eight Phases of the Buddha’s Life). The current name of the wooden structure is derived from its murals: the inner walls of the building are painted with images of the eight important events in the life of the Buddha. The original pagoda, built in 553, was burnt down during the Hideyoshi invasion of 1592. The current building was constructed in 1624 and it has been carefully preserved since then.
- 57 *Goryeosa* 53, “Ji” 7, “Ohaeng” 1, King Jeongjong, second year, tenth month, *byeongsin*; Jeong Inji et al., *Bugyeok Goryeosa*, 5: 321.
- 58 *Goryeosa* 2, “Sega” 2, King Taejo, fifteenth year, fifth month; Jeong Inji et al., *Bugyeok Goryeosa*, 1: 100–101.
- 59 *Goryeosa* 2, “Sega” 2, King Taejo, twenty-sixth year, fourth month; Jeong Inji et al., *Bugyeok Goryeosa*, 1: 116.
- 60 *Goryeosa* 1, “Sega” 1, King Taejo, first year, ninth month, *byeongsin*; Jeong Inji et al., *Bugyeok Goryeosa*, 1: 82.
- 61 The construction, which began in 922, took six years to complete. See *Goryeosa* 82, “Ji” 36, “Byeong” 兵 2, “Seongbo” 城堡; Jeong Inji et al., *Bugyeok Goryeosa*, 7: 506. The *jaeseong*, a term of Korean origin, literally means a walled city where the king dwells. It is equivalent to another term *doseong* 都城, meaning a royal city where the royal palace and administrative offices are located. The term was used from the Three Kingdoms period onward.
- 62 After beginning his tenure as a director of the Gaeseong Prefectural Museum (開城府立博物館) in 1932, Go Yuseop undertook extensive surveys of historical remains, located within the city as well as in the outskirts of Gaeseong. The results of his investigations, including the measurements taken *in situ* and research on relevant textual sources, were published posthumously under the title of *Songdo ui gojeok* 松都의 古蹟 [Ancient Sites of Songdo]. Songdo is another name of Gaeseong. Most pieces included in this volume were originally published under the title of “Gaeseong gojeok annae” 開成古蹟案内 [Guide to Ancients Sites of Gaeseong] in a biweekly magazine, *Goryeo sibo* 高麗時報. Famous temples of Gaeseong, such as Anhwasa 安和寺, Heungguksa 興國寺, and Gaeguksa, to name just a few, are examined in this book. The first edition was published in 1946, and was reprinted by Youlhwadang in 1977 and by Tongmun’gwan in

1993. A revised and much enlarged edition was published once more by Youlhwadang in 2007.
- 63 For a section devoted to Wangnyunsa, see Go Yuseop, *Songdo ui yujeok* (Seoul: Youlhwadang, 2007), 297–302.
- 64 For a section on Yeonboksa, see Go Yuseop, *Songdo ui yujeok*, 155–166.
- 65 The full title of the work cited is the *Xuanhe fengshi Gaoli tujing* 宣和奉使高麗圖經 [Illustrated Account of the Xuanhe Embassy to Goryeo]. The work is an official record of the Song envoy Xu Jing's 徐兢 (1091–1153) visit to Goryeo Korea. Though Xu Jing spent little more than a month in Gaeseong, the capital of Goryeo, he meticulously recorded his observations of daily life, history, customs and manners, buildings, the military and food, among others, while supplementing his work with information gained from earlier textual sources. Previous studies on the *Gaoli tujing* are too numerous to introduce here. An annotated English translation of the work, accompanied with an introduction, has been published in recent years. See Sem Vermeersch, trans., *A Chinese Traveler in Medieval Korea: Xu Jing's Illustrated Account of the Xuanhe Embassy to Koryŏ* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016). I would like to thank Prof. Vermeersch for sharing his manuscript before its publication.
- 66 Gwangtong bojesa was situated at the very center of the crossroads, which virtually divided the city into four quarters.
- 67 It is generally assumed that the Tang measure was adopted during the Goryeo period following the precedent of Unified Silla.
- 68 *Gaoli tujing* 17, “Ciyu” 祠宇, “Gwangtong bojesa”; Xu Jing, *Gaoli tujing* (Seoul: Baeksan jaryowon, 2000), 1:171–172.
- 69 Neungin (Ch. Nengren), meaning “being able to care for others,” is a Chinese translation of the name of Śākyamuni. See *Zhujing yaojip* 諸經要集, T 2123.54.28a22.
- 70 For more on the composition of the interior of Yeonboksa Pagoda, see note 41 of chapter 4.
- 71 *Dongguk yeoji seungnam* 4, “Gyeongdo,” “Gaseong-bu” 1, “Buru”; Minjok munhwa chujinhoe, *Gugyeok Sinjeung Dongguk yeoji seungnam*, 1:90 (reverse pagination).
- 72 *Goryeosa* 4, “Sega” 4, King Hyeonjong, ninth year, intercalary fourth month; Jeong Inji et al., *Bugyeok Goryeosa*, 1:216.
- 73 An archaeological survey of the temple site was conducted in 1948. For the results of the survey, see Hwang Suyeong, “Goryeo Heungwangsa ji ui josa” 高麗 興王寺址의 調査 [Survey of the Heungwangsa Site of Goryeo], in *Baek Seonguk baksa songsu ginyeom Bulgyohak nonmunjip* 白性郁博士頌壽記念



佛教學論文集 [Festschrift on Buddhist Studies in Commemoration of Dr. Baek Seonguk on his Eightieth Birthday], ed. Baek Seonguk baksa songsu ginyeom saeop wiwonhoe 白性郁博士頌壽記念事業委員會 (Seoul: Dongguk daehakgyo, 1959), 1107–1134. Besides the two wooden pagodas mentioned by Go Yuseop, the architectural splendor of Heungwangsa is worthy of note. According to the *Goryeosa*, the buildings of Heungwangsa occupied a space of 2,800 bays (approximately 10,000 sq meters) when the construction was completed in 1067. In 1069, a three-storied hall dedicated to Maitreya, called Jassijeon 慈氏殿, was constructed by royal order, and ramparts surrounding the temple edifice was built in 1070. Of special note is a golden pagoda, commissioned by King Munjong in 1078. Its silver frame was reported to weigh 427 *geun*, while the gold used in gilding the surface weighed 144 *geun*. A stone pagoda was completed to enshrine the golden one two years later.

- 74 *Goryeosa* 33, “Sega” 33, King Chungseon, founding year, ninth month, *gapjin*; Jeong Inji et al., *Bugyeok Goryeosa*, 3:419.
- 75 *Goryeosa* 53, “Ji” 7, “Ohaeng” 1, “Hwa”; Jeong Inji et al., *Bugyeok Goryeosa*, 5:333.
- 76 *Goryeosa* 36, “Sega” 36, King Chunghye, fourth year, third month, *gapsul*; Jeong Inji et al., *Bugyeok Goryeosa*, 3:534.
- 77 The *chimi* 鷗尾 (lit. owl’s tail) is a type of roof ornament used to decorate both ends of the main ridge (*yongmaru* 용마루) of a building.
- 78 *Goryeosa* 54, “Ji” 8, “Ohaeng” 2, “Geum”; Jeong Inji et al., *Bugyeok Goryeosa*, 5:388.
- 79 Yeongpyeongmun was a small gate (*somun* 小門) installed at the outer city wall, called Naseong 羅城, of Gaeseong during the Goryeo. Naseong had four main gates (*daemun* 大門), eight middle gates (*jungmun* 中門), and thirteen small gates.
- 80 Yi Saek, also known by his pen name Mogeun 牧隱, was a writer, poet, and scholar of Neo-Confucianism, which he studied in the Yuan empire. After his return to Goryeo, he opened an academy where he educated the founders of Joseon dynasty such as Jeong Dojeon and Gwon Geun among others.
- 81 *Goryeosa* 115, “Yeoljeon” 28, “Jesin” 諸臣, “Yi Saek” 李穡; Jeong Inji et al., *Bugyeok Goryeosa*, 10:230.
- 82 *Dongguk yeoji seungnam* 39, “Jeolla-do,” “Namwon-dohobu,” “Buru”; Minjok munhwa chujinhoe, *Gugyeok Sinjeung Dongguk yeoji seungnam*, 5:45–46 (reverse pagination). The temple is said to have contained a two-storied stone pagoda enshrining a massive bronze image of the Buddha and



a five-storied wooden pagoda. The excavation of the temple site from 1979 to 1985 revealed that during the Joseon dynasty the temple had a wooden pagoda at the center and halls located in the east, west, and north of the temple precinct. The temple, which thrived until the mid-Joseon, was burnt to the ground during Hideyoshi's second invasion (Jeongyu jaeran 丁酉再亂) of 1597. Currently, there only remain stone monuments such as the five-storied stone pagoda, a pedestal, supports for a flagpole, and a standing image of the Buddha. For the results of the excavation, see Jeonbuk daehakgyo bangmulgwan 全北大學校博物館, ed., *Manboksa: balgul josa bogoseo* 萬福寺: 發掘調査報告書 [Manboksa: The Excavation Report] (Jeollabuk-do: Jeonbuk daehakgyo bangmulgwan, 1986). For a survey of the five-storied pagoda and its relic crypt, Chin Hongsup 秦弘燮, "Namwon Manboksa ji seoktap ui josa" 南原 萬福寺址 石塔의 調査 [Survey of the Five-Storied Stone Pagoda at the Manboksa Site], *Baeksan hakbo* 白山學報 8 (1970): 143–158.

- 83 Hōryūji, located in Ikaruga 斑鳩, Nara-ken, Japan, was built between 601 and 607 under the patronage of Prince Shōtoku. The building of the temple marked the introduction of Buddhism and Buddhist art and architecture to Japan from China through the agency of Baekje on the Korean Peninsula. The original temple was burnt to the ground when lightning hit the temple complex in 670. The reconstruction of the temple is believed to have been completed around 711. Given the period in which Go Yuseop was writing, it is worth noting that the building date of the present temple precinct was hotly debated in the early twentieth century. In 1905, two architecture historians Sekino Tadashi and Hirakao Takurei 平子鐸嶺 (1877–1911) separately wrote essays, both arguing that the present Hōryūji is original and could not have been rebuilt. A controversy regarding the building date, ignited by Sekino, came to an end as archaeologists uncovered the remains of the ruins of a temple site to the south-east of the present temple precinct and conducted excavations of them in 1939 and 1967. The ruins were turned out to be the site of Wakakusa-garan 若草伽藍, which was commissioned by Prince Shōtoku in 607. For more detailed information regarding the controversy in English, see Alexander C. Soper, *The Evolution of Buddhist Architecture in Japan* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1942; reprint, New York: Hacker Art Books, 1978), and Machida Kōichi, "A Historical Survey of the Controversy as to Whether the Hōryū-ji Was Rebuilt or Not," *Acta Asiatica* 15 (1968): 87–115; and Stefan Tanaka, "Discoveries of the Hōryūji," in *Constructing Nationhood in Modern East Asia*, ed. Kai-wing Chow, Kevin M. Doak, and Poshek Fu (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001), 117–147. Presently, the temple

consists of two separate areas, the Sai-in 西院 in the west and the Tō-in 東院 in the east. The Sai-in area holds the main Buddha hall (Jp. *kondō*) and the five-storied pagoda, whereas the Tō-in area, situated 122 meters east of the Sai-in area, contains Yumedono 夢殿 in octagonal plan, monk's quarters, lecture halls, libraries, and dining halls. When Go Yuseop drew comparison of the arrangement of buildings within the temple precinct, he referred to the Sai-in area in which the main Buddha hall and the five-storied pagodas are located side by side within the temple precinct enclosed by the roofed corridors. The main hall is located in the east, and the five-storied pagoda is in the west. The five-storied pagoda, one of the oldest wooden structures extant in the world, rises up to 32.45 meters high with the width of 20×20 meters approximately. The literature on Hōryūji, both traditional and modern, is too vast to introduce here. For a recent reconsideration of its architecture and art published in English, see Part 1 of Dorothy C. Wong, and Eric M. Field, ed., *Hōryūji Reconsidered*, 1–190.

- 84 Hokkiji 法起寺, located on a foothill to the northeast of Hōryūji in Ikaruga, is one of historic temples related to Prince Shōtoku. Prince Yamashiro (Yamashiro no Ōe no Ō 山背大兄王, d. 643), the eldest son of Prince Shōtoku, is said to have built the temple on the spot where his father had lectured on the *Lotus Sūtra* according to the latter's last will and testament. The main hall and the three-storied pagoda are aligned along the east-west axis of the temple. The main hall is situated in the west, whereas the pagoda is in the east. It is the opposite of the arrangement in the Sai-in area of Hōryūji. The three-storied wooden pagoda, whose construction was begun in 675 by Eise 惠施 (d. 701) and finished in 706, is the oldest of its kind extant in Japan, and it measures 24 meters high.
- 85 Many buildings and objects that once occupied Bunhwangsa were mostly lost in the vortex of the Mongol invasions of Goryeo during the thirteenth century and the Japanese invasion of Korea in the late sixteenth century. Currently, there are Bogwangjeon 普光殿 (Hall of Universal Light), built after the seventeenth century, and the stone pagoda. The ground of Bunhwangsa was excavated by the Gyeongju National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage in order to clarify its spatial layout, construction history, and the scope of the temple precinct during its prime. The excavation survey was conducted on the precinct and its vicinity on eight occasions from 1990 to 2012. The survey conducted until 2003 revealed that three Buddha halls were originally laid out in the shape of a Chinese character “*pum*” 品 to the north of the stone pagoda. This type of spatial layout has been discovered in the temple site at Cheongam-ri from Goguryeo period

and the site of Asukadera 飛鳥寺址 in Japan. The archaeological surveys also clarified that the pagoda stands at its original location ever since its construction in 634. In addition, the stone supports for a flagpole, walls, building sites, and drainage, all of which are located outside the current precinct, appear to have been closely related to the original spatial layout of the temple. For the results of the surveys until 2003, see Gungnip Gyeongju munhwajae yeon'guso, *Bunhwangsa balgul josa bogoseo 1* 芬皇寺發掘調査報告書 1 [Report of the Excavation of Bunhwangsa 1] (Gyeongju: Gungnip Gyeongju munhwajae yeon'guso, 2005). The archaeological survey carried out between 2004 and 2012 revealed the site of the middle gate (*jungmun* 中門), which was built during the first refurbishment of the temple in the eighth century, and the sites of the southwest and southeast corridors that were attached to the middle gate. The south corridor was built in the form of double-corridor (*bongnang* 復廊). So far, only Bunhwang-sa and Hwangnyongsa are known to have it. For the results of the archaeological survey conducted from 2004 to 2012, see Gungnip Gyeongju munhwajae yeon'guso, *Bunhwangsa balgul josa bogoseo 2* 芬皇寺發掘調査報告書 2 [Report of the Excavations of Bunhwangsa 2] (Gyeongju: Gungnip Gyeongju munhwajae yeon'guso, 2015).

- 86 See Fujishima Gaijirō, “Chōsen kenchiku shiron sono ichi,” 297–300. Also, see note 84 of chapter 3.
- 87 The pagoda was repaired by the Government-General of Korea in 1915. It is hard to know its original height since the structure above its lower three stories are completely gone. Scholars have suggested that the pagoda was originally seven-storied or nine-storied. For reconstructions of the pagoda, see Gungnip Gyeongju munhwajae yeon'guso, *Bunhwangsa balgul josa bogoseo 1*, Color illustrations 3 to 11.
- 88 The excavation suggests that the original Bunhwangsa most likely had a middle gate, stone pagoda, golden hall, and lecture hall, all aligned along the north-south axis. A site of a building having eight by eight bays plan was recovered on the fifth occasion of the archaeological survey. The north-south axis of the building site does not agree with the north-south axis of the entire temple precinct, but is oriented 20 degrees towards the northeast-southwest direction, and it lies at right angles to Bukcheon. The lost building faced southwest unlike other Silla-period building sites facing south. The unusual direction of the building appears to have close relation with topographical features of the land, of which the southern part is high and the northern part is low. See Gungnip Gyeongju munhwajae yeon'guso, *Bunhwangsa balgul josa bogoseo 1*, 112 and 120–125.

- 89 The translation is adopted with minor changes from Kim Dalyong, trans., *Overlooked Historical Records of the Three Korean Kingdoms*, 248.
- 90 The excavation of Bunhwangsa from 2002 to 2012 revealed that the original temple was constructed in a layout similar to that of the Cheongam-ri temple site. See notes 85 and 88 of chapter 5. Also, as discussed earlier, Hwangnyongsa had Buddha halls. See note 7 of chapter 5.
- 91 There is comparatively rich body of textual accounts of Heungcheonsa. Gwon Geun recorded the founding of the temple in 1397 in his *Jeongneung wondang Jogyejong bonsa Heungcheonsa joseong gi* 貞陵願堂曹溪宗本社興天寺造成記 [Record of the Building of Heungcheonsa, the Head Temple of Jogyeo Order, the Prayer Temple for the Upkeep of Jeongneung], compiled in the *Yangchon jip*. It is reprinted in Chin Hongsup, ed., *Han'guk misulsa jaryo jipseong* 韓國美術史資料集成 [Collection of Research Materials for the Study of Korean Art History] (Seoul: Iljisa, 1991), 3:125–126.
- 92 *Saboksi* is a government office that looked after horses, palanquins, and the like of the royal court during the Joseon dynasty.
- 93 Textual accounts related to Sarigak and the stone relic pagoda have been discussed by the modern scholar Kang Pyŏnghee. She pointed out that Sarigak of Heungcheonsa differed from wooden and stone pagodas in terms of the way in which relics were enshrined. At Heungcheonsa, the relics of the Buddha were enshrined inside the stone pagoda, which was in turn held inside the multi-storied Sarigak in octagonal plan. The stone pagoda was built in a way in which the devotee could climb up and open the door to pay respect to the relics encased within reliquary. For more detailed information, see Kang Pyŏnghee 康炳喜, “Heungcheonsa Sarijeon gwa seoktap e gwanhan yeon'gu: Joseon chogi Hanseong ui tappa” 興天寺舍利殿과 石塔에 관한 연구—朝鮮初期 漢城의 塔婆—[Examination of Sarigak and the Stone Pagoda at Heungcheonsa: Pagodas in Hanseong during the Early Years of Joseon], *Gangjuwa misulsa* 講座美術史 19 (2002): 239–257.
- 94 Hoeamsa 檜巖寺, located in the present day Yangju-gun 楊州郡, Gyeonggi-do, is said to have been founded by the Indian monk Jigong 指空 (d. 1363) who traveled to East Asia and came to Goryeo. The “Cheonbosan Hoeamsa sujo gi” 天寶山檜巖寺修造記 [Record of the Construction of Hoeamsa on Cheonbosan], written by Yi Saek, relates that the temple began to be built by Jigong's disciple Hyegeun 慧勤 (also known as Naong 懶翁, 1320–1376) in 1376. It had become the largest temple across the country until the early Joseon. King Taejo of Joseon installed his teacher Muhak 無學 (1327–1405), who was a disciple of Hyegeun, and practiced the monastic life there after his abdication. The temple was greatly enlarged during the reign of King

Seongjong 成宗 (r. 1469–1494), and reached its height under the aegis of Queen Munjeong (文定王后, 1502–1565)—Queen Regent for her son King Myeongjong 明宗 (r. 1545–1567) until 1565 and one of the most influential supporters of Buddhism in the early years of Joseon dynasty. However, the temple was burnt down after the death of Queen Munjeong as part of the state suppression of Buddhism. According to Yi Saek's record, contained in fasc. 73 of the *Dongmunseon* 東文選 [Anthology of Korean Literature], Sarijeon of one bay was located behind Seolbeopjeon 說法殿 (Hall of the Dharma Talk) of five bays. The original text is reprinted in Seo Geojeong et al., comp., *Gugyeok Dongmunseon* 국역 동문선 [Korean Translation of the *Anthology of Korean Literature*], ed. Minjok munhwa chujinhoe 민족문화추진회 (Seoul: Minjok munhwa chujinhoe, 1968; reprint, Seoul: Sol, 1998), 6:130 (reverse pagination). Kim Suon's record, cited by Go Yuseop, commemorates the reconstruction of Hoeamasa in 1472 under the patronage of Queen Jeonghui (貞熹王后, 1418–1483).

- 95 The Bharhut stūpa, located in the eastern part of present-day Madhya Pradesh is believed to have been first built by King Aśoka in the third century BCE. However, many works of art were apparently added during the Shunga period (mid-second century BCE). The ruined stūpa was known to the wider world as Alexander Cunningham published the results of his visit to the site in 1873 and the archaeological excavation following year. See Sir Alexander Cunningham, *The Stūpa of Bharhut: A Buddhist Monument Ornamented with Numerous Sculptures Illustrative of Buddhist Legend and History in the Third century B.C.* (London: W. H. Allen, 1879). While the foundations of the main structure remain *in situ*, the gateways and railings were dismantled and reassembled at the Indian Museum, Kolkata, where they have been displayed since 1878. They are mostly carved with scenes illustrating birth stories of the Buddha's previous lives.
- 96 The *jātaka*, translated as *bonsaeng dam* 本生譚, refers to stories of the Buddha's previous lives. Śākyamuni is said to have been reborn five hundred times before his final life on earth as Gautama Siddhartha. It is widely believed that Śākyamuni could attain the nirvāṇa since he had accumulated good karma during his previous lives on earth. Some of these tales came to be painted or carved.
- 97 The relic deposits, discovered inside Palsangjeon, corroborate Go Yuseop's interpretation of Palsangjeon as one form of pagoda. In 1968, the relic deposits composed of a marble casket and silver case were discovered within a two-tiered rectangular recess made in the central base stone of Palsangjeon during the repairs of the building. Five bronze plates, originally covering

the four walls and top of the relic crypt, are inscribed with a dedicatory inscription. It reveals that the present Palsangjeon was newly built in 1605 under the supervision of the monk Yujeong 惟政 (1544–1610). See Choe Sunu, “Beopjusa Palsangjeon ui sari jangchi” 法住寺 捌相殿의 舍利裝置 [Reliquaries from Palsangjeon of Beopjusa], *Gogo misul* 100 (1968): 468–472.

- 98 The verse couplets carved on planks are put on the pillars of Dae’ungjeon at Tongdosa in Yangsan, Gyeongsangnam-do.

## Chapter 6 Brick Pagodas of Korea

### Author's Notes

- 1 The *Dongguk yeoji seungnam* dates the founding of Anyangsa to the reign of King Taejo of Goryeo. But the entry for “King Taejong Muyeol (太宗武烈王), eighth year (661)” in fasc. 5 of the *Samguk sagi* relates that the *daesa* 大舍 [the twelfth-rank official in Silla’s seventeen-rank hierarchy] Dongtacheon 冬陔川, the lord of the Bukhansanseong 北漢山城, facing the invasion of strong Goguryeo-Malgat combined forces, destroyed a storehouse of Anyangsa and transported its construction materials to use them in the building of roofless watchtowers (*nuro* 樓櫓) along the destroyed parts of the fortress. He made rope nets on which he hung skins of horses and cows and installed caltrops [spikes] in order to protect the fortress. Given this account, Anyangsa seems to have existed until Silla’s unification; yet it is uncertain which holds true. Or, Anyangsa had already existed by this time, and King Taejo of Goryeo might have rebuilt it, after it fell into ruin. The record about Anyangsa documents that “King Taejo of Goryeo, when he looked at the summit while he was passing this land, saw five masses of clouds. Sending a man to inspect it, there was indeed a pagoda (*budo* 浮屠) and thus he named it Neungjeong 能正.” This appears to be based on this historical account.

### Translator's Notes

- 1 The Mount Tianlong Grottoes are situated in Taiyuan, Shanxi Province, China. The temple complex began to be constructed in the Northern Qi (北齊, 550–577) dynasty, and the construction of grottoes continued until the Tang dynasty.
- 2 The monumental stūpa was established by Kanishka, who was the emperor of the Kushan dynasty (30–375) in the second century in Puruṣapura (today’s Shaji-ki-Dheri on the outskirts of Peshawar, Pakistan). The stūpa was more than 400 *cheok* (about 100 meters) high and decorated with golden parasols (*sangae* 傘蓋). Chinese pilgrims praised it to be the tallest, most beautiful, and the wondrous in all India. See *Faxian zhuan* 法顯傳, T 2085.51.858b; *Songyun xing ji* 宋雲行記, T 2092.51.1021a–b; and *Da Tang xiyu ji*, T 2087.51.879c–880a. In 1908–1909, a British archaeological mission discovered and excavated the stūpa, yielding the Kanishka casket, which is a

six-sided rock crystal reliquary containing relics of the Buddha, three small fragments of bone, and a dedicatory inscription written in Kharoshthi at its base. See D. B. Spooner, "Excavations at Shāh-ji-Dherī," *Archaeological Survey of India* (1908–1909), 49 and John H. Marshall, "Archaeological Exploration in India, 1908–9," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (October 1909): 1056–1061.

- 3 The Songyue Pagoda was built of yellowish bricks held together with clay mortar. It is widely considered as an early example of the transition from wooden pagodas with multi-stories to brick pagodas in China. The unique twelve-side shape of the Songyue Pagoda, as scholars have suggested, represents an early attempt to merge the Chinese architecture of straight edges with the circular style of Indian stūpa. See Fu Xinian, *Chinese Architecture: The Three Kingdoms, Western and Eastern Jin, and Northern and Southern Dynasties* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 86–87. For more on the monument, see Zhang Yuhan 張馭寰, *Zhongguo fota shi* 中國佛塔史 [History of Buddhist Pagodas in China] (Beijing: Kexue Chubanshe, 2006), 21–23.
- 4 The pagoda is called Simenta (lit. Four-Door Pagoda) since it has an arched door on each of its four sides. The interior of the pagoda is dominated by the presence of a square central pillar, surrounded by a corridor. The four sides of the central pillar are carved with stone statues of Buddha seated cross-legged. It was dated to 544 CE during the Eastern Wei on the basis of an inscription found on the base of the statues. However, an inscription on the arch slab (Ch. *gongban* 拱板) inside ceiling, discovered in 1972, clearly dates it to 611 CE. It reads "Built in the seventh year of the Daye 大業 reign of the Sui dynasty." Also, the pagoda was not built of bricks but stone. Currently, it is widely considered as the oldest freestanding stone pagoda extant in China. See Zhang Yuhan, *Zhongguo fota shi*, 27–28.
- 5 A comparative study of Chinese and Korean brick pagodas has been published in recent years. The author pointed out that brick pagodas are concentrated in the metropolitan areas in both countries. One of major differences between the two resides in the location and method of relic enshrinement. The underground relic crypt (Ch. *digong* 地宮), a standard feature of Chinese brick pagodas, is not found in extant Korean brick pagodas. In Korean pagodas, the reliquary shrine was mostly made within the inner recess of the pagoda body. See Eom Gi-pyo, "Silla wa Jungguk Su Dang dae jeontap ui yangsik bigyo yeon'gu" 新羅와 中國 隋唐代 전탑의 양식 비교 연구 [A Comparative Study on the Styles of Brick Pagodas from Silla Korea and Sui-Tang China], *Sillasa hakbo* 35 (2015): 169–215.



- 6 The period of the Four Commanderies of Han corresponds to the early second century BCE. Emperor Wu (武帝, r. 140–87 BCE) of the Han 漢 dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE) set up four administrative districts of Lelang 樂浪, Lintun 臨屯, Xuantu 玄菟, and Zhenfan 真蕃 commanderies in the northern Korean Peninsula and part of the Liaodong Peninsula after his conquest of Wiman Joseon 衛滿朝鮮 (194–108 BCE) in 108 BCE. Zhenfan and Lintun were absorbed into Lelang and Xuantu commanderies in 82 BCE, and Xuantu Commandery retreated to the northwestern area in 75 BCE. The Lelang Commandery lasted until it was conquered by Goguryeo in 313. For more about this, see Mark E. Byington, ed., *The Han Commanderies in Early Korean History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 2013).
- 7 Go Yuseop seems to refer to a Baekje tomb, which is currently designated as the Tomb 6 among the Royal Tombs in Songsan-ri (Songsan-ri gobun gun 宋山里古墳群) in Gongju. It is one of six tombs that were excavated during the Japanese colonial period. Tombs 1 to 5, in the current designation system of cultural properties, were excavated in 1927, and Tomb 6 was excavated in 1933. Details of these excavations are not known since formal reports were never published. While Tombs 1 to 5 are stone chamber tombs with a corridor and domed ceiling, Tomb 6 has a rectangular burial chamber built of bricks with a vaulted ceiling—a type of tomb that was popular in China during that period. Another brick chamber tomb is the famous Tomb of King Muryeong (武寧王陵), which was accidentally discovered in 1971 and was subject to a full-fledged archaeological excavation thereafter.
- 8 In March of 1937 a farmer accidentally found patterned bricks in Oe-ri, Gyuam-myeon, Buyeo. As he reported to the authority, the Government-General of Korea dispatched the Japanese archaeologist Arimitsu Kyōichi 有光教一 (1907–2011) of the Committee on Korean Antiquities to conduct archaeological excavation of the area around the findspot. Although architectural remains such as foundation stones were not discovered, some thirty pieces of patterned bricks laid on the ground were found. The excavation yielded eight kinds of bricks with different designs such as landscape, lotus flower, clouds, phoenix, and so on. Arimitsu's initial report was published in Chōsen sōtokufu, ed., *Shōwa jūichi-nendo koseki chōsa hōkoku* 昭和十一年度古蹟調査報告 [Archaeological Investigation Report for Year 11 of Shōwa] (Keijō: Chōsen koseki kenkyūkai, 1938). He also published the results as “Chōsen Fuyo shutsudo no bunyōsen” 朝鮮扶餘出土の文様磚 [Patterned Bricks Excavated in Buyeo, Korea], *Kōgogaku zasshi* 27, no. 11 (1937): 717–732. These patterned bricks mostly measure 29 centimeters

square with a thickness of 4 centimeters. They are representative of the flowering of Baekje culture during the Sabi period (538–660). They are now in the collection of National Museum of Korea. For an iconographical investigation of the Oe-ri finds, see Jo Won-gyo 趙源喬, “Buyeo Oe-ri chulto Baekje munyangjeon e gwanhan yeon’gu: dosang haeseok eul jungsim euro” 扶餘 外里 출토 백제 文樣塼에 관한 연구—圖像 해석을 중심으로— [Examination of the Baekje Patterned Bricks Excavated in Oe-ri, Buyeo: Centering on the Iconographical Interpretation], *Misul jaryo* 미술자료 74 (2006): 5–30.

- 9 Go Yuseop used various expressions like “brick-style pagoda,” “imitation of the style of brick pagoda,” “pseudo-brick pagoda” (*uijeon tap* 擬塼塔) in order to describe the Bunhwangsa Pagoda and the like. These expressions are analogous to another term, “brick-imitation pagoda” (*mojeon tap*), which seems to have been coined by Go Yuseop and is still widely used in reference to this type of pagodas among scholars today. Go Yuseop appears to have formulated his understanding of this type of stone pagodas based on Sekino Tadashi’s view, which had appeared as early as 1904. Sekino discussed the Bunhwangsa Pagoda for the first time in his report of survey of traditional Korean architecture conducted from 1902 to 1904. Sekino wrote that the Bunhwang-sa Pagoda, which had been severely damaged, “is mostly similar to brick structure” (ほとんど塼築のごとくである) and that “it imitates the brick structure of Chinese pagodas.” This view was reinforced by Fujishima Gaijirō who wrote that the builders of the Bunhwangsa Pagoda copied Chinese brick pagodas with small pieces of black andesite stones, see Fujishima Gaijirō, “Keishū wo chūshin to seru Shiragi jidai henkei san-sō sekitō, go-sō sekitō oyobi tokushugata sekitō” 慶州を中心とせる新羅時代變形三層石塔、五層石塔及び特殊型石塔 [On the three-storied and five-storied stone pagodas in modified form and those of the distinctive type from from Silla period in the Gyeongju area], *Kenchiku zasshi* 47, no. 12 (1933): 1634. This interpretation of the Bunhwangsa Pagoda, first proposed by Sekino and embraced by Fujishima as well as Go Yuseop, has been widely accepted by Korean scholars after the year 1945. Scholars have found another supporting evidence in a formal feature of the Bunhwangsa Pagoda: the roof stones of the pagoda have tiered underpinnings like Chinese brick pagodas such as the Great Wild Goose Pagoda. However, Lee Hee-bong, a scholar of architectural history and theory, has argued against this view. Lee argued that, except for the Songyue Pagoda that differs significantly from the Bunhwangsa Pagoda in formal and conceptual terms, there is no Chinese brick pagoda that could have been a forerunner of the Bunhwangsa Pagoda. Lee also criticized a view,

advanced by Kang Ubang and Shin Yongchul, which considers Simenta, a pagoda of simpler cubic form, as a forerunner of the Bunhwangsa Pagoda since the former has a single story unlike most other Chinese pagodas and, simply yet significantly, no scholars of Chinese pagodas refer to it as the “brick-imitation pagoda.” See Kang Ubang and Shin Yongchul 신용철, *Tap* 탑 [Pagoda] (Seoul: Sol, 2003), 121–122. Arguing for using the term, “pagoda built by piling up stone slabs” (*jeok panseok tap* 積板石塔) instead of the “brick-imitation pagoda,” Lee concluded that the Bunhwangsa Pagoda is not similar to Chinese brick pagoda but to Indian stone stūpa in terms of the construction method. See Lee Hee-bong, “Silla Bunhwangsa tap ui ‘mojeon seoktap seol’ e daehan munje jegi wa gochal” 신라 분황사탑의 ‘模塲石塔 設’에 대한 문제 제기와 고찰 [Reconsidering the Identification of the Bunhwangsa Pagoda of Silla as a “Brick-Imitation Pagoda”], *Geonchuk yeoksa yeon’gu* 20, no. 2 (2011): 39–54. A revisionist approach to the Bunhwangsa Pagoda has been also taken by Park Kyoung-shik, an expert of Korean pagodas. He pointed out several contradictions in the previous theory, which argued that the Bunhwangsa Pagoda was built under a stylistic influence of Simenta. He further suggested that while Simenta belongs to a type of pavilion-shaped pagodas constructed since the Northern Wei dynasty, the Bunhwangsa Pagoda represents a distinctive type of stone pagoda derived from wooden architecture. See Park Kyoung-shik, “Bunhwangsa mojeon seoktap ui yangsik giwon e daehan gochal” 분황사 모전석탑의 양식 기원에 대한 고찰 [Examination of the Stylistic Origin of the Brick-Imitation Pagoda at Bunhwangsa], *Silla munhwa* 41 (2013): 163–194.

- 10 It is a type of volcanic rock.
- 11 The 1941 edition of the book is included in the catalogue of Go Yuseop’s books, which were dispersed after his death. The catalogue is reproduced in Go Yuseop, *Joseon geumseokhak chogo* 朝鮮金石學草稿 (Paju: Youlhwadang, 2013), 145–163.
- 12 The square and multi-eaved pagoda currently measures 43.3 meters high. The pagoda has a brick frame built around a hollow interior, and each side of its first story measures 11.38 meters long. The pagoda originally had fifteen stories until 1556 when the earthquake shook the pagoda and damaged its two topmost stories.
- 13 The multi-eaved pagoda in square plan was originally built of rammed earth with a brick exterior façade with a height of 54 meters. As the five-storied pagoda collapsed shortly after, it was rebuilt with five more stories by the year 704. Yet, the ten-storied pagoda was reduced to the seven-storied due

- to the heavy damage caused by a massive earthquake in 1556. The pagoda received extensive repairs during the Ming 明 dynasty (1368–1644) and renovated again in 1964.
- 14 The *seokjang* 錫杖 (Skt. *khakharaka*) refers to a staff, which is one of the eighteen possessions a monks should carry in the performance of his duties. In East Asian Buddhist art, a monk's staff is usually made of metal with six metal rings suspended from a finial at the top.
  - 15 For information on the Seokjangsa site, see note 125 of chapter 3.
  - 16 *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.1004a5–13. The English translation is adopted with slight modifications from Kim Dal-yong, trans., *Overlooked Historical Records of the Three Korean Kingdoms*, 297–298.
  - 17 The *Shigisan engi* is a painted handscroll (*emakimono* 繪卷物) produced in the early twelfth century. It illustrates stories concerning the monk Myōren, who lived on Mount Shigi near present-day Nara in Japan in the latter half of the ninth century. In Myōren's story, it was his begging bowl that could fly on its own to collect alms, including an entire granary and its contents—the sacks of rice were returned but Myōren kept the granary to found his temple.
  - 18 The pagoda, which has lost its finial, measures 17 meters high. The pagoda body is built of dark grey bricks. The four sides of the platform are adorned with images of the Eight Kinds of Beings and Four Heavenly Kings carved on stone slabs. The south side of the platform is installed with stairs, leading to the niche on the pagoda body at the first story.
  - 19 This pagoda has been identified as the brick pagoda at Beomnimsa recorded in the *Dongguk yeoji seungnam* and *Yeongga ji* 永嘉誌 [Gazetteer of Yeongga]—the gazetteer of Andong-bu 安東府 of 1608, which contains rich accounts of pagodas in the region. The brick pagoda body of the five-storied pagoda stands on a platform built of three tiers of granite stones. Each story of the pagoda body has a niche. A stone slab carved with images of two guardian figures in relief is inserted in a niche on the south side on the second story of the pagoda.
  - 20 The five-storied pagoda, measuring 8.65 meters high, has a low earthen platform in square plan. On the center of the platform are five tiers of granite blocks, which measure 2.65 meters wide and long with a height of 49 centimeters, to support the heavy weight of the pagoda body. It is very distinctive that the first story of the pagoda body is built of granite, while the rest is constructed with bricks. The south side of the first story has a niche either side of which adorned with a stone slab bearing an image of guardian figure in high relief. In the center of the interior are the remains

of a wooden central pillar measuring 23×24.5 centimeters. The pagoda may have been repaired during the Joseon dynasty and was repaired again in 1917.

- 21 The pagoda stands in front of Daeungjeon at Songnimsa. Although the pagoda body was made of bricks, the single-storied platform was built of granite. When the pagoda was dismantled for repairs in 1959, a number of objects were found in the inner recesses of the pagoda; Buddha images, six in total, were found in the first story; a reliquary set composed of a gilt bronze outer container and a green glass bottle was discovered within a stone case hidden in the second story of the pagoda; fragments of paper held in a stone case with a wooden lid were yielded from the third story; and a lidded celadon case and two gilt bronze circular disks were found inside the inverted bowl part above the fifth story.
- 22 Fujishima Gaijirō, “Keishū wo chūshin to seru Shiragi jidai futo ishii ishisō ron” 慶州を中心とせる新羅時代浮屠・石井・石槽論 [On Monks’ Funerary Pagodas, Stone Wells, and Stone troughs of the Silla Period in the Gyeongju Area], *Kenchiku zasshi* 48, no. 5 (1934): 421–424.
- 23 The latter corresponds to a pagoda in a dilapidated state standing at an unidentified temple site at Daesa-dong, Giran-myeon, Andong. The pagoda is not built of bricks but of stones cut like bricks. The pagoda has been dated to the Unified Silla period based on its stylistic features. For more on this pagoda, see Chin Hongsup, “Andong Giran-myeon mojeon tap” 安東吉安面模塹塔 [The Brick-Imitation Pagoda in Giran-myeon, Andong], *Gogo misul* 56-57 (1965): 52.
- 24 For studies focused on Buddhist pagodas in Andong, see Shin Yongchul, “*Yeongga ji reul tonghae bon Andong bultap ui jeonseung gwa geu uiui*” 『永嘉誌』를 통해 본 安東 佛塔의 전승과 그 의의 [Historical Background and Significance of Buddhist Pagodas in Andong as Seen through the *Gazetteer of Yeongga*], *Misulsahak yeon’gu* 264 (2009): 63–94 and Shin Yongchul, “Gyeongbuk Andong jiyeok bultap ui pyeonnyeon gwa teukjing” 경북 안동지역 佛塔의 편년과 특징 [Dating and Characteristics of Buddhist Pagodas in Andong, Gyeongsangbuk-do], *Han’guk minjok munhwa* 한국민족문화 34 (2009): 91–134.
- 25 Kim Suon discussed about Andong daedohobu 安東大都護府, a local administrative office established by the Yuan during the late Goryeo.
- 26 Yeongnam means the south of Joryeong. It refers to Gyeongsang-do, which lies south of Mun’gyeongsaejae 문경새재, a mountain pass in central South Korea.
- 27 *Dongguk yeoji seungnam* 24, “Gyeongsang-do,” “Andong daedohobu,”

- “Nujeong”; Minjok munhwa chujinhoe, *Gugyeok Sinjeung Dongguk yeoji seungnam*, 3: 126 (reverse pagination).
- 28 The *ingwe* 印櫃 usually held seals used in government offices. It is also called *indwiungi* 인뒤웅이 or *inhap* 印盒.
- 29 The *gyeol* 結 is a measurement unit for an area of farmland. It was used in tax calculation. The area corresponding to one *gyeol* varied according to eras.
- 30 The Qingtai was the reign name used by the last emperor of the Later Tang from 934 to 936. For more on the use of this reign name during early Goryeo, see author's note 6.
- 31 *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.1003b23–1003c13. The English translation is adapted with minor changes from Kim Dal-yong, trans., *Overlooked Historical Records of the Three Korean Kingdoms*, 294–296. For a recent study on the controversy regarding the founder of Jakgapsa, see Gwak Seunghun 광승훈, “Goryeo sidae Unmunsa changgeon yeon'gi ui byeoncheon gwa yeoksajeok uiui” 고려시대 운문사 창건연기의 변천과 역사적 의의 [Change in the Founding Legend of Unmunsa during the Goryeo Period and Its Historical Implication], *Han'guk sahaksa hakbo* 韓國史學史學報 30 (2014): 9–43.
- 32 Recent study has revealed that the two pagodas were not built together at the current location but were moved there during the repairs in 1919, see Oh Se-deok 오세덕, “Unmunsa dong-seo sam-cheung seoktap e gwanhan gochal” 雲門寺 東西 三層石塔에 관한 고찰 [Examination of the Three-Storied Stone Pagodas Standing in the East and West at Unmunsa], *Silla munhwa* 38 (2011): 307–329.
- 33 Buryeongsa is said to have been founded in 645 by the monk Wonhyo. However, there is no textual or archaeological evidence supporting this. The temple was rebuilt by the monk Bongju in 1912 and renovated by the abbot in 1930. In 1968, a five-storied pagoda was rebuilt at the temple. It was built of bricks that had been abandoned at the temple site, along with newly made replicas. The exposed sides of bricks bear images of a buddha seated on lotus throne alternating with images of three-storied pagodas. The original pagoda has been dated to the Unified Silla period based on stylistic features shown in the bricks.
- 34 Hamada Kōsaku is credited with being the “the father of modern archaeology in Japan.” Hamada studied at Kyoto Imperial University (present-day Kyoto University) and Tokyo Imperial University (today's University of Tokyo), where he majored in art history. From 1913 to 1916, he studied new methods of archaeology in Europe. After his return to Japan, he founded the Department of Archaeology (Kōkogaku

genkyūshitsu 考古學研究室) at Kyoto University and employed Umehara Sueji, who had investigated many Kohun tombs at Osaka province and studied the recording techniques from Sekino Tadashi. He is credited with the incorporation of European archaeological methods into the traditional Japanese archaeological methods. He conducted archaeological excavations in China, Korea, and Japan.

- 35 Umehara Sueji was a Japanese archaeologist and historian of ancient cultures of East Asia. Umehara became a member of the Committee on the Investigation of Historic Remains of Korea (Jp. Chōsen koseki chōsa iinkai 朝鮮古蹟調査委員會) in 1921 by the recommendation of Hamada, and since then he was involved in numerous archaeological investigations in colonial Korea and assumed a leading role in the writing of the archaeological reports. He was renowned for his skills of making rubbings, meticulous recording, and accurate drawings of artifacts based on close observation.
- 36 See Hamada Kōsaku and Umehara Sueji, *Shiragi kogawara no kenkyū* (Kyoto: Kyōto teikoku daigaku, 1934), Pl. 64 (no. 1024, nos. 1033–1040) and Pl. 71 (nos. 1032–1040). The production of this catalogue was sponsored by the Japanese collector Moroga Hideo, who was active in Gyeongju during the colonial period. See, Jung Insung 정인성, “Ilje gangjeomgi ‘Keishū koseki hōzonkai’ wa Moroga Hideo” 일제강점기 ‘경주고적보존회’와 諸鹿央雄 [The Society for Preservation of Historical Relics in Gyeongju and Moroga Hideo during the Japanese Occupation of Korea], *Daegu sahak* 大邱史學 95 (2009): 19.
- 37 When viewed from the front, one end of the brick bears what appears to be profile of a dragon. However, when viewed from the side, the two dragon heads in profile become one frontal face of a demon. The term *yongsu gwimyeon* describes this distinctive zoomorphic pattern.
- 38 See Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon’gu*, 2:240–244.
- 39 The multi-storied brick pagoda stands on a boulder located southwest of Silleuksa. It is a rare example of a brick pagoda located outside Andong and other regions in Gyeongsangbuk-do. The pagoda shows stylistic features found in both Silla and Goryeo pagodas. Accordingly, most scholars today agree that the pagoda was originally built sometime during the Goryeo dynasty. It is worth noting that the plan of the bottommost tier of the platform is rather unique for a Korean brick pagoda. Each side has a projection at the center, making a plan in the shape of a Chinese character reading “ㄷ” ㄷ. This type of platform seems to have been derived from a “Lamaist pagoda,” a distinctive form of pagoda that began to be built in



China from the Yuan dynasty. The distinctive plan traces its origin back to the architecture of Gandhāra. Although this plan was often selected for the base of a stūpa in India and Central Asia since the fourth to fifth centuries, it appeared much later in China during the Yuan dynasty. For a study of Indian and Central Asian examples, see Jorinde Ebert, “Niches, Columns, and Figures in Some Petroglyphic Stūpa Depictions of the Karakoram Highway,” *Artibus Asiae* 54, nos. 3/4 (1994): 268–295. For more on the Lamaist pagoda, see notes 13 and 14 of chapter 7.

- 40 The Manwoldae Palace, located on the southern slope of Songaksan 松嶽山 in Gaeseong, was first built by King Taejo in 919. It served as the main palace of Goryeo since then until it was completely destroyed in 1361 during the Red Turban invasions of Goryeo. Manwoldae is a name given to the entire site of Hoegyeongjeon 會慶殿 (Hall of Gathering Felicity), the main section of the palace, during the Joseon dynasty. Bricks with the peony design, excavated during the Japanese colonial period, are housed in the National Museum of Korea. Some of the patterned bricks show peonies in full bloom against horizontal lines. Compared to Silla’s patterned bricks, the Goryeo ones show a much simpler design and reveal that the peony design enjoyed popularity. The solid square bricks, also excavated at the Manwoldae site, seem to have been used to pave the ground.
- 41 *Dongguk yeoji seungnam* 25, “Gyeongsang-do,” “Yeongcheon-gun,” “Gojeok”; Minjok munhwa chujinhoe, *Gugyeok Sinjeung Dongguk yeoji seungnam* 3: 147 (reverse pagination).
- 42 *Dongguk yeoji seungnam* 49, “Hamgyeong-do,” “Gapsan-dohobu,” “Sancheon”; Minjok munhwa chujinhoe, *Gugyeok Sinjeung Dongguk yeoji seungnam* 6: 71 (reverse pagination).
- 43 The full title of the text reads the *Geumju Anyangsa tap jungsin gi* 衿州安養寺塔重新記 [Record of the Renovation of the Pagoda at Anyangsa in Geumju].
- 44 Yi Sungin, whose pen name is Do’eun 陶隱, was a scholar-official who lived through the transition from Goryeo to Joseon dynasties. He was assassinated since he was against Yi Seonggye, the founder of Joseon, and his supporters. A scholar of Neo-Confucianism, he was renowned for his outstanding scholarship and excellent writings. He left the *Doeun jip* 陶隱集 [Doeun Collection].
- 45 Choe Yeong, also romanized as Choi Young, was a general revered for his military distinction, a prime minister and, most of all, a loyal subject of Goryeo. He was however defeated by Yi Seonggye, the mutiny leader who went on to found Joseon, and beheaded eventually. The Lord of Cheorwon



- is the aristocratic title invested to Choe Yeong in 1376 as a reward for his defense of the kingdom against the Japanese invasion.
- 46 The term *danhwak* 丹靨 is a combination of the words *dansa* 丹砂 (cinnabar, a kind of mineral pigment for red color) and *cheonghwak* 靑靨 (mineral pigment for blue color). It came to denote paintwork given to buildings.
  - 47 *Dongguk yeoji seungnam* 10, “Gyeonggi-do,” “Geumcheon-hyeon,” “Buru”; Minjok munhwa chujinhoe, *Gugyeok Sinjeung Dongguk yeoji seungnam*, 2: 72–73. The site of Anyangsa was found at the former site of Yuyu Factory in Anyang in 2009. The ruins, which had been severely disturbed, were excavated on three occasions from 2009 to 2011. The excavation identified the location of the seven-storied brick pagoda, while yielding rectangular, square, and pentagonal bricks. The excavation also yielded four of inscribed bricks bearing the name of the temple. For the results of the excavation, see Hanul munhwajae yeon’guwon 한울문화재연구원, *Anyangsa ji: Anyang gu Yuyu buji balgul josa* 安養寺址: 안양 구 유유부지 발굴조사 [Anyangsa Site: Excavation of the Former Site of Yuyu Factory in Anyang] (Suwon: Hanul munhwajae yeon’guwon, 2013). Two studies on the seven-storied pagoda at Anyangsa have been published, see Park Kyoung-shik, “Anyang Anyangsa ui chil-cheung jeontap gwa gwibu” 安養 安養寺의 七層塔塔과 龜趺 [The Seven-Storied Pagoda and the Stele Base at Anyangsa in Anyang], *Munhwa sahak* 文化史學 11·12·13 (1999): 671–685 and Kim Jiseok 金志錫, “Anyangsa chil-cheung jeontap e daehan gochal” 安養寺 七層塔塔에 대한 考察 [Examination of the Seven-Storied Brick Pagoda at Anyangsa], *Munhwa sahak* 27 (2007): 675–695.
  - 48 The *inwang* (lit. humane kings or benevolent kings), which I have translated as “guardian spirits,” refer to celestials who protect and preserve the Buddhist teachings. In Korean Buddhist art and architecture, they are often represented as a pair of images at the entrance of Buddhist monasteries or at the entrances to pagodas.
  - 49 The area around Seondosan 仙桃山 in Seoak-ri (present-day Seoak-dong), Gyeongju has been called Sanjakji since the Joseon period. Seondosan, though only 390 meters high, was regarded as important as the mountain that protects the west of Gyeongju. The name seems to have been derived from Gongjakji 孔雀趾, the location where King Heonan (憲安王, r. 857–861) and King Munseong were buried.
  - 50 The National Museum at the time of writing seemingly refers to the Museum of the Government-General of Korea (Jp. Chōsen sōtokufu hakubutsukan 朝鮮總督府博物館). The museum opened in 1915 within the precinct of Gyeongbokgung 景福宮 at the center of present-day Seoul in

order to display archaeological remains and traditional arts of Korea. It was affiliated with the Bureau of Education (Jp. Gakumoku kyoku 學務局) of the Government-General of Korea and operated the Council for the Museum (Jp. Hakubutsukan kyōgikai 博物館協議會) and the Committee on the Investigation of Historic Remains of Korea. The antiquities excavated by the committee were displayed at the museum. For instance, it supervised the excavations of Cheonmachong 天馬塚 in Gyeongju in 1921 and of Seobongchong 瑞鳳塚 in Gyeongju in 1926. The Gyeongju branch was established in 1926 and the Buyeo branch opened in 1939 in order to display antiquities at the ancient capitals of Korea. The Gaeseong Prefectural Museum where Go Yuseop worked as a director for ten years from 1931, the Pyeongyang Prefectural Museum (平壤府立博物館) founded in 1933 in Pyeong, and the Gongju Township Museum (公州邑博物館) were associated with the Museum of the Government-General of Korea to a certain degree. The Museum of the Government-General of Korea came to fall under the United States Military Government in Korea in the aftermath of World War II in 1945. NATO forces asked Arimitsu Kyōichi, a Japanese archaeologist who had worked in Korea from 1931 and the last director of the Museum of the Government-General of Korea, to remain in Korea and help re-establish the National Museum in Seoul. Arimitsu assisted Kim Jaewon 金在元 (1909–1990), the first director of the National Museum of Korea, to re-open the museum in 1948.

- 51 This photo album of Korean historic sites in fifteen volumes was published between 1915 and 1935 by the Government-General of Korea. Japanese scholars including Sekino Tadashi, Yasui Seiichi 谷井濟一 (1880–1959), and Kuriyama Shunichi 栗山俊一, among others, undertook the writing, editing and the publication. It includes black-and-white reproductions of historical remains and antiquities of Korea from the Nangnang 樂浪 to Joseon periods.
- 52 For more on this method of pagoda construction, see author's note 14.
- 53 The pagoda was called the Sangbyeong-ri Pagoda (上丙里塔) or Jisa-ri Pagoda (芝沙里塔) before its collapse. Even the base of the pagoda was completely destroyed in the 1980s. See Park Hong-kook 朴洪國, *Han'guk ui jeontap yeon'gu* 한국의 전탑연구 [Study of Brick Pagodas of Korea] (Seoul: Hageon munhwasa, 1998), 164–167 and note 92.

## Chapter 7 Craft Pagodas of Korea

### Author's Notes

- 1 The *Chugang jip* 秋江集 [Chugang Collection] written by Nam Hyo-on 南孝溫 [born in the second year of King Danjong 端宗 of Joseon (1454), died at the age of thirty-nine years] contains an account of Jangansa on Geumgangsán: “To the south of Nahanjeon 羅漢殿 (Hall of the Arhats) is one chamber, in which was a case holding the great canon [*daejanggyeong ham* 大藏經函] that was made by carving wood in three registers. In the house was an iron mortar (*cheolgu* 鐵臼) on which was set an iron pillar that rises up to reach the crossbeam of the house. In the middle was placed a case. When holding one corner of the roof and then shaking it, the three registers revolve on their own, which is worth seeing.” It seems to have been a sort of revolving sūtra case (*yunjang* 輪藏) in the form of a small three-storied wooden pagoda.
- 2 Please see below for studies on earthen pagodas.  
 “Dosei hyakumantō” 土製百萬塔 [One Million Pagodas in Clay], *Kōkogaku zasshi* 考古學雜誌 2, no. 10.  
 Etō Masazumi 江藤正澄, “Dosei no kōtō” 土製の小塔 [Miniature Pagodas in Clay], *Kōko* 考古 1, no. 6.  
 Nagamachi Akira 長町彰, “Dotō ni tsuite” 土塔に就て [On Earthen Pagodas], *Kōkogaku zasshi* 考古學雜誌 1, no. 8 (Apr. 1911): 563–564.  
 Tanigawa Iwao 谷川磐雄, “Nisan no dosei tajūtō ni tsuite” 二三の土製多重塔に就いて [On a Couple of Clay Multi-Storied Pagodas], *Kōkogaku zasshi* 考古學雜誌 17, no. 2 (Feb. 1927): 158–161.  
 Ishida Mosaku 石田茂作, “Dotō ni tsuite” 土塔に就いて [On Clay Pagodas], *Kōkogaku zasshi* 考古學雜誌 17, no. 6 (Jun. 1927): 413–434.  
 Shimada Sadahiko 島田貞彦, “Ōmi no kuni Kurita gun Ishi hatsuken no dotō” 近江國 栗太郡 石居 發見の土塔 [Clay Pagoda Discovered in Ishi, Kurita kun, Ōmi no kuni], *Rekishi to chiri* 歴史と地理 14, no. 3.  
 Higo Kazuo 肥後和南, “Nihon hatsuken no deitō ni tsuite” 日本發見の泥塔に就いて [On a Clay Pagoda Discovered in Japan], *Kōkogaku* 考古學 9, no. 4.
- 3 The method of building stūpa appearing in the *Mahāsāṃghika-vinaya*, *Four Part Vinaya*, or *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya-kṣudraka-vastu* (Ch. *Genben shuo yiqie youbu pinaiye zashi* 根本說一切有部毘奈耶雜事) relates that when King Prasenajit loaded bricks (*jeon* 磚) on seven hundred carts and was about to build stūpas expansively, he asked the Buddha. The Buddha replied, saying

that “When Kāśyapa Buddha (Gaseopbul 迦葉佛) was about to enter nirvāṇa in the past, there was a king named Gṛdhra who wanted to build a stūpa with seven treasures. At that time, a minister told the king, saying that: ‘In the future, there will be among those who do not abide by the law one will destroy this pagoda and commit a grave sin. It is my wish that the stūpa is to be made only of bricks (*jeon* 甃) and covered with gold and silver on the surface. If someone takes the gold and silver, the stūpa will still maintain its integrity.’ The king, as the minister told him, had the pagoda built with bricks and covered with gold foil.” It seems to be one reason for referring to brick pagodas as yellow pagodas (*hwangtap* 黃塔). This recalls the pagoda with stone core and earthen sheath in Sangbyeong-ri, Sangju-gun. It is an instance of applying the method of making a pagoda, which is to build the core with stones and bricks and daub it with earth, to a traditional multi-storied tower.

### Translator’s Notes

- 1 This chapter was appended by the editor Hwang Suyeon in 1948.
- 2 The five-storied pagoda is said to have been built by the commission of Empress Komyō (光明皇后, 701–760) in 730. It stands with a height of 4.1 meters within the West Golden Hall (Nishi Kondō 西金堂). It is believed to have been installed indoors from the very beginning. The pagoda is considered to represent the architecture of the Nara period.
- 3 The excavation of the Seokjangsa site yielded bricks bearing images of buddhas and pagodas and an inscription of the “Verse of Dependent Origination,” which lends credibility to Iryeon’s account. The rectangular brick bears two rows of five buddhas above and two rows each of five pagodas below. The pagoda imagery is single-storied and has square plan. Jang Chungsik was the first to identify almost faded characters impressed on the bricks as the “Verse of Dependent Origination,” and as an instance of enshrining the dharma relics. He further suggested that the bricks reveal characteristics of Yangji’s work described in the *Samguk yusa*. Accordingly, Jang Chungsik dated them to the seventh century during which Yangji was said to have been active. See Jang Chungsik, *Silla seoktap yeon’gu* 新羅石塔研究 [A Study on Stone Pagodas of Silla] (Seoul: Iljisa, 1987), 58. Kim Jihyun pointed out that brick pagodas are prone to damage and repairs due to the brick material. Through a stylistic examination of the excavated finds, Kim Jihyun classified the bricks into three types—bricks with the pagoda

imagery, those with the heavenly deity imagery, and those with inscriptions of the “Verse of Dependent Origination”—and proposed new dates for each of them. The first type was dated to the second half of the seventh century; the second to sometime between the mid-eighth century to the first half of the ninth century; and the third to sometime after the mid-eighth century. According to Kim Jihyun’s argument, the third type of bricks bearing images of buddhas and pagodas together with inscriptions of the “Verse of Dependent Origination” were added later to the brick pagoda at Seokjangsa whose building has been attributed to Yangji. See Kim Jihyun 김지현, “Gyeongju Seokjangsa ji jeonbul yeon’gu” 慶州 錫杖寺址 塼佛研究 [Study on the Bricks with Buddhist Imagery Excavated from the Seokjangsa Site in Gyeongju], *Misulsahak yeon’gu* 266 (2010): 33–62.

- 4 The *gorintō* 五輪塔 (lit. five-ring pagoda) refers to a five-storied pagoda in which each story represents one of the five elements. The square bottom story corresponds to the earth ring (Jp. *chirin* 地輪). Placed above it is the spherical water ring (Jp. *suirin* 水輪), surmounted by the triangular ring of fire (Jp. *karin* 火輪). Next is a reclining half-moon shape (Jp. *fūrin* 風輪), representing the wind, topped by the gem-shaped ring symbolizing space (Jp. *kūrin* 空輪). In most cases, a Sanskrit character symbolizing the element represented is inscribed on each story of the pagoda. This kind of pagoda is believed to have been first adopted in Japan during the mid-Heian 平安 period (794–1185) by the esoteric Buddhist sects and was later appropriated as a funerary monument.
- 5 Ishida Mosaku was an archaeologist specializing in Buddhist monuments and artifacts. He started his museum career in 1925 at the Tokyo Imperial Museum (東京帝室博物館, present-day Tokyo National Museum). In 1941 he received a PhD degree from Tokyo Imperial University with a dissertation entitled “Asuka jidai jiinshi no kenkyū” 飛鳥時代寺院址の研究 [Study on the Temple Sites of Asuka Period]. In 1957 He was appointed the director of the Nara National Museum (奈良國立博物館). Most of all, he is remembered in the history of Korean art and archaeology for the excavation of the Gunsu-ri temple site in 1935 and 1936.
- 6 See Takahashi Kenji 高橋健自 and Ishida Mosaku, *Man-Sen kōko angya* 滿鮮考古行脚 [Archaeological Pilgrimage to Manchuria and Korea] (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1927), esp. 102–103. The book features drawings of two miniature clay pagodas discovered in Gyeongju and one miniature pagoda found in Seogam-ri 石岩里 in Pyeongyang.
- 7 The relevant passage appears not in the article “Buddhist Temples” but in “Mountains and Rivers.” See *Dongguk yeoji seungnam* 52, “Pyeongan-do,”

“Anju-mok,” “Sancheon”; Minjok munhwa chujinhoe, *Gugyeok Sinjeung Dongguk yeoji seungnam*, 6: 129 (reverse pagination).

- 8 The *Daedong jiji*, composed of thirty fascicles in fifteen volumes, was written by a renowned geographer and map maker, Gim Jeongho 金正浩 (fl. nineteenth century) of the late Joseon dynasty. The compilation of the book has been dated to the years between 1861 and 1866.
- 9 The *Beomu go* appears to have been published around 1799 during the reign of King Jeongjo (正祖, r. 1776–1800) but the editor remains unknown. The introductory remarks at the beginning of the book clearly state the editor’s intention: the accounts of Buddhist temples were collected since many of the temples quoted in various collections or writings had already disappeared or had dwindled to hermitages. The editor listed the temples, both remaining and destroyed, under counties and prefectures (*gunhyeon* 郡縣; 328 in total), which are listed under eight provinces (*do* 道). Each entry records name, location, distance, founding date, history of destruction, notable historic sites, location of temple buildings, as well as poems and writings of a given temple by means of thorough documentation. This book provides the survey data for temples nationwide, both present and disappeared, up to the late eighteenth century.
- 10 *Beomu go* 梵宇攷 Manuscript. Undated. National Library of Korea, Archives Department.
- 11 For more on the *palgak wondang*, see note 38 of chapter 3.
- 12 It is unclear to which miniature pagoda this refers. It might have been similar to a gilt bronze octagonal pagoda with a single story (H. 5.2 centimeters) in the Buyeo National Museum, which is said to have been found in a pagoda at the Bogwangsa site (普光寺址) in Gasin-ri 加神里, Buyeo during the Japanese colonial period. See Gungnip jungang bangmulgwan 國立中央博物館, *Bulsari jangeom* 佛舍利莊嚴 [The Art of Śāriśa Reliquary] (Seoul: Gungnip jungang bangmulgwan, 1991), 88 and 121.
- 13 The small pagoda in concern refers to the innermost layer of the nested reliquaries discovered accidentally during construction on Wolchulbong (H. 1638 meters) on October 6, 1932. The report of the discovery was not published at the time, yet the finds were transferred to and investigated at the Museum of the Government-General of Korea. They officially entered the museum collection in July 1933. They are now housed in the National Museum of Korea. The discovery of the reliquary set received news coverage on December 13, 1932 in the *Jungang ilbo* 中央日報 [Jungang Daily]. Inscriptions on the finds indicate that the relic deposits were dedicated by Yi Seonggye and his retinues in wish for meeting Maitreya and were interred

at Birobong 毘盧峯 of Geumgangsan around the years 1390 and 1391, just before Yi Seonggye ascended to the throne as the first king of Joseon. The fourfold set, held in a stone case, comprised from the inside out a gilt silver reliquary in the shape of a miniature Tibetan-style stūpa, a single-storied gilt silver miniature pagoda in octagonal plan, a bronze bowl dated to 1391, and a large white porcelain bowl (dated 1391) with a lid. The small pagoda mentioned by Go Yuseop is composed of multiple parts: a glass cylinder whose top and base are made of metal was set on a lotus throne, firmly held in place by a silver band, and covered with a lid in the shape of an inverted bowl—a form derived from a Tibetan-style stūpa, which is often called the “Lamaist pagoda.” Besides the fourfold reliquary set, there were a white porcelain bowl and a lid, a white porcelain incense burner, and a silver ear pick seemingly used as pincers to handle relic grains. For reproductions of the reliquary set, see Gungnip jungang bangmulgwan, *Bulsari jangeom*, 92–93 and 123–124; Gungnip Jeonju bangmulgwan 國立全州博物館, *Wang ui chosang: Gyeonggijeon gwa Taejo Yi Seonggye* 왕의 초상: 慶基殿과 太祖 李成桂 [Joseon Royal Portraiture: The Gyeonggi Royal Portrait Hall and King Taejo Yi Seonggye] (Jeonju: Gungnip Jeonju bangmulgwan, 2005), 29–31. A comprehensive study of the reliquary set has been conducted by the art historian Joo Kyeongmi, see her “Yi Seonggye barwon bulsari jangeomgu ui yeon’gu” 李成桂 發願 佛舍利莊嚴具의 研究 [Study on the Relic Deposits Dedicated by Yi Seonggye], *Misulsahak yeon’gu* 257 (2008): 31–65. For more on the Lamaist pagoda, see notes 39 of chapter 6 and 14 of chapter 7.

- 14 The Lamaist pagoda refers to a distinctive type of pagoda built as an object of worship in Lamaism. Lamaism (Kr. Lama gyo [Ch. Lama jiao] 喇嘛教) is a term used in East Asia in reference to a Tibetan tradition of tantric Buddhism, within which the teachers are called lamas. The formal features of a Lamaist pagoda are derived from Tibetan and Nepalese stūpas, which are originated from Indian stūpas. The Lamaist pagoda is distinguished by a round, inverted-bowl-shaped body and cross-shaped plan, often referred to as the “亞”-shape. The knowledge of Lamaist pagoda was transmitted from Tibet to China in the Yuan dynasty when Lamaism enjoyed lavish patronage at the imperial court after the time of Kublai Khan, the Emperor Shizu (世祖, r. 1260–1294) of Yuan. The most representative of the Yuan Lamaist pagodas is found in the White Pagoda at Miaoying Temple (妙應寺) in Beijing, which was designed and built in 1271 by a Nepalese artist named Anige (1245–1306) under the patronage of Kublai Khan. Goryeo Koreans came into contact with Lamaism and its visual vocabularies through Mongol mediation during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries



when the connections between the Yuan court in Dadu 大都 (present-day Beijing) and Korean court in Gaegyeong (present-day Gaeseong) were very close. For the transmission of Lamaism to Goryeo, see Henrik H. Sørensen, "Lamaism in Korea during the Late Koryŏ Dynasty," *Korea Journal* 33, no. 3 (March 1993): 67–81. The "Lamaist style," a term coined by modern Korean scholars to describe new visual forms, is mostly found in pagodas and reliquaries produced in the late Goryeo period. Several studies have been devoted to this subject. Earlier studies documented extant examples and noted formal similarities between the Yuan Lamaist pagodas and Goryeo examples, see Kim Huigyeong 金禧庚, "Goryeo tap ui sari jangchi e daehayeo" 高麗塔의 舍利藏置에 대하여 [On the Relic Containers of Goryeo Pagodas], in *Han'guk Bulgyo misulsa ron* 韓國佛教美術史論 [Studies on History of Korean Buddhist Art], ed. Hwang Suyeong (Seoul: Minjoksa, 1987), 169–208 and Chin Hongsup, "Goryeo sidae ui sari jangeomgu" 高麗時代의 舍利莊嚴具 [Buddhist Reliquaries of the Goryeo Period], *Gogo misul* 180 (1988): 69–123. For a comparative study that examines Yuan and Goryeo examples in depth, see Jeong Eunwoo 鄭恩雨, "Goryeo hugi Lamatap hyeong sarigu yeon'gu" 高麗後期 喇嘛塔形 舍利具 研究 [Study on the reliquaries in the shape of a Lamaist pagoda from the late Goryeo], *Dongak misulsahak* 東岳美術史學 3 (2002): 303–323 and Joo Kyeongmi, "Wondae Lamatap yangsik i Han'guk Bulgyo misul e michin yeonghyang" 원대 라마탑 양식이 한국 불교미술에 미친 영향 [Influence of the Lamaist Pagoda Style of the Yuan Dynasty on Korean Buddhist Art], in *Misulsa ui jeongnip gwa hwaksan* 미술사의 정립과 확산 [Establishment and Extension of Art History], ed. Hwangsan An Hwijun gyosu jeongnyeong toem ginyeom nonmunjip ganhaeng wiwonhoe 항상 안희준 교수 정년퇴임 기념 논문집 간행위원회 (Seoul: Sahoe pyeongnon, 2006), 2:576–597.

- 15 The *achan*, also rendered as *achan* 阿飡, is the title of a sixth-rank official in Silla's seventeen-rank hierarchy of officials.
- 16 *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.1012a17–b11.
- 17 *Goryeosa* 9, "Sega" 9, King Munjong, thirty-second year, seventh month; Jeong Inji et al., *Bugyeok Goryeosa*, 1: 422.
- 18 The Hoegyeongjeon was the main hall of royal palace of Goryeo. According to Xu Jing's *Gaoli tujing*, the building of imposing scale was located behind three layers of gates within the palatial city. The hall was not used for ordinary rituals (*sangrye* 常禮) but reserved for occasions when the Chinese envoys arrived, or when the king received the Chinese imperial edict or offered his reply at the end of the courtyard. Archaeological survey has revealed that the building had a nine by four bay plan and had four flights



of stairs on its façade.

- 19 *Goryeosa* 10, “Sega” 10, King Seonjong, sixth year, tenth month, *muo*; Jeong Inji et al., *Bugyeok Goryeosa*, 1: 464.
- 20 *Goryeosa* 12, “Sega” 12, King Sukjong, tenth year, third month, *gyemyo*; Jeong Inji et al., *Bugyeok Goryeosa*, 2: 57. The pagoda in question was commissioned by Queen Inye (仁睿太后, d. 1092), the queen of King Munjong and birth mother of the eminent scholar-monk Uicheon 義天 (1055–1101). She patronized the building of Gukcheongsa in Gaepung-gun 開豐郡, which lasted from 1089 to 1097, at Uicheon’s request. The temple functioned as the personal prayer temple of Queen Inye as well as the head temple of the Cheontae sect (天台宗) of Korean Buddhism, whose founding is attributed to Uicheon. Successive rulers of Goryeo frequented this temple to pay respect to the image of the queen enshrined in Jinjeon 眞殿 (Portrait Hall). It is unclear when the temple went to ruin.
- 21 *Goryeosa* 129, “Yeoljeon” 42, “Banyeok” 3, “Choe Chungheon” 崔忠獻; Jeong Inji et al., *Bugyeok Goryeosa*, 11: 384.

## Chapter 8 Stone Pagodas of Korea

### Author's Notes

- 1 [ *Samguk yusa* 3, “Geumgwanseong Pasa seoktap” 金官城婆娑石塔 [Pasa Stone Pagoda at Geumgwanseong].] The Pasa Stone Pagoda at Hogyesa 虎溪寺 in the village of Geumgwan, when the village of Geumgwan was under the jurisdiction of Geumgwan State, was brought there aboard a ship from the Indian state of Ayodhya Kingdom by Queen Heo 許 named Hwangok 黃玉, the consort of King Suro (首露王), in the *gapsin* year, the twenty-fourth year of the Jianwu 建武 reign of the Eastern Han (東漢) dynasty (48 CE). [The sexagenarian cycle of the twenty-fourth year of Emperor Guangwu (光武帝, r. 25–57) is *musin* 戊申, not *gapsin* 甲申. The *Garak gukgi* 駕洛國記 [Record of Garak Kingdom] compiled in the same book writes it as *musin*. It is one hundred and five years after the founding of Silla in the *gapja* 甲子 year, six hundred and nineteen years prior to the unification.] . . . At that time, Korea had no Buddhist temples, neither had the people accepted Buddhism. Probably, Buddhism had not yet been introduced to the state and the local people did not believe in it. Therefore, this text [it is compiled in the *Samguk yusa*. It was written by a literati who held the post of *jiju* 知州 in Geumgwan 金官 at the end of King Mungjong's reign during the Goryeo (during the Taikang 太康 reign under the Liao)] does not have accounts of the founding of temples. It was in the *imjin* 壬辰 year (452), the second year of the reign of King Jilji (鎰知王), the eighth monarch [it was Ado who called on King Nulji before the reign of King Beopheung], when a Buddhist temple [i.e. Hogyesa] was built in the land. Also erected was Wanghusa 王后寺, which has offered prayers for blessings on the people up to the present ... the pagoda is a five-storied square tower with unusual ornament, whose stone was patterned in faint red and finely grained. This type of stone cannot be found in this country, and its color is the very color that the *Bencao* 本草 [Collection of Materia Medica] mentions as “having been proved by a test to be that of the blood of a cock's comb.” [The rest omitted.] [English translation adapted with changes from Kim Dal-yong, trans., *Overlooked Historical Records of the Three Korean Kingdoms*, 203–205].

The author of the *Samguk yusa* seems to have inserted this account simply as a legendary account, while basing it on the *Garakguk bon'gi* 駕洛國本記 [Annals of Garak Kingdom] ; it is hard to consider it as the historical fact, once one reads it. The author of the *Samguk yusa* appears to have seen the form and building material of the pagoda, yet it is hard for me to comment upon it since it does not survive. The Pasa Stone Pagoda appearing in the

article “Gojeok” in the section on Gimhae 金海 in fasc. 32 of the *Dongguk yeoji seungnam* contains a geomantic explanation: “Legend has it that when Queen Heo came from the Western Regions, this pagoda was loaded onto a boat in order to quell winds and waves.” This is partly copied from the account in the text of the *Samguk yusa*: “When the princess first set sail for the east at the command of her royal parents, the angry sea god flung her boat back onto her native shores. She reported to her father king, who had that pagoda loaded on the ship. Thus, her ship sailed the sea safely.” [The English translation is adopted with minor changes from Kim Dal-yong, trans., *Overlooked Historical Records of the Three Korean Kingdoms*, 204]. The transmission of this type of treasure was one of products of the time when the longing for the birthplace of Buddhism was heightened as the Buddhist faith spread a great deal. Therefore, a similar sort of tale is compiled in the “Sixteen-*cheok* Buddha Image at Hwangnyong-sa” in fasc. 3 of the *Samguk yusa*; the images of fifty-three buddhas at Yujeomsa on Geumgangsan are said to have sailed across the sea mounted on an iron bell from the Yuezhi Kingdom (Wolssiguk 月氏國) [in the record by Min Ji 閔漬 (1248–1326) of Goryeo, compiled in the article, “Buru” in the section on Goseong 高城 in fasc. 45 of the *Dongguk yeoji seungnam*]. The Pasa Stone Pagoda at Hogyesa is described in a record written by Gim Ilson 金鵬孫 (1464–1499) [born in the *gapsin* year, the ninth year of the reign of King Sejo of the Joseon dynasty and died at the age of thirty-five years] of the Joseon dynasty as follows: “The water of Hoge emerges from Bunsan 盆山, sounding as if flying and crying. It flows into the northern rampart, passes by the Pasa Pagoda, crosses the entire fortress, passes through the southern rampart, and then flows into the sea” [cited from the *Imgeumdang gi* 臨錦堂記]. Also, it is written that “A square pond was dug to the north of Jingnu 直樓 〈Yeonjaru 燕子樓〉 and to the south of the Pasa Pagoda, and the water of Hoge was drawn and made to turn around it.” [Quoted from the *Hamhepjeong gi* 涵虛亭記, compiled in the article, “Nujeong” 樓亭 [Pavilions] in section on Gimhae 金海 in fasc. 32 of the *Dongguk yeoji seungnam*.] Given these accounts, the pagoda must have remained until the reigns of King Sejo and King Jungjong of the Joseon dynasty [until the year 1530].

- 2 The stone pagoda at the Mireuksa site is included in vol. 4 of *Chōsen koseki zufu*, covering the Unified Silla period, published in the fifth year of Taishō reign (1916), and was introduced as a work of the Unified Silla period by Dr. Sekino Tadashi, a pioneer in the survey, collection, and organization of ancient sites and monuments of Korea; it is considered as such until now. Dr. Sekino’s theory is based on the fact that the five-storied stone pagoda at

Wanggung-pyeong 王宮坪 in Iksan and this pagoda are identical in stylistic terms and that the patterned concave tiles (*wonwa* 圓瓦), which correspond to those appearing between the Asuka and early Nara 寧樂 periods of Japan, were found near the five-storied pagoda at Wanggung-pyeong; on the other hand, he criticized and adapted the attribution regarding the historical account of Mireuksa's establishment compiled in the *Dongguk yeoji seungnam*, and attributed it to the reign of King Anseung (安勝王) of the Bodeok kingdom (報德國). [In the fourteenth year of the reign of King Munmu (674), Anseung—a royal descendant of Goguryeo—was enfeoffed in this land and named King Bodeok (報德王); in the twentieth year of the same reign, he married a sister of King Munmu. When he was summoned to the capital of Silla, Gyeongju, and was made *sopan* 蘇判 [also known as *jipchan* 通飡, the third-rank official in Silla's seventeen-rank hierarchy] in the third year of King Sinmun (683), the Bodeok kingdom ceased to exist. The Bodeok kingdom is discussed in detail in the late Dr. Imanishi Ryū's 今西龍 (1875–1932) *Kudara shi kenkyū* 百濟史研究 [Study on the History of Baekje, 1934].] By doing so, he adjusted the building date of Mireuksa according to the period suggested by those roof-end tiles (*wadang* 瓦當).

Dr. Sekino's critique and interpretation of the attribution appearing in the *Dongguk yeoji seungnam* [this is originally an abbreviation of the attribution compiled in the *Samguk yusa* 2, "Mu wang"] are surely a distinguished view that deserves respectable attention, however the present author cannot entirely agree with him with regard to the dating of the pagoda itself. Dr. Sekino argued that the stone pagoda at the Mireuksa site cannot predate the pseudo-brick pagoda at Bunhwangsa or Pyeongje Pagoda on stylistic basis; yet, he did not provide any specific grounds for his argument, which is mainly based on the approximate date of the patterns appearing on roof-end tiles found near the five-storied pagoda at Wanggung-pyeong, which only have value as circumstantial evidence, however he went one step further to take it as grounds for dating the pagoda to the reign of King Anseung of the Bodeok kingdom. In retrospect, it might have been unreasonable to ask Dr. Sekino to analyze the pagoda in stylistic terms since he was active in a period of surveying and collecting data when their analysis was yet to be done. That no revisions or dissenting arguments have been proposed until now, almost forty years after his time, is it because there have been no objections or because no one dares to challenge his authority? No matter what the reason, it is regrettable for academia. With regard to Korean cultural relics, there has been almost no scholarly consensus reached by written discussion or argument; they are mostly

discussed among dilettantes at unofficial occasions or gatherings, or debated orally; the next thing one knows is that those conclusions are codified with no author's name attached; given these circumstances, perhaps revisions or different views may have been published in some magazines or periodicals. In this situation, we are very lucky to have two authors. The first theorist is the late Dr. Imanishi Ryū. His theory was first published in the journal *Bunkyo no Chōsen* 文教の朝鮮 in the fourth year of the Shōwa reign (1929) and later compiled in the addendum to his posthumous collection of writings, entitled *Kudara shi kenkyū*. He wrote that “I would like to take this pagoda at the Mireuksa site as a structure of the Baekje period. It shows formal affinities with the pagoda in Buyeo inscribed with a record of conquering Baekje, the Wanggungsa Pagoda in Iksan, and the pagoda in Tamnip-ri 塔立里, Gobu 高阜; characteristically, few monoliths are used in building of each part, such as the pagoda body, underpinnings, and roof stones; instead, the pagoda is composed of several stones put in parallel or juxtaposition. The upturning curve and slope of roof tiles are gentle.” Herein, a stylistic analysis is conducted comparatively well, and he firmly dated the Mireuksa Pagoda to the Baekje period. Nevertheless, the present author does not find this stylistic analysis completely agreeable; at any rate, this analysis was a sole instance of dating the Mireuksa Pagoda to the Baekje period. Dr. Fujishima Gaijirō in his “Chōsen kenchiku shiron sono san” 朝鮮建築史論 其三 [Study on the History of Korean Architecture 3], published in the journal *Kenchiku zasshi* in the fifth year of the Shōwa reign (1930) concluded that Mireuksa was founded during the reign of King Mu at the end of Baekje in accordance with the previous attribution following the survey and restoration of the Mireuksa site; however, he did not clarify his view on the date of the pagoda itself and cited a special case like the Hwangnyongsa Pagoda in Gyeongju whose construction was completed eighty-seven years after the initial establishment of the temple, thereby giving an impression that he was implicitly in favor of Dr. Sekino's argument about dating the pagoda to the reign of King Anseung; it is truly regrettable that Dr. Fujishima ended up with a very ambiguous view. Dr. Sekino's argument was proposed a long time ago; he published it in the journal, *Kokka* from the forty-fifth year of the Meiji 明治 reign (1912) to the second year of the Taishō reign (1913) and in *Kenchiku zasshi* about the same time; in fact, he also edited and wrote essays for the *Chōsen koseki zufu*. What is noteworthy is that one of major grounds for Dr. Sekino's argument is found in the date of patterns appearing on roof-end tiles found in the vicinity of the pagoda at Wanggungji 王宮址 [lit. Site of a Royal

Palace]; however, in the seventeenth year of the Shōwa reign (1942), the late Yoneda Miyoji published an article in no. 9 of *Chōsen to kenchiku* 朝鮮と建築 [Korea and Architecture] in which he discussed a discovery of roof-end tiles with the design of single lotus flower (*danpan yeonhwamun* 單瓣蓮花文) and fragments of tiles with stamped patterns (*gaginmun* 刻印文) of the Baekje period underneath this pagoda. How would Dr. Sekino have interpreted it if this discovery had been made during his survey?

- 3 The fragments of this pagoda (*tapjae* 塔材) have been already introduced in vol. 4 of *Chōsen koseki zufu* and discussed by Dr. Fujishima Gaijirō in no. 12 of the journal *Kenchiku zasshi*, published in the eighth year of the Shōwa reign (1933). Although Dr. Fujishima referred to it as the “stone pagoda at the ruins of a temple east of the Hwangnyongsa site,” it is better to call it the “ruined pagoda east of Bunhwangsa,” like the entry title in the *Chōsen koseki zufu*, to bring out the fact that it is similar to the Bunhwangsa Pagoda. In terms of the administrative district, it is located in Guhwang-ri 九黃里, Naedong-myeon, Gyeongju. To summarize and supplement the descriptions given in the two books, it was “constructed with small pieces of andesite as if building with bricks like the Bunhwangsa Pagoda; the area of the earthen platform (*todan* 土壇) is approximately 40 square *cheok* (146.89 sq meters), almost identical to that of the Bunhwangsa Pagoda; there are vertical stone slabs (*ipseok* 立石) with images of guardian spirits in high relief between piles of stones (*toeseok* 堆石) on four sides, measuring about four *cheok* and four *chon* (1.33 meters) high and three *cheok* and two *chon* (0.96 meters) wide. The upper parts of flagstones (*panseok* 板石) have a slight rebate in order to insert lintel beams (*miseok* 楣石) just like the stones with images of guardian spirits in the Bunhwangsa Pagoda; and, furthermore, the carving manner is very similar. It is now in ruins and the temple site it belongs to has yet to be identified.”
- 4 See Chōsen sōtokufu koseki chōsa iinkai 朝鮮總督府古蹟調査委員會, ed., *Koseki chōsa hōkoku* 古蹟調査報告書 (Keijō [Seoul]: Chōsen sōtokufu, 1917) and *Chōsen koseki zufu*, 6.
- 5 Based on an account by Sugiyama Nobuzō 杉山信三 of the Museum of the Government-General of Korea (Sōtokufu hakubutsukan 總督府博物館), who conducted a survey of this temple site.
- 6 With regard to Geumgwangsa, Ōsaka Gintarō in his paper, “Keishū ni okeru Shiragi haijishi no jina suitei ni tsuite” 慶州における新羅廢寺址の寺名推定について [On the Estimation of the Name of a Ruined Temple of Silla in Gyeongju] published in no. 10 of *Chōsen* 朝鮮 in the sixth year of Shōwa reign (1931), assumed that the ruined temple site in the vicinity

of Geumganggok 金崗谷 in Tap-ri 塔里, Naenam-myeon is the site of Geumgwangsa because the region nearby is called Geumgwangje 金光堤. But *Donggyeong japgi* relates that there is a Geumgwang naeje 金光內堤 in Gyeon'gok 見谷, located 15 *ri* north of the prefecture; there is Geumgwang oeje 金光外堤; and there is also Geumgwangje 金光堤 in Wollam-ri 月南里, Nam-myeon 南面, located 10 *ri* south of the prefecture [*Donggyeong japgi* 2, “Jeeon 堤堰” [Embankments]]. The Geumgwangje referred to by Ōsaka seems to correspond to this Geumgwangje in Wollam-ri, located south of the prefecture. Therefore, Dr. Fujishima Gaijirō, in his article published in *Kenchiku zasshi* (December 1933), identified the temple site at the locale formerly known as Geumganggok in Wollam-ri as the site of Geumgwangsa. But as mentioned above there are two other sites named Geumgwangje north of the prefecture. We need to doubt this view, which simply identifies the Geumgwangje located south of the prefecture as the Geumgwangsa site on the sole basis of the name Geumgwangje. Although it is unknown whether the two sites known as Geumgwangje located north of the prefecture have remains of temple sites, I have not heard of any investigation conducted on historical remains at those sites. The survey report on the stone pagoda at the Geumgwangsa site located south of the prefecture, written by Dr. Fujishima Gaijirō, relates that there remain four roof stones and a platform of which more than half of the upper part is buried underground. Originally, it seems to have been a five-storied pagoda; the “underpinning” is composed of three tiers, and the base is in the form of having a single strut. It postdates the ninth century in the present author's stylistic analysis. What is noteworthy in this pagoda is that one side of the wall stones (*byeokseok* 壁石) making the intermediate pedestal stone (*jungdaeseok*) has two reliefs representing the Eight Kinds of Beings. This feature also leads us to consider whether it was one of temples associated with esoteric Buddhism that succeeded the dharma lineage of Myeongnang. It is not known whether this stone pagoda bears traces of affixing golden sheets as in the case of the Galhangsa Pagoda.

- 7 See the article by Nose Ushizō published in *Kyōto kōtō kōgei gakkō sōritsu sanjū-nen kinen ronbunshū hensan iin* 京都高等工藝學校創立三十周年記念論文集編纂委員, ed., *Kyōto kōtō kōgei gakkō sōritsu sanjū-jūnen kinen ronbunshū* 京都高等工藝學校創立三十周年記念論文集 [Collection of Essays Commemorating the Thirtieth Anniversary of the Founding of Kyoto Higher School of Craft] (Kyoto: Kyōto kōtō kōgei gakkō, 1932).
- 8 See Nose Ushizō, “Enganji no tō to jūni ishigami zō.”

## Translator's Notes

- 1 The notion of the seven-jeweled pagoda appears to be based on the *Lotus Sūtra*, which instructs to build the seven-jeweled pagoda for the relics of the Buddha. See *Fahua jing*, T 262.9.2b24. It is understood to be a pagoda adorned with the seven jewels—a term refers to a collection of seven kinds of precious materials. The composition of the seven jewels varies according to texts. Textual accounts indicate that reliquaries called “seven-jeweled pagodas” began to be made from the Liang dynasty onward in China. In other words, the seven-jeweled pagodas were rather pagoda-shaped reliquaries with decorations of precious stones than pagodas independently standing on the ground.
- 2 The *Vibhāṣā-śāstra* is a philosophical treatise whose authorship is attributed to Kātyāyanīputra (fl. second century BCE). Kātyāyanīputra was a teacher of the Sarvāstivāda school and active in Northwest India. Three Chinese translations of the text with roughly identical titles are preserved in the Chinese canon. The earliest version was translated under the title of *Vibhāṣā-śāstra* (Ch. *Piposha lun* 轉婆沙論, T 1547) in 383 by Saṃghabhūti 僧伽跋澄 et al. and the second, entitled *Abhidharma-vibhāṣā-śāstra* (Ch. *Apitan pipasha lun* 阿毘曇毘婆沙論, T 1546), was translated in 437 by Buddhavarman 浮陀跋摩 (fl. fifth century), Daotai 道泰 et al. The last translation, entitled *Abhidharma-mahā-vibhāṣā-śāstra* (Ch. *Apitan da piposha lun* 阿毘達磨大毘婆沙論, T 1545), was undertaken by Xuanzang between 656 and 659.
- 3 Go Yuseop appears to have cited at second-hand from the *Fayuan zhulin* in which the author Daoshi quoted the passage in question from the *Vibhāṣā-śāstra* (Ch. *Piposha lun* 毘婆沙論), see *Fayuan zhulin*, T 2122.53.580a22–25. However, the phrase reading “the place where the Tathāgata was born” (*rulai sheng chu* 如來生處), is omitted in Go Yuseop's citation.
- 4 See Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu*, 2:40–44.
- 5 See Ibid., 2:45–49. It corresponds to the five-storied pagoda at the Jeongnimsa site in Dongnam-ri, Buyeo-eup, Buyeo-gun. As mentioned previously, Pyeongje is not the original name of the pagoda. It was merely given to it during the Japanese colonial period on the basis of the inscription cited by the author in the text. For more on the appellation of this pagoda, see note 79 of chapter 3.
- 6 The museum in the text corresponds to the Buyeo branch of the Museum of the Government-General of Korea, which opened in April 1, 1939



within the compound of Busosanseong 扶蘇山城 and was established as the Buyeo branch of the National Museum in 1945. It is interesting to note that the ink rubbing of this inscription was hung on the wall in one of the two galleries of the museum, but it was lost during the Korean War. See Ōsaka Gintarō 大坂金太郎, “Zaisen kaiko jū-dai” 在鮮回顧十題 [Recollection of a Stay in Korea, Ten Subjects], *Chōsen gakuho* 朝鮮學報 45 (1967).

- 7 It was destroyed by fire in 1984 and rebuilt again in 1986.
- 8 The term, *mohyeong hwa* 模型化, means a tendency towards making a copy that merely imitates the external appearance on reduced scale rather than faithfully representing the function or structure in architectural terms. I am grateful to Prof. Kang Heejung for her suggestion on my translation of the term.
- 9 In the passages to follow, Japanese architectural terms describing the complex bracket system of wooden architecture are put within round brackets, while Korean equivalents, some of which are no longer used in Korean academia, are given in the main body of the text. Given that Go Yuseop originally wrote the manuscript in Japanese, such editorial decision seems to have been made by the editor Hwang Suyeong for Korean readers at the time of initial publication in 1948. For an English glossary of Korean traditional architectural terms, see Kim Dong-uk, *History of Korean Architecture*, trans. Lim Jong-hyun and ed. Gregory A. Tisher (Suwon: University of Kyonggi Press, 2013), 380–403.
- 10 Also known as *changbang* 昌枋, this horizontal beam connects the tops of all the columns on the outside of a building in wooden architecture.
- 11 Also known as *pyeongbang* 平枋, it is placed on top of a lintel to support the inter-columnar brackets in the multi-bracket style building wooden architecture.
- 12 The *batchim* 받침, which I have translated as “underpinning,” is used in lieu of the Japanese term *mochiokuri* (lit. transmit support), meaning a device to support an overhanging structural element. For more on Go Yuseop’s thought on the use of this term, see note 18 of chapter 8.
- 13 A capital (*judu* 柱頭) is placed at the very bottom of the bracket system and on top of a column. It delivers the load directly down the column.
- 14 The *daito* 大斗 corresponds to *soro* 小樑 in Korean terminology. It is also rendered as supporting block or bracket block. A bearing block is placed directly on top of a pillar [i.e. capital]. The *daito*, the largest bearing block in the Japanese bracket system, functions as the foundation upon which an entire bracket complex is built up and interlocked. A *soro* or *daito* is similar to a capital in terms of shape. In particular, all sides of their lower edges are

cut away to make them fit within the circumference of the capitals. As a result, all four sides of their lower edges have a fine curve.

- 15 Go Yuseop pointed out that the builders of the Pyeongje Pagoda imitated the distinctive form of a descending corner ridge of a pyramidal style of roof constructed over a square building. The parts that Go Yuseop referred to as descending [corner] ridges in fact correspond to hip rafters (Jp. *sumigi* 隅木), which extend at each corner of the building directly upward to form a peak of a pyramidal roof. In other words, the roof stones of the Pyeongje Pagoda were built in the form of a pyramidal roof with bulges on the spots corresponding to hip rafters of a four-part roof, which are mounted with half-round tiles. In this type of a roof, the dew plate, in fact a box-like cover, is placed where the upper ends of the hip rafters converge to protect them.
- 16 These panels are set vertically and held securely in place between the long horizontal base stones (Jp. *jifuku ishi* 地覆石) and the topmost curbstones (Kr. *gapseok* 甲石) of the platform. Stone struts are added between them and each corner of the platform to further secure them. For more on the term *gapseok*, see note 20 of chapter 8.
- 17 The *miryang seok*, which I have translated as “lintel beam,” is a stone that bears the weight of the wall above a door frame.
- 18 Go Yuseop used this term in the description of the stone pagoda at the Mireuksa site in his earlier study published in 1939. While discussing the origin of this term, he explained that “tiered ‘underpinning’ (*cheung-geub-hyeong* ‘*batchim*’) corresponds to what is called *mochiokuri* in Japanese academia. I do not know which term Korean carpenters use in reference to it. When I once asked a roofer (*gaewajang* 蓋瓦匠) about it, he replied that it is called ‘*banghan*’ 方隈; and I have referred to it as ‘*banghan*’ following its pronunciation.” He further stated that he would use a tentative name (i.e. *batchim*), which is more readily comprehensible, since he doubted whether the term *banghan* was appropriate to use in academic writings. See Go Yuseop, “Joseon tappa ui yeon’gu (i),” 68, 102 (note 2); reprinted in Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon’gu*, 1: 74, 337–338 (note 59). He used this term to describe the part placed between the eaves of the roof stone and the main body of a stone pagoda, corresponding to the bracket system that distributes the heavy weight of a roof to pillars in wooden architecture. Like their counterpart, the tiered underpinning of the roof stone does double duty of structural support and ornamentation. It is notable that he saw that the tiered underpinning of the Mireuksa Pagoda and Pyeongje Pagoda were not derived from the building method in brick architecture but emerged

- in an effort to imitate the structure of wooden architecture. For more on this point, see Go Yuseop, “Joseon tappa ui yeon’gu (i),” 74–78, 104–106; reprinted in Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon’gu*, 1:82–86, 338–340.
- 19 The *bandaeseok*, which I have translated as “stone plate(s) for supporting the pagoda body,” refers to the part placed upon the curbstone (*gapseok*) to bear the load of the main pagoda body on each story.
  - 20 The *gapseok*, equivalent to *katsura ishi* 葛石 in Japanese, refers to long, horizontal stones that form the topmost edge of a stone platform. It is also rendered as edging stone or cover stone.
  - 21 The *byeolseok* refers to a stone that is separately inserted into the pre-existing stone.
  - 22 Entasis is a slight outward swelling of the column, compensating for the optical effect, so that the column appears to taper evenly when seen from below. However, Go Yuseop’s understanding of entasis is rather different from that used in the west. I am grateful to Profs. Youngsook Pak and Roderick Whitfield for clarification.
  - 23 See Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon’gu*, 2:55–58.
  - 24 I am very grateful to Profs. Youngsook Pak and Roderick Whitfield for their invaluable input in translating this complex passage.
  - 25 See Go Yuseop, “Joseon tappa ui yeon’gu (gi il),” 122–124 (note 63); reprinted in Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon’gu*, 1:338–340 (note 63).
  - 26 To the best of my knowledge, Go Yuseop seems to have used this term as an equivalent to the *masugumi* 斗組, a Japanese term referring to the bracket system of timber frame architecture.
  - 27 The Chinese term *qiaotou* 翹頭 originates from Qing-dynasty architectural terminology. *Qiao*, equivalent to *huagong* 華拱 in Song-dynasty terminology, refers to a bracket arm projecting outwards from the central line of the block on top of which they sit. It can be stacked upon one another, creating a multiple-stepped-bracket complex. Go Yuseop might have become aware of this term directly from the Qing dynasty source or through the writings of Liang Sicheng (1901–1972), a pioneer in the study of Chinese traditional architecture who authored the first modern history on Chinese architecture. Liang Sicheng published a monograph on Qing dynasty architecture in 1934 in which he discussed the term *qiaotou* with a drawing. See Liang Sicheng 梁思成, *Qing shi Yingzao zeli* 清式營造則例 [Qing Architecture Regulation] (Beiping: Zhongguo Yingzao Xueshe, 1934). The architectural historian Lee Hee-bong pointed out that the term was not widely used in contemporary Japanese academia, given that some pioneers in the study of Korean traditional architecture, such as Fujishima Gaijirō

or Sugiyama Nobuzō, did not use it in their studies. He also noted that it is not found in traditional Korean architectural terminology. See Lee Hee-bong, “Gyoduhyeong irani” 교두형이라니 [Note on the Term *gyoduhyeong*], *Geonchuk yeoksa yeon’gu* 23, no. 1 (2014): 84–92, esp. 90 for the two drawings showing Qing-dynasty bracket system originally published in Liang Sicheng’s monograph. For a definition of *qiao* in Chinese architecture, see Aurelia Campbell, “Architecture of the Early Ming Court: A Preliminary Look,” in *Ming China: Courts and Contacts, 1400–1450*, ed. Craig Clunas, Jessica Harrison-Hall, and Yu-ping Luk (London: The British Museum Press, 2016), 193 and note 39.

- 28 The term *bonju* 本州 or *naeji* 內地 refer to Japan at the time of writing.
- 29 The term, pronounced *kamebara* in Japanese architectural terminology, refers to a squarish bun-shaped mound under the wooden sub-structure of a temple building appearing from the early Heian period.
- 30 In timber frame architecture, a coved ceiling is raised by diagonally placed straight timbers or curved ribs, mounted on the ceiling lintel or plate placed on top of the room wall.
- 31 The years between 475 and 538 during which Ungjin 熊津 (present-day Gongju) served as the capital of Baekje is referred to as the Ungjin period in modern studies.
- 32 See Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon’gu*, 2:406–412.
- 33 The area around the five-storied pagoda is currently designated as the Iksan Wanggung-ri Historic Site. The very appellation, *wanggung* (lit. royal palace), suggests the existence of a royal palace in the area, although it was hard to ascertain which kingdom had its capital there without comprehensive archaeological excavations. For this reason, the site was subject to trial digs in 1976 and 1977. See Jeong Myeongho 鄭明鎬, “Iksan Wanggung-ri seongji balgul josa yakbogo” 益山王宮里城址發掘調査略報告 [Brief Report on the Archaeological Survey of the Site of Walled City in Wanggung-ri, Iksan], *Mahan Baekje munhwa* 馬韓百濟文化 2 (1977): 57–141. The Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage has excavated the site from 1989 to the present in order to clarify the date and nature of the remains. The results of excavation accumulated thus far have revealed three types of remains, dating from the late Baekje, early Unified Silla, and early-to-late Unified Silla respectively. Although most scholars agree that the site was remains of the palace city (*gungseong* 宮城) built by King Mu of Baekje, questions regarding the nature of the palace city—whether it functioned as the sole capital or another capital in addition to Sabi (present-day Buyeo)—and the exact duration of the construction remain unresolved.

The results of excavations have been published in the form of ten interim reports and three books.

- 34 The five-storied pagoda at Wanggung-ri was disassembled for comprehensive restoration in 1965, although some experts had been raising the need to restore it since 1938. Prior to being disassembled, the pagoda body severely leaned towards the north with its base having gaps between stones. At that time, the base of the pagoda was buried under piles of earth, which misled some scholars to conclude that the stone pagoda was built upon an earthen mound. In December 1965, two relic deposits were discovered in relic crypts made within the upper side of the roof stone on the first story and in the base stone supporting the central pillar respectively. In March 1966, the foundation and the area in the vicinity of the pagoda were subject to investigations. The interior of pagoda body and foundation turned out to be built with recycled stones. More importantly, the dismantling of the foundation revealed remains of a wooden pagoda: a huge foundation stone that initially supported the core pillar of a wooden pagoda was found at the center; octagonal stone pillars were found at the four corners of the foundation; and the core pillar consisting of square dressed stones and pebbles stood on the central base stone up to the height of the third story. For the initial report of the discovery of relic deposits, see Hwang Suyong, “Iksan Wanggung-ri o-cheung seoktap nae balgyeon yumul” 益山王宮里五層石塔內發見遺物 [Artifacts Discovered within the Five-Storied Stone Pagoda in Wanggung-ri, Iksan], *Gogo misul* 66 (1966): 157–158. The initial report on the investigation of the pagoda’s inner structure is found in Hwang Suyong, “Iksan Wanggung-ri seoktap josa” 益山王宮里石塔調査 [Investigation of the Stone Pagoda in Wanggung-ri, Iksan], *Gogo misul* 71 (1966): 202–204.
- 35 See Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon’gu*, 2:69–72.
- 36 See *ibid.*, 2:283–287.
- 37 See author’s note 16.
- 38 The Wanggung-ri site has been dated to the early Goryeo period since the discovery of the relic deposits and hitherto unknown structure of the foundation in 1965–1966. However, several dissenting opinions regarding the date of the pagoda resurfaced in recent years.
- 39 See Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon’gu*, 2:50–54.
- 40 See *ibid.*, 2:55–58.
- 41 For the cited passage, see Sekino Tadashi, “Chōsen no seki tōba,” in *Chōsen no kenchiku to geijutsu*, 528. This article was originally published in five installments in *Kokka* (1912–1913), and was reprinted in the posthumous

- collection of his writings first published in 1941 and again in 2005.
- 42 The founding and patronage of Mireuksa have been the subject of heated debate since the discovery of the reliquary inscription in 2009. The relevant passage in the inscription reads that “Our queen of Baekje, who is a daughter of the *hwapyeong* Satak Jeokdeok . . . was able to donate pure funds reverently to found the temple and received the relics respectfully on the twenty-ninth day of the first month of *gihae* year [639]” (我百濟王后佐平 沙毛積德女 . . . 故能謹捨淨財 造立伽藍 以己亥年正月廿九日奉迎舍利). Scholars have voiced dissenting opinions on the interpretation of this inscription as well as on the dating of the temple’s establishment. At least, the reliquary inscription firmly dates the building of the pagoda to sometime around the year 639 and, by extension, places it after the founding of Bunhwangsa and its pagoda in 634. For more on this issue, see note 64 of chapter 3.
  - 43 Most scholars active in this period believed that a certain temporal order exists in the development of style and based their examination on this belief. I am thankful to Prof. Kang Heejung for this point.
  - 44 Here, Go Yuseop echoed the Rieglan theory on artistic will. See my Introduction for more on this point.
  - 45 The pagoda was transferred to the Gyeongju National Museum as the Goseonsa site was submerged due to the building of Deokdong Dam in 1975. For the results of the archaeological excavation of the Goseonsa site, Munhwajae gwalliguk 文化財管理局, ed., *Goseonsa ji balgul josa bogoseo* 高仙寺址發掘調査報告書 [Report on the Archaeological Excavation of the Goseonsa Site] (Seoul: Munhwajae gwalliguk and Gyeongju sajeok gwalli samuso, 1977).
  - 46 For a recent study on the Uiseong Pagoda, see Kim Jihyun, “Uiseong Tamni-ri o-cheung seoktap e daehan gochal” 의성 탑리리 오층석탑에 대한 고찰 [Examination of the Five-Storied Stone Pagoda at Tamni-ri, Uiseong], *Bulgyo misul sahak* 22 (2016): 7–56.
  - 47 See Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon’gu*, 2:59–63.
  - 48 See *ibid.*, 2:64–68.
  - 49 For more about the two-level platform, see note 53 of chapter 8.
  - 50 *Jungdaeseok* 中臺石, which I have translated as “intermediate pedestal stone,” refers to the midsection of the platform standing below the curbstone in both the upper and lower levels of a two-level platform.
  - 51 *Taengju* 撐柱, literally supporting pillar, is a strut or short vertical post on the walls of a platform or the pagoda body. It is either erected or carved in relief.
  - 52 *Buyeon* is a supportive part created beneath the curbstone of the upper

platform. It functions to prevent rain infiltrating into the stone, while contributing to stabilize the entire structure.

- 53 In Japanese traditional architecture, a two-level platform (Jp. *nijū kidan* 二重基壇) is considered to be transmitted from Baekje. The oldest extant ones are found in the Golden Hall and the Five-Storied Pagoda (datable between the late seventh and early eighth centuries) of Hōryūji (rebuilt in 693), Nara. The upper level of these platforms is considerably higher than the lower one. The stone platform and the body of the building of Yumedono dates from 739. For a sectional diagram showing the structure of a two-level platform, see Donald F. McCallum, *The Four Great Temples*, 53 (fig. 1.11). In contrary, as Go Yuseop pointed out in passages to follow, a two-level platform was selected for the majority of Korean stone pagodas of the Unified Silla period. A single-level platform was prevalent in the Three Kingdoms period and came to appear again from the late Unified Silla period. As such, the form of platform has become one of standard features for establishing the building date of stone pagodas.
- 54 The term Go Yuseop used is actually combination of two Japanese architectural terms, *hōgyō-zukuri* 寶形造 and *shichū-zukuri* 四注造 (known as the four-part style), both referring to a pyramidal style of roof constructed over a square building. For more about this, see note 15 of chapter 8.
- 55 The excavation of the Goseonsa site brought to light the layout of the temple. For detailed information, see Munhwajae gwalliguk, ed., *Goseonsa ji balgul josa bogoseo*.
- 56 The stone stele bears a short biographical sketch of Wonhyo. Seodang is the secular given name of Wonhyo (*Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.1006a24–25). The commemorative monument was erected by Wonhyo's descendant Seol Jungeop 薛仲業 during the reign of King Aejang (r. 800–808) under the aegis of *gakgan* Gim Eonseung 金彦昇 who ascended the throne as King Heondeok (憲德王, r. 809–826). The lower part of the stele body was discovered broken in three pieces in 1915 at the former site of Goseonsa in Bodeok-dong, Gyeongju and currently held in the collection of National Museum of Korea. The upper part of the stele body, discovered in 1968 near a farm allegedly known as the former site of Dongcheonsa 東泉寺, is housed in the Dongguk University Museum.
- 57 *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.1007b2.
- 58 See Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu*, 2:69–72.
- 59 See *ibid.*, 2:283–287.
- 60 See *ibid.*, 2:73–79.
- 61 The pagoda was disassembled for repairs in 1942. The relic deposits



comprising a gilt bronze relic casket and two gilt bronze images of the Buddha were found in the inner recess of the roof stone of the second story. The inner side of a lid of the relic casket bears an inscription recording dedicatory wishes and the nature of the interred artifacts.

- 62 See Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu*, 2: 283–287.
- 63 The temple existed as late as the late eighteenth century. The twin pagodas, partially destroyed in 1809, were discovered in 1927 by Sugiyama Nobuzō and restored to their current forms in 1931 by Fujishima Gaijirō. See Nose Ushizō 能勢丑三, “Enganji no tō to jūni ishigami zō” 遠願寺の塔と十二支石神像 [The Pagoda and Stone Statues of the Twelve Zodiac Animal Deities at the Site of Wonwonsa], *Chōsen* 朝鮮 (October 1931): 69. For a study on the stone monuments remaining at the site, see Oh Se-deok, “Wonwonsa ji seokjomul ui joseong sigi wa garam baechi byeonhwa chujeong” 遠願寺址 석조물의 조성시기와 가람배치 변화 추정 [Estimating the Building Date of Stone Monuments and Changes in the Spatial Layout of the Wonwonsa Site], *Sillasa hakbo* 35 (2012): 137–168.
- 64 For a comprehensive study on the stone monuments at the Janghang-ri temple site, see Kim Myeongju 金明洲, “Silla Janghang-ri saji sachal ipji wa seokjo misul yeon'gu” 新羅 獐項里寺址 寺刹 立地와 石造美術 연구 [A Study on the Layout of the Silla Temple Site at Janghang-ri and Its Stone Monuments], *Han'guk godaesa tamgu* 한국고대사탐구 5 (2010): 217–258.
- 65 It is an abbreviation of *kannonbiraki tobira* 觀音開扉, referring to a pair of doors designed to meet at the center of a doorway. This type of door was often used in a miniature shrine or in a Buddhist altar in Japanese Buddhist art. The name is known to have originated from the fact that many such altars used to enshrine images of Avalokiteśvara bodhisattva (Jp. Kannon 觀音).
- 66 See Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu*, 2:106–111.
- 67 See *ibid.*, 2:101–105. The second charactering reading “won” 願 is also written as “won” 源.
- 68 The English translation is adopted with minor variations from Kim Dal-yong, trans., *Overlooked Historical Records of the Three Korean Kingdoms*, 349–350.
- 69 For more on Myeongnang and the Munduru Ritual, see notes 21 and 23 of chapter 5.
- 70 The Tripitaka Master Wuwei corresponds to the Indian monk Śubhakarasiṃha (637–735), whose name is transliterated as Shanwuwei 善無畏. The very appellation Tripitaka Master Wuwei appears in the title of a work attributed to him, reading *Wuwei sanzang chanyao* 無畏三藏禪要 [Master Śubha's



Guide to Meditation, T 917]. Born into a royal family of Eastern India, Śubhakarasiṃha came to China where he propagated esoteric Buddhism. He is well known for translating a number of important esoteric texts. Textual sources indicate that he also performed rituals for the state and gave lectures.

- 71 Chongjiam refers to Chongjisa in Gaeseong, Gyeonggi-do, which is a noted preaching place of esoteric Buddhism during the Goryeo dynasty.
- 72 Juseogwon corresponds to Juseoksa on Moaksan in Wanju, Jeollabuk-do.
- 73 The English translation is adopted with minor variations from Kim Dal-yong, trans., *Overlooked Historical Records of the Three Korean Kingdoms*, 345–349.
- 74 See Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu*, 2:372–380.
- 75 See *ibid.*, 2:349–352.
- 76 *Tapgu* 塔區 (lit. pagoda precinct) refers to a section surrounding a pagoda, which is usually paved with stones. The architectural historian Lee Hee-bong suggested that it originated from a pathway around the dome of an Indian stūpa on which the worshipper circumambulates in the direction of sun. He further pointed that the Korean term was coined by Go Yuseop where he first used it in reference to the ground stone (*jidaeseok*) located two to three *cheok* away from the stone pagoda at the Mireuksa site. See Lee Hee-bong, “Tap yongeo e daehan geunbon gochal mit jean,” 67.
- 77 The original text is reproduced in Han'gukhak munheon yeon'guso 韓國學文獻研究所, ed., *Bulguksa ji* 佛國寺誌 [Gazetteer of Bulguksa], *Han'guk saji chongseo* 韓國寺志叢書 [Temple Gazetteers of Korea] (Seoul: Asea munhwasa, 1983), 11:47.
- 78 *Zhidu lun*, T 1509.25.310c25–311a1.
- 79 *Zhidu lun*, T 1509.25.115c27–29, 116a14–15.
- 80 *Dari jing shu*, T 1796.39.733c28–734a8, 734a11–12.
- 81 *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.1004a10.
- 82 See Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu*, 2:159–164.
- 83 *Samguk yusa*, T 2039.49.1018b1–2.
- 84 Go Yuseop referred to the stairway leading to the inner compound of Bulguksa. The upper portion of the stairway is named Cheongungyo 靑雲橋 (Blue Cloud Bridge), and the lower Baegungyo 白雲橋 (White Cloud Bridge).
- 85 The *daitō* 大塔, lit. large pagoda, refers to a two-storied pagoda in the type of pagoda known as *tahōtō*, composed of a square lower story with an attached pent roof and a cylindrical upper section with a pyramidal roof. Konpon daitō, the west pagoda of Kongōbuji 金剛峯寺 in Wakayama, Japan, is one

of three extant pagodas of this type. The *daitō* type is distinguished from ordinary *tahōtō* by its size: they have five by five bays instead of the usual three by three bays.

86 Kūkai 空海 (774–835) is considered as the founder of Shingon Buddhism (眞言宗) in Japan.

87 See Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu*, 2:165–168.

88 See *ibid.*, 2:372–380. Most scholars refer to this type as pagodas with four lion statues (*sa-saja seoktap* 四獅子石塔).

89 The Baekjangan Pagoda is notable for relief images carved on each story. Each side of the pagoda body on the first story bears two images of heavenly generals, the sides of the second story are carved with two images of heavenly musicians, and those of the third story have an image of a heavenly musician. The underside of the roof stone on the third story bears carvings of the Buddha triad. In particular, the relief images on the first story deserve further mention for the distinctive asymmetrical composition: images of guardian generals either flank sides of the door frame on the south side, whereas the door frames on the east, west, and north sides are flanked by an image of a guardian general on one side and an attendant figure shown comparatively smaller on the other. This group of five guardian figures have been identified as Indra and the Four Heavenly Kings. See Huh Hyeong-uk, “Silsangsa Baekjangan seoktap ui obang sinsang e gwanhan gochal” 實相寺百丈庵 석탑의 五方神像에 관한 고찰 [A Study on the Five-Directional Deities Carved on the Stone Pagoda at Baekjangan in Silsangsa], *Misulsa yeon'gu* 19 (2005): 3–30.

90 See Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu*, 2:372–380.

91 See *ibid.*, 2:325–327.

92 See *ibid.*, 2:328–330.

93 See *ibid.*, 2:302–304.

94 See *ibid.*, 2:305–307.

95 See *ibid.*, 2:146–149.

96 See *ibid.*, 2:321–324.

97 The original text is reproduced in its entirety in Chōsen Sōtokufu, comp. and ed., *Chōseon jisatsu shiryō*, 1:532–534.

98 The construction of Burilsa was patronized by King Gwangjong in 951 in memory of King Taejo's principal queen. A partial archaeological survey revealed that the temple, located on higher land, was composed of the central, western and eastern sections along an east-west axis with a separate section devoted to the relic worship, covered by walls in a rectangular shape, on the southern edge of the west temple area. See Jeon Junong 전주농,

“Burilsa ji” 佛日寺址 [The Burilsa Site], in *Gogohak jaryojip* 考古學資料集 [Collection of Archaeological Materials], ed. Gogohak mit minsokhak yeon’guso 고고학 및 민속학연구소 (Pyeongyang: Gwahagwon chulpansa, 1963), 2: 206–219.

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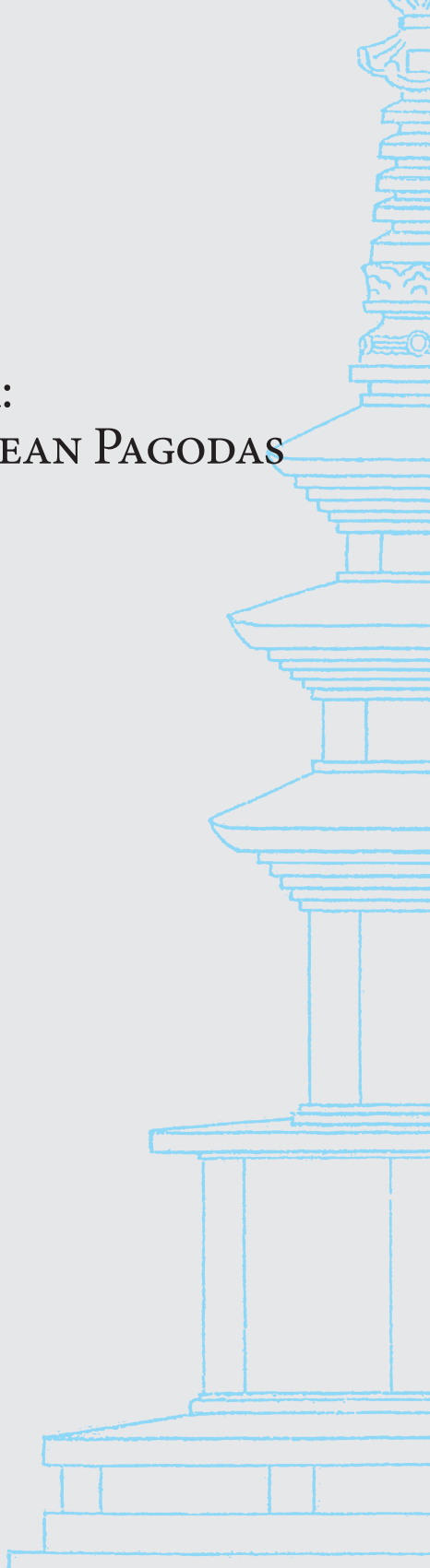
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APPENDIX:  
PHOTOGRAPHS OF KOREAN PAGODAS







## List of Plates

- Plate 1.** Five-storied wooden pagoda [Palsangjeon] of Beopjusa, Bo'eun, Chungcheongbuk-do. Go Yuseop Archive. [Approximately 80 *cheok* (24.24 meters) high. Reconstructed by the Master Byeogam 碧巖大師 in the second year of King Injo of Joseon dynasty (1624). Photograph provided by Keijō Imperial University.]
- Plate 2.** Dae'ungjeon (Hall of the Great Hero) of Ssangbongsa, Hwasun, Jeollanam-do. Go Yuseop Archive. [*Chōsen koseki zufu*, 2:5736.]
- Plate 3.** Multi-storied stone pagoda at the Mireuksa site, Iksan, Jeollabuk-do. Go Yuseop Archive.
- Plate 4.** Five-storied stone pagoda at the Jeongnimsa site [Pyeongje Pagoda], Buyeo, Chungcheongnam-do. Go Yuseop Archive. [Approximately 34 *cheok* (10.30 meters) high, one side of the platform measuring 12 *cheok* (3.63 meters) approximately, the square (*bang* 方) of the first-story pagoda body measuring approximately 8 *cheok* (2.42 meters). Baekje. Photograph provided by Keijō Imperial University.]
- Plate 5.** Stone pagoda of Bunhwangsa before restoration, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do. After *Keishū koseki zui* 慶州古蹟圖錄 (Keishū [Gyeongju]: Keishū Koseki Hozonkai, 1922).
- Plate 6.** Five-storied stone pagoda, Tap-ri, Uiseong, Gyeongsangbuk-do. Go Yuseop Archive.
- Plate 7.** Three-storied stone pagoda at the Goseonsa site, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do. Go Yuseop Archive. [Approximately 29.7 *cheok* (8.99 meters) high, the first-story pagoda body measuring 5.9 *cheok* (1.78). The lower platform (Jp. *kasei kidan* 下成基壇) measuring 17.3 *cheok* (5.24 meters) wide in total. Unified Silla. Photograph provided by Keijō Imperial University.]
- Plate 8.** East and west three-storied stone pagodas at the Gameunsa site, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do. Go Yuseop Archive.
- Plate 9.** Five-storied stone pagoda [Gyetap], Nawon-ri, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do. After Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu*, 2:71, Fig. 9.
- Plate 10.** Three-storied stone pagoda at the ruins of a temple in the eastern slope of Nangsan, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do. After Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu*, 2:74, Fig. 10.
- Plate 11.** West five-storied pagoda at the Janghang-ri temple site, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do. Go Yuseop Archive. [30.8 *cheok* (9.33 meters) high in total, platform measuring 7.67 *cheok* (2.32 meters) in total, the first-story pagoda body measuring 4.91 *cheok* (1.48 meters) high and 5.89

*cheok* (1.78 meters) wide. Restored in 1932 (collapsed in 1925). Photograph provided by Keijō Imperial University.]

**Plate 12.** West three-storied pagoda at the ruins of a temple, Cheon'gun-dong, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do.

After Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu*, 2:85, Fig. 12.

**Plate 13.** Seokga three-storied stone pagoda (Śākyamuni Pagoda) of Bulguksa, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do.

Go Yuseop Archive. [Platform measuring 7.69 *cheok* (2.33 meters) high in total, the first-story pagoda body measuring 5.182 high (1.57 meters) and 8.36 (2.53 meters) [wide?], three stories [of the pagoda body] measuring 14.825 *cheok* (4.49 meters) high. Structure rising above the inverted bowl measuring 3.31/24.825 *cheok* (1.00/7.52 meters) high. Photograph provided by Keijō Imperial University.]

**Plate 14.** Three-storied stone pagoda, Suljeong-ri, Changnyeong, Gyeongsangnam-do.

Go Yuseop Archive. [Approximately 19 *cheok* (5.75 meters) high, the first-story pagoda body approximately 3.86 *cheok* (1.16 meters) wide. Photograph provided by Keijō Imperial University.]

**Plate 15.** Three-storied stone pagoda, Bonggi-dong, Cheongdo, Gyeongsangbuk-do.

Go Yuseop Archive.

**Plate 16.** East three-storied pagoda at the Wonwonsa site, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do.

Go Yuseop Archive. [Granite. Some 23 *cheok* (6.96 meters) high in total. Unified Silla. Restored in 1931. Photograph provided by Keijō Imperial University.]

**Plate 17.** West three-storied pagoda at the Wonwonsa site, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do.

Go Yuseop Archive. [Granite. 16 *cheok* (4.84 meters) high in total. The first-story pagoda body measuring 3.63 [*cheok*] (1.09 meters) high and 3.8 [*cheok*] (1.15 meters) wide. Unified Silla. Restored in 1931. Photograph provided by Keijō Imperial University.]

**Plate 18.** East three-storied pagoda at the ruins of Galhangsa, Gimcheon, Gyeongsangbuk-do.

Go Yuseop Archive. [West pagoda measuring 14.8 *cheok* (4.48 meters) high. Dated to the seventeenth year of Tianbao 天寶 reign, cyclical year of *musul* (758, with inscription). Originally located at the Galhangsa site in Obong-ri, Nam-myeon, Gimcheon-gun; presently at the Museum of the Government-General of Korea, transferred in July, 1916. Photograph provided by Imanishi Haruaki 今西春秋.]

**Plate 19.** West three-storied pagoda at the ruins of Galhangsa, Gimcheon, Gyeongsangbuk-do.

Go Yuseop Archive. [West pagoda measuring 14.8 *cheok* (4.48 meters) high. Seventeenth year of Tianbao 天寶 reign, cyclical year of *musul* (758, with inscription). Originally located at the Galhangsa site in Obong-ri, Nam-myeon, Gimcheon-gun; presently at the Museum of the Government-General of Korea, transferred in July, 1916. Photograph provided by Imanishi Haruaki.]

**Plate 20.** Three-storied pagoda, Myeongjang-ri, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do.

Go Yuseop Archive.

**Plate 21.** Three-storied pagoda at the ruins of a temple, Jangsugok, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do.

Go Yuseop Archive. [18.93 *cheok* (5.73 meters) high in total, the first-story pagoda body

measuring 3.74 *cheok* (1.13 meters) high and 3.82 *cheok* (1.15 meters) wide. Photograph provided by Keijō Imperial University.]

**Plate 22.** Three-storied stone pagoda at the Hyangseongsa site, Yangyang, Gangwon-do. Go Yuseop Archive. [4.678 meters high in total, platform measuring 2.68 meters wide. Built in the reign of King Aejang (r. 800–809). Photograph provided by Nakagiri of the Museum of the Government-General of Korea in 1942.]

**Plate 23.** Three-storied stone pagoda, Ok-dong, Andong, Gyeongsangbuk-do. Go Yuseop Archive. [Approximately 578.5 centimeters high, platform measuring 196.5 centimeters high in total. Photograph provided by Keijō Imperial University.]

**Plate 24.** West three-storied stone pagoda at the unidentified temple site on the southern slope of Namsan, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do. Go Yuseop Archive. [Approximately 18.3 *cheok* (5.54 meters) high in total, the first-story pagoda body 3.27 *cheok* (0.99 meters) high in total and 3.6 *cheok* (1.09 meters) wide.]

**Plate 25.** Three-storied stone pagoda at the Aegongsa site, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do. After Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu*, 2:129, Fig. 25.

**Plate 26.** East three-storied pagoda at the Wolgwangsa site, Hapcheon, Gyeongsangnam-do. After Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu*, 2:134, Fig. 26.

**Plate 27.** Three-storied stone pagoda of Buseoksa, Yeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do. Go Yuseop Archive. [Approximately 514.4 centimeters high, the first-story pagoda body measuring 90.4 centimeters high and 115.8 centimeters wide. Total height of the pagoda body (*tapche* 塔體)/platform=318.8/163.2 centimeters. Photograph provided by Keijō Imperial University.]

**Plate 28.** Three-storied stone pagoda of Cheongnyangsa, Hapcheon, Gyeongsangnam-do. After Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu*, 2:140, Fig. 28.

**Plate 29.** Three-storied stone pagoda of Seungsogok on Namsan, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do. Go Yuseop Archive. [11.93 *cheok* (3.61 meters) high. Photograph provided by Keishū Prefectural Museum.]

**Plate 30.** Three-storied stone pagoda at the Yongjangsa site, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do. Go Yuseop Archive. [After *Keishū Nanzan no busseki* 慶州南山の佛蹟 (Keijō [Seoul]: Chōsen Sōtokufu, 1940).]

**Plate 31.** East three-storied stone pagoda at the Dansoksa site, Sancheong, Gyeongsangnam-do. After Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu*, 2:151, Fig. 32.

**Plate 32.** Three-storied stone pagoda, Tapgok, Namsa-ri, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do. Go Yuseop Archive. [Granite. 12.81 *cheok* (3.88 meters) high in total, the first-story pagoda body measuring 2.43 *cheok* (0.73 meters) high and 2.51 *cheok* (0.76 meters) wide. Unified Silla. Photograph provided by Keijō Imperial University.]

**Plate 33.** Dabotap (Many Treasures Pagoda) of Bulguksa, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do. After Andre Eckardt, *Geschichte der koreanischen Kunst* (Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann, 1929).

**Plate 34.** Thirteen-storied stone pagoda at the Jeonghyesa site, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do.

After Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu*, 2:166, Fig. 35.

**Plate 35.** Relic pagoda of Bulguksa, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do.

Go Yuseop Archive. [6 *cheok* 7 *chon* (2.03 meters) high.]

**Plate 36.** Three-storied stone pagoda of Seokguram, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do.

Go Yuseop Archive. [106 *cheok* (32.12 meters) high, the first-story pagoda body measuring 1.92 *cheok* (58 centimeters) high and 1.95 *cheok* (59 centimeters) wide, the height of platform: 1.74 *cheok* (52 centimeters, above), 1.96 *cheok* (59 centimeters, below), 3.7 *cheok* (1.12 meters) in total. At the end of Silla. Photograph provided by Keijō Imperial University.]

**Plate 37.** Relic pagoda on the Diamond Ordination Platform of Tongdosa, Yangsan, Gyeongsangnam-do.

After Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu*, 2:176–177, Fig. 38.

**Plate 38.** Relic pagoda of Geumsansa, Gimje, Jeollabuk-do.

Go Yuseop Archive.

**Plate 39.** Five-storied stone pagoda of Geumsansa, Gimje, Jeollabuk-do.

Go Yuseop Archive. [Photograph provided by Keijō Imperial University.]

**Plate 40.** Multi-storied hexagonal stone pagoda of Geumsansa, Gimje, Jeollabuk-do.

Go Yuseop Archive. [Platform granite, pagoda slate. Photograph provided by Keijō Imperial University.]

**Plate 41.** Notap of Geumsansa, Gimje, Jeollabuk-do.

After Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu*, 2:193, Fig. 42.

**Plate 42.** Five-storied stone pagoda at the Sahyeonsa site. Museum of the Government-General of Korea.

Go Yuseop Archive. [Approximately 13.5 *cheok* (4.09 meters) high. Datable to the eleventh year of King Jeongjong (1045). Photograph provided by Keijō Imperial University.]

**Plate 43.** Five-storied stone pagoda of the Jeongdosa site. Museum of the Government-General of Korea.

Go Yuseop Archive. [Inscription recording the construction dated to the eleventh year of Taiping 太平 reign (1031). Photograph provided by Keijō Imperial University.]

**Plate 44.** West three-storied stone pagoda of the Yeongjeonsa site. Museum of the Government-General of Korea.

After Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu*, 2:204, Fig. 46.

**Plate 45.** East three-storied stone pagoda of the Yeongjeonsa site, Museum of the Government-General of Korea.

After Ko Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu*, 2:205, Fig. 47.

**Plate 46.** Stone pagoda of the Heungguksa site, Gaeseong Museum.

Go Yuseop Archive. [Dated to the fifth year of Tianxi 天禧 reign (1021). Photographed by Go Yuseop.]

**Plate 47.** Stone pagoda of Hyeonhwasa, Gaepung, Gyeonggi-do.

Go Yuseop Archive. [Granite. 25 *cheok* (7.57 meters) high, platform measuring 9 *cheok* (2.72 meters) in diameter (*gigyeong* 基徑). Dated to the eleventh year of King Hyeonjong (1020).

Photograph provided by the Museum of the Government-General of Korea.]

**Plate 48.** Five-storied stone pagoda (middle) and three-storied stone pagodas (both sides) of the Yeongtongsa site, Gaepung, Gyeonggi-do.

Go Yuseop Archive. [Granite. Goryeo. Photograph provided by the Museum of the Government-General of Korea.]

**Plate 49.** Seven-storied stone pagoda of Gwaneumsa, Gaepung, Gyeonggi-do.

Go Yuseop Archive. [Approximately 13.5 *cheok* (4.09 meters) high. Photograph provided by Keijō Imperial University.]

**Plate 50.** Three-storied stone pagoda at the temple site on the northern slope of Gunjangsan, Gaepung, Gyeonggi-do.

Go Yuseop Archive. [Photograph provided by Sugiyama Nobuzō.]

**Plate 51.** Five-storied stone pagoda of the Burilsa site, Jangdan, Gyeonggi-do.

Go Yuseop Archive. [Granite. The first-story pagoda body measuring 3.2 *cheok* (0.96 meters) high and 6.5 *cheok* (1.96 meters) wide. Total height 27 *cheok* (8.18 meters) approximately. The curbstone (*ipseok* 笠石) of the lower platform measuring 14.5 *cheok* (4.39 meters) wide, the curbstone of the upper platform measuring 8.65 *cheok* (2.62 meters) wide. The temple was founded in the second year of King Gwangjong (951). Photograph provided by the Museum of the Government-General of Korea.]

**Plate 52.** Pagoda of Hwajangsa, Gaeseong, Gyeonggi-do.

Go Yuseop Archive. [Approximately 13.33 *cheok* (4.03 meters) high, construction attributed to the seventeenth year of Shunzhi 順治 reign (1660). Photograph provided by Keijō Imperial University.]

**Plate 53.** Five-storied stone pagoda from the ruins of Anheungsa. Museum of the Government-General of Korea.

Go Yuseop Archive [Originally located at the ruins of Anheungsa in Anheung-ri 安興里, Eupnae-myeon 邑內面, Icheon-gun, but moved to the museum of this prefecture [i.e. Gaeseong Prefectural Museum] in 1915. Photograph provided by Keijō Imperial University.]

**Plate 54.** Five-storied brick pagoda of Silleuksa, Yeosu, Gyeonggi-do.

After Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu*, 2:241, Fig. 63.

**Plate 55.** Seven-storied stone pagoda, Soyang, Chuncheon, Gangwon-do.

Go Yuseop Archive. [18 *cheok* (5.45 meters) high, one side of the platform measuring 7 *cheok* (2.12 meters) wide.]

**Plate 56.** Three-storied pagoda at the Sinboksa site, Gangneung, Gangwon-do.

Go Yuseop Archive. [*Chōsen koseki zūfu*, 4.]

**Plate 57.** Three-storied stone pagoda at the Geodonsa site, Wonju, Gangwon-do.

After Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu*, 2:251, Fig. 66.

**Plate 58.** Three-storied stone pagoda at the Heungbeopsa site, Wonju, Gangwon-do.

After Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu*, 2:253, Fig. 67.

**Plate 59.** Three-storied stone pagoda of Dopiansa, Cheorwon, Gangwon-do.

Ko Yuseop Archive. [4.15 meters high. Dated to the sixth year of Xiantong 咸通 reign (865).]

- Plate 60.** Nine-storied octagonal pagoda of Woljeonsa, Pyeongchang, Gangwon-do.  
After Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu*, 2:259, Fig. 69.
- Plate 61.** Seven-storied pagoda of Naksansa, Yangyang, Gangwon-do.  
Go Yuseop Archive. [Dated to the third year of King Sejo of the Joseon dynasty (1468).]
- Plate 62.** Three-storied pagoda of Sin'gyesa, Goseong, Gangwon-do.  
Go Yuseop Archive. [Silla. Photograph provided by Keijō Imperial University.]
- Plate 63.** Three-storied stone pagoda of the Jangyeonsa site, Hoeyang, Gangwon-do.  
Go Yuseop Archive. [Approximately 12.75 *cheok* (3.86 meters) high, the first-story pagoda body underneath the roof stone measuring 2.5 *cheok* (75 centimeters) wide. Silla. Photograph provided by Keijō Imperial University.]
- Plate 64.** Three-storied stone pagoda of Jeongyangsa, Hoeyang, Gangwon-do.  
Go Yuseop Archive. [The first-story pagoda body measuring 1.47 *cheok* (44 centimeters) high, the inserted stone (*sapseok* 挿石) measuring 1.24 *cheok* (37 centimeters) wide. Photograph provided by Keijō Imperial University.]
- Plate 65.** Pagoda of Yujeomsa, Goseong, Gangwon-do.  
After *Chōsen koseki zufu*, 13.
- Plate 66.** Finial of the Yujeomsa Pagoda.  
After *Chōsen koseki zufu*, 13.
- Plate 67.** Three-storied stone pagoda, Cheongyang-eup, Cheongyang, Chungcheongnam-do.  
Go Yuseop Archive. [Black granite. Rising 9.65 *cheok* (2.92 meters) high above the ground, the first-story pagoda body underneath the roof stone 1.44 *cheok* (43 centimeters) high. Formerly located within Useongsanseong 牛成山城, presently in the rear garden of Cheongyang-gun Office. Photograph provided by Keijō Imperial University.]
- Plate 68.** Nine-storied pagoda, Seojeong-ri, Cheongyang, Chungcheongnam-do.  
Go Yuseop Archive. [19.11 *cheok* (5.79 meters) high, platform measuring 6.6 *cheok* (2 meters) in diameter, the first-story pagoda body underneath the roof stone measuring 2.2 *cheok* (66 centimeters) high and 3.6 *cheok* (1.09 meters) wide. Goryeo. Photograph provided by Keijō Imperial University.]
- Plate 69.** Pagoda of Gwanchoksa, Nonsan, Chungcheongnam-do.  
Go Yuseop Archive. [Approximately 10.53 *cheok* (3.19 meters) high, the corner pillar of the upper platform measuring 2.34 *cheok* (70 centimeters) high. Datable between 970–1006. Photograph provided by Keijō Imperial University.]
- Plate 70.** Seven-storied stone pagoda, Tapjeong-ri, Chungju, Chungcheongbuk-do.  
Go Yuseop Archive. [43.27 *cheok* (13.11 meters) high. Repaired in 1917. Allegedly built in the twelfth year of King Wonseong (796). *Chōsen no fūsui* 朝鮮の風水.]
- Plate 71.** Three-storied stone pagoda of Beomeosa, Dongnae, Gyeongsangnam-do.  
After Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu*, 2:289, Fig. 83.
- Plate 72.** Three-storied stone pagoda of Tongdosa, Yangsan, Gyeongsangnam-do.  
Go Yuseop Archive. [Photograph provided by Keijō Imperial University.]
- Plate 73.** Three-storied stone pagoda of Haeinsa, Hapcheon, Gyeongsangnam-do.

Go Yuseop Archive. [Photograph provided by Keijō Imperial University.]

**Plate 74.** Three-storied stone pagoda in front of Honghamun of Haeinsa, Hapcheon, Gyeongsangnam-do.

Go Yuseop Archive. [Approximately 9 *cheok* (2.72 meters) high. Photograph provided by Keijō Imperial University.]

**Plate 75.** East three-storied stone pagoda of the Namsan-ri temple site, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do.

Go Yuseop Archive. [18.3 *cheok* (5.54 meters) high in total, the first-story pagoda body measuring 3.6 *cheok* (1.09 meters) wide and 3.27 *cheok* (0.99 meters) high.]

**Plate 76.** Three-storied stone pagoda, Seoak-ri, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do.

Go Yuseop Archive. [17 *cheok* (5.15 meters) high in total. Upper platform measuring 5.205 *cheok* (1.577 meters) high, 7.54 *cheok* (2.28 meters) wide. Lower platform 1.58 *cheok* (47 centimeters) high, 8.52 *cheok* (2.58 meters) wide. Photograph provided by Keijō Imperial University.]

**Plate 77.** Seven-storied brick pagoda, Beopheung-dong, east of Andong-eup, Andong, Gyeongsangbuk-do.

Go Yuseop Archive. [Approximately 33.3 *cheok* (10.09 meters) high. Repaired in 1916.]

**Plate 78.** Five-storied brick pagoda, south of Andong-eup, Andong, Gyeongsangbuk-do.

Go Yuseop Archive. [8.35 meters (26.5 *cheok* [sic]) high, diameter of the platform measuring 11.8 *cheok* (3.57 meters, east-west), 12 *cheok* (3.63 meters, north-south). Repaired in 1916. Photograph provided by Keijō Imperial University.]

**Plate 79.** Five-storied brick pagoda, Jotap-dong, Iljik-myeon, Andong, Gyeongsangbuk-do.

Go Yuseop Archive. [23.5 *cheok* (7.12 meters) high. One side of the platform measuring approximately 9 *cheok* (2.72 meters, east-west), 8.8 *cheok* (2.66 meters, north-south). Opening of the niche measuring 2 *cheok* 2 *chon* (66 centimeters) high, 1 *cheok* 8 *chon* (54 centimeters) wide. Repaired in 1917. Photograph provided by Keijō Imperial University.]

**Plate 80.** Three-storied stone pagoda, Gwandeok-dong, Uiseong, Gyeongsangbuk-do.

Go Yuseop Archive. [364.7 centimeters high.]

**Plate 81.** Five-storied stone pagoda of the unidentified temple site below Bingsan, Uiseong, Gyeongsangbuk-do.

After Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu*, 2:322, Fig. 93.

**Plate 82.** Five-storied stone pagoda at the Jukjangsa site, Seonsan, Gyeongsangbuk-do.

Go Yuseop Archive. [Photograph provided by Keijō Imperial University.]

**Plate 83.** Three-storied stone pagoda, Naksan-dong, Seonsan, Gyeongsangbuk-do.

Go Yuseop Archive. [Photograph provided by Keijō Imperial University.]

**Plate 84.** Three-storied stone pagoda, Hwadal-ri, Sangju, Gyeongsangbuk-do.

After Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu*, 2:332, Fig. 96.

**Plate 85.** Three-storied stone pagoda of Bongamsa, Mun'gyeong, Gyeongsangbuk-do.

Go Yuseop Archive. [Dated to the fifth year of King Heon'gang (879). Photograph provided by Keijō Imperial University.]

**Plate 86.** Funerary Pagoda of the National Preceptor Jijeung (*Jijeung guksa jeokjo ji tap*)

of Bongamsa, Mun'gyeong, Gyeongsangbuk-do.

After Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu*, 2:339, Fig. 98.

**Plate 87.** Funerary pagoda of the Great Master Jeongjin (*Jeongjin daesa wono ji tap*), Bongamsa, Mun'gyeong, Gyeongsangbuk-do.

After Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu*, 2:344, Fig. 99.

**Plate 88.** Three-storied stone pagoda at the ruins of a temple site, Baekjeon-dong, Yecheon, Gyeongsangbuk-do.

Go Yuseop Archive. [348.4 centimeters high. The intermediate pedestal stone of the upper platform measuring 71 centimeters high, 11.5 centimeters wide. *Dongseok* 東石 [?] measuring 9 centimeters wide. Photograph provided by Keijō Imperial University.]

**Plate 89.** Five-storied stone pagoda at the Gaesimsa site, Yecheon, Gyeongsangbuk-do.

Go Yuseop Archive. [14.3 *cheok* (4.33 meters) high. Dated to the sixth year of King Hyeonjong, cyclical year of *gyeongsul* (1014). Photograph provided by Keijō Imperial University.]

**Plate 90.** West three-storied stone pagoda at Geumdangam of Donghwasa, Dalseong, Gyeongsangbuk-do.

Go Yuseop Archive. [537.6 centimeters high. Photograph provided by Keijō Imperial University.]

**Plate 91.** East three-storied stone pagoda at Geumdangam of Donghwasa, Dalseong, Gyeongsangbuk-do.

Go Yuseop Archive. [5.9 meters high in total, one side of the upper platform measuring 1.71 meters wide.]

**Plate 92.** Three-storied stone pagoda at Biroam of Donghwasa, Dalseong, Gyeongsangbuk-do.

Go Yuseop Archive. [3.65 meters high in total, one side of a sleeper (Jp. *jifuku* 地覆) measuring 2.3 meters wide. Photograph provided by Keijō Imperial University.]

**Plate 93.** Three-storied stone pagoda, Sinwol-dong, Yeongcheon, Gyeongsangbuk-do.

After Chōsen koseki zufu, 4.

**Plate 94.** East three-storied stone pagoda (right) and west three-storied stone pagoda (left) of Unmunsa, Cheongdo, Gyeongsangbuk-do.

After Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu*, 2:363, Fig. 106.

**Plate 95.** Three-storied stone pagoda of the Beopsusa site, Seongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do.

*Chōsen koseki zufu*, 4.

**Plate 96.** West five-storied stone pagoda, Gwangju, Jeollanam-do.

After Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu*, 2:370, Fig. 108.

**Plate 97.** East five-storied stone pagoda, Gwangju, Jeollanam-do.

After Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu*, 2:371, Fig. 109.

**Plate 98.** East five-storied stone pagoda of Hwaeomsa, Gurye, Jeollanam-do.

Go Yuseop Archive. [Goryeo (?). Photograph provided by Keijō Imperial University.]

**Plate 99.** West five-storied pagoda of Hwaeomsa, Gurye, Jeollanam-do.

Go Yuseop Archive. [Photographed by Imaseki Mitsuo on March 24, 1935.]

**Plate 100.** Three-storied pagodas of Borimsa: south pagoda (left) and north pagoda (right), Jangheung, Jeollanam-do.



Go Yuseop Archive. [North pagoda measuring 19.51 *cheok* (5.91 meters) high, south pagoda measuring 17.93 *cheok* (5.43 meters) high, stone lantern measuring 10.3 *cheok* (3.12 meters) high. Built in the tenth year of King Gyeongmun (870) for the sake of King Heon'gang's enlightenment (*bori* 菩提). Photograph provided by Keijō Imperial University.]

**Plate 101.** Pagoda of Muwigapsa, Gangjin, Jeollanam-do.  
Go Yuseop Archive.

**Plate 102.** Pagoda of Dogapsa, Yeongam, Jeollanam-do.  
Go Yuseop Archive. [The first-story pagoda body underneath the roof stone measuring 1 *cheok* 2 *chon* (36 centimeters) high. Photograph provided by Keijō Imperial University.]

**Plate 103.** Funerary pagoda of the Seon Master Cheolgam (*Cheolgam seonsa jingso ji tap*, before restoration) on Ssangbongsan, Hwasun, Jeollanam-do.  
Go Yuseop Archive. [The Seon master passed away on the eighteenth day of the fourth month in the eighth year of King Gyeongmun (868).]

**Plate 104.** Funerary pagoda of the Seon Master Cheolgam (*Cheolgam seonsa jingso ji tap*, after restoration) on Ssangbongsan, Hwasun, Jeollanam-do.  
After Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu*, 2:401, Fig. 117.

**Plate 105** Funerary pagoda of the National Preceptor Bojo (*Buril Bojo guksa gamno tap*) of Songgwangsa, Suncheon, Jeollanam-do.  
After Go Yuseop, *Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu*, 2:404, Fig. 118.

**Plate 106.** Five-storied stone pagoda at the unidentified temple site, Wanggung-ri, Iksan, Jeollabuk-do.  
Go Yuseop Archive. [23.43 *cheok* (7.09 meters) high, the first-story pagoda body *sang* 上 measuring 8.64 *cheok* (2.61 meters), *ha* 下 measuring 8.63 *cheok* (2.61 meters).]

**Plate 107.** Five-storied stone pagoda located next to the Binggo (Ice Storage), Haeju, Hwanghae-do.  
Go Yuseop Archive. [The first-story pagoda body measuring 2.75 *cheok* (83 centimeters) wide, 1.73 *cheok* (52 centimeters) high. Photographed by Go Yuseop.]

**Plate 108.** Seven-storied stone pagoda of Gangseosa, Yeonbaek, Hwanghae-do.  
Go Yuseop Archive. [Between the end of Goryeo and beginning of Joseon. Photographed in August, 1940.]

**Plate 109.** Five-storied stone pagoda of Seongbulsu, Hwangju, Hwanghae-do.  
Go Yuseop Archive. [Attributed to the Taiding 泰定 reign (1324–1328). Photograph provided by Yoneda of the Museum of the Government-General of Korea.]

**Plate 110.** Detail of the pedestal of the five-storied pagoda of Seongbulsu, Hwangju, Hwanghae-do.  
Go Yuseop Archive. [Attributed to the Taiding reign (1324–1328). Photograph provided by Yoneda of the Museum of the Government-General of Korea.]

**Plate 111.** Five-storied stone pagoda of the Gwangjosa site, Byeokseong, Hwanghae-do.  
After *Chōsen koseki zufu*, 6.

**Plate 112.** Five-storied octagonal pagoda of Yeongmyeongsa, Pyeongyang, Pyeongannam-do.

Go Yuseop Archive.

**Plate 113.** Five-storied stone pagoda of the ruins of Yulsa, Daedong. [Currently at] Okura Shukokan, Tokyo.  
Go Yuseop Archive.

**Plate 114.** Seven-storied hexagonal stone pagoda of the ruins of Won'gwangsa. Pyeongyang Prefectural Museum.  
Go Yuseop Archive.

**Plate 115.** Nine-storied stone pagoda of Bohyeonsa, Yeongbyeon, Pyeonganbuk-do. Go Yuseop Archive. [Attributed to the tenth year of King Jeongjong, cyclical year of *gapsin* (1044). Photograph provided by Keijō Imperial University in 1938.]

**Plate 116.** Thirteen-storied octagonal pagoda of Bohyeonsa, Yeongbyeon, Pyeonganbuk-do. Go Yuseop Archive. [27 *cheok* (8.18 meters) high. Photograph provided by Keijō Imperial University in 1938.]



Plate 1. Five-storied wooden pagoda [Palsangjeon] of Beopjusa, Bo'eun, Chungcheongbuk-do



Plate 2. Dae'ungeon (Hall of the Great Hero) of Ssangbongsa, Hwasun, Jeollanam-do





Plate 3. Multi-storied stone pagoda at the Mireuksa site, Iksan, Jeollabuk-do



Plate 4. Five-storied stone pagoda at the Jeongnimsa site [Pyeongje Pagoda], Buyeo, Chungcheongnam-do



Plate 5. Stone pagoda of Bunhwangsa before restoration, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do





Plate 6. Five-storied stone pagoda, Tap-ri, Uiseong, Gyeongsangbuk-do





Plate 7. Three-storied stone pagoda at the Goseonsa site, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do



Plate 8. East and west three-storied stone pagodas at the Gameuna site, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do



Plate 9. Five-storied stone pagoda [Gyetap], Nawon-ri, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do





Plate 10. Three-storied stone pagoda at the ruins of a temple in the eastern slope of Nangsan, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do



Plate 11. West five-storied pagoda at the Janghang-ri temple site, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do



Plate 12. West three-storied pagoda at the ruins of a temple, Cheon'gun-dong, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do



Plate 13. Seokga three-storied stone pagoda (Śākyamuni Pagoda) of Bulguksa, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do





Plate 14. Three-storied stone pagoda, Suljeong-ri, Changnyeong, Gyeongsangnam-do



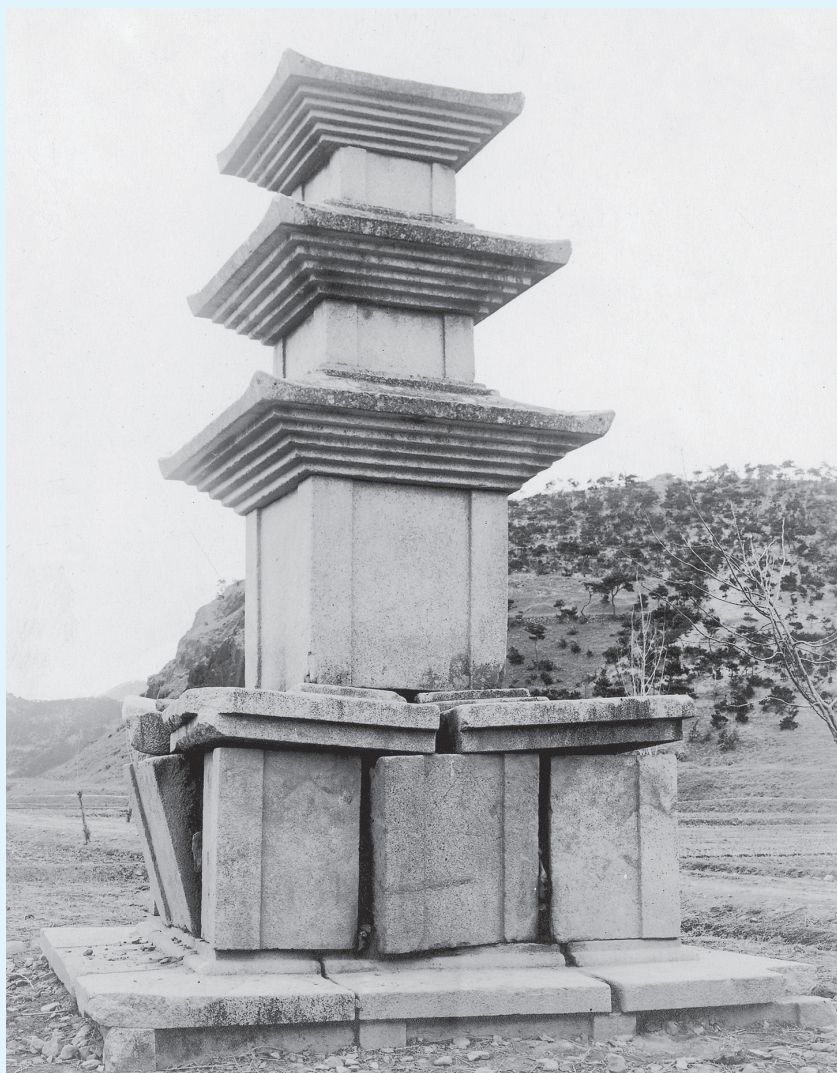


Plate 15. Three-storied stone pagoda, Bonggi-dong, Cheongdo, Gyeongsangbuk-do



Plate 16. East three-storied pagoda at the Wonwonsa site, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do





Plate 17. West three-storied pagoda at the Wonwonsa site, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do



Plate 18. East three-storied pagoda at the ruins of Galhangsa, Gimcheon, Gyeongsangbuk-do





Plate 19. West three-storied pagoda at the ruins of Galhangsa, Gimcheon, Gyeongsangbuk-do



Plate 20. Three-storied pagoda, Myeongjang-ri, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do





Plate 21. Three-storied pagoda at the ruins of a temple, Jangsugok, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do



Plate 22. Three-storied stone pagoda at the Hyangseongsa site, Yangyang, Gangwon-do





Plate 23. Three-storied stone pagoda, Ok-dong, Andong, Gyeongsangbuk-do



Plate 24. West three-storied stone pagoda at the unidentified temple site on the southern slope of Namsan, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do



Plate 25. Three-storied stone pagoda at the Aegongsa site, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do





Plate 26. East three-storied pagoda at the Wolgwangsa site, Hapcheon, Gyeongsangnam-do



Plate 27. Three-storied stone pagoda of Buseoksa, Yeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do





Plate 28. Three-storied stone pagoda of Cheongnyangsa, Hapcheon, Gyeongsangnam-do



Plate 29. Three-storied stone pagoda of Seungsogok on Namsan, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do



Plate 30. Three-storied stone pagoda at the Yongjangsa site, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do





Plate 31. East three-storied stone pagoda at the Dansoksa site, Sancheong, Gyeongsangnam-do



Plate 32. Three-storied stone pagoda, Tapgok, Namsa-ri, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do



Plate 33. Dabotap (Many Treasures Pagoda) of Bulguksa, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do





Plate 34. Thirteen-storied stone pagoda at the Jeonghyesa site, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do



Plate 35. Relic pagoda of Bulguksa, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do



Plate 36. Three-storied stone pagoda of Seokguram, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do





Plate 37. Relic pagoda on the Diamond Ordination Platform of Tongdosa, Yangsan, Gyeongsangnam-do





Plate 38. Relic pagoda of Geumsansa, Gimje, Jeollabuk-do



Plate 39. Five-storied stone pagoda of Geumsansa, Gimje, Jeollabuk-do





Plate 40. Multi-storied hexagonal stone pagoda of Geumsansa, Gimje, Jeollabuk-do



Plate 41. Notap of Geumsansa, Gimje, Jeollabuk-do



Plate 42. Five-storied stone pagoda at the Sahyeonsa site. Museum of the Government-General of Korea





Plate 43. Five-storied stone pagoda of the Jeongdosa site. Museum of the Government-General of Korea



Plate 44. West three-storied stone pagoda of the Yeongjeonsa site. Museum of the Government-General of Korea





Plate 45. East three-storied stone pagoda of the Yeongjeonsa site, Museum of the Government-General of Korea



Plate 46. Stone pagoda of the Heungguksa site, Gaeseong Museum



Plate 47. Stone pagoda of Hyeonhwasa, Gaepung, Gyeonggi-do





**Plate 48.** Five-storied stone pagoda (middle) and three-storied stone pagodas (both sides) of the Yeongtongsa site, Gaepung, Gyeonggi-do



Plate 49. Seven-storied stone pagoda of Gwaneumsa, Gaepung, Gyeonggi-do





**Plate 50.** Three-storied stone pagoda at the temple site on the northern slope of Gunjangsan, Gaepung, Gyeonggi-do



Plate 51. Five-storied stone pagoda of the Burilsa site, Jangdan, Gyeonggi-do





Plate 52. Pagoda of Hwajangsa, Gaeseong, Gyeonggi-do



Plate 53. Five-storied stone pagoda from the ruins of Anheungsa. Museum of the Government-General of Korea



Plate 54. Five-storied brick pagoda of Silleuksa, Yeosu, Gyeonggi-do





Plate 55. Seven-storied stone pagoda, Soyang, Chuncheon, Gangwon-do



Plate 56. Three-storied pagoda at the Sinboksa site, Gangneung, Gangwon-do





Plate 57. Three-storied stone pagoda at the Geodonsa site, Wonju, Gangwon-do





Plate 58. Three-storied stone pagoda at the Heungbeopsa site, Wonju, Gangwon-do



Plate 59. Three-storied stone pagoda of Dopiansa, Cheorwon, Gangwon-do



Plate 60. Nine-storied octagonal pagoda of Woljeongsa, Pyeongchang, Gangwon-do





Plate 61. Seven-storied pagoda of Naksansa, Yangyang, Gangwon-do



Plate 62. Three-storied pagoda of Sin'gyesa, Goseong, Gangwon-do





Plate 63. Three-storied stone pagoda of the Jangyeonsa site, Hoeyang, Gangwon-do





Plate 64. Three-storied stone pagoda of Jeongyangsa, Hoeyang, Gangwon-do



Plate 65. Pagoda of Yujeomsa, Goseong, Gangwon-do



Plate 66. Finial of the Yujeomsa Pagoda





Plate 67. Three-storied stone pagoda, Cheongyang-eup, Cheongyang, Chungcheongnam-do



Plate 68. Nine-storied pagoda, Seojeong-ri, Cheongyang, Chungcheongnam-do





Plate 69. Pagoda of Gwanchoksa, Nonsan, Chungcheongnam-do





Plate 70. Seven-storied stone pagoda, Tapjeong-ri, Chungju, Chungcheongbuk-do



Plate 71. Three-storied stone pagoda of Beomeosa, Dongnae, Gyeongsangnam-do



Plate 72. Three-storied stone pagoda of Tongdosa, Yangsan, Gyeongsangnam-do





Plate 73. Three-storied stone pagoda of Haeinsa, Hapcheon, Gyeongsangnam-do



Plate 74. Three-storied stone pagoda in front of Honghamun of Haeinsa, Hapcheon, Gyeongsangnam-do





Plate 75. East three-storied stone pagoda of the Namsan-ri temple site, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do





Plate 76. Three-storied stone pagoda, Seoak-ri, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do



Plate 77. Seven-storied brick pagoda, Beopheung-dong, east of Andong-eup, Andong, Gyeongsangbuk-do



Plate 78. Five-storied brick pagoda, south of Andong-eup, Andong, Gyeongsangbuk-do





Plate 79. Five-storied brick pagoda, Jotap-dong, Iljik-myeon, Andong, Gyeongsangbuk-do



Plate 80. Three-storied stone pagoda, Gwandeok-dong, Uiseong, Gyeongsangbuk-do





Plate 81. Five-storied stone pagoda of the unidentified temple site below Bingsan, Uiseong, Gyeongsangbuk-do





Plate 82. Five-storied stone pagoda at the Jukjangsa site, Seonsan, Gyeongsangbuk-do



Plate 83. Three-storied stone pagoda, Naksan-dong, Seonsan, Gyeongsangbuk-do



Plate 84. Three-storied stone pagoda, Hwadal-ri, Sangju, Gyeongsangbuk-do





Plate 85. Three-storied stone pagoda of Bongamsa, Mun'gyeong, Gyeongsangbuk-do



Plate 86. Funerary pagoda of the National Preceptor Jijeung (*Jijeung guksa jeokjo ji tap*) of Bongamsa, Mun'gyeong, Gyeongsangbuk-do





Plate 87. Funerary pagoda of the Great Master Jeongjin (*Jeongjin daesa wono ji tap*), Bongamsa, Mun'gyeong, Gyeongsangbuk-do





**Plate 88.** Three-storied stone pagoda at the ruins of a temple site, Baekjeon-dong, Yecheon, Gyeongsangbuk-do



Plate 89. Five-storied stone pagoda at the Gaesimsa site, Yecheon, Gyeongsangbuk-do



Plate 90. West three-storied stone pagoda at Geumgdangam of Donghwasa, Dalseong, Gyeongsangbuk-do





Plate 91. East three-storied stone pagoda at Geungdangam of Donghwasan, Dalseong, Gyeongsangbuk-do



Plate 92. Three-storied stone pagoda at Biroam of Donghwasa, Dalseong, Gyeongsangbuk-do





Plate 93. Three-storied stone pagoda, Sinwol-dong, Yeongcheon, Gyeongsangbuk-do





Plate 94. East three-storied stone pagoda (right) and west three-storied stone pagoda (left) of Unmunsa, Cheongdo, Gyeongsangbuk-do



Plate 95. Three-storied stone pagoda of the Beopsusa site, Seongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do





Plate 96. West five-storied stone pagoda, Gwangju, Jeollanam-do



Plate 97. East five-storied stone pagoda, Gwangju, Jeollanam-do



Plate 98. East five-storied stone pagoda of Hwaecomsa, Gurye, Jeollanam-do





Plate 99. West five-storied pagoda of Hwaecomsa, Gurye, Jeollanam-do





Plate 100. Three-storied pagodas of Borimsa: south pagoda (left) and north pagoda (right), Jangheung, Jeollanam-do







Plate 101. Pagoda of Muwigapsa, Gangjin, Jeollanam-do



Plate 102. Pagoda of Dogapsa, Yeongam, Jeollanam-do





Plate 103. Funerary pagoda of the Seon Master Cheolgam (*Cheolgam seonsa jingso ji tap*, before restoration) on Ssangbongsan, Hwasun, Jeollanam-do



Plate 104. Funerary pagoda of the Seon Master Cheolgam (*Cheolgam seonsa jingso ji tap*, after restoration) on Ssangbongsan, Hwasun, Jeollanam-do





Plate 105. Funerary pagoda of the National Preceptor Bojo (*Buril Bojo guksa gamno tap*) of Songgwangsa, Suncheon, Jeollanam-do



Plate 106. Five-storied stone pagoda at the unidentified temple site, Wanggung-ri, Iksan, Jeollabuk-do





Plate 107. Five-storied stone pagoda located next to the Binggo (Ice Storage), Haeju, Hwanghae-do.



Plate 108. Seven-storied stone pagoda of Gangseosa, Yeonbaek, Hwanghae-do



Plate 109. Five-storyed stone pagoda of Seongbulsu, Hwangju, Hwanghae-do

Plate 110. Detail of the pedestal of the five-storyed pagoda of Seongbulsu, Hwangju, Hwanghae-do





Plate 111. Five-storied stone pagoda of the Gwangjosa site, Byeokseong, Hwanghae-do





Plate 112. Five-storied octagonal pagoda of Yeongmyeongsa, Pyeongyang, Pyeongannam-do



Plate 113. Five-storied stone pagoda of the ruins of Yulsa, Daedong. [Currently at] Okura Shukokan, Tokyo





Plate 114. Seven-storied hexagonal stone pagoda of the ruins of Won'gwangsa. Pyeongyang Prefectural Museum



Plate 115. Nine-storied stone pagoda of Bohyeonsa, Yeongbyeon, Pyeonganbuk-do





Plate 116. Thirteen-storied octagonal pagoda of Bohyeonsa, Yeongbyeon, Pyeonganbuk-do



## Index

Note: Page numbers in boldface type refer to illustrations. Page numbers with “an” indicate author’s original notes, while those with “tn” refers to translator’s notes.

### Temples and Pagodas

#### A

- Abyusa, 64, 216tn139
- Anheungsa, 62, **389**
- Anyangsa (seven-storied brick pagoda),  
127, 130, 261an1, 270tn43, 271tn47

#### B

- Baeban-ri temple site, 173
- Backjangam (three-storied stone  
pagoda), 179, 296tn89
- Backseoksa, 55
- Baektap-dong (brick pagoda), 127
- Ballyongsa, 42, 45–46
- Barhut Stūpa, 116
- Beomnimsa (five-storied brick pagoda),  
122, 124, 129
- Beomnimsa (Gyeongju), 122, 248tn31
- Beomnyusa, 63
- Beopgwangsa, 62
- Beopheungsa site (seven-storied brick  
pagoda), 122, 124, 129–130, 161, 177
- Beopjusa (Palsangjeon), 107, 109–110,  
116, 148–149, 252tn55, 260tn97, **337**
- Bingsansa site (five-storied pagoda),  
183–184
- Bogwangsa, 55
- Bohyeonsa, **85**, 86, **452**

- Bojesa, 108, 253tn66, 253tn68
- Bomunsa site (east and west pagodas),  
105–106, 141, 218tn151, 234an1,  
250tn46
- Bonggi-dong temple site (five-storied  
pagoda), 167, **351**
- Bongjeongam, 86
- Botongwon, 111–112
- Bugaesa, 62
- Bulguksa (Dabotap), 78, 178–179, **369**
- Bulguksa (Seokgatap), 25tn39, 78, 166,  
175, **349**
- Bunhwangsa (pagoda), 63, 77, 113–115,  
120–121, 128, 142, 147–149,  
153–160, 169, 181, 186, 217tn147,  
218tn151, 224tn194, 256tn85,  
257tn88, 264tn9, 282an2, **341**
- Burilsa site (pagoda), 186, 297tn98
- Buryeongsa (brick pagoda), 125–126,  
130, 268tn33
- Buseoksa, 79, **363**

#### C

- Cheon’gun-ri temple site (three-storied  
pagoda), 203tn39, 218tn151
- Cheongnyongsa, 56
- Cheonjusa, 67, 96, 213tn103, 219tn159.

See also Nae Jeseokgung

Cheonseonwon, 108

Cheonwangsa, 80

Chiraksa, 55

Chogaesa, 64

Chwiseonsa, 126

Ci'en Temple (Great Wild Goose  
Pagoda), 120

## D

Daebosan (stone pagoda), 46–47, 80,  
140. See also Yeongtapsa

Daehwasa (pagoda), 64, 72, 77, 85,  
216tn138

Daeseungsa, of Goguryeo, 46

Daeseungsa, of Silla, 61

Daetongsa, 52–53

Daewonsa, 46

Dasolsa, 117

Docheonsa, 58

Dojungsa, 63

Dongbangsa site, 161

Dongchuksa, 61, 70

Donghwasa, 86, 426, 427, 428

Dongnam-ri temple site, 56, 60, 79

Doyangsa, 55, 80

## G

Gaeguksa (pagoda), 111, 235an2,  
252tn62

Gaegyeong (seven-storied pagoda), 89,  
107, 231tn47

Gaesimsa site (five-storied pagoda), 173,  
174, 425

Gaewonsa, 46

Galhangsa (twin pagodas), 170–172,  
354, 355

Gameunsa (twin pagodas), 80, 97,  
157–165, 167, 181

Gasilsa, 62

Gatap-ri temple site, 56

Gayasa, 133

Geonbongsa, 86

Geumdongsa, 46

Geumgangs (pagoda), 80, 96, 104,  
197an2

Geumgoksa, 61

Geumgwangsa, 63, 77, 171–172,  
244tn21, 284an6

Geumjangam site, 181

Geumsansa, 186, 187, 374, 375, 376, 377

Giran-myeon (brick pagoda), 123,  
267tn23

Girimsa (three-storied pagoda), 97–98,  
105, 141

Giwonsa, 61

Goransa, 56

Goseonsa site (pagoda), 157–165,  
167–169, 181–182, 292tn45, 343

Guhwang-ri temple site (brick pagoda),  
120

Gunsu-ri temple site (wooden pagoda),  
14, 56, 58, 59

Gyeongcheonsa (pagoda), 102

Gyeongnyongsa, 56

## H

Hangsasa, 62

Hari-dong (three-storied pagoda), 182

Hasedera, 78

Heungcheonsa, 115, 237an3, 258tn91,  
258tn93

Heungnyunsa, of Baekje, 52–54

Heungnyunsa, of Silla, 54, 60, 65–67,  
82–83, 96, 217tn146, 217tn147,  
218tn148, 218tn151

Heungwangsa (pagoda), 111, 137–138,  
253tn73

Hoamsa, 55  
 Hoeamsa, 116, 258tn94  
 Hogleya (Pasa Stone Pagoda), 140,  
     280an1  
 Hokkiji, 113, 256tn84  
 Hongboksa, 64  
 Hōryūji, 113, 162, 221tn179, 255tn83,  
     293tn53  
 Hwaomsa, 88, 173, **174**, 179, 181, 434,  
     435  
 Hwangboksa site (three-storied pagoda),  
     165–168, 173  
 Hwangnyongsa (Nine-Storied Pagoda),  
     10, 60–61, 68–76, 81, 83–86, 89,  
     91, 96–98, 104, 107, 141, 198an3,  
     212tn93, 212tn94, 216tn138,  
     217tn147, 218tn151, 221tn180,  
     224tn194, 239tn4, 240tn5, 241tn7  
 Hwangnyongsa site (three-storied  
     pagoda), 166  
 Hyangseongsa site (three-storied  
     pagoda), 167, **168**, **358**  
 Hyesuksa, 62

## I

Ibullansa, 40, 45–46  
 Iljik-myeon (brick-imitation pagoda),  
     122, 126, **415**. See also Jotap-dong  
     (brick pagoda)

## J

Jachusa, 64, 216tn144  
 Jagapsa (five-storied yellow pagoda),  
     124–125, 137, 268tn31  
 Jangansa, 132, 273an1  
 Jangnaksa, 133  
 Jangsusa (three-storied pagoda), 166  
 Janghang-ri (five-storied pagodas), 167,  
     169, **170**, 177, 294tn64, **347**

Jeongamsa, 64, 86, 216tn134  
 Jeonghyesa (three-storied pagoda), 104,  
     179, 250tn43, **370**  
 Jeongnimsa site (pagoda), see Pyeongje  
     Pagoda  
 Jeonggaksa, 56  
 Jeseogwon, 237an2  
 Jianfu Temple (Small Wild Goose  
     Pagoda), 120  
 Jillyangsa, 62  
 Jin'gusa, 46  
 Jin'gwansa (nine-storied pagoda), 111,  
     237an2  
 Jotap-dong (five-storied brick pagoda),  
     122, 126, **415**  
 Jungdaesa, 46  
 Junggwangsa (pagoda), 111  
 Jungheungsa (nine-storied pagoda),  
     107–108, 235an2  
 Jukjangsa site (pagoda), 129, 181, **418**  
 Jurisa site, 181

## K

Kairyūōji, 132  
 Kanishka Stūpa, 138, 261tn2  
 Konpon daitō, 179, 296tn85

## M

Magoksa (pagoda), 133, **134**  
 Manboksa site (five-storied pagoda),  
     111–113, 254tn82  
 Mangdeoksa site (east and west pagodas),  
     80, 98–106, 141, 203tn39, 218tn151,  
     234an1, 249tn33, 249tn34, 249tn35,  
     249tn36, 250tn45  
 Manseon doryang, 63  
 Mincheonsa, 111–112, 116  
 Mireuksa site (stone pagoda), 8, 9,  
     14–15, 28tn64, 54, **57**, 58–60,

76, 80, 104, 140, 144–169, 184,  
206tn64, 211tn85, 281an2, 288tn18,  
292tn42, **339**  
Mitasa, 62, 136  
Mujangsa site, 173  
Muryangsa, 58, 136  
Musintap, 127  
Myeongjang-ri temple site (three-storied  
pagoda), 167, **356**

**N**

Nae Jeseokgung (pagoda), 61. See also  
Cheonjusa  
Naksan-dong temple site (three-storied  
pagoda), 129, 182, **419**  
Naksansa, 133, **397**  
Nam Bohyeonsa (wooden pagoda), 132  
Namhu-myeon (brick pagoda), 123  
Namsan ji sa, 61  
Namsan-ri temple site (three-storied  
pagoda), 166, 182, **411**  
Nawon-ri temple site (pagoda), 153,  
164–165, 181, **345**  
nine temples (Pyeongyang), 45–46  
Noeunsa, 56

**O**

O'cosa, see Hangsasa  
Oe-ri temple site, 56, 120, 263tn8  
Ogeumsa, 55  
Ohoesa, 55  
Okjeonggok temple site (three-storied  
pagoda), 166

**P**

Pyeongje Pagoda, 8–9, 15, 56, 58, 60,  
140–165, 209tn79, 243tn20, 282an2,  
288tn15, 288tn18, **340**

**S**

Sacheonwangsa site (east and west  
pagodas), 80, 86, 98–101, 104, 106,  
120, 122, 126, 8–178, 202tn39,  
234an1, 243tn17, 243tn18, 245tn25,  
246tn26, 247tn29  
Saenguisa, 63  
Sajabinsinsa site (pagoda), 181  
Sajasan (stone pagoda), 86  
Samnangsa, 61, 126, 214tn108  
Samsuam (wooden pagoda), 117,  
238an5  
Sango-ri temple site, 51, 96, 115, 196an2  
Sangju (pagoda with a stone core and  
earthen sheath), 130–131  
Sarasa, 64  
Seoak-ri (brick-imitation pagoda), 129,  
182  
Seogyeong (nine-storied pagoda), 89, 107  
Seohyeolsa, 52, 54, 206tn60  
Seokjangsa (miniature brick pagoda), 63,  
121–122, 132, 215tn125, 274tn3  
Seongmunsa, 40, 45–46  
Seoknamwon, see Jeongamsa  
Shentong Temple (Simenta), 119,  
262tn4, 265tn9  
Shitennōji, 58, 82, 113, 211tn84  
Siljesa, 61, 68  
Silleuksa (multi-storied pagoda), 126,  
269tn39, **390**  
Silsangsa, see Baekjangam  
Sinse-dong (seven-storied brick pagoda),  
see Beopheungsa  
Sinwonsa, 61  
Songnimsa (five-storied brick pagoda),  
122, 267tn21  
Ssangbongsa (three-storied pavilion),  
106, 141, **142**,  
Sudeoksa, 56

Sudasa, 64  
 Suljeong-ri (three-storied pagoda), 167,  
**350**  
 Sungboksä, 86  
 Sungsansa, 237an2  
 Suwonsa, 52, 54, 205tn59

## T

Tapjeong-ri (seven-storied pagoda), 153,  
 164, 166, **406**  
 Tongdosa (Diamond Ordination  
 Platform), 63, 72, 83, 85, **184**,  
 185–186, **337**

## U

Uigongsa site (pagoda), see Dongbangsa  
 site  
 Uiseong Pagoda, 129, 146–147, 149,  
 153, 156–164, 169, 184–185,  
 260tn98  
 Unjusa, 182  
 Unmunsa, 124–125, 268tn31, 268tn32,  
**430**

## W

Wanggyungpyeong (pagoda), 152, 157,  
 161, 163, 184, 282an2, 290tn33,  
 291tn34, 291tn38, **443**  
 Wangheungsa, 55, 207tn67  
 Wangnyunsa, 108  
 Woljeongsa (octagonal nine-storied

stone pagoda), 86, 133, **396**  
 Wolnamsa site (three-storied pagoda), 182  
 Won'gaksa site (pagoda), 102, **103**  
 Wonnyeongsa, 63  
 Wonwonsa site (three-storied pagoda),  
 167, 170–171, 177, 294tn63, **352**,  
**353**

## Y

Yeonboksä (five-storied pagoda), 90–91,  
 108, 110, 113, 231tn42  
 Yeongchwisä, 64  
 Yeongheungsa, 60, 67, 212tn90,  
 217tn147  
 Yeongmisa, 62  
 Yeongmyosa, 63, 77, 96, 122, 215tn122,  
 217tn147  
 Yeongmyeongsa (five-storied pagoda),  
 51, **448**  
 Yeon'gusa, 46  
 Yeongtapsa (stone pagoda), 46–48, 96,  
 140  
 Yongjanggye (three-storied pagoda), 182  
 Yongmunsa, 51  
 Yongyeonsa, 86  
 Yugwangtap, 46–48, 80, 96, 131,  
 201tn33  
 Yujeomsa, 133, **401**, **402**  
 Yumasa, 46

## Names and Others

## A

Abiji, 72, 81  
 Ado, 40, 65, 191an1, 217tn147,  
 218tn148, 280an1

Ai, Emperor, 39  
 Anham, 63, 218tn148  
 Anhye, 171  
 Anseung, King, 153–154, 282an2



Arimitsu Kyōichi, 263tn8, 272tn50  
 Aśoka, King, 47, 70, 188tn1, 196an1,  
 201tn33, 259tn95

## B

Baekje: building of Buddhist temples,  
 52–60; introduction of Buddhism to,  
 39–40  
*Beishi*, 42, 80, 195tn19  
 Bak Sulhui, 88, 229tn30, 229tn31  
 Bak Yeomchok, see Ichadon  
*beopsin sari*, 37, 190tn15  
 Beopheung, King, 39–40, 42, 54, 60,  
 64–65  
*bibo*, 86, 91, 232tn57  
 Bodeok, monk, 42, 45–48, 200tn14  
 Bodeok, kingdom, 153–155, 282an2  
*Bukkyō daijiten*, 35

## C

Cai Yin, 44  
*caitya*, 12, 35–37, 77  
 Changnyeongguk, 123  
 Chalju gi, 10, 27tn52, 72, 221tn180,  
 Choe Seungro, 92–93, 231tn47,  
 231tn48, 232tn56  
 Choe Yeongjin, 173  
 Cheolgam, 106, 251tn53, **440**, **441**  
 Chimnyu, King, 39, 52  
*Chōsen jisatsu shiryō*, 95, 185, 233tn61,  
 296tn97  
*Chōsen koseki zūfu*, 4, 6, 23tn22, 131,  
 245tn25, 281an2, 284an3, 284an4

## D

*Da Tang xiyu ji*, 35, 139, 188tn4,  
 238an4, 261tn2  
 diamond seat, 175  
*Dongguk yeoji seungnam*, 45, 49, 54, 90,

112, 123, 127, 133, 154, 155, 200tn12,  
 261an1, 266tn19, 281an1, 282an2  
*Dongguk Yi sangguk jip*, 45, 200tn14  
 Doseon, 87–88, 90, 92, 94–95,  
 219tn166, 231tn46, 232tn57  
 Dae Dang pyeong Baekjeguk bi, 140,  
 209tn79, 243tn20  
*Dari jing shu*, 36, 176, 189tn10  
*Dongdo seongnip gi*, 73, 223tn185  
*Donggyeong japgi*, 62, 67, 69, 198an3,  
 214tn118, 285an6  
 Donghak, see Marananta  
 dung pagoda, 139

## E

earthen pagoda, 47, 273an2

## F

*Fahua wenju ji*, 36  
*Fahua yi shu*, 37  
*Fanyu zaming*, 35  
 Faxian, 119  
*Flower Garland Sūtra*, 79, 231tn43  
 Four Heavenly Kings, 100, 171–172,  
 175, 186, 243tn17, 247tn29,  
 266tn18, 296tn89  
 four heavenly pillars, 98, 100, 116,  
 243tn13  
 Fujishima Gaijirō, 6, **57**, 67, 77, 97–98,  
 100–101, 104–106, 110, 113–114,  
 123, 218tn151, 234an1, 241tn7,  
 246tn26, 251tn46, 264tn9, 283an2,  
 284an3, 285an6, 289an27, 294tn63

## G

Gakdeok, 82–83  
 Gandhāra, 38, 190tn16, 270tn40  
*Gaoli tujing*, 109, 253tn65  
*Gaoseng zhuan*, 39, 44, 193tn9

geomancy, 87, 91, 175  
 gilt-bronze pagoda, 139  
 Gim Busik, 92, 191tn1  
 Gim Inmun, 98, 243tn19  
 Gim Suljong, 171  
 Gim Suon, 116, 123  
 Gim Uiwon, 171  
 Gim Yangdo, 98, 243tn20  
 Gim Yusin, 171, 243tn19, 243tn20  
 Godoryeong, 65  
 Goguryeo: building of Buddhist temples,  
     44–52; introduction of Buddhism to,  
     39–40  
 golden pagoda, 133, 137, 254tn73  
 Goryeo *cheok*, 222tn181, 240tn4, 240tn5  
*Goryeosa*, 74, 89, 92, 107–108, 112,  
     137–138  
*Goryeosa jeoryo*, 74, 223tn188  
 Gu Yin, 102, 250tn40  
 Gwangyu, 97, 242tn10  
 Gwon Geun, 90, 230tn39, 258tn91  
 Gyeomik, 52, 53, 204tn51

## H

*Haedong goseung jeon*, 44, 199tn4  
 Hashimoto Gyōin, 77, 224tn202  
 Hyegong, 62, 218tn148  
 Hyesuk, 62, 136, 218tn148  
 Honggye, 66  
 Honggyeong, 237an2

## I

Ichadon, 42, 194tn17, 216tn144,  
     218tn148  
 Imanishi Ryū, 282an2  
 Iryeon, 89, 193tn10, 196an1, 206tn64,  
     208tn67, 221tn180, 245tn23, 274tn3

## J

jade pagoda, 132  
 Jajang, 63–64, 69, 71–72, 76, 83,  
     85–86, 117, 184–185, 218tn148,  
     222tn182, 244tn21  
*jejeo*, 36  
 Jeonghwa, 66  
*jehangri*, 35  
*jije*, 35–37  
 Jihye, 62  
 Jinja, 52, 54  
*Joseon Bulgyo tongsa*, 53, 55, 86, 196an1,  
     204tn54

## K

Kōbō-Daishi, 179

## L

Longmen, grottoes, 78, 118  
*Lotus Sūtra*, 16, 78, 178, 190tn15,  
     225tn204, 256tn84, 286tn1

## M

*Mahāsāṃghika-vinaya*, 119, 179, 273an3  
*Mohe sengji lü*, 36  
 Mahura, 237an2  
 Mālananda 40, 52  
 Myeongnang, 63, 98, 170–172,  
     244tn21, 285an6  
 Myōren, 122, 266tn17  
 Morye, 40  
*Miaofa lianhua jing*, see *Lotus Sūtra*  
 Mukhoja, 40, 194tn13  
 Munduru, 86, 99, 171–172, 244tn21,  
     244tn23, 246tn26

## N

Nam Hyo-on, 273an1  
*Nanhai jigui zhuan*, 36, 189tn12

Nangji, 64

*Nihon shoki*, 52, 81–82, 204tn49

*Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, 47, 202tn35

Nose Ushizō, 173, 285an7, 285an8,  
294tn63

## O

Ōsaka Gintarō, 214tn108, 215tn125,  
284an6, 287tn6

## P

*palgak wondang*, 48–49, 50, 202tn38

Palgwanhoe, 71, 220tn175

## R

Relics: enshrinement of, 110–111,  
115–117, 128, 184–185, 230tn41,  
236an2, 237an3; division of, 85,  
208tn67; notion of, 189tn6; presence  
of, 35–37; transformation body,  
228tn24; transmission of, 81–86; true  
body, 117, 196, 228tn23

## S

*Sanbao gantong lu*, 47, 196an1, 201tn28,  
201tn33

Sarigak(jeon), 116, 238an4, 258tn93

Saengui, 63

sand pagoda, 139

Sekino Tadashi, 3–4, 6, 120, 152,  
264tn9, 272tn51, 281an2

Seondeok, Queen, 60, 63–64, 69,  
71–73, 76, 83, 97–98, 113, 121, 154,  
185, 215tn122, 243tn17

Seongmyeong, King, 52, 80

Seven Sites of Buddhist Temples, 65, 69,  
214tn122, 217tn147

seven-jeweled pagoda, 139, 286tn1

Shooting Arrows at the Zither Case, 41, 67

Silla: building of Buddhist temples,  
60–76; introduction of Buddhism to,  
39–42; ten saints of, 66, 218tn148;  
three treasures of, 73, 223tn183

Sindeok, Queen, 115, 237an3

Sinin, secret teaching of, 172

Sosurim, King, 39–40, 44–45

Sundo, 40, 44–45

Suryeonggung, 111

## T

Taejo, King (Goryeo), 88–89, 91–93,  
107–109, 111–112, 115, 125, 127,  
229tn29, 229tn31, 235an2, 261an1

Taejo, King (Joseon), 116, 238an3,  
258tn94

temple with twin pagodas, 77, 98, 163

Ten Injunctions, 88, 92, 108, 229tn31

Twelve Zodiac Animal Deities, 171–173,  
175, 177

## U

Uisang, 79, 84–85, 98, 218tn148,  
226tn2

## W

Wonan, 62

Won'gwang, 61–62, 125

Wonhyo, 62, 64, 160, 164, 218tn148,  
268tn33, 293tn56

## X

*Xingshi chao*, 36

*Xinluo guo ji*, 102, 250tn40

*Xu gaoseng zhuan*, 64, 216tn140

## Y

Yangji, 63, 100, 121–122, 132, 178,  
215tn125, 248tn31

Yeomsang, Master 123–124  
 Yi Neunghwa, 53, 55, 86, 204tn54  
 Yi Pilyeong, 67  
 Yi Saek, 112, 254tn80, 258tn94  
 Yi Sungin, 127, 270tn44  
 Yixing, Meditation Master, 87, 94  
 Yoneda Miyoji, 49, 202tn39, 284an2  
 Yue Penggui, 99

Yungang, grottoes, 78, 118, 225tn204  
 Yun Jil, 237an2

## Z

Zhidun Daolin, 39  
 Zhuqian, 39  
*Zonglun lun shu ji*, 36

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