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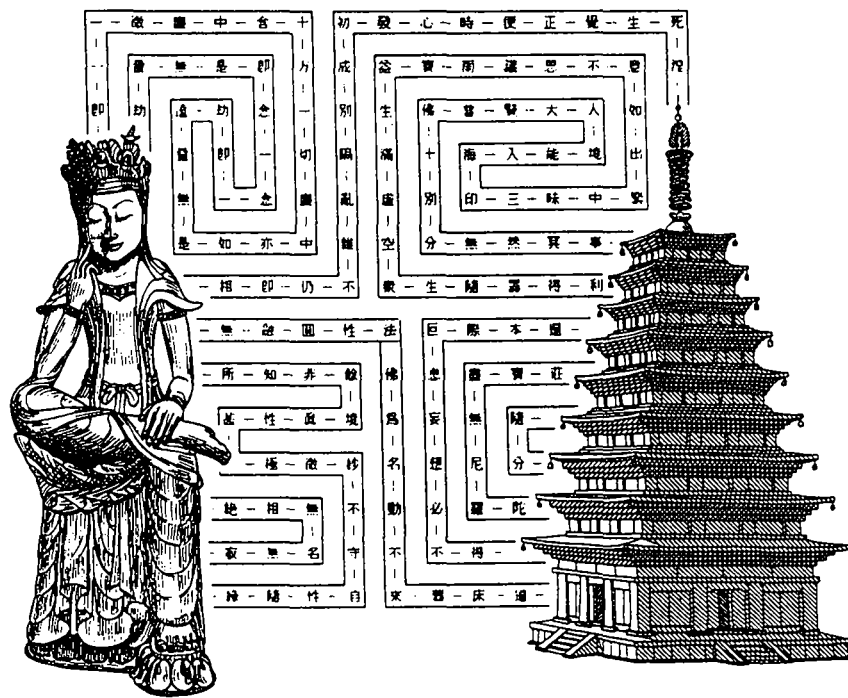
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# THE BUDDHIST ARCHITECTURE OF THE THREE KINGDOMS PERIOD IN KOREA

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# THE BUDDHIST ARCHITECTURE OF THE THREE KINGDOMS PERIOD IN KOREA

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in memory of Professor Frédéric AUBRY



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**ABSTRACT**

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In recent decades, East and South-East Asia have become both politically and economically significant for the West and it is no longer possible to ignore the history and culture of this large portion of the world's population. Advanced studies on the various aspects of the rich heritage of these civilisations will contribute to a better understanding of the aspirations and strength of these countries as well of their cultural and historical antecedents and social limitations.

The achievements of Korean civilisation are still largely unknown in the West and Korean Buddhist architecture is no exception to this rule. The present thesis discusses the earliest evidence of Buddhist architecture on the Korean peninsula and thus tries to establish a basis on which future studies on Korean architecture can be built. The discussions of the relationship between the Buddhist architecture of the Korean peninsula and that of the Chinese mainland and the Japanese archipelago lead to a reappraisal of the place of early Korean Buddhist architecture in the history of world architecture on an equal footing with that of China and Japan.

The thesis is divided into five chapters, the first of which introduces the history and culture of Korea before the introduction of Buddhism. The second to fourth chapters present the historical and material evidence of Buddhist architecture in the early Korean kingdoms of Ko-gu-ryō (Chapters 2.1 and 2.2.), Bæk-che (Chapters 3.1. and 3.2.) and Ka-ya and Ancient Sin-la (Chapters 4.1. and 4.2.). The characteristics of the various traditions and their relationships to China and Japan are explored in the last part of each chapter (Chapters 2.3., 3.3. and 4.2.). The time scale of the study stretches from the introduction of Buddhism into Ko-gu-ryō in the late fourth century AD to the unification of the larger portion of the peninsula by Sin-la in the middle of the seventh century AD. This period of Korean history is commonly called the 'Three Kingdoms' period in spite of the fact that until the middle of the sixth century four political entities shared the Korean peninsula. The conclusions form the fifth chapter which includes a summary of the main results (Chapter 5.1.), a comparison of the Buddhist architectures of the Korean Three Kingdoms period (Chapter 5.2.), discussions of the 'archetypes' of East Asian Buddhist architecture and the development of the temple layout types in Korea (Chapter 5.3. and 5.4.), as well as an assessment of the various influences on the development of temple layouts and Buddhist architecture in Korea (Chapter 5.5.).

The main results of the study are as follows. The Buddhist architectural traditions of Ko-gu-ryō and Bæk-che were directly introduced from the Chinese mainland. While many typical Chinese architectural elements were shared by the Buddhist architectures of both these Korean kingdoms (site selection, polar organisation, wooden skeleton structure, tile roofs, etc.), the differences of temple layout and of building types of the central pagodas indicate that the Buddhist architectures of the two kingdoms originated from different Buddhist architectural traditions in China (possibly a 'northern' and a 'southern' tradition ?). The Buddhist architectures of Ancient Sin-la and early Japan, however, represent a later stage of development which can be characterized by a combination of elements of various traditions including those of Ko-gu-ryō and Bæk-che, and possibly some additional Chinese ones which are still largely unknown. A survey of the main developments of the Buddhist architecture of Korea in later periods would show that many of them can be traced back to the Three Kingdoms period. Such elements are the 'courtyard-centred' temple layout of the 'mountain temples' of the Cho-sŏn period (1392 - 1910 AD) and the 'miniature' stone and brick pagodas which were particularly popular in the Unified Sin-la period (668 - 935 AD). Three 'spheres of influence' have contributed to the development of Korean Buddhist architecture: Indian Buddhism has provided the religious and philosophical doctrines, the monastic order and a large part of the iconography; Chinese civilisation has contributed its social and ethical system, the 'courtyard architecture' and the wooden construction system with tile roofs; the local Korean culture, by filtering and developing these influences and by combining them with typical Korean elements, succeeded in creating an original architectural tradition which can be considered one of the most balanced in East Asia.

The study shows that Korean culture in general and its architecture in particular was already highly developed and featured a number of specifically 'Korean' characteristics by the end of the Three Kingdoms period in the early seventh centuries AD. The deep Chinese and Buddhist influences on the one hand and a constant effort to preserve cultural and political independence from China and Japan on the other hand are two of the most remarkable aspects of Korean civilisation. This double aspect of Korean culture is supplemented by a high degree of creativity in various fields of science and art in which Buddhist architecture occupies a prominent place.

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## RÉSUMÉ FRANÇAIS

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L'Extrême-Orient et l'Asie du Sud-Est sont devenus de plus en plus importants pendant les dernières décennies sur le plan politique et économique. Il est dès lors impossible de continuer à ignorer l'histoire et la culture de cette large proportion de la population mondiale. Des études poussées sur les divers aspects du riche héritage de ces civilisations contribueront à une meilleure compréhension tant des aspirations et des forces de ces pays que de leurs antécédents culturels et historiques et de leurs limitations sociales.

Le génie de la civilisation coréenne est toujours méconnu en Occident et l'architecture bouddhique de la Corée n'y fait pas exception. La présente thèse examine les premières traces de l'architecture bouddhique dans la péninsule coréenne et tente d'établir une base sur laquelle des études ultérieures pourraient être construites. L'étude des relations entre l'architecture bouddhique de la péninsule coréenne et celles du continent chinois et de l'archipel japonais mènent à une réévaluation de la place qu'occupe l'architecture bouddhique primitive de la Corée dans l'histoire de l'architecture mondiale, en la mettant à égalité avec celle de la Chine et du Japon.

La présente thèse est divisée en cinq chapitres, dont le premier résume l'histoire et la culture de la Corée avant l'arrivée du bouddhisme. Les trois chapitres suivants présentent les données historiques et matérielles de l'architecture bouddhique des royaumes primitifs coréens de Ko-gu-ryō (chapitres 2.1. et 2.2.), Bæk-che (chapitres 3.1. et 3.2.) ainsi que de Ka-ya et Sin-la Ancien (chapitres 4.1. et 4.2.). Les caractéristiques des différentes traditions et leurs relations avec la Chine et le Japon sont explorées dans la dernière partie de chaque chapitre (chapitres 2.3., 3.3. et 4.2.). Le cadre historique englobe les périodes depuis l'introduction du bouddhisme au Ko-gu-ryō à la fin du quatrième siècle de notre ère jusqu'à l'unification de la plus grande partie de la péninsule coréenne par Sin-la au milieu du septième siècle. Cette période est généralement connue sous le nom de 'Trois Royaumes' quoique la péninsule coréenne fut divisée en quatre entités politiques jusqu'au milieu du sixième siècle. La conclusion forme le cinquième chapitre qui contient un résumé des principaux résultats (chapitre 5.1.), une comparaison des architectures des Trois Royaumes coréens (chapitre 5.2.), une étude sur les 'archétypes' de l'architecture bouddhique de l'Extrême-Orient et sur le développement des divers types de plans de situation des temples bouddhiques (chapitres 5.3. et 5.4.) ainsi qu'une évaluation des différentes influences sur le

développement des plans de situation des temples et de l'architecture bouddhique en Corée (chapitre 5.5.).

Les résultats principaux paraissent être les suivants: Les traditions architecturales bouddhiques de Ko-gu-ryō et de Bæk-che furent introduites directement du continent chinois. Alors que ces deux traditions partagèrent de nombreux éléments architecturaux typiquement chinois (sélection du site, organisation polaire, structure de bois en squelette, toiture à tuiles etc.), les différences des plans de situation des temples et les types de pagode centrale indiquent que ces architectures coréennes sont issues de deux traditions bouddhiques chinoises distinctes (peut-être une tradition 'du nord' et une 'du sud' ?). Les architectures bouddhiques de Sin-la Ancien et du Japon représentent une étape ultérieure du développement qui peut être caractérisée par la combinaison d'éléments venant de différentes traditions dont celles de Ko-gu-ryō et de Bæk-che, ainsi que peut-être de certaines traditions chinoises encore mal connues. L'examen des développements majeurs de l'architecture bouddhique coréenne postérieure relève que l'origine de la plupart d'entre eux remonte à la période des Trois Royaumes. Parmi ces éléments figurent les plans de situation des temples 'autour d'une cour' des 'temples de montagne' de la période Cho-sōn (1392 - 1910) ainsi que les pagodes 'miniatures' en pierre et parfois en brique qui sont devenues particulièrement populaires pendant la période Sin-la Unifié (668 - 935). Trois 'sphères d'influence' ont contribué au développement de l'architecture bouddhique coréenne: le bouddhisme indien a fourni les doctrines religieuses et philosophiques, l'ordre monastique et une grande partie de l'iconographie; la civilisation chinoise a apporté son système social et éthique, l'architecture avec des cours et ses systèmes de construction en bois avec des toitures en tuiles; la culture locale coréenne, en filtrant et en développant ces influences et en les combinant avec des éléments typiquement coréens, a su créer une tradition architecturale originale qui peut être considérée comme l'une des plus équilibrées de l'Extrême-Orient.

Cette étude montre que la culture coréenne en général et son architecture en particulier étaient déjà hautement développées et présentaient un certain nombre de caractéristiques particulières vers la fin de la période des Trois Royaumes coréens au début du septième siècle de notre ère. Les influences profondes de la Chine et du bouddhisme d'une part, et l'effort constant de la Corée pour préserver son indépendance culturelle et politique vis-à-vis de la Chine et du Japon d'autre part figurent parmi les aspects les plus remarquables de la civilisation coréenne. A ceci s'ajoute un haut degré de créativité dans plusieurs domaines scientifiques et artistiques au sein desquels l'architecture bouddhique occupe une place prééminente.

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**TABLE OF CONTENTS**


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<b>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....</b>	<b>page VII</b>
<b>ABSTRACT.....</b>	<b>IX</b>
<b>RÉSUMÉ FRANÇAIS.....</b>	<b>XI</b>
<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS.....</b>	<b>XIII</b>
<b>INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>XXIX</b>
--Personal motivations of the author.....	XXXI
--State of the research in the field.....	XXXII
--Scope of the study.....	XXXV
--Articulation and methodology.....	XXXVI
--Hypotheses.....	XXXVII
<b>APPENDIX TO THE INTRODUCTION:</b>	
<b>TRANSCRIPTIONS OF EAST ASIAN LANGUAGES.....</b>	<b>XXXIX</b>
<b>CHAPTER 1: PRE-BUDDHIST KOREA.....</b>	<b>page 1</b>
<b>1. PRE-BUDDHIST KOREA.....</b>	<b>3</b>
-- <b>1.1. THE POLITICAL HISTORY.....</b>	<b>4</b>
----1.1.1. DAN-GUN CHO-SŎN.....	4
----1.1.2. KI-CHA CHO-SŎN.....	6
----1.1.3. WI-MAN CHO-SŎN.....	8
----1.1.4. THE DONG-I.....	11
----1.1.5. THE HAN COMMANDERIES.....	14
----1.1.6. THE FOUNDING OF THE THREE KINGDOMS.....	16

--1.2. THE CULTURE AND ARCHITECTURE OF EARLY KOREA.....	19
----1.2.1. FROM THE PALEOLITHIC TO THE NEOLITHIC.....	19
----1.2.2. THE BRONZE AGE.....	23
-----1.2.2.1. Bronze Age architecture.....	26
-----1.2.2.2. Bronze Age spiritual culture.....	38
----1.2.3. THE EARLY IRON AGE.....	43
-----1.2.3.1. The architecture of the early Iron Age.....	45
 CHAPTER 2: KO-GU-RYŎ.....	 57
--2.1. THE HISTORY OF BUDDHISM OF KO-GU-RYŎ.....	59
----2.1.1. LEGENDARY TEMPLE FOUNDINGS.....	60
-----2.1.1.1. Yŏn-dŭng-sa.....	60
-----2.1.1.2. King Sŏng and the Yuk-wang-tab.....	62
 EXCURSUS 1: THE TOMB No. 3 AT AN-AK AND THE EARLIEST MATERIAL EVIDENCE OF BUDDHISM IN KOREA.....	 64
--Description of the tomb No. 3 at An-ak.....	66
--The inscription.....	71
--Outline of a structural and stylistic comparison.....	73
--Conclusions.....	85
----2.1.2. THE INTRODUCTION OF BUDDHISM INTO KO-GU-RYŎ.....	87
----2.1.3. EARLY TEMPLE FOUNDINGS.....	88
----2.1.4. BUDDHIST MONKS AND THEIR SCHOOLS.....	90
----2.1.5. TAOISM AND THE DOWNFALL OF KO-GU-RYŎ.....	92
----2.1.6. TEMPLE FOUNDINGS.....	94
-----2.1.6.1. Čhil-bul-sa.....	97
-----2.1.6.1. Yŏng-tab-sa.....	98
----2.1.6. BUDDHIST SCULPTURE.....	99

<b>--2.2. THE BUDDHIST ARCHITECTURE OF KO-GU-RYŎ.....</b>	<b>101</b>
----2.2.1. CHŎNG-RŬNG-SA.....	102
-----2.2.1.1. Geographical situation.....	102
-----2.2.1.2. Historical observations.....	104
-----2.2.1.3. Excavation results.....	105
-----2.2.1.3.1. The central section: the first courtyard.....	109
-----2.2.1.3.2. The central section: the second courtyard.....	112
-----2.2.1.3.3. The central section: the third and fourth courtyards.....	115
-----2.2.1.3.4. The lateral sections.....	118
-----2.2.1.3.5. The material remains.....	123
-----2.2.1.3.6. The reconstruction drawings and the recent reconstruction.....	125
----2.2.2. GŬM-GANG-SA.....	130
-----2.2.2.1. Geographical location and identity.....	130
-----2.2.2.2. The layout.....	132
-----2.2.2.3. The excavated structures.....	136
-----2.2.2.3.1. The octagonal pagoda.....	140
-----2.2.2.3.2. The northern image hall.....	144
-----2.2.2.3.3. The eastern and western image halls, the middle gate.....	146
-----2.2.2.3.4. The north-easternmost building.....	148
-----2.2.2.4. The material remains.....	149
-----2.2.2.5. Reconstruction drawing of the layout of Gŭm-gang-sa.....	150
----2.2.3. THE TEMPLE SITE AT SANG-O-RI.....	151
----2.2.4. THE TEMPLE SITE AT TO-SŎNG-RI.....	152
----2.2.5. THE TEMPLE SITE AT WŎN-O-RI.....	154
<b>--2.3. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE BUDDHIST ARCHITECTURE OF KO-GU-RYŎ.....</b>	<b>157</b>
---2.3.1. THE LAYOUT OF THE ROYALLY-SPONSORED TEMPLES... 158	
-----2.3.1.1. Topography and orientation.....	158
-----2.3.1.2. The layout of the Buddhist temples of Ko-gu-ryŏ.....	159
<b>EXCURSUS 2: THE LAYOUT DEVELOPMENT THEORY OF KIM SŎNG-U.....</b>	<b>161</b>

-----2.3.1.3. The relation to Chinese courtyard architecture.....	167
---2.3.2. BUILDING TYPES USED IN THE BUDDHIST ARCHITECTURE OF KO-GU-RYŎ.....	173
-----2.3.2.1. The pagoda.....	173
-----2.3.2.1.1. The early pagodas in China.....	180
-----2.3.2.1.2. The octagonal pagodas of Ko-gu-ryŏ.....	186
-----2.3.2.1.3. The questionable date of the hexagonal brick pagoda near Shenyang.....	190
-----2.3.2.2. The image halls of the Buddhist temples of Ko-gu-ryŏ.....	192
-----2.3.2.3. The questionable date of the flagpole supports of Chung-hŭng-sa.....	193
---2.3.3. CONSTRUCTION METHODS AND MATERIALS.....	195
-----2.3.3.1. The building forms.....	195
-----2.3.3.2. The foundations, the heating system and life style.....	201
-----2.3.3.3. The columns, the walls and the openings.....	204
-----2.3.3.4. The bracket sets.....	206
-----2.3.3.5. The roof construction.....	210
-----2.3.3.6. The roof covering and roof decorations.....	213
---2.3.4. CONCLUSIONS.....	215
 <b>CHAPTER 3: BÆK-CHE.....</b>	 219
 --3.1. THE HISTORY OF BUDDHISM OF BÆK-CHE.....	 221
----3.1.1. BUDDHISM IN THE HAN-SŎNG PERIOD (until 475 AD).....	223
-----3.1.1.1. Kwan-ŭm-sa: a legendary temple founding.....	223
-----3.1.1.2. The introduction of Buddhism and early temple founding.....	223
-----3.1.1.2.1. Kab-sa.....	225
-----3.1.1.2.2. Dæ-hŭng-sa.....	226
----3.1.2. BUDDHISM IN THE UNG-CHIN PERIOD (475 to 538 AD).....	228
-----3.1.2.1. Activities of the Buddhist community.....	228
-----3.1.2.2. Temple foundings.....	228
-----3.1.2.2.1. Gak-yŏn-sa.....	229
-----3.1.2.2.2. Dæ-tong-sa.....	231
-----3.1.2.2.3. Bi-ro-am.....	231



----3.1.3. BUDDHISM IN THE SA-BI PERIOD (from 538 to 660 AD).....	232
-----3.1.3.1. The sixth century AD.....	232
-----3.1.3.1.1. Activities of the Buddhist community.....	232
-----3.1.3.1.2. The introduction of Buddhism into Japan.....	233
-----3.1.3.1.3. Ordained nuns in early Korea.....	234
-----3.1.3.1.4. Temple foundings.....	235
-----3.1.3.1.4.1. Hwa-ö-m-sa.....	237
-----3.1.3.1.4.2. Nü-ŋ-sa.....	240
-----3.1.3.1.4.3. Sön-un-sa.....	241
-----3.1.3.1.4.4. O-hab-sa.....	242
-----3.1.3.1.4.5. Su-dök-sa.....	243
-----3.1.3.1.4.6. Bo-wön-sa.....	244
-----3.1.3.1.5. Buddhist arts in the early Sa-bi period.....	247
----3.1.3.2. The seventh century AD.....	251
-----3.1.3.2.1. Activities of the Buddhist community.....	251
-----3.1.3.2.2. Temple foundings.....	254
-----3.1.3.2.2.1. Wang-hü-ŋ-sa.....	258
-----3.1.3.2.2.2. Mi-rük-sa.....	259
-----3.1.3.2.2.3. Che-sök-sa and Kwan-kung-sa.....	262
-----3.1.3.2.3. Buddhist arts in the late Sa-bi period.....	247
--3.2. THE BUDDHIST ARCHITECTURE OF BÆK-CHE.....	265
----3.2.1. BUDDHIST ARCHITECTURE IN THE UNG-CHIN PERIOD (from 475 to 538 AD).....	266
-----3.2.1.1. DÆ-TONG-SA.....	266
-----3.2.1.1.1. The general layout.....	266
-----3.2.1.1.2. The flagpole supports of the Unified Sin-la period.....	268
-----3.2.1.1.3. The water basins.....	270
-----3.2.1.1.4. The material remains.....	271
-----3.2.1.1.5. Reconstruction drawing of the general layout.....	272
-----3.2.1.2. SÖ-HYÖL-SA, NAM-HYÖL-SA AND DONG-HYÖL-SA.....	274
-----3.2.1.2.1. Sö-hyöl-sa.....	274
-----3.2.1.2.2. Nam-hyöl-sa.....	276
-----3.2.1.2.3. Dong-hyöl-sa.....	276
-----3.2.1.3. OTHER BÆK-CHE TEMPLE SITES AROUND UNG-CHIN..	278

---3.2.2. BUDDHIST ARCHITECTURE IN THE EARLY SA-BI PERIOD (from 538 to 599 AD).....	281
----3.2.2.1. THE TEMPLE SITE AT GUN-SU-RI.....	281
-----3.2.2.1.1. The general layout.....	281
-----3.2.2.1.2. The buildings.....	283
-----3.2.2.1.2.1. The square wooden pagoda.....	285
-----3.2.2.1.2.2. The image hall.....	286
-----3.2.2.1.2.3. The lecture hall and the northern structure.....	288
-----3.2.2.1.2.4. The northern lateral structures.....	289
-----3.2.2.1.2.5. The galleries, the middle gate and the intermediate lateral structures.....	290
-----3.2.2.1.3. The material remains.....	291
----3.2.2.2. GŪM-GANG-SA.....	293
-----3.2.2.2.1. The general layout.....	293
-----3.2.2.2.2. The buildings.....	297
-----3.2.2.2.2.1. The middle gate.....	298
-----3.2.2.2.2.2. The square wooden pagoda.....	299
-----3.2.2.2.2.3. The image hall.....	302
-----3.2.2.2.2.4. The lecture hall.....	305
-----3.2.2.2.2.5. The galleries.....	306
-----3.2.2.2.2.6. The monks' cells and the corridor.....	307
-----3.2.2.2.3. The material remains.....	307
-----3.2.2.2.4. The reconstruction drawings.....	307
----3.2.2.3. CHŎNG-RIM-SA.....	323
-----3.2.2.3.1. Geographical situation and historical remarks.....	323
-----3.2.2.3.2. The general layout.....	326
-----3.2.2.3.3. The buildings.....	329
-----3.2.2.3.3.1. The lotus pond and the south gate.....	329
-----3.2.2.3.3.2. The middle gate.....	331
-----3.2.2.3.3.3. The 'miniature' stone pagoda.....	332
-----3.2.2.3.3.4. The image hall.....	336
-----3.2.2.3.3.5. The lecture hall.....	338
-----3.2.2.3.3.6. The galleries and the additional structures to the north-east.....	340
-----3.2.2.3.4. The material remains.....	342
-----3.2.2.3.5. The reconstruction of the lecture hall.....	344

---

-----3.2.2.4. NŨNG-SA.....	353
-----3.2.2.4.1. Location, topography and orientation.....	353
-----3.2.2.4.2. The layout and the buildings.....	354
-----3.2.2.4.2.1. The middle gate.....	360
-----3.2.2.4.2.2. The wooden pagoda.....	360
-----3.2.2.4.2.3. The image hall.....	366
-----3.2.2.4.2.4. The lecture hall.....	369
-----3.2.2.4.2.5. The secondary buildings.....	371
-----3.2.2.4.2.6. The galleries.....	374
-----3.2.2.4.3. The material remains.....	375
----3.2.2.5. THE YE-SAN TEMPLE SITE.....	376
----3.2.2.6. CHŌN-WANG-SA: TWO POSSIBLE SITES.....	378
----3.2.2.7. THE CONTROVERSIAL SITE AT DONG-NAM-RI.....	384
----3.2.2.7.1. The excavation of 1938: the general layout.....	384
----3.2.2.7.2. The buildings.....	386
----3.2.2.7.3. The excavation of 1993.....	388
----3.2.2.7.4. Comparison of the two excavations.....	389
----3.2.2.8. OTHER TEMPLE SITES AROUND BU-YŎ.....	391
---- <b>3.2.3. BUDDHIST ARCHITECTURE IN THE LATE SA-BI PERIOD (from 600 to 660 AD).....</b>	<b>392</b>
----3.2.3.1. WANG-HŨNG-SA.....	392
----3.2.3.2. SŎ-BOK-SA.....	393
----3.2.3.2.1. The general layout.....	395
----3.2.3.2.2. The buildings.....	398
----3.2.3.2.2.1. The south gate, middle gate and the front gallery.....	399
----3.2.3.2.2.2. The pagoda, the image hall and the lateral galleries.....	399
----3.2.3.2.3. The material remains.....	400
----3.2.3.3. MI-RŨK-SA.....	401
----3.2.3.3.1. State of the research.....	401
----3.2.3.3.2. The general layout.....	403
----3.2.3.3.3. The structures.....	409
----3.2.3.3.3.1. The central courtyard: middle gate.....	411
----3.2.3.3.3.2. The square pagoda.....	413

-----3.2.3.3.3. The central image hall.....	420
-----3.2.3.3.4. The stone lantern.....	427
-----3.2.3.3.5. The galleries.....	428
-----3.2.3.3.6. The eastern and western courtyards: the middle gates...	430
-----3.2.3.3.7. The square stone pagodas.....	431
-----3.2.3.3.7.1. The damaged western pagoda.....	432
-----3.2.3.3.7.1.1. The platform.....	434
-----3.2.3.3.7.1.2. The foundations.....	434
-----3.2.3.3.7.1.3. The ground plan.....	439
-----3.2.3.3.7.1.4. The interior structure.....	440
-----3.2.3.3.7.1.5. The faces of the ground level.....	441
-----3.2.3.3.7.1.6. The faces of the upper stories.....	442
-----3.2.3.3.7.1.7. The reconstruction drawings.....	442
-----3.2.3.3.7.2. The eastern pagoda: the platform and foundations..	451
-----3.2.3.3.7.3. The reconstruction of the eastern pagoda.....	451
-----3.2.3.3.8. The lateral image halls.....	463
-----3.2.3.3.9. The galleries.....	466
-----3.2.3.3.10. The courtyard of the lecture hall: the lateral dormitories.....	468
-----3.2.3.3.11. The lecture hall and its peripheral structures.....	470
-----3.2.3.3.12. The northern dormitories and additional structures of later periods.....	474
-----3.2.3.3.13. The southern courtyard and the flagpole supports of Unified Sin-la.....	476
-----3.2.3.4. The material remains.....	480
-----3.2.3.4.1. Roof tiles.....	480
-----3.2.3.4.2. Wall painting fragments.....	483
-----3.2.3.4.3. The wooden capital.....	483
-----3.2.3.4. KWAN-KUNG-SA.....	485
-----3.2.3.4.1. The general layout.....	485
-----3.2.3.4.2. The pagoda.....	487
-----3.2.3.4.3. The image hall.....	489
-----3.2.3.4.4. The lecture hall.....	493
-----3.2.3.5. CHE-SÖK-SA.....	494

<b>--3.3. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE BUDDHIST ARCHITECTURE OF BÆK-CHE.....</b>	<b>495</b>
<b>----3.3.1. LAYOUT OF THE ROYALLY-SPONSORED TEMPLES OF BÆK-CHE.....</b>	<b>496</b>
-----3.3.1.1. Topography and orientation.....	497
-----3.3.1.1.1. Mi-rük-sa.....	498
-----3.3.1.1.2. Dæ-tong-sa.....	501
-----3.3.1.1.3. Chõng-rim-sa.....	503
-----3.3.1.1.4. Sõ-bok-sa.....	506
<b>EXCURSUS 3: PUNG-SU CHI-RI or FENG SHUI.....</b>	<b>507</b>
-----3.3.1.2. The architectural organisation of the Buddhist temples of Bæk-che.....	519
-----3.3.1.2.1. Influences from China.....	521
-----3.3.1.2.2. Evidence of the 'Kudara-style' in Japan.....	532
<b>----3.3.2. BUILDING TYPES USED IN THE BUDDHIST ARCHITECTURE OF BÆK-CHE.....</b>	<b>542</b>
-----3.3.2.1. The square pagoda.....	542
-----3.3.2.1.1. The early square pagodas in China.....	542
-----3.3.2.1.2. The early square pagodas in Japan.....	559
-----3.3.2.1.2.1. The square wooden pagoda of Hõryū-ji.....	559
-----3.3.2.1.2.2. The square wooden pagoda of Hokki-ji.....	568
-----3.3.2.1.2.3. The ruined pagoda sites.....	574
-----3.3.2.1.3. The wooden pagoda in Bæk-che.....	575
-----3.3.2.1.4. The stone pagoda in Bæk-che.....	581
-----3.3.2.1.5. The question of other construction methods for pagodas in Bæk-che.....	585
-----3.3.2.2. The image hall.....	589
-----3.3.2.2.1. The image hall in Japan.....	589
-----3.3.2.2.2. The image hall in Bæk-che.....	597
-----3.3.2.3. The lecture hall.....	608
-----3.3.2.4. The gates and galleries.....	615
-----3.3.2.5. The dormitories and the question of the belfry and the <i>sūtra</i> repository.....	620
-----3.3.2.6. Other structures and the question of the refectories.....	624

----3.3.3. CONSTRUCTION METHODS AND MATERIALS.....	625
-----3.3.3.1. General building forms.....	625
-----3.3.3.2. The foundations, platforms and heating system.....	628
-----3.3.3.3. The columns, walls and openings.....	631
-----3.3.3.4. The bracket sets.....	632
-----3.3.3.5. The roof structure.....	644
-----3.3.3.6. The roof covering, balustrades and decorations.....	650
<b>CHAPTER 4: ANCIENT SIN-LA (&amp; KA-YA).....</b>	<b>655</b>
<b>--4.1. THE HISTORY OF BUDDHISM OF KA-YA AND ANCIENT SIN-LA.....</b>	<b>657</b>
<b>----4.1.1. THE HISTORY OF BUDDHISM IN THE KA-YA FEDERATION.....</b>	<b>658</b>
-----4.1.1.1. LEGENDS OF AN EARLY INTRODUCTION OF BUDDHISM INTO KAYA.....	659
-----4.1.1.1.1. Princess Hō Hwang-ok and Wang-hu-sa.....	659
-----4.1.1.1.2. Man-ō-sa and Čil-bul-am.....	660
-----4.1.1.1.3. Chang-yu Hwa-sang.....	663
-----4.1.1.2. TEMPLE FOUNDINGS.....	664
-----4.1.1.3. KA-YA MATERIAL EVIDENCE OF CONTACT WITH BUDDHISM.....	666
-----4.1.1.4. TRACES OF THE ARCHITECTURE OF KA-YA.....	668
-----4.1.1.5. CONCLUSIONS.....	668
<b>----4.1.2. THE HISTORY OF BUDDHISM OF ANCIENT SIN-LA.</b>	<b>670</b>
-----4.1.2.1. LEGENDS OF EARLY TEMPLE FOUNDINGS.....	671
-----4.1.2.1.1. Yu-chōm-sa.....	671
-----4.1.2.1.2. Bo-kyōng-sa.....	671

-----4.1.2.2. THE INTRODUCTION OF BUDDHISM INTO ANCIENT SIN-LA.....	673
-----4.1.2.2.1. Muk-ho-cha and his precursors.....	673
-----4.1.2.2.2. A-do and the seven cardinal temples.....	674
-----4.1.2.2.3. The martyrdom of I-cha-don and the founding of Cha-ču-sa.....	678
-----4.1.2.2.4. Early temple foundings.....	679
-----4.1.2.3. REIGN OF KING BÖB-HŬNG (r. 514 - 539 AD).....	681
-----4.1.2.4. REIGN OF KING CHIN-HŬNG (r. 540 - 575 AD).....	682
-----4.1.2.4.1. The Pung-wöl-do (var. Hwa-rang-do).....	683
-----4.1.2.4.2. Temple foundings.....	683
-----4.1.2.4.2.1. The founding of Hwang-ryong-sa and the casting of its Buddhist statues.....	685
-----4.1.2.4.2.2. The founding of BÖb-chu-sa, Yong-am-sa and Bo-sal-sa.....	687
-----4.1.2.4.2.3. The founding of Un-mun-sa and Dæ-bi-sa.....	688
-----4.1.2.5. REIGN OF KING CHIN-PYŎNG (r. 579 - 631 AD).....	689
-----4.1.2.5.1. Activities of famous monks.....	689
-----4.1.2.5.2. Temple foundings.....	691
-----4.1.2.5.2.1. Sin-sŏn-sa and the grotto of Gun-wi county with a Buddhist triad.....	693
-----4.1.2.5.2.1.1. The spatial characteristics of the grotto of Sin-sŏn-sa.....	693
-----4.1.2.5.2.1.2. The inscription and the reliefs.....	696
-----4.1.2.5.2.1.3. The modern protection structure.....	700
-----4.1.2.5.2.1.4. The grotto of Gun-wi county with a Buddhist triad.....	702
-----4.1.2.5.2.1.5. Conclusions.....	704
-----4.1.2.6. THE PERIOD FROM 632 TO 668 AD.....	705
-----4.1.2.6.1. Historical background.....	705
-----4.1.2.6.2. BÖb-rang and the early Sŏn school.....	707
-----4.1.2.6.3. Temple foundings.....	707
-----4.1.2.6.3.1. Bun-hwang-sa.....	710
-----4.1.2.6.3.2. Bo-mun-sa and Chŏng-su-sa.....	711
-----4.1.2.6.3.3. Chang-ŭi-sa.....	713

-----4.1.2.7. THE THREE MAJOR MONKS OF ANCIENT SIN-LA.....	714
-----4.1.2.7.1. Cha-chang Yul-sa.....	714
-----4.1.2.7.1.1. Biography and temple foundings and reconstructions...	714
-----4.1.2.7.1.2. The reconstruction of the wooden pagoda of Hwang-ryong-sa.....	717
-----4.1.2.7.1.3. The temples of O-dæ mountain.....	719
-----4.1.2.7.1.4. Tong-do-sa and its Chök-myöl-bo-kung.....	720
-----4.1.2.7.1.5. The temples of Sör-ak mountain.....	721
-----4.1.2.7.2. Wön-hyo Dæ-sa.....	722
-----4.1.2.7.3. Ŭi-sang Dæ-sa.....	727
-----4.1.2.7.3.1. Biographical remarks.....	727
-----4.1.2.7.3.2. The Hwa-öm-chong and the Chart of the <i>Avatamsaka-ekayāna-dharmadhātu</i> .....	727
-----4.1.2.7.3.3. The legend of Sön-myo.....	732
-----4.1.2.7.3.4. Early temple foundings by Ŭi-sang Dæ-sa.....	732
-----4.1.2.7.3.4.1. Bul-yöng-sa and Wöl-li-sa.....	733
-----4.1.2.8. THE BUDDHIST SCULPTURE OF ANCIENT SIN-LA.....	735
--4.2. THE BUDDHIST ARCHITECTURE OF ANCIENT SIN-LA AND ITS CHARACTERISTICS.....	739
---4.2.1. HŬNG-RYUN-SA.....	740
-----4.2.1.1. Historical remarks.....	740
-----4.2.1.2. Investigation results: the layout and measurements.....	741
-----4.2.1.2.1. The layout.....	741
-----4.2.1.2.2. The structures.....	744
-----4.2.1.2.3. The material remains.....	745
-----4.2.1.3. The octagonal buildings: an influence of Ko-gu-ryö ?.....	747
-----4.2.1.4. The octagonal buildings: an early example of twin pagodas in Korea ?.....	750
-----4.2.1.5. Evidence of early twin pagodas in China and Japan.....	752
---4.2.2. HWANG-RYONG-SA.....	767
-----4.2.2.1. HWANG-RYONG-SA AT THE MOMENT OF ITS FOUNDING.....	767
-----4.2.2.1.1. The geographical situation.....	768
-----4.2.2.1.2. The layout of the first construction (founding).....	771



-----4.2.2.1.3. The structures.....	774
-----4.2.2.1.3.1. The middle gate, the southern, intermediate and middle galleries.....	775
-----4.2.2.1.3.2. The northern structures and the lateral dormitories.....	780
-----4.2.2.1.4. Interpretation of the layout and structures of the first Hwang-ryong-sa.....	783
-----4.2.2.1.4.1. The northern structures.....	783
-----4.2.2.1.4.2. The lateral courtyards and the galleries.....	783
-----4.2.2.2. THE FIRST RECONSTRUCTION OF HWANG-RYONG-SA.....	787
-----4.2.2.2.1. The general measurements of the first reconstruction (after 643 AD).....	791
-----4.2.2.2.2. The structures.....	792
-----4.2.2.2.2.1. The middle gate, the southern and lateral galleries.....	793
-----4.2.2.2.2.2. The square nine-storied wooden pagoda.....	795
-----4.2.2.2.2.2.1. The platform.....	795
-----4.2.2.2.2.2.2. The column foundations.....	795
-----4.2.2.2.2.2.3. The structure of the platform.....	798
-----4.2.2.2.2.2.4. The stairs.....	798
-----4.2.2.2.2.2.5. The wooden superstructure.....	799
-----4.2.2.2.2.2.6. The reconstruction drawings.....	799
-----4.2.2.2.2.3. The central image hall.....	807
-----4.2.2.2.2.3.1. The platform.....	807
-----4.2.2.2.2.3.2. The column foundation stones and the structure of the platform.....	809
-----4.2.2.2.2.3.3. The stairs.....	809
-----4.2.2.2.2.3.4. The possible lateral stairs and their connection to the intermediate galleries.....	810
-----4.2.2.2.2.3.5. The interior organisation.....	810
-----4.2.2.2.2.3.6. The Buddhist images.....	811
-----4.2.2.2.2.3.7. The temporary shelter for the images.....	812
-----4.2.2.2.2.3.8. The reconstruction drawings.....	813
-----4.2.2.2.2.3.9. The attached portico.....	815
-----4.2.2.2.2.3.10. The number of stories.....	821
-----4.2.2.2.2.4. The eastern image hall.....	823
-----4.2.2.2.2.4.1. The platform and the column foundations.....	823
-----4.2.2.2.2.4.2. The superstructure.....	825
-----4.2.2.2.2.5. The western image hall.....	827

-----4.2.2.2.6. The lecture hall and the northern structures.....	829
-----4.2.2.2.6.1. The lecture hall.....	829
-----4.2.2.2.6.2. The lateral structures.....	831
-----4.2.2.2.7. The lantern sites.....	833
-----4.2.2.2.8. The material remains.....	834
-----4.2.2.2.8.1. The central foundation stone of the wooden pagoda and its treasures.....	835
-----4.2.2.2.8.1. Roof tiles.....	836
-----4.2.2.3. Conclusions.....	839
----4.2.3. BUN-HWANG-SA.....	841
----4.2.3.1. Geographical situation and orientation.....	842
----4.2.3.2. The layout of the original temple and its structures.....	842
----4.2.3.2.1. The stone pagoda.....	848
-----4.2.3.2.1.1. The platform.....	860
-----4.2.3.2.1.2. The first story.....	860
-----4.2.3.2.1.3. The upper stories.....	861
-----4.2.3.2.1.4. The characteristics of the pagoda.....	861
-----4.2.3.2.1.5. The reconstruction drawings.....	862
----4.2.3.2.2. The northern image hall.....	868
----4.2.3.2.3. The lateral image halls.....	869
----4.2.3.2.4. The question of the lecture hall.....	871
----4.2.3.2.2. The galleries, flagpole supports and the material remains..	872
----4.2.3.3. Conclusions.....	875
----4.2.4. THE BRICK PAGODA OF SONG-RIM-SA.....	876
----4.2.3.1. Geographical situation and general layout.....	876
----4.2.3.2. The platform and the first story.....	879
----4.2.3.3. The upper stories.....	882
----4.2.3.4. The finial.....	882
----4.2.3.5. The interior structure.....	883
----4.2.3.6. The material remains.....	883
----4.2.3.7. Conclusions.....	894
----4.2.5. OTHER BRICK PAGODAS AND BRICK-LIKE STONE PAGODAS OF SIN-LA.....	895
----4.2.5.1. CLASSIFICATION OF KOREAN BRICK AND STONE PAGODAS.....	896

----5.4.4. Multiplication and differentiation of certain archetypes.....	975
-----5.4.4.1. Multiplication of the image hall.....	975
-----5.4.4.2. Multiplication of courtyards and pagodas.....	978
-----5.4.4.3. Differentiation of the 'boundary archetype'.....	980
-----5.4.4.4. Differentiation of the 'straw hut archetype'.....	985
-----5.4.4.5. The 'mountain temples'.....	986
---5.4.5. Conclusions.....	999
--5.5. INFLUENCES ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TEMPLE LAYOUTS AND BUDDHIST ARCHITECTURE IN KOREA.....	999
----5.5.1. Indian Buddhism.....	1000
-----5.5.1.1. Influences of Buddhism on the early Buddhist architecture of Korea.....	1001
----5.5.2. Chinese civilisation.....	1002
-----5.5.2.1. Influences of Chinese civilisation on the early Buddhist architecture of Korea.....	1004
----5.5.3. Local Korean culture.....	1005
-----5.5.3.1. Influences of the local culture on the early Buddhist architecture of Korea: Korean contributions to early East Asian Buddhist architecture.....	1007
----5.5.4. Pagoda-centred temple layout and courtyard-centred temple layout.....	1009
-----5.5.4.1. Influences of Buddhism.....	1009
-----5.5.4.2. Influences of Chinese civilisation.....	1011
-----5.5.4.3. Influences of local Korean factors.....	1012
--5.6. CONCLUSION.....	1014
<b>MAPS.....</b>	<b>1017</b>
<b>APPENDIX 1: CHRONOLOGY OF THE KOREAN DYNASTIES..</b>	<b>1031</b>
<b>APPENDIX 2: IMPORTANT EVENTS ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA 300 - 700 AD.....</b>	<b>1051</b>
<b>APPENDIX 3: SELECTIVE LIST OF EXTANT &amp; RUINED BUDDHIST TEMPLES OF KOREA.....</b>	<b>1057</b>
<b>ABBREVIATIONS &amp; BIBLIOGRAPHY.....</b>	<b>1129</b>
<b>CURRICULUM VITAE.....</b>	<b>1217</b>

-----4.2.5.2. THE SEVEN-STORIED BRICK PAGODA OF BÖB-HŪNG-SA.....	905
-----4.2.5.3. THE FIVE-STORIED BRICK PAGODA OF CHO-TAB-RI.....	912
-----4.2.5.4. THE FIVE-STORIED BRICK-LIKE STONE PAGODA OF BONG-KAM-DONG.....	914
-----4.2.5.5. THE FIVE-STORIED STONE PAGODA AT TAB-RI.....	921
-----4.2.5.6. THE FIVE-STORIED STONE PAGODA OF CHUK-CHANG-SA.....	927
-----4.2.5.7. THE EASTERN THREE-STORIED STONE PAGODA AT NAM-SAN-DONG.....	933
-----4.2.5.8. CONCLUSIONS.....	938
 <b>CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION.....</b>	 943
--5.1. SUMMARY OF THE MAIN RESULTS OF THE STUDY.....	945
----5.1.1. Ko-gu-ryō.....	945
----5.1.2. Bæk-che.....	946
----5.1.3. Ka-ya and Ancient Sin-la.....	949
--5.1. COMPARISON OF THE BUDDHIST ARCHITECTURE OF THE KOREAN THREE KINGDOMS PERIOD.....	951
--5.3. THE 'ARCHETYPES' OF EAST-ASIAN BUDDHIST ARCHITECTURE.....	954
----5.3.1. The <i>stūpa</i> .....	954
----5.3.2. The straw hut.....	955
----5.3.3. The boundary and the gate.....	965
--5.4. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TEMPLE LAYOUT TYPES IN KOREA.....	966
----5.4.1. Isolated archetypes.....	966
----5.4.2. Isolated archetypes with boundary and gate.....	968
----5.4.3. Combination of isolated archetypes with or without boundary and gate.....	973

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## INTRODUCTION

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Early Japanese Buddhist architecture has until now been the only well-known architectural tradition of ancient East Asian Buddhism in the West. It has become usual to measure early Chinese Buddhist architecture by referring to that of Japan. This identification is a dangerous simplification which could be compared to an attempt to explain Greek culture exclusively through Roman monuments. It is thus not surprising that in the eyes of many Westerners East Asian culture still forms a unity which seems to be best expressed by Japanese art and architecture. The present study shows that early Korean Buddhist architecture has in fact many common affinities with that of Japan, as can be expected from its geographical situation alone, but that the former can in no way simply be subsumed under the latter. While many elements of Japanese Buddhist architecture can be traced back to that of Korea, an important number of characteristics of early Korean Buddhist architecture do not have any correspondences in Japan. This opens the prospect that future studies and excavations of early Chinese Buddhist architecture will in turn reveal many unique characteristics. The study of ancient Korean Buddhist architecture is therefore important not only for a knowledge of Korean culture but also for the new light it sheds on the culture of its neighbours, China and Japan.

Throughout its history, the Korean peninsula has played a crucial role in East Asia. Its geographical situation makes Korea the natural link between the Chinese mainland and the Japanese archipelago. In prehistorical periods, large portions of the population of Japan migrated through the peninsula. In the beginning of the Christian era, the Chinese writing system was first introduced to the Korean peninsula and in the sixth century, Chinese culture was passed on to Japan together with Buddhism which had been introduced to the Korean peninsula two centuries earlier. From that time on, Korea played a sometimes unfortunate role as intermediary between the powers of East Asia. Korea was invaded several times by Chinese and Japanese armies, but eventually succeeded in restoring its political and cultural independence so that it was not simply a transmitter of Chinese civilisation to Japan, but, in addition, developed its own rich intellectual and artistic culture in which architecture occupies a prominent place.

Buddhism was introduced to Korea during the so-called 'Three Kingdoms period' from the fourth to sixth centuries AD together with several Chinese cultural achievements which featured among others the Chinese governmental system and Confucian academies and historiography. Buddhism therefore came to be closely associated with the establishment of the first Korean centralized kingdoms modelled

after the Chinese system. The introduction of Buddhism thus marks the turning point from the proto-historical to the genuinely historical periods. The study of Korean Buddhism and its tangible achievements such as architecture, sculpture, painting and crafts explain many aspects of the history of Korea and give an important insight into the cultural background of the people of the modern Koreans.

Traditional Korean architecture is worth investigating because of its great age, continuity, diversity and ornamental richness. Moreover, it has developed spatial solutions for the exterior and interior which could be of interest for present-day architects. However, the West has been slow in appreciating the cultural achievements of the Korean people, perhaps because relations between Korea and the West developed later than for the other countries of East Asia due to Korea's particular geopolitical situation between China and Japan. While there exist good introductions to the architectural traditions of China and Japan, that of Korea has not yet been adequately treated in any European language. Some Western books about Korean art or Oriental architecture include chapters on Korean architecture but the scope of such works does not permit deep discussions. Good studies on Korean architecture only exist in Korean and Japanese which are inaccessible to most Western scholars of architecture. It is therefore desirable that the architectural tradition of Korea be introduced to a larger audience by translating Korean and Japanese reference works or by publishing new research studies by Western authors.

This study on the Buddhist architecture of the Three Kingdoms period attempts to provide a basis for future studies of Korean architecture and Korean religious history. In its chapters the majority of the known historical and material evidence of the Buddhist architecture in Korea between the fourth and the mid-seventh century AD is described and analysed in order to put its characteristics in perspective. The reader will also be able to understand its relations with the Buddhist architecture of the Chinese Wei (386 - 534 AD) to early Tang (618 - 907 AD) dynasties and the Japanese Asuka (552 - 645 AD) and Hakuho (645 - 709 AD) periods.

There is growing interest in Buddhism and its cultural achievements in Europe and America but knowledge of it in the West is still fragmentary and concentrates on a few well-studied fields of Indian, Tibetan, Chinese and Japanese Buddhism. Less-known, perhaps because less-promoted fields such as Mongolian, Vietnamese and Korean Buddhism are only just emerging.

East Asia's economical and political importance in world affairs is constantly increasing, for many years because of rapid economic development and recently because of financial crises, all of which have had a direct impact on even remote locations of the globe. It seems therefore impossible to ignore East Asia any longer

and it becomes a priority to understand the cultural roots of such an important partner to ensure that the necessary cooperation is based on mutual respect and trust. It has been argued by HUNTINGTON<sup>1</sup> that the future global conflicts could erupt along the fault lines of the major civilisations of the world. The risk of such tensions and confrontations can be diminished through mutual and deeper understanding of the cultural and historical backgrounds of these civilisations. The knowledge of the millenary traditions of East Asia in general and of Korea in particular will instill a confidence about the region's and the country's future<sup>2</sup>.

#### Personal motivations of the author

I first came in contact with East Asia during a trip along the Transsiberian railway from Moscow to Beijing which was the prelude to a practical course in an architectural office in the Republic of Korea in 1988. It was supposed to last only three months but grew into a full year. I was encouraged by my Korean acquaintances to visit the countryside and in particular the numerous Buddhist temples in the national parks. Among the first such trips were visits to Kyŏng-chu, the ancient capital of Sin-la, as well as Kong-chu and Bu-yŏ, both former capitals of Bæk-che. I was amazed by the beauty and strength of the material remains of these ancient kingdoms and the wish to know and understand them better grew in me.

During the year of the practical course, I also had the opportunity to travel to Japan and visit the ancient capitals of Nara and Kyōto which helped me to put my Korean and Chinese experiences into perspective. I started to grasp the differences of the cultures of the three East Asian countries first on an emotional level which I tried to balance through deeper knowledge by collecting and studying the available literature on the subject. Soon, I noticed the poverty of works on Korean art and architecture in Western languages so that I decided to plunge into the Korean language and the most frequently used Chinese characters in order to be able to understand the Korean works on art and architecture which seemed to be abundant.

In response to the lack of appropriate scientific treatment of Buddhist architecture and in the recognition of its inherent importance, I slowly developed the project of introducing this interesting subject to the Western public through a doctoral thesis which seemed to be the best framework for a beginning researcher.

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<sup>1</sup> See: HUNTINGTON (1996, 1998).

<sup>2</sup> See: *Newsweek, The International Newsmagazine*: KUCHMENT Anna: *Art - Out of the Shadows - In New York, Korean art gains attention*, vol. CXXXII, No. 4, July 27, 1998, p. 55.

## State of the research in the field

The first scientific studies on the Buddhist architecture of Korea were undertaken by Japanese scholars shortly before and during the Japanese occupation of the Korean peninsula (1910 - 1945). Among them was SEKINO Tadashi (1867 - 1935), author of *Research Report on Korean Architecture* (1905) and *The Art and Architecture of Korea*<sup>1</sup> (1934) and FUJISHIMA Gaijirō, author of *Treatise of the History of Architecture of Korea*<sup>2</sup> (1930 - 1933). Both were pioneers in architectural and archaeological research in Korea. Their information is particularly important for the objects and monuments which were destroyed during the Korean War (1950 - 1953) and for those which are now located in the People's Republic of Korea (North Korea).

Towards the end of the sixties, the Cultural Properties Research Institute<sup>3</sup> began to measure and repair ancient buildings of the Republic of Korea (South Korea). The restoration of the Buddhist temple of Bul-guk-sa<sup>4</sup> from 1969 to 1973, which was ordered directly by President PARK Chung-hee<sup>5</sup>, was an outstanding realisation. Buddhist architecture has ever since occupied a privileged place among the historical monuments for both research and tourism. The Cultural Properties Research Institute and its local branches have published more than sixty reports on the restoration and excavation of Buddhist temples and temple sites in the last twenty-five years. The annual journal *Ancient Architecture of Korea*<sup>6</sup> published by the Cultural Properties Research Institute has equally stressed Buddhist architecture in its first eighteen volumes.

Korean specialists continued the research on traditional Korean architecture in parallel to the activities of the Cultural Properties Research Institute. Among the more important ones were: YUN Chang-sōb, author of *The History of Korean Architecture* (1972) and *Korean Architecture*<sup>7</sup> (1996), CHŎNG In-guk: *The Style*

<sup>1</sup> *Research Report on Korean Architecture*

「韓國建築調査報告 かんこくけんちくちょうさほうこく 한국건축조사보고」.

*The Art and Architecture of Korea*

「朝鮮の建築と藝術 ちょうせんのけんちくとげいじゆつ 朝鮮의 건축와 예술」.

See: SEKINO Tadashi 關野貞 세키의 타다시 관야정 (1941) and (1990).

<sup>2</sup> FUJISHIMA Gaijirō 藤島亥治郎 ふじしまがいじろう 등도 해치랑, *Treatise of the History of Architecture of Korea* 「朝鮮建築史論 ちょうせんけんちくしろん 朝鮮건축사론」.

See: KCZS 1930 - 1933.

<sup>3</sup> Cultural Properties Research Institute 文化財管理局文化財研究所 문화재관리국 문화재연구소.

<sup>4</sup> Bul-guk-sa 佛國寺 불국사 (No. 7.34.33).

<sup>5</sup> PARK Chung-hee (BAK Chōng-hi) 朴正熙 박정희.

<sup>6</sup> *Ancient Architecture of Korea* 「韓國의 古建築 한국的高건축」. See: HGÜKKC 1 - 18.

<sup>7</sup> *The History of Korean Architecture* 「韓國建築史 한국건축사」. *Korean Architecture*

「韓國의 建築 한국的高건축」. See: YUN Chang-sōb 尹張雙 윤장섭 (1972, 1982) and (1996).



and *Structure of Korean Architecture*<sup>1</sup> (1974), KIM Dong-hyŏn: *The Restoration of Korean Architecture*<sup>2</sup> (1977), KIM Chŏng-ki: *The Wooden Architecture of Korea*<sup>3</sup> (1980) and CHANG Kyŏng-ho: *The Buddhist Architecture of Bæk-che* (1991) and *Korean Traditional Architecture*<sup>4</sup> (1992). A collection of articles by various authors has been published by the Korean Association of Architectural Studies under the title *History of Korean Architecture*<sup>5</sup> (1996). The important master and doctoral theses of Korean universities are too numerous to be cited here but they are frequently referred to in the various chapters of the present thesis.

Among the numerous Korean journals which are partly concerned with Korean architectural history are the following: *Journal of Architectural History*<sup>6</sup>, edited by the Korean Association of Architectural History, *Collection of Theses*<sup>7</sup>, by the Korean Association of Architectural Studies, *Art and Archaeology*<sup>8</sup> by the Art Historical Association of Korea, *Bæk-che Culture*<sup>9</sup> by Kong-chu University and *Sin-la Culture*<sup>10</sup> by Dong-guk University.

Only few works have been written outside the Republic of Korea. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) has published the first eleven volumes of the series *The Illustrated Book of Ruins and Relics of Korea*<sup>11</sup> (1989 - 1992), which contains illustrations of great importance. In Western languages, only a few chapters included in larger works dedicated to Korean art treat the traditional architecture of Korea. They are mainly: Andreas ECKARDT:

- 1 *The Style and Structure of Korean Architecture* 「韓國建築樣式論 한국건축양식론」.  
See: CHŎNG In-guk 鄭寅國 정인국 (1974).
- 2 *The Restoration of Korean Architecture* 「韓國古建築斷章 한국고건축단장」.  
See: KIM Dong-hyŏn 金東賢 김동현 (1977).
- 3 *The Wooden Architecture of Korea* 「韓國木造建築 한국목조건축」.  
See: KIM Chŏng-ki 金正基 김정기 (1980, 1990).
- 4 *The Buddhist Architecture of Bæk-che* 「百濟寺刹建築 백제사찰건축」,  
*Korean Traditional Architecture* 「韓國의傳統建築 한국의전통건축」.  
See: CHANG Kyŏng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991) and (1992).
- 5 Korean Association of Architectural Studies 大韓建築學會 대한건축학회,  
*History of Korean Architecture* 「韓國建築史 한국건축사」. See: HGKCS.
- 6 Korean Association of Architectural History 韓國建築歷史學會 한국건축역사학회,  
*Journal of Architectural History* 「建築歷史研究 건축역사연구」. See: JAH 1 - 13.
- 7 Korean Association of Architectural Studies 大韓建築學會 대한건축학회, *Dæ-han-kŏn-chuk-hak-hwæ Non-mun-chib (Collection of Theses of the Korean Association of Architectural Studies)*  
「大韓建築學會論文集 대한건축학회논문집」. See: DHKCHHNM.
- 8 Art Historical Association of Korea 韓國美術史學會 한국미술사학회, *Art and Archaeology*  
「考古美術 고고미술」. See: KGMS 1 - 187.
- 9 Kong-chu University 公州大學校 공주대학교, *Bæk-che Culture* 「百濟文化 백제문화」.  
See: BCMH 1 - 20.
- 10 Dong-guk University 東國大學校 동국대학교, *Sin-la Culture* 「新羅文化 신라문화」.  
See: SLMH 1 - 8.
- 11 *The Illustrated Book of Ruins and Relics of Korea* 「朝鮮遺跡遺物圖鑑 조선유적유물도감」.  
See: CSYCYMDK 1 - 11.

*Geschichte der Koreanischen Kunst* (1929, Evelyn McCUNE: *The Arts of Korea* (1962), the article by KIM Chewon in: Alexander GRISWOLD: *The Art of Burma, Korea, Tibet* (1964); Mario BUSSAGLI: *Architettura orientale* (1973) and Jan FONTEIN, Rose HEMPEL: *China, Korea, Japan* (1985). Two doctoral theses written by Korean authors in German and English merit mention here: YOO-KIM Bok-Nam: *Frühe koreanische Architektur, Ursprünge, Stile, Dächer* (1980) which includes translations of ancient Chinese texts on Korean architecture, and KIM Sung-woo: *History and Design of the Early Buddhist Architecture in Korea* (1985) which is the first full-length study in English devoted to the layout of the early Korean Buddhist temples. Some journals published in Western language occasionally include articles on Korean architecture and archaeology. Among them are: *Culture Coréenne*, published by Le Centre Culturel Coréen and *Revue de Corée* and *Korea Journal* by the Korean National Commission for UNESCO.

While a certain number of excellent works exist by Korean and Japanese authors, Korean architecture has not yet been appropriately treated by Western authors. Korean architecture has so far been considered only from the point of view of the history of art by stressing decoration and neglecting the construction and spatial composition. It is therefore necessary that Korean architecture be studied from the perspective of its structure and historical development. Buddhist architecture is undoubtedly the most representative of Korean architecture because it possesses the oldest and most numerous examples of extant structures. Buddhist temple sites are equally the most numerous among recent archaeological excavations.

Published works in Western languages provide a good view of the known architectural remains of the Buddhist architecture of China and Japan. This is not the case for Korea. Knowledge is very fragmentary in the West and does not do justice to the importance of this tradition. A reference work which covers the majority of Buddhist architectural monuments is still missing. The present study attempts to partially fill this gap and to attribute the Buddhist architecture of Korea the place it deserves in the history of world architecture.

### Scope of the study

The time scale of this study includes the period of Buddhist architecture in Korea from the introduction of Buddhism to Ko-gu-ryō in the late fourth century AD to the end of the so-called 'Korean Three Kingdoms period'<sup>1</sup>. The division occurs at the moment when the political structure of the Korean peninsula was fundamentally changed with the breakdown of two of the three early kingdoms of Korea: the conquest of Bæk-che in 663 and Ko-gu-ryō in 668 AD by the combined forces of Sin-la and Tang China. Sin-la continued to flourish for another three centuries, coexisting with Bar-hæ in Manchuria and the northernmost part of the Korean peninsula. This following period which is contemporaneous with middle and late Tang in China, has been called by certain Korean historians the 'Northern and Southern Kingdoms period'<sup>2</sup>. Most works on Korean history, religion, art and architecture acknowledge the importance of the 'unification' of the Korean peninsula as one of the major turning points in the history of Korea. In Korea, the study of the 'Three Kingdoms period' is a generally accepted and well-defined subject of study in the field of Korean history, art and architecture. Virtually all of the above-mentioned histories of Korean architecture devote a separate section to the presentation of the architecture of the Three Kingdoms period. Tremendous progress has been made in recent decades in our understanding of the south-western kingdom of Bæk-che and spectacular archaeological findings have sustained international interest in specialized circles.

When this study was first begun, the time scale was consciously left large in order to allow a certain flexibility as the work progressed. It increasingly became clear that the earliest period of Buddhist architecture provided enough evidence for a full-length study and that the conclusions which could be gained from this period alone were so important that to limit the study to the Three Kingdoms period became inevitable. Buddhist architecture of Korea already showed in the first three centuries after its beginning a significant variety of layout and building types as well as sophisticated construction techniques and elaborate artistic articulations. The accent of this study has thus been laid on the description and discussion of the extant remains of Buddhist architecture of the three early kingdoms of Korea. An account of the historical and religious events on the Korean peninsula of the period will serve as a background.

<sup>1</sup> Three Kingdoms period 三國時代 삼국시대. Actually four political entities shared the Korean peninsula until the middle of the 6th C. AD: Ko-gu-ryō 高句麗 고구려, Bæk-che 百濟 백제, Ka-ya 伽倻 가야 and Sin-la 新羅 신라. See: Appendix 1 and 2.

<sup>2</sup> Northern and Southern Kingdoms period 南北國時代 남북국시대.

## Articulation and methodology

This study is articulated first according to the various kingdoms and then to the chronology within the kingdoms. The generally accepted dates for the introduction of Buddhism have served to determine the first order: Ko-gu-ryō (Buddhism introduced in 372 AD), Bæk-che (384 AD), Ka-ya (about mid-5th C. AD) and Ancient Sin-la (527 AD). Each of the kingdoms forms a separate chapter with the exception of Ka-ya which is treated together with Ancient Sin-la because the little information available does not justify a separate chapter. The historical and cultural background before the introduction of Buddhism into the Korean peninsula is briefly outlined in Chapter 1. The conclusions form Chapter 5. Each chapter on the various kingdoms is divided into three parts: the first part presents the historical evidence of Buddhism, temple foundings and brief mentions of Buddhist art. The second part describes the material remains of the Buddhist temples, and the last part is devoted to a synthesis of the Korean material which is put into perspective by confronting it with evidence from China and Japan. The chapter on Ancient Sin-la is formed of only two parts for reasons which are intrinsic to the material remains.

The method of research thus tries to use deductive principles wherever possible and to avoid speculations. While this method seems to work rather well for archaeological evidence it reaches its limits when confronted with unsubstantiated historical information. In these cases it seems that common sense does a better job than rigorous scepticism which would simply leave nothing to discuss.

The material used for this study can be divided into four groups. Firstly, there are the excavation and restoration reports by the responsible authorities. These reports written in Korean usually take the form of texts which describe the findings in detail and present a short preliminary interpretation. The reports are usually well illustrated with photographs, measured drawings and schemes. Secondly, come the Korean, and in some cases Japanese and Western, literature and academic theses which re-analyse the evidence and give new interpretations according to the point of view of the authors. Thirdly, the historical texts of Korea, China and Japan which are usually written in classical Chinese but of which Korean translations at least exist. The most useful texts are the *Sam-guk-yu-sa* and the *Sam-guk-sa-gi*<sup>1</sup>, both written in the Ko-ryō period but based on older material. And fourthly, the evidence and experience gathered by the author during numerous trips to the concerned temples and temple sites. They include measured drawings, descriptions and photographs as well as information obtained through discussions with specialists of Korean architecture and with monks who live on the temple grounds.

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<sup>1</sup> *Sam-guk-yu-sa* (SGYS) 「三國遺事 삼국유사」, *Sam-guk-sa-gi* (SGSG) 「三國史記 삼국사기」.

### Hypotheses

The study tries to define the main characteristics of the Buddhist architectural traditions of the three early Korean kingdoms, Ko-gu-ryō, Bæk-che and Ancient Sin-la. The analysis of the material remains and the historical evidence will lead to synthetic summaries which are confronted with evidence from China and Japan and are finally tested on the preliminary hypotheses. The following six main hypotheses have guided the research work:

1. The analysis of the Buddhist architectural traditions of the three early Korean kingdoms will show that they must have developed from various sources. These sources must be searched for mainly on the Chinese mainland from where Buddhism was introduced to the Korean peninsula. Early Chinese Buddhist architecture is still only little known due to insufficient material evidence. If the early Korean Buddhist architectural traditions show that they must have issued from several clearly distinct traditions, this would be a strong indication that early Chinese Buddhist architecture was not a united tradition but had strong regional differences.
2. The temple layouts observed in the various Korean kingdoms will be compared with each other and also confronted with Chinese and Japanese examples. This comparison will result in a typological study. The second hypothesis is that it is possible to reduce the richness of the particular temple layouts to a limited number of basic 'archetypes' of temple layout elements. These simplified elements will then permit the review of the developments and possible regional differences of the temple layouts in the Korean Three Kingdoms period and will lead to a preview of the later developments and help to explain the reasons for these developments.
3. A short preview of the later development of Buddhist architecture in Korea will show that the roots of the majority of these developments can already be found in the Korean Three Kingdoms period. Rather than being final, this discussion will raise a number of questions which will have to be confronted in later studies.
4. Korean Buddhist architecture is the result of a complex combination of influences ranging from various architectural traditions to religious, political, economical, social and historical circumstances. These influences can be divided into three 'spheres of influence': Indian Buddhism, Chinese civilisation and local Korean culture. Their relative importance at one moment or the other of Korean architectural history should be able to explain the particular preferences detected during the analysis of the material and historical evidence.

5. After having exploited the detectable external influences on Korean Buddhist architecture, it is probable that certain characteristics will be found not to go back to foreign traditions. These unique characteristics can then be attributed either to as yet unknown foreign traditions or to local developments. Though it is not possible to predict future discoveries in China, I will try to determine which elements of early Korean Buddhist architecture are likely contenders for the label 'Korean contributions to early East Asian Buddhist architecture'.
6. The most obvious difference between the excavated early Buddhist temples in Korea and the extant 'mountain temples' is that the former have a 'pagoda-centred layout' enclosed in galleries while the latter have a 'courtyard-centred layout' which is formed by the various wooden buildings of the temple without the help of galleries and where the pagoda has a very reduced role. My hypothesis is that this important change in Korean Buddhist architecture can best be explained by the combination of the previously established 'spheres of influence' and that the beginning of this development can be traced back to the Korean Three Kingdoms period.

## APPENDIX TO THE INTRODUCTION:

## TRANSCRIPTIONS OF EAST ASIAN LANGUAGES

Any study of civilisations with different writing systems than that of the language of the study is confronted with the problem of transcription. In the present case the following languages have to be romanized (in the order of their frequency in the study): Korean, Chinese, Japanese and Sanskrit and a few other languages which occur only rarely. The most common transcriptions found in the specialized literature have been used for the languages which are less important in this study. Sanskrit and Japanese do not present major problems as their respective romanization systems are universally accepted. For Sanskrit it is the so-called 'scientific transcription' with the diacritic signs and for Japanese it is the 'Hepburn method' (*Hebon-shiki*<sup>1</sup>) after the romanization proposed by James Curtis HEPBURN (1815 - 1911). Two competing systems are in use to transcribe the Chinese language: the 'Wade-Giles system' which is still frequently used in the United States and the '*pinyin* system' which has been adopted by the People's Republic of China. It seems that the '*pinyin* system' is gaining momentum in the specialised literature so that it has been adopted for this study too.

The most problematic case is the Korean transcription which is obviously the most used in this study. There are a number of different systems used and the government of the Republic of Korea has already switched several times from one system to another. The most recurrent system in the specialized literature seems to be the so-called 'Reischauer-McCune system' which was published for the first time in the article *Romanization of Korean*<sup>2</sup> in *Transactions of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* in 1939. In spite of the relative success of the 'Reischauer-McCune system', I could not decide myself to adopt it.

The reason for this rejection lies in the different objectives which have guided REISCHAUER and McCUNE in their elaboration of their system and the objectives which I feel to be paramount. The 'Reischauer-McCune system' can claim to render the phonetics of the Korean language in a very precise manner. It is designed to imitate the spoken language with roman letters and was thus mainly concerned with Korean phonetic rules. No effort was made to preserve the written units which seem to be essential to me. As a consequence, the 'Reischauer-McCune system' does not permit the inverted process in all cases, i.e. to return to the Korean writing based on the transcribed words without the help of a transcribed dictionary.

<sup>1</sup> *Hebon-shiki* へボン式しき식.

<sup>2</sup> See: *TrKB* XXIX, pp. 1 - 55.

In my opinion, the romanization of Korean should be a true transcription, that is a letter-for-letter rendering of the Korean writing system and not of the spoken language. The international phonetic alphabet is best suited for rendering the pronunciation of spoken Korean. Precise phonetic rules are mainly interesting for linguists and students of Korean who will anyway have to learn the Korean alphabet from early on. As a matter of fact, the 'Reischauer-McCune system', is more difficult to learn than the actual Korean writing system, *han-gŭl*. Any romanization and transcription should be a simplification and a help for beginners of the Korean language and amateurs of Korea and not a supplementary obstacle.

It is crucial for Western scientific literature to preserve the reversibility of the transcriptions because this alone allows one to return to the original sources written in the Korean alphabet. I have had many painful experiences with names, titles and expressions which figure in Western literature and which are simply impossible to trace back to their source due to some complicated and obscure transcription system. I have therefore developed from the beginning of the research my own transcription system which allowed me not to lose the sources of my romanized notes. I have used this system throughout the research for more than six years so that I am able to affirm that it performs well according to what it was supposed to do. As it transcribes the Korean alphabet letter for letter, the same phonetic rules can be applied to the transcription as to the original Korean writing system which can be found in manuals and textbooks.

It is not possible here to explain the Korean writing system in detail but a few indications may be helpful to beginners. The history of the Korean writing system has been described by several authors<sup>1</sup> so that I need mention simply that the extant system was first elaborated under King Se-chong<sup>2</sup> in 1446 AD but only became widely used in the twentieth century. The Korean writing system seems to be a combination of certain features of the Sanskrit and Chinese writing systems. The decision to attribute separate letters to consonants and vowels is based on Sanskrit. The combination of at least one consonant and one vowel and at the most three consonants and one vowel into units which can be inscribed into a square is derived from the Chinese writing system. This allows one to replace Chinese characters without using more space in a text because the Korean pronunciation of Chinese characters is always monosyllabic (the diphthongs are considered as one syllable). The letters within each unit are written and read from left to right and from top to bottom. The traditional way of assembling several units followed the classical Chinese way: from top to bottom and from right to left. Modern books, however,

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<sup>1</sup> See: *TrKB* IV / 1, pp. 13 - 61.

<sup>2</sup> Se-chong 世宗 세종, the 4th king of Cho-sŏn 朝鮮 조선, reigned from 1419 to 1450 AD.



often adopt the Western way: from left to right and from top to bottom. The same two ways of arranging syllables in a text can be observed in the classical and modern Chinese and Japanese writing systems. The important characteristic of small monosyllabic units is transcribed in my system by hyphens. As the modern Korean writing system introduced the space separating the different words of a sentence, it is obvious where a hyphen or where a space has to be placed.

The transcription system is designed to be as simple as possible and only a few exceptions had to be made: in Korean 'g' (as in 'good') and 'k' (as in 'car') as well as 'r' (as in 'run') and 'l' (as in 'love') are written with the same letters so it is up to the user to decide which roman letter best fits the pronunciation<sup>1</sup>. The diphthong 'üi' (as in German 'neu') is only pronounced as such in the initial position. If it is preceded by a consonant (in particular 'h') it is pronounced as a strong 'i' = 'i'. The diphthong 'wæ' (approximately as in 'where') becomes a simple 'æ' (as in 'end') if it is preceded by 'ch' (as in 'chair'). Certain final consonants change their pronunciation if they are followed by another consonant. This phonetic rule seems important enough to allow an exception to the rules of a single transcription for each letter. Final 's', 'ss', 'ch' and 'ch' become in this case 'dh', 'dd', 'th' and 'th', They have been chosen to avoid confusion with other final consonants.

한글	initial	final	한글	initial	final	한글	initial	final	한글	initial	final
ㄱ	K,k, G,g	k	ㄴ	Ss, ss	ss,dd <sup>1</sup>	ㅅ	Æ, æ	æ	ㅜ	Wæ,wæ	wæ,æ <sup>3</sup>
ㄲ	Gk, gk	gk	ㅇ	(-) <sup>2</sup>	ng	ㅆ	Ya, ya	ya	ㅠ	Yo, yo	yo
ㄴ	N, n	n	ㅈ	Ch, ch	ch,th <sup>1</sup>	ㅈ	-	yæ	ㅡ	U, u	u
ㄷ	D, d	d	ㅊ	Chj, chj	-	ㅊ	Ö, ö	ö	ㅜ	Wö, wö	wö
ㄸ	Dd, dd	-	ㅅ	Ch, ch	ch,th <sup>1</sup>	ㅅ	E, e	e	ㅆ	We, we	we
ㄹ	R, r, L, l	r, l	ㅋ	Kh, kh	kh	ㅋ	Yö, yö	yö	ㅅ	Wi, wi	wi
ㅁ	M, m	m	ㅌ	T, t	t	ㅌ	Ye, ye	ye	ㅠ	Yu, yu	yu
ㅂ	B, b	b	ㅍ	P, p	p	ㅍ	O, o	o	ㅡ	Ü, ü	ü
ㅃ	Bb, bb	-	ㅎ	H, h	h	ㅃ	Wa, wa	wa	ㅅ	Üi,üi	i
ㅅ	S, s	s, dh <sup>1</sup>	ㅏ	A, a	a	ㅃ	Wæ,wæ	wæ	ㅣ	I, i	i

- 1 if the following letter is a consonant      2 not pronounced in initial position  
 3 ㅜ is exceptionally transcribed Chœ, chœ

<sup>1</sup> It seems difficult to provide clear indications when to use 'k' or 'g' and 'r' or 'l'. It is possible that even in this thesis the use of these consonants is not always rigorously the same, although I did my best to avoid confusion.

- exceptions: family names:      이 is transcribed Yi, YI  
   우 is transcribed Uh, UH  
   오 is transcribed Oh, OH  
   박 is transcribed Pak, Park (or Bak, BAK)  
   and so on.
- place names:      서울 is transcribed Seoul (or Sŏ-ul)  
   부산 is transcribed Pusan (or Bu-san)  
   대전 is transcribed Taejŏn, Taejeon (or Dæ-chŏn)  
   and so on.
- various names:    신라 is transcribed Silla (or Sin-la)  
   and so on

The following list gives approximate examples for the various letters used in the transcription (for some sounds I was not able to find English equivalents):

'k' and 'g'	are pronounced as in English	'car' and 'good'
'gk'	is a slightly stronger	'k' or 'g'
'n'	is pronounced as in English	'nine'
'd'	is pronounced as in English	'dog'
'dd'	is a slightly stronger	'd'
'r' and 'l'	are pronounced as in English	'run' and 'love'
'm'	is pronounced as in English	'my'
'b'	is pronounced as in English	'book'
'bb'	is a slightly stronger	'b'
's'	is pronounced as in English	'so' or 'she' (if followed by 'i')
('dh'	is pronounced as	'd')
'ss'	is a stronger	's'
'ng'	is pronounced as in English	'sing'
'ch'	is pronounced as in English	'John'
('th'	is a slightly stronger	't')
'chj'	is a slightly stronger	'ch'
'ch'	is pronounced as in English	'chair'
('fh'	is pronounced as	't')
'kh'	is a strong	'k'
't'	is pronounced as in English	'turn'
'p'	is pronounced as in English	'pop'
'h'	is pronounced as in English	'hot'
'a'	is pronounced as in English	'large'
'æ'	is pronounced as in English	'fair'

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'ya'	is pronounced as in English	'yard'
'yæ'	is pronounced as in English	'Yankee'
'ö'	is pronounced as in English	'mother'
'e'	is pronounced as in German	'er'
'yö'	is pronounced as in English	'York'
'ye'	is pronounced as in English	'yes'
'o'	is pronounced as in German	'ohne'
'wa'	is pronounced as in German	'was'
'wæ'	is pronounced as in German	'wäre'
'wœ'	no equivalent in English, close to	'where'
('œ'	is pronounced as in English	'end')
'yo'	is pronounced as in German	'jodeln'
'u'	is pronounced as in English	'soon'
'wö'	is pronounced as in English	'won'
'we'	is pronounced as in English	'where'
'wi'	is pronounced as in English	'we'
'yu'	is pronounced as in English	'you'
'ü'	is pronounced as the weak vowel in	'given'
'üi'	is pronounced as in German	'neu'
'í'	is pronounced as in English	'me'
'i'	is pronounced as in English	'me'



**CHAPTER 1:**  
**PRE-BUDDHIST KOREA**



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## 1. PRE-BUDDHIST KOREA

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### Preliminary remarks

The term 'early history of Korea' refers in what follows to those periods of the Korean history prior to the official adoption of Buddhism as state religion of the early Korean kingdoms: Ko-gu-ryō in 372 AD, Bæk-che in 392 AD, Ka-ya probably around 450 AD and Sin-la in 527 AD<sup>1</sup>.

There is still no consensus among historians about the interpretation of the various pieces of evidence concerning the early history of Korea. On the one hand, the Chinese, Korean and Japanese historical sources contradict each other in many respects while on the other hand, the archaeological findings are often too fragmentary to be conclusive and can only seldom be connected directly to political events. The discussion of this period is therefore divided into a summary of the known or supposed political events and a short description of the main archaeological findings corresponding to the same period.

Interpolations and speculations often have to complete the scientific analysis of the evidence in order to provide an intelligible picture of the earliest periods of Korean history. In these circumstances it is difficult to remain neutral and judge the sources objectively. While the conclusions of some Korean authors bespeak strong nationalism, some Chinese and Japanese interpretations of the past seem to have tried to minimize the breadth of Korean culture. Some incautious statements may thus easily hurt the feelings of the Korean people many of whom still suspect that certain influential circles in China and especially in Japan are trying to oppress Korea by distorting its history or interpreting it in a pejorative way.

This study can scarcely be the place to discuss this sensitive subject in depth. A brief description of the main evidence, however, may be useful to understand the circumstances under which Buddhism was introduced into the Korean peninsula. It also establishes the context for the development of Korean architecture and the adoption of Chinese architectural elements and construction methods.

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<sup>1</sup> Ko-gu-ryō 高句麗 고구려, lasted traditionally from 37 BC to 668 AD, Bæk-che 百濟 백제, lasted traditionally from 18 BC to 660 AD, Ka-ya 伽倻 가야, also called Ka-rak 駕洛 가락, lasted traditionally from 42 AD to 562 AD and Sin-la 新羅 신라, lasted traditionally from 57 BC to 935 AD. For their foundings see further below, pp. 11f., appendix 1 and 2.

## 1.1. THE POLITICAL HISTORY

### Preliminary remark

The political history treats the reported events of the early history of Korea which had an impact on the rule of the territory of the Korean peninsula and parts of present Manchuria which were under the influence of proto-Korean political entities [fig. 1]. The discussion of the information is divided according to the chronology of the dynasties and the names of countries or tribes.

### 1.1.2. DAN-GUN CHO-SŌN

Unfortunately, the oldest extant Korean sources treating early Korean history are relatively recent. Among them is the *Sam-guk-yu-sa*<sup>1</sup>, written by the Buddhist monk and National Preceptor Il-yŏn in the late 13th century AD. The long time gap strips it of much historical credibility for the accounts on early history as the

<sup>1</sup> *Sam-guk-yu-sa* 「三國遺事 삼국유사」, an unofficial compilation of histories and legends from the beginning of Korea to the early Ko-ryŏ 高麗 고려 dynasty (918 - 1392 AD), written by Il-yŏn 一然 일연 in 1275 or 1280 AD. The author is also called Il-yŏn Sŏn-sa 一然禪師 일연선사, Il-yŏn Guk-chon 一然國尊 일연국존, Hwae-yŏn 晦然 회연 or KIM Kyŏn-myŏng 金見明 김견명. He lived from 1206 to 1289 AD, joined the priesthood at the age of 9 and won high reputation as a member of the Sŏn school 禪宗 선종. King Chung-yŏi 忠烈王 충열왕 (r. 1274 - 1308 AD) promoted him in 1283 AD to Guk-chon 國尊 국존, the highest degree the state conferred on the priesthood, and bestowed him with the title Wŏn-kyŏng 圓經神照 원경충조. The Korean histories *Sam-guk-sa-gi* 「三國史記 삼국사기」 and *Sam-guk-yu-sa* 「三國遺事 삼국유사」 seem to have coined the term 'Three Kingdoms' which is apparently borrowed from the Chinese 'Three Kingdoms period' 三國時代 삼국시대 which followed the disintegration of the Han dynasty 漢 한. The term is insofar incorrect as it omits the Ka-ya 伽倻 가야 federation. The chronologically next source after the *Sam-guk-yu-sa* on the earliest periods of Korean history is the *Che-wang-un-gi* 「帝王韻記 계왕운기」, written by the prominent scholar YI Sŭng-hyu 李承休 이승휴 (1224 - 1300 AD), first published in 1295 or 1296 AD. It diverges from the *Sam-guk-yu-sa* in several points concerning the story of Dan-gun (see pp. 5f., 39ff.):

1. the story of the she-bear is missing, here the grand grand daughter of the Heavenly King marries Dan-su-sin 檀樹神 단수신 and their son is Dan-gun 檀君 단군.
2. the character *dan* is 檀 단 written in this work and not 壇 단.
3. it considers Dan-gun as the founder of Chŏn-cho-sŏn 前朝鮮 전조선 and Ki-cha as the founder of Hu-cho-sŏn 後朝鮮 후조선.

See: *SGYS*, for an English translation: HA Tae-hung & MINTZ (1972).



original sources cannot be confirmed. In addition, the *Sam-guk-yu-sa* has a rather popular religious approach toward history by insisting on anecdotes and legends<sup>1</sup>.

The *Sam-guk-yu-sa* begins with the story of Dan-gun<sup>2</sup>, who allegedly had chosen A-sa-dal<sup>3</sup> as his royal residence "2000 years ago" and founded the nation called Cho-sŏn<sup>4</sup>, "at the same period as [the reign of Emperor] Gao [Yao]<sup>5</sup>." Il-yŏn claims a certain *Wei-shu*<sup>6</sup> as his source, but this text seems to have been lost.

<sup>1</sup> SOPER has noticed about the character of the work: "The (...) *Samgukyusa* is almost as crowded with marvels as if it had been written by Tao-hsuan (Daoxuan 道宣 道宣, 596 - 667 AD). Many of them are obviously direct imitations of the wonderful things told about Buddhist China and India". See: AA XVI 1/2, p. 108.

<sup>2</sup> The name Dan-gun can be written with different Chinese characters:

1. 檀君 단군, literally 'prince of the birch', used in the *Che-wang-un-gi* 「帝王韻記계왕운기」. HA translates "King of Sandalwood", which seems to be a mistake (sandalwood is not domestic in Korea). The *Sam-guk-yu-sa* has the second spelling, so even 'birch prince' would be wrong.
2. 壇君 단군, literally 'prince of the altar' used in the *Sam-guk-yu-sa*. Today, the first spelling is more commonly used in Korea, but there seems to be no compelling reason for this choice. See *SGYS*, p. (32f.).

<sup>3</sup> According to the etymology by YI, 'A-sa-dal' 阿斯達 아사달 could be ancient Korean for the Sino-Korean name 'Cho-sŏn' 朝鮮 조선: *a-sa* 아사 > *a-chak* 아죽 > *a-chik* 아직 > *a-chim* 아침 = morning; *a-sa* 阿斯 아사 = *cho* 朝 조 = *cho-kwang* 朝光 조광 = *cho-yang* 朝陽 조양 = *cho-sŏn* 朝鮮 조선 = morning; *dal* 達 달 = *san-ak* 山岳 산악 = *gok-chi* 谷地 곡지 = *chi (dda)* 地 지 (따) = land. The translation of 'A-sa-dal' would be: 'the place where the sun is shining' (in German: Sonnenplatz) *yang-chi* 陽地 양지 = 'the orient' (German: Morgenland) *dong-bang-guk* 東方國 동방국. See: YI Byŏng-do 李丙燾 이병도 (1976, 1992) p. 41.

<sup>4</sup> Cho-sŏn 朝鮮 조선, often called Ancient Cho-sŏn (K: Ko-cho-sŏn 古朝鮮 고조선) in order to avoid confusion with the Cho-sŏn dynasty which lasted from 1392 to 1910 AD. Many authors follow the literal meaning of the Chinese characters of Cho-sŏn 朝鮮 조선 by translating "Land of the Morning Calm" that is the 'Eastern Land' (e.g. YOO-KIM Bok-nam, ECKARDT, see also above in connection with A-sa-dal 阿斯達 아사달). Other authors argue that the Chinese characters for Cho-sŏn were simply chosen for their similar pronunciation of an old Korean word of unknown signification (e.g. WISSINGER). Sanskrit terms of Buddhism were often transcribed into Chinese by using the Chinese characters only for their phonetic value so that a similar technique was probably also used for Korean words. In fact it seems rather surprising that a people should call itself 'the orient', which would rather be a name that a people to their west would give them. It is striking that China calls itself the 'Middle Kingdom' (Ch: Zhong guo 中國 중국). According to ELIADE, many tribes all over the world consider themselves to be at the centre of the world. The fact that the Chinese characters of Cho-sŏn have a signification by themselves could indicate that it was a word coined by the Chinese (as was the name of Japan (Nippon) 日本 にっぽん 일본 according to HÉRAIL), being a collective name for the land of the tribes living to the northeast of China. This reasoning sheds doubt on the above-mentioned etymology and its interpretation by YI. See: YOO-KIM Bok-nam (1980), p. 20; ECKARDT (1929), p. 5; WISSINGER (1984), p. 604, note 2; ELIADE (1975, 1991), p. 255ff.; HÉRAIL (1986), p. 57; YI Byŏng-do 李丙燾 이병도 (1976, 1992) p. 41.

<sup>5</sup> Gao 高 고, usually called Yao 堯 요, reigned traditionally from 2357 to 2258 BC. Together with Shun 舜 순 he was a successor to Huang di 皇帝 황제 (traditional reign 2697 - 2597 (var. 2595) BC), the 'Yellow Emperor'. The date for the founding of Cho-sŏn has traditionally been set in 2333 BC. See: GOWEN, HALL (1926), pp. 31 - 33; BAI Shouyi (1989), pp. 52ff.; YI Chun-sik 李春植 이춘식 (1991), pp. 31ff.; *SGSSC*, p. 110.

<sup>6</sup> The *Wei shu* 「魏書 위서」, there were several Chinese dynasties with the name Wei 魏 위: the first was one of the Three Kingdoms, it lasted from 220 to 265 AD, the second, usually called Northern Wei 北魏 북위, lasted from 386 to 534 AD (it was later divided into Eastern Wei 東魏 동위 (534 - 550 AD) and Western Wei 西魏 서위 (535 - 556 AD)) The Northern Wei are probably meant here.

GARDINER<sup>1</sup> concludes that "there seems no reason to try to get history out of any of this" (i.e. the story of Dan-gun). YUN<sup>2</sup>, on the contrary, who places Ancient Cho-sŏn in modern North-East China, states that "the date of 2333 BC (...) is in general accord with archaeological evidence regarding dating for the appearance of bronze culture in the area of Old Chosŏn." North Korean archaeologists recently claimed to have found the tomb of Dan-gun in the surroundings of Pyŏng-yang<sup>3</sup> and claimed that the remains had confirmed the date of about 2000 BC. for Dan-gun<sup>4</sup>. Most South Korean archaeologists dismiss this claim as being politically inspired and lacking material evidence. The official interpretation for the education in public schools of the Republic of Korea regards the Dan-gun story as a legend of interest mainly to religious and social studies of Ancient Cho-sŏn. A short analysis of the contents of the legend figures in Chapter 1.2., pp. 39 - 41.

### 1.1.2. KI-CHA CHO-SŎN

The oldest extant text on the history of the Korean peninsula figure in historical books from the Chinese Han dynasty<sup>5</sup>. They are mainly:

*Shan hai jing*<sup>6</sup>

*Shang shu da zhuan*<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See: GARDINER (1969), p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> YUN Næ-hyŏn 尹乃鉉 운내현 (1986, 1991), p. 386.

<sup>3</sup> Pyŏng-yang 平壤 평양.

<sup>4</sup> See *Korea Newsreview*, October 16th, 1993, p. 30f.

<sup>5</sup> Former Han dynasty (Western Han dynasty) 前漢전한 reigned from 206 BC to 8 AD. Later Han dynasty (Eastern Han dynasty) 後漢후한 lasted from 25 AD to 220 AD.

<sup>6</sup> *Shan hai jing* 「山海經 산해경」 was written in the beginning of the 2nd C. BC. Chapter 12: *Hai nei bei jing* 「卷12 海内北經 권12 해내북경」 seems to mention Cho-sŏn for the first time: "Cho-sŏn 朝鮮 조선 (Chinese: Zhaoxian) is to the east of Lieyang 列陽 열양, to the north of the ocean and to the south of the mountains, Lieyang is a part of the Yan kingdom 燕 연." "朝鮮在列陽東海北山南列陽屬燕 조선제갈양동, 해북산남, 열양속연". Another sentence can be found in Chapter 18: *Hai nei jing* 「卷18 海内經 권18 해내경」: "Inside (near) the eastern ocean, at the corner of the northern ocean is a kingdom which is said to have the name of Zhaoxian (Cho-sŏn)." "東海之內北海隅有國名曰朝鮮 동해지내, 북해우, 유국명왈조선". See: YUN Næ-hyŏn 尹乃鉉 운내현 (1986, 1991), p. 40, note 80, 81.

<sup>7</sup> *Shang shu da zhuan* 「尚書大傳 상서대전」 was written around the middle of the 2nd BC. Chapter 2: *Yin zhuan* 「卷2 殷傳 권2 은전」 has a variant of the story of Ki-cha. See: YUN Næ-hyŏn 尹乃鉉 운내현 (1986, 1991), p. 178, note 7.

*Shi ji*<sup>1</sup>

*Qian Han shu*<sup>2</sup>

The most important of them is probably the *Shi ji*, written by Sima Qian, which, while ignoring the story of Dan-gun, records the founding of a Korean kingdom called Cho-sŏn by a Chinese aristocrat Ki-cha<sup>3</sup> who fled China at the time of the Zhou<sup>4</sup> conquest (traditional date: 1122 BC). He would accordingly be one of the first immigrants to introduce Chinese culture into the Korean peninsula<sup>5</sup>.

GARDINER, however, supposes that Sima Qian regarded Ki-cha as "a semi-legendary figure, at least in so far as his flight to Korea was concerned."<sup>6</sup> YOO-KIM notes that the *Shi ji* claims that the tomb of Ki-cha lies in Henan<sup>7</sup> in central China, what casts doubt on the whole story. In his study on early Korean history, YUN<sup>8</sup> places Ancient Cho-sŏn in north-eastern China, while YI<sup>9</sup> places the arrival of the Ki-cha tribe at the beginning of the Spring and Autumn period<sup>10</sup> (722 - 481 BC).

<sup>1</sup> The *Shi ji* 「史記 사기」 by Sima Qian (Ssu-ma Ch'ien) 司馬遷 사마천 (born around 145 BC, died in 86 BC) was written in the beginning of the first century BC. It covers a period of about 2000 years from the Yellow Emperor Huang di 黃帝 황제 (traditional reign from 2697 BC to 2597 BC (var. 2595 BC)) to Wu di 武帝 무제 (reigned from 141 BC to 87 BC) of the Former Han dynasty 前漢 전한. The texts concerning Cho-sŏn can be found in 2 chapters: Chapter 38: *Song wei zi shi jia* 「宋微子世家 송미자세가」 and Chapter 115: *Zhaoxian lie zuan* 「朝鮮列傳 조선 열전」. See *Sa-gi* II 「史記 II 사기 II」 (1993), p. 242ff.

<sup>2</sup> The *Qian Han shu* 「前漢書 전한서」 was written by Ban Gu 班固 반고 at the end of the 1st C. AD. Chapter 28 (2): *Di li zhi* 「卷 28 下地理志 권 28 하지리지」 repeats almost word for word the account of the *Shi ji*.

<sup>3</sup> Ki-cha (Chinese: Jizi (Chi-tzu)) 箕子 기자 is said to have been an uncle of Dixin 帝辛 계신, the last king of Yin 殷 은 (Shang 商 상). This would explain his loyalty to the old dynasty and his flight after the destruction of his state. See: GARDINER (1969), p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> The Western Zhou 西周 서주 lasted traditionally from 1122 BC to 771 BC. The Eastern Zhou 東周 동주 lasted traditionally from 771 BC to 255 BC.

<sup>5</sup> It is said that Ki-cha 箕子 기자 introduced handicrafts (in particular weaving), agriculture as well as 8 basic laws forbidding murder, injury and theft (only 3 of the 8 laws are related). See: WISSINGER (1984), p. 611, note 27.

<sup>6</sup> See: GARDINER (1969), p. 9.

<sup>7</sup> The precise location reportedly is: Henan 河南省 하남성, Guide-fu 歸德府 귀덕부, Shangqiu-xian 商邱縣 상구현. See: YOO-KIM Bok-nam (1980), p. 21.

<sup>8</sup> "The territory of Old Chosŏn was bounded on the west by the upper and middle reaches of the Luan River (灤河 난하) and by Chiehshih (Jieshi 碣石 갈석) in Ch'angli-hsien (Changli-xian 昌黎縣 창리현), in what is modern Hopei (Hebei 河北 하북) Province of China, and extended all the way to the Ch'ongch'ŏn River (Ch'ong-ch'ŏn-kang 濟川江 청천강 [fig. 684 (3)]) in the northern part of the Korean Peninsula; it included the northeast part of Hopei (Hebei 河北 하북) Province and all of the provinces of Liaoning (遼寧 요녕) and Chilin (Jilin 吉林 길림)." See: YUN Næ-hyŏn 尹乃鉉 윤내현 (1986, 1991), p. 384f.

<sup>9</sup> See: YI Byŏng-do 李丙燾 이병도: (1976, 1992), p. 55.

<sup>10</sup> Chunqiu shidai (Korean: Čhun-čhu si-dæ) 春秋時代 춘추시대: 722 - 481 BC.

## 1.1.3. WI-MAN CHO-SŎN

For almost one millennium, the *Shi ji* has no information whatsoever about Cho-sŏn. In 195 BC, after a failed attempt by King Luwan<sup>1</sup> of Yan state<sup>2</sup> to overthrow the newly established Han dynasty, Wi-man<sup>3</sup>, one of King Luwan's officials, arrived in the territory of Ancient Cho-sŏn with about 1,000 followers, dressed in the fashion of the non-Chinese natives, and overthrew the local ruling clan under King Chun<sup>4</sup>. Wi-man was subsequently crowned King of Cho-sŏn in 194 BC. Wi-man Cho-sŏn<sup>5</sup> is said to have lasted less than a century until in 108 BC and the following year<sup>6</sup> when Emperor Wu<sup>7</sup> of the Chinese Han dynasty conquered Wi-man Cho-sŏn which was then ruled by U-kŏ<sup>8</sup>, the grandson of Wi-man.

In contrast to the story about Ki-cha, the events concerning Wi-man Cho-sŏn related in the *Shi ji* are quite credible as only about one century separates them from the days of the author Sima Qian. YOO-KIM supposes that Wi-man was not a Chinese, but a member of the Mæk<sup>9</sup>, a Korean clan, because he adopted the dress of the non-Chinese inhabitants and he kept the name 'Cho-sŏn' for his kingdom. YUN, in continuity of his research on Ki-cha, places Wi-man Cho-sŏn "at the western flank of Old Chosŏn. Ultimately, Wiman came to possess territory to an area just short of the Liao River" and "coexisted with Old Chosŏn to the east."<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Luwan 盧絜 노관, his life dates are not known.

<sup>2</sup> Yan 燕 연, its political centre was probably near modern Beijing 北京 북경. It collapsed in 222 BC. See: YI Chun-sik 李春植 이춘식 (1991), p. 57; BYŎN Tæ-sŏb 변태섭 etc. (1990, 1993), p. 13, map 8.

<sup>3</sup> Wi-man (Ch: Weiman) 衛滿 위만, his life dates are not known

<sup>4</sup> Chun (Ch: Jun) 準 준. See: GARDINER (1969), p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> In order to differentiate the kingdoms, the names of the traditional founders are added: e.g. Dan-gun Cho-sŏn 檀君朝鮮 단군조선 ('the kingdom Cho-sŏn founded by Dan-gun'), Ki-cha Cho-sŏn 箕子朝鮮 기자조선 and Wi-man Cho-sŏn 衛滿朝鮮 위만조선.

<sup>6</sup> The dates given here are those of the foundings of the four Han commanderies (see further below, pp. 14f.)

<sup>7</sup> Wu di 武帝 무제, the 6th (var. 7th) emperor of the Former Han dynasty 前漢 전한, reigned from 141 to 87 BC.

<sup>8</sup> U-kŏ 右渠 우거, his life dates are not known.

<sup>9</sup> Mæk 貊 맥 or貉 막 See: further below, pp. 11f.; YOO-KIM Bok-nam (1980), p. 23.

<sup>10</sup> Liao River (Ch: Liaohe) 遼河 요하. See: YUN Næ-hyŏn 尹乃鉉 윤내현 (1986, 1991), p. 391.

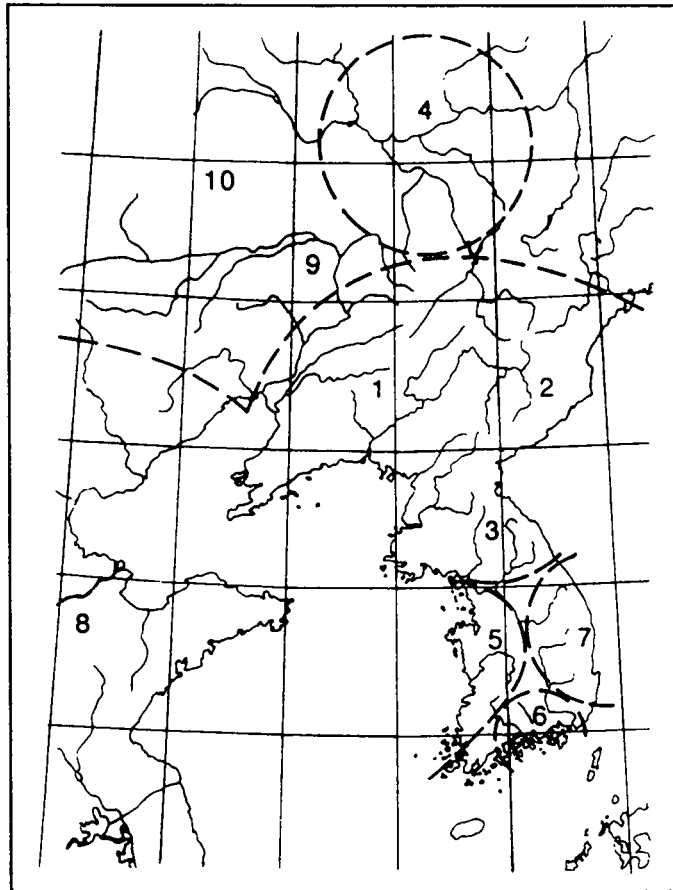


Fig. 1: Wi-man Cho-sŏn 衛滿朝鮮 위만조선 and the Dong-i 東夷 등이 in about 200 BC (1st variant)

- Legend:
- 1 Ancient Cho-sŏn 古朝鮮 고조선 = Ye-mæk 濊貊 예맥 (?)
  - 2 Ok-chŏ 沃沮 옥저
  - 3 Dong-ye 東濊 등예
  - 4 Bu-yŏ 夫餘 부여
  - 5 Ma-han 馬韓 마한
  - 6 Byŏn-han 弁韓 변한
  - 7 Chin-han 辰韓 진한
  - 8 Han 漢 한 (China)
  - 9 Donghu 東胡 동호
  - 10 Xiongnu 匈奴 흉노

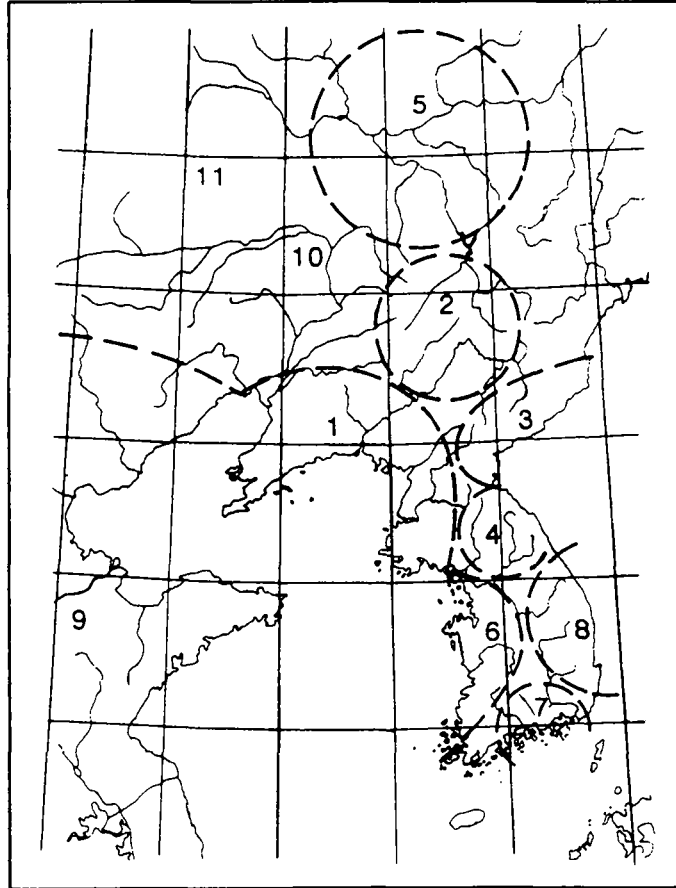


Fig. 2: Wi-man Cho-sŏn 衛滿朝鮮 위만조선 and the Dong-i 東夷 동이 in about 200 BC (2nd variant)

- Legend:
- 1 Ancient Cho-sŏn 古朝鮮 고조선
  - 2 Ye-mæk 濊貊 예맥
  - 3 Ok-chŏ 沃沮 옥저
  - 4 Dong-ye 東濊 동예
  - 5 Bu-yŏ 夫餘 부여
  - 6 Ma-han 馬韓 마한
  - 7 Byŏn-han 弁韓 변한
  - 8 Chin-han 辰韓 진한
  - 9 Han 漢 (China)
  - 10 Donghu 東胡 동호
  - 11 Xiongnu 匈奴 흉노

## 1.1.4. THE DONG-I

Several other tribes (or countries) are mentioned in Chinese sources as having lived to the east of China. The Chinese called them collectively Dongyi<sup>1</sup>, literally 'eastern barbarians'. It is not yet clear which of them (if any) were included in Ancient Cho-sŏn. The territories of these tribes are also only known approximately as for Ancient Cho-sŏn. In many cases it is not even sure if the tribe names identify different entities or are simply synonymous.

The Ye-mæk<sup>2</sup> probably lived in modern North Korea and the modern province of Liaoning<sup>3</sup> in China. It is therefore possible that parts of their territory were transformed into the Han commanderies<sup>4</sup>. Together with other tribes such as the Suk-sin<sup>5</sup>, the Ye-mæk could have formed the central element of Ancient Cho-sŏn, especially if 'Cho-sŏn' is but a Chinese name<sup>6</sup> [fig. 1]. Other interpretations differentiate between Ancient Cho-sŏn and the Dong-i (Ch: Dongyi), attributing to each name an independent territory<sup>7</sup> [fig. 2]. Some scholars<sup>8</sup> attribute the legend of Dan-gun to the Ye-mæk. At the moment of the Chinese conquest a large number of Ye-mæk seem to have emigrated to neighbouring tribes and the Ye-mæk vanished from recorded history. The relation between the Ye-mæk and the Ok-chŏ and Dong-ye<sup>9</sup> which seem to have occupied adjacent territories has not yet been clarified. The Ok-chŏ and Dong-ye might have been elements of the Ye-mæk or successors after the fall of the Ye-mæk.

Bu-yŏ<sup>10</sup>, the northernmost of the proto-Korean tribes, had its original territory in central Manchuria. According to one theory, it is believed to have been founded after Ancient Cho-sŏn was destroyed in 108 BC. (It could therefore

<sup>1</sup> Dongyi (K: Dong-i) 東夷 등이.

<sup>2</sup> Ye-mæk 濊貊 예맥 (Ye 濊/穢/穢 예 and Mæk 貊/貉 맥), some scholars divide the Ye-mæk into two tribes: the Ye and the Mæk. See: YUN Næ-hyŏn 尹乃鉉 운내현 (1986, 1991), p. 387f.

<sup>3</sup> Liaoning 遼寧 요녕.

<sup>4</sup> See: YOO-KIM Bok-nam (1980), p. 24.

<sup>5</sup> Suk-sin 肅愼 숙신 also called Chik-sin 穢愼 직신 or Sik-sin 息愼 식신. YUN lists also other tribes: Chu 追 추, Chin-bŏn 真番 진번 (usually considered one of the four Han commanderies), Im-dun 臨屯 임둔 (another Han commandery), Bal 發 발, Yang-i 良夷 양이, Yang-chu 楊州 양주, Yu 俞 유, Chŏng-gu 靑丘 청구, Ko-i 高夷 고이, Ko-chuk 孤竹 고죽 and the Ok-chŏ 沃沮 옥저. See: YUN Næ-hyŏn 尹乃鉉 운내현 (1986, 1991), p. 387f.; WISSINGER (1984), p. 69.

<sup>6</sup> See: p. 5, n. 4.

<sup>7</sup> See: BYŎN Tæ-sŏb 변태섭 etc. (1990, 1993), p. 9ff.

<sup>8</sup> See: YI Byŏng-do 李丙燾 이병도 (1976, 1992), p. 30f.

<sup>9</sup> Ok-chŏ 沃沮 옥저 and Dong-ye 東濊 등예. See: SGSSC, p. 387, 842f.

<sup>10</sup> Bu-yŏ 夫餘 부여 was also formed by several tribes according to SGSSC, among them possibly the Ok-chŏ 沃沮 옥저. The modern city of Bu-yŏ 扶餘 부여 in Chung-chŏng-nam-do 忠清南道 충청남도 [fig. 690 (19)] is written slightly differently, but the name has probably the same origin, as a part of the Bu-yŏ tribe is said to have moved southwards and became the leading clan of the Ma-han tribes. See: SGSSC, p. 842.

have been a part of Ancient Cho-sŏn.) Another theory considers Bu-yŏ to have been a confederation of the tribes to the north and east of Ancient Cho-sŏn, uniting among others the Ye-mæk and the Suk-sin. Bu-yŏ reportedly lasted until 494 AD when it was conquered by King Mun-cha<sup>1</sup> of Ko-gu-ryŏ.

In the upper Yalu basin a group of small tribes are said to have formed the kingdom of Ko-gu-ryŏ. They were reportedly the So-no, Kye-ru, Chŏl-no, Sun-no and Kwan-no<sup>2</sup>. They too probably belonged to Ancient Cho-sŏn prior to the Chinese conquest.

In modern South Korea (and parts of modern North Korea ?) lived the so-called 'three Han': Ma-han, Byŏn-han and Chin-han<sup>3</sup>. Each of them was subdivided into smaller tribes<sup>4</sup>. The Ma-han occupied the southwest of the Korean peninsula and one of its tribes developed into the Bæk-che<sup>5</sup> kingdom. Byŏn-han lay in the Nak-dong River<sup>6</sup> basin and became the federation of the Ka-ya and Ka-rak tribes<sup>7</sup>. One of the tribes of the Chin-han in the south-east of the Korean peninsula became the Sa-ro kingdom<sup>8</sup> which changed its name to Sin-la<sup>9</sup> in 500 A.D.

<sup>1</sup> Mun-cha Wang 文咨王 문자왕, the 21st King of Ko-gu-ryŏ 高句麗 고구려, reigned from 492 to 518 AD.

<sup>2</sup> So-no 消奴 소노 (GARDINER has: Yŏn-no 涓奴 연노, which seems to be a mistake), Kye-ru 桂婁 계루, the first king is said to have descended from this tribe, Chŏl-no 絶奴 절노, Sun-no 順奴 순노 and Kwan-no 灌奴 관노. See GARDINER (1969), p. 30; *SGSSC*, p. 83f.

<sup>3</sup> Three Han 三韓 삼한, Ma-han 馬韓 마한, this tribe is often associated with the 'horse riders' mentioned in Japanese sources, Byŏn-han 弁韓 변한 and Chin-han 真韓 진한.

<sup>4</sup> Ma-han had 54 tribal communities, Byŏn-han and Chin-han each had 12 tribal communities.

<sup>5</sup> Bæk-che 百濟 백제. After it moved the capital to Sa-bi 泗水 사비 (modern Bu-yŏ 扶餘 부여) in 475 AD, the kingdom adopted a new name: Nam-bu-yŏ 南夫餘 남부여 which seems to be a reference to the origin of the leading clan of Bæk-che which descended from the northern Bu-yŏ 夫餘 부여 (see above).

<sup>6</sup> Nak-dong-kang 洛東江 낙동강 [fig. 684 (10)], one of the largest rivers in South Korea, it enters the ocean to the west of Bu-san Metropolis 釜山廣域市 부산광역시.

<sup>7</sup> Ka-ya 伽倻 가야 and Ka-rak 駕洛 가락 tribes.

<sup>8</sup> Sa-ro 斯盧 사로.

<sup>9</sup> Sin-la 新羅 신라.



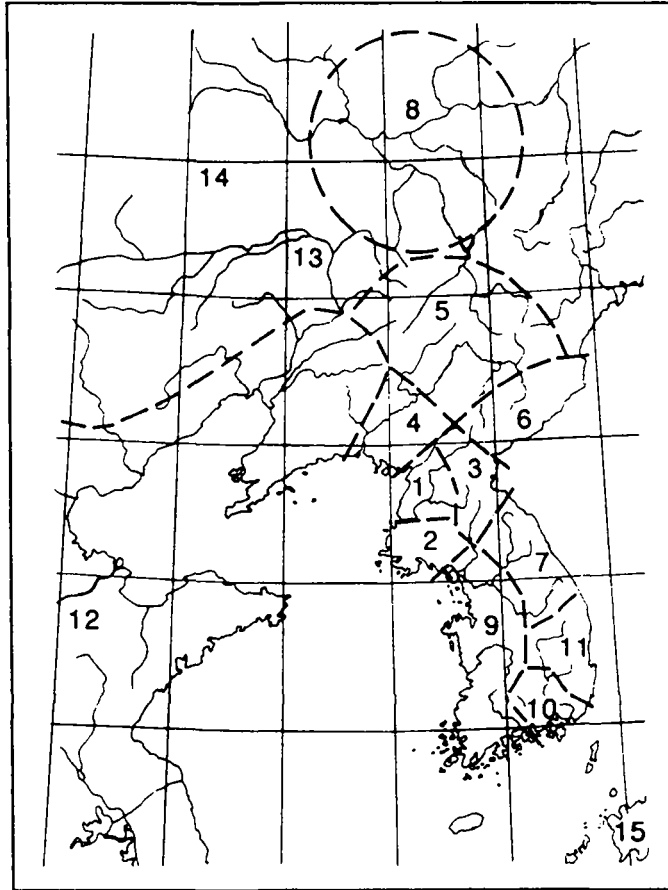


Fig. 3: The four Han commanderies 漢四郡 한사군 and the Dong-i 東夷 동이 in about 100 BC

- Legend:
- 1 Nak-rang (Ch: Lelang) 樂浪 낙랑
  - 2 Chin-bōn (Ch: Zhenfan) 真番 진번
  - 3 Im-dun (Ch: Lintun) 臨屯 임둔
  - 4 Hyōn-do (Ch: Xuantu) 玄菟 현도
  - 5 Ye-mæk 濊貊 예맥
  - 6 Ok-chō 沃沮 옥저
  - 7 Dong-ye 東濊 동예
  - 8 Bu-yō 夫餘 부여
  - 9 Ma-han 馬韓 마한
  - 10 Byōn-han 弁韓 변한
  - 11 Chin-han 辰韓 진한
  - 12 Han 漢 한 (China)
  - 13 Donghu 東胡 동호
  - 14 Xiongnu 匈奴 흉노
  - 15 Yayoi 彌生 やよい 미생 (Japan)

## 1.1.5. THE HAN COMMANDERIES

When Emperor Wu of Han destroyed Ancient Cho-sŏn in 108 BC, he set up three commanderies in the territory of Ancient Cho-sŏn: Nak-rang (Ch: Lelang), Chin-bŏn (Ch: Zhenfan) and Im-dun (Ch: Lintun)<sup>1</sup>. The next year the fourth commandery Hyŏn-do (Ch: Xuantu)<sup>2</sup> was established. The locations of these commanderies are still controversial and there are two extreme positions:

1. the commanderies lay mainly on the Korean peninsula with the centre near the modern city of Pyŏng-yang<sup>3</sup>.
2. the commanderies did not reach the Korean peninsula but lay in modern North China and their centre was somewhere north of the Liaodong peninsula<sup>4</sup>.

The second variant admits a Chinese military base of the name of Nak-rang at Pyŏng-yang founded in the first century AD but it fails to explain the Chinese remains excavated from the Pyŏng-yang area dated to the early first century BC<sup>5</sup>.

Already in 82 BC, the Chinese were forced to abandon Chin-bŏn and incorporated parts of Im-dun in Nak-rang and Hyŏn-do in 75 BC. After this date, Hyŏn-do is not mentioned any more, and may therefore have been incorporated in Nak-rang sometime in the first century BC. In the beginning of the third century AD, a new commandery, Dæ-bang<sup>6</sup> was founded to the south of Nak-rang. According to the *Sam-guk-sa-gi*<sup>7</sup>, Nak-rang and Dæ-bang existed until 313 and 314 AD when King Mi-čhŏn<sup>8</sup> of Ko-gu-ryŏ annexed them. The possibility of two distinct entities called Nak-rang arises from the fact that the *Sam-guk-sa-gi* also states that Sin-la conquered Nak-rang and Dæ-bang in 300 AD<sup>9</sup>. Other historians<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Nak-rang (Ch: Lelang) 樂浪 낙랑, Chin-bŏn (Ch: Zhenfan) 眞番 진번 and Im-dun (Ch: Lintun) 臨屯 임둔.

<sup>2</sup> Hyŏn-do (Ch: Xuantu) 玄菟 현도.

<sup>3</sup> Pyŏng-yang 平壤 평양, this position is widely accepted. See: WISSINGER (1984), p. 79.

<sup>4</sup> Liaodong 遼東 요동. See: YUN Næ-hyŏn 尹乃鉉 윤내현 (1986, 1991), p. 395.

<sup>5</sup> See KIM Byung-mo (1978), pp. 147, 153, 182f.

<sup>6</sup> Dæ-bang (Ch: Daifang) 帶方 대방, according to YUN, this happened in 210 AD. See: YUN Næ-hyŏn 尹乃鉉 윤내현 (1986, 1991), p. 397.

<sup>7</sup> *Sam-guk-sa-gi* 「三國史記 삼국사기」 the official history of the Three Kingdoms, written by KIM Bu-sik 金富軾 김부식 (1075 - 1151 AD), a Confucian scholar. It covers the periods from the foundations of the Three Kingdoms until the end of Unified Sin-la. See: *SGSG*.

<sup>8</sup> Mi-čhŏn Wang 美川王 미천왕, the 15th king of Ko-gu-ryŏ 高句麗 고구려, reigned from 300 to 331 AD.

<sup>9</sup> See: *SGSG* I, pp. 43, 49.

<sup>10</sup> E.g. GARDINER: "Ko-gu-ryŏ must have taken over the Pyŏng-yang area very soon after the death of Tung Shou (Dong-su 冬壽 동수)", who allegedly died in 357 AD. See: Chapter 2.1., Excursus 1, pp. 64 - 86, GARDINER (1969), p. 55.

dismiss both variants and believe that Nak-rang existed until 357 AD at least, the date found in an inscription in the tomb No. 3 at An-ak<sup>1</sup>.

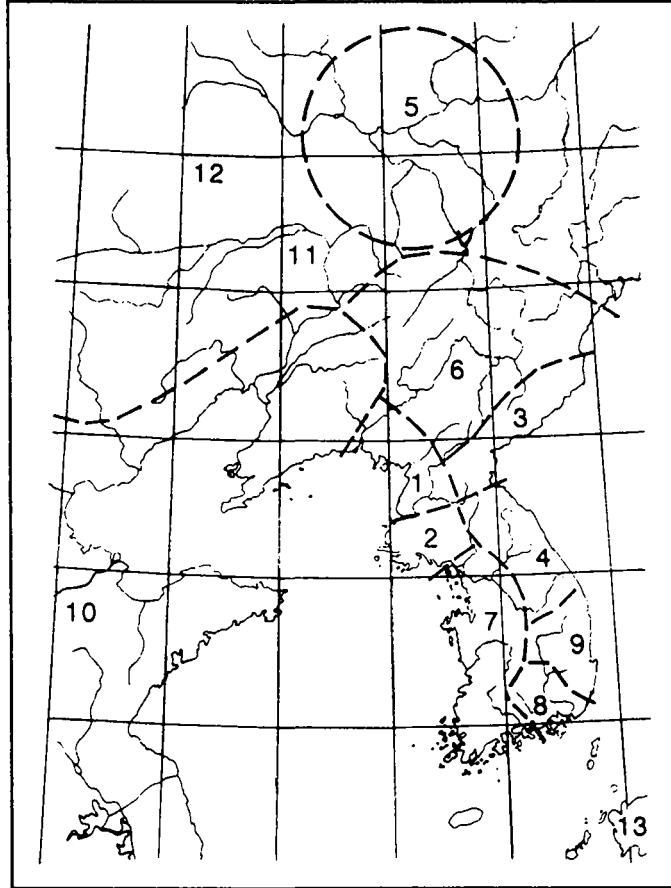


Fig. 4: The four Han commanderies 漢四郡 한사군 and the early Korean kingdoms in 100 AD

- Legend:
- 1 Nak-rang (Ch: Lelang) 樂浪 낙랑
  - 2 Dæ-bang (Ch: Daifang) 帶方 대방
  - 3 Ok-chō 沃沮 옥저
  - 4 Dong-ye 東濊 등예
  - 5 Bu-yō 夫餘 부여
  - 6 Ko-gu-ryō 高句麗 고구려
  - 7 Ma-han 馬韓 마한
  - 8 Byōn-han 弁韓 변한
  - 9 Chin-han 辰韓 진한
  - 10 Han 漢 한 (China)
  - 11 Donghu 東胡 동호
  - 12 Xiongnu 匈奴 흉노
  - 13 Yayoi 彌生 やよい 미생 (Japan)

<sup>1</sup> An-ak 安岳 안악. See: Chapter 2.1., Excursus 1, pp. 64 - 86.

## 1.1.6. THE FOUNDING OF THE THREE KINGDOMS

Korean historians call the first six centuries AD 'the period of the Three Kingdoms'<sup>1</sup> by applying the Chinese term of one of its historical periods. Actually, for most of the duration of this period, four political entities coexisted on the Korean peninsula: Ko-gu-ryō, Bæk-che, Ka-ya and Sin-la. The traditional dates for the founding of the Three Kingdoms are set in the first century BC: Sin-la in 57 BC, Ko-gu-ryō in 37 BC and Bæk-che in 18 BC. The traditional date of the Ka-ya federation is 42 AD. The date for Sin-la is especially suspicious and it may have been pushed back in order to serve as a justification for the later conquest of the other kingdoms. The other dates must also be used prudently because they cannot yet be supported by archaeological evidence. It seems more probable to consider these dates as the starting point of a trend which led eventually to the full establishment of centralized monarchies in the fourth century AD<sup>2</sup>. The fourth century AD is important in two ways: firstly, it is the threshold from the proto-historical to the historical period and secondly, it is the time of the official adoption of Buddhism in two of the kingdoms<sup>3</sup>.

The territories of the four political entities are quite accurately identified in historical texts throughout their history in spite of the frequent changes of the borders. Ko-gu-ryō had its political centre in the Yalu basin<sup>4</sup> with the capital at Guk-næ-sōng<sup>5</sup> [fig. 5 (1)]. In the early fourth century AD, Ko-gu-ryō succeeded in expanding its territory to the Yellow Sea<sup>6</sup> by annexing the Chinese commanderies of Nak-rang and Dæ-bang but it had to withdraw from parts of the newly conquered land after King Ko-guk-wōn<sup>7</sup> fell in battle against Bæk-che in 371 AD. Under King Kwang-kæ-to<sup>8</sup> (r. 391 - 412), Ko-gu-ryō reached a new height and

<sup>1</sup> The period of the Three Kingdoms. As the term was already established in the Ko-ryō 高麗 고려 period it can hardly be exchanged by a more precise term such as 'Four Kingdoms'. Ka-ya is usually not considered to have been a genuine kingdom but rather a federation of semi-independent tribes.

<sup>2</sup> Some historians try to differentiate the establishment of the kingdoms as follows: 53 AD for Ko-gu-ryō, 234 AD for Bæk-che and 356 AD for Sa-ro (Sin-la). See WISSINGER (1984), pp. 124, 130, 135.

<sup>3</sup> In 375 AD Ko-gu-ryō founded the first two temples, in 392 AD Bæk-che adopted Buddhism by royal decree. See: Chapters 2.1 and 3.1.

<sup>4</sup> Yalu River (K: Ab-lok-gang 鴨綠江 압록강) [fig. 684 (1)] forming the border of modern China and North Korea.

<sup>5</sup> Guk-næ-sōng 國內城 국내성.

<sup>6</sup> Yellow Sea (Ch: Huanghai 黃海 황해, K: Sō-hæ 西海 서해).

<sup>7</sup> Ko-guk-wōn Wang 故國原王 고국원왕, the 16th king of Ko-gu-ryō, reigned from 331 to 370 AD.

<sup>8</sup> Kwang-kæ-to Wang 廣開土王 광개토왕, the 19th king of Ko-gu-ryō, reigned from 391 to 412 AD.

controlled an area extending from the Tæ-bæk mountains<sup>1</sup> in the south to the Chinese rivers Liaohe and Songhuajiang<sup>2</sup> in the north including thus almost all of modern North Korea and large parts of the modern Chinese provinces of Jilin, Liaoning and Heilongjiang<sup>3</sup>. In 427 AD, Ko-gu-ryŏ moved its capital to the lower Dæ-dong river basin at modern Pyŏng-yang<sup>4</sup> [fig. 5 (2)].

Bæk-che never controlled a territory of such dimensions; at the height during the reign of King Gŭn-cho-go<sup>5</sup> (r. 346 - 375 AD) when Bæk-che's capital was at Han-sŏng<sup>6</sup> [fig. 5 (3)] it possessed the land of the modern provinces of Kyŏng-gi, North and South Chung-čhŏng, North and South Chŏn-la<sup>7</sup> and parts of the North Korean provinces of North and South Hwang-hæ<sup>8</sup>. Sin-la remained quite small up to the sixth century, including mainly the modern Kyŏng-sang North Province and the easternmost part of Kyŏng-sang South Province<sup>9</sup>. Its political centre never changed from Gŭm-sŏng<sup>10</sup> [fig. 5 (6)]. Ka-ya was in consequence limited to the western and central area of modern Kyŏng-sang South Province. The two cities Kim-hæ and Ko-ryŏng<sup>11</sup> retained most of the power of Ka-ya [fig. 5 (5)].

<sup>1</sup> Tæ-bæk-san 太白山 소백산 [fig. 864 (190)] forming the border of the modern provinces of Kyŏng-sang-buk-do 慶尙北道 경상북도 [fig. 685 (16)] and Kang-wŏn-do 江原道 강원도 [fig. 685 (6)].

<sup>2</sup> Songhuajiang 松花江 송화강.

<sup>3</sup> Jilin 吉林 길림, Liaoning 遼寧 요녕, Heilongjiang 黑龍江 흑동강.

<sup>4</sup> Dæ-dong-kang 大同江 대동강 [fig. 684 (4)], Pyŏng-yang 平壤 평양 [fig. 686 (1)].

<sup>5</sup> Gŭn-cho-go Wang 近肖古王 근초고왕, the 13th king of Bæk-che, reigned from 346 to 375 AD.

<sup>6</sup> Han-sŏng 漢城 한성, it lay most probably south-east of modern Sŏ-ul (Seoul) 서울 in the county of Kwang-chu 廣州郡 광주군 [fig. 687 (20)].

<sup>7</sup> Kyŏng-gi-do 京畿道 경기도 [fig. 685 (7)], Chung-čhŏng-buk-do 忠清北道 충청북도 [fig. 685 (10)], Chung-čhŏng-nam-do 忠清南道 충청남도 [fig. 685 (11)], Chŏn-la-buk-do 全羅北道 전라북도 [fig. 685 (13)], Chŏn-la-nam-do 全羅南道 전라남도 [fig. 685 (14)].

<sup>8</sup> Hwang-hæ-buk-do 黃海北道 황해북도 [fig. 686 (10)], Hwang-hæ-nam-do 黃海南道 황해남도 [fig. 686 (11)].

<sup>9</sup> Kyŏng-sang-buk-do 慶尙北道 경상북도 [fig. 685 (16)], Kyŏng-sang-nam-do 慶尙南道 경상남도 [fig. 685 (18)].

<sup>10</sup> Gŭm-sŏng 金城 금성, modern Kyŏng-chu 慶州 경주 [fig. 693 (34)].

<sup>11</sup> Kim-hæ 金海 김해 [fig. 694 (15)], Ko-ryŏng 高靈 고령 [fig. 693 (28)].

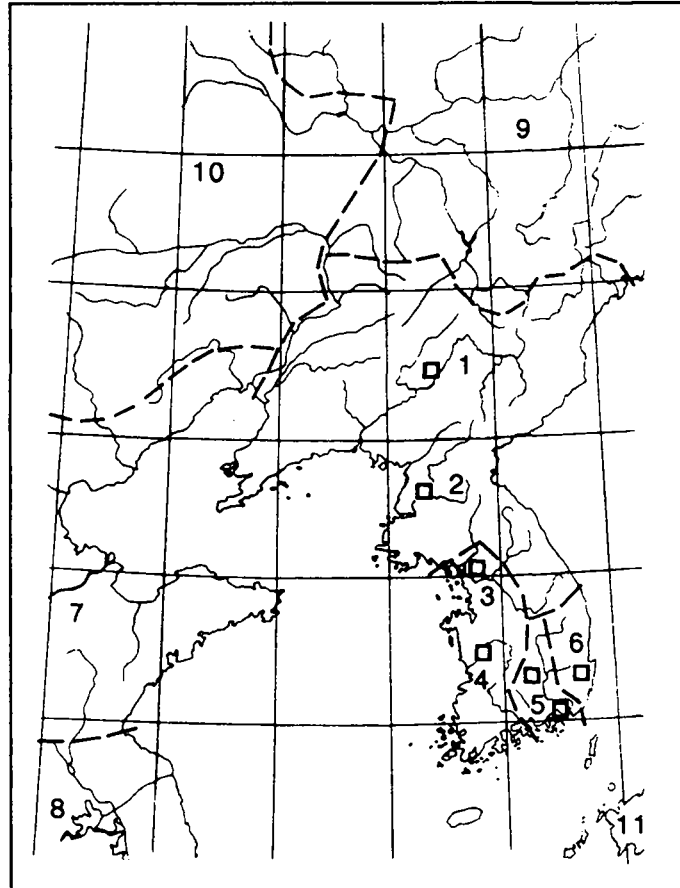


Fig. 5: The Korean kingdoms in about 450 AD

- Legend:
- 1 Ko-gu-ryō 高句麗 고구려 (Guk-næ-sōng 國內城 국내성)
  - 2 Ko-gu-ryō 高句麗 고구려 (Pyōng-yang 平壤 평양)
  - 3 Bæk-che 百濟 백제 (Han-sōng 漢城 한성)
  - 4 Bæk-che 百濟 백제 / Nam-bu-yō 南夫餘 남부여 (Sa-bi 泗沘 사비)
  - 5 Ka-ya 伽倻 가야 / Ka-rak 駕洛 가락
  - 6 Sa-ro 斯盧 사로 / Sin-la 新羅 신라
  - 7 Northern Wei 北魏 북위 (China)
  - 8 Song 宋 송 (China)
  - 9 Bu-yō 夫餘 부여
  - 10 Sōn-bi 鮮卑 선비 / Kumoxi 庫莫奚 고막해 (Kitai)
  - 11 Yamato Wa 大倭 やまとわ 대외 (Japan)

## 1.2. THE CULTURE AND ARCHITECTURE OF EARLY KOREA

### Preliminary remarks

The known archaeological remains of the earliest period of the history of Korea cannot easily be connected to the political history. However, they reveal important aspects of the culture and architecture of the time. Together with the related founding legends of the various kingdoms, the archaeological remains shed some light on the character of the indigenous traditions ('religion') which has often been called 'shamanism' and whose influence can still be felt in Korean society.

### 1.21. FROM THE PALEOLITHIC TO THE NEOLITHIC

The Palaeolithic and Mesolithic of Korea cover the period from the first appearance of humans on the Korean peninsula up to about 5,000 BC. No sure date can yet be provided for the first humans who settled on the Korean peninsula, estimations vary between 800,000 to 400,000 years before present<sup>1</sup>. Stone tools from the Palaeolithic were discovered at various excavation sites in Korea. A distinct Mesolithic culture<sup>2</sup> which supposedly existed between 10,000 B.C. and 5,000 BC has not been identified so far. The Neolithic period started in about 5,000 BC<sup>3</sup> and lasted until about 1,000 BC. The main characteristic of this period is the geometric pottery, in particular the so-called 'comb-pattern pottery'. KIM<sup>4</sup> distinguishes three periods of Neolithic according to the pottery design [figs. 6 - 8]:

<sup>1</sup> The catalogue of the National Museum speaks of "some four million years ago" but this statement does probably not concern the Korean peninsula. WISSINGER and NELSON provide more details and a bibliography on the first human evidence in Korea. See: WISSINGER (1984), p. 563ff.; NELSON (1993), pp. 26 - 39; Korea (National Museum of) 國立中央博物館 국립중앙박물관 (ed.) (1991), p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> WISSINGER mentions the possibility that the Korean peninsula was not inhabited during this period. See: WISSINGER (1984), p. 29.

<sup>3</sup> According to KIM Wŏn-yong, recent excavations may "push the Korean Neolithic back beyond 5,000 BC". KIM Jeong-hak places the beginning of the Neolithic at about 3,000 BC, while NELSON seems to prefer 6,000 BC. See: KIM Wŏn-yong 金元龍 김원용 (1986), p. 29; KIM Jeong-hak (1978), p. 52; NELSON (1993), pp. 58f.

<sup>4</sup> See: KIM Wŏn-yong 金元龍 김원용 (1986), pp. 33f.

1. Early Neolithic (fourth millennium BC) with pre-comb pottery (plain and raised types),
2. Middle Neolithic (third millennium BC) with comb pottery of herringbone pattern
3. Late Neolithic (second millennium BC) with comb pottery of wavy patterns

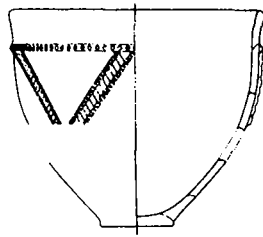


Fig. 6: 'Raised pottery' from the first period of the Neolithic (about 4th millennium BC, no scale) (after: KIM Wŏn-yong 金元龍 김원용 (1986), p. 53)



Fig. 7: 'Comb-pattern pottery' from the second period of the Neolithic (about 3rd millennium BC, scale: 1 : 10) (after: KIM Wŏn-yong 金元龍 김원용 (1986), p.60)

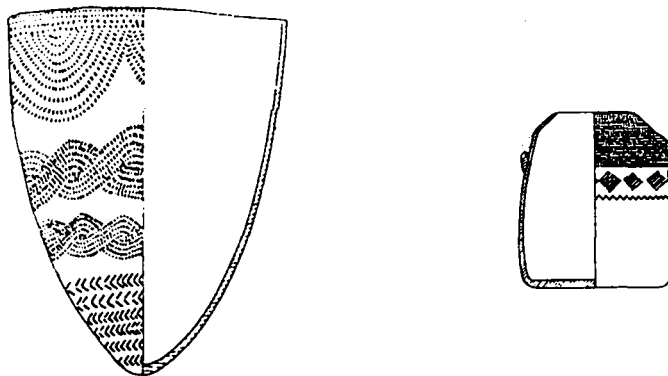


Fig. 8: Examples of pottery from the third period of the Neolithic (about 2nd millennium BC, scale: 1 : 10) (after: KIM Jeong-hak (1978), p. 25)



The first clear evidence of architectural activity seems to date to the early Neolithic period. Among the discovered sites is Am-sa-dong<sup>1</sup> on the southern bank of the Han River to the east of Sŏ-ul (Seoul) which was excavated from 1971 to 1974 AD. The site produced several "circular or square dwelling pits dug into the sandy soil"<sup>2</sup>. The houses had an average diameter of about 5.5 m and the floor was lowered by about 70 cm from the natural soil level. The carbon dates indicated 4,280, 4,100 and 3,000 BC.<sup>3</sup> No evidence of floor heating has been discovered there in spite of such claims by YOO-KIM<sup>4</sup>. Instead, open fireplaces were found at the centre of the dwellings. The superstructure of the houses seems to have been supported by four wooden columns placed at a distance of about 3m, thus forming the corners of a square. The columns were probably connected with each other at their top by the crossbeams which supported the rafters and the straw roof. The height of the columns is estimated at about 2m which would result in an inclination

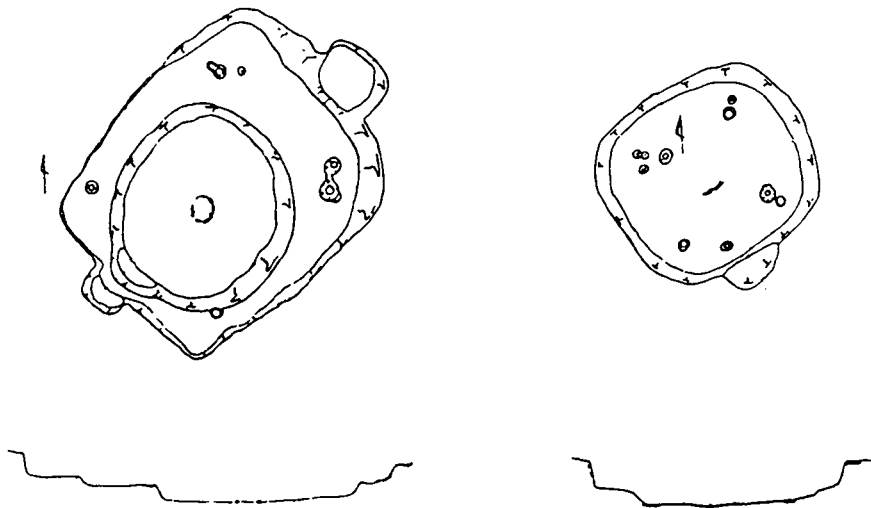


Fig. 9: Two excavated dwellings at Am-sa-dong 岩寺洞 암사동 (about 4th millennium BC, scale: 1 : 200) (after: KCS 1987 - 08, p. 69)

<sup>1</sup> Am-sa-dong 岩寺洞 암사동, Han-kang 漢江 한강 [fig. 684 (7, 8)], Sŏ-ul 서울 [fig. 687 (1)].

<sup>2</sup> NELSON speaks of more than 20 buildings (average diameter: 6m, depth: 1m), KIM mentions 5 and CHANG 6 buildings. The number of building sites changed as the excavation work progressed. See: NELSON (1993), p. 102; KIM Wŏn-yong 金元龍 김원용 (1986), p. 32; CHANG Kyŏng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992), p. 30.

<sup>3</sup> See: KIM Wŏn-yong 金元龍 김원용 (1986), pp. 33, 46 (note 44).

<sup>4</sup> The earliest known evidence of floor heating in Korea seems to date to the early Three Kingdoms period (first three centuries AD. See further below, pp. 48ff.); YOO-KIM Bok-nam (1980), p. 42.

of the rafters of about 45° with in a total interior height of the houses of about 3.5m. The entrances which have been determined at four of the houses at least, varied from south-east, south to south-west. Two of the houses were orientated to the south-west which is the direction of the flow of the Han River at Am-sa-dong.

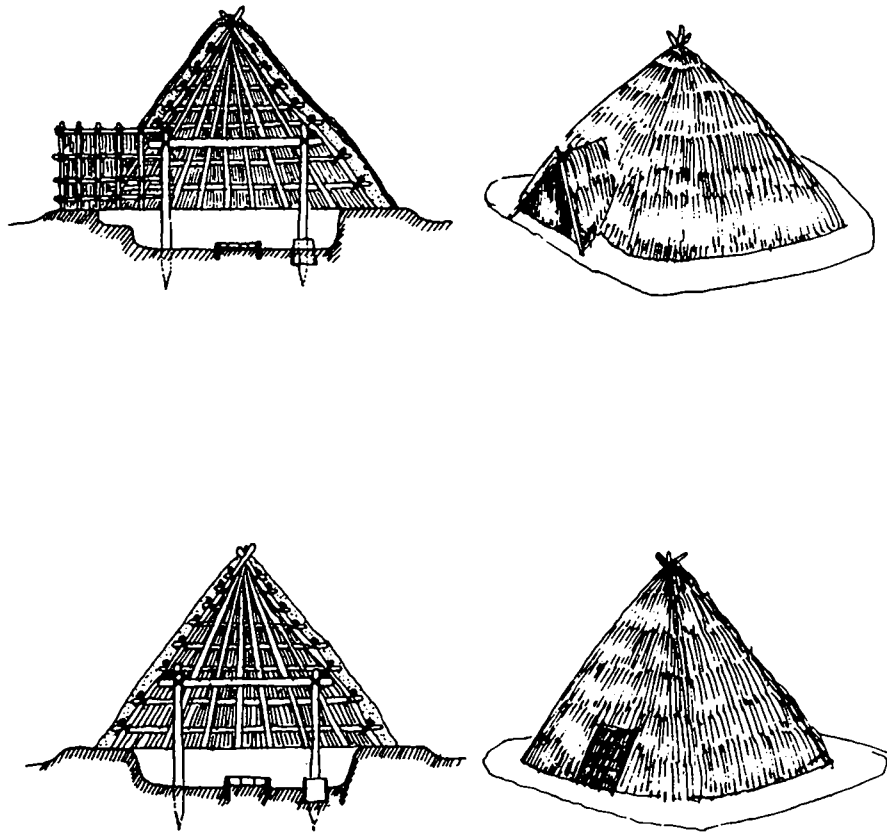


Fig. 10: Reconstructed sections and perspectives of two Neolithic dwellings (no scale)  
(after: CHU Nam-čhŏl 朱南哲 주남철 (1980, 1990), p. 21)

## 1.2.2. THE BRONZE AGE

The Bronze Age in Korea started about at 1,000 BC and lasted until the first century BC<sup>1</sup> at least. The technique of bronze metallurgy was certainly imported from China. KIM<sup>2</sup> assumes that around 600 BC, at the latest, bronze casting started on the Korean peninsula because mirror molds have been found from this period. Beside a large number of bronze weapons [fig. 11], several other bronze objects such as mirrors [fig. 11], bells and several strangely-shaped objects, only identified as "ritual implements"<sup>3</sup> [figs. 12, 13], have been discovered.

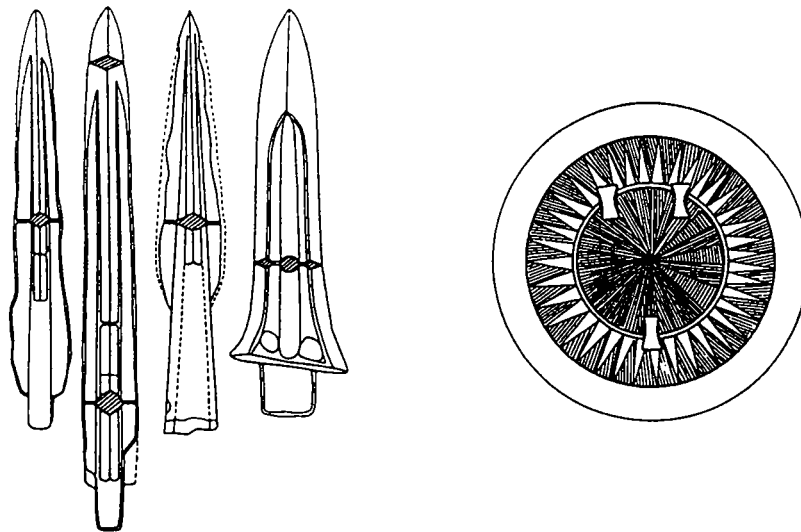


Fig. 11: Bronze weapons (scale: 1 : 5) and back side of a bronze mirror (scale: 1 : 2) from a pit tomb at I-hwa-dong 梨花洞 이화동, Ham-hŭng City 咸興市 함흥시, Ham-kyŏng-nam-do 咸鏡南道 함경남도, modern North Korea (late Bronze Age) (after: KIM Jeong-hak (1978), p. 151)

<sup>1</sup> According to the chronology proposed by KIM. See: KIM Jeong-hak (1978), p. 183.

<sup>2</sup> See: KIM Wŏn-yong 金元龍 김원용 (1986), p. 94.

<sup>3</sup> See: Korea (National Museum of) 國立中央博物館 국립중앙박물관 (ed.) (1991), p. 25.

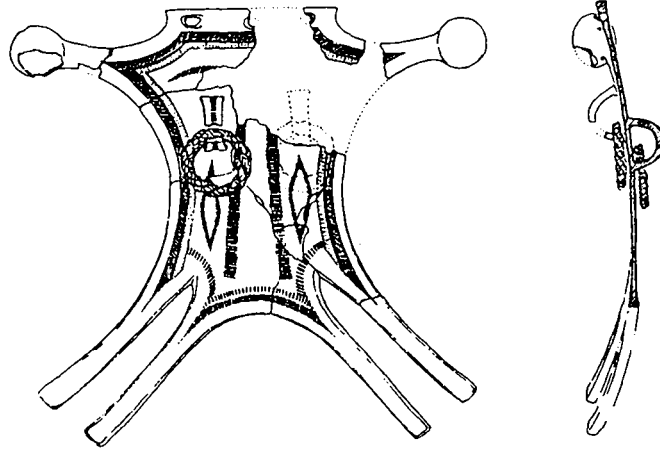


Fig. 12: Bronze 'ritual implement' from Nam-sǒng-ri 南城里 남성리, Sin-chang-myǒn 新昌面 신창면, A-san-gun 牙山郡 아산군, Chung-chǒng-nam-do 忠清南道 충청남도 (Bronze Age, scale: 1 : 3) (after: IM Yǒng-chu 林永周 임영주 (1983), p. 322)

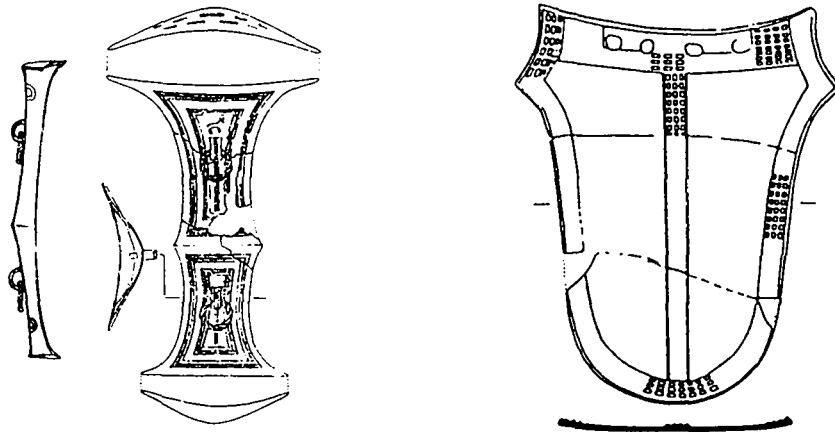


Fig. 13: Bronze 'ritual implements' from Kwæ-chǒng-dong 槐亭洞 괴정동, Sǒ-gu 西區 서구, Dæ-chǒn Metropolis 大田廣域市 대전광역시 (Bronze Age, scale: 1 : 3) (after: KIM Jeong-hak (1978), p. 132; IM Yǒng-chu 林永周 임영주 (1983), p. 322)

Other typical features of the Korean Bronze Age are huge stone dolmen<sup>1</sup> [fig. 14] and plain pottery. While it seems certain that dolmen were primarily funerary constructions, the reasons for the choice of the sites and their orientation are still unclear. In spite of the obvious similarities with European dolmen, no direct link seems to have existed between the two traditions<sup>2</sup>. Agriculture (especially rice) and the domestication of pigs<sup>3</sup> seems to have started with the beginning of the Bronze Age. The population shifted from locations propitious for hunting near rivers and oceans to locations more suited to farming and permanent settlements. During this period the human population spread all over the Korean peninsula, took possession of the land and brought about the first human-made landscape by clearing large portions of forests from the valleys.

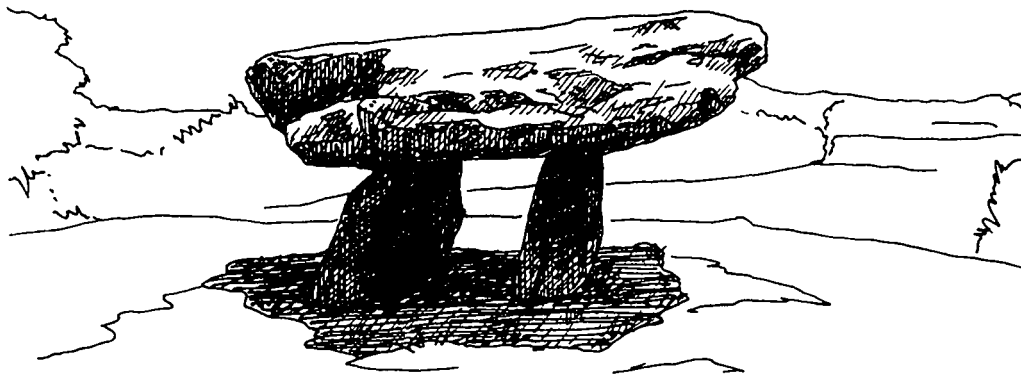


Fig. 14: Perspective of a dolmen at Bu-gŭn-ri 富近里 부근리, Ha-chŏm-myŏn 河帖面 하점면, Kang-hwa-gun 江華郡 강화군, Kyŏng-gi-do 京畿道 경기도 (Bronze Age) (drawing by the author)

<sup>1</sup> Dolmen are called *ko-in-dol* 고인돌 or *chi-sŏk-myo* 支石墓 지석묘 in Korea. For brief discussions of the two or three different types of Korean dolmen see: KIM Wŏn-yong 金元龍 김원용 (1986), pp. 36, 136; NELSON (1993), pp. 147 - 150, 159.

<sup>2</sup> See: NELSON (1993), pp. 147, 159.

<sup>3</sup> See: KIM Wŏn-yong 金元龍 김원용 (1986), pp. 118ff.; WISSINGER (1984), pp. 46f.

## 1.2.2.1. Bronze Age architecture

The excavated dwellings of the Korean Bronze Age<sup>1</sup> show a considerable increase of size reaching up to 80m<sup>2</sup> [fig. 17]. The floor of the dwellings of the Bronze Age were lowered up to 2m below the natural soil level [fig. 16]. As a result of the increased size of the surface, the ground plan seems to have evolved from the circle and square to the oblong rectangle which necessarily introduced the ridge piece in the roof construction. The roof form thus changed to the gable, hip or the hip-and-gable roofs. All three roof types have been proposed by various authors<sup>2</sup> but they seem to agree that the roofs of these buildings still reached the ground [figs. 18, 19]. A similar development of early building types has been observed in central China<sup>3</sup> [figs. 20, 21]. One of the proposed development theories<sup>4</sup>, however, suggests that the buildings with ridges (gable roofs) developed from square buildings which already featured vertical walls [fig. 22].

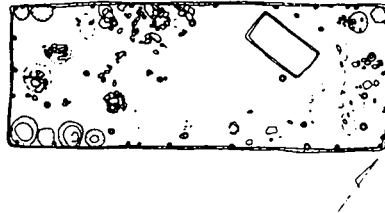


Fig. 15: Excavation plan of a Bronze Age dwelling at Hün-am-ri 欣岩里 혼암리, Chöm-dong-myŏn 占東面 점동면, Yŏ-chu-gun 驪州郡 여주군, Kyŏng-gi-do 京畿道 경기도 (Bronze Age, scale: 1 : 200) (after: CHANG Kyŏng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992), p. 41)

<sup>1</sup> See: CHANG Kyŏng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992), pp. 39ff.

<sup>2</sup> See: CHANG Kyŏng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992), p. 39; CHU Nam-čhŏi 朱南哲 주남철 (1980, 1990), p. 21.

<sup>3</sup> The Banpo 半坡 만파 site near Xi'an 西安 서안, Shaanxi 陝西 섬서, with building types of various periods is particularly important for this development theory. See: ZHANG Yuhuan (ed.) (1986), pp. 10 - 28 (for the original Chinese text: TING Pailing 丁佰齡 정백령 (ed.) (1977), pp. 17 - 42).

<sup>4</sup> See: ZHANG Yuhuan (ed.) (1986), p. 12.

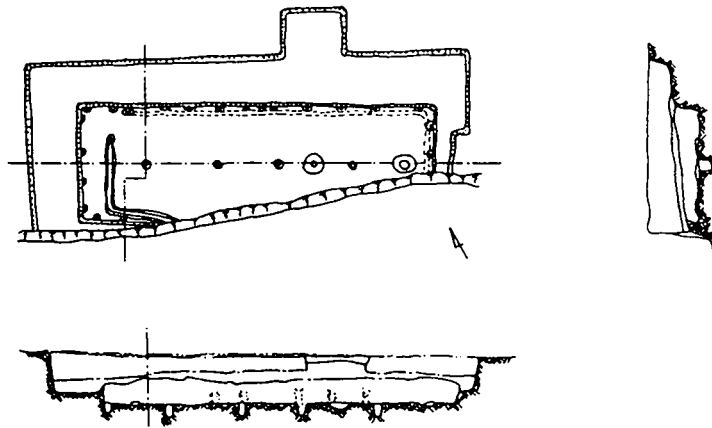


Fig. 16: Excavation plan and two sections of a Bronze Age dwelling at Kyo-ha-ri 交河里 교하리, Kyo-ha-myŏn 交河面 교하면, Pa-chu-gun 坡州郡 파주군, Kyŏng-gi-do 京畿道 경기도 (Bronze Age, scale: 1 : 200) (after: CHANG Kyŏng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992), p. 39)

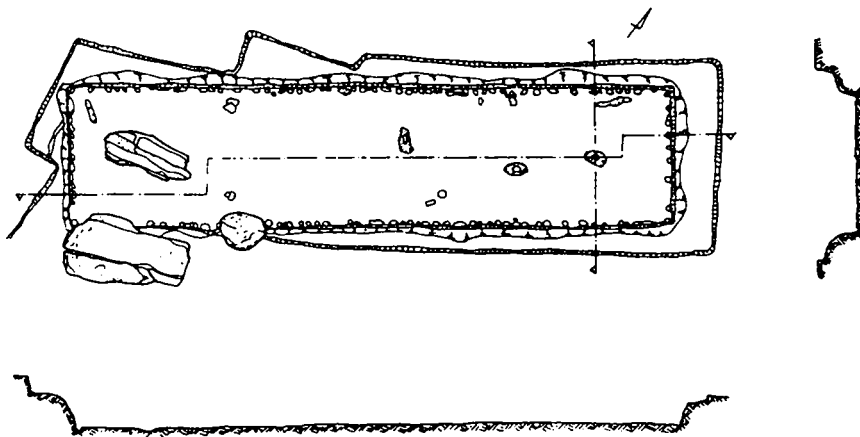


Fig. 17: Excavation plan and two sections of a Bronze Age dwelling at Ok-sŏk-ri 玉石里 옥석리, Wŏl-ryong-myŏn 月龍面 월릉면, Pa-chu-gun 坡州郡 파주군, Kyŏng-gi-do 京畿道 경기도 (Bronze Age, scale: 1 : 200) (after: CHANG Kyŏng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992), p. 40)

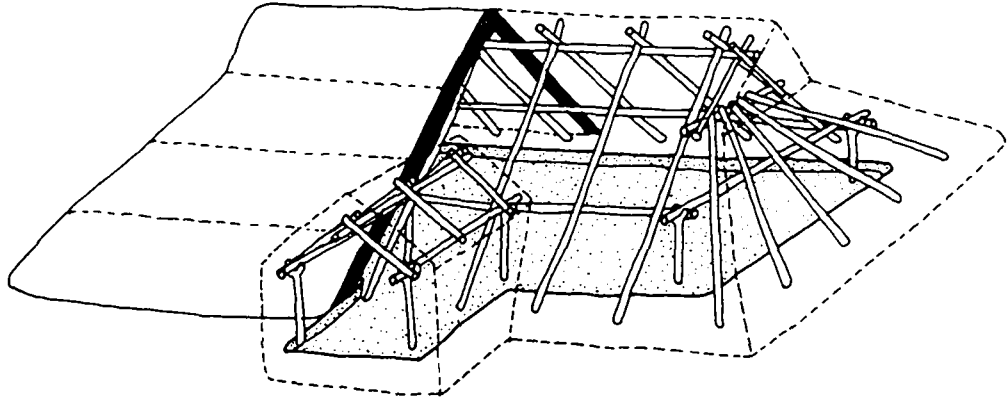


Fig. 18: Reconstructed perspective of the Bronze Age dwelling at Kyo-ha-ri 交河里 교하리, Kyo-ha-myŏn 交河面 교하면, Pa-chu-gun 坡州郡 파주군, Kyŏng-gi-do 京畿道 경기도 (Bronze Age, no scale) (after: CHANG Kyŏng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992), p. 39)

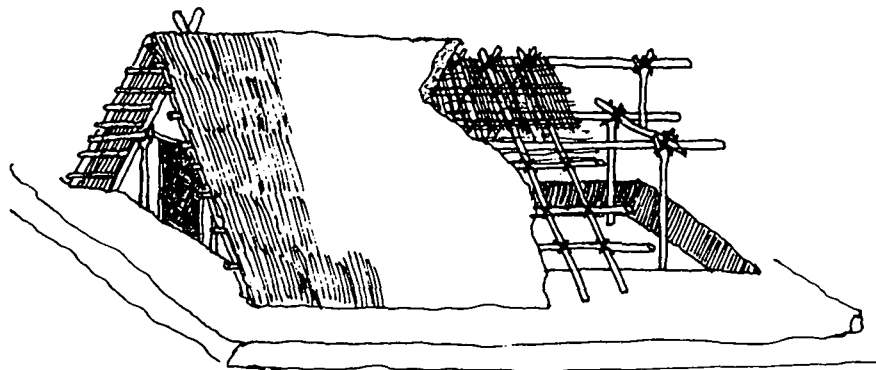


Fig. 19: Reconstructed perspective of a Bronze Age dwelling according to CHU (Bronze Age, no scale) (after: CHU Nam-chŏl 朱南哲 주남철 (1980, 1990), p. 21)



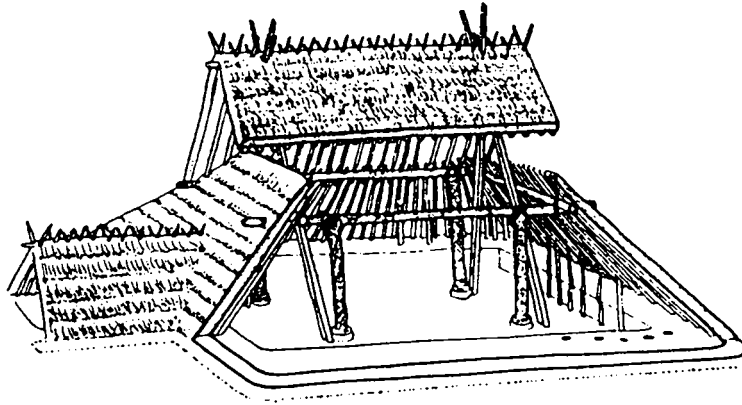


Fig. 20: Reconstructed perspective of an early Chinese dwelling at Banpo 半坡 반파, Xi'an 西安 서안, Shaanxi 陝西 섬서 (no scale) (after: LIU Dunzhen 劉敦楨 유돈정 (1980), p. 25)

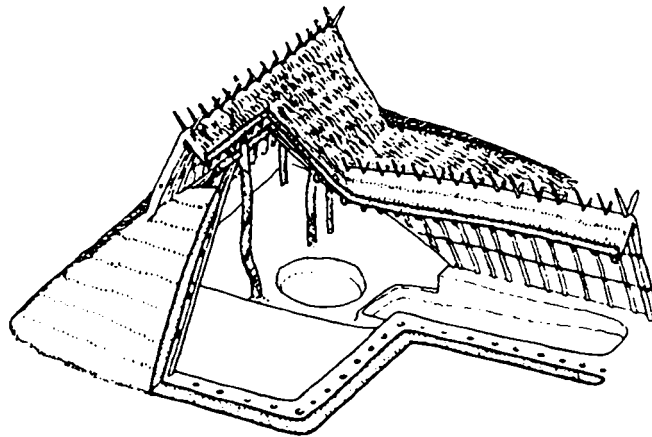


Fig. 21: Reconstructed perspective of an early Chinese dwelling at Banpo 半坡 반파, Xi'an 西安 서안, Shaanxi 陝西 섬서 (no scale) (after: LIU Dunzhen 劉敦楨 유돈정 (1980), p. 25)

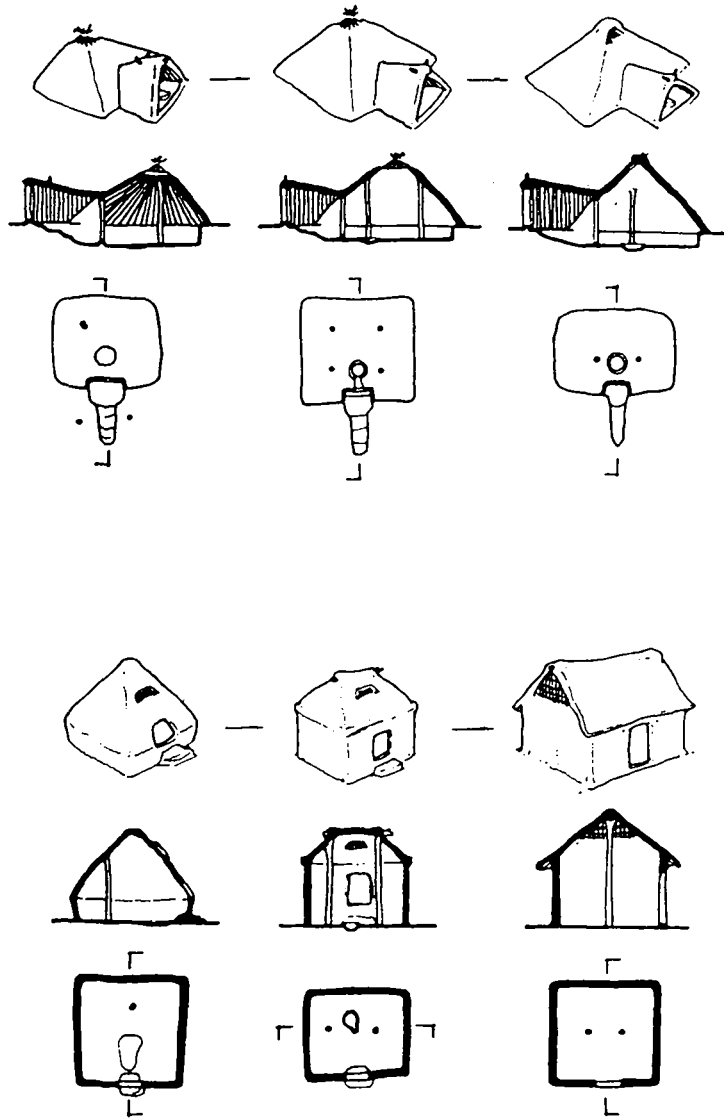


Fig. 22: Evolution of early Chinese dwellings according to ZHANG (no scale) (after: ZHANG Yuhuan (ed.) (1986), p. 12)

The evidence of the excavations is not conclusive as to the form of the buildings and the roofs. In particular the following questions may be raised: did the roof rafters on the oblong dwellings of the Bronze Age still reach the ground as it is assumed for the constructions of the Neolithic and where were the entrances located? Did the location of the entrances have an influence on the roof form or on the contrary did the roof forms determine the location of the entrances?

Answers to these questions could possibly be obtained by analysing early architectural representations (clay models, carvings and murals) and the evidence contained in historical texts of East and South East Asia. Such an excursus, however, would go beyond the scope of this study so that only a few hints of the direction of this research can be included here.

The extant examples of traditional architecture in northern China and Korea show a clear predilection for the longer building sides for the main entrances [figs. 23 - 26]. The same feature can be observed in China-influenced structures of Japan, mainly in Buddhist architecture<sup>1</sup>. The reasons for this particular choice, one of the main formal differences between ancient European<sup>2</sup> and East Asian architecture, have not yet been convincingly explained. In addition, extant examples of Korean domestic architecture predominantly feature straw-thatched hip roofs [figs. 24, 25], in some exceptional cases a small gable may appear below the ridge ends<sup>3</sup> [fig. 26]. Such a predominance of one roof type is difficult to detect in Chinese and Japanese domestic architecture because regional differences seem to be much stronger than in Korea. The discussion becomes more complicated because some examples of Shintō architecture<sup>4</sup> [fig. 27] and certain building types of Japanese<sup>5</sup> and Ainu<sup>6</sup> domestic architecture [figs. 28, 29] prefer the gable sides as main entrances. Some clay models found in the territory of Ka-ya and Sin-la<sup>7</sup> also feature entrances on the gable sides. The question can then also be extended to include the Japanese *haniwa*<sup>8</sup> house models [fig. 30] with their protruding ridges which seem to be somehow

<sup>1</sup> See: Chapter 3.3., pp. 559ff., 589ff.

<sup>2</sup> In Europe, the gable sides were often preferred for the entrances and representational façades (e.g. the Greek and Roman temples as well as the Gothic cathedrals).

<sup>3</sup> See: HWANG Hön-man 黃憲萬 황헌만 (1991), p. 198; KIM Hong-sik 金鴻植 김홍식 (1992).

<sup>4</sup> See: WATANABE Yasutada (1974), pp. 63 - 103, 130 - 136, 161; BUHOT (1949), pp. 50ff.

<sup>5</sup> The Japanese rounded entrance portico roofs which are reminiscent of gable roofs seem to have their origin in *minka* 民家 민가 architecture. See: ITOH Teiji (1972, 1974), pp. 21, 57, 76ff, 88, 110; HIRAI Kiyoshi (1973), pp. 81, 111f. 128, 149, 153f.

<sup>6</sup> See: EGENTER in KAISER (ed.) (1991), pp. 55 - 76.

<sup>7</sup> See: Chapter 4.1., p. 669 [fig. 505]; YI Ūn-chang 李殷昌 이은창, YUN Se-yōng 尹世英 윤세영 (1992), p. 166.

<sup>8</sup> *Haniwa* 埴輪 はにわ 埴輪, literally 'earthen tubes', The *haniwa* clay 'columns', models and figurines were probably funerary objects which date between the 3rd and 7th C. AD. See: FRÉDÉRIC (1996), p. 337; DOMENIG (1980), pp. 64f., 7-, 72; MIKI Fumio (1974), pp. 32, 55, 58 - 67.

connected with clay models from Yunnan<sup>1</sup> [fig. 31] and certain types of traditional architecture of South East Asia and Oceania<sup>2</sup> [figs. 32, 33]. These buildings in turn seem to be connected with the constructions on piles, examples of which were found from Ko-gu-ryō<sup>3</sup>, Ka-ya<sup>4</sup>, Japan and South China<sup>5</sup> [figs. 39 - 41]. Research would have to try to establish the distinct cultural areas in order to trace back the mutual influences on East Asian house forms.

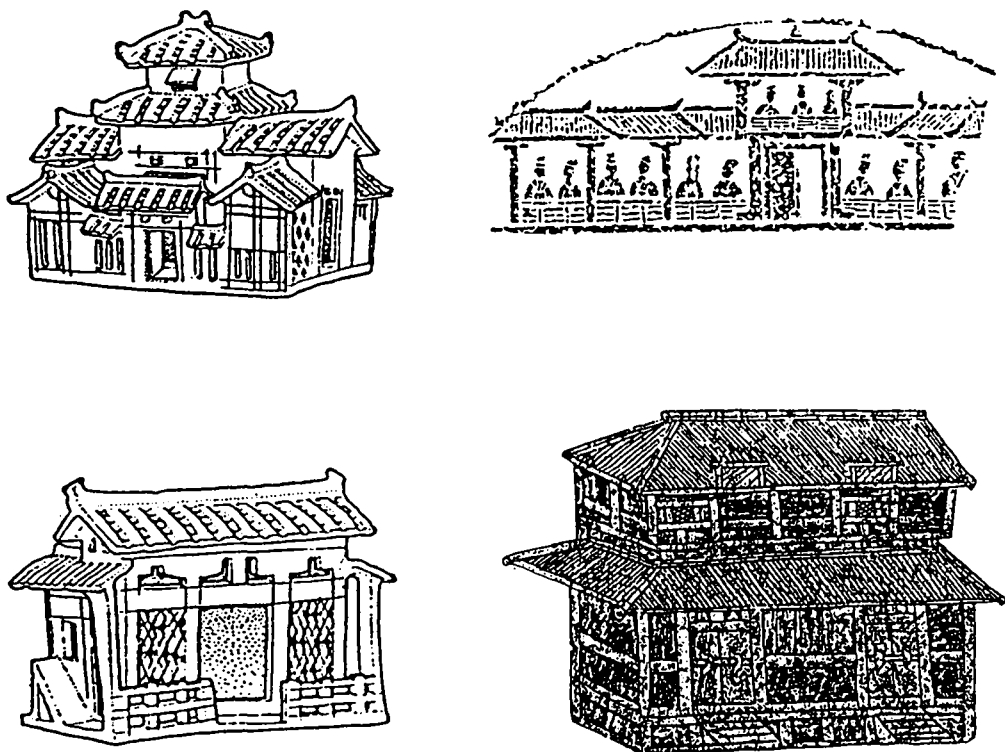


Fig. 23: Clay models and stone carving of the Han 漢 dynasty (2nd C. BC to 2nd C. AD) (no scale) (after: LIU Dunzhen 劉敦楨 유돈정 (1980), p. 51; ZHANG Yuhuan (ed.) (1986), p. 71)

<sup>1</sup> See: LIU Dunzhen 劉敦楨 유돈정 (1980), p. 68; ZHANG Yuhuan (ed.) (1986), pp. 373f.; DOMENIG (1980), pp. 84 - 93.

<sup>2</sup> See: DOMENIG (1980).

<sup>3</sup> E.g. the mural in the tomb at Ma-sōn-gu 麻線溝 마선구. See: Chapter 2.3., p. 199, fig. 160; CHU Nam-chōl 朱南哲 주남철 (1980, 1990), pp. 23f.

<sup>4</sup> See: Chapter 4.1., p. 669, fig. 505.

<sup>5</sup> See: DOMENIG (1980).

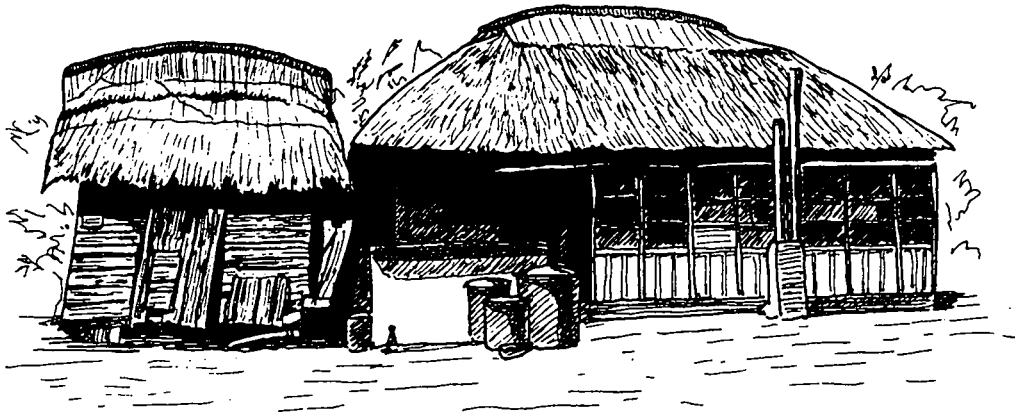


Fig. 24: Perspective of a straw-thatched farm house and annex at Ŭi-suk-do 乙淑島 울숙도, Bu-san Metropolis 釜山廣域市 부산광역시 (drawing by the author)

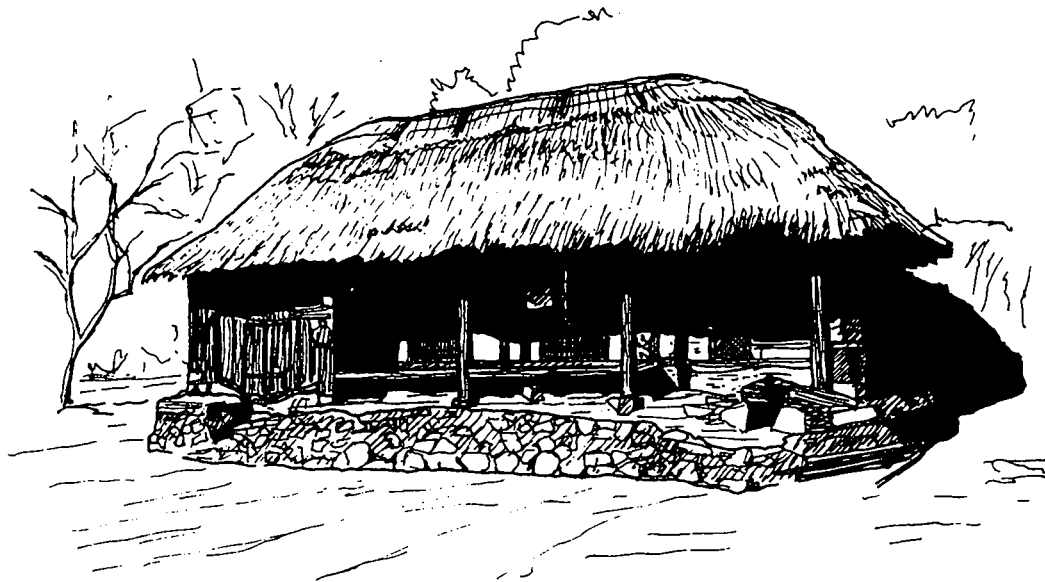


Fig. 25: Perspective of a straw-thatched farm house at Cho-il-ri 早日里 조일리, Sam-nam-myŏn 三南面 삼남면, Ul-chu-gun 蔚州郡 울주군, Kyŏng-sang-nam-do 慶尙南道 경상남도 (drawing by the author)

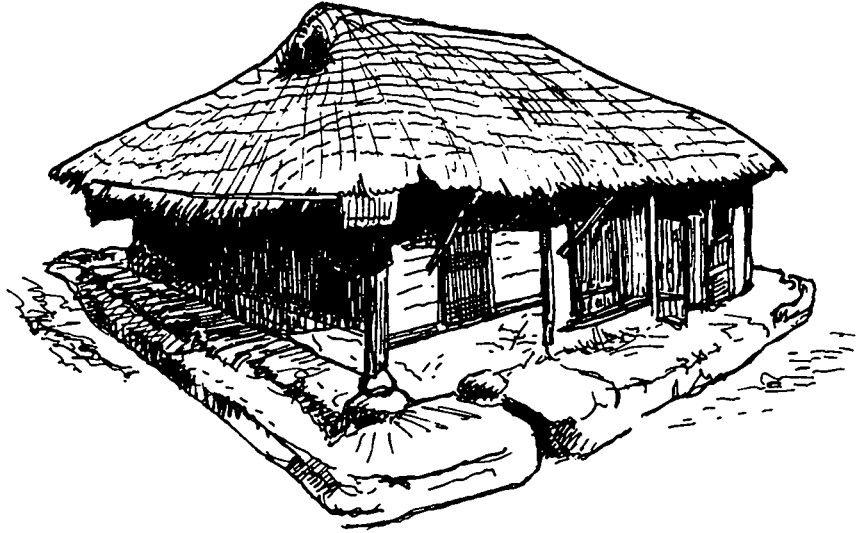


Fig. 26: Perspective of a straw-thatched farm house with a small gable at Chang-su-myŏn 蒼水面 창수면, Yŏng-dŏk-gun 盈徳郡 영덕군, Kyŏng-sang-buk-do 慶尙北道 경상북도 (drawing by the author)

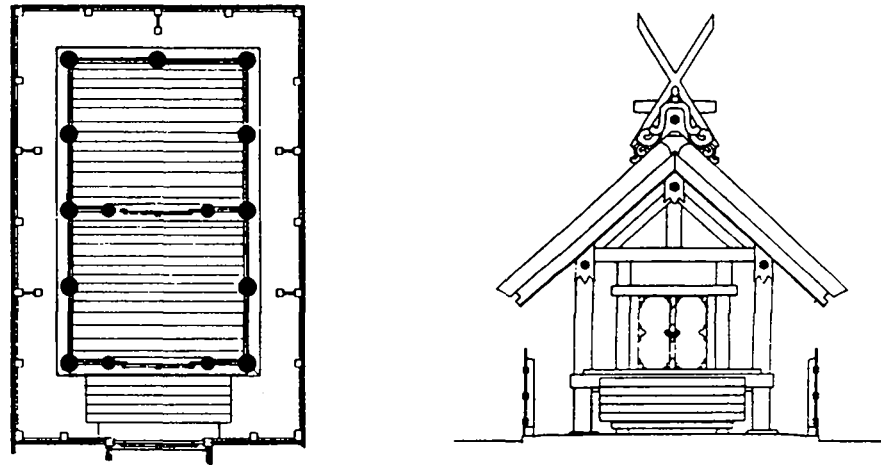


Fig. 27: Plan and front elevation of the *honden* 本殿 ほんでん 본전 of Sumiyoshi-taisha 住吉大社 すみよしたいしや 주길대사 (last reconstruction: 1810, scale: 1 : 200) (after: NAKAGAWA Takeshi 中川 武なかがわたくし (1990), p. 195)



Fig. 28: Perspective of a *minka* 民家 *민가* from Akiyama 秋山 *아키야마 추산*, Nagano 長野 *나가의 장야* Prefecture (now in *minka* village, Toyonaka 豊中 *とよなか 풍중*, Ōsaka 大阪 *おおさ카 대판* Prefecture) (18th C. AD) (drawing by the author)

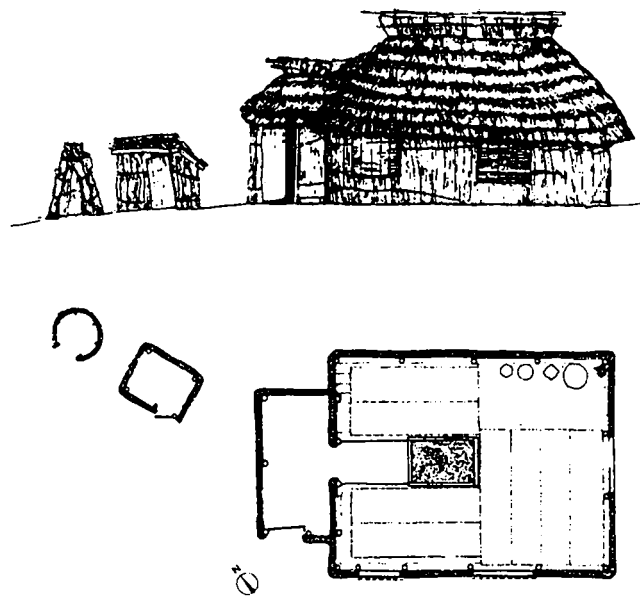


Fig. 29: Plan and elevation of an Ainu summer house in southern Hokkaidō 北海道 *ほつかいどう 북해도* (scale: 1 : 200) (after: KAISER (1991), pp. 55f.)

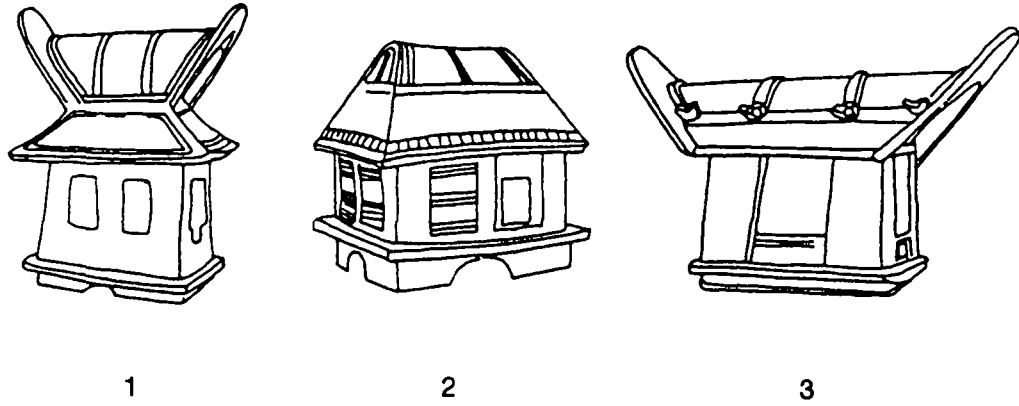


Fig. 30: Three *haniwa* 埴輪はにわ식분 clay model houses from Nara 奈良なら 나랑 (1, 2) and Miyazaki 宮崎みやざき 궁기 (3) (300 - 600 AD) (after: DOMENIG (1980), p. 64)

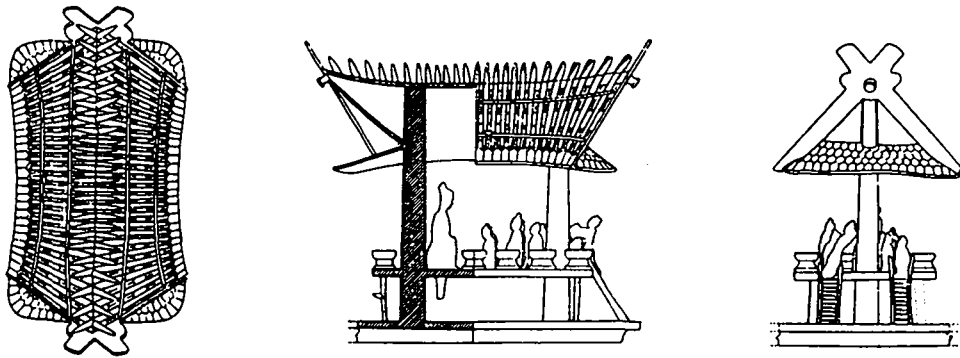


Fig. 31: Bronze model house excavated at Shizhai shan 石寨山 석채산, Jinning 晉寧 진녕, Yunnan 雲南 운남 (2nd - 1st C. BC, scale: 1 : 5) (after: DOMENIG (1980), p. 87)



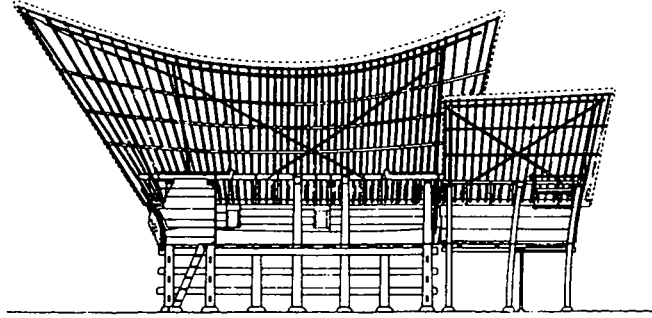


Fig. 32: Section of a *rumah* (housing) of the Toba at Luban Binanga, Sumatra, Indonesia (scale: 1 : 200) (after: DOMENIG (1980), p. 157)

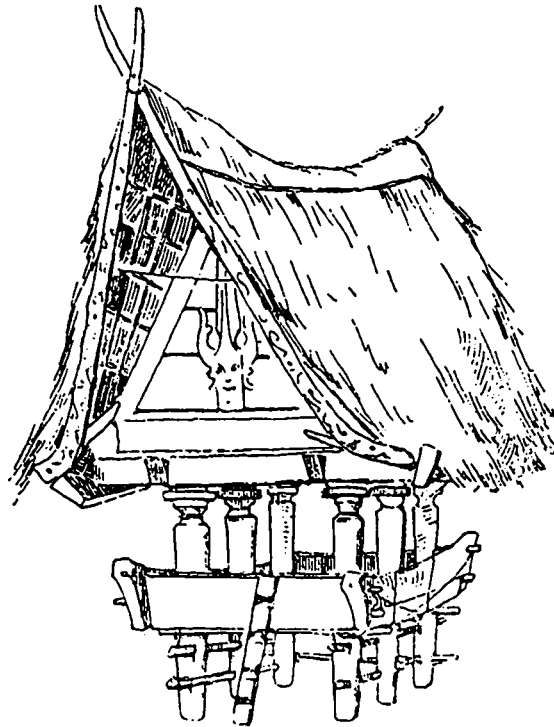


Fig. 33: Perspective of a community *sopo* (granary) of the Toba on Sumatra, Indonesia (after: DOMENIG (1980), p. 154)

A hypothesis which would have to be confronted with the results of this research, could be that the straw-thatched oblong houses with hip roofs and the entrances in the longer side were locally developed on the Korean peninsula. Ancient Chinese culture certainly influenced the Korean Bronze Age considerably but the indigenous preferences for orientation of buildings and for roof forms could have been a common feature of certain northern Chinese, northern and western Korean traditions without the Korean traditions being necessarily imported from China. The fact that Korean domestic architecture sticks more rigorously to this building type than northern Chinese domestic architecture could lead to the assumption that the oblong dwellings of the Korean Bronze Age had in majority hip roofs and entrances in the longer side of the buildings.

#### 1.2.2.2. Bronze Age spiritual culture

The above-mentioned 'ritual implements' and a number of rock carvings with animal and human figures and geometric forms of unknown meaning [fig. 34] raise the question about the 'religion' or the perception of the environment ('Weltanschauung') of the Korean Bronze Age people. These objects are often connected with a set of traditional beliefs similar to extant shamanism of Siberia. Numerous such beliefs, ceremonies, customs and rites which are still practiced in South Korea might have their origins in the Bronze Age. These practices are united on one hand under the Korean term *mu-sok*<sup>1</sup>, frequently translated as 'shamanism', and include colourful dances, called *kudh*<sup>2</sup>, which are performed by female 'shamans' accompanied by drums in order to chase evil spirits. On the other hand there are ceremonial practices related to the founding of villages and connected with the agricultural cycle which are united under the term *min-sok*<sup>3</sup>, usually translated by 'folklore'. Among these practices are rites for the protection god of the village, sportive festivals between villages and seasonal ceremonies.

<sup>1</sup> *Mu-sok* 巫俗 무속, the term is sometimes translated as 'muism', but it does not seem to have gained general acceptance. See: GUISSO, YU Chai-shin (eds.) (1988); BAK Yong-suk 박容淑 막용숙 (1976, 1988).

<sup>2</sup> *Kudh* 굿, shaman: K: *mu-dang* 巫堂 무당. See: LEE Jung Young (1981).

<sup>3</sup> *Min-sok* 民俗 민속. Shamanism is often included in the term 'folklore', but it may be more appropriate to distinguish the two terms. Folklore refers to rites and beliefs which are conducted and shared by the whole society or at least a large part of it, whereas shamanism refers to ceremonies conducted by shamans and the beliefs which are connected with them. One could say that folklore is connected with the community as a whole, while shamanism is more interested in personal problems of members of a society. Combinations of both aspects, however, are not excluded. See: *HGMSDK 4, MSDSC*.



Fig. 34: Rock carving at Dæ-gok-ri 大谷里 대곡리, Ōn-yang-myŏn 彦陽面 언양면, Ul-san-gun 蔚山郡 울산군, Kyŏng-sang-nam-do 慶尙南道 경상남도 (Bronze Age, size of the rock: height: 2m, length: 8m) (after IM Yŏng-chu 林永周 임영주 (1983), p. 326)

Among the earliest accounts of religious beliefs and practices is the story of Dan-gun. After the above-mentioned short pseudo-historical introduction, the *Sam-guk-yu-sa* continues with the citation from a book only identified by the *Old Book*<sup>1</sup> which describes the descent from heaven of Hwan-ung the son of the Heavenly King<sup>2</sup>, to the human world with the 'three heavenly seals'<sup>3</sup> to rule over the humans. He appeared under the tree of the sacred altar<sup>4</sup> on Mount Tæ-bæk<sup>5</sup>, named the place Sin-si<sup>6</sup> and taught the humans more than three hundred sixty useful arts<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Ko-gi* 「古記 고기」. See: *SGYS*, pp. 27f., 180f., (32f.).

<sup>2</sup> Hwan-ung 桓雄 환웅, Heavenly King: Hwan-in 桓因 환인.

<sup>3</sup> The three heavenly seals *chŏn-bu-in-sam-kæ* 天符印三個 천부인삼개 are sometimes interpreted as the power over: 1. the wind, 2. the rain and 3. the clouds, which are important factors for agriculture. See: *SGYS*, p. 180, n. 6.

<sup>4</sup> HA translates 神壇樹 신단수 by "sandalwood tree" which seems to be a mistake. Even if the the reading were 檀木 단목, the correct translation would be "birch". Sandalwood is not a domestic tree in Korea. See: *SGYS*, p. (32).

<sup>5</sup> Tæ-bæk-san 太白山 태백산, it is not clear which mountain is meant. HA assumes modern Myo-hyang-san 妙香山 묘향산 in North Korea [fig. 684 (14)]. Other possibilities are modern Bæk-du-san 白頭山 백두산 on the border between North Korea and China [fig. 684 (13)] or modern Tæ-bæk-san 太白山 태백산 in South Korea [fig. 684 (19)]. See: *SGYS*, p. (32).

<sup>6</sup> Sin-si 神市 신시, literally 'city of god(s)'.  
<sup>7</sup> *Sam-bæk-yuk-sib-yŏ-sa* 三百六十餘事 삼백육십여사.

Il-yŏn continues with the story of a she-bear, who won a competition of endurance against a tigress by obeying the orders of the Heavenly King of eating twenty pieces of garlic and a bunch of mugwort and staying out of the sunlight for one hundred days. The she-bear was therefore transformed into a human woman after only twenty-one days (the text reads "three [times] seven days"<sup>1</sup>), while the tigress, who had disobeyed, remained in her original form. Hwan-ung and the bear-woman married and their son was Dan-gun, who founded Cho-sŏn and established his capital at Pyŏng-yang<sup>2</sup> "in the fiftieth year of the reign of T'ang Kao (Yao) in the year Kyŏng-in"<sup>3</sup>. "Later Dan-gun moved his capital to A-sa-dal on the Tæ-bæk-san (Mts.) and ruled for a thousand five hundred years until king Wu of Zhou placed Ki-cha on the throne"<sup>4</sup>.

The story might be interpreted as a myth describing the merger of two clans, one being a clan with a bear totem (maybe the Ye-mæk)<sup>5</sup>, while the other might be named after a tree, a mountain or the sky<sup>6</sup>. The precise meaning of the tiger, the

<sup>1</sup> *Sam-čhil-il*: 三七日 삼칠일. See: *SGYS*, pp. 27, 180.

<sup>2</sup> Pyŏng-yang 平壤 평양 [fig. 686 (1)].

<sup>3</sup> *Kyŏng-in* 庚寅 경인 is the 27th year of the sexagenary cycle. The year 2333 BC is considered to have been a year *mu-čhin* 戊辰 무진, the 5th year of the sexagenary cycle. There is some chronological confusion. HA notes that the year *kyŏng-in* was the 23rd year of the reign of Yao 堯 요 (the *SGYS* calls him Tang Gao 唐高 당고). See: p. 5, n. 5; *SGYS*, p. (33); *SGSSC*, p. 324.

<sup>4</sup> Wu Wang 武王 무왕, the 1st king of the Western Zhou 西周 서주, reigned traditionally from 1122 to 1116 BC. See: *SGYS*, p. (33).

<sup>5</sup> According to current knowledge of Korean etymology it seems that the words Mæk 貉 / 貉 맥 (tribes of the north), Ko-ma 고마 and Kæ-ma 개마 (names of Korean tribes) are connected with the words *sang* 上 상 (above) *dae* 大 대 (big), *sin* 神 신 (god) and *sin-sŏng* 神聖 신성 (sacredness) and signify *kom* 곰 (bear), *ung* 熊 웅 (bear) and *cho-sang* 祖上 조상 (ancestor). Furthermore, it seems that the modern word *kom* 곰 (bear) was developed from *kod* 골 > *kol* 골 > *kol-om* 골옴 > *kom* 곰. Another attempt gives: *kul* 굴 > *kan* 干 간 (shield) / *kun* 君 군 (prince) / *kam* 罽 > *kom* 곰. Further connections are: *kamui* (god in Ainu language, originally bear) and *kuma* 熊 (bear in Japanese). See: YI Byŏng-do 李丙巖 이병도 (1976, 1992), pp. 27 - 43; YOO-KIM Bok-nam (1980), p. 13; *HGMHSCSC* I, p. 63.

<sup>6</sup> The tree, the mountain and the sky are all connected with shaman practices in numerous tribes, especially those of Siberia. ELIADE interprets the ritual climbing of trees by shamans as an ascension to heaven. In many cases a tree or a mountain symbolizes the centre of the world i.e. the territory of the tribe. In Buddhism this symbolism is present in the *stūpas* and pagodas. See: ELIADE (1975, 1991), p. 4, 122, 125f., 189 (n. 21), 255 - 263.

twenty garlies, the bunch of mugwort and the order to stay out of the sunshine are still rather obscure even though their general symbolism is quite well known<sup>1</sup>.

Dan-gun Wang-göm<sup>2</sup> was the title of a series of rulers in Ancient Cho-sŏn, which has been interpreted by most authors as a sign of a theocratic state where the king was simultaneously the main shaman, i.e. the religious leader<sup>3</sup>. Without entering into details, it must be considered that in a shaman society the shaman is not usually the political leader. ELIADE<sup>4</sup> pointed out that the function of the shaman is mainly the healing of the psyche, the defence of evil spirits and fortune telling. His methods are ecstasy and trance attained by dancing and singing by which the shaman's spirit can leave his body to communicate with offended spirits and appease them. But the shaman is usually excluded from other religious rites. Furthermore, the shaman is considered an awe-inspiring person and usually lives at the periphery of society.

A passage of the *Shu jing*<sup>5</sup> states: "The late sovereign instituted punishments for the officers, and warned the men in authority, saying, 'If you dare to have constant dancing in your mansions, and drunken singing in your houses, I call it *wu* (shamanistic) fashion'". The political leaders of early China seem to have tried to confine shamanism to about the same role as it has today in Korea<sup>6</sup>. I believe therefore, that the political leaders of the tribes of the Korean Bronze Age cannot be considered as shamans. This of course does not exclude that the political leaders had other important religious functions, maybe comparable ones to those which monarchs of medieval European kingdoms had.

<sup>1</sup> The tiger appears in many folk tales as the villain who must be defeated. He is the worst enemy of the human people. Garlic and mugwort are both aromatic plants used in Korean daily life as spices. Furthermore, in Korea, they are considered to avert bad luck. There was a tradition during the Cho-sŏn period where the king presented puppet tigers made of mugwort, called *ssuk-bŏm* 숙범, *ssuk-ho-rang-i* 숙호랑이 or *æ-ho* 艾虎 예호, on the fifth day of the fifth month of the moon calendar, Dan-o 端午 단오, to members of *Kyu-chang-gak* 奎章閣 규장각, a governmental office of the late Cho-sŏn period. A similar tradition existed in China where "dolls made of mugwort plucked on the Fifth day of the Fifth month are suspended over gates or doors to expel poisonous airs or influences" (LEACH). LEE notes that the "herbs given to transform them were sacred plants in shamanism. The bear's trials may thus be a symbolic record of initiation rites, consisting of isolation, observance of taboo, and final metamorphosis." See: LEACH et al. (eds.) (1949), p. 759; LEE Peter H. (1981), p. 3; *HGMHSCSC* 1, p. 453; *HGMSDSC* 2, p. 954.

<sup>2</sup> Dan-gun Wang-göm 檀君王儉 단군왕검.

<sup>3</sup> See: ECKERT et al. (1990), p. 11; NAHM Andrew C. (1993), p. 15; COVELL (1986, 1988), p. 45f.

<sup>4</sup> See: ELIADE (1975, 1991), pp. 17, 41f., 177ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Shu jing* 「書經 서경」 is considered to be one of the oldest Chinese classics. It was written between the 20th and 8th centuries BC. *Wu* fashion 巫風 무풍. The female shamans are called *mu-dang* 巫堂 무당 in Korea. See: COUVREUR (1897), p. 116.

<sup>6</sup> In modern Korea, shamanism is only tolerated and not officially recognized. Shamanism is more popular among the female population while the male population sticks to Confucian values.

McCUNE<sup>1</sup> believes that a similar legend to that of Dan-gun existed in China, which would indicate that the story is not of Korean origin. The evidence presented are four stone reliefs of the tomb of Wu Liangci in Shandong<sup>2</sup> [fig. 35]. But the comparison seems to be far fetched at least. Not only is the bear exchanged with the tiger, but the marriage between the Heavenly Son and the former female animal is not depicted. Furthermore, it is not sure that the scene of the tiger with a small human figure in his hands is the birth of a hero; it may as well be a scene where the tiger is swallowing the human and the nearby bear tries to prevent it with the help of his five weapons. The relief in the Chinese tomb thus seems to illustrate another legend with a 'shamanistic' background. I believe therefore that the Dan-gun legend was not imported from China but that it can be safely attributed to one or several early Korean tribes.



Fig. 35: Detail of a relief on the tomb of Wu Liangci 武梁祠 무양사 in Shandong 山東 산둥 (Han period, no scale) (after: KIM Wŏn-yong 金元龍 김원용 (1987, 1991), p. 281)

<sup>1</sup> See: McCUNE (1962) pp. 28f., illustration on p. 49; the detail of the bear and the tiger can be seen better in: KIM Wŏn-yong 金元龍 김원용 (1987, 1991), p. 281.

<sup>2</sup> Wu Liangci 武梁祠後石室第三石 무양사 후석실 제삼석 in Shandong 山東 산둥.

## 1.2.3. THE EARLY IRON AGE

The beginning of the Iron Age is estimated at about the fourth or third centuries BC. It is thought that it was fully established by the first century BC.<sup>1</sup> The Early Iron Age is usually distinguished from the proto-Three Kingdoms period, but it may be adequate to treat them together here. The described period thus stretches from the second century BC to the beginning of the fourth century AD. It is therefore contemporaneous with the Han commanderies in northern Korea and north-eastern China which probably introduced the iron techniques to the Korean peninsula.

The material remains excavated of this period include bronze and iron tools, weapons, ornaments and 'ritual implements' as well as high-fired earthenware and stoneware pottery in form of jars, cups and animals (especially birds and horses) [figs. 36, 37]. They were found in tombs of the indigenous Korean population as well as in those of the colonials of the Chinese commanderies. While the metal objects of the Bronze Age seem to have been mainly ritual object and weapons, the Iron Age produced metallic farming tools, which is assumed to have revolutionized agriculture and in turn led to an important population growth. This may have increased the conflicts between the various expanding tribes and led to larger political units through conquest and eventually to the establishment of the early Korean kingdoms. Some archaeologists and historians<sup>2</sup> believe that a considerable number of people emigrated from the Korean peninsula to Japan and were largely responsible for the development of the Yayoi culture<sup>3</sup>.

In the early Iron Age appeared the so-called 'knife-shaped coins' [fig. 38] and the first chariot fittings and equipments for horses<sup>4</sup>. These objects imply a society which started trade with areas quite far away to necessitate the use of Chinese money. These coins seem to prove the existence of commercial links between Korea and China as early as the first century BC. A recent discovery of five writing brushes<sup>5</sup> of the Western Han dynasty (206 BC - 8 AD) in southern Korea seems to indicate that a part of the Korean elite at least mastered the Chinese writing system by the beginning of the first century AD.

<sup>1</sup> See: KIM Jeong-hak (1978), p. 183.

<sup>2</sup> See: HALL (1968, 1994), p. 25; ECKERT et al. (1990), p. 12; KIM Jeong-hak (1978), p. 93f.

<sup>3</sup> Yayoi culture 彌生文化 やよいぶんか. 미생문화. The beginning of this culture is still disputed, the proposed dates vary from 400 to 100 BC.

<sup>4</sup> The earliest bronze pieces of equipment for horses in Korea are roughly dated to the Bronze Age. These findings do not exclude the use of the horse as a domestic animal before this time. In China, the horse seems to have been domesticated since the Neolithic at least. See: KIM Jeong-hak (1978), plate 53; CHANG Kwang-chih (1977), pp. 189, 290.

<sup>5</sup> See: *Cho-sŏn Il-bo* 「朝鮮日報 조선일보」, June 14th, 1993, p. 21.

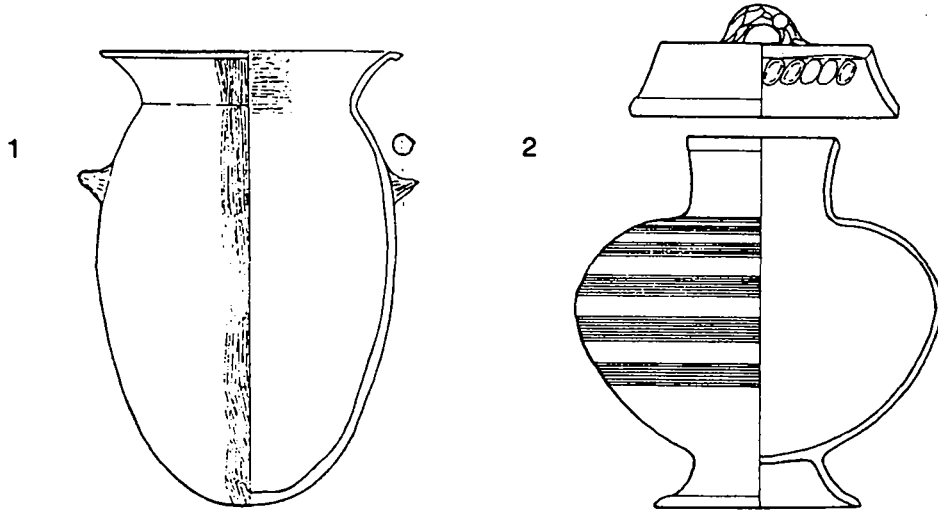


Fig. 36: Earthenware and stoneware pottery from Mil-yang High School 密陽高校 밀양고교 (var. Mil-sŏng Ko-kyo 密城高校 밀성고교), Mil-yang City 密陽市 밀양시, Kyŏng-sang-nam-do 慶尙南道 경상남도 (1) and Ha-dæ-ri 下垵里 하대리, Ung-chon-myŏn 熊村面 응촌면, Ul-san-gun 蔚山郡 울산군, Kyŏng-sang-nam-do 慶尙南道 경상남도 (2) (early Iron Age, scale: 1 : 5) (after: KIM Wŏn-yong 金元龍 김원용 (1987, 1991), p. 513)

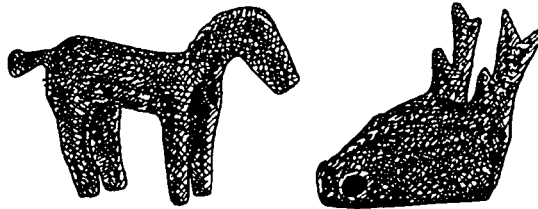


Fig. 37: Clay figures of a horse (length: 4.5cm) and a head of a deer from Ō-ŭn-dong 魚隱洞 어은동, Gŭm-ho-ŭb 琴湖邑 금호읍, Yŏng-chŏn-gun 永川郡 영천군, Kyŏng-sang-buk-do 慶尙北道 경상북도 (early Iron Age (early 1st C. AD), both figures same scale) (drawings by the author)

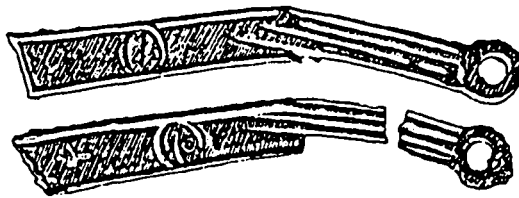


Fig. 38: Chinese 'knife-shaped coins' from Nyŏng-byŏn-gun 寧邊郡 녕변군, Pyŏng-an-buk-do 平安北道 평안북도, modern North Korea (4th - 3rd C. BC, scale: 1 : 2) (after: GRISWOLD, KIM Chewon et al. (1964), p. 66)



## 1.2.3.1. The architecture of the early Iron Age

Several historical sources from China describe the way of life and the domestic architecture of the 'eastern barbarians'. They are mainly:

*Jin shu*<sup>1</sup>  
*Hou Han shu*<sup>2</sup>  
*San guo zhi*<sup>3</sup>  
*Wei shu*<sup>4</sup>  
*Hou Wei shu*<sup>5</sup>  
*Jiu Tang shu*<sup>6</sup>  
*Xin Tang shu*<sup>7</sup>

The *Jin shu* says that the Korean population had two different dwellings according to the seasons: during the summer they lived in houses made of straw and grass while during the winter they lived in artificial caves. The *Hou Han shu* describes the winter residence as pit dwellings similar to those excavated recently: "The population lives in *xueju* (K: *hyŏl-kŏ*)<sup>8</sup>, pit houses, when the weather is cold. The rich dug their houses very deep, one had to descend a stair of nine steps, this means they are very deep." Further it describes the cities as possessing city walls, palaces, storage houses and prisons. The *San guo zhi* states: "The pit house has a grass roof and looks like a tomb, the entry is situated in the roof. (...) Furthermore, public buildings are made for the population and a city wall is erected." Another passage of the *San guo zhi* says: "The *leimu* (K: *nu-mok*)<sup>9</sup> house made of superimposed tree-trunks is constructed in this country and looks like a prison."<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Jin shu* 「晉書 志書」: 「肅慎氏一名挹婁...居深山窮谷其路險阻車馬不通夏則巢居冬則穴處 宿新씨 일명읍루... 거삼산궁곡기로 협조차마부통 하척소거등척할차」. See: YOO-KIM Bok-nam (1980), p. 134.

<sup>2</sup> *Hou Han shu* 「後漢書 후한서」: 「處於山林之間土氣極寒常爲穴居以深爲貴大家至接九梯處山林之間常穴居大家深九梯以多爲好 처어산림지 한토기극한상위할거이십위귀대가지접구계 처산림지간상할거대가십구계이다위호」 and 「以貝木冊爲城有宮室倉庫牢獄 이원목책위성유궁실 창고녀옥」. See: YOO-KIM Bok-nam (1980), p. 134ff.

<sup>3</sup> *San guo zhi* 「三國志 삼국지」: 「屋處作草屋土室形如冢其戶在上...其國中有所爲及宮家使築城郭 옥처작초옥토실형어총기호제상... 기국중유소위궁궁가사축성곽」 and 「其國作屋橫累木爲之有以牢獄也 기국작옥횡루목위지유이녀옥야」. See: YOO-KIM Bok-nam (1980), p. 135f.

<sup>4</sup> *Wei shu* 「魏書 위서」. See: YOO-KIM Bok-nam (1980), p. 136f.

<sup>5</sup> *Hou Wei shu* 「後魏書 후위서」. See: YOO-KIM Bok-nam (1980), p. 137.

<sup>6</sup> *Jiu Tang shu* 「舊唐書 구당서」. See: YOO-KIM Bok-nam (1980), p. 135, 137.

<sup>7</sup> *Xin Tang shu* 「新唐書 신당서」. See: YOO-KIM Bok-nam (1980), p. 135f.

<sup>8</sup> *Xueju* (K: *hyŏl-kŏ*) 穴居 열거.

<sup>9</sup> *Leimu [jia]* (K: *nu-mok[-ga]*) 累木 [家] 누목[가], the blockhouse, log cabin.

<sup>10</sup> All translations and summaries follow the German versions by YOO-KIM Bok-nam (1980), pp. 134ff.

Remains of some of the described building types have been excavated. Others are documented in models or paintings and are still extant in East Asia. Such an example is the blockhouse on piles which is illustrated for example as a mural in the Ko-gu-ryŏ tomb of Ma-sŏn-gu<sup>1</sup> [fig. 39], as a clay model from Ancient Sin-la<sup>2</sup> [fig. 40] and which is still extant in several Japanese temples as treasuries (e.g. Shōsō-in of Tōdai-ji<sup>3</sup> [fig. 41]).

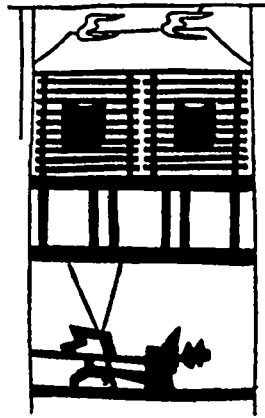


Fig. 39: Mural of a blockhouse in piles from the tomb at Ma-sŏn-gu 麻線溝 마선구 (about 5th - 7th C. AD, no scale) (after: SIN Yŏng-hun 申榮勳 신영훈 (1975), p. 109)

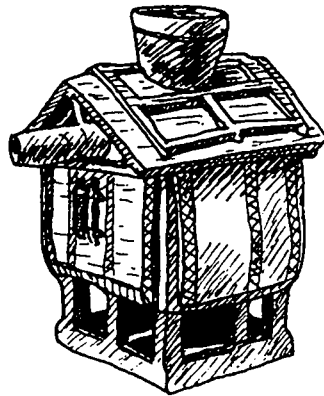


Fig. 40: Clay model of a blockhouse on piles from Ancient Sin-la 古新羅 고신라 (about 5th - 6th C. AD, no scale) (drawing by the author)

<sup>1</sup> Ko-gu-ryŏ 高句麗 고구려, Ma-sŏn-gu 麻線溝 마선구. See: SIN Yŏng-hun 申榮勳 신영훈 (1975), p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> See: IM Yŏng-chu 林永周 임영주 (1983), p. 577.

<sup>3</sup> Shōsō-in 正倉院 しょうそういん 정창원, Tōdai-ji 東大寺 とうだいじ 동대사. See: PARENT (1983), p. 36.

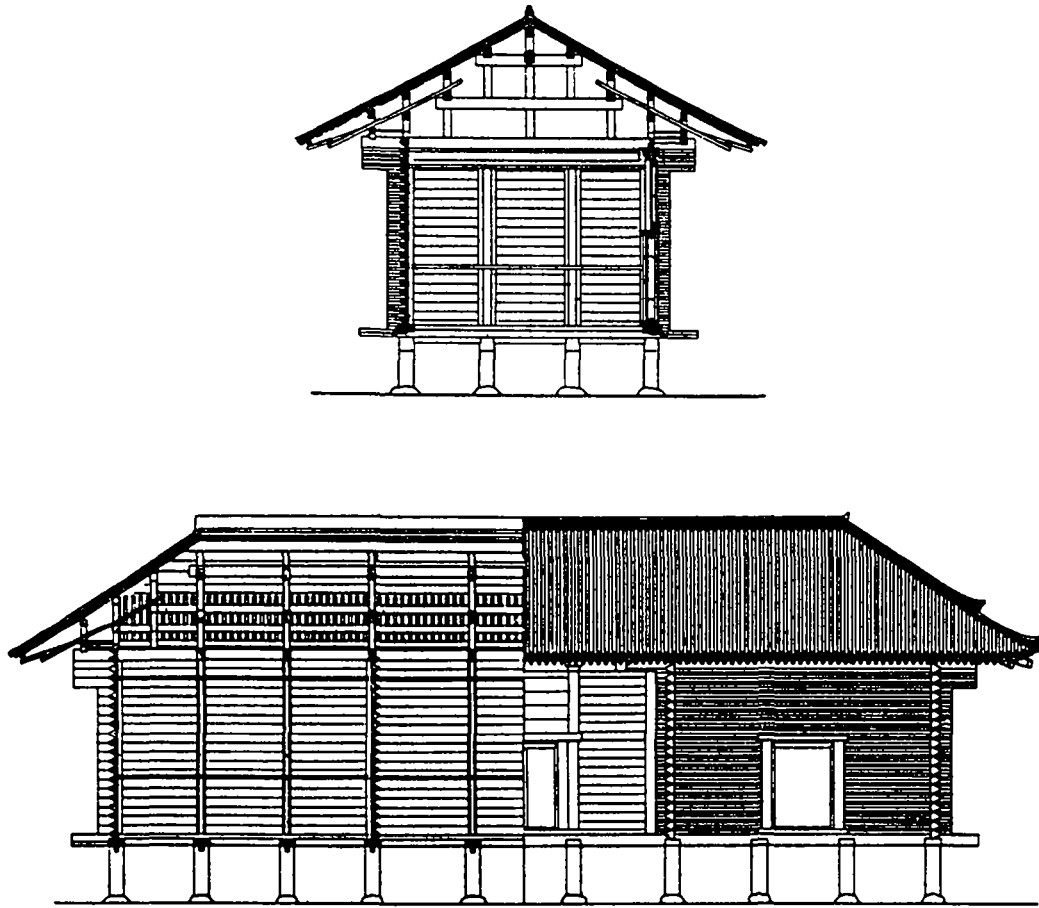


Fig. 41: Partial elevation, section and partial section of the Shōsō-in 正倉院 しょうそういん 정창원 of Tōdai-ji 東大寺 とうだいじ 동대사 (about 756 AD, scale: 1 : 300) . (after: PARENT (1983), p. 36)

Only few constructions from the early Iron Age and the proto-Three Kingdoms have been discovered so far, probably because the same sites were re-used in later periods thus erasing the traces of former constructions. The available evidence<sup>1</sup> seems to indicate that the dwellings evolved from tent-shaped buildings to constructions with distinct bodies and roofs [fig. 42].

<sup>1</sup> See: CHANG Kyōng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992), pp. 46ff.

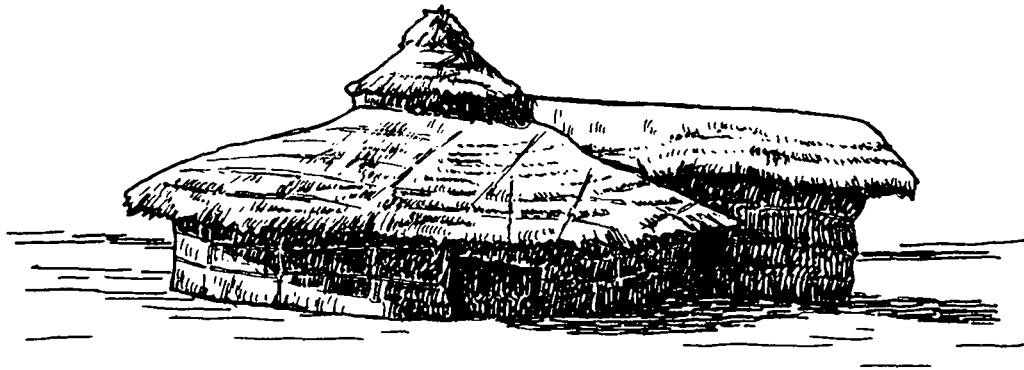


Fig. 42: Perspective of a reconstructed building of the early Iron Age at Bu-so-san-sŏng 扶蘇山城 부소산성 at Bu-yŏ 扶餘 부여 (4th - 5th C. AD ?) (drawing by the author)

The earliest evidence of a floor heating system dates to the early Iron Age. The remains of a building with such a heating system were excavated at the fortress of Bu-so mountain. The hearth seems to have been located on the eastern side of the interior of the building and smoke conduits ran along the eastern, northern and western sides [fig. 43]. At that time, the heating systems in northern China and on the Korean peninsula were probably quite similar. The Chinese later developed this common 'prototype' into heated beds (*kang*<sup>1</sup> [fig. 45]) while the Koreans created the floor-heating system (*on-dol*<sup>2</sup> [fig. 46]). This different development must probably be understood in connection with the evolution in China and Korea of life style in general and that of furniture in particular<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Kang* 炕 항. See: LIU Dunzhen 劉敦楨 유근장 (1980), p. 566.

<sup>2</sup> *On-dol* 溫突 온돌. See: CHANG Kyŏng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992), pp. 51 - 55, 507 - 531.

<sup>3</sup> While people sat on the floor without chairs until the Han dynasties, the daily use of chairs became usual already in the Tang dynasty. HOLZMAN supposes that the introduction of the chair in China is related to Buddhism (the *sūtras* are preached by 'sitting high' *gaozuo* 高坐 고좌). Korea, on the contrary, preserved the custom of sitting on the floor, which made floor heating necessary during the winter. The reason for the Korean refusal to introduce the chair as a daily piece of furniture could be connected either with conservative 'traditionalism' or with the fact the Buddhism was introduced in Korea before the chair became common in China. The Japanese live also on the floor but without floor heating. This life style is better adapted to a tropical climate and could be an influence from South East Asia and Oceania. On the introduction of the chair in China see: *TP* 53, pp. 279 - 292.

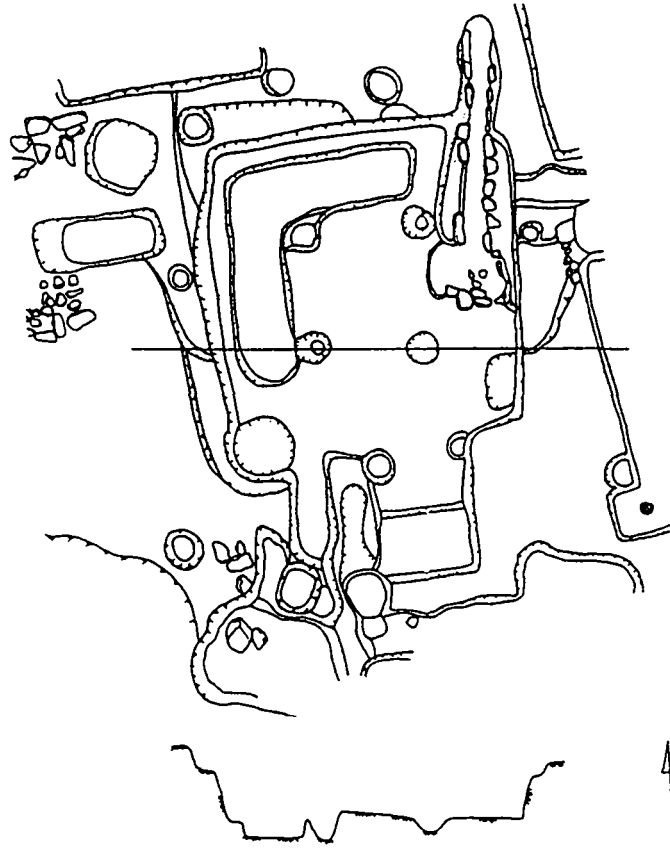


Fig. 43: Excavation plan and section of a building with heating system of the early Iron Age at Bu-so-san-sŏng 扶蘇山城 부소산성 at Bu-yŏ 扶餘 부여 (4th - 5th C. AD ?, scale: 1 : 100) (after: CHANG Kyŏng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992), p. 52)

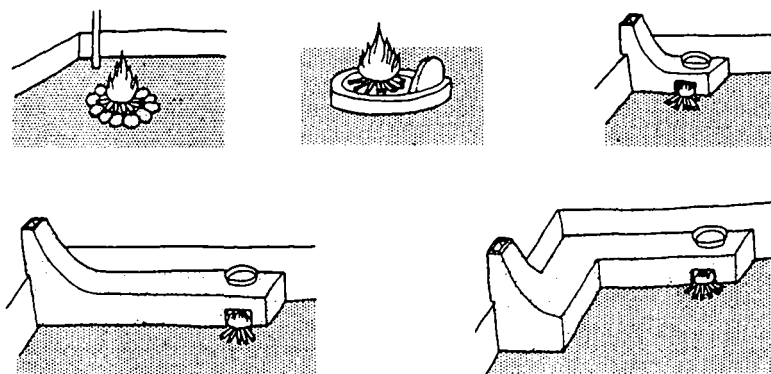


Fig. 44: Evolution of the early heating systems in north-east Asia according to CHANG (no scale) (after: CHANG Kyŏng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992), p. 55)

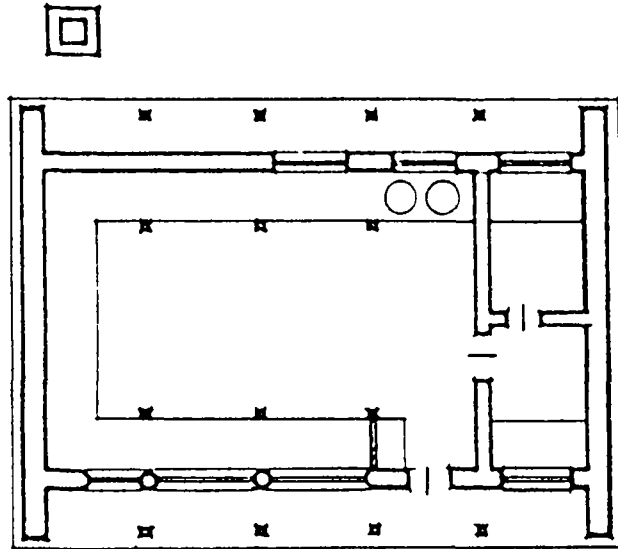


Fig. 45: Plan of the Qinning-gong 清寧宮 청영궁 of the Imperial Palace of Shenyang 瀋陽 심양, Liaoning 遼寧 요녕 with Chinese *kang* 炕 항 heating system (scale: 1 : 300) (after: ZHANG Yuhuan (ed.) (1986), p. 310)

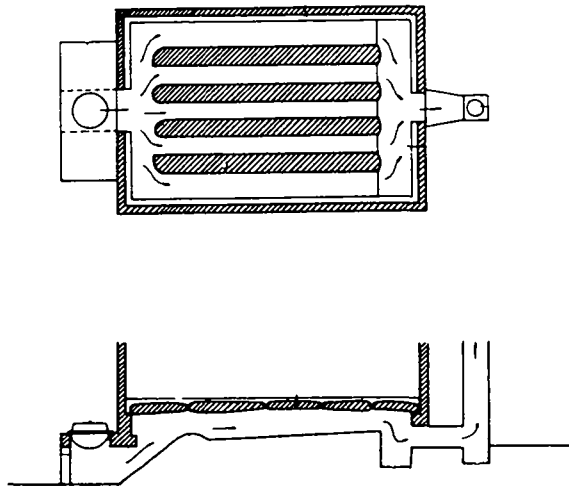


Fig. 46: Plan and section of the scheme of the Korean *on-dol* 온돌 floor heating system (no scale) (after: CHANG Kyöng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992), p. 526)

At the time of the early Korean Iron Age, Chinese monumental architecture was already highly articulated. The Chinese tile roof was fully developed by the end of the Eastern Zhou<sup>1</sup> dynasty (841 - 229 BC) at the latest as indicated by excavated tiles<sup>2</sup> [fig. 47]. During the Han dynasty, China had already developed the main characteristics of its wooden architecture including the tile roof, the bracket sets and the superimposition of the beams<sup>3</sup> as can be concluded from building models and reliefs.

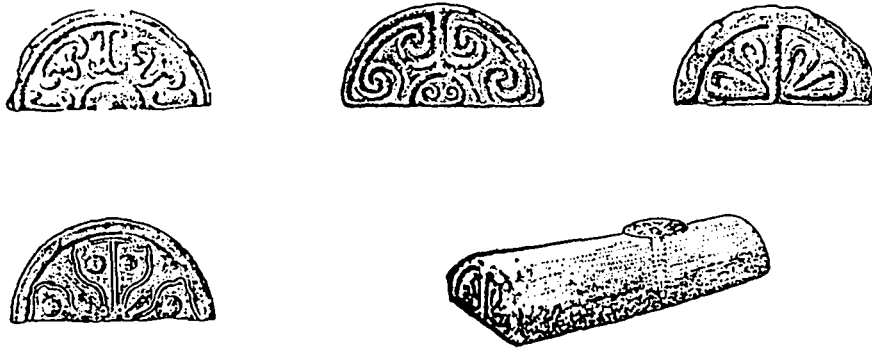


Fig. 47: Examples of roof tiles of the Zhou 周 dynasty (841 - 249 BC) (no scale) (after: LIU Dunzhen 劉敦楨 유돈정 (1980), p. 39)

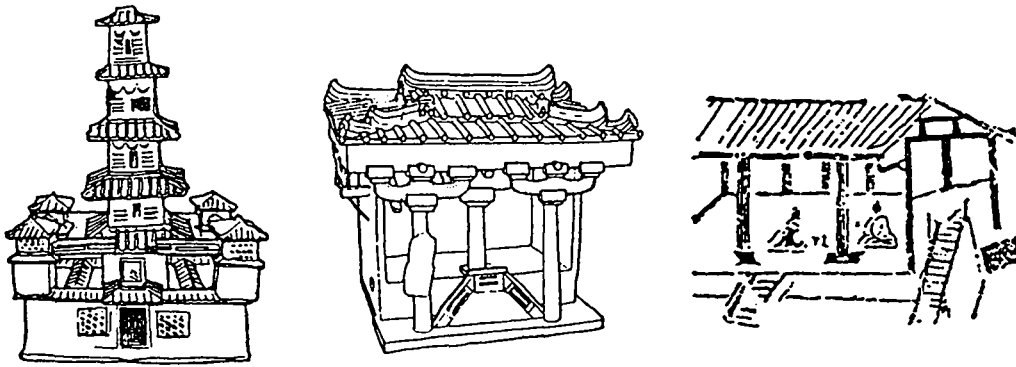


Fig. 48: Clay models and a stone carving of buildings of the Han 漢 dynasty (206 BC - 220 AD) (no scale) (after: LIU Dunzhen 劉敦楨 유돈정 (1980), pp. 68f.; ZGJZS, p. 12)

<sup>1</sup> Eastern Zhou 東周 동주.

<sup>2</sup> See: LIU Dunzhen 劉敦楨 유돈정 (1980), p. 39.

<sup>3</sup> See: LIU Dunzhen 劉敦楨 유돈정 (1980), pp. 51, 68ff.

Chinese construction techniques were probably first introduced into the Korean peninsula through the Han commanderies before the introduction of Buddhism. A number of Chinese tombs and fragments of Han roof tiles were excavated in the former territory of Nak-rang (Ch: Lelang) which seems to confirm this hypothesis.

Among the earliest dated Chinese tombs on the Korean peninsula are the tomb No. 194 at Sök-am-ri<sup>1</sup> dated by an inscription on a lacquer cup to 85 BC, and tomb No. 17 at Chöng-bæk-ri<sup>2</sup> of 43 BC. The latter is a so-called 'cairn tomb' consisting of a single wooden chamber of a surface of 3.5m by 4m. These tombs seem to indicate that the Chinese settled in the Pyöng-yang area as early as the first century BC. The tomb No. 9 at Sök-am-ri<sup>3</sup> [fig. 50] which had a comparable structure, contained a unique gold buckle [fig. 51] and an incense burner<sup>4</sup>. The earliest known Chinese bricks tomb in the Nak-rang and Dæ-bang<sup>5</sup> region date to 40 AD, while the latest dates to 407 AD, almost one hundred years after Ko-gu-ryö conquered the last Chinese commandery<sup>6</sup>.

The earliest tiles on the Korean peninsula were excavated around the commandery of Nak-rang. As the oldest known brick tomb in Korea dates to 40 AD, it can be speculated that the tile roof was also introduced into the Korean peninsula in the first or second century AD. In the beginning the tile roof was probably reserved for important official buildings as murals in the tombs of Ko-gu-ryö suggest (see Chapter 2.3.).

- <sup>1</sup> Sök-am-ri 石岩里 석암리. This location does not figure in the North Korean Road Atlas (1991). The village lies probably south of the Dæ-dong River 大同江 대동강, within the borders of modern Pyöng-yang 平壤 평양. Other lacquer works in the tomb featured dates of 23 BC, 3 AD and 13 AD. KIM interprets these later dates as three successive burials because three coffins were found in the tomb. See: KIM Byung-mo (1978), pp. 153, 182.
- <sup>2</sup> Chöng-bæk-ri 貞柏里 정백리 is situated in modern Pyöng-yang 平壤 特別市 평양특별시 (Nak-rang-gu-yök 樂浪區域 낙랑구역), south of the Dæ-dong River 大同江 대동강. Its date was established by the discovery of a lacquer work with an inscription (first year of *yongguang* 永光 영광) (43 - 39 BC). See: KIM Byung-mo (1978), p. 146f.
- <sup>3</sup> Sök-am-ri 石岩里 석암리. KIM locates it at Dæ-dong-kang-myön 大同江面 대동강면 (as did SEKINO Tadashi 關野貞 세키의 ただし 관야 정). Probably the same location as the above-mentioned tomb No. 194. See: KIM Byung-mo (1978), p. 147.
- <sup>4</sup> Both objects are now in the National Museum of Korea in Sö-ul (Seoul) 서울. See: Korea (National Museum of) (ed.) (1991), p. 182, 186.
- <sup>5</sup> Nak-rang (Ch: Lelang) 樂浪 낙랑 and Dæ-bang (Ch: Daifang) 帶方 대방.
- <sup>6</sup> See: Chapter 1.1., p. 14; KIM Byung-mo (1978), pp. 182f.



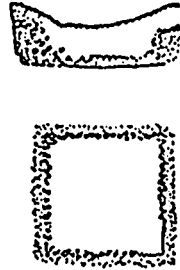


Fig. 49: Plan and section of the tomb No. 194 at Sök-am-ri 石岩里 석암리 (85 BC, no scale) (after: KIM Byung-mo (1978), p. 148)



Fig. 50: Section of the tomb No. 9 at Sök-am-ri 石岩里 석암리 (1st C. BC ?, scale: 1 : 200) (after: KIM Byung-mo (1978), p. 148)

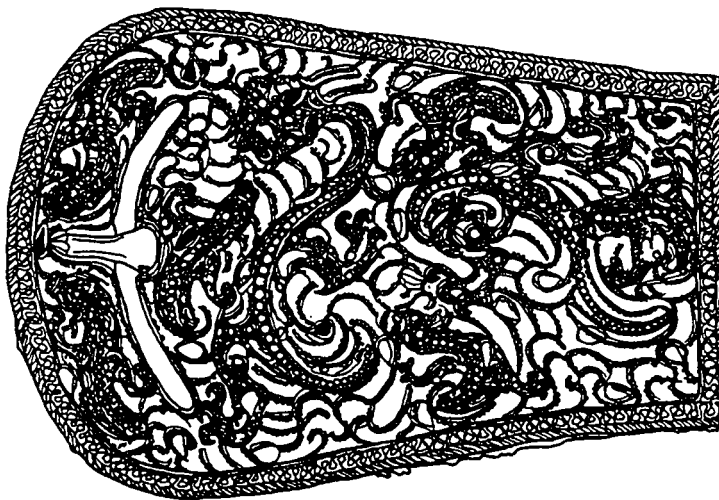


Fig. 51: Gold buckle with 7 dragons from the tomb No. 9 at Sök-am-ri 石岩里 석암리 (1st C. BC ?, scale: 1 : 1) (drawing by the author)

The introduction of the Chinese tile roof raises question whether the early Korean roofs already had the typical roof curvatures of later buildings. The vast majority of extant tile roofs built before the twentieth century in Korea feature two curvatures on each side of the roofs: one in the direction of the ridge and eaves and the other in the direction of the rafters. The roof surfaces seem thus to form concave segments of slightly deformed spheres.

The Chinese clay models and stone carvings from the Han dynasty only exceptionally show curved roofs<sup>1</sup> [figs. 23, 48, 477, 478]. The two extant Buddhist image halls of the Tang period in Shanxi<sup>2</sup> [figs. 452, 453, 456], however, feature double curved roofs. It seems therefore that the change of preference of roof form occurred sometimes during the period of southern and northern division of China from the third to sixth centuries AD.

YOO-KIM<sup>3</sup> has analysed the roof forms depicted on murals of Ko-gu-ryō [figs. 156 - 161] and has concluded that the curved roof could be of Korean origin. The fact, however, that the Korean straw-thatched houses have usually convex roofs [figs. 24, 25] and that the tile roof was undoubtedly imported from China seems to contradict this thesis. The curved, concave roof was possibly one of various Chinese roof forms which were introduced to Korea. The question remains, however, why Korean architects and artisans developed such a clear preference for double-curved tile roofs while China and Japan continuously used strait and curved tile roofs. Strait ridges appear in Korea on Buddhist paintings and illustrations of *sūtras* from the Ko-ryō and Cho-sōn periods<sup>4</sup> [fig. 52]. As these images almost never depict curved ridges which were used in practically all known buildings of these periods, I assume that the images do not show typical Korean buildings. The canons of Buddhist painting may therefore have developed independently from architecture and orientated themselves closer after Chinese models.

<sup>1</sup> See: LIU Dunzhen 劉敦楨 유돈정 (1980), pp. 51, 68ff.

<sup>2</sup> Tang 唐 당 (618 - 907 AD) Shanxi 山西 산서. They are the Da-dian 大殿 대전 of Nanchan-si 南禪寺 남선사 of 782 AD and the Dongda-dian 東大殿 동대전 of Foguang-si 佛光寺 불광사 of 857 AD. See: Chapter 3.3., pp. 602 - 610, LIU Dunzhen 劉敦楨 유돈정 (1980), pp. 122 - 130.

<sup>3</sup> See: YOO-KIM Bok-nam (1980), pp. 112ff.

<sup>4</sup> Ko-ryō 高麗 고려 (918 - 1392 AD), Cho-sōn 朝鮮 조선 (1392 - 1910 AD).



Fig. 52: Painting of an image hall with a strait ridge from an illustration of the *Amitāyur-dhyāna-sūtra* 「觀經變相圖 觀經變상도」 (Ko-ryŏ, no scale) (collection of Saifuku-ji 西福寺 さいふくじ 서복사, Japan) (drawing by the author)

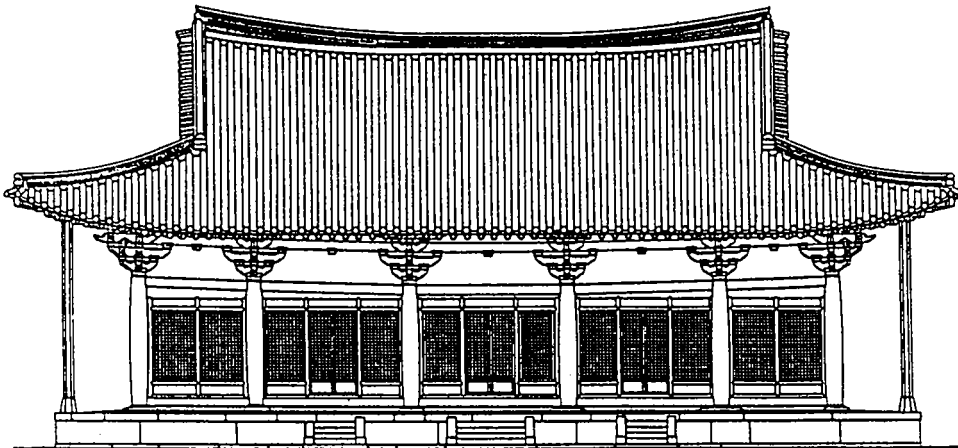


Fig. 53: Elevation of the Mu-ryang-su-chŏn 無量壽殿 무량수전 of Bu-sŏk-sa 浮石寺 부석사 (No. 7.10.3.) with a double-curved tile roof (late 13th C. AD?, scale: 1 : 200) (after: *HGŭKC* 3, p. 17)



## **CHAPTER 2:**

## **KO-GU-RYÖ**



## 2.1. THE HISTORY OF BUDDHISM OF KO-GU-RYŎ

### Preliminary remarks

The introduction of Buddhism<sup>1</sup> is one of the most significant events in the whole history of Korea. For about one thousand years<sup>2</sup> Buddhism was the official religion of the Korean dynasties and its philosophy dominated the intellectual discussions not only of the clergy but also of the secular elite. Popular shamanistic beliefs<sup>3</sup> and rites merged during this period with Buddhist ceremonies and legends. This eclectic popular religion became the spiritual foundation of the Korean people. Confucianism<sup>4</sup> which came to dominate later but which never developed into an actual religion in Korea, acted mainly to balance the temptation of seizing economic and political power which the Buddhist clergy could not resist in the late Ko-ryŏ dynasty. Korean Buddhism, however, was never persecuted to the point of the notorious Buddhist suppression<sup>5</sup> in 845 AD in Tang China. It can even be argued that the control of the activities of the Buddhist clergy by the Confucian state was ultimately beneficial as it limited Korean Buddhism to its basic domains of spiritual cultivation, philosophy, education, moral support, social aid and artistic creation.

The mostly peaceful coexistence of local shamanism and universalistic Buddhism is a characteristic of several East Asian cultures. Buddhism, on the one hand, did not insist on any particular and jealous supreme deity. Shamanism, on the other hand, did not develop philosophical doctrines which could compete with those of Buddhism. The two religions were therefore compatible and even

<sup>1</sup> Buddhism is called Bul-kyo 佛敎 불교 in Korean. It is mainly a Mahāyāna (Dæ-sŭng-bul-kyo 大乘佛敎 대승불교) tradition with few Tantric (Mil-kyo 密敎 밀교) and Hinayāna (So-sŭng-bul-kyo 小乘佛敎 소승불교) elements.

<sup>2</sup> From about 375 AD in Ko-gu-ryŏ 高句麗 고구려 until 1392 AD at the end of the Ko-ryŏ 高麗 고려 dynasty.

<sup>3</sup> It is difficult to give a precise name to the indigenous Korean 'religion'. It might be called 'folklore', 'Universalism' or 'shamanism', depending on which element is stressed. 'Folklore' has the disadvantage to be too general and not specifically religious, 'Universalism' would have to be understood in the sense used by KÖSTER, but this term would imply a dependency on China which is only partly true. 'Shamanism' has been chosen by several Korean authors to describe the indigenous religion of Korea, (e.g. BAK) and at present *mu-dang* 巫堂 무당 and *mu-sok* 巫俗 무속 are generally translated into English by 'shaman' and 'shamanism'. See: KÖSTER (1958); BAK Yong-suk 朴容淑 박용숙 (1976, 1988); LEE Jung Young (YI Chŏng-yong 李正勇 이정용) (1981).

<sup>4</sup> Confucianism is called Yu-kyo 儒敎 유교 in Korea. It became a powerful movement with the accession of the Cho-sŏn 朝鮮 조선 dynasty in 1392 AD, replacing Buddhism as state doctrine. See: LANCASTER, YU Chai-shin (1996b).

<sup>5</sup> Also called the '*hui-chang* 會昌 회창 persecution' after the reign title *hui-chang* 會昌 회창 of Wuzong 武宗 무종 (r. 840 - 846). See: CH'EN Kenneth K. S. (1972, 1973), p. 226ff.

complementary. Shamanism furnished the local attachment for the people because it was very closely related to the territory and founding myths of the communities, while early Buddhism was attractive for its doctrine of the future Buddha Maitreya<sup>1</sup>, among other points. The combination of shamanism and Buddhism is particularly obvious in Buddhist legends of which many are recorded in the *Sam-guk-yu-sa*<sup>2</sup>.

### 2.1.1. LEGENDARY TEMPLE FOUNDINGS

#### 2.1.1.1. Yŏn-dŭng-sa

Yŏn-dŭng-sa<sup>3</sup> lies in modern An-ak, in the former territory of the Chinese colony Lelang<sup>4</sup> [fig. 54]. The temple was allegedly founded during the Han dynasty<sup>5</sup> by a certain Chinese monk named Randeng<sup>6</sup>, according to the temple records<sup>7</sup>. This seems to indicate that the temple belonged to the Nak-rang (Ch: Lelang) colony which was established in the Han dynasty in the Pyŏng-yang area<sup>8</sup>. The proposed date, however, can probably not be taken literally because the Buddhist community in China was only at its beginning during the Han dynasty<sup>9</sup>. It is however possible that Lelang had some Buddhist laymen and maybe even some temples toward its end at the turn of the third to the fourth century AD. But no archaeological evidence has yet been discovered which would confirm such a hypothesis<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Maitreya 彌勒菩薩 미륵보살. See: SPONBERG, HARDACRE (eds.) (1988).

<sup>2</sup> *Sam-guk-yu-sa* 「三國遺事 삼국유사」 (abbr.: *SGYS*) See: Chapter 1.1., p. 4, n. 1; *SGYS*; LEE Peter H. (YI Hak-su 李鶴洙 이학수), BAKER (eds.) (1993).

<sup>3</sup> Yŏn-dŭng-sa 燃燈寺 연등사 (No. 10.11.3.) is today a branch temple of Pæ-yŏb-sa 貝葉寺 폐엽사 (No. 10.11.1.). Both temples are located in modern North Korea.

<sup>4</sup> An-ak 安岳 안악 [fig. 686 (20)], Nak-rang (Ch: Lelang) 樂浪 낙랑. See: Chapter 1.1., pp. 14f.

<sup>5</sup> Han 漢 한 lasted from 206 BC to 220 AD.

<sup>6</sup> Randeng (K: Yŏn-dŭng) 燃燈 연등, no dates available.

<sup>7</sup> See: HGBKCDHÜH, p. 583.

<sup>8</sup> See: pp. 14f.

<sup>9</sup> On the history of early Chinese Buddhism see: CH'EN Kenneth K.S. (1972, 1973); ZÜRCHER (1959, 1972).

<sup>10</sup> See also the excursus on the tomb No. 3 at An-ak further below, pp. 64 - 86.



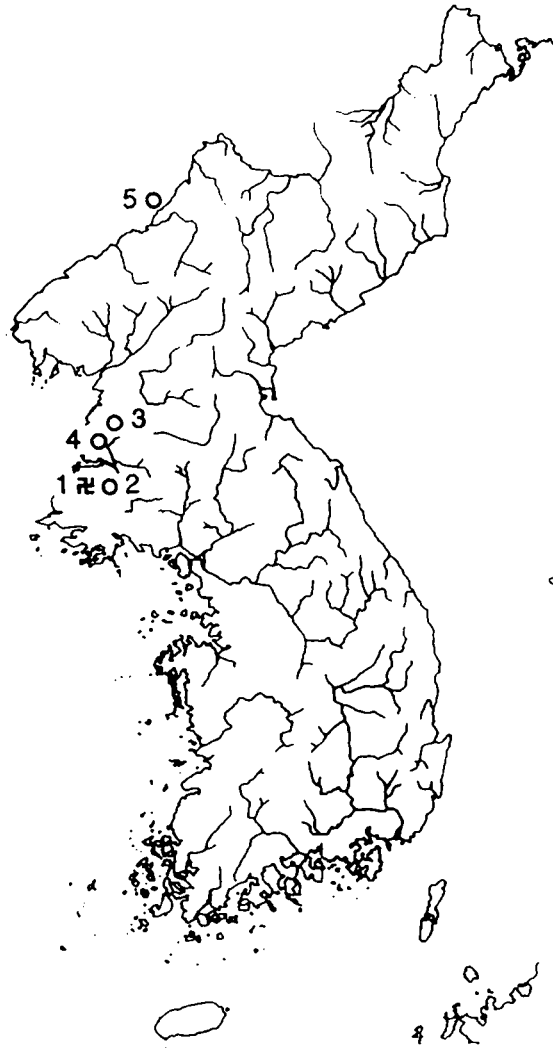


Fig. 54: Yŏn-dŭng-sa 燃燈寺 연등사 and sites of tombs of Ko-gu-ryŏ:

- Legend:
- 1 Yŏn-dŭng-sa 燃燈寺 연등사
  - 2 An-ak 安岳 안악
  - 3 Dŏk-hŭng-ri 德興里 덕흥리
  - 4 Tæ-sŏng-ri 台城里 태성리
  - 5 Ji'an 集安 집안

## 2.1.1.2. King Sōng and the Yuk-wang-tab

The *Sam-guk-yu-sa*<sup>1</sup> contains a legend involving King Sōng<sup>2</sup> who is presented as a king of Ko-gu-ryō. Guided by a mysterious monk, King Sōng is said to have built a seven-storied wooden pagoda, called Yuk-wang-tab<sup>3</sup>, on the ruins of an old three-storied earthen pagoda in Yo-yang<sup>4</sup> the top of which looked like an inverted kettle<sup>5</sup>. On the site of the old pagoda, a stone monument with a Sanskrit inscription<sup>6</sup> which was supposedly found underground, reads: "Here stands a pagoda which formerly belonged to the Han Empire. The name of the [founder (?) of the] pagoda is Po-do Wang<sup>7</sup>, whose former title was Hyu-do Wang<sup>8</sup> and whose office was to offer sacrifices to heaven<sup>9</sup>."

This is said to have occurred before Buddhism was officially introduced to Ko-gu-ryō in 372 AD, but no King Sōng is known from Ko-gu-ryō. There was a king of this name in Bæk-che, but as he reigned from 523 to 554 AD, he can hardly be intended here. Il-yōn says that some people claim, that King Sōng was Saint King Dong-myōng<sup>10</sup>, the first king of Ko-gu-ryō, but even Il-yōn dismisses this as hardly believable. If the word *sōng* is translated as an adjective linked to the noun *wang* then *sōng wang* means simply 'the holy king', an attribute which could apply to any king and which might be interpreted as a sign of the legendary character of the account.

The mention of the construction material of the two pagodas is important. No earthen pagoda seems to remain in Korea but several *stūpas* and pagodas made of rammed earth or burnt bricks covered with clay are extant in western China<sup>11</sup> some of which seem to have been built before the Tang dynasty [figs. 55, 56]. This passage of the *Sam-guk-yu-sa* could be useful for an alternative explanation of the construction method of the large octagonal pagodas of Ko-gu-ryō which will be discussed in Chapters 2.2. and 2.3. RI<sup>12</sup> states that the seven-storied wooden pagoda had a square plan, but this seems to be pure speculation.

<sup>1</sup> The *SGYS* cites the *Sam-bo-kam-tong-rok* 「三寶感通錄 삼보감통록」, but this text seems to be lost. See: *SGYS*, pp. 100, 317f., (201f.).

<sup>2</sup> Sōng Wang 聖王 성왕.

<sup>3</sup> Seven-storied wooden pagoda 木塔七重 목탑칠중, Yuk-wang-tab 育王塔 육왕탑.

<sup>4</sup> Three-storied earthen pagoda 土塔三重 토탑삼중, Yo-yang (Ch: Liaoyang) 遼陽 요양.

<sup>5</sup> *Sang-yō-bok-bu* 上如覆釜 상어부부. This is the traditional bell-shaped *stūpa* (*bu-do* 浮屠 부도).

<sup>6</sup> Sanskrit 梵書 법서.

<sup>7</sup> Po-do-wang (Ch: Putu Wang) 蒲圖王 포도왕.

<sup>8</sup> Hyu-do-wang (Ch: Xiutu Wang) 休屠王 휴도왕.

<sup>9</sup> Che-chōn-gūm-in (Ch: Jitianjinren) 祭天金人 제천금인.

<sup>10</sup> Dong-myōng Sōng-wang 東明聖王 동명성왕, reigned traditionally from 37 to 19 BC.

<sup>11</sup> See: LUO Zhewen 羅哲文 라철문 (1994), pp. 224, 226f., 235, 258, 263, 297.

<sup>12</sup> RI Hwa-sōn 리화선 (1993), vol. I, p. 140.



Fig. 55: Perspective of a clay-covered burnt-brick *stūpa* at Kashi 喀什 喀什, Xinjiang 新疆 신강 (before 618 AD) (drawing by the author)



Fig. 56: Perspective of a rammed-earth *stūpa* at Turfan 吐鲁番 토로반, Xinjiang 新疆 신강 in the form of a *sūtra* box 寶篋보함. (6th - 7th C. AD ?) (drawing by the author)

EXCURSUS 1: THE TOMB No. 3 AT AN-AK AND  
THE EARLIEST MATERIAL EVIDENCE OF BUDDHISM IN KOREA

KIM<sup>1</sup> claims that first distinctly Buddhist evidence on the Korean peninsula appears in the so-called 'tomb of Dong-su' or 'tomb No. 3 at An-ak'<sup>2</sup>, about 64km to the south of modern Pyöng-yang [fig. 54] which is dated by a controversial inscription in the tomb to 357 AD. The tomb was discovered in 1949 AD by North Korean archaeologists. It features paintings of lotus flowers and its five main spaces are covered with so-called stone lantern roofs<sup>3</sup> [fig. 57], a structure which seems to have developed from wooden construction allowing to cover relatively large spaces with comparatively short wooden beams. This construction method results in almost flat roofs and usually requires thick, load-bearing walls because the lantern roof uses a large amount of wood. It seems thus particularly well adapted for regions whose vegetation lacks straight tall trees and whose climate is relatively dry. The lantern roofs usually featured an opening in the centre which served as source of light and as chimney. Such wooden lantern roofs can still be found in Central Asia and East Anatolia<sup>4</sup>.

The East Asian stone version of the lantern roof can be traced back at least to the cave ceilings of Bāmiyān<sup>5</sup> in modern Afghanistan of the Gandhāra period [fig. 57]. Five Eastern Han tombs<sup>6</sup> at least feature stone lantern roofs which are either genuine lantern roofs formed of several superimposed stone slabs or only carved reliefs in the cover stone of a simple corbelled roof. The painted version of the

<sup>1</sup> See: KIM Byung-mo (1978), pp. 302f.

<sup>2</sup> Tomb of Dong-su (Ch: Dong Shou) 冬壽廟 등수묘 or An-ak tomb No. 3 安岳 3 號 墳 안악 3 호 분.

<sup>3</sup> The stone lantern roof (Ch: *zaojing*, K: *cho-chöng* 藻井 조정) usually covers a square space by placing stone slabs on the corners of the wall at an angle of 45° so that the four slabs touch each other at the centre of the walls. The next level of roof slabs is placed in the same way so that the sides of the slabs have again the same direction as the walls. See: KIM Byung-mo (1978), pp. 294ff.

<sup>4</sup> See: *Architectura*, Vol. 19, pp. 1 - 19.

<sup>5</sup> The date of the cave with a lantern roof of Bāmiyān is not certain (probably between the 2nd and the 4th C. AD). A similar, non-Buddhist structure can already be found in Etruscan burial architecture, e.g. in the tomb of the Volumnii of the 4th C. BC. See: ROWLAND (1953, 1984), p. 173; RIVOIRA (1925), p. 103ff.

<sup>6</sup> They are: 1. the Yinan 沂南 기남 tomb in Shandong 山東省 산둥성  
2. the Cangshan xian 蒼山縣 창산현 tomb in Shandong 山東省 산둥성 dated to 151 AD (KIM has 424 AD of the Southern Song 南宋 남송 dynasty by following the erroneous report in *KG* 75 - 2: the 1st year of *yuanjia* 元嘉 원가 can be both: 151 AD or 424 AD!).  
3. the Cigou 茨溝 자구 tomb in Henan 河南省 하남성 of 132 AD (7th year of *yungjian* 永建 영건)  
4. the Liguo 利國 이국 tomb in Jiangsu 江蘇省 강소성  
5. the Changli 昌梨 창리 tomb in Jiangsu 江蘇省 강소성. See: KIM Byung-mo (1978), pp. 296f.; WU Hung (1995), p. 240; *KG* 75 - 2, pp. 124 - 134; *AA* XXII 3/4, p. 281.

lantern roof was found in several Han tombs<sup>1</sup> and Buddhist cave temples<sup>2</sup> [fig. 58] of the Northern Liang and Wei<sup>3</sup>. It seems that the stone lantern roof was abandoned in China for tomb constructions after the end of the Eastern Han dynasty. It seems that the lantern roofs of the Northern Liang and Wei were used only as ceiling decoration in Buddhist grottos and possibly in wooden image halls<sup>4</sup>.

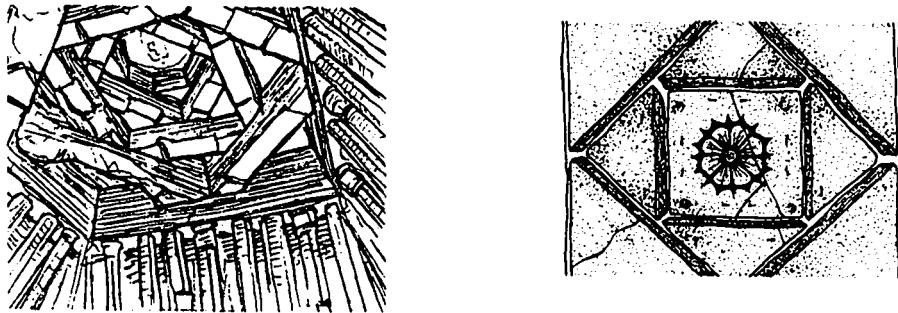


Fig. 57: Lantern roof at Bāmiyān, Afghanistan (between 2nd and 4th C. AD ?) and lantern roof with lotus in the tomb No. 3 at An-ak 安岳3號墳 안악3호분 (drawings by the author)

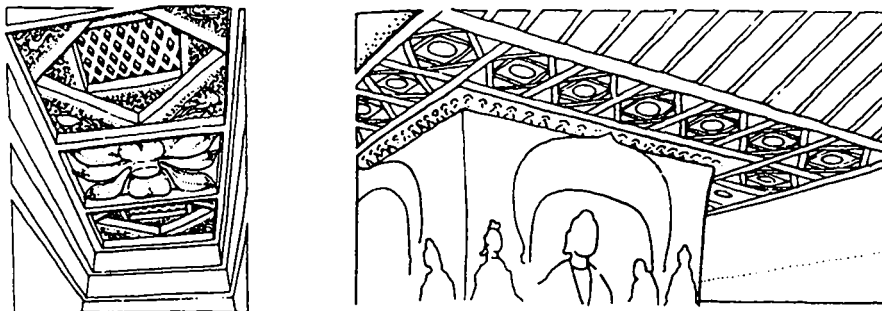


Fig. 58: Lantern roofs and lotus in the tomb at Yinan 沂南기남 (2nd C. AD) and painted lantern roofs in cave No. 428 at Dunhuang 敦煌돈황 (Northern Zhou 北周 북주 557 - 581 AD). (after: LIU Dunzhen 劉敦楨 유든정 (1980), pp. 72, 98)

- 1 The tomb No. 1 of Luoyang 洛陽 낙양 includes one of the earliest examples (Wang Mang 王莽 왕망 interregnum: 8 - 23 AD). Designs on wooden covers of Western Han (206 BC - 8 AD) tombs seem to anticipate the tripartite lantern roofs of the Yinan tomb. Lantern roofs were also painted on brick vaults (e.g. Xingyang 滎陽 형양 tomb in Henan 河南 하남 of the late Eastern Han: 2nd C. AD). See: *Orientalia* 25, No. 5, pp. 40 - 49; *WW* 96 / 3, pp. 24, 26; *WW* 97 / 12, pp. 34 - 43.
- 2 E.g. the grottos at Dunhuang 敦煌 돈황, Bingling-si 炳靈寺 병영사 (both in Gansu 甘肅 감숙) and Yungang 雲岡 운강 (near Datong 大同 대동, Shanxi 山西 산서). See: Comité de Rédaction de 5000 ans d'art chinois (ed.): *Peinture 14*, pl. 1, 51, 54; KIM Sŏng-kyŏng 金性經 김성경 (1986), I, pp. 302f.; KIM Byung-mo (1978), p. 333.
- 3 Northern Liang 北凉 북량 (397 - 401), Northern Wei 東魏 동위 (386 to 534 AD).
- 4 The wooden 'lantern roof ceiling' in image halls and pagodas was used for most of the subsequent periods of Chinese and Korean architectural history. It seems that the Liao 遼 요 (916 - 1125 AD) had a particular predilection for this ceiling form. See: STEINHARDT (1997).

## Description of the tomb No. 3 at An-ak

The tomb is buried under a square, artificial hill, about 7.5m high, whose sides are 33m to 35m long. The level of the floor of the tomb is about 1m lower than the natural ground level. The entrance of the tomb lies in the south and the sides of the square hill are approximately parallel to the walls of the tomb [figs. 59, 60]. The entry leads to a lantern-roofed room of about 2.12m by 2.17m. It is the highest room of the whole tomb with a height of about 3.48m [fig. 61]. Then follows a distribution space [fig. 63] which had a similar function as the open courtyard in East-Asian domestic and Buddhist architecture<sup>1</sup>. This space has a lantern roof with a height of about 3.47m and measures about 4.88m from east to west and about 2.73m from south to north. To the west and east are small lantern-roofed rooms, about 1.7m by 3.13m and 1.22m by 2.99m wide respectively. The entrances to the rooms are flanked by square columns which are attached to the walls. To the north of the distribution space lies the main chamber which is separated from the 'courtyard' by four columns which stand on a low threshold. Three of these columns are octagonal and stand freely. The room measures about 3.8m by 3.32m and also has a lantern roof with a height of about 2.8m [figs. 61, 62]. Along the eastern and northern sides of the main chamber lies a narrow corridor which is 87cm wide on the east and 69cm wide on the north. The corridor turns at the north-eastern corner and runs along the northern side of the main chamber. The northern corridor and the main chamber are separated by a wall, about 80cm high. Five columns stand on this wall, the central three columns again being octagonal.

The importance of the tomb lies partly in its organisation and structure and partly in its details and decoration. The octagonal columns possess square capitals<sup>2</sup> with painted demon faces. The square columns have a simple bracket arm with two smaller capitals<sup>3</sup> in addition to the square capital [fig. 63]. The walls and ceilings are partly decorated with arabesques and 'genre' paintings. Among the depicted scenes are a war party, a procession of dignitaries, a couple of wrestlers, a group of musicians, scenes of everyday life and the portrait of a noble<sup>4</sup> with his wife and their attendants [figs. 64 - 69].

<sup>1</sup> The open courtyards are called *ma-dang* 마당 in Korea. The 'courtyard architecture' is a characteristic element of East-Asian architecture. Its relation to the Buddhist temples will be discussed in Chapters 2.3, 3.3. and 5.

<sup>2</sup> Capital: *chu-du* 柱頭 주두.

<sup>3</sup> Bracket arm: *chöm-cha* 檐遮 첨차, small capitals: *so-ro* 小檐 소로. These bracket arms seem to be the only known examples of their kind in Korea. Comparable bracket arms without central posts have been found in Sichuan 四川 사천 of the Han dynasty. See: LIU Dunzhen 劉敦楨 유돈정 (1980), p. 72.

<sup>4</sup> This portrait is often interpreted as representing the person for whom the tomb was constructed, but its location in the small western chamber casts some doubt on this assumption.

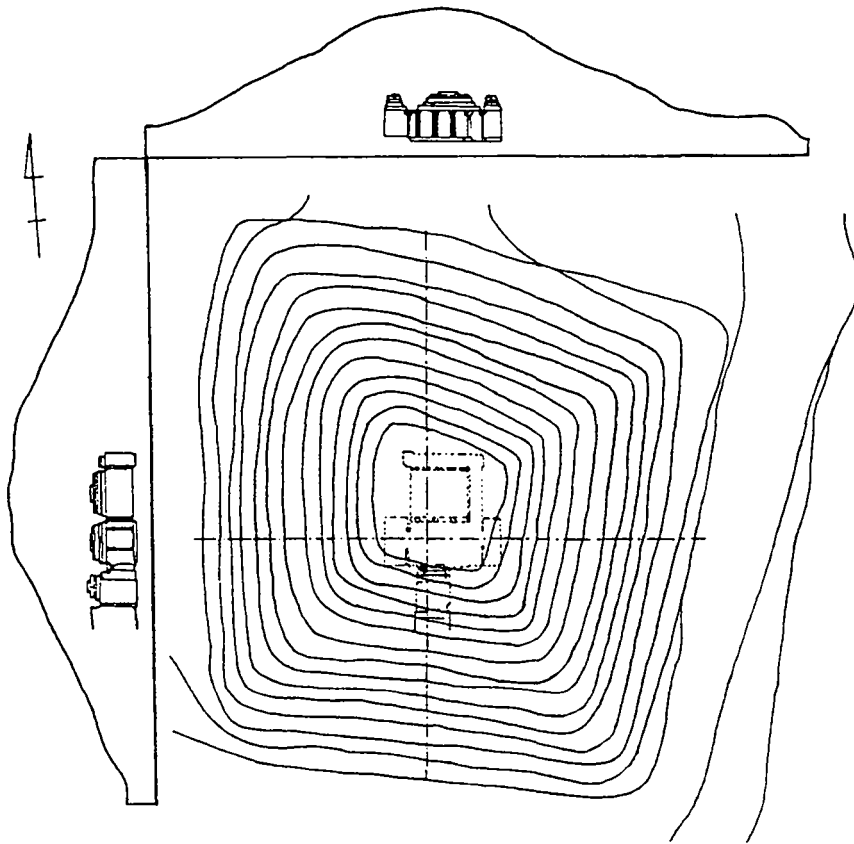


Fig. 59: Plan of the tumulus and two sections of the tomb No. 3 at An-ak 安岳3號墳 안악3호분 (scale: 1 : 500) (after: CHŎ Mu-chang 최무장(1990, 1992), p. 465)

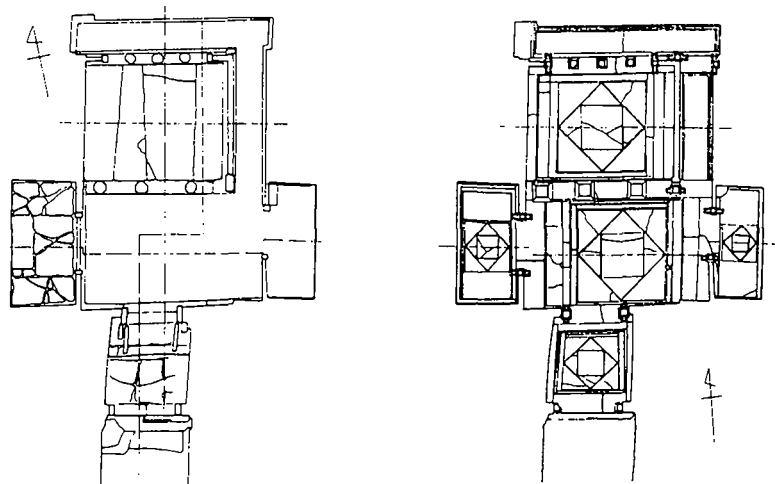


Fig. 60: Ground and ceiling plans of the tomb No. 3 at An-ak 安岳3號墳 안악3호분 (scale: 1 : 200) (after: CHŎ Mu-chang 최무장(1990, 1992), pp. 466, 470)

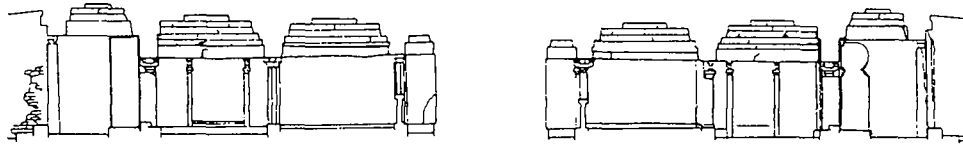


Fig. 61: South-north and north-south longitudinal sections of the tomb No. 3 at An-ak 安岳3號墳 안악3호분 (scale: 1 : 200) (after: CHCE Mu-chang 최무장 (1990, 1992), p. 471)

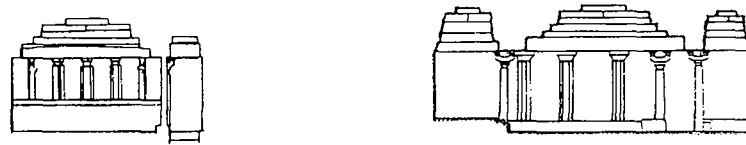


Fig. 62: Section of the rear chamber and west-east section of the tomb No. 3 at An-ak 安岳3號墳 안악3호분 (scale: 1 : 200) (after: CHCE Mu-chang 최무장 (1990, 1992), p. 472, 475)

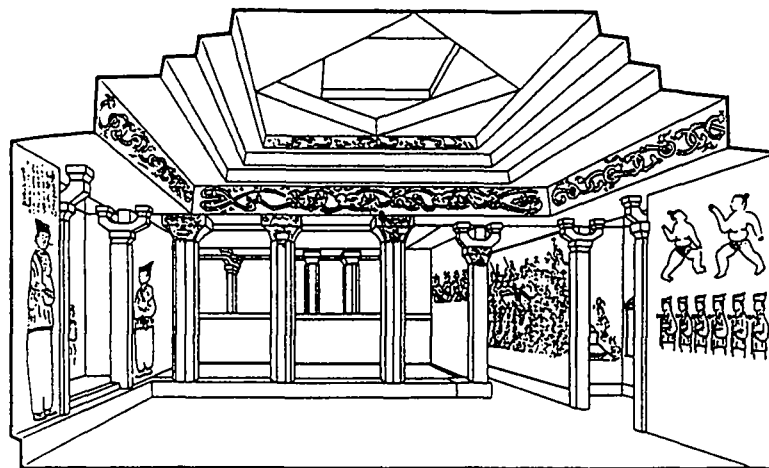


Fig. 63: Perspective of the central chamber of the tomb No. 3 at An-ak 安岳3號墳 안악3호분 (after: CSYCYMDK 5, p. 36)



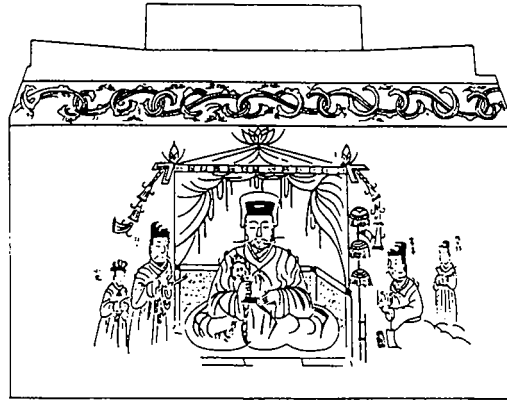


Fig. 64: Mural on the western wall of the western chamber of the tomb No. 3 at An-ak 安岳3號墳 안악3호분 (scale: 1 : 50) (after: CSYCYMDK 5, p. 32)

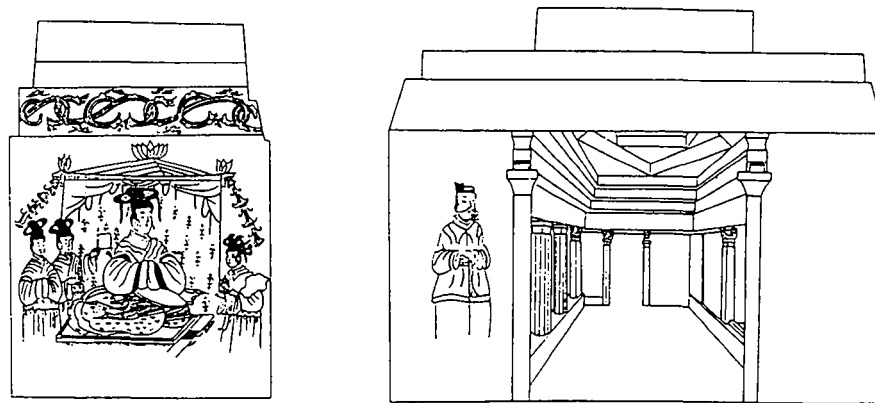


Fig. 65: Murals on the southern and eastern walls of the western chamber of the tomb No. 3 at An-ak 安岳3號墳 안악3호분 (scale: 1 : 50) (after: CSYCYMDK 5, p. 32)

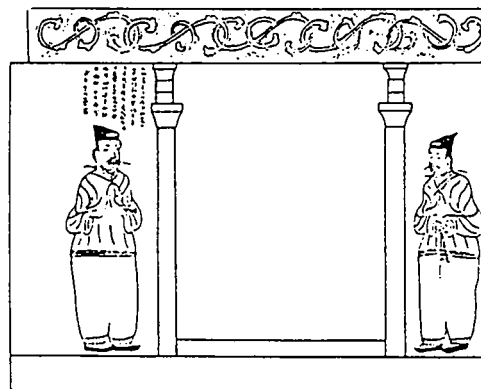


Fig. 66: Mural on the western wall of the central chamber of the tomb No. 3 at An-ak 安岳3號墳 안악3호분 (scale: 1 : 50) (after: CSYCYMDK 5, pp. 30f.)

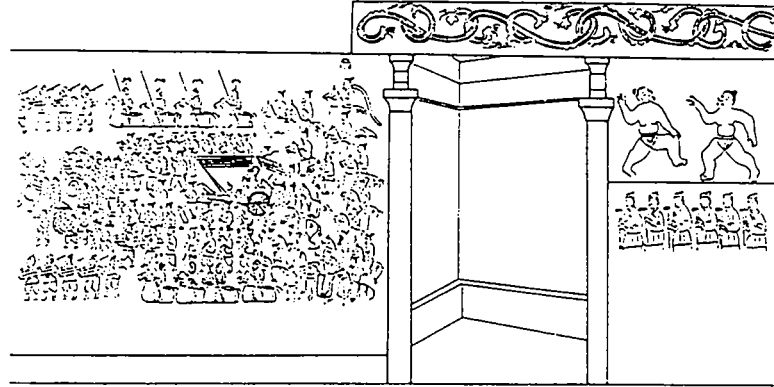


Fig. 67: Mural on the eastern wall of the central chamber of the tomb No. 3 at An-ak 安岳3號墳 안악 3 호분 (scale: 1 : 50) (after: CSYCYMDK 5, p. 31)

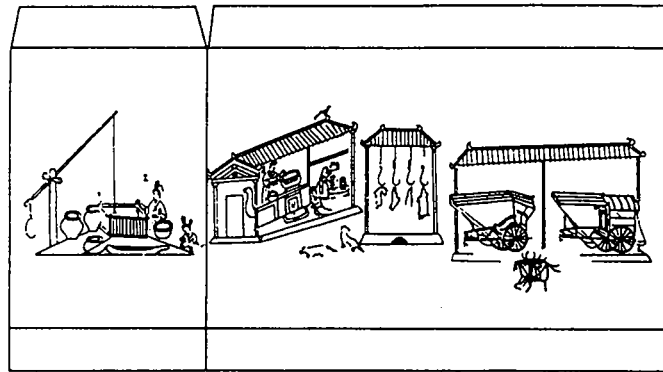


Fig. 68: Murals on the northern and eastern walls of the eastern chamber of the tomb No. 3 at An-ak 安岳3號墳 안악 3 호분 (scale: 1 : 50) (after: CSYCYMDK 5, p. 33)

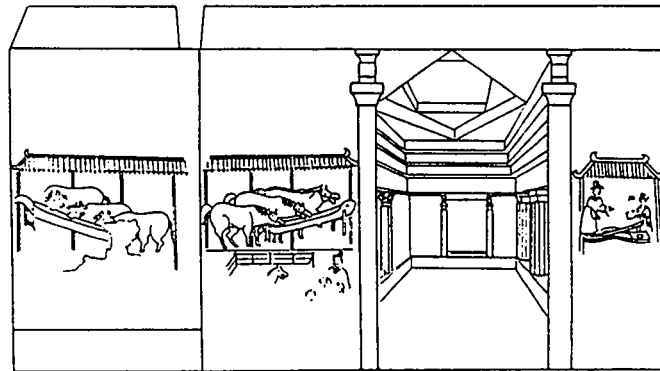


Fig. 69: Murals on the southern and western walls of the eastern chamber of the tomb No. 3 at An-ak 安岳3號墳 안악 3 호분 (scale: 1 : 50) (after: CSYCYMDK 5, p. 33)

## The inscription

There is still no consensus among scholars whether the An-ak tomb No. 3 belongs to the Chinese community of Nak-rang or to the Ko-gu-ryŏ kingdom. The reason for this disagreement is the divergence between the recorded date of the conquest of Nak-rang by Ko-gu-ryŏ and the date of the construction of the tomb.

The *Sam-guk-sa-gi*<sup>1</sup> states that Ko-gu-ryŏ conquered the Chinese colony Nak-rang in 313 AD while an inscription in the tomb [see fig. 69] claims that a certain Chinese, called Dong-su (Ch: Dong Shou), was commander of Nak-rang (Ch: Lelang) until 357 AD, the date of his death (translation based on GARDINER):

"On the twenty-sixth day of the tenth month of the thirteenth year of the *yonghe* era (of the Eastern Jin<sup>2</sup> : November 24th, 357 AD), the Supreme Commander with Special Authority, General Pacifying the East, Commandant-Protector of the Barbarians, Governor of Lelang, and of the (former ?) colonies of Changli, Xuantu, and Daifang, the *duxiang* (?) Lord, Dong Shou, whose courtesy name was ...an, died in office at the age of sixty-nine. He was from Jingshangli, in the *xiang* in which were the administrative headquarters of Pingguo prefecture in the region of Liaodong in Youzhou."<sup>3</sup>

The two statements seem to exclude each other and the discussion has turned around the question of which document is more trustworthy. The authors<sup>4</sup> who favour the tomb inscription suppose, according to the *Zizhi tongjian*<sup>5</sup>, that Dong-su, who might have been a general of the Later Zhao<sup>6</sup>, arrived on the Korean peninsula

<sup>1</sup> The text reads: "美川王 (...) 十四年, 冬十月, 侵樂浪郡, 虜獲男女二千餘口  
미천왕 (...) 십사년, 동십월, 침낙랑군, 노획남여이천여구." See: *SGSG* I, p. 311, 316.

<sup>2</sup> Eastern Jin 東晉 등진, 317 to 420 AD.

<sup>3</sup> The original text runs as follows: [] indicates illegible characters, () indicates additions:

[永] 和十三年十月戊子朔廿六日	[영] 화십삼년십월무자삭입육일
[?] (梁) [丑] 使持節都督諸軍事	[?] (계) [축] 사지절도독계군사
平東將軍護撫夷校尉樂浪	평동장군호무이교위낙랑
[旧?] 昌黎玄菟帶方太守都	[구?] 창려현도대방태수도
鄉侯幽州遼東平郭	향후유주요동평국
[都鄉] 敬上里冬壽字	[도향] 경상리등수자
[?] 安年六十九薨官	[?] 안년육십구홍관

See: CHCE Mu-chang 최무장 (1990, 1992), p. 483; GARDINER (1969), p. 56.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. KIM Wŏn-yong 金元龍 김원용 (1987, 1991), p. 380; GARDINER (1969), p. 71.

<sup>5</sup> This account is recorded in Chapter 卷九十五 of the *Zizhi tongjian* 「資治通鑑 자치통감」 (Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government) by Sima Guang 司馬光 사마광 (1019 - 1086 AD) presented in 1084 AD. See: KIM Wŏn-yong 金元龍 김원용 (1987, 1991), p. 380; CHCE Mu-chang 최무장 (1990, 1992), p.483; WILKINSON (1973, 1990, 1992), pp. 69f.

<sup>6</sup> Zhao 趙 조, divided into Former Zhao 前趙 전조 (also called Cheng Han 成漢 성한), 304 - 329 AD, and Later Zhao 後趙 후조, 319 - 352 AD.

in 336 AD after being defeated by Murong Huang, the founder of the Former Yan<sup>1</sup>. Dong-su would then ruled over the colony of Nak-rang as an independent warlord from 342 to 357 AD. Ko-gu-ryō would thus have conquered Nak-rang only after the death of Dong-su. Most Korean historians seem to have more confidence in the *Sam-guk-sa-gi* than in the inscription of the tomb and accept the date of 313 AD for the conquest of Nak-rang by Ko-gu-ryō. They imply thus silently that the inscription is wrong or at least that it must be interpreted differently. No compelling argument has yet been proposed for or against either hypothesis. While the main argument against the *Sam-guk-sa-gi* is its relatively late date (1145 AD), the following arguments can be advanced to try to discredit the inscription or its current interpretation:

1. The inscription occupies a rather strange place on the left of the door-frame to the western chamber [fig. 65]; the characters are written above a standing figure in a careless manner in black ink and the text has been corrected in one place, while the other inscriptions are carefully written in red colour at the height of the head of the portraits they concern.
2. There is no consensus yet as to which figure is concerned by the inscription. It might be the standing figure below the inscription or the seated figure painted on the western wall of the western chamber.
3. The reign title in the inscription is not certain. It has been restored from the second character (...-hwa) because the first is illegible. The second character could belong to a (lost) reign title of a Ko-gu-ryō king as in the case of the inscription in the tomb at Dōk-hŭng-ri<sup>2</sup>. It would then be possible that the name Dong-su which occurs in the tomb is not identical with the Chinese fugitive mentioned in historical sources.

GARDINER<sup>3</sup> answers the first question by claiming that the writer must have acted in haste as Ko-gu-ryō was about to conquer Nak-rang. This explanation, however, seems to be too dramatic to be true. It is unconvincing to assume that there was no time to write a few characters because of imminent war, and even if the area was actually conquered the same day, why should somebody lose precious time to save or defend himself by writing a funerary inscription? No convincing

<sup>1</sup> Murong Huang 慕容皝 모용황, Former Yan 前燕 전연, a short dynasty in Northern China, founded in 337 AD and absorbed by the Former Qin 前秦 전진 in 370 AD.

<sup>2</sup> Dōk-hŭng-ri 德興里 壁書 古墳 덕흥리 벽화 고분. The tomb inscription uses the only known reign title of Ko-gu-ryō: *yōng-rak* 永樂 영락, the reign title of Kwang-kæ-to Wang 廣開土王 광개토왕, the 19th king of Ko-gu-ryō who reigned from 391 to 412 AD. See further below, p. 86.

<sup>3</sup> See: GARDINER (1969), pp. 55f.

answer has been given to the second question either. GARDINER supposes in continuation of the first answer that the memorial was written "in a blank space over the top of one of the paintings which had not originally been intended for this purpose." This answer seem rather to be a possible argument for a claim that the inscription is a forgery. It is conceivable that the An-ak tomb No. 3 once possessed an inscribed stone tablet which disappeared together with other funerary objects<sup>1</sup>.

The third question has to my knowledge not yet been taken seriously by historians. The architectural structure of the tomb, however, is so elaborate that it seems legitimate to question the date of the inscription which implies that the tomb No. 3 in An-ak is the oldest known of its kind in Korea. The historical, artistic, archaeological and architectural findings should lead to similar conclusions if they are to be trusted. The texts alone do not seem capable of solving the dispute so that it is necessary that historians, art historians and architects work more closely together in order to solve the questions surrounding the tomb No. 3 in An-ak.

#### Outline of a structural and stylistic comparison

Among the known tombs with lantern roofs on the Korean peninsula, the tomb No. 3 at An-ak has been considered the oldest one<sup>2</sup>. More than two dozens other tombs with lantern roofs and a similar number of tombs with other roof forms are known on the northern Korean peninsula in the larger region around Pyŏng-yang<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It seems that the tomb was opened and robbed. Archaeologists discovered traces of one or two lacquered coffins. The bones of one or two persons were scattered in several rooms what seems to indicate the presence of intruders. See: CHŬE Mu-chang 최무장 (1990, 1992), pp. 467, 490 - 495.

<sup>2</sup> See: KIM Byung-mo (1978), p. 298; BANG Sang-hun 方相勳 방상훈 (ed.) (1993), p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Among the tombs with lantern roofs in the Pyŏng-yang 平壤 평양 region are the following (in brackets the range of dates by various authors):

1. the tomb No. 1 at Tæ-sŏng-ri 台城里 1 號墳 태성리 1 호분 (4th C.),
2. the tomb at Yak-su-ri 藥水里 壁書古墳 약수리 벽화고분 (4th C to early 5th C.)
3. the large tomb at An-sŏng-dong 安城洞 大塚 안성동대총 (Yong-kang-dæ-čhong 龍岡大塚 용강대총) (early 5th to mid 5th C.)
4. Kam-sin-čhong 龕神塚 감신총 (4th C. to early 5th C.)
5. the tomb No. 1 at Dæ-an-ri 大安里 1 號墳 대안리 1 호분 (early 5th C. to mid 5th C.)
6. the tomb at Ka-chang-ri 加庄里 古墳 가장리고분 (early 5th C.)
7. the tomb at Dong-am-ri 東岩里 壁書古墳 등암리 벽화고분 (late 4th C.)
8. the tombs No. 1 and 4 at Chin-pa-ri 眞波里 1, 4 號墳 진파리 1, 4 호분 (6th to early 7th C.)
9. Ssang-yŏng-čhong 雙楹塚 쌍영총 (late 5th C. to early 6th C.)
10. Sŏng-čhong 星塚 성총 (mid 5th C. to early 6th C.)
11. the large tomb at U-hyŏn-ri 遇賢里 大墓 우현리대묘 (Kang-sŏ-dæ-myŏ 江西大墓 강서대묘) (late 6th C. to 7th C.)
12. Ho-nam-ri Sa-sin-čhong 湖南里 四神塚 호남리사신총 (late 5th C. to late 6th C.)
13. the tomb No. 1 at Næ-ri 內里 1 號墳 내리 1 호분 (late 6th C. to early 7th C.)
14. the tomb No. 7 at Ko-san-dong 高山洞 7 號墳 고산동 7 호분 (late 4th to early 5th C.)
15. the tombs No. 1 and 2 at An-ak 安岳 1, 2 號墳 안악 1, 2 호분 (late 4th to early 6th C.)
16. Yŏn-hwa-čhong 蓮花塚 연화총 (early 5th C to late 5th C.)

and in southern Manchuria along the northern side of the Yalu river<sup>1</sup> [fig. 54], all of which are attributed to Ko-gu-ryō. Among them are also two other tombs with lantern roofs in the area of An-ak. Virtually all these tombs are buried under square or round tumuli. They are much smaller and simpler constructions. The number of lantern roofs varies from one to four. The tombs typically have two rooms: a rectangular antechamber and a square main chamber but there are a number of exceptions to this rule [figs. 70 - 75].

The dating of the tombs of Ko-gu-ryō is very difficult and the dates attributed by various authors sometimes range between the late fourth century until the early sixth century AD for the same tomb. Amidst this uncertainty, only the tomb at Dōk-hūng-ri<sup>2</sup> is dated by an inscription above the entrance to the main chamber to the beginning of 409 AD [fig. ...]. The tombs with paintings which are similar to those in the tomb No. 3 at An-ak and the tomb at Dōk-hūng-ri are usually placed in the fourth and fifth century AD while those with paintings of the Four Spirits<sup>3</sup> are rather placed in the sixth and early seventh century AD. This distinction seems to be based mainly on passages in historical books which mention that towards the end, Ko-gu-ryō favoured Taoism over Buddhism<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Among the tombs with lantern roofs in the Yalu river (K: Ab-lok-kang 鴨綠江 압록강) area are the following (in brackets the range of dates by various authors):

1. Sam-sil-čhong 三室塚 삼실총 (late 4th C. to late 5th C.)
2. the tomb No. 1 at Chang-čhōn 長川 1 號墳 장천 1호분 (early 5th C. to mid 5th C.)
3. the tomb No. 983 at Chib-an-san-sōng 集安山城 983 號墳 집안산성 983 호분 (late 4th C. to early 5th C.)
4. San-ryōn-hwa-čhong 散蓮花塚 산련화총 (late 4th C. to early 5th C.)
5. Tong-gu Sa-sin-čhong 通溝四神塚 통구사신총 (late 6th C.)
6. the tombs No. 4 and 5 at O-kwœ-bun 五塊墳 4, 5 號墓 오괴분 4, 5 호묘 (early 7th C.).

<sup>2</sup> Dōk-hūng-ri 德興里 壁畫古墳 덕흥리 벽화고분. The date in the tomb is the 25th day of the 12th month of the 18th year of *yōng-rak* 永樂 영락 (the reign title of Kwang-kæ-to Wang 廣開土王 광개토왕, as mentioned above) which corresponds to 408 AD in the lunar calendar or Jan. 26, 409 AD in the solar calendar (var. Feb. 2, 409 AD). The tomb does not have lantern roofs but simple square stepped-pyramidal roofs. See: CHCE Mu-chang 최무장 (1990, 1992), p. 26f., 305f.; CSYCYMDK 5, p. 125.

<sup>3</sup> Four Spirits 四神 사신, the symbolic animals of the four directions: the white tiger 白虎 백호 of the west, blue-green dragon 青龍 청룡 of the east, the red phoenix 赤鳳 적봉 of the south and the black tortoise 黑龜 흑구 of the north. See: Chapter 3.3., Excursus 3, pp. 511f.

<sup>4</sup> See below, pp. 92f.

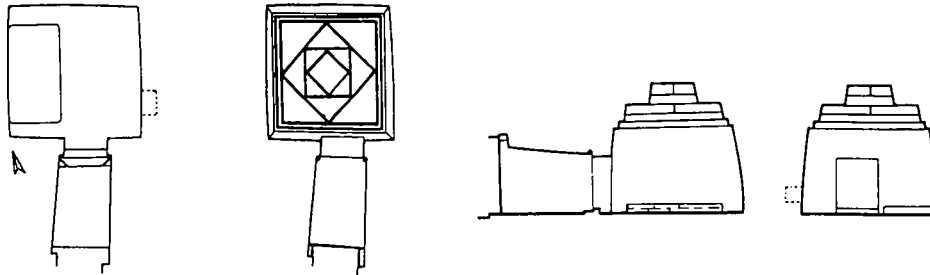


Fig. 70: Ground and ceiling plan and two sections of the tomb No. 2 at An-ak  
安岳2號墳 안악 2호분 (scale: 1 : 200) (after: CSYCYMDK 5, p. 207)

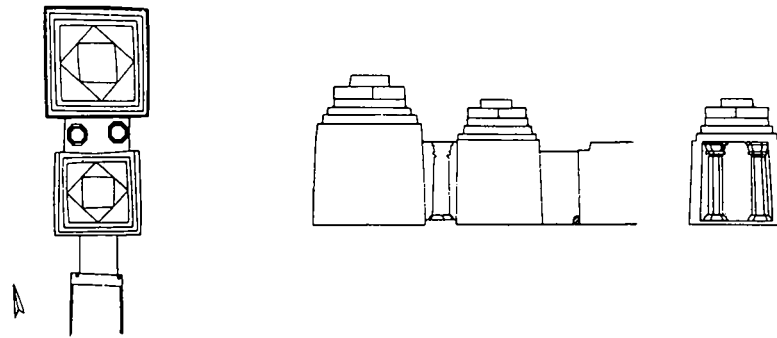


Fig. 71: Ceiling plan and two sections of Ssang-yŏng-chong 雙楹塚 쌍영총  
(scale: 1 : 200) (after: CSYCYMDK 6, p. 119)

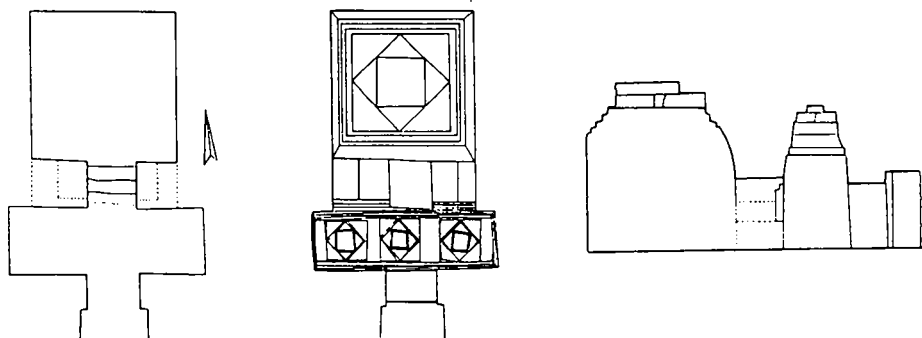


Fig. 72: Ground and ceiling plan and section of the large tomb at An-sŏng-dong  
安城洞大塚 안성동대총 (Yong-kang-dæ-chong 龍岡大塚 용강대총)  
(scale: 1 : 200) (after: CSYCYMDK 5, p. 182)

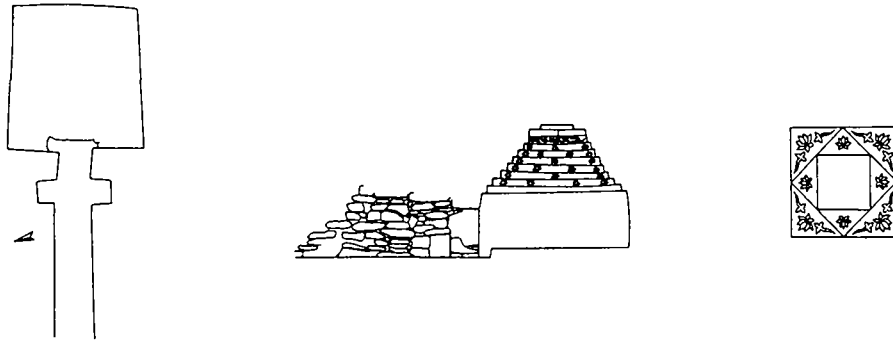


Fig. 73: Ground plan, section (scale: 1 : 200) and ornaments of the lantern roof (scale: 1 : 100) of the tomb No. 983 at Chib-an-san-sŏng 集安山城 983 號墳 집안산성 983 호분 (after: CSYCYMDK 6, p. 276)

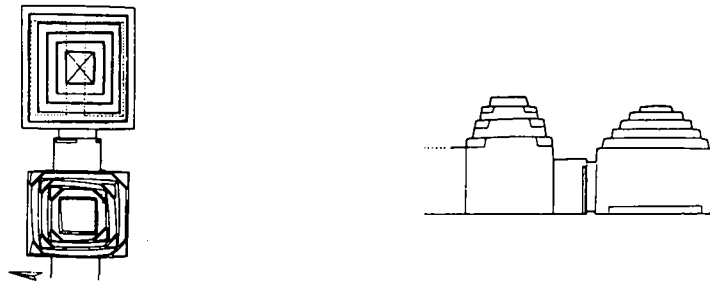


Fig. 74: Ceiling plan and section of the tomb No. 1 at Chang-chŏn 長川 1 號墳 장천 1 호분 (scale: 1 : 200) (after: CSYCYMDK 6, p. 73)

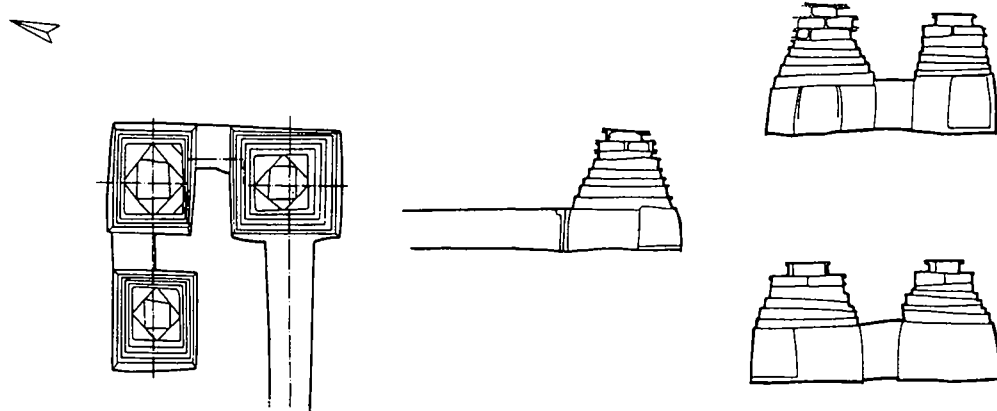


Fig. 75: Ceiling plan and three sections of Sam-sil-chong 三室塚 삼실총 (scale: 1 : 200) (after: CSYCYMDK 6, p. 62)



So far only little weight has been given to a structural analysis for the relative dating of the tombs. It is not possible to discuss this complex subject in the framework of this study. But even a superficial glimpse with a structural view point in mind seems to cast doubt on the assumption that tomb No. 3 at An-ak should be the oldest of all lantern-roofed tombs in Korea. It is by far the biggest and most sophisticated tomb with lantern roofs ever discovered on the Korea peninsula. Is it conceivable that there are no predecessors to this tomb in the region? How can the sudden appearance of such an elaborate structure be explained?

Attention has naturally been turned towards the Asian mainland for a possible explanation which could include the thesis that the tomb was constructed by Chinese colons in Ko-gu-ryŏ. If it is supposed that Dong-su imported the construction techniques of the stone lantern roofs to Ko-gu-ryŏ, it could then be expected that similar tombs were built in northern China in the third or fourth century AD. However, no similar tomb has been discovered in China of this period. Outside Ko-gu-ryŏ, the lantern roof does not any more seem to have been used for tomb constructions after the fall of the Eastern Han dynasty.

The five above-mentioned Chinese tombs with genuine stone lantern roofs date to the the second century AD. It seems to be too far-fetched to suppose that they directly influenced the Ko-gu-ryŏ tombs more than two centuries later without an intermediary. The comparison between the Yinan tomb<sup>1</sup> [figs. 76, 77] and the tomb No. 3 at An-ak shows that in spite of some similarities the An-ak tomb cannot simply be explained as an imitation or the development of Han tombs.

<sup>1</sup> The tomb in Yinan 沂南 기념 in Shandong 山東 산둥 has four genuine stone lantern roofs in the front chambers (two of which feature lotus flower carvings) and six decorative lantern roof carvings in the central and rear chambers (here lotus carvings are placed beside the lantern roofs). The similarities between this tombs and the tomb No. 3 at An-ak are the following:

1. similar overall size (however, the tomb No. 3 at An-ak has bigger open spaces with open spans of more than 3m compared to less than 2m for the Yinan tomb)
2. organisation with lateral rooms
3. existence of lantern roofs
4. existence of lotus flower designs
5. octagonal columns with bracket sets.

But there are also a number of clear differences between the An-ak and the Yinan tombs. The following features of the Yinan tomb are not found in the An-ak tomb:

1. double entrance and division of the whole plan into two parts: such double entrances can be observed at numerous Han stone tombs and shrines.
2. 'fake' lantern roofs only used as decorations
3. decoratively carved door-frames, brackets and lantern roofs
4. sculpted lotus flowers which replace lantern roofs.

The An-ak tomb has also characteristics which the Yinan tomb does not feature:

5. square tumulus: the surface above the Yinan tomb is completely flat, the stone structure of the roofs are only a short distance below the ground level
6. central distribution room and corridor behind the main room
7. portraits, 'genre paintings' and painted lotus flowers
8. columns at the entrances to the lateral rooms.

See: LIU Dunzhen 劉敦楨 유돈정 (1980), p. 57, 60, 72; LIANG Ssu-ch'eng (1984), p. 27; CENG Zhaoyi 曾昭燏 증소율 (1956).

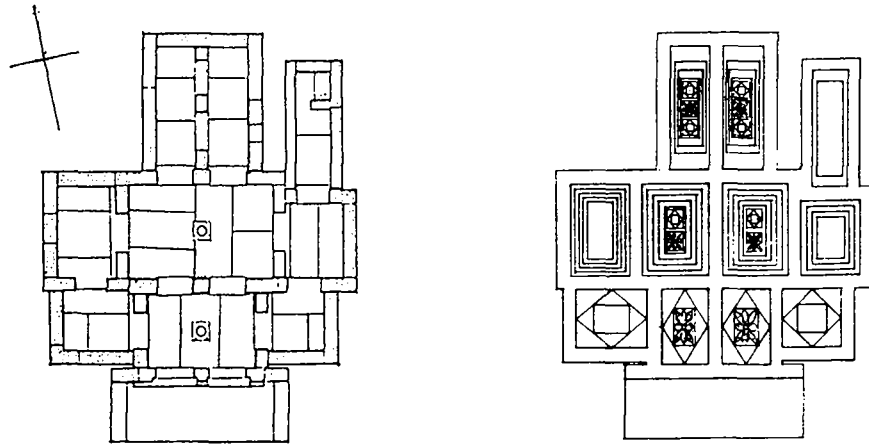


Fig. 76: Ground and ceiling plan the tomb at Yinan 沂南기남 (2nd C. AD) (scale: 1 : 100)  
 (after: LIU Dunzhen 劉敦楨 유돈정 (1980), p. 60 and drawing by the author)

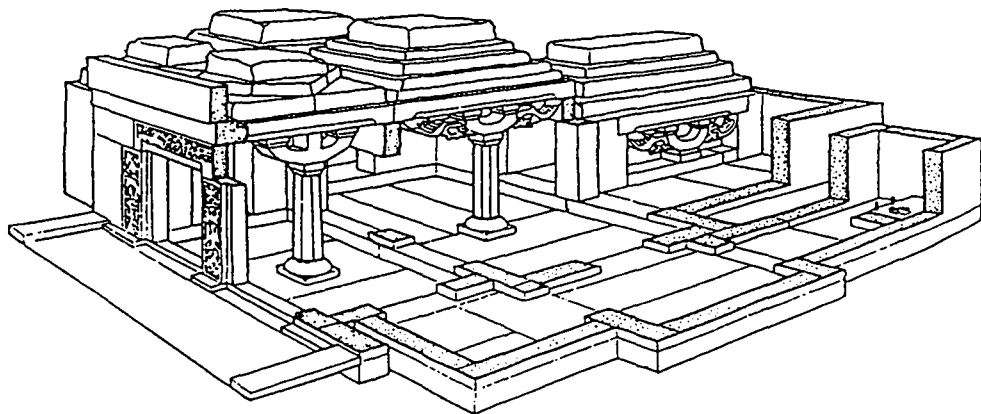


Fig. 77 Open perspective of the tomb at Yinan 沂南기남 (2nd C. AD)  
 (after: LIU Dunzhen 劉敦楨 유돈정 (1980), p. 60)

KIM<sup>1</sup> has tried to link the tomb No. 3 at An-ak to Eastern Han tombs with wall paintings in the Liaoyang area<sup>2</sup> [figs. 78, 79]. As none of them features lantern roofs and as their layouts and construction methods are radically different from the tomb No. 3 at An-ak only the murals can possibly be compared. While it seems certain that all later secular East Asian mural art is related in one way or the other with Han murals, the painting of the seated figure in the western chamber of the tomb No. 3 at An-ak can be more easily compared with Northern Wei and other Ko-gu-ryŏ paintings of the fifth and sixth century AD than with known paintings from the Han to the Sixteen Kingdoms periods<sup>3</sup>. The Ko-gu-ryŏ tombs at Dŏk-hŭng-ri<sup>4</sup> and Tæ-sŏng-ri<sup>5</sup>, for example, feature very similar portraits paintings [fig. 80 - 86]. In 1981 AD, the remains of a lacquered coffin were found in a brick tomb from the Northern Wei dynasty in Guyuan, Ningxia<sup>6</sup>. The paintings feature among other themes the portraits of the Royal Lord of the East and the Royal Lady of the West<sup>7</sup> inside halls [fig. 87]. The resemblance to murals in Ko-gu-ryŏ tombs is striking. It can thus even be asked if the portraits in the western chamber of the tomb No. 3 at An-ak are similar representations of symbolic beings rather than the images of the deceased persons. The questionable inscription would in this case not be intended for the main figure of the western room. The basic problems of the interpretation of the inscription, however, remain also unsolved in this case.

The painted and sculpted versions of the lantern roof in Chinese Buddhist grottoes are known to have been used since the middle of the fifth century AD at least. Such examples are extant in the caves of Yungang<sup>8</sup>, dated to 460 AD of the Northern Wei [fig. 88]. No evidence of the use of stone lantern roofs in tombs or caves from the Chinese Three Kingdoms (220 - 265 AD) to the Sixteen Kingdoms (304 - 386 AD) periods has been found yet. As the Ko-gu-ryŏ tombs with lantern roofs are approximately contemporaneous with the Northern Wei Buddhist cave temples with lantern roofs and the two nations had common borders, it is likely that the two traditions of lantern roofs are somehow connected with each other.

<sup>1</sup> See: KIM Wŏn-yong 金元龍 김원용 (1987, 1991), pp. 287 - 414, in particular pp. 359 - 382.

<sup>2</sup> See: FAIRBANK (1972), pp. 141 - 180.

<sup>3</sup> For example the murals from the Beiyuan 北園 복원 tomb in Liaoyang 遼陽 요양 of the Eastern Han. See: VON ERDBERG CONSTEN (1958), pl. 100, p. 251; FAIRBANK (1972), pp. 153 - 160, 164 - 166.

<sup>4</sup> Dŏk-hŭng-ri 德興里 壁畫 古墳 덕흥리 벽화 고분. See p. 86.

<sup>5</sup> Tæ-sŏng-ri No. 1 台城里 1號墳 태성리 1호분, this tomb has been dated to the fourth or early fourth century AD, the date is not certain and is usually based on the date of the tomb No. 3 in An-ak. See: CHŎE Mu-chang 최무장 (1990, 1992), p. 256, 260f.

<sup>6</sup> Northern Wei 北魏 복위, 386 to 534 AD, Guyuan 固原 고원, Ningxia 寧夏 영하. See: Ningxia Guyuan Museum 寧夏固原博物館 영하 고원 박물관 (ed.) (1988).

<sup>7</sup> Royal Lord of the East 東王父 등왕부, Royal Lady of the West 西王母 서왕모.

<sup>8</sup> Yungang 雲岡 운강. See: KIM Byung-mo (1978), p. 297.

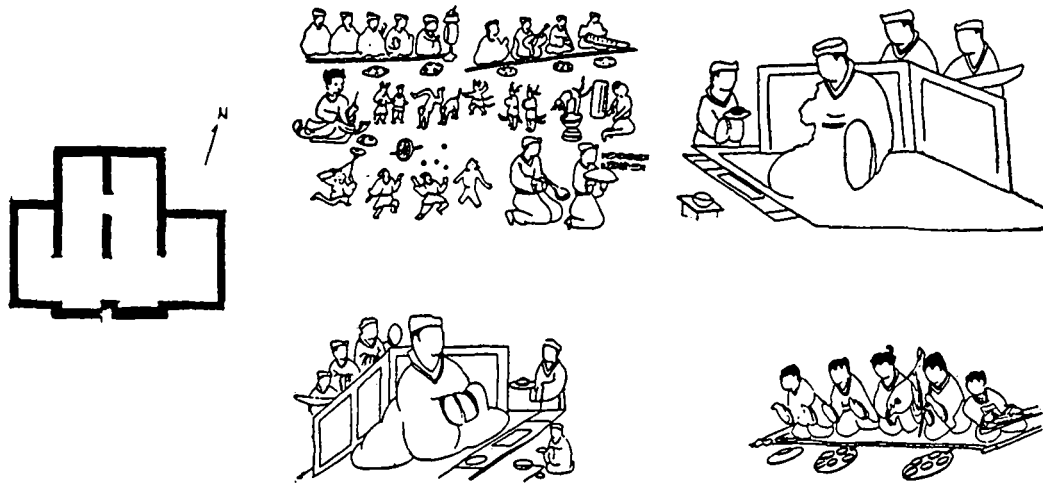


Fig. 78: Ground plan and murals of the Dongwayaozi 東瓦窯子 동와요자 tomb at Liaoyang 遼陽 요양 (Eastern Han 東漢 동한 (25 - 220 AD), no scale) (after: FAIRBANK (1972), pp. 170, 179)

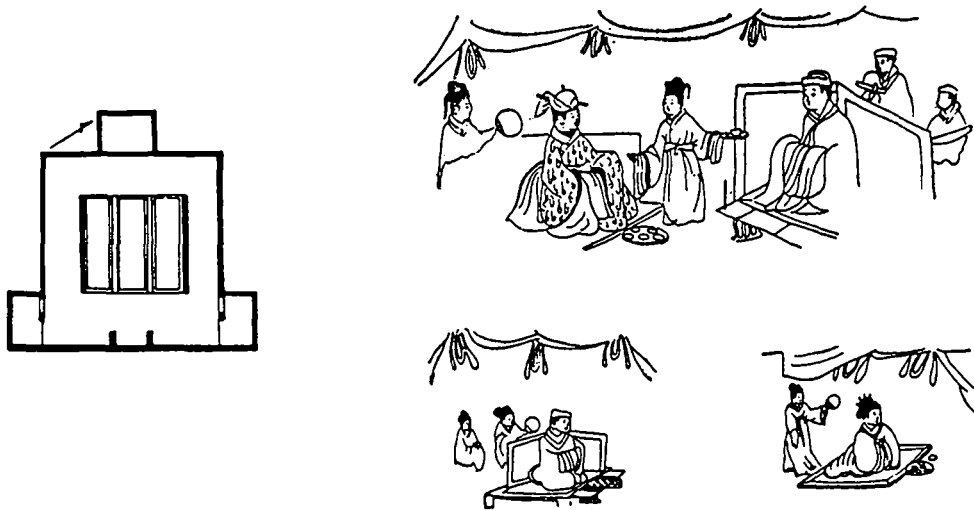


Fig. 79: Ground plan and murals of the Sandaohao 三道壕 삼도호 tomb No. 4 at Liaoyang 遼陽 요양 (Eastern Han 東漢 동한 (25 - 220 AD) no scale) (after: FAIRBANK (1972), pp. 177, 179)

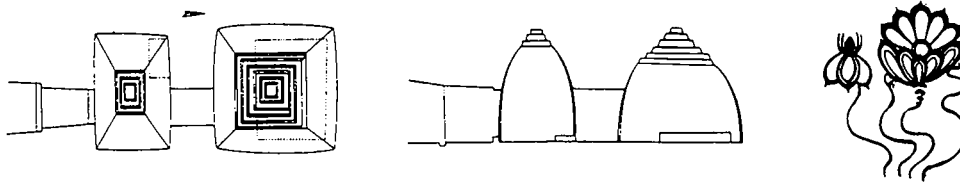


Fig. 80: Ceiling plan and section and detail of a lotus flower of the tomb at Dök-hüng-ri 德興里 덕흥리 (409 AD, scale: 1 : 200) after: *CSYCYMDK* 5, pp. 126)

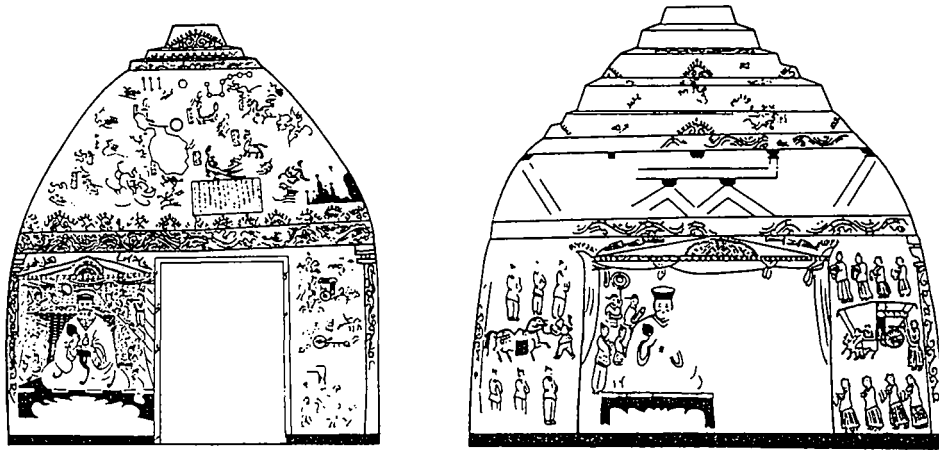


Fig. 81: Murals of the northern walls of the front chamber and the main chamber of the tomb at Dök-hüng-ri 德興里 덕흥리 (409 AD, scale: 1 : 50) after: *CSYCYMDK* 5, pp. 129, 131)

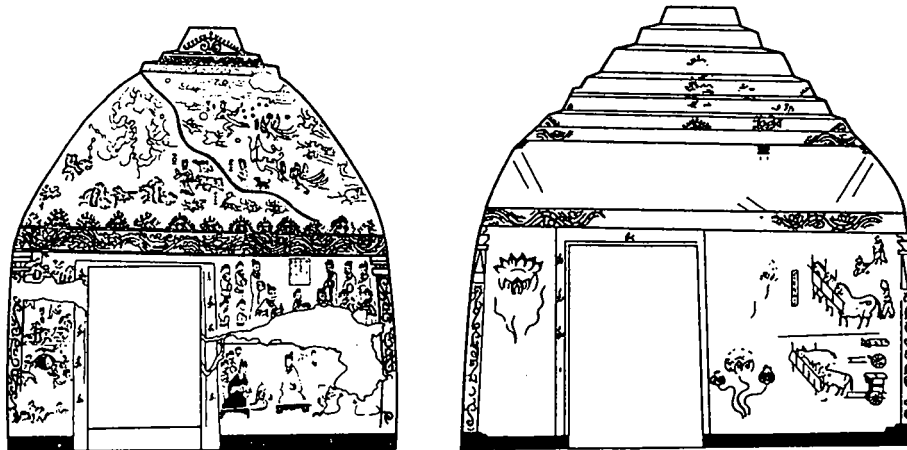


Fig. 82: Murals of the southern walls of the front chamber and the main chamber of the tomb at Dök-hüng-ri 德興里 덕흥리 (409 AD, scale: 1 : 50) after: *CSYCYMDK* 5, pp. 128, 130)

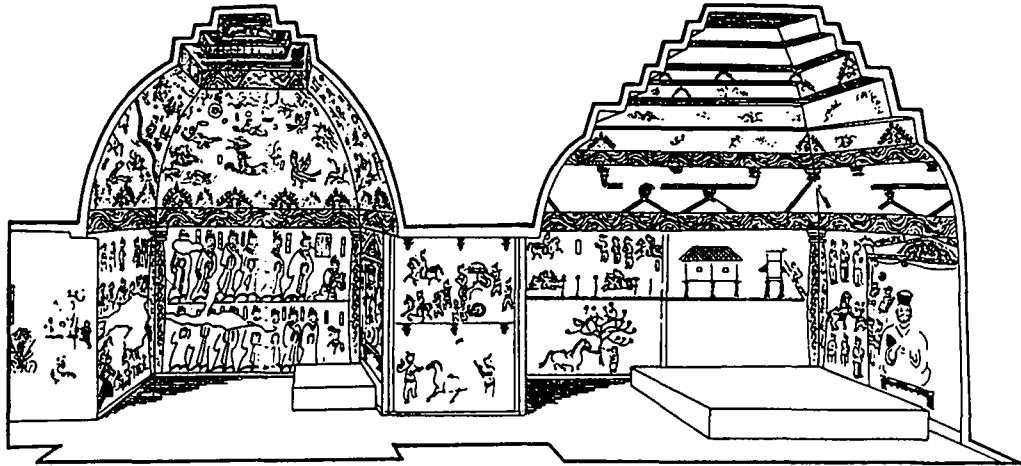


Fig. 83: Perspective of the western walls of the front and the main chamber of the tomb at Dōk-hūng-ri 德興里 덕흥리 (409 AD) (after: *CSYCYMDK* 5, pp. 127)

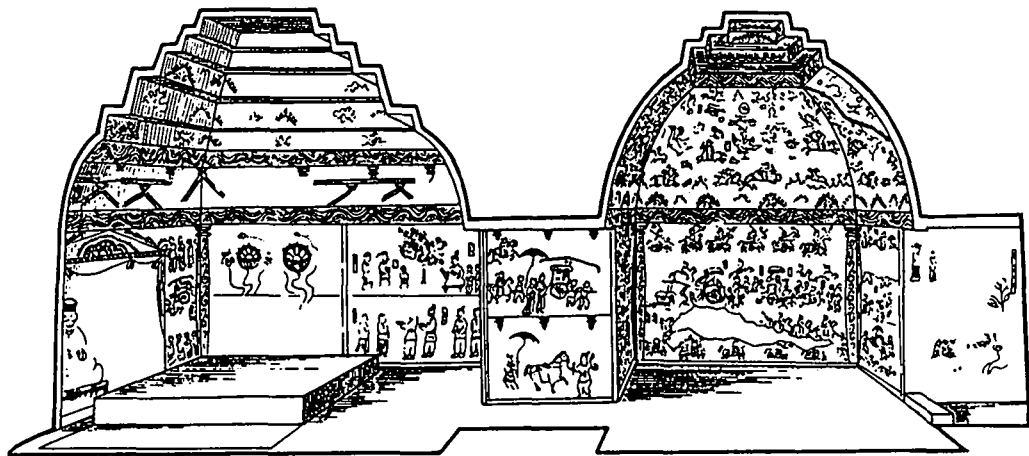


Fig. 84: Perspective of the eastern walls of the front and the main chamber of the tomb at Dōk-hūng-ri 德興里 덕흥리 (409 AD) (after: *CSYCYMDK* 5, pp. 127)

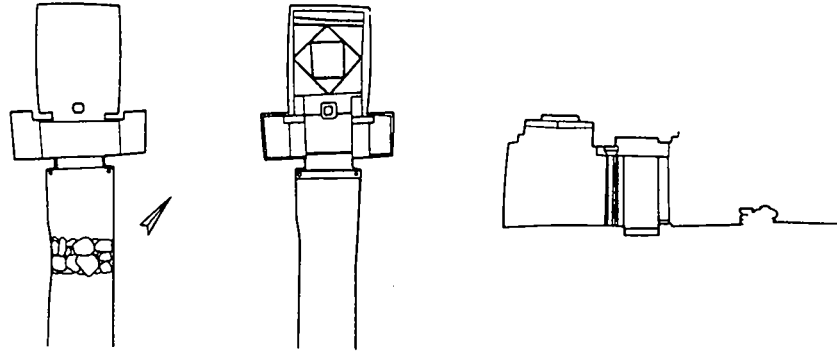


Fig. 85: Ground and ceiling plans and section of the tomb No. 1 at Tæ-sŏng-ri 台城里 태성리 (scale: 1 : 200) (after: CSYCYMDK 5, p. 233)

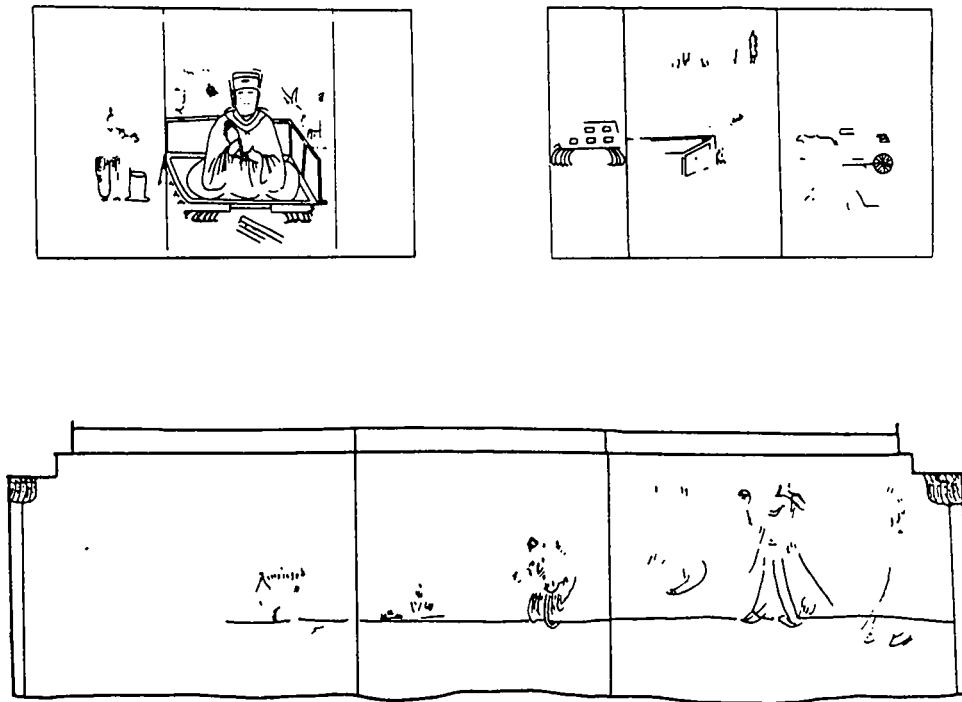


Fig. 86: Fragments of murals of the western, eastern and main chambers of the tomb No. 1 at Tæ-sŏng-ri 台城里 태성리 (scale: 1 : 50) (after: CSYCYMDK 5, p. 235)



Fig. 87: Lacquer painting of the Royal Lord of the East 東王父 등왕부, Royal Lady of the West 西王母 서왕모 from the brick tomb at Guyuan 固原 고원 (Northern Wei (386 to 534 AD)) (after: Ningxia Guyuan Museum 寧夏固原博物館 영하고원 박물관 (ed.) (1988), pl. 1)

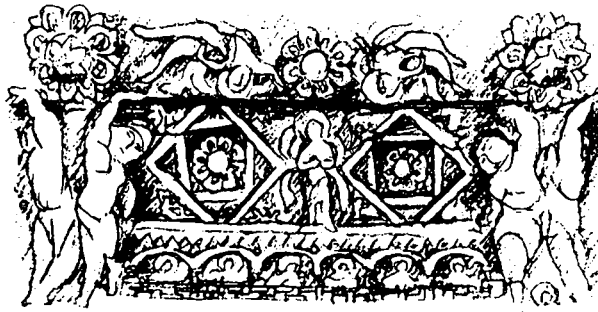


Fig. 88: Perspective of decorations in lantern-roof form in the cave No. 9 at Yungang 雲岡 운강 (460 - 475 AD) (drawing by the author)



The appearance of the lantern roof in Ko-gu-ryŏ seems to be directly linked with the introduction of Buddhism into Ko-gu-ryŏ in the late fourth century AD. It could then be argued that Ko-gu-ryŏ 'reinvented' the possibility to use the lantern structure for secular tombs rather than for Buddhist cave temples which do not seem to have been popular in Ko-gu-ryŏ. WU<sup>1</sup> has convincingly demonstrated that originally Buddhist symbols could easily be used for Taoist purposes. The lantern roofs and the lotus flowers in Han tombs do not necessarily imply that the buried person was a Buddhist layman. The same is also true for the Ko-gu-ryŏ tombs. The use of the lantern roof and the lotus flower in tombs of Eastern Han and Ko-gu-ryŏ can be regarded as analogous but it is doubtful that one evolved directly from the other. This analogy can rather be considered a witness of the periods in northern China and northern Korea<sup>2</sup> when certain Buddhist elements were already known but the religion was not yet fully accepted. In fact, even if the Ko-gu-ryŏ lantern roofs were directly linked to those of the Eastern Han period, the question of the appearance of the lantern roof in stone tombs in East Asia would only be pushed back by several centuries without solving it.

#### Conclusion

The plan of the An-ak tomb No. 3 is the most elaborate of all the tombs in the Korean peninsula. It is a common place in architectural history that the highly articulated forms are based on earlier simple forms. The opposite evolution as suggested in the case of the lantern roof in Ko-gu-ryŏ, i.e. that sophisticated forms are introduced and that the local artisans then return to primitive forms, is highly unlikely. It is therefore difficult to believe that the tomb No. 3 in An-ak is the first of its type on the Korean peninsula. To push other, simpler tombs to an even earlier dates would however be difficult to justify because the tombs of Ko-gu-ryŏ would then be older than the Buddhist cave temples of Northern Wei which supposedly influenced them. No material evidence permits to place the construction of other tombs with lantern roofs in the early fourth century AD whereas the general cultural development of Ko-gu-ryŏ seems to indicate that these tombs date from the fifth to the seventh century AD.

<sup>1</sup> See: AA XLVII 3/4, pp. 263 - 352.

<sup>2</sup> KIM has noticed that "the distribution of the Tsao-ching roof (*zaojing* 藻井 조정: lantern roof) in northern China and northern Korea [corresponds to the fact that] Buddhism in these areas was introduced through the northern route." No evidence of lantern roofs was yet discovered in southern China or southern Korea and Japan which implies that Buddhism was introduced in these areas following a route with different traditions. See: KIM Byung-mo (1978), p. 302.

If the date implied by the current interpretation of the inscription in the tomb is rejected, the tomb would probably have to be dated to the fifth or sixth centuries AD when the capital of Ko-gu-ryŏ was located in Pyŏng-yang. The assumed construction dates of many Ko-gu-ryŏ tombs are based on the supposedly sure date of tomb No. 3 at An-ak. A revision of its construction date would therefore have an great impact on the supposed dates of many other tombs. In particular, it could signify that the tomb construction tradition of Ko-gu-ryŏ which involved lantern roofs and murals developed only after Buddhism was introduced in the late fourth century AD.

The earliest dated material evidence of Buddhism on the Korean peninsula could then be attributed to the inscription and murals of the tomb at Dŏk-hŭng-ri dated to 409 AD<sup>1</sup>. The tomb at Dŏk-hŭng-ri is formed of two chambers which evolve into slightly curved, square frustums which are crowned by simple corbelled roofs with three and six steps [fig. 80 - 84]. An inscription above the lintel of the northern wall of the front chamber states that the buried Ko-gu-ryŏ general whose name is unfortunately illegible, was a follower of Buddha<sup>2</sup>. The murals on the eastern and southern walls of the main chamber feature several lotus flowers which seem to rise from ponds [fig. 82 - 84]. This date of the earliest confirmed material evidence of Buddhism on the Korean peninsula fits the generally accepted account of the introduction of Buddhism into Ko-gu-ryŏ which is said to have taken place less than forty years before, in 373 AD.

<sup>1</sup> The inscription gives: "永樂十八年(...)十二月辛酉 영락십팔년(...) 십이월" "12th lunar month of the 18th year of the reign *yŏng-rak* 永樂 영락(408 AD)" which corresponds to early 409 AD in the solar calendar.

<sup>2</sup> The relevant passage reads: "釋加文佛弟子[?][?]氏鎮仕 (...) 석가문불제자[?][?] 씨진사 (...)" "The disciple of Śākyamuni Buddha, (illegible name) ... (list of titles)".

The whole text reads as follows: [ ] indicates illegible characters, ( ) indicates unknown characters:

[?][?]郡信都[影]都鄉[?]甘里	[?][?]군신도[영]도향[?]감리
釋加文佛弟子[?][?]氏鎮仕	석가문불제자[?][?]씨진사
位建威將軍[國]小大兄左將軍	위건위장군[국]소대형좌장군
龍驤將軍遼東太守使持	용양장군요동태수사지
節東[夷]校尉幽州刺史鎮	절동[이]교위유주자사진
年七十七薨[焉]以永樂十八年	년칠십칠홍[언]이영락십팔년
太歲在戊申十二月辛酉朔廿五日	태세재무신십이월신유삭감오일
乙酉成遷移玉柩周公相地	을유성천이옥구주공상지
孔子擇日武王[選]時歲使一	공자택일무왕[선]시세사일
良葬送之[後]富及七世子孫	량장송지[후]부급칠세자손
番昌任宦日遷位至[侯]王	번창임환일천위지[사왕]
造藏萬功日熬牛羊酒寗米粢	조장만공일살우양주요미찬
不可盡[掃]且食鹽改食一椽記	부가진[소]단식염주식일량기
之[後]世萬裔無絕	지[후]세우기무절

See: CHCE Mu-chang 최무장 (1990, 1992), p. 305.

## 2.1.2. THE INTRODUCTION OF BUDDHISM INTO KO-GU-RYŎ

The story of the introduction of Buddhism into Ko-gu-ryŏ is related in the *Sam-guk-sa-gi* and the *Sam-guk-yu-sa*<sup>1</sup>: "In the sixth month of the second year [of the reign of King So-su-rim<sup>2</sup> (372 AD)], King Fujian of the Former Qin<sup>3</sup> sent an envoy and the monk Sun-do<sup>4</sup> with a Buddhist image and scriptures [to Ko-gu-ryŏ]. The king sent an envoy [to the Former Qin] to express his gratitude and presented local products as gifts in return. He ordered the construction of an academy<sup>5</sup> for the teaching of the youths. In the third year, finally, the laws<sup>6</sup> were announced. In the fourth year the monk A-do<sup>7</sup> arrived [in Ko-gu-ryŏ]. In the second month of the fifth year (375 AD), the first temple, Cho-mun-sa<sup>8</sup>, was founded for Sun-do and I-bul-lan-sa<sup>9</sup> for A-do, this was the beginning of Buddhism in Korea<sup>10</sup>".

The *Sam-guk-yu-sa* states that three other monks<sup>11</sup> followed Sun-do to Ko-gu-ryŏ. The *Hæ-dong-ko-sŭng-chŏn*<sup>12</sup> notes furthermore that in 395 AD, one more Chinese monk<sup>13</sup> arrived in Ko-gu-ryŏ. It is probable that other Chinese monks arrived around the same time because the ordination of new disciples can only take place if at least ten ordained monks are present according to general monastic rules<sup>14</sup>. As the capital Guk-næ-sŏng was situated at that time on the northern side of the Yalu River<sup>15</sup> [fig. 89 (1)], the two first temples of Ko-gu-ryŏ were probably founded in or nearby the capital, but excavations could not yet locate them.

<sup>1</sup> See: *SGSG*, vol. I, pp. 322, 329; *SGYS*, pp. 91, 299, (177).

<sup>2</sup> So-su-rim Wang 小獸林王 소수림왕, the 17th king of Ko-gu-ryŏ, reigned from 371 to 383 AD.

<sup>3</sup> Fujian 符堅 부견, another name of Xuanzhao-di 宣昭帝 선소제, the 3rd emperor of the Former Qin 前秦 전진, reigned from 357 to 385 AD.

<sup>4</sup> Sun-do (Ch: Shundao) 順道 순도.

<sup>5</sup> The text has: *dæ-hak* 大學 대학. For the relation between Buddhism and Confucianism in early Korea see: INOUE Hideo in: LANCASTER, YU Chai-shin (eds.) (1989), pp. 30ff. (The same sentence is translated here as follows: "T'aehak (royal academy) was established for the education of the sons of nobility.")

<sup>6</sup> The text has: *yul-bun* 律分 율분.

<sup>7</sup> A-do (Ch: Adao) 阿道 아도.

<sup>8</sup> Cho-mun-sa 肖門寺 초문사 (var. Sŏng-mun-sa 省門寺 성문사).

<sup>9</sup> I-bul-lan-sa 伊佛蘭寺 이불란사.

<sup>10</sup> The text has: Hæ-dong 海東 해동 (literally: 'East of the Ocean'), an old Chinese name for the Korean peninsula or its kingdoms.

<sup>11</sup> Bŏb-sim (Ch: Fashen) 法深 법심, Ūi-yŏn (Ch: Yiyuan) 義淵 의연, Dam-ŏm (Ch: Tanyan) 曇嚴 담엄, nothing but their names is known. See: *SGYS*, pp. 91, 299, (177).

<sup>12</sup> The year 396 AD is also possible. See: *HDKSC*, pp. 40 - 44.

<sup>13</sup> The Eastern Jin 東晉 동진 monk Dam-si (Ch: Tanshi) 曇始 담시 reportedly arrived in Yo-dong (Ch: Liaodong) 遼東 요동 with *sūtras* and *Vinaya* texts.

<sup>14</sup> See: FRIEDERICHS (1989), pp. 403f.

<sup>15</sup> Guk-næ-sŏng 國內城 국내성, Yalu River 鴨綠江 압록강, at modern Ji'an 集安 집안.

The *Hæ-dong-ko-sŭng-chŏn*<sup>1</sup> states that already as early as the middle of the fourth century AD, before the official introduction of Buddhism, a renowned Southern Chinese monk<sup>2</sup> corresponded on Buddhist topics<sup>3</sup> with a Ko-gu-ryŏ monk<sup>4</sup>. This seems to indicate either that there was a Buddhist community in Ko-gu-ryŏ before the generally accepted date of 372 AD or that the Ko-gu-ryŏ person travelled to China and became a monk there, which is more probable. In either case the introduction of Buddhism to Ko-gu-ryŏ seems to have been more gradual than the account of the *Sam-guk-yu-sa* makes believe. This passage also indicates that Ko-gu-ryŏ relayed for the development of its Buddhist community not only on northern China but also on dynasties of southern China.

### 2.1.3. EARLY TEMPLE FOUNDINGS

Following the official recognition of Buddhism, a number of Buddhist temples were founded in the capital Guk-næ-sŏng and in other areas of the territory of Ko-gu-ryŏ. In 392 AD, only twenty years after the arrival of Sun-do, nine Buddhist temples were founded in the city of Pyŏng-yang<sup>5</sup> according to the *Sam-guk-sa-gi*<sup>6</sup>. Among these temples may also have been Yŏng-myŏng-sa<sup>7</sup> which, after several reconstructions, is still extant today [fig. 89 (2)]. As Pyŏng-yang was only a provincial centre at that time, we can assume that the capital Guk-næ-sŏng possessed many more temples than the two mentioned in connection with the introduction of Buddhism. A-do Hwa-sang<sup>8</sup> is also said to have founded the temple Chin-chong-sa in 381 AD as far south as the island Kang-hwa<sup>9</sup> which probably even lay in Bæk-che territory at that time. In 427 AD, the capital of Ko-gu-ryŏ was moved from Guk-næ-sŏng to Pyŏng-yang<sup>10</sup> [fig. 5] and the city was considerably enlarged for this purpose. Among the early constructions was possibly also the (symbolic)

<sup>1</sup> See: *HDKSC*, p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> The Eastern Jin 東晉 동진 monk Zhidun Daolin 支遁 道林 지둔 도림.

<sup>3</sup> He praised in his letter Zhu Fa-shen 竺法深 축법심, another Chinese monk who lived from 286 to 374 AD. See: *HDKSC*, pp. 5, 33.

<sup>4</sup> The name of this monk was already lost in the time of Gak-hun 覺訓 각훈 (fl. 1215 AD), the text has therefore: *mang-myŏng* 亡名 망명, literally: lost name.

<sup>5</sup> Pyŏng-yang 平壤 평양

<sup>6</sup> *SGSG*, vol. I, pp. 323, 330: "廣開土王(...)二年(...)創九寺於平壤 공개토왕(...)이년(...) 창구사어평양".

<sup>7</sup> Yŏng-myŏng-sa 永明寺 영명사 (No. 10.1.4.).

<sup>8</sup> A-do Hwa-sang 阿道和尚 아도화상.

<sup>9</sup> Chin-chong-sa 眞宗寺 진종사, today's Chŏn-dŭng-sa 傳燈寺 전등사 in Kang-hwa-do 江華島 강화도 (No. 1.3.3.).

<sup>10</sup> Pyŏng-yang 平壤 평양. See: *SGSG*, vol. I, pp. 324, 331: "長壽王(...)十五年,移都平壤 장수왕(...)십오년,이도평양".

tomb of the legendary first ruler of Ko-gu-ryŏ, King Dong-myŏng<sup>1</sup> and maybe the large temple called Chŏng-rŭng-sa<sup>2</sup> which lay in front of this tomb [fig. 89 (3)]. The ruins of this temple have been excavated and will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2.2.

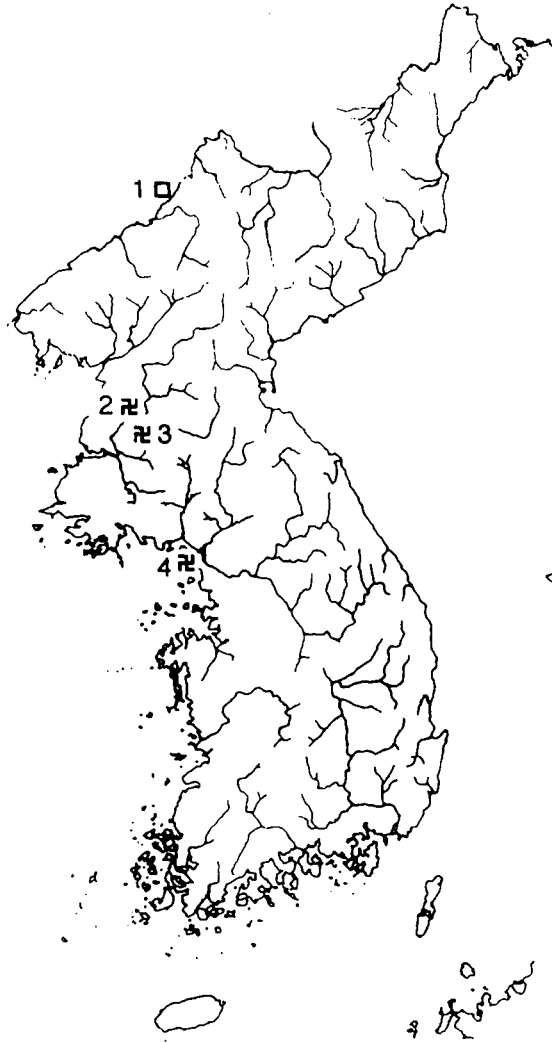


Fig. 89: Early temple foundings in Ko-gu-ryŏ:

- Legend: 1 Guk-næ-sŏng 國內城 국내성  
 2 Yŏng-myŏng-sa 永明寺 영명사  
 3 Chŏng-rŭng-sa 定陵寺 정릉사  
 4 Chin-chong-sa 眞宗寺 진종사 (today's Chŏn-dŭng-sa 傳燈寺 전등사)

<sup>1</sup> Dong-myŏng Wang 東明王 동명왕 reigned traditionally from 37 BC to 19 AD.

<sup>2</sup> Chŏng-rŭng-sa 定陵寺 정릉사 (No. 10.1.3.).

## 2.1.4. BUDDHIST MONKS AND THEIR SCHOOLS

In the early fifth century, Buddhism was already firmly established in Ko-gu-ryō and monks from Ko-gu-ryō became active abroad<sup>1</sup>. From the beginning of the fifth century a number of Ko-gu-ryō monks presumably travelled to Northern China in order to acquire more scriptures and direct transmission of the Buddhist teaching from one of the famous Chinese monks. But the first great monk of Ko-gu-ryō appeared only toward the end of the fifth century. Sūng-rang<sup>2</sup> travelled to Qi<sup>3</sup> around 490 AD and became a disciple of the school of Kumārajīva<sup>4</sup> where he studied the Avatamsaka and Madhyamaka<sup>5</sup> doctrines. In 500 AD, he was appointed abbot of the temple and became subsequently an important figure in the development of the Sam-lon<sup>6</sup> (Madhyamaka) school for both China and Korea.

In the sixth century distinguished Ko-gu-ryō monks<sup>7</sup> introduced other important Buddhist schools and their favourite scriptures. The activities of a number of monks<sup>8</sup> from Ko-gu-ryō are known among whom there was a certain

- <sup>1</sup> Muk-ho-cha 墨胡子 목호자 (var. A-do 阿道 아도) was sent as a missionary to neighbouring Sin-la (see also: Chapter 4.1.). The monk Do-rim 道琳 도림 was sent to Bæk-che during the reign of Chang-su Wang 長壽王 장수왕 (the 20th king of Ko-gu-ryō, reigned from 413 to 491 AD) in order to spy on the military activities of the rival of Ko-gu-ryō. His activities contributed to the downfall of the Bæk-che capital in 475 AD. AHN reports another case of a monk as a military spy of Ko-gu-ryō: in 642 AD, Dök-čang 德昌 덕창 warned Ko-gu-ryō of an imminent attack by Sin-la with 10'000 soldiers. AHN mentions also that armies of monks existed at least since the seventh century in Korea. See: AHN Kye-hyōn in: LANCASTER, YU Chai-shin (eds.) (1989), p. 7.
- <sup>2</sup> Sūng-rang 僧朗 승랑, fl. 490 - 512 AD, he was born in Yo-dong (Ch: Liaodong) 遼東 요동 and died in about 515 AD. (CH'EN Kenneth (1972, 1973), p. 131 has erroneously: "ca. 615".)
- <sup>3</sup> Qi 齊 제 (479 to 502 AD), a short-lived dynasty in southern China. It was followed by Liang 梁 양 (502 to 557 AD).
- <sup>4</sup> Kumārajīva 鳩摩羅什 구마라십 (var. 究摩羅什 구마라십) (lived from 344 to 413, var. 409), he translated from 404 to 409 the *Sam-lon* or *Three Treatises* 「三論 삼론」: *Chung-lon* 「中論 중론」, *Bæk-lon* 「百論 백론」 and *Sib-i-mun-lon* 「十二門論 십이문론」 into Chinese, introducing thus the Madhyamaka 中觀 중관 philosophy of Nāgārjuna 龍樹 용수 (2nd C. AD) into East Asia. He stayed mainly at Qixia-si 棲霞寺 서하사 in Sheshan 罽山 십산, Gansu 甘肅 감숙.
- <sup>5</sup> Avatamsaka (K: Hwa-ōm) 華嚴 화엄, Madhyamaka (K: Sam-lon) 三論 삼론.
- <sup>6</sup> Sam-lon-chong (Ch: Sanlun-zong) 三論宗 삼론종, see: KIM Tong-hwa in: LANCASTER, YU Chai-shin (eds.) (1989), pp. 87ff.
- <sup>7</sup> Pa-yak 波若 파약 (562 to 613 AD) travelled in 596 AD to China and studied under Zhiyi 智顓 지의, (538 to 597 AD), the founder of the Tiantai school 天台宗 천태종. This school emphasized the *Lotus Sūtra* (*Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra*) 「妙法蓮華經 묘법연화경」. Chi-hwang 智晃 지황 (fl. 581 AD, var. fl. 590 - 618 AD) was a master of the Sarvāstivādin school 薩婆多部 살파다부, this school occupies a intermediate position between Mahāyāna 大乘佛教 대승불교 and Hīnayāna 小乘佛教 소승불교; it was especially strong in Kashmir and Gandhāra. See: KIM Tong-hwa in: LANCASTER, YU Chai-shin (eds.) (1989), p. 101ff., 104f.; AHN Kye-hyōn in: LANCASTER, YU Chai-shin (eds.) (1989), p. 6; CH'EN Kenneth (1972, 1973), p. 100; FRIEDERICHS (1989), pp. 488f. (BUSWELL (1983), p. 75 has erroneously: "Chi-kwang 智光 지광".)
- <sup>8</sup> Another example are the two monks Sil 實 실 and In 印 인 who travelled at an unknown time to China and studied there the Madhyamaka philosophy. See: AHN Kye-hyōn in: LANCASTER, YU Chai-shin (eds.) (1989), p. 5.

Ūi-yŏn<sup>1</sup> who was sent by the Prime Minister Wang Ko-dŏk<sup>2</sup> to China in 576 AD in order to collect historical information about Buddhism. In the middle of the seventh century Hyŏn-yu<sup>3</sup> is said to have even travelled as far as Sri Lanka together with his Chinese master and died there.

From the late sixth century on, Ko-gu-ryŏ, together with Bæk-che, played the main role in introducing Buddhism to Japan. The first three nuns<sup>4</sup> in Japan were ordained in 584 AD by a monk<sup>5</sup> from Ko-gu-ryŏ and in 595 AD Hye-cha<sup>6</sup> became the *dharma* master of Prince Shōtoku<sup>7</sup> and is considered together with Bæk-che's Hye-čhong<sup>8</sup> the founder of Japan's 'Three Treasures'<sup>9</sup>. In the early seventh century more monks<sup>10</sup> from Ko-gu-ryŏ travelled to Japan. It seems that most of the Ko-gu-ryŏ monks who went to Japan belonged to the Sam-lon school<sup>11</sup> and helped establish this school there. There is also a case known of a Japanese monk<sup>12</sup> who went to study in Ko-gu-ryŏ a few years before its downfall. He was probably a witness of the creation of the Bar-hæ<sup>13</sup> before he returned to Japan in 718 AD.

<sup>1</sup> Ūi-yŏn 義淵 의연, see: HDKSC, pp. 35 - 39; AHN Kye-hyŏn in : LANCASTER, YU Chai-shin (eds.) (1989), p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Wang Ko-dŏk 王高德 왕고덕.

<sup>3</sup> Hyŏn-yu 玄遊 현유, he is sometimes considered a national of Sin-la 新羅 신라. See: HDKSC, p. 95f.

<sup>4</sup> They were Zenshin (K: Sŏn-sin) 善信ぜんしん 선신, Zenzō (K: Sŏn-chang) 禪藏ぜんぞ우 선장, Keizen (K: Hye-sŏn) 慧善けいぜん 혜선.

<sup>5</sup> Hye-pyŏn 惠便 혜편 (var. 慧便 혜편).

<sup>6</sup> Hye-cha 慧慈 혜자 (var. in 594 AD).

<sup>7</sup> Shōtoku Taishi 聖德太子しょうとくたいし 성덕태자, lived from 574 to 622 AD, also called Kōtaishi Hōsō 皇太子豊聡こうたいしほうそう 황태자풍총.

<sup>8</sup> Hye-čhong 慧聰 혜충, see Chapter 3.1., p. 234.

<sup>9</sup> 'Three Treasures' 三寶삼보 (Sanskrit: *triratna*), representing the Buddha 佛불, the *dharma* 法법 and the *saṅgha* 僧승.

<sup>10</sup> Do-dŭng 道登 도등, fl. 628 AD, Dam-ching 曇徴 담장, fl. 610 AD, "legend has it that he is the painter of the murals in the golden hall of Hōryū-ji 法隆寺ほうりゅうじ 법룡사" (AHN Kye-hyŏn), Hye-kwan 慧観 혜관, fl. 605 - 635 AD (?) was appointed *sōjō* 僧正そうじょう 승정 ('chief executive', 'bishop') in Japan in 625 AD. See: KIM Tong-hwa in : LANCASTER, YU Chai-shin (eds.) (1989), p. 99ff.; AHN Kye-hyŏn in : LANCASTER, YU Chai-shin (eds.) (1989), p. 9.

<sup>11</sup> Sam-lon-chong 三論宗삼론종 = Madhyamaka. See above p. 90, n. 4.

<sup>12</sup> Gyōzen 行善ぎょうぜん 행선 (fl. 668 - 718) arrived during the reign of Bo-chang Wang 寶藏王보장왕, the 28th and last king of Ko-gu-ryŏ (reigned from 642 to 668 AD). See: AHN Kye-hyŏn in : LANCASTER, YU Chai-shin (eds.) (1989), p. 9.

<sup>13</sup> Bar-hæ 渤海 발해, founded in 698 AD, lasted until 926 AD. This kingdom inherited most of the territory of Ko-gu-ryŏ 高句麗고구려 after its destruction by Sin-la 新羅신라 and Tang 唐당 in 668 AD. See: Chapter 4.1.

## 2.1.5. TAOISM AND THE DOWNFALL OF KO-GU-RYŎ

According to Korean historical sources<sup>1</sup>, the downfall of Ko-gu-ryŏ was not only due to a military defeat, but also because of spiritual fractionalization. During the early seventh century "the people of Ko-gu-ryŏ turned to the worship of Taoism<sup>2</sup> and contributed five bushels<sup>3</sup> of rice each to the priests. When the Tang Emperor Gaozu<sup>4</sup> heard of this, he sent a Taoist priest to Ko-gu-ryŏ with portraits of Laozi<sup>5</sup> to expound Taoism<sup>6</sup> to the people. Among those who listened to this priest was King Yŏng-ryu<sup>7</sup> of Ko-gu-ryŏ." In the next year, 625 AD, the King sent an envoy to the Tang court in search of knowledge of Taoism and Buddhism and the Emperor granted his wish.

In 643 AD King Bo-chang<sup>8</sup>, the last king of Ko-gu-ryŏ, sent again an envoy to Tang China in search for Taoism. In the same year the Taoist priest Suk-dal<sup>9</sup> arrived in the capital and introduced the *Dao de jing*<sup>10</sup> of Laozi to Ko-gu-ryŏ. The Buddhist monk Bo-dŏk<sup>11</sup> warned the King that the competition of conflicting religious doctrines may jeopardize "the safety of the state and of the throne, but the King would not listen to his wise counsel". Bo-dŏk then moved in 650 AD out of

1 See: *SGSG*, vol. I, pp. 358, 364, 389, 396; *SGYS*, pp. 97f., 311 - 314, (193 - 198).

2 Taoism 道敎 도교.

3 According to the *SGYS*. Bushel = *mal* 말 or *du* 두, 1 *mal* = about 5.454 litres.

4 First Emperor of Tang 唐 당 Gaozu 高祖 고조, reigned from 618 to 625 AD.

5 Laozi 老子 노자.

6 It is not clear which texts were introduced at this time because the *Sam-guk-sa-gi* 「三國史記 삼국사기」 states that the *Dao de jing* 「道德經 도덕경」 was introduced only in 643 AD (it was possibly the *Zhuang zi* 「莊子 장자」 or minor treatises which were introduced at the beginning). See: p. 92, n.10.

7 Yŏng-ryu Wang 榮留王 영류왕, the 27th king of Ko-gu-ryŏ, reigned from 618 to 641 AD.

8 Bo-chang Wang 寶藏王 보장왕, 28th king of Ko-gu-ryŏ, reigned from 642 to 668 AD.

9 Suk-dal 道士叔達 도사숙달.

10 *Dao de jing* 「道德經 도덕경」 See: *SGSG* I, p. 369f., 380.

11 Bo-dŏk 普德 보덕 (fl. 650) was a master of the Nirvāna school 涅槃宗 열반종 (this school emphasizes the *Mahāparinirvāna-sūtra* 「大般涅槃經 대반열반경」, a *sūtra* set during the last days of the life of the historical Buddha), he lived at Ban-ryong-sa 盤龍寺 반룡사 (reportedly in modern Pyŏng-an-nam-do 平安南道 평안남도 [fig. 686 (3)], Yong-gang-gun 龍岡郡 용강군, the precise location is not known. See: HGBKCDHŪH, p. 617); KIM Tong-hwa: in : LANCASTER, YU Chai-shin (eds.) (1989), p. 103f. (BUSWELL (1983), p. 75 has erroneously: "The Nirvana sect was founded in Koguryŏ by Sŏn-dŏk 善德 선덕".)



Ko-gu-ryŏ to Kyŏng-bok-sa<sup>1</sup> in the territory of Bæk-che where he founded the Nirvāṇa school of Sin-la<sup>2</sup>. According to the legend he flew miraculously together with his whole residence through the air to the new site. Thus Kyŏng-bok-sa became also known as the 'Flying Hermitage'<sup>3</sup>. After the departure of Bo-dŏk, the Taoist priests gained much influence in the court of King Bo-chang, changing Buddhist temples into Taoist lecture halls and advising the King on military constructions such as the city walls of Pyŏng-yang and a Great Wall "from the north-east to the south-west seacoast, drafting men for the labour and forcing women to till the fields. This wall took sixteen years to complete."<sup>4</sup> But despite these efforts, Ko-gu-ryŏ fell under the combined forces of Tang China and Sin-la in 668 AD. To the Buddhist communities in Unified Sin-la and Ko-ryŏ, the downfall of Ko-gu-ryŏ, once the mightiest of the Three Kingdoms, was perceived as a direct result of rejecting the protection of the Buddha.

<sup>1</sup> Kyŏng-bok-sa 景福寺 경북사. This temple does not exist any more, but the temple is mentioned as extant in the *SCDGYCSR* of 1481 AD and in the *Bŏm-u-go* 「梵宇攷 범우고」 of 1799 AD, it was located on Ko-dæ-san 孤大山 고대산, also called Ko-dal-san 高達山 고달산. Today the mountain is called Ko-dŏk-san 古德山 고덕산 (var. 高德山 고덕산). The modern location of the ruined temple site is Chŏn-la-buk-do 全羅北道 전라북도, Wan-chu-gun 完州郡 완주군 [fig. 691 (7)], Ku-i-myŏn 九耳面 구이면, Kwang-gok-ri 光谷里 광곡리. See: *SCDGYCSR*, p. 581; *SCSC*, p. 39f.; *BKSC*, p. 36; *SGSSC*, p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> Nirvāṇa school 涅槃宗 열반종. Though it was at this moment still territory of the Bæk-che Dynasty (formally until 663 AD) it is only in the Unified Sin-la Dynasty that the school became important.

<sup>3</sup> 'Flying Hermitage' 飛來方丈 비래방장.

<sup>4</sup> See: *SGYS*, p. 98, 313f., (196).

## 2.1.6. TEMPLE FOUNDINGS

The semi-historical founding of several other temples during the Ko-gu-ryō Dynasty are recorded in extant texts. With the exception of Güm-gang-sa, however, it seems impossible to provide material evidence for these founding dates. They were in chronological order [fig. 90]:

- 416 AD: Bæk-ryōn-sa, Chök-ryōn-sa, Hwang-ryōn-sa, Hük-ryōn-sa and  
 Chōng-ryōn-sa on the island Kang-hwa, founded by Chōn-čhuk Cho-sa<sup>1</sup>  
 498 AD, seventh lunar month: Güm-gang-sa in Pyōng-yang<sup>2</sup>  
 503 AD: An-guk-sa in Pyōng-yang, founded by Hyōn-uk<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bæk-ryōn-sa 白蓮寺 백련사 (No. 1.3.5.), Chök-ryōn-sa 赤蓮寺 적련사 (var. Chök-sök-sa 積石寺 적석사) (No. 1.3.7.), Hong-ryōn-sa 紅蓮寺 홍련사, Hwang-ryōn-sa 黃蓮寺 황련사, Hük-ryōn-sa 黑蓮寺 흑련사 (probably today's Hük-ryōn-sa 黑龍寺 흑룡사), Chōng-ryōn-sa 靑蓮寺 청련사 (No. 1.3.6.). Kang-hwa-do 江華島강화도 [fig. 687 (3)], Chōn-čhuk Cho-sa 天竺祖師 천축조사, literally: 'the Indian founder' which means probably that the real name of this monk is lost. The source of this information is doubtful. The legend states that Chōn-čhuk Cho-sa came to Sim-do 沁都심도 (today's Kang-hwa 江華강화), visited O-ryōn-san 五蓮山오련산 (today's Ko-ryō-san 高麗山고려산) where he found a deep pond 五蓮潭오련담 with lotus flowers of five colours. He gathered one flower of each colour, threw them in the air and founded five temples at the spots where the wind carried them. Thus he founded Chōng-ryōn-sa 靑蓮寺청련사 (literally 'blue-green-lotus temple') to the east of the mountain, Bæk-ryōn-sa 白蓮寺백련사 ('white-lotus temple') to the north, Hük-ryōn-sa 黑蓮寺흑련사 ('black-lotus temple') to the south, Chök-ryōn-sa 赤蓮寺적련사 ('red-lotus temple') to the west and Hwang-ryōn-sa 黃蓮寺황련사 ('yellow-lotus temple') at a place called Bo-man-dong 保晩洞보만동 (today's Yōn-hwa-dong 蓮花洞연화동, to the east of the mountain?). The date given in the legend could indicate that it is a variant anecdote of the story of (the Indian monk?) Muk-ho-cha 墨胡子 목호자 who is said to have travelled from Ko-gu-ryō to Sin-la in 417 AD. Compare also with the above-mentioned founding legend of Chin-chong-sa 眞宗寺진종사 (today's Chōn-dŭng-sa 傳燈寺전등사, No. 1.3.3.) by A-do 阿道 아도 in 381 AD also on Kang-hwa-do 江華島강화도. It is interesting to note that the five temples were named after the 'five colours' 五色오색 of the 'five elements' theory 五行說오행설. But the attributed directions do not correspond with the tradition. See: Excursus 3 on geomancy in Chapter 3.3., pp. 507ff.; *MSKC* I pp. 147 - 149; *SCSC*, pp. 195f., 530, 589.

<sup>2</sup> Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺금강사 (No. 10.1.1.), Pyōng-yang 平壤평양, its founding date is recorded in the *SGSG*. The temple site was excavated in 1938 AD by Japanese archaeologists, the remains will be discussed in detail in the Chapter 2.2. See: *SGSG*, vol. I, p. 338, 344.

<sup>3</sup> An-guk-sa 安國寺안국사 (No. 10.3.1.), Pyōng-yang 平壤평양, Hyōn-uk 玄旭현욱 (n.d.). The original site of the temple lay 200m away from the extant temple. The original temple seems to have possessed an unspecified pagoda. As nothing more is known about the alleged founding it is difficult to appreciate its historical value. See: *HGBKCDHÜH*, p. 70.

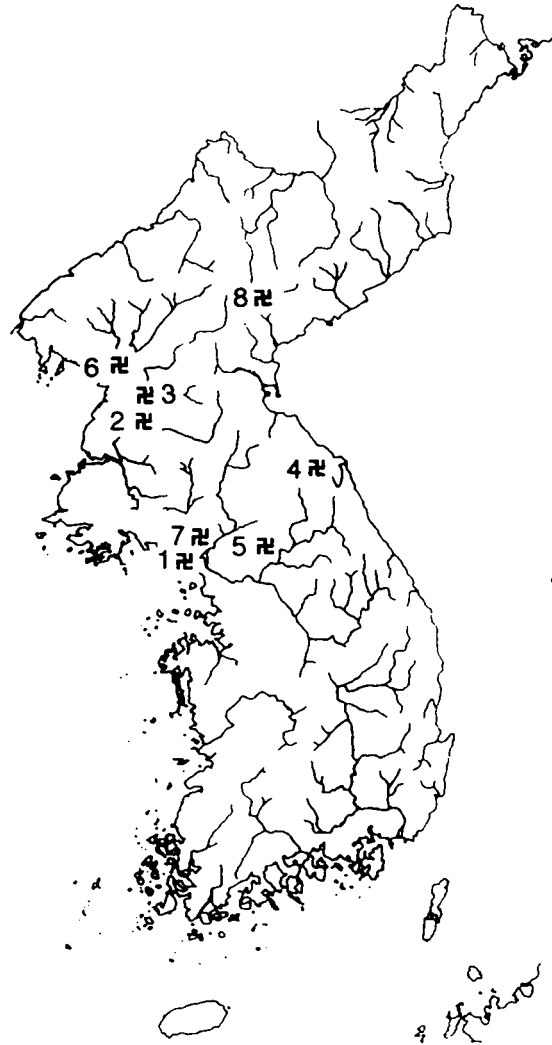


Fig. 90: Temple foundings of Ko-gu-ryŏ:

- Legend: 1 Bæk-ryŏn-sa 白蓮寺 백련사, Chŏk-ryŏn-sa 赤蓮寺 적련사, Hwang-ryŏn-sa 黃蓮寺 황련사, Hŭk-ryŏn-sa 黑蓮寺 흑련사 and Čhŏng-ryŏn-sa 淸蓮寺 청련사  
 2 Gŭm-gang-sa 金剛寺 금강사  
 3 An-guk-sa 安國寺 안국사  
 4 Sin-kye-sa 神溪寺 신계사 and Chang-an-sa 長安寺 장안사  
 5 Hyŏn-dŭng-sa 懸燈寺 현등사  
 6 Čhil-bul-sa 七佛寺 칠불사  
 7 Yŏn-kyŏng-sa 衍慶寺 연경사  
 8 Kæ-sim-sa 開心寺 개심사

- 519 AD: Sin-kye-sa in the Güm-gang mountains, founded by Bo-un Cho-sa (?)<sup>1</sup>  
 514 - 539 AD: Hyön-düng-sa on Mount Un-ak, founded for Ma-ra-ha-mi (?)<sup>2</sup>  
 551 AD: Chang-an-sa in the Güm-gang mountains, founded by Hye-ryang Cho-sa<sup>3</sup>  
 after 612 AD: Čhil-bul-sa on Mount Čhil-bul<sup>4</sup>  
 624 AD: Yön-kyöng-sa in modern Kæ-söng, founded by Hye-ryang Cho-sa<sup>5</sup>

- <sup>1</sup> Sin-kye-sa 神溪寺 신계사 (var. 新溪寺 신계사, 新戒寺 신계사) (No. 10.9.5.), Güm-gang-san 金剛山 금강산 [fig. 684 (15)], Bo-un Cho-sa 普雲祖師 보운 조사 (n.d.) is also credited with the founding of two of the hermitages of Sin-kye-sa: Bo-un-am 普雲庵 보운암 in 528 AD (var. 477 AD) and Sang-un-am 上雲庵 상운암 in 540 AD (var. 462 AD). The name of the temple originates from a legend which states that Bo-un Cho-sa asked the Dragon King 龍王 용왕 to let the numerous fish in the nearby Sin-kye-čhön swim in another stream because the killing of fish desecrated the holy place 聖域 성역 of the temple. The Dragon King agreed. In the memory of this miracle, the character *sin* 神 신 (spirit) was used for the temple name. The nationality of Bo-un Cho-sa is not clear. As Sin-la officially adopted Buddhism only in 527 AD (see Chapter 4.1.), it would be more probable that Bo-un Cho-sa came from Ko-gu-ryō if the recorded dates can be trusted (The dates in the legend use the reign titles of Sin-la but the area of Güm-gang-san 金剛山 금강산 was probably in the hands of Ko-gu-ryō until some time during the reign of Chin-hüng Wang 眞興王 진흥왕 of Sin-la (r. 540 - 575) who expanded the territory of Sin-la almost until modern Dan-čhön 端川 단천 in Ham-kyöng-nam-do 咸鏡南道 함경남도). It is also possible that the temple was founded in a later period of Sin-la and that the recorded dates are a fabrication.  
 See: HGBKCDHÜH, p. 130f.; SCSC, p. 376f.
- <sup>2</sup> Hyön-düng-sa 懸燈寺 현등사 (No. 1.13.1.). Ma-ra-ha-mi 摩羅訶彌 마라하미 (var. Ma-ra-a-mi 摩羅阿彌 마라아미) (n.d.) was reportedly an Indian monk. The temple records claim that Sin-la's Böb-hüng Wang 法興王 법흥왕 (r. 514 - 539 AD) ordered the founding of a temple on Un-ak-san 雲岳山 운악산 to reward the missionary work of Ma-ra-ha-mi in Sin-la. The original name of the temple is not reported. However, the territory around Hyön-düng-sa probably belonged to Ko-gu-ryō until the combined campaign of Sin-la and Bæk-che in 551 AD during the reign of Sin-la's next king Chin-hüng Wang 眞興王 진흥왕. The founding account contains probably some errors either with the date or with the persons involved and it seems difficult to judge if there is any historicity in the account. See: SCSC, p. 635; MSKC I, p. 101f.; LEE Ki-baik (YI Ki-bæk 李基白 이기백) (1984), p. 43f.
- <sup>3</sup> Chang-an-sa 長安寺 장안사 (No. 10.9.7.), Güm-gang-san 金剛山 금강산. The temple was reportedly founded on order of Chin-hüng Wang 眞興王 진흥왕 (r. 540 - 575 AD) of Sin-la on request of the Ko-gu-ryō monk Hye-ryang Cho-sa 惠亮祖師 혜량조사 who left Ko-gu-ryō after the war of 551 AD (see above). The SGSG relates the biography of Kō-čhil-bu 居漆夫 거칠부 who was one of the eight Sin-la generals of this war. Before becoming a general he was a Buddhist monk and travelled to Ko-gu-ryō where he met first with Hye-ryang Cho-sa 惠亮祖師 혜량조사. After the victory of Sin-la, Hye-ryang 惠亮 혜량 wished to emigrate to Sin-la because he felt that Ko-gu-ryō was declining. In Sin-la he was subsequently appointed Süng-tong 僧通 승통 and established the Bæk-chwa-kang-hwöc 百座講舍 백좌강회 and the Pal-kwan-böb 八關法 팔관법 (see: Chapter 4.1.). During the war of 551 AD, Sin-la and Bæk-che conquered the Han-gang 漢江 한강 valley and large areas in Kang-wön-do 江原道 강원도 including Güm-gang-san 金剛山 금강산. The founding of Chang-an-sa 長安寺 장안사 could therefore be attributed either to Ko-gu-ryō because of the nationality of the founder or to Sin-la because it was the new master of the territory. Another, less convincing legend claims that the temple was already founded during the reign of Böb-hüng Wang 法興王 법흥왕 (r. 514 - 539 AD).  
 See: SGSG, vol. II, p. 270, 279; HGBKCDHÜH, p. 156; SCSC, p. 526.
- <sup>4</sup> Čhil-bul-sa 七佛寺 칠불사 (No. 10.3.4.), Čhil-bul-san 七佛山 칠불산. See, p. 97.
- <sup>5</sup> Yön-kyöng-sa 衍慶寺 연경사 (No. 10.12.11.), Kæ-söng 開城 개성 [fig. 686 (12)], Hye-ryang Cho-sa 惠亮祖師 혜량조사 (n. d.). If the given date is not a chronological error, this monk can hardly be identical with the founder of Chang-an-sa 長安寺 장안사 (see above) who was already a senior monk in the middle of the 6th century. See: HGSČCS II, p. 806; SCSC, p. 422.

early 7th century AD: Yŏng-tab-sa on Mount Dæ-bo, founded by Bo-dŏk<sup>1</sup>

648 AD: Kæ-sim-sa on Mount Čhŏn-bul, founded by Wŏn-hyo of Sin-la (?)<sup>2</sup>

#### 2.1.6.1. Čhil-bul-sa

The founding of Čhil-bul-sa is traditionally connected with one of the most famous battles in Korean history. In 612 AD, Emperor Yang<sup>3</sup> of the Sui dynasty invaded Ko-gu-ryŏ but was completely defeated by the Ko-gu-ryŏ General Ūl-chi Mun-dŏk<sup>4</sup>. In the main battle an army of allegedly 305.000 soldiers was exterminated and only 2.700 men escaped death<sup>5</sup>. This disaster contributed greatly to the fall of the Sui dynasty in 618 AD. According to a legend<sup>6</sup>, seven Buddhist monks appeared during this battle and crossed a river without even wetting their feet. Numerous Sui soldiers tried to follow them but all of them drowned in the water. Later a temple was founded near the battlefield and seven Buddha figures were enshrined in it as a reference to the seven mysterious monks.

The seven monks and the seven Buddha figures are possibly in relation with the shamanistic deity of the Seven Stars<sup>7</sup>. The combination of the seven traditional Buddhas<sup>8</sup> of Mahāyāna Buddhism and the shamanistic spirit of the Big Dipper is a typical example for the merger of universalistic Buddhism with local shamanism<sup>9</sup>. The founding account of Čhil-bul-sa seems thus to be legendary in character and its historicity is questionable.

<sup>1</sup> Yŏng-tab-sa 靈塔寺 영탑사, Dæ-bo-san 大寶山 대보산, Bo-dŏk 普德 보덕. See , p. 98.

<sup>2</sup> Kæ-sim-sa 開心寺 개심사 (No. 10.8.2.), Čhŏn-bul-san 千佛山 천불산. Though Wŏn-hyo Dæ-sa 元曉大師 원효대사 was in fact most active around the middle of the 7th C. AD, it is doubtful that he founded any temple in the territory of Ko-gu-ryŏ. In the same period Ko-gu-ryŏ promoted Taoism and Buddhism was neglected (see above). See: *HGSČCS* I, p. 44; *SCSC*, p. 26f.

<sup>3</sup> Yang-di 煬帝 양제, the second emperor of Sui 隋수, reigned from 604 to 618 AD.

<sup>4</sup> Ūl-chi Mun-dŏk 乙支文德 을지문덕. See: LEE Ki-baik (YI Ki-bæk 李基白 이기백) (1984), p. 47.

<sup>5</sup> These numbers are quite certainly exaggerated.

<sup>6</sup> See: *SGSSC*, p. 1390; *SCSC*, p. 603.

<sup>7</sup> Seven Stars 七星 칠성 (the Big Dipper). Symbolic numbers played an important role in Buddhism and in shamanism. See: *HGMHSCSC* I p. 342ff.; *HGMHSCSC* II p. 581ff.

<sup>8</sup> The seven ancient Buddhas: 1. Vipasyin 毘婆尸 비파사, 2. Śikhin 尸棄 시기, 3. Viśvabhū 毘舍婆 비사파, 4. Krakucchanda 拘樓孫 구두손, 5. Kanakamuni 俱那舍牟尼 구나함모니 (var. 拘那含牟尼 구나함모니), 6. Kāśyapa 迦葉 가섭, 7. Sākyamuni 釋迦牟尼 석가모니. See: SOOTHILL, HODOUS (1969), p. 10.

<sup>9</sup> See: pp. 59f.

## 2.1.6.2. Yŏng-tab-sa

Yŏng-tab-sa is mentioned in the *Sam-guk-yu-sa*<sup>1</sup> in connection with an episode of the life of the famous monk Bo-dŏk<sup>2</sup>. One day an old monk visited the residence of Bo-dŏk in Pyŏng-yang and asked him to lecture on the *Nirvāṇa-sūtra* in a certain mountain temple. After the lectures Bo-dŏk met a spirit who invited him to live in his rock-cave hermitage and indicated to him a spot where an octagonal seven-storied stone pagoda was buried. Bo-dŏk dug there and founded the temple Yŏng-tab-sa around the pagoda which he unearthed at that site.

No such stone pagoda has yet been discovered dating to the Ko-gu-ryŏ dynasty. If it was possible to dig out the pagoda as the legend states, the pagoda must have had the usual small dimensions of later Korean stone pagodas. The legend probably describes a pagoda of the early Ko-ryŏ dynasty<sup>3</sup>, confusing the date or the name of the monk involved.

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<sup>1</sup> See: *SGYS*, pp. 101, 320, (204f.)

<sup>2</sup> Bo-dŏk 普德보덕. See: above in connection with the decline of Ko-gu-ryŏ, pp. 92f.

<sup>3</sup> Relatively small octagonal stone pagodas became popular in the early Ko-ryŏ 高麗 고려 dynasty (918 - 1392). See: *HGŭM* 9, pl. 98, *CSYCYMDK* 11, pp. 81 - 87.

## 2.1.7. BUDDHIST SCULPTURE

The earliest excavated Buddhist figures from Ko-gu-ryŏ date from the middle of the sixth century AD. They are small gilt-bronze statuettes representing no particular Buddha nor belonging to any particular school. A Buddhist triad in Pyŏng-yang<sup>1</sup> dated by an inscription to 539 may be considered a typical example. The whole object composed of a stand and the figures is 32cm high [fig. 91 (1)]. The central Buddha<sup>2</sup> in *abhaya-mudrā*<sup>3</sup> is flanked by two smaller Bodhisattvas<sup>4</sup> with their hands, the right above the left, placed flat on the belly. The central Buddha has a round halo within a flame-shaped nimbus forming the background for all three figures. The stand consists of an inverted lotus flower. Similar statuettes are also kept in the National Museum in Seoul and other collections<sup>5</sup>, but their sizes range between 8cm and 18cm. At least one gilt-bronze statue of a Bodhisattva in meditative position<sup>6</sup> from sixth century Ko-gu-ryŏ is kept in a private collection. While this position was originally associated with the pensive Prince Siddhārtha in India and China, in Korea it is thought to represent mainly the Bodhisattva Maitreya<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See: Musée Central de l'Histoire de Corée (ed.) (1989), p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the historical Buddha Śākyamuni 釋迦牟尼 석가모니.

<sup>3</sup> *Abhaya-mudrā*, the "seal of the absence of fear", signifying that the Buddha does not fear the attacks of Māra, see: AUBOYER, BEURDELEY et al. (1978), p. 368, 378.

<sup>4</sup> Bodhisattvas 菩薩 보살, the 'awoken beings', future Buddhas who delay voluntarily their *nirvāna* until all beings are awoken.

<sup>5</sup> See: *HGiM* 10, pl. 2, 3, 7, 8, 9.

<sup>6</sup> The legs are in the position of relaxation (*lalitāsana*), while the arms indicate meditation. This motif became particularly important in Bæk-che, early examples are known from Gandhāra and Dunhuang 敦煌 窟. Figures at Dunhuang date to the Northern Wei dynasty 北魏 북위 (from 386 to 534 AD) and are therefore approximately dated to the 5th century AD. Though elements of this motif can be found in India (especially the position of the legs), no precise model is known from India or Central Asia prior to Dunhuang. See: HWANG Su-yŏng 黃壽永 황수영 (1979, 1987), pl. 6.; AA LIII, 3/4, pp. 311 - 357, BUSSAGLI (1996), p. 245, PENG Hua-shi (1981), pl. 124, p. 244.

<sup>7</sup> The Maitreya cult seems to have been particularly important in the Yogācāra school 瑜伽宗 유가종, founded by Asaṅga 阿僧伽 아승가. This school was in strong opposition to the Madhyamaka school 三論宗 삼론종. In Korea, the *yu-ga-kyo* 瑜伽教 유가교 is nowadays another name for the Tantric school 密敎 밀교. Among the earliest translated *sūtras* featuring Maitreya were the *Mi-rūk-sōng-bul-kyōng* 「彌勒成佛經 미특성불경」 and the *Mi-rūk-bo-sal-bon-wŏn-kyōng* 「彌勒菩薩本願經 미특보살본원경」 translated by Dharmarakṣa 竺法護 축법호 (var. 曇摩羅刹 담마라찰) who lived from 265 to 313 AD in Chang'an 長安 장안 in the late third century AD. These *sūtras* are now contained in the collection *Mi-rūk-yuk-bu-kyōng* 「彌勒六部經 미특육부경」. The Maitreya cult was propagated by the famous monk Daoan 道安 도안 (312 - 385 AD) (var. 314 - 385 AD) who was born in Northern China. In the Northern Wei 北魏 북위 dynasty (386 (439) - 534 AD), during a long period of political confusion, the Maitreya cult became particularly popular. Because of its connection with Northern China it can be supposed that the Maitreya cult was equally strong in Ko-gu-ryŏ. See: CH'EN Kenneth K.S. (1972, 1973), p. 178.



Fig. 91: Buddhist sculpture of Ko-gu-ryō (drawings by the author)

- 1 Gilt-bronze Buddhist triad from Pyōng-yang (h: 32cm, 539 AD)
- 2 Gilt-bronze pensive Bodhisattva (Maitreya) from Ko-gu-ryō (h: 17.5cm, 6th C. AD)
- 3 Gilt-bronze pensive Bodhisattva (Maitreya) of the Three Kingdoms period (possibly Ko-gu-ryō) (h: 83.2cm, 6th to 7th C. AD)



## 2.2. THE BUDDHIST ARCHITECTURE OF KO-GU-RYŎ

### Preliminary remarks

Only four temple sites from Ko-gu-ryŏ have been excavated so far which have revealed parts of their layout. A fifth presumed temple site produced only some material remains dated to Ko-gu-ryŏ. These temple sites are situated in the region around Pyŏng-yang<sup>1</sup> and they were probably all founded after 427 AD when the capital of Ko-gu-ryŏ was moved here<sup>2</sup>. The present political situation in the northern part of the Korean peninsula makes scientific field research for anyone other than North Korean citizens quite impossible. The following pieces of information were gathered from the available recent North Korean and older Japanese publications<sup>3</sup>. Unfortunately, nothing of this material could be checked by the author on the actual excavation sites.

Excavated roof tiles, house models and murals in a number of stone tombs also provide some indications on the general characteristics of the architectural tradition of Ko-gu-ryŏ. This indirect evidence will be discussed in Chapter 2.3.

<sup>1</sup> Pyŏng-yang 平壤 평양.

<sup>2</sup> See: Chapter 1.1., p. 17; Chapter 2.1., p. 88.

<sup>3</sup> They are mainly (for the abbreviations see pp. 1131ff.):

1. CHŎNG Chæ-hun 鄭在鍾 정재훈, CHO Yu-chŏn 趙由典 조유전 (1990);

2. *CSYCYMDK* 1 - 4;

3. HGBKCDHŪH;

4. YI Wang-ki 李王基 이왕기 (1994);

5. KIM Sung-woo (KIM Sŏng-u 金聖雨 김성우) (1985);

6. RI Hwa-sŏn 리화선 (1993);

7. RYŎ Nam-chŏi 呂南詰 러남철, KIM Hong-kyu 金洪圭 김홍규 (1985);

8. *CSSKF* (1940. 6.);

9. SEKINO Tadashi 關野貞 세きのただし 등도 해치랑 (1941).

## 2.2.1. CHÖNG-RŪNG-SA

## 2.2.1.1. Geographical situation

Chöng-rüng-sa<sup>1</sup> is the largest excavated temple complex from the Ko-gu-ryö dynasty. The site lies about 17.5km to the south east of the modern railway station of the city of Pyöng-yang<sup>2</sup>. The temple was excavated from 1973 to 1975 AD by North Korean archaeologists from the Kim Il-sung University<sup>3</sup> and it was widely publicised in specialized books and tourist prospectus<sup>4</sup>. The name of the temple was identified from several excavated roof tile fragments with the engraved characters 'Chöng-rüng' and '...-rüng-sa'<sup>5</sup>, which might form together 'Chöng-rüng-sa', meaning approximately 'meditation-grave-temple' [fig. 92]. About 120m behind the temple site lies the (symbolic) tomb of King Dong-myöng<sup>6</sup>, the first ruler of Ko-gu-ryö [figs. 93, 94]. This tomb was probably built after Ko-gu-ryö moved its capital to Pyöng-yang. This situation may explain why the temple is not mentioned in literary sources: its function was probably to serve as a prayer temple for the king, for his descendants and for the future of the Kingdom and not as a leading training centre for Buddhist monks. It was thus identified with the tomb and not mentioned separately<sup>7</sup>. In spite of its size, Chöng-rüng-sa was probably not among the most important temples of Ko-gu-ryö. It is therefore possible that in the future the remains of even larger temples could be excavated in northern Korea or southern Manchuria.

<sup>1</sup> Chöng-rung-sa-chi 定陵寺址 정릉사지 (No. 10.1.3.).

<sup>2</sup> The precise location is somewhat unclear in the available maps. The most probable address is according to the new North Korean administrative borders: Pyöng-yang Special City 平壤特別市 평양특별시, Ryök-po-gu-yök 力浦區域 력포구역, Mu-chin-ri 戊辰里 무진리. CHANG has: Pyöng-yang Special City 平壤特別市 평양특별시, Ryök-po-gu 力浦區域 력포구, Söng-sul-chin-ri 城戌進里 성술진리, O-rüng-dong 五陵洞 오릉동, this is probably the address before the division of the Korean peninsula. CHÖNG, CHO have: "22km south east of Pyöng-yang City". This is probably the actual road distance. See: CHANG Kyöng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992), p. 69; CHÖNG Chæ-hun 鄭在鏞 정재훈, CHO Yu-chön 趙由典 조유전 (1990), p. 317.

<sup>3</sup> Kim Il-sung University 金日成綜合大學校 김일성종합대학교.

<sup>4</sup> See: *CSYCYMDK* 3, pp. 242 - 271; Musée Central d'Histoire de Corée (ed.), (1977).

<sup>5</sup> Chöng-rüng 定陵 정릉 and ...-rüng-sa 陵寺 陵寺, at least three fragments with engraved characters were discovered. See: *CSYCYMDK* 3, p. 271.

<sup>6</sup> Dong-myöng Wang 東明王 동명왕, also called Dong-myöng Söng-wang 東明聖王 동명성왕, reigned traditionally from 37 BC to 19 BC. The stone tomb consists of a square main chamber and an entrance corridor. The main chamber is covered by a simple frustum with a flat cover stone. The tumulus has a square ground plan. See: *CSYCYMDK* 5, pp. 16 - 25.

<sup>7</sup> The tomb is mentioned in the *SCDGYCSR*, but the temple was probably already ruined and forgotten in the early Cho-sön 朝鮮 조선 dynasty. See: *SCDGYCSR*, p. 941.

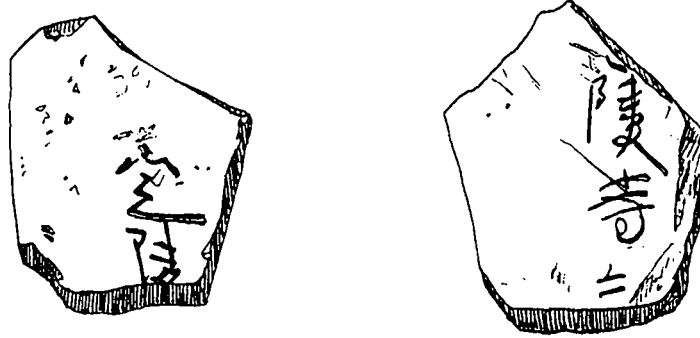


Fig. 92: Tile fragments with Chinese characters from Chŏng-rŭng-sa 定陵寺 정릉사 (5th C. AD ?, no scale) (drawings by the author)

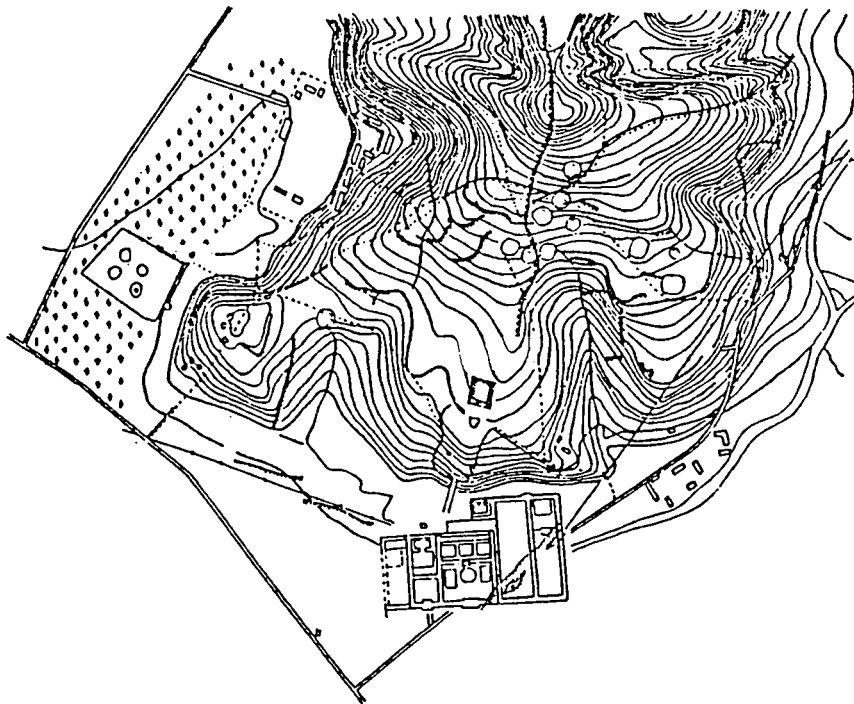


Fig. 93: Site plan of Chŏng-rŭng-sa 定陵寺 정릉사 and the tomb of King Dong-myŏng 東明王陵 동명왕릉 (early 5th C. AD ?, scale 1 : 10,000) (after: RYŎ Nam-chŏl 呂南喆 러남철, KIM Hong-kyu 金洪圭 김홍규 (1985), p. 5)

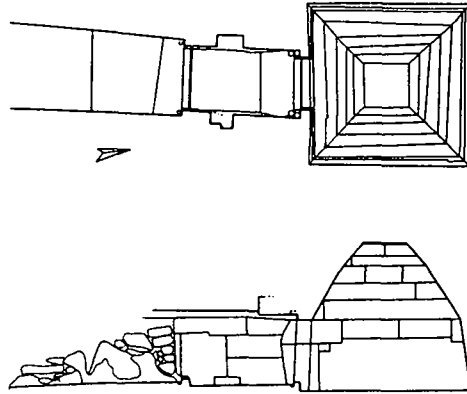


Fig. 94: Ceiling plan and section of the tomb of King Dong-myŏng 東明王陵 동명왕릉 (early 5th C. AD ?), scale: 1 : 200 (after: *CSYCYMDK* 5, p. 20)

#### 2.2.1.2. Historical observations

The founding of the temple has been placed by most South Korean scholars in the fifth century or even the late fourth century AD<sup>1</sup>. They argue that the temple was constructed earlier than Gŭm-gang-sa<sup>2</sup> which was founded in 498 AD. North Korean specialists insist that the temple and its remains date to the early fifth century AD<sup>3</sup>. This date seems to have been advanced mainly because Ko-gu-ryŏ established its new capital at Pyŏng-yang in 427 AD<sup>4</sup>. But it is cautious to consider it as the earliest possible date. There is also some indication that the temple has been altered or reconstructed during the Ko-gu-ryŏ period<sup>5</sup> which could mean that the excavated foundations are not all contemporaneous. There is also no compelling evidence that the remains of Chŏng-rŭng-sa are older than those of Gŭm-gang-sa. It seems to be illusory to try to establish a chronology or even an evolutionary pattern among the known temple sites of Ko-gu-ryŏ while no more than four or five sites have been excavated. In this study the excavated temple sites of Ko-gu-ryŏ are considered to date between the early fifth and the early seventh century AD. Further studies which will surely be conducted after the long expected reunification of Korea, will hopefully clarify the chronology of the temples of Ko-gu-ryŏ.

<sup>1</sup> See: HGBKCDHŪH, p. 387; KIM Sung-woo (KIM Sŏng-u 金聖雨 김성우) (1985), p. 98.

<sup>2</sup> Gŭm-gang-sa 金剛寺 금강사 (No. 1.10.1.). See: Chapter 2.1., p. 94 and below, pp. 130 - 150.

<sup>3</sup> See: *CSYCYMDK* 3, p. 242; RYŎ Nam-chŏi 呂南詰 러남철, KIM Hong-kyu 金洪圭 김홍규 (1985).

<sup>4</sup> See: Chapter 1.1., p. 17; Chapter 2.1., p. 88.

<sup>5</sup> The temple layout is irregular and asymmetrical at several spots what suggests that the temple was reconstructed several times. See below, pp. 109 - 115.

## 2.2.1.3. Excavation results

The temple site lies to the south of a small natural hill of a height of only several tens of meters. The hill is the site of a large number of ancient tombs among which the tomb of King Dong-myŏng is the biggest and most important in historical and artistic terms<sup>1</sup>. The general orientation of the temple complex was almost precisely northwards<sup>2</sup>. The site of the temple is almost flat. The difference of height is about 1.5m from the south to the north and about 2.5m from the west to the east.

The excavation revealed a large temple precinct which measured at the most about 223m from east to west and about 132.8m from south to north. It was divided from east to west into five sections with several courtyards all of which were enclosed in one-bay-deep galleries [fig. 94]. All five sections were aligned on the southern but not on the northern side. The eastern courtyards were longer than the western ones. The central section connected the different lengths of the lateral courtyards on the northern side. The lateral galleries in the south-eastern and south-western corners seem to have continued to the south beyond the southern side. This could indicate that there was once a supplementary courtyard in front of the excavated precinct which would have included at least one south gate<sup>3</sup>. The eastern, northern and western sides of the precinct were surrounded by a drain. This ditch was up to 110cm deep and 60cm to 70cm wide<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See: RYŎ Nam-chŏi 呂南詰 러남철, KIM Hong-kyu 金洪圭 김홍규 (1985), pp. 6 - 19.

<sup>2</sup> The directions diverge from north to west by about 0° over 5° to 8.5° according to the drawings published by the various authors. It is difficult to judge which indication is correct without access to the actual temple site.

<sup>3</sup> *Nam-mun* 南門 남문, such an entry courtyard was discovered at Mi-rŭk-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 (No. 5.6.2.) of Bæk-che and Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황룡사 (No. 7.34.2.) of Sin-la seems also to have possessed similar solutions. See: Chapters 3.2. and 4.2.

<sup>4</sup> See: RYŎ Nam-chŏi 呂南詰 러남철, KIM Hong-kyu 金洪圭 김홍규 (1985), p. 121.

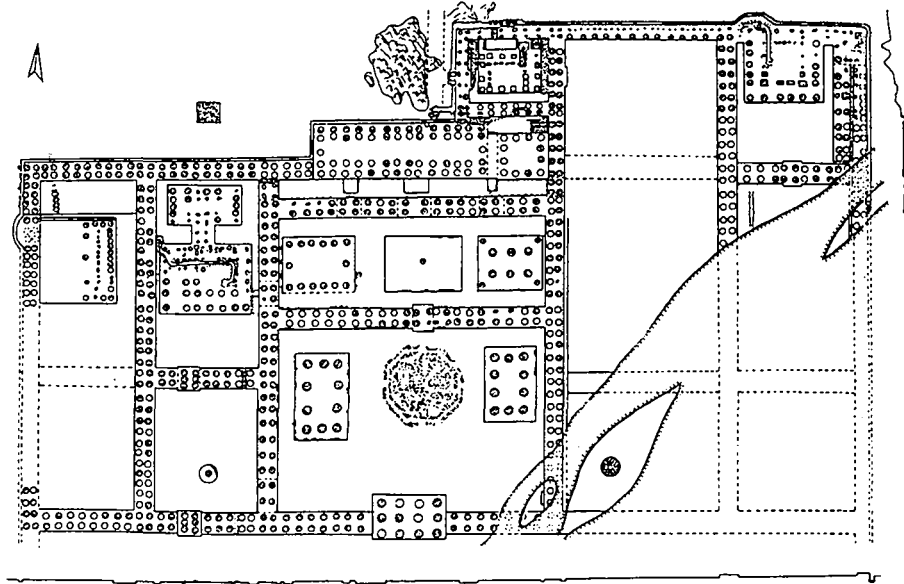


Fig. 95: Excavation plan and two sections of Chŏng-rŭng-sa 定陵寺 정릉사 (5th C. AD ?, scale 1 : 2,000) (after: CSYCYMDK 3, p. 244)

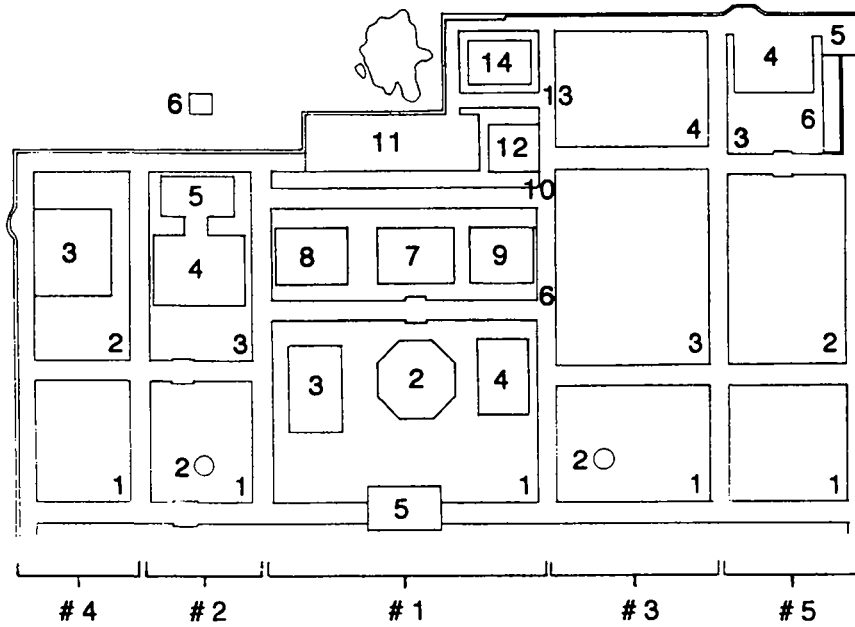


Fig. 96: The structures of Chŏng-rŭng-sa 定陵寺 정릉사 (5th C. AD ?, scale 1 : 2,000) (drawing by the author)

Tables 1 and 2 provide a summary of the measurements of the excavated structures of Chŏng-rŭng-sa. The indications follow in general those given in the work by RYŎ and KIM<sup>1</sup>. The brackets indicate measurements which I measured directly on the published drawings<sup>2</sup>.

structure no.	platform		superstructure			function, comments
	length	width	length	width	no. bays	
<b>section #1: central courtyards</b>						
No. 1 (gallery)	(79m)	(58 - 59m)	(76m)	(56m)	21 + 18 + 24 + 16	south-eastern part damaged
No. 2 (building)	ø1: 20.4m ø2: 17.6m	side: 8.4m side: 7.3m	-	-	-	pagoda ?, octagonal building, no clear foundation stones
No. 3 (building)	13.8m	22.8m	7.8m	16.8m	3 x 2	western image hall, entrance on the eastern side ?
No. 4 (building)	13.4m	20.05m	7.6m	14.6m	3 x 2	eastern image hall, entrance on the western side ?
No. 5 (building)	19m	11m	15m	8m	3 x 2	middle gate
No. 6 (gallery)	(79m)	(34 - 35m)	(76m)	(32 - 33m)	24 + 10 + 23 + 10	foundations intact
No. 7 (building)	17.8m	14.8m	-	-	-	northern image hall, no foundations (but one ?)
No. 8 (building)	19.4m	13.5m	15m	11.4m	5 x 2	<i>stara</i> repository (?), image hall, span too long for a <i>stara</i> repository
No. 9 (building)	16.4m	13.8m	14.4m / 8m	12.2m / 7m	1 x 1 / 2 x 1	belfry (?), four columns in the corners, six in the core
No. 10 (gallery)	(79m)	(30m) / (15.5m)	(76m)	(27.5m) / (12.5m)	23 (10 + 9), (5 + 5)	building no. 9 is inserted in the irregular gallery
No. 11 (building)	44m	14.5m	41.5m	11.5	13 x 4	lecture hall
No. 12 (building)	(15m)	(17m ?)	10m	9m	3 x 3	function not clear
No. 13 (gallery)	(28m)	(23 - 24m)	(26m)	(21 - 22m)	9 + 8 + 9 + 8	foundations intact
No. 14 (building)	16m	11.8m	(15m)	(10m)	5 x 3	residence of head monk (?), square foundations, floor heating

Table 1: Measurements of the structures of the central courtyards of Chŏng-rŭng-sa 定陵寺 정릉사.

<sup>1</sup> See: RYŎ Nam-chŏl 呂南喆 려남철, KIM Hong-kyu 金洪圭 김홍규 (1985), pp. 94 - 123.

<sup>2</sup> See: RYŎ Nam-chŏl 呂南喆 려남철, KIM Hong-kyu 金洪圭 김홍규 (1985), pp. 88 - 125; CSYCYMDK 3, pp. 242 - 271.

structure no.	platform		superstructure			function, comments
	length	width	length	width	no. bays	
<b>section #2: western intermediate courtyards</b>						
No. 1 (gallery)	(37.5m)	(43m)	(35m)	(40-41m)	12 + 11 + 12 + 14	foundations intact
No. 2 (round surface)	(4.1m)	(4m)	-	-	-	ceremonial fire place (?). ~20 bricks as foundation (?)
No. 3 (gallery)	(37.5m)	(59-60m)	(35m)	(57m)	12 + 19 + 12 + 20	foundations intact
No. 4 (building)	26.1m	18.2m	23m	16m	7 x 5	refectory, detached palace (?), hearth, floor heating
No. 5 (building)	20m	11.2m	16.5m	7.6m	5 x 4	function not clear
No. 6 (northern building)	5.8m	5.4m	-	-	-	pavilion in relation with the tomb (?), scattered stones
<b>section #3: eastern intermediate courtyards</b>						
No. 1 (gallery)	(~50m)	(42m)	-	-	? + ? + ? + 12	only north western part extant
No. 2 (round surface)	(4.7m)	(4.3m)	-	-	-	ceremonial fire place (?), bricks
No. 3 (gallery)	(~50m)	(~62m)	-	-	? + ? + ? + 19	south eastern part destroyed, northern gallery missing
No. 4 (gallery)	(49.5m)	(~40m)	(47m)	(38-40m)	? + 13 + 15 + 13	southern gallery missing (see gallery no. 2)
<b>section #4: westernmost courtyards</b>						
No. 1 (gallery)	(34m)	(42-43m)	(32m)	(40m)	11 + 14 + ? + ?	north western part destroyed
No. 2 (gallery)	(34.5m)	(59m)	(32m)	(57m)	? + 20 + 12 + ?	south western part destroyed
No. 3 (building)	8.2m	22.3m	(7.5m)	(20m)	3 x 12 (?)	dormitories (?), bay lengths vary from 1.3m to 2.5m
<b>section #5: easternmost courtyards</b>						
No. 1 (gallery)	(~40m)	(~42m)	-	-	-	completely destroyed
No. 2 (gallery)	(~40m)	(~60m)	-	-	? + 13 + ? + ?	southern part destroyed
No. 3 (gallery)	(39-40m)	(41.5m)	(37m)	(39m)	13 + (13). (13)	buildings no. 1 and no. 2 are inserted in the gallery
No. 4 (building)	21.4m	15.6m (+ 4m)	18.7m	15.1m (+ 3.6m)	5 x 4 (5 x 6)	dormitory (?), foundations of core are square, floor heating
No. 5 (building)	(9m)	(9.2m)	7.3m	7.4m	4 x 2 (4 x 4)	dormitory (?), floor heating
No. 6 (building)	4.2m	26.5m	2.6m	(23.7m)	1 x 8	function not clear, reconstructed gallery (?)

Table 2: Measurements of the structures of the lateral courtyards of Chông-rŭng-sa 定陵寺 정릉사.



## 2.2.1.3.1. The central section: the first courtyard

The central section<sup>1</sup> was about twice as large as the lateral sections. It included the main sanctuaries in four courtyards which were arranged one behind another in the south-north direction. It is not entirely clear if all the galleries possessed walls on one side as is known from several extant Japanese temples<sup>2</sup>. The excavation did not produce evidence of such separation walls but as they surely existed on the outermost galleries this lack of evidence is not conclusive. The walls, however, would be rather inconvenient for the lateral and rear courtyards<sup>3</sup> because every second courtyard would be enclosed by walls rather than by galleries. The galleries were in average less than 3m deep which hardly allowed place for a wall in the centre. I tend therefore to imagine most of the interior galleries as open until clear evidence of separation walls is discovered<sup>4</sup>.

The number of bays of the galleries seem not to have been completely regular. In spite of this irregularity the lengths of the lateral galleries were almost equal which resulted in very variable lengths of the bays of the galleries<sup>5</sup>.

The first courtyard included three buildings: an octagonal building<sup>6</sup> which was most probably a multi-storied pagoda, and two image halls<sup>7</sup> which were placed to the east and to the west of the pagoda. The pagoda was not located in the axis of the courtyard but it was shifted to the east by one bay in relation to the middle gate which was placed in the centre of the southern gallery. The reason for this shift is

<sup>1</sup> Section #1 in the table 1.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. Hōryū-ji 法隆寺 ほりゅうじ ぼつふさ. See: Chapter 3.3., pp. 536f., 620.

<sup>3</sup> This is also the case in the western courtyard of Bul-guk-sa 佛國寺 불국사 (No. 7.34.33.) of the mid-8th C. AD of Unified Sin-la 統一新羅 통일신라 with the exception that the secondary courtyard was placed on a lower platform which avoids this awkward situation. It is also possible that the original temple layout featured an additional gallery on the lower level. See: Chapter 5, pp. 982f.

<sup>4</sup> If separation walls are supposed, then their placement would be completely arbitrary without any indication from the actual site.

<sup>5</sup> They seem to vary between about 2.2m and 4.3m. Such variations are seldom seen in excavated temples from South Korea. It is difficult to imagine a gallery with such irregular bays. A reasonable assumption would be that the excavated foundations stem from several reconstructions. Otherwise, the excavation work and the published documents must be questioned. In some instances they are not completely trustworthy. E.g. the eastern gallery of the first courtyard of section #2 shows on one drawing 11 bays but on another only 10 bays. The available photographs seem to support the version with 10 bays. But this increases the discrepancy between the lengths of the bays of the eastern gallery (10 bays) and western gallery (14 bays) which are approximately of the same total length (about 40m). Unfortunately the eastern gallery has been reconstructed recently and it is possible that the original Ko-gu-ryō foundations were destroyed during this work.

<sup>6</sup> Structure No. 2 in table 1.

<sup>7</sup> Structures No. 3 and 4 in table 1. The main image halls were called *gūm-dang* 金堂 금당 in Korea, which is the equivalent of the Japanese pronunciation *kondō* こんどう of the same Chinese characters.

not clear but it could hint at several construction stages or reconstructions. The centre of the pagoda lay about 34m behind the centre of the middle gate.

The platform of the pagoda seems to have been formed of two steps. The lower step was probably about 1.5m wide. The remains of the foundation of the pagoda do not clearly indicate the structure or the construction material of the superstructure<sup>1</sup>. The discovered foundation of the pagoda contrasts strongly with the foundations of the other structures of the temple. Its surface is almost entirely covered with densely spaced stones [fig. 97] which suggests that the foundation was built of layers of rammed earth which were reinforced by layers of the stones<sup>2</sup>. No foundations of wooden columns could be identified with certainty. Only two larger rocks could eventually be interpreted as foundation stones of columns. Their locations, however, seem to be completely arbitrary and do not seem to fit a wooden skeleton structure. The upper surfaces of these rocks lay surely below the



Fig. 97: Excavation plan and section of the platform of the octagonal pagoda (#1, structure No. 2) of Chǒng-rŭng-sa 定陵寺 정릉사 (5th C. AD?, scale 1 : 300)  
(after: RYŎ Nam-chŏi 呂南喆 러남철, KIM Hong-kyu 金洪圭 김홍규 (1985), p. 95)

- <sup>1</sup> The pagoda has mostly been imagined as an octagonal wooden pagoda similar to extant examples in China and Japan. As these buildings are much younger than the Ko-gu-ryŏ temple site they can hardly serve as reliable models. See: Chapter 2.3., pp. 173 - 191.
- <sup>2</sup> The available reports do not describe the structure of the foundation in detail. A similar construction method was used for several structures of the first reconstruction of Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황릉사 (No. 7.34.2.) of Ancient Sin-la 古新羅 고신라. See: Chapter 4.2., pp., 795ff., 827f.

surface of the second step of the platform so that they could simply have served as reinforcement of the platform.

The entrances of the image halls were probably placed on the sides which were turned towards the pagoda because the southern and northern sides of the image halls had only two bays and the space between the lateral galleries and the image halls was too narrow to be useful for entrances [fig. 95]. The axis of the eastern image hall levelled that of the pagoda. The axis of the western image hall was shifted southwards by about 2.5m. The distances of the image halls from the lateral galleries and the pagoda were not identical: The back side of the western hall had a distance of about 9m while the eastern one had a distance of less than 7m from the respective galleries. The centre of the eastern image hall was about 22.5m from the centre of the pagoda and the western image hall was about 26m away from the centre of the pagoda. The northern gallery possessed a small gate of one by one bay which lay on the main axis of the pagoda.

The size of the platform was only indicated by the difference of soil and stones which formed lines on the eastern and western sides of the platform of the western image hall. The remains of ten foundations for wooden columns were found on

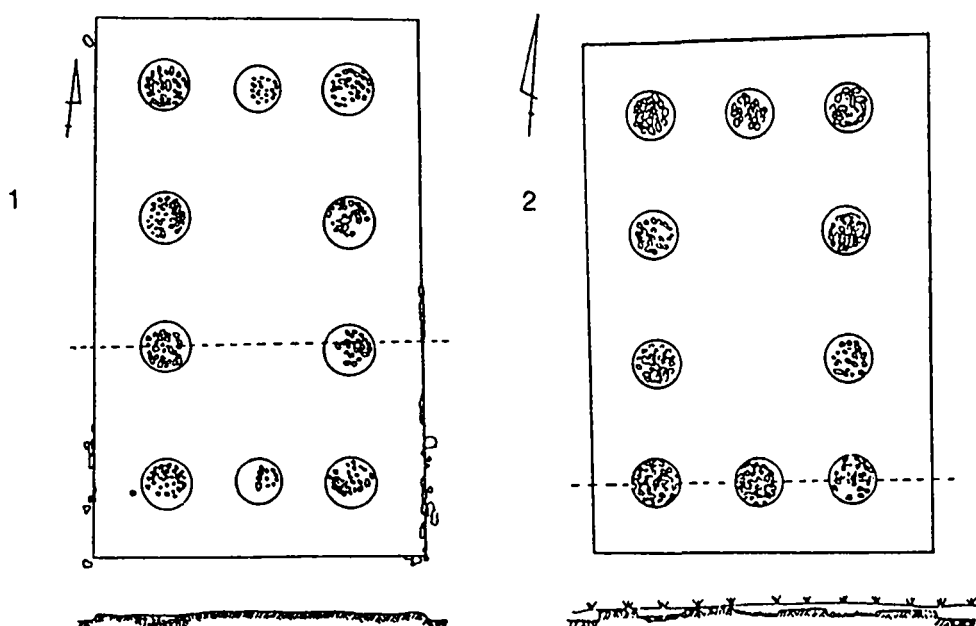


Fig. 98: Excavation plans and sections of the platforms of the western (#1, No. 3) (1) and eastern image halls (#1, No. 4) (2) of Chŏng-rŭng-sa 定陵寺 정릉사 (5th C. AD?, scale 1 : 300) (after: RYŎ Nam-chŏl 呂南喆 러남철, KIM Hong-kyu 金洪圭 김홍규 (1985), p. 98)

each of the sites of the lateral image halls [fig. 98]. Their centres lay 2.6m to 3.2m inside the edges of the platforms. The foundations consisted of round heaps of stones with a diameter of about 1.8m to 2m. It is thought that additional foundation stones were placed on these stone heaps which then received the wooden columns.

The size of the superstructure of the middle gate of the central courtyard was comparable to the image halls and counted the same number of bays. The middle gate had three rows of four columns from south to north [fig. 99]. The middle row which probably featured the actual doors, was almost aligned with the second row of columns of the southern galleries.

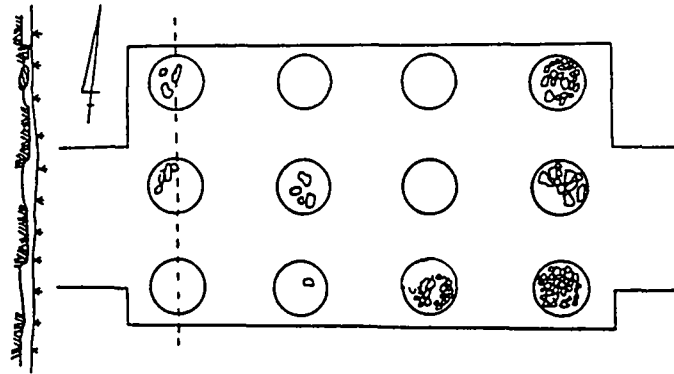


Fig. 99: Excavation plan and section of the central middle gate (#1, structure No. 5) of Chǒng-rǔng-sa 定陵寺 정릉사 (5th C. AD ?, scale 1 : 300) (after RYŎ Nam-chŏl 呂南喆 러남철, KIM Hong-kyu 金洪圭 김홍규 (1985), p. 120)

#### 2.2.1.3.2. The central section: the second courtyard

The second courtyard again enclosed three sanctuaries all of which were rectangular. The platforms of all three buildings were aligned on the southern and the northern sides. Their distance from the platform of the gallery was only about 4m. This narrow space seems to indicate that the gallery was open on both sides in order to allow a bigger number of people to have access to the sanctuaries. The central one of the three buildings lay on the main axis of the pagoda. No foundation stone remains from this building<sup>1</sup>. The size of its platform was similar to those of

<sup>1</sup> Structure No. 7 in table 1. Almost in the centre of the platform, a foundation was discovered which resembles the foundations of columns. But its place seems to indicate that it could be the remains of the altar or of the bases of the Buddha images.

the two image halls in the first courtyard. This northern image hall<sup>1</sup> [fig. 95] may therefore also have had three by two bays. Its position indicates that it must have been the main image hall<sup>2</sup>, second in importance only to the pagoda, which is the reason why North Korean reconstruction attempts show it as the only two-storied building<sup>3</sup> of the whole complex [figs. 110, 111].

To the west lay another building<sup>4</sup> of similar size with five by two bays [fig. 100]. If there are no foundation stones missing in the centre of the building, the span of its main beams seems to have been about 11.4m, a size which is rare in extant examples of Korean Buddhist architecture<sup>5</sup>. The eastern building<sup>6</sup> had an exceptional distribution of its columns [fig. 100]. The core of the building measured two bays on the north and south and one bay on the east and west. Thus a column was placed in the centre of the main face, which is unusual for an important building. Four more columns were placed in the corners, a position which resembles those of the so-called *hwal-chu*<sup>7</sup> of several extant buildings of the Ko-ryŏ and Cho-sŏn dynasties<sup>8</sup>. YUN<sup>9</sup> proposed that this building was a belfry<sup>10</sup>. For the sake of symmetry he interprets the western building as a *sūtra* repository<sup>11</sup>. Such

<sup>1</sup> Northern image (golden) hall: *buk-gŭm-dang* 北金堂 북금당. Structure No. 7 in table 1.

<sup>2</sup> KIM claims that the northern image hall was "of secondary importance" because of the separation by a gallery. It is however not clear if the excavated remains are all contemporary and if the observed layout is the original one. If the gallery behind the pagoda was open on both sides, then the northern image hall could on the contrary have been more important than the eastern and western image halls and would have been enclosed its own courtyard.

See: KIM Sung-woo (KIM Sŏng-u 金聖雨 김성우) (1985), p. 102.

<sup>3</sup> The size of the platform permits such an interpretation because the platform of the two-storied *kondō* 金堂 こんどう 금당 of Hōryū-ji 法隆寺 ほりゅうじ 법룡사 has about the same measurements. In the recent reconstruction the northern image hall of Chōng-rŭng-sa has been reconstructed with a double roof. See below, pp. 127ff.

<sup>4</sup> Structure No. 8 in table 1.

<sup>5</sup> One of the biggest known spans from the Cho-sŏn Dynasty 朝鮮 조선 was the Dæ-chŏk-kwang-chŏn 大寂光殿 대적광전 of Gŭm-san-sa 金山寺 금산사 (no. 5.3.2.) with 9m (destroyed in 1989, reconstructed from 1990 to 1992). The recently built Sam-chŏn-bul-chŏn 三千佛殿 삼천불전 of Bong-wŏn-sa 奉元寺 봉원사 (No. 1.1.2.) in Sŏ-ul (Seoul) equals this span with also about 11.4m.

<sup>6</sup> Building no. 1.7. in the table.

<sup>7</sup> *Hwal-chu* 活柱 활주, literally: 'living column' = movable column ? See: *HGKCDK* IV, § 2513.

<sup>8</sup> E.g. the Mu-ryang-su-chŏn 無量壽殿 무량수전 (constructed in 1376 AD, maybe earlier) [fig. 53] of Bu-sŏk-sa 浮石寺 부석사 (No. 7.10.3.) of Ko-ryŏ 高麗 고려 and the Dæ-ung-chŏn 大雄殿 대웅전 (constructed in 1636 AD) [fig. 450] of Hwa-ŏm-sa 華嚴寺 화엄사 (No. 6.7.1.) of Cho-sŏn 朝鮮 조선. In both cases it is not sure whether the *hwal-chu* belonged to the original design of these buildings or whether they are later additions to strengthen the corner rafters.

<sup>9</sup> In Japanese examples, the elevated pavilions are usually set behind the main *kondō* 金堂 こんどう 금당 and not beside it. At least one temple from Bal-hae 渤海 발해 had also two pavilions beside the main hall while Sin-la's Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황룡사 (No. 7.34.2.) featured three image halls side by side. See: YUN Chang-sŏb 尹張雙 윤장섭 (1972, 1993), p. 59.

<sup>10</sup> *Chong-ru* 鐘樓 종루. See: Chapter 3.3., pp. 621ff., Chapter 4.2., pp. 747ff.

<sup>11</sup> *Kyŏng-ru* 經樓 경루.

pavilions are known from Japan<sup>1</sup> where they were usually small two-storied structures. While such a supposition could to be justified by the plan of the eastern building<sup>2</sup>, the arrangement of the columns in the plan and the span of the western building make a two-storied construction virtually impossible. The floor plan seems also to contradict the function of a *sūtra* repository because no such large spans are necessary for a library as can be observed easily in extant examples in Korea<sup>3</sup>. As the layout of Chǒng-rŭng-sa was asymmetrical in many other details, the function and form of the two lateral buildings might also have been different from what would be expected<sup>4</sup>. The plan of the western building indicates clearly that it was a single-storied structure and that it served as an image hall.

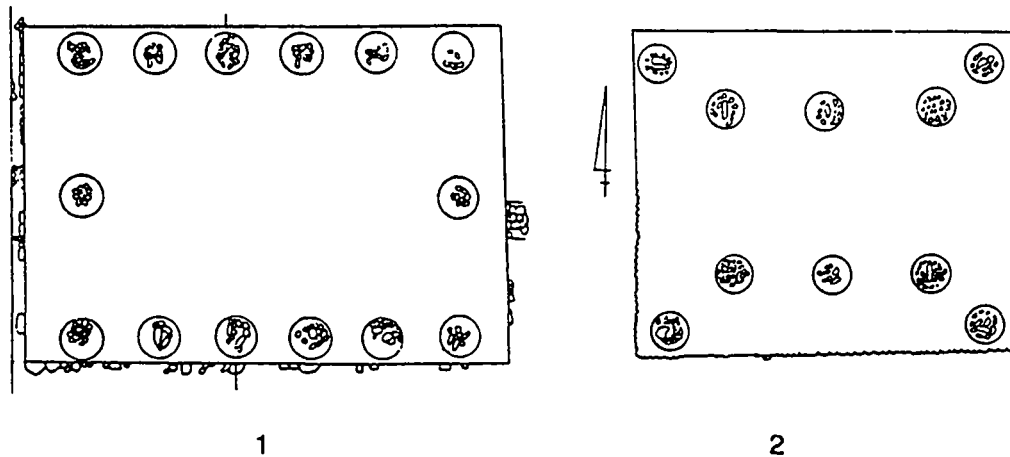


Fig. 100: Excavation plans of the platforms of the north-western (#1, No. 8) (1) and north-eastern image halls (#1, No. 9) (2) of Chǒng-rŭng-sa 定陵寺 정릉사 (5th C. AD ?, scale 1 : 300) (after: RYŌ Nam-chōl 呂南喆 러남철, KIM Hong-kyu 金洪圭 김홍규 (1985), p. 99f.)

- 1 E.g. at Hōryū-ji 法隆寺 ほりゅうじ 법동사.
- 2 The two-storied belfry 梵鐘閣 범종각 of Tong-do-sa 通度寺 통도사 (No. 8.13.1.) has about the same measurements but counts 3 x 2 bays. Here the *hwal-chu* do not reach the ground but stop in the upper story. See: Ul-san Institute of Technology, Department of Architecture 蔚山工科大学 建築學科 울산 공과대학교 건축학과 (1980), p. 67; Tong-do-sa Museum (ed.) 通度寺聖寶博物館 통도사 성보박물관 (1987), p. 112f.
- 3 E.g. the *sūtra* repositories in Hae-in-sa 海印寺 해인사 (No. 8.5.1.) from the late 15th C. AD. The bays of these structures measure between 4m and 4.4m.
- 4 The early discovery of the remains of many very regular and symmetrical temples from Bæk-che, Sin-la and Japan have conditioned the expectation that early Buddhist architecture was strictly symmetrical. Only future discoveries of early Chinese temples seems to be able to decide on the general validity of this assumption. On early Japanese 'balanced-symmetrical' temples see: Chapter 3.3., pp. 536 - 541 and Chapter 5., pp. 975, 977f.

## 2.2.1.3.3. The central section: the third and fourth courtyard

The third courtyard served mainly as an access to the large lecture hall<sup>1</sup> which was inserted in the back gallery [fig. 101]. The space between the platforms of the southern gallery and the lecture hall was again only about 5m. The centre of the lecture hall was shifted back again west close to the axis of the middle gate, in order to permit the construction of another smaller sanctuary<sup>2</sup> to the east [fig. 102]. The interior of the lecture hall featured a row of interior columns in the southern and northern part of the building but not on the sides<sup>3</sup>. Three stairs led to the platform of the lecture hall but they were not arranged in symmetry to the lecture hall. The eastern stairs were placed between the lecture hall and the eastern building of the third courtyard. They were placed thus in front of the passage which led to the last courtyard of the central section of Chŏng-rŭng-sa.

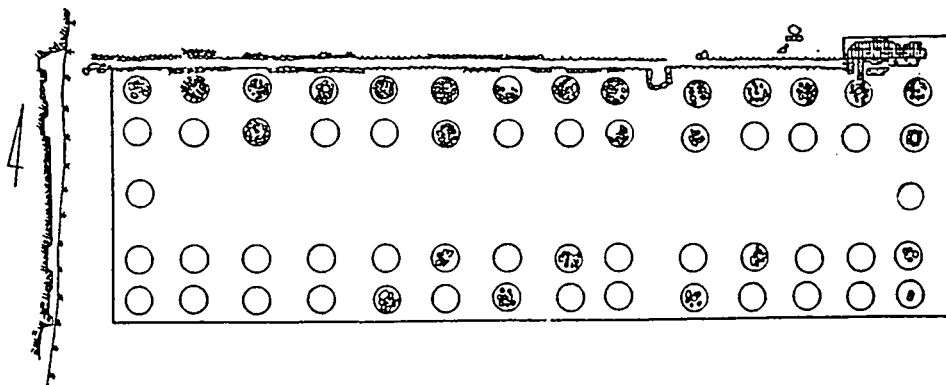


Fig. 101: Excavation plan and section of the platform of the lecture hall (#1, structure No. 11) of Chŏng-rŭng-sa 定陵寺 정릉사 (5th C. AD?, scale 1 : 500)  
(after: RYŎ Nam-chŏl 呂南喆 러남철, KIM Hong-kyu 金洪圭 김홍규 (1985), p. 102)

<sup>1</sup> *Kang-dang* 講堂 강당, structure No. 11 in table 1.

<sup>2</sup> Building no. 12 in table 1. The plan of the buildings seems to suggest that it was a secondary image hall whose general form might have been similar to the extant Wŏn-tong-bo-chŏn 圓通寶殿 원통보전 of Bŏb-chu-sa 法住寺 법주사 (no. 3.11.1) or the reconstructed Kwan-ŭm-chŏn 觀音殿 관음전 of Bul-guk-sa 佛國寺 불국사 (no. 7.34.33.) with the exception of the interior columns.

<sup>3</sup> A similar example was the lecture hall of Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황룡사 (No. 7.34.2.) of Sin-la 新羅 신라 and probably also the original lecture hall of Tōshōdai-ji 唐招提寺 とうしゅうだいじ 당초제사 of Japan. See: Chapter 4.2.; ASAI Kazuharu 淺井和春 あさいかずはる 천정 화춘 (1990), p. 130.

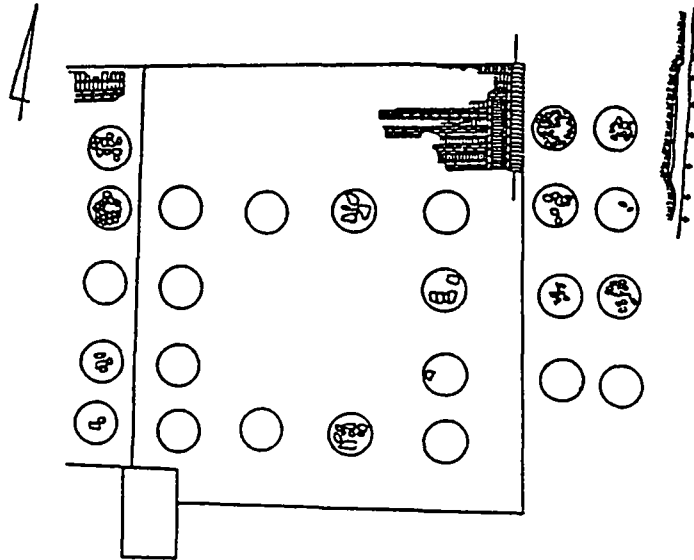


Fig. 102: Excavation plan and section of the platform of the building to the east of the lecture hall (#1, structure No. 12) of Chǒng-rǔng-sa 定陵寺 정릉사 (5th C. AD?, scale 1 : 300) (after: RYŎ Nam-chŏl 呂南喆 러남철, KIM Hong-kyu 金洪圭 김홍규 (1985), p. 104)

The fourth and last courtyard enclosed only one building<sup>1</sup> whose structure was apparently the only one in the whole temple complex which had exclusively square foundation stones. Its interior space was divided into a core and an aisle on all four sides [fig. 103]. Evidence of a floor heating system<sup>2</sup> has been found during the excavation. It seems that only the core of the building was heated. The place of the hearth has not been located but the chimney was placed in the back yard, in front of the last gallery. The floor of the open space around the building was covered with rectangular bricks. The western gallery of the last courtyard seems to have given access to a stone garden which lay in turn beside the path which led to the tomb of King Dong-myǒng. The garden seems to profit from a living rock formation which looks like the model of a mountain area [figs. 95, 104]. The rock lies almost exactly on the south-north axis of the middle section of the temple precinct. It is possible that this natural feature conditioned the implantation of the architectural complex<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Structure No. 14 in table 1.

<sup>2</sup> *On-dol* 溫突 온돌.

<sup>3</sup> On the importance of miniature landscapes in East Asia see: STEIN (1987).



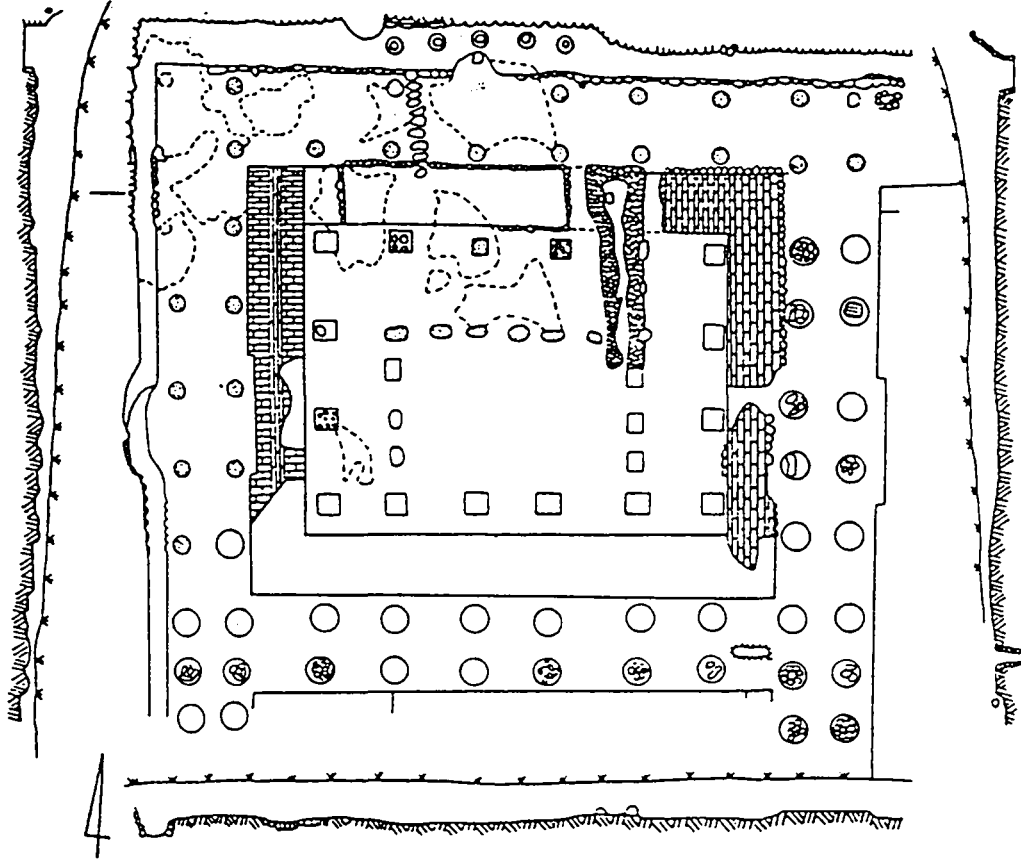


Fig. 103: Excavation plan and 3 sections of the platform of the fourth courtyard of the central section (#1, structures No. 13, 14) of Chông-rŭng-sa 定陵寺 정릉사 (5th C. AD ?, scale 1 : 300) (after RYŎ Nam-chŏi 呂南喆 러남철, KIM Hong-kyu 金洪圭 김홍규 (1985), p. 105)



Fig. 104: Perspective of the stone garden of Chông-rŭng-sa 定陵寺 정릉사 (5th C. AD ?) (drawing by the author)

## 2.2.1.3.4. The lateral sections

The foundations of the structures of the lateral sections of the temple precinct have not been as well conserved as those of the central section. The courtyard to the west<sup>1</sup> next to the main courtyard features some interesting elements. The front gallery had twelve bays which made it impossible to place the gate in the centre. The gate was thus shifted one and a half bays to the west and this position was kept also for the second gate. The first courtyard seems not to have possessed any sanctuary; only a round area covered with bricks was found whose centre was placed about 13m behind the centre of the southern gallery roughly in the axis of the courtyard. A similar round surface was also discovered in a similar position in the section to the east<sup>2</sup> of the central section of the precinct [fig. 105]. The centre of these round areas was not covered with bricks which could mean that a structure stood there. The function of these surfaces is not completely certain but their symmetry relative to the central section could suggest that their function was connected with the main courtyard. In analogy to the so-called *chǒng-ryo-dæ*<sup>3</sup> of

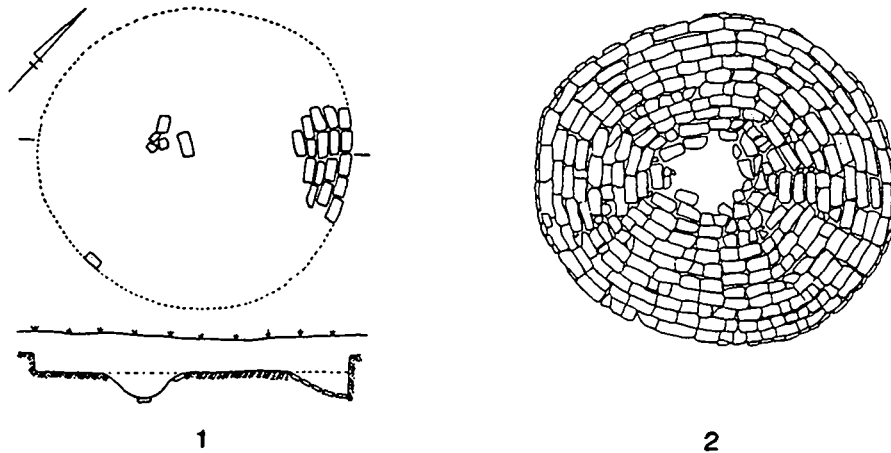


Fig. 105: Round areas covered with bricks of the intermediate western (# 2, No. 2) (1) and eastern courtyards (# 3, No. 2) (2) of Chǒng-rǔng-sa 定陵寺 정릉사 (5th C. AD ?, scale 1 : 100) (after: RYŎ Nam-chŏi 呂南喆 러남철, KIM Hong-kyu 金洪圭 김홍규 (1985), p. 124)

<sup>1</sup> Section # 2 in table 2.

<sup>2</sup> Section # 3 in table 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Chǒng-ryo-dæ* 庭燎臺 정료대, they were mainly used for palace architecture. See: *HGKCDK IV*, p. 146, § 4126; for their use in Buddhist temples see: KIM Bong-ryŏi 金奉烈 김봉렬 (1978, 1988), p. 220.

several temples in the upper Nak-dong River valley<sup>1</sup>, the round surfaces could have possessed a sort of stone table supported by a single stone column. Fires were lit on these stone plates on the occasion of important ceremonies.

The second courtyard of the western intermediate section featured two buildings approximately aligned on the main axis of the courtyards [fig. 106]. The second, smaller building lay behind the first and they were connected with each other by a roofed corridor of one by three bays in the centre, in a similar way to the main and rear halls of Jidu-miao<sup>2</sup> in China or the main buildings of the palace of Nagaoka<sup>3</sup> and the refectories of several early temples<sup>4</sup> in Japan. This type of building is rather seldom in Korea but examples are known from temples of Bæk-che<sup>5</sup>, as well as the palaces of Ko-gu-ryŏ<sup>6</sup> and Ko-ryŏ<sup>7</sup>. The front building possessed a floor heating system whose chimney was situated in the north-western corner. The only discovered flue lay beneath the fourth lateral bay and turned southwards at the second front bay from the east. It seems that the hearth of the floor heating lay on the eastern side of the core of the building. Because not the whole floor was heated, the system resembled more the modern Chinese heated beds than the modern Korean hypocaust<sup>8</sup>. The function of these two buildings has been indicated as a refectory because of the hearth in the building and because of the similarity of the plan with the remains of several refectories with their pantries of early Japanese temples. But in the Japanese examples, the front buildings of the refectories are about the same size as the lecture hall because they were obviously destined for the same number of people. Furthermore, there seems to be no need for a hearth inside the front building of a refectory because the kitchen is usually situated behind the pantry. These observations speak rather against the supposition of a refectory.

<sup>1</sup> Nak-dong-kang 洛東江 낙동강, at least the following three temples in Mun-kyŏng-gun 聞慶郡 문경군 [fig. 693 (5)] still possess this feature: Bong-am-sa 鳳巖寺 봉암사 (No. 7.5.1.), Kim-ryong-sa 金龍寺 김룡사 (No. 7.5.3.), Dæ-sŭng-sa 大乘寺 대승사 (No. 7.5.2.).

<sup>2</sup> Main hall (Yuande-dian 淵德殿 연덕전) and rear hall (Qin-dian 寢殿 침전) of Jidu-miao 濟瀆廟 제독(무)묘 in Jiyuan 濟源 제원, ca. 50km north of Luoyang 洛陽 낙양 in Henan 河南 하남 constructed in about 973 AD, only the rear hall is extant. See: LIANG Ssu-ch'eng (1984), p. 39.

<sup>3</sup> Nagaoka 長岡 나가오카 장강, south-west of Kyōto 京都 きょうと 경도 was the imperial capital from 784 to 794 AD under the reign of the 50th Emperor Kanmu 桓武 かんむ 환무 (r. 781 - 806 AD). See: ELISSEEFF Danielle, ELISSEEFF Vadime (1980), p. 522.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. Kōfuku-ji 興福寺 こうふくじ 흥복사 (early 8th C. AD), Yakushi-ji 薬師寺 やくしじ 약사사 (late 7th C. AD), Gangō-ji 元興寺 がんこうじ 원흥사 (early 8th C. AD). See: SUZUKI Kakichi (1980), p. 86, 88, 200f.; OOKA Minoru (1973), foldout 3.

<sup>5</sup> See: Chapter 3.2.

<sup>6</sup> See: CHANG Kyŏng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992), p. 64.

<sup>7</sup> See: CHANG Kyŏng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992), p. 206, 208.

<sup>8</sup> Chinese heated beds: *kang* 炕 항, modern Korean hypocaust: *on-dol* 溫突 온돌. See: Chapter 1.2, pp. 48 - 50.

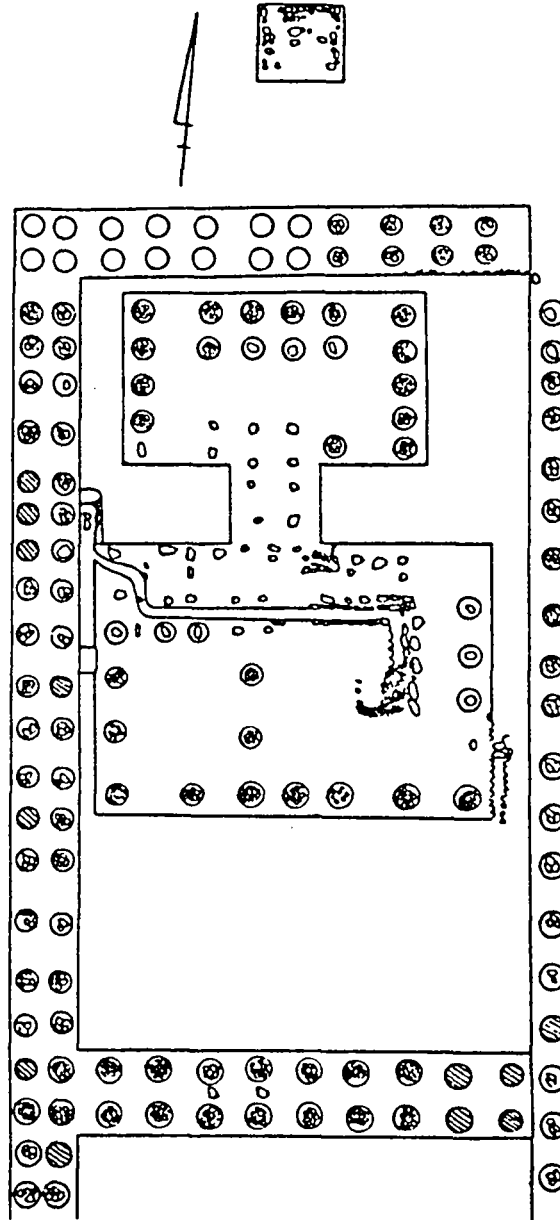


Fig. 106. Excavation plan of the intermediate western section of Chǒng-rŭng-sa 定陵寺 정릉사 (# 2, structures No. 3, 4, 5, 6) (5th C. AD ?, scale 1 : 500)  
 (after: RYŎ Nam-chŏl 呂南喆 러남철, KIM Hong-kyu 金洪圭 김홍규 (1985), p. 109)

The remains of a small construction were discovered behind the rear gallery in the main axis of the western intermediate section [fig. 106]. In the reconstruction attempts this building is usually interpreted as a small pavilion with a pyramidal roof which was obviously in relation with the tomb of King Dong-myŏng. Its position seems also to indicate some relationship with the above-mentioned connected buildings of the western intermediate section. But as no evidence of a rear gate was discovered this relationship remains hypothetical. If this relationship is admitted then the connected buildings would also be in direct relation with the tomb of King Dong-myŏng. This could signify that the connected buildings were a sort of detached palace for the royal family when its members visited the temple and the tomb of their ancestor.

The northern courtyards of the westernmost<sup>1</sup> and easternmost<sup>2</sup> sections of the precinct possessed each at least one wooden building. In the easternmost section the main building was inserted into the northern gallery at the rear [fig. 107]. It had a floor heating analogue to the ones discussed above and its chimney lay behind the limit formed by the rear gallery. The foundation stones of the core of the building formed squares while the exterior foundation stones formed circles. In the north-eastern corner the remains of a square pavilion was discovered. It had also a heating system. This pavilion was inserted into the galleries on its southern and western sides. The eastern gallery seems to have been double and its platforms were connected with that of the square pavilion. It is not clear what might be the reason for this exceptional configuration. It could be the result of several stages of construction or reconstruction.

In the western section the discovered platform was connected on its western side with the western gallery but the wooden structure which stood on this platform seems not to have been inserted into the gallery as the building of the easternmost section mentioned above. Foundation stones were only found on the eastern side of the platform. They seem to have formed a surprising three by twelve bays structure [fig. 108]. The lateral bays would have measured only 1.8m in average. Also in the westernmost section there is some evidence of floor heating which is typical of housing facilities. It is therefore possible that the buildings of the lateral sections were monks' cells.

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<sup>1</sup> Section # 4 in table 2.

<sup>2</sup> Section # 5 in table 2.

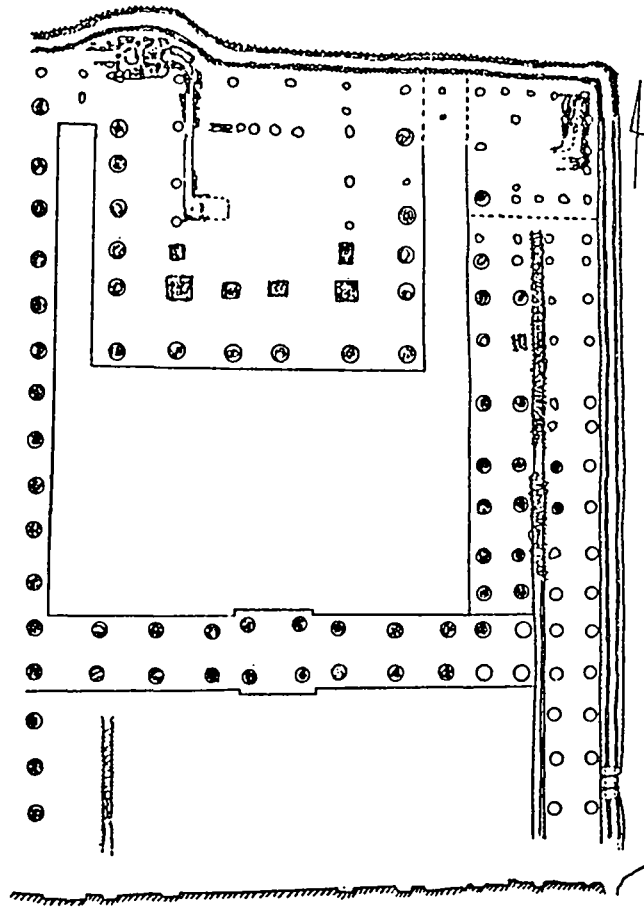


Fig. 107: Excavation plan and section of the northern courtyard of the easternmost section of Chŏng-rŭng-sa 定陵寺 정릉사 (# 5, structures No. 3, 4, 5, 6) (5th C. AD ?, scale 1 : 500) (after: RYŎ Nam-chŏl 呂南喆 러남철, KIM Hong-kyu 金洪圭 김홍규 (1985), p. 114)

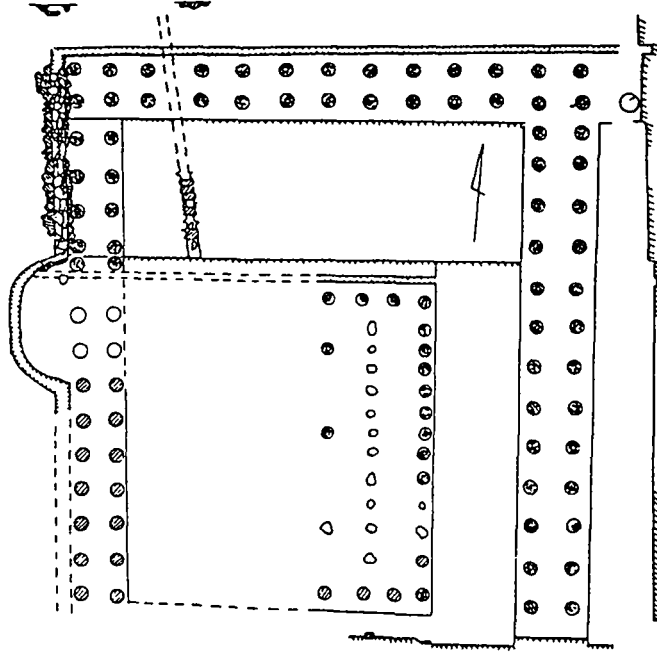


Fig. 108: Excavation plan and section of the northern courtyard of the westernmost section of Chŏng-rŭng-sa 定陵寺 정릉사 (# 4, structures No. 2,3) (5th C. AD ?, scale 1 : 500) (after: RYŎ Nam-chŏl 呂南喆 러남철, KIM Hong-kyu 金洪圭 김홍규 (1985), p. 112)

#### 2.2.1.3.5. The material remains

The foundations for the wooden columns consisted generally of a heap of stones which were arranged either in a circle or in a square. These heaps measured up to 2m in diameter and were usually more than one meter deep. The actual foundation stones were then placed on top of these heaps as can be seen still in some cases. It seems that the foundation stones were only roughly cut and no decorative reliefs were discovered.

Among the artifacts discovered during the excavations are numerous roof tiles including pieces of a so-called 'owl's tail tile'. Such pieces were found on the site of the lateral image halls of the first courtyard of the central section of the precinct. The reconstruction of one such tile shows a supposed height of about 1.4m, a length of 1.2m and a depth of 16cm. Similar tiles were also excavated in the contemporary

An-hak palace complex near Pyŏng-yang<sup>1</sup>. The roof tiles included both 'female' and 'male' tiles<sup>2</sup> but only the 'male' roof-end tiles featured relief decorations of geometric patterns, arabesques and the typical lotus flowers<sup>3</sup>. The 'male' and 'female' tiles were generally shaped as sections of cones and not of cylinders as it was mostly the case in later periods. This signifies that the front of the tiles were always laid on the back of the lower row of tiles which gave the roof a pattern of small steps. Though this is true also for the 'female' tiles in later periods, the 'male' tiles were at that time shaped in such a way as to permit a continuous line from the ridge to the eaves in the form of semi-cylinders.

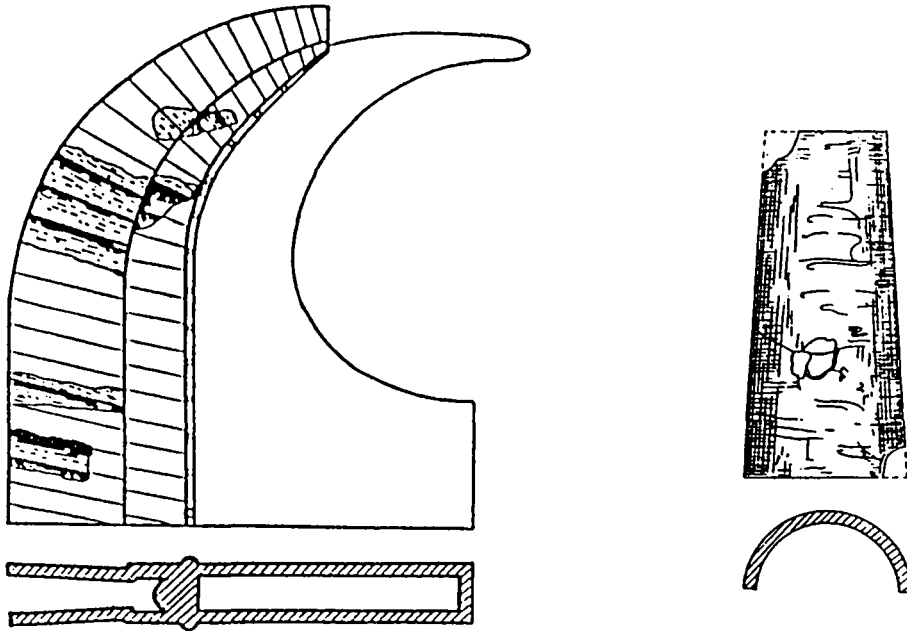


Fig. 109: Excavated 'owl's-tail' tile (scale: 1 : 20) and male roof tile (scale : 1 : 10) of Chŏng-rŭng-sa 定陵寺 정릉사 (5th C. AD ?) (after: *CSYCYMDK* 3, p. 270; RYŎ Nam-čhŏl 呂南喆 려남철, KIM Hong-kyu 金洪圭 김홍규 (1985), p. 129)

<sup>1</sup> An-hak-kung 安鶴宮 안학궁, Pyŏng-yang 平壤 평양. The remains of this palace are dated to early 5th C. AD. See: *CSYCYMDK* 3, p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> The 'female' tiles 암키와 are placed with their convex side below while and the 'male' tiles 수키와 are placed astride two 'female' tiles with their concave side down.

<sup>3</sup> See: RYŎ Nam-čhŏl 呂南喆 려남철, KIM Hong-kyu 金洪圭 김홍규 (1985), pp. 128 - 147.



## 2.2.1.3.6. The reconstruction drawings and the recent reconstruction

Several North Korean books have published reconstruction drawings of Chŏng-rŭng-sa [figs. 110, 111]. The central pagoda is represented there as five- to nine-storied structures with or without an attached roof on the lowest story. The image halls are all single-storied with the exception of the northern image hall which is represented with two stories. The drawings propose hip or hip-and-gable roofs for most structures of the precinct. In spite of the fact that no building remains were found in the eastern intermediate section, both reconstruction drawings place buildings in it. There is no agreement on the form of the galleries of the outermost sections and the buildings which were found in them. Some galleries have been abandoned together with the buildings [fig. 111] while other galleries are imagined as simple walls [fig. 110]. The reconstruction drawings do not seem to be preoccupied with scientific accuracy but are speculative images.

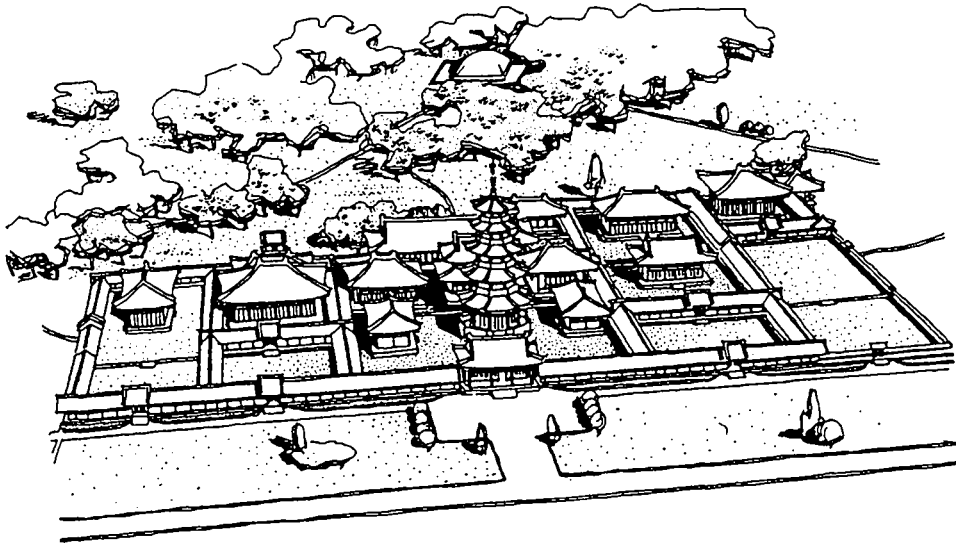


Fig. 110: Reconstructed perspective of the original Chŏng-rŭng-sa 定陵寺 정릉사 (5th C. AD ?) (after: CSYCYMDK 3, p. 265)

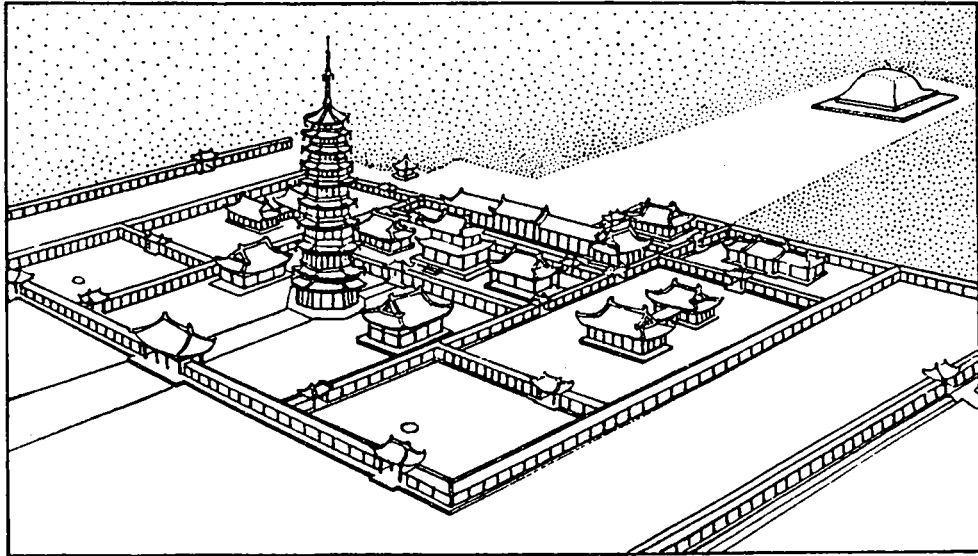


Fig. 111: Reconstructed perspective of the original Chŏng-rŭng-sa 定陵寺 정릉사 (5th C. AD ?) (after: VIOLET (1987), p. 37)

From 1991 to 1993 AD parts of the central section of the precinct of Chŏng-rŭng-sa were reconstructed on the order of the North Korean government. Among the reconstructed structures are the following:

- middle gate
- galleries surrounding the three image halls
- eastern image hall
- western image hall
- northern image hall
- octagonal seven-storied stone pagoda

On the available photographs of the reconstructed temple it is possible to evaluate the concept of reconstruction of the North Korean scientists. Only some original locations of the structures have been preserved for the reconstruction. It is not an attempt to faithfully reconstruct the Ko-gu-ryŏ temple. The excavated foundations served as an inspiration for a new architectural complex which as a result hardly illustrates at all the architecture of Ko-gu-ryŏ. The measurements which seem to have been kept from the original temple are the locations of the southern and lateral galleries of the central courtyard and the gallery which

originally separated the northern hall from the lecture hall. The foundations of the image halls and the pagoda seem not to be identical with the excavated remains. No effort has been made to show the difference between the new and the original plan. The new Chŏng-rŭng-sa is therefore not a good example of a reconstruction, as a matter of fact it violates the ICOMOS Charters<sup>1</sup> in many respects.

The most obvious change from the original temple is the size and the construction material of the pagoda. In the reconstruction it is a seven-storied octagonal stone pagoda which is about 12m high. It is placed on the axis of the courtyard in the north-western part of the foundation of the Ko-gu-ryŏ pagoda. This pagoda seems to imitate stone pagodas of the Ko-ryŏ dynasty<sup>2</sup> and is thus clearly anachronistic with the temple layout. The locations of the three image halls were slightly moved to fit the axis of the new stone pagoda. The gallery which originally separated the pagoda from the northern image hall and the lateral buildings beside the northern image hall were omitted. As the site is slightly sloped<sup>3</sup>, the reconstructed lateral galleries feature a step of about 1m height on the level of the gallery which originally divided the northern image hall from the pagoda. The stone-paved central area of the courtyard is flat while the grass-covered area along the lateral galleries and around the image halls adjusts the different levels of the galleries with that of the stone-paved area.

The northern image hall was reconstructed as a five-by-four-bays two storied-structure with a hip-and-gable roof. The model for this reconstruction was probably the Dæ-ung-chŏn of An-guk-sa near Pyŏng-yang<sup>4</sup> which was constructed in 1785 AD. This building features a very similar construction method in spite of the different size and proportions of the ground plan. The main characteristic of this construction is the position of the sides of the upper story over the middle of the outer bay of the lower story<sup>5</sup>. This structure is typical for the second part of the Cho-sŏn dynasty and in all known examples it is connected with the inter-columnar

<sup>1</sup> ICOMOS: (*Archaeological Heritage Management 1990*): "Reconstructions serve two important functions: experimental research and interpretation. They should, however, be carried out with great caution, so as to avoid disturbing any surviving archaeological evidence, and they should take account of evidence from all sources in order to achieve authenticity. Where possible and appropriate, reconstruction should not be built immediately on the archaeological remains, and should be identifiable as such." BUCHER: "Venice Charter: The Decisions and Resolutions of the Second International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historical Monuments held in Venice, Italy in May, 1964; includes principles and guide-lines for the rehabilitation and the restoration of historic resources and infill construction in historic districts." See: ICOMOS (The International Council on Monuments and Sites) (ed.) (1996), p. 43; BUCHER (1996), p. 511.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. the octagonal stone pagoda at Bo-hyŏn-sa 普賢寺 보현사 (No. 10.2.1.) built in 1044 AD.

<sup>3</sup> The difference of height between the middle gate and the back side of the northern image hall is about 1m for a distance of about 90m.

<sup>4</sup> Dæ-ung-chŏn 大雄殿 대웅전, An-guk-sa 安國寺 안국사 (no. 10.1.5.) Pyŏng-yang 平壤 평양.

<sup>5</sup> See: KIM Bong-kŏn 金奉建 김봉건 (1994), pp. 160 - 163.

bracket set style<sup>1</sup>. The reconstruction, however, combines this structure with a reconstructed bracket set style<sup>2</sup> which is placed only on the columns.

The reconstructions of the eastern and western image hall have simple gable roofs and the middle gate was reconstructed with a hip roof. All structures feature a similar columnar bracket set style and inverted 'V' supports between the columns which try to imitate wall paintings of Ko-gu-ryŏ tombs<sup>3</sup> [fig. 168]. The reconstructions of the wooden buildings are thus rather strange combinations of quite recent building types with some ancient details of the Ko-gu-ryŏ period.

It seems that this reconstruction was mainly politically inspired, as an effort to boast the cultural achievements of the early north Korean kingdom. Unfortunately, science had to resign to the 'raison d'état' which meant that the extremely important archaeological remains of the best preserved temple of Ko-gu-ryŏ have been disturbed or even partially destroyed.

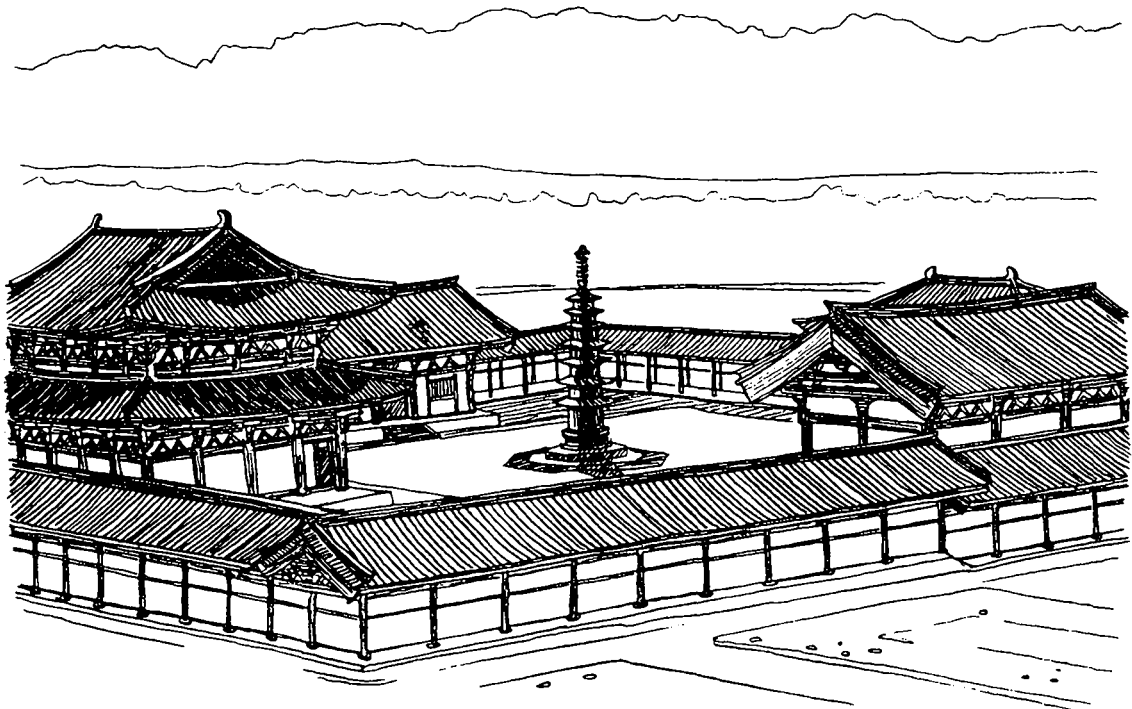


Fig. 112: Perspective of the newly reconstructed Chŏng-rŭng-sa 定陵寺 정릉사 (1993 AD) (drawing by the author)

<sup>1</sup> Inter-columnar bracket set: *da-po* 多包 다포.

<sup>2</sup> Columnar bracket set: *chu-sim-po* 柱心包 주심포.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. the tomb no. 2 in An-ak 安岳 안악. See: Chapter 2.3., p. 211

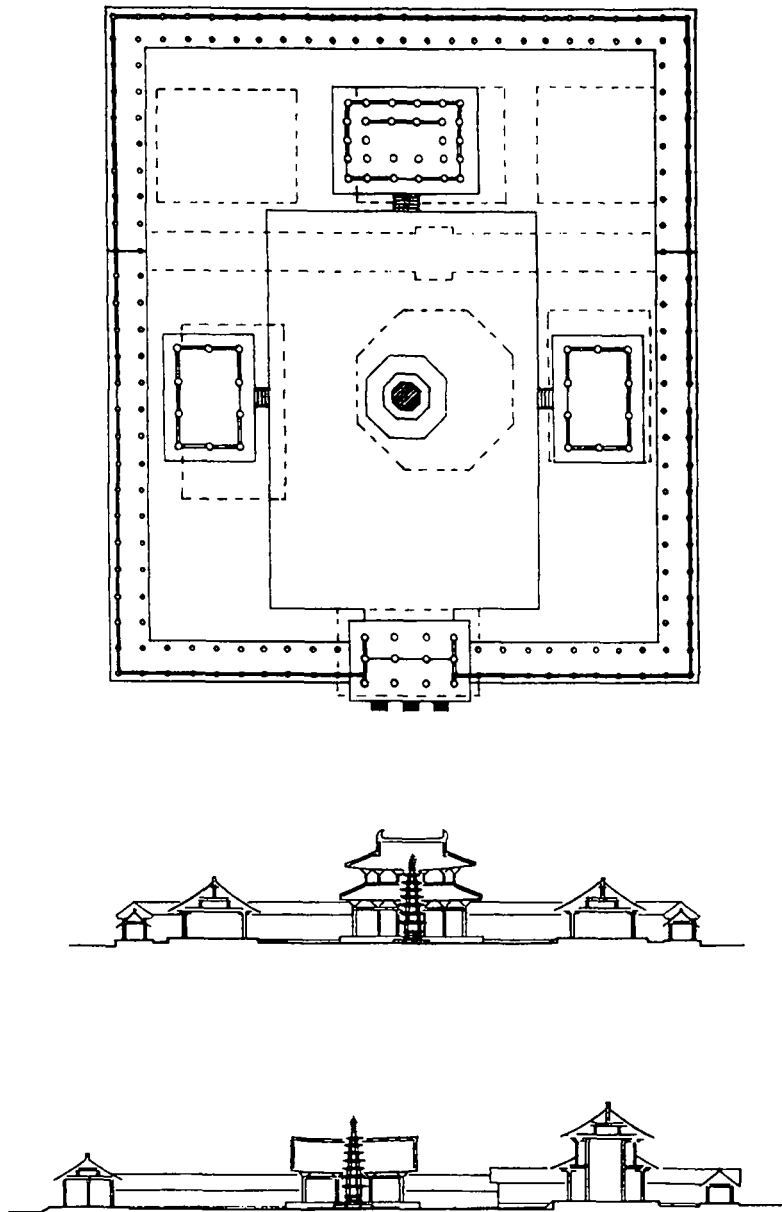


Fig. 113: Ground plan and two sections of the newly reconstructed Chŏng-rŭng-sa 定陵寺 정릉사 with indication of the original structures (1993 AD, scale: 1 : 1,000) (drawings by the author)

## 2.2.2. GŪM-GANG-SA

## 2.2.2.1. Geographical location and identity

In 1938 AD, a temple site was excavated by Japanese archaeologists<sup>1</sup> in Chŏng-am-ri-sŏng<sup>2</sup>, an earth-walled fortress of the Ko-gu-ryŏ period. The ruined temple is located about 6.5km to the north-east of the Pyŏng-yang railway station. Though the excavation could not prove the identity of the temple, most scholars acknowledge it to have been Gŭm-gang-sa<sup>3</sup>, literally 'diamond temple', which is mentioned in the *Sam-guk-sa-gi*<sup>4</sup>. The passage states that Gŭm-gang-sa was founded in the seventh lunar month of 498 AD. An argument for its identity is the fact that the local population has called the area near the temple site since many generations Gŭm-gang-chŏn<sup>5</sup>, 'diamond paddy'. Furthermore, the *Sin-chŭng Dong-guk Yŏ-chi Sŭng-ram*<sup>6</sup> states that "the remains of Gŭm-gang-sa lie about 3.4km to the north east of the city [of Pyŏng-yang]". The *Ko-ryŏ-sa*<sup>7</sup> also mentions the ruins : "In the seventh year [of King Suk-chong of the Ko-ryŏ Dynasty] (1102 AD) (...) in the ninth month (...) on the day *sin-chuk*, [the King] visited Gŭm-gang-sa, donated the monks a meal and watched the ruins of the old pagoda". This statement is important because it clearly indicates that the temple featured a pagoda. The fact that 'ruins of the old pagoda' remained after the destruction of the temple could indicate that it was not a purely wooden structure. I will return to the question of the reconstruction of the octagonal pagodas of Ko-gu-ryŏ in Chapter 2.3.

The site of Gŭm-gang-sa lay on the northern side of the Dæ-dong River, about 200m away from the present river bank. The temple was oriented about 30° to the east. The site of the centre of the precinct was almost flat but in front of the temple and behind it the site was slightly sloped in the direction of the main axis of the

<sup>1</sup> See: CSSKF (1940.6.)

<sup>2</sup> Chŏng-am-ri-sŏng 淸岩里城 청암리성.

<sup>3</sup> Gŭm-gang-sa 金剛寺 금강사 (no. 10.1.1.).

<sup>4</sup> "In the seventh lunar month of the seventh year of Mun-cha-myŏng Wang, Gŭm-gang-sa was founded" "文咨明王(...)七年(...)秋七月創金剛寺" "문자명왕(...) 칠년(...) 추칠월 창금강사". See: *SGSG* I, p. 338, 344.

<sup>5</sup> Gŭm-gang-chŏn 金剛田 금강전. The section of the Dæ-dong-kang 大同江 대동강 is also called Gŭm-gang-tan 金剛灘 금강탄 'diamond stream'.

<sup>6</sup> *Sin-chŭng Dong-guk Yŏ-chi Sŭng-ram (A New Geographical Survey of Korea)*

「新增東國輿地勝覽 신증동국여지승람」: "金剛寺遺基左府東北八里 금강사유기좌부동북팔리", 1 *ri* 里 리 = 420m; 8 *ri* = 3.36km. KIM counts 2.44 miles (3.93km). See: *SCDGYCSR*, p. 936; KIM Sung-woo (KIM Sŏng-u 金聖雨 김성우) (1985), p. 95.

<sup>7</sup> *Ko-ryŏ-sa (The History of the Ko-ryŏ Dynasty)* 「高麗史 고려사」: "肅宗一(...)七年(...)九月(...)辛丑幸金剛寺飯僧遂觀舊塔遺址(...)숙종일(...)칠년(...)구월(...)신축행금강사반승수관구탑유지(...)". See: *KRS* 2, p. 42.

temple<sup>1</sup>. The orientation of the temple follows thus quite precisely the slope of the site and is therefore approximately perpendicular to the flow of the river at this spot [fig. 114].



Fig. 114: Site plan of Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺 금강사 (498 AD ?, scale: 1 : 10,000)  
(after: CSSKF (1940. 6.), pl. 2)

<sup>1</sup> A road which lay about 70m in front of the centre of the pagoda was located about 6m below the temple site. About 100m behind the centre of the pagoda the site raises also about 6m to form a small hill.

## 2.2.2.2. The layout

Since the excavation of this temple, its layout has been considered by many scholars<sup>1</sup> as a prototype of the early Buddhist temples of Korea and Japan, possibly even of China. The excavation produced remains of the foundations of at least six structures. Five of them formed the centre of the temple precinct. The size of this core measured about 80m from the south to the north and from the east to the west. In the middle lay an octagonal building<sup>2</sup> thought to have been a pagoda surrounded by four rectangular buildings. Buddhist image halls were placed to the north, east and west of the octagonal pagoda while the middle gate was most probably placed to the south. Another building may have lay to the south of the eastern image hall but its precise size and function could not yet be determined. The remains of yet another structure were discovered to the north-east of the northern image hall [figs. 115, 116].

The layout of this temple has been designated as the 'one pagoda - three image halls - temple type' by interpreting the pagoda and the eastern, northern and western buildings as the most characteristic feature of this temple. Another interpretation stresses less convincingly the arrangement of five buildings, including the supposed middle gate. This interpretation is connected with a description of the 'seats of the five stars'<sup>3</sup> which figures in the chapter *Tian guan shu* of the *Shi ji*<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> E.g. OOKA Minoru (1973), p. 73; YUN Chang-sŏb 尹張燮윤장섭 (1972, 1993), p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> This building is believed to have been the ruined pagoda which was described in the *Ko-ryŏ-sa* 「高麗史고려사」. As for the octagonal pagoda of Chŏng-rŭng-sa 定陵寺정릉사, some doubt remains about the construction material of this pagoda, because no foundation stones were found in the interior of the ground plan. Most authors consider the pagoda as a purely wooden construction. See: Chapter 2.3., pp. 186 - 190.

<sup>3</sup> "Seats of the five stars" *wuxingzuo* 五星座오성좌: in the centre is the "yellow way" (ecliptic) *huangdao* 黃道황도, to the east is the eastern palace *donggong* 東宮동궁 of the "blue dragon" *qinglong* 靑龍청룡, to the west the western palace *xigong* 西宮서궁 of the "white tiger" *baihu* 白虎백호, to the south the southern palace *nangong* 南宮남궁 of the "red bird beside the yellow dragon" *zhu'niao panghuanglong* 朱鳥傍黃龍주조방황룡 and to the north the northern palace *beigong* 北宮북궁 of the big dipper *xuanwu* 玄武현무, further to the north lies the middle palace *zhonggong* 中宮중궁 including three palaces: in the middle the (palace) of the "Heavenly One" *tianyi* 天一천일 (of the pole star *tianjixing beidou taiyi* 天極星北斗太一천극성북두태일?), to the west the (palace) of the "shadow virtue" (secret charity) *yinde* 陰德음덕 (of the Crown Prince *tai-zi* 太子태자?) and to the east the purple palace *zigong* 紫宮자궁 of the Queen *wangfei* 王妃왕비(?). This interpretation of the temple layout was mainly put forward by YUN Chang-sŏb 尹張燮윤장섭 (1972) but it was dropped in the editions of 1992 and 1993 in favour of a description of the newly excavated Chŏng-rŭng-sa. This silent retraction makes it unnecessary to insist more on this far-fetched interpretation. See: YUN Chang-sŏb 尹張燮윤장섭 (1972), p. 58, (1972, 1992, 1993).

<sup>4</sup> *Tian guan shu* 「天官書천관서」 of the *Shi ji* 「史記사기」. See also Chapter 2.3.



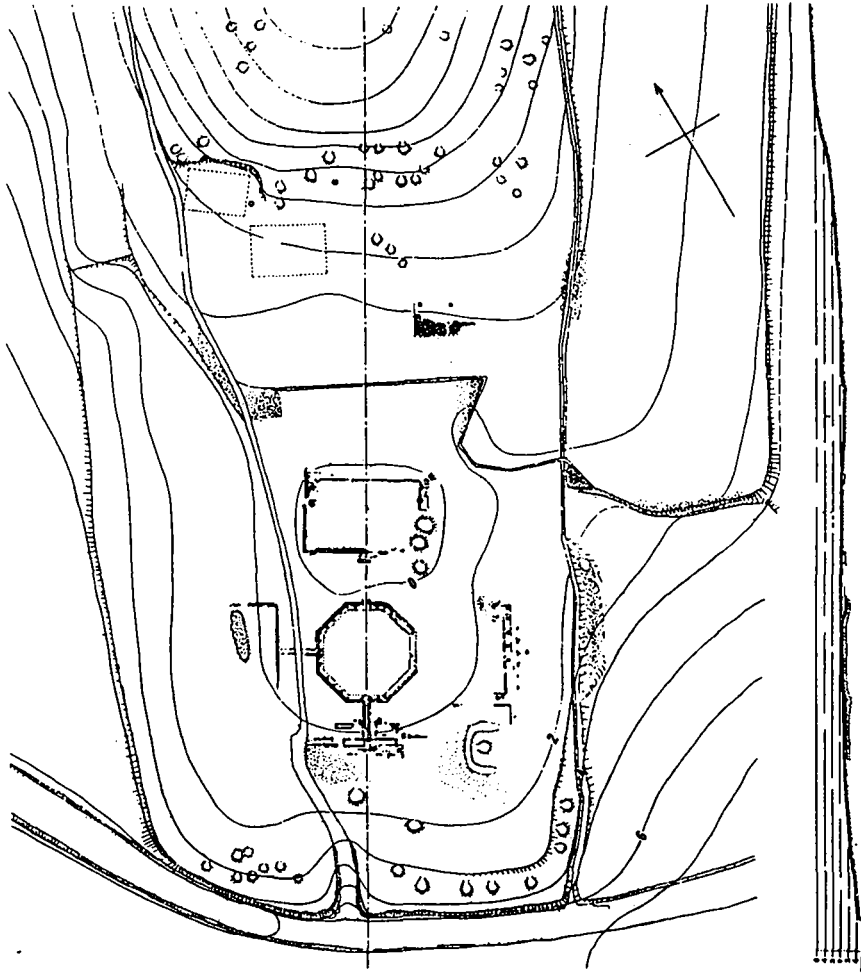


Fig. 115: Excavation layout plan of Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺금강사  
(498 AD ?, scale: 1 : 2,000) (after: CSSKF (1940.6.), pl. 9)

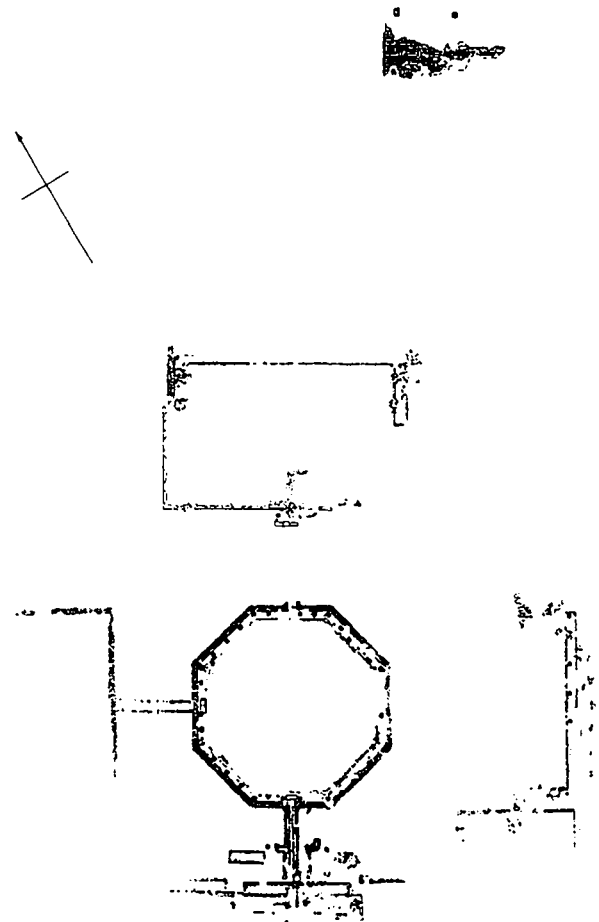


Fig. 116: Excavation plan of Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺 금강사 (498 AD ?, scale: 1 : 1,000)  
(after: CSSKF (1940.6.), pl. 10)

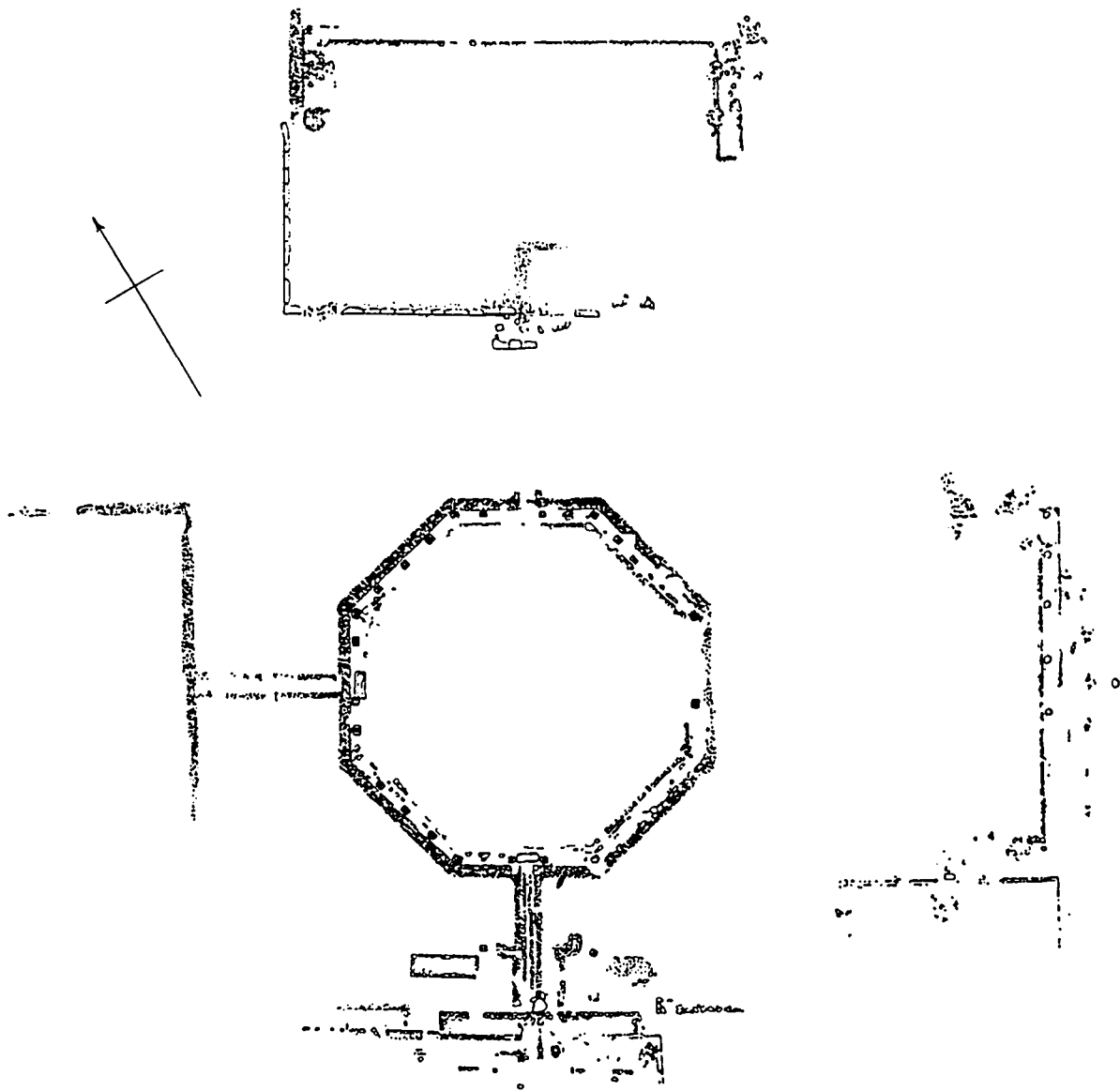


Fig. 117: Excavation plan of Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺 (498 AD?, scale: 1 : 500)  
(after: CSSKF (1940.6.), pl. 10)

The interpretation of 'one pagoda - three image halls - temple type' was first formulated by Japanese scholars who compared the layout of Güm-gang-sa with that of Asuka-dera<sup>1</sup> in Japan which was constructed in the late 6th century AD. The central precinct of Asuka-dera was formed by a square wooden pagoda at its centre and three image halls at about equal distances to the east, north and west. In the south lay the middle gate which was inserted in a one bay deep gallery which surrounded the three image halls and the pagoda. To the north of the gallery lay a large lecture hall of probably eight bays by four bays [fig. 118].

As Chöng-rüng-sa and Asuka-dera both featured galleries, it is usually assumed that also Güm-gang-sa possessed galleries or another form of boundary. As no traces of them have been found all reconstruction attempts remain tentative. At least it seems obvious that there was no gallery between the pagoda and the northern image hall because there is hardly enough space for the variation seen at Chöng-rüng-sa. If in fact the southern building was the middle gate then it was most probably included in the gallery as is the case in Chöng-rüng-sa and Asuka-dera. If we consider the traces of the building north of the northern image hall as the approximate location of the lecture hall, then there seems to be enough space for a solution similar to Asuka-dera, where the lecture hall is not included in the main gallery. A similar case also occurred at Bæk-che's Mi-rük-sa<sup>2</sup> where the lecture hall was linked to a second gallery, which could also have been true for both Güm-gang-sa and Asuka-dera. These considerations hint at the possibility that Güm-gang-sa was once a much larger complex than the structures so far excavated make one believe.

### 2.2.2.3. The excavated structures

The measurements of the excavated structures vary considerably according to the author. It is often not mentioned where the precise measurements were taken. Sometimes the platforms seems to be intended while other measurements seem to concern the wooden superstructure. A lot of effort has been devoted to convert the excavation measurements into old measure units in order to show the influence of

<sup>1</sup> Asuka-dera 飛鳥寺 あすかてら 비조사 is the oldest known temple site in Japan (constructed between 588 and 596 AD). It was excavated from 1956 to 1957 AD. The dimensions of Asuka-dera were smaller than those of Güm-gang-sa. The platform of the pagoda measured about 12m by 12m. The reconstruction attempts show it usually as a structure of three bays by three bays. The three *kondō* 金堂 こんどう 금당 probably had five bays by four bays but the lateral image halls seem to have had attached roofs similar to the one of the *kondō* of Hōryū-ji 法隆寺 ほりゅうじ 법룡사 but they seems to have stood on the lower step of the platform. The cores of the three image halls were all of approximately the same size, about 13.3m by 9.4m. See: OOKA Minoru (1973), p. 17; ELISSEEFF Danielle, ELISSEEFF Vadime (1980), p. 514.

<sup>2</sup> Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 (No. 5.6.2.), see: Chapter 3.2.

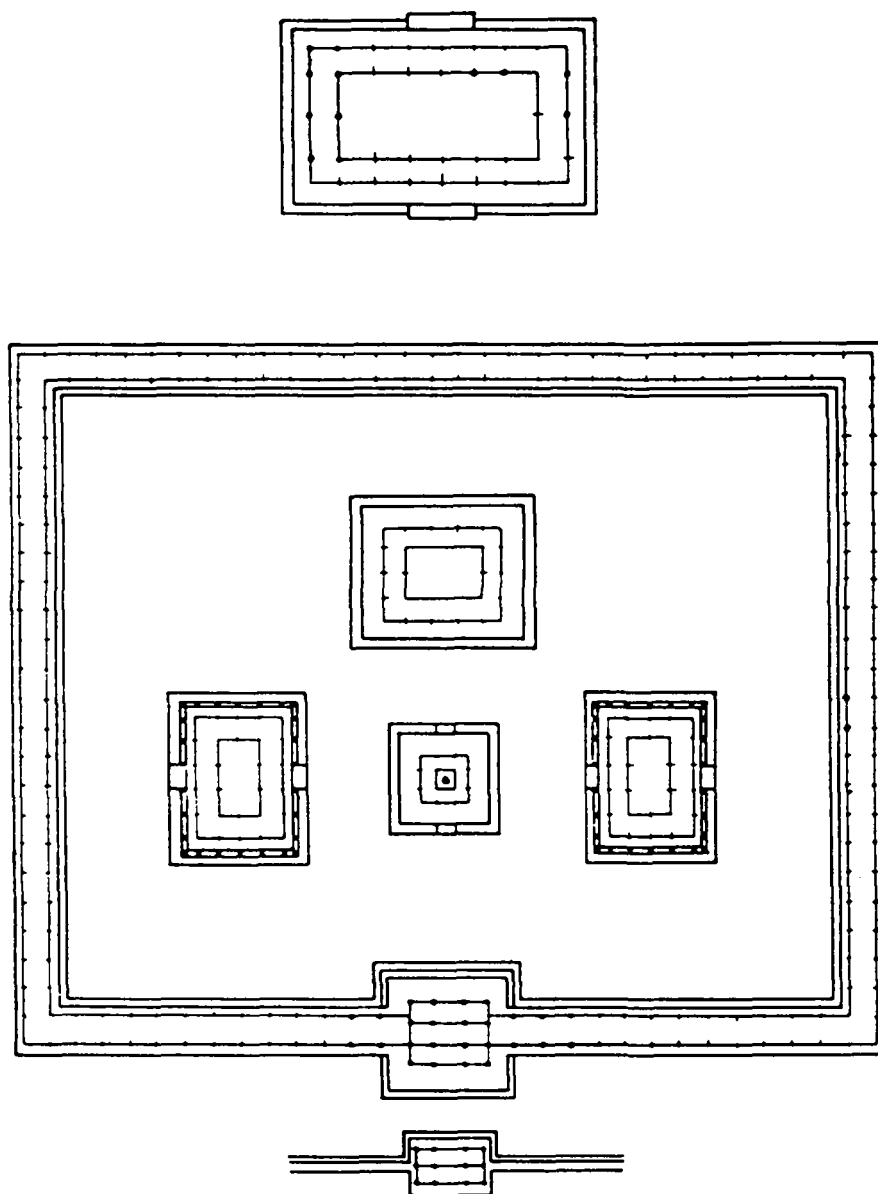


Fig. 118: Reconstructed ground plan of Asuka-dera 飛鳥寺 あすかてら 비조사 (late 6th C. AD, scale: 1 : 1,000) (after: SKBJZS 2, p. 155)

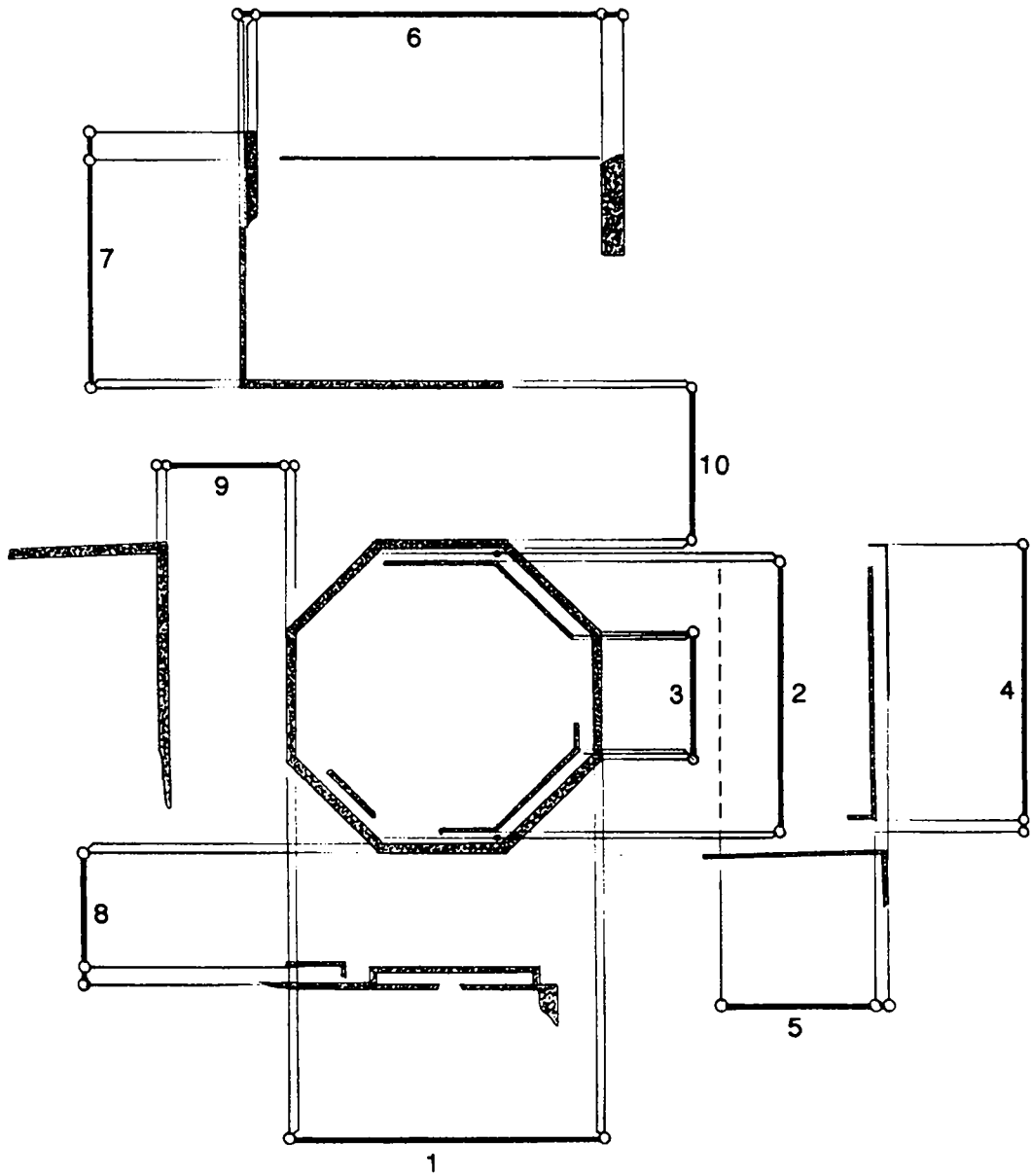


Fig. 119: Measurements of the structures of Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺금강사 (no scale) (drawing by the author)

China or on the contrary an independence from it. The measurements made on most excavated temple sites seem to allow to be traced back to any of the ancient measure units because the remains of the foundations are usually neither complete nor in exactly their original positions so that precise measurements are impossible. The measure units advanced by the various authors reflect therefore more their opinions about general cultural developments than verified facts. Furthermore, in many cases it is not possible to distinguish between the original elements and later added ones, which often makes any attempt to discover a precise 'original' geometry futile. Though it is interesting to observe the general proportions, the search for reliable rules, for the composition of the ancient temples is too speculative and probably initiated by similar attempts for the ancient architecture of Egypt, Greece, Rome or the European Renaissance by Western scholars. Table 3 resumes these measurements according to the authors.

AUTHOR	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
FUJISHIMA <sup>1</sup>	(26.4m)	(22.2m)	10.2m	(23.3m)	(13.8m)	(32.0m)	(19.1m)	(9.4m)	11.72m	14.65m
YONEDA <sup>2</sup>	100 周尺	110 周尺	45.5 周尺	100 周尺	50 周尺	$\sqrt{2} \cdot (7)$	100 周尺	45 周尺	45 周尺	45 周尺
YUN <sup>3</sup>	(26.0m)	100 漢尺*	(10.6m)	(24.3m)	(14.3m)	(32.9m)	(19.4m)	(10.0m)	(10.9m)	(12.6m)
CHANG <sup>4</sup>	(26.6m)	~23m	9.5m	(25.9m)	(14.6m)	32.47m	19.18m	(8.9m)	(9.6m)	(12.3m)
CHŎNG <sup>5</sup>	(26.2m)	(23.6m)	10.4m	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
RI <sup>6</sup>	(26.5m)	24.7m	-	24.48m	13.13m	32.1m	18.8m	12.2m	11.72m	11.1m
	-	70 高尺	-	70 高尺	35 高尺	87.5 高尺	52.5 高尺	35 高尺	35 高尺	35 高尺
KIM <sup>7</sup>	-	23m	9.5m	21m	12m	32.46m	19.18m	-	-	-
CSYCYMDK <sup>8</sup>	(26.5m)	(24m)	10.4m	(23m)	(14.5m)	(33m)	(19.2m)	(9.5m)	(10m)	(12.5m)
this study <sup>9</sup>	26.5m	23m	11m	24.5m	14.5m	(34m)	(~ 22m)	11m	10m	13m

() measured on the drawings; \* removed in the 1993 edition; 1 周尺 = 20cm; 1 漢尺 = 23.5cm; 1 高尺 = 1 高句麗尺 = 35.6cm

Table 3: Measurements of the structures of Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺 금강사

<sup>1</sup> See: FUJISHIMA Gaijirō 藤島亥治郎 ふじしまがいじろう (1986), p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> See: YONEDA Miyoji 米田美代治 よねだみよじ 미전미대치 (1975), p. 168 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See: YUN Chang-sŏb 尹張燮 윤장섭 (1972), p. 58.

<sup>4</sup> See: CHANG Kyŏng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992), pp. 67f.

<sup>5</sup> See: CHŎNG Chæ-hun 鄭在纘 정재훈, CHO Yu-chŏn 趙由典 조유전 (1990) II, pp. 315f.

<sup>6</sup> See: RI Hwa-sŏn 리화선 (1989, 1993), vol I, pp. 119 f.

<sup>7</sup> See: KIM Sung-woo (KIM Sŏng-u 金聖雨 김성우) (1985), p. 93.

<sup>8</sup> See: CSYCYMDK 3, p. 272.

<sup>9</sup> The numbers are rounded to the half meter, the width of the northern image hall was increased by about 2.8m because the northern side seems to be incomplete. The length of the northern image hall was increased by about 1.5m on the reconstructed layout [fig. 129] for the sake of symmetry.

#### 2.2.2.3.1. The octagonal pagoda

The platform of the central octagonal building was probably formed of two steps. The lower step was only slightly elevated from the ground; the height of the second step cannot be determined. It is generally assumed that the second step was quite high because the extant remains give no indication of the inner structure of the pagoda which seems signify that the upper part of the platform was destroyed.

The diameter of the outer octagonal platform of the pagoda measured about 26.5m. The eight sides of foundation platform measured about 11m each. About 40cm inside the edge of the platform small foundation stones were found which were spaced differently on the cardinal sides than on the intermediate sides. This inner octagon measured about 24m with side lengths of about 10m. The main platform was situated again some 50cm towards the inside and measured thus about 23m with side lengths of about 9.5m [fig. 120].

The outer foundation was limited on the inside by a row of large, roughly rectangular stones which measured on average about 40cm by 20cm. Outside this row was another row of smaller stones which was about 50cm large. Traces of a similar pavement could also be found in the axes leading from the middle gate to the octagonal pagoda, from the octagonal pagoda to the western image hall and from the octagonal pagoda to the northern image hall. These were probably simply paved ways because no evidence of the foundations of covered galleries were discovered there.

On the intermediate sides, the lengths of about 10m were divided into four equal sections of about 2.5m. A foundation stone was thus placed in the centre, while on the cardinal sides the centre was occupied by the entries. The cardinal sides were thus divided into five equal sections of about 2m. The foundation stones were carefully cut and measured on average about 50cm by 40cm. The centre of about 20cm by 20cm protruded from the rest of the stone by about 10cm and in its centre a hole of about 8cm by 8cm was cut which served to fix the wooden column. The outer sides of the corner stones were shaped in a 135° angle in order to remain parallel to the pavement which surrounded the pagoda. Judging from the size of the foundation stones, the wooden columns could hardly had had a bigger diameter than about 20cm. This small size is an indication that these columns did not belong to the main structure. Stones, about 1.8m by 70cm large, were found between the foundation stones of the central bays of the southern and western sides. Their positions seems to indicate that they were the thresholds of the pagoda or the first steps of the stairs which led to the main platform [fig. 121].



A North Korean reconstruction model<sup>1</sup> [fig. 122] interprets these stones as the foundation of a stone balustrade similar to those found in the late Chinese architecture of the Qing dynasty<sup>2</sup>. The only known ancient Korean example of stone balustrades in Buddhist architecture can be found at the elaborated platforms of Bul-guk-sa<sup>3</sup> which dates to the reconstruction in the middle of the eighth century AD. But the balustrades of Bul-guk-sa were situated at a height of more than 3m above the ground level whereas the foundation stones in question of Güm-gang-sa were placed on the level of the courtyard. The sizes and the holes in the centre of the foundation stones indicate that they received once wooden columns. These reasons show that the platform and the balustrades of the reconstructed model are unrealistic. Because of the changing number of bays between the cardinal sides and the intermediate sides it is difficult to consider the wooden columns as belonging to the main structure. Several Chinese octagonal pagodas with attached roofs on the ground level (e.g. the pagoda of Bao'en-si<sup>4</sup> [fig. 123]) might serve as a possible solution to the function of the exterior foundation stones of Güm-gang-sa. They show that the lower platform can be much larger than the actual main structure of the pagoda. The attached roof thus provided a covered space for the circumambulation of the pagoda which was a common religious practice in most Buddhist traditions.

The excavation of site of the pagoda did not provide clear clues as to the material and construction method of the main structure of the octagonal pagoda. The fact that the platforms of the surrounding image halls stood so close to the platform of the octagonal pagoda [table 3] seems to confirm the assumption that the diameter of the main structure of the pagoda was much smaller than that of the platform so that the projected height of about 67m of the reconstruction model seems to be exaggerated<sup>5</sup>. I will return to the problem of the reconstruction of the material and structure of the octagonal pagodas of Ko-gu-ryŏ in Chapter 2.3.

<sup>1</sup> See: RI Hwa-sŏn 리화선 (1989, 1993), vol. 1, p. 142; MIN Kyŏng-hyŏn 민경현 (1991), vol. 1, p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> Qing 淸 (1644 - 1912 AD). See: LUO Zhewen 羅哲文 라철문 (1994), pp. 29ff., 41f., 148f.

<sup>3</sup> Bul-guk-sa 佛國寺 불국사 (No. 7.34.33.). In Bul-guk-sa the main balustrade supports are spaced 3.2m, 3m, 2.8m, 2.4m or 2.2m according to the situation. A minor support was always placed between these main supports. See: MHCKLG (1976), pl. 163.

<sup>4</sup> Bao'en-si 報恩寺 보은사 in Suzhou 蘇州 소주. It was allegedly constructed in the Chinese Three Kingdoms period (220 - 263 AD) for the first time and reconstructed in the present form between 1131 and 1162 AD (again reconstructed between 1582 and 1590 AD and repaired in 1903 AD). See: LUO Zhewen 羅哲文 라철문 (1994), pp. 79f.; BOERSCHMANN (1931), pp. 214 - 222.

<sup>5</sup> The reconstruction model seems to have been based on the five-storied octagonal wooden pagoda Shijia-ta 釋迦塔 석가탑 of Fogong-si 佛宮寺 불궁사 in Yingxian 應縣 응현, Shanxi 山西 산서 constructed in 1056 AD. Its total height is 67.31m for a base diameter of 30.27m. However, the surrounding structures in the main axis keep a distance of more than 40m. See: LIANG Ssu-ch'eng (1984), p. 68ff.; HAN Dong-su 韓東洙 한동수, YANG Ko-yŏng 楊鎭永 양호영 (1992), p. 108ff.

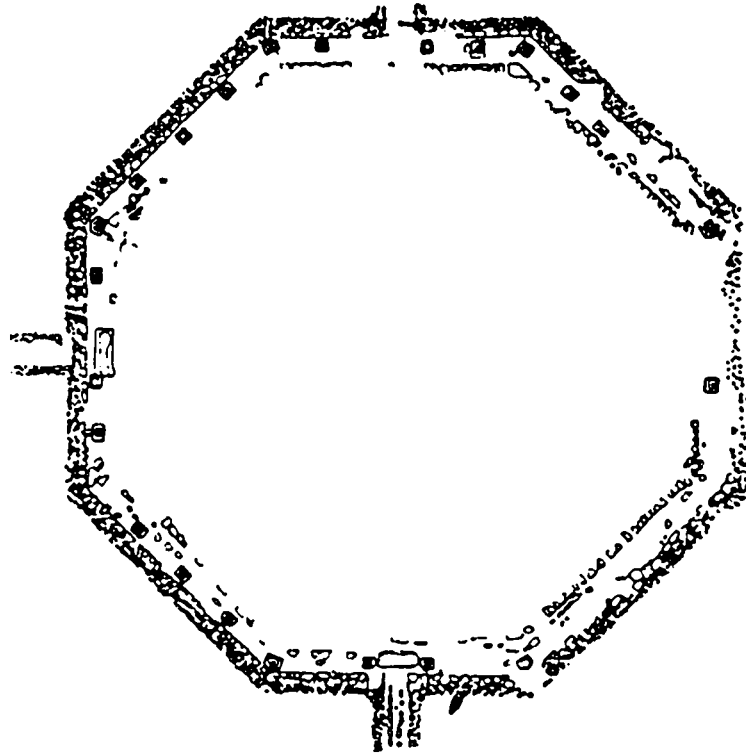


Fig. 120: Excavation plan of the platform of the octagonal pagoda of Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺금강사 (498 AD ?, scale: 1 : 300) (after: CSSKF (1940.6.), pl. 10)

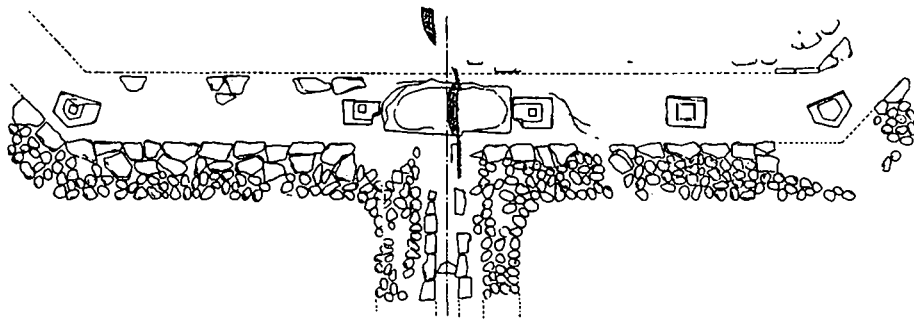


Fig. 121: Excavation plan of the south-western side of the platform of the octagonal pagoda of Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺금강사 (498 AD ?, scale: 1 : 100) (after: CSSKF (1940.6.), pp. 8f.)

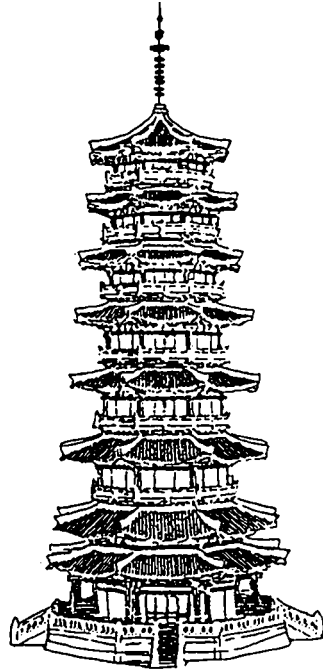


Fig. 122: Reconstructed model of the octagonal pagoda of Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺 금강사 (498 AD ?) (after: MIN Kyöng-hyön 閔庚球 민경현 (1991), vol. I, p. 122)

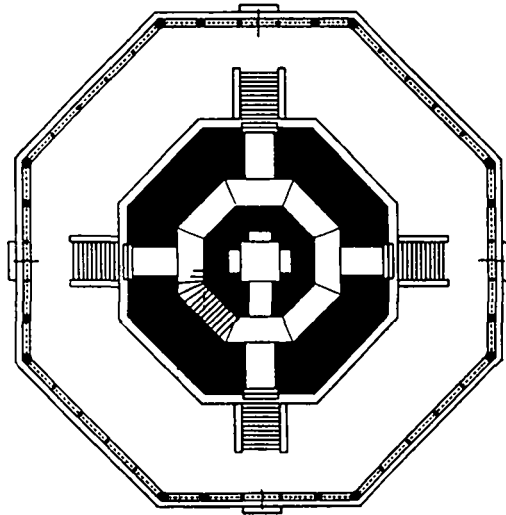


Fig. 123: Ground plan of the octagonal pagoda of Bao'en-si 報恩寺 보은사 in Suzhou 蘇州 소주. (first built in 3rd C. AD ?, present structure from 12th and 16th C. AD, scale: 1 : 500) (after: BOERSCHMANN (1931), p. 219)

## 2.2.2.3.2. The northern image hall

The front side of the platform of the image hall was situated about 13m to the north-east of the pagoda and measured about 33m by 21m. While on the south-western side parts of the platform and the stairs were discovered, remains of four column bases and the place of the north-eastern side were identified on the back side of the image hall [fig. 124]. Beside the supposed northern column foundations, which were similar to those discovered at Chŏng-rŭng-sa, two cut stone foundations and parts of a pavement analogue to the foundations and pavement of the pagoda were also discovered [fig. 125]. Their location does not correspond to the other column foundations. It is therefore possible that the northern image hall was reconstructed several times. However, it seems not possible to distinguish different periods of construction for the time being. The smaller cut stone foundations might have belonged to an attached roof of the image hall.

Through some interpolation the ground plan of one stage of the wooden structure can be roughly reconstructed. It was possibly a nine bays by six bays large building which measured about 28.5m by 17m. The size of this hall would then be comparable with the biggest extant Buddhist building in Korea, the Gak-hwang-

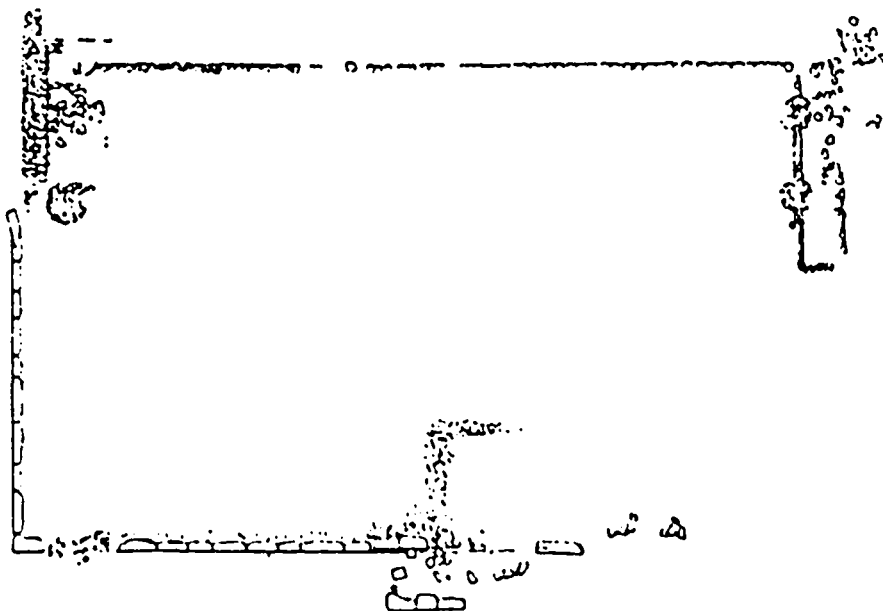


Fig. 124: Excavation plan of the platform of the northern image hall of Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺금강사 (498 AD ?, scale: 1 : 300) (after: CSSKF (1940.6.), pl. 10)

chŏn of Hwa-ŏm-sa<sup>1</sup> which was reconstructed in 1698 AD on the foundations of a similar building from the Unified Sin-la period and whose wooden structure measures 27m by 18.6m. The Gak-hwang-chŏn counts seven bays by five bays and has a double roof. It can be speculated that the northern image hall of Gŭm-gang-sa was also a two-storied building because a depth of 17m is rather seldom for single-storied buildings<sup>2</sup>.

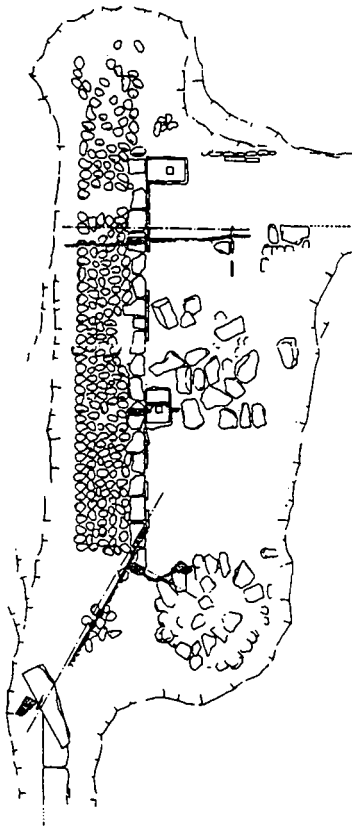


Fig. 125: Excavation plan of the northern corner of the northern image hall of Gŭm-gang-sa 金剛寺 금강사 (498 AD ?, scale: 1 : 100) (after: CSSKF (1940.6.), pp. 10f.)

<sup>1</sup> Gak-hwang-chŏn 覺皇殿 각황전 of Hwa-ŏm-sa 華嚴寺 화엄사 (No. 6.7.2.). See: MHCKLG (1986).

<sup>2</sup> The deepest extant single-storied Buddhist buildings in Korea are the Dæ-ung-chŏn 大雄殿 대웅전 of Bul-guk-sa 佛國寺 불국사 (No. 7.34.33.) constructed in 1751 AD with 13.92m and the Dæ-chŏk-kwang-chŏn 大寂光殿 대적광전 of Hæ-in-sa 海印寺 해인사 (No. 8.5.1.) constructed in 1817 AD with 15.54m. In China and Japan, however, there are single-storied Buddhist buildings with depths of over 20m (e.g. the Daxiaongbao-dian 大雄寶殿 대웅보전 of Shanhua-si 善化寺 선화사 in Datong 大同 대동, Shanxi 山西 산서, with 25m constructed in about 1050 AD). See: MHCKLG 1976); YI Sang-hæ 李相海 이상해 (1994), pp. 116, 118f.; LIU Laurence G. (1989), p. 104; LIU Dunzhen 劉敦楨 류둔정 (1980), p. 202; LIANG Ssu-ch'eng (1984), p. 39.

## 2.2.2.3.3. The eastern and western image halls, the middle gate

The remains of the two lateral image halls are more fragmentary than those of the northern image hall. Only pieces of the south-eastern side of the eastern image hall and fragments of the north-eastern and south-eastern sides of the western image hall were reported during the excavation [fig. 126]. Because the remains seem to fit the supposed strict symmetry, the remains of these two structures have been frequently interpreted together by using the known measurements of one hall to fill in the missing measurements of the other hall. Thus the distances from the pagoda have been established from the remains of the western image hall while most of the other measurements were gained from the remains of the eastern image hall.

At least five small cut stone foundations similar to those of the octagonal pagoda were located on the south eastern face of the eastern hall [fig. 126]. These foundation stones were placed on the lower step of the two-stepped platform. The easternmost bay measured 2.67m and the following three were between 3.6m and 3.65m long. Two more bays of about 3.6m and a bay of about 2.7m completed the south-eastern side. These foundations stones seem to have belonged to an attached roof to the main structure.

If the lateral image halls were in fact identical and strictly symmetrical, their attached roofs could have had seven bays by five bays which measured about 23.5m by 13m while the lower platform had a size of about 24.5m by 15m. The main structure had then probably five bays by three bays measuring about 18.15m by 8m. The long proportions of the ground plan of the lateral image halls seem to hint at single-storied structures if the average ground plan proportions of extant multi-storied Korean Buddhist image halls are taken as reference<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The assumed ground plan of the main structure of the lateral image halls of Güm-san-sa (5 x 3 bays, 18.15m x 8m) would have a proportion of about 2.27 : 1. The average proportion of the ground plan of the seven multi-storied Buddhist halls of Korea analyzed by KIM is about 1.44 : 1. Similar ground plan proportions can be found in most Chinese and Japanese multi-storied Buddhist image halls and palace halls. Clearly longer ground plans seem to have been seldom for ceremonial halls (China: the Leng'en-dian 稜恩殿 능온전 (9 x 5 bays, 66.75m x 29.3m) of the Ming tombs near Beijing 北京 북경 (15th C. AD) has a ground plan proportion of about 2.28 : 1. This exceptional proportion seems to be justified by the huge size of the construction. Among the longest Japanese double-roofed image halls seems to have been that of Yakushi-ji 藥師寺 やくしじ 약사사 built in the early 8th C. AD with a ground plan proportion of the main structure (without the attached roof, 7 x 4 bays, 22.9m x 11.8m) of about 1.94 : 1). The connection between the ground plan proportion and the number of roofs in East Asian architecture is not yet fully studied. It seems that structural reasons alone cannot explain these proportions because much longer proportions were common for multi-storied gates in all three East Asian countries. Aesthetic preferences and functional reasons of the interior space (the second story would become very narrow) seem to have played important roles for the chosen ground plan proportions of multi-storied structures. See: Chapter 3.3., pp. 598 - 606; 4.2, p. 821 - 827; KIM Bong-kön 金奉憲 김봉건 (1994), pp. 28f.; ZHANG Yuhuan (ed.) (1986), pp. 137f; OOKA Minoru (1973), pp. 79, 145.

To the south of the eastern image hall traces of another platform have been discovered which might also have possessed once a wooden building [fig. 126]. These remains have mostly been omitted from discussions on Güm-gang-sa because they do not fit the concept of the 'one pagoda - three image halls - temple type'<sup>1</sup>. If this building was in fact contemporaneous with the rest of the temple<sup>2</sup> it might indicate that the early Buddhist temples of Ko-gu-ryŏ did not always follow a strict symmetry so that there was the possibility to meet the particular needs of individual temples. This would then weaken the assumption that the lateral image halls were identical. The slightly asymmetrical layout of Chŏng-rŭng-sa seems to confirm this theoretical possibility.

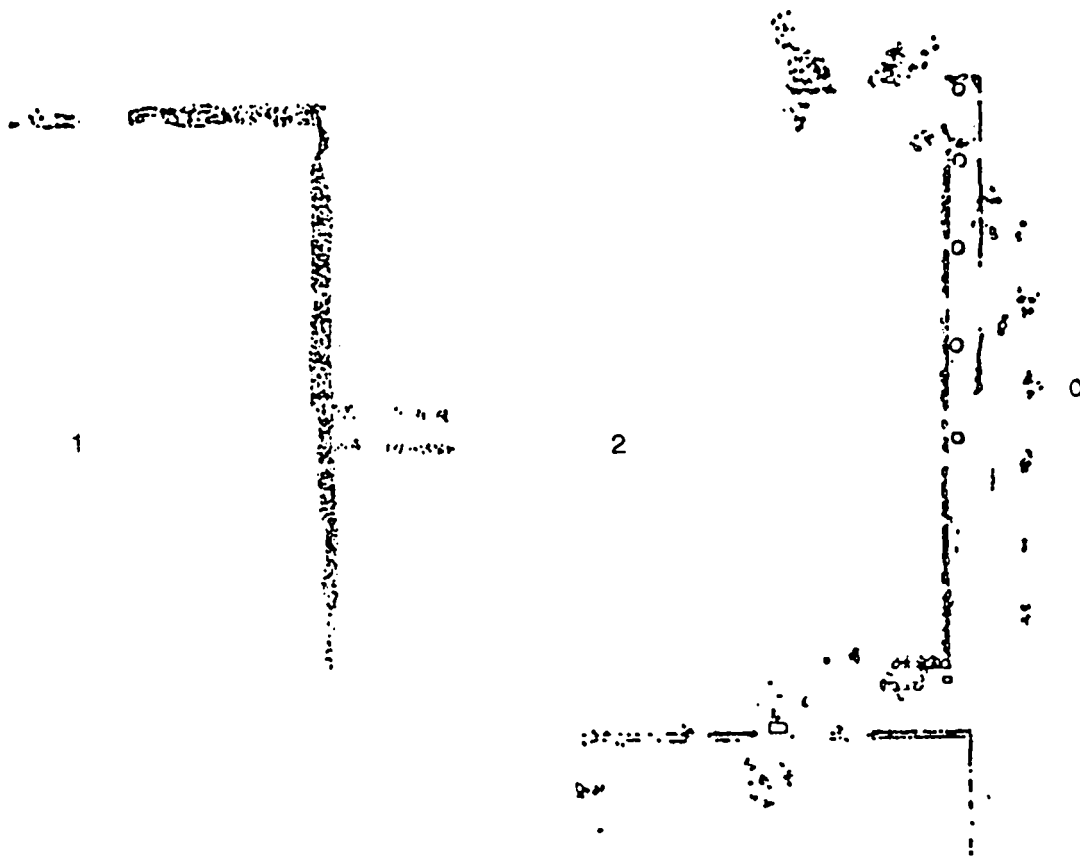


Fig. 126: Excavation plans of the platforms of the western (1) and eastern image halls (2) of Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺 금강사 (498 AD ?, scale: 1 : 300) (after: CSSKF (1940.6.), pl. 10)

<sup>1</sup> See: above, pp. 132, 136.

<sup>2</sup> Based on the available information it seems difficult to distinguish the date of the various discovered structures.

The remains of the middle gate are the most ambiguous of the temple precinct because a number of superimposed platforms which could date to several later reconstructions, make a clear reconstruction of the original middle gate impossible [fig. 127]. It seems even possible that the middle gate was connected with the pagoda through a kind of large gallery but the remains are too fragmentary to be able to affirm any particular reconstruction. As the size and the location of the middle gate is not known also the surrounding gallery cannot be located precisely.

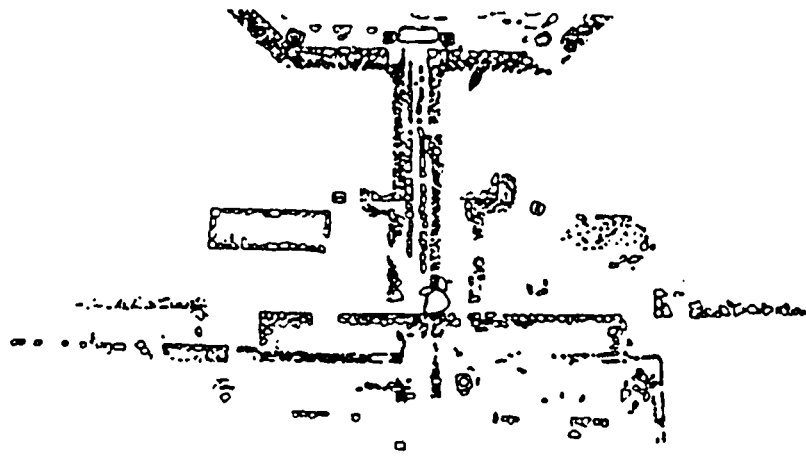


Fig. 127: Excavation plan of the superimposed platforms of the middle gate of Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺금강사 (498 AD?, scale: 1 : 300) (after: CSSKF (1940.6.), pl. 10)

#### 2.2.2.3.4. The north-easternmost building

Some 36m to the north-east of the eastern corner of the northern image hall the remains of another wooden building have been discovered [fig. 128]. The floor of this structure was paved with square and rectangular tiles. The foundations of at least five wooden columns were also discovered. The traces are not complete enough to permit a trustworthy reconstruction but a five bays by three bays structure seems at least possible, which would have measured approximately 20m by 11m. The location of the north-easternmost building indicates that it may have belonged to a complex of buildings which were arranged around the lecture hall of which unfortunately no traces were found. Several authors claim that to the north west of this building there were two other structures of similar size. The excavation report does not mention such remains which were thus probably interpolations so that the layout of Güm-gang-sa fits a preconceived interpretation<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> In connection with the above-mentioned interpretation of the 'seats of the five stars'. See: p. 132.





Fig. 128: Excavation plan of the platform of the north-easternmost building of Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺 금강사 (498 AD ?, scale: 1 : 300) (after: CSSKF (1940.6.), pl. 10)

#### 2.2.2.4. The material remains

The site of Güm-gang-sa is most famous for its architectural layout. However, a number of roof tiles and metallic objects were also discovered during the excavation<sup>1</sup>. Among the metallic objects were an iron axe and pieces of gilt-bronze ornaments including a small relief of a heavenly being. The roof end tiles and tiles with monster faces excavated at this temple site belong to the most representative of Ko-gu-ryŏ.



Fig. 128: Roof end tiles and a tile with a monster faces of Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺 금강사 (498 AD ?, no scale) (after: CSSKF (1940.6.), pl. 12, 13)

<sup>1</sup> See: CSSKF (1940.6.), pp. 14 - 18, pl. 11 - 15.

2.2.2.5. Reconstruction drawing of the layout of Güm-gang-sa

Based on the evidence and reflections mentioned above I have tried to reconstruct a hypothetical layout of Güm-gang-sa [fig. 129]. The extant column foundations have been blackened on the drawing. The interior structure of the octagonal pagoda will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.3., pp. 186ff.

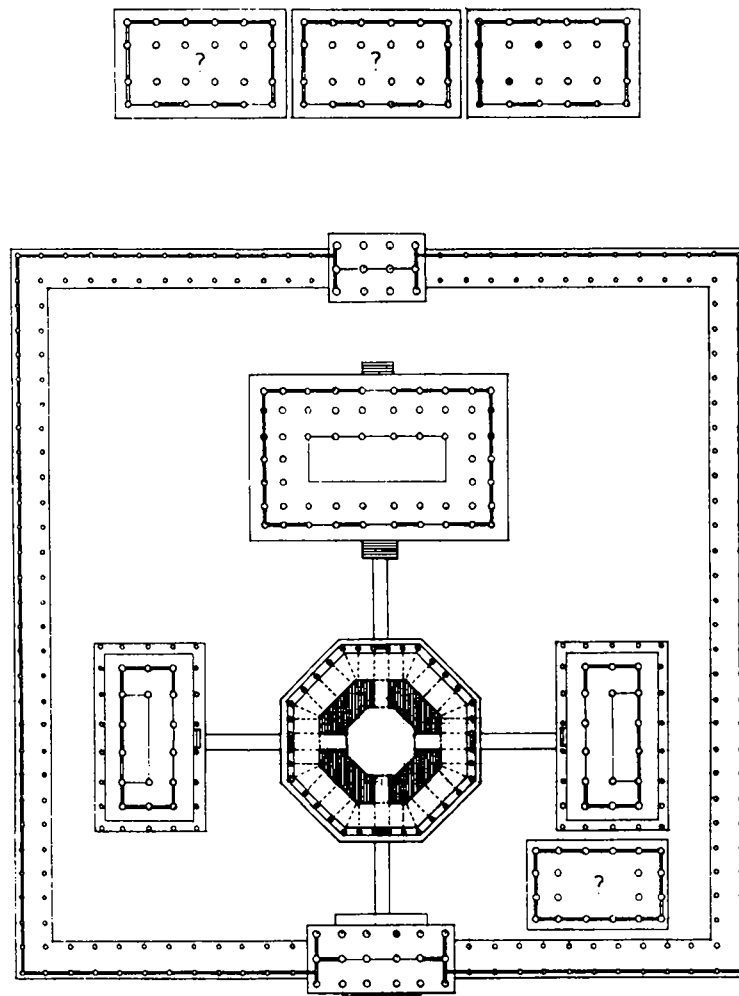


Fig. 129: Hypothetical layout of Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺금강사 according to the author (498 AD ?, 1 : 1,000) (drawing by the author)

## 2.2.3. THE TEMPLE SITE AT SANG-O-RI

Only very little is known about the temple and the excavation at Sang-o-ri<sup>1</sup> which lies about 2km to the south-east of Gŭm-gang-sa. The name of this temple and the precise date of its founding could not be determined by the excavation. The remains of three buildings were reported. At the centre was again an octagonal platform. To the left and to the right side of it large rectangular platforms were discovered. While the central building was most probably a pagoda, the lateral structures are usually interpreted as image halls as in the cases of Chŏng-rŭng-sa and Gŭm-gang-sa.

The octagonal platform was delimited by a pavement which resembles the one of the pagoda of Gŭm-gang-sa. The sides of the octagon measured about 8m, the inner octagon of the platform measured thus about 19.3m. Inside the platform no foundation stones were found but traces of a second, square platform were discovered which was inscribed in the octagon in such a way as to touch the centre of the diagonal sides of the octagon. The sides of the square measured thus about 13.6m. This seems to indicate that the pagoda had actually a square body despite the outer octagonal platform<sup>2</sup>. It would be the only known square pagoda of Ko-gu-ryŏ<sup>3</sup>. It is however difficult to assume that the builders took the trouble to form an octagon only to negate it again with a square pagoda. It is more likely that the octagon and the square date to different periods. The square would then probably belong to a later reconstruction of the temple<sup>4</sup>.

The dimensions of the platforms of the two image halls were about identical and measured around 25.8m by 12.6m.<sup>5</sup> The supposed size of the wooden structures of the two image halls of approximately 22m by 9m would indicate five or seven bays by three bays. The distance between the platforms of the two image halls and of the pagoda was only about 4.7m, even smaller than in the case of the eastern image hall of Chŏng-rŭng-sa. Obviously these three buildings were part of a larger temple precinct<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Sang-o-ri Sa-chi 上五里寺址 상오리사지 (No. 10.1.2.).

<sup>2</sup> See: RI Hwa-sŏn 리화선 (1989, 1993), vol. 1, p. 114.

<sup>3</sup> If we neglect the unconfirmed report that the Yuk-wang 育王 육왕 pagoda was square. See Chapter 2.1., p. 62.

<sup>4</sup> This hypothesis could only be checked through a new excavation.

<sup>5</sup> Sometimes it is reported that traces of the northern image hall were also discovered but this seems to be a misinformation.

Between the pagoda and the lateral image hall a paved path similar to those of Gŭm-gang-sa was discerned but no such traces were found to the south and north of the pagoda. It is therefore possible that the temple was organized in a similar way to Chŏng-rŭng-sa where a gallery would have enclosed the pagoda and the lateral two image halls while the northern image hall might have been located in a separate courtyard.

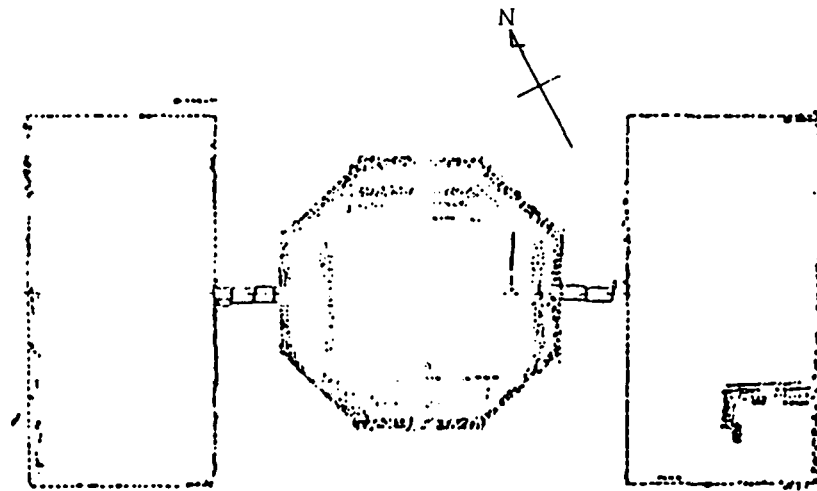


Fig. 130: Excavation layout plan of the temple site at Sang-o-ri 上五里寺址 상오리사지 (5th - 7th C. AD ?, 1 : 500) (after: HGKCS, p. 110)

#### 2.2.4. THE TEMPLE SITE AT TO-SŎNG-RI

This ancient temple site at To-sŏng-ri<sup>1</sup> is located about 1.5km to the south of the Bong-san railway station in modern Hwang-hæ-buk-do<sup>2</sup>, about half way between the cities of Pyŏng-yang and Kæ-sŏng<sup>3</sup>. The original name of this temple and its date of founding are not known. The remains of three buildings which formed a part of the central precinct of the temple were discovered during recent excavations. They were most probably the central pagoda, the western and the northern image halls [fig. 131].

<sup>1</sup> To-sŏng-ri Sa-chi 土城里寺址 토성리 사지.

<sup>2</sup> Hwang-hæ-buk-do 黃海北道 황해북도.

<sup>3</sup> Kæ-sŏng 開城 개성.

Only the south-eastern part of the platform of the pagoda was excavated, but it produced enough indications to reconstruct the general plan of the pagoda. According to this reconstruction the diameter of the platform of the octagonal pagoda measured about 18.2m and each side of the octagon was about 7.7m long. The pagoda probably had a double platform similar to the one of the pagoda of Gŭm-gang-sa. The pavement of slate stone was about 1.15m broad and it was inclined by 5° towards the exterior at the excavated spot in the south eastern corner<sup>1</sup>.

The paved area of the northern image hall lay about 16m to the north of that of the pagoda. The length of the southern side of the platform is reported to have measured about 20m, but the published drawing<sup>2</sup> indicates about 22m. If a similar proportion as the northern image halls of other Ko-gu-ryŏ temples (e.g. Gŭm-gang-sa) is supposed, the platform of the northern image hall of the temple site at To-sŏng-ri might have had a depth of about 13m (12m in the published drawing).

The platform of the western image hall measured about 18m by 9m. The platform was surrounded by a 1.4m broad pavement which was similar to the one of the pagoda. The distance of the exterior of the pavements of the western image hall and of the octagonal pagoda was only about 5m which was similar to the temple site in Sang-o-ri. Most authors suppose that the general resemblance of the octagonal pagoda and the western and northern image halls of this temple site and the observed symmetry of other temple layouts necessarily means that there was once an eastern image hall which was similar to the western image hall.

To the east of the south-eastern corner of the supposed location of the eastern image hall, however, a tile paved circle was discovered which had a diameter of 2.5m and is reminiscent of the two paved circles in the intermediate courtyards of Chŏng-rŭng-sa. If it is confirmed that this paved circle had a ceremonial function as suggested for those of Chŏng-rŭng-sa by their location in the layout, the existence of an eastern image hall becomes questionable because the paved circle would lie in a awkward position near a rear corner of the supposed eastern image hall. As no remains of an eastern image hall were found it is not sure that the general assumption that all Ko-gu-ryŏ temples featured at least three image halls is correct for the temple site at To-sŏng-ri.

Another important characteristic of this temple site is the comparatively long distance between the octagonal building and the northern image hall. It is thus theoretically possible that the temple at To-sŏng-ri featured an intermediate gallery between the pagoda and the northern image hall similar to that of Chŏng-rŭng-sa.

<sup>1</sup> The reason for this inclination is not clear, it might simply have helped to drain the rain water.

<sup>2</sup> See: YI Wang-ki 李王基 이왕기 (1994), p. 220.

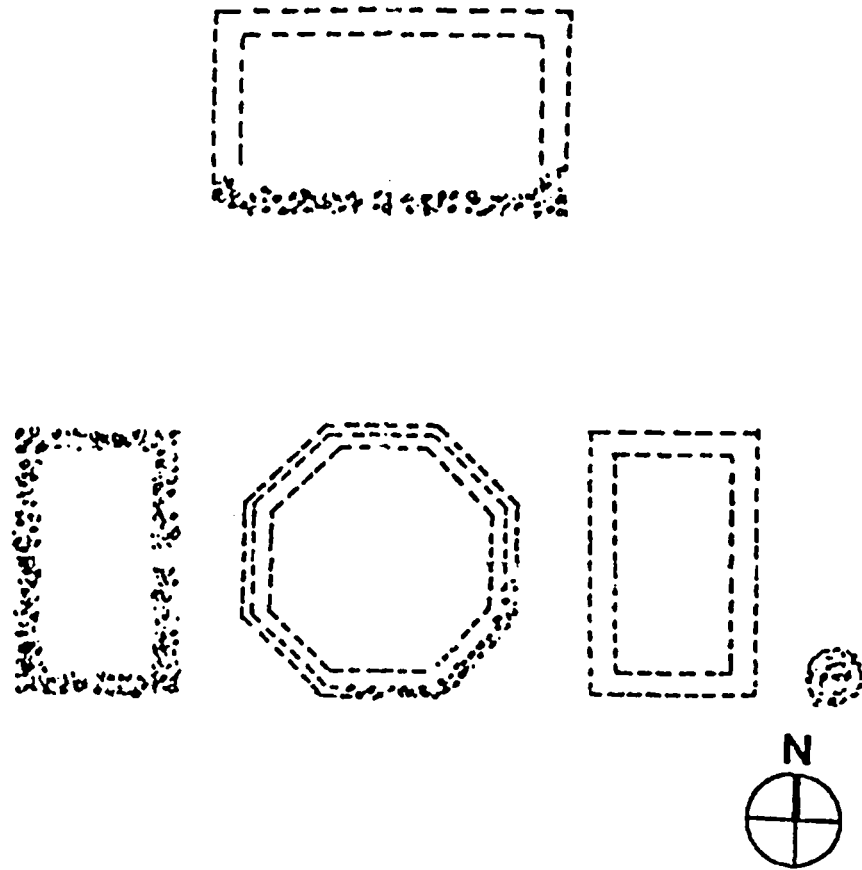


Fig. 131: Excavation layout plan of the temple site at To-sŏng-ri 土城里寺址 토성리사지 (5th - 7th C. AD?, 1 : 500) (after: YI Wang-ki 李王基 이왕기 (1994), p. 220)

### 2.2.5. THE TEMPLE SITE AT WŎN-O-RI

The temple site at Wŏn-o-ri<sup>1</sup> is located about 28km to the north-west of the railway station of Pyŏng-yang in Dŏk-san-myŏn, Pyŏng-wŏn-gun, Pyŏng-an-nam-do<sup>2</sup>, to the east of the 243m-high Man-dŏk-san<sup>3</sup>. It has been investigated in 1937 AD by Japanese scholars<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Wŏn-o-ri Sa-chi 元五里寺址 원오리 사지, the village is now called Dŏk-po-ri 德浦里 덕포리.

<sup>2</sup> Dŏk-san-myŏn 德山面 덕산면, Pyŏng-wŏn-gun 平原郡 평원군, Pyŏng-an-nam-do 平安南道 평안남도.

<sup>3</sup> Man-dŏk-san 萬德山 만덕산.

<sup>4</sup> See: CSSKF (1938.8.), pp. 63 - 72.

The site produced some Buddhist artifacts but the original temple layout could not be established [fig. 132]. The temple has been supposedly reconstructed in the Ko-ryŏ period<sup>1</sup>. The ancient foundations were probably destroyed at that time. Among the Ko-gu-ryŏ artifacts were a clay image of a seated Buddha and several roof end tiles with lotus ornaments.

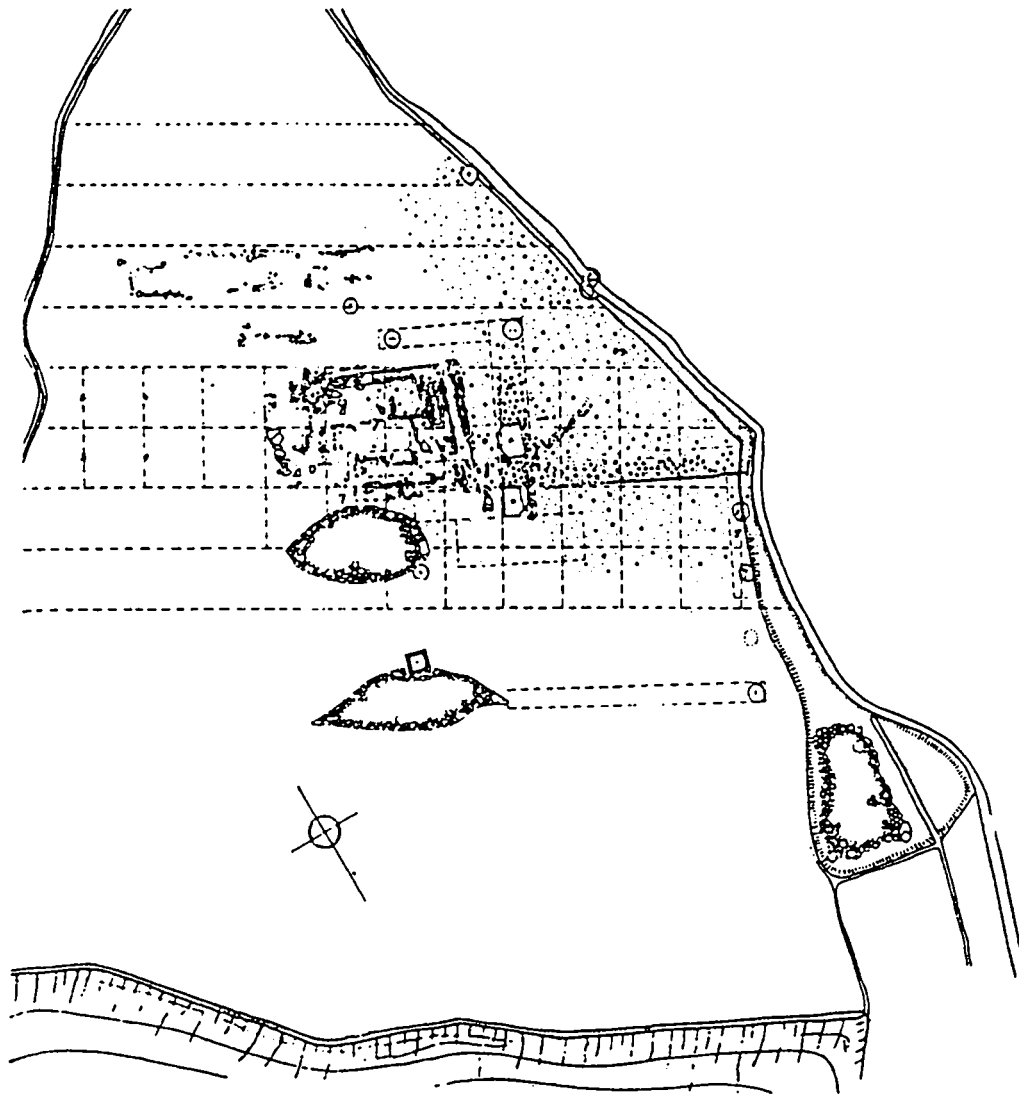


Fig. 132: Excavation plan of the temple site at Wŏn-o-ri 元五里寺址 원오리사지 (5th - 7th C. AD ?, 1 : 500) (after: CSSKF (1938.8.), pl. 58)

<sup>1</sup> See: KIM Sung-woo (KIM Sŏng-u 金聖雨 김성우) (1985), p. 90.





### 2.3. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE BUDDHIST ARCHITECTURE OF KO-GU-RYŎ

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#### Preliminary remarks

In the analysis of the foregoing chapter I have described the remains of the Buddhist architecture of Ko-gu-ryŏ. Here I attempt to synthesize this information in order to provide a global view of what were its main characteristics. As mentioned above, few temple sites of Ko-gu-ryŏ have so far been excavated and it is practically impossible to access them<sup>1</sup>. The discussion of the layout of the temples of Ko-gu-ryŏ has thus to rely on the published material only. The construction design, methods, materials and decorations are also only partially known. The most important sources of information on the wooden buildings are the wall paintings found in the tombs of Ko-gu-ryŏ<sup>2</sup>. Some additional information is provided by excavated roof tiles, a small clay model of a tile-roofed house and an iron model of a furnace which are both kept in the National Museum of Korea<sup>3</sup> in Sŏ-ul (Seoul).

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<sup>1</sup> All the known sites are located in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea). Even if it were eventually possible to enter the country, the probability of actually being able to conduct proper field research on the temple sites would be very small.

<sup>2</sup> These tombs are located around the lower Yalu river (K: Ab-lok-kang 鴨綠江 압록강, pronounced 'Am-nok-kang') and in the region around Pyŏng-yang 平壤 평양.

<sup>3</sup> See: Korea (National Museum of) 國立中央博物館 국립중앙박물관 (ed.) (1991), p. 36.

## 2.3.1. THE LAYOUT OF THE ROYALLY-SPONSORED TEMPLES

## 2.3.1.1. Topography and orientation

As far as can be judged by the limited number of known temple sites from Ko-gu-ryō, there seems to have existed a pattern of preferences in the choice of the temple sites and the orientation of the entry and the main sanctuaries.

temple name	level	slope	front situation	back situation	orientation
Chōng-rŭng-sa-chi	< 50m	+ 1.13 %	flat fields, forest	small hill, forest	~ 5° to the west
Gŭm-gang-sa-chi	~ 20m	+ 4.72 %	Dæ-dong-kang (river)	natural hill	30° to the east
Sang-o-ri Sa-chi	~ 20m	(?)	(?)	(?)	23.5° to the west (?)
To-sōng-ri Sa-chi	< 50m (?)	(?)	(?)	(?)	1° to the west (?)
Wōn-o-ri Sa-chi	(?)	(?)	slope (?)	(?)	slightly to the east (?)

Table 4: Topographical situation of the Buddhist temples of Ko-gu-ryō

These indications are still poor, but they concord with the topographical situation of a large number of temples which were founded in other areas of East Asia in the following centuries<sup>1</sup>. The typical features are:

1. the entry is located at the lower side of the site,
2. the entrance is located between the south-east and the south-west,
3. the main axis of the temple usually follows the slope of the site,
4. in front of the temple there is frequently a river or a pond,
5. behind the temple there is frequently a hill with a forest.

The excavated temples of Ko-gu-ryō were all located in plains with a height of up to 50m above sea level and with slopes around the temple sites of little gradient (up to 5%). The main precincts were usually placed on a flat portion of the site. These characteristics seem to fit the basic rules of the *feng shui* theory<sup>2</sup> (K: *pung-su chi-ri*) which has established the generally accepted rules and methods of selecting the sites for all human activities and constructions in East Asia. An excursus in the Chapter 3.3. will treat the influence of *pung-su chi-ri* on the choice of the temple sites in Bæk-che which are better documented than the ones from Ko-gu-ryō.

<sup>1</sup> See: Chapter 3.3., pp. 497 - 506.

<sup>2</sup> *Feng shui* 風水 풍수, *pung-su chi-ri* 風水地理 풍수지리 is usually translated as 'geomancy'. See: Excursus 3 in Chapter 3.3., pp. 507 - 518.

## 2.3.1.2. The layout of the Buddhist temples of Ko-gu-ryŏ

The excavations of the five reported temple sites could only uncover fragments of the layout of the Buddhist temples of Ko-gu-ryŏ. Chŏng-rŭng-sa is the only almost complete temple site of Ko-gu-ryŏ which is known so far but its layout cannot be considered as the prototype of all the Buddhist temples of Ko-gu-ryŏ, particularly because not enough is known about its founding date and possible reconstructions<sup>1</sup>. The five known temple sites, however, can be considered as particular models which were based on a common basic layout type.

Of the four temple sites which produced identifiable structures, only the pagoda site and the site of the western image hall were confirmed at all temples. The eastern and northern image halls were discovered in three cases while the middle gate and maybe the southern gallery was located in only two cases. All the other typical structures of a temple, namely the lecture hall, the galleries, the refectory and the monks' cells, were only confirmed at Chŏng-rŭng-sa [table 5].

structure	Chŏng-rŭng-sa-chi	Gŭm-gang-sa-chi	Sang-o-ri Sa-chi	To-sŏng-ri Sa-chi	Wŏn-o-ri Sa-chi
middle gate	yes	yes	no	no	no
southern gallery	yes	not clear	no	no	no
pagoda	yes	yes	yes	yes	no
eastern image hall	yes	yes	yes	no	no
western image hall	yes	yes	yes	yes	no
northern image hall	yes	yes	no	yes	no
lateral galleries	yes	no	no	no	no
northern gallery	yes	no	no	no	no
lecture hall	yes	no	no	no	no
others	numerous	two	no	one	no

Table 5: Discovered and identified structures of the Buddhist temples of Ko-gu-ryŏ

The only sure elements of the Buddhist temples of Ko-gu-ryŏ are thus the multiple image halls which were grouped around a central octagonal pagoda [table 5]. Future excavations will have to confirm the possible number of image halls and whether the central precinct was always enclosed in covered galleries, as in the case of Chŏng-rŭng-sa.

<sup>1</sup> See: Chapter 2.2., pp. 104, 109f.

This basic layout combining an octagonal pagoda and multiple image halls is not yet confirmed for early Buddhist China. However, the existence of octagonal pagodas in early China can be assumed with great certainty (see further below) and multiple image halls figure on murals of Dunhuang<sup>1</sup>. A mural in cave 148, for example, shows a temple complex with multiple image halls and lateral courtyards which are reminiscent of Chōng-rŭng-sa. While the main image hall has a single story, the lateral image halls are two-storied structures [fig. 133]. The central octagonal pagoda, however, is missing on this illustration of a celestial palace<sup>2</sup> and the image halls are connected with the galleries. The illustration to the *Guanzhong chuangli jietan tujing*<sup>3</sup> also features lateral courtyards and several large buildings in the central courtyards. As the pagoda in this illustration seems to be a square wooden construction and the lateral image halls do not seem to be turned towards the pagoda, this illustration included in the discussion of the temple layout of Bækche in Chapter 3.3.

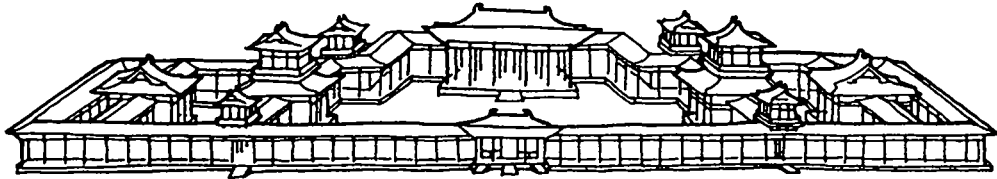


Fig. 133: Mural of a celestial palace in cave 148 at Dunhuang 敦煌 돈황 (late Tang, no scale) (after: XIAO Mo 蕭默 소묵 (1989), p. 81)

As most layout elements seen at the temples of Ko-gu-ryō seem to have existed in China it can be assumed with high probability that similar temple layouts also existed in early Buddhist China.

Japan's Asuka-dera [fig. 118] and certain temples of Ancient Sin-la<sup>4</sup> seem to have been influenced by the multiple-image-hall layout of Ko-gu-ryō but the octagonal pagodas were exchanged by square wooden pagodas (Chapters 3.3., 4.2.).

<sup>1</sup> Dunhuang 敦煌 돈황, e.g. cave No. 148. See: LIU Dunzhen 劉敦楨 유돈정 (1980), p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Tiangong* 天宮 천궁. The fact that these murals represent the various Buddhist paradises might be a reason for the absence of pagodas. On the other hand, it could also mean that the pagoda lost its importance in the temple precinct by this time (late Tang). See: Chapter 5, pp. 1009 - 1013.

<sup>3</sup> *Guanzhong chuangli jietan tujing* 「關中舍立戒壇圖經 관중창립계단도경」, T 1892.45.812. See: Chapter 3.3., pp. 528 - 530.

<sup>4</sup> Asuka-dera 飛鳥寺 아사카데라 비조사, Ancient Sin-la 古新羅 고신라. See: Chapters 2.2., pp. 136f. 4.2., pp. 839f.

## EXCURSUS 2: THE LAYOUT DEVELOPMENT THEORY OF KIM SŎNG-U

While it seems certain that Ko-gu-ryŏ usually constructed several image halls in each major temple, there is some discussion among scholars over how many image halls were placed around the pagoda when Buddhism was first introduced into Ko-gu-ryŏ. However, most scholars accept the essential place of the pagoda in the temples of Ko-gu-ryŏ as the unmistakable sign of almost all early Buddhist temples<sup>1</sup> in East Asia.

During the early periods of Chinese Buddhism, its temples were sometimes called 'pagoda temples'<sup>2</sup> which was interpreted by KIM Sŏng-u<sup>3</sup> that the only elements which the first Chinese temples possessed were the pagoda and the boundary to delimit the sacred space around the pagoda<sup>4</sup>. According to this interpretation, the Buddhist images were enshrined in the pagoda. Thus, it would be only later that separate image halls were introduced in the layout plan of the Buddhist temples. If these premisses are accepted then the questions are of course how many image halls were introduced, where were they placed and which model were they based upon ?

KIM<sup>5</sup> tries to answer these questions by supposing that the driving force behind the change of the layout of the Buddhist temples was the conflict between the foreign Indian religion and the local Chinese culture. Thus the development towards the dominance of the image hall was an expression of the 'sinicization' of Buddhism. In consequence, there must have been an earlier Chinese model for the placement of the image halls as they were discovered in Ko-gu-ryŏ. For KIM this model was one of Chinese palace types which was composed of the Taiji-dian<sup>6</sup> in

<sup>1</sup> Since the earliest times there were undoubtedly also a number of Buddhist establishments without pagoda because the construction of such huge buildings needed the financial support of the ruling class. These small training centres are most adequately called hermitages (K: *am-cha* 庵子 암자) even if in some cases more than one monk resided there. Possible constructions of these small hermitages will be discussed in Chapter 5, pp. 955ff.

<sup>2</sup> Pagoda temples (Ch. *tasi* 塔寺 탐사).

See: KIM Sung-woo (KIM Sŏng-u 金聖雨 김성우) (1985), p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> See: KIM Sung-woo (KIM Sŏng-u 金聖雨 김성우) (1985), pp. 8 - 62.

<sup>4</sup> KIM interprets also the famous descriptions of Futu-ci 浮圖祠 부도사 or Futu-si 浮屠寺 부도사 of Zerong 笮融 착용 in the *San guo zhi* 「三國志 삼국지」 (Book 49, Biography of Liu Zhou 劉繇 유요) and the *Hou Han shu* 「後漢書 후한서」 (Book 73, Biography of Tao Qian 陶謙 도겸) in the same way. The translation by SOPER of the passage according to the *San guo zhi* 「三國志 삼국지」 reads as follows: "The builder, one Chai Jung (Zerong 笮融 착용) of the province of Kiangsu (Jiangsu 江蘇 강소), 'erected a Buddha shrine, making a human figure of bronze to be gilded and clad in brocade. Nine tiers of bronze discs were raised above a two-storeyed pavilion. The covered galleries could hold about 3,000 persons.'" See: SICKMAN, SOPER (1956, 1960, 1968, 1971, 1982), p. 386; KIM Sung-woo (KIM Sŏng-u 金聖雨 김성우) (1985), pp. 10 - 19.

<sup>5</sup> KIM Sung-woo (KIM Sŏng-u 金聖雨 김성우) (1985), pp. 468 - 471.

<sup>6</sup> Taiji-dian 太極殿 태극전.

the centre, flanked by the *dong-tang* and *xi-tang*<sup>1</sup> on the east and the west. The development of the Buddhist temple layout in East Asia went through the following stages according to the theory by KIM<sup>2</sup>:

1. Until 4th C. AD: Han shrine influence: central pagoda and gallery only<sup>3</sup>,
2. 4th - 5th C. AD: Taiji-dian and *dong-tang* and *xi-tang* influence: pagoda and two lateral image halls inside gallery<sup>4</sup>,
3. 5th - 6th C. AD: diminished importance of the pagoda: three image halls and one pagoda inside gallery<sup>5</sup>,
4. 6th - 7th C. AD: concentration on the northern image hall: one image hall and one pagoda inside gallery<sup>6</sup>,
5. 7th - 8th C. AD: freeing the axis of the image hall: one image hall and two pagodas inside gallery<sup>7</sup>,
6. 8th C. AD: completion of transformation of the Buddhist architecture towards the Chinese palace architecture: only the image hall is inside the gallery, the pagodas are expelled from the gallery<sup>8</sup>.

This chain of reasoning seems to imply that the image hall was a purely Chinese innovation of the Buddhist monastery layout. However, it has been clearly shown that the early Indian *caitya* hall<sup>9</sup> with a *stūpa* in its focal point evolved into the Indian image hall which became an integral part of the Buddhist monasteries of India and Central Asia<sup>10</sup> [fig. 134]. The transformation of the *caitya* hall with *stūpas* into the image hall went through intermediate stages: Buddha images were

<sup>1</sup> *Dong-tang* 東堂 동당, *xi-tang* 西堂 서당, literally 'east hall', 'west hall'. Unfortunately, the configuration of this palace type has not yet been confirmed by excavations.

<sup>2</sup> KIM Sung-woo (KIM Sōng-u 金聖雨 김성우) (1985), pp. 338 - 456, 468f.

<sup>3</sup> No example extant or excavated, only known through descriptions. See above, p. 161, n. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Possibly Sang-o-ri Sa-chi 上五里寺址 상오리사지 (No. 10.1.2.) partially Chōng-rŭng-sa 定陵寺 정릉사 (No. 10.1.3.). Both cases are questionable. The site of Sang-o-ri might not be complete. In the case of Chōng-rŭng-sa, it depends on the interpretation of the intermediate gallery between the pagoda and the northern image hall.

<sup>5</sup> Chōng-rŭng-sa 定陵寺 정릉사 (No. 10.1.3.), Gūm-gang-sa 金剛寺 금강사 (No. 10.1.1.), To-sōng-ri Sa-chi 土城里寺址 토성리사지 (No. 10.10.3.) Asuka-dera 飛鳥寺 あすかてら 비조사.

<sup>6</sup> Bæk-che temples (e.g. Chōng-rim-sa 定林寺 정림사, No. 4.19.1.), early Sin-la temples (e.g. Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황룡사, No. 7.34.2.), early Japanese temples (e.g. Shitennō-ji 四天王寺 してんのうじ 사천왕사).

<sup>7</sup> Unified Sin-la temples (e.g. Kam-ŭn-sa 感恩寺 감은사, No. 7.33.10., Sa-chōn-wang-sa 四天王寺 사천왕사, No. 7.34.7.), Nara 奈良 나라 나량 temples (e.g. Yakushi-ji 藥師寺 やくしじ 약사사).

<sup>8</sup> Nara temples (e.g. Daian-ji 大安寺 だいはんじ 대안사, Tōdai-ji 東大寺 とうだいじ 동대사).

<sup>9</sup> The Sanskrit word *caitya* refers to any holy place and object of veneration.

See: EDGERTON (1970), p. 233; ROWLAND (1953, 1984), p. 113.

<sup>10</sup> See: FRIEDRICH (1989), p. 92; PUECH (1970), pp. 118f.

added on the front side of the *stūpa*<sup>1</sup> [fig. 135]. As the earliest Indian *stūpas* did not feature Buddha images, it seems that the earliest Buddhist images were enshrined in separate chapels which were first placed in various positions in the temple precinct [fig. 136, 137]. In a later development, these chapels were arranged on three sides of the *stūpa*<sup>2</sup> [fig. 138] and formed thus a courtyard. The concept of images enshrined in a separate chapel which had a clear spatial relationship to the *stūpa* can therefore already be found in the Indian and Central Asian culture.

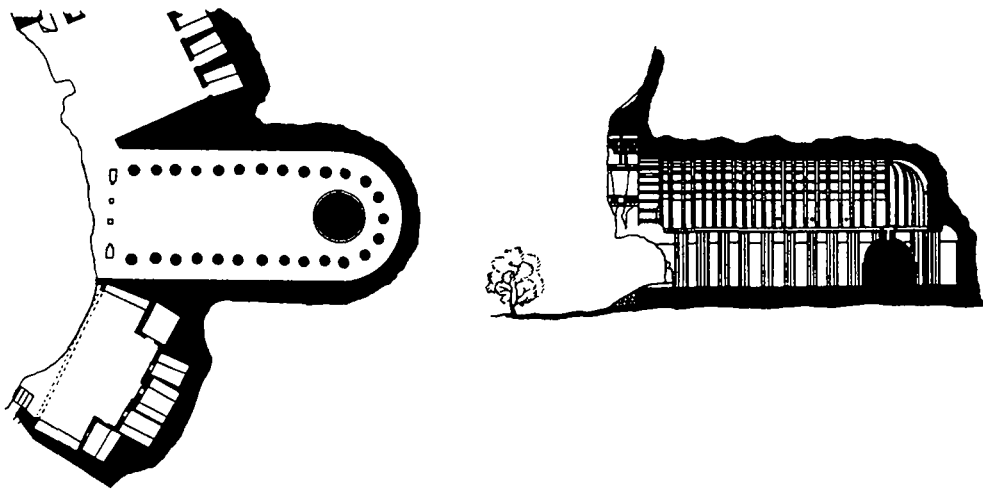


Fig. 134: Ground plan and section of the *caitya* hall at Bhājā (1st C. BC, scale: 1 : 500) (after: ROWLAND (1953, 1984), p. 114)

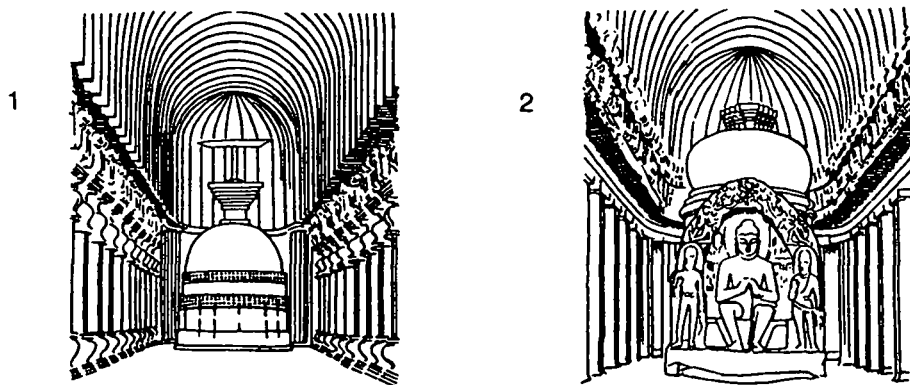


Fig. 135: Perspectives of the interior of the *caitya* halls at Kārī (about 120 AD) (1) and Elūrā (early 8th C. AD) (2) (no scale) (after: SECKEL (1962, 1964), pp. 132f.)

- <sup>1</sup> E.g. cave XIX of Ajanṭā of the Gupta period, 4th - 6th C. AD and the *caitya* cave of Elūrā, early 8th C. AD.
- <sup>2</sup> E.g. the Takht-i-Bāhi *vihāra* (monastery) near Peshāwar (in modern Pakistan) of approximately the first century AD, see: ROWLAND (1953, 1984), p. 138f.

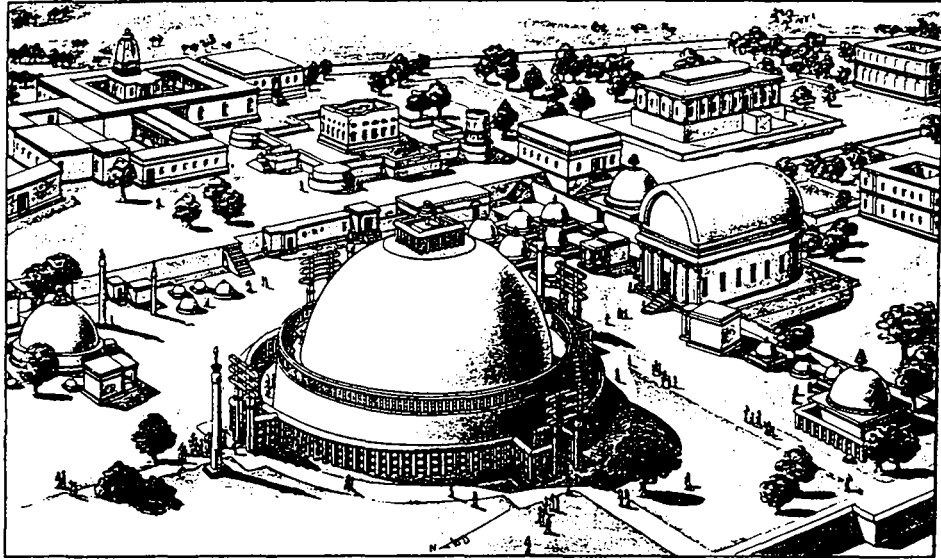


Fig. 136: Reconstructed perspective of the temple complex at Sāñcī (3rd - 1st C. BC) (no scale)  
(after: FISHER (1993), p. 32)

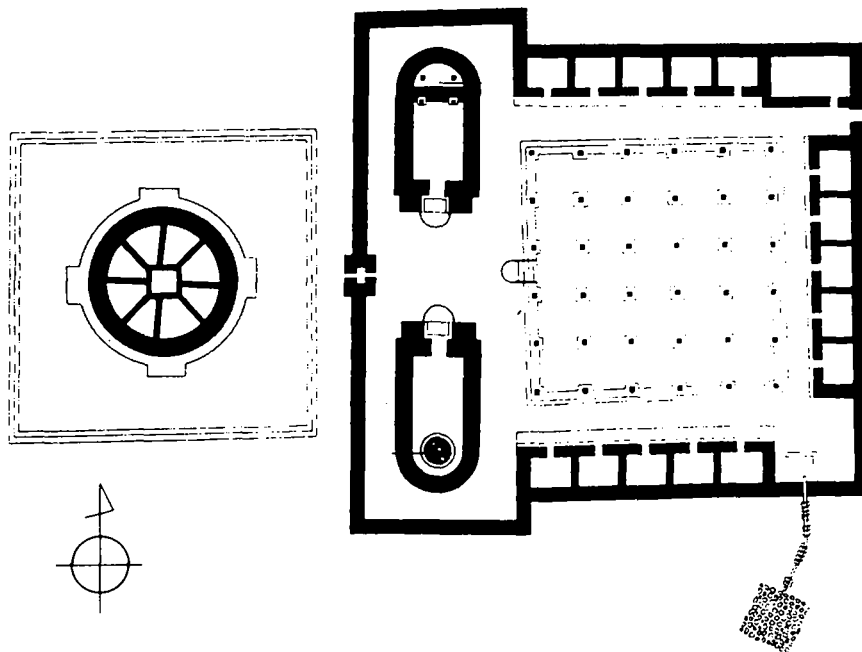


Fig. 137: Ground plan of the temple complex No. 32 B at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa  
(about 3rd C. AD, scale: 1 : 500)  
(after: NAKAMURA Hajime 中村元 なかむらはじめ 著 寺 園 (1979, 1984), p. 375)



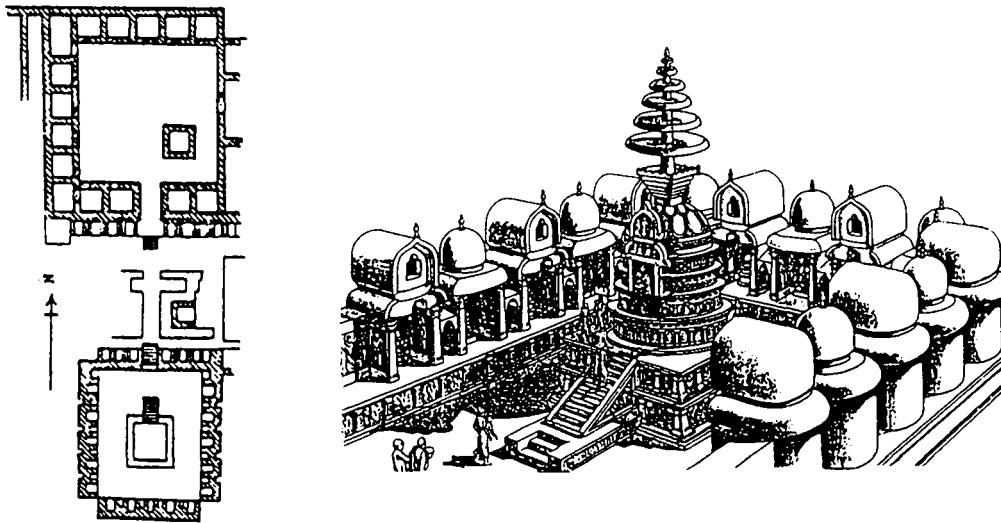


Fig. 138: Reconstructed perspective (no scale) and ground plan (scale: 1 : 1,000) of the courtyard with the *stūpa* at Takht-i-Bāhi (southern part of the plan) (2nd C. AD) (after: KOTTKAMP (1992), p. 634)

The development away from the monopoly of the *stūpa* towards the predominance of the images is thus not only a Chinese and East Asian phenomenon but more generally a characteristic of the development of Mahāyāna Buddhism with its expanded pantheon<sup>1</sup>. Therefore, the shift of the importance from the pagoda towards the image halls is not primarily an architectural problem but first a religious and ritual one to which Buddhist architecture had to react<sup>2</sup>. It is thus not necessary to suppose the existence of the stage which was called above the 'Taijidian and *dong-tang* - *xi-tang* influence'. Furthermore, this approach of a broader religious development opens the possibility that in China at least, several of the observed layout types were used at the same time in different regions and did not necessarily evolve one from another.

<sup>1</sup> With the introduction of the Bodhisattva doctrine and the doctrine of the earlier Buddhas the number of venerated beings increased sharply. KIM has already noticed this fact: "The increasing popularity of image worship based on Mahāyānist philosophy inevitably resulted in the birth of the image hall, (...)." Hīnayāna Buddhism on the contrary, did not develop in the same direction so that the *stūpas* remain the focal point of many Buddhist temples in South and South-East Asia (Sri Lanka, Burma, Thailand). See: KIM Sung-woo (KIM Sŏng-u 金聖雨 김성우) (1985), p. 56.

<sup>2</sup> While the shift of importance away from the pagoda towards the image was of 'international' nature, the architectural adaptation to these new concepts has been essentially local. The Buddhist image halls in China were therefore based on the traditional halls of the Chinese courtyard architecture. See below, pp. 167 - 172; Chapter 5, pp. 1009 - 1013.

Concerning the interpretation of the earliest Chinese Buddhist temples which are only known from literary sources, it must be considered that reconstructions based on historical descriptions have frequently proved incomplete or distorted when confronted with actual archaeological evidence. Therefore, it is still possible that the earliest Buddhist temples in China possessed more structures (e.g. forerunners of image halls) than described in the extant texts or that the buildings were different from what would be imagined, looking back from today<sup>1</sup>.

In conclusion, the theory advanced by KIM cannot be fully supported. The main reason for these reserves lies in the fact that, according to present knowledge, China did not have a 'tradition of image worship'<sup>2</sup> prior to the introduction of Buddhism as KIM has claimed<sup>3</sup>. The arrival of Buddha images and Indian Buddhist texts was a major cultural shock for China. Thus both the 'relic worship' connected with the pagoda and the 'image worship' connected with the image hall were of foreign origin for China. I prefer therefore to interpret the gradual gain of importance of the image halls in the East Asian Buddhist temple layout as an expression of the development of pan-Asian Mahāyāna Buddhism during this period of time<sup>4</sup>. That the Korean and Japanese countries<sup>5</sup> stuck to particular layout types for the majority of their temples could be connected with the fact that these countries were too small to maintain several traditions simultaneously.

<sup>1</sup> KIM tries to convince that the 'two-storeyed pavilion' mentioned in the *San guo zhi* 「三國志 삼국지」 had a square ground plan and a pyramidal roof because it was topped by a pole with nine discs. While it is true that most East Asian buildings with ridges do not possess central poles, such examples can be found from most East Asian countries (E.g. in Korea: the Dæ-chang-chŏn 大藏殿 대장전 of Güm-san-sa 金山寺 금산사 and the Dæ-ung-chŏn 大雄殿 대웅전 of Bul-kab-sa 佛甲寺 불갑사. In China: Jinci 晉祠 진사, many Lamaist monasteries. In Taiwan: Dacheng-dian 大成殿 대성전 of Kongmiao 孔廟 공묘. In Japan: the Daiohō-den 大雄寶殿 だいおほうでん 대웅보전 of Manpuku-ji 万福寺 まんぶくじ 만복사). The temple architecture of Nepal does also frequently feature small pyramidal towers or small poles on the top of normal gable or hip roofs. See: KIM Sung-woo (KIM Sŏng-u 金聖雨 김성우) (1985), pp. 9 - 19; GAIL (1991), p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> The recent discovery (1986 AD) of a giant bronze statue and bronze heads in Sanxingdui 三星堆 삼성퇴, near Guanghan 廣漢 광한, Sichuan 四川 사천, from the Shang 商 상 period could be the first evidence of an 'image worship' in pre-Buddhist China. But as it dates back about 1,000 years before the introduction of Buddhism it is difficult to speak of a living tradition. See: Kunsthaus Zürich (ed.) (1996), pp. 248 - 260.

<sup>3</sup> "The development of early Buddhist architecture can be characterized by the conflict between the pagoda and the image hall, which were architectural shells housing, respectively, relics and images. The confrontation between the Indian tradition of relic worship and the Chinese tradition of image worship was the hidden driving force in this development. (...) Thus, the shifting relative importance of image hall and pagoda followed a gradual curve until a pattern was achieved that fully satisfied the rules of traditional Chinese design." See: KIM Sung-woo (KIM Sŏng-u 金聖雨 김성우) (1985), p. 468f.

<sup>4</sup> There can hardly be any doubt that the concrete building forms of the wooden pagoda and wooden image hall were of Chinese origin. The models for the brick and stone pagodas are more ambiguous. See below, pp. 195 - 215.

<sup>5</sup> See also Chapters 3.3, pp. 519ff.

## 2.3.1.3. The relation to Chinese courtyard architecture

The obvious formal resemblance of East Asian Buddhist image halls with traditional Chinese wooden halls, and of the layout of early Buddhist temples with Chinese traditional mansions and places, makes a brief comparison between East Asian Buddhist architecture and East Asian courtyard architecture of the time necessary.

It seems that many characteristics of East Asian courtyard architecture were developed possibly as early as the beginning of the second millennium BC, during the Chinese Bronze Age. The excavation of the so-called 'second Erlitou palace' near Yanshi, Henan<sup>1</sup> uncovered a site measuring about 54m long and 70m deep which was orientated almost precisely northwards [fig. 139]. The complex had a rectangular one-bay-deep gallery-like enclosure which framed the main building of the palace. The main building which was divided into three big rooms, was set close to the northern end with its main side towards the south. The portico of the main building counted nine bays. In the middle of the southern gallery was the main entrance of the palace which was divided into three parts. It seems that the lateral galleries continued southwards so that it can be assumed that another courtyard lay in front of the excavated one. This would also explain why galleries also ran along the southern side of the southern side of the excavated courtyard.

The similarities between this description and the layout of many early Buddhist temples in East Asia are obvious. The only important missing elements which distinguish this complex from a Buddhist temple are the missing pagoda and lecture hall. The traditional Chinese enclosure was either empty and used only for circulation (gallery), as in the above mentioned palaces, or it consisted of a series of minor spaces which were used as sleeping rooms or as economic spaces, as in the case of the excavated courtyard mansion at Fengchu, Qishan, Shaanxi<sup>2</sup> from the late second millennium BC [fig. 140]. The second variant is similar to the plan of several Indian *vihāras*<sup>3</sup> where the cells of the monks or chapels with Buddhist images delimit a courtyard [fig. 138, 141].

<sup>1</sup> Erlitou 二里頭 이리두, Yanshi 偃師 언사, Henan 河南 하남.  
See: STEINHARDT (1984), pp. 59 - 67.

<sup>2</sup> Fengchu 風雛 풍추, Qishan 岐山 기산, Shaanxi 陝西 섬서.  
See: STEINHARDT (1984), pp. 59 - 67.

<sup>3</sup> *Vihāra*, Sanskrit for dwelling place [of monks], monastery (from *viharati* = dwells, lives).  
See: EDGERTON (1970), p. 504f.

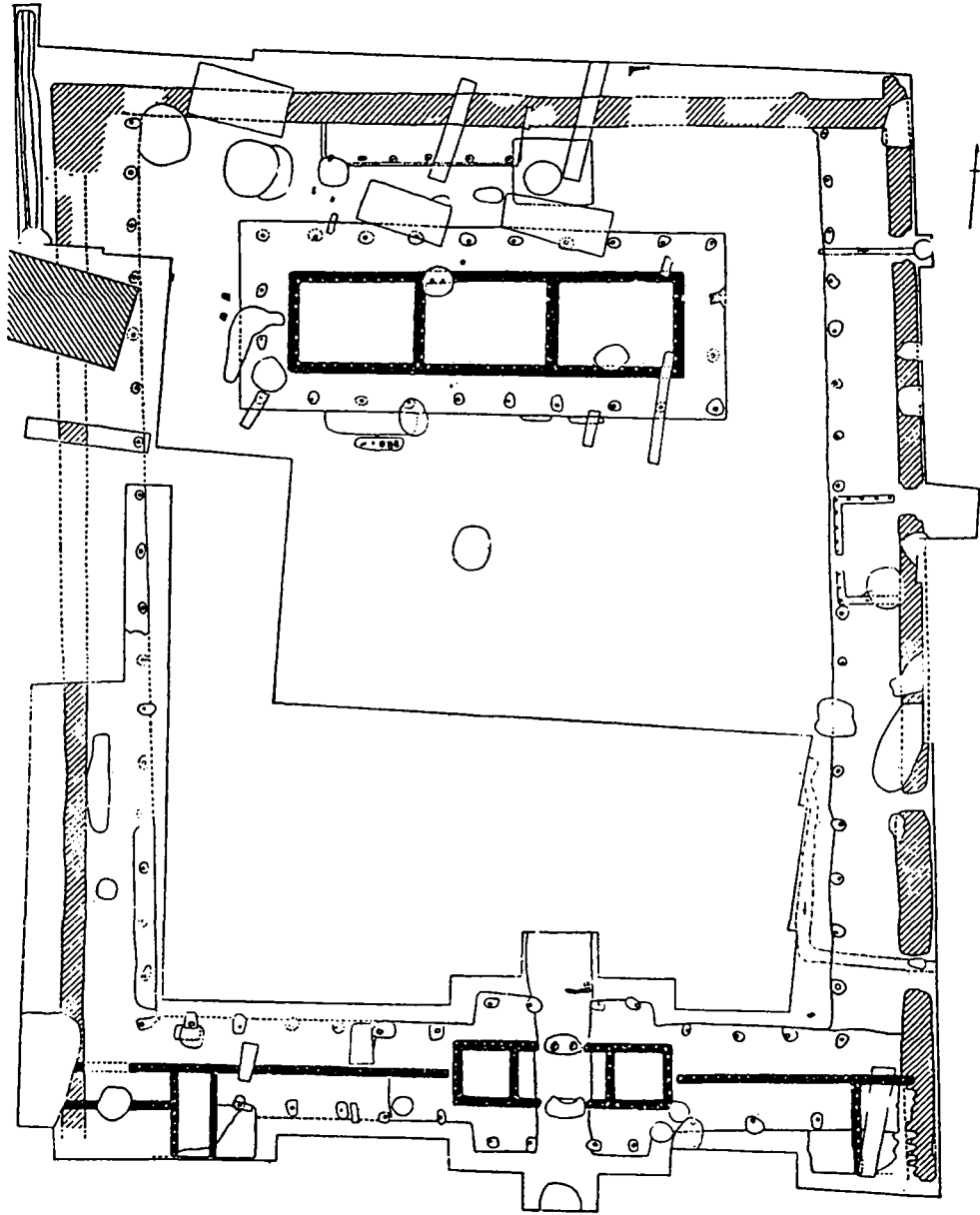


Fig. 139: Excavation plan of palace No. 2 at Erlitou 二里头 어리두, Yanshi 偃师 언사, Henan 河南 하남. (early 2nd millennium BC, scale: 1 : 500)  
(after: STEINHARDT (1984), p. 63)

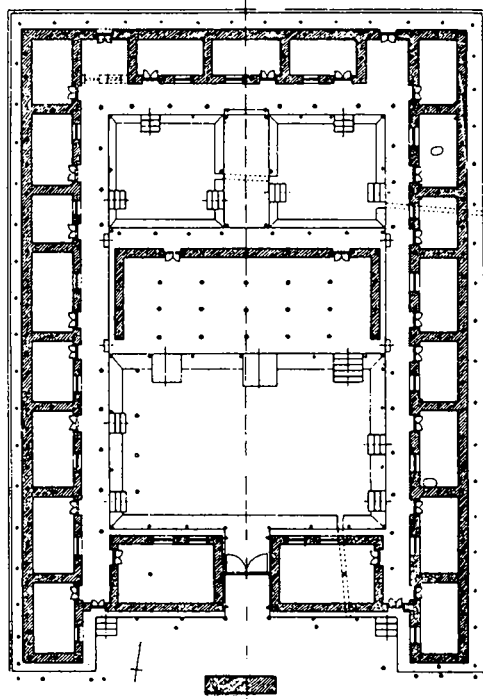
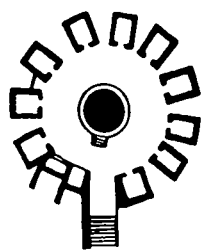
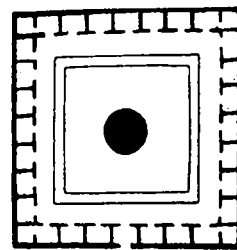


Fig. 140: Excavation plan of the courtyard mansion at Fengchu 風雛 풍추, Qishan 岐山 기산, Shaanxi 陝西 섬서 (late 2nd millennium BC, scale: 1 : 500) (after: WATSON (1995), p. 106)



1



2

Fig. 141: Layout plans of the monasteries at Taxila (1) and Jamālgarhī (2) (*stūpas* surrounded by monks' cells) (Gandhāra period (2nd - 3rd C. AD), no scale) (after: SECKEL (1962, 1964), p. 63)

Among the main differences between Indian *vihāra* and Chinese courtyard architecture are the following points:

1. in the Indian *vihāra*, the central building was often a *stūpa*<sup>1</sup> [fig. 138] sometimes the square central building filled almost the whole courtyard<sup>2</sup> [fig. 137] or there was no building inside the courtyard at all<sup>3</sup>
2. the Indian complexes did not follow strict orientations<sup>4</sup>
3. the Indian constructions frequently used load-bearing brick walls<sup>5</sup> while the Chinese constructions preferred wooden columns as primary vertical structure

As the two architectural traditions can hardly have influenced each other at such an early date, it must be supposed that both cultures developed this architectural type independently<sup>6</sup>. The typical Chinese elements of its early courtyard architecture are in contrast to the Indian tradition:

1. the position, size and form of the central building
2. the orientation of the complex
3. the construction methods

The Chinese courtyard architecture fitted the needs of the Buddhist community very well as it offered a wide range of possibilities as the history of East Asian Buddhist architecture has shown. It is thus not surprising that the central building was converted into the main image hall of the temples. The lateral image halls might have then developed out of the second type of enclosure mentioned above. By separating the lateral spaces from the enclosure a new, empty gallery was created. If this reasoning is followed, there were not necessarily always three image halls in the temples of Ko-gu-ryō. There could have been more if a bigger number of image halls was justified by the religious practices. In this way it is no longer

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<sup>1</sup> E.g. the *vihāra* of Takht-i-Bāhi. See: ROWLAND (1953, 1984), p. 139.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. the *vihāra* No. 32 B of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. See: KOTTKAMP (1992), p. 627.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. the *vihāra* No. 51 at Sāñcī. See: DUTT (1962, 1988), 212.

<sup>4</sup> Though many religious structures were orientated towards the cardinal directions, there seems to have been no privileged position for their entries as it is the case in East Asia.

<sup>5</sup> The *caitya* halls discussed briefly above show techniques which were derived from wooden construction methods. It can be supposed that in the early times of Buddhism at least, most structures, except the *stūpa*, were wooden buildings using a skeleton structure. With the development of the Buddhist community, however, the monasteries began to be built in more permanent materials such as brick and stone. The wooden skeleton structures could probably not survive the destruction of the Islamic invasions. See: ROWLAND (1953, 1984), p. 114f.

<sup>6</sup> The courtyard building can safely be considered as a 'global architectural type' as almost all cultures used it during their history.

inconvenient to interpret the western building of the second courtyard of Chŏng-rŭng-sa also as an image hall as its plan indicates. The remains of a building to the south of the eastern image hall of Gŭm-gang-sa could also be interpreted in this way.

Palace architecture of Ko-gu-ryŏ generally followed the tradition of Chinese courtyard architecture. An-hak-kung<sup>1</sup> situated to the east of modern Pyŏng-yang is the biggest excavated palace of Ko-gu-ryŏ. It was founded when the capital was moved in 427 AD from Guk-næ-sŏng to Pyŏng-yang and served as royal palace probably until the end of the sixth century<sup>2</sup> when the palace was moved to modern down-town Pyŏng-yang. The palace was orientated approximately northwards and organized in several successions of courtyards<sup>3</sup> [fig. 142]. In the central section each courtyard had only one building connected by lateral wings to the galleries on both sides. The outer palace was the largest single building of the complex measuring about 46.5m by 18m with 11 bays by 4 bays<sup>4</sup>. The inner palace was formed of two buildings one behind another which were connected in a similar way to the double building in the western courtyard which lay next to the central section of Chŏng-rŭng-sa.

With its successions of courtyards in the east-west direction and in the south-north direction, Chŏng-rŭng-sa looks like a small reproduction of a Chinese-style palace similar to An-hak-kung with the exception of the pagoda and the lateral image halls. As comparable temple layouts are illustrated in murals of Dunhuang [fig. 133] it is possible that Chŏng-rŭng-sa is not the only example of this layout type. It can be speculated that the resemblance of Chŏng-rŭng-sa to the royal palace was connected to the particular function of the temple as prayer temple for the founder of the dynasty.

<sup>1</sup> The size of An-hak-kung 安鶴宮 안학궁 can roughly be compared to the main palace Kyŏng-bok-kung 景福宮 경복궁 of the Cho-sŏn 朝鮮 조선 dynasty, but it was much bigger than the royal palaces of the Bæk-che, Sin-la and Ko-ryŏ Dynasties. The earthen-walled royal city measured from east to west and from south to north ca. 620m.

<sup>2</sup> YI states: "from the early 5th century until the end of the sixth century for about 160 years". RI has: "from the early 5th century for about 160 years" See: YI Wang-ki 李王基 이왕기 (1994), p. 193; RI Hwa-sŏn 리화선 (1993), vol I, p. 101.

<sup>3</sup> The central section contained the most important buildings in a groups of at least four courtyards. From south to north they contained the following buildings: *wæ-chŏn* 外殿 외전 or *nam-kung* 南宮 남궁, *næ-chŏn* 內殿 내전 or *chung-kung* 中宮 중궁, and two buildings one behind another of the *chim-chŏn* 沈殿 침전 or *buk-kung* 北宮 북궁. The buildings of the lateral sections departed slightly from the perfect symmetry of the central section, forming the *dong-kung* 東宮 동궁 to the east and *sŏ-kung* 西宮 서궁 to the west.

<sup>4</sup> It is the second largest wooden building ever confirmed from the Korean peninsula after the central image hall of Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황룡사 (No. 7.34.2., about 51.7m by 27m) of Ancient Sin-la. See: Chapter 4.2., pp. 807 - 822.

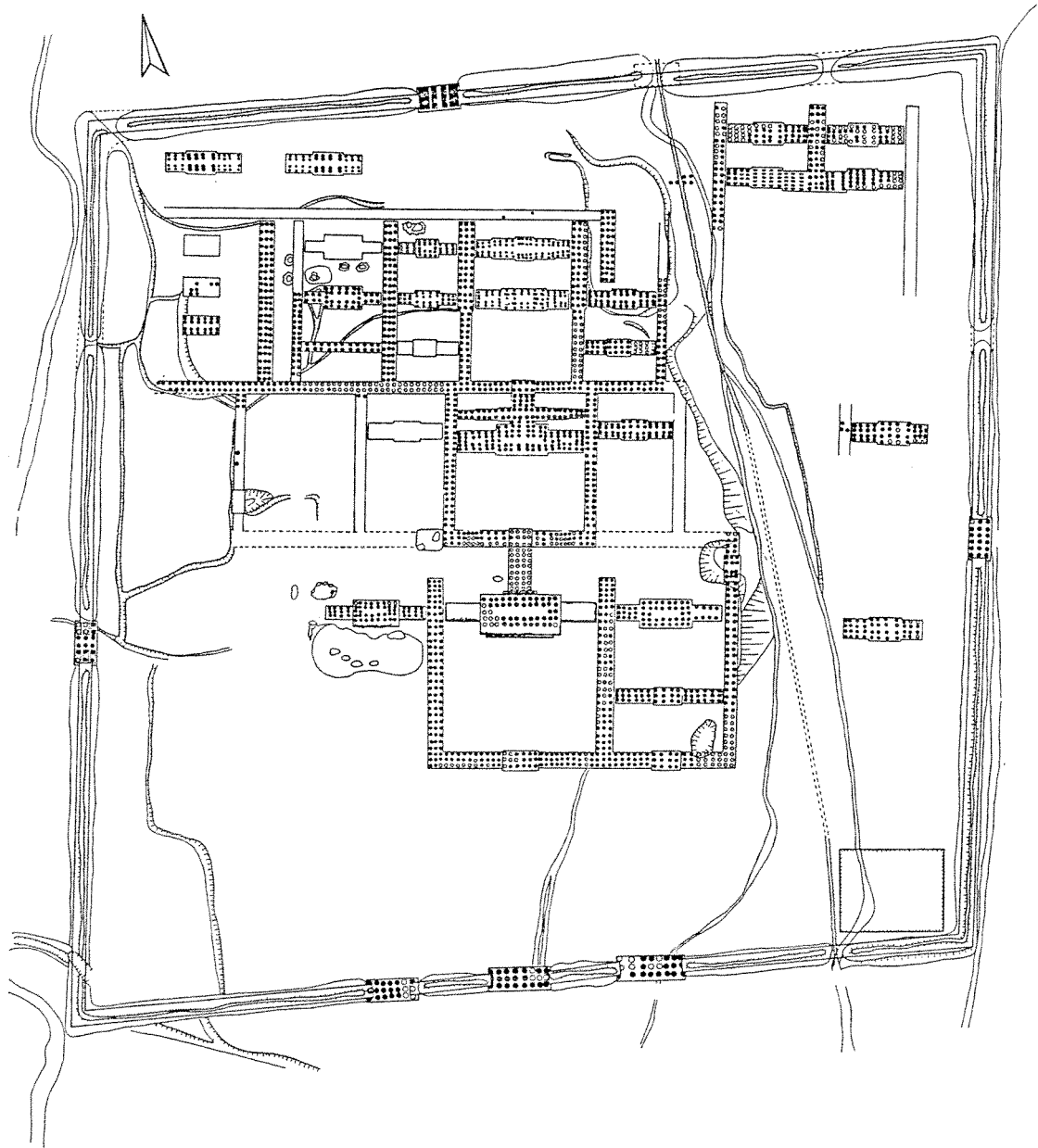


Fig. 142: Excavation plan of An-hak-kung 安鶴宮 안학궁 near Pyŏng-yang 平壤 평양 (5th - 6th C. AD, scale: 1 : 5,000) (after: *CSYCYMDK* 3, p. 22)



### 2.3.2. BUILDING TYPES USED IN THE BUDDHIST ARCHITECTURE OF KO-GU-RYŌ

#### 2.3.2.1. The pagoda

In order to fully understand the pagoda and the *stūpa* as one of the most typical elements of Buddhist temples, it would be necessary to analyze its creation in India, its spread to Central Asia and its transformation in East Asia. As this subject has already been treated by Western authors<sup>1</sup>, a summary of the main conclusions seems to be sufficient here:

1. The origin of the Buddhist *stūpa* was probably the pre-Buddhist burial-mound or tumuli in the form of a hemispherical hill<sup>2</sup>. The signification of the Sanskrit word *stūpa* developed from 'hair knot' to 'top of the head' to 'summit' to 'heap'; it designates only the Buddhist and Jain dome-shaped monuments<sup>3</sup>. An example of this first stage is the big Buddhist *stūpa* of Sāñcī<sup>4</sup> [fig. 143].
2. The *stūpa* consisted usually of four stepped terraces, a platform, the hemisphere of the *stūpa*, a top enclosure, an axle-tree (pole of the *stūpa*), thirteen superimposed discs and a rain canopy. A number of decorations were finally added such as flags, flower garlands and bells<sup>5</sup>.
3. The *stūpa* was the central element in the early Indian Buddhist temples, the other elements such as the assembly and lecture hall, the image halls and the cells of the monks were arranged more or less freely around the *stūpa*<sup>6</sup>.
4. The *stūpa* type of Gandhāra<sup>7</sup> was the first development of the *stūpa* by elevating the hemisphere on a richly decorated cylinder or prism [fig. 144]. The pole and the discs became more important. The *stūpas* of Sri Lanka, Burma [fig. 145], Thailand and Indonesia developed directly from this type as did also the Lamaist *stūpas* of Tibet and East Asia<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See: SECKEL (1962, 1964), p. 99ff.; DALLAPICCOLA (ed.) (1980); KOTTKAMP (1992).

<sup>2</sup> Tumuli were widespread in many ancient cultures.

For India see: ROWLAND (1953, 1984), p. 77, 473; KOTTKAMP (1992), pp. 3 -15.

<sup>3</sup> See: MACDONELL (1929, 1954, 1965), p. 363; KOTTKAMP (1992), pp. 15 - 17.

<sup>4</sup> See: ROWLAND (1953, 1984), p. 95ff.

<sup>5</sup> See: DALLAPICCOLA (ed.) (1980), p. 183ff.

<sup>6</sup> See: SECKEL (1962, 1964), p. 129f.

<sup>7</sup> See: SECKEL (1962, 1964), p. 102ff.; DALLAPICCOLA (ed.) (1980), p. 39ff.; ROWLAND (1953, 1984), p. 140ff.; FRÉDÉRIC (1959), pl. 58 (p. 99).

<sup>8</sup> See: DALLAPICCOLA (ed.) (1980), p. 277ff., 301ff.

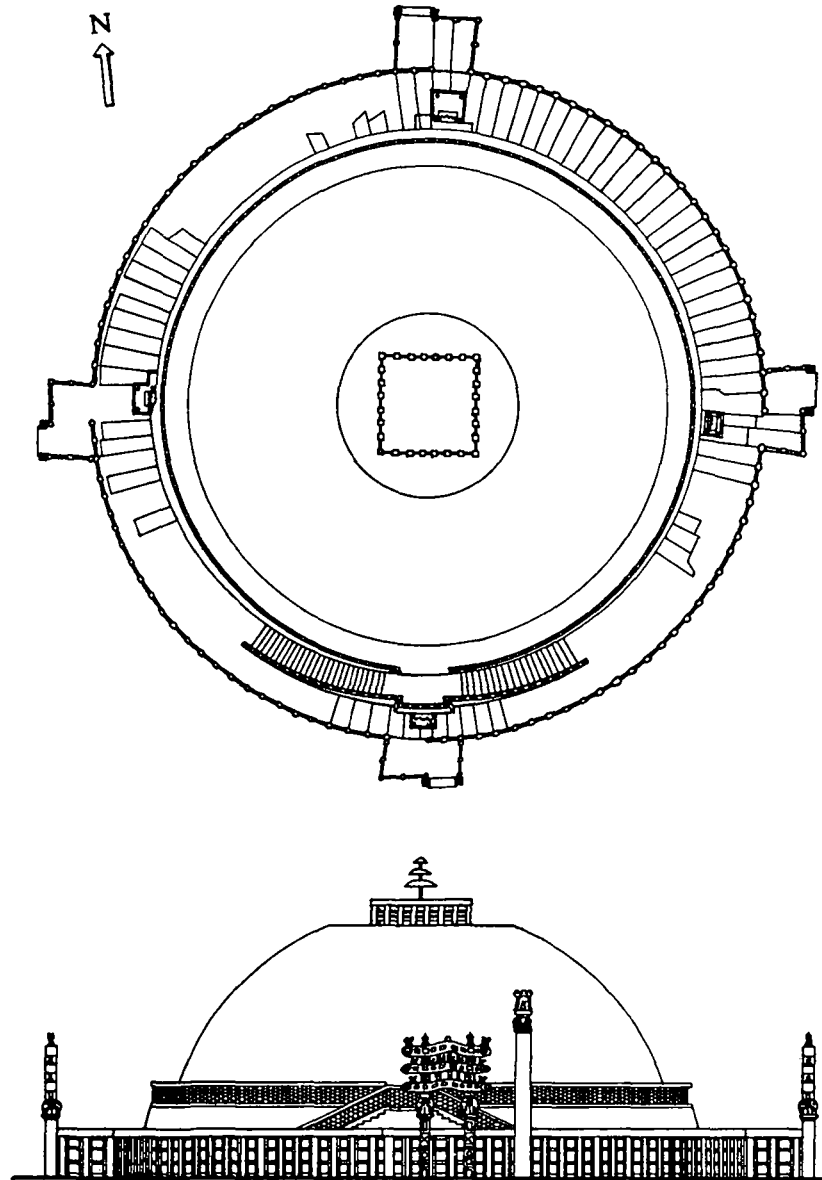


Fig. 143: Plan and elevation of the great *stūpa* at Sāñci  
(3rd C. BC (founding) - 2nd C. AD (sculptural decorations), scale: 1 : 500)  
(after: ROWLAND (1953, 1984), p. 78)

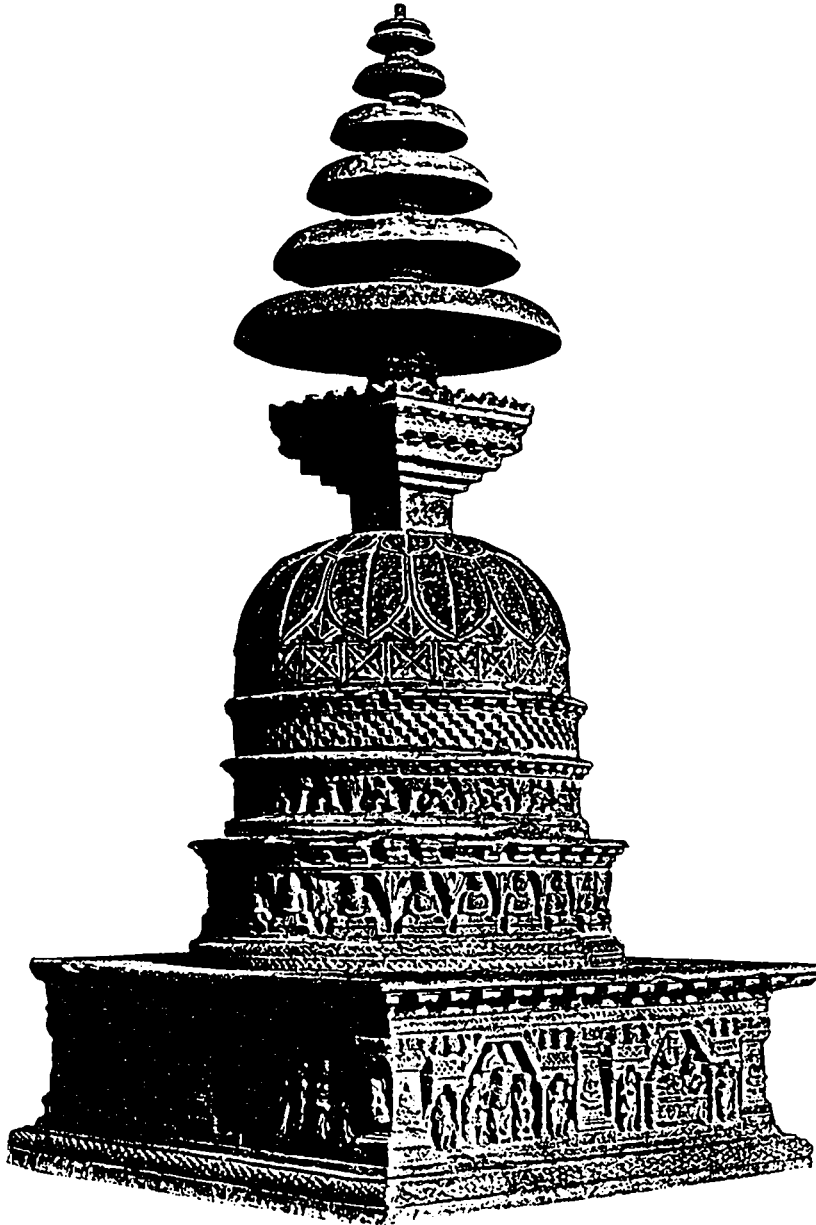


Fig. 144: Photography of a votive *stūpa* from the Swāt valley (Uddiyāna, now in the Museum of Calcutta) (Gandhāra, no scale) (after: FRÉDÉRIC (1959), p. 99)

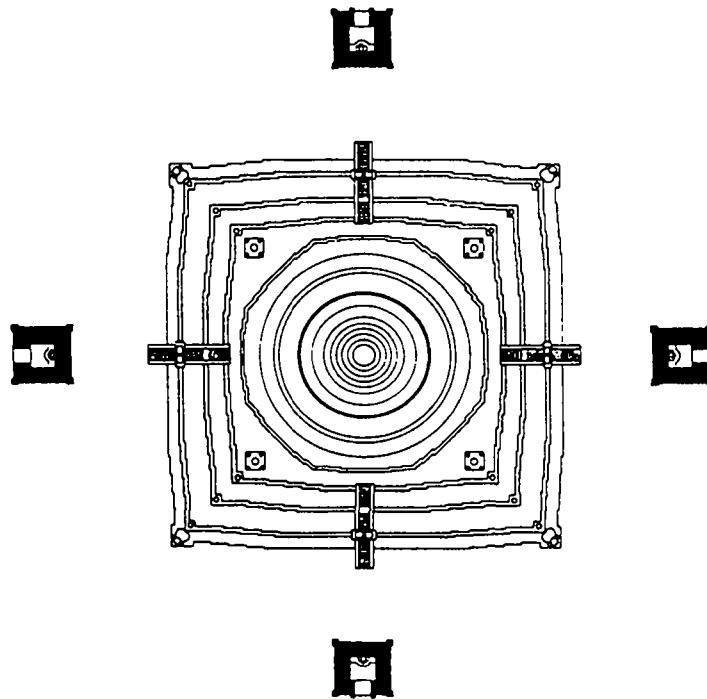
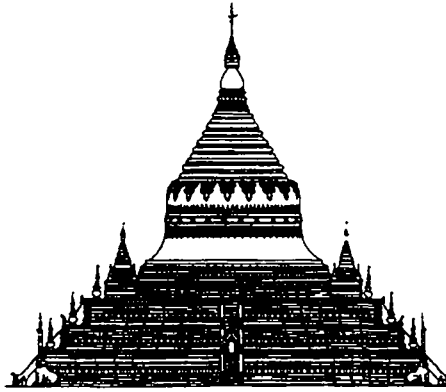


Fig. 145: Plan and elevation of the Shwe-zigon *stupa* of Pagan (about 11th C. AD, scale: 1 : 1,000) (after: STRACHAN (1989), p. 58)

5. The Chinese multi-storied *stūpa* is called *ta*<sup>1</sup>. The Chinese character was formed after Buddhism was introduced into China and according to LIU<sup>2</sup> it denotes only the Buddhist pagoda. It is thought to be a simplified transliteration of the Sanskrit *stūpa* or the Sinhalese *dagoba*<sup>3</sup>. The Chinese character is translated into European languages by 'pagoda' or 'pagode', adapted from Portuguese 'pagoda' which derives either from Persian *but-kadah*, an idol-temple, or from Hindī *bhagavatī*, venerable<sup>4</sup>.
6. The origin of the Chinese brick and stone pagodas with square and polygonal plans [fig. 146] still presents some difficulties; it might be a combination of elements of the Gandhāra *stūpa*, the multi-storied Indian and Central Asian Buddhist stone towers<sup>5</sup>, Chinese brick and stone tomb construction techniques<sup>6</sup> and a translation into stone of the Chinese wooden tower. It is however not yet determined which type is older, the brick and stone pagodas or the wooden pagodas; both types might have appeared almost simultaneously<sup>7</sup>.
7. The Chinese wooden pagoda [fig. 147] represents probably a combination of the pole and discs of the Indian *stūpa* with the towers of the ancient Chinese shrines<sup>8</sup>. The wooden watch towers and the twin towers<sup>9</sup> which mark the entrances of cities, royal palaces and tomb complexes have also been named as possible connections by various authors<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Ta* 塔 (K: *tab*) = tower, the first designation of the pagoda might have been *chonglou* 重樓 중루, often translated as 'two storied pavilion', then also *futu* 浮圖 부도 and *botu* 佛圖 불도 were used which both were transliterations of the word 'Buddha'. In Korea the word *bu-do* 浮圖 부도 or 浮屠 부도 is until now used to designate the stone burial *stūpa* in the shape of an octagonal pavilion or of an approximately hemispherical shape while *tab* usually designates the multi-storied pagoda. See: SICKMAN, SOPER (1956, 1960, 1968, 1971, 1982, p. 386; KIM Sung-woo (KIM Sŏng-u 金聖雨 김성 ) (1985), p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> LIU Laurence G. (1989), p. 56, in modern Korean it may signify any tower.

<sup>3</sup> See: LIU Laurence G. (1989), p. 56; MACDONELL (1929, 1954, 1965), p. 363; ROWLAND (1953, 1984), p. 77.

<sup>4</sup> See: SKEAT (1879, 1983), p. 422f.

<sup>5</sup> See: DALLAPICCOLA (ed.) (1980), p. 39ff., SECKEL (1962, 1964), p. 110 f.

<sup>6</sup> See: LIU Dunzhen 劉敦楨 유준 (1980), p. 53ff., 64ff.

<sup>7</sup> See: LIANG Ssu-ch'eng (1984), p. 31, 125.

<sup>8</sup> *Ming-tang* 明堂 명당. KIM states: "...the religious shrine ... became the father of the Chinese Buddhist pagoda." See: KIM Sung-woo (KIM Sŏng-u 金聖雨 김성 ) (1985), p. 22; LIU Dunzhen 劉敦楨 유준 (1980), p. 45ff.; LIANG Ssu-ch'eng (1984), p. 27ff., STEINHARDT (1984), p. 69ff.

<sup>9</sup> Watch tower: *wanglou* 望樓 망루: entrance tower: *que* 闕 관. See: LIU Dunzhen 劉敦楨 유준 (1980), p. 56, 71; Chapter 3.3., pp. 636f; Chapter 4.2., pp. 762 -766.

<sup>10</sup> See: KIM Sung-woo (KIM Sŏng-u 金聖雨 김성 ) (1985), pp. 286 - 291.

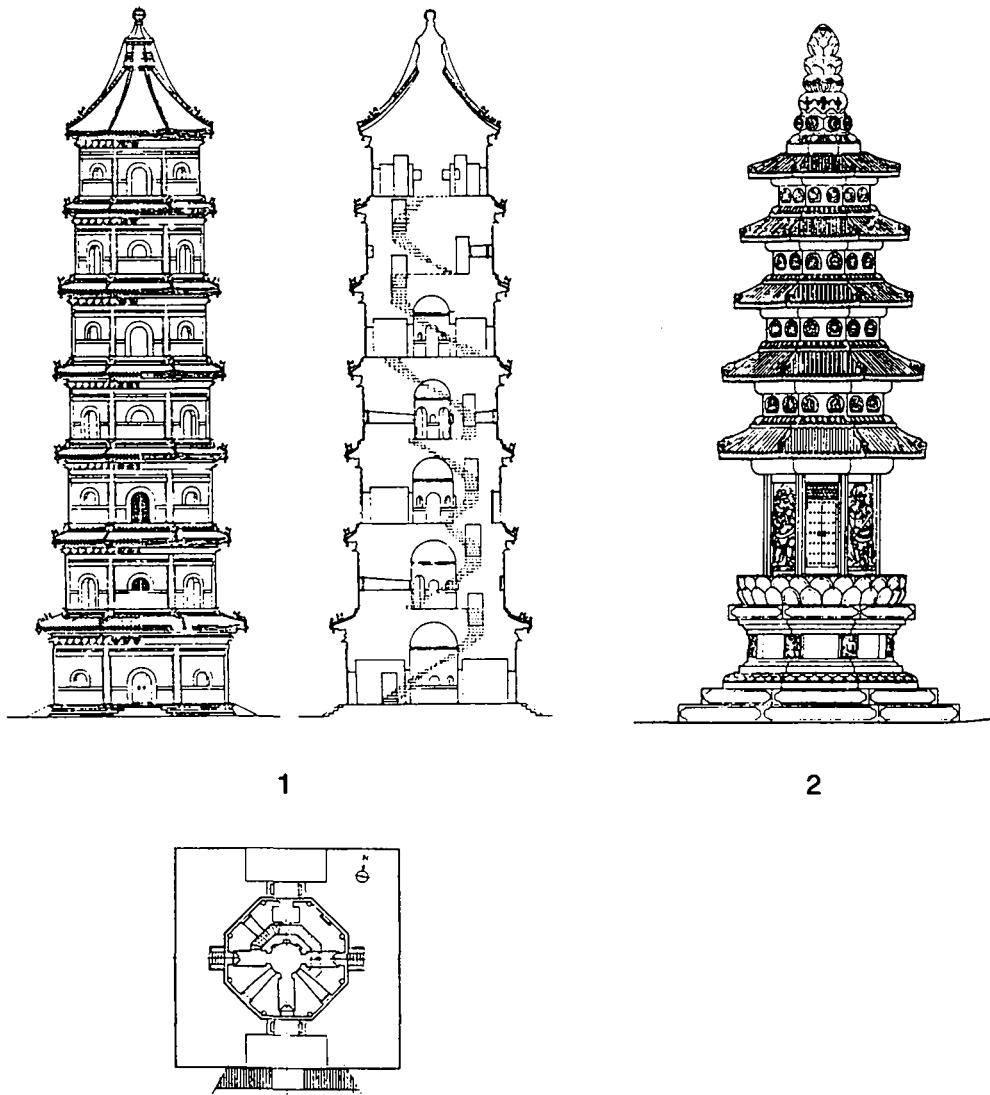


Fig. 146: Plan, elevation and section of the brick pagoda with tile roofs Yufeng-ta 玉峰塔 옥봉탑 on the Yuquan-shan 玉泉山 옥천산 near Beijing 北京 북경 (18th C. AD, scale: 1 : 500) (1) (after: ZHANG Yuhuan (ed.) (1986), p. 201) and elevation of the octagonal stone *stupa* pagoda of of Qixia-si 栖霞寺 서하사 at Nanjing 南京 남경 (10th C. AD, scale: 1 : 200) (2) (after: LIU Dunzhen 劉敦楨 유둔정 (1980), p. 136)

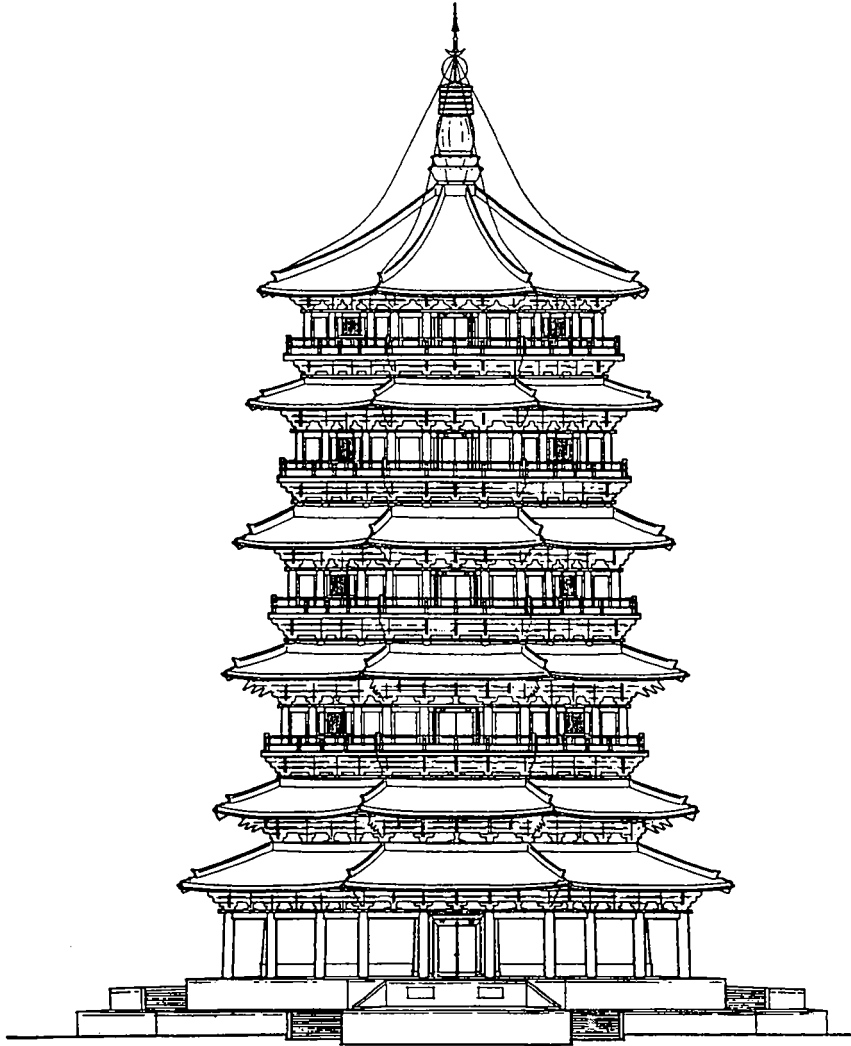


Fig. 147: Elevation of the octagonal wooden pagoda of Fogong-si 佛宮寺 불궁사 at Yingxian 凝縣 응현, Shanxi 山西 산서 (1056 AD, scale: 1 : 500) (after: CHEN Mingda 陳明達 진명달 (1966), p. 35)

## 2.3.2.1.1. The early pagodas in China

The origin and development of pagodas in China is a very vast subject which is still far from being exhausted by the specialized literature. It is thus evident that I cannot treat this subject appropriately here. A few indications which might have some implications on the interpretation of the pagodas of Ko-gu-ryō have to suffice here.

The oldest known extant Chinese pagoda is the dodecagonal brick pagoda of Songyue-si<sup>1</sup> which was probably constructed between 520 and 523 AD during the Northern Wei dynasty<sup>2</sup>. The tower is about 39.8m high and the outer diameter at the base measures about 10.7m [fig. 148]. Hexagonal brick columns mark the twelve corners of the upper part of the lowest story but no imitations of bracket systems are placed on the top of these columns. The upper fourteen stories are lower than their roofs. Each side is decorated with mostly fake openings. Four entrances in the cardinal directions<sup>3</sup> at the ground level lead to a central dodecagonal space with a diameter of about 5.9m. The dodecagonal ground floor changes into an octagonal plan at the height of the upper part of the lowest story. This octagonal space then reaches to the top of the pagoda and ends in an octagonal corbelled dome. Eight successive rings of brick corbels seems to indicate the location of wooden floors. Most of these supposed interior floors featured one or several openings which illuminated the interior. While exterior of the pagoda counts fifteen or sixteen stories, the interior has thus only nine or ten stories. Three standing Buddhist images are placed a little off centre to the north but it is not certain whether there were images enshrined in the pagoda from the beginning<sup>4</sup>. The extant structures around the pagoda are all much younger<sup>5</sup>. They include a middle gate in front of the pagoda, a main image hall behind the pagoda and several secondary buildings which are connected with the surrounding walls. Several authors<sup>6</sup> have pointed out that the Songyue-si pagoda recalls the Indian *sikhara*<sup>7</sup>. The accomplished character of this pagoda indicates that it was probably neither the only nor the first of its kind in China but no evidence of comparable constructions have been discovered so far.

<sup>1</sup> Songyue-si 嵩嶽寺 승악사.

<sup>2</sup> Northern Wei 北魏 북위, 386 to 534 AD.

<sup>3</sup> Three of the entrances are walled at present, only the southern entry is accessible.

<sup>4</sup> The four entrances indicate at least that the figure(s) would have been placed in the exact centre of the interior space.

<sup>5</sup> No dates are given in the available works. The photographs seem to show buildings of the Qing 淸 淸 (1644 - 1912 AD) dynasty at the earliest.

<sup>6</sup> E.g. WATSON (1995), p. 184; SECKEL in: DALLAPICCOLA (ed.) (1980), p. 255.

<sup>7</sup> *Sikhara*: Sanskrit for 'pointed', 'peak', 'pinnacle' and 'turret', see: MACDONELL (1929, 1954, 1965), p. 313; EDGERTON (1970), vol. 2, p. 527.



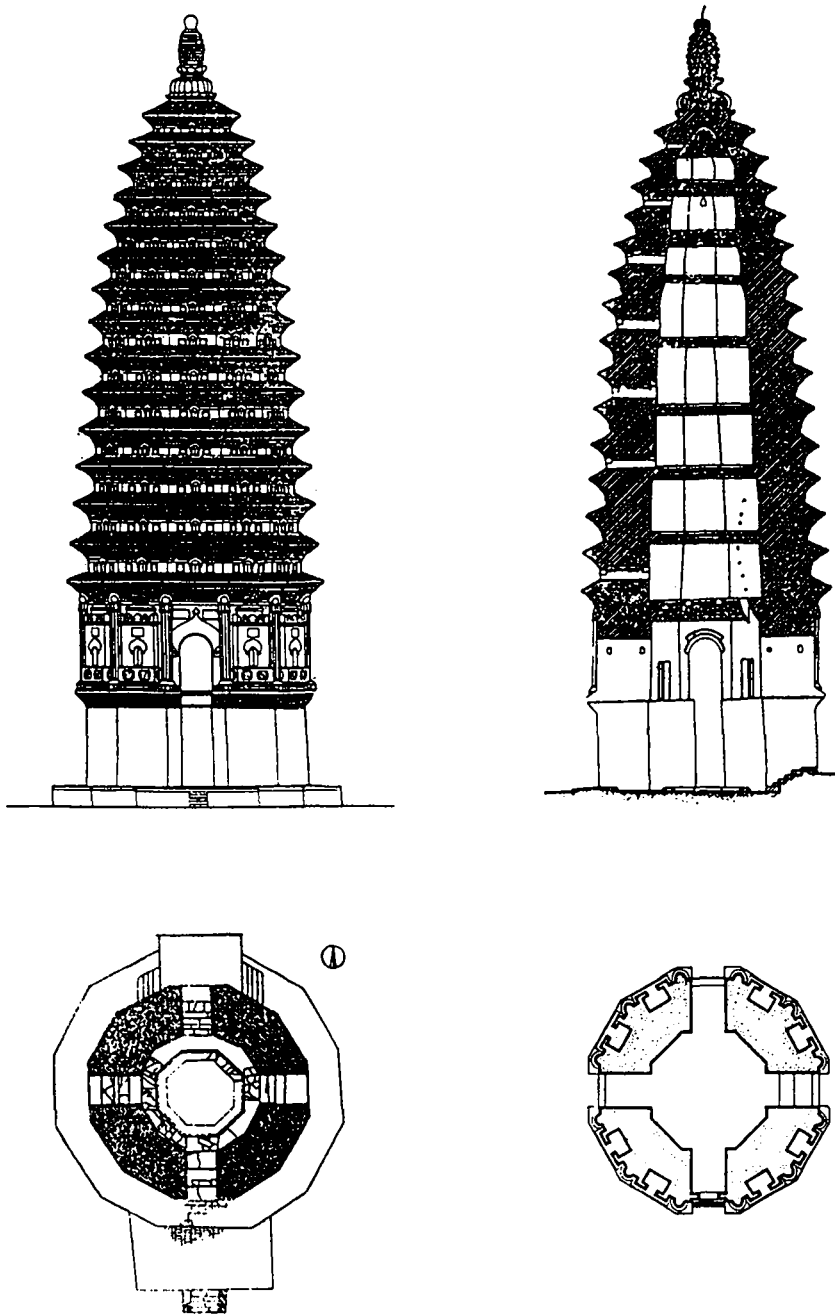


Fig. 148: 2 plans, elevation and section of the dodecagonal brick pagoda of Songyue-si  
嵩嶽寺송악사 at Dengfeng 登封 등봉, Henan 河南 하남 (520 - 528 AD, scale: 1 : 400)  
(after: LIU Dunzhen 劉敦楨 유근정 (1980), p. 86; ZYWW 87 - 4, pp. 7, 12)

There is indirect evidence of earlier pagodas in China. The miniature stone votive *stūpas* found in Turfan and Gansu Province<sup>1</sup> of the fifth century AD could represent an intermediate stage in the development from the Gandhāra *stūpas* to the Chinese polygonal brick pagodas. These *stūpas* are usually formed of octagonal bases, a cylindrical or octagonal shaft with Chinese inscriptions<sup>2</sup>, a spherical section with eight niches featuring reliefs of Buddhas and a finial composed of several rings and hemispherical cap [fig. 149]. While the upper part with the Buddha reliefs and the finial is reminiscent of the Gandhāra *stūpas*, the octagonal base seems to be a new element which became important in Chinese brick pagodas and the pagodas of Ko-gu-ryō. While it is not certain that these miniature *stūpas* are precise models of actual *stūpas*, the ruins of an octagonal tower of the eighth century AD at Qum-ariq<sup>3</sup> and later Lamaist *stūpas* in Tibet and China seem close enough<sup>4</sup> to suggest that similar monuments could have existed in early Chinese Buddhism.

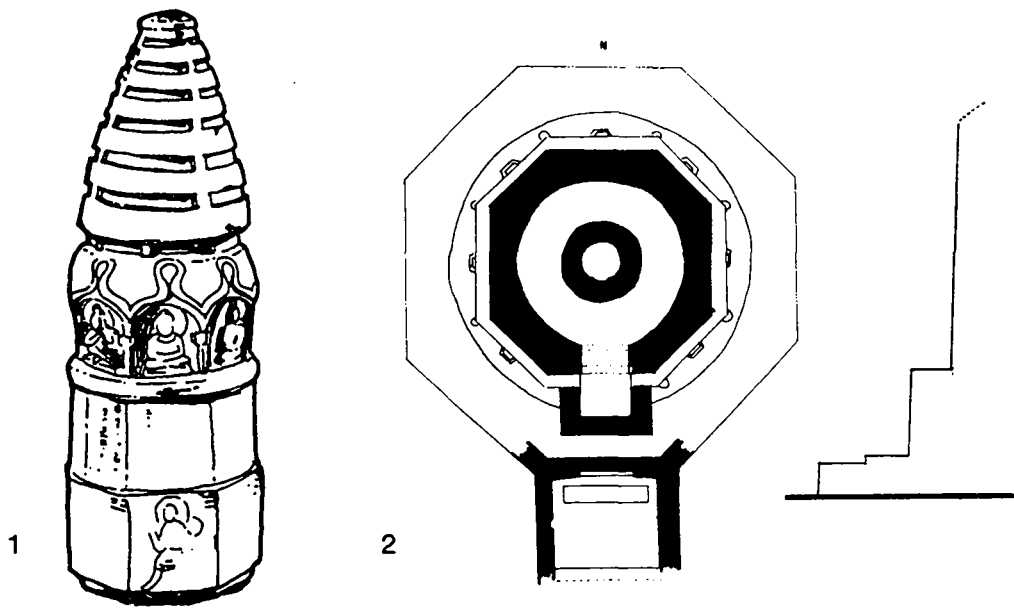


Fig. 149: Miniature stone *stūpa* No. 3 from Jiuquan 酒泉 酒泉 주천 (427 - 429 AD, height: 44.6cm) (1) and plan and partial section of the *stūpa* of Qum-ariq (8th C. AD, scale: about 1 : 200) (2) (after: XIAO Mo 蕭默 소묵 (1989), p. 166 (1); MAILLARD (1983), pl. CIIa (2))

<sup>1</sup> Turfan 吐魯番 토로반, Gansu 甘肅 감숙. See: AAs XL, pp. 92 - 106.

<sup>2</sup> The inscriptions usually include the date of dedication, the name of the donors and Buddhist texts such as the *Ekottara-āgama-sūtra* 「增一阿含經 증일아함경」. See: T.No. 125.

<sup>3</sup> See: MAILLARD (1983), pp. 187f, pl. CII.

<sup>4</sup> The Lamaist *stūpas* generally feature high bases, a spherical section (inverted bowl) and a finial. The bases are usually not octagonal but formed of a square whose corners are replaced by a series of rectangular angles. A new *chörten* (T: *Mchod-rten: stūpa*) at Labrang monastery (Amdo) built in 1980 AD exceptionally features an octagonal base. See: HENSS (1981), pp. 238f.

The cave temples at Yungang<sup>1</sup> among other temple sites feature models and reliefs of square wooden pagodas with three, five, seven or nine stories from the Northern Wei dynasty<sup>2</sup> [fig. 150]. The models of Yungang date between 460 and 494 AD when the Wei capital was at Datong<sup>3</sup>. An important detail on some of these models are the reinforced corners which take the form of corner pavilions.

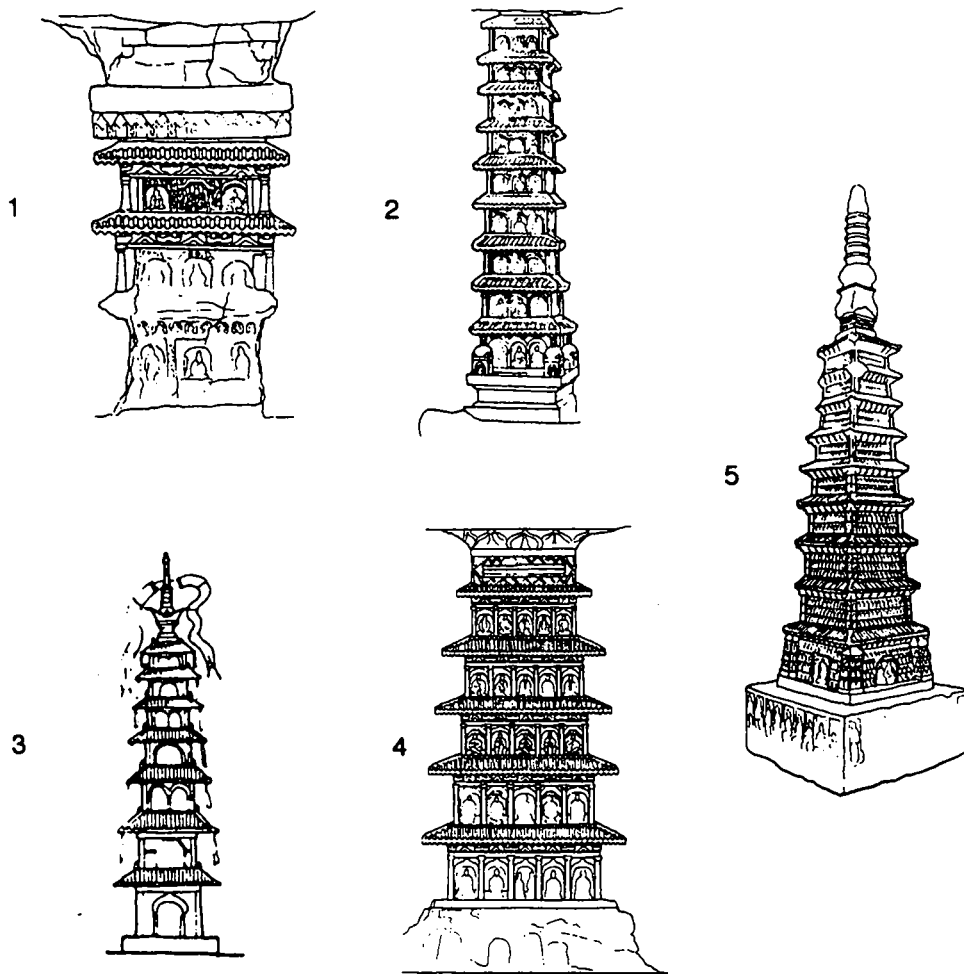


Fig. 150: Reliefs and models of square wooden pagodas of the Northern Wei 北魏 북위 from Yungang 雲岡 운강 caves No. 2, 6, 7, 21 (1 - 4) and from Chungfu-si 崇福寺 승복사 at Xishuo-xian 西朔縣 서삭현 (5) (5th - 6th C. AD, no scale) (after: LIU Dunzhen 劉敦楨 유돈정 (1980), p. 85)

<sup>1</sup> Yungang 雲岡 운강. E.g. caves No. 2, 6, 7, 21. See: LIU Dunzhen 劉敦楨 유돈정 (1980), p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> See: LIU Dunzhen 劉敦楨 유돈정 (1980), p. 84f.

<sup>3</sup> Datong 大同 대동.

The *Luoyang qielan ji*<sup>1</sup> contains the description of numerous temples in and around Luoyang<sup>2</sup>, the second capital the Northern Wei dynasty. It seems that all the wooden pagodas described there had a square plan as it is specified for the pagoda of Yongning-si<sup>3</sup>, one of the largest pagodas ever built in China. In addition, a three- and a five-storied brick pagoda figure along with a very special single-storied round pagoda which probably was also made of brick and which was about 20 feet high<sup>4</sup>. The site of Yongning-si has been partially excavated by the Chinese authorities since the 1970's. The excavations have confirmed much of the account of the *Luoyang qielan ji*. As the temples of Bæk-che have more similarities with Yongning-si than the temples of Ko-gu-ryō, the account and the remains of Yongning-si will be treated in Chapter 3.3. In connection with the pagodas of Ko-gu-ryō, however, it is interesting to describe the construction method of the Yongning-si pagoda. The excavation of the square foundations of the pagoda revealed a large central core in which the wooden columns were enclosed in unfired bricks [fig. 151]. A wooden structure of two bays depth was placed around this core of five bays by five bays so that the whole ground floor had nine by nine bays<sup>5</sup>. The original height of the interior core is not certain but it reached certainly up to the second story because the extant remains are still about 4m high. Chinese authors suppose it to have been up to 100m high which clearly seems to be exaggerated.

The *Luoyang qielan ji* does not mention this particular mixed construction which could signify that it was the standard construction method at that time. In the light of this excavation it can be questioned if the pagodas of Ko-gu-ryō were purely wooden constructions as they are usually imagined by scholars. As the early Indian *stūpas* were constructed of earth, bricks or stone, it is possible that the development of the purely wooden pagoda in China included intermediate stages which combined a solid core and a wooden coat. The octagonal ground plan of the Ko-gu-ryō pagodas is closer to the purely brick pagoda of Songyue-si but the exterior foundations stones indicate that the pagoda featured some kind of wooden structure. The lack of fired bricks at the temple sites make a construction of the type of the pagoda of Songyue-si unlikely. A possible solution to these questions is presented further below.

<sup>1</sup> *Luoyang qielan ji* 「洛陽伽藍記 낙양가람기」. See: WANG Yi-t'ung (1984).

<sup>2</sup> Luoyang 洛陽 낙양.

<sup>3</sup> Yongning-si 永寧寺 영령사. See: WANG Yi-t'ung (1984), p. 13 - 42.

<sup>4</sup> 20 feet: about 6m. See: WANG Yi-t'ung (1984), p. 242.

<sup>5</sup> According to one interpretation of the excavation results (WW92 - 9), at each of the four outer corners of the pagoda were six square foundations of wooden columns which were also enclosed in large unfired brick pillars. This would provide an intelligible explanation of the pagoda models described above from Buddhist caves. Most authors seem to disagree and omit the exterior three columns. See: WW92 - 9, pp. 82 - 87, 59; WW98 - 5, pp. 51 - 64; Chapter 3.3., pp. 546 - 553.

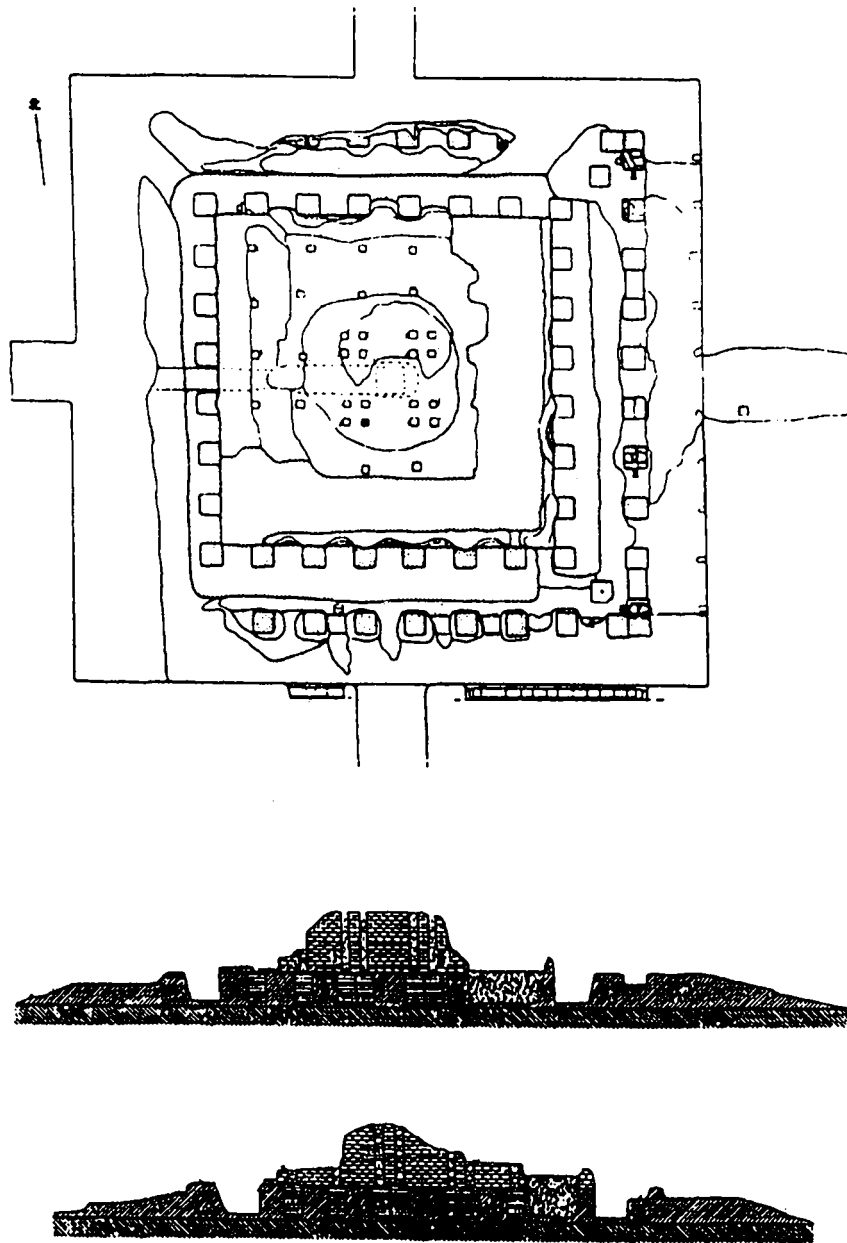


Fig. 151: Excavation plan and 2 sections of the platform and central core of the pagoda of Yongning-si 永寧寺 영녕사 at Luoyang 洛陽 낙양 (516 AD, scale: 1 : 500) (after: WW 98 - 5, p. 52)

The multi-storied and multi-eaved brick pagodas of the Tang dynasty featured in most cases a square plan, but BOERSCHMANN<sup>1</sup> also reports a number of octagonal brick pagodas of various styles. Among them is a not yet surely dated nine-storied octagonal brick pagoda of Zhongxing-si in Zouxian, Shandong<sup>2</sup> which BOERSCHMANN<sup>3</sup> dates to about 650 AD. Another early octagonal brick structure in China dates to 746 AD of the Tang dynasty<sup>4</sup>. It is a one storied pavilion which served as a memorial *stūpa* for a *Chan* monk Jingzan<sup>5</sup>.

The Five Dynasties<sup>6</sup> period and the following Song and Liao<sup>7</sup> dynasties favoured the octagonal plan for their wooden, brick and stone pagodas over the square plan. This trend was exported to both the Korean peninsula<sup>8</sup> and the Japanese archipelago. The earliest extant purely wooden octagonal pagodas are documented from this period on in China and Japan<sup>9</sup>.

#### 2.3.2.1.2. The octagonal pagodas of Ko-gu-ryō

In the light of what is known about early Chinese pagodas, it is rather surprising to find the remains of three or four octagonal wooden pagodas of such an early date on the Korean peninsula. Therefore, in spite of the general agreement on the subject by Korean scholars, I have to consider the possibility that the octagonal buildings of Ko-gu-ryō were not wooden pagodas of the style which the reconstruction drawings of Gūm-gang-sa and Chōng-rūng-sa show. These drawings are in several details anachronistic because they copy almost entirely the Song period models from China which are more than half a millennium later.

<sup>1</sup> See: BOERSCHMANN (1931), pp. 59 - 88, 107 - 229.

<sup>2</sup> Zhongxing-si 重興寺 중흥사, Zouxian 鄒縣 주현, Shandong 山東 산둥, I could not locate any work other than BOERSCHMANN's which discusses this pagoda.

<sup>3</sup> BOERSCHMANN (1931), pp. 112 - 114.

<sup>4</sup> See: LIANG Ssu-ch'eng (1984), p. 129.

<sup>5</sup> Jinzan Chanshi 淨藏禪師 정장선사, died in 746 AD. WATSON claims that he was the 7th patriarch of the Chan school 禪宗 선종. See: WATSON (1979), p. 557.

<sup>6</sup> Five Dynasties 五代 오대, 907 to 960 AD.

<sup>7</sup> Song 宋 송, divided into the Northern Song 北宋 북송 (from 960 to 1127 AD) and the Southern Song 南宋 남송 (from 1127 to 1279 AD).

<sup>8</sup> Several stone pagodas of the Ko-ryō 高麗 고려 dynasty had an octagonal plan. E.g. the pagodas of Bo-hyōn-sa 普賢寺 보현사 (No. 10.2.1.) and Wōl-chōng-sa 月精寺 월정사 (No. 2.15.1.). The wooden twin pagodas of Hūng-wang-sa 興王寺 흥왕사 (No. 10.12.2.) also had octagonal ground plans. Ko-ryō considered itself the successor of Ko-gu-ryō 高句麗 고구려 (compare the names) so that its octagonal stone pagodas could also be viewed as a reference to the Ko-gu-ryō pagodas.

<sup>9</sup> E.g. the pagoda of Fogong-si 佛宮寺 불궁사 at Yingxian 應縣 응현, Shanxi 山西 산서, constructed in 1056 AD for China and the pagoda of Anraku-ji 安樂寺 あんらくじ 안락사 constructed in 1288 AD for Japan.

A strong argument against these reconstruction drawings is the lack of proper foundations for the wooden columns of the needed sizes. In the cases of the excavated wooden pagodas of the Bæk-che and Sin-la dynasties and of Japan, their foundation stones are usually at least as well preserved as those of the surrounding buildings and correspond to the size of the plan<sup>1</sup>.

All known pagodas of Bæk-che and most pagodas of Sin-la and early Japan<sup>2</sup> had square ground plans. The models and reliefs in the Chinese Buddhist caves show invariably square wooden pagodas. The *Luoyang qielan ji* mentions only square wooden pagodas. These are indications that the East Asian wooden pagoda from the Wei to the end of the Tang periods (fifth to ninth centuries AD) featured predominantly a square plan. The purely wooden octagonal pagodas which were constructed since the Song and Liao periods seem to constitute a minor trend. While most Chinese polygonal pagodas are purely brick structures, many of the apparently wooden octagonal pagodas of China are in fact mixed constructions with a brick core and a wooden scaffolding<sup>3</sup> [fig. 123, 153].

If the hypothesis of purely wooden pagodas is difficult to uphold for the excavated sites of Ko-gu-ryŏ, the solution of a mixed construction using a brick or earthen core and a wooden exterior could be more plausible. In particular it would provide a good explanation for the small foundation stones at the edges of the octagon. They would thus belong to an attached roof which would protrude much more from the brick or earthen core than the 'balconies' of the upper stories. Linear wall constructions can easily receive a different number of beams on its sides while this would be a complication for a purely wooden structure. The form and material of such interior cores can only be speculated about without a new excavation of the temple sites. The Chinese octagonal pagodas usually feature an interior space while the core of Yongning-si seems to have been filled with unburnt bricks. The construction method of the Chinese mixed wood-and-brick pagodas does not need a wooden skeleton structure because the brick structure is stable in itself. This is not the case of an earthen core as in the case of Yongning-si where the interior wooden columns reached deep into the platform of the pagoda. As no such column holes were discovered at the temple sites of Ko-gu-ryŏ, either the

<sup>1</sup> E.g. Gun-su-ri Sa-chi 軍守里寺址 군수리사지 (No. 4.19.6.), Sŏ-bok-sa 西腹寺 서복사 (4.19.4.), Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황룡사 (No. 7.34.2.), Mang-dŏk-sa 望德寺 망덕사 (No. 7.34.8.), Sa-chŏn-wang-sa 四天王寺 사천왕사 (no. 7.34.7.), an important exception to this rule is the central pagoda of Mi-rŭk-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 (No. 5.6.2.). See: Chapter 3.2., pp. 285f., 399f.; Chapter 3.3., p. 622; Chapter 4.2., pp. 750f., 795ff.

<sup>2</sup> The supposedly purely wooden pagodas of Hŭng-ryun-sa 興輪寺 흥륜사 (No. 7.34.20.) and the first construction plan of the purely wooden pagodas of Japan's Saidai-ji 西大寺 さいだいじ 서대사 in Nara 奈良 なら 나랏 had apparently octagonal ground plans. See: Chapter 4.2., pp. 740 - 766.

<sup>3</sup> BOERSCHMANN calls this pagoda type 'Galeriepagoden' 外廊層塔 외랑층탑. See: BOERSCHMANN (1931), pp. 193 - 229.

construction method of the earthen core was different from that of Yongning-si or the core was made of burnt bricks in spite of the fact that no heaps of bricks were reported from the excavation sites.

The fact that King Suk-chong<sup>1</sup> of the Ko-ryŏ dynasty could visit the ruins of the pagoda of Gŭm-gang-sa in 1102 AD could indicate that only a portion of the brick or earthen core was still visible. These remains then vanished in the following centuries leaving only the described platform. While unburnt bricks disintegrate with rain, burnt bricks could eventually be re-used in later city wall constructions which would explain why there are no heaps of bricks at the excavation sites. As it seems to be difficult to favour for one of them, both possibilities of construction methods of Ko-gu-ryŏ pagodas must be reconsidered if new evidence is discovered from other temple sites.

The approximate size of the core is difficult to evaluate but later Chinese examples of mixed-structure pagodas suggest that the core might measure between 0.5 and 0.75 times the diameter of the attached roof of the ground floor. If these ratios are accepted then the possible heights of the pagodas could reach about four to five times the diameter of the core, again according to the younger Chinese examples (total height including the finial).

As an example, the pagoda of Gŭm-gang-sa, the largest pagoda foundation of Ko-gu-ryŏ known so far, has a diameter of the wooden structure of the attached portico of about 24m ((2) in table 6). A supposed brick core could hypothetically measure about 13.5m (if a ratio of the diameters of the core and the platform is about 0.55), which could indicate a total height of the pagoda of 60m (if the total height equals about 4.5 times the diameter of the core) [fig. 152].

structure	(1) outer diameter	(2) inner diameter	0.5 of (2) 0.75 of (2)	min. height max. height	comments
Chŏng-rŭng-sa-chi octagonal pagoda	20.4m	~ 17m ?	~ 8.5m ~ 12.75m	~ 34m ~ 64m	average height: 49m, inner diameter unknown
Gŭm-gang-sa-chi octagonal pagoda	26.5m	24m	12m 18m	48m 90m	average height: 69m, the only known inner diameter
Sang-o-ri Sa-chi octagonal pagoda	19.8m	~ 16.5m ?	~ 8.25m ~ 12.4m	~ 33m ~ 62m	average height: 47.5m, inner diameter unknown
To-sŏng-ri Sa-chi octagonal pagoda	18.2m	~ 14.8m ?	~ 7.4m ~ 11.1m	~ 29.5m ~ 55.5m	average height: 42.5m, inner diameter unknown

Table 6: Diameters of the known pagodas of Ko-gu-ryŏ and possible reconstructed heights.

<sup>1</sup> Suk-chong 肅宗 肅宗, the 15th king of Ko-ryŏ, reigned from 1096 to 1105 AD. See: p. 130.



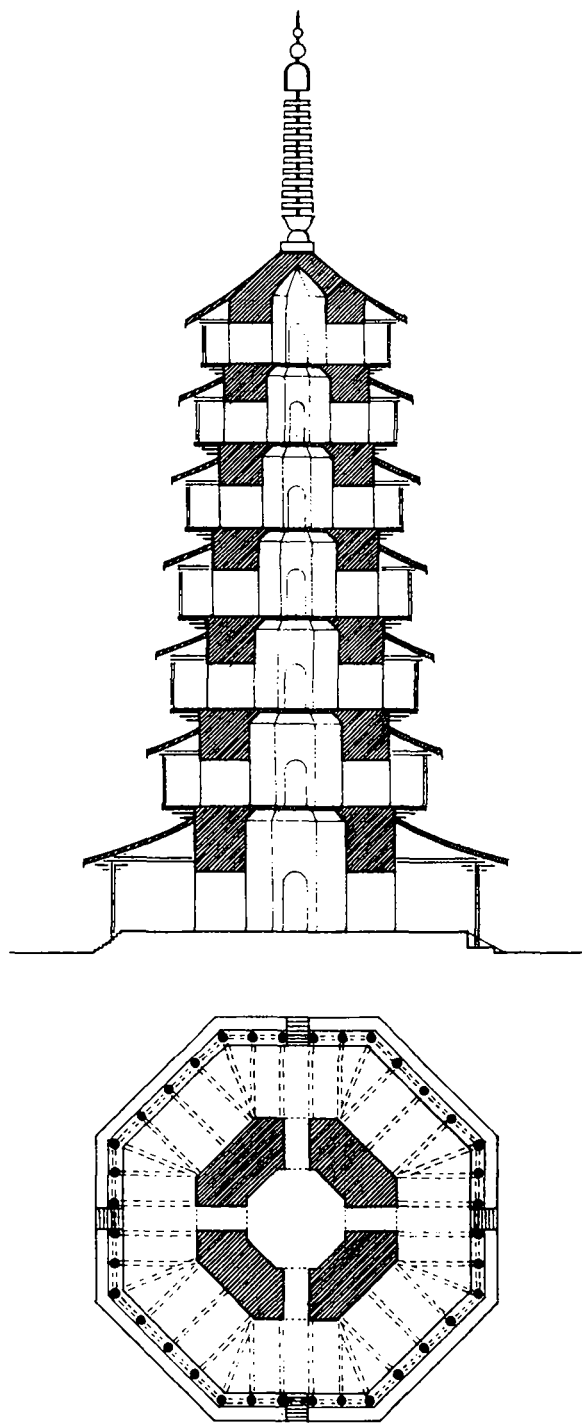


Fig. 152: Reconstructed ground plan and section of the pagoda of Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺금강사 according to the author (assumption of a brick core) (5th - 6th C. AD, scale: 1 : 500) (drawings by the author)

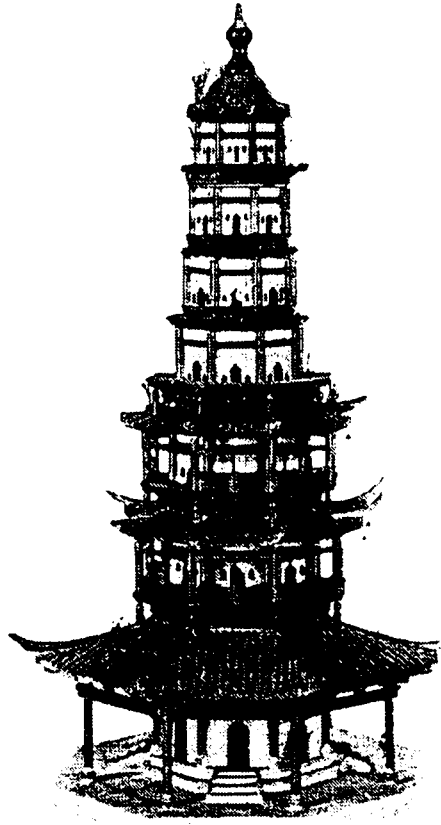


Fig. 153: Photography of a reduced-scale model of the mixed-structure pagoda Tiyun-ta 梯雲塔 제운탑 near lake Poyang 鄱陽湖 파양호, Jiangxi 江西 강서 (1090 AD ( brick core), no scale, height: 36m) (after: BOERSCHMANN (1931), p. 205)

#### 2.3.2.1.3. The questionable date of the hexagonal brick pagoda near Shenyang

SIN<sup>1</sup> claims, that the ruined brick tower of Shifo-si near Shenyang, Liaoning<sup>2</sup>, is of Ko-gu-ryō origin. The photographs available show a badly damaged base and an almost complete face of what seems to have been the first story of a Buddhist pagoda [fig. 154]. However, the plan of the pagoda was hexagonal and not octagonal as would be expected from Ko-gu-ryō. The first story face has a vaulted niche and at least three decorative reliefs above it. Beside the opening are square holes which are two layers of brick high. It is possible that they once received the beams of a

<sup>1</sup> See: SIN Yōng-hun 申榮勳 신영훈 (1994), p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> Shifo-si 石佛寺 석불사, Shenyang 沈陽 심양, Liaoning 遼寧 요녕.

wooden structure. Special round bricks are used at the corners to give the impression of corner columns. Such corners are known from pagodas of the Song, Liao and Jin dynasties<sup>1</sup> in China. Several hexagonal pagodas are reported from China, but this form is not very frequent. The oldest known extant example is a single-storied memorial *stūpa* which dates to the Qi or Sui dynasty<sup>2</sup> (about 600 AD). The hexagonal plan of the Shifu-si pagoda is a strong indication that this structure does not date to the Ko-gu-ryŏ period. The known temple layout of Ko-gu-ryŏ could hardly accommodate a hexagonal structure in the centre because two cardinal directions would always coincide with corners of the pagoda rather than with the middle of the sides.

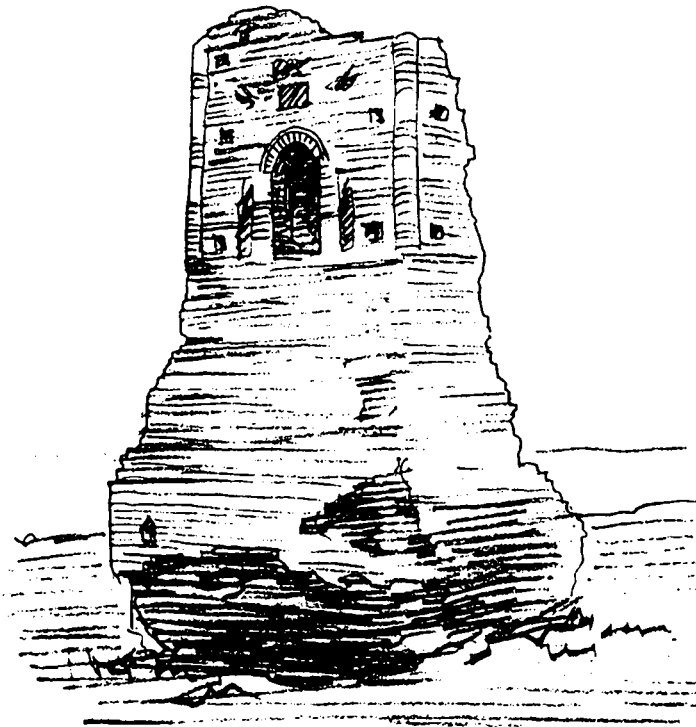


Fig. 154: Perspective of the ruined hexagonal pagoda of Shifo-si 石佛寺 석불사 near Shenyang 沈陽 십양 (Liao or Jin periods ?, no scale) (drawing by the author)

<sup>1</sup> Song 宋 송 (960 - 1279 AD), Liao 遼 요 (916 - 1125 AD), Jin 金 금 (1115 - 1234 AD).

See: LUO Zhewen 羅哲文 라철문 (1994), pp. 60, 63, 78, 94f., 165, 172f., 176ff., 232.

<sup>2</sup> Qi 齊 계 (550 - 577 AD), Sui 隋 수 (581 - 619 AD). The Zushi-ta 祖師塔 조사탑 of Foguang-si 佛光寺 불광사. This structure was much smaller with a total height of about 10.3m.

See: LUO Zhewen 羅哲文 라철문 (1994), p. 216; LIANG Ssu-ch'eng (1984), p. 130, 133.

## 2.3.2.2. The image halls of the Buddhist temples of Ko-gu-ryŏ

As I have pointed out above, the favourite layout of Ko-gu-ryŏ consisted of a central octagonal pagoda and a (variable ?) number of image halls to three sides<sup>1</sup> of the pagoda. Traces of at least eleven such image halls have been discovered from the various temple sites of Ko-gu-ryŏ. In spite of this already considerable number, only little is known so far about the structure, form and organisation of the image halls of Ko-gu-ryŏ.

structure	platform		superstructure			function, comments
	length	width	length	width	no. bays	
Chŏng-rŭng-sa-chi western image hall	22.8m	13.8m	16.8m	7.8m	3 x 2	platform and foundations well preserved
Chŏng-rŭng-sa-chi eastern image hall	20.05m	13.4m	14.6m	7.6m	3 x 2	platform and foundations well preserved
Chŏng-rŭng-sa-chi northern image hall	17.8m	14.8m	~ 14.5m ?	~ 10m ?	3 x 3 or 5 x 4 ?	no foundations of the faces
Chŏng-rŭng-sa-chi north-western i. hall	19.4m	13.5m	15m	11.4m	5 x 2	platform and foundations well preserved
Gŭm-gang-sa-chi western image hall	24.5m ?	14.5m ?	~ 23.75m ?	~ 13m ?	7 x 4 ? (5 x 2 ?)	only fragments of the eastern platform extant (no. of bays of core)
Gŭm-gang-sa-chi eastern image hall	24.5m	14.5m ?	~ 23.75m	~ 13m ?	7 x 4 ? (5 x 2 ?)	eastern part of platform, ~ 5 foundation stones
Gŭm-gang-sa-chi northern image hall	~ 34m	~ 22m	~ 30m ?	~ 18m ?	9 x 6 ?	southern part of platform, northern part uncertain
Sang-o-ri Sa-chi western image hall	25.8m	12.6m	~ 22m	~ 9m	5 x 3 or 7 x 3 ?	only platform extant
Sang-o-ri Sa-chi eastern image hall	25.8m	12.6m	~ 22m	~ 9m	5 x 3 or 7 x 3 ?	only platform extant
To-sŏng-ri Sa-chi western image hall	18m	9.1m	~ 14m ?	~ 5m ?	3 x 2 ?	only platform extant
To-sŏng-ri Sa-chi northern image hall	20m - 22m	12m - 13m (?)	~ 16m ?	~ 8.5 m ?	3 x 3 or 5 x 3 ?	only southern part of platform extant

Table 7: Measurements of the known image halls of Ko-gu-ryŏ

These indications show that the image halls of Ko-gu-ryŏ followed the Chinese tradition of rectangular wooden skeleton structures whose main face was on the longer side and which was usually divided into an odd number of bays. Most halls seem to have been too narrow for two-storied structures with the exception of the

<sup>1</sup> They were usually placed to the east, north and west of the central pagoda.

northern hall of Gŭm-gang-sa, as mentioned in Chapter 2.2. The plans cannot give any further unequivocal indications on the structure and roof form of the buildings. All basic roof forms, the gable roof, the hip roof and the hip-and-gable roof, are possible. Neither can the number of beams and crossbeams be known for sure. Other sources of information<sup>1</sup> have to be consulted in order to get a glimpse of what the actual constructions and details might have looked like.

### 2.3.2.3. The questionable date of the flagpole supports of Chung-hŭng-sa

The site of Chung-hŭng-sa<sup>2</sup> lies in modern In-hŭng-il-dong<sup>3</sup>, to the west of the small hill Mo-ran-bong<sup>4</sup> which was the highest point of the old northern fortress of Pyŏng-yang<sup>5</sup>. The temple site most probably lay outside this fortress. To the south of Mo-ran-bong lay Yŏng-myŏng-sa<sup>6</sup>, which was possibly founded during the Ko-gu-ryŏ kingdom as mentioned in Chapter 2.1.

North Korean publications claim that the flagpole supports [fig. 155] on the site of Chung-hŭng-sa date to the Ko-gu-ryŏ period. The claim seems to be justified only by the assumption that Chung-hŭng-sa was one of the nine temples which were founded in Pyŏng-yang in 392 AD (see Chapter 2.1.). But as the *Sam-guk-sa-gi*<sup>7</sup> does not name the temples, it is arbitrary to attribute certain extant temples to this founding date. As a matter of fact, there exist two accounts of the founding of Chung-hŭng-sa which are placed in the Ko-ryŏ period. According to *SCSC* and *BKSC*<sup>8</sup>, Chung-hŭng-sa was founded at the same time that King Tæ-cho<sup>9</sup> ordered a nine-storied pagoda to be erected in the western capital Pyŏng-yang. He tried thus to equal the Sin-la dynasty which constructed the nine storied pagoda of Hwang-ryong-sa<sup>10</sup> shortly before the unification of the Korean peninsula.

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 195 - 217.

<sup>2</sup> Chung-hŭng-sa 重興寺 중흥사 (No. 10.1.5.).

<sup>3</sup> The reported address is: Pyŏng-yang-tŭk-byŏl-si 平壤特別市 평양특별시, Mo-ran-bong-gu-yŏk 牡丹峯區域 모란봉구역, In-hŭng-il-dong 仁興一洞 인흥일동.

<sup>4</sup> Mo-ran-bong 牡丹峯 모란봉.

<sup>5</sup> Buk-sŏng 北城 북성.

<sup>6</sup> Yŏng-myŏng-sa 永明寺 영명사.

<sup>7</sup> *Sam-guk-sa-gi* 「三國史記 삼국사기」, see Chapter 2.1., p. 88.

<sup>8</sup> I could not trace the original source of this information. Perhaps from the *Ko-ryŏ-sa* 「高麗史 고려사」 which mentions further that the pagoda of Chung-hŭng-sa 中興寺 중흥사 (the first Chinese character differs from the usual form) was destroyed by the Khitan 契丹 거란 (결란) army in the 12th month of 1010 AD. The temple was reconstructed (var. founded ?) first in the third month of 1051 AD and again in the ninth month of 1154 AD. See: *SCSC*, p. 560; *BKSC*, p. 812.

<sup>9</sup> Tæ-cho 太祖 태조, the first king of Ko-ryŏ 高麗 고려, reigned from 918 to 943 AD.

<sup>10</sup> Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황룡사 (No. 7.34.2.). See Chapter 4.2.

There seems to be no good reason to doubt this version of the founding of Chung-hŭng-sa. The flagpole supports would thus date to the Ko-ryŏ period. The form and execution of the supports do not seem to contradict this date<sup>1</sup>.

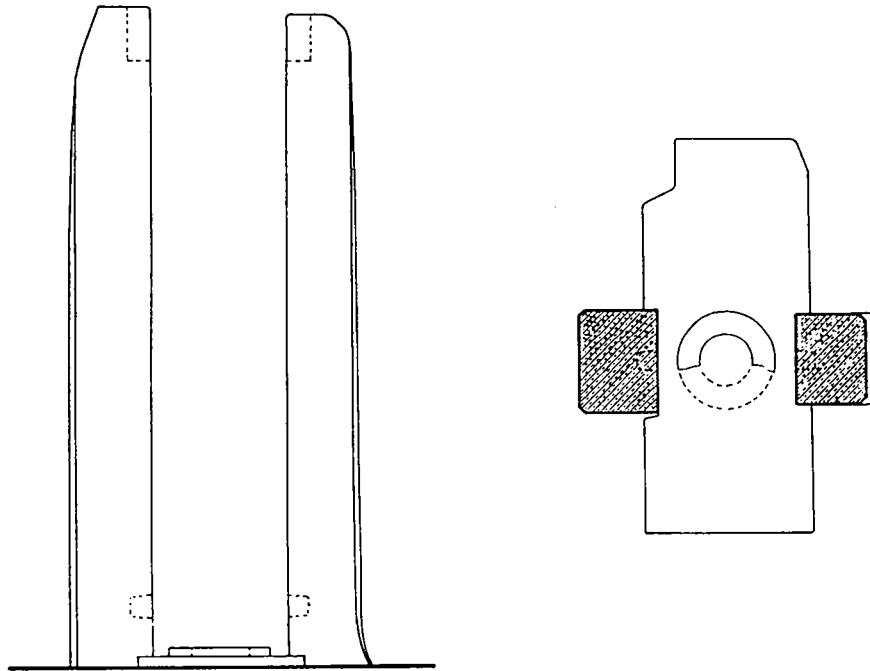


Fig. 155: Plan and elevation of the flagpole supports of Chung-hŭng-sa 重興寺 중흥사 at Pyŏng-yang 平壤 평양 (Ko-ryŏ period ?, scale: 1 : 50) (after: *CSYCYMDK* 4, p. 194)

<sup>1</sup> Similar flagpole supports from the middle of the Ko-ryŏ period can be found at Hŭ-mang-ri 希望里 회망리, Hong-ŭn 洪川 홍천 and at Gŭn-hwa-dong 權花洞 근화동, Chun-ŭn 春川 춘천. *HGKCS* points out that the two support stones are not identical which might signify that they belonged to different temples and that they were assembled later. See: *HGKCS*, p. 113f.

## 2.3.3. CONSTRUCTION METHODS AND MATERIALS

## 2.3.3.1. The building forms

According to what has been discussed above, the main characteristics of the Buddhist buildings of Ko-gu-ryŏ can be summarized in the following five points:

1. the excavated evidence shows that most of the constructions of Ko-gu-ryŏ were rectangular independent buildings
2. the buildings were usually orientated approximately northwards. The southern longer side was divided into an odd number of bays and constituted the main face with the main entrance at its centre
3. the wall paintings in the tombs<sup>1</sup> of Ko-gu-ryŏ suggest that the hip roof was the preferred roof type for important buildings
4. the constructions were mostly single-storied and used a wooden skeleton of supporting columns and beams
5. at least the important buildings were covered with tiles

Documented exceptions of these rules include the following building types:

1. the octagonal pagodas
2. east- and west-orientated image halls which had a relation with the octagonal pagodas
3. buildings with an even number of bays on the front face<sup>2</sup>
4. interconnected buildings in palace architecture and in one case of temple architecture
5. double-roofed palace halls and gate pavilions (also in temple architecture ?)<sup>3</sup>
6. three-storied towers (pagodas ?)<sup>4</sup>
7. buildings with gable roofs<sup>5</sup>
8. log cabin constructions on piles<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See: *CSYCYMDK* 5, p. 238; *CSYCYMDK* 6, p. 21;

*CHŬE* Mu-chang 최무장 (1990, 1992), p. 446.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. the eastern building of the second courtyard of the central section of Chŏng-rŭng-sa-chi 定陵寺址 정릉사지. See: Chapter 2.2., pp. 113f.

<sup>3</sup> See: *CSYCYMDK* 5, p. 187; *CSYCYMDK* 6, p. 21, 66; CHU Yŏng-hŏn 朱榮憲 주영헌 (1979), p. 29; IM Yŏng-chu 林永周 임영주 (1983), p. 336.

<sup>4</sup> See: CHU Yŏng-hŏn 朱榮憲 주영헌 (1979), p. 29; YOO-KIM Bok-Nam (1980), p. 121.

<sup>5</sup> See: *CHŬE* Mu-chang 최무장 (1990, 1992), p. 280.

<sup>6</sup> E.g. a sketch in the tomb No. 1 of Ma-sŏn-gu 麻線溝 1 號墳 마선구 1 호분. See: RI Hwa-sŏn 리화선 (1993), vol. 1, p. 98.

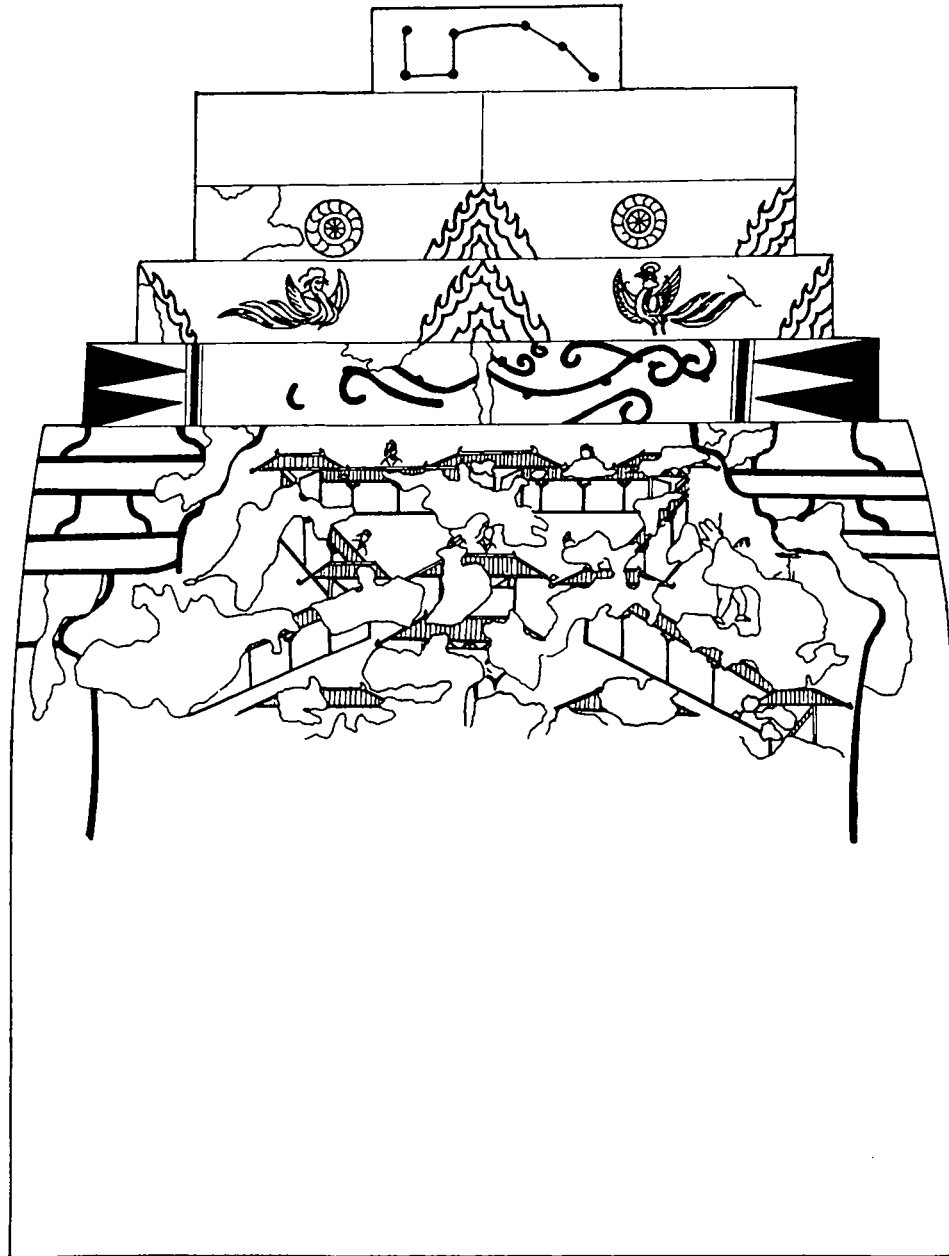


Fig. 156: Murals of a palace complex with independent buildings and galleries and other decorations of the tomb No. 1 at An-ak 安岳第一號墳 안악제일호분 (5th - 7th C. AD, no scale) (after: CHŎE Mu-chang 최무장 (1990, 1992), p. 446)





Fig. 157: Mural of a buildings (kitchen ?) with a hip roof and decorations on the ridge of Mu-yong-chong 安岳第一號墳 안악제일호분 at Ji'an 集安 집안 (5th - 7th C. AD, no scale) (after: IM Yŏng-chu 林永周 임영주 (1983), p. 359)



Fig. 158: Mural of a kitchen with a gable roof and a meat storage room with a hip roof (note the simple capitals, the inverted 'V' support on the beam and the hearth) from tomb No. 3 at An-ak 安岳第三號墳 안악제삼호분 (5th C. AD ?, no scale) (after: IM Yŏng-chu 林永周 임영주 (1983), p. 359)

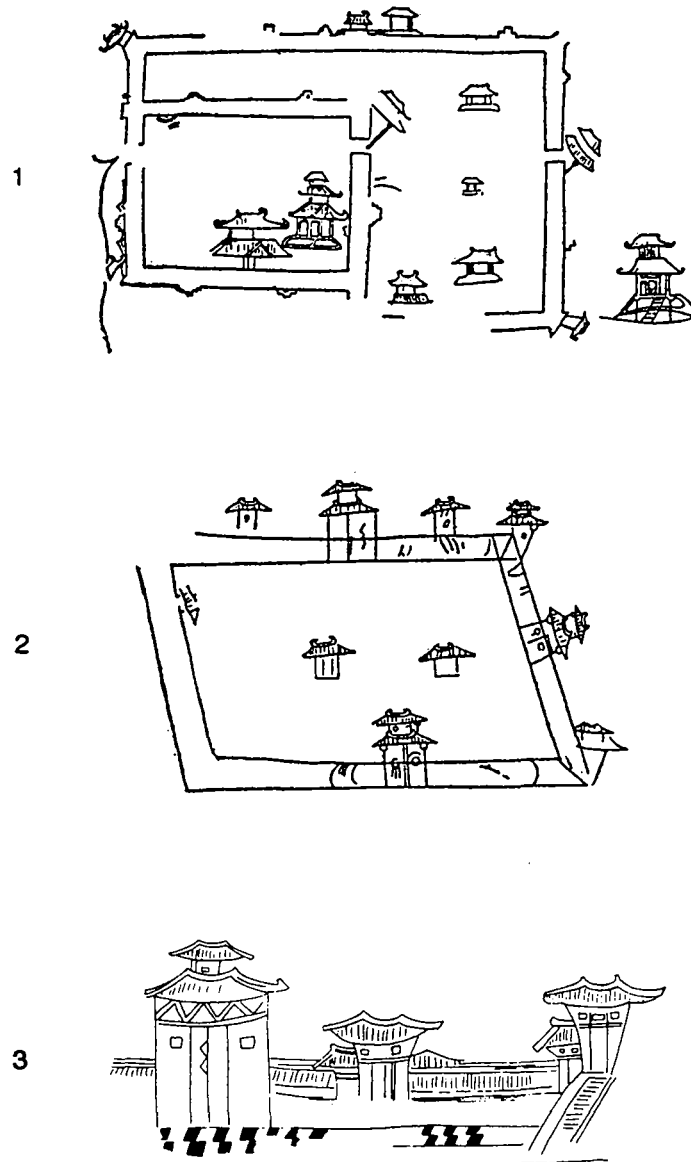


Fig. 159: Murals of a city walls with one- and two-storied gates and watch towers; independent buildings with hip roofs as well as two- and three-storied buildings from the tomb at Yak-su-ri 藥水里壁畫古墳 약수리벽화고분 (1), Yo-dong-song-chong 遼東城塚 오동성총 (2) and Yong-kang-dae-myō 龍岡大墓 응강대묘 (3) all near Pyōng-yang 平壤 평양 (5th - 7th C. AD, no scale) (after: CHU Yōng-hōn 朱榮憲 주영헌 (1979), p. 29 (1,2); IM Yōng-chu 林永周 임영주 (1983), p. 336 (3))

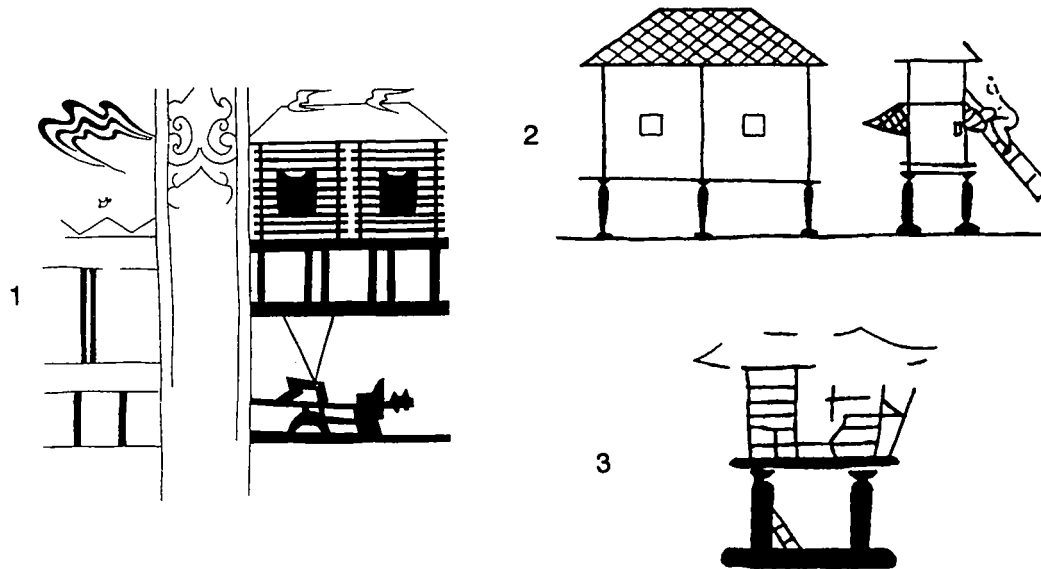


Fig. 160: Murals of log cabin buildings on piles from tomb No. 1 at Ma-sŏn-gu 麻線溝第一號墳 마선구제일호분 (1) near Ji'an 集安 집안, at Dŏk-hŭng-ri 德興里壁畫古墳 덕흥리벽화고분 (2) and Pal-čhŏng-ri 八清里壁畫古墳 팔청리벽화고분 near Pyŏng-yang 平壤 평양 (5th - 7th C. AD, no scale) (after: RI Hwa-sŏn 리화선 (1993), p. 98)

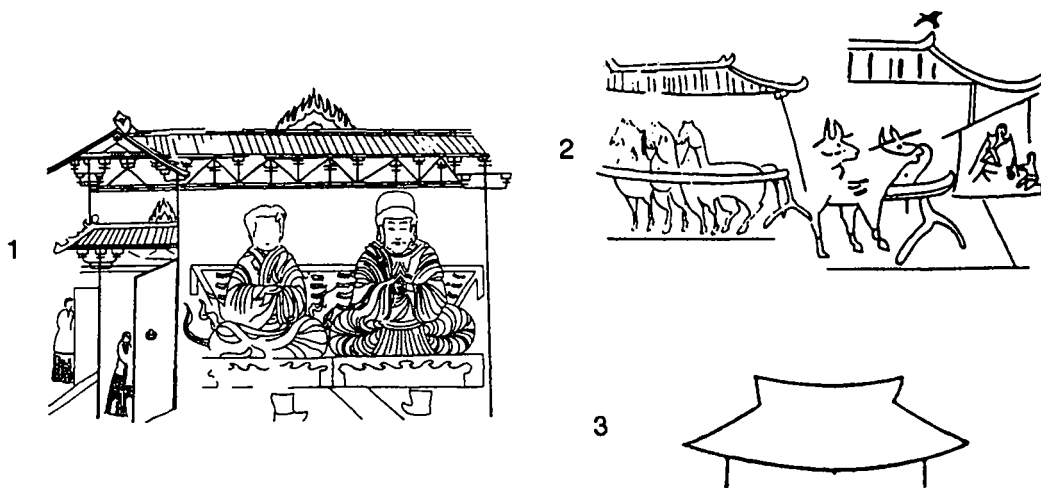


Fig. 161: Murals of buildings with gable and hip (and hip-and-gable ?) roofs (note the multi-tiered bracket sets and the diagonal ties (inverted 'V' supports ?) of the first mural) from Ssang-yŏng-čhŏng 雙楹塚 쌍영총 (1, 2) and the tomb at Yak-su-ri 藥水里壁畫古墳 약수리벽화고분 (3) both near Pyŏng-yang 平壤 평양 (5th - 7th C. AD, no scale) (after: CHCE Mu-chang 최무장 (1990, 1992), p. 280, 314; Chung-čhŏng-nam-do 忠清南道 충청남도 (1991), p.91)

It is not known if these less often documented buildings were in fact less frequently built in Ko-gu-ryō. The extant evidence is limited in number which hardly allows one to draw a representative picture of the majority of the constructions of Ko-gu-ryō. It is also not sure if the gable roof and the log cabins constructions were used in temple architecture even though the early Japanese temples feature both elements<sup>1</sup>. No conclusive evidence from Ko-gu-ryō tombs has yet been discovered which shows the use of the hip-and-gable roof<sup>2</sup>, but the embroidered curtain at Japan's Chūgū-ji<sup>3</sup> which is usually attributed to emigrated Ko-gu-ryō artisans, features a hip-and-gable roofed building with a bell suspended in the interior so that it seems to represent a belfry of a Buddhist temple [fig. 162].



Fig. 162: Detail of the embroidered curtain Tenjukoku shūchō 天壽國繡帳 てんじゅこくしゅうちょう 천수국수장 of Chūgū-ji 中宮寺ちゅうぐうじ 증궁사, showing a belfry with a hip-and-gable roof (silk, 622 AD (by Ko-gu-ryō artisans in Japan), no scale) (after: RI Hwa-sŏn 리화선 (1993), vol. 1, p. 192)

- <sup>1</sup> E.g. Japan's Tengai-mon 轉害門 てんがいもん 전해문 (745-760 AD) of Tōdai-ji 東大寺とうだいじ 동대사 has a gable roof. The hōko 寶庫ほうこ 보고 (treasure repository) (750-760 AD) of the Shōsō-in 正倉院しょうそういん 정창원 of Tōdai-ji 東大寺とうだいじ 동대사 is a log cabin construction [fig. 41]. The log cabin on piles in the tomb No. 1 of Ma-sŏn-gu 麻線溝1號墳 마선구1호분 looks very similar: it is standing on tall piles while the walls are made of horizontally-laid trunks. The vertical lines in the corners and in the centre seem to represent the trunks of the side faces and interior divisions. The double line in the centre is somewhat mysterious as it is very unusual to occupy the axis of symmetry by a separation wall. The drawing almost suggests two independent bodies gathered on one elevated platform and under one roof. The windows also are quite strange: the lintels seem to be curved downwards as if were a cloth suspended on the face.
- <sup>2</sup> CHCE and RI include a sketch of a hip-and-gable roof from Ssang-yŏng-chong 雙楹塚 쌍영총, but the small gable could also represent a large ridge decoration [fig. 161]. See: CHCE Mu-chang 최무장 (1990, 1992), p. 280; RI Hwa-sŏn 리화선 (1993), vol. 1, p. 191.
- <sup>3</sup> Chūgū-ji 中宮寺ちゅうぐうじ 증궁사, at Hōryū-ji 法隆寺ほうりゅうじ 법룡사, Nara 奈良なら 나랏. The embroidered curtain is called Tenjukoku shūchō 天壽國繡帳 てんじゅこくしゅうちょう 천수국수장. It is dated to 622 AD (var. 623 AD). The dresses depicted in this curtain are similar to those found in Ko-gu-ryō murals and the characters 'Ko-ryō' 高麗 고려 figure on the curtain. See: RI Hwa-sŏn 리화선 (1993), vol. 1, pp. 191f., n. 107; SHIMIZU Christine (1997), p. 60; MIZUNO Seiichi (1974), p. 52; FRÉDÉRIC (1996), p. 1110.

Concerning domestic architecture, no evidence of the ground plan of courtyard houses and the related house forms<sup>1</sup> which became typical of Korea in the Cho-sŏn period at the latest, has not yet been found of Ko-gu-ryŏ. The elaborate courtyards of An-hak-kung and Chŏng-rŭng-sa, however, could indicate that simple forms of courtyard architecture were already used for domestic architecture.

One of the most remarkable characteristics of East Asian architecture is the roof curvature. The extant traditional Korean tile roofs are in the overwhelming majority curved in two directions. The more apparent curvature follows the direction of the ridge and the eaves. The other curvature occurs in the direction of the rafters. Geometrically, the sides of the Korean roofs form approximately concave spherical segments (see Chapter 1.2., pp. 54f.).

The extant evidence<sup>2</sup> from Ko-gu-ryŏ gives a mixed image. It seems that both strait and curved roofs were used. The interpretation of the wall paintings has to be cautious because they are mostly vague sketches which are not very reliable. YOO-KIM<sup>3</sup> insists that the Korean tile roof was originally curved, but the evidence which she presents does not lift the doubts about the accuracy of the drawings. However, it seems safe to say that both forms of curvatures were known in Ko-gu-ryŏ even if they were possibly not applied systematically.

### 2.3.3.2. The foundations, the heating system and life style

During the Ko-gu-ryŏ dynasty, the top of the foundation stones for the wooden columns were sometimes sculpted into the shape of a circle or an octagon. Occasionally the foundation stones feature small holes at their centre for the fixing of the column. In the other cases the load and friction alone guaranteed the proper emplacement of the columns on the foundation stones as is still the case today for most examples of Korean traditional architecture. The precise forms of the platforms of Ko-gu-ryŏ and their retaining walls are not known so far.

<sup>1</sup> The house forms are named after Chinese and Korean characters in the Korean architectural research. Thus the courtyard house is called *mi-ŭm-cha-ga* ㅁ字家 미움자가, the related house forms are the following: *ki-yŏk-cha-ga* ㄱ字家 기억자가 (angular house), *di-gŭd-cha-ga* ㄷ字家 더근자가 (horseshoe house), *ŭl-cha-ga* 乙字家 울자가 (Z-shaped house), *chŏng-cha-ga* 丁字家 정자가 (T-shaped house) and *kong-cha-ga* 工字家 공자가 (H-shaped house). The galleries of the palace and of Chŏng-rŭng-sa suggest that the courtyard house was well known in Ko-gu-ryŏ.

<sup>2</sup> See: CSYCYMDK 5, p. 93, 187, 238; CSYCYMDK 6, p. 21, 26; CHŎE Mu-chang 최무장 (1990, 1992), p. 446.

<sup>3</sup> See: YOO-KIM Bok-Nam (1980), p. 112ff.; Chapter 1.2., pp. 54f.

An iron model kept in the National Museum of Korea<sup>1</sup> and murals in the tombs of An-ak No. 3 and Yak-su-ri<sup>2</sup> show kitchen furnaces [figs. 158, 163]. They consisted of a cubic furnace with a round hole on the top which received the cooking pots and a square opening in the front side which permitted to feed the fire. A large smoke conduit ran perpendicularly to the front side to the outside of the house. It had approximately the same section as the furnace. Outside the house, the conduit was connected to a round chimney. The furnace and the conduit were probably made out of stone and mortar while the chimney could have been made out of bricks or tiles. Traces of such heating systems have been excavated at minor structures of Chŏng-rŭng-sa (see Chapter 2.2., pp. 119 - 123).

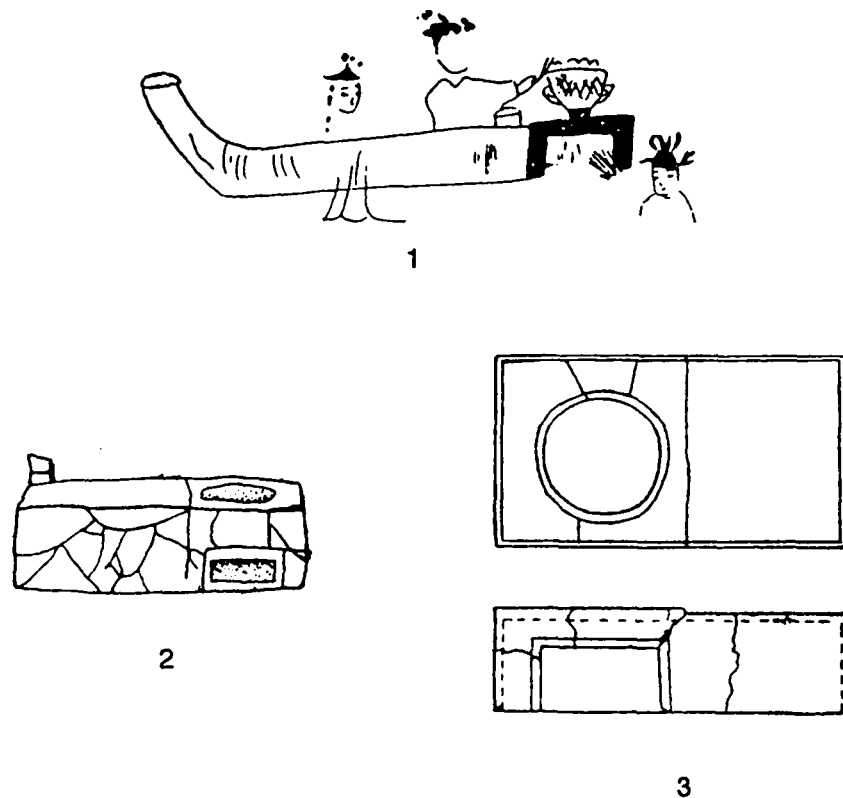


Fig. 163: Mural and models of furnaces from the tomb at Yak-su-ri 藥水里壁畫古墳 약수리벽화고분 (1), the tomb No. 1 at Ma-sŏn-gu 麻線溝第一號墳 마선구제일호분 (2) and the tomb No. 2 at Yong-ho-ri 龍湖里第二號墳 용호리제이호분 (3) (5th - 7th C. AD, no scale) (after: CHŎ Mu-chang 최무장 (1990, 1992), p. 314 (1); RI Hwa-sŏn 리화선 (1993), vol. 1, p. 97 (2, 3))

<sup>1</sup> See: Korea (National Museum of) (ed.) (1991), p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> An-ak No. 3 安岳3號墳 안악3호분 and Yak-su-ri 藥水里壁畫古墳 약수리 벽화고분.

The extant Korean floor heating is a developed form of this simple heating system of the Korean Three Kingdoms period<sup>1</sup>. At present, the rooms in Korea are no longer heated on one or several sides only but the whole space below the floor serves as a smoke conduit. At the latest during the Bar-hæ dynasty the floor heating evolved into several parallel conduits<sup>2</sup> but the typical extant Korean hypocaust<sup>3</sup> was probably only fully developed during the Cho-sŏn period. The heating system is an important reason for very rare use of multi-storied structures in Korean architecture.

The heating system of the Korean Three Kingdoms period recalls the Chinese heated bed, the *kang*<sup>4</sup>. This system is still widely used in northern China. Usually the furnace is located in the kitchen while the conduit runs along one or several walls of the living area and is elevated by several decimetres up to more than one meter [fig. 45]. It often represents the most important piece of furniture in the house and occupies sometimes more than 50% of the living area. The height of the Chinese heating system is well adapted to the present Chinese life style which includes chairs and tables and where one keeps the shoes on when entering the living area. However, the common use of chairs is not sure for China before the Tang dynasty<sup>5</sup>. It is possible that the use of the chair became more popular in China with the development of the international traffic along the Silk Road during the Tang dynasty. This life style, however, was not imported into the Korean peninsula and the Japanese archipelago before the nineteenth century when Western influences reached the region (see Chapter 1.2., p. 48).

Before the common use of chairs, the Chinese also used to sit cross-legged on the floor as many early paintings show. An often depicted piece of furniture was the elevated wooden floor which stands on four legs and offers space for at least four cross legged-sitting adults. From the tombs paintings of Ko-gu-ryŏ it is known that

<sup>1</sup> Such heating systems have also been discovered of Bæk-che. See: *HGKCS*, pp. 169 - 174; CHANG Kyŏng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992), pp. 511f.

<sup>2</sup> See: CHANG Kyŏng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992), pp. 514 - 516.

<sup>3</sup> The Korean hypocaust is called *on-dol* 溫突 온돌. See: *TrKB* 31, p. 9-22.

<sup>4</sup> *Kang* 炕, see: Chapter 1.2., pp. 48 - 50.

<sup>5</sup> The Chinese reliefs and paintings until the Tang period generally show no chairs in the modern sense. In some cases low stools are depicted. The chair with a back seems to have been reserved for the throne of the monarch, Buddha statues and religious patriarches until the Tang Dynasty, when it was occasionally used for mundane purposes. The introduction of the chair seems to be connected with the introduction of Buddhism when various elements of Indian and Central Asian culture started to influence Chinese civilisation. It is not yet completely sure when the Chinese changed their furniture in favour of the chair. It seems however that the process was accomplished at the latest during the reign of the Mongols in the 13th or 14th century AD. See: Chapter 1.2., p. 48, n. 3; *TP* 53, pp. 279 - 292; VANDIER-NICOLAS (1983), pp. 20, 25, 27f., 71, 74, 96, 131, 162; Rietberg (Museum) (ed.) (1996), pp. 100ff.; National Palace Museum (1986), pp. 8, 10, 19ff, 27, 36ff., 49.

this elevated Chinese wooden floor was also used in Ko-gu-ryō [figs. 64f., 81, 86]. On the one hand, several details in the tomb paintings indicate that the elite of Ko-gu-ryō tried to imitate the Chinese life style. On the other hand, the clothing as well as decorations and activities which are depicted in the tombs indicate that the general population of Ko-gu-ryō differed from the Chinese people not only by their language but also by their life style<sup>1</sup>. Already at an early time, the culture on the Korean peninsula was thus trying to find a compromise between foreign influences and the maintenance of their indigenous traditions.

### 2.3.3.3. The columns, the walls and the openings

In a skeleton structure, the columns bear the whole weight of the roof. They are therefore of utmost importance so that the body of a construction could be represented simply by the four corner columns. Virtual columns were even painted in the corners of the stone tombs of Ko-gu-ryō. Thus the tomb chamber looked more like the houses of the living. The colours used for the painting of the columns were usually between reddish brown and black in order to imitate wood. In some cases the columns in the tombs were decorated with stripes or arabesques. The columns seem to have been mostly round and sometimes tapered to the top. Some square and octagonal columns were also discovered. It is not sure whether the entasis<sup>2</sup> was already used. The paintings represent the columns usually too thin to be able to show such details. All the documented stone columns of the tombs seem to be strait.

Little is known about the walls of the buildings as the paintings are only interested in the roof and in the activities inside the house, showing nothing more of the walls than the corner columns. By their very absence it can be concluded that the walls already played the same function they have until now in Korean traditional architecture. The walls do not bear the vertical load of the roof construction but bear only their own weight. Therefore, it can also be supposed that the construction methods and materials of the walls were already similar to the extant mud walls of the Cho-sŏn period.

As the walls are seldom represented, the openings are of course also missing in most cases. The clay models show simple round holes for the windows and doors.

<sup>1</sup> Other indications for the life style of the early Korean kingdoms can be found in several ancient Chinese texts. See: LEE Peter H. (YI Hak-su 李鶴洙 이학수), BAKER (eds.) (1993), pp. 7 - 24.

<sup>2</sup> Entasis is called *hül-lim* 흘림 in Korean (from the verb *hül-li-da* 흘리다 = to let flow, to spill, to drop). The research distinguishes three kinds of entasis in Korean traditional architecture: *min-hül-lim* 민흘림 (column tapered towards the top), *bæ-hül-lim* 배흘림 (convex column) and *chung-bæ-hül-lim* 중배흘림 (column resembling the European entasis).



It seems that the windows were clearly distinguished from the doors and did not reach down to the floor. At least three sizes of doors are documented in the wall paintings: one-, two-, and three-winged pivoting doors. It cannot be decided by the extant sources whether a translucent material<sup>1</sup> was used to cover the windows.

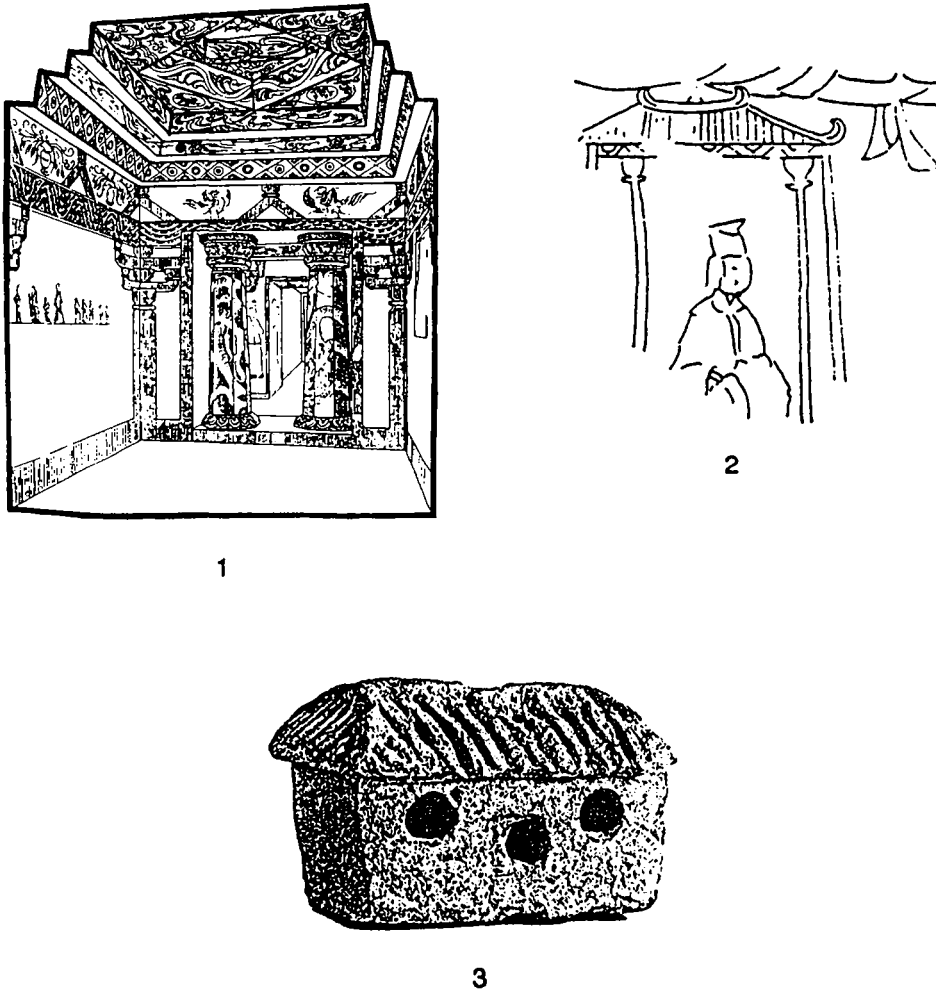


Fig. 164: Columns from Ssang-yŏng-ŏchong 雙楹塚 쌍영총 (1) near Pyŏng-yang 平壤 평양 and Sam-sil-ŏchong 三室塚 삼실총 (2) near Ji'an 集安 집안, openings on a clay model of a building with a hip tile roof (3). (5th - 7th C. AD, no scale) (after: *CSYCYMDK* 6, p. 120 (1); CHŎNG Chæ-hun 鄭在鍾 정재훈, CHO Yu-chŏn 趙由典 조유전 (1990), p. 389 (2); Korea (National Museum of) 國立中央博物館 국립중앙박물관 (ed.) (1991), p. 36)

<sup>1</sup> E.g. rice paper as it is used until now.

## 2.3.3.4. The bracket sets

Another important characteristic of East Asian architecture is the bracket set. Undoubtedly of Chinese origin<sup>1</sup> [figs. 48, 77, 172], it was adopted by the Korean kingdoms at the latest with the introduction of Buddhism. Since then, it remained the sign of prestigious buildings and construction laws<sup>2</sup> regulated their use and their decoration strictly. This distinction of rank can already be seen in the tombs of Ko-gu-ryō. Most of the important buildings, including palaces, town walls and the tombs, figure bracket sets, while illustrations of the commoner's houses lack the bracket sets.

The structural role of the bracket sets is to shorten the span of the beams and crossbeams in order to allow longer spans and heavier roof constructions for comparatively thin beams. Several theses have been advanced to explain the origin of the bracket set. Among them are the following:

1. a purely technical invention
2. mainly ornamental function
3. analogy to nature: the tree with its branches
4. analogy to the way humans carry heavy weights on their heads by lifting and balancing them with their hands

Several paintings in the tombs of Ko-gu-ryō seem to support the last assumption. Especially the tomb No. 1 in Chang-čhōn<sup>3</sup> shows 'titans'<sup>4</sup> painted above the corner columns [fig. 165]. They are sitting with their legs spread wide in order to find more stability. The hands are lifted to the height of the head so that the load of the superstructure lies on the hands and on the head. The paintings of these 'titans' fill the apparent faces of the stones which are placed in the corners in angles of 45° to the main walls. On each of these stones lie the next stone members of the roof which narrow each time to the degree of the size of the corner stones. In all there are three such steps which form thus a hollow step pyramid, the tomb therefore contains the drawings of twelve 'titans'.

If the fact is considered that many ceilings of tombs bear the drawings of stars, the sun and the moon and heavenly beings, it seems that these 'titans' are

<sup>1</sup> See: LIU Dunzhen 劉敦楨 유돈정 (1980), pp. 72f., 98f.;  
CHEN Mingda 陳明達 진명달 (1990), pl. 17 - 19.

<sup>2</sup> See: YOO-KIM Bok-nam (1980), pp. 89 - 94.

<sup>3</sup> Chang-čhōn 長川 1 號墳 장천 1 호분. See: BANG Sang-hun 方相勳 방상훈 (ed.) (1993), p. 99ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Yōk-sa* 力士 역사, also called *chang-sa* 壯士 장사. Compare with the Vajrapānis 金剛力士 금강역사 ('diamond titans') in Chapter 4.1., pp. 735ff.

literally supporting the sky. The Chinese characters for 'ceiling' are *chŏn-chang*<sup>1</sup> which means 'heaven-veil' or 'heaven-screen'.

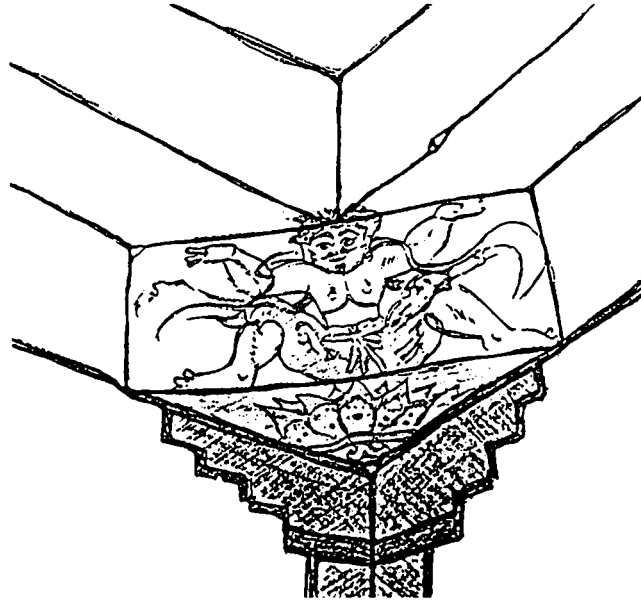


Fig. 165: Mural of a 'titan' in the tomb No. 1 at Chang-chŏn 長川第一號墳 장천제일호분 near Ji'an 集安 집안 (6th - 7th C. AD, no scale) (drawing by the author)

The tombs of Ko-gu-ryŏ show various types of bracket sets. They seem to illustrate the development from primitive brackets to sophisticated bracket sets. The simplest examples, just short of no bracket at all, are columns with capitals which are only slightly broader than the columns and are sometimes decorated with the face of a demon or a 'titan' [fig. 166 (1)]. The next step is a capital in the form of an inverted podium with two to four steps on each side [fig. 166 (2, 3)]. Then the first real bracket arm appears which lies on a capital<sup>2</sup> [figs. 166 (4), 167 (1 - 3)]. Usually the bracket arm bears again a small capital<sup>3</sup>. Because of these secondary capitals there is an empty space between the bracket arm and the supported beam or girder, a characteristic which remained part of the Korean architecture until the early Cho-sŏn dynasty. Finally there are complete bracket sets with two or three bracket arms which are placed one upon another [fig. 167 (4 - 6)].

<sup>1</sup> *Chŏn-chang* 天障 천장, also the English words 'ceil', 'ciel' or 'ceiling' are derived from Latin 'caelum', the heaven, the sky, compare also the French 'ciel', Italian and Spanish 'cielo'. See: SKEAT (1879, 1983), p. 98f.

<sup>2</sup> *Chu-du* 柱頭 주두.

<sup>3</sup> *So-ro* 小櫓 소로.

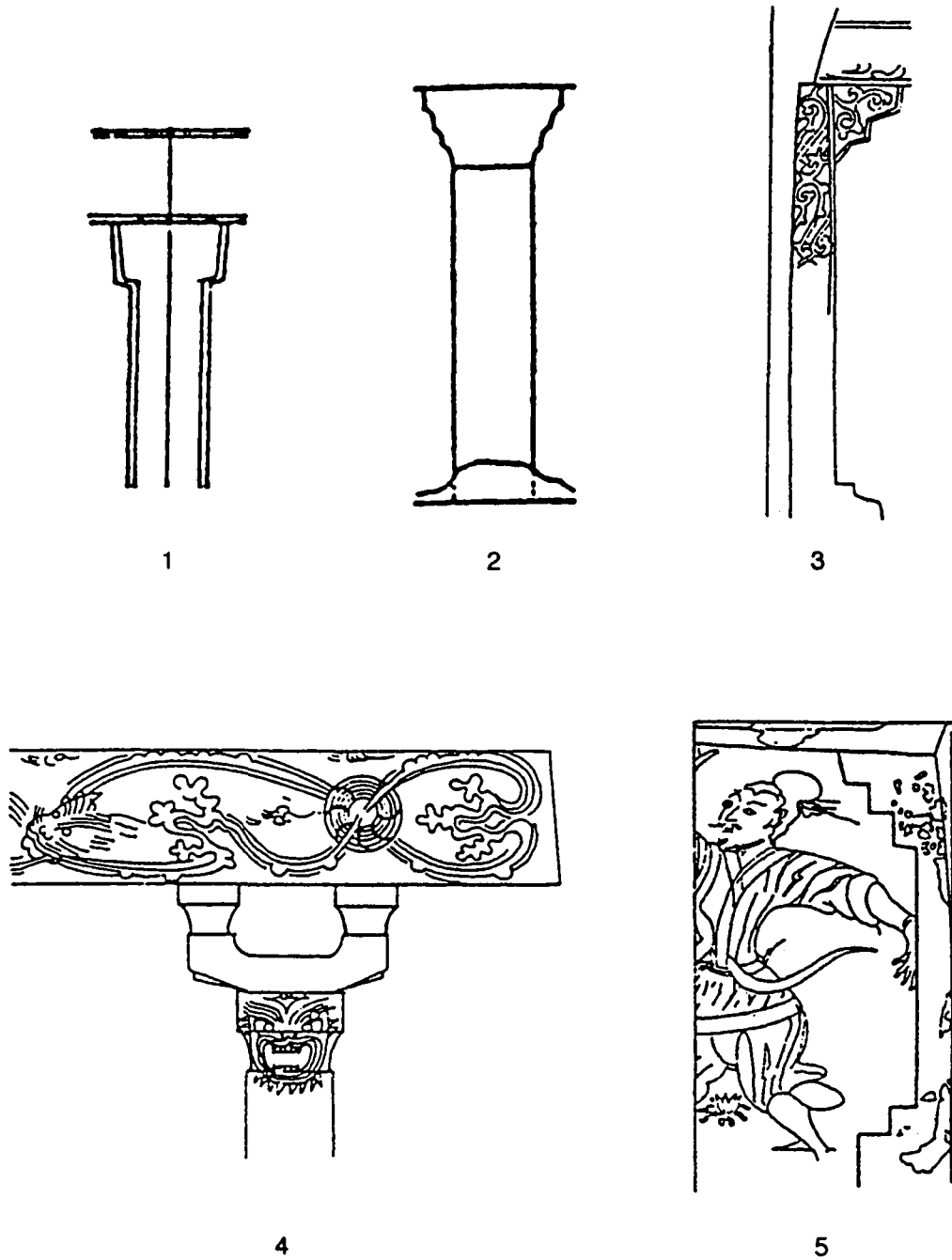


Fig. 166: Simple brackets from various tombs of Ko-gu-ryŏ (5th - 7th C. AD, no scale) (after: CHŎNG Chæ-hun 鄭在纒 정재훈, CHO Yu-chŏn 趙由典 조유전 (1990), pp. 395, 398)

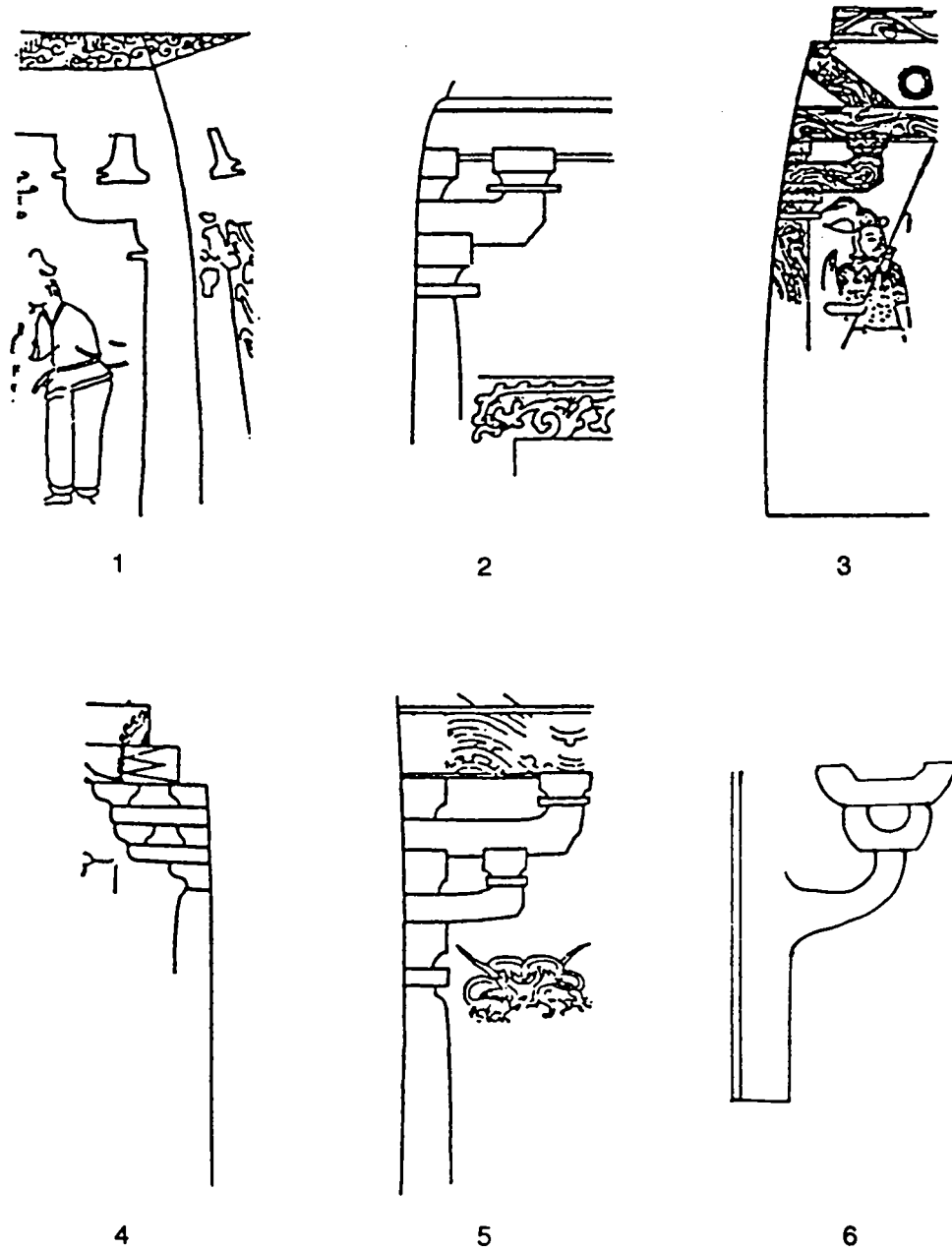


Fig. 167: Complex bracket sets from various tombs of Ko-gu-ryŏ (5th - 7th C. AD, no scale) (including a mural from Sŏng-chong 星塚 성총 (6)) (after: CHŎNG Chæ-hun 鄭在顯 정재훈, CHO Yu-chŏn 趙由典 조유전 (1990), pp. 392f.; CHANG Kyŏng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992), p. 76 (6))

## 2.3.3.5. The roof construction

The next elements above the capital and bracket sets are the tie beams which connect the columns with each other in the plans of the faces. The murals of Ko-gu-ryō do usually not feature ties below the capitals of the columns<sup>1</sup>. These lower ties are known from the Sui period in China<sup>2</sup> and feature on the wooden model of an image hall of the Tamamushi no Zushi<sup>3</sup> [fig. 455] of the mid-seventh century AD in Japan. It seems that the architecture of Ko-gu-ryō was influenced by an older style in China which did not commonly use these lower ties. The lower ties became important with the development of the intercolumnar bracket sets of the Tang period.

Intercolumnar, inverted 'V' supports (called '*in-cha* supports' because of their formal resemblance with the Chinese character '*in*'<sup>4</sup>) are placed on the (upper) tie beams [fig. 168]. There are two cases where inverted 'V' supports can be used. The first case is in the plan of the faces where they are placed between two tie beams. They stabilize the face and prevent deformation due to their triangular form<sup>5</sup>. In this case the inverted 'V' supports and the tie beams do not have another structural function in spite of the fact that their aspect which recalls the modern triangulated beams. In some tombs these supports are even painted above the bracket sets, thus annulling the effect of the bracket sets [fig. 164 (1)]. It is therefore probable that the paintings do not represent the structural reality in these cases but they are only an aesthetic convention.

<sup>1</sup> Murals in Ssang-yōng-chōng 雙楹塚 쌍영총 [fig. 161] and the tomb at Pal-chōng-ri 八濟里 팔청리 could feature such lower ties below the capitals of the columns but the capitals are not clearly indicated so that it is difficult to decide on the precise position of the ties which carry inverted 'V' supports and what seems to be intercolumnar bracket sets (can these details be taken literally or are they simple ornaments?). Irregularities of bracket sets also occur in Chinese reliefs [fig. 172]. See: Chung-chōng-nam-do 忠濟南道 충청남도 (1991), p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> Sui 隋 수 (581 - 619 AD): e.g. sculpted columns, ties and brackets at the cave No. 8 of Tianlong-shan 天龍山 천룡산 near Taiyuan 太原 태원 of 584 AD and murals in the caves No. 277 and 423 at Dunhuang 敦煌 돈황. The sculpted columns, ties and brackets at Maishi-shan 麥積山 맥적산 in eastern Gansu 甘肅 감숙 of the mid-6th C. AD (Western Wei 西魏 서위 (535 - 556 AD) or Northern Zhou 北周 북주 (557 - 581 AD) can be considered an early experiment of the ties below the column capital. See: LIU Dunzhen 劉敦楨 유둔정 (1980), p. 156; XIAO Mo 蕭默 소묵 (1989), p. 219; WATSON (1995), p. 179.

<sup>3</sup> Tamamushi no Zushi 玉蟲廚子たまむしのすし 목충주자 in Hōryū-ji 法隆寺ほりゅうじ 법동사. See: Chapter 3.3., p. 210; MIZUNO Seiichi (1974), pp. 41, 45ff.

<sup>4</sup> *In* 人 인. The inverted 'V' support is called *sodh-ül-hwa-ban* 솟을화반, *chong-hwa-ban* 從花盤 중화반 or *in-cha tae-kong* 人字台工 인자태공 in Korean.

<sup>5</sup> The tie beams carry no load in the *chu-sim-po* 柱心包 주심포 style where the bracket sets are only placed on the columns and not on the tie beams. The *da-po* 多包 다포 style which features intercolumnar bracket sets on the tie beams was probably only developed during the Chinese Tang dynasty.

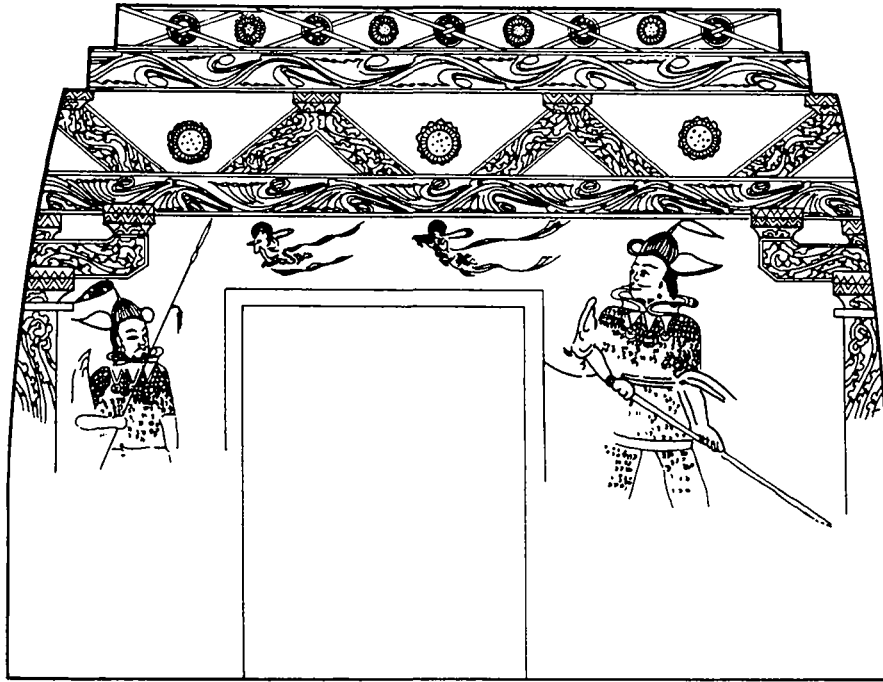


Fig. 168: Mural of columns, brackets, tie beam and inverted 'V' supports in tomb No. 2 at An-ak  
 安岳第二號墳 안악제이호분 (5th - 7th C. AD, no scale)  
 (after: ČHE Mu-chang 최무장 (1990, 1992), p. 459)

The second case where inverted 'V' supports were used is as king posts which support the ridge piece. The inverted 'V' supports guaranteed here the stability of the ridge piece due to the triangulation effect with the collar beam. Furthermore, the inverted 'V' supports might have helped to distribute the load of the ridge piece more uniformly to the collar beam. This system is surprisingly close to the truss which was developed in Europe. The East Asian collar beam, however, is charged with flexion, whereas in the pure truss there is only traction. The inverted 'V' supports do not always seem to have been strong enough and sometimes a vertical post was introduced between the two diagonal pieces.

The Čhŏn-wang-chi-sin-čhong<sup>1</sup> tomb features stone inverted 'V' supports as actual structural elements in space. The tomb is formed of an entry corridor which

<sup>1</sup> Čhŏn-wang-chi-sin-čhong 天王地神塚 천왕지신총 near Pyŏng-yang 平壤 평양.

crosses an oblong antechamber and leads to the almost square main chamber. Inverted 'V' supports were used in both the antechamber and the main chamber. In the main chamber four such supports, placed in the corners at a height of about 1m above the ground, transform the square into an octagon [fig. 169]. On the next level eight painted inverted 'V' supports with protruding bracket arms transform the octagon into an approximate circle. The dome is completed by a lantern roof of three superimposed squares which rotate from one another by angles of 45°. Two large inverted 'V' supports are placed in the space of the lantern roof in the direction of the two main axes of the main chamber.

The antechamber features the only known extant five stone beams in space from Ko-gu-ryō. At least two of the beams carry inverted 'V' supports with their capitals. The two last beams are supported by two small bracket arms on each end. The inverted 'V' supports carry the roof of the antechamber. At the height of the inverted 'V' supports, the walls feature stripes which could represent the rafters of a wooden roof construction [fig. 169].

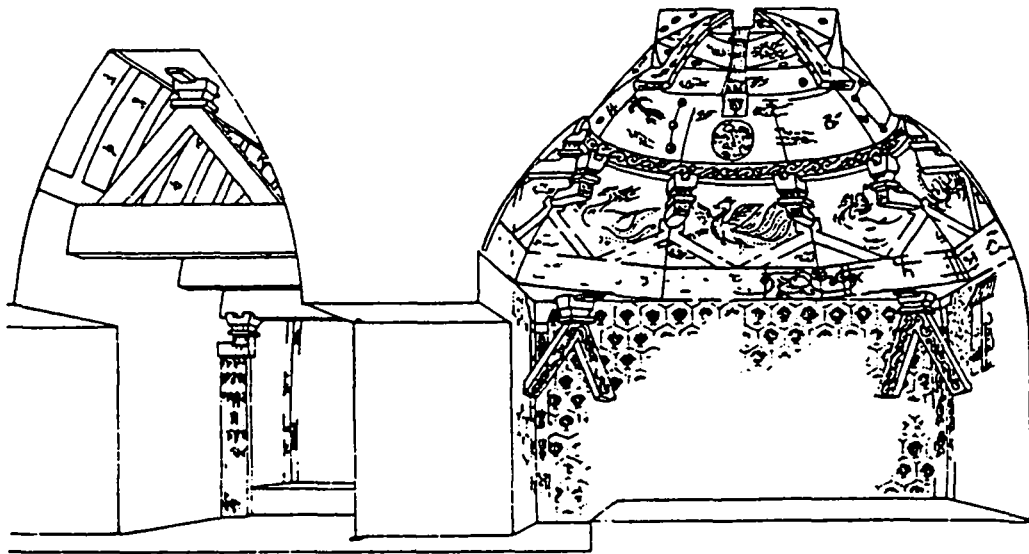


Fig. 169: Open perspective of Chŏn-wang-chi-sin-chong 天王地神塚 천왕지신총 near Pyŏng-yang 平壤 평양 (note the inverted 'V' supports in the antechamber and the main chamber, the beams and bracket in the antechamber) (5th - 7th C. AD, no scale) (after: CHŎNG Chæ-hun 鄭在纒 정재훈, CHO Yu-chŏn 趙由典 조유전 (1990), p. 399)



Whereas the inverted 'V' supports of the antechamber and the lantern roof are clearly of the second variant, the twelve remaining supports are quite enigmatic. There seems to be no reason for such a construction except maybe to provide a solution for the problem of transforming a square into an octagon which is then transformed into a circle. The tomb in Dæ-an-ri<sup>1</sup>, however, features the transformation of a square into an octagon without the help of the inverted 'V' supports. As the supports of the Čhŏn-wang-chi-sin-čhong tomb are the only such examples, I suppose that they represent a structural experiment which is only feasible in stone and which is therefore not representative of actual wooden structures.

Not much is known about the beams and rafters of roof constructions. The beams seem to have had the same section for the whole span. They were sometimes decorated with stripes or arabesques. The excavated plans of buildings show up to five columns in the transversal section. This indicates that Ko-gu-ryŏ already used the successive beams which are laid one upon another in order to reach the necessary height of the roof if the building is deep. Unfortunately no such complicated structure is drawn in detail in the tombs and the foundation stones are not conclusive for such construction details.

#### 2.3.3.6. The roof covering and the roof decorations

Most of the buildings represented in the tomb murals had tile roofs. But until recently most houses in the countryside in South Korea possessed thatched roofs. The same must have been true also for the ancient kingdoms. The tile roofed buildings were mainly Buddhist temples and government-sponsored buildings like palaces and city gate pavilions.

Numerous roof tiles have been excavated from archaeological sites of Ko-gu-ryŏ. Researchers of the history of Korean art have made great efforts to analyse the designs, material and fabrication techniques of the tiles from the various Korean dynasties in order to date them<sup>2</sup>.

The system of the roof tiles was probably the same as it still is today for the traditional architecture of Korea. First, a layer of wooden planks, wooden shingles, straw or bamboo is fixed on the rafters. Then earth and clay is applied until the desired roof form is attained. Finally the tiles are placed from the eaves to the ridge by fixing them with clay. Slightly curved 'female tiles'<sup>3</sup> are placed with the concave

<sup>1</sup> Dæ-an-ri 大安里 1 號墳 대안리 1 호분.

<sup>2</sup> See: *HGKCDK* VI, pp. 25 - 72.

<sup>3</sup> *Am-khi-wa* 암키와 or *yŏ-wa* 여와 女瓦 여와 (= 'woman tile').

side upwards, while the semi-circular 'male tiles'<sup>1</sup> cover the ends of two 'female tiles' with their convex side upwards. The eaves tiles of both the female and the male type have usually one more face at their ends which is decorated with geometric or arabesque designs (lotus flowers) [fig. 170].

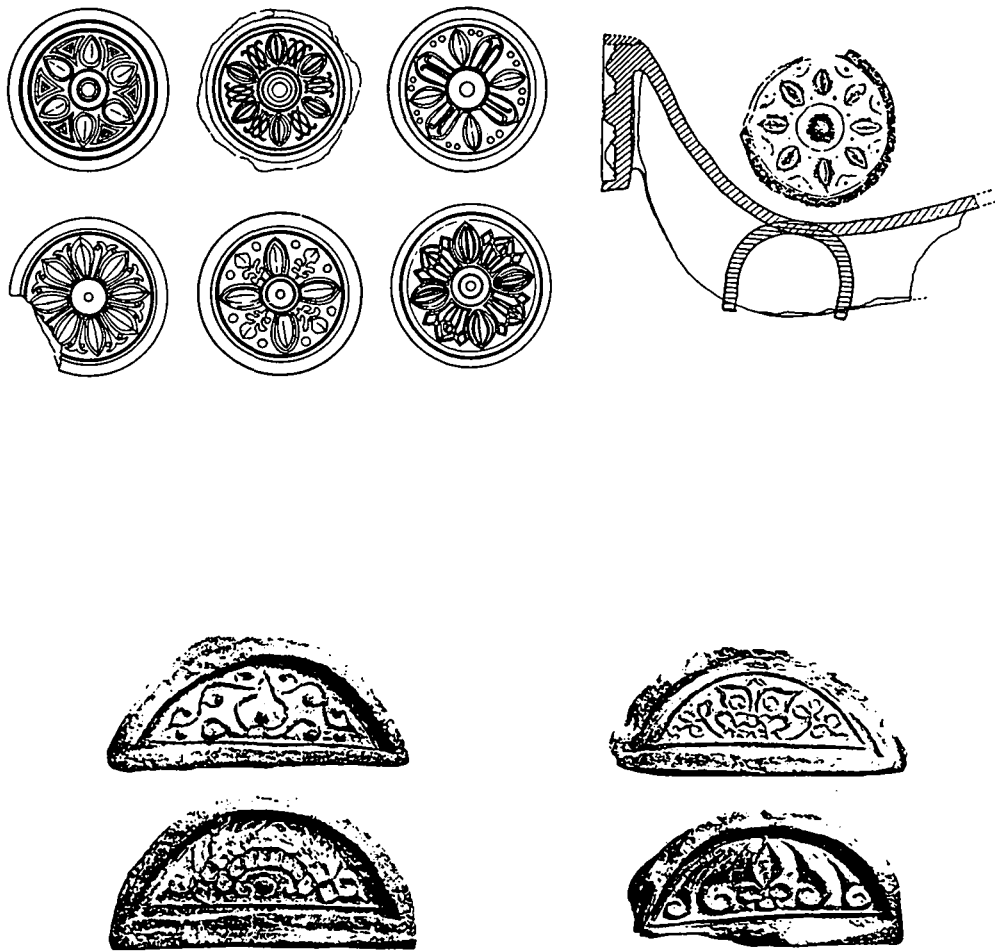


Fig. 170: Various roof end tiles with lotus flower and arabesque ornaments of Ko-gu-ryō (5th - 7th C. AD, no scale) (after: IM Yōng-chu 林永周 임영주 (1983), p. 224, 485)

<sup>1</sup> *Su-khi-wa* 수키와 or *bu-wa* 부와 (= 'husband tile').

Special tiles or other decorations are placed at the ends and sometimes in the centre of the ridges. The tomb paintings often show flames or diadem-like decorations on the main ridge [figs. 157, 160, 161, 171]. They are usually of another colour than the tile roof and may have been made of gilt bronze or another metal. In another example the decorations look like wings of a seagull or a swallow. Some paintings show also the owl's tail tiles as they were discovered at several sites from Ko-gu-ryŏ and other Korean kingdoms. Similar decorations of the main ridge can be found on reliefs in Yungang<sup>1</sup> of the Northern Wei [fig. 172]. The corner ridge ends were probably decorated with especially long and upwards curved male tiles [fig. 170]. The custom of placing figures of demons or protectors on the corner ridge could not be confirmed from Ko-gu-ryŏ. The decorations of the roof ridge indicate a search for symbols of free movement, lightness and brightness. These symbols are related to the sky in a similar way as the decorations of tomb ceilings.

The interior of important buildings (palace halls, image halls of temples) seem to have been richly furnished with curtains [fig. 171]. Several Ko-gu-ryŏ tombs feature murals of such curtains between the columns and bracket sets which are painted in the corners of the tomb chambers. The curtains are usually rolled and attached by ribbons. Several murals of Dunhuang<sup>2</sup> of the Northern Wei period show similar curtains [fig. 172].

#### 2.3.4. CONCLUSION

These correspondences between the interior and exterior decorations of the constructions of Ko-gu-ryŏ and Northern Wei indicate on the one hand that the two kingdoms had a close cultural relationship and frequent exchanges. The fact that these architectural illustrations come from tomb murals in the case of Ko-gu-ryŏ and from Buddhist cave temples in the case of Northern Wei shows on the other hand that, in spite of the deep contacts, both kingdoms preserved proper cultural characteristics. The typical Ko-gu-ryŏ temple layout with a central octagonal pagoda and multiple image halls has not been confirmed so far of Northern Wei (nor of any other Chinese kingdom for that matter) while the square pagoda of Yongning-si of the Northern Wei has no correspondence in Ko-gu-ryŏ. The inspiration for the tradition of Buddhist architecture of Ko-gu-ryŏ must therefore be searched on the Chinese mainland in the periods before the Chinese Wei dynasty.

<sup>1</sup> E.g. cave No. 9 at Yungang 雲岡 온강, executed between 460 and 475 AD. See: LIU Dunzhen 劉敦楨 유근정 (1980), p. 98; WATSON (1995), p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. cave No. 257 at Dunhuang 敦煌 돈황, of the Northern Wei 北魏 북위 (386 - 534 AD). See: XIAO Mo 蕭默 소묵 (1989), p. 107.

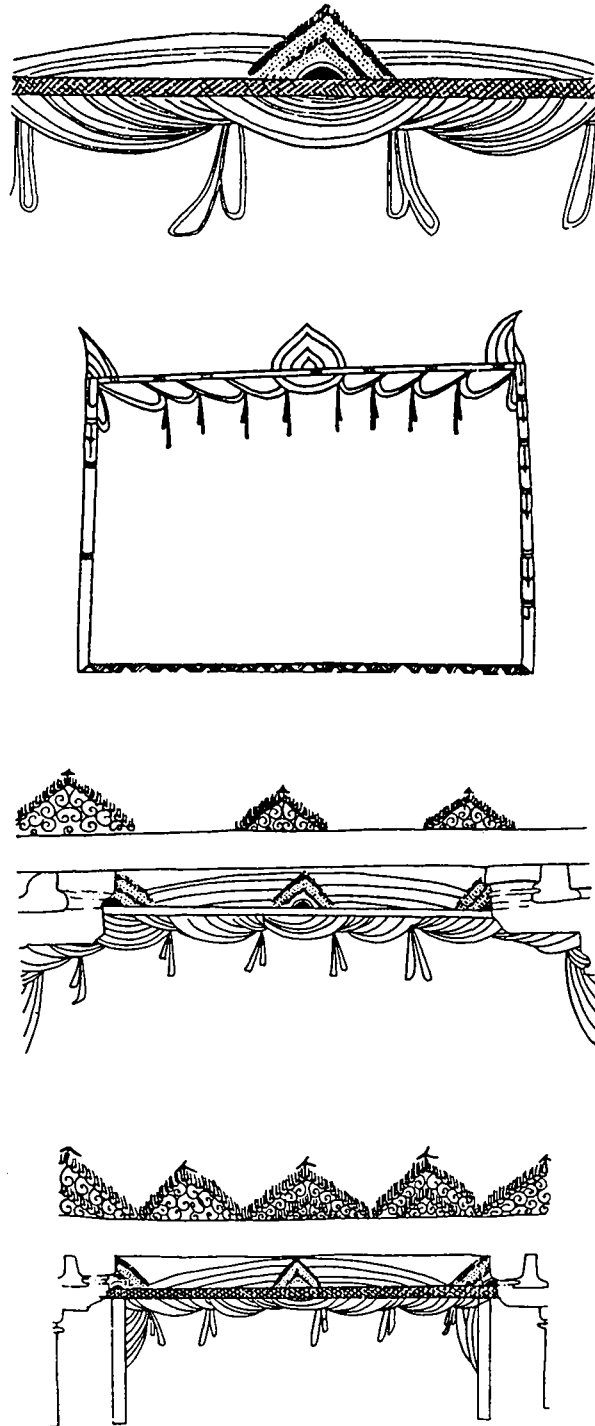


Fig. 171: Murals of curtains and diadem-like ornaments in various tombs of Ko-gu-ryō (5th - 7th C. AD, no scale) (after: IM Yōng-chu 林永周 임영주 (1983), p. 335)



Fig. 172: Relief of an image hall with owl's tail tiles, birds and diadem-like ornaments on the ridges in cave No. 9 at Yungang 雲岡은강 (note the irregular distribution of the bracket sets and the inverted 'V' supports) (460 - 475 AD, no scale) (after: LIU Dunzhen 劉敦楨 유돈정 (1980), p. 98)

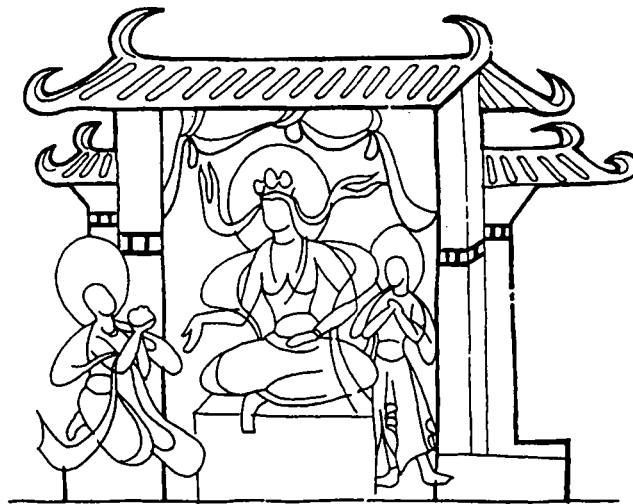


Fig. 173: Mural of an image hall with rolled curtains held by ribbons in cave No. 257 at Dunhuang 敦煌은황 (Northern Wei 北魏 북위, about 5th - 6th C. AD, no scale) (after: XIAO Mo 蕭默 소묵 (1989), p. 107)



## **CHAPTER 3:**

### **BÆK-CHE**





### 3.1. THE HISTORY OF BUDDHISM OF BÆK-CHE

#### Preliminary remarks

The history of Bæk-che is usually divided into three periods according to the various locations of its capital. It seems that the lower Han River<sup>1</sup> basin, approximately the area of the modern city of Sö-ul (Seoul)<sup>2</sup>, was the original stronghold of the Bæk-che dynasty. In the second half of the fourth century AD, Bæk-che reached its largest extension after it defeated an army from Ko-gu-ryö in 371 AD [fig. 5]. However, in the reign of King Kwang-kæ-to<sup>3</sup> of Ko-gu-ryö, Bæk-che had lost the annexed territory again and the expansionist policy of King Chang-su<sup>4</sup> of Ko-gu-ryö even forced the Bæk-che royal court to move southwards to a more secure area. In 475 AD, the capital Han-söng<sup>5</sup> was abandoned and the new capital Ung-chin<sup>6</sup> was founded on the southern shore of the middle section of the Güm River<sup>7</sup> [fig. 174]. It seems that this new site was considered only as a temporary military necessity and that the court still hoped to reconquer the old capital Han-söng. This ambition was however never fulfilled because Ko-gu-ryö remained too powerful in the early sixth century and Sin-la grew rapidly to become a strong rival for the same territory. Only about sixty years after the founding of the new capital, the Bæk-che royal court moved again southwards to Sa-bi<sup>8</sup> in 538 AD [fig. 174]. This city remained the capital of Bæk-che until its conquest by the combined forces of Sin-la and Tang China in 660 AD. From the middle of the sixth century AD on, Sin-la controlled all the landborders of Bæk-che after conquering Ka-rak in 532 AD<sup>9</sup>, the lower Han River basin in 553 and Dæ-ka-ya in 562 AD<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Han-kang 漢江 한강 [fig. 684 (7, 8)].

<sup>2</sup> Sö-ul Special City (Seoul) 서울 特別市 서울특별시. Remains of Bæk-che were discovered at several sites around Sö-ul. See: KIM Wön-yong 金元龍 김원용 (1986), pp. 682 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Kwang-kæ-to Wang 廣開土王 광개토왕, the 19th king of Ko-gu-ryö, reigned from 391 to 412 AD.

<sup>4</sup> Chang-su Wang 長壽王 장수왕, the 20th king of Ko-gu-ryö, reigned from 413 to 491 AD.

<sup>5</sup> Han-söng 漢城 한성, the second capital known by name. The first capital was called Wi-rye-söng 慰禮城 위례성 and was probably located in the southern part of modern Sö-ul (Seoul). Han-söng was probably located in the modern city of Kwang-chu 廣州 광주 which lies to the southeast of Sö-ul (Seoul). See: Korea (National Museum of) 國立中央博物館 국립중앙박물관 (ed.) (1991), p. 40; *SGSSC*, p. 891.

<sup>6</sup> Ung-chin 熊津 웅진 the modern city of Kong-chu 公州 공주.

<sup>7</sup> Güm-kang 錦江 금강.

<sup>8</sup> Sa-bi 泗批 사비, the modern district of Bu-yö 扶餘 부여.

<sup>9</sup> Ka-rak 駕洛 가락. See: Chapter 4.1., p. 668.

<sup>10</sup> Dæ-ka-ya 大伽倻 대가야. See: Chapter 4.1., p. 668.

Even the upper basin of the Güm River<sup>1</sup> was in Sin-la's hands. Bæk-che was thus reduced to the modern provinces of Chung-çhǒng-nam-do, Chǒn-la-buk-do and Chǒn-la-nam-do<sup>2</sup>. Nevertheless, it is the Sa-bi period which is considered the climax of the Bæk-che dynasty in terms of cultural and artistic achievements. Numerous objects and Buddhist temple sites have been excavated from this period.

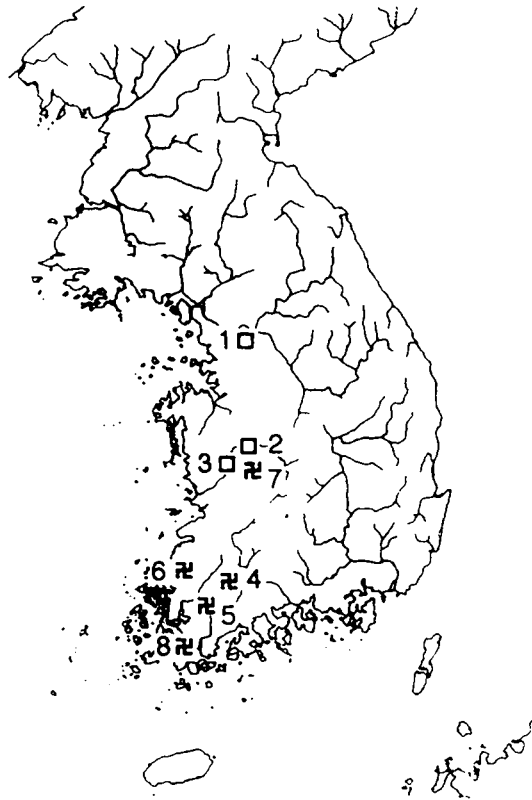


Fig. 174: The three capitals of Bæk-che 百濟 백제 and temples in the Han-sǒng 漢城 한성 period

- Legend:
- 1 Han-sǒng 漢城 한성 (Sŏ-ul (Seoul) 서울)
  - 2 Ung-chin 熊津 웅진 (Kong-chu 公州 공주)
  - 3 Sa-bi 泗沘 사비 (Bu-yŏ 扶餘 부여)
  - 4 Kwan-ŭm-sa 觀音寺 관음사
  - 5 Bul-hwŏe-sa 佛會寺 불회사
  - 6 Bul-kab-sa 佛甲寺 불갑사
  - 7 Kab-sa 甲寺 갑사
  - 8 Dæ-hŭng-sa 大興寺 대흥사

<sup>1</sup> Güm-kang 錦江 금강 [fig. 684 (9)].  
<sup>2</sup> Chung-çhǒng-nam-do 忠清南道 충청남도, Chǒn-la-buk-do 全羅北道 전라북도, Chǒn-la-nam-do 全羅南道 전라남도. The south-western region of the modern South Korea [fig. 685].

## 3.1.1. BUDDHISM IN THE HAN-SÖNG PERIOD (until 475 AD)

## 3.1.1.1. Kwan-üm-sa: a legendary temple founding

In the year 300 AD, the third year of the reign of King Bun-sö<sup>1</sup>, a certain virgin with the name Söng-dök<sup>2</sup> is said to have founded the temple Kwan-üm-sa<sup>3</sup> in the Söng-dök mountains<sup>4</sup> in Gok-söng county<sup>5</sup> which belonged to Bæk-che at that time [fig. 174]. The legend relates that Söng-dök brought a gilt bronze statue of Avalokiteśvara from Nak-an-po<sup>6</sup> for this temple. After its founding, Kwan-üm-sa is not mentioned any more until the late Ko-ryö dynasty<sup>7</sup>. It is therefore difficult to judge if any of this legend has an historical background but the related period of founding is most certainly an error.

## 3.1.1.2. The introduction of Buddhism and early temple founding

The *Sam-guk-sa-gi*<sup>8</sup> states: "In the ninth month of the first year of King Chim-ryu<sup>9</sup> [of Bæk-che] (384 AD) the [Indian] monk Ma-ra-nan-ta<sup>10</sup> arrived [in Bæk-che] from the [Eastern] Jin<sup>11</sup>, the King received him and invited him in the palace with due respect. This was the beginning of Buddhism [in Bæk-che]. In the second month of the second year a temple staffed with ten monks was erected in the capital Han-söng<sup>12</sup>". "Upon his coronation in the second month in the seventeenth

<sup>1</sup> Bun-sö Wang 汾西王 분서왕, the 10th king of Bæk-che, he reigned from 298 to 304 AD. Variants of the legend claim that the temple was founded in the 4th year of Bun-sö Wang, i.e. 301 AD or in the 9th year of Bi-ryu Wang 比流王 비류왕 i.e. 312 AD. See: Kwan-üm-sa 觀音寺 관음사 (ed.) (1994), p. 25, 60f.

<sup>2</sup> Söng-dök 聖德 성덕, literally 'holy virtue', this figure has been traditionally interpreted as a personification of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva 觀世音菩薩 관세음보살.

<sup>3</sup> Kwan-üm-sa 觀音寺 관음사 (No. 6.6.1.), literally 'Avalokiteśvara temple'.

<sup>4</sup> Söng-dök-san 聖德山 성덕산, the name of the mountain derives obviously from the name of the virgin Söng-dök.

<sup>5</sup> Gok-söng-gun 谷城郡 곡성군 [fig. 692 (6)].

<sup>6</sup> Nak-an-po 樂安浦 낙안포, in modern Süng-chu-gun 昇州郡 승주군, Chön-la-nam-do 全羅南道 전라남도 [fig. 692 (8)].

<sup>7</sup> Ko-ryö 高麗 고려. The temple is said to have been constructed for the fifth time in 1374 or 1378 AD. The Wön-tong-chön 圓通殿 원통전 which was destroyed in the 1950 - 1953 Korean War is said to have dated to this reconstruction. See: Kwan-üm-sa 觀音寺 관음사 (ed.) (1994); *SCSC*, pp. 55f.

<sup>8</sup> *SGSG*, vol. II, pp. 29, 33.

<sup>9</sup> Chim-ryu Wang 枕流王 침류왕, the 15th king of Bæk-che, he reigned one year in 384 AD.

<sup>10</sup> Ma-ra-nan-ta 摩羅難陀 마라난타.

<sup>11</sup> Eastern Jin 東晉 동진, from 317 - 420 AD.

<sup>12</sup> Han-söng 漢城 한성 [fig. 174 (1)].

year of *taiyuan*<sup>1</sup> (392 AD) King A-sin<sup>2</sup> of Bæk-che issued a royal decree granting permission to the people to seek blessings in the worship of Buddha". As the population of Bæk-che was allowed to be ordained only nine years after the first temple founding, the ten monks mentioned with the earliest temple founding must have come to Bæk-che together with Ma-ra-nan-ta. No remains of this temple of an unknown name have yet been found.

In the territory of Bæk-che three extant temples are said to have been founded before the official adoption of Buddhism in 392 AD. The traditional founding of Chin-chong-sa (today's Chŏn-dŭng-sa) in Kang-hwa county<sup>3</sup>, Bul-hwœ-sa in Na-chu county<sup>4</sup> and Bul-kab-sa in Yŏng-kwang county<sup>5</sup> fit into the history of Buddhism presented in the *Sam-guk-yu-sa*. Chŏn-dŭng-sa is said to have been founded by A-do Hwa-sang<sup>6</sup> in 381 AD, one of the founders of Buddhism in Ko-gu-ryŏ, while Bul-hwœ-sa and Bul-kab-sa are said to have been founded in 384 AD for the Indian monk Ma-ra-nan-ta, who introduced Buddhism to the court of Bæk-che in the same year. Chŏn-dŭng-sa lies in an area of Bæk-che which was very close to Ko-gu-ryŏ. The island Kang-hwa<sup>7</sup> where the temple was located [fig. 89], was conquered by King Chang-su<sup>8</sup> of Ko-gu-ryŏ in 475 AD. If the founding story of Chŏn-dŭng-sa is historically correct, then Bæk-che first entered in contact with Buddhism through its rival Ko-gu-ryŏ (in 371 AD King Ko-guk-wŏn<sup>9</sup> of Ko-gu-ryŏ was killed by the crown prince<sup>10</sup> of Bæk-che in a battle). Bul-hwœ-sa and Bul-kab-sa lie to the south and the west respectively of the modern city of Kwang-chu<sup>11</sup> and quite close to the western coast and the modern port of Mok-po<sup>12</sup>, which is known for its importance for the trade with the southern Chinese coast, from where Ma-ra-nan-ta supposedly

<sup>1</sup> *Taiyuan* 太元 태원, the name of the last period (376 - 396 AD) of the reign of Xiaowu-di 孝武帝 효무제, the 13th emperor of Jin 晉 진 who reigned from 372 to 396 AD.

<sup>2</sup> A-sin Wang 阿莘王 아신왕, the 17th king of Bæk-che, reigned from 392 to 404 AD.

<sup>3</sup> Chin-chong-sa 眞宗寺 진종사, today's Chŏn-dŭng-sa 傳燈寺 전등사 (No. 1.3.3.), Kang-hwa-gun 江華郡 강화군 [fig. 687 (3)]. See: Chapter 2.1., p. 88.

<sup>4</sup> Bul-hwœ-sa 佛會寺 불회사 (No. 6.10.1.) in Na-chu-gun 羅州郡 나주군 [fig. 692 (10)].

<sup>5</sup> Bul-kab-sa 佛甲寺 불갑사 (No. 6.2.1.) in Yŏng-kwang-gun 靈光郡 영광군 [fig. 692 (2)].

<sup>6</sup> A-do Hwa-sang 阿道和尙 아도화상.

<sup>7</sup> Kang-hwa-do 江華島 강화도 [fig. 687 (3)].

<sup>8</sup> Chang-su Wang 長壽王 장수왕, the 20th king of Ko-gu-ryŏ, reigned from 413 to 491 AD.

<sup>9</sup> Ko-guk-wŏn Wang 故國原王 고국원왕, the 16th king of Ko-gu-ryŏ, reigned from 331 to 370 AD.

<sup>10</sup> The crown prince of Bæk-che became the 14th king of Bæk-che and his posthumous title is Gŭn-gu-su Wang 近仇首王 근구수왕, reigned from 375 to 383 AD.

<sup>11</sup> Kwang-chu Metropolis 光州廣域市 광주광역시 [fig. 692 (1)].

<sup>12</sup> Mok-po City 木浦市 목포시 [fig. 692 (14)].

arrived [fig. 174]. These geographical and personal correspondences make it conceivable that these temples or others in the same area were actually founded a short time before Bæk-che officially adopted Buddhism.

There are only a few pieces of information about the Buddhism of Bæk-che dating to the century after the official adoption of Buddhism in 392 AD. As the precise location of the capital Han-sǒng is still under investigation<sup>1</sup>, archaeology can still not provide additional information about this first period of Buddhism of Bæk-che. However, two extant temples are recorded to have been founded during this period:

420 AD: Kab-sa, founded by A-do Hwa-sang<sup>2</sup>

426 AD: Dæ-hǔng-sa, founded by Chǒng-kwan Chon-cha<sup>3</sup>

### 3.1.1.2.1. Kab-sa

Kab-sa lies on the western slope of the Kye-ryong mountains<sup>4</sup> and it is quite close to Ung-chin, the second capital of Bæk-che [fig. 174]. Unfortunately, there are three conflicting records concerning its founding. The first states that Kab-sa was founded by A-do Hwa-sang in 420 AD. This version seems to connect the founding of Kab-sa with the recorded journey of A-do Hwa-sang from Ko-gu-ryǒ to Sin-la during the reign of King Nul-chi of Sa-ro<sup>5</sup>. The second version claims that Kab-sa was founded in the sixth century during the reign of King Chin-hǔng<sup>6</sup> of Sin-la.

<sup>1</sup> See: SKSSC, p. 625; CHANG Kyǒng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992), p. 79ff.; HGKCS, p. 137ff.

<sup>2</sup> Kab-sa 甲寺 감사 (No. 4.12.5.), its original name was Kye-ryong-kab-sa 鷄龍岬寺 계동감사 or Kab-sa-sa 岬士寺 감사사, A-do Hwa-sang 阿道和尚 아도화상.

<sup>3</sup> Dæ-hǔng-sa 大興寺 대흥사 (No. 6.17.1.), Chǒng-kwan Chon-cha 淨觀尊者 정관존자.

<sup>4</sup> Kye-ryong-san 鷄龍山 계동산 [fig. 684 (21)].

<sup>5</sup> Nul-chi Ma-rib-kan 訥祗麻立 干늘지마립간 of Sa-ro 斯盧 사로 (the old name of Sin-la 新羅 신라), reigned from 417 to 457 AD. The journey of A-do Hwa-sang is usually thought to have occurred in the first quarter of the 5th century AD which would fit well with the founding story of Kab-sa. The next related date states that the Chǒn-bul-chǒn 千佛殿 천불전 was reconstructed in 503 AD. See: Kong-chu-gun 公州郡 공주군 (1991), p. 19.

<sup>6</sup> Chin-hǔng Wang 眞興王 진흥왕, the 24th king of Sin-la 新羅 신라, reigned from 540 to 575 AD. Another source claims that approximately at the same time Hye-myǒng Dæ-sa 惠明大師 혜명대사 reconstructed the two storied Chǒn-bul-chǒn 千佛殿 천불전, the Bo-kwang-myǒng-chǒn 普光明殿 보광명전 and the Dæ-kwang-myǒng-chǒn 大光明殿 대광명전 of Kab-sa 甲寺 감사 in 556 AD. See: Kong-chu-gun 公州郡 공주군 (1991), p. 19.

Finally, a third record claims that Cha-chang Yul-sa<sup>1</sup> founded Kab-sa in the seventh century AD. The second and third record seem to attribute the foundation to the Sin-la kingdom, which is quite questionable as the western slopes of the Kye-ryong mountains were probably firmly in the hands of Bæk-che until the final war of 660 AD. Therefore it seems reasonable to credit the Bæk-che kingdom with the foundation of Kab-sa, but it is hardly possible to attribute the founding to a particular period because none of the records can be supported by material evidence.

### 3.1.1.2.2. Dæ-hǔng-sa

Dæ-hǔng-sa<sup>2</sup> is situated in the Du-ryun mountains<sup>3</sup> in the southernmost part of the Korean peninsula. Its founding is so obscure as the one of Kab-sa, and two different founding accounts are recorded. The first claims that a certain Sa-ro monk, whose name was Chǒng-kwan Chon-cha<sup>4</sup>, founded the hermitage Man-il-am<sup>5</sup> in 426 AD. The second states that Dæ-hǔng-sa was founded by A-do Hwa-sang<sup>6</sup> in 514 or in 544 AD for the memory of the late mother of King Chin-hǔng<sup>7</sup> of Sin-la. There must be some confusion about these dates because, concerning the first record, it is contradictory that a Sin-la monk should have founded a Buddhist temple in Bæk-che territory when Sin-la itself had not yet accepted Buddhism officially. The second date seems to be a chronological error because A-do Hwa-sang probably lived in the late fourth and early fifth and not in the sixth century AD. Furthermore, the location of Dæ-hǔng-sa is very far away from any probable travel itinerary of A-do Hwa-sang from Ko-gu-ryō to Sin-la.

Confronted with such unreliable records, the question arises, as to how it was possible that such contradictory records developed and were continuously transmitted, and as to what knowledge can be gained by them. The first question has

<sup>1</sup> Cha-chang Yul-sa 慈藏律師 자장율사, lived from 608 to 686 AD. He returned from China in 643 AD, the period when he founded many temples in Korea is 643 to 650 AD. There is some chronological confusion in this variant because Cha-chang Yul-sa is said to have founded Kab-sa during the reign of Chin-hǔng Wang 眞興王 진흥왕 (r. 540 - 575 AD) and that Hye-myōng Sōn-sa 慧明禪師 해명선사 enlarged the temple. See: Kong-chu County 公州郡 공주군 (1991), p. 19, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Dæ-hǔng-sa 大興寺 대흥사 (No. 6.17.1.).

<sup>3</sup> Du-ryun-san 頭輪山 두륜산.

<sup>4</sup> Chǒng-kwan Chon-cha 淨觀尊者 정관존자.

<sup>5</sup> Man-il-am 挽日庵 만일암.

<sup>6</sup> A-do Hwa-sang 阿道和尚 아도화상.

<sup>7</sup> Chin-hǔng Wang 眞興王 진흥왕, the 24th king of Sin-la, reigned from 540 to 575 AD.

three possible answers. Either the contradictory records are the result of continuous mistakes by copyists and careless interpreters or they are intentionally created wrong records, or incomplete and erroneous records amended with invented details, dates and names. If the records are simply mistakes, then it can be expected that some root of truth can be found in them; if they are forgeries to any degree, the very fact that they were forged may shed some light on their purpose and their importance<sup>1</sup>. It is however not possible to answer these questions for all the legends and half-true records of all the temples at once; they have to be examined case by case. A much deeper knowledge of the history of the concerned periods is needed than the one derived from the necessarily limited sources of information which could be consulted for this study in order to discuss these ambiguous questions exhaustively. Therefore, it must be sufficient for that I put forward a hypothesis which will have to be confirmed or contradicted at some later date.

In the present cases I believe that the two temples mentioned above were in fact founded by monks of the Bæk-che kingdom, but I cannot accept the names and dates given in the records unconditionally. In particular the frequent occurrence of the name A-do Hwa-sang, which is attributed to very different dates and locations, is suspect. I therefore suppose that the name A-do Hwa-sang was amended later to some historical accounts in order to enhance the prestige of the temple or to illustrate the records with elements which would allow the concerned temple to be connected to the official history of Korean Buddhism. Similar cases of half-true temple founding with the names of other famous monks such as Cha-chang Yul-sa, Ūi-sang Dæ-sa and Wŏn-hyo Dæ-sa<sup>2</sup> will surface again below.

<sup>1</sup> It is possible, for example, that the forged documents were used to enhance the importance of a certain temple either to protect it from destruction or to claim superiority over other temples of the same region in administrative and economic questions.

<sup>2</sup> Cha-chang Yul-sa 慈藏律師 자강율사, Ūi-sang Dæ-sa 義湘大師 의상대사, Wŏn-hyo Dæ-sa 元曉大師 원효대사. See: Chapter 4.1., pp. 714 - 734.

## 3.1.2. BUDDHISM IN THE UNG-CHIN PERIOD (from 475 to 538 AD)

## 3.1.2.1. Activities of the Buddhist community

From the first period of the Buddhism of Bæk-che there is almost no information about the famous monks or Buddhist schools of the time. The first details on the activities of the Buddhist community are recorded from the second period. The Bæk-che monk Bal-chǒng<sup>1</sup> is said to have studied Buddhism in southern China between 502 and 520 AD and Kyǒm-ik<sup>2</sup> started a long voyage in 526 AD which finally led him to a temple in central India whose Korean name is Sang-ka-na Dæ-yul-sa<sup>3</sup>. There he learnt Sanskrit and studied the monastic rules. Five years later, probably in 530 AD, he returned to Bæk-che accompanied by the Indian monk Bæ-dal-da<sup>4</sup> and brought *Vinaya* and *Abhidharma* texts<sup>5</sup> with him. He founded the first Vinaya school of Korea and translated 72 fascicles of Sanskrit text into Chinese. His students Dam-uk and Hye-in<sup>6</sup> subsequently wrote a commentary in 36 fascicles to this newly translated *Vinaya*.

At about the same time, in 529 AD, King Sǒng<sup>7</sup> issued a decree forbidding the slaughter of animals for meat, a rule which usually applies only to the community of monks and not to laymen. This example was followed in Korea only for brief durations, as for example during the reign of King Sǒng-chong<sup>8</sup> of the early Ko-ryǒ dynasty.

## 3.1.2.2. Temple foundings

The founding of a number of extant temples is said to have occurred in the brief Ung-chin period. In contrast to the first period, some actual temple sites have been discovered and excavated from the second period of Bæk-che. In addition, the

<sup>1</sup> Bal-chǒng 發正 발정. See: *HJAS* 42 - 1, p. 465.

<sup>2</sup> Kyǒm-ik 謙益 겸익, some authors consider 526 AD as the date of his return to Bæk-che. See: KODAMA Daien 小玉 大圓こだま だいえん 소옥 대원 in: LANCASTER, YU Chai-shin (eds.) (1989), pp. 109 - 142.

<sup>3</sup> Sang-ka-na Dæ-yul-sa 常伽那大律寺 상가나 대율사. The location is not clear. See: KODAMA Daien 小玉 大圓こだま だいえん 소옥 대원 in: LANCASTER, YU Chai-shin (eds.) (1989), p. 112, LEE Peter H. (YI Hak-su 李鶴洙 이학수), BAKER (eds.) (1993), p. 68.

<sup>4</sup> Bæ-dal-da 倍達多배달다, in Sanskrit: 'Vedatta' according to KODAMA Daien 小玉 大圓こだま だいえん 소옥 대원 in: LANCASTER, YU Chai-shin (eds.) (1989), p. 112.

<sup>5</sup> *Vinaya* 律部 율부, the monastic rules, *Abhidharma* 阿毘達磨 아비달마, the 'supreme doctrine'.

<sup>6</sup> Dam-uk 曇旭 담옥 and Hye-in 惠仁 혜인.

<sup>7</sup> Sǒng Wang 聖王 성왕, the 26th king of Bæk-che, he reigned from 523 to 553 AD.

<sup>8</sup> Sǒng-chong 成宗 성종, the 6th king of Ko-ryǒ 高麗 고려, he reigned from 982 to 997 AD.



names of several untraceable temples<sup>1</sup> can be found in the historical sources. The following temple foundings are attributed to the Ung-chin period:

514-539 AD: Gak-yŏn-sa<sup>2</sup>

527 or 529 AD: Dæ-tong-sa in Ung-chin<sup>3</sup>

523-553 AD: Hŭng-ryun-sa in Ung-chin<sup>4</sup>

529 AD: Bi-ro-am in the Cho-kye mountains<sup>5</sup>

### 3.1.2.2.1. Gak-yŏn-sa

Gak-yŏn-sa lies about 20km to the south of the southernmost point of the Nam-han River<sup>6</sup>, close to the strategic passes Cho-ryŏng and I-hwa-ryŏng<sup>7</sup> which separate Kyŏng-sang North Province from Chung-čhŏng North Province<sup>8</sup> [fig. 175]. The temple was thus situated at the junction of the Three Kingdoms and it is not clear to which kingdom the surrounding territory belonged at that time. The temple records state that the temple was founded during the reign of King Bŏb-hŭng<sup>9</sup> of Sin-la by a certain monk named Yu-il<sup>10</sup>. But the territory to the north of the passes was conquered by Sin-la only during the reign of King Chin-hŭng<sup>11</sup>. About 30km to the north of Gak-yŏn-sa, on the western bank of the Nam-han River, the southernmost inscribed stele of Ko-gu-ryŏ was found in 1979 AD by a team from Dan-guk University<sup>12</sup>. The stele supposedly marks the southern border

<sup>1</sup> CHANG hints at the possibility that some of the fourteen temples which are mentioned in the *Sin-chŭng Dong-guk Yŏ-chi Sŭng-ram* of 1481 AD (e.g. Sŏ-hyŏl-sa 西穴寺 서혈사 and Chu-mi-sa 舟尾寺 주미사) might have been founded during the Ung-chin period of Bæk-che.

See: CHANG Kyŏng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), p. 21; *SCDGYCSR*, p. 287.

<sup>2</sup> Gak-yŏn-sa 覺淵寺 각연사 (No. 3.8.1.).

<sup>3</sup> Dæ-tong-sa 大通寺 대통사 (No. 4.13.1.) in Ung-chin 熊津 웅진.

<sup>4</sup> Hŭng-ryun-sa 興輪寺 흥륜사 in Ung-chin 熊津 웅진. The precise location is unknown.

This is the temple where Kyŏm-ik 謙益 겸익 stayed after his return from India and where he translated the *Vinaya*.

<sup>5</sup> Bi-ro-am 毘盧庵 비로암, now called Sŏn-am-sa 仙巖寺 선암사 (No. 6.8.2.) in Cho-kye-san 曹溪山 조계산.

<sup>6</sup> Nam-han-kang 南漢江 남한강 [fig. 684 (8)].

<sup>7</sup> Cho-ryŏng 鳥嶺 조령, I-hwa-ryŏng 梨花嶺 이화령.

<sup>8</sup> Kyŏng-sang-buk-do 慶尙北道 경상북도, Chung-čhŏng-buk-do 忠清北道 충청북도 [fig. 685].

<sup>9</sup> Bŏb-hŭng Wang 法興王 법흥왕, the 23rd and first Buddhist king of Sin-la, reigned from 514 to 539 AD.

<sup>10</sup> Yu-il 有一 유일, his life dates are not known.

<sup>11</sup> Chin-hŭng Wang 眞興王 진흥왕, the 24th king of Sin-la, he reigned from 540 to 575 AD.

See: LEE Ki-baik (YI Ki-bæk 李基白 이기백) (1984), p. 43.

<sup>12</sup> See: *CPS* 4, p. 122, 265.

of Ko-gu-ryŏ during the reign of King Chang-su<sup>1</sup> in the late fifth century AD. Ko-gu-ryŏ was however about to lose the territory of the Han basin in the middle of the sixth century AD and it is therefore questionable whether Ko-gu-ryŏ could have founded temples in such a remote area in the early sixth century AD. Though Bæk-che did probably not control firmly the area around Gak-yŏn-sa, it may still be considered as its founder nation because Gak-yŏn-sa lay closer to the centre of Bæk-che than to the centre of the other two kingdoms. I will return to the political aspect of the temple foundings below.

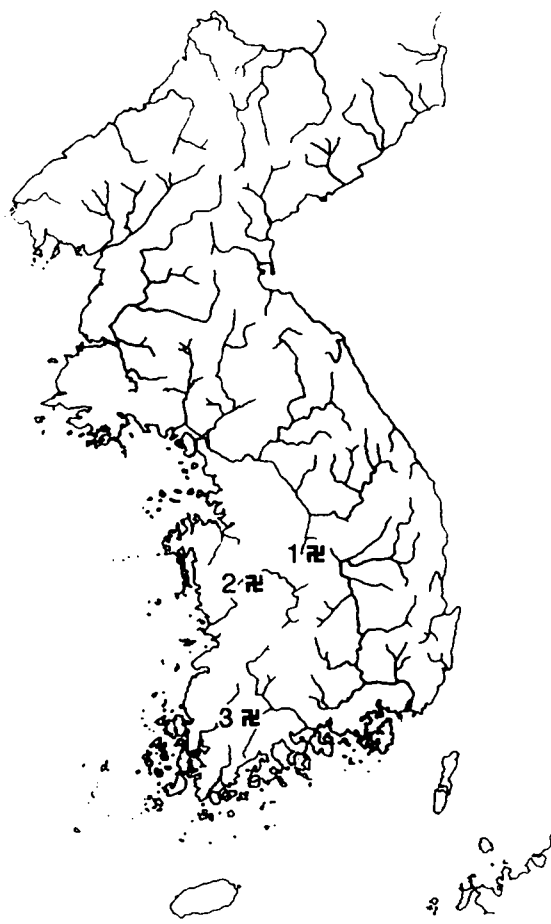


Fig. 175: Temples in the Ung-chin 熊津웅진 period

- |         |   |                      |
|---------|---|----------------------|
| Legend: | 1 | Gak-yŏn-sa 覺淵寺 각연사   |
|         | 2 | Dæ-tong-sa 大通寺 대통사   |
|         |   | Hŭng-ryun-sa 興輪寺 흥륜사 |
|         | 3 | Bi-ro-am 毘盧庵 비로암     |

<sup>1</sup> Chang-su Wang 長壽王 장수왕, the 20th king of Ko-gu-ryŏ, reigned from 413 to 491 AD.

## 3.1.2.2.2. Dæ-tong-sa

Dæ-tong-sa<sup>1</sup> is the earliest temple of Bæk-che which is mentioned in the *Sam-guk-yu-sa*<sup>2</sup> whose site has been discovered. Il-yŏn cites the *Guk-sa*<sup>3</sup> which claimed that Dæ-tong-sa was founded in honour of the Liang emperor Wu<sup>4</sup> but Il-yŏn argues that the *Guk-sa* made a mistake by placing the founding of Dæ-tong-sa in the first year of the *datong*<sup>5</sup> period (527 AD). Instead, Il-yŏn supposes that the temple was founded in the first year of the *zhongdatong*<sup>6</sup> period (529 AD). Fortunately the two dates are so close to each other that it does not matter to the present discussion which one is correct. It is not clear when the temple was abandoned but the absence of more textual information seems to indicate that it was destroyed before the founding of the Ko-ryŏ dynasty.

A tile fragment with the inscription *dæ-tong* was found at a building site in modern down-town Kong-chu which suggests that this was the site of Dæ-tong-sa [figs. 175, 186, 377f.]. The temple remains which were discovered on this site will be discussed in the next chapter.

## 3.1.2.2.3. Bi-ro-am

Bi-ro-am, today's Sŏn-am-sa<sup>7</sup>, lies on the eastern slope of Mount Cho-kye [figs. 175]. The temple is said to have been founded by A-do Hwa-sang<sup>8</sup> in 529 AD during the reign of King Sŏng<sup>9</sup> of Bæk-che. As in the case of Dæ-hŭng-sa above, the name A-do Hwa-sang seems to be an embellishment of an old historical record. The precise date cannot be trusted either, but it seems reasonable to assume that a number of temples were founded in the southern territories of Bæk-che during the Sa-bi period at least.

<sup>1</sup> Dæ-tong-sa 大通寺 대통사 (No. 4.13.1).

<sup>2</sup> *Sam-guk-yu-sa* 「三國遺事 삼국유사」. See: *SGYS*, pp. 96, 310, (191).

<sup>3</sup> *Guk-sa* 「國史국사」, what is meant is the *Sam-guk-sa-gi* 「三國史記 삼국사기」 but the extant editions of this book do not mention Dæ-tong-sa.

<sup>4</sup> Wu-di 武帝 무제 the first emperor of the Liang 梁 양 reigned from 502 to 549 AD. Bæk-che seems to have had particularly good relations with the southern Chinese kingdoms.

<sup>5</sup> *Datong* 大通 대통, the name of the period from 527 to 528 AD during the reign of Wu-di 武帝 무제.

<sup>6</sup> *Zhongdatong* 中大通 중대통, the name of the period from 529 to 534 AD during the reign of Wu-di 武帝 무제.

<sup>7</sup> Bi-ro-am 毘盧庵 비로암, literally 'Vairocana hermitage', Sŏn-am-sa 仙巖寺 선암사 (No. 6.8.2.), literally 'sage-rock temple'. The temple was reconstructed in the 9th C. AD.

<sup>8</sup> A-do Hwa-sang 阿道和尙 아도화상.

<sup>9</sup> Sŏng Wang 聖王 성왕, the 26th king of Bæk-che, reigned from 523 to 553 AD.

## 3.1.3. BUDDHISM IN THE SA-BI PERIOD (538-660 AD)

It is not yet clearly established why Bæk-che changed its capital after a short period of only 63 years and five kings<sup>1</sup>. LEE<sup>2</sup> suggests that the topography of Kong-chu was an obstacle to the 'national development'. It is also possible that King Sǒng wanted to give its capital a more cultivated, Chinese image on a flat plain where a chess-board-like city layout was possible.

Much of the known Buddhist material culture of Bæk-che dates to this last, productive period. Several stone and gilt bronze sculptures remain and a number of large temple sites have been excavated. It seems that metal and stone technology developed greatly during this period. Perhaps the efforts to produce these cultural achievements led the kingdom to neglect its military protection, which proved fatal to the royal dynasty of Bæk-che. The last 122 years of Bæk-che lay about equally in the sixth and seventh century AD and the turn of the century can serve as a rough division.

## 3.1.3.1. The sixth century AD

## 3.1.3.1.1. Activities of the Buddhist community

Among the eminent monks of the second half of the sixth century AD was Hyǒn-kwang<sup>3</sup> who studied the *Lotus sūtra* in China under Huisi<sup>4</sup>, the second patriarch of the Tiantai<sup>5</sup> school. When he returned to Korea he founded an hermitage near the old capital Ung-chin, in the Ong mountain<sup>6</sup>. Hyǒn-kwang was probably one of the first Korean masters of the Čhǒn-tæ-chong<sup>7</sup>, if not the very founder of the tradition in Korea. Later the hermitage was enlarged to a full-fledged temple but even its location has since been forgotten.

<sup>1</sup> The custom of frequently changing capitals observed in early Japan does not seem to have been part of Korean political culture. The capitals were usually only changed in case of the establishment of a new dynasty. The change from Han-sǒng to Ung-chin seems clearly to have been the result of military defeat and occupation of the capital by Ko-gu-ryǒ.

<sup>2</sup> See: LEE Ki-baik (YI Ki-bæk 李基白 이기백) (1984), p. 44.

<sup>3</sup> Hyǒn-kwang 玄光 현광, he was active around 539 to 575 AD. See: *HJAS* 42 - 1, p. 468.

<sup>4</sup> Huisi 慧思 혜사, he lived from 515 to 577 AD, he was also the teacher of Zhiyi 智顓 지의 (538 - 597).

<sup>5</sup> Tiantai 天台宗 천태종.

<sup>6</sup> Ung-chin 熊津 웅진 or Ung-chu 熊州 웅주, Ong-san 翁山 응산, literally 'old-man mountain'. The identity of the mountain is not clear, it might belong to Kye-ryong-san 鷄龍山 계룡산 [fig. 684 (21)] which is famous for its religious establishments.

<sup>7</sup> Čhǒn-tæ-chong 天台宗 천태종.

In 541 AD, Bæk-che asked the Chinese Liang<sup>1</sup> dynasty for cultural cooperation. New *sūtras* were introduced into Bæk-che and Liang sent artisans (maybe also architects), painters and poets to Bæk-che. These artisans were probably instrumental in the casting of a sixteen-*chōk*-tall bronze Buddha statue<sup>2</sup> in 545 AD.

In 599 AD, King Bōb<sup>3</sup> renewed the decree by King Sōng<sup>4</sup> of 529 AD, forbidding the killing of animals. The *Sam-guk-sa-gi*<sup>5</sup> records: "In the twelfth month [of the first year of King Bōb], the King issued a law forbidding to kill [living beings] and ordering to release the domesticated [hunting] falcons and hawks and to burn [all] the fishing and hunting utensils."

### 3.1.3.1.2. The introduction of Buddhism into Japan

Buddhism was officially introduced in Japan through Bæk-che in 538 AD<sup>6</sup> and nine Bæk-che monks, among them Dam-hye<sup>7</sup>, went to Japan in 554 AD thus laying the foundation of Japanese Buddhism. They were however received with mixed feelings and for about forty years Japanese Buddhism struggled for survival. A decisive event happened in 577 AD, during the reign of the Emperor Bidatsu<sup>8</sup>, when Bæk-che presented Buddhist *sūtras* to Prince Ōwake<sup>9</sup> during his visit to Sa-bi and ordered six Bæk-che people to accompany the Prince on his return to Japan. The *Nihonshoki*<sup>10</sup> states that they were "an ascetic, a meditation master, a nun, a reciter of *dhāraṇī* spells, a maker of Buddhist images and a temple architect"<sup>11</sup>.

Bæk-che continued its missionary efforts in Japan in 583 AD and in following years by dispatching further Buddhist monks. Nok-sim<sup>12</sup> carried a stone Maitreya statue with him in 584 AD which was probably similar to the extant Maitreya

<sup>1</sup> Liang 梁 양, from 502 - 557 AD.

<sup>2</sup> Chang-yuk-bul-sang 丈六佛像 장육불상, 16 *chōk* 尺 척 = about 5.3m.

<sup>3</sup> Bōb Wang 法王 법왕, the 29th king of Bæk-che, reigned during one year in 599 AD.

<sup>4</sup> Sōng Wang 聖王 성왕, the 26th king of Bæk-che, reigned from 523 to 553. See: p. 228.

<sup>5</sup> See: *SMSG*, vol. II, p. 68, 73.

<sup>6</sup> Some authors date the official introduction of Buddhism into Japan to 552 AD.

See: *TP XLVII*, pp. 16 - 29.

<sup>7</sup> Dam-hye 曇惠 담혜. See: KAMATA Shigeo 鎌田茂雄 かまた しげお 경전 무용 (1988, 1991), p. 41.

<sup>8</sup> Emperor Bidatsu 敏達びだつ 민달, the 30th emperor of Japan, reigned from 571 to 585 AD.

<sup>9</sup> Ōwake 大別 おうわけ대별. See: *NHSC*, part 2, pp. 95f.

<sup>10</sup> *Nihonshoki* 「日本書紀にほんしょき 일본서기」. See: *NHSC*, part II, p. 96, (pp. 581, 621).

<sup>11</sup> An ascetic 律師 율사, a meditation master 禪師 선사, a nun 比丘尼 비구니, a reciter of *dhāraṇī* spells 呪禁師 주금사, a maker of Buddhist images 造佛工 조불공, a temple architect 造寺工 조사공.

<sup>12</sup> Nok-sim 鹿深 녹심.

figures of the sixth or seventh century AD of Kōryū-ji<sup>1</sup> in Japan, the Bu-yō National Museum<sup>2</sup> [fig. 185] and the Korean National Museum in Sō-ul (Seoul)<sup>3</sup> [fig. 91 (3)]. The Bæk-che monk Hye-čhong<sup>4</sup> is especially revered in Japan because in 588 AD he brought for the first time to Japan *śarīra* of the historical Buddha. Hye-čhong is therefore regarded as one of the founders of Japan's 'Three Treasures'<sup>5</sup>. In the same year, new masters of Buddhist architecture arrived from Bæk-che and the first fully-developed temples<sup>6</sup> were built in Japan.

### 3.1.3.1.3. Ordained nuns in early Korea

So far I have not discussed the existence of nuns on the Korean peninsula because no records of the first ordinations of Korean nuns are related. But through information about Buddhist nuns in early Japan<sup>7</sup> it can be assumed that nuns and nunneries were an integral part of Korean Buddhism since its introduction from China. The first nun who is mentioned in a Korean source is the sister of the layman Mo-rye<sup>8</sup>. Her story is integrated in the biography of A-do Hwa-sang<sup>9</sup>, which is placed in the third century AD. But the anachronisms of the story of A-do Hwa-sang also casts doubt on the ordination of Mo-rye's sister. The first safe account is contained in the *Sam-guk-yu-sa*<sup>10</sup> which states that King Bōb-hūng<sup>11</sup> of Sin-la and his queen retired in 540 AD from the throne to become a monk and a nun. It can therefore be considered as certain that all three Korean kingdoms had ordained nuns in the sixth century AD at the latest.

<sup>1</sup> Kōryū-ji 廣隆寺 こうりゅうじ 광동사. See: *SKBJZS* 2, colour pl. 5.

<sup>2</sup> See: Bu-yō (Puyo) National Museum 國立扶餘博物館 국립부여박물관 (ed.) (1993), p. 73.

<sup>3</sup> See: Korea (National Museum of) 國立中央博物館 국립중앙박물관 (ed.) (1991), p. 74f.

<sup>4</sup> Hye-čhong 慧聰 혜충 (var. 惠聰 혜충), his life dates are not known. He belonged to the Sam-non-chong (J: Sanron-shū) 三論宗さんろんしゅう 삼논종.

<sup>5</sup> Three Treasures 三寶 삼보 (Skr. *triratna*), representing the Buddha 佛 불, the *dharma* 法 법 and the *saṅgha* 僧 승. The *śarīra* 舍利 사리 are the relics of a Buddha or a saint which remain after cremation. They represent Buddha among the Three Treasures.

<sup>6</sup> Among the earliest temples in Japan were Asuka-dera 飛鳥寺 あすかてら 비조사 (also called Hōkō-ji 法興寺 ほうこうじ 법흥사) constructed from 587 to 596 AD and Shitennō-ji 四天王寺 してんのうじ 사천왕사, built in 592 / 593 AD. See: *ActaA* 47, pp. 26 - 29; *SOPER* (1942), pp. 3, 23; Chapter 2.2., p. 136, fig. 118, Chapter 3.3., p. 531.

<sup>7</sup> Beside the above mentioned nun from Bæk-che which travelled to Japan, the Ko-gu-ryō monk Hye-pyōn 惠便 혜편 ordained the first three Japanese nuns in 584 AD. See Chapter 2.1., p. 91.

<sup>8</sup> Mo-rye 毛禮 모례.

<sup>9</sup> A-do Hwa-sang 阿道和尙 아도화상. See Chapter 2.1, p. 87; Chapter 4.1., pp. 674ff.

<sup>10</sup> *Sam-guk-yu-sa* 「三國遺事 삼국유사」, See: *SGYS*, p. 96, 309f., (190f.), Chapter 4.1., p. 681.

<sup>11</sup> Bōb-hūng Wang 法興王 법흥왕, the 23rd king of Sin-la, reigned from 514 to 539 AD.

## 3.1.3.1.4. Temple foundings

A series of extant and ruined temples claim to have been founded in the early Sa-bi period of Bæk-che. They are in chronological order:

540 AD: Dæ-hŭng-sa (var. 426 or 514 AD)<sup>1</sup>

544 AD: Hwa-ŏm-sa in Chi-ri-san, founded by Yŏn-gi Cho-sa<sup>2</sup>

~ 550 AD: Chŏng-rim-sa in Bu-yŏ<sup>3</sup>

552 AD: Bŏb-čhŏn-sa, founded by Dŏk-ye Cho-sa<sup>4</sup>

556 AD: Kab-sa in the Kye-ryong mountains (var. 420 AD)<sup>5</sup>

566 AD: Nŭng-sa<sup>6</sup>

577 AD: Sŏn-un-sa (var. 540 - 575 or 579 - 631 AD)<sup>7</sup>

599 AD: O-hab-sa<sup>8</sup>

599 AD: Su-dŏk-sa, founded by Chi-myŏng Bŏb-sa<sup>9</sup>

599 AD: Gŭm-san-sa, founded on the order of King Bŏb by Chi-myŏng Bŏb-sa (var. 600)<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dæ-hŭng-sa 大興寺 대흥사 (No. 6.17.1.), the temple founding and its questions have been discussed above in connection with the Ung-chin 熊津 웅진 period of Bæk-che. See: pp. 226f.

<sup>2</sup> Hwa-ŏm-sa 華嚴寺 화엄사 (No. 6.7.1.) in Chi-ri-san 智異山 지리산, Yŏn-gi Cho-sa 緣起祖師 연기조사. See below, p. 237ff.

<sup>3</sup> Chŏng-rim-sa 定林寺 정림사 (No. 4.19.1.) in Bu-yŏ 扶餘 부여, its founding date is not completely sure. Its date has been estimated by the archaeological remains found in its precinct. Even its name is known only from tile fragments. The temple will be extensively discussed in the chapter on the Buddhist architecture of Bæk-che. See: Chapter 3.2., pp. 323ff.

<sup>4</sup> Bŏb-čhŏn-sa 法泉寺 법천사 (No. 6.13.1.), Dŏk-ye Cho-sa 德隸祖師 덕혜조사 in Mu-an county 務安郡 무안군, close to the city of Mok-po 木浦 목포. This founding date is rarely mentioned while most authors follow another story which places the founding by a certain Serindian 金地國 금지국 monk with the name Chŏng-myŏng 淨明 정명 in the year 725 AD during the Unified Sin-la 統一新羅 통일신라 period. See: SCSC, pp. 224f.; MSKC II, p. 418.

<sup>5</sup> Kab-sa 甲寺 갑사 (No. 4.12.5) in Kye-ryong-san 鷄龍山 계룡산, its founding has already been discussed above. See: pp. 225f.

<sup>6</sup> Nŭng-sa 陵寺 능사 (No. 4.19.7.), literally 'grave temple', the original temple name is not known. See below, pp. 240f. and Chapter 3.2., pp. 353ff.

<sup>7</sup> Sŏn-un-sa 禪雲寺 선운사 (No. 5.19.1.), see below, pp. 241f.

<sup>8</sup> O-hab-sa 烏舍寺 오합사 (today's Sŏng-chu-sa 聖住寺 성주사 (No. 4.16.1.)), see below, pp. 242f.

<sup>9</sup> Su-dŏk-sa 修德寺 수덕사 (No. 4.6.1.), Chi-myŏng Bŏb-sa 知命法師 지명법사 (var. 智命法師 지명법사), see below, p. 243.

<sup>10</sup> Gŭm-san-sa 金山寺 금산사 (No. 5.3.2.), Bŏb Wang 法王 법왕, the 29th king of Bæk-che, he reigned for one year in 599 and 600 AD, Chi-myŏng Bŏb-sa 知命法師 지명법사 (var. 智命法師 지명법사) It is related that King Bŏb ordered the famous Bæk-che monk Chi-myŏng Bŏb-sa to build temple to pray for the fortune of the king 自福寺 自福사찰. Chi-myŏng Bŏb-sa is especially known for his role in the founding of Mi-rŭk-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 (No. 5.6.2.). See below, pp. 259ff.

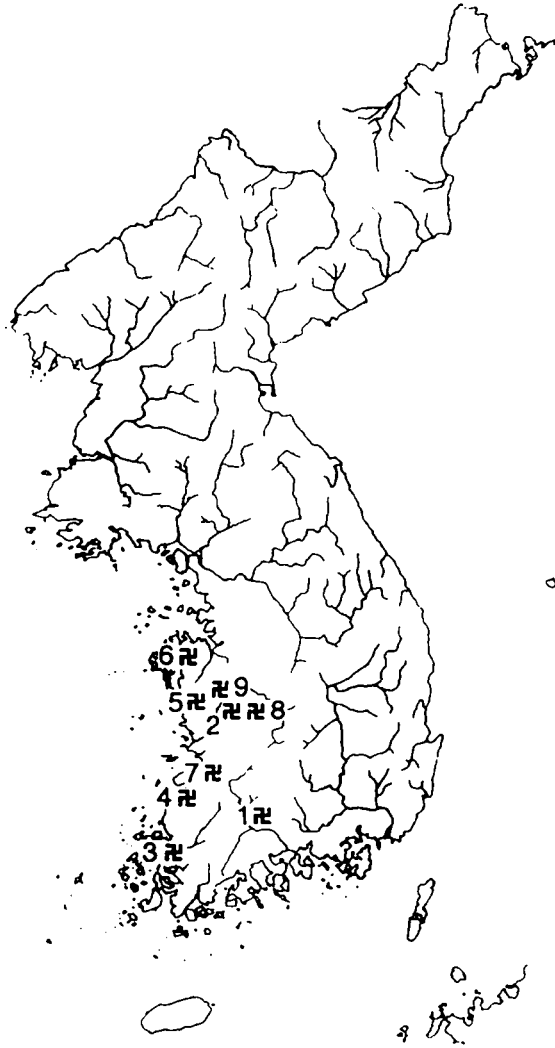


Fig. 176: Temples in the early Sa-bi 泗泚사비 period (538 - 599 AD)

- Legend:
- 1 Hwa-öm-sa 華嚴寺 화엄사
  - 2 Chöng-rim-sa 定林寺 정림사, Nüng-sa 陵寺 능사,  
Sö-bok-sa 西福寺 서복사, Gun-su-ri Sa-chi 軍守里寺址 군수리 사지
  - 3 Böb-čhön-sa 法泉寺 법천사
  - 4 Sön-un-sa 禪雲寺 선운사
  - 5 O-hab-sa 烏合寺 오합사
  - 6 Su-dök-sa 修德寺 수덕사, Bo-wön-sa 普願寺 보원사
  - 7 Güm-san-sa 金山寺 금산사
  - 8 Dong-hak-sa 東鶴寺 동학사
  - 9 Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺 금강사



Several other temples whose date is not recorded were probably founded around the same time. Among them are several excavated temple sites the names of which are sometimes unknown:

Dong-hak-sa in the Kye-ryong mountains<sup>1</sup>

Sö-bok-sa in Bu-yö<sup>2</sup>

Güm-gang-sa<sup>3</sup>

Bo-wön-sa<sup>4</sup>

temple site in Gun-su-ri<sup>5</sup>

#### 3.1.3.1.4.1. Hwa-öm-sa

Hwa-öm-sa<sup>6</sup> is without doubt the temple of the above list which became most important in subsequent dynasties. The temple is located on the bottom of a narrow valley to the southwest of the summit of the Chi-ri mountains<sup>7</sup> [fig. 176 (1)] which in the sixth century AD was located at the border between Bæk-che and Ka-ya<sup>8</sup>.

The tradition claims that an Indian monk named Yön-gi Cho-sa<sup>9</sup> established a small hermitage at about the present temple site in 544 AD. The titles of several works written by Yön-gi Cho-sa are known<sup>10</sup>, and show his particular interest in the Avatamsaka doctrine. Yön-gi Cho-sa is said to have founded a number of temples in southern Bæk-che and western Ka-ya at about the same time [fig. 177]. The status of Yön-gi Cho-sa as a foreign monk might have facilitated the founding of temples in several kingdoms. Among these temples are the following:

<sup>1</sup> Dong-hak-sa 東鶴寺 동학사 (No.4.12.2.) in Kye-ryong-san 鷄龍山 계룡산 [fig. 684 (21)]

<sup>2</sup> Sö-bok-sa 西福寺 서복사 (No. 4.19.3.) at Bu-yö 扶餘 부여. See: Chapter 3.3., pp. 393ff.

<sup>3</sup> Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺 금강사 (No. 4.19.10.). See: Chapter 3.3., pp. 293ff.

<sup>4</sup> Bo-wön-sa 普願寺 보원사 (No. 4.3.2.), see below, pp. 244ff.

<sup>5</sup> Temple site in Gun-su-ri 軍守里 寺址 군수리사지 (No. 4.19.5.). See: Chapter 3.3., pp. 281ff.

<sup>6</sup> Hwa-öm-sa 華嚴寺 화엄사 (No. 6.7.1.).

<sup>7</sup> Chi-ri-san 智異山 지리산.

<sup>8</sup> Ka-ya 伽倻 가야. See: Chapter 4.1., p. 661.

<sup>9</sup> Yön-gi Cho-sa 緣起祖師 연기조사 (var. 烟起祖師 연기조사, 煙氣祖師 연기조사, 煙起祖師 연기조사 or 鶯起祖師 연기조사) his life dates are not known. The first variant of the name contains the Chinese translation (*yön-gi* 緣起 연기) of the Sanskrit term *prāṭhya-samutpāda*, the 'conditional causation' which is central to Buddhism in general and thus also to the Avatamsaka 華嚴 화엄 doctrine. The last variant of the name is said to originate in a legend according to which Yön-gi Cho-sa 鶯起祖師 연기조사 came to Korea flying on a swallow (*yön* 鶯 연 = 燕 연).

See: *HGüSC* 8, p. 20.

<sup>10</sup> See: *HGüSC* 8, pp. 20ff.

Yŏn-gi-sa in Hŭng-dŏk<sup>1</sup>  
 Un-hŭng-sa in Na-chu<sup>2</sup>  
 Chŏn-ŭn-sa in the Chi-ri mountains<sup>3</sup>  
 Yŏn-gok-sa in the Chi-ri mountains<sup>4</sup>  
 Sŏ-bong-sa in Kon-yang<sup>5</sup>  
 Dæ-wŏn-sa in San-čhŏng county<sup>6</sup>

The date of 544 AD would attribute the founding of Hwa-ŏm-sa to the Bæk-che kingdom in spite of the fact that the indicated date uses the Sin-la dynastic line<sup>7</sup>. In recent years this version of the founding of Hwa-ŏm-sa has been challenged by some Korean historians<sup>8</sup> after the discovery in 1979 AD of a *sūtra* scroll of the

- <sup>1</sup> Yŏn-gi-sa 烟起寺 연기사, Hŭng-dŏk 興德 흥덕, this temple stood in modern Chŏn-la-buk-do 全羅北道 전라북도, Ko-čhang-gun 高敞郡 고창군, Bu-an-myŏn 富安면 부안면, So-yo-san 逍遙山 소요산. There is still a small village with the name Yŏn-gi-dong 연기동 not far from the entry to Sŏn-un-sa 禪雲寺 선운사 (No. 5.19.1.). A legend claims that Yŏn-gi Cho-sa 緣起祖師 연기조사 carved in this temple the four Lokapāla figures in 574 AD which stand now in Bul-kab-sa 佛甲寺 불갑사 (No. 6.2.1.). See: *BKSC*, p. 583; *CPS* 7, p. 462.
- <sup>2</sup> Un-hŭng-sa 雲興寺 운흥사, Na-chu 羅州 나주, nothing is know of this temple. Maybe Sin-hŭng-sa 新興寺 신흥사 (No. 5.12.1.) in Chŏn-la-buk-do 全羅北道 전라북도, Im-sil-gun 任實郡 임실군 is intended because this temple was once called Un-hŭng-sa 雲興寺 운흥사, but the location does not correspond with the record. See: *HGŭSC* 8, p. 20.
- <sup>3</sup> Chŏn-ŭn-sa 泉隱寺 천은사 (No. 6.7.3.), Chi-ri-san 智異山 지리산, another record places the founding by Dŏk-un Sŏn-sa 德雲禪師 덕운선사 in the year 828 AD. The authors which defend the theory of a founding of Hwa-ŏm-sa 華嚴寺 화엄사 in the 8th century AD place the founding of this temple in the same period. A further source claims that Yŏn-gi Do-sŏn 烟起道統 연기도선 reconstructed the temple in 875 AD. The similarity of the names seem to have been the origin of a confusion which now seems impossible to resolve. See: *HGŭSC* 8, p. 20; *BKSC*, pp. 15, 846; *SCSC*, p. 580.
- <sup>4</sup> Yŏn-gok-sa 鷲谷寺 연곡사 (No. 6.7.4.), Chi-ri-san 智異山 지리산, the controversy about its founding date is comparable to Chŏn-ŭn-sa 泉隱寺 천은사. Either the date 544 AD or the middle of the 8th century are proposed. The extant remains of the ruined temple do not date to the Bæk-che dynasty but mainly to the Unified Sin-la and the Ko-ryŏ dynasties. See: *BKSC*, pp. 582f.; *SGSSC*, p. 809; *SCSC*, p. 422; *MSKC* II, p. 353.
- <sup>5</sup> Sŏ-bong-sa 栖鳳寺 서봉사, Kon-yang 昆陽 곤양, this temple must have stood in modern Kyŏng-sang-nam-do 慶尙南道 경상남도, Sa-čhŏn-gun 泗川郡 사천군, Kon-myŏng-myŏn 昆明面 군면. The precise location is not known. This area was probably still in the hands of Ka-ya 伽倻 가야 in the middle of the 6th century AD but Sin-la was about to conquer the area in 562 AD. There is also a small possibility that the area was first conquered by Bæk-che around the turn of the 5th to the 6th century AD. See: BYŌN Tæ-sŏb 변태섭 et al. (1990, 1993), p. 23; *HGŭSC* 8, p. 20.
- <sup>6</sup> Dæ-wŏn-sa 大源寺 대원사 (No. 8.4.3.), San-čhŏng-gun 山淸 산청 in Kyŏng-sang-nam-do 慶尙南道 경상남도. The area around this temple also belonged originally to Ka-ya 伽倻 가야 but it is located not far to the east of the summit of Chi-ri-san 智異山 지리산. The records state that Yŏn-gi Cho-sa 緣起祖師 연기조사 founded the temple in 547 AD. Later Cha-chang Yul-sa 慈藏律師 자장율사 is said to have constructed a pagoda here in 646 AD to enshrine the *śarīra* which he brought from China. See: *MSKC* II, p. 226; *SCSC*, p. 124.
- <sup>7</sup> The date in the records is: 5th year of Chin-hŭng Wang 眞興王 진흥왕, he was the 24th king of Sin-la and reigned from 540 to 575 AD.
- <sup>8</sup> E.g. HWANG Su-yŏng 黃壽永 황수영 (1987, 1990), pp. 18 - 24.

*Hwa-ŏm-kyŏng*<sup>1</sup> about 14m long and written in 755 AD by a certain Yŏn-gi Bŏb-sa<sup>2</sup> from Hwang-ryong-sa<sup>3</sup>. Because of the similarity of the two names, these authors believe that the writer of the *sūtra* scroll was in fact also the founder of Hwa-ŏm-sa. This would place the founding of Hwa-ŏm-sa in the eighth century AD. The traditional records of the founding in the sixth century AD and the reconstructions by Cha-chang Yul-sa and Ŭi-sang Dæ-sa in the seventh century AD would then have to be considered as erroneous.

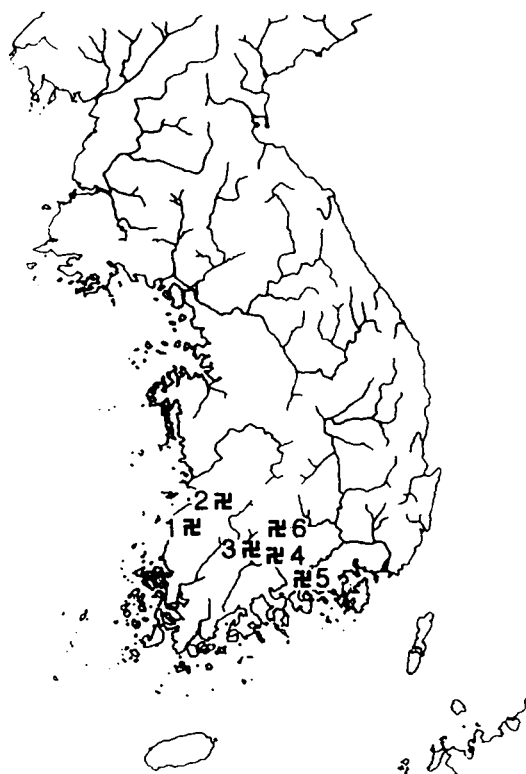


Fig. 177: Temple foundations alleged to Yŏn-gi Cho-sa 緣起祖師 연기조사(6th C. AD)

Legend:	1 Yŏn-gi-sa 烟起寺 연기사	4 Yŏn-gok-sa 鷹谷寺 연곡사
	2 Un-hŭng-sa 雲興寺 운흥사(?)	5 Sŏ-bong-sa 栖鳳寺 서봉사
	3 Čhŏn-un-sa 泉隱寺 천은사	6 Dæ-wŏn-sa 大源寺 대원사

<sup>1</sup> *Sin-la Bæk-chi Muk-sŏ Dæ-bang-kwang-bul-hwa-ŏm-kyŏng* 「新羅白紙墨書大方廣佛華嚴經 신라백지묵서대방광불화엄경」, 'Sin-la White Paper, Black Writing Avatamsaka-sūtra'. The scroll is listed as National Treasure No. 196 國寶 국보 196. See: ČHŌN Kyŏng-hwa 千敬化 천경화 (1993), pp. 640f.

<sup>2</sup> Yŏn-gi Bŏb-sa 緣起法師 연기법사.

<sup>3</sup> Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황룡사 (No. 7.34.2.), the largest temple of Gŭm-sŏng 金城 금성 (today's Kyŏng-chu 慶州 경주) the capital of Sin-la. See: Chapter 4.1., pp. 685ff., 717ff.; Chapter 4.2., pp. 767ff.

There is no evidence that the eighth century monk Yŏn-gi Bŏb-sa had any connection with Hwa-ŏm-sa or the region around the Chi-ri mountains. The name Yŏn-gi seems not to have been exceptional; for example, the famous ninth century monk Do-sŏn Guk-sa<sup>1</sup> bore the name Yŏn-gi<sup>2</sup> before he entered the priesthood. Another important argument which has been advanced for the founding in the eighth century AD is the fact that the extant stone works at Hwa-ŏm-sa can hardly date to an earlier period than the reconstruction of Bul-guk-sa<sup>3</sup>. This observation does not contradict the possibility that there was a older temple on the site at the time of the reconstruction in the eighth century AD. In fact, if Hwa-ŏm-sa was built on such a big scale at the time of its founding, more elaborate and accurate record of this event could be expected as is the case for example for Hæ-in-sa<sup>4</sup> or for the reconstruction of Bul-guk-sa of Unified Sin-la.

The various spellings of the name and the claim that Yŏn-gi Cho-sa was an Indian national seem to be sufficient indications that the founder of Hwa-ŏm-sa was not identical with the writer of the *sūtra* scroll. The question still remains as to whether it is conceivable that a master of Buddhist philosophy and a temple founder would himself copy *sūtras*. I tend thus to accept the traditional founding story of Hwa-ŏm-sa rather than the new version, but the date which is given in the record has to be considered only approximate. That first temple at the site of Hwa-ŏm-sa might then have consisted of not much more than a couple of thatched huts<sup>5</sup>. Progressively, the temple would have been improved and enlarged until the extant stone works were executed in the eighth and ninth centuries AD.

#### 3.1.3.1.4.2. Nŭng-sa

In 1995 AD, during the excavation of the pagoda foundations of the temple site<sup>6</sup> to the west of the royal tombs of Bæk-che at Nŭng-san-ri<sup>7</sup>, a granite *śarīra* reliquary was discovered. The inscription on both sides of the cavity for the *śarīra* box reads as follows:

<sup>1</sup> Do-sŏn Guk-sa 道詵國師 도선국사 lived from 827 to 898 AD.

<sup>2</sup> Yŏn-gi 烟起 연기, see: BŎM-HÆ 梵海 법해: (1991, 1992), p. 46, 6.

<sup>3</sup> Bul-guk-sa 佛國寺 불국사 (No. 7.34.33.) was enlarged and reconstructed in 751 AD.

<sup>4</sup> Hæ-in-sa 海印寺 해인사 (No. 8.5.1.) was founded in 802 AD.

<sup>5</sup> See Chapter 5, pp. 955ff.

<sup>6</sup> The name of the temple is not known, it has thus been called Nŭng-sa 陵寺 능사 (No. 4.19.7), literally 'grave temple', because of its obvious relation with the royal tombs.

<sup>7</sup> Nŭng-san-ri 陵山里 능산리.

"In the year *chǒng-hæ*<sup>1</sup>, the thirteenth year of King Čang (King Wi-dǒk)<sup>2</sup> of Bæk-che (566 AD), the [older] princess (wife) of the brother-in-law<sup>3</sup> [of the king], provided the *śarīra*."<sup>4</sup>

The princess was accordingly the married older sister of King Wi-dǒk and a daughter of King Sǒng<sup>5</sup> who established the capital at Sa-bi<sup>6</sup> in 538. It is possible that the tomb of King Sǒng is among the tombs near the temple site and that the temple was founded by the princess in memory of the father. The exceptional gilt bronze incense burner which was discovered during the excavation of the temple is briefly mentioned further below. The layout and remains of the foundations of the temple are discussed in Chapter 3.2., pp. 353ff.

### 3.1.3.1.4.3. Sǒn-un-sa

The extant Sǒn-un-sa<sup>7</sup> lies in modern Čhǒn-la North Province, Ko-čang county, to the south of the Bu-an peninsula<sup>8</sup>. The founding of Sǒn-un-sa can be placed approximately in the hundred years before the unification of the Korean peninsula by Sin-la, but the various sources<sup>9</sup> disagree about the identity of the founder and the precise date of the founding. One version claims that the Sin-la monk Kǒm-dan<sup>10</sup> founded the temple Čung-æ-sa<sup>11</sup> during the reign of King Čin-hǔng<sup>12</sup> of Sin-la. Another version puts the founding by the monk Gǔm-dan<sup>13</sup> in the

<sup>1</sup> *Chǒng-hæ* 丁亥 정해, the 24th year of the sexagenary cycle, the 'year of the swine'.

<sup>2</sup> Čang Wang 昌王 창왕, his posthumous name is Wi-dǒk Wang 威德王 위덕왕, the 27th king of Bæk-che who reigned from 554 to 597 AD. The catalogue of the Bu-yǒ National Museum indicates the year 567 AD, but the 13th year is rather 566 AD. See: Bu-yǒ (Puyo) National Museum 國立扶餘博物館 국립부여박물관 (ed.) (1996), pp. 29, 43.

<sup>3</sup> Brother-in-law 妹兄 매형, the husband of an older sister.

<sup>4</sup> The original text is as follows: 百濟昌王十三年太歲在丁亥妹兄公主供養舍利 백제창왕십삼년태세재 정해매형공주공양사리.

<sup>5</sup> Sǒng Wang 聖王 성왕, the 26th king of Bæk-che, reigned from 523 to 553 AD.

<sup>6</sup> Sa-bi 泗沘 사비.

<sup>7</sup> Sǒn-un-sa 禪雲寺 선운사 (No. 5.19.1.), literally 'meditation-cloud temple'.

<sup>8</sup> Čhǒn-la-buk-do 全羅北道 전라북도, Ko-čang-gun 高敞郡 고창군 [fig. 691 (19)], Bu-an-ban-do 扶安半島 부안반도 [fig. 691 (18)], this site must have been quite close to the supposed area of Yǒn-gi-sa 烟起寺 연기사 (see above, p. 238, n. 1).

<sup>9</sup> See: *HGSCCS* II, pp. 657 - 667; *SCSC*, pp. 336ff.; *BKSC*, p. 456; *SGSSC*, p. 642; *MSKC* II, p. 307; *HGŭKKC* 9, p. 63.

<sup>10</sup> Kǒm-dan 檢旦 검단.

<sup>11</sup> Čung-æ-sa 重愛寺 중애사.

<sup>12</sup> Čin-hǔng Wang 眞興王 진흥왕, the 24th king of Sin-la, reigned from 540 to 575 AD.

<sup>13</sup> Gǔm-dan 黔丹 금단, these characters can also be pronounced Kǒm-dan 검단 which may signify that the same monk is intended. See: n. 10.

24th year of King Wi-dök<sup>1</sup> of Bæk-che (577 AD). A third version places the event in the reign of King Chin-pyöng<sup>2</sup> of Sin-la when Ŭi-un<sup>3</sup> founded the temple. The last version combines all the previous versions by claiming that Güm-dan and Ŭi-un founded the temple together with the financial help of King Chin-hüng of Sin-la.

There is no way to determine which one of the four versions, if any, is accurate. However, it seems at least improbable that the King of Sin-la should have financed the construction of a temple in Bæk-che.

#### 3.1.3.1.4.4. O-hab-sa

Söng-chu-sa<sup>4</sup> is mostly known as one of the Nine Mountain Sön Temples<sup>5</sup> of the late Unified Sin-la period when the temple was reconstructed and renamed by Mu-yöm Nang-hye Hwa-sang<sup>6</sup>, between 839 and 856 AD. But its site has been occupied by an important temple since the Bæk-che dynasty. King Böb<sup>7</sup> is said to have ordered the construction of O-hab-sa<sup>8</sup> in 599 AD. The *Sam-guk-sa-gi*<sup>9</sup> and the *Sam-guk-yu-sa*<sup>10</sup> both mention the appearance of a red horse<sup>11</sup> at O-hab-sa in 655 or 659 AD, which seems to have been interpreted as a bad omen for the Bæk-che kingdom<sup>12</sup>.

Recent excavations by the Chung-nam National University Museum<sup>13</sup> have uncovered the foundations of several buildings and numerous roof tile fragments<sup>14</sup> at the site of the original Bæk-che temple. The provisional results seem to indicate

<sup>1</sup> Wi-dök Wang 威德王 위덕왕, the 27th king of Bæk-che, reigned from 554 to 597 AD. Some authors date the founding to the 28th year of the same reign (581 AD).

<sup>2</sup> Chin-pyöng Wang 眞平王 진평왕, the 26th king of Sin-la, reigned from 579 to 631 AD.

<sup>3</sup> Ŭi-un 義雲 의운.

<sup>4</sup> Söng-chu-sa 聖住寺 성주사 (No. 4.16.1.).

<sup>5</sup> Nine Mountain Sön Temples 九山禪門 구산선문.

<sup>6</sup> Mu-yöm Nang-hye Hwa-sang 無染朗慧和尚 무염낭혜화상 lived from 801 to 888 AD.

<sup>7</sup> Böb Wang 法王 법왕, the 29th king of Bæk-che, reigned for one year in 599 and 600 AD. A variant places the founding in the reign of the next sovereign Mu Wang 武王 무왕 (r. 600 - 640 AD).

<sup>8</sup> O-hab-sa 烏合寺 오합사, the temple was also called O-hwæ-sa 烏會寺 오회사.

<sup>9</sup> See: *SGSG*, pp. 79, 86.

<sup>10</sup> See: *SGYS*, pp. 49, 223, (83).

<sup>11</sup> The text in the *Sam-guk-sa-gi* states: "In the fifth month [of the 15th year of Ŭi-cha Wang 義慈王 의자왕 (r. 641 - 660 AD)] (655 AD), a red horse came to O-hab-sa 烏合寺 오합사 at Buk-ak 北岳 북악, wept, turned around the temple and died a few days later." The *Sam-guk-yu-sa* features the following passage: "In the fourth year of the *xianqing* 現慶 현경 period (= *xianqing* 顯慶 현경 (656 - 660 AD)) (659 AD), a large red horse appeared at O-hwæ-sa 烏會寺 오회사, also called O-hab-sa 烏合寺 오합사, of Bæk-che and galloped around the temple six times."

<sup>12</sup> Only a few years later, the Bæk-che kingdom was destroyed from 660 to 663 AD by the combined forces of Sin-la and Tang China.

<sup>13</sup> Chung-nam National University Museum 忠南大學校博物館 충남대학교박물관.

<sup>14</sup> See: Bu-yö (Puyo) National Museum 國立扶餘博物館 국립부여박물관 (ed.) (1993), p. 118f.

that the temple possessed a similar layout to the temple site in Gun-su-ri<sup>1</sup>, "with a pagoda in front of the Buddha hall and a lecture hall behind it in a south-north alignment."<sup>2</sup>

### 3.1.3.1.4.5. Su-dök-sa

Su-dök-sa<sup>3</sup> is one of the few extant temples which were founded during the Bæk-che period and which are mentioned in the *Sam-guk-yu-sa*<sup>4</sup>: "Hye-hyön<sup>5</sup> was from Bæk-che and entered the community of monks as a child. (...) At first he lived in Su-dök-sa, where he lectured on Buddhism (...). People came from far and near to listen (...) and the temple was always crowded with his admirers." The lectures probably centred around the *Sam-ron*<sup>6</sup> and the *Böb-hwa-kyöng*<sup>7</sup> doctrines. Hye-hyön died in 627 AD after he left Su-dök-sa to live in a remote hermitage in the southern Dal-la<sup>8</sup> mountains.

Su-dök-sa was allegedly founded by the Sin-la monk Chi-myöng<sup>9</sup> in 599 AD but this is probably a confusion with the Bæk-che monk with a similar name: Chi-myöng Böb-sa<sup>10</sup>, the alleged founder of Güm-san-sa and Mi-rük-sa<sup>11</sup>. It has also been claimed that the founder was Sung-che Böb-sa<sup>12</sup> but no precise date is mentioned. In 600 AD, the Dæ-ung-chön is said to have been built for the first time and the famous painter Dam-chin<sup>13</sup> executed the frescos in its interior.

<sup>1</sup> Gun-su-ri Sa-chi 軍守里 寺址 군수리 사지 (No. 4.19.6). See Chapter 3.2., pp. 281ff.

<sup>2</sup> See: *The Korea Times*, November 30, 1994, p. 10. The orientation of the Bæk-che temple was probably similar to the reconstructed temple of the late Unified Sin-la period whose main axis pointed about 34° to the west from north. See: Chapter 5, p. 979.

<sup>3</sup> Su-dök-sa 修德寺 수덕사 (No. 4.6.1.). See: *MSKC* I, p. 359f.; *BKSC*, p. 485; *SCSC*, pp. 360f.

<sup>4</sup> See: *SGYS*, p. 167f., 452f., (368f.).

<sup>5</sup> Hye-hyön 惠現 혜현 (var. 惠顯 혜현, 慧現 혜현, 慧顯 혜현), lived probably from 569 to 627 AD. The *Sam-guk-yu-sa* states that he became 58 years old and died in the first year of the *zhenguan* 貞觀 정관 period (627 - 649 AD) (= 627 AD).

<sup>6</sup> *Sam-ron* 「三論삼론」, the *Three Treatises*.

<sup>7</sup> *Böb-hwa-kyöng* 「法華經법화경」, the *Lotus sūtra*.

<sup>8</sup> Mount Dal-la 達羅山 달라산. No mountain with this name exists today but the *Sam-guk-yu-sa* suggests it might be either near Ko-san 高山 고산, in modern Wan-chu-gun 完州 완주 [fig. 691 (7)] in Chön-la-buk-do 全羅北道 전라북도, or somewhere near Chin-san 珍山 진산, possibly in Dæ-dun-san 大屯山 대둔산 in Güm-san-gun 鎭山군 금산군 [fig. 690 (21)] in Chung-čhöng-nam-do 忠清南道 충청남도. See: *SGYS*, p. 452.

<sup>9</sup> Chi-myöng Böb-sa 智明法師 지명법사, stayed at that time in Chen 陳 진 China and returned only in 602 AD.

<sup>10</sup> Chi-myöng Böb-sa 知命法師 지명법사.

<sup>11</sup> Güm-san-sa 金山寺 금산사 (No. 5.3.2.), Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 (No. 5.6.1.).

<sup>12</sup> Sung-che Böb-sa 崇濟法師 승제법사, his life dates are not known. *BKSC* claims that Sung-che Böb-sa 崇濟法師 승제법사 lectured in 647 AD on the *Böb-hwa-kyöng* 「法華經법화경」 in Su-dök-sa 修德寺 수덕사. See: *BKSC*, p. 485.

<sup>13</sup> Dæ-ung-chön 大雄殿 대웅전, Dam-chin 曇徵 담징.

## 3.1.3.1.4.6. Bo-wŏn-sa

Bo-wŏn-sa was believed to have been founded in the Unified Sin-la period and enlarged during the Ko-ryŏ dynasty. An investigation in 1968 AD, however, produced a 9cm-high gilt-bronze Bæk-che statuette of the historical Buddha which dates from the sixth century AD<sup>1</sup>. This find seems to indicate that the site has been used for a Buddhist temple since the Bæk-che period but the location of the original buildings has not yet been established.

One of the most outstanding extant artistic achievements of the Buddhism of Bæk-che, the rock-carved Sŏ-san Buddha triad relief<sup>2</sup> [fig. 178], is located near the temple site. In spite of the difficult location on a sheer cliff's face, the relief was probably protected by a wooden image hall during the Bæk-che dynasty.

The relief depicts a triad of the historical Buddha and two flanking Bodhisattvas. While the Bodhisattva on the right represents probably a pensive Maitreya<sup>3</sup>, the one on the left side is not clearly identified by its attributes. KIM<sup>4</sup> interprets it as an Avalokiteśvara<sup>5</sup>, the Bodhisattva of mercy. The relief was probably executed in the beginning of the seventh century AD in relation with Bo-wŏn-sa, maybe as a hermitage or prayer site.

Examples where monumental stone sculptures were protected by wooden structures propped against the rock are frequent in China. In the case of the Sŏ-san relief, no holes for the beams were found, but the eroded state of the surrounding rock could indicate that the background of the relief was once larger.

A small protective wooden structure was reconstructed in front of the reliefs in 1994 AD [fig. 179]. The one-by-two bays structure<sup>6</sup> has a gable roof; the roof construction and bracket sets seem to have been inspired by details of the Dæ-ung-chŏn of Su-dŏk-sa<sup>7</sup>, one of the oldest extant wooden buildings in South Korea, which is located not far from Bo-wŏn-sa. In spite of the fact that the protective structure seems to be too small for the intended monumentality of the relief and leaves little space and light for contemplation, it is, in my opinion, a rather successful example of protective structures because it renders the religious

<sup>1</sup> See: Bu-yŏ (Puyo) National Museum 國立扶餘博物館 국립부여박물관 (ed.) (1993), p. 100f.

<sup>2</sup> Sŏ-san Buddha Triad relief 瑞山磨崖三尊佛 서산마애삼존불. See: Bu-yŏ (Puyo) National Museum 國立扶餘博物館 국립부여박물관 (ed.) (1993), p. 72.

<sup>3</sup> Pensive Maitreya Bodhisattva 半跏思惟彌勒菩薩 반가사유미륵보살.

<sup>4</sup> See: KIM Wŏn-yong 金元龍 김원용 (1986), p. 303.

<sup>5</sup> Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva 觀世音菩薩 관세음보살.

<sup>6</sup> Only the left side has two bays because the rock has an irregular form. See: *MHCSRBS* 94 - 1, pp. 503 - 507.

<sup>7</sup> The Dæ-ung-chŏn 大雄殿 대웅전 of Su-dŏk-sa 修德寺 수덕사 (No. 4.6.1.) was built in 1308 AD. See: *HGŭK KC* 4.



atmosphere of Korean Buddhism instead of trying to speculate on original forms of Bæk-che structures or evacuating the religious setting by building a steel-and-glass protection structure. It could be argued that the imitation of a late Ko-ryŏ structure is neither coherent with the relief nor with the modern period, but as there is no distinctive traditional wooden construction style for Buddhist temples of the late twentieth century in Korea, either anachronism or modern construction materials and methods seem to be unavoidable. The new protection structure for the reliefs of Sin-sŏn-sa<sup>1</sup> of Ancient Sin-la, on the contrary, is an example of modern construction materials and methods (see Chapter 4.1.).



Fig. 178: Perspective of the Sŏ-san Buddhist triad 瑞山磨崖三尊佛 서산마애삼존불 (early 7th C. AD ?, no scale, height of the central Buddha with stand and halo: 2.8m) (drawing by the author)

<sup>1</sup> Sin-sŏn-sa 神仙寺 신선사 (No. 7.33.4). See: Chapter 4.1., pp. 693ff.

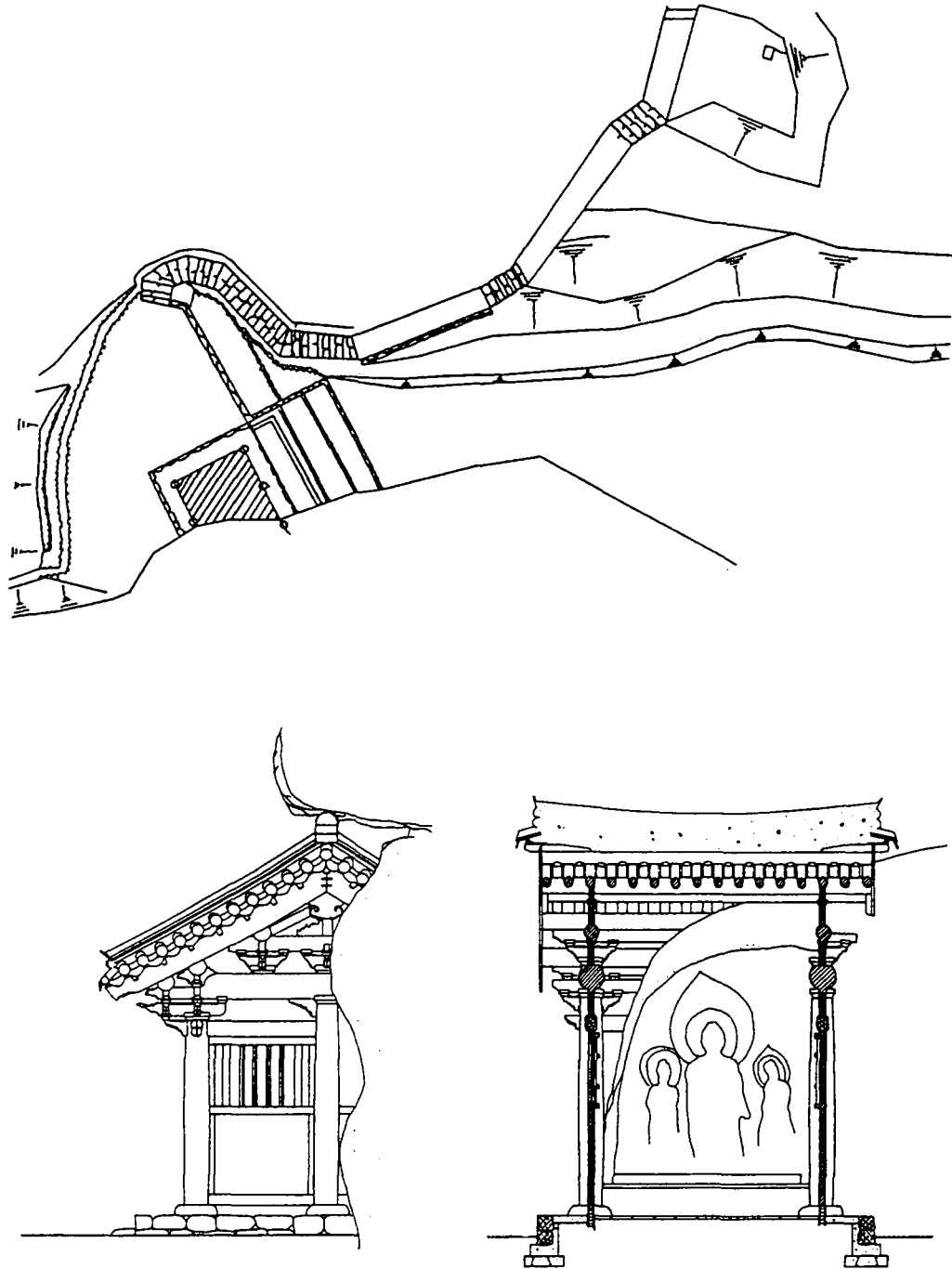


Fig. 179: Layout plan (scale: 1 : 300), right lateral elevation and longitudinal section (scale: 1 : 100) of the new protection structure for the Sŏ-san Buddhist triad 瑞山磨崖三尊佛 서산마애삼존불 (1994 AD) (after: *MHCSRBS* 94 - 1, pp. 504 - 506)

## 3.1.3.1.5. Buddhist arts of the early Sa-bi period

The typical Bæk-che gilt bronze sculptures from the early Sa-bi period are very similar to gilt-bronze images discussed in the chapter on Ko-gu-ryō. They include the theme of the standing Buddha triad with a flame-shaped nimbus, the standing Avalokiteśvara and the pensive Maitreya. Other occasional themes are the Bhaiṣajyaguru Buddha<sup>1</sup> or other single standing Buddhas and very rarely figures of praying monks. The theme of the pensive Maitreya in particular became typical of the Bæk-che dynasty. LEE<sup>2</sup> has argued that this theme is a speciality of Korea which was transmitted Japan because on the Asiatic continent, the pensive images seems to have mainly been used for the young Siddhārtha or flanking figures rather than Maitreya.

In 1993 AD, an exceptional 64cm-tall gilt-bronze incense burner<sup>3</sup> was excavated at Nūng-sa<sup>4</sup>. It can be considered the most accomplished example of its kind in East Asia. The stand has the shape of a dragon, a lotus flower forms the lower part and a Taoist paradise mountain with animals, saints and musicians forms the upper part of the burner; on the top stands a phoenix [fig. 180]. The incense burner displays more traditional Chinese and Taoist than Buddhist characteristics but as it was found in the precinct of a Buddhist temple it seems that it was also used in Buddhist ceremonies. That Nūng-sa was apparently established as a prayer temple for the adjacent royal tombs it seems to provide an explanation for the combination of the Chinese and Buddhist traditions<sup>5</sup>. The murals in several of these tombs also feature traditional Chinese motives such as the four directional mythical animals.

<sup>1</sup> Bhaiṣajyaguru Buddha 藥師如來 약사여래.

<sup>2</sup> "While this generic aspect of the one-leg-crossed pensive figure (the use of this figure in other contexts on the Asiatic continent) may help to explain the assignment of a new identification to such Korean images, the motivation to do so may be explained by the unique Maitreya cult in Korea in which the deity was personified as a young boy in ruling-class institutions such as the Hwarang Order." LEE fails to explain why the pensive Maitreya figures were at least as popular in Ko-gu-ryō and Bæk-che as they were in Sin-la while the former did apparently not develop such institutions as Sin-la's Pung-wōl-do 風月道 풍월도 (Hwa-rang-do 花郎道 화랑도). See: AA LIII, 3/4, p. 311 - 357; Chapter 2.1., p. 99, fig. 91; Chapter 4.1., p. 683.

<sup>3</sup> The incense burner is named according to its decorations: 'Gilt-Bronze Dragon-Phoenix Paradise-Mountain Incense-Burner' 金銅龍鳳蓬萊山香爐 금동용봉봉래산향로, see: Korea (National Museum of) 國立中央博物館 국립중앙박물관 (ed.) (1994).

<sup>4</sup> Nūng-sa 陵寺 능사. See: Chapter 3.2., pp. 353ff.; *The Chosun Ilbo* 「朝鮮日報 조선일보」, Dec. 23, 1993, p. 1, 9; *The Kyunghyang Shinmun* 「京鄉新聞 경향신문」, Dec. 23, 1993, p. 1, 23.

<sup>5</sup> The royal burials of the Korean Three Kingdoms, Unified Sin-la and Ko-ryō periods in general seem to have been a combination of Buddhist (ceremonies conducted by Buddhist priests, prayer for a favourable rebirth), ancient Chinese traditions (including elements of Taoism and Confucianism) and local traditions (folklore, shamanism) to a certain degree which seems to have diminished with time. The purely Buddhist burial would consist in cremating the body which is contrary to ancient Chinese traditions which aimed at preserving the body in its entirety.



Fig. 180: Perspective of the gilt-bronze dragon-phoenix paradise-mountain incense burner  
金銅龍鳳蓬萊山香爐 금동용봉봉래산향토 excavated at Nŭng-sa 陵寺 능사  
(about 566 AD?, height: 64cm) (drawing by the author)

Another interesting example of the sculpture of sixth century Bæk-che is the so-called 'four-directional Buddhas of Ye-san'<sup>1</sup> [figs. 181, 182]. Four Buddha images are carved on the four sides of a natural agalmatolite rock about 2.9m to 3.1m tall. On the southern side sits Śākyamuni<sup>2</sup>, the historical Buddha, on the eastern side stands the Bhaiṣajyaguru Buddha<sup>3</sup>, on the northern side stands the

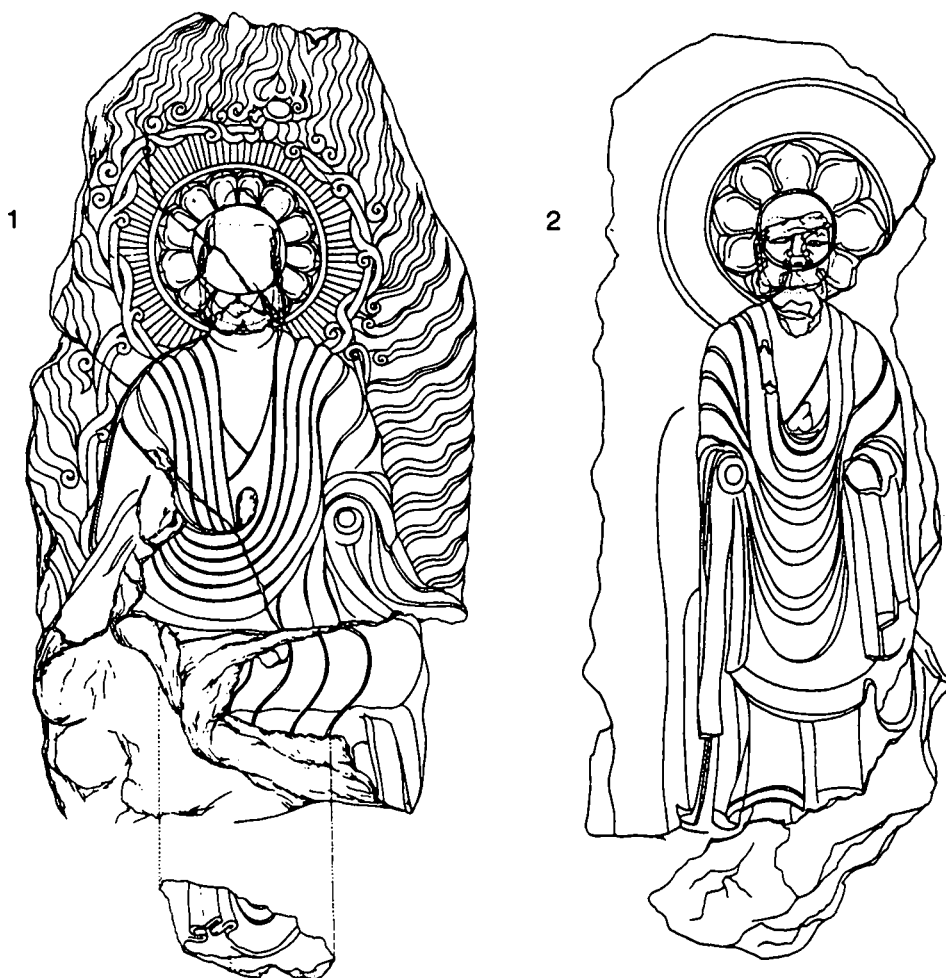


Fig. 181: Elevations of the southern (1) and eastern Buddhas (2) of the four-directional Buddhas of the temple site at Ye-san 禮山 禮山 禮山 (mid-6th C. AD?, scale: 1 : 20)  
(after: MUN Myōng-dæ 文明大 文明大, in : HWANG Su-yōng 黃壽永 黃壽永 (ed.) (1987, 1990), pp. 41, 45)

- 1 Four-directional Buddhas of Ye-san 禮山石柱四方佛像 禮山石柱四方佛像 (No. 4.6.5).
- 2 Śākyamuni 釋迦牟尼佛 석가모니불. The identification follows *CPS* 5, pp. 157, 351.
- 3 Bhaiṣajyaguru Buddha 藥師佛 약사불, the Buddha of medicine or healing.

Maitreya Buddha<sup>1</sup> and on the western side stands the Amitābha Buddha<sup>2</sup>. All the images are damaged and their heads are broken off. The bodies with the folds of the cloth and the halos are well preserved. The Ye-san Buddhas are comparable in composition and design to sculptures and central square columns of Chinese Buddhist cave temples of the Northern and Eastern Wei<sup>3</sup> dynasties such as those in the Longmen and Gongxian caves<sup>4</sup> which date to the early sixth century AD. MUN<sup>5</sup> thus dates the Ye-san Buddhas to about 550 AD.

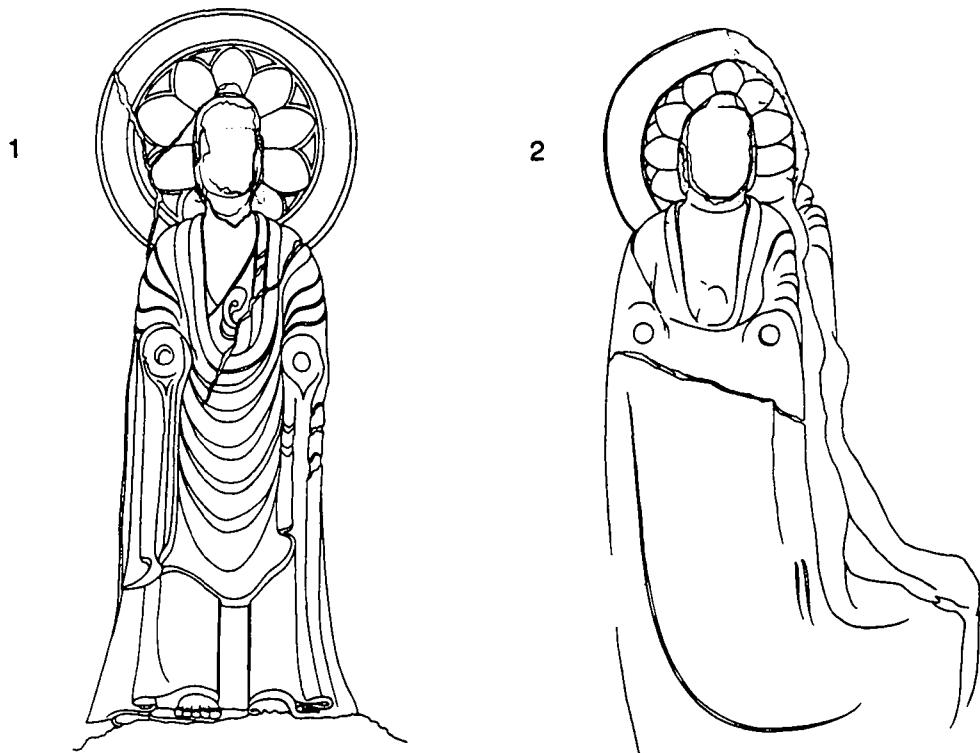


Fig. 182: Elevations of the northern (1) and western Buddhas (2) of the four-directional Buddhas of the temple site at Ye-san 禮山 예산 (mid-6th C. AD?, scale: 1 : 20) (after: MUN Myōng-dæ 文明大문명대, in: HWANG Su-yōng 黃壽永 황수영 (ed.) (1987, 1990), pp. 48, 51)

- <sup>1</sup> Maitreya Buddha 彌勒佛 미륵불, the future Buddha, usually considered a Bodhisattva.
- <sup>2</sup> Amitābha Buddha 阿彌陀佛 아미타불, the Buddha of boundless splendour.
- <sup>3</sup> Northern Wei 北魏 북위, from 386 to 534 AD; Eastern Wei 東魏 동위, from 534 to 550 AD.
- <sup>4</sup> Longmen 龍門 용문, Gongxian 鞏縣 공현. See: MUN Myōng-dæ 文明大문명대, in: HWANG Su-yōng 黃壽永 황수영 (ed.) (1987, 1990), pp. 63 - 68, pl. 17 - 23; WEN Yucheng 溫玉成 은옥성 (1996), vol. II, pp. 75 - 93.
- <sup>5</sup> See: MUN Myōng-dæ 文明大문명대, in: HWANG Su-yōng 黃壽永 황수영 (ed.) (1987, 1990), p. 68.

## 3.1.3.2. The seventh century AD

## 3.1.3.2.1. Activities of the Buddhist community

In its last period, Bæk-che continued strongly to influence Japanese Buddhism; a number of monks and nuns are known to have gone to Japan<sup>1</sup> at that time. The temple Hōryū-ji (Ikaruga-dera) in Nara is said to have been built for the first time between 601 to 607 AD with the help of Bæk-che artisans and monks who came to Japan toward the end of the sixth century AD. On their way to China, the ship of Hye-mi, Do-hūn<sup>2</sup> and other monks drifted to Japan in 609 AD. At that time, Japan seems still to have lacked trained monks so that the wrecked Korean monks were forced to stay there.

The *Nihonshoki*<sup>3</sup> states that with the end of Bæk-che, a large number of refugees from Bæk-che arrived in Japan. Among other passages there is this account: "(...) Over 2,000 Bæk-che people, men and women, were settled in the East country<sup>4</sup> [in 666 AD]. Without distinction of black and white<sup>5</sup> (i.e. of monks and laymen), they were all maintained at government expense for three years beginning with the year *mizunoto-i*<sup>6</sup> [in 663 AD] (...)"<sup>7</sup>.

Through these refugees Bæk-che influenced Japan even after Bæk-che itself was destroyed. The Japanese remains of the Asuka and Hakuho periods<sup>8</sup> can be used as supplementary information about the culture of Bæk-che, in addition to the remains found on the Korean peninsula. Among the most important Buddhist relics with Bæk-che influence in Japan are wooden, bronze and clay sculptures in the temples around Nara<sup>9</sup>, the paintings on the Tamamushi Shrine and in the *kondō* of Hōryū-ji<sup>10</sup>, building models, remains of platforms and foundations as well as old buildings at Hōryū-ji, Hokki-ji, Tōdai-ji and Yakushi-ji<sup>11</sup> (see Chapter 3.3.).

<sup>1</sup> Among them are Kwan-rūk 觀勸 관국 in 602 AD and the nun Bōb-myōng 法明 법명 in 655 AD.

<sup>2</sup> Hye-mi 慧彌 헤미, Do-hūn 道欣 도흔, they lived by royal edict in the temple Asuka-dera 飛鳥寺 あすかであら 비조사 (also called Gangō-ji 元興寺 가ంగ우지 원흥사).

<sup>3</sup> *Nihonshoki* 「日本書紀にはんしよき 일본서기」.

<sup>4</sup> Azuma no kuni 東國 あずまのくに 등국.

<sup>5</sup> Without distinction of black and white: 凡不擇縑素 범부택치소

<sup>6</sup> *Mizunoto-i* 癸亥 미수의 때, the last year of the sexagenary cycle.

<sup>7</sup> See: HONG Wōn-tak 洪元卓 홍원탁 (1988), p. 171f.

<sup>8</sup> Asuka 飛鳥 あすか 비조 designates the period of Japanese history from 552 to 645 AD, Hakuho 白鳳 はくほう 백몽 designates the period from 645 to 709 AD.

<sup>9</sup> See: *SKBJZS* 2; OOKA Minoru (1973).

<sup>10</sup> Tamamushi Shrine 玉虫厨子 たまむしのずし 옥충주자 (see p. 633), Hōryū-ji 法隆寺 호류유지 법룡사 *kondō* 金堂こんどう 금당.

<sup>11</sup> Hokki-ji 法起寺 ほつき지 법기사, Tōdai-ji 東大寺とうだい지 동대사 and Yakushi-ji 藥師寺やくし지 약사사 and several other temples around Nara. The architectural influence of Bæk-che on Japan is discussed in Chapter 3.3., pp. 559ff., 589ff.

While the Japanese documents have partially preserved the memory of the Buddhist community of Bæk-che in Japan, almost nothing is known about monks in their homeland. The remains of Mi-rük-sa built in this period, the largest and most prestigious known temple of Bæk-che, however, indicate that Buddhism retained and even accentuated its central position in Bæk-che society until the conquest by the Sin-la and Tang troops.

For 634 AD, the *Sam-guk-sa-gi*<sup>1</sup> reports the construction of the artificial pond Kung-nam-chi<sup>2</sup>: "In the third lunar month of the thirty-fifth year of the reign of King Mu<sup>3</sup>, a pond was dug to the south of the royal palace and water was brought [in a canal] from a distance of about twenty *li*<sup>4</sup>. Willows were planted on the four sides [of the pond] and an island which looked like Fangzhang xianshan<sup>5</sup> was made in the middle of the water." The island in the shape of a Taoist paradise mountain recalls the above-mentioned gilt-bronze incense burner with a paradise mountain (the miniature mountain on such incense burner usually represent Penglai xianshan<sup>6</sup>).

STEIN<sup>7</sup> has noticed that this theme of landscape architecture often had a Buddhist connotation: Mount Sumeru<sup>8</sup> surrounded by the oceans. The *Nihonshoki*<sup>9</sup> mentions on several occasions the construction of gardens with Sumeru mountains, and in one passage the design is attributed to an immigrant from Bæk-che: "This year (612 AD) a man emigrated from Pèkché (Bæk-che) (...) this man said: '(...) I have a small talent. I can make figures of hills and mountains. (...)'. (...) Accordingly he was made to draw the figures of Mount Sumi (Sumeru) and the Bridge of Wu<sup>10</sup> in the Southern Court."

<sup>1</sup> "武王 (...) 三十五年 (...) 三月穿池於宮南引水二十餘里四岸植以楊柳水中築島嶼擬方丈仙山 무왕 (...) 삼십오년 (...) 삼월 천지어궁남 인수가십여리 사안식이양류 수중축도서 의방장선산." See: *SGSG* II, pp. 71, 74.

<sup>2</sup> Kung-nam-chi 宮南池 궁남지, literally 'pond [to the] south [of the] palace'.

<sup>3</sup> Mu Wang 武王 무왕, the 30th king of Bæk-che, reigned from 600 to 640 AD.

<sup>4</sup> 1 *li* 리 = 1386 *gok-čhök* 곡척 = about 420m (for the modern period). In historical periods this measure unit changed at least as much as the *čhök* 尺 척. It might be sufficient to admit here that 1 *li* ranged between 350m and 500m.

<sup>5</sup> Fangzhang xianshan 方丈仙山. One of the three mythical mountains 三神山 삼신산 of ancient China. The other two are: Penglai xianshan 蓬萊仙山 봉래선산 and Yingzhou xianshan 瀛州仙山 영주선산. According to legends, saints 仙人 선인 and immortals 不死藥 부사약 live on these mountains in yellow gold and white silver palaces. See: *SGSG* II, p. 76, n. 31.

<sup>6</sup> Penglai xianshan 蓬萊仙山 봉래선산.

<sup>7</sup> See: STEIN (1987), pp. 230 - 253.

<sup>8</sup> Sumeru 須彌山 수미산, the Buddhist cosmic mountain.  
See: LA VALLÉE POUSSIN (1923 - 1931), ch. 3, pp. 143 - 163.

<sup>9</sup> See: *NHSG* II, pp. 144 (350f.).

<sup>10</sup> Bridge of Wu 吳橋 오교. Wu 吳 오 (229 - 280 AD) lay in southern China, it was one of the Chinese Three Kingdoms 三國 삼국.



Similarly to the description in the *Nihonshoki*, Kung-nam-chi which had a diameter of approximately 150m, possibly featured a (wooden ?) bridge which could have led from the southern side of the pond to the island as the recent reconstruction<sup>1</sup> assumes [fig. 183]. As evidence of lotus ponds was also discovered at several Bæk-che temple sites<sup>2</sup> it can be assumed that Bæk-che developed a rich tradition of landscape architecture which combined ancient Chinese and Buddhist cosmological ideas.

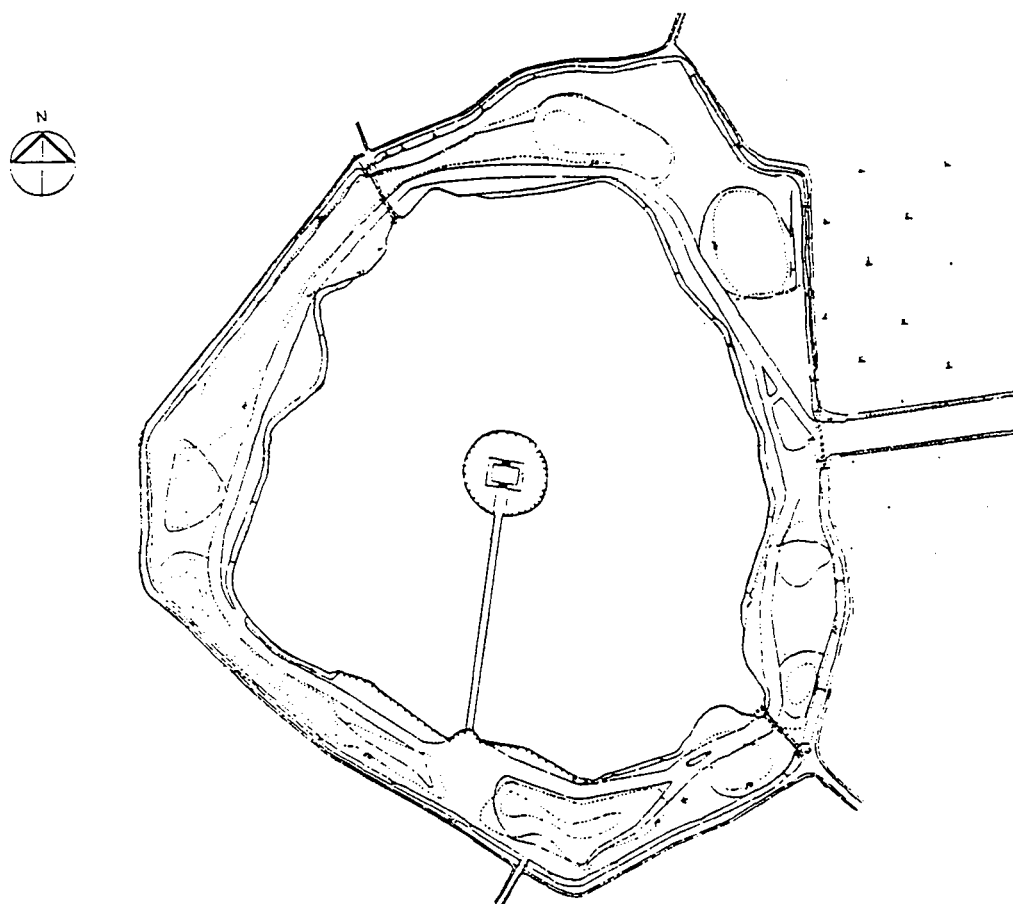


Fig. 183: Layout plan of Kung-nam-chi 宮南池 궁남지 with the recently reconstructed wooden bridge (634 AD, scale: 1 : 2,000) (after: *MHCSRBS* 94 - 1, p. 582)

<sup>1</sup> See: *MHCSRBS* 94 - 1, pp. 579 - 584.

<sup>2</sup> See: Chapter 3.2., pp. 329f., 408, fig. 300.

## 3.1.3.2.2. Temple foundings

While there is little information about the careers and doctrines of the leading monks of the period, a large number of temples are recorded to have been founded in the first half of the seventh century AD. The following list gives the chronology of the partly legendary founding of a number of temples:

600 AD: Wang-hŭng-sa<sup>1</sup>

603 / 604 AD: Wi-bong-sa, founded by Sŏ-am<sup>2</sup>

600 - 640 AD (maybe soon after 600 AD): Mi-rŭk-sa, founded by Chi-myŏng Dæ-sa on the order of King Mu<sup>3</sup>

600 - 640 AD (maybe soon after 600 AD): Che-sŏk-sa, founded on the order of King Mu (destroyed in 639 AD)<sup>4</sup>

600 - 640 AD (?): Kwan-kung-sa<sup>5</sup>

613 AD: Ūn-chŏk-sa, founded by Wŏn-kwang Guk-sa<sup>6</sup> (var. 660 AD: founded by SU Dingfang<sup>7</sup>)

617 AD (var. 597): Mu-wi-sa, founded by Wŏn-hyo Dæ-sa<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wang-hŭng-sa 王興寺 왕흥사 (No. 4.19.10.). See below, p. 258.

<sup>2</sup> Wi-bong-sa 威鳳寺 위봉사 (No. 5.7.2.) by Sŏ-am 瑞巖 서암, nothing more is known about this monk. See: *BKSC*, p. 662, *CPS* 6, p. 180, *SGSSC*, p. 893, *SCSC*, p. 500.

<sup>3</sup> Mi-rŭk-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 (No. 5.6.2.), literally 'Maitreya temple', Chi-myŏng Dæ-sa 知命大師 지명대사, Mu Wang 武王 무왕, the 30th king of Bæk-che, he reigned from 600 to 640 AD. See below, pp. 259ff.

<sup>4</sup> Che-sŏk-sa 帝釋寺 제석사 (No. 5.6.4.), literally 'Indra temple' or 'Śakra temple'. See below, pp. 262f.

<sup>5</sup> Kwan-kung-sa 官宮寺 관궁사 (No. 5.6.3.), literally 'official-palace temple'. See below, p. 263.

<sup>6</sup> Ūn-chŏk-sa 隱寂寺 은적사 (No. 5.1.1.), Wŏn-kwang Guk-sa 圓光國師 원광국사 (*MSKC* II has: En-kwang Bŏb-sa 円光法師 엔광법사 which is probably a variant of the name of the same monk), a famous Sin-la monk. In 613 AD, the same year as the alleged temple founding, Wŏn-kwang is said to have established the Bæk-ko-chwa-bŏb-hwæ 百高座法會 백고좌법회 in Kyŏng-chu's 慶州 경주 Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황룡사 and lectured there. See: Chapter 4.1., p. 689; *MSKC* II, p. 288; *BKSC*, p. 696; *SCSC*, p. 508.

<sup>7</sup> This story claims that the temple was founded by the Tang general SU Dingfang 蘇定方 소정방. When the general landed at the mouth of the Gŭm-kang 錦江 금강 thick fog prevented an attack on Bæk-che. So the general climbed the mountain behind Ūn-chŏk-sa 隱寂寺 은적사 and prayed to the mountain spirit, promising to build 1,000 temples if the fog lifted. The fog did lift and the general tried to find appropriate sites for the temples but the land was too small. So he built only one temple with 1,000 foundation stones and called it Čhŏn-bang-sa 千房寺 천방사 ('1,000-room temple'). YI points out that Čhŏn-bang-sa 千房寺 천방사 in Sa-čhŏn-gun 舒川郡 서천군 claims a similar founding story but the founder is the Sin-la general KIM Yu-sin 金庾信 김유신. See: *SCSC*, pp. 508, 578.

<sup>8</sup> Mu-wi-sa 無爲寺 무위사 (No. 6.19.1.) by Wŏn-hyo Dæ-sa 元曉大師 원효대사. The temple was first called Kwan-ŭm-sa 觀音寺 관음사. At least the date of this legend is erroneous because Wŏn-hyo Dæ-sa was born in 617 AD, the same year as the alleged founding took place. Probably the whole founding story is a fabrication. See: *CPS* 7, p. 403; *SGSSC*, p. 432, *BKSC*, p. 226; *MSKC* II, p. 397; *SCSC*, p. 171.

- 627 AD: Da-bo-sa, var. 661 AD: founded by Wŏn-hyo Dæ-sa<sup>1</sup>  
 632 AD: Bæk-yang-sa, founded by Yŏ-hwan<sup>2</sup>  
 633 AD: Næ-so-sa, founded by Hye-gu Du-ta<sup>3</sup>  
 634 AD: Kæ-am-sa, founded by Myo-ryŏn Wang-sa<sup>4</sup>  
 637 AD: Güm-tab-sa, founded by Wŏn-hyo Dæ-sa<sup>5</sup>  
 600 - 640 AD: Bul-kab-sa in the Bul-kab mountains, founded by Hæng-ün<sup>6</sup>

- <sup>1</sup> Da-bo-sa 多寶寺 다보사 (No. 6.11.1.), the record claims that it was founded as a temple of the Linji school 臨濟宗 임계종 of Chan 禪 선 Buddhism. *SCSC* notes that the date seems to be too early for this school in Korea. The variant of the founding story with Wŏn-hyo Dæ-sa 元曉大師 원효대사는 not convincing either because too many temples claim Wŏn-hyo Dæ-sa as their founder. See: *SCSC*, p. 111; *MSKC* II, p. 412.
- <sup>2</sup> Bæk-yang-sa 白羊寺 백양사 (No. 6.4.1.) by Yŏ-hwan Sŏn-sa 如幻禪師 여환선사 (var. Hwan-yŏ 幻如 환여), the temple was first (var. during a later period) called Bæk-am-sa 白巖寺 / 白庵寺 백암사. In Ko-ryŏ, the temple was known as Chŏng-to-sa 淨土寺 정토사. Nothing more is known about Yŏ-hwan Sŏn-sa. See: *MSKC* II, p. 324; *SGSSC*, p. 494; *SCSC*, pp. 203ff.
- <sup>3</sup> Næ-so-sa 來蘇寺 내소사 (No. 5.18.2.) by Hye-gu Du-ta 惠丘頭陀 혜구두타, a monk from Sin-la; nothing more is known about this monk. The records state that he founded two temples which were called Dæ-so-ræ-sa 大蘇來寺 대소래사 and So-so-ræ-sa 小蘇來寺 소소래사 (big and small So-ræ-sa). Only the site of the smaller temple is still used today. See: *HGŭK KC* 9, p. 5; *SCSC*, pp. 103f.; *SGSSC*, p. 304; *BKSC*, p. 123; *MSKC* II, p. 299.
- <sup>4</sup> Kæ-am-sa 開岩寺 개암사 (No. 5.18.1.), Myo-ryŏn Wang-sa 妙蓮王師 묘련왕사; nothing more is known about this monk. A legend claims that in 282 BC or in 88 BC, Mun Wang 文王 문왕, the king of Byŏn-han 弁韓 변한 (about 500 BC to 42 AD?, one of the three Han 三韓 삼한 kingdoms and the predecessor of the Ka-ya 伽倻 가야 federation) established his capital around the area of Kæ-am-sa. His generals Uh 禹 우 and Chin 陳 진 built the fortress and founded two big temples 大刹 대찰 (or shaman shrines?), one to the east of the big rock which was called Myo-am[-sa?] 妙巖 [寺?] 묘암[사?] and one to the west with the name Kæ-am[-sa?] 開岩 [寺?] 개암[사?]. The Bæk-che monk Myo-ryŏn Wang-sa 妙蓮王師 묘련왕사 would then have transformed the site of the palace 宮闕 궁궐 of Byŏn-han 弁韓 변한 into a Buddhist temple. But according to present knowledge, the Byŏn-han 弁韓 변한 were limited to the area east of Chi-ri-san 智異山 지리산, south of Ka-ya-san 伽倻山 가야산 and west of the Nak-dong-kang 洛東江 낙동강. See: *HGŭK KC* 11, p. 88ff; *SGSSC*, p. 40; *MSKC* II, p. 301; *SCSC*, pp. 28f.
- <sup>5</sup> Güm-tab-sa 金塔寺 금탑사 (No. 6.22.1.), literally 'Golden-pagoda temple', the name refers to a golden pagoda which was allegedly built at the time of the founding. As Wŏn-hyo 元曉 원효 would have been only 20 years old at the time, this founding legend is probably a similar fabrication as the founding story of Mu-wi-sa 無爲寺 무위사 mentioned above. See: *MSKC* II, p. 381; *SCSC*, p. 91; *BKSC*, p. 105.
- <sup>6</sup> Bul-kab-sa 佛甲寺 불갑사 (No. 6.2.1.), Bul-kab-san 佛甲山 불갑산, Hæng-ün 幸恩 행은; nothing more is known about this monk. *MSKC* II states that Bul-kab-sa was founded by the same monk but during the reign of Mun-chu Wang 文周王 문주왕, the 22nd king of Bæk-che, who reigned from 475 to 476 AD. Another legend attributes the founding to Ma-ra-nan-ta 摩羅難陀 마라난타 in 384 AD. A legend connects the Lokapāla figures of the Bul-kab-sa with Yŏn-gi Cho-sa 緣起祖師 연기조사, the founder of Hwa-ŏm-sa 華嚴寺 화엄사 (see above, pp. 237ff.). It states that the images were executed in 574 AD by Yŏn-gi Cho-sa for Yŏn-gi-sa 姻起寺 연기사 (see above, p. 238, n. 1). The images were moved in 1870 AD to Bul-kab-sa 佛甲寺 불갑사 by Sŏl-du Dæ-sa 雪頭大師 설두대사. See: *MSKC* II, p. 416; *CPS* 7, pp. 245, 462; *SCSC*, pp. 282f.

- 643 AD (var. 640 or 642 AD): Ma-gok-sa, founded by Cha-chang Yul-sa<sup>1</sup>  
 644 AD: Mun-su-sa, founded by Cha-chang Yul-sa<sup>2</sup>  
 651 AD (var. 652): Sin-wŏn-sa, founded by Bo-dŏk<sup>3</sup>  
 654 AD (var. 649, 651): Kæ-sim-sa, founded by Hye-kam Guk-sa<sup>4</sup>  
 656 AD (var. 641- 660): Dæ-ryŏn-sa, founded by Ŭi-gak and Do-sim<sup>5</sup>  
 660 AD: Do-rim-sa, founded by Wŏn-hyo Dæ-sa<sup>6</sup>

- <sup>1</sup> Ma-gok-sa 麻谷寺 마곡사 (No. 4.12.1.), Cha-chang Yul-sa 慈藏律師 자장율사. The legend states that Cha-chang Yul-sa founded seven big temples upon his return from China in 643 AD. They were: Tong-do-sa 通度寺 통도사 (No. 8.13.1.), Tæ-hwa-sa 太和寺 태화사 (No. 8.12.2.), Su-da-sa 水多寺 수다사 (2.15.3.), Chŏng-am-sa 淨岩寺 정암사 (2.16.1.) (called Sŏk-nam-wŏn 石南院 석남원), Wŏl-chŏng-sa 月精寺 월정사 (No. 2.15.1.), Sin-hŭng-sa 神興寺 신흥사 (No. 2.8.1.) (called Hyang-sŏng-sa 香城寺 향성사) and Ma-gok-sa 麻谷寺 마곡사 (No. 4.12.1.). All the temples were located clearly in Sin-la territory except Ma-gok-sa, which casts some doubt on the founding story of Ma-gok-sa. As Cha-chang Yul-sa is said to have returned from China in 643 AD, the dates of 640 or 642 AD are erroneous. The legend states that the name of the temple stems from the crowd of people "dense like the stalks of hemp (*ma* 麻 마)" who came to listen to the inauguration speech of Cha-chang Yul-sa. Another founding legend states that it was Mu-chu Mu-yŏm 無住無染 무주무염 (799 - 888 AD) who founded the temple upon his return from Tang 唐 당 in 845 AD out of admiration for his teacher Magu Baoche 麻谷寶徹 마곡보철 (born in 720 ?). The name of the temple could also stem from the local family name Ma 麻 마. The river and mountains at the site of the temple are said to form the *yin yang* 陰陽 음양 or *taiji* 太極 태극 symbol so that several prophetic books count this site among the 10 sites 十勝之地 십승지지 which are able to avoid any disturbance or war. See: Chapter 4.1., pp. 714ff.; *SCSC*, pp. 149f.; *BKSC*, p. 196; *CPS* 5, p. 265; *SGSSC*, p. 398; *MSKĆ* I, p. 326.
- <sup>2</sup> Mun-su-sa 文殊寺 문수사 (No. 5.19.3.), Cha-chang Yul-sa 慈藏律師 자장율사. This account is rather improbable because Mun-su-sa was located in Bæk-che territory and Cha-chang Yul-sa is said to have already arrived in Sin-la in 643 AD, where he became National Preceptor. See: *MSKĆ* II, p. 312, *CPS* 6, p. 240; *SCSC*, pp. 173f.
- <sup>3</sup> Sin-wŏn-sa 新元寺 신원사 (No. 4.12.6.), Bo-dŏk 普德 보덕, the famous Ko-gu-ryŏ monk who left his country in 650 AD after Ko-gu-ryŏ introduced Taoism against his advice. See: Chapter 2.1., pp. 92f.; *BKSC*, p. 514; *MSKĆ* I, p. 320; *SCSC*, pp. 384f.
- <sup>4</sup> Kæ-sim-sa 開心寺 개심사 (No. 4.3.1.), Hye-kam Guk-sa 慧鑑國師 혜감국사; the temple was first called Kæ-wŏn-sa 開元寺 개원사. Nothing more is known of this monk. The temple records contain some chronological confusion. See: *SGSSC*, p. 40; *MSKĆ* I, p. 352; *CPS* 5, p. 364; *SCSC*, p. 27.
- <sup>5</sup> Dæ-ryŏn-sa 大蓮寺 대련사 (No. 4.6.3.), Ŭi-gak 義覺 의각, Do-sim 道深 도심 (var. Do-čhim 道琛 도침). There is some chronological confusion because Do-sim and six other monks are said to have returned to Bæk-che from Japan in exchange for Dam-hye 曇惠 담혜 and 8 other monks who went to Japan in 554 AD, Ŭi-gak is also said to have gone to Japan because he was captured by Japanese pirates but no date is recorded for this event. See: *BKSC*, p. 147; *MSKĆ* I, p. 364; *SCSC*, p. 117.
- <sup>6</sup> Do-rim-sa 道林寺 도림사 (No. 6.6.3.) by Wŏn-hyo 元曉 원효. As 660 AD was the beginning of the war campaign of Sin-la which eventually destroyed Bæk-che, it is difficult to imagine that one of the leading monks of Sin-la founded a temple in Bæk-che territory. The name of the mountain (Dong-ak-san 動樂山 동악산, literally 'moving-music mountain') is said to have been given after the mountain vibrated to the melody of [Korean traditional] music. The name of the temple stems from the crowd of saints (*do-in* 道人 도인) which gathered like a forest (*rŏm* 林 립). See: *SCSC*, p. 133; *MSKĆ* II, p. 345; *CPS* 7, p. 337.

661 AD: Do-kab-sa, founded by Do-ko Sŏn-sa<sup>1</sup>

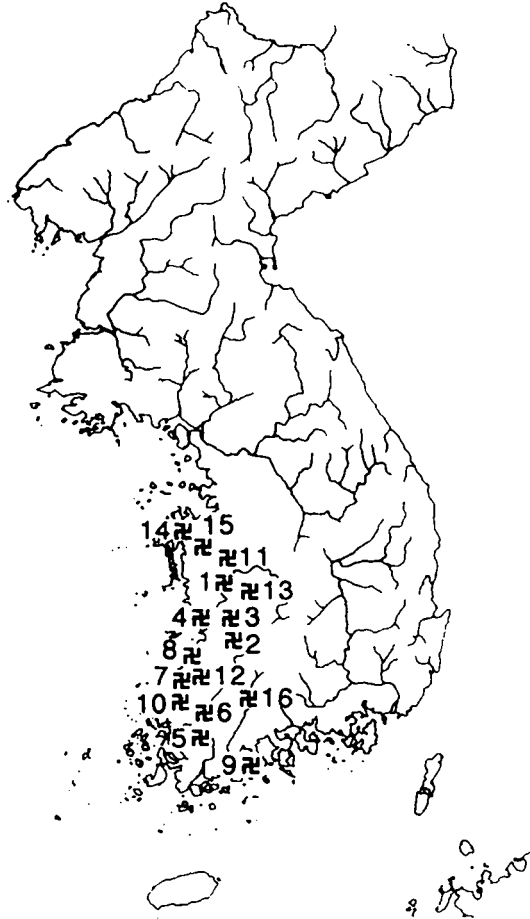


Fig. 184: Temples in the late Sa-bi 泗泚사비 period (600 - 663 AD)

Legend:	1 Wang-hŭng-sa 王興寺 왕흥사	8 Næ-so-sa 來蘇寺 내소사
	2 Wi-bong-sa 威鳳寺 위봉사	Kæ-am-sa 開岩寺 개암사
	3 Mi-rŭk-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사, Che-sŏk-sa 帝釋寺 제석사, Kwan-kung-sa 官宮寺 관궁사	9 Gŭm-tab-sa 金塔寺 금탑사
	4 Ūn-chŏk-sa 隱寂寺 은적사	10 Bul-kab-sa 佛甲寺 불갑사
	5 Mu-wi-sa 無爲寺 무위사, Do-kab-sa 道岬寺 도갑사	11 Ma-gok-sa 麻谷寺 마곡사
	6 Da-bo-sa 多寶寺 다보사	12 Mun-su-sa 文殊寺 문수사
	7 Bæk-yang-sa 白羊寺 백양사	13 Sin-wŏn-sa 新元寺 신원사
		14 Kæ-sim-sa 開心寺 개심사
		15 Dæ-ryŏn-sa 大蓮寺 대련사
		16 Do-rim-sa 道林寺 금강사

<sup>1</sup> Do-kab-sa 道岬寺도갑사 (No. 6.12.1.) by Do-ko Sŏn-sa 道高禪師 도고선사; nothing more is known about this monk. Other sources claim that Do-sŏn Guk-sa 道諫國師 도선국사 founded the temple in the 9th C AD. There is probably some chronological confusion because one source states that Do-sŏn 道諫 도선 founded the temple in 661 AD. See: *MSKČ* II, p. 391; *SGSSC*, p. 359; *SCSC*, p. 131.

Except for Wang-hŭng-sa, Mi-rŭk-sa, Che-sŏk-sa and Kwan-kung-sa, no temple mentioned in the records has yet produced any material evidence for their founding in the Bæk-che period. It is therefore in many cases questionable if the records are accurate. It is however not so important to prove the founding legend of any particular temple. The number of founding legends placed in the Bæk-che alone, indicates that Bæk-che did not only have big state sponsored temples in the plains near the capitals, but also rather small meditation temples and hermitages in numerous mountain valleys.

#### 3.1.3.2.2.1. Wang-hŭng-sa

The founding of Wang-hŭng-sa<sup>1</sup> is recorded in the *Sam-guk-sa-gi*<sup>2</sup> which states that "in the first month of the second year [of King Böb<sup>3</sup>] (600 AD), Wang-hŭng-sa was founded and staffed with thirty monks". For the second month of the thirty-fifth year of the reign of King Mu<sup>4</sup> (634 AD), the same book<sup>5</sup> records the construction of another temple with the same name. There has been some confusion about the identity of these temples especially because the *Sam-guk-yu-sa*<sup>6</sup> notes that the *Sam-guk-sa-gi* designates Mi-rŭk-sa<sup>7</sup> as Wang-hŭng-sa.

It is probable that the two entries in the *Sam-guk-sa-gi* describe the founding and reconstruction<sup>8</sup> of the same temple. Mi-rŭk-sa is attributed by the *Sam-guk-yu-sa* to King Mu Wang which seems to exclude the first date. The second entry cannot concern Mi-rŭk-sa because the countryside around the temple is described as lying on the shore of a river and the book says that the king often visited the temple by ship. This is possible for the site of Wang-hŭng-sa which lay on the northern bank of the river near Bu-yŏ. Mi-rŭk-sa is however not located near any river. The investigation of the temple site produced only few indications which will be discussed in Chapter 3.3.

<sup>1</sup> Wang-hŭng-sa 王興寺 왕흥사 (No. 4.19.10). See: *SGSSC*, p. 852; *BKSC*, p. 631; *CPS* 5, p. 117; *SCSC*, pp. 454f.

<sup>2</sup> See: *SGSG* II, p. 68, 73.

<sup>3</sup> Böb Wang 法王 법왕, the 29th king of Bæk-che, reigned for one year in 599 and 600 AD.

<sup>4</sup> Mu Wang 武王 무왕, the 30th king of Bæk-che, reigned from 600 to 640 AD.

<sup>5</sup> See: *SGSG* II, p. 71, 74.

<sup>6</sup> See: *SGYS*, p. 75, 272, (144).

<sup>7</sup> Mi-rŭk-sa 彌勒寺 미득사, (No. 5.6.2.). See below, pp. 259ff.

<sup>8</sup> KIM suggest that the temple construction lasted 34 years. But the record that the temple was staffed with 30 monks already in 600 AD is an indication that the temple was completed in that year. See: KIM Sung-woo (KIM Sŏng-u 金聖雨 김성우) (1985), p. 153.

## 3.1.3.2.2.2. Mi-rük-sa

According to the *Sam-guk-yu-sa*, the founding story of Mi-rük-sa<sup>1</sup> is connected with the personal destiny of King Mu<sup>2</sup>. The book states that the father of King Mu died very early and that his mother lived with her child outside the capital in poor conditions beside a pond. The *Sam-guk-sa-gi*<sup>3</sup> however claims that King Mu was the son of King Böb<sup>4</sup> who reigned briefly in 599 and 600 AD. If both accounts are correct, it could signify that King Mu was an illegitimate son of King Böb and that he was born not long before 600 AD. The *Sam-guk-yu-sa* claims furthermore that King Mu married Sön-hwa Kong-chu<sup>5</sup>, a daughter of King Chin-pyöng<sup>6</sup> of Sin-la. The legend of King Mu, Princess Sön-hwa and Mi-rük-sa has become one of the favourite stories of the Korean folk tradition (translation by HA & MINTZ):

"The thirtieth sovereign of Bæk-che was King Mu, whose personal name was Chang<sup>7</sup>. His mother was a young widow who lived in a cottage beside a large pond. A dragon fell in love with her, and she conceived and bore a son. The boy grew up strong in physique and majestic in manner, worthy to be the son of a dragon. But he was so poor that he had to dig wild potatoes (yam<sup>8</sup>) from the fields to feed his mother and himself, so his neighbours called him Sö-dong<sup>9</sup>, Potato Boy.

"Sö-dong heard that Sön-hwa, the third daughter of King Chin-pyöng of Sin-la was very beautiful. So he shaved his head and visited Kyöng-chu, the capital of Sin-la, with a large sack of potatoes slung over his back. He made friends with the children by giving them his sweet potatoes to eat, and at the same time taught them a song which he had composed:

"Princess Sön-hwa, nobody knew anything,  
She married the Potato Boy,  
Secretly, she slept with her lover  
And ran away.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 마루사, (No. 5.6.2.). See: *SGYS*, pp. 74f., 270 - 272, (142 - 144).

<sup>2</sup> Mu Wang 武王 무왕, the 30th king of Bæk-che, reigned from 600 to 640 AD.

<sup>3</sup> See: *SGSG* II, p. 68, 73.

<sup>4</sup> Böb Wang 法王 법왕, the 29th king of Bæk-che, reigned for one year in 599 and 600 AD.

<sup>5</sup> Sön-hwa Kong-chu 善花公主 선화공주.

<sup>6</sup> Chin-pyöng Wang 眞平王 진평왕, the 26th king of Sin-la, reigned from 579 to 631 AD.

<sup>7</sup> Chang 璋 장.

<sup>8</sup> Yam is a kind of *Dioscorea* whose roots are edible (sweet potato).

<sup>9</sup> Sö-dong 薯童 서동.

<sup>10</sup> Translation of the song by the author. The original text is as follows (written in the *i-du* 吏讀 이두 system): "善化公主 隱他密只嫁良置古薯童房 乙夜矣卯乙抱違去如. 선화공주주는 탁밀지가랑치 고서동방 을야의묘올포견거어".

For the early Korean writing systems see: LEE Ki-mun (1977), pp. 47 - 64.

"Soon this song was heard in every quarter of the city and even in the palace. The courtiers who were received in royal audience persuaded the king to send the princess into exile in order to quiet the scandal. The Queen gave her daughter a bushel of pure gold<sup>1</sup> to pay her expenses with and bid her a tearful farewell.

"When she had set out on her lonely journey, the Potato Boy appeared and offered to be her bodyguard and guide. She did not know who he was or where he came from, but in her extremity she was glad of anyone's companionship. And as they travelled through the wild forests she fell in love with him, and at length slept in his arms.

"The lovers travelled happily together for many days, climbing hills and crossing streams, until they arrived in Bæk-che. Then Sön-hwa said, 'My husband, here is a sack of shining gold. With it we can make a comfortable home.' 'What is this ?' asked Sö-dong, laughing. 'Don't you know gold ?' Sön-hwa said. 'It will make us rich for a hundred years.' 'Since my childhood,' Sö-dong told her, 'I have buried gold in the holes from which I dug the wild potatoes.'

"Sön-hwa was amazed. 'If that is so,' she said, 'you have a large quantity of the most precious treasure under heaven. If you remember where you buried it, why don't you dig it up and send it to the palace of my father and mother ?' Sö-dong agreed. He dug up all the gold nuggets from the hundreds of holes he had made, and piled them mountain high. Then he went to the famous monk Chi-myöng Böb-sa<sup>2</sup> at Sa-cha-sa<sup>3</sup> on the Yong-hwa mountain<sup>4</sup> and sought his advice on how to transport his treasure to Kyöng-chu. 'Bring the gold to me,' the monk said. 'I will send it on the wings of a spirit by my magic word.'

"When Sön-hwa heard this she danced for joy and wrote a letter to her royal parents informing them of her happy marriage to the Potato Boy and of the shipment of gold as a present to them. The mountain of gold was moved into the courtyard of Sa-cha-sa with the letter at sunset, and sure enough, it rose into the air and was transported to the Sin-la palace that very night.

"When he received this gift and read his daughter's letter King Chin-pyöng wondered at the magic power of the Bæk-che monk and expressed his joy by sending a reply to Princess Sön-hwa, with whom he frequently corresponded thereafter. Sö-dong was so much loved by the people of Bæk-che for his princely

<sup>1</sup> A bushel of pure gold 純金一斗 순금일두.

<sup>2</sup> Chi-myöng Böb-sa 知命法師 지명법사.

<sup>3</sup> Sa-cha-sa 獅子寺 사자사, there is still a hermitage with the name Sa-cha-am 獅子庵 사자암 which is located on Mi-rük-san 彌勒山 미륵산 to the north of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사. But no relics from the Bæk-che period have been found there.

<sup>4</sup> Yong-hwa-san 龍華山 용화산, the mountain to the east of Mi-rük-san 彌勒山 미륵산.



deeds, loving and giving, that in due course he was raised to the throne amidst the acclamation of the whole nation.

"One day, as the new King and Queen were returning from a visit to Sa-cha-sa, followed by a long train of servants, three images of Maitreya<sup>1</sup> rose above the surface of a pond. They immediately halted their procession and worshipped the mysterious images, and the Queen said, 'My husband, I wish to have a beautiful temple build on this pond, where these three Maitreyas arose to meet us.'

'Very well, it shall be done,' the King replied. He again sought the help of the monk Chi-myōng, asking him to fill the pond and prepare it for a building. Obedient to the royal command, the old monk performed the task in one night by moving a distant mountain and dropping it upside down into the pond. Soon a magnificent temple called Mi-rūk-sa had been erected. In the three main halls stood the three Maitreya images and in the three courtyards were pagodas built with the assistance of hundreds of architects and sculptors sent by King Chin-pyōng. This great edifice, weather-beaten and moss-covered, is still standing."

The fact that Bæk-che and Sin-la were at war with each other during most of the reign of King Mu casts doubt about the romance of the Bæk-che prince with the Sin-la princess. It has therefore been proposed that the story belonged rather to King Mu-ryōng<sup>2</sup>. But the temple remains of Mi-rūk-sa at Ik-san county<sup>3</sup> date to the late Bæk-che period. Several reported place names<sup>4</sup> in Ik-san county seem also to confirm parts of the legend. The excavated layout of Mi-rūk-sa with its three complete temples precincts placed side by side which each included a pagoda and an image hall, seems to be directly related to the reported legend of the Maitreya triad. Thus, some elements of the legend are nowadays again accepted.

The *Kwan-se-üm-üŋ-hōm-gi*<sup>5</sup> seems to indicate that King Mu even attempted to transfer the capital from Sa-bi to the Güm-ma-ri<sup>6</sup> area or to build there a

<sup>1</sup> Three images of Maitreya 彌勒三尊 미륵삼존, the Buddha of the future.

<sup>2</sup> King Mu-ryōng 武寧王 무령왕, the 25th king of Bæk-che, reigned from 501 to 522 AD.

This theory was defended in particular by YI Byōng-do 李丙巖 이병도.

See: MHCKLG (1987) vol. I, p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> Ik-san-gun 益山郡 익산군 [fig. 691 (6)], Chōn-la-buk-do 全羅北道 전라북도.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. Yong-hwa-san 龍華山 응화산, Sa-cha-am 獅子庵 사자암, Ma-güm-chi 馬金池 마금지,

O-güm-sa 五金寺 오금사, Wang-kung-ri 王宮里 왕궁리, Güm-ma-ri 金馬里 금마리.

<sup>5</sup> The *Kwan-se-üm-üŋ-hōm-gi* 「觀世音應驗記 관세음응험기」. The book was discovered in Japan. See: CHANG Hōn-dōk 張憲德 장헌덕 (1993), p. 76.

<sup>6</sup> Güm-ma-ri 金馬里 금마리.

secondary capital<sup>1</sup>. It is not clear if this project was completed but at least a number of structures were built including a palace and three Buddhist temples: Mi-rük-sa, Che-sök-sa and Kwan-kung-sa<sup>2</sup>. About 3km to the southwest of modern Güm-ma-ri lie also two royal tombs<sup>3</sup> of the Bæk-che period which might belong to King Mu and his Queen. King Mu was perhaps particularly attached to the Ik-san area because it was in fact his childhood home.

Mi-rük-sa was thus probably founded on the order of King Mu at a quite early time of his reign and maybe completed within the first twenty years (about 600 to 620 AD). The temple site was excavated extensively in the 1980's. Its remains are among the most impressive of the Bæk-che kingdom (see Chapter 3.2., pp. 401ff.)

### 3.1.3.2.2.3. Che-sök-sa and Kwan-kung-sa

About 1km to the east of the five-storied stone pagoda of Wang-kung-ri<sup>4</sup>, a number of tile fragments were found with the inscription 'Che-sök-sa'. Nearby also lay a broken foundation stone, about 1.8m by 1.25m by 90cm large with a square hole in the centre measuring about 60cm. This stone probably served as the central foundation stone of a wooden pagoda.

The above-mentioned *Kwan-se-üm-üng-höm-gi*<sup>5</sup> contains also a passage on Che-sök-sa. It states that the temple was founded on the order of King Mu when he transferred the capital to the area. In the image hall a Śakra<sup>6</sup> figure was enshrined and the temple served mainly for prayers for the prosperity of the kingdom and the peace of the country. In the eleventh month of 639 AD, however, the image hall, the seven-storied wooden pagoda, the galleries and the dormitories were all destroyed by fire after lightning hit the temple. Only the *śarīra* box and the bronze

<sup>1</sup> The *Dæ-dong-chi-chi* 「大東地志 대동지지」 written by KIM Chǒng-ho 金正浩 김정호 also claims that the Ik-san 益山 익산 area was the separate capital 別都 별도 of King Mu. But curiously this attempted transfer or construction of a separate capital is not recorded in the *Sam-guk-sa-gi* 「三國史記 삼국사기」. Tiles with the inscriptions 'Sang-bu-dæ-kwan' 上部大官 상부대관, literally 'great office of the upper section', 'Kwan-sa' 官寺 관사, literally 'official temple' and 'Kwan-kung-sa' 官宮寺 관궁사, literally 'official palace temple' attest that some palace buildings were erected in the area. See: CHANG Kyōng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), pp. 131 - 135; MHCKLG (1987) vol. I, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Che-sök-sa 帝釋寺 제석사 and Kwan-kung-sa 官宮寺 관궁사. See below.

<sup>3</sup> Ik-san Ssang-rŭng 益山雙陵 익산쌍릉, Historic Site No. 87 史蹟 사적 87.

<sup>4</sup> The five-storied stone pagoda of Wang-kung-ri 王宮里五層石塔 왕궁리오층석탑 probably dates to the early Ko-ryō period together with the *śarīra* box which was found in it in 1965 AD. But some authors date it either to the Bæk-che or the Unified Sin-la period. It stands on the site of the Bæk-che temple Kwan-kung-sa 官宮寺 관궁사. See: Chapter 3.2., pp. 487ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Kwan-se-üm-üng-höm-gi* 「觀世音應驗記 관세음응험기」.

<sup>6</sup> Śakra = Che-sök 帝釋 제석, the Buddhist form of Indra.

panels inscribed with the *Diamond sūtra*<sup>1</sup> which were enshrined in the foundation stone of the wooden pagoda remained intact. King Mu organized a confession meeting. The *śarīra* box was opened and six pieces of *śarīra* were found in it.

To the south of the five-storied stone pagoda of Wang-kung-ri, numerous tile fragments with the inscriptions 'Kwan-kung-sa', 'Dæ-kwan-kung-sa' and 'Kwan-sa'<sup>2</sup> were found, which indicate that it was the site of a palace temple. The *Sam-guk-sa-gi*<sup>3</sup> mentions the temple briefly for the year 661 AD calling it Dæ-kwan-sa<sup>4</sup>. Since 1989 the site around the stone pagoda has been excavated and the foundations of at least the image hall and the lecture hall have been discovered. These remains are discussed in Chapter 3.2.

The exact founding date of these two temples is not known but as for Mi-rūk-sa it can be assumed that it happened in the first half of the reign of King Mu (about 600 to 620 AD).

### 3.1.3.2.3. Buddhist arts of the late Sa-bi period

While the early Buddhist sculpture of Japan can easily be compared with Bæk-che, it is more difficult to do so for paintings because almost all traces of them have disappeared in Korea. Many sculptures of the Asuka and Bæk-che periods are so similar that a direct influence is obvious. The bronze statue of the historical Buddha at Ango-in<sup>5</sup> (Asuka-dera) of 606 AD could have either been made by the artisans sent from Bæk-che toward the end of the sixth century AD or by their Japanese disciples. The wooden statue of an Avalokiteśvara at Hōryū-ji carries the name 'Kudara Kannon', literally 'Bæk-che Avalokiteśvara'<sup>6</sup> and statuettes with similar poses were discovered from sixth century Sin-la and Bæk-che<sup>7</sup>. But most convincing is the comparison between the Maitreya figures of the two countries. The bronze Maitreya in Bu-yō<sup>8</sup> is in almost every detail identical with the wooden

<sup>1</sup> *Diamond sūtra* 「金剛般若經 金剛반야경」.

<sup>2</sup> Kwan-kung-sa 官宮寺 官宮寺, Dæ-kwan-kung-sa 大官宮寺 大官宮寺, Kwan-sa 官寺 官寺.

<sup>3</sup> The text states: "The well water of Dæ-kwan-sa 大官宮寺 大官宮寺 changed to blood and blood came out of the ground at Gūm-ma-gun 金馬郡 金馬郡, together it was about 5 *bo* 歩 步 (usually a length unit = 1.12m) [of blood]. Then the King (Mu-yōl Wang 武烈王 武烈王 of Sin-la) died."

See: *SGSG* II, p. 102, 109.

<sup>4</sup> Dæ-kwan-sa 大官宮寺 大官宮寺.

<sup>5</sup> Ango-in 安居院 あんごいん 안거원 (Asuka-dera 飛鳥寺 あすかてら 비조사), see: *SKBJZS* 2, pl. 55, ELISSEEFF Danielle, ELISSEEFF Vadime (1980), p. 390, HONG Wōn-tak 洪元卓 洪元卓 (1994), p. 155.

<sup>6</sup> Kudara Kannon, Bæk-che Kwan-ūm 百濟觀音 くだらかんのん 백제관음, Hōryū-ji 法隆寺 ほうりゅうじ 법통사, see: *SKBJZS* 2, pl. 1, 4, 5, ELISSEEFF Danielle, ELISSEEFF Vadime (1980), p. 391.

<sup>7</sup> See: KANG U-bang 姜友邦 姜우방 (1990), p. 88ff.

<sup>8</sup> See: Bu-yō (Puyo) National Museum 國立扶餘博物館 국립부여박물관 (ed.) (1993), p. 73.

Maitreya of Kōryū-ji<sup>1</sup>. The Korean figure is about 93.5cm high, a little smaller than the Japanese figure which measures 123.5cm, but the pose, the dress, the base and the crown and the facial expression are identical in both figures.

The paintings in the *kondō* of Hōryū-ji date probably to the beginning of the eighth century and were therefore certainly executed by Japanese painters. But it can be assumed that the paintings of Bæk-che and Sin-la were similar<sup>2</sup>. During the excavation of Mi-rük-sa-chi a fragment of floral arabesques of a wall painting was discovered<sup>3</sup>. A few paintings in royal tombs have also survived, among them a painting of lotus flowers<sup>4</sup>.



Fig. 185: Perspective of a pensive Maitreya Bodhisattva 半跏思惟彌勒菩薩 반가사유미특보살 (gilt bronze, 7th C., Three Kingdoms 三國 삼국 period, probably from Bæk-che 百濟 백제, height: 93.5cm) (drawing by the author)

<sup>1</sup> Kōryū-ji 廣隆寺 こうりゅうじ 광룡사. See: *SKBJZS* 2, pl. 2, 35, 36, ELISSEEFF Danielle, ELISSEEFF Vadime (1980), p. 391.

<sup>2</sup> For a detailed discussion of the influences of Korea on the arts of Japan see: *KGMS* 185, p. 163ff.

<sup>3</sup> See: CHANG Kyōng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992), p. 102.

<sup>4</sup> See: *BGinCd* 102-22, p. 109.

### 3.2. THE BUDDHIST ARCHITECTURE OF BÆK-CHE

#### Preliminary remarks

The history of Buddhist architecture of Bæk-che is usually divided into three periods according to the location of its capitals, in the case with the history of Buddhism (see: Chapter 3.1.). The first period when the capital was located at Han-sǒng<sup>1</sup> is not treated here because no clear evidence of Buddhist temples or related buildings has been found so far during the excavations of the presumed sites of the capital.

Much progress has been made in recent years on the knowledge of the material culture of the Buddhism of Bæk-che. The various universities in the Chung-chǒng and Chǒn-la areas<sup>2</sup> regularly publish journals on the advancement of studies on Bæk-che culture. Several significant temple sites have recently been excavated around Bu-yǒ and Ik-san<sup>3</sup> and many important artifacts have been discovered.

<sup>1</sup> Han-sǒng 漢城 한성, see Chapter 3.1., pp. 223ff.

<sup>2</sup> Chung-chǒng-chi-bang 忠濟地方 충청지방 Chǒn-la-chi-bang 全羅地方 전라지방.  
See: *Bæk-che Mun-hwa* 「百濟文化백제문화」, Kong-chu University 公州大學校 공주대학교, Institute for the Culture of Bæk-che 百濟文化研究所 백제문화연구소 (ed.), No. 1 -, 1968 ~ ;  
*Bæk-che Yǒn-gu* 「百濟研究백제연구」, Chung-nam National University 忠南大學校 충남대학교, Institute for Studies on Bæk-che 百濟研究所 백제연구소 (ed.), No. 1 -, 1970 ~ ;  
*Ma-han - Bæk-che Mun-hwa* 「馬韓·百濟文化 마한·백제문화」, Wǒn-kwang University 圓光大學校 원광대학교, Institute for the Culture of Ma-han and Bæk-che 馬韓·百濟文化研究所 마한·백제문화연구소 (ed.), No. 1 -, 1977 ~ .

<sup>3</sup> Bu-yǒ-gun 扶餘郡 부여군 (No. 4.19.) [fig. 690 (19)], Ik-san-gun 益山郡 익산군 (No. 5.6.) [fig. 691 (6)].

### 3.2.1. BUDDHIST ARCHITECTURE IN THE UNG-CHIN PERIOD (from 475 to 538 AD)

#### 3.2.1.1. DÆ-TONG-SA

The recorded founding in 527 or 529 AD of Dæ-tong-sa<sup>1</sup> in the Bæk-che capital Ung-chin<sup>2</sup> has already been mentioned in Chapter 3.1. The remains of this temple constitute the oldest dated evidence of Buddhist architecture of Bæk-che discovered so far. The site was superficially investigated towards the end of the Japanese occupation period of Korea<sup>3</sup> but no full scale excavation has been undertaken. The site is situated in down-town of modern Kong-chu between Kong-chu Sa-dæ-bu High School<sup>4</sup> to the west and the Che-min Stream<sup>5</sup> to the east [fig. 186]. The heavy and deep constructions of the twentieth century caused probably irreversible damage to the foundations of the various buildings. It is not certain when the temple site was abandoned but the material remains indicate that it was still active during the Unified Sin-la period.

##### 3.2.1.1.1. The general layout

The Japanese investigation produced evidence of at least three buildings: a wooden pagoda, an image hall and a lecture hall. While the size of the platform of the lecture hall reportedly<sup>6</sup> measured about 53m by 25m, the size of the platforms of two other buildings are not known. The published plan shows that the pagoda, the image hall and the lecture hall lay all on a south-north axis [fig. 186]. No remains of other main halls to the east or west of the pagoda were reported. This layout type was designated as the 'single pagoda-single image hall-temple type'<sup>7</sup> and it is connected in particular with the Bæk-che dynasty on the Korean peninsula.

<sup>1</sup> Dæ-tong-sa 大通寺 대통사 (No. 4.13.1.).

<sup>2</sup> Ung-chin 熊津 웅진, modern Kong-chu 公州 공주.

<sup>3</sup> Japanese occupation 日帝時代 일제시대 (1910 - 1945 AD). The results of the studies by the Japanese scholar KARUBE Jion 輕部 慈恩 かるべじおん 경부 자은 of the second quarter of the 20th C. AD were reprinted in 1971 AD: *Kudara iseki no kenkyū* 「百濟遺蹟の研究くだけいせきのけんきゅう 백제유적의 연구」, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館よしかわこうぶんかん 김천홍문관, Tōkyō 東京とうきょう 동경, 1971. The work was not available for this study.

<sup>4</sup> Kong-chu Sa-dæ-bu Ko-dūng-hak-kyo 公州師大附高等學校공주사대부고등학교.

<sup>5</sup> The Che-min-čhōn 齊民川 제민천 flows northwards into the Gūm-kang 錦江 금강.

<sup>6</sup> The published plan indicates a depth of more than 30m.

<sup>7</sup> *Il-tab-il-gūm-dang-sik-ka-ram* 一塔一金堂式伽藍 일탑일금당식가람.



Fig. 186: Site plan of Dæ-tong-sa 大通寺 대룡사: modern topographical map with indication of the investigation results (527 / 529 AD, scale: 1 : 5,000)

- Legend:
- 1 flagpole supports
  - 2 remains of the platform of the pagoda
  - 3 remains of the platform of the image hall
  - 4 remains of the platform of the lecture hall
  - 5 stone basins

(after: CACD NJ 52-13-19 (015 / 016 / 025 / 026), additions by the author)

The distance between the centre of the pagoda and that of the image hall measured probably about 45m to 50m and the centre of the lecture hall lay about 40m to 45m behind that of the image hall. Two stone water basins stood on a perpendicular axis to the main axis at about half distance between the image hall and the lecture hall. The basins had a distance of about 80m from each other, they stood thus about 12m away from the south-eastern and south-western corner of the platform of the lecture hall. Approximately 50m to the south-east of the pagoda remains stands a pair of flagpole supports. No evidence of a second pair of support posts has been discovered and no clear remains of galleries or the middle gate were found either.

### 3.2.1.1.2. The flagpole supports of the Unified Sin-la period

The granite flagpole support posts are located on the original site. The posts measure about 3.29m in height and have a section of about 50cm by 56cm [fig. 187]. The supports stand about 50cm apart on a base, about 2.28m long, 1.56m wide and 46cm high, which is formed of six stone blocks. The support posts are rounded at the top and the outer surfaces are carved with about 12cm-wide, slightly protruding bands at the edges. An additional rounded protruding band was carved in the centre of the eastern side of the eastern post and on the western side of the western post. Small steps separate these bands at both sides from the surfaces. The inner sides feature 10cm by 15cm-large rectangular holes at a height of about 43cm and about 10cm by 20cm-large rectangular holes at the top which used to hold the fixations of the pole.

In spite of the damaged state of the stone blocks of the base, reliefs of so-called *an-sang*<sup>1</sup> can be distinguished on its western vertical side [fig. 187]. Some authors<sup>2</sup> have interpreted the form of these reliefs as typical of the Bæk-che period but other specialists<sup>3</sup> tend to date the flagpole supports rather to the Unified Sin-la period. As no dated or otherwise confirmed examples of flagpole supports of the

<sup>1</sup> *An-sang* 眼象 안상 (it is usually called *gōzama* (*kakukyōken*) 格狭間 ごうざま (かくきょうけん) 격협간 in Japan). The origin of this design pattern can probably be traced to wooden furniture legs. Pieces of furniture of the 8th C. AD with such legs are preserved in the Shōsō-in 正倉院 쇼소인 정창원 collection in Japan. For a discussion on the use of this design in Korea see: CHIN Hong-sōb 秦弘燮 진홍섭 (1997), pp. 118 - 168.

<sup>2</sup> BAK Yong-chin 朴容燦 박용진 is in favour of the dating to the Bæk-che period. See: *BCM* 2.

<sup>3</sup> See: CHŌN Kyōng-hwa 千敬化 천경화 (1993), p. 606f.



Bæk-che period are known and as several comparable flagpole support posts<sup>1</sup> from the Unified Sin-la period are extant in the former Bæk-che territory, I tend to attribute these stone flagpole supports to a reconstruction of the temple during the Unified Sin-la period<sup>2</sup>.

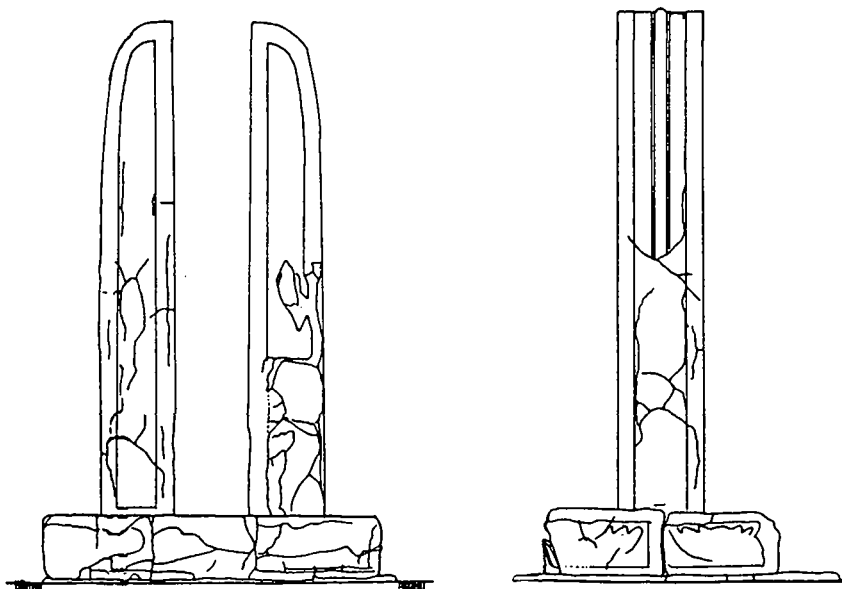


Fig. 187: Two elevations of the flagpole supports of Dæ-tong-sa 大通寺 대통사 (Unified Sin-la: 7th - 8th C. AD ?, scale: 1 : 50) (after: *MHCSRBS* 90 -1, pp. 423f.)

<sup>1</sup> E.g. the flagpole supports of Güm-san-sa 金山寺 금산사 (No. 5.3.2.) probably constructed in 766 AD, the flagpole supports of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 (No. 5.6.2.), probably constructed in the first half of the Unified Sin-la period (early 8th C.?) and the flagpole supports of Bo-wön-sa 普願寺 보원사 (No. 4.3.2.). However, there are small differences: these posts feature two rounded segments at the top, they count sometimes more than two fixation holes and the bases with the *an-sang* design are usually better preserved.

<sup>2</sup> A number of excavated roof tiles of the Unified Sin-la period show that the temple was still active at that time. See: *KGMS* 121, 122, pp. 19 - 25.

## 3.2.1.1.3. The water basins

Both water basins were moved to the Kong-chu National Museum<sup>1</sup> courtyard. They are almost identical in size, form and decoration. They are composed of a single foundation stones, a cylindrical stand and the basins itself [fig. 188]. The upper surfaces of the large foundation stones were cut into squares with side lengths of about 86cm. The cylindrical stands are about 35cm high and have diameters of about 71cm. The basins measure 72cm to 78cm in height and they have outer diameters of about 1.7m to 1.88m. The voids for the water measure 1.34m to 1.55m in diameter and 50cm to 56cm in depth. The stands are decorated with simplified lotus leaves. The outer surfaces of the basins feature two thin protruding bands and four lotus flowers with probably eight petals<sup>2</sup> at each cardinal direction. The upper edges of the basins are thicker than the average thickness of the sides.

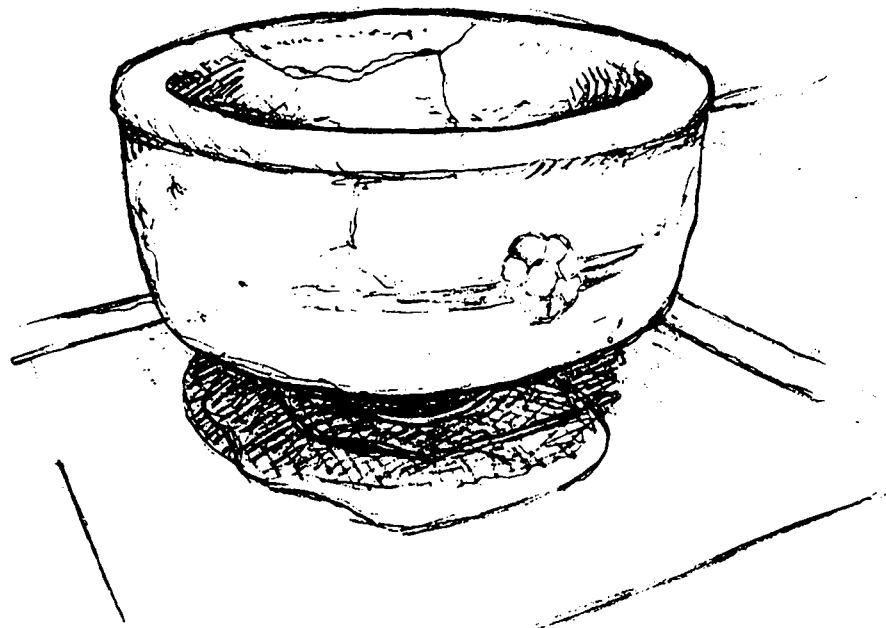


Fig. 188: Perspective of one of the water basins of Dæ-tong-sa 大通寺 대룡사 (527 / 529 AD ?, no scale) (drawing by the author)

<sup>1</sup> Kong-chu National Museum 國立公州博物館 국립공주박물관.

<sup>2</sup> The number of petals is not very sure because the reliefs are weather-beaten.

The decorations clearly point to the Bæk-che period because the lotus design of the basins recalls the decorations of the Bæk-che roof-end tiles which were found at the temple site. The original location of the water basins indicates that they were not used as water reservoirs but reserved for ceremonial and symbolic purposes and may have served to grow lotus flowers. While the tradition of placing lotus ponds in front of the middle gate was observed at many temples in East Asia, such lotus water basins on stands are only exceptionally placed within the central precinct of temples. Two more similar basins are known from Korea but no temple seem to have had twin basins: the first example is the hemispherical water basin of the Bæk-che period which has been moved to the Bu-yŏ National Museum<sup>1</sup>. The other example is the water basin of Bŏb-chu-sa<sup>2</sup> of the middle of the Unified Sin-la period which is heavily decorated with lotus flowers and heavenly beings.

#### 3.2.1.1.4. The material remains

A number of roof-end tiles with lotus flower decorations, tile fragments with the inscriptions 'tong' and 'dæ-tong'<sup>3</sup> and fragments of an owl-tail roof tile<sup>4</sup> were discovered on the site [fig. 189]. The lotus flower decorations of the roof-end tiles indicate that the temple was in fact founded in the Bæk-che period and probably reconstructed in the Unified Sin-la period. Most lotus flowers of the Bæk-che period count eight petals and between five and eight dots in the centre. The lotus flowers of the Unified Sin-la period discovered at Dæ-tong-sa have less closely packed petals, more dots in the centre and additional rings in the centre and at the periphery which sometimes also feature small dots. But no typical double petal design of the Unified Sin-la was unearthed at Dæ-tong-sa which could signify that Dæ-tong-sa was reconstructed in the first half of the Unified Sin-la period<sup>5</sup>. The diameters of the Bæk-che tiles with lotus flowers measure about 14cm while those of the Unified Sin-la period measure about 17.5cm. In addition, a number of stone fragments<sup>6</sup> which date partly to Bæk-che and Unified Sin-la were discovered close to the temple site.

<sup>1</sup> Bu-yŏ National Museum 國立扶餘博物館 국립부여박물관.

<sup>2</sup> Bŏb-chu-sa 法住寺 법주사 (No. 3.11.1), this water basin is usually dated to the 8th C. AD.

<sup>3</sup> Tong 通통, dæ-tong 大通 대통, see: *KGMS* 121, 122, p. 18f.

<sup>4</sup> See: *KGMS* 121, 122, p. 18; BAK Man-sik 朴萬植 박만식 (1974), p. 11.

<sup>5</sup> The double petal design became fashionable with the increasing influence of Tang from the late 7th C. AD. The reconstruction of Dæ-tong-sa could thus have taken place in the late 7th or early 8th C. AD. The flagpole supports could also date to this period. For the Sin-la tiles see: KIM Dong-hyŏn 金東賢 김동현 et al. (1976).

<sup>6</sup> Among them was a lion shaped column of a stone pagoda (probably of the Unified Sin-la period) and fragments of a stone bridge pier which led over the nearby stream (maybe of the Bæk-che period). See: *KGMS* 121, 122, p. 13ff.



Fig. 189: Fragments of roof tiles of Dæ-tong-sa 大通寺대통사 (Bæk-che: 6th C. AD ?, no scale)  
(after: *KGMS* 121, 122, p. 18; IM Yǒng-chu 林永周 임영주 (1983), p. 488)

#### 3.2.1.1.5. Reconstruction drawing of the general layout

The size of the platform of the lecture hall indicates that the temple might have been larger than most known temples from the Three Kingdoms period in Korea. As the distance from the centre of the pagoda to the centre of the lecture hall was approximately 90m, the size of this temple is comparable to the biggest known temples of Bæk-che and Ancient Sin-la.

A hypothetical layout of the central precinct of the temple might have been as follows: the core could have been framed by galleries measuring about 100m to 110m from east to west and about 120m to 140m from south to north [fig.190]. These galleries would have included the middle gate in the south and the lecture hall in the north. Inside the courtyard lay thus the pagoda, the image hall and the water basins. The middle gate might have been located close to the site of the flagpole supports<sup>1</sup>. The centre of the middle gate could have stood about 40m to 50m to the south of the centre of the square pagoda whose sides of the platform measured maybe about 20m. The centre of the image hall lay about 45m to 50m behind the centre of the pagoda and the length of the platform of the image hall could have measured between 30m and 35m while the width might have measured between 20m and 25m. Again some 40m to 45m to the north lay the centre of the lecture hall whose platform possibly measured 53m by 25m as mentioned above.

<sup>1</sup> The flagpoles were usually placed in front of the central courtyard. In the case of Dæ-tong-sa, the distance between the flagpole supports and the pagoda site is similar to that between the pagoda and the image hall. It is therefore difficult to place the middle gate between the flagpole supports and the pagoda. This conflict could be an additional argument for the construction of the supports during Unified Sin-la when other elements of the temple were probably also transformed.

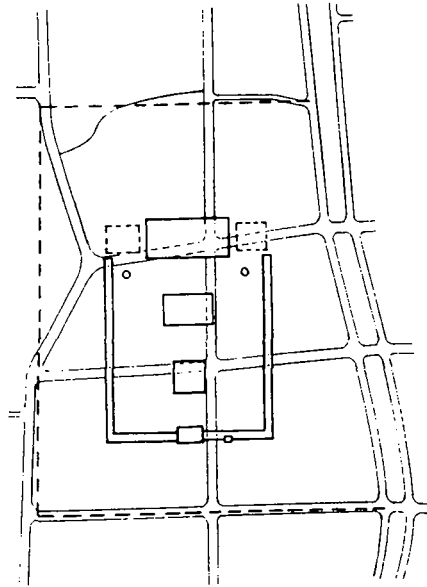


Fig. 190: Hypothetical reconstruction of Dæ-tong-sa 大通寺 대통사 (527 / 529 AD, scale: 1 : 5,000) (drawing by the author)

It may be no simple coincidence that the street network of modern Kong-chu fits almost the main axes of this supposed layout. The central street of the quarter has the same direction as the main axis of the ancient temple and lies only about 15m to the east of this supposed axis. Two perpendicular streets coincide almost with the longitudinal axes of the lecture hall and the wooden pagoda. A bridge of the Bæk-che period lay in the continuation of the longitudinal axis of the lecture hall at the spot where the Dæ-tong bridge<sup>1</sup> stands now. The outer boundary<sup>2</sup> of the temple precinct might have reached from the next crossroad to the south of the flagpole supports to the next crossroad to the north of the lecture hall, measuring thus between 250m to 270m from south to north. The lateral dimension would then probably be limited by the bed of the stream to the east and the western main street of the quarter, measuring between 180m and 200m. These correspondences with the modern urban pattern could signify that in Korea too, the modern urban forms follow sometimes ancient layout configurations<sup>3</sup> even if their original functions have disappeared long ago.

<sup>1</sup> Dæ-tong-kyo 大通橋 대통교, the remains of a Bæk-che stone pier were discovered there.

<sup>2</sup> Some evidence of such a boundary was found at the northwestern corner (dotted line on fig. 186).

<sup>3</sup> Such a hypothesis was formulated for the European context by the Italian architect Aldo ROSSI in his 1966 work *L'Architettura della Città*. See: ROSSI (1973).

## 3.2.1.2. SÖ-HYÖL-SA, NAM-HYÖL-SA AND DONG-HYÖL-SA

The names of the temples Sö-hyöl-sa, Nam-hyöl-sa and Dong-hyöl-sa<sup>1</sup> indicate that these three temples were related to each other and geographically connected to the Bæk-che's capital Ung-chin: the 'Western Cave Temple', the 'Southern Cave Temple' and the 'Eastern Cave Temple' were located at short distances around the capital with the probable aim of protecting the capital either from malicious spiritual influences or military attacks which might come from various directions. Such strategically located temples were a common feature of the capitals of most East Asian kingdoms which regarded Buddhism as their national doctrine. A similar effort can also be observed for Güm-söng, the capital of Sin-la<sup>2</sup>.

All three temples feature natural caves behind their supposed building sites. The custom to use natural and artificial caves as Buddhist sanctuaries was already an old tradition when Buddhism arrived in Korea. The fact that the hard granite of the Korean mountains is not well suited for artificial caves and sculpted decorations, can partially explain why the tradition of cave sanctuaries was adopted in Korea on a smaller scale than in India and China. The artisans of the Unified Sin-la period, however, were masters of stone sculpture and the grotto of Sök-kul-am<sup>3</sup> is the one of the most accomplished examples of Buddhist cave sanctuaries.

## 3.2.1.2.1. Sö-hyöl-sa

Sö-hyöl-sa was located about 1.2km to the south-west of the site of Dæ-tong-sa, on the eastern flank of the 260m-high Mang-wöl mountain<sup>4</sup>, close to the small village Si-ö-kol<sup>5</sup>. An investigation of Sö-hyöl-sa in 1929 AD showed that its layout once featured a small stone pagoda in front of the image hall. Excavations<sup>6</sup> from 1969 to 1971 AD revealed the site of a small two-by-two-bays wooden building whose platform measured about 9.05m by 5.85m, the site of the stone pagoda and

<sup>1</sup> Sö-hyöl-sa 西穴寺 서혈사 (No. 4.13.3.), Nam-hyöl-sa 南穴寺 남혈사 (No. 4.13.2.), Dong-hyöl-sa 東穴寺 동혈사 (No. 4.13.5.). There was no 'Northern Cave Temple', maybe because the Güm-kang 錦江 금강 lay to the north and this was considered as protection enough. The term *hyöl* 穴 혈, literally 'cave, hole, cavity, nest', designates in the geomantic theory a geographic place with particular 'energy', a place where several 'energy veins' meet. The term is also applied in a analogous way in acupuncture [fig. 384]. A Buddhist or shamanistic construction at such a place intends to strengthen the natural power of the site what is supposed to have a beneficial influence on the lives and fortune of the local population.

<sup>2</sup> Güm-söng 金城 금성. See: Chapter 4.1., pp. 674ff.

<sup>3</sup> Sök-kul-am 石窟庵 석굴암 (No. 7.34.34.). See: Chapter 5, pp. 962f.

<sup>4</sup> Mang-wöl-san 望月山 망월산.

<sup>5</sup> Si-ö-kol 시어골, the place is also called Swi-ödh-kol 쉬엇골.

<sup>6</sup> See: *BCMH* 16, p. 124ff.; *HGKCS*, p. 150f.; Chung-chöng-nam-do 忠清南道 충청남도 (ed.): (1991), p. 46.

the foundations of the image hall whose platform measured about 10m by 8m. The pagoda stood about 23m to the south of the centre of the image hall [fig. 191]. The execution of the foundations indicates that the buildings were constructed in Unified Sin-la, but roof tiles with typical Bæk-che ornaments show that the site was occupied already during the Bæk-che period. Some of the Bæk-che tiles featured inscriptions such as 'Sō-hyōl-sa' and 'sam-bo'<sup>1</sup>. A headless Vairocana Buddha stone statue was found on the site of Sō-hyōl-sa which dates to the Unified Sin-la period<sup>2</sup>. About 100m to the north of the temple site lies a natural cave, about 8m wide, 17m deep and 4.5m high, which was probably used as an affiliated hermitage or prayer place [fig. 191]. The site of an altar for a Buddha figure was discovered in the cave<sup>3</sup>.

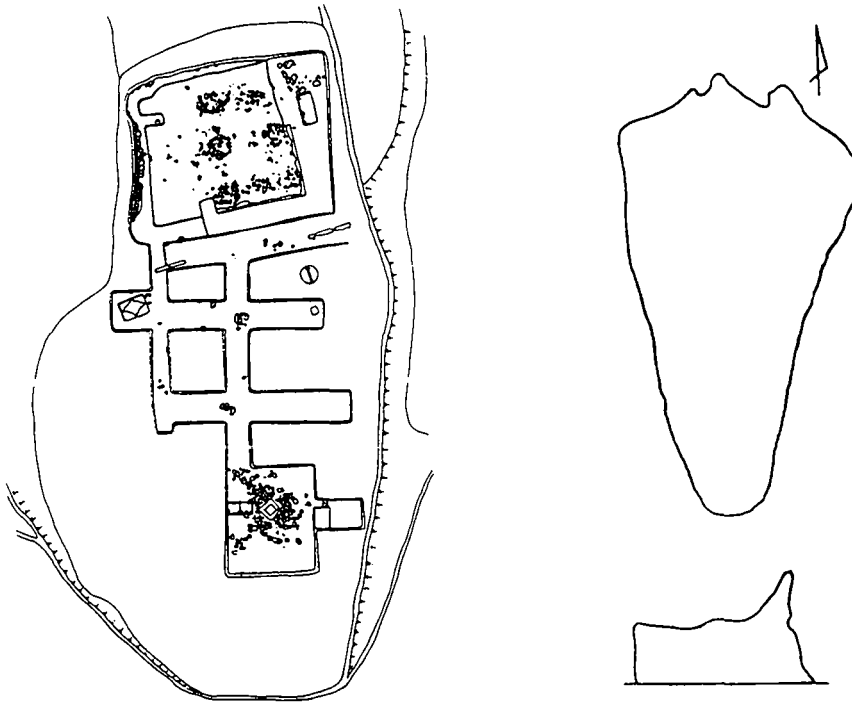


Fig. 191: Excavation plan of Sō-hyōl-sa 西穴寺서혈사 (scale: 1 : 500) and plan and section of the natural cave (scale: 1 : 300) (Bæk-che / Unified Sin-la) (after: *BCM*H 16, p. 125; *HGKCS*, p. 151)

<sup>1</sup> Sō-hyōl-sa 西穴寺서혈사, *sam-bo* 三寶삼보 (three treasures).

<sup>2</sup> The sculpture consists of two octagonal stone blocks which serve as base and the seated body of the Buddha. The hand positions show the *bodhyagrī-mudrā* 智拳印지권인 which is typical for Vairocana 毘盧遮那佛비로자나불. The total height is about 1.7m, the sculpture was moved to the Kong-chu National Museum 國立公州博物館국립공주박물관, it dates probably to about the 8th or 9th C. AD.

<sup>3</sup> See: CHANG Kyōng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), p. 37f.

## 3.2.1.2.2. Nam-hyöl-sa

Nam-hyöl-sa lay about 2km to the south-west of the summit of Mang-wöl mountain on the north-western flank of the 268m-high southern mountain of Güm-hak-dong<sup>1</sup> at about 110m above sea level. During the excavations<sup>2</sup> from October to December 1990 AD, seven building sites [fig. 192] and numerous tile fragments were discovered. All these remains date however from the Unified Sin-la to Chosŏn periods and no evidence of the Bæk-che period has been found.

About 140m to the east of the temple site, at about 180m above the sea level, lies the natural cave which was affiliated with the temple. The cave is about 26m long and is divided into a front and a rear room. An about 22cm-small Bodhisattva figure of the Bæk-che period was found in the front room in 1928 AD by the Japanese scholar KARUBE<sup>3</sup>. Close to the northern wall of the cave lay the altar for a Buddhist statue.

## 3.2.1.2.3. Dong-hyöl-sa

Dong-hyöl-sa<sup>4</sup> is located further away from the ancient Bæk-che capital than the two other cave temples mentioned above. Its site lies about 12km to the north of Dæ-tong-sa on the south-western side of the Čhön-tæ mountain<sup>5</sup>. The site is still occupied by an active small temple. The ancient temple site lay probably some 50m below the extant temple where an area of 700m<sup>2</sup> to 1,000m<sup>2</sup> has been levelled. The foundations of two buildings can be distinguished but their date is probably much later than the Bæk-che period<sup>6</sup>. The natural cave of this temple lies about 50m to the north of the extant temple. The interior surface of the cave measures only about 12m<sup>2</sup> and its height is about 2.2m. Remains from the Bæk-che dynasty were found neither on the site of Dong-hyöl-sa nor in the cave.

<sup>1</sup> Nam-hyöl-sa 南穴寺 남혈사 (No. 4.13.2.), Güm-hak-dong 金鶴洞 금학동, Mang-wöl-san 望月山 망월산.

<sup>2</sup> See: Kong-chu National Museum (ed.) 國立公州博物館 국립공주박물관 (1993).

<sup>3</sup> KARUBE Jion 經部慈恩 かるべじおん 경부 자은. See: Čhung-čhông-nam-do 忠清南道 충청남도 (ed.) (1991), p. 47f.

<sup>4</sup> Dong-hyöl-sa 東穴寺 동혈사 (No. 4.13.5.), the name is nowadays mostly written Dong-hyöl-sa 銅穴寺 동혈사. Such variations of the used Chinese characters with the same Korean pronunciation are quite common in Korea.

<sup>5</sup> Čhön-tæ-san 天台山 천태산, the mountain is also called Dong-hyöl-san 銅穴山 동혈산 and seems to have been formerly written Dong-hyöl-san 東穴山 동혈산. See: *SCDGYCSR*, p. 287.

<sup>6</sup> See: *BCMH* 16, p. 126; Čhung-čhông-nam-do 忠清南道 충청남도 (ed.) (1991), p. 47.



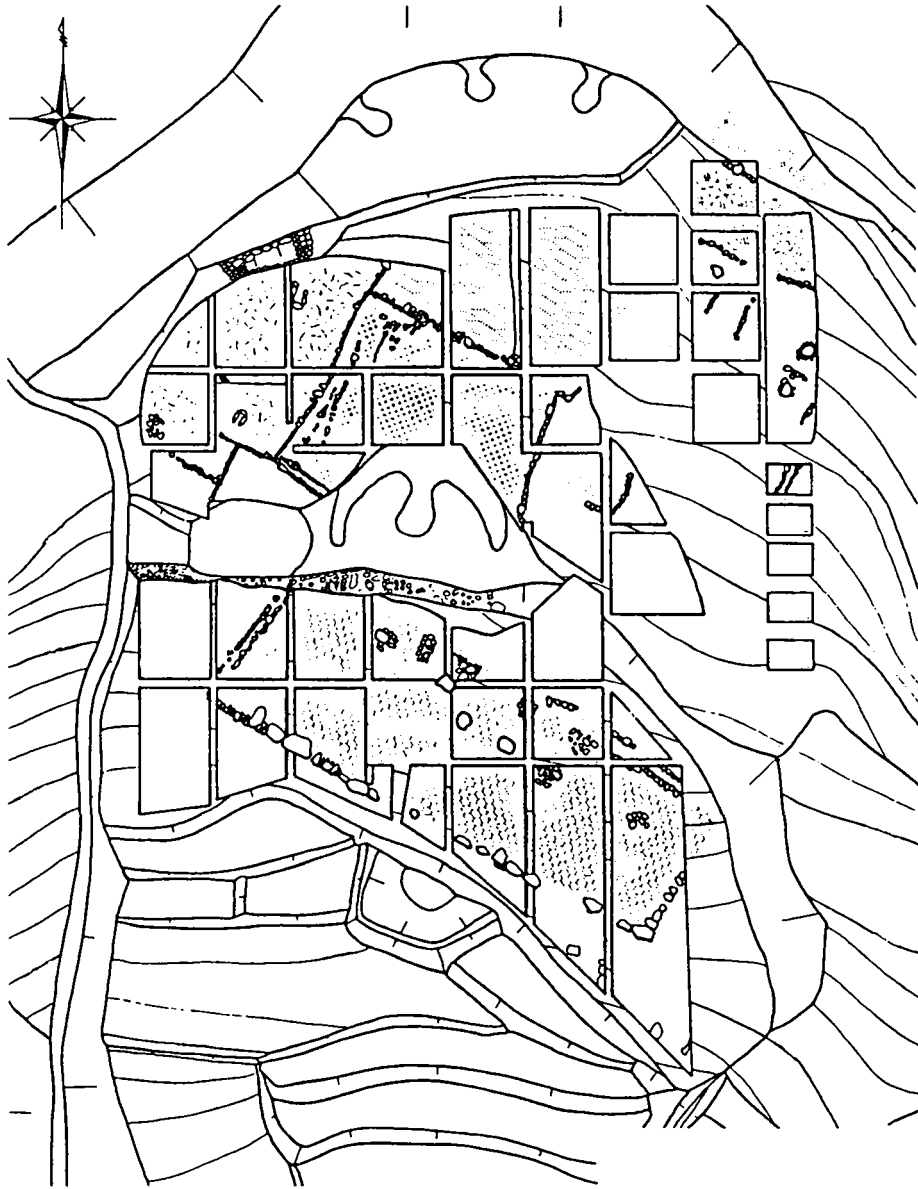


Fig. 192: Excavation plan of Nam-hyŏl-sa 南穴寺 남혈사 (Unified Sin-la to Cho-sŏn, scale: 1 : 500)  
(after: Kong-chu National Museum (ed.) 國立公州博物館 국립공주박물관 (1993), p. 65)

## 3.2.1.3. OTHER BÆK-CHE TEMPLE SITES AROUND UNG-CHIN

A number of other suspected temple sites of the Ung-chin Period are located in the region around Kong-chu. Among them are the following:

the temple site at Ung-chin-dong<sup>1</sup>

the temple site at Gŭm-hak-dong<sup>2</sup>

the temple site at Chŏng-ŏchi-ri<sup>3</sup>

Su-wŏn-sa<sup>4</sup>

- <sup>1</sup> Ung-chin-dong Sa-chi 熊津洞寺址 웅진동사지, the temple was located at O-yadh-gol 오얏골, close to the river bank. The remains include tile, brick and ceramic fragments as well as a foundation stone, 49cm by 49cm by 19cm large, which could date to the Bæk-che period. See: CHANG Kyŏng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), p. 44.
- <sup>2</sup> Gŭm-hak-dong Sa-chi 金鶴洞寺址 금학동사지, the name of the temple is not known. An excavation in 1970 AD revealed an 11m by 6m large building site, fragments of a stone pagoda and a stone cover of a well, roof tiles and miniature pagodas as well as a 2.09m-high stone halo. All the remains date to the Unified Sin-la period except the halo which dates probably to the Bæk-che dynasty. Some authors suppose that the stone cover also dates to the Bæk-che dynasty. It is thus assumed that the temple was founded in the Bæk-che period and reconstructed in the Unified Sin-la period. See: Kong-chu National Museum 國立公州博物館 국립공주박물관 (ed.) (1981, 1993), fig. 105, 115, p. 28, 30, 56f.; BCMH 16, p. 128; CHANG Kyŏng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), p. 41f.
- <sup>3</sup> Chŏng-ŏchi-ri Sa-chi 鼎峙里寺址 정치리사지 (var. 正峙里寺址 정치리사지), this temple site is located closer to Bu-yŏ 扶餘 부여 than Kong-chu 公州 공주. The village is situated about 9km to the east-northeast of the centre of Bu-yŏ, close to the road linking Bu-yŏ to Kong-chu. The remains include a platform of a wooden building (the image hall?), about 48m by 12m large, fragments of a five-storied stone pagoda, a small copper Buddha and a fragment of a base of a stone lantern. The pagoda measures in its extant state about 1.85cm in height and dates to the Unified Sin-la or the early Ko-ryŏ dynasties. The lantern base has a lotus flower shaped top and a square bottom. The lotus flower once possessed 12 petals but only 5 are extant. The sides of the square measured about 1.09m and the stone is about 33cm high. The form and execution of the lotus flower indicate that the lantern base dates probably to the Bæk-che period (Sa-bi period). The pagoda and the lantern base were moved to the Kong-chu National Museum 國立公州博物館 국립공주박물관.
- <sup>4</sup> Su-wŏn-sa 水源寺 수원사, (No. 4.13.4.). The temple is briefly mentioned in the *Sam-guk-yu-sa* 「三國遺事 삼국유사」 for the reign of the Sin-la king Chin-chi Wang 眞知王 진지왕 (he reigned from 576 to 578 AD): "During the reign of King Chin-chi there was a monk named Chin-cha 眞慈 진차 at Hŭng-ryun-sa 興輪寺 흥륜사 who worshipped the image of Maitreya Buddha [usually considered a Bodhisattva; the original text does not mention "Buddha" which is an addition by HA & MINTZ], praying that the Buddha be incarnated as a *hwa-rang* 花郎 화랑 so that he might attend him as chief servant. One night he saw an old priest in a dream. 'If you go to Su-wŏn-sa 水源寺 수원사 in Ung-ŏchŏn 熊川 웅천,' the priest said, 'you will meet a Maitreya flower youth (*hwa-rang*).'"<sup>10</sup> The temple site lies in an area which is known by the local population as Su-wŏn-kol 수원골. This is the only indication for the identity of the temple site. It was partially excavated in 1967, 1989 and 1992. The discovered relics include the foundation of a stone pagoda, roof tiles, a clay Buddha head, miniature pagodas and small bronze figures. Most remains date to the Unified Sin-la period. See: SGYS, p. 114, 345, (235); BCMH 16, p. 123f.; Chŏng-ŏchŏng-nam-do 忠淸南道 충청남도 (ed.) (1991), p. 44; CHANG Kyŏng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), p. 40f.; MHCSRBS 92 -1, pp. 476 - 480.

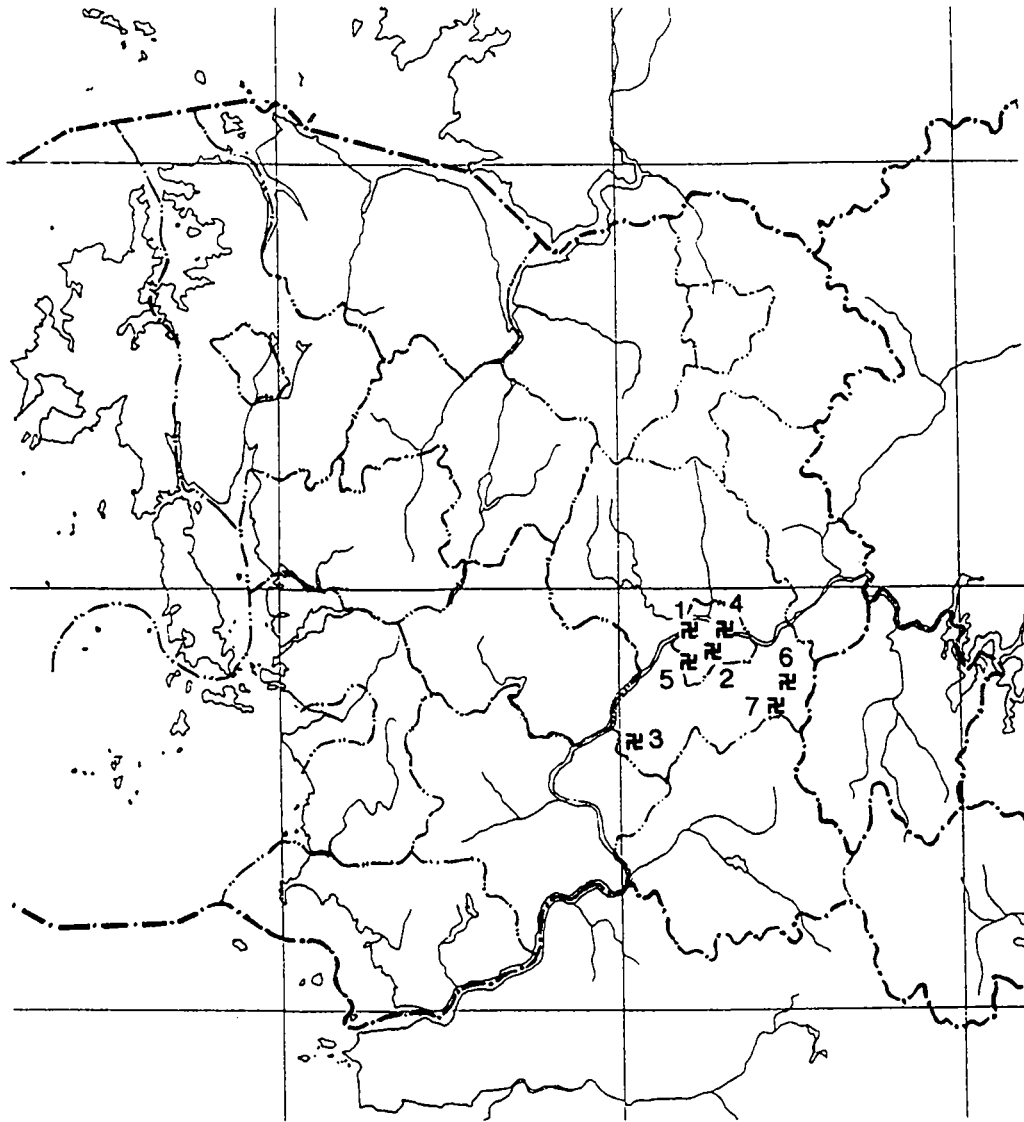


Fig. 193: Temple sites near Kong-chu 公州 공주

- Legend:
- 1 Ung-chin-dong Sa-chi 熊津洞寺址 웅진동사지
  - 2 Güm-hak-dong Sa-chi 金鶴洞寺址 금학동사지
  - 3 Chõng-chi-ri Sa-chi 鼎峙里寺址 정치리사지
  - 4 Su-wõn-sa 水源寺 수원사
  - 5 Chu-mi-sa 舟尾寺 주미사
  - 6 Ku-ryong-sa 九龍寺 구룡사
  - 7 Chõng-ryang-sa 淸涼寺 청량사

Chu-mi-sa<sup>1</sup>  
 Ku-ryong-sa<sup>2</sup>  
 Chǒng-ryang-sa<sup>3</sup>

So far, none of these temple sites produced significant new information on the Buddhist architecture of the Ung-chin period of Bæk-che.

- <sup>1</sup> Chu-mi-sa 舟尾寺 주미사. It has been speculated that this temple is identical with the temple mentioned in the *Sam-guk-yu-sa* 「三國遺事 삼국유사」 in connection with Su-wǒn-sa 水源寺 수원사. The temple is not named but it is said that it lay to the south of Su-wǒn-sa on Chǒn-san 千山 천산. It is supposed that Chu-mi-sa 舟尾寺 주미사 and Chu-mi-san 舟尾山 주미산 is etymologically connected with the local place names Chǔ-mǔl-li 즈물리, Chu-mǔl-li 주물리, Chu-mil-li 주밀리, Chǔ-mǔl-san 즈물산, Chu-mil-san 주밀산 and Chǔ-mǔn-san 즈문산. *Chǔ-mǔn* 즈문 is an old word for *chǒn* 千 천 (the number 1,000). The temple site is in fact located about 4km to the south of the centre of Kong-chu. The discovered remains, including a stone base of a lantern, mostly date to the Unified Sin-la period. The temple seems to have included at least a stone lantern, a (stone) pagoda and an image hall. To the west lies a small natural cave whose entry is about 1 m large and 70cm high. The interior space measures 1.35m by 3.2m and has a height of about 1.2m. No remains of the Bæk-che period have been found but the records and the presence of a cave could indicate that the temple was in fact founded in the Bæk-che period. See: CHANG Kyǒng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), p. 42ff.
- <sup>2</sup> Ku-ryong-sa 九龍寺 구룡사 (No. 4.12.4.). The temple site was excavated from 1990 to 1993 AD by the Kong-chu University Museum 公州大學校博物館 공주대학교박물관. The temple name has been derived from a inscribed tile fragment which was discovered prior to the recent excavation. Newly-discovered fragments carry the inscription 'Su-sǒk-sa' 水夕寺 수석사 so that the name of the temple is not sure any more. The discovered remains include the foundations of at least seven buildings among which is the main image hall, a pair of flagpole supports of the Unified Sin-la period, fragments of a clay Buddha figure and numerous fragments of ceramics and roof tiles from the Unified Sin-la to the early Cho-sǒn periods. It is not certain whether the site was in fact occupied by a temple since the Bæk-che period as several Korean scholars claim. See: Kong-chu University Museum 公州大學校博物館 공주대학교박물관 (ed.) (1995); Chung-chǒng-nam-do 忠清南道 충청남도 (ed.) (1991), p. 49f.
- <sup>3</sup> Chǒng-ryang-sa 淸涼寺 청량사. The temple site lies about 1.2km to the north-west of Dong-hak-sa 東鶴寺 동학사 at about 610m above sea level. The temple name was found inscribed on a tile fragment. A seven-storied stone pagoda of the Unified Sin-la period (or Ko-ryǒ ?) and a five-storied stone pagoda of the Ko-ryǒ period stand on the site. Furthermore, a base and fragments of a Buddha figure were found here. The five-storied stone pagoda reflects the style of the Bæk-che stone pagodas which became popular in the Ko-ryǒ period in this region. A legend states that in 646 AD a monk named Sang-wǒn 上願 상원 who meditated here, rescued a tiger which was suffering because a large bone stuck in its throat. The grateful tiger brought a beautiful young woman to the monk. But he refused to marry her because he had to keep his vows. Instead he lived and studied together with her as brother and sister. The father of the woman then built the twin pagodas and called them Nam-mæ-tab 男妹塔 남매탑 which means 'brother-sister pagoda'. See: *CPS* 5, p. 54, 268; Chung-chǒng-nam-do 忠清南道 충청남도 (ed.) (1991), p. 48

### 3.2.2. BUDDHIST ARCHITECTURE IN THE EARLY SA-BI PERIOD (from 538 to 599 AD)

#### 3.2.2.1. THE TEMPLE SITE AT GUN-SU-RI

The temple site at Gun-su-ri<sup>1</sup> is located about 800m to the south of the southern roundabout of Bu-yŏ<sup>2</sup> and about 270m to the west of the bridge of Kung-nam-chi<sup>3</sup>. The flat temple site is nowadays overgrown with high grass and pine trees so that its layout cannot any more be identified on the spot. The name and the founding date of this temple has not been confirmed. Its location near the centre of the last capital of Bæk-che, however, indicates that it was constructed after 538 AD. The site has been excavated from 1935 to 1936 by a Japanese team<sup>4</sup> and a report was published in 1937 AD.

##### 3.2.2.1.1. The general layout

The excavated area measured about 100m from east to west and 108m from south to north. According to the excavation report, traces of at least nine wooden structures were found [figs. 194, 195]. The temple possessed one wooden pagoda, one image hall and one lecture hall on the main south-north axis which pointed about 5° to the east from north. In addition, traces of the middle gate, the lateral galleries, a small structure to the north and two buildings on the sides of the lecture hall were discovered. On the height of the image hall, outside the eastern and western galleries, traces of two buildings were found which may have belonged either to a secondary sanctuary or to the cells of the monks.

<sup>1</sup> Gun-su-ri Sa-chi 軍守里寺址 군수리사지 (No. 4.19.6).

<sup>2</sup> It is possible that parts of the modern urban pattern of Bu-yŏ 扶餘 부여 follows the city layout of the Bæk-che period as I have supposed for the city of Kong-chu 公州 공주. See also further below in connection with Chŏng-rim-sa 定林寺 정림사, pp. 323f.

<sup>3</sup> Kung-nam-chi 宮南池 궁남지, according to the *Sam-guk-sa-gi* 「三國史記 삼국사기」, this artificial lake with a central island was constructed in the 3rd month of 634 AD to the south of the royal palace on the orders of Mu Wang 武王 무왕, the 30th king of Bæk-che who reigned from 600 to 640 AD. See: Chapter 3.1., pp. 252f.; *SGSG* II p. 71, 74; *CPS* 5, p. 95, 303.

<sup>4</sup> Among others by ISHIDA Mosaku 石田茂作 いしだもさく 석전 무작. See: *CSSKF* (1937. 6.), pp. 45 - 55, pl. 48 - 62.

The distance between the centre of the pagoda and the centre of the image hall was about 25m. The centre of the lecture hall lay about 36m behind the centre of the image hall. The distance between the western side of the platform of the lecture hall and the eastern side of the platform of the north-western structure was about 4.4m. The analogous distance to the north-eastern building was surmised to be about 4.9m but the exact position of the eastern side of the lecture hall could not be established. A new, deeper excavation could uncover more architectural material.

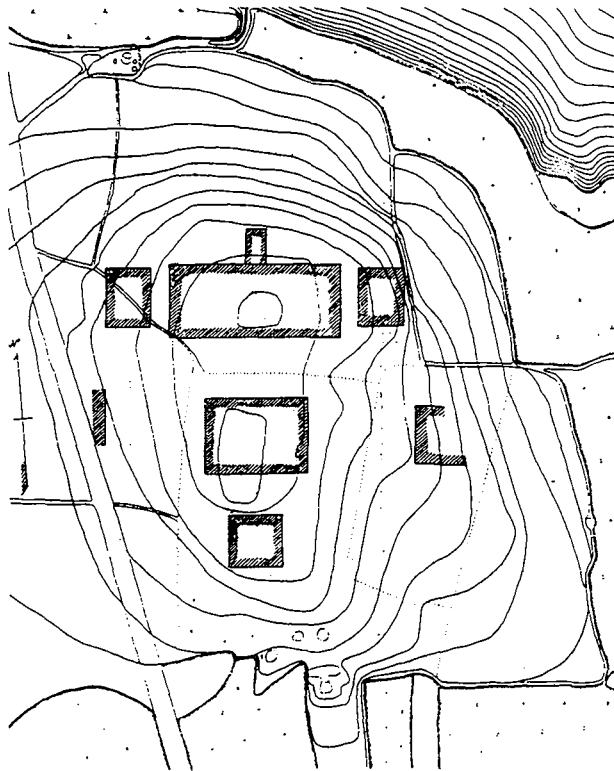


Fig. 194: Layout plan of the temple site at Gun-su-ri 軍守里 軍守里  
(Bæk-che: 6th C. AD?, scale: 1 : 2,000) (after: CSSKF (1937.6.), pl. 50)

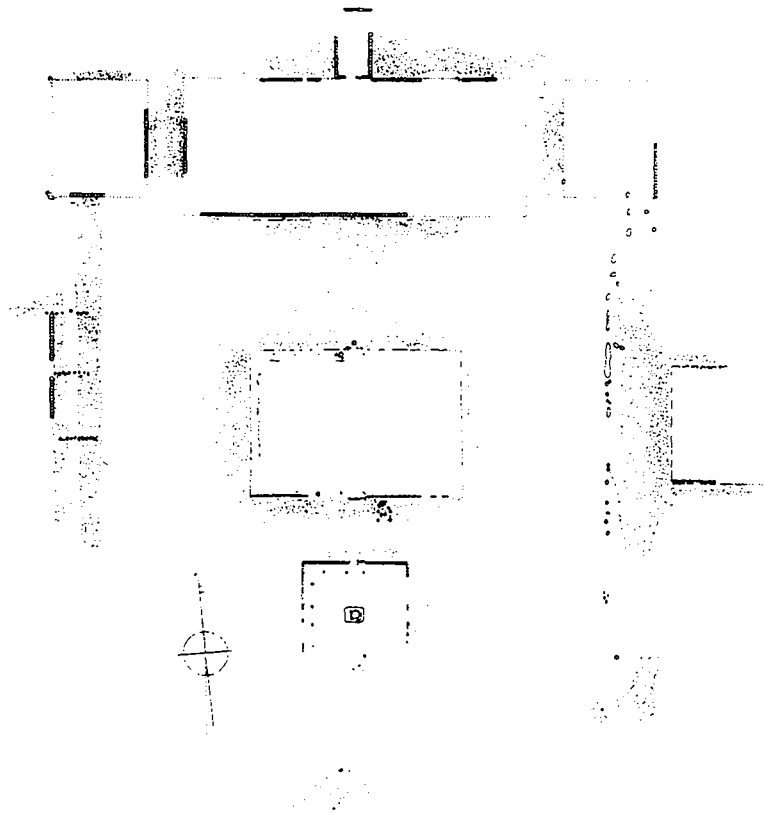


Fig. 195: Excavation plan of the temple site at Gun-su-ri 軍守里 軍수리  
(Bæk-che: 6th C. AD ?, scale: 1 : 1,000) (after: CSSKF (1937.6.), pl. 59)

#### 3.2.2.1.2. The buildings

Only traces remained of the platforms of six of the seven wooden structures. The pagoda site revealed some evidence of the foundation and size of the wooden superstructure. Table 8 resumes the measurements of the discovered structures according to the investigation report (in brackets the measurements of the published drawing):

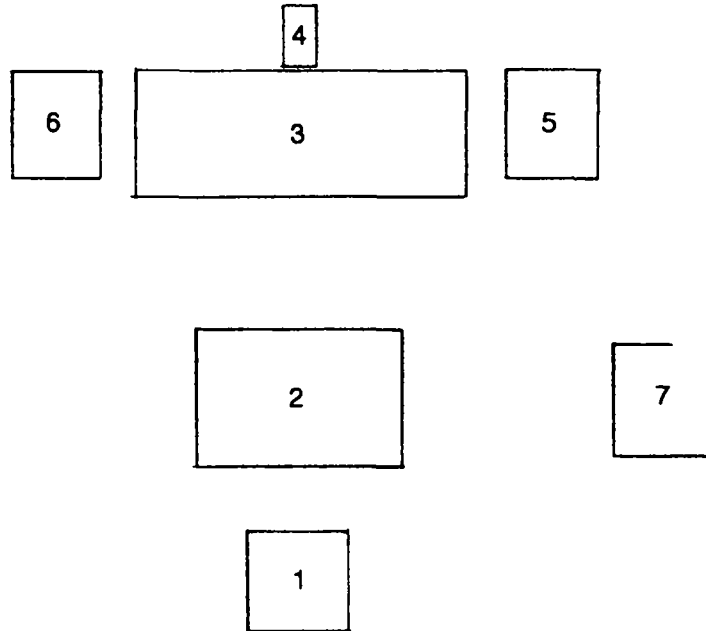


Fig. 196: Excavated structures of the temple site at Gun-su-ri 軍守里 軍守里 (see table 8)  
(Bæk-che: 6th C. AD ?, no scale) (drawing by the author)

structure	platform		superstructure			function, comments
	length	width	length	width	no. bays	
structure No. 1	46 曲尺* (13.9m)	46 曲尺 (13.7m)	(~ 10.9m)	(10.9m)	5 x 5 ?	square wooden pagoda
structure No. 2	90 曲尺 (27.3m)	60 曲尺 (19.1m)	(20 - 23m)	(12 - 14m)	7 x 5 ? 7 x 4 ?	image hall
structure No. 3	150 曲尺 (45.1m)	60 曲尺 (17.9m)	(~ 40m)	(~ 14m) (~ 15m)	10 x 4 ? 11 x 4 ?	lecture hall
structure No. 4	16 曲尺 (4.7m)	30 曲尺 (9.1m)	(~ 2.5m)	(~ 8m)	1 x 3 ?	corridor connecting the lecture hall to the refectory ?
structure No. 5	41 曲尺 (12.5m)	50 曲尺 (15.2m)	?	?	?	north-eastern building: monks' cell, belfry or <i>stupa</i> repository ?
structure No. 6	41 曲尺 (12.3m)	50 曲尺 (15.2m)	?	?	?	north-western building: monks' cell, belfry or <i>stupa</i> repository ?
structure No. 7	?	50 曲尺 (15.3m)	?	?	?	eastern building: image hall ?

\* 1曲尺 = 0.303m

Table 8: Measurements of the excavated structures of the temple site at Gun-su-ri 軍守里 軍守里



## 3.2.2.1.2.1. The square wooden pagoda

The platform of the pagoda was delimited by thin bricks which were placed vertically. The northern side was almost intact with the exception of the centre where the stairs might have stood. Only fragments of the lateral sides of the platform were discovered and the position of the southern side could be estimated through the supposed symmetry [fig. 197]. The central foundation stone, about 94cm by 94cm large, which received the central pillar of the pagoda was excavated at the depth of about 1.8m below the surface of the platform.

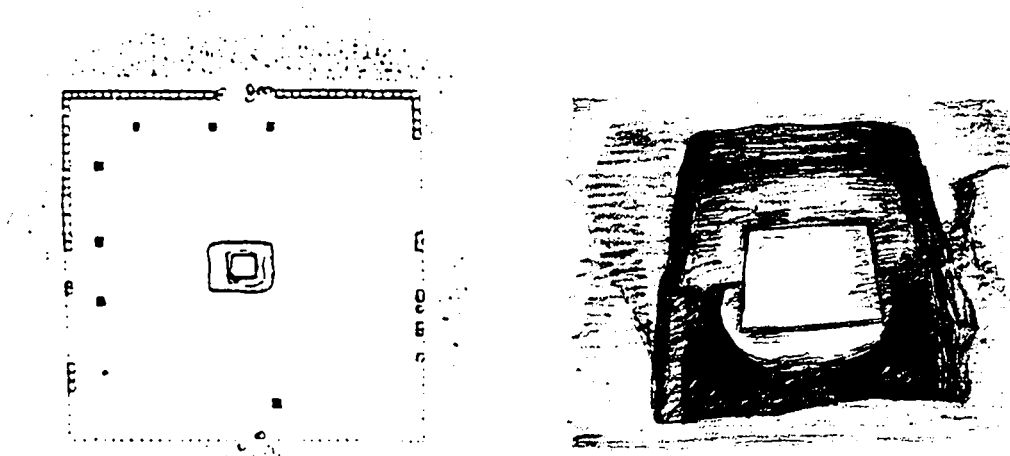


Fig. 197: Excavation plan of wooden pagoda (scale: 1 : 300) and perspective of its central foundation stone of the temple site at Gun-su-ri 軍守里 衚수리 (Bæk-che: 6th C. AD ?) (after: CSSKF (1937.6.), pl. 59 and drawing by the author)

Seven square spots filled with charcoal<sup>1</sup> were discovered on the northern, western and southern sides at a distance of about 1.4m from the edges of the platform. The pieces of charcoal seem to be the remains of wooden columns of the faces of the wooden pagoda. The wooden pagoda might accordingly have possessed a wooden structure with five bays on each side and lengths of about 11m. The lengths of the bays seem to have varied from about 1.6m for the corner bays to 2.8m for the intermediate bays and about 2.2m for the central bays.

<sup>1</sup> The square holes measured probably less than 30cm by 30cm. See: CSSKF (1937. 6.), pl. 57-2.

This variation of the bay lengths is reminiscent of the eastern pagoda (*tōtō*) of Yakushi-ji [fig. 472] in Nara<sup>1</sup> constructed in 717 or 729 AD whose platform has about the same size as the one of the pagoda at Gun-su-ri. The *tōtō* has bay lengths of about 1.7m for the corner bays, 2.4m for the intermediate bays and 2.3m for the central bays. The outer bays of the *tōtō* are attached galleries. The narrow width of the corner bays of the pagoda at Gun-su-ri could indicate that it made use of a similar solution<sup>2</sup>.

### 3.2.2.1.2.2. The image hall

The southern side of the platform of the image hall was best preserved. The southern retaining wall was apparently formed by piles of 'female' roof tiles<sup>3</sup> [fig. 198]. The tiles were arranged obliquely at angles of about 45° in such a way to form a continuous zigzag line. At the centre of the southern side the wall was interrupted to leave the space for the stairs.

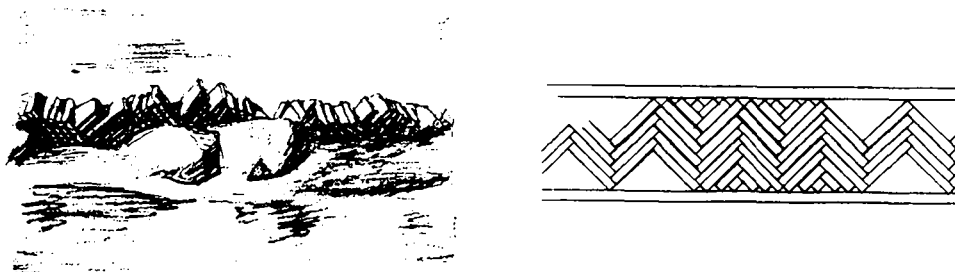


Fig. 198: Perspective and scheme of the retaining walls of the platform of the central image hall of the temple site at Gun-su-ri 軍守里 軍수리 (Bæk-che: 6th C. AD ?, no scale) (drawings by the author)

<sup>1</sup> *Tōtō* 東塔とうとう 등탑, Yakushi-ji 藥師寺やくしじ 약사사 in Nara 奈良なら 나랑. See: MATSUYAMA Tetsuo 松山 鐵夫まつやまつお 승산 철부 (1990).

<sup>2</sup> CHANG suggests that the burnt columns might have belonged to the main structure because the columns stood inside the platform. But this assumption does not explain why the corner bays were so short. See: CHANG Kyōng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> Retaining walls of building platforms built with roof tiles are known also from other sites of the Bæk-che period. See: Bu-yō (Puyo) National Museum 國立扶餘博物館 국립부여박물관 (ed.) (1992.8.30.), p. 39f.

On the other three sides of the platform, only rows of vertically-placed 'female' roof tiles were discovered. Near the northern and southern platform edges, three square foundation stones were excavated at least, whose sides measured between 40cm and 60cm [fig. 199]. They were obviously moved away from their original position. About 1m to 1.5m inside of the western and the northern platform edges, traces of another row of tiles were discovered which could belong to a second step of the platform. If a two-stepped platform is supposed, then the ground plan of the wooden structure of the image hall might have measured between 20m by 12m and 23m by 14m with possibly seven by four or five bays<sup>1</sup>.

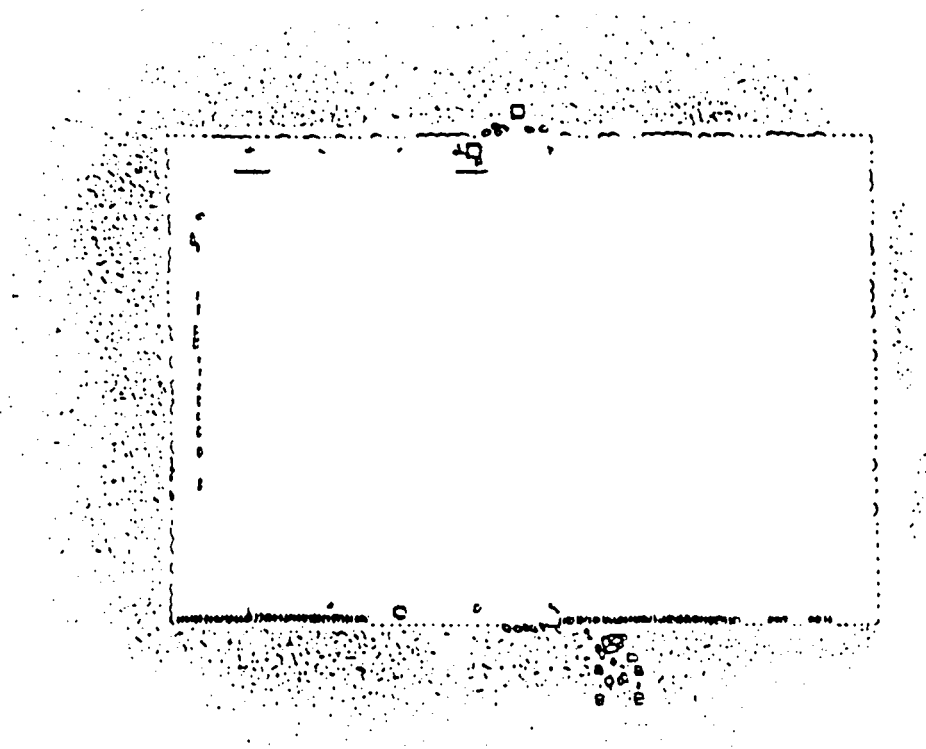


Fig. 199: Excavation plan of the central image hall of the temple site at Gun-su-ri 軍守里 衚수리 (Bæk-che: 6th C. AD ?, scale: 1 : 300) (after: CSSKF (1937.6.), pl. 59)

<sup>1</sup> Several authors suppose a main face which counted 9 bays but this seem to reduce the lengths of the bays too much (about 2.5m). See: CHANG Kyōng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), p. 46.

The size and proportions of this possible reconstruction could again be compared with a structure of the Japanese Yakushi-ji<sup>1</sup>. The main structure of its ruined image hall, without the attached roof, measured about 22.9m by 11.8m. The proportion of the platform of the image hall of Gun-su-ri was about 1.5 : 1 and that of the image hall of Yakushi-ji had a proportion of 1.52 : 1. The main structure of Yakushi-ji, however, was slimmer with a proportion of 1.94 : 1, compared to a supposed proportion of about 1.7 : 1 for the wooden structure of the image hall of Gun-su-ri (which is about the proportion of the Yakushi-ji image hall with the attached roofs). As the Yakushi-ji image hall was reportedly a two-storied structure<sup>2</sup> [fig. 451], the same could thus also have been the case of the image hall of Gun-su-ri in spite of the rather narrow proportions<sup>3</sup>.

### 3.2.2.1.2.3. The lecture hall and the northern structure

The platform of the lecture hall was delimited by rows of 'female' roof tiles which were placed upside down flat on the ground. Several layers of tiles formed probably the retaining walls of the platform of the lecture hall [fig. 200]. No foundations stones remain on the site which could give an indication of the wooden structure. The platform of the lecture hall was about as large as that of the lecture hall of Chǒng-rǔng-sa<sup>4</sup> of Ko-gu-ryō which measured about 44m by 14.5m and possessed thirteen by four bays. The lengths of the bays in Ko-gu-ryō seem to have been shorter than in sixth- to seventh-century Bæk-che and Japan where the bay lengths of lecture halls can exceed 5m. The lecture hall at Gun-su-ri might thus have had a wooden structure of either ten by four bays or eleven by four bays, measuring about 40m by 14m.

<sup>1</sup> The *kondō* 金堂 こんどう 금당 of Yakushi-ji 藥師寺 やくしじ 약사사 possessed an attached roof similar to the *tōtō* of the same temple. The complete ground plan of the image hall counted thus 9 bays by 6 bays measuring about 26.8m by 15.7m while the platform measured about 31.2m by 20.5m. See: OOKA Minoru (1973), p. 79f.

<sup>2</sup> The building has been reconstructed on the original foundations from 1976 to 1977 AD as a two-storied structure. See: OOKA Minoru (1973), p. 79; USUI Shirō (1990), p. 247; SUZUKI Kakichi (1980), p. 89.

<sup>3</sup> The extant Buddhist multi-storied structures in Korea seem to indicate that the narrower the proportions of the ground plan the more unlikely are multi-storied structures. The only extant 7 bays by 4 bays two-storied Buddhist structure in Korea is the Dæ-ung-bo-chǒn 大雄寶殿 대웅보전 of Bōb-chu-sa 法住寺 법주사 of 1624 AD (wooden structure: 25.11m by 16.17m, proportion: 1.55 : 1) and the only extant 7 bays by 5 bays two storied building is the Gak-hwang-chǒn 覺皇殿 각황전 of Hwa-ōm-sa 華嚴寺 화엄사 of 1702 AD (wooden structure: 26.72m by 18.24m, proportion: 1.46 : 1). See: Chapter 2.2., p. 146, n. 1; KIM Bong-kǒn 金奉建 김봉건 (1994).

<sup>4</sup> Chǒng-rǔng-sa 定陵寺 정릉사. See Chapter 2.2., p. 115.

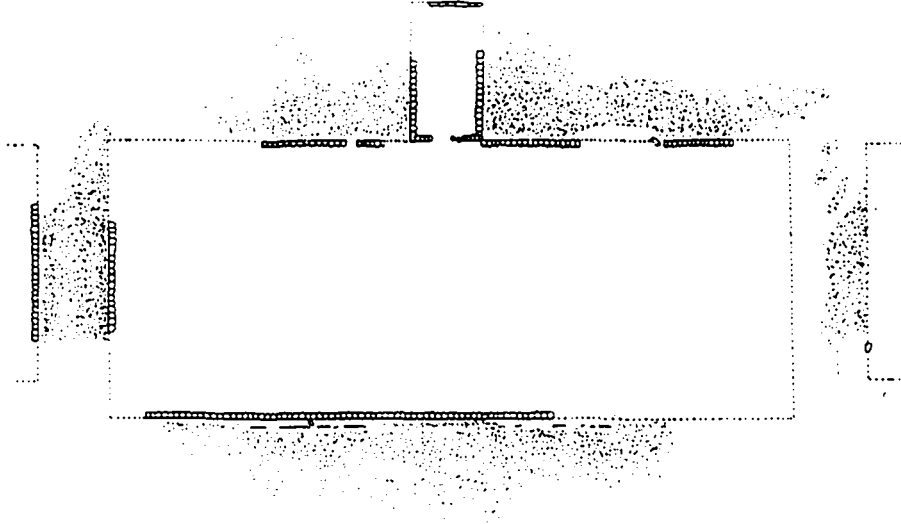


Fig. 200: Excavation plan of the lecture hall and the northern structure of the temple site at Gun-su-ri 軍守里 군수리 (Bæk-che: 6th C. AD ?, scale: 1 : 500) (after: CSSKF (1937.6.), pl. 59)

To the rear of the lecture hall stood a structure which is reminiscent of the corridor of the interconnected buildings discussed in connection with Chǒng-rŭng-sa. The form of the platform was again indicated through rows of 'female' tiles which were turned upside down at the southern and lateral sides. At the northern side such 'female' tiles were placed in the same way as on the roofs. The wooden structure which stood on this platform might have had one by three bays as in the case of Mi-rŭk-sa<sup>1</sup> which will be discussed below.

#### 3.2.2.1.2.4. The northern lateral structures

The report suggests that the two structures on both sides of the lecture hall might have been a *sūtra* repository and a belfry as in the case of several Japanese monasteries<sup>2</sup> of similar age. But newly discovered evidence from other temple sites of Bæk-che seem to question this frequent assumption. As will be discussed in more detail below, the lateral structures at the height of the lecture hall were probably used as service spaces to the lecture hall such as private preparation rooms for the lecturers. The size of the platforms of both lateral structures have been surmised to

<sup>1</sup> Mi-rŭk-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사. See below, pp. 474.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. at Shitennō-ji 四天王寺 してんのうじ 사천왕사 at Ōsaka 大阪 おおさか 대판 and Hōryū-ji 法隆寺 ほりゅうじ 법룡사 at Nara 奈良なら 나랑.

be identical because of the expected overall symmetry of the temple layout. But this expectation too, has not always been justified. In particular the structures behind the image halls can be placed at will as observed in Nūng-sa<sup>1</sup>, for example. No probable reconstruction attempt of the lateral buildings can thus be proposed unless the site is excavated again.

#### 3.2.2.1.2.5. The galleries, the middle gate and the intermediate lateral structures

The sizes and the exact positions of the platforms of the galleries, of the middle gate and of the intermediate lateral structures have not been established with certainty through the Japanese investigation. A few tile fragments seem to indicate that the distance between the middle gate and the centre of the pagoda was about as long as the distance between the centre of the pagoda and the centre of the image hall, i.e. about 25m. But it could be that this measurement was expected a priori in order to fit the proportions of Japan's Shitennō-ji<sup>2</sup> at Ōsaka which was allegedly built by artisans from Bæk-che.

The position of the lateral galleries is equally uncertain. The excavation drawing suggests that the outer side of the platforms had a distance of 19m to 19.5m to the lateral sides of the platform of the image hall. The widths of the platforms of the galleries have not been established.

An additional platform was discovered about 8.8m to the east of the supposed eastern edge of the platform of the eastern gallery. Only the width of the platform has been established through rows of tiles similar to those of the image hall. The southern retaining wall of the platform was made of 'female' tiles which were arranged in zigzag lines. The longitudinal axis of this building seems to have been level with the longitudinal axis of the image hall which could indicate that the two structures had a spatial relationship. The position of the easternmost structure of Gun-su-ri and the similarity of the construction method of its platform with that of the image hall hint at the possibility that it was a secondary sanctuary which could have stood in a separate courtyard.

Only fragments of the eastern side of the platform of the westernmost building were discovered at about 6.4m of the western edge of the supposed platform of the western gallery. The building was obviously not symmetrical with the easternmost

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<sup>1</sup> Nūng-sa 陵寺 능사. See below, pp. 353ff.

<sup>2</sup> The layout of Shitennō-ji has been traditionally called 'Kudara-style' 百濟式 くだらしき 백제식. The proportions of the distances from the centre of the middle gate to the centre of the pagoda, to the centre of the image hall and to the centre of the lecture hall are approximately 1 : 1 : √2. See: Chapter 3.3., pp. 531ff.

building but was moved backwards towards the north-western building. The retaining wall of the platform was constructed in a similar way to that of the lecture hall with inverted 'female' tiles. Three rows of stones are placed at a distance of about 8.4m from each other. They lead from the edge of the gallery to the westernmost building. This feature seems to indicate that there existed a connection between the westernmost building and the gallery but the remains are too fragmentary to provide a clue as to the function of this building.

### 3.2.2.1.3. The material remains<sup>1</sup>

During the Japanese excavation, a number of typical Bæk-che roof-end tiles with lotus flower designs with eight petals were discovered whose average diameter measured about 15cm. On top of the central foundation stone of the pagoda, two miniature Buddhist figures were found. One is an 11.2cm high gilt-bronze standing Bodhisattva, the other is a seated Buddha on a rectangular altar, about 13.5cm high and made of agalmatolite. Another important find is a hollow brick, 28cm long, 14cm high and 14cm deep, which was decorated on one side with lotus and honeysuckle<sup>2</sup> flowers in two circles. As no comparable tiles have yet been discovered at other sites its function is unclear<sup>3</sup>. Other remains include a small gilt-bronze bell, a gold ring and fragments of a gilt-bronze and a terracotta halo of Buddhist figures.

<sup>1</sup> Most remains of the temple site of Gun-su-ri are preserved in the National Museum in Bu-yŏ 國立扶餘博物館 국립부여박물관. See: Bu-yŏ (Puyo) National Museum 國立扶餘博物館 국립부여박물관 (ed.) (1993), pp. 74 - 77; CSSKF (1937.6.), pp. 51 - 54, pl. 60 - 62.

<sup>2</sup> Honeysuckle 忍冬 인동, this motive is known as *anthemion* in Greek art.

<sup>3</sup> It could be speculated that these bricks were used to form hollow walls or floors either to reduce the amount of construction material or to provide space for smoke conduits of a heating system. Neither hypothesis could be supported by evidence from neighbouring cultures. Eastern Han China (25 - 220 AD) used hollow bricks for tomb constructions but the forms of these bricks are different. Another Chinese method of hollow brick walls assembles full bricks in such a way to leave interior spaces (*kongdou qiang* 空斗墙 공두장). No hollow bricks seem to have been used in China for heating systems. See: KNAPP (1989), p. 83; *WW* 72 - 10, pp. 41 - 48.

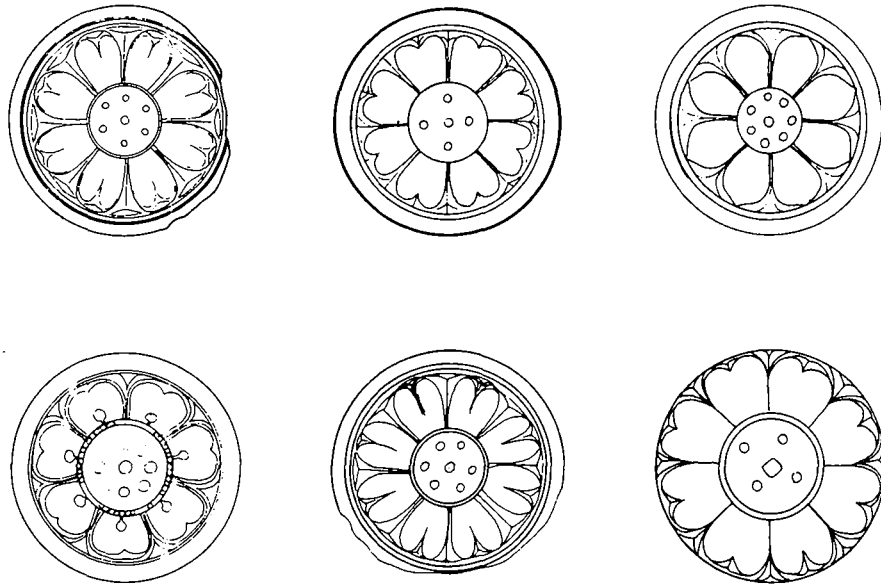


Fig. 201: Five 'male' roof-end tiles and one rafter-end tile excavated at the temple site at Gun-su-ri 軍守里 군수리 (Bæk-che: 6th C. AD ?, scale: about 1 : 5) (after: IM Yǒng-chu 林永周 임영주 (1983), pp. 488, 490f. 493)

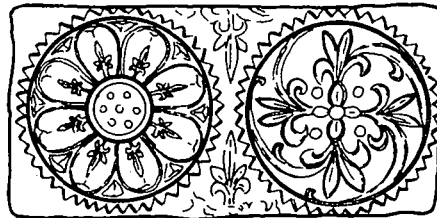


Fig. 202: Elevation and photography of the hollow brick excavated at the temple site at Gun-su-ri 軍守里 군수리 (Bæk-che: 6th C. AD ?, scale: about 1 : 5) (after: IM Yǒng-chu 林永周 임영주 (1983), p. 241)



## 3.2.2.2. GŪM-GANG-SA

The site of Gŭm-gang-sa<sup>1</sup> lies about 9km to the north-west of the centre of modern Bu-yŏ on the western shore of the Gŭm-gang stream<sup>2</sup> which flows southwards into the Bæk-ma River<sup>3</sup>. The temple site was excavated in two stages in 1964 and 1966 AD by the National Museum of Korea which published an excavation report in 1969<sup>4</sup>. The temple name has been identified through a roof tile which bore the inscription 'Gŭm-gang-sa'. It has also been proposed that the temple could be identical with Čhil-ak-sa<sup>5</sup> which is mentioned in the *Sam-guk-sa-gi*<sup>6</sup> for the year 600 AD. The area around the temple site is allegedly called Godh-me which could be a variation of *odh-me*, the translation into pure Korean of the Sino-Korean *čhil-ak*<sup>7</sup>, 'lacquer mount'.

## 3.2.2.2.1. The general layout

The size of the temple site exceeds 25,000m<sup>2</sup>. The discovered layout resembles that of the temple site at Gun-su-ri with one important difference: the main axis did not lead from south to north but from east to west [figs. 203 - 205]. The remains of the middle gate, the wooden pagoda, the image hall, the lecture hall and an additional long building, probably the monk's cells, were found. All these structures stood on one axis which pointed 86°20' west of magnetic north. The image hall and the pagoda was surrounded by galleries which included the middle gate and the lecture hall. This central precinct measured about 82.3m from south to north and about 113.4m from east to west<sup>8</sup>.

1 Gŭm-gang-sa 金剛寺 금강사 (No. 4.19.12.).

2 Gŭm-gang-čhŏn 琴江川 금강천, var. 金剛川 금강천 or 錦江川 금강천.

3 Bæk-ma-kang 白馬江 백마강.

4 See: YUN Mu-byŏng 尹武炳 윤무병 (1969).

5 Čhil-ak-sa 漆岳寺 칠악사.

6 The *Sam-guk-sa-gi* 「三國史記 삼국사기」 states: "In the second year of Bŏb Wang 法王 법왕 ... [when] a severe drought [hit the country], the king went to Čhil-ak-sa 漆岳寺 칠악사 and prayed for rain." See: *SGSG* II, p. 68, 73.

7 Godh-me 곳메, *odh-me* 옷메, *čhil-ak* 漆岳 칠악.

8 The measurements of the excavation in the report are given in *čhŏk* 尺 척 = *gok-čhŏk* 曲尺 곡척 = 30.303cm. The report gives: 232*čhŏk* 尺 척 by 325*čhŏk* 尺 척 (70.30m by 98.48m). The south-north distance is measured at the interior edge of the gallery platforms. The east-west distance is measured from the centre of the middle gate to the centre of the lecture hall. Some authors prefer the measure unit of the Eastern Wei dynasty *dong-wi-čhŏk* 東魏尺 동위척 which supposedly became the measure unit of Ko-gu-ryŏ and Bæk-che and is therefore also called *ko-ryŏ-čhŏk* 高麗尺 고려척 or *ko-gu-ryŏ-čhŏk* 高句麗尺 고구려척. The exact value of this unit is not clear and varies between 31.09cm and 35.99cm. The Institute of Cultural Industries 文化産業研究所 문화산업연구소 assumes a value of 35.15cm. See: YUN Mu-byŏng 尹武炳 윤무병 (1969), pp. 34ff.

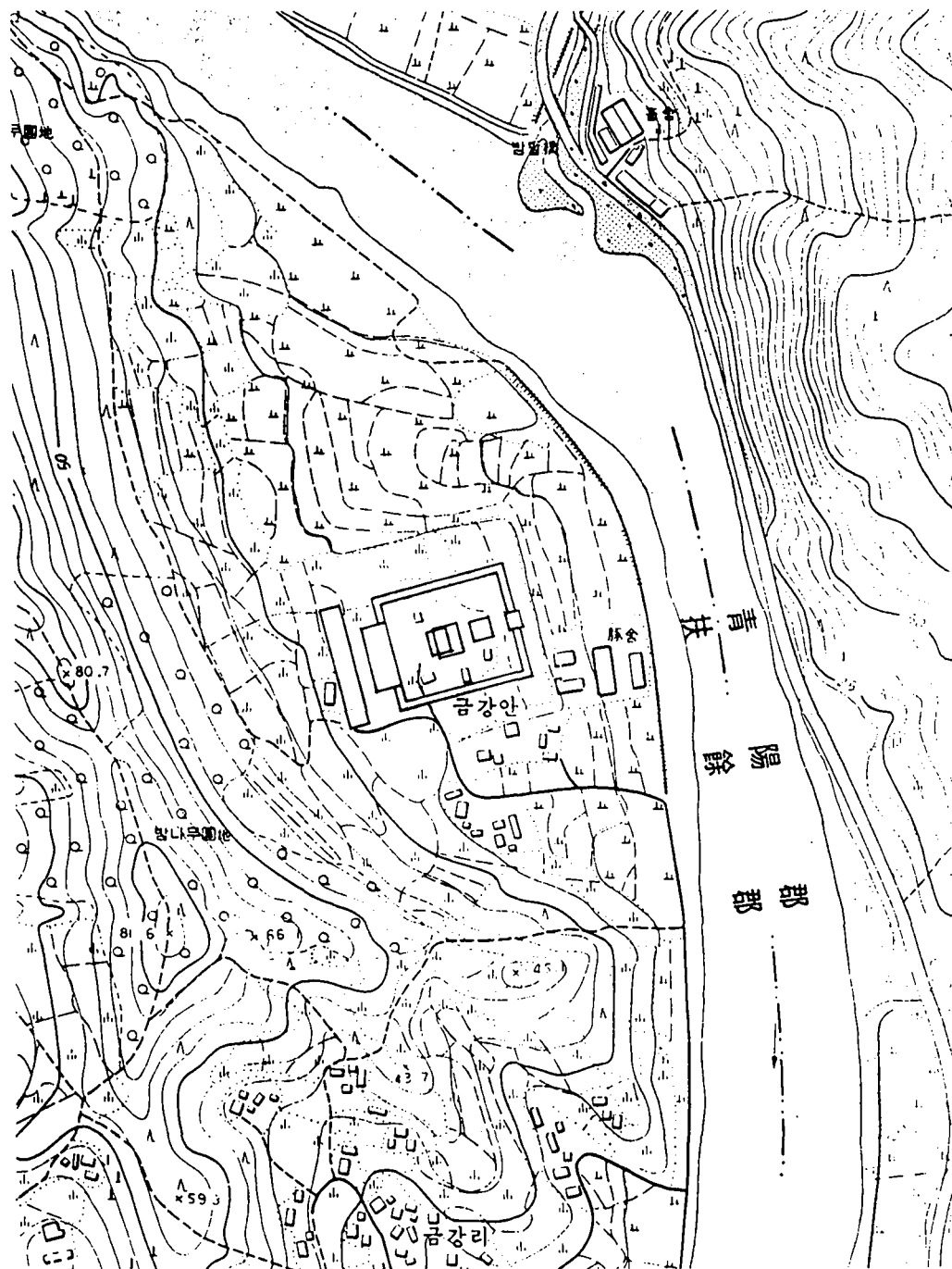


Fig. 203: Site plan of Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺금강사 with indication of the investigation results (Bæk-che: 6th C. AD ?, scale: 1 : 5,000) (after: CACD NJ 52-13-18 (065), additions by the author)

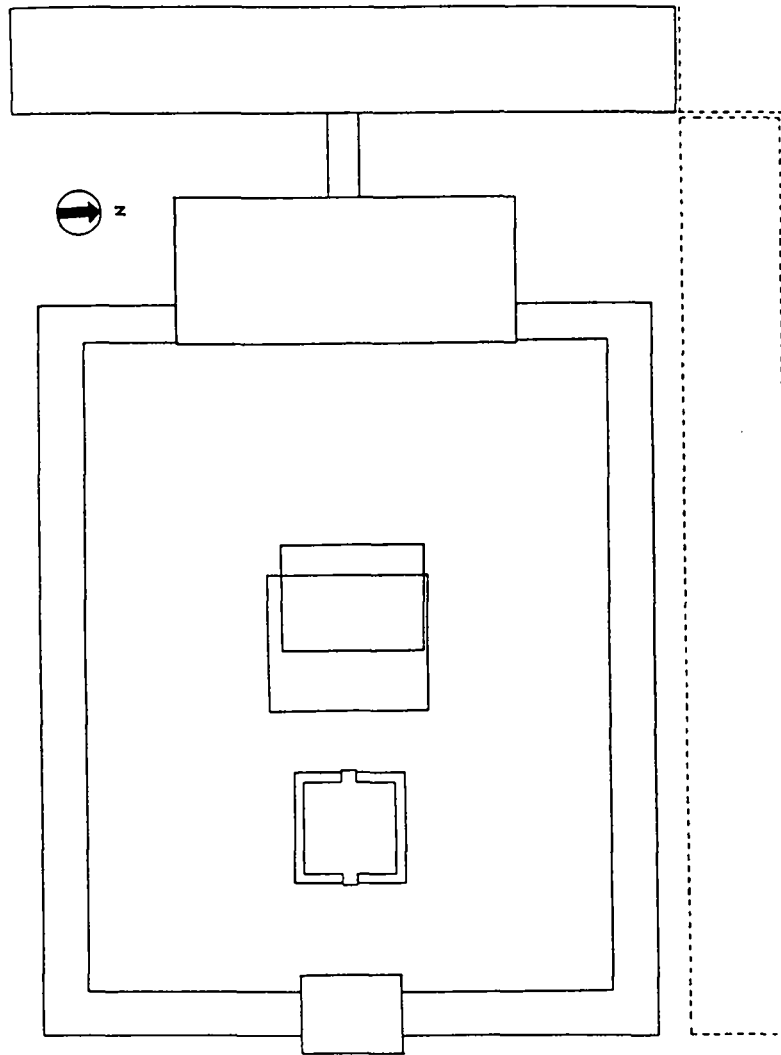


Fig. 204: Layout plan of Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺 금강사 (the top of the drawing points to west)  
(Bæk-che: 6th C. AD ?, scale: 1 : 1,000)  
(after: YUN Mu-byōng 尹武炳 윤무병 (1969), pl. 2)

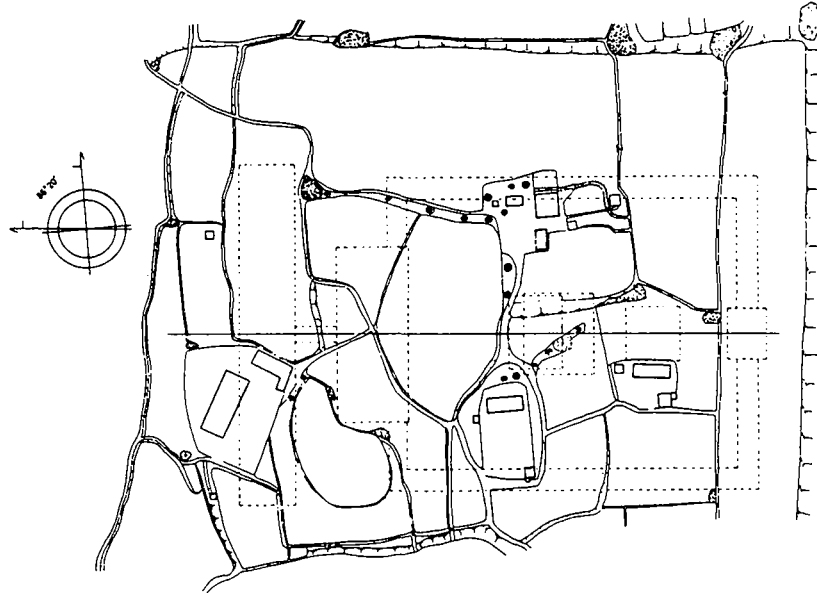


Fig. 205: Site plan of Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺금강사 with indication of the investigation results (Bæk-che: 6th C. AD ?, scale: 1 : 2,000) (after: YUN Mu-byōng 尹武炳윤무병 (1969), pl. 1)

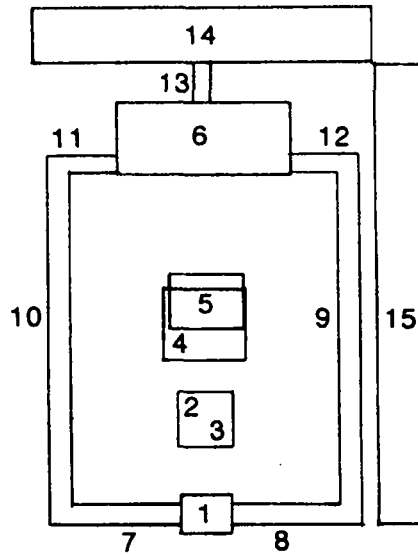


Fig. 206: The excavated structures of Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺금강사 (to table 9) (Bæk-che: 6th C. AD ?, scale: 1 : 2,000) (drawing by the author)

## 3.2.2.2.2. The buildings

Scarcely any foundation stones were found in their original places because they were removed in order to be able to cultivate the land and used for the construction of the farmhouses which stand near the temple site. Only the sizes of the platforms of the buildings were confirmed by the excavation. Table 9 resumes the major measurements according to the reconstruction drawings by the Institute of Cultural Industries<sup>1</sup> and the indications of the above-mentioned report<sup>2</sup>:

structure	platform		superstructure			function, comments
	length	width	length	width	no. bays	
structure No. 1	44 尺 13.3m	35 尺 10.6m	~ 9.5m	~ 6.5m	2 x 3 ?	middle gate
structure No. 2	47 尺 14.2m	47 尺 14.2m	~ 12m (~ 10m)	~ 12m (~ 10m)	5 x 5 ? 3 x 3 ?	1st square wooden pagoda
structure No. 3	39 尺 11.8m	39 尺 11.8m	(~ 9m)	(~ 9m)	3 x 3 ?	3rd square wooden pagoda (2nd reconstruction)
structure No. 4	70 尺 21.2m	59 尺 17.9m	~ 18.5m	~ 14m	5 x 4 ?	1st image hall
structure No. 5	63 尺 19.1m	46 尺 13.9m	(~ 16.5m)	(~ 11m)	5 x 4 ?	2nd image hall (1st and 2nd reconstructions)
structure No. 6	150 尺 45.5m	63 尺 19.1m	~ 40m	~ 15m	10 x 4 to 13 x 5 ?	lecture hall
structures No. 7, 8	~ 34m	~ 6m	~ 31.5m	~ 3.5m	twice 9 x 1 ?	eastern galleries without middle gate
structures No. 9, 10	~ 93.5m	19.7 尺 6m	~ 91.5m	~ 3.5m	twice 26 x 1 ?	northern and southern galleries
structures No. 11, 12	~ 18.5m	15.5 尺 4.7m	~ 14.5m	9.5 尺 2.9m	twice 5 x 1 ?	western galleries without lecture hall
structure No. 13	35 尺 10.6m	13.5 尺 4.1m	(~ 7.5m)	(~ 2.5m)	3 x 1 ?	connection corridor between lecture hall and monks' cells
structure No. 14	292 尺 88.5m	46 尺 13.9m	?	?	27 x 3 to 30 x 4 ?	western monks' cells
structure No. 15	~ 400 尺 ~ 121m	43 尺 13m	?	?	?	northern monks' cells

Table 9: Measurements of the excavated structures of Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺금강사

<sup>1</sup> The measurements for the superstructures are based on the reconstruction attempt by the Institute of Cultural Industries 文化産業研究所 문화산업연구소. The measurements in brackets are assumptions of the author. 1 *chök* 尺척 = 1 *gok-chök* 曲尺곡척 = 30.303cm.

<sup>2</sup> See: YUN Mu-byöng 尹武炳윤무병 (1969).

## 3.2.2.2.1. The middle gate

Only fragments of the platform of the middle gate were uncovered during the excavation<sup>1</sup>. The platform was filled with a layer of yellowish brown compressed earth about 76cm thick, which dates probably to the founding period of the temple. Traces of the retaining walls were discovered at the north-eastern, south-eastern and the western sides of the platform. A square hole at the north-eastern corner indicates that small stone posts were placed at the corners of the platform. The platforms of the lateral galleries were connected with the platform of the middle gate.

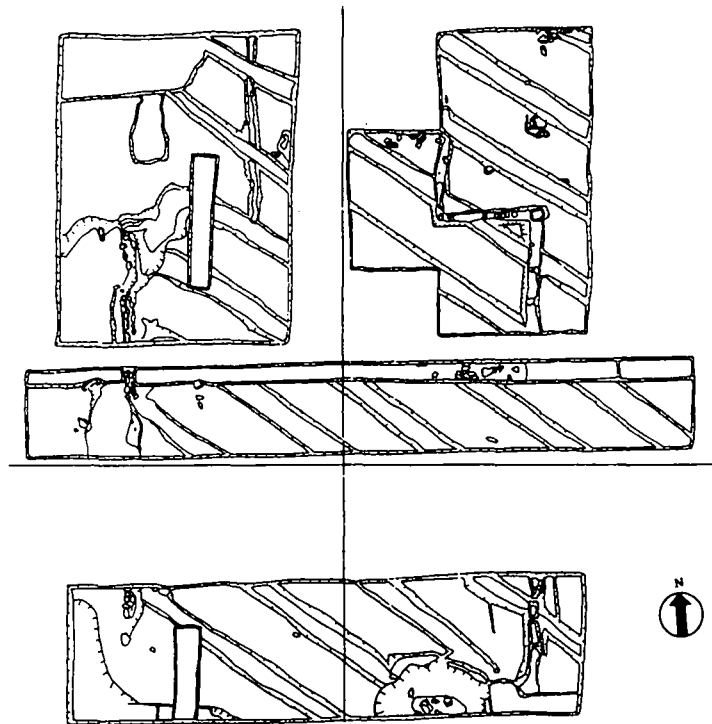


Fig. 207: Excavation plan of the platform of the middle gate of Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺 금강사 (Bæk-che: 6th C. AD ?, scale: 1 : 200) (after: YUN Mu-byōng 尹武炳 윤무병 (1969), pl. 7)

<sup>1</sup> See: YUN Mu-byōng 尹武炳 윤무병 (1969), p. 17f.

## 3.2.2.2.2. The square wooden pagoda

The soil of the platform consisted of yellowish-brown clay with was compressed by 3cm to 4cm large pestles, as attested by the compression marks on the surface<sup>1</sup>. According to the various earth layers, at least three different platforms were constructed on one another which stem probably from the founding in the Bæk-che period [fig. 208], as well as two later reconstructions of the Unified Sin-la and Ko-ryŏ periods, as indicated by roof tiles. The third and most recent platform seems to have been slightly smaller than the platform of the original pagoda [fig. 209].

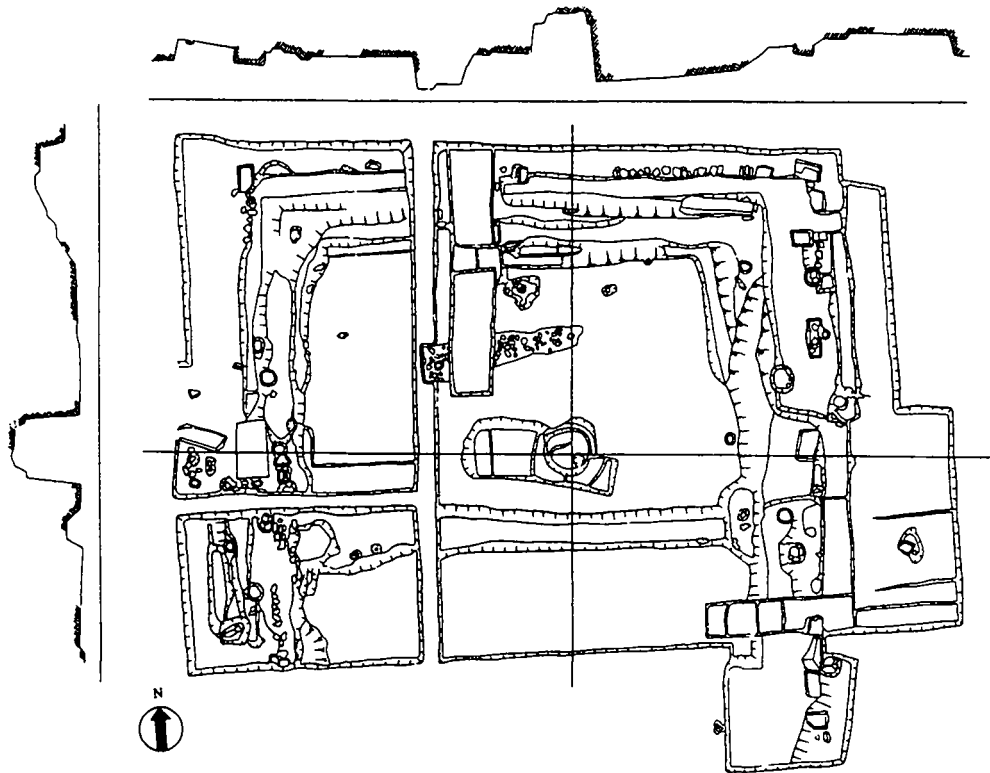


Fig. 208: Excavation plan and two sections of the platform of the earlier pagoda of Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺 금강사 (Bæk-che: 6th C. AD?, scale: 1 : 200) (after: YUN Mu-byŏng 尹武炳 윤무병 (1969), pl. 5)

<sup>1</sup> See: YUN Mu-byŏng 尹武炳 윤무병 (1969), pp. 12 - 16.

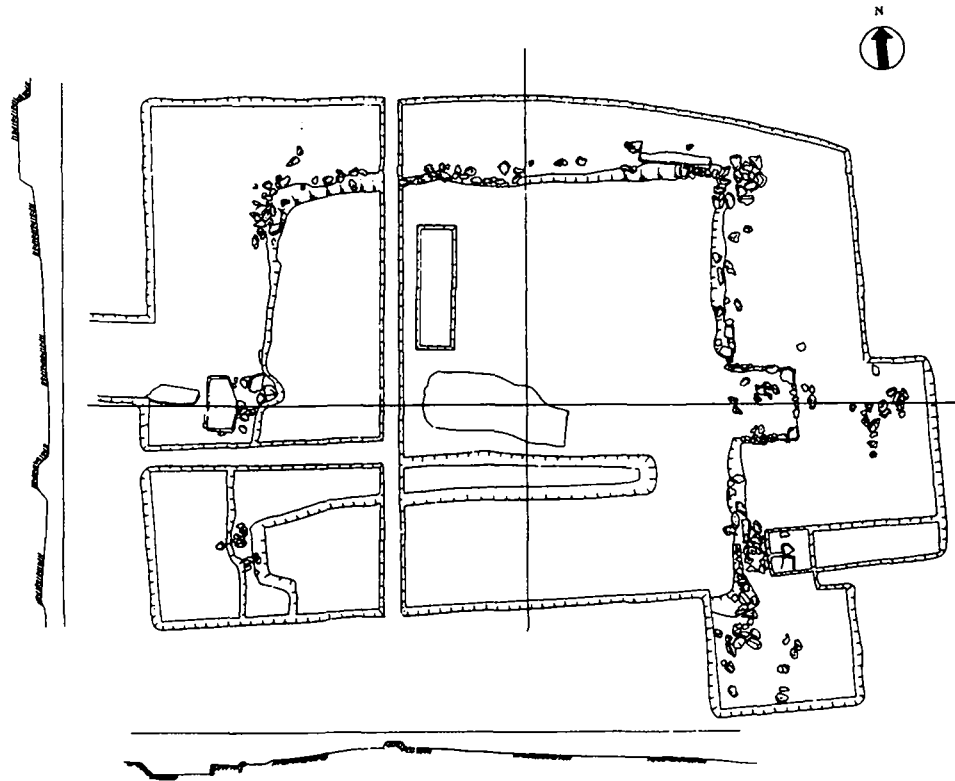


Fig. 209: Excavation plan and two sections of the platform of the later pagoda of Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺 금강사 (Unified Sin-la / Ko-ryŏ ?, scale: 1 : 200) (after: YUN Mu-byŏng 尹武柄 윤무병 (1969), pl. 4)

Fragments of the retaining walls of the first platform have been excavated at the western, northern and eastern sides of the platform. In particular, the about 70cm-by-45cm-large base stone of the north-eastern corner post was still at the original place. The forms of the post and the beginning of the side stones of the retaining walls were carved into the upper surface of the base stone. Not far from the corner lay also a panel of the northern side of the retaining wall. The original platform had a height of over 1.5m what could indicate that the original platform of the pagoda had two steps but the successive reconstructions have damaged the original platform too much to be able to provide clear evidence for this assumption.



No foundation stone of wooden columns of the pagoda remains on the site. But at the centre of the platform, at a depth of about 1.8m, a weathered rock was discovered which had a diameter of about 2m [fig. 210]. It had a carved hole of about 1.2m diameter and 67cm depth which undoubtedly received once the central column of the pagoda.

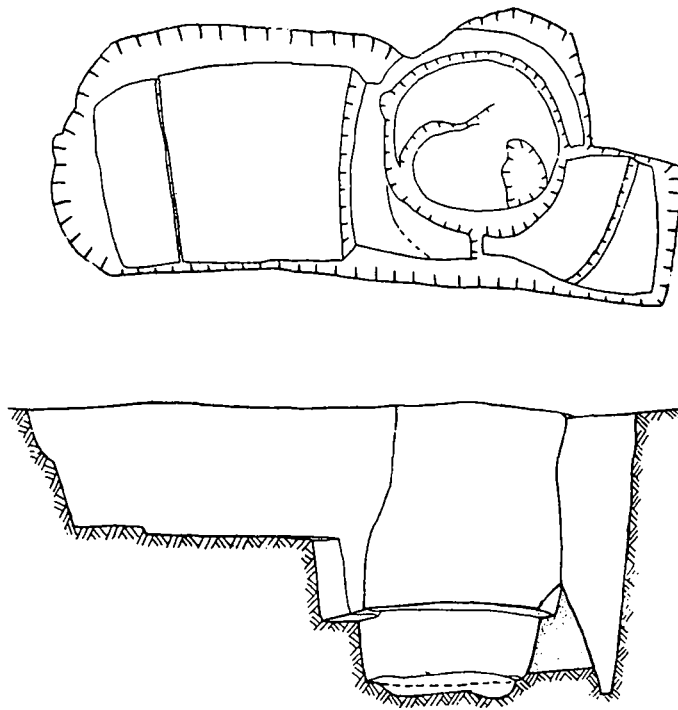


Fig. 210: Excavation plan and section of the central foundation stone of the pagoda of Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺 금강사 (Bæk-che: 6th C. AD ?, scale: 1 : 50) (after: YUN Mu-byŏng 尹武炳 윤무병 (1969), p. 14)

The original platform of the wooden pagoda had approximately the same dimensions as the platform of the pagoda at Gun-su-ri. The wooden structure of the pagoda might therefore also have possessed five by five bays. But if a two-stepped platform is assumed, then the length of the sides of the wooden structure could hardly exceed 10m which seems to be too short for five bays so that a structure of three by three bays would be more probable.

### 3.2.2.2.3. The image hall

As in the case of the wooden pagoda, the image hall of Güm-gang-sa was also reconstructed several times<sup>1</sup>. At least three different constructions were established by the excavation [fig. 211]. The precise location and size of the image hall varied between the founding and the reconstructions. The original location of the image hall was level with the main axis of the middle gate and the wooden pagoda; its centre lay about 25.3m behind the centre of the pagoda and about 49.7m behind the centre of the middle gate. The yellowish-brown compressed soil indicated the approximate size of the original platform but the successive reconstructions erased almost all traces of the foundations of the columns and the retaining walls. The first reconstruction, which could date to the Unified Sin-la period, moved the image hall to the west by about 4.2m and reduced its size. The second reconstruction of the image hall seems to have maintained the same location and size as the first reconstruction.

The discovered fragments of the granite retaining walls stem from the second and third construction of the image hall. But the form and execution of the stone pieces is so similar to the ones found at the level of the original foundation of the pagoda platform that it is possible that the reconstruction reused the stone pieces of the Bæk-che platform.

The retaining walls were composed of bases stones, side panels and cover stones [fig. 212]. A row of flat stone plates were placed in front of the base stones on all four sides of the platform. Square stone posts which protruded from the visible surface of the side panels stood at each corner. Grooves were carefully carved about 2.5cm into the upper surface of the base stones in order to receive the corner posts and the side panels [fig. 213]. One of the corner bases measured about 86cm by 79cm by 23cm. The corner post which stood on this base must have had side lengths of about 35cm. The posts stood 5cm to 8cm inside the edge of the base stones and the side panels were placed 5cm to 7cm further towards the inside of the platform. The height of the posts and of the side panels was about 43cm, the side panels could reach lengths of more than 2m and were about 16cm thick. The cover stones were up to 1.2m long, about 15cm high and 32cm wide. Their outer edges were placed probably at the same distance from the posts and the side panels as the base stones. The total height of the platform thus measured about 78cm. The plates which were placed in front of the base stones were 35cm to 40cm wide, 60cm to 90cm long and about 12cm thick.

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<sup>1</sup> See: YUN Mu-byōng 尹武炳 尹武炳 (1969), pp. 10 - 12.

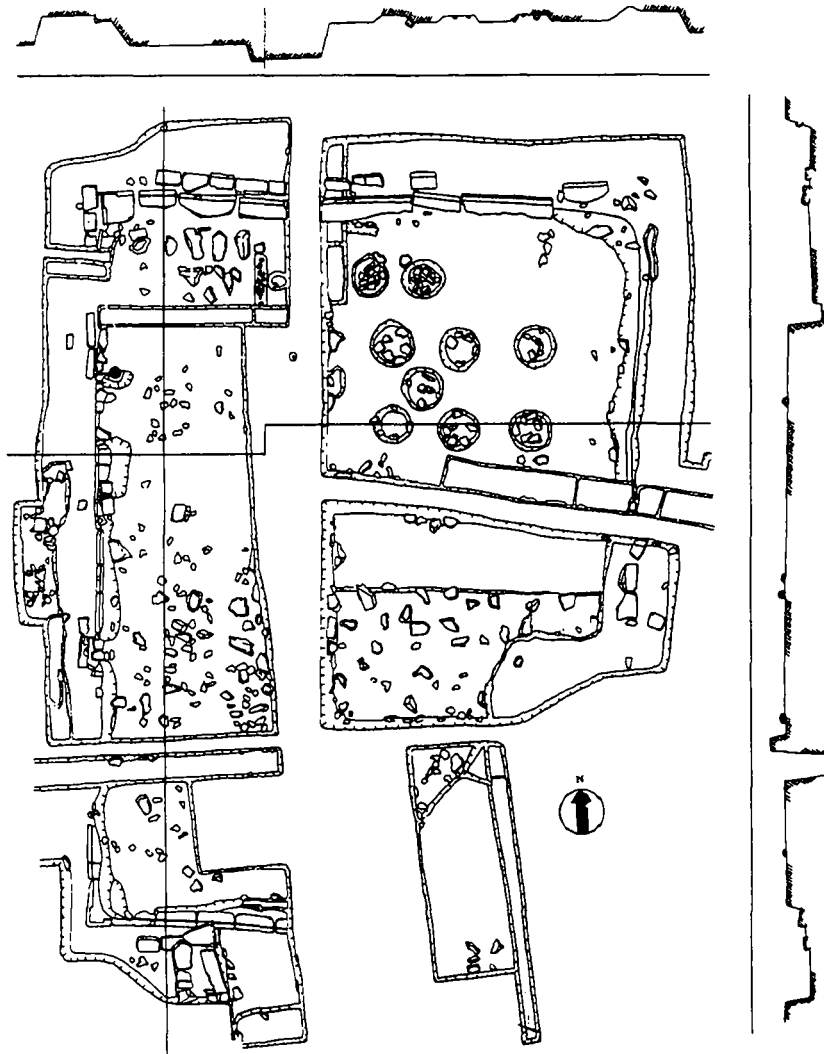


Fig. 211: Excavation plan and two sections of the platform of the central image hall of Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺금강사 (Bæk-che: 6th C. AD ?, scale: 1 : 200) (after: YUN Mu-byōng 尹武炳윤무병 (1969), pl. 3)

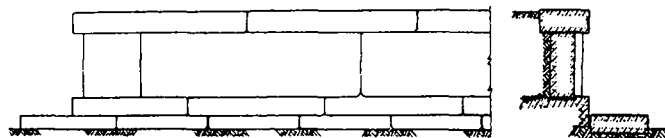


Fig. 212: Reconstructed elevation and section of the retaining wall of the platform of the image hall of Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺금강사 (Bæk-che: 6th C. AD ?, scale: 1 : 50) (after: YUN Mu-byōng 尹武炳윤무병 (1969), p. 11)

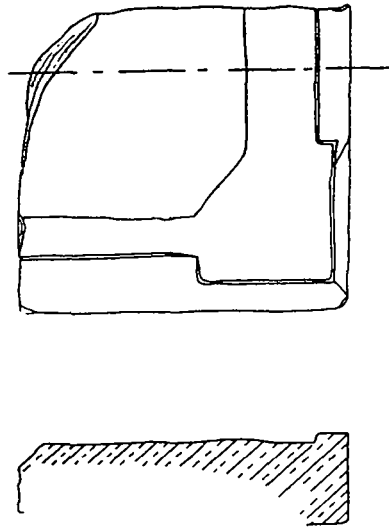


Fig. 213: Plan and section of a corner base stone of the platform of the image hall of Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺 금강사 (Bæk-che: 6th C. AD ?, scale: 1 : 20) (after: YUN Mu-byōng 尹武炳 운무병 (1969), p. 10)

Traces of nine round foundations at least, made of stone heaps were discovered at the level of the original image hall platform. They seem to be divided into two groups of foundations which date to different construction dates. Six of the foundations formed a two-bay by one-bay structure which was probably once part of a larger building while the three other foundations form one by one bay of another structure. The length of the bays of both structures vary from 1.4m to 1.8m to 2.2m and 2.8m. These lengths seem to be too short to belong to the main structure of either of the three stages of the image hall. The level of the foundations indicates that they date to the period between the destruction of the original image hall and the first reconstruction of the image hall in the Unified Sin-la period. The function of these two buildings is not clear. This observation seems to imply that the temple site lacked an appropriate image hall at some time in the early Unified Sin-la period, or that the temple was even abandoned and the site used for secular purposes such as farming. The second variant is however less probable because it would be rather surprising that the temple layout was reconstructed so similarly to the first temple after a period of complete abandonment.

## 3.2.2.2.4. The lecture hall

The centre of the lecture hall lay about 74.2m behind the centre of the pagoda. This distance is much longer than the one of the temple site at Gun-su-ri which measured about 60.5m. The platform of the lecture hall of Güm-gang-sa was only slightly bigger than the one at Gun-su-ri so that the wooden structure could also have possessed between ten by four bays and thirteen by five bays.

No foundation stones of the wooden structure were found in their original place either<sup>1</sup>. Only a few traces of the granite retaining walls of the lecture hall were discovered [fig. 214]. At the south-eastern corner a hole for the corner post was excavated which resembled the corner hole of the platform of the middle gate. Next to this corner remained two foundation stones of the south-western gallery. The filling of the platform of the lecture hall was not compressed as those of the platforms of the pagoda, the image hall and the middle gate. The natural soil was cut to a flat surface on which a layer of reddish brown and yellowish-brown earth, about 40cm thick, was piled up. Around the platform a layer of ash-yellow sandy clay, about 15cm thick, was dispersed, the material of which originated probably from the old natural soil layer.

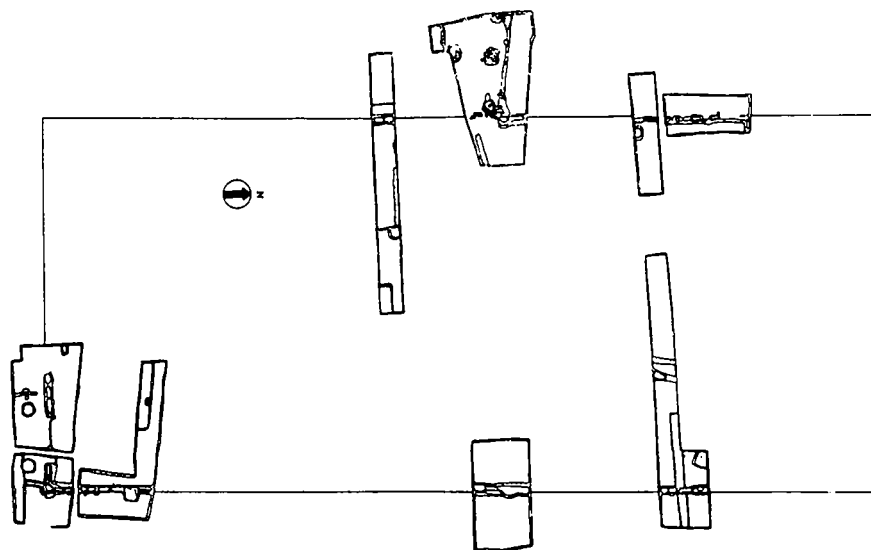


Fig. 214: Excavation plan of the platform of the lecture hall of Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺금강사 (Bæk-che: 6th C. AD ?, scale: 1 : 400) (the top of the drawing points to west) (after: YUN Mu-byōng 尹武炳윤무병 (1969), pl. 6)

<sup>1</sup> See: YUN Mu-byōng 尹武炳윤무병 (1969), p. 16f.

## 3.2.2.2.5. The galleries

The southern, northern and western galleries were only partially investigated but the excavated fragments seem to allow one to reconstruct the entire galleries<sup>1</sup> [fig. 215]. The inner edge of the platform of the southern gallery lay at a distance of about 35.2m south of the main axis of the temple precinct. The width of the southern and northern galleries had the same characteristics and belong therefore probably to the same construction period. The remains of the platforms were 12cm to 15cm high. Their edges were limited by base stones which featured a similar profile to the base stones of the platforms of the pagoda and the image hall; so it is therefore possible that the platforms of the front galleries had tripartite retaining walls with base stones, side panels and cover stones. Such walls with heights of about 75cm might have existed at least towards the outside of the precinct, but towards the inside the platform was probably not higher than 30cm to 40cm in order to permit easy access over the whole length of the galleries. The filling of the platform consisted of an yellowish-brown earth layer about 30cm thick.

The galleries on both sides of the lecture hall were smaller than the front galleries. The western galleries did not have base stones but only about 18cm high and 12cm thick side panels on which cover stones were placed. Because of these differences it is supposed that the discovered remains of the western galleries belong to a later reconstruction. The excavated round foundation stones which lay next to the lecture hall had a diameter of about 60cm and were about 24cm high. A circle surface which protruded by 3cm was carved on the upper surface of the foundation stones. The gallery had bay lengths of 2.8m to 2.9m in both directions.

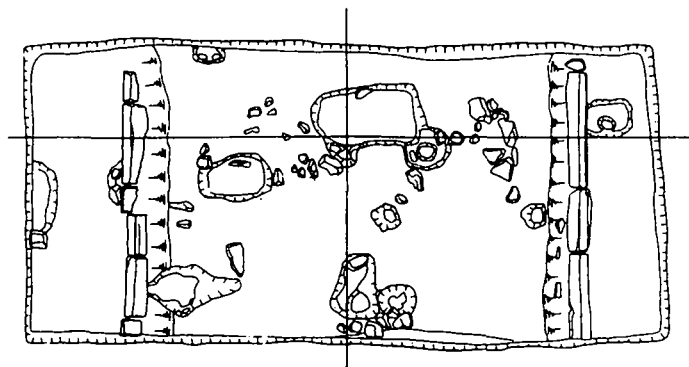


Fig. 215: Partial excavation plan of the platform of the southern gallery of Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺 금강사 (Bæk-che: 6th C. AD?, scale: 1 : 100) (the top of the drawing points to west) (after: YUN Mu-byöng 尹武炳 윤무병 (1969), pl. 10)

<sup>1</sup> See: YUN Mu-byöng 尹武炳 윤무병 (1969), pp. 18 - 20.

#### 3.2.2.2.2.6. The monks' cells and the corridor

The lecture hall was connected at the centre of the rear side through a short corridor with the long complex of the monks' cells<sup>1</sup>. The platform of the monks' cells was limited by side panels which were 35cm to 45cm high and 90cm to 1.3m long. The filling of the platform was similar to the one of the lecture hall. At the north-eastern corner, traces of a water drainage was found. The organisation of the wooden structure could not be established. Another analogue dormitory complex is supposed to have existed to the north of the central precinct.

#### 3.2.2.2.3. The material remains

The remains which were discovered during the excavation<sup>2</sup> of the site of Güm-gang-sa were limited to terracotta products. Among the roof tile fragments was a number of 'male' roof-end tiles of the Bæk-che, Unified Sin-la and Ko-ryŏ periods, 'female' roof end tiles of the Unified Sin-la and Ko-ryŏ periods and rafter-end tiles from the Bæk-che and possibly from the Ko-ryŏ periods. The 'male' roof-end tiles of Bæk-che had a diameter of 11.5cm to 16.8cm and usually featured lotus flowers with eight petals and up to nine dots in the centre [fig. 216]. The large edge bands were blank. The rafter-end tiles had diameters of 14cm to 18.4cm and had no edge bands. Instead, in at least three examples, there is a band with a double row of dots between the eight petals of the flower and the central surface which generally has six dots and one fixation hole. Fragments of an owl's-tail tile of uncertain date and a number of clay spiral miniature pagodas<sup>3</sup>, 3.5cm to 5.5cm high, were also discovered. Inscriptions on 'female' tiles of Ko-ryŏ identify the temple site as Güm-gang-sa [fig. 217].

#### 3.2.2.2.4. The reconstruction drawings

The Institute of Cultural Industries<sup>4</sup> has proposed a detailed reconstruction of the central precinct of Güm-gang-sa [figs. 218 - 231]. The size and number of bays of the supposed ground plans are given in the table. As mentioned above, the pagoda could also have been a three- by three-bay wooden structure and not five by five bays as in the reconstruction. The elevations, sections and the constructive details have been reconstructed by relying heavily on early Japanese temple

<sup>1</sup> See: YUN Mu-byŏng 尹武炳 윤무병 (1969), p. 20f.

<sup>2</sup> See: YUN Mu-byŏng 尹武炳 윤무병 (1969), pp. 22 - 30.

<sup>3</sup> See: *BCM* 11, pp. 131 - 136.

<sup>4</sup> The Institute of Cultural Industries 文化産業研究所 문화산업연구소.

buildings and artifacts but also on later Korean buildings. I will return to the questions concerning this reconstruction in Chapter 3.3.

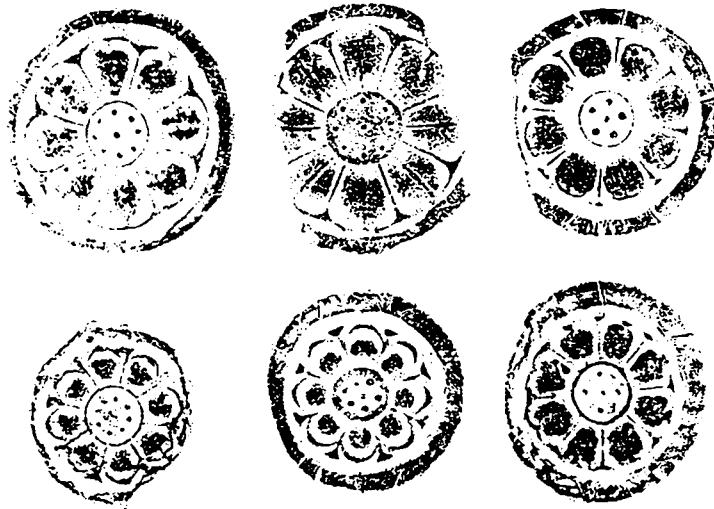


Fig. 216: Rubbings of 'male' roof-end tiles of Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺금강사 (Bæk-che: 6th C. AD ?, scale: about 1 : 5) (after: YUN Mu-byöng 尹武炳윤무병 (1969), p. 24)

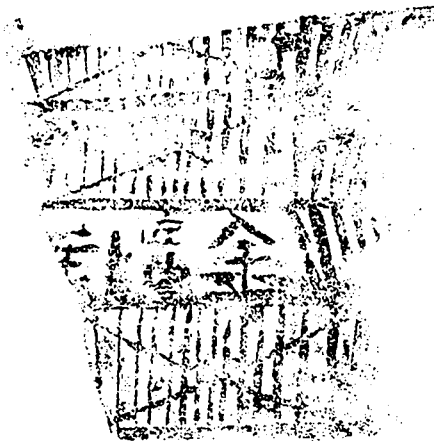


Fig. 217: Rubbing of a 'female' roof tile with inscription 'Güm-gang-sa' 金剛寺금강사 (Ko-ryö ?, no scale) (after: YUN Mu-byöng 尹武炳윤무병 (1969), p. 29)



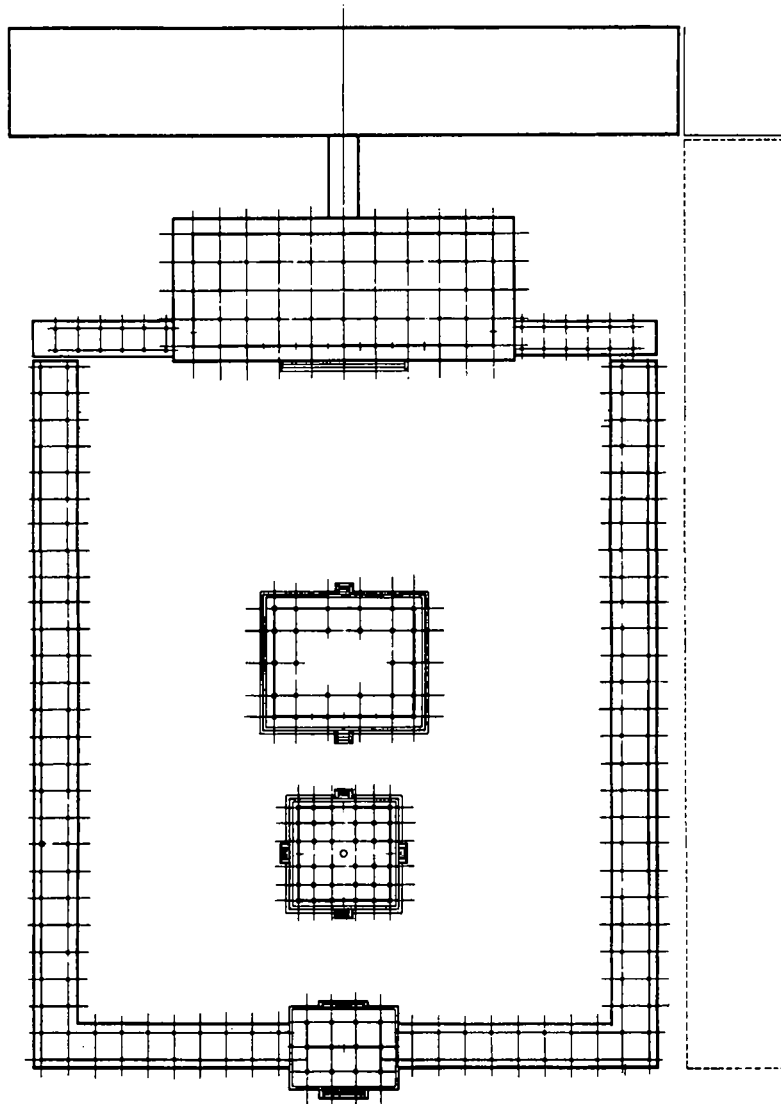


Fig. 218: Reconstructed layout of Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺 금강사  
 (Bæk-che: 6th C. AD?, scale: 1 : 1,000) (the top of the drawing points to west)  
 (after: The Institute of Cultural Industries 文化産業研究所 문화산업연구소)

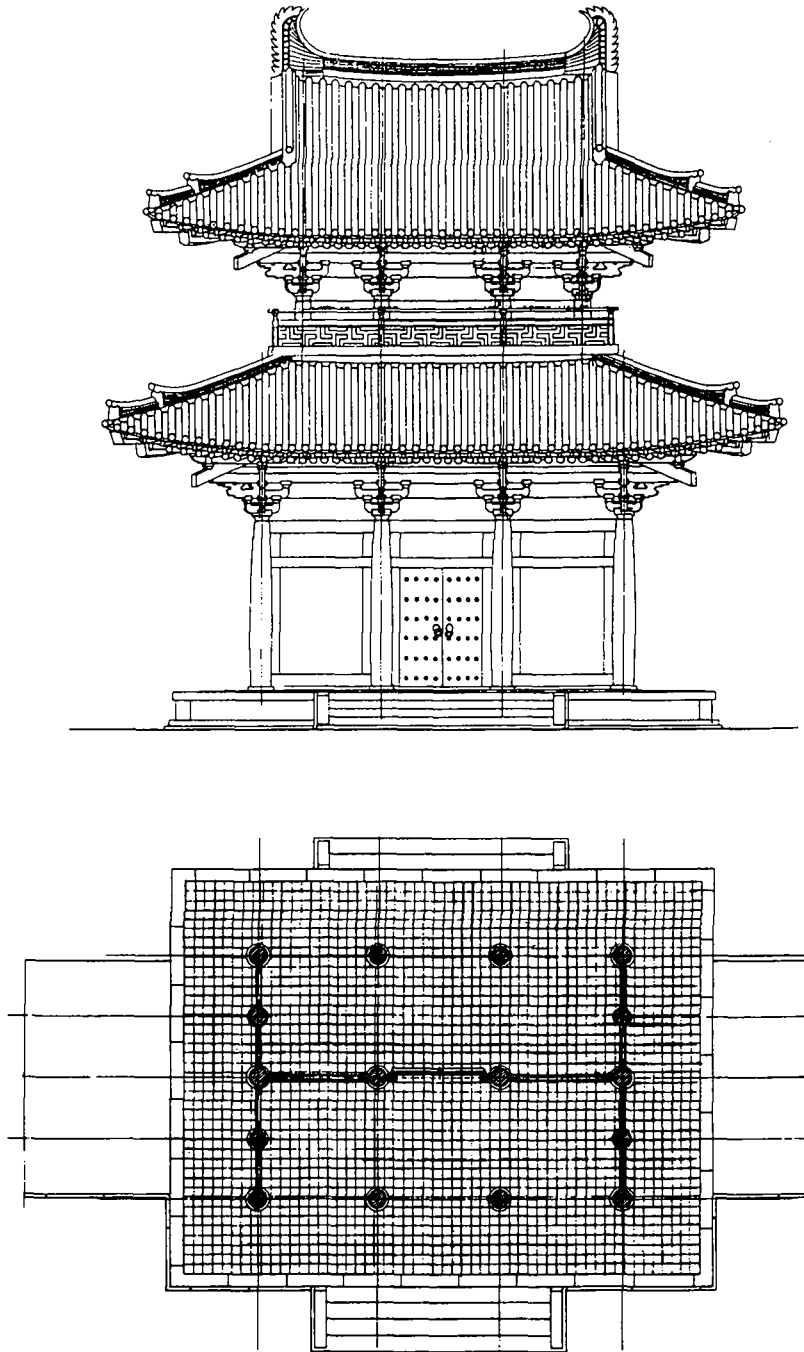


Fig. 219: Reconstructed plan and front elevation of the middle gate of Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺 금강사 (Bæk-che: 6th C. AD?, scale: 1 : 200) (the top of the plan points to west) (after: The Institute of Cultural Industries 文化産業研究所 문화산업연구소)

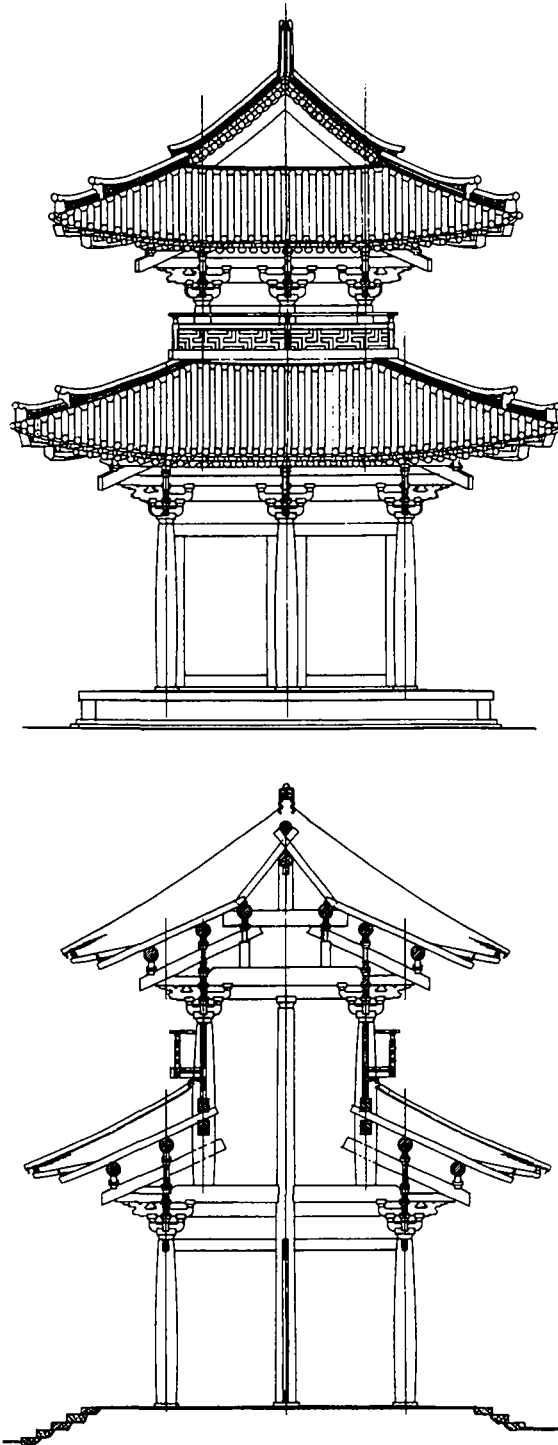


Fig. 220: Reconstructed lateral elevation and section of the middle gate of Güm-gang-sa  
金剛寺금강사 (Bæk-che: 6th C. AD?, scale: 1 : 200)  
(after: The Institute of Cultural Industries 文化産業研究所 문화산업연구소)

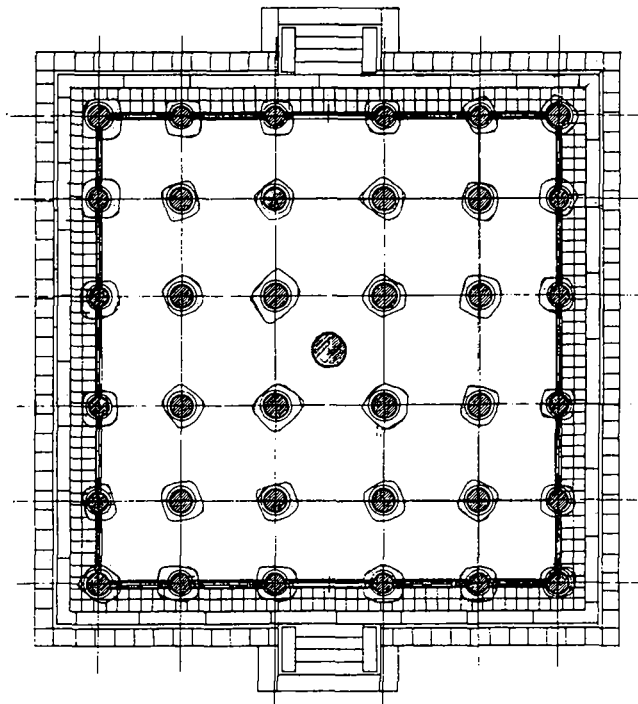


Fig. 221: Reconstructed plan of the square wooden pagoda of Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺 금강사 (Bæk-che: 6th C. AD?, scale: 1 : 200) (the top of the plan points to west) (after: The Institute of Cultural Industries 文化産業研究所 문화산업연구소)

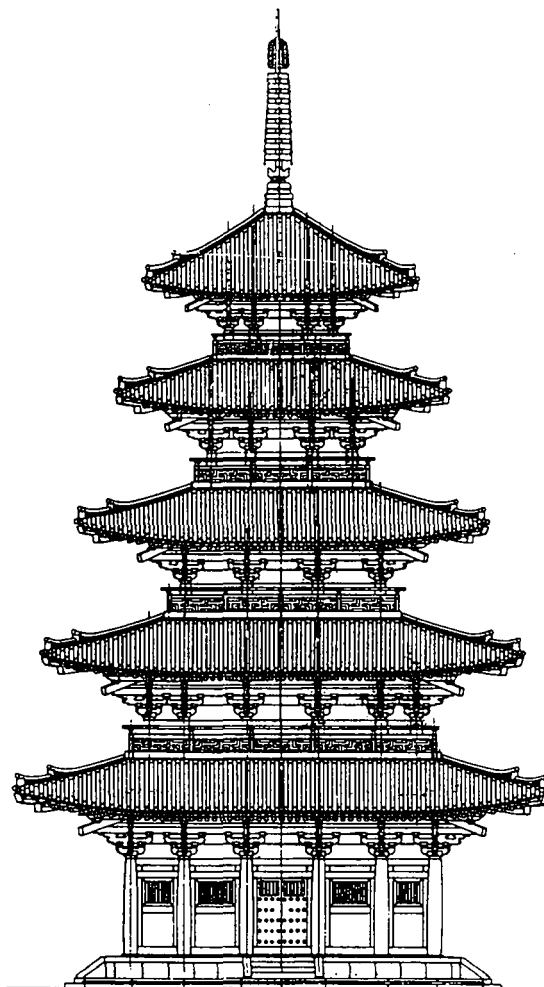


Fig. 222: Reconstructed front elevation of the wooden pagoda of Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺 금강사  
(Bæk-che: 6th C. AD?, scale: 1 : 300)  
(after: The Institute of Cultural Industries 文化産業研究所 문화산업연구소)

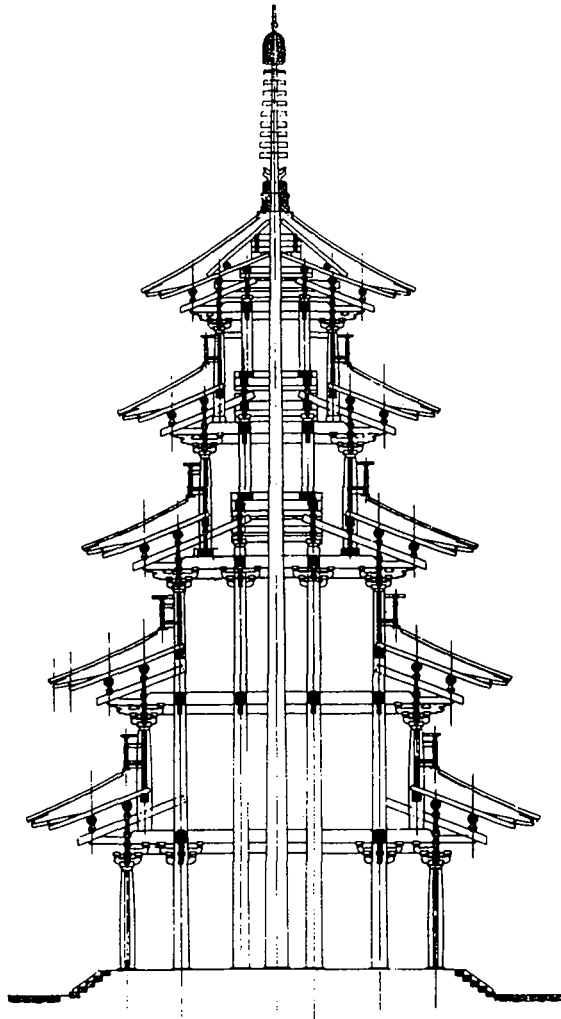


Fig. 223: Reconstructed section of the wooden pagoda of Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺 금강사 (Bæk-che: 6th C. AD?, scale: 1 : 300)  
(after: The Institute of Cultural Industries 文化産業研究所 문화산업연구소)

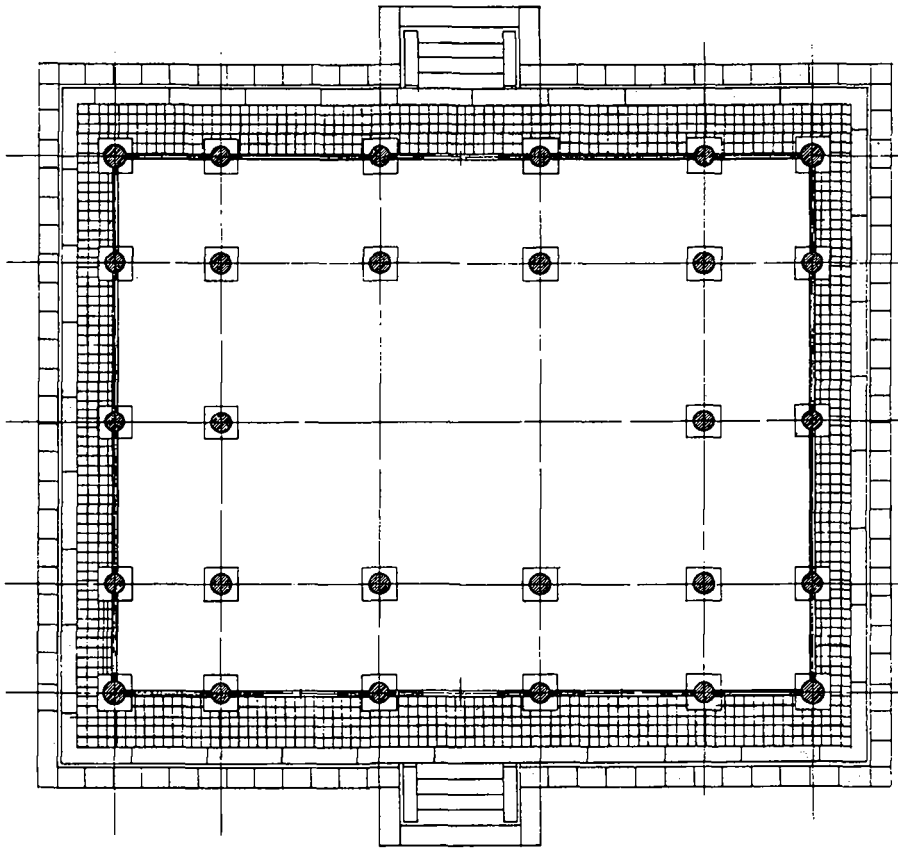


Fig. 224: Reconstructed plan of the image hall of Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺 금강사  
 (Bæk-che: 6th C. AD?, scale: 1 : 200) (the top of the plan points to west)  
 (after: The Institute of Cultural Industries 文化産業研究所 문화산업연구소)

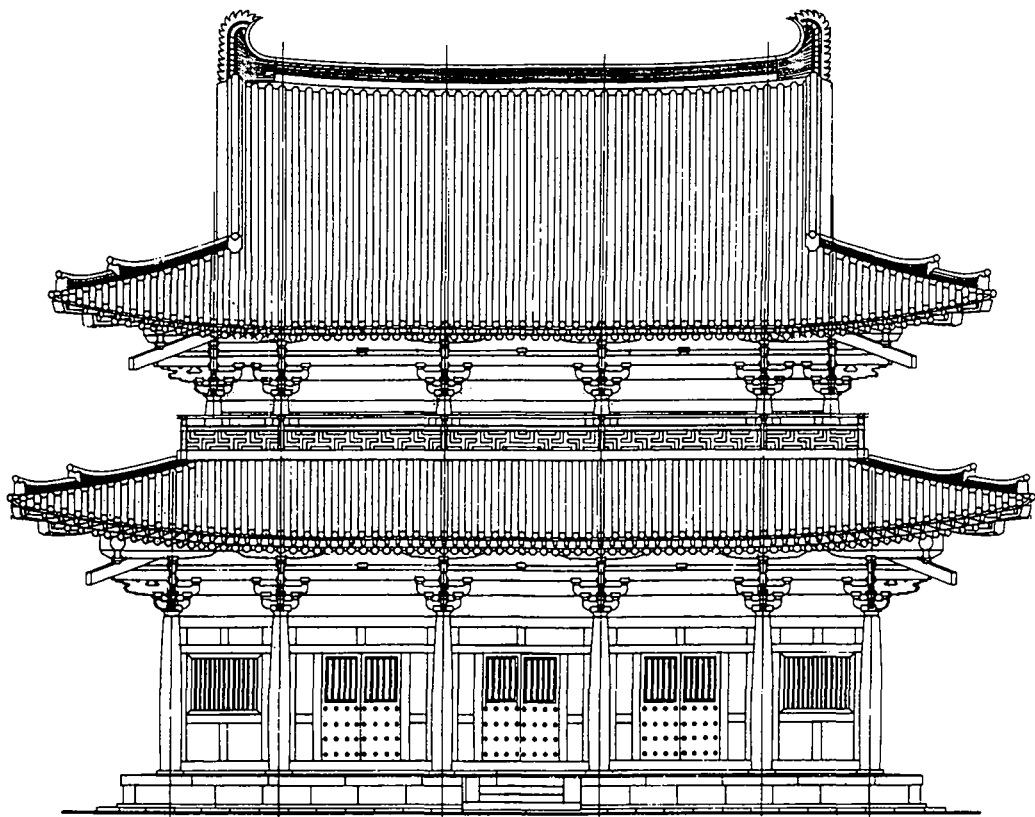


Fig. 225: Reconstructed front elevation of the image hall of Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺 금강사  
(Bæk-che: 6th C. AD?, scale: 1 : 200)  
(after: The Institute of Cultural Industries 文化産業研究所 문화산업연구소)



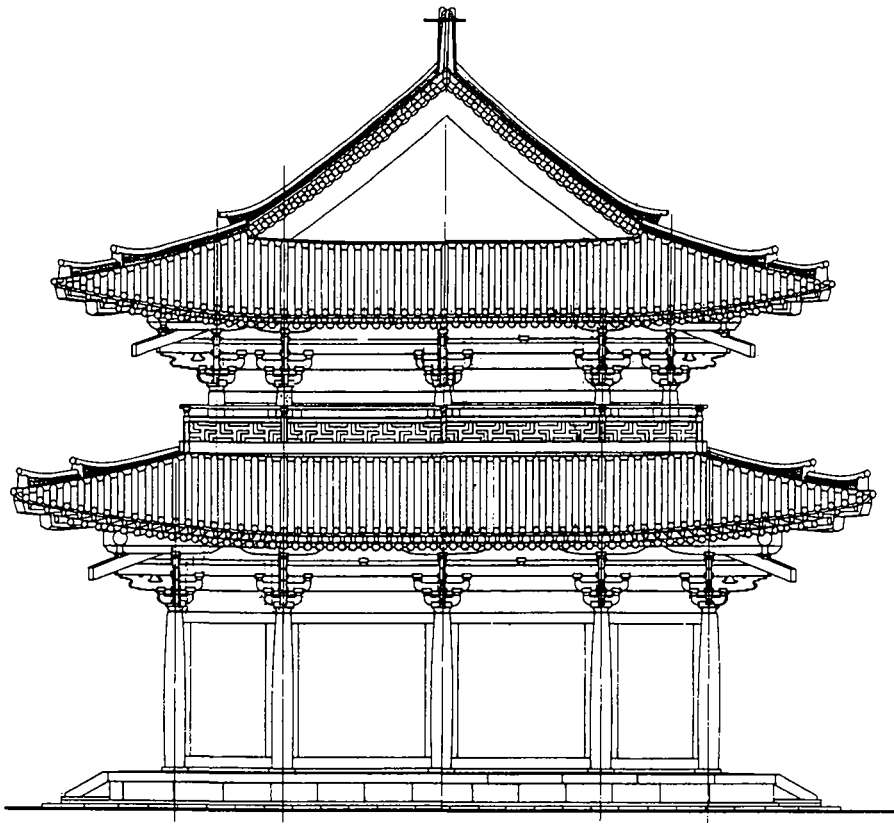


Fig. 226: Reconstructed lateral elevation of the image hall of Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺 금강사  
(Bæk-che: 6th C. AD?, scale: 1 : 200)  
(after: The Institute of Cultural Industries 文化産業研究所 문화산업연구소)

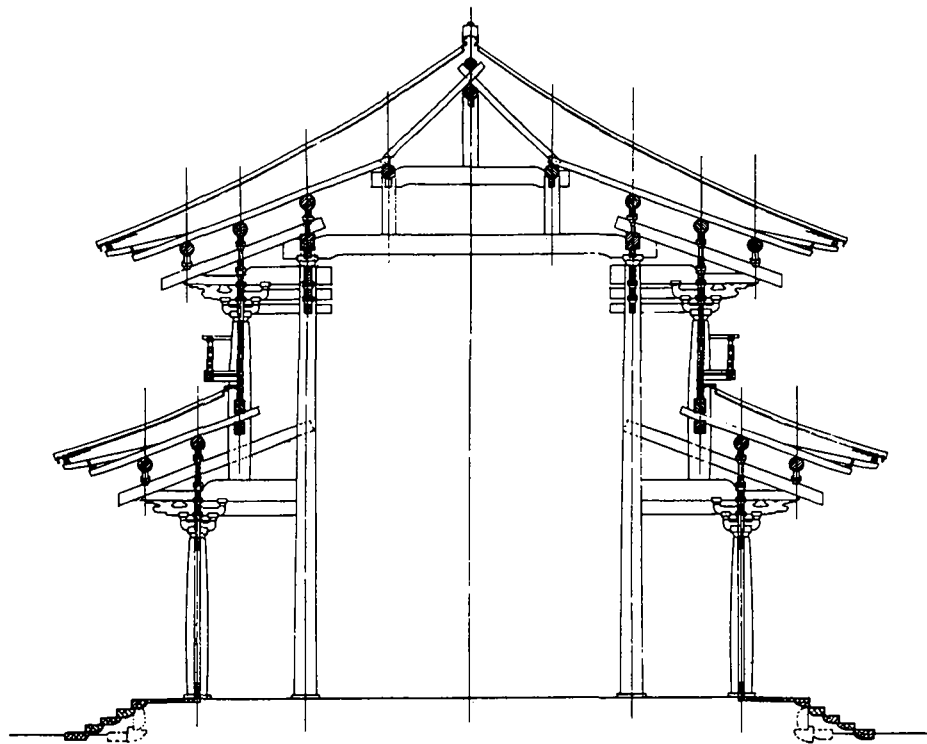


Fig. 227: Reconstructed section of the image hall of Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺 金강사  
(Bæk-che: 6th C. AD?, scale: 1 : 200)  
(after: The Institute of Cultural Industries 文化産業研究所 문화산업연구소)

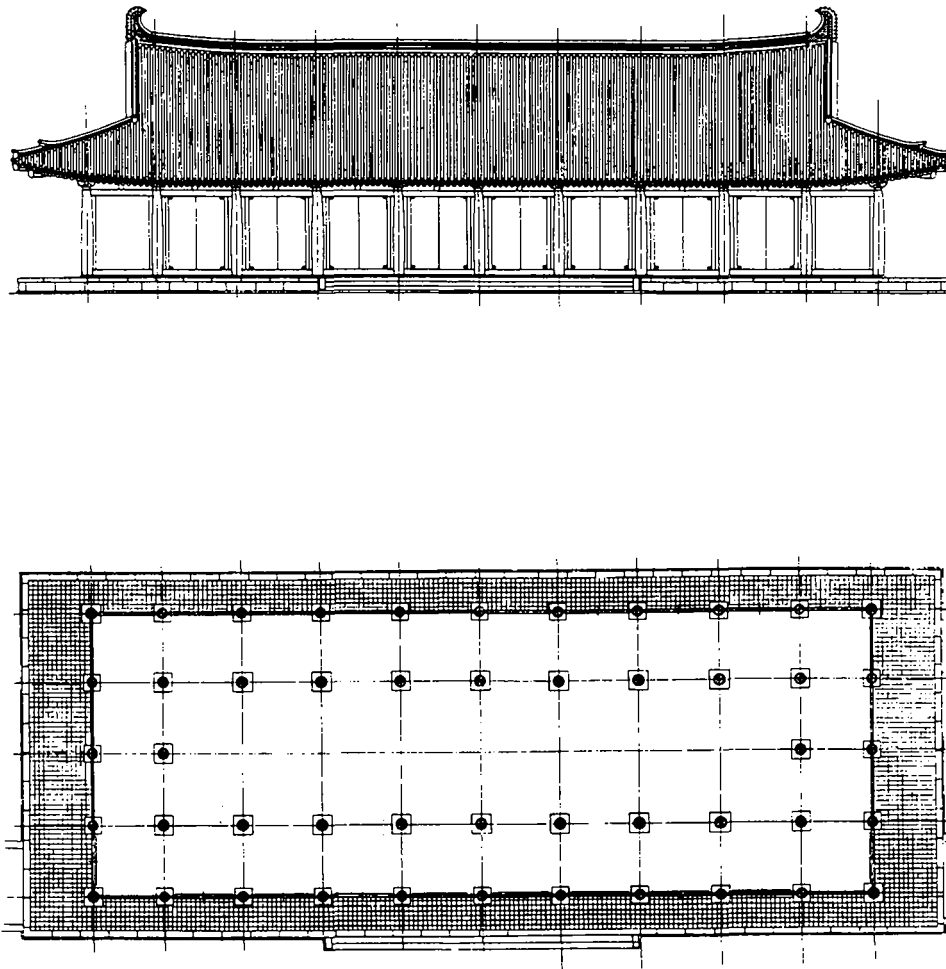


Fig. 228: Reconstructed plan and front elevation of the lecture hall of Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺 금강사 (Bæk-che: 6th C. AD?, scale: 1 : 400) (the top of the plan points to west) (after: The Institute of Cultural Industries 文化産業研究所 문화산업연구소)

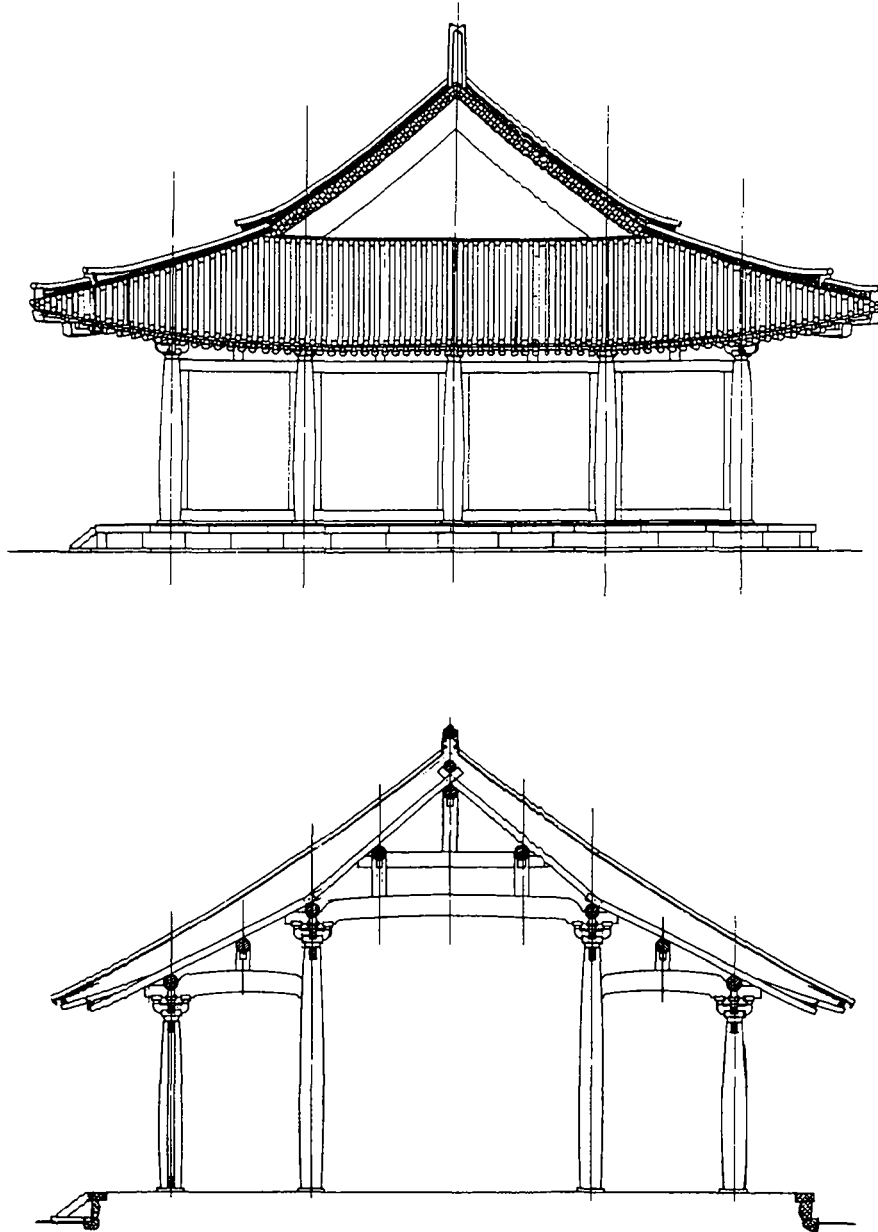


Fig. 229: Reconstructed lateral elevation and section of the lecture hall of Güm-gang-sa  
金剛寺금강사 (Bæk-che: 6th C. AD?, scale: 1 : 200)  
(after: The Institute of Cultural Industries 文化産業研究所 문화산업연구소)

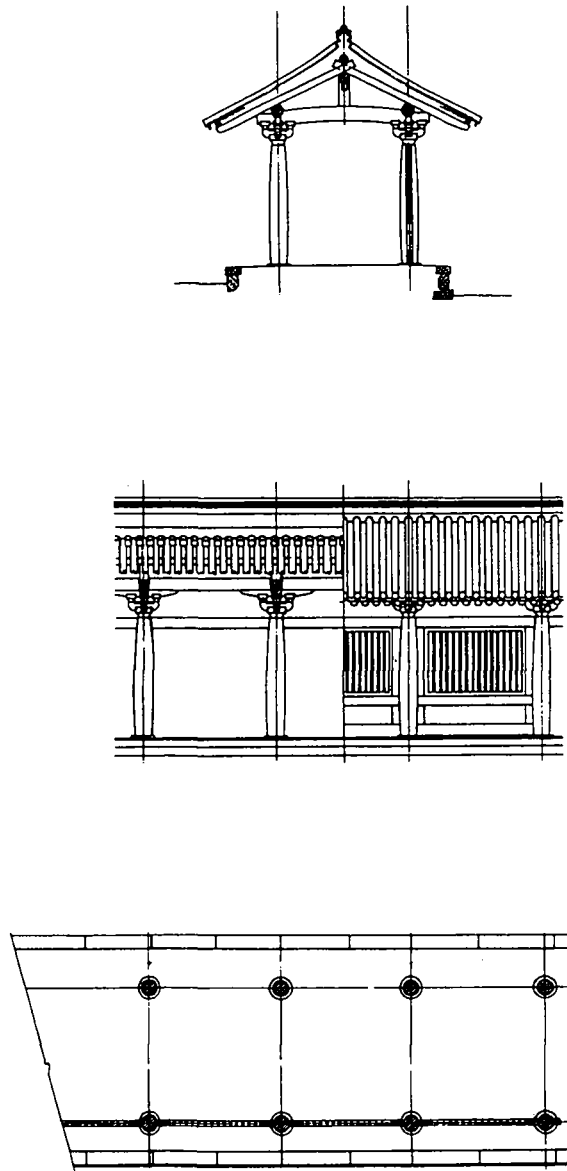


Fig. 230: Reconstructed plan, elevation and sections of the front and lateral galleries of Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺 금강사 (Bæk-che: 6th C. AD?, scale: 1 : 200) (the top of the plan points to west) (after: The Institute of Cultural Industries 文化産業研究所 문화산업연구소)

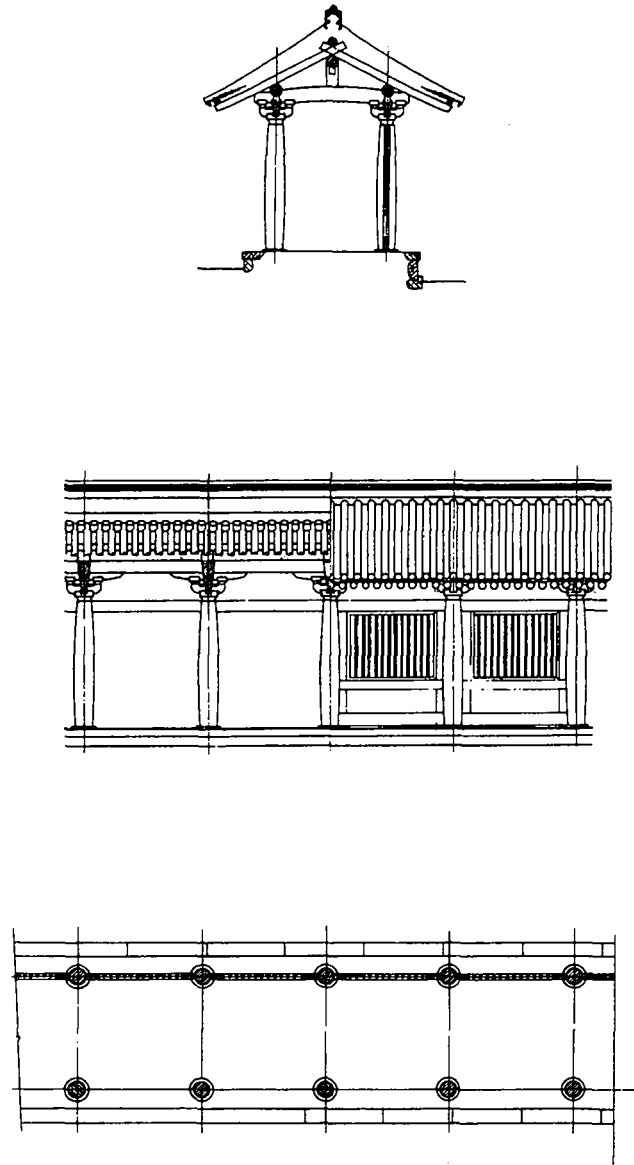


Fig. 231: Reconstructed plan, elevation and sections of the rear galleries of Güm-gang-sa  
 金剛寺 금강사 (Bæk-che: 6th C. AD?, scale: 1 : 200) (the top of the plan points to west)  
 (after: The Institute of Cultural Industries 文化産業研究所 문화산업연구소)

## 3.2.2.3. CHŎNG-RIM-SA

## 3.2.2.3.1. Geographical situation and historical remarks

Chŏng-rim-sa<sup>1</sup> is located in modern down-town Bu-yŏ, just north of Bu-yŏ Middle School<sup>2</sup> [fig. 232]. The site is completely flat and has a height of about 16m above sea level. The modern street network to the west of Chŏng-rim-sa has approximately the same orientation northwards as the main axis of the temple<sup>3</sup>. Similarly to Dæ-tong-sa mentioned above, the layout of Chŏng-rim-sa and other Bæk-che structures in the vicinity could have had a strong influence on the modern urban pattern of Bu-yŏ.

The site was investigated several times. The first partial excavation was led by FUJISAWA<sup>4</sup> in 1942 and 1943 AD [fig. 233] but no report was published. The excavation established the name of the temple which it bore during the Ko-ryŏ period with the help of a tile fragment with the inscription "*tæ-pyŏng-pal-nyŏn-mu-chin* Chŏng-rim-sa *dæ-chang-dang-cho*"<sup>5</sup>. A systematic investigation was conducted by a team of the Chung-nam National University Museum<sup>6</sup> in 1979 and 1980 AD. The same team excavated the area in front of the temple precinct in 1984 AD and the remains of a double lotus pond were uncovered<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Chŏng-rim-sa 定林寺 정림사 (No. 4.19.1.).

<sup>2</sup> Bu-yŏ Chung-hak-kyo 扶餘中學校 부여중학교.

<sup>3</sup> A number of maps feature an angle between the temple axis and the road to the west of Chŏng-rŭng-sa of about 1.5° (the temple would have a direction from geographic north of 358.5°), but this seems to be an error. The orientation of the main axis is about 4.5° east from magnetic north while the street points to geographic north which is 4.33° (4°20') east from magnetic north (according to the indication on the official maps edited by Chung-ang-chi-do 中央地圖 중앙지도, 1980).

<sup>4</sup> FUJISAWA Kazuo 藤澤一夫 ふじさわかずお 등택일부.

<sup>5</sup> "*Tæ-pyŏng-pal-nyŏn-mu-chin* Chŏng-rim-sa *dæ-chang-dang-cho* 太平八年戊辰定林寺大藏當草태평팔년무진정림사대장당초": "[In the year] *mu-chin*, the eighth year of *tæ-pyŏng*, Chŏng-rim-sa [which possesses] a great treasury (or library ?) [so numerous] as grass, [was reconstructed.]" The inscription has also been deciphered in the following way: "*dæ-pyŏng-pal-nyŏn-sul-chin* Chŏng-rim-sa *dæ-chang-dang-cho* 太平八年戊辰定林寺大藏當草태평팔년술진정림사대장당초", but no reign title *dæ-pyŏng* 太平 태평 is known and the fifth year of the sexagenary cycle is *mu-chin* 戊辰 무진 and not *sul-chin* 戊辰 술진. The 8th year of the reign *tæ-pyŏng* 太平 태평 (1020 - 1031 AD) of Liao 遼 요 is 1027 AD, but the year *mu-chin* 戊辰 무진 is 1028 AD. The latter is assumed to be the correct date of the fabrication of the tile and of the reconstruction of the temple. It cannot be deduced from this piece of information that the temple was already called Chŏng-rim-sa at the time of its founding because many temples were renamed at some time of their existence.

<sup>6</sup> Chung-nam National University Museum 忠南大學校博物館 충남대학교박물관, the excavations were led by YUN Mu-byŏng 尹武炳 윤무병. See: YUN Mu-byŏng 尹武炳 윤무병 (1981).

<sup>7</sup> See: YUN Mu-byŏng 尹武炳 윤무병 (1987).



Fig. 232: Site plan of Chŏng-rim-sa 定林寺 정림사: modern topographical map with indication of the excavation results (Bæk-che: 6th C. AD?, scale: 1 : 5,000)  
 (after: CACD NJ 52-13-18 (087/097); YUN Mu-byŏng 尹武炳 윤무병 (1981), pl. 3;  
 YUN Mu-byŏng 尹武炳 윤무병 (1987), pl. 5)



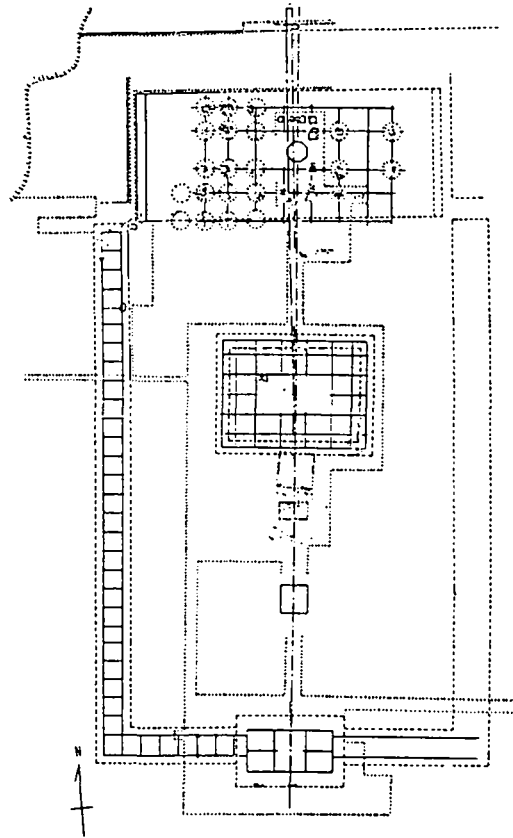


Fig. 233: Excavation results of the Japanese investigation of Chŏng-rim-sa 定林寺 정림사 in 1942 / 1943 AD (Bæk-che: 6th C. AD ?, scale: 1 : 1,000) (after: YUN Mu-byŏng 尹武炳 윤무병 (1981), p. 3)

This temple, though of rather small size, is of special interest as it is thought to be one of the first Bæk-che temples where a stone pagoda was placed in the central courtyard instead of a wooden pagoda. The stone pagoda is conserved in an almost perfect state and is thus an important piece of evidence for the study of the style and proportions of the architecture of the Bæk-che dynasty.

The exact time of construction of the pagoda is not known. Most authors assume that the temple was founded in the middle of the sixth century AD because it is located in the centre of the capital of Bæk-che. But they also claim that the pagoda cannot be older than the stone pagoda of Mi-rŭk-sa which is dated to the early seventh century because of its style. No explanation of this time difference has been provided but this theory seems to imply that the temple first possessed a wooden pagoda because it is assumed that the pagoda was the central element of the

early Buddhist temples so that a temple without pagoda is hardly conceivable for this period<sup>1</sup>.

As long as there is no compelling evidence which proves that the temple founding and the construction of the pagoda are not contemporaneous it must be assumed that the two events belong to the same time. Neither the argument for the founding period nor that for the relative chronology of the pagodas of Mi-rŭk-sa and Chŏng-rim-sa is convincing. The first argument could only be valuable if the exact layout of the capital were known and if the temple occupied a strategic position. But both points are uncertain. As for the second argument it is doubtful that a chronology can be established when only two comparable structures exist.

In Chapter 3.1., I have already mentioned that King Mu seems to have been more interested in the Ik-san area than in the Bu-yŏ area<sup>2</sup>. The large construction projects near Ik-san in the early seventh century could thus imply that Chŏng-rim-sa was founded before the coronation of King Mu. Until new evidence is presented, I tend thus to place the founding of Chŏng-rim-sa and the construction of its stone pagoda in the second half of the sixth century AD<sup>3</sup>.

#### 3.2.2.3.2. The general layout

The two first excavations disagree on several details of the layout of Chŏng-rim-sa which is mainly due to confusion as to which remains date to the founding period and which to the reconstruction in Ko-ryŏ. The precinct is not perfectly rectangular and the orientation of the structures varies up to 5°. This irregularity might also stem from the successive reconstructions until the final destruction of the wooden buildings towards the end of the Ko-ryŏ dynasty<sup>4</sup>.

The general layout of Chŏng-rim-sa is typical for the Bæk-che period. All major structures were aligned on the main axis from south to north in the usual order: lotus pond, middle gate, pagoda, image hall and lecture hall [figs. 234, 235]. The pagoda and the image hall were surrounded by galleries which included the middle gate and the lecture hall. No evidence of a belfry or a *sūtra* repository were uncovered.

<sup>1</sup> See: KIM Sung-woo (KIM Sŏng-u 金聖雨 김성우) (1985).

<sup>2</sup> Mu Wang 武王 무왕, the 30th king of Bæk-che, reigned from 600 to 640 AD.  
See: Chapter 3.1., p. 261f.

<sup>3</sup> PAK Youngsuk (BAK Yong-suk 朴容淑 박용숙) has speculated that a "mid-sixth-century foundation is surmounted by a seventh-century first storey and upper storeys whose shape denotes them as much later (eleventh century ?)". I cannot follow this argument because it seems obvious to me that the pagoda has a very homogenous character both in form and construction [figs. 239 - 241] so that several construction stages over 500 years are highly unlikely.  
See: *BB*, vol. 1, pp. 158 - 162.

<sup>4</sup> Maybe in the 13th or 14th century AD.

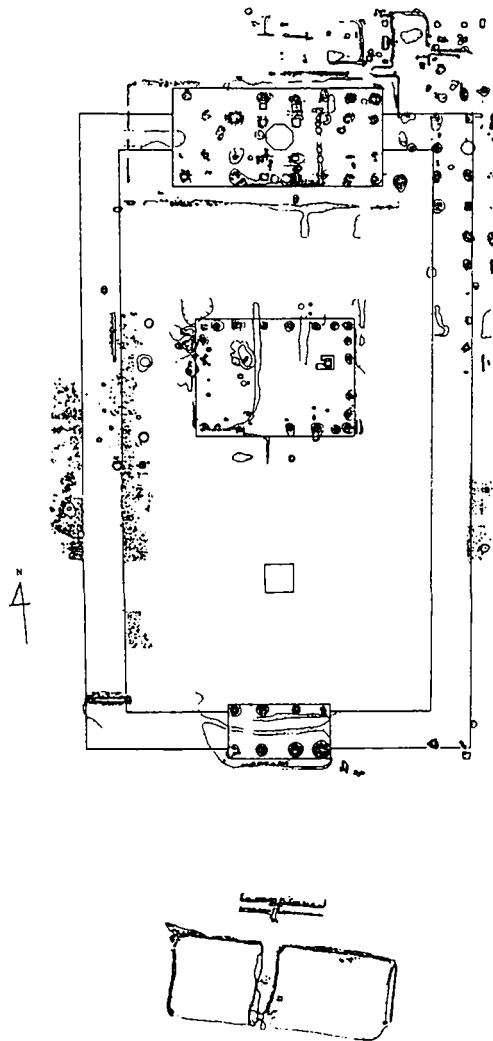


Fig. 234: Excavation plan of Chông-rim-sa 定林寺 정림사 (Bæk-che: 6th C. AD ?, scale: 1 : 1,000)  
 (after: YUN Mu-byông 尹武炳 윤무병 (1981), pl. 2;  
 YUN Mu-byông 尹武炳 윤무병 (1987), pl. 5)

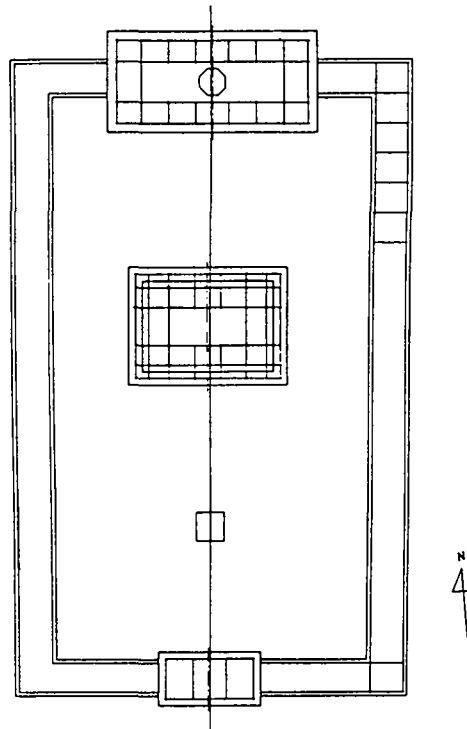


Fig. 235: Layout plan of Chŏng-rim-sa 定林寺 정림사 (Bæk-che: 6th C. AD ?, scale: 1 : 1,000) (after: YUN Mu-byŏng 尹武炳 윤무병 (1981), pl. 3)

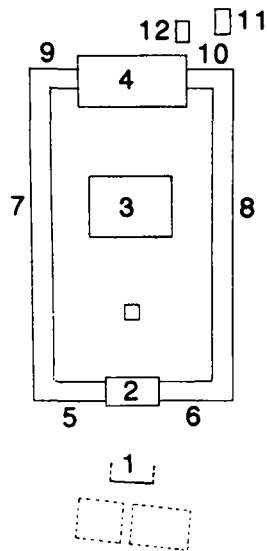


Fig. 236: Excavated structure of Chŏng-rim-sa 定林寺 정림사 (see table 10) (Bæk-che: 6th C. AD ?, no scale) (drawing by the author)

## 3.2.2.3.3. The buildings

The various excavations have uncovered the remains of at least twelve wooden structures in addition to the miniature stone pagoda:

structure	platform		superstructure			function, comments
	length	width	length	width	no. bays	
structure No. 1	11.2m	?	~ 9.4m ?	?	3 x ?	south gate
structure No. 2	~ 13.1m (~ 14.1m)	~ 7.1m (~ 9.1m)	11.3m (~ 11.1m)	5.3m (~ 5.4m)	3 x 1 (3 x 2)	middle gate (Japanese excavation)
structure No. 3	~ 20.55m (~ 17m)	~ 15.6m (~ 12m)	18.75m (15.15m)	13.8m (10.2m)	7 x 5 (5 x 3 or 4)	image hall (main structure)
structure No. 4	~ 27.05m (29.02m)	~ 13.1m (15.67m)	24.64m (24.22m)	10.7m (10.87m)	7 x 3 (7 x 3)	lecture hall (modern reconstruction)
structure No. 5	~ 18.6m	~ 4.7m	~ 17m ?	~ 3.8m	4 x 1 ?	south-western gallery
structure No. 6	~ 18.6m	~ 4.7m	~ 17m ?	~ 3.8m	4 x 1 ?	south-eastern gallery
structure No. 7	~ 83.5m	5.2m	~ 82.5m	~ 4.2m	21 x 1 ?	western gallery
structure No. 8	~ 83.5m	~ 5.2m	~ 82.5m	4.2m	21 x 1 ?	eastern gallery
structure No. 9	~ 12.3m	~ 4.6m	~ 11m ?	~ 3.8m	3 x 1 ?	north-western gallery
structure No. 10	~ 12.2m	~ 4.7m	~ 11m ?	~ 3.8m	3 x 1 ?	north-eastern gallery
structure No. 11	?	?	~ 7.4m	~ 2.8m	2 x 1 ?	additional structure
structure No. 12	?	?	5.1m	3.1m	1 x 1	small northern gate

Table 10: Measurements of the excavated structures of Chông-rim-sa 定林寺 정림사

## 3.2.2.3.3.1. The lotus pond and the south gate

The remains of the platform of the south gate, fragments of a small stone bridge and two lotus ponds were discovered during the excavations in 1980, 1983 and 1984 AD. The remains of the south gate and the lotus ponds lay about 2.8m below the level of the south gate. The front side of the platform of the south gate was located about 24m to the south of the centre of the middle gate. The northern retaining wall of the lotus ponds lay about 5.7m in front of the front side of the

platform of the south gate. The orientation of the ponds and the south gate diverged from the main axis of the precinct by about 5° to the east. The axis of the passage way between the ponds is shifted by about 1.5m to the west at the level of the stone bridge so that it points slightly to the east of the centre of the middle gate.

The eastern lotus pond measured about 15.3m from east to west and 11m from south to north [fig. 237]. The western pond was smaller with 11.2m by 11m. The height of the retaining walls was about 50cm at the time of the excavation. The walls were constructed in an irregular pattern with stones of various sizes and forms. The two ponds were separated by a passage way, about 2.1m wide.

The platform of the south gate was about 70cm high. At about the same level where the passage way divided the two ponds, a stone bridge and stairs divided the platform of the south gate. The remains of the bridge consist of a large rock, about 1.5m long and 48cm wide, and heaps of stones which served as foundations at both ends. The northern heap was integrated in a stone wall, about as long as the platform, which lay about 1.2m in front of the platform of the south gate.

The level of the south gate and the lotus pond seem to indicate that the front area of the temple was artificially lowered by more than 2m from the natural ground level. This surprising fact can probably be explained by a will to increase the prestige of the temple by forcing the visitors to follow a promenade which led down to the ponds and up again to the temple entrance. It seems that the slope which led down to the ponds was located more than 25m or 30m to the south of the ponds, outside the excavated area. Also the lateral limits of the artificial depression have not been confirmed even though the area up to 25m to the west of the ponds has been excavated. Perhaps one has to imagine the area in front of the south gate as a large sunken garden with planted trees and even garden pavilions.

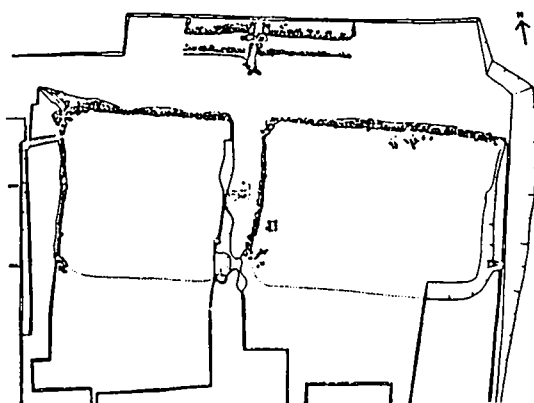


Fig. 237: Excavation plan of the southern lotus ponds and the platform of the south gate of Chŏng-rim-sa 定林寺 정림사 (Bæk-che: 6th C. AD?, scale: 1 : 500) (after: YUN Mu-byŏng 尹武炳 윤무병 (1987), pl. 5)

### The middle gate

The longitudinal axis of the middle gate lay about 20m in front of the centre of the stone pagoda. The transversal axis was shifted by about 12cm to the west of the general axis of the temple precinct. The location of all eight columns of the middle gate have been confirmed through heaps of stone which lay 20cm to 30cm below the surface of the earth and which measured up to 2m in diameter [fig. 238]. The lateral bays measured about 3.5m and the central bay about 4.3m. The transversal bay was about 5.3m deep. This long span was probably the reason why the Japanese investigation team opted for a three- by two-bays structure. This assumption was not confirmed in the second excavation but it is possible that the central columns needed less deep foundations so that no traces of them remain.

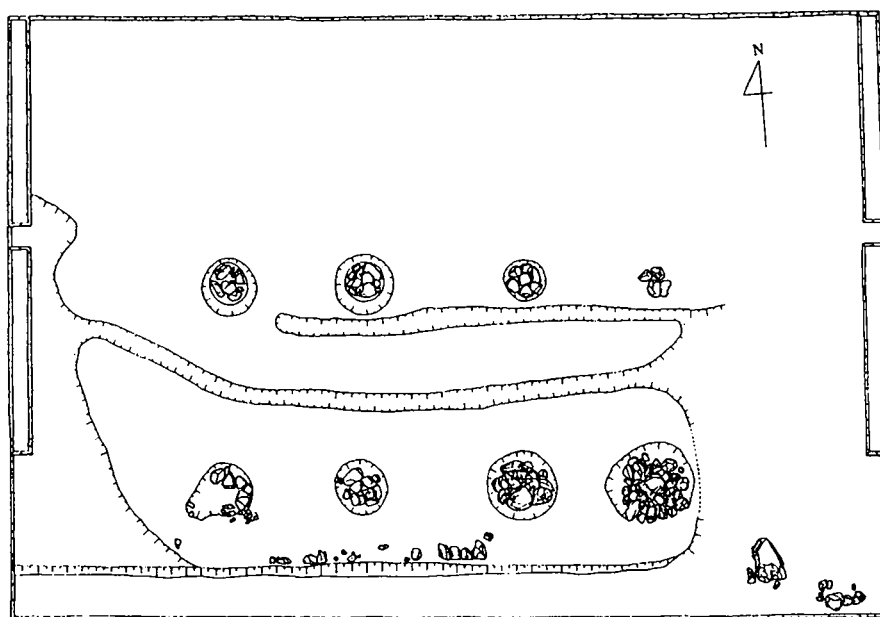


Fig. 238: Excavation plan of the platform of the middle gate of Chŏng-rim-sa 定林寺 정림사 (Bæk-che: 6th C. AD?, scale: 1 : 200) (after: YUN Mu-byŏng 尹武炳 윤무병 (1981), pl. 4)

No clear traces of the retaining walls of the platform remain but the distance from the columns to the edge of the platforms has been speculated to have been about 90cm on each side to fit similar assumptions for the platforms of the image

hall and the lecture hall. The Japanese excavation team and CHANG<sup>1</sup> favour a larger platform based on a row of stones was uncovered about 1.9m to the south of the axis of the front row of foundations of the middle gate.

### 3.2.2.3.3. The 'miniature' stone pagoda

Table 11 resumes the main measurements of the 'miniature' stone pagoda of Chŏng-rim-sa which belongs to the most important material remains of Bæk-che:

no. of stories	5
total height <sup>2</sup>	8.85m
general angle <sup>3</sup>	79.5°
general prop. <sup>4</sup>	1 : 3.67

	1st story	2nd story	3rd story	4th story	5th story
1. story height	1.73m (b: 1.18m)	0.506m	0.457m	0.383m	0.335m
2. bracket height	0.299m	0.269m	0.260m	0.260m	0.250m
3. roof height <sup>5</sup>	0.586m	0.517m	0.551m	0.451m	0.34m (f: 0.43m)
4. body width <sup>6</sup>	2.41m (b: 3.0m)	1.77m	1.40m	1.063m	0.76m
5. eaves width	4.028m	3.430m	3.036m	2.627m	2.219m
6. roof gradient	~ 13°	~ 13°	~ 15°	~ 15°	~ 16°
7. bracket angle	~ 35°	~ 31°	~ 32°	~ 30°	~ 32°
8. body prop. <sup>7</sup>	1.23 : 1	1 : 2.49	1 : 2.18	1 : 1.94	1 : 1.55
9. width prop. <sup>8</sup>	1 : 1.67	1 : 1.94	1 : 2.17	1 : 2.47	1 : 2.92
10. height prop. <sup>9</sup>	3.29 : 1	1 : 1.55	1 : 1.77	1 : 1.86	1 : 1.76

Table 11: Measurements and proportions of the stone pagoda of Chŏng-rim-sa 定林寺 정림사

<sup>1</sup> The drawing of the first excavation shows a supposed platform of about 14.1m by 9.1m. CHANG follows the rejected second variant proposed in the excavation report. See: YUN Mu-byŏng 尹武炳 윤무병 (1981), p. 3, ill. 2; p. 6; CHANG Kyŏng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> The base and the *no-ban* 露盤 노반 are included.

<sup>3</sup> The general angle is the inclination of the tangent of the eaves of the stories relative to the horizon.

<sup>4</sup> The general proportion is the relation between the width of the lowest story and the total height.

<sup>5</sup> The roof height includes the base ('balcony') of the next story. (This decision becomes understandable when brick pagodas are analysed. See Chapter 4.2.) (f = finial).

<sup>6</sup> b = base width.

<sup>7</sup> The body proportion is the quotient of the height and the width of each story.

<sup>8</sup> The width proportion is the quotient of the width of the body and the eaves of each story

<sup>9</sup> The height proportion is the quotient of the height of the body and the roof (including the brackets) of each story. The first story includes the base.



The foundation of the pagoda consists of three layers of compressed yellow, yellowish-brown and reddish-brown clay, and has a total depth of about 1.8m. A layer of granite stones, about 30cm high, was placed on top of the compressed clay.

The pagoda is constructed of cut granite stone [figs. 239 - 241]. The 151 visible stones blocks<sup>1</sup> are divided in the following way: 40 pieces for the base, 36 for the first story, 28 for the second, 21 for the third, 18 for the fourth, 9 for the fifth and one stone for the *no-ban*<sup>2</sup> at the top of the pagoda. Of the original state of the pagoda only the finial and the bronze bells which hung from each roof corner are missing. The sides of the lowest step of the base measure about 3.75m. The base of the pagoda has four levels, the third of which is formed by posts and side panels. Such posts stand at each corner and in the centre of each side. The stories also feature posts at each corner but not in the centre of the sides. The bodies of each story stand on bases which seem to symbolize the balconies of wooden pagodas.

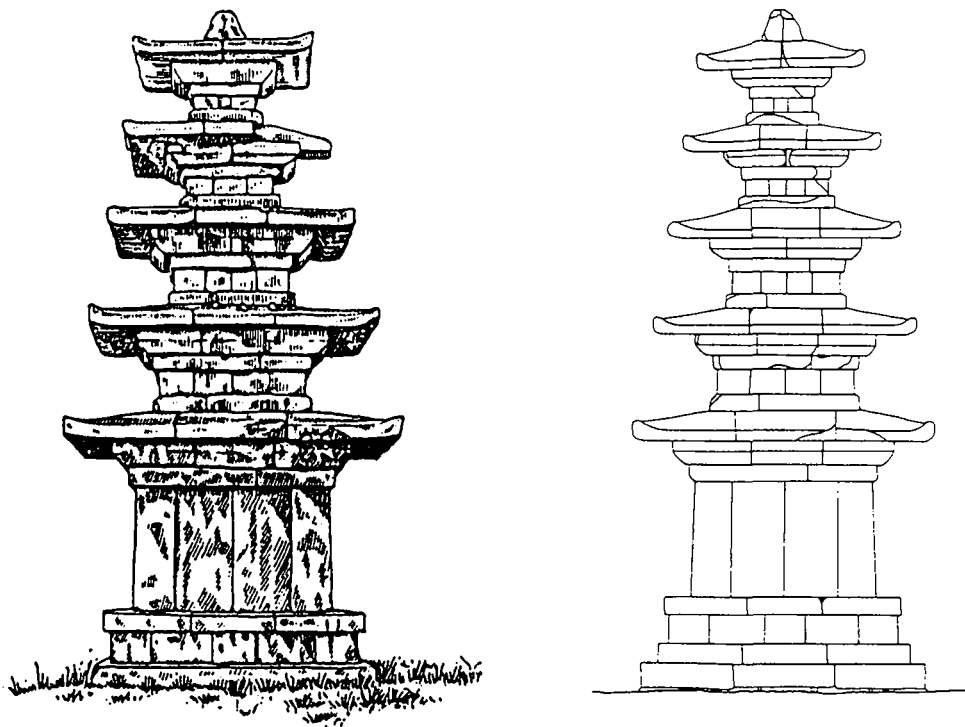


Fig. 239: Perspective and southern elevation of the stone pagoda of Chŏng-rim-sa 定林寺 정림사 (Bæk-che: 6th C. AD?, scale: 1 : 100)  
(after: GRISWOLD, KIM Chewon et al. (1964), p. 78; *HGŭK KŎ* 7, p. 10)

<sup>1</sup> KIM counts 149 blocks. See: KIM Sung-woo (KIM Sŏng-u 金聖雨 김성우) (1985), p. 160.

<sup>2</sup> The *no-ban* 露盤 노반 is broken into two pieces, possibly at the time when the metallic pole of the finial, which was fixed in the *no-ban*, collapsed.

The five successive roofs of the pagoda are constructed of eight stones each except the last roof which is formed of only four stones. At the corners, the upper edges of the roofs are curved upwards but they end in a horizontal, rounded shape<sup>1</sup> [fig. 141] rather than in a sharp point as in the case of the later stone pagodas of Unified Sin-la. The lower edges are also slightly curved upwards. The slopes of the roofs are not curved except for the area adjacent to the corner ridges. The ridges are about 12cm wide and have rounded surfaces which protrude slightly from the roofs. The slopes are so small that the roofs seem to be flat. The eaves are vertical and 14cm to 11cm high<sup>2</sup>. The brackets are formed of a layer of 'capitals' which resemble the bases of the stories and a layer of 'brackets'. The lower halves of the bracket stones are cut to 35° to 50° angles while the upper halves are vertical.

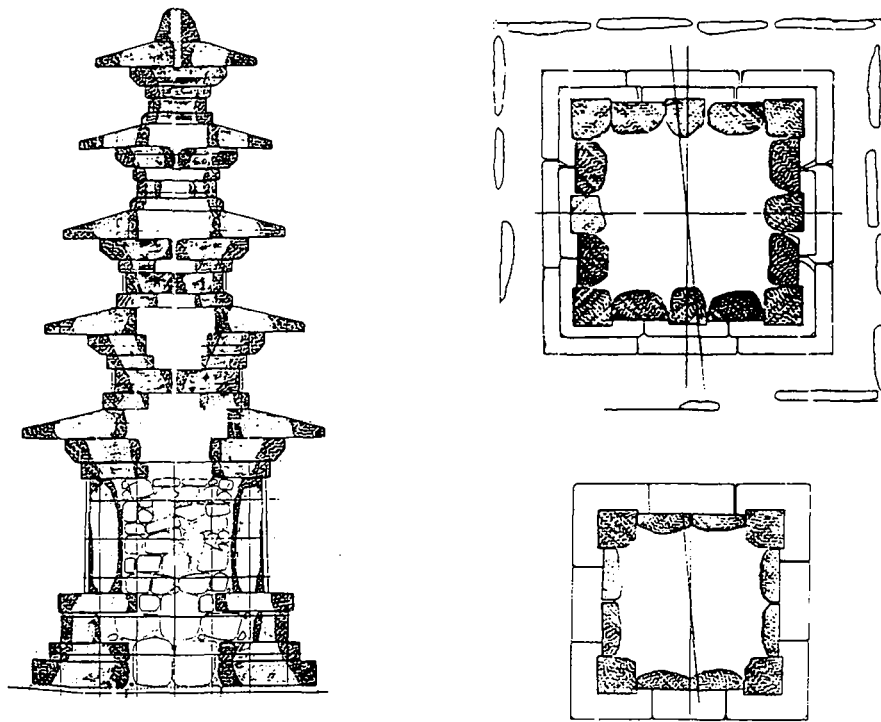


Fig. 240: Section and 2 plans of the stone pagoda of Chŏng-rim-sa 定林寺 정림사  
(Bæk-che: 6th C. AD ?, scale: 1 : 100)  
(after: *HGüK KČ* 7, pp. 12f.)

- <sup>1</sup> These horizontal surfaces are triangular, the sides of the right-angle, isosceles triangle measure about 12cm and twice 8.5cm.
- <sup>2</sup> For the 1st story and the 5th story respectively.

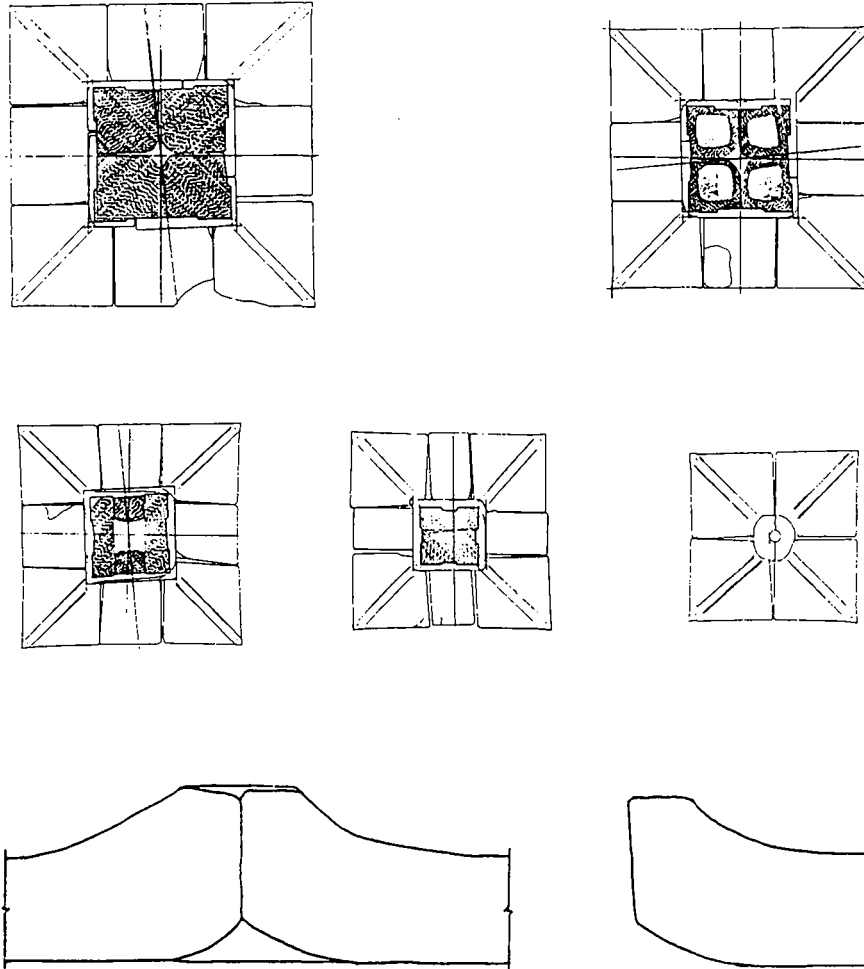


Fig. 241: 5 plans (scale: 1 : 100) and 2 elevations of the corners of the roofs (scale: 1 : 10) of the stone pagoda of Chŏng-rim-sa 定林寺 정림사 (Bæk-che: 6th C. AD ?) (after: *HGüK KČ* 7, pp. 14ff.)

The *no-ban* is damaged but it seems to have consisted of a square lower part and a hemispherical upper part. The hole in its centre received the metallic pole which was decorated with the traditional symbols of the finial. One possible piece of the finial was discovered at the north-eastern corner of the temple precinct [fig. 242]. It is a fragment of a granite disc of a diameter of about 55.5cm and a thickness of 7cm to 9cm. In the centre is a hole, about 3.5cm in diameter which probably received the pole. The edge is decorated with ribbing and has holes where metallic decorations could be fixed.

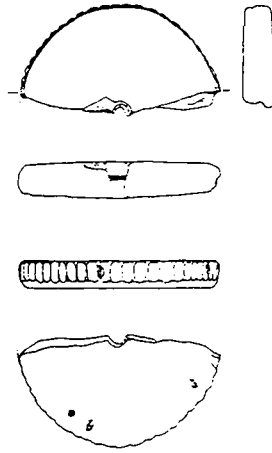


Fig. 242: Fragment of a granite finial ring of a pagoda of Chŏng-rim-sa 定林寺 정림사 (Bæk-che: 6th C. AD ?, scale: 1 : 10) (after: YUN Mu-byŏng 尹武炳 윤무병 (1981), p. 57)

#### 3.2.2.3.3.4. The image hall

The platform of the image hall has been damaged by bulldozers<sup>1</sup> when the temple site was transformed into a public park after the Korean War. Only the lower part of the platform is still extant and the peripheral foundations of a seven-by-five-bays wooden structure were found [fig. 243]. The foundations seem to date to the Bæk-che period and no evidence of a later reconstruction was found. The fact that the interior foundations were destroyed suggests that they lay at a higher level which could be the case if the building possessed a two-stepped platform with an attached roof on the lower platform. A similar configuration has been confirmed at the central image hall of Hwang-ryong-sa of Sin-la (see Chapter 4.2., pp. 807ff.). The corner bays of the excavated foundations measured between 1.7m and 2m with an average of about 1.8m. The corner bays of the supposed main structure were about 2.6m long, while the central three bays of the front and rear sides measured about 3.3m and the central bays of the lateral sides about 4.9m. The layout plan of the Japanese investigation claims that the central lateral bays were divided into two equal bays. The main structure would thus have had five by four bays. These additional columns could have been necessary if the building is imagined as a two-storied structure but they could have been omitted for the attached roofs because an odd number of bays is more convenient for the placing of entrances or stairs.

<sup>1</sup> At least one of the two large rocks which were found inside the platform of the image hall was allegedly moved by a bulldozer, but the date is not known (it probably happened between 1953 and 1979 AD). See: YUN Mu-byŏng 尹武炳 윤무병 (1981), p. 8.

The size of the platform is not certain because no traces of the retaining walls were found. It has been speculated<sup>1</sup> that the columns of the attached roofs stood in the centre of the lower platform which could then have been 1.8m wide. The second step of the platform would then have stood in the centre of the corner bays of the attached roof.

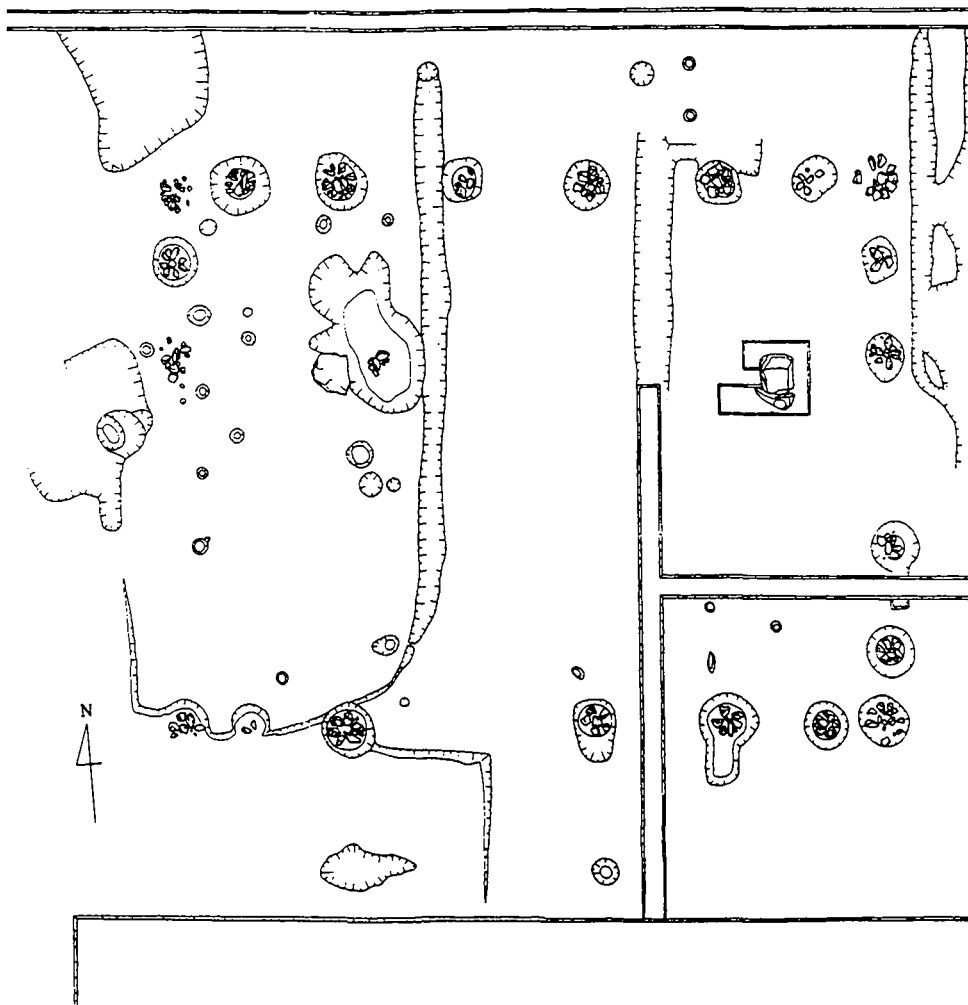


Fig. 243: Excavation plan of the foundations of the image hall of Chŏng-rim-sa 定林寺 정림사 (Bæk-che: 6th C. ?, scale: 1 : 200) (after: YUN Mu-byŏng 尹武炳 윤무병 (1981), pl. 5)

<sup>1</sup> YUN Mu-byŏng 尹武炳 윤무병 (1981), p. 7.

## 3.2.2.3.3.5. The lecture hall

The centre of the lecture hall lay about 31.7m behind the centre of the image hall. The excavations showed that its wooden structure was reconstructed during the Ko-ryŏ period, probably around 1028 AD, the date which figures on the above-mentioned inscribed tiles. The presence of the seated Vairocana Buddha figure on an octagonal base of the Ko-ryŏ period<sup>1</sup> at the centre could indicate that the Bæk-che lecture hall was reconstructed as an image hall [fig. 244]. This could explain why no traces of a Ko-ryŏ reconstruction were found at the site of the Bæk-che image hall. It is then possible that the space between the stone pagoda and the site of the original lecture hall was empty during the Ko-ryŏ period.

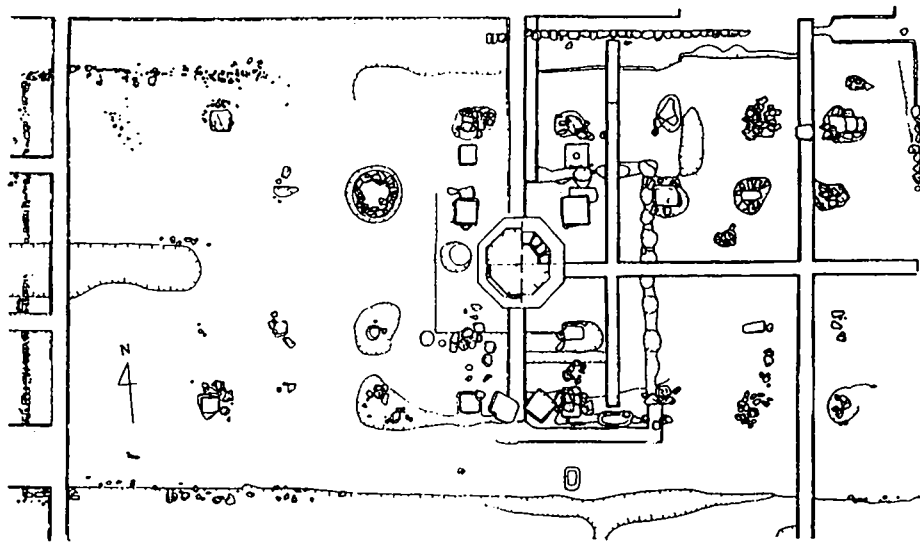


Fig. 244: Excavation plan of the foundations of the lecture hall of Chŏng-rim-sa 定林寺 정림사 (Bæk-che / Ko-ryŏ, scale: 1 : 300) (after: YUN Mu-byŏng 尹武炳 윤무병 (1981), pl. 6)

A trench into the platform of the lecture hall showed that below the layer of earth of the Ko-ryŏ period, about 35cm deep, a thin layer of burnt earth of 2cm to 3cm covered the original platform of the Bæk-che period, indicating that the original Bæk-che building was destroyed by fire. Four square foundation stones whose sides measured 70cm to 1m lay on the level of the Ko-ryŏ platform behind

<sup>1</sup> See: YUN Mu-byŏng 尹武炳 윤무병 (1981), p. 8.

the Buddha figure. These foundation stones are supposed to have belonged to the Bæk-che lecture hall. At least two of them lay above original Bæk-che foundations. There is no indication that the Ko-ryŏ building changed the ground plan of the Bæk-che lecture hall significantly so that it can be assumed that the Ko-ryŏ reconstruction reused the platform and column foundations of the Bæk-che period<sup>1</sup>.

The lengths of the bays have been established through the heaps of stone on the level of the original platform which was about 50cm high. The corner bays of the front side were about 3.2m long, the intermediate bays about 3.6m and the central bay about 4.1m. The corner bays of the lateral sides measured about 2.8m and the central bay about 5.2m. The distance of the edge of the platform from the axis of the outer columns has been estimated to about 1.2m, based on fragments on the northern side of the lecture hall. But there are also rows of stones at a distance of about 3.6m from the axis of the outer columns at the north-eastern corner.

Furthermore, rows of piles of 'female' tiles which date to the Bæk-che period were uncovered at distances of about 1.7m at the western part of the northern side, 7.2m at the western side and 3.5m at the western part of the southern side of the corresponding axes of the outer columns. The excavation report could not establish the meaning of these rows but simply states that they might have belonged to "additional facilities"<sup>2</sup> and an "extension of the platform of the lecture hall"<sup>3</sup>.

The Japanese excavation seems to have had similar difficulties in explaining the remains at the periphery of the lecture hall. The published drawing hints at the possibility that the platform measured up to 40m by 16.5m and that the wooden structure had at some time four transversal bays (by adding one bay at the front). While the additional front bay seems unlikely after the results of the later excavations, it is still possible that the lecture hall was originally a longer structure and that it was not necessarily symmetrical relative to the main axis of the precinct as in the case of the newly excavated Nŭng-sa<sup>4</sup> (see below). The interpretation of the remains of the lecture hall influences the possible reconstructions of the northern galleries. The recent reconstruction of the lecture hall will be discussed below, at this moment I will only mention that the reconstruction opted for an intermediate solution by placing the edges of the platform at 2.4m from the axes of the wooden columns although no indication for this measurement was found during the excavations.

<sup>1</sup> See: YUN Mu-byŏng 尹武炳 윤무병 (1981), p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> "Additional facilities" 附帶施設 부대시설. It seems that some landscaping features are meant. See: YUN Mu-byŏng 尹武炳 윤무병 (1981), p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> "Extension of the platform of the lecture hall" 講堂基壇을 一部擴張 강당 기단을 일부 확장. See: YUN Mu-byŏng 尹武炳 윤무병 (1981), p. 17.

<sup>4</sup> Nŭng-sa 陵寺 능사 (No. 4.19.7.). See: pp. 353ff.

### 3.2.2.3.3.6. The galleries and the additional structures to the north-east

To the east of the lecture hall, eleven stone heaps of column foundations were excavated which belonged to the eastern gallery [fig. 245]. The bay lengths of the gallery measured about 3.85m longitudinally (south to north) and 4.2m transversely (east to west). Numerous tile and ceramic fragments were discovered near another presumed site of the eastern gallery at the height between the pagoda and the image hall. The south-eastern corner of the gallery was indicated by two heaps of stones. The discovered remains of the platform of the western gallery include a water drainage ditch close to the south-western corner and numerous tile fragments at the height of the pagoda as far as the image hall. At one spot the tiles were arranged in a row which probably formed the outer retaining wall of the platform.

Through these remains the size of the platforms and the bays of the wooden structure can be reconstructed approximately. The platforms were 4.7m to 5.2m wide. The lateral galleries were not parallel to the main axis of the temple but each diverged from it by about 60cm. The courtyard became thus about 1.2m wider at the height of the lecture hall compared to the width at the height of the middle gate, and the distance between the outer edges of the lateral galleries measured about 50.3m to 51.5m. The length of the lateral galleries can be estimated at about 83.5m.

The remains of several additional structures were discovered at the north-eastern corner [fig. 246]. Among them was a one-by-one-bay gate structure and a two-by-one-bay building which stood in the continuation of the eastern gallery just north of a water drainage ditch.

On the upper surface of a granite threshold, 1.9m long and 86cm wide, which lay near the north-eastern corner of the platform of the lecture hall, are carved the forms of the wooden ties which form the lower part of the gate. The threshold dates probably to the Bæk-che period but the gate might be a later construction reusing older stone material. The small building to the east of the gate is probably a similar case of later structure which reuses Bæk-che construction material because the round granite foundation stones do not stand on stone heaps as do the structures of the Bæk-che period. Five such stone heaps lay between the first bay of the later building and to the south of the water drainage ditch. Although the layout and the function of this structure is not clear, it seems that in the Bæk-che period already several secondary buildings were built in the north-eastern corner of Chǒng-rim-sa. The small size of the remains could indicate furthermore that they were circulation spaces which connected the main precinct with the dormitories and the economic facilities of the temple.



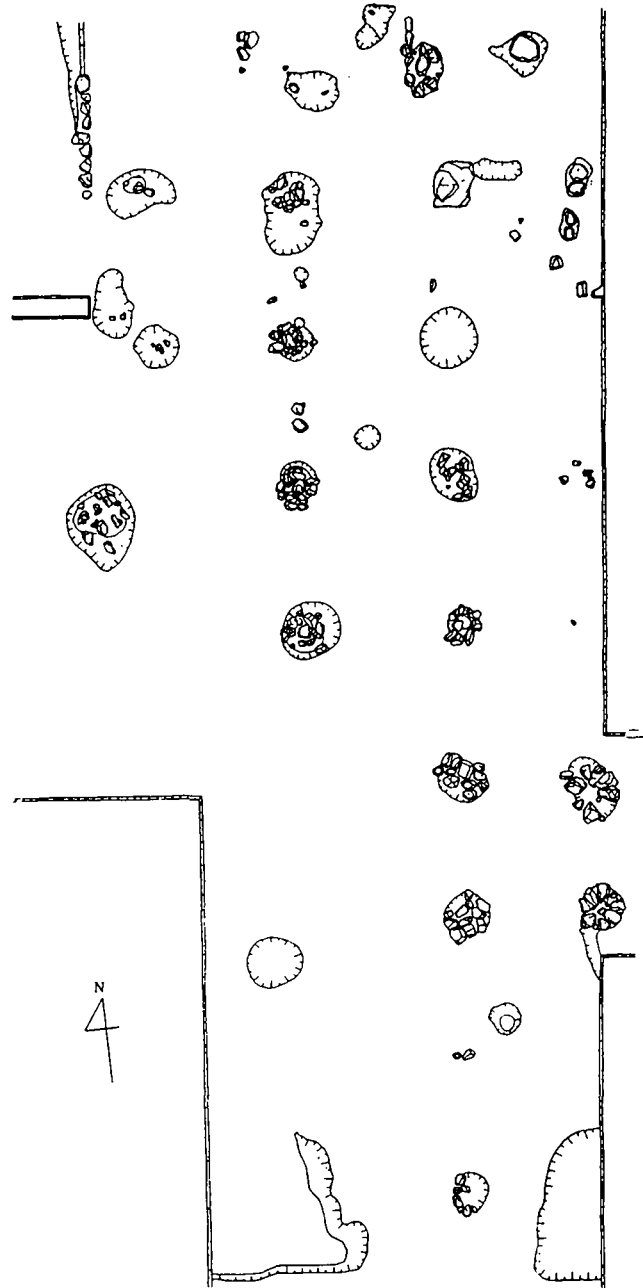


Fig. 245: Partial excavation plan of the foundations of eastern gallery of Chông-rim-sa 定林寺 정림사 (Bæk-che: 6th C. ?, scale: 1 : 200) (after: YUN Mu-byông 尹武炳 윤무병 (1981), pl. 12)

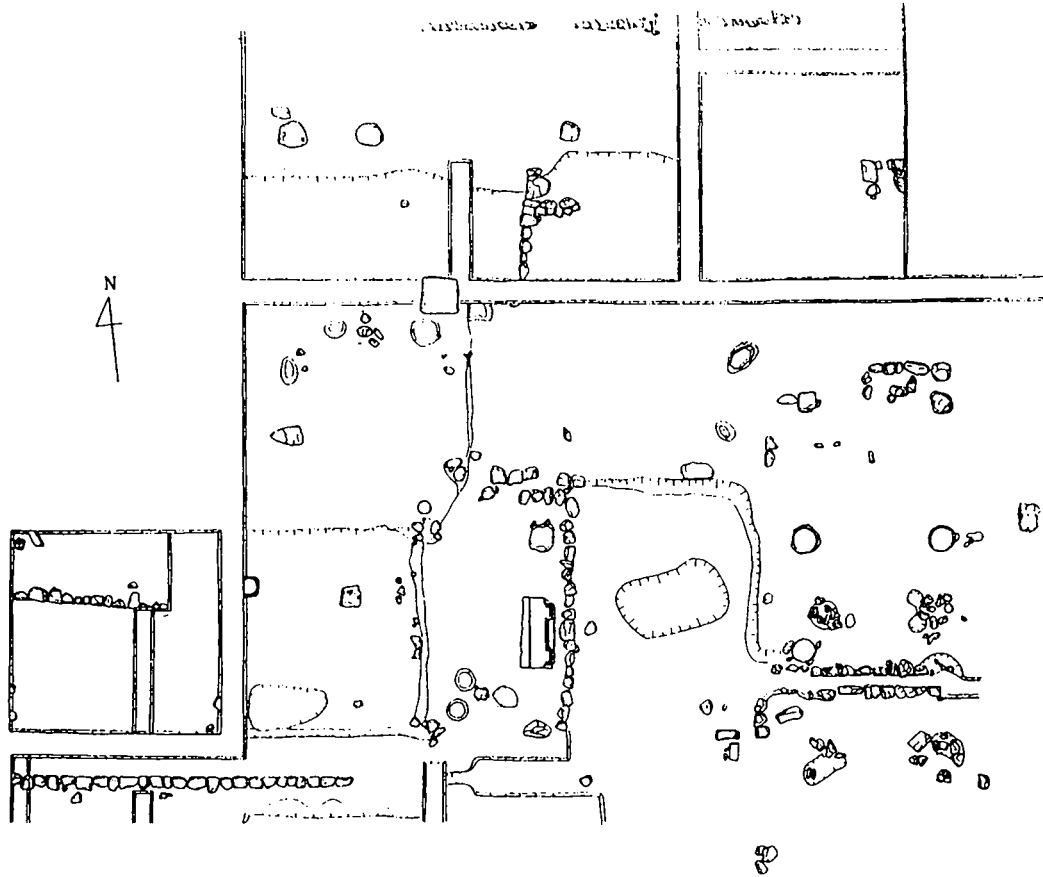


Fig. 246: Partial excavation plan of the foundations of north-eastern structures of Chŏng-rim-sa 定林寺 정림사 (Bæk-che: 6th C. ?, scale: 1 : 200) (after: YUN Mu-byŏng 尹武炳 윤무병 (1981), pl. 15)

#### 3.2.2.3.4. The material remains

The various excavations produced a large number of tile and ceramic fragments [fig. 247]. Tiles of Bæk-che and Ko-ryŏ were frequently found while tiles from Unified Sin-la were rarer. The Bæk-che roof end tiles, 10cm to 15cm in diameter, and rafter end tiles, 13cm to 19.3cm in diameter, featured the characteristic lotus flower designs with eight (twelve for the largest rafter end tiles) single petals with few dots in the centre. A fragment with a honeysuckle design [fig. 247] has been discovered during the excavation of the lotus ponds. It could have belonged to a similar brick as the one found at Gun-su-ri with similar ornaments [fig. 202].

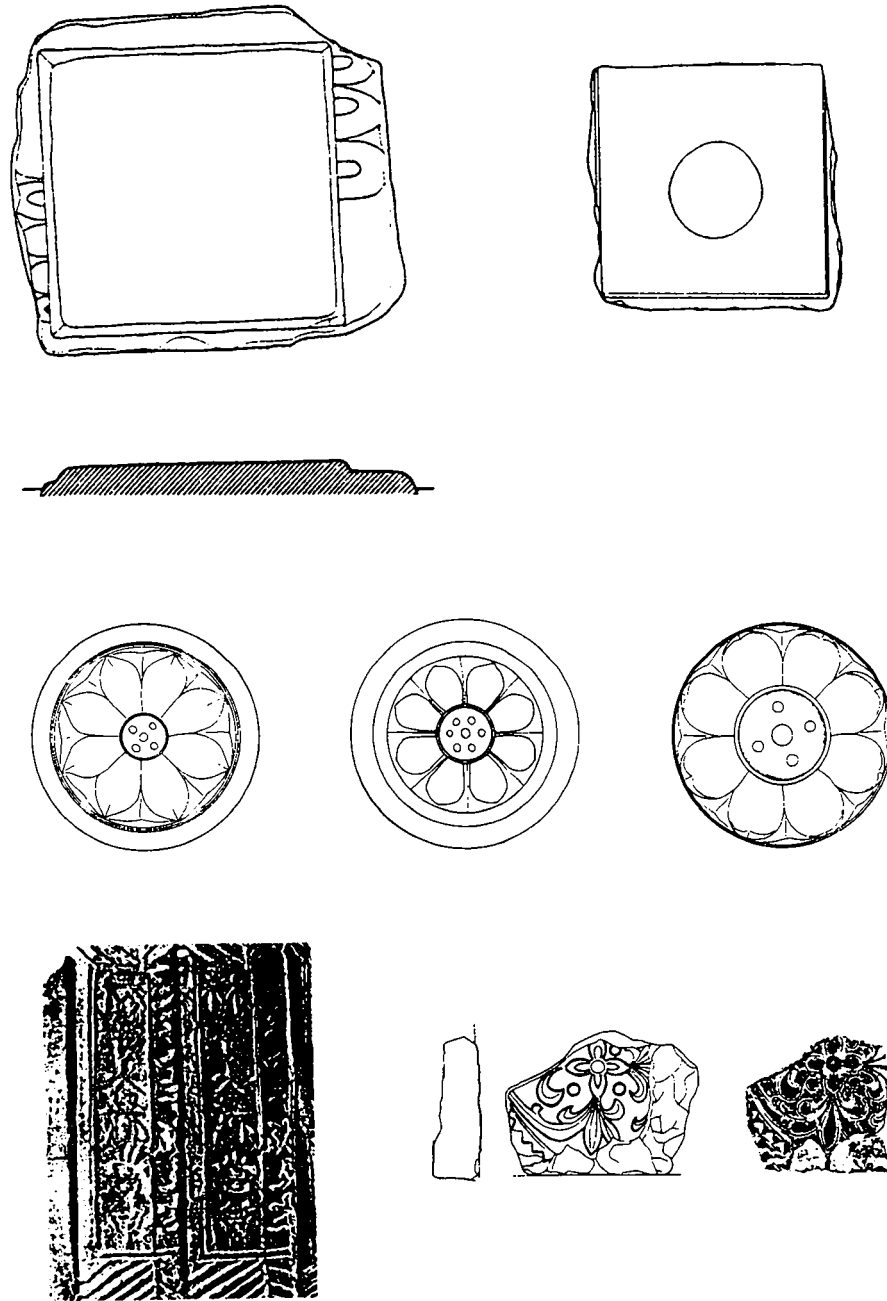


Fig. 247: Material remains of Chŏng-rim-sa 定林寺 정림사: two foundation stones (scale: 1 : 20), two 'male' roof-end tiles and rafter-end tile of Bæk-che, 'female' roof tile with inscription of Ko-ryŏ and tile (brick ?) with honeysuckle ornament of Bæk-che (scale: about 1 : 5) (after: YUN Mu-byŏng 尹武炳 윤무병 (1981), pl. 46, 46, ill. 103; IMYŏng-chu (1983), pp. 488, 490; YUN Mu-byŏng 尹武炳 윤무병 (1987), pl. 13)

Fragments of thirteen Bæk-che terracotta figurines at least were discovered at the south-western corner of the gallery. The height of each figurine was probably slightly over 20cm and they seem to have represented noble donors. At the same place fragments of six terracotta Buddha figurines at least were excavated which were about double the size of the donor figurines. The lower part of a standing terracotta Buddha triad, about 11.4cm high, has been found too. In addition to the figurines, numerous earthenware pots of various forms and sizes were excavated at the building sites and the lotus ponds.

#### 3.2.2.3.5. The reconstruction of the lecture hall

Chöng-rim-sa is about to be rebuilt in a supposed original style. In 1994, the lecture hall was completed as the first new wooden building of the temple [figs. 248 - 255]. It is planned that in the following years the two-storied image hall, the middle gate and the galleries will be reconstructed too.

The site of the lecture hall has been excavated anew for the reconstruction. The findings of the earlier excavations have been confirmed<sup>1</sup> and at thirty-one of the thirty-two foundations of columns stone heaps were found at various depths<sup>2</sup>. The reconstruction of the platform and the foundations tried to imitate the techniques of the Bæk-che period by surrounding the foundations with compressed clay. The sides of the square granite foundation stones were cut to 1.3m while the height varied from 65cm to 95cm depending on the level of the original Bæk-che foundations. The size of these foundation stones is much larger than the average size of known Bæk-che foundation stones<sup>3</sup>. A round protruding surface, about 75cm in diameter, was carved on the upper surface of the foundation stones which received the wooden columns with a diameter of about 52cm.

The edges of the platform were placed at a distance of 2.4m from the axis of the outer columns. The retaining walls were constructed of base stones (about 26cm high and 40cm wide), side panels (about 62cm high, 80cm to 1m long and 18cm wide) and cover stones (about 18cm high, 1.5m long and 40cm wide). No posts were placed at the corners or in between the side panels. The surface of the platform was covered with square tiles. Three stairs with three steps each have been placed in front of the second, fourth and sixth bay of the front face.

The reconstruction of the platform follows the construction methods observed at various temple sites of Bæk-che, in particular at Mi-rük-sa. However, the size of

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<sup>1</sup> Only the immediate surroundings of the 7 by 4 bay lecture hall have been excavated so that no new evidence for the lateral structures has been found.

<sup>2</sup> The western foundations were found at a lower level than the eastern.

<sup>3</sup> The foundation stones of the much larger lecture hall of Mi-rük-sa had side lengths of about 95cm.

the foundation stones and the distance between the edges of the platform and the axes of the outer columns seem to be excessive. The wooden structure and details of the reconstructed lecture hall will be discussed in Chapter 3.3. because, (with the exception of the roof tiles which do not present any difficulties) they are not based on evidence from the excavation of Chŏng-rim-sa.

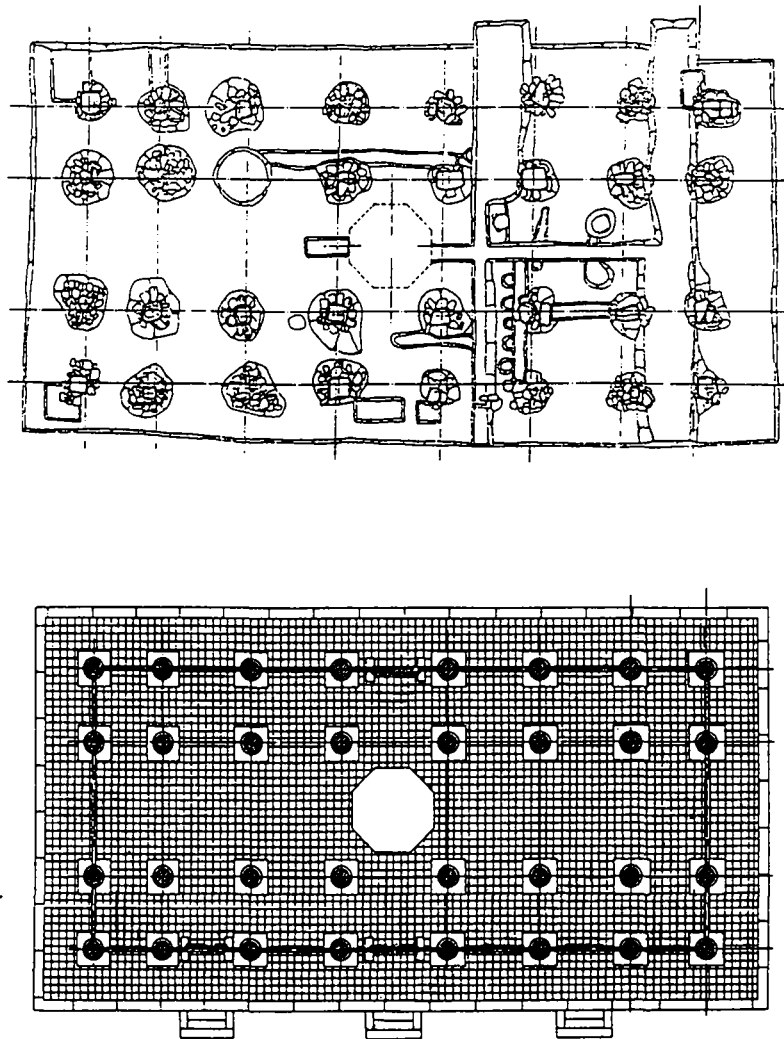


Fig. 248: Reconstruction of the lecture hall of Chŏng-rim-sa 定林寺 정림사: excavation plan and ground plan (Bæk-che / 1994 AD, scale: 1 : 300) (after: *MHCSRBS* 93 - 1, pp. 576, 578)

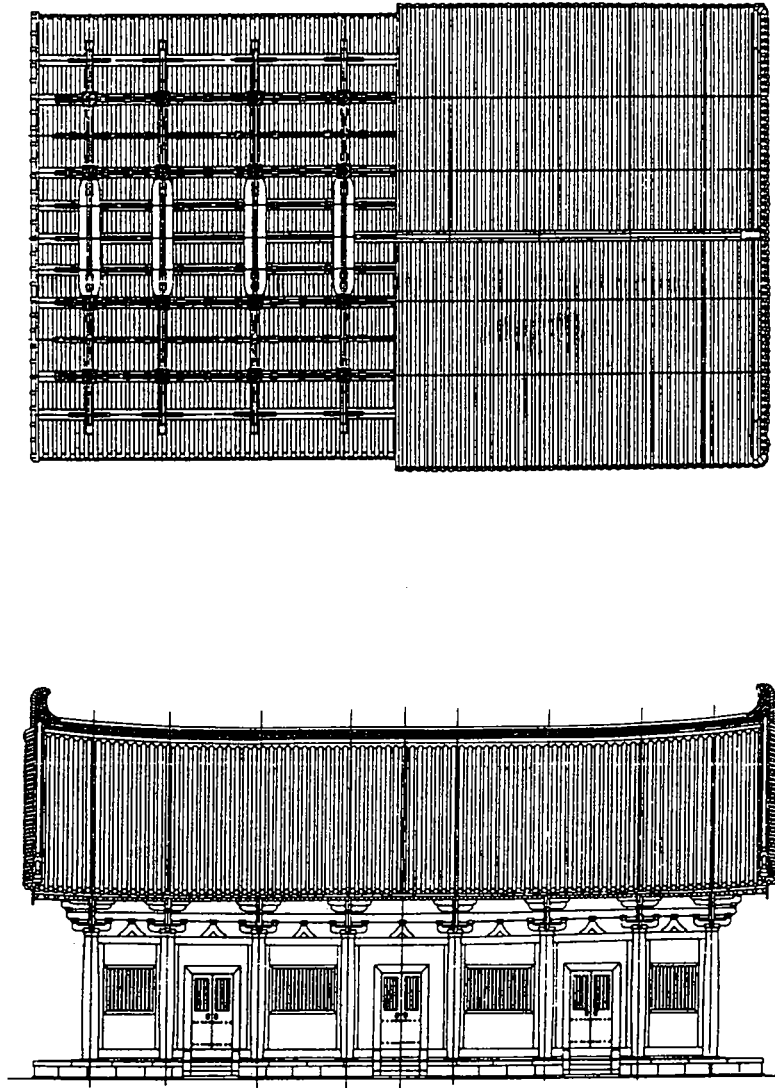


Fig. 249: Reconstruction of the lecture hall of Chŏng-rim-sa 定林寺 정림사:  
2 partial roof plans and front elevation (1994 AD, scale: 1 : 300)  
(after: *MHCSRBGS* 93 - 1, pp. 581, 578)

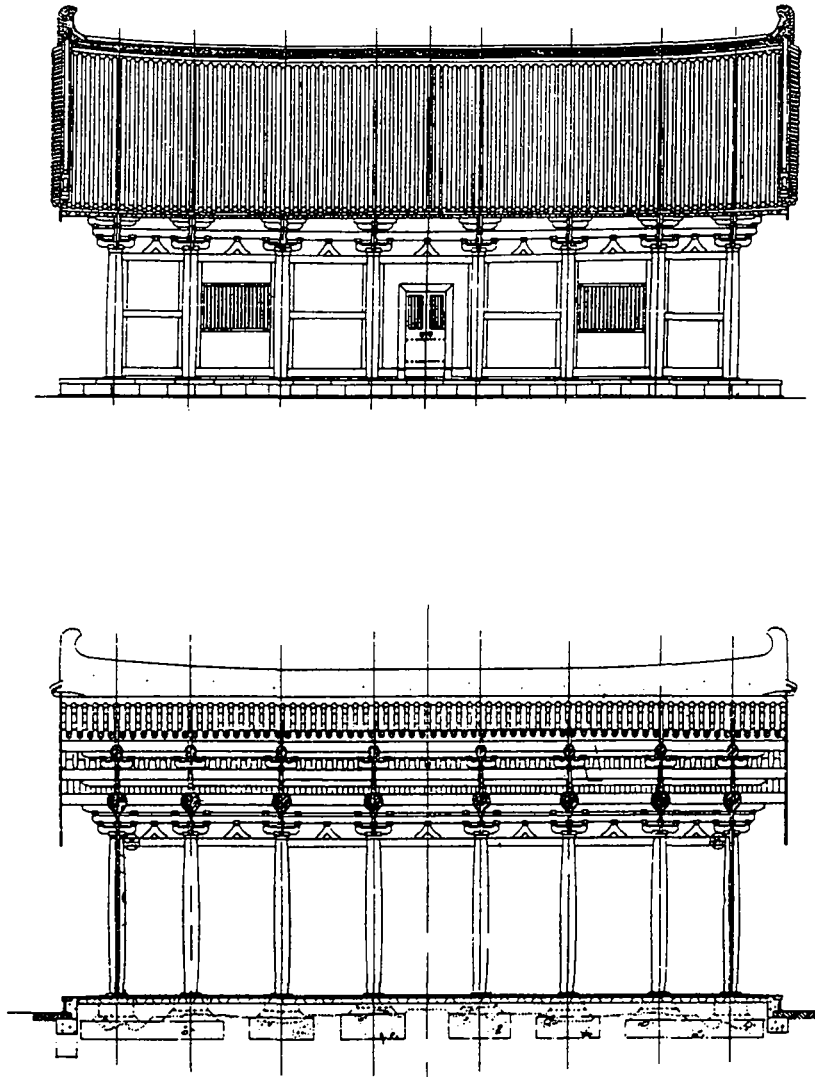


Fig. 250: Reconstruction of the lecture hall of Chŏng-rim-sa 定林寺 정림사: rear elevation and longitudinal section (1994 AD, scale: 1 : 300) (after: *MHCSRBS* 93 - 1, pp. 579f.)

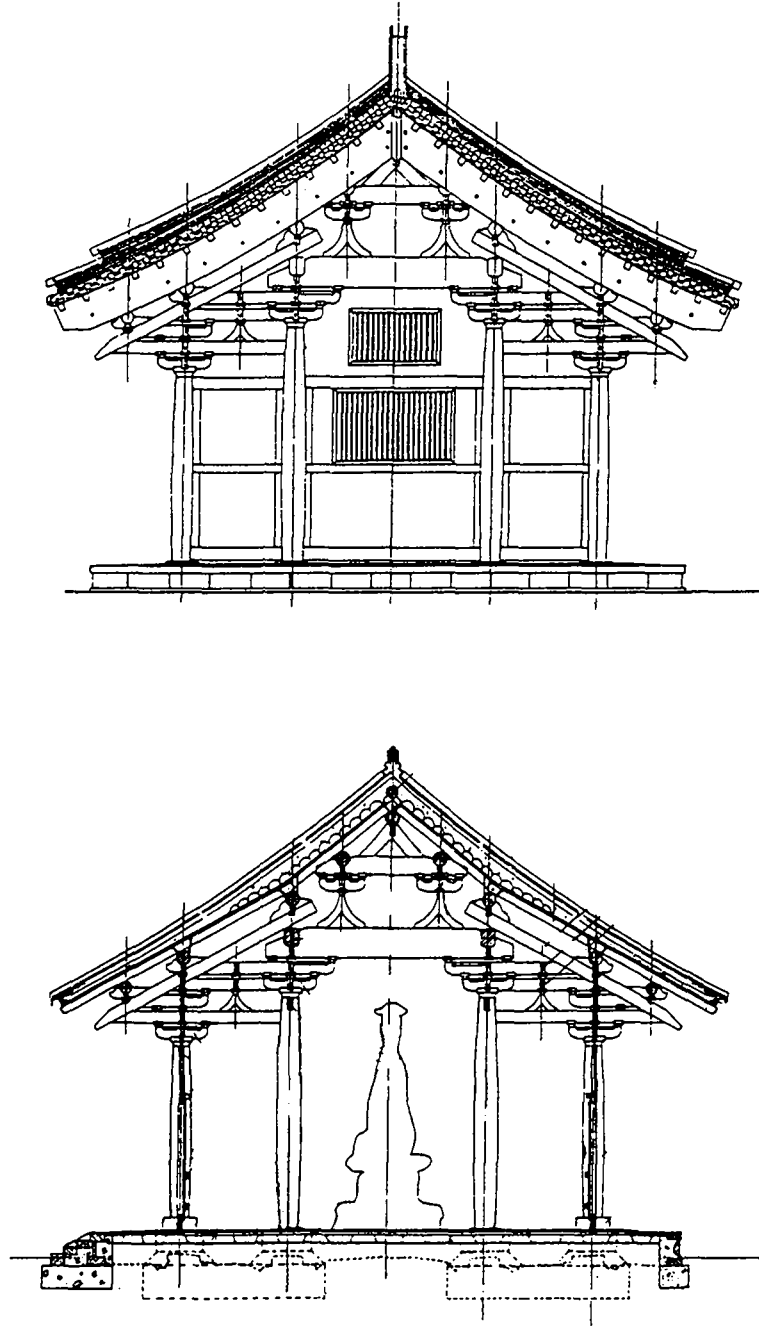


Fig. 251: Reconstruction of the lecture hall of Chŏng-rim-sa 定林寺 정림사: lateral elevation and transversal section (1994 AD, scale: 1 : 200) (after: *MHCSRBS* 93 - 1, pp. 579f.)



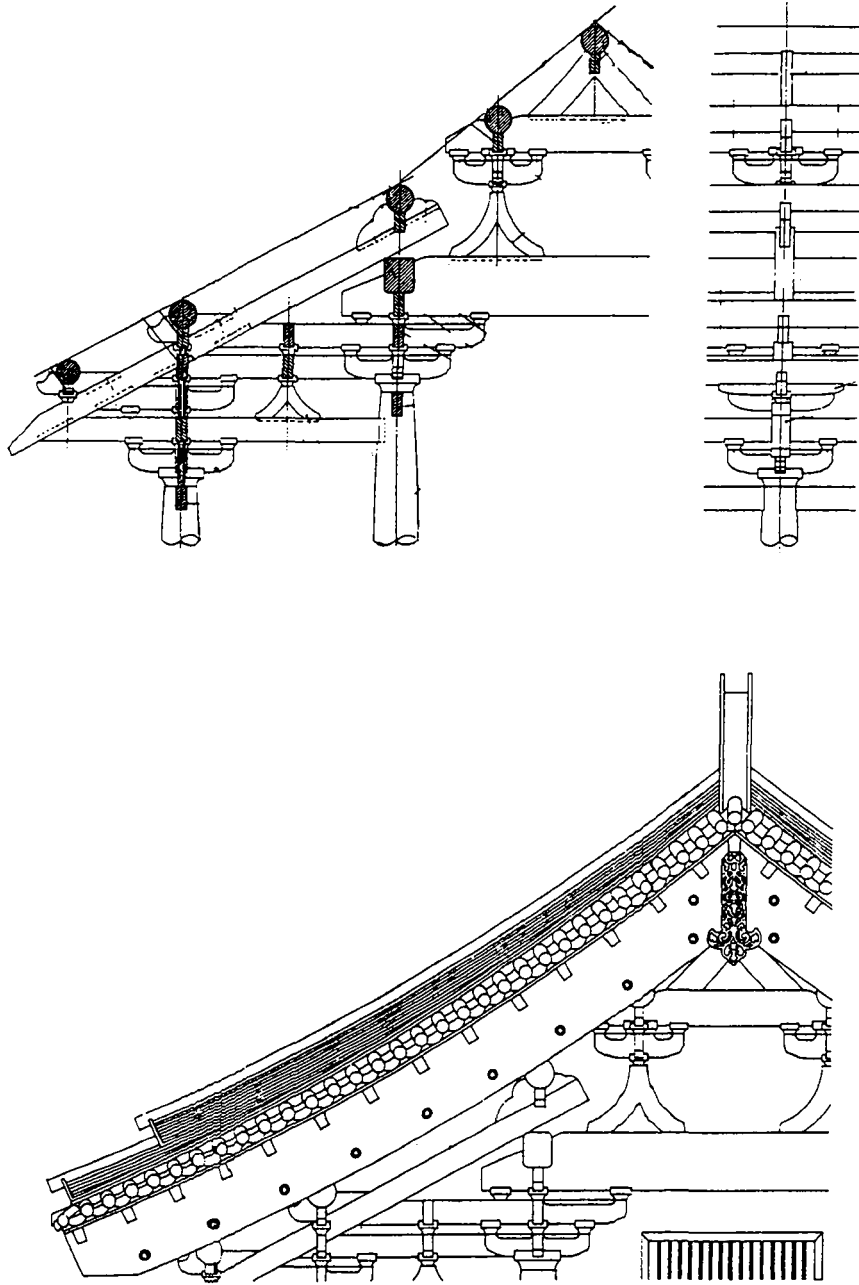


Fig. 252: Reconstruction of the lecture hall of Chŏng-rim-sa 定林寺 정림사:  
 bracket systems : section and elevation, gable elevation (1994 AD, scale: 1 : 100)  
 (after: *MHCSRBS* 93 - 1, pp. 583, 590)

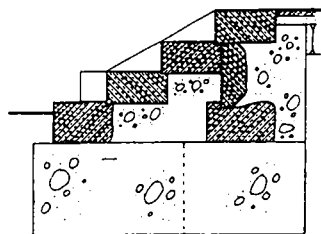
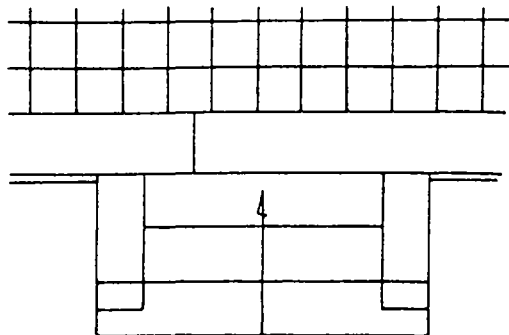
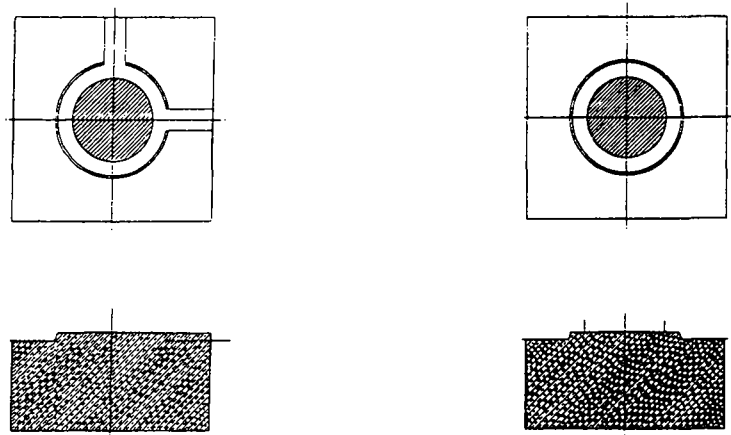


Fig. 253: Reconstruction of the lecture hall of Chŏng-rim-sa 定林寺 정림사: plan and section of 2 foundation stones and plan and section of the southern stairs (1994 AD, scale: 1 : 50) (after: *MHCSRBS* 93 - 1, pp. 581ff.)

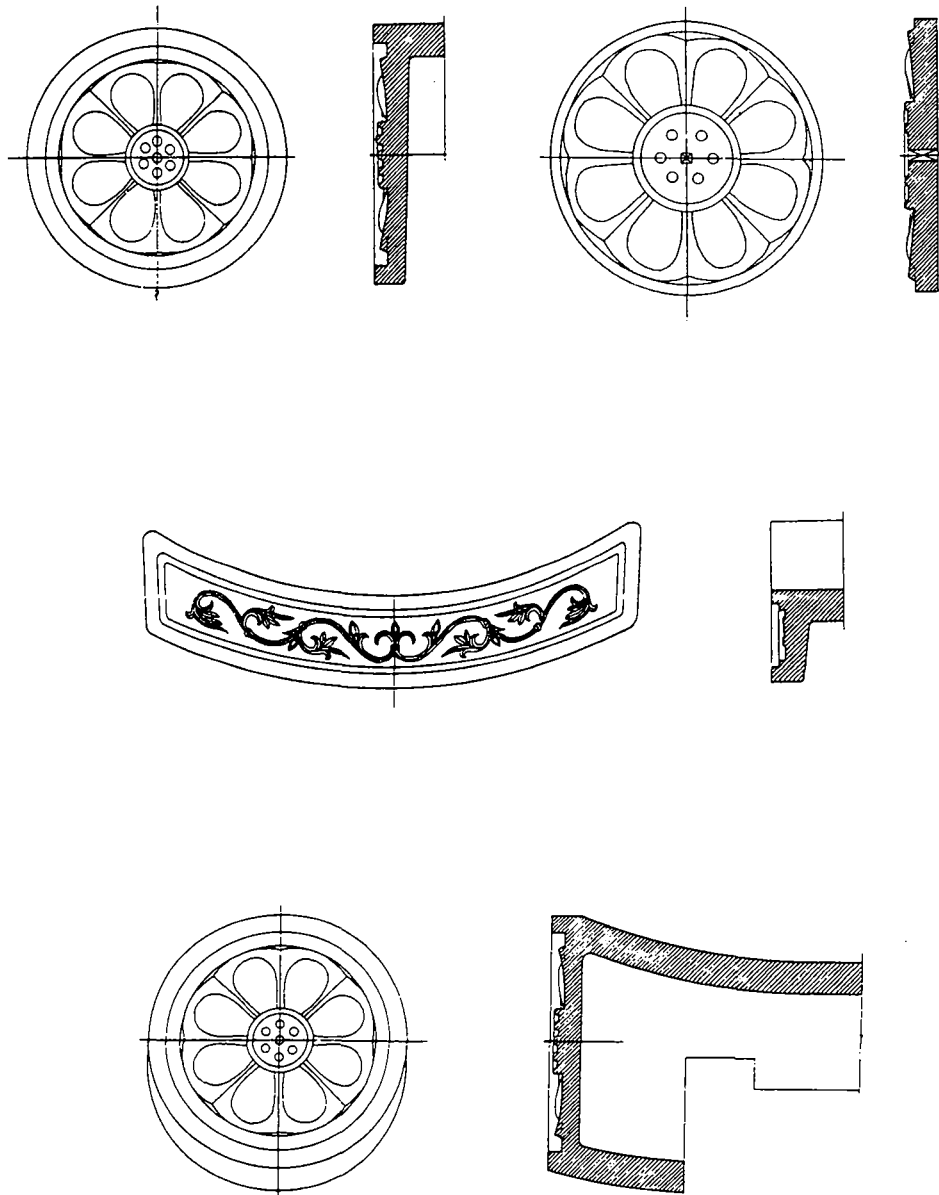


Fig. 254: Reconstruction of the lecture hall of Chōng-rim-sa 定林寺 정림사: elevations and sections of roof-end, rafter-end and ridge-end tiles (1994 AD, scale: 1 : 5) (after: *MHCSRBS* 93 - 1, pp. 591ff.)

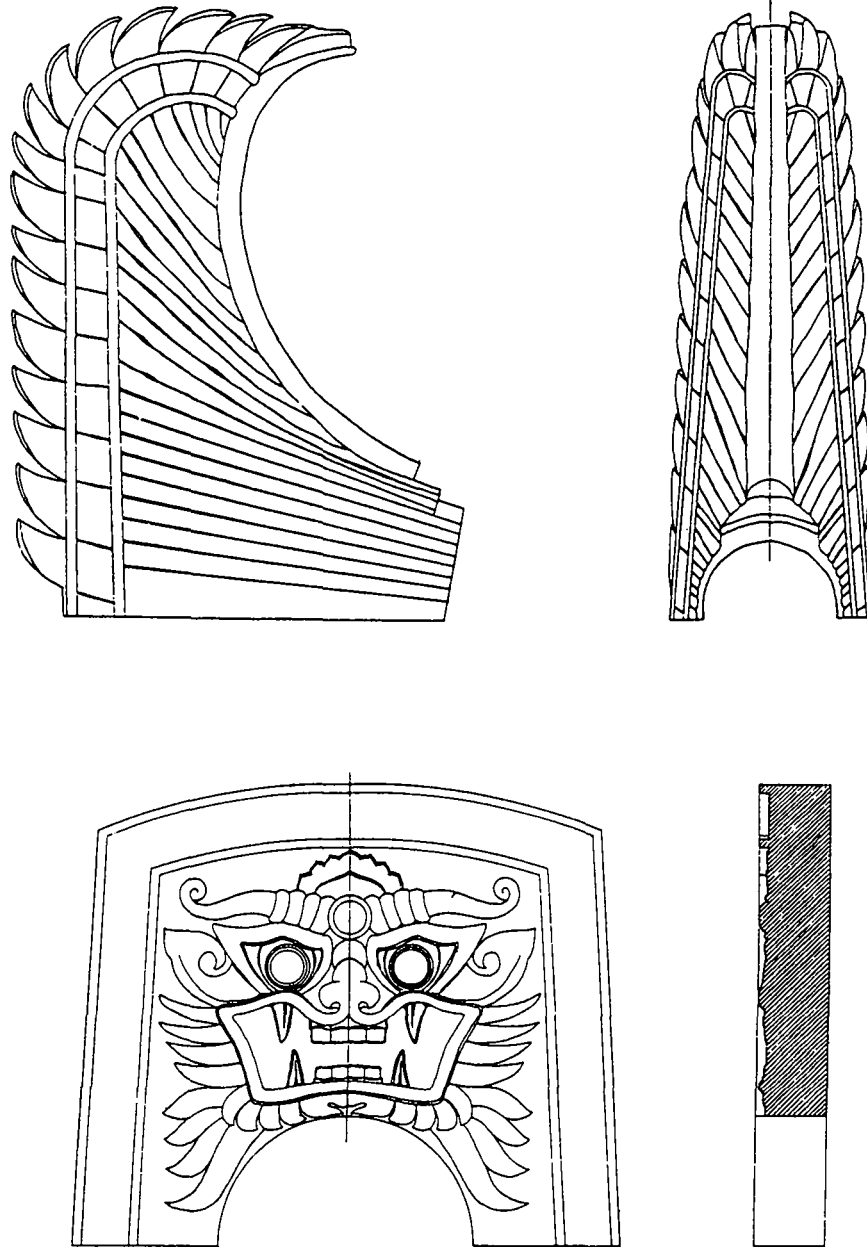


Fig. 255: Reconstruction of the lecture hall of Chŏng-rim-sa 定林寺 정림사: elevations and sections of owl's-tail (scale: 1 : 20) and monster-face tiles (scale: 1 : 5) (1994 AD) (after: *MHCSRBS* 93 - 1, pp. 589, 591)

## 3.2.2.4. NŪNG-SA

The site of Nūng-sa to the west of the tumuli of Nūng-san-ri<sup>1</sup> near Bu-yō has been investigated since 1992 AD, but a full-scale dig began only on October 26th, 1993. In the course of the year of 1995 AD, the site of a wooden pagoda was excavated<sup>2</sup> and the assumption that the site could have been a Buddhist temple was thus confirmed. Since then, most of the temple has been excavated but no official report has been published on the results of the investigation until now<sup>3</sup>. The provisional results, however, are of such importance that a short description of the site and its remains is nevertheless attempted here. Some of the results have been presented in the Bu-yō National Museum which published a small booklet on the excavations<sup>4</sup>. Among the most spectacular finds of the investigation are the gilt-bronze dragon-phoenix paradise-mountain incense burner<sup>5</sup> [fig. 180] and the granite *śarīra* recipient<sup>6</sup> [fig. 266] of the central foundation of the wooden pagoda.

## 3.2.2.4.1. Location, topography and orientation

The temple site at Nūng-san-ri lies about 2.5km to the east of Chōng-rim-sa<sup>7</sup> which lies in down-town Bu-yō. One of the major tumuli sites<sup>8</sup> of the Bæk-che kingdom is situated about 200m to the east of the temple site [fig. 256]. A number of gold coffin ornaments and several rare Bæk-che wall paintings have been discovered in the tombs<sup>9</sup> [fig. 501].

The temple site has provisionally been named Nūng-sa<sup>10</sup>, meaning 'grave temple', because the temple is supposed to have had a close link with the royal tumuli to the east as the inscription on the *śarīra* recipient indicates (see Chapter 3.1., pp. 240f.). The temple almost completely filled a small valley which runs from north to south. The entry of the temple lay in the south, the lower part of the valley. The slope of the site is quite small so that the central precinct could be

<sup>1</sup> Nūng-sa 陵寺 능사 (No. 4.19.7.), Nūng-san-ri 陵山里 능산리.

<sup>2</sup> See: Bu-yō (Puyo) National Museum 國立扶餘博物館 국립부여박물관 (ed.) (1996), p. 28.

<sup>3</sup> As of summer 1997.

<sup>4</sup> Bu-yō (Puyo) National Museum 國立扶餘博物館 국립부여박물관 (ed.) (1996).

<sup>5</sup> *Gūm-dong-yong-bong-bong-ræ-san-hyang-ro* 金銅龍鳳蓬萊山香爐 금동용봉봉래산향로.

<sup>6</sup> *Śarīra* recipient 舍利龕 사리감.

<sup>7</sup> Chōng-rim-sa 定林寺 정림사 (No. 4.19.1.). See above, p. 322.

<sup>8</sup> The so-called 'tombs of Nūng-san-ri' 陵山里古墳群 능산리 고분군 (Historic site 史蹟 사적 No. 14). At least 7 tumuli are arranged on a triangular slope.

<sup>9</sup> See: *BGinČd* 102-22, pp. 47 - 55, 96, 109f.; Bu-yō (Puyo) National Museum 國立扶餘博物館 국립부여박물관 (ed.) (1993), p. 42f.

<sup>10</sup> Nūng-sa 陵寺 능사.

constructed on an almost flat portion land. The orientation<sup>1</sup> of the structures seems to have varied between 1° to west of magnetic north (e.g. the eastern gallery and the small western building) to 6.3° to east of magnetic north (e.g. the image hall and the lecture hall). The direction of the axis between the pagoda and the image hall was about 3.6° to east of magnetic north which may serve as an average value.

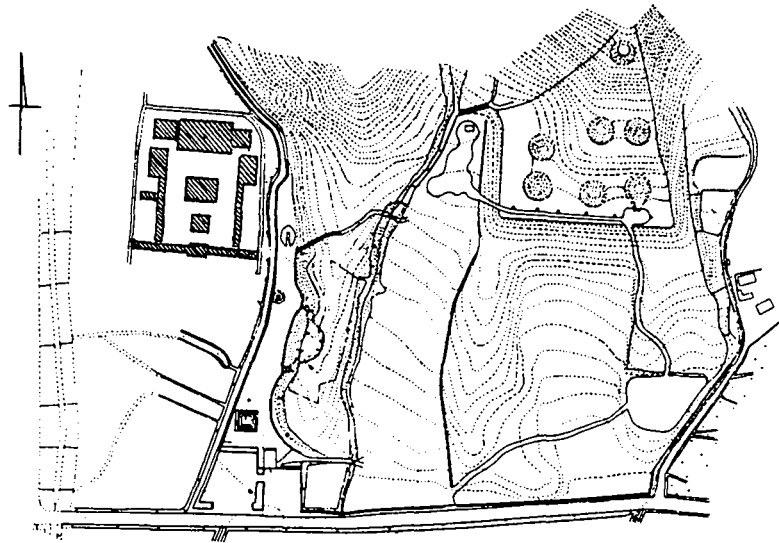


Fig. 256: Site plan of Nüng-sa 陵寺 능사 and Bæk-che royal tombs (566 AD, scale: 1 : 5,000) (after: *MHCSRBS* 86, p. 211, additions by the author)

#### 3.2.2.4.2. The layout and the buildings

Remains of the following structures were discovered during the excavations (in brackets the numbers on fig. 257 and in table 12):

- the middle gate (1)
- the wooden pagoda (2)
- the image hall (3)
- the lecture hall (4)
- two buildings to the east and the west of the lecture hall (5, 6)

<sup>1</sup> The orientations have been measured by the author on the excavation site on June 3rd, 1997.

- two buildings at the northern ends of the lateral galleries (7, 8)
- a small building to the west of the western gallery (9)
- the south-eastern and south-western galleries (10, 11)
- the eastern and western lateral galleries (12, 13)
- a ditch surrounding the whole precinct except in the south.

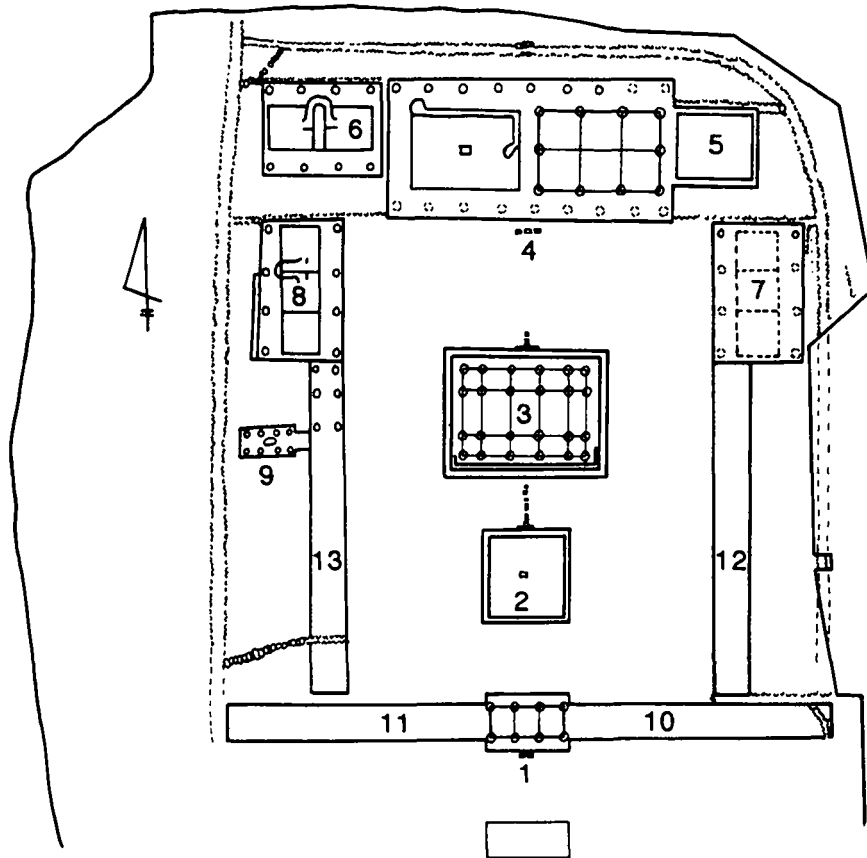


Fig. 257: Layout plan of Nŭng-sa 陵寺 능사 with indication of the excavated structures (see table 12) (566 AD, scale: 1 : 1,000)  
 (after: Bu-yŏ (Puyo) National Museum 國立扶餘博物館 국립부여박물관 (1996), p. 8)

The general layout followed the already observed 'one pagoda-one image hall-layout-type' [fig. 257 - 261]. The distance between the centre of the middle gate and the centre of the pagoda was about 17.5m. The centre of the image hall lay about 22.4m behind the centre of the pagoda and the distance between the centres of the image hall and the lecture hall measured about 33.6m. The centres of the lateral galleries had a distance<sup>1</sup> of about 52.5m from one to the other. The southern galleries were not connected with the lateral galleries and protruded on each side by

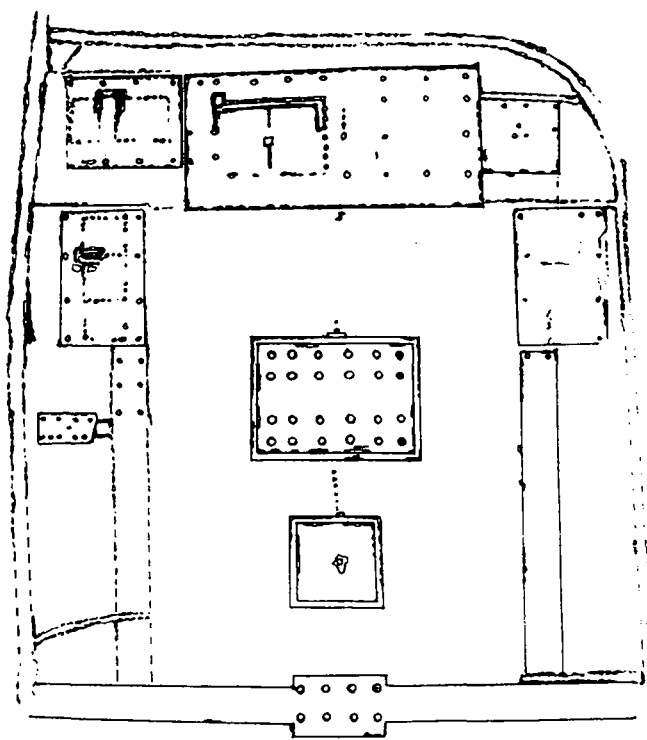


Fig. 258: Excavation plan of Nüng-sa 陵寺 능사  
(566 AD, scale: 1 : 1,000) (drawing by the author)

<sup>1</sup> The site plan of the Institute of Cultural Industries distorts the dimensions in the east - west direction by a factor of about 1.01 probably due to photocopying (i.e. all horizontal dimensions on the map have to be multiplied by 1.01)



three bays in relation to them. A similar configuration can also be observed in the third and fourth construction of Hwang-ryong-sa<sup>1</sup> [figs. 555 - 557] during the Unified Sin-la period. The most remarkable feature of the layout of Nŭng-sa is the arrangement of the group of buildings around the lecture hall. The lateral galleries stop at the height of the rear side of the image hall. In the continuation of their main sides, two three-bay long buildings are placed which define the lateral sides of the rear courtyard.

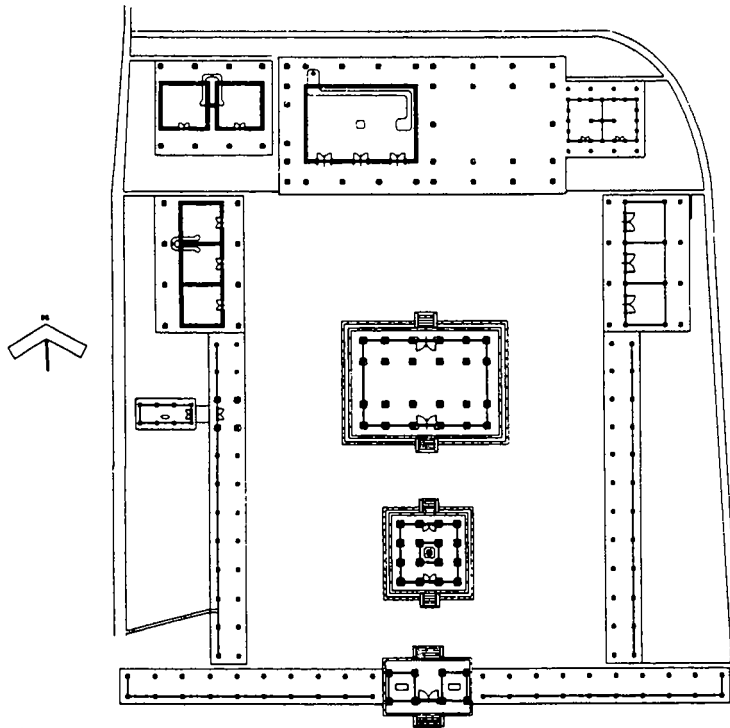


Fig. 259: Reconstructed layout plan of Nŭng-sa 陵寺 능사 (566 AD, scale: 1 : 1,000)  
(after: Institute of Cultural Industries 文化産業研究所 문화산업연구소)

<sup>1</sup> Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황룡사 (No. 7.34. 2.). See: Chapter 4.1., pp. 789ff.

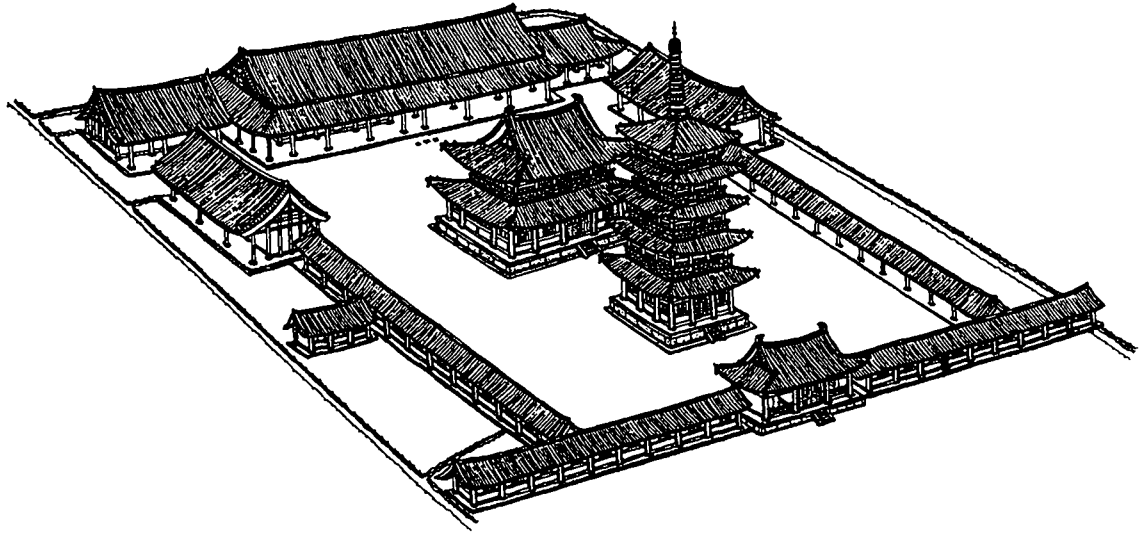


Fig. 260: Reconstructed perspective of Nüng-sa 陵寺 능사 (566 AD, no scale)  
(after: Institute of Cultural Industries 文化産業研究所 문화산업연구소)

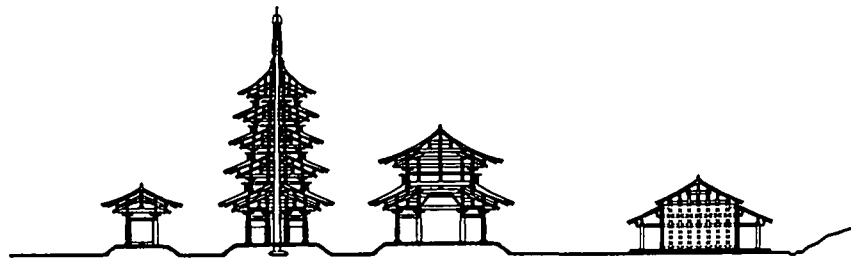


Fig. 261: Reconstructed south-north section of Nüng-sa 陵寺 능사 (566 AD, scale: 1 : 1,000)  
(after: Institute of Cultural Industries 文化産業研究所 문화산업연구소)

Table 12 gives the general measurements of the various structures according to measurements by the author, the reconstruction attempt by the Institute of Cultural Industries<sup>1</sup> and the aerial photograph of the site published by the Bu-yŏ National Museum<sup>2</sup>:

structure	platform		superstructure			function, comments
	length	width	length	width	no. bays	
structure No. 1	~ 11.7m	~ 7.6m	~ 10.2m	~3.7m	3 x 1	middle gate
structure No. 2	11.73m (~ 10.4m)	11.79m (~ 10.4m)	~ 7.5m	~ 7.5m	3 x 3	square wooden pagoda (second platform step)
structure No. 3	22m (~ 20.3m)	16.1m (~ 14.4m)	~ 16.4m	~ 11.3m	5 x 3	image hall (second platform step)
structure No. 4	~ 38m	~ 18m	~ 35m	~ 15m	8 x 4 (5)	lecture hall (2 structures under 1 roof ?)
structure No. 5	~ 10.5m	~ 10m	~ 9.1m	~ 8.1m	3 x 4 (6)	north-eastern building
structure No. 6	~ 15.5m	~ 12.4m	~ 13.4m	~ 10.4m	3 x 3	north-western building
structure No. 7	~ 17.9m	~ 11.7m	~ 16.1m	~ 9.6m	3 x 3	eastern building
structure No. 8	~ 17.9m	~ 11.7m	~ 16.1m	~ 9.6m	3 x 3	western building # 1
structure No. 9	~ 7.9m	~ 4.1m	~ 6.8m	~ 2.4m	3 x 1	western building # 2
structure No. 10	~ 34.5m	~ 4.6m	~ 32m	~ 2.6m	9 x 1	south-eastern gallery
structure No. 11	~ 34.5m	~ 4.6m	~ 32m	~ 2.6m	9 x 1	south-western gallery
structure No. 12	~ 43.5m	~ 4.7m	~ 40.5m	~ 2.6m	11 x 1 (12 x 1)	eastern gallery
structure No. 13	~ 43.5m	~ 4.7m	~ 40.5m	~ 2.6m	11 x 1 (12 x 1)	western gallery

Table 12: Measurements of the excavated structures of Nŭng-sa 陵寺 능사 (see fig. 257)

<sup>1</sup> Institute of Cultural Industries 文化産業研究所 문화산업연구소.

<sup>2</sup> See: Bu-yŏ (Puyo) National Museum 國立扶餘博物館 국립부여박물관 (ed.) (1996), pp. 6 - 8.

#### 3.2.2.4.2.1. The middle gate

The southern side of the platform of the middle gate was better preserved and it seems that it possessed a single-stepped platform<sup>1</sup>. The reconstruction drawing represents the retaining walls as consisting of base stones, side panels, corner posts and cover stones [fig. 262]. The front and rear stairs were probably 3.5m to 4m large and placed in the axis of the middle bay. The height of the platform was estimated at about 1.1m. The location of all eight wooden columns has been confirmed by the excavation through stone fragments and differences of the soil. The wooden structure was probably a single storied structure but the roof form cannot be deduced from the remains.

#### 3.2.2.4.2.2. The wooden pagoda

The wooden pagoda possessed a two-stepped platform. The base stones of both steps are well preserved on the lateral and rear sides [fig. 263]. The lower step consisted probably of a single stone of about 35cm to 40cm height. The second step seems to have been constructed in the same way as the reconstruction drawing of the retaining walls of the middle gate platform. It might have been about 1.4m high, including the base stone. The total height ranged probably around 1.3m. Fragments of the rear stairs indicate that they were about 2.6m wide and 1.9m long. There seem to have been no stairs on the lateral sides.

In the centre of the platform, at a depth of 1.14m, the central foundation stone of the pagoda was discovered together with a granite *śarīra* recipient and a fragment of the central wooden column<sup>2</sup> [fig. 266]. It is thus certain that the superstructure was made by wood. The central foundation stone measured 1.08m from east to west and 1.33m from south to north. The remains of the central wooden column measures about 50cm in diameter. The *śarīra* recipient seems to have stood on the central foundation stone just south of the central column with the opening turned northwards. The granite *śarīra* recipient and its inscription has already been mentioned briefly in Chapter 3.1., pp. 240f. It is about 74cm high, 50cm wide and 50cm deep. The upper part is rounded so that it seems to form a vault. The opening of the cavity for the *śarīra* was about 45cm high and 25.3cm wide, the total depth measures 24.5cm. The upper part of the cavity is carved into a

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<sup>1</sup> There was possibly a second, low retaining wall at the southern side because of the slope but even then this could not be counted as a two-stepped platform.

<sup>2</sup> See: Bu-yŏ (Puyo) National Museum 國立扶餘博物館 국립부여박물관 (ed.) (1996), p. 28.

quarter of a sphere<sup>1</sup>. The step for the (not extant) door measures about 3cm in each direction. The foundations of the peripheral columns have not located because the top layer of the platform has been washed away. The size of the platform indicates that the wooden structure had three bays on each side. The reconstruction proposed by the Institute of Cultural Industries seems to be well balanced [figs. 263 - 265].

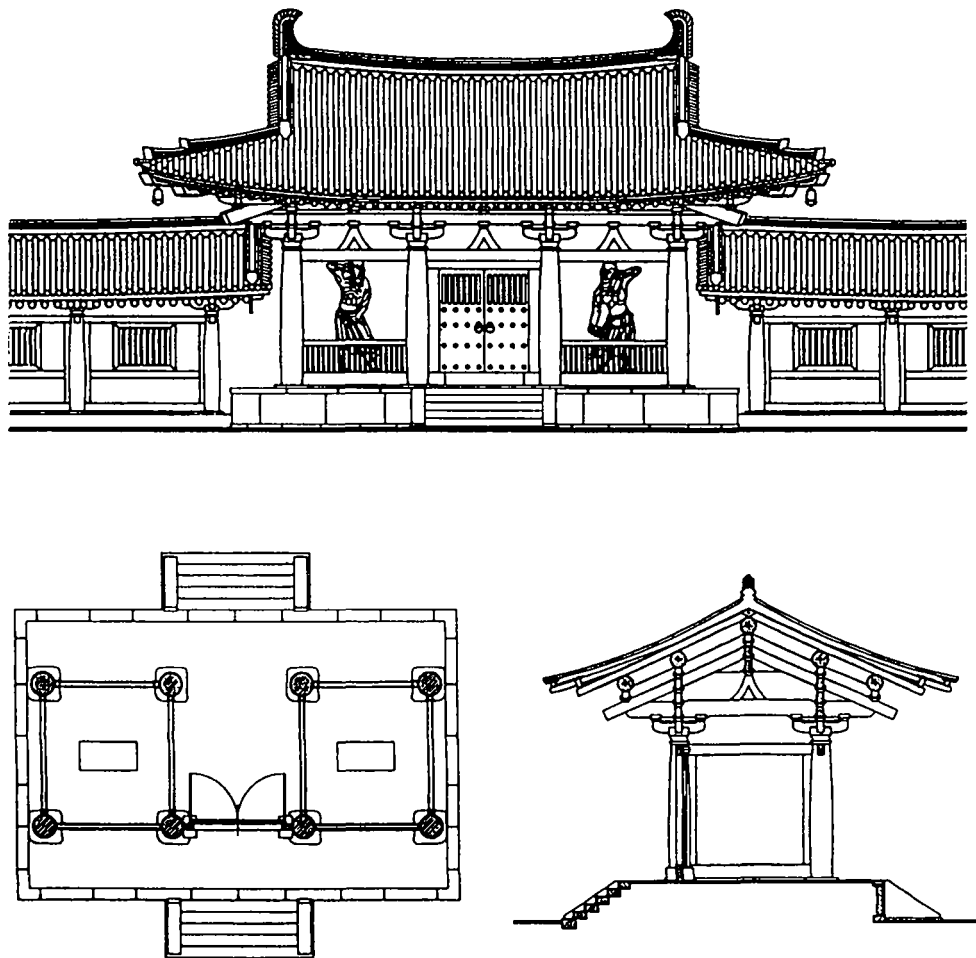


Fig. 262: Reconstruction drawings of the middle gate of Nŭng-sa 陵寺 능사: ground plan, front elevation and section (566 AD, scale: 1 : 200)  
(after: Institute of Cultural Industries 文化産業研究所 문화산업연구소)

<sup>1</sup> The cavity seem to allude to Buddhist grottoes which sometimes feature domes. Sŏk-kul-am 石窟庵 석굴암 (No. 7.34.34.) of the mid-8th C. AD is such an example. See: Chapter 5, pp. 962ff.

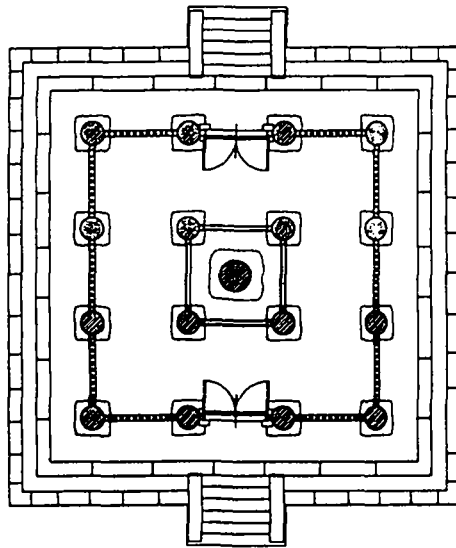
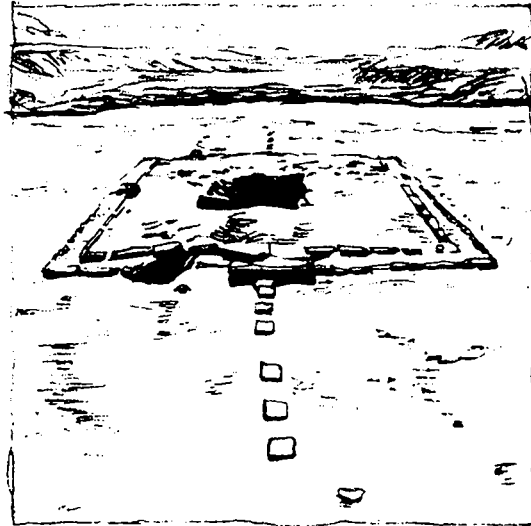


Fig. 263: Perspective of the platform and reconstruction drawing of the pagoda of Nūng-sa 陵寺 능사: ground plan (566 AD, scale: 1 : 200) (drawing by the author and after: Institute of Cultural Industries 文化産業研究所 문화산업연구소)

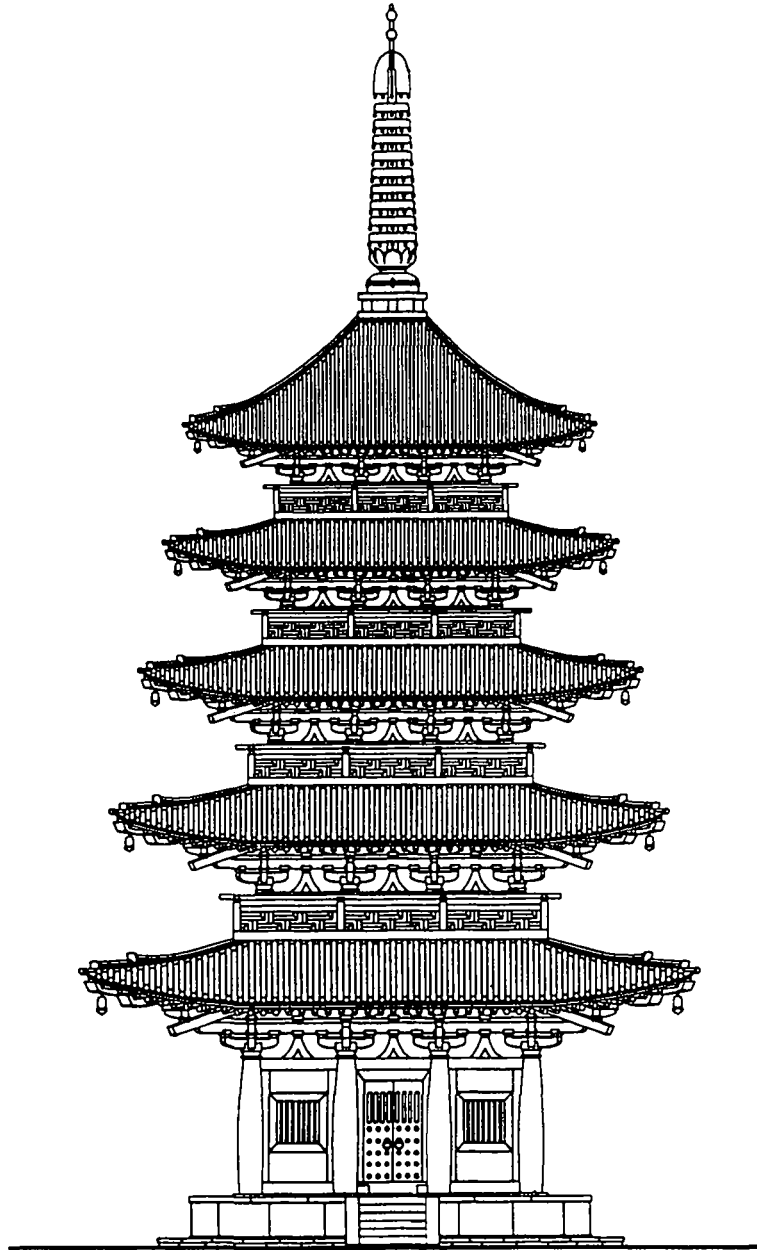


Fig. 264: Reconstruction drawing of the pagoda of Nŭng-sa 陵寺 능사:  
front elevation (566 AD, scale: 1 : 200)  
(after: Institute of Cultural Industries 文化産業研究所 문화산업연구소)

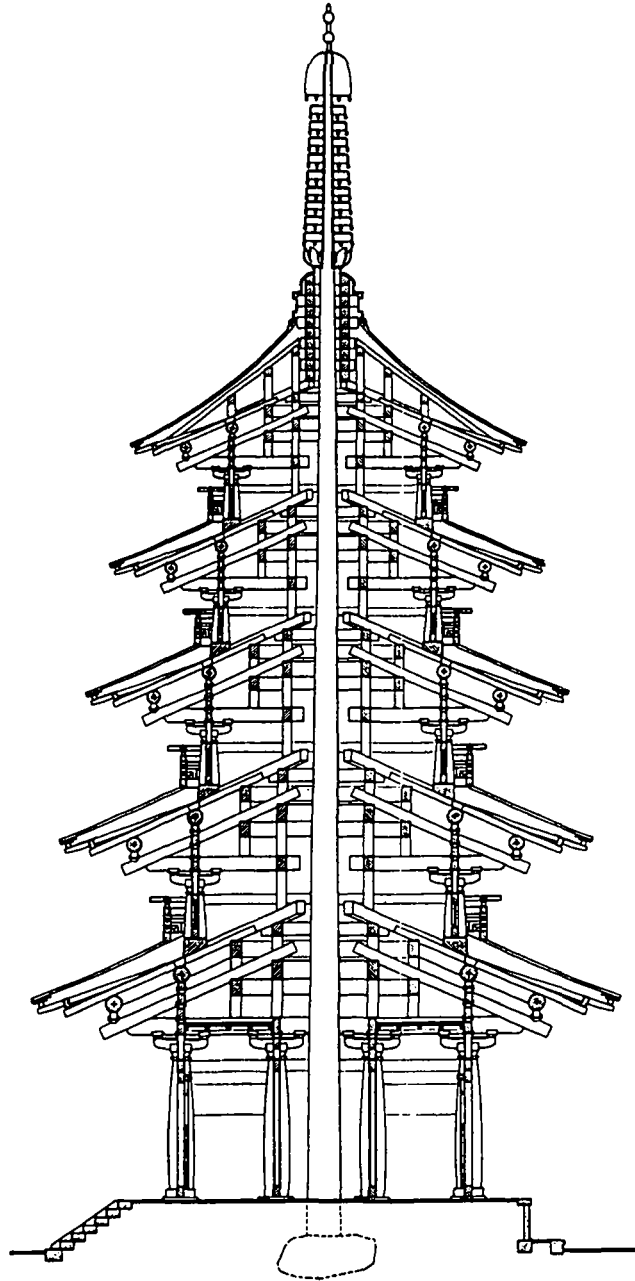


Fig. 265: Reconstruction drawing of the pagoda of Nŭng-sa 陵寺 능사: section (566 AD, scale: 1 : 200)  
(after: Institute of Cultural Industries 文化産業研究所 문화산업연구소)



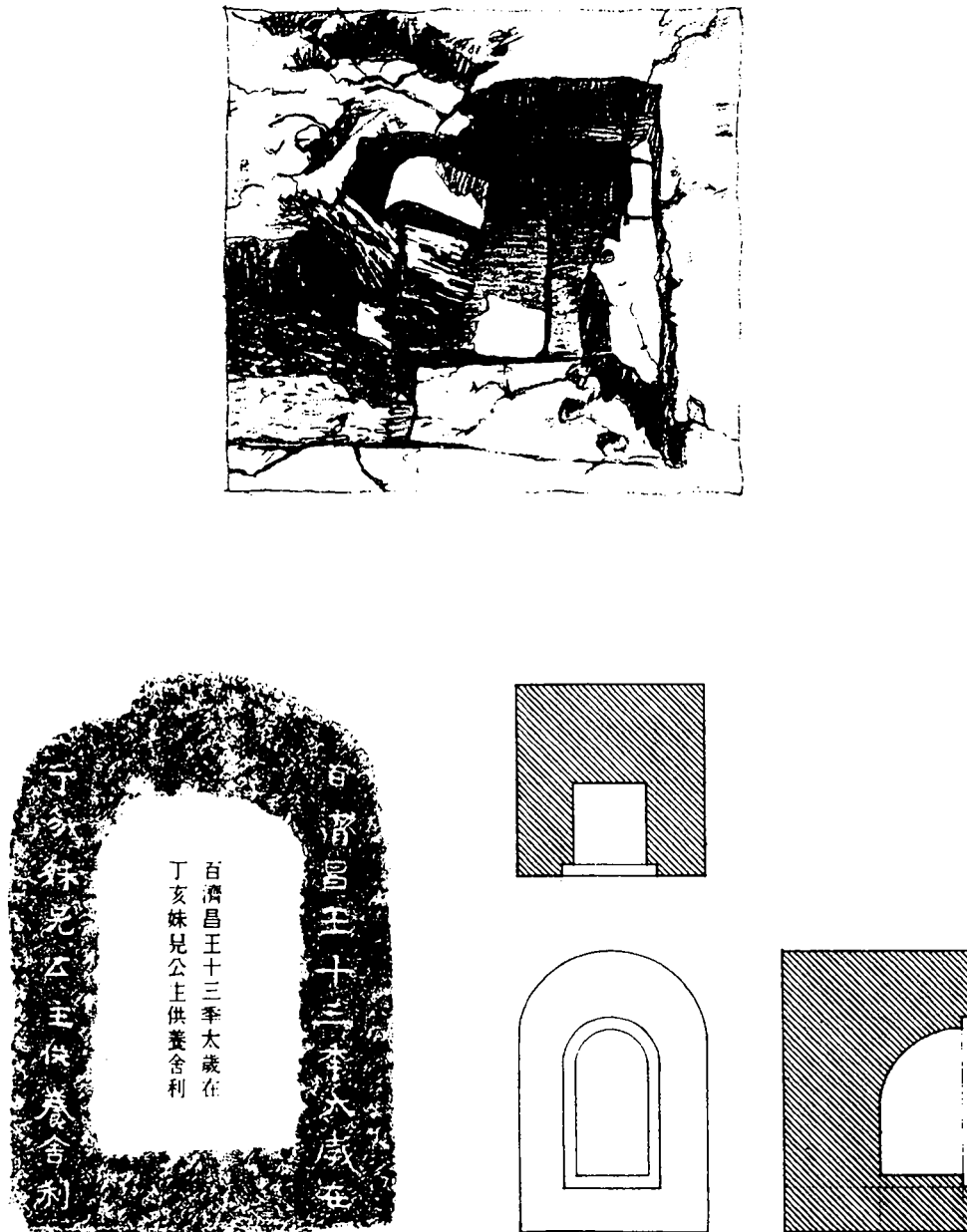


Fig. 266: Perspective of the central foundation stone of the pagoda of Nūng-sa 陵寺 능사 and śarīra reliquary (rubbing (scale: 1 : 5), plan, elevation and section (scale: 1 : 10) (566 AD) (drawings by the author, rubbing after: Bu-yō (Puyo) National Museum 國立扶餘博物館 국립부여박물관 (ed.) (1996), p. 30)

## 3.2.2.4.2.3. The image hall

The construction method and the sizes of the two steps of the platform seem to have been identical to that of the pagoda. The width of the front and rear stairs measured about 2.8m, slightly wider than those of the pagoda but the length and height seem to have been similar. The location of the twenty-four column foundations was identified in a similar way to those of the middle gate<sup>1</sup>. The easternmost foundations were most clearly locatable. The reconstruction drawings feature the following bay lengths: the corner bays of the front side measured about 2.8m, the intermediate and the central bays about 3.6m. The corner bays of the lateral sides measured about 2.8m while the central bays were about double as long with 5.7m [figs. 267 - 269]. The large central bay of the lateral sides could indicate that the foundations of one row of columns were completely destroyed.

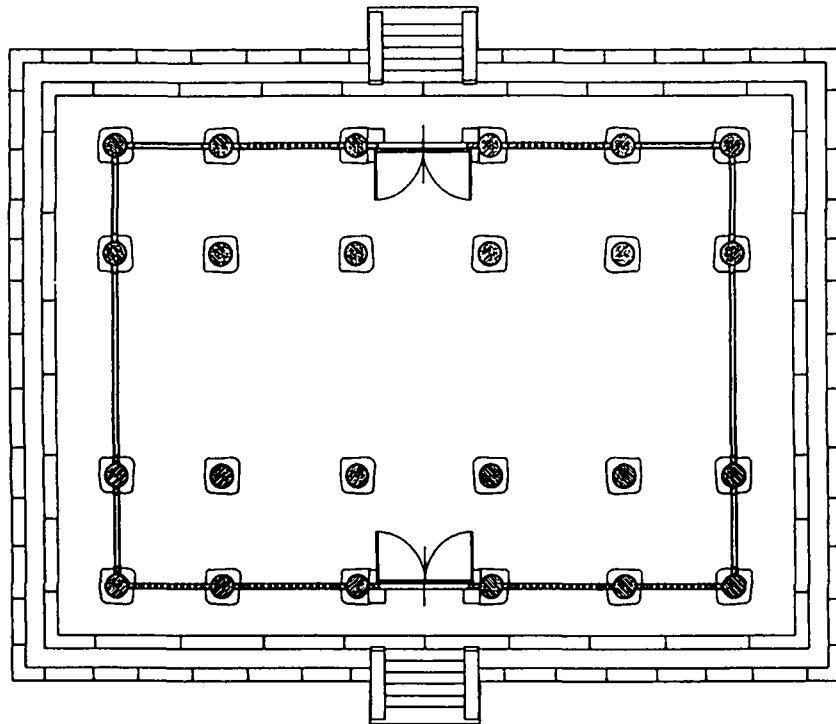


Fig. 267: Reconstruction drawing of the image hall of Nŭng-sa 陵寺 능사: ground plan (566 AD, scale: 1 : 200) (after: Institute of Cultural Industries 文化産業研究所 문화산업연구소)

<sup>1</sup> On the available aerial photograph the column foundations are marked with white. It is not always clear whether the location has been confirmed by the excavation.

The reconstruction drawings show the image hall as a two-storied structure but the two available sections do not agree on the construction method of the upper story. In one case the inner columns are continued to the upper roof (*ko-chu*<sup>1</sup>) [fig. 269] while the other drawing [fig. 261] prefers an upper structure reminiscent of that of the *kondō* of Hōryū-ji<sup>2</sup> which dissociates the structures of the two stories [fig. 445]. The proposed front elevation seems to fit with the second variant because the upper columns are not placed in the continuation of the lower columns. The difficulty to imagine an upper story stems from the characteristics of the excavated ground plan mentioned above. The large central bay of the lateral sides does not seem to be able to assure the stability of the lateral sides of the second story without at least four additional columns on the ground.

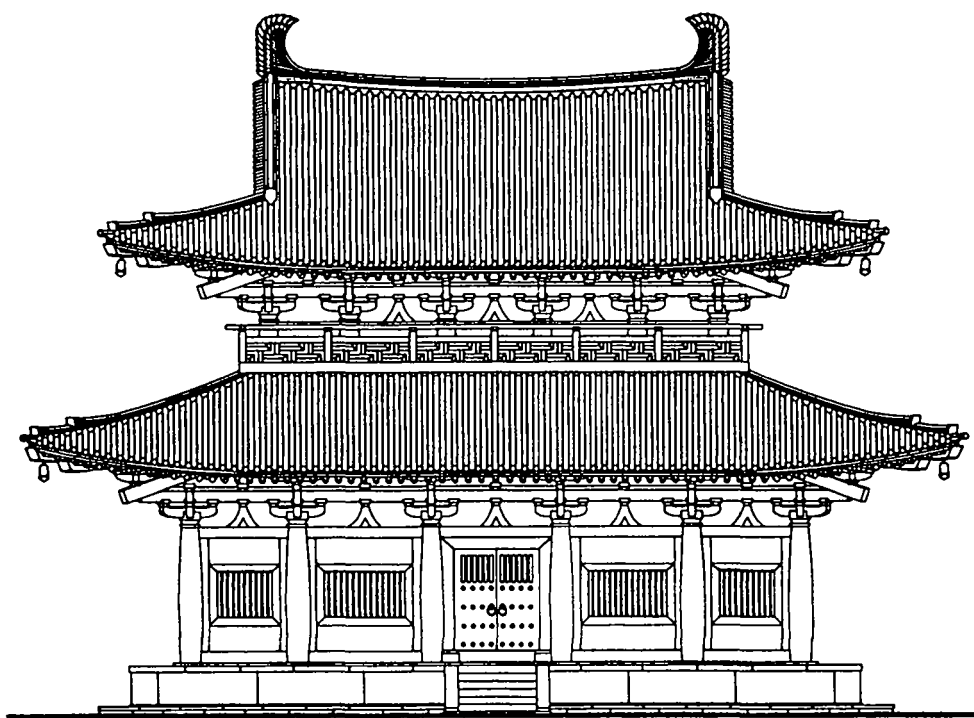


Fig. 268: Reconstruction drawing of the image hall of Nŭng-sa 陵寺 능사: front elevation (566 AD, scale: 1 : 200)  
(after: Institute of Cultural Industries 文化産業研究所 문화산업연구소)

<sup>1</sup> *Ko-chu* 高柱 고주, literally 'high column'. See: *HGKCDK* IV, p. 92, § 2479.

<sup>2</sup> *Kondō* 金堂 こんどう 금당, Hōryū-ji 法隆寺 ほうりゅうじ 법룡사.

To my knowledge there is no extant two-storied wooden image hall in East Asia which has a comparable ground plan<sup>1</sup> of five by three bays. The Japanese examples of image halls of the Asuka and Hakuho periods have usually five by four bays, such as the extant two-storied *kondō* of Hōryū-ji. If the ground plan of the image hall of Nūng-sa is confirmed to have actually had five by three bays, then it seems more probable to imagine its superstructure as a single-storied building.

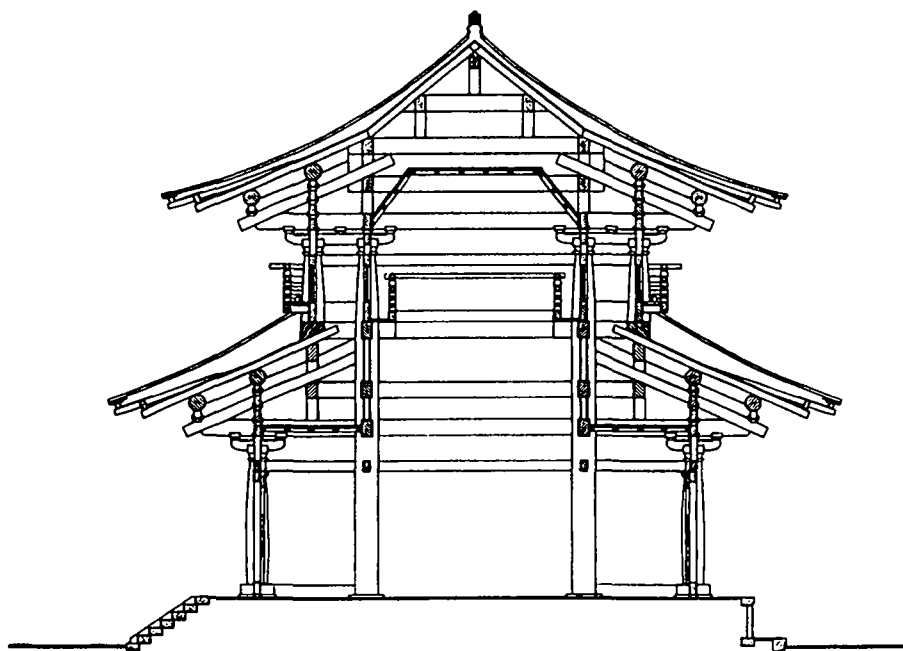


Fig. 269: Reconstruction drawing of the image hall of Nūng-sa 陵寺 능사: section (566 AD, scale: 1 : 200) (after: Institute of Cultural Industries 文化産業研究所 문화산업연구소)

<sup>1</sup> A similar problem has already been discussed for the image hall of Chōng-rim-sa 定林寺 정림사 (see pp. 336f.). The image hall of Kam-ūn-sa 感恩寺 감은사 (No. 7.33.10.) constructed soon after the unification wars of 660 to 668 AD, features a similar ground plan as the image hall of Nūng-sa of 5 by 3 bays. The reconstructed model of Kam-ūn-sa in the Lotte World Museum of Korean Folklore 롯데월드민속박물관 features a two-storied image hall but the same doubts can be raised and I suppose that image hall to have been single storied. The overwhelming majority of extant Buddhist image halls in Korea are single-storied buildings and nothing indicates that this proportion was very different in ancient times. Among Korean non-Buddhist structures, two-storied buildings with a similar ground plan to the image hall of Nūng-sa are the Sōk-ō-dang 昔御堂 석어당 of Dōk-su-kung 德壽宮 덕수궁 (8 bays by 3 bays, 1906 / 1908 AD) and the Pung-nam-mun 豐南門 풍남문 in Chōn-chu 全州 전주 (3 bays (5 bays if the inner columns are counted) by 3 bays, 1768 AD) but these structures have different functions than Buddhist image halls (secondary palace building and city gate pavilion). See: Lotte World Museum of Korean Folklore 롯데월드 민속박물관 (1990), p. 43; KIM Bong-ryōl 金奉烈 김봉렬 (1988), pp. 21, 127.

## 3.2.2.4.2.4. The lecture hall

The ground plan of the lecture hall was the most complicated of all the excavated structures. It seems that the inner space was divided into two completely separate structures which were only connected through the platform, the main roof and attached roofs at the front and at the rear [figs. 270, 271].

The western space measured about 14.2m by 10m. It was enclosed in thick walls which were constructed with numerous wooden columns and had a heating conduit which began at the centre of the eastern side, turned at the north-eastern corner, ran along the northern side and exited the structure at the north-western corner. The northern side probably therefore had only small windows in order to keep the warmth inside. There is some indication that the space was divided into two equal parts but the reconstruction abandoned this possibility.

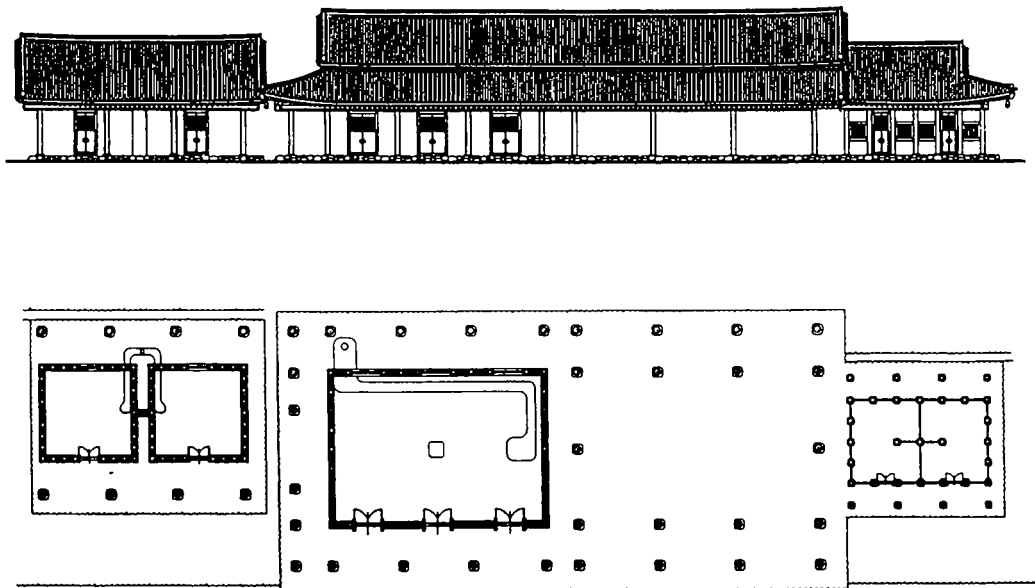


Fig. 270: Reconstruction drawings of the lecture hall and the lateral structures of Nŭng-sa 陵寺 甬事: ground plan and front elevation (566 AD, scale: 1 : 500)  
(after: Institute of Cultural Industries 文化産業研究所 문화산업연구소)

The eastern space measure about 16m by 10m, and is placed at a distance from the western space of about 2.2m. Here no evidence of heating conduits was found the lateral sides seem to have possessed low walls at least but the front and back sides seem to have been open. The construction methods of the two structures was very different but their sizes were similar so that they both seem to have served as lecture halls, one for summer with natural ventilation, and one for winter with insulation and a heating system<sup>1</sup>.

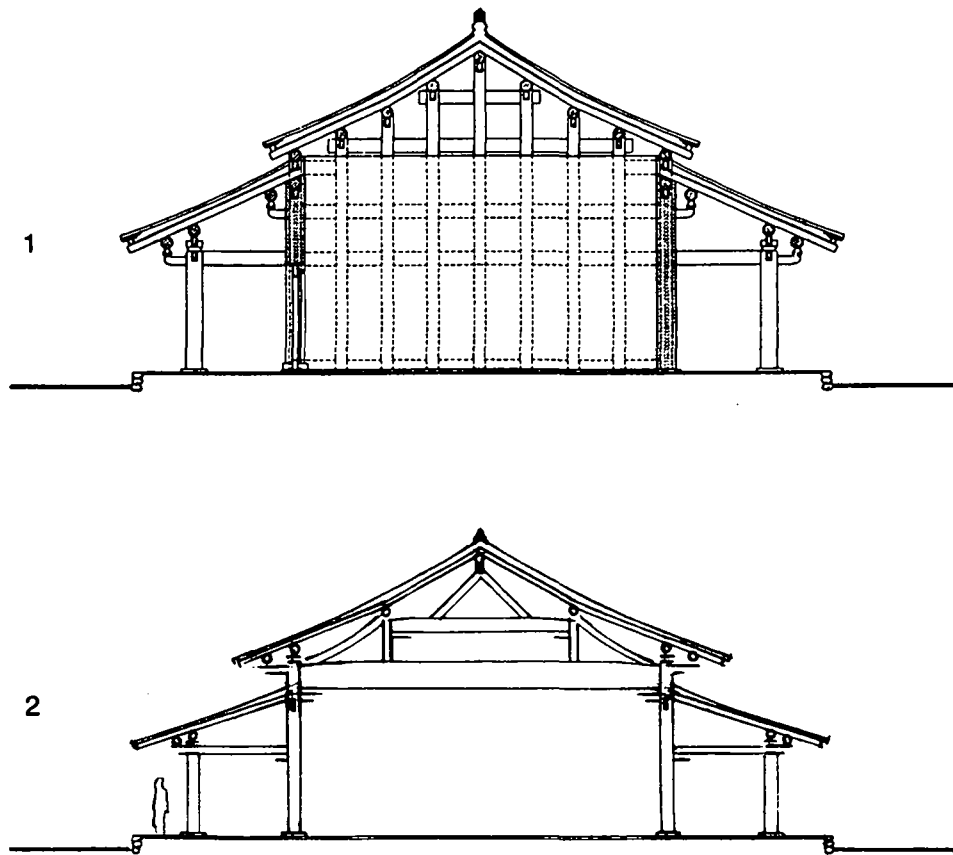


Fig. 271: Reconstruction drawings of the lecture hall of Nūng-sa 陵寺 능사: section according to the Institute of Cultural Industries (1) and according to the author (2) (566 AD, scale: 1 : 200) (after: Institute of Cultural Industries and drawing by the author)

<sup>1</sup> The traditional housing of Korea divided the living space into heated ones and ventilated ones. The heated ones are called *on-dol-bang* 溫突房 온돌방, the ventilated ones *ma-ru-bang* 마루방, *mal-lu-bang* 抹樓房 말루방 or *dæ-chōng* 大廳 대청. See: *HGKCDK* IV, p. 27, § 519, 520, 523; p. 28, § 538.

The attached roof ran along the southern, western and northern sides but not at the eastern side. This asymmetry might also be explained in connection with the seasons and the different construction methods of the two spaces. An attached roof at the eastern side might have closed the space too much for an efficient ventilation while the western mud wall needed protection against humidity so that an attached roof was useful. The proposed structure for the lecture hall in the reconstructed section by the Institute of Cultural Industries and my counterproposal will be discussed in Chapter 3.3., pp. 608 - 614 [fig. 271].

The one-stepped platform of the lecture hall was placed symmetrically on the main axis of the temple precinct in spite of the asymmetrical arrangement of the inner spaces. The retaining walls seem to have consisted of simple masonry walls of irregular stones.

#### 3.2.2.4.2.5. The secondary buildings

A total of four additional structures were arranged around the lecture hall. Two of them stood to the east and west of the lecture hall, the other two lay to the south [figs. 270, 272 - 275]. Furthermore, a small three-by-one-bay structure was excavated to the west of the western gallery but its function is not clear.

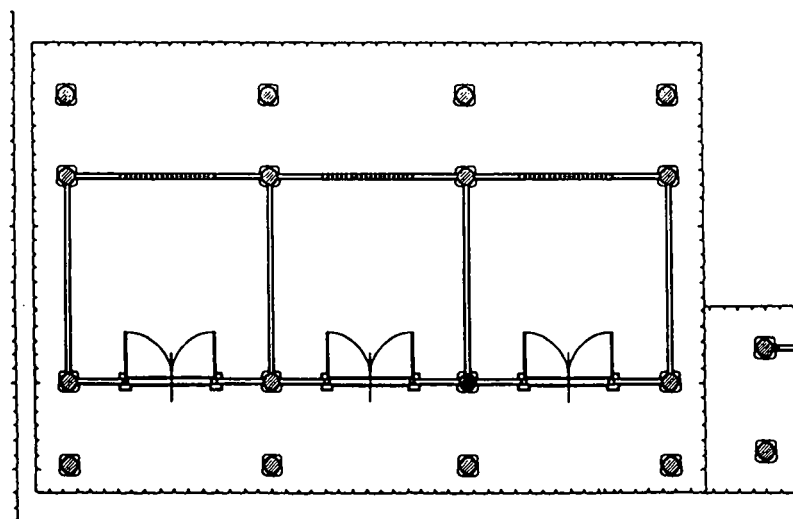


Fig. 272: Reconstruction drawing of the eastern secondary building of Nŭng-sa 陵寺 능사: ground plan (566 AD, scale: 1 : 200) (the top of the plan points to the east) (after: Institute of Cultural Industries 文化産業研究所 문화산업연구소)

Except the small structure, the western buildings possessed heating conduits while the eastern buildings did not. The eastern buildings could thus have been summer dormitories while the western buildings were used mainly in winter.

The front buildings were almost identical in size and organisation, each providing three square spaces with porticoes in the front and rear. The exceptional incense burner was discovered in a hole in the central space of the western building just south of the heating conduit. The construction methods of the two buildings recalls the methods used for the lecture hall.

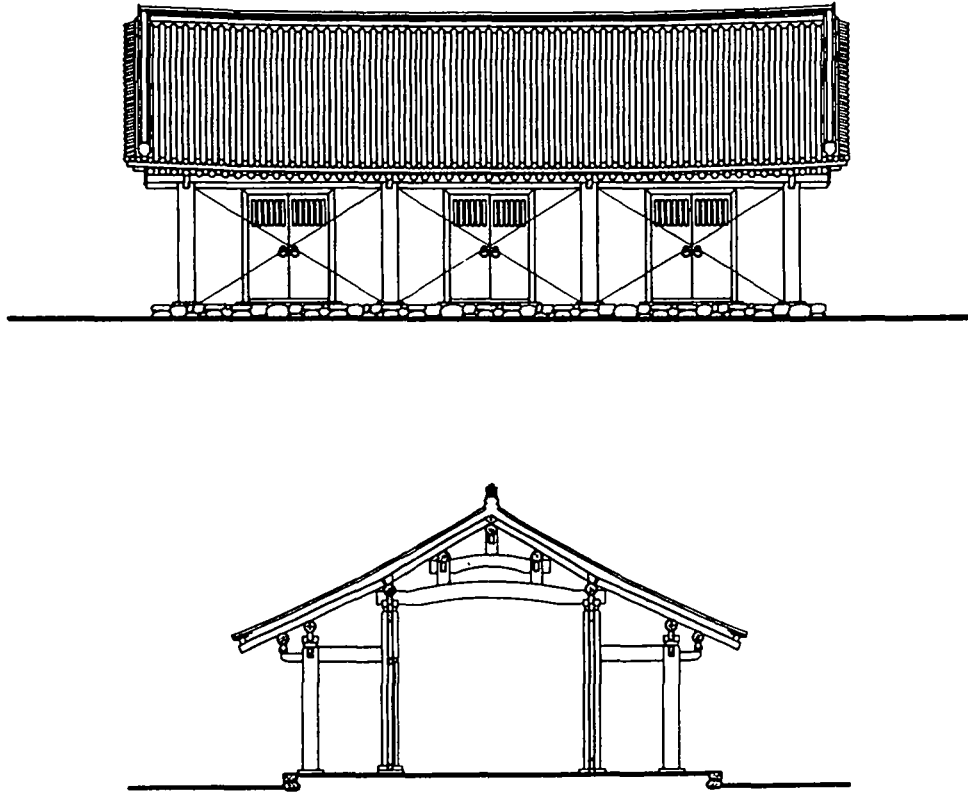


Fig. 273: Reconstruction drawings of the eastern secondary building of Nüng-sa 陵寺 능사: front elevation and section (566 AD, scale: 1 : 200)  
(after: Institute of Cultural Industries 文化産業研究所 문화산업연구소)



The structures beside the lecture hall were smaller and provided only two inner spaces each in spite of the three-bay fronts. The platform of the western building was separated from the platform of the lecture hall by about 80cm, while the platform of the eastern building was connected with the platform of the lecture hall. The front sides of the lateral platforms were almost aligned with each other.

The common interpretation of the lateral structures beside lecture halls as belfry and *sūtra* repository does not seem to be justified any more in the light of the discoveries at Nūng-sa. The fact that one of the lateral buildings possessed a heating system excludes the functions of storage and belfry even if these functions were more symbolic than useful<sup>1</sup>. It can thus be concluded that the symmetrical belfry and *sūtra* repository did not belong to the typical layout of the main temple precincts of Bæk-che. The symmetrical and mainly symbolic use of the two elements seems to be an innovation of the early Tang period and the towers at Hōryū-ji and other Japanese temples seem to be additions of the Hakuho or Nara periods at the earliest.

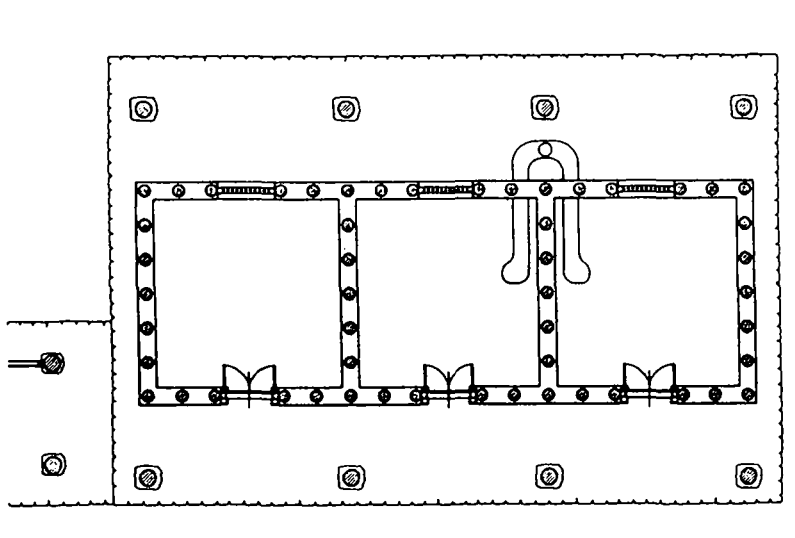


Fig. 274: Reconstruction drawing of the western secondary building of Nūng-sa 陵寺 능사: ground plan (566 AD, scale: 1 : 200) (the top of the plan points to the west) (after: Institute of Cultural Industries 文化産業研究所 문화산업연구소)

<sup>1</sup> SUZUKI and other authors acknowledge that the Japanese 3-by-2-bays *sūtra* repositories were not utility buildings. See: SUZUKI Kakichi (1980), p. 207.

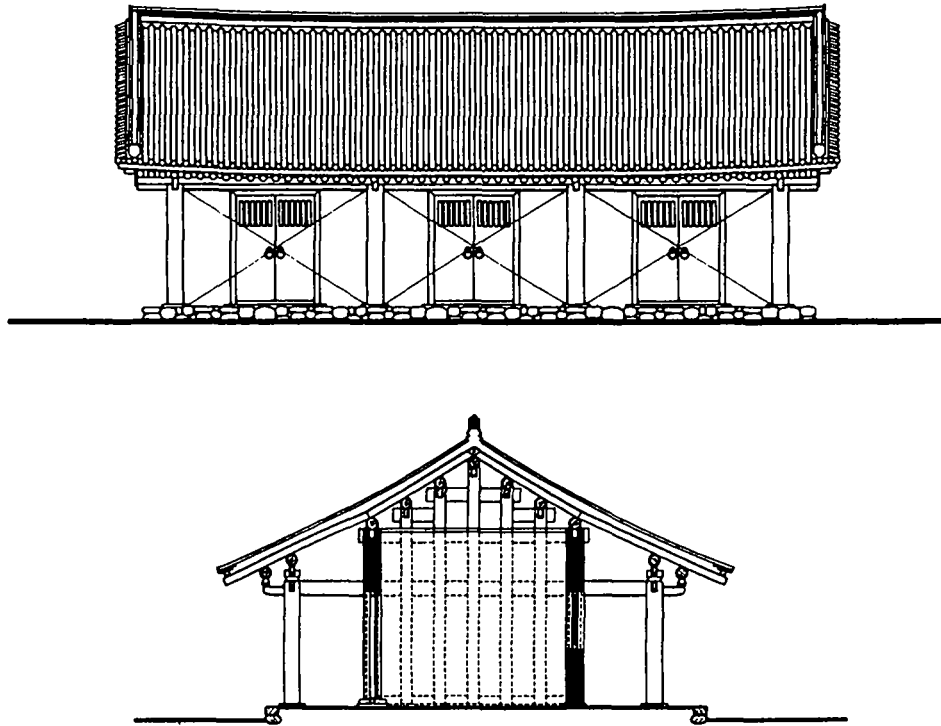


Fig. 275: Reconstruction drawings of the western secondary building of Nung-sa 陵寺 능사: front elevation and section (566 AD, scale: 1 : 200)  
(after: Institute of Cultural Industries 文化産業研究所 문화산업연구소)

#### 3.2.2.4.2.6. The galleries

The platforms of all four discovered galleries seem to have been similar to the platforms of the lecture hall and the secondary buildings around it. Four foundation stones remained at the northern end of the western gallery so that the length of the bays can be estimated between 3.3m to 3.7m, and the width to about 2.6m. Thus the lateral galleries could have had eleven or twelve bays by one bay while the front galleries probably had nine bays by one bay [fig. 276]. It can be assumed that the galleries were closed towards the outside but open towards the courtyard. Close to the southern ends of the lateral galleries were water drainages similar to the one found at Chong-rim-sa. They led to the main drainage system which surrounded the whole precinct in the west, north and east. Because of this drainage system, it is quite certain that all the major structures of the temple have been excavated, with the possible exception of a south gate.

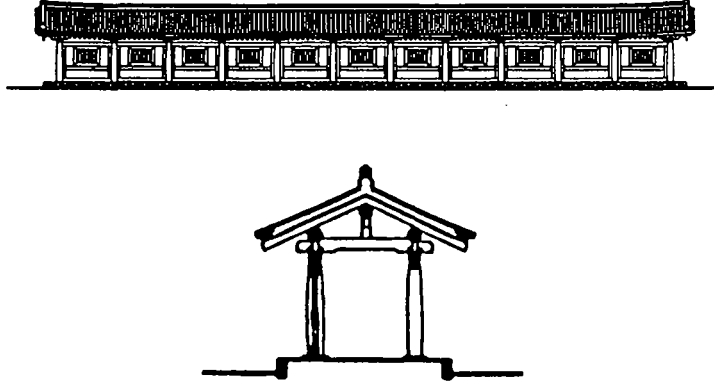


Fig. 276: Reconstruction drawings of the galleries of Nüng-sa 陵寺 능사: elevation of a lateral gallery (scale: 1 : 500) and typical section (scale: 1 : 200) (566 AD)  
(after: Institute of Cultural Industries 文化産業研究所 문화산업연구소)

#### 3.2.2.4.3. The material remains

The incense burner and the *śarīra* recipient, have been described above (pp. 240f., 247f., 360f., 365). Other excavated remains include fragments of a gilt-bronze aureole which had a diameter of about 60cm [fig. 277], several gold, gilt-bronze, crystal, jade and glass ornaments and beads, as well as terracotta products such as Bæk-che roof tiles, Buddha figurines and ceramics. All the material remains seem to date to the Bæk-che period so that it can be assumed that the temple was abandoned after the collapse of Bæk-che and was apparently never rebuilt.

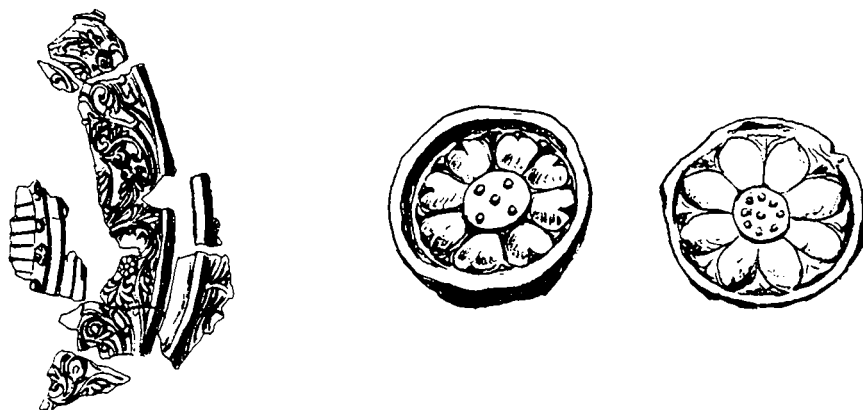


Fig. 277: Material remains of Nüng-sa 陵寺 능사: fragments of a gilt-bronze aureole and 'male' roof-end tiles (about 566 AD ?, no scale) (drawings by the author)

## 3.2.2.5. THE YE-SAN TEMPLE SITE

The temple site at Hwa-chŏn-ri in Ye-san county<sup>1</sup> is better known as the so-called 'four-directional stone Buddhas of Ye-san'<sup>2</sup> because four Buddha images are carved on the four sides of a natural agalmatolite rock 2.9m to 3.1m tall. The sculptures were already mentioned in Chapter 3.1 (pp. 249f., figs. 181f.). The site lies at about 17km to the west-north-west of the centre of modern Ye-san, to the east of the 240m-high Byŏl-hak mountain<sup>3</sup> at about 80m above sea level.

The site was excavated in 1983 by a team under the direction of BAK Yŏng-bok<sup>4</sup>. The excavation revealed that a three-by-three-bay wooden image hall was built around the carved rock in the Bæk-che period [figs. 278]. The columns stood on foundation stones which were integrated into walls built of cut stones. The bay lengths measured about 2.1m from east to west and about 1.8m from south to north. The building measured thus only about 6.3m by 5.4m. The single-stepped platform measured about 12m by 10m, it was not perfectly rectangular but slightly trapezoidal. The orientation of the site layout and the building was 13° to 20° to west of magnetic north<sup>5</sup>.

About 11m in front of the rock stood a stone pagoda of which only the foundation is extant. Fragments of pagoda roof stones made of agalmatolite, three *bo-ryun* and the *su-yŏn* of the finial were found around the foundations of the pagoda. The fragments were not sufficiently important to reconstruct the pagoda; however it was probably built in the Bæk-che period because the construction material was similar to the rock with the Bæk-che sculptures. Fragments of tiles and earthenware of Bæk-che as well as fragments of celadon sculptures of Ko-ryŏ which were discovered at the site show that the temple was active from the Bæk-che to the Ko-ryŏ periods.

<sup>1</sup> Hwa-chŏn-ri Sa-chi 花田里寺址 화전리사지 (No. 4.6.5), Ye-san-gun 禮山郡 예산군 [fig. 690 (6)].

<sup>2</sup> 'Four-directional stone Buddhas of Ye-san' 禮山四面石佛 예산사면석불 or 禮山四方佛 예산사방불.

<sup>3</sup> Byŏl-hak-san 別鶴山 별학산, also called Dŭng-bæ-san 등배산.

<sup>4</sup> BAK Yŏng-bok 朴永福 박영복. See: MUN Myŏng-dæ 文明大 문명대 in: HWANG Su-yŏng 黃壽永 황수영 (ed.) (1987, 1990); CHANG Kyŏng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), p. 77.

<sup>5</sup> The axis between the pagoda and the four-directional Buddhas had a direction of about 13°, the building had a direction of about 17° and the rear side of the platform had a direction of about 20° to west from north.

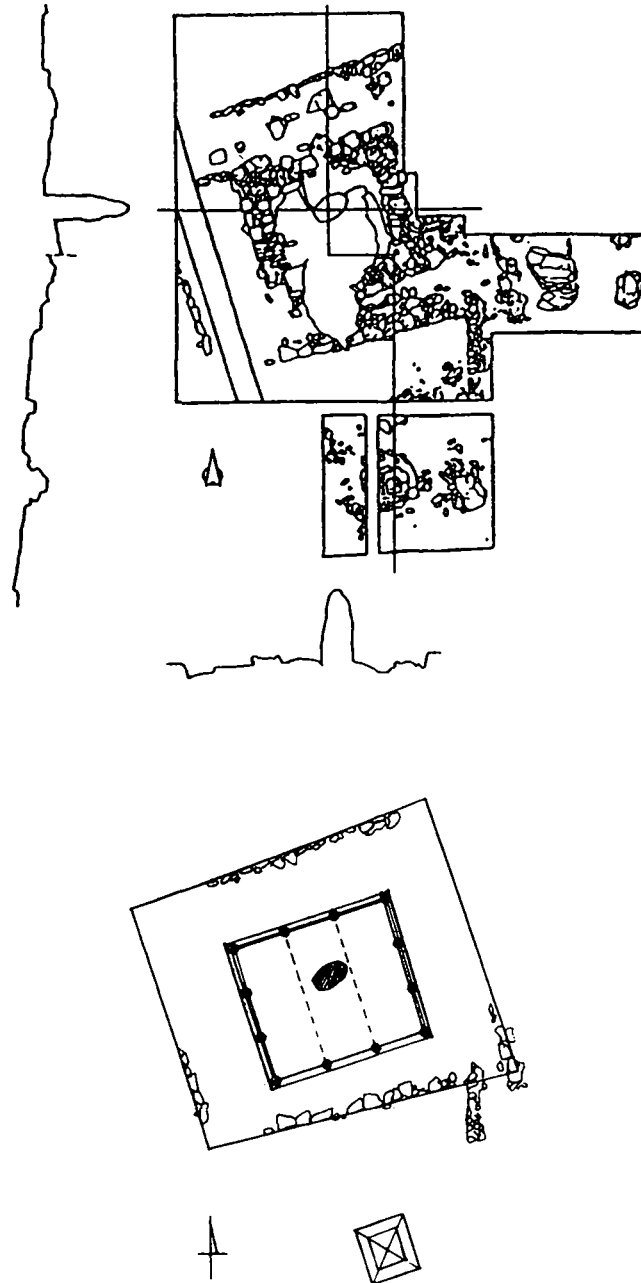


Fig. 278: Excavation plan and reconstructed layout (according to the author) of the temple site at Ye-san 禮山 (mid-6th C. AD?, scale: 1 : 300)  
 (after: CHANG Kyōng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), p. 80 and drawing by the author)

## 3.2.2.6. CHŎN-WANG-SA: TWO POSSIBLE SITES

A temple with the name Chŏn-wang-sa is mentioned in the *Sam-guk-sa-gi*<sup>1</sup> for the year 660 AD. As in the case of other temples which are mentioned in the historical texts, the location of this temple has been unclear. In the twentieth century, at least two tile fragments with the inscription 'chŏn-wang' have been found at two different locations in Bu-yŏ.

The Ku-a-ri temple site<sup>2</sup> was investigated in 1944 by Japanese scholars but no excavation report has been published and the inscribed tile seem to have disappeared. A granite foundation stone<sup>3</sup> (1.08m by 94cm by 50cm) has been discovered at the site at it is kept now in the Bu-yŏ National Museum<sup>4</sup> [fig. 279]. A square hole was carved in its centre which received the *śarīra*. The sides measure 17.5cm. About 3cm below the surface, the hole became narrower and the sides of the square hole are about 12cm long and 10cm deep. It is probable that the 3cm wider opening received once a stone or metallic cover. This foundation stone belonged certainly to a wooden pagoda. Thus the temple site at Ku-a-ri is supposed to have followed the typical layout of Nŭng-sa and other Bæk-che temples mentioned above.

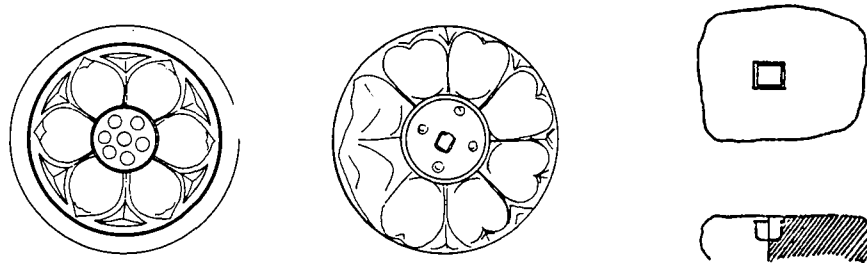


Fig. 279: Material remains of the temple site at Ku-a-ri 舊衙里 구아리: 'male' roof-end tile, rafter-end tile (scale: about 1 : 5) and central foundation stone of a wooden pagoda (scale: 1 : 50) (6th C. AD ?) (after: IM Yŏng-chu 林永周 임영주 (1983), p. 488, 490; *KGMS* 47 / 48, (I), p. 538)

- 1 The text states: "In the 5th month of the 20th year of Ūi-cha Wang 義慈王 의자왕 (660 AD), a tempest raged and the pagodas 塔 탑 of Chŏn-wang-sa 天王寺 천왕사 and Do-yang-sa 道讓寺 도양사 as well as the lecture hall 講堂 강당 of Bæk-sŏk-sa 白石寺 백석사 trembled 震 진." "義慈王 (...) 二十年 (...) 五月 風雨 暴至 震天王 · 道讓二寺塔又震白石寺講堂 의자왕 (...) 이십년 (...) 오월 풍우포지 진천왕 · 도양이사탑 우진백석사강당." See: *SGSG* II, pp. 79f., 87.
- 2 Ku-a-ri Sa-chi 舊衙里寺址 구아리 사지. The site is said to have been located where the Bu-yŏ Police Station 扶餘警察署 부여경찰서 stands now. (Just north of the northern roundabout).
- 3 See: *KGMS* 47 / 48, (I), p. 538f.
- 4 Bu-yŏ National Museum 國立扶餘博物館 국립부여박물관.

The second possible site lies to the north-east of the new Bu-yŏ National Museum in Dong-nam-ri below Gŭm-sŏng-san<sup>1</sup>. An investigation in 1944 by the Japanese scholar FUJISAWA<sup>2</sup> has produced an inscribed tile [fig. 281], an important fragment of a bronze miniature pagoda [fig. 430] and a standing stone Buddha figure<sup>3</sup>. About 50m to the south-west of the alleged site where the above-mentioned remains were found, a building site of the Bæk-che period was discovered before the new museum was built<sup>4</sup> [fig. 280].



Fig. 280: Excavation layout plan of the building site at Dong-nam-ri 東南里 동남리 (Chŏn-wang-sa 天王寺 청왕사?) with indication of the excavation areas (6th C. AD?, scale: 1 : 2,000) (after: Bu-yŏ (Puyo) National Museum 國立扶餘博物館 국립부여박물관 (ed.) (1992.8.30.), pl. 1)

1 Gŭm-sŏng-san 金城山 금성산.

2 FUJISAWA Kazuo 藤澤一夫 ふじさわ かずお 등택일부.

3 The remains are conserved in the Bu-yŏ National Museum 國立扶餘博物館 국립부여박물관. The bronze miniature pagoda fragment dates to Bæk-che (see Chapter 3.3., pp. 576ff.); the date of the other remains is not certain. The style of the Buddha figure seems to point to the Ko-ryŏ period.

4 See: Bu-yŏ (Puyo) National Museum 國立扶餘博物館 국립부여박물관 (ed.) (1992.8.30.).

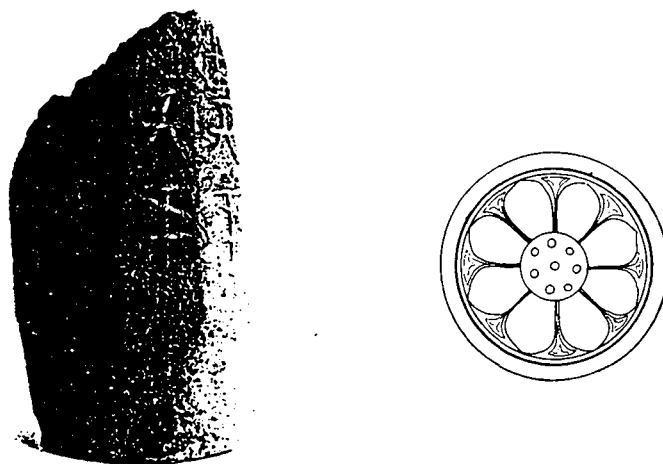


Fig. 281: Material remains of the building site at Dong-nam-ri 東南里 동남리 (Chön-wang-sa 天王寺 청왕사?): inscribed 'female' roof tile and 'male' roof-end tile (6th C. AD?, no scale) (after: Bu-yō (Puyo) National Museum 國立扶餘博物館 국립부여박물관 (ed.) (1992.8.30.), p. 12; IM Yōng-chu 林永周 임영주 (1983), p. 493)

The building possessed a two-stepped platform, the lower of which measured 18.04m from east to west and 14.72m from south to north [fig. 282]. Similarly to the platform of the lecture hall of the temple site at Gun-su-ri, the retaining walls of the lower platform, 40cm to 45cm high, were constructed of piles of inverted 'female' roof tiles [fig. 283]. These piles were protected with additional 'female' tiles which were placed vertically on their longer sides. The filling of the platform consisted of the natural sedimentary layer which was cut in the form of the platform, a method which has also been used for the platforms of Sō-bok-sa<sup>1</sup> which will be mentioned below. Nine round foundation stones, with a diameter between 39cm and 46cm, and two additional holes for such foundation stones were found on the lower platform which formed the seven northern bays, two bays of the western side and one bay of the eastern side of the wooden structure. The axes of the lateral columns stood about 1.2m inside the platform while the axis of the rear columns had a distance of about 1.3m from the edge of the rear retaining wall.

The second platform measured about 15.3m by 11.5m. The retaining walls were made of small natural stones and they were placed very close to the columns of the lower platform so that the edge of some of the foundation stones were integrated into the retaining walls.

<sup>1</sup> Sō-bok-sa 西腹寺 서복사 (No. 4.19.4.). See: pp. 393ff.



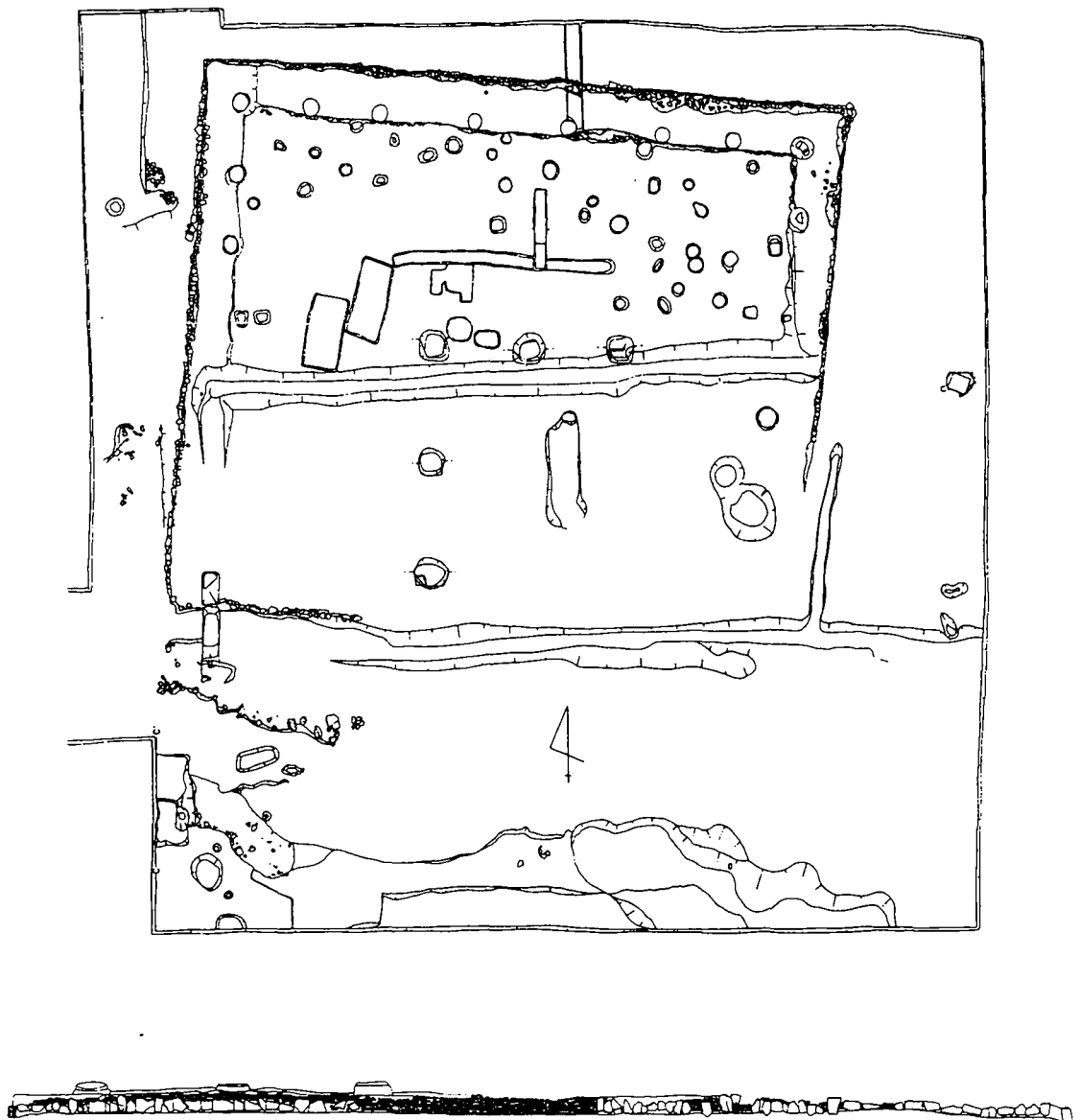


Fig. 282: Excavation plan (scale: 1 : 200) and elevation of the western side of the lower platform (scale: 1 : 100) of the building site at Dong-nam-ri 東南里 등남리 (Chôn-wang-sa 天王寺 청왕사?) (6th C. AD ?) (after: Bu-yŏ (Puyo) National Museum 國立扶餘博物館 국립부여박물관 (ed.) (1992.8.30.), pl. 2)

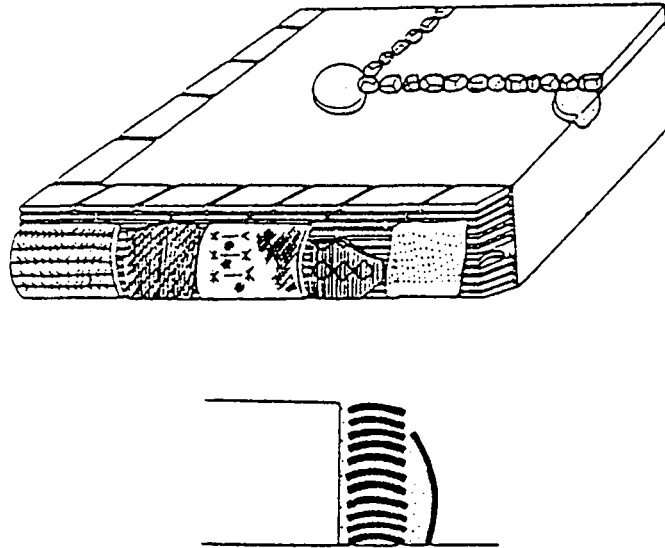


Fig. 283: Scheme of the construction method of the platform of the building site at Dong-nam-ri 東南里 동남리 (Chŏn-wang-sa 天王寺 청왕사?) (6th C. AD?) (after: Bu-yŏ (Puyo) National Museum 國立扶餘博物館 국립부여박물관 (ed.) (1992.8.30.), p. 40)

The placement of the foundation stones and the size of the platform seem to delimit a wooden building with seven by five or six bays which measured about 15.7m by 11.9m [fig. 284]. The method of placing the outer columns of the wooden structure on the lower platform has been observed at the image hall of Chŏng-rim-sa<sup>1</sup>, the central image hall of Hwang-ryong-sa<sup>2</sup> and at the lateral image halls of Asuka-dera<sup>3</sup> in Japan. Also the octagonal pagoda and the eastern image hall of Gŭm-gang-sa<sup>4</sup> of Ko-gu-ryŏ featured a comparable construction detail as discussed in Chapters 2.2.

As no evidence of a pagoda or other buildings was discovered in the vicinity of the excavated platform it is not completely certain that the remains in fact belonged to a Buddhist temple.

1 Chŏng-rim-sa 定林寺 정림사 (No. 4.19.1.). See pp. 336f.

2 Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황룡사 (No. 7.34.2.). See: Chapter 4.2., pp. 807ff.

3 Asuka-dera 飛鳥寺 あすかであら 비조사. See: Chapter 3.3., pp. 628f.

4 Gŭm-gang-sa 金剛寺 금강사. See: Chapter 2.2., p. 146.

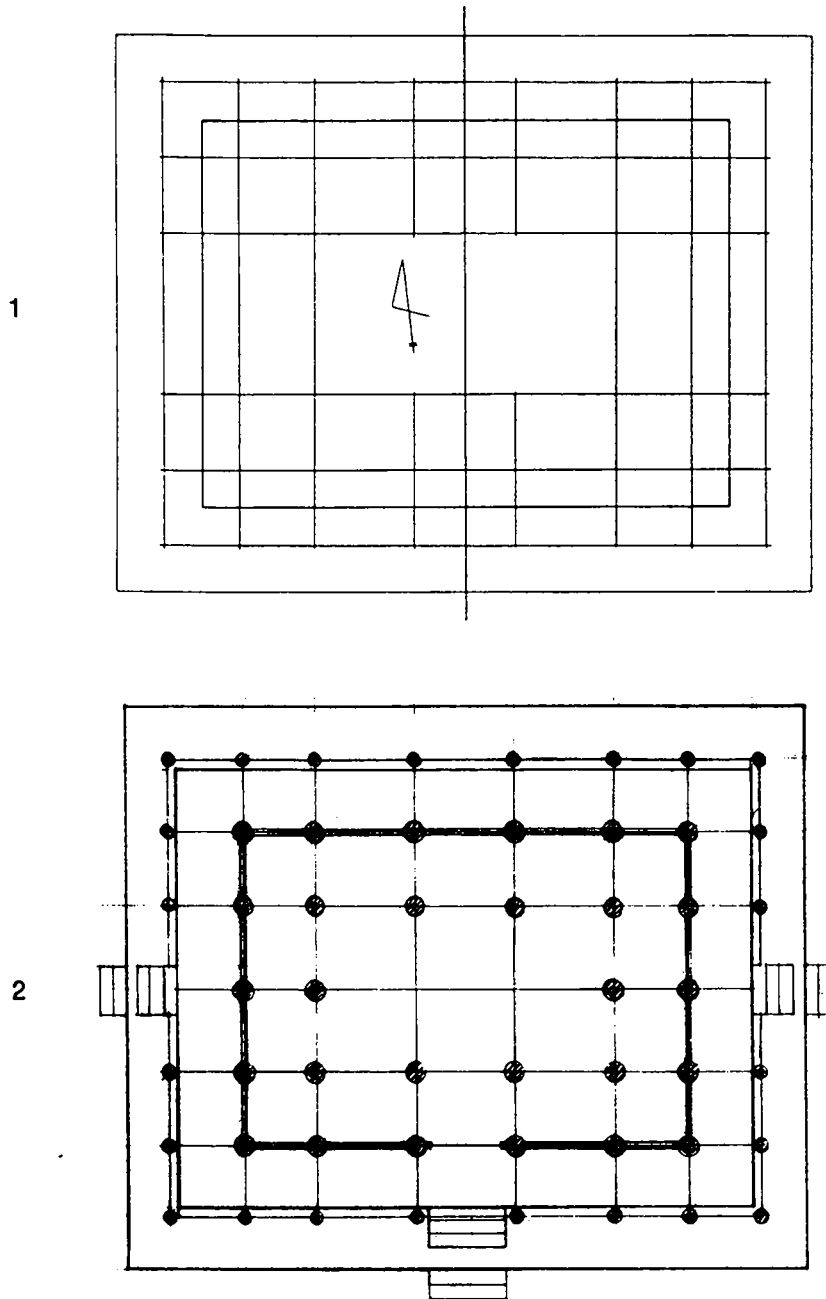


Fig. 284: Reconstructed ground plans of the building site at Dong-nam-ri 東南里 동남리 (Chŏn-wang-sa 天王寺 청왕사?) according to the Bu-yŏ (Puyo) National Museum (1) and according to the author (2) (6th C. AD?, scale: 1 : 200) (after: Bu-yŏ (Puyo) National Museum 國立扶餘博物館 국립부여박물관 (ed.) (1992.8.30.), p. 38 and drawing by the author)

### 3.2.2.7. THE CONTROVERSIAL SITE AT DONG-NAM-RI

The site at Dong-nam-ri<sup>1</sup> lies close to temple site at Gun-su-ri, about 600m to the north-north-west. It was first excavated in 1938 AD by Japanese scholars and a report<sup>2</sup> was published in 1940. But because no evidence of a pagoda was found, the conclusions of the report have been the cause of much discussion. A new investigation of the presumed temple site was conducted in 1993 AD but failed to remove the doubts.

#### 3.2.2.7.1. The excavation of 1938: the general layout

The excavation report contains the drawing of a reconstructed layout which is exceptional for the Bæk-che dynasty. The temple seems to have lacked the central wooden pagoda so that the galleries only surrounded a large image hall [fig. 285]. The report, the published drawing and the photographs show that only the western and central part of the temple provided evidence of the building layout while the eastern gallery was reconstructed according to the supposed symmetry.

The main axis of the temple had a direction of about 3° to west from north. The centre of the lecture hall lay about 42.4m behind the centre of the image hall, while the centre of the middle gate lay about 38m in front of the centre of the image hall. About 18.2m to the south of the southern edge of the platform of the middle gate a heap of stones could indicate the location of the south gate. The distances between the edges of the platforms of the middle gate, the image hall and the lecture hall as well as the widths of the image hall and the lecture hall were all identical (about 21.2m or 70 *chök*<sup>3</sup>). Furthermore, the distance between the lateral edges of the platform of the image hall and the inner edges of the platform of the lateral galleries also measured reportedly about 21.2m. But all these numbers must be considered as approximate with a possible deviation of  $\pm 5$  *chök* (1.515m).

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<sup>1</sup> Dong-nam-ri Sa-chi 東南里寺址 동남리사지 or Dong-nam-ri Kõn-mul-chi 東南里建物址 동남리건물지.

<sup>2</sup> See: CSSKF (1940. 6.), pp. 36 - 43, pl. 36 - 47.

<sup>3</sup> 1 *chök* 尺 척 = 0.30303cm.

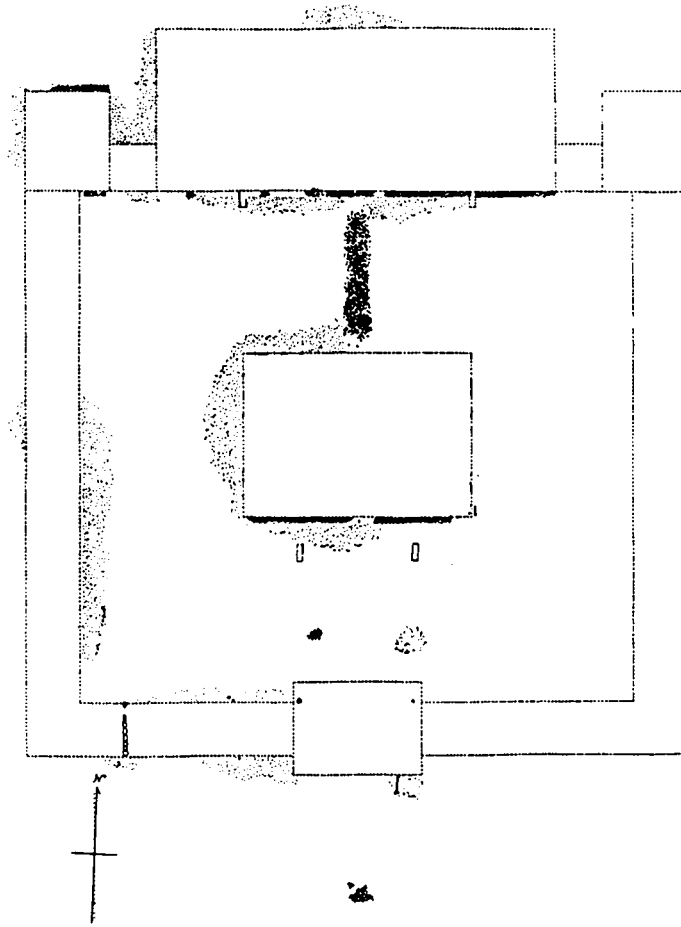


Fig. 285: Excavation plan of the building site at Dong-nam-ri 東南里 동남리 (6th C. AD ?, scale: 1 : 1,000) (after: CSSKF (1940. 6.), pl. 37)

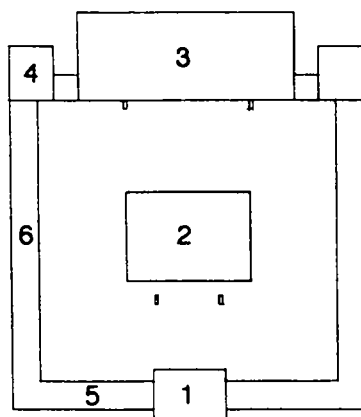


Fig. 286: Excavated structures at the building site at Dong-nam-ri 東南里 동남리 (see table 13) (6th C. AD ?, no scale) (drawing by the author)

## 3.2.2.7.2. The buildings

The Japanese excavation uncovered evidence of six structures at least. Table 13 resumes the measurements given in the excavation report:

structure	platform		superstructure			function, comments
	length	width	length	width	no. bays	
structure No. 1	17.0m	12.1m	?	?	?	middle gate
structure No. 2	30.3m	21.2m	?	?	?	image hall
structure No. 3	52.7m	21.2m	?	?	?	lecture hall
structure No. 4	10.9m	13.3m	?	?	?	north-western building
structure No. 5	~ 35m	~ 7m	?	?	?	south-western gallery
structure No. 6	~ 73.6m	~ 7m	?	?	?	western gallery

Table 13: Measurements of the excavated structures at Dong-nam-ri 東南里 동남리

No column foundations were mentioned in the first excavation report. Only the approximate size of the platforms could be established from the stone rows, stone pavements and tile heaps. The remains were too fragmentary to reveal the construction method of the various platforms. A strip, about 91cm wide, at the southern sides of the lecture hall and the image hall were paved with natural stones.

About 3.6m in front of the edge of the platform of the image hall, two water basins, measuring 2.15m by 70cm, were lowered 55cm into the ground [fig. 287]. Their retaining walls were built from stone. The basins had a distance from each other of about 15.2m. Similar basins were also found just in front of the southern edge of the platform of the lecture hall at a distance of about 30.3m from each other.

A stone paved surface, about 3.6m wide, led from the rear of the image hall to the front of the lecture hall. The size of the north-western building beside the lecture hall was established through paved strips at the front and at the rear of the platform. The edges of the platforms of the lecture hall and the north-western building were at a distance of about 6.1m, and their front sides were aligned.

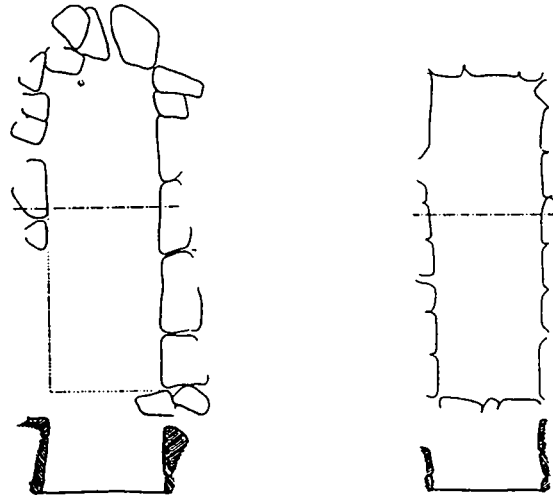


Fig. 287: Plans and sections of two water basins of the building site at Dong-nam-ri 東南里 동남리 (6th C. AD ?, scale: 1 : 50) (after: CSSKF (1940.6.), p. 40)

Among the material remains found during the excavation were roof tiles with lotus flowers of eight and nine petals [fig. 288], ceramic fragments, a piece of a terracotta halo and two fragments of Buddha figurines, one made of agalmatolite and the other of bronze.

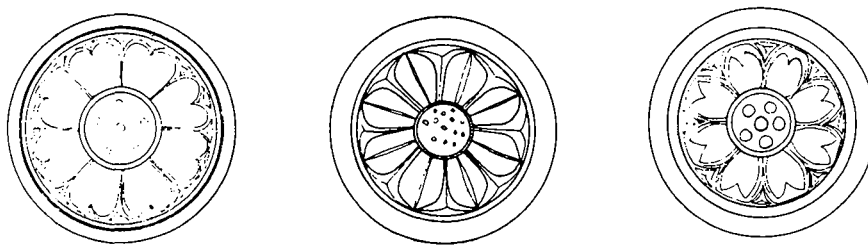


Fig. 288: 'Male' roof-end tiles of the building site at Dong-nam-ri 東南里 동남리 (6th C. AD ?, scale: about 1 : 5) (after: IMYŏng-chu 林永周 임영주 (1983), pp. 489f., 492)

## 3.2.2.7.3. The excavation of 1993

An investigation in 1993 of the presumed<sup>1</sup> site could not confirm the findings of the Japanese team and concluded instead that the buildings site, though dating to Bæk-che, was actually no Buddhist temple because evidence of neither a pagoda, a lecture hall nor galleries was found [fig. 289]. The discovered building had five by three bays and measured<sup>2</sup> about 22.85m by 13.6m [fig. 290]. All corner bays were reportedly about 3.85m long. The platform probably measured 29.3m to 30m by about 20.5m. The orientation of the building was between 2.2° and 3.2° to east from north.

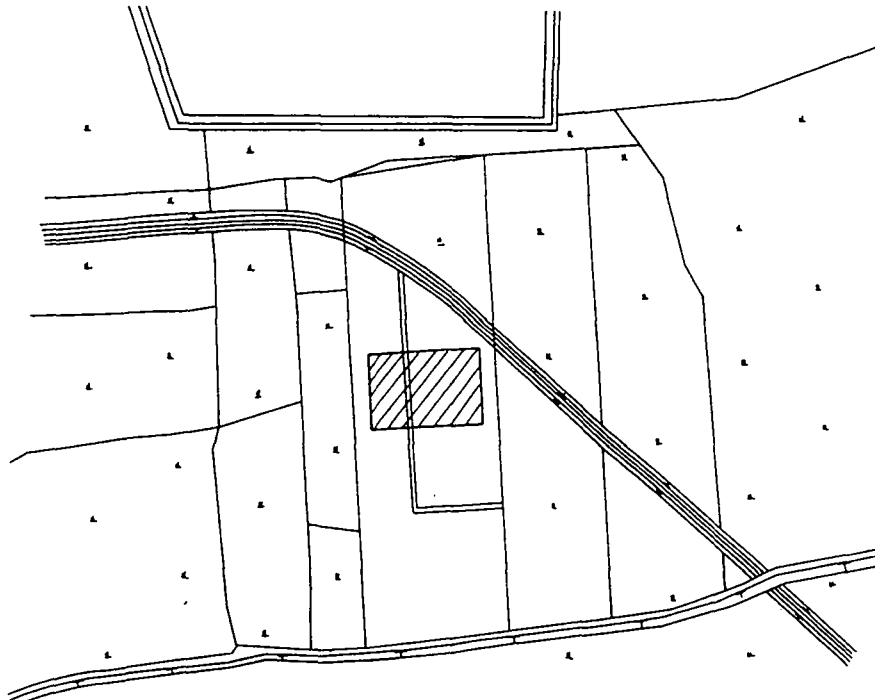


Fig. 289: Layout plan of the building site at Dong-nam-ri 東南里 동남리 (excavation of 1993) (6th C. AD ?, scale: 1 : 2,000) (after: *MHCSRBS* 93 - 1, p. 595)

<sup>1</sup> See: *MHCSRBS* 93 - 1, pp. 593 - 595.

<sup>2</sup> Measurement by the author on the site on June 3rd, 1997 gave the following results: size of the platform: about 30m by 20.5m, wooden structure: about 23.8m by 13.5m. The reason for this difference is not clear. It is possible that the landscaping work after the excavation distorted the configuration of the stone heaps of the column foundations because a thick layer of earth, almost 1m high, was piled on the surrounding natural soil.



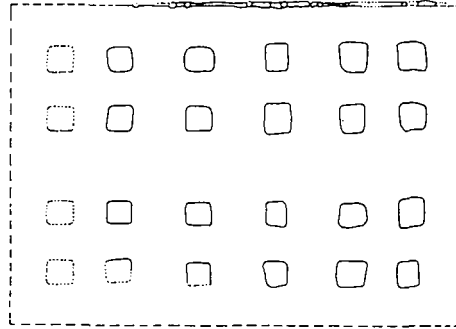


Fig. 290: Excavation plan of the building site at Dong-nam-ri 東南里 등남리 (excavation of 1993) (6th C. AD ?, scale: 1 : 500) (after: *MHCSRBSGS* 93 - 1, p. 595)

#### 3.2.2.7.4. Comparison of the two excavations

The two investigations came to such different conclusions that it is difficult to believe that both teams actually investigated the same site. In particular, it is surprising that the later team did not find the two water basins in front of the image hall which seem to be obvious and permanent remains. The Japanese excavation report provides numerous photographs of the excavation which show that its conclusions and the excavation drawing are well founded. The fact also that the directions of the discovered structures diverted by more than 5° is suspect. Therefore, I must conclude that the described sites are not identical and while the former site might have been a Buddhist temple, there is no indication of the function of the second building site. As the site excavated in 1938 AD was not properly protected and the area was again cultivated with rice for more than fifty years, it is conceivable that the remains were partly destroyed or that the precise location of the temple site has been lost.

If the first site is assumed to have been a Buddhist temple then a difficult question arises: why did this temple have no pagoda in front of its image hall? KIM<sup>1</sup> has already noted that a temple of this scale and from this period is expected to have had a pagoda at its centre. KIM suggests that the temple was reconstructed without pagoda in a later period. But the excavation did not produce evidence of a reconstruction such as roof tiles or sculptures of later periods. There is no known case of a Bæk-che temple reconstructed by omitting its pagoda and building the middle gate in its place<sup>2</sup>. It has also been speculated that the temple site might have been a precursor of the Japanese temple layout of the eighth century where the pagoda or twin pagodas were placed outside the central precinct. Early examples for this layout are Daian-ji and Tōdai-ji<sup>3</sup> [figs. 535f.]. In order to be able to uphold this thesis it must first be shown that Bæk-che applied this layout at all which is not the case so far.

As long as the original temple site is not rediscovered and excavated anew, none of the three mentioned reconstruction proposals can be definitively supported. While the first proposal is probably based on a different building site, the two other proposals are speculations without evidence. It can also be questioned if the discovery of three fragments of Buddhist figurines and the resemblance of parts of the layout are sufficient to claim that the whole building complex was a Buddhist temple. As the existence of a pagoda is usually the crucial element in determining the presence of a temple, its absence or the inability to prove the existence of a pagoda seems to be reason enough to doubt the conclusions of the Japanese excavation team. The size and layout of the complex however indicates a monumental and prestigious character so that only royal structures could serve as an alternative function of the complex.

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<sup>1</sup> KIM Sung-woo (KIM Sōng-u 金聖雨 김성우) (1985), p. 163.

<sup>2</sup> At three temples (O-hab-sa 烏合寺 오합사, Bo-wōn-sa 普願寺 보원사 and at Kwan-kung-sa 官宮寺 관궁사) which were founded in the Bæk-che period and reconstructed in the Unified Sin-la or Ko-ryō periods, the supposed Bæk-che pagodas were exchanged with new stone pagodas.

<sup>3</sup> Daian-ji 大安寺 だいはんじ 대안사, Tōdai-ji 東大寺 とうだいじ 동대사.  
See: Chapter 4.2., pp. 752ff.; Chapter 5, pp. 981f.

## 3.2.2.8. OTHER TEMPLE SITES AROUND BU-YŎ

A number of temple sites have been located around Bu-yŏ whose names are in most cases not known. Their founding periods are also unclear so that they may date from either of the two Sa-bi periods. CHANG<sup>1</sup> names the following temple sites: Ka-tab-ri, Bu-so-san, Ku-kyo-ri, Ssang-buk-ri, Wæ-ri, Im-kang-sa, Kwan-üm-sa, Dong-san-ri, Chwi-ryong-sa, Chŏng-ryong-sa, Yul-ri, Yong-chŏng-ri and Hak-ri<sup>2</sup>. The layout of none of these temples has been clearly identified. These sites are however important because decorated tiles and other material remains were discovered at their sites [fig. 291]. The temple site at Wæ-ri produced several very beautiful floor tiles which are now exhibited in the Bu-yŏ National Museum.

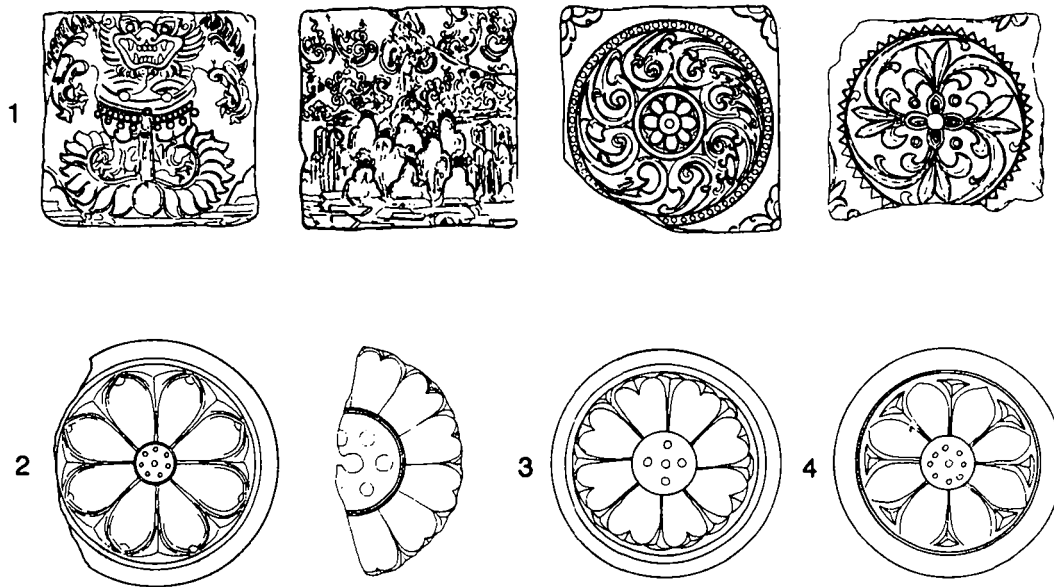


Fig. 291: Bæk-che floor and roof tiles from the Bu-yŏ 扶餘 부여 area:  
 floor tiles from Wæ-ri 外里 외리 (1) (scale: about 1 : 10),  
 'male' roof-end tiles and rafter-end tiles from Ka-tab-ri 佳塔里 가탑리 (2),  
 Im-kang-sa 臨江寺 입강사 (3) and Yong-chŏng-ri 龍井里 용정리 (4) (scale: about 1 : 5)  
 (6th C. AD ?) (after: IM Yŏng-chu 林永周 임영주 (1983), pp. 488ff., 548)

<sup>1</sup> See: CHANG Kyŏng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), p. 51ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ka-tab-ri Sa-chi 佳塔里 寺址 가탑리 사지, Bu-so-san Sa-chi 扶蘇山 鄉校 廢 寺址 부소산 향교 廢 폐사지, Ku-kyo-ri Sa-chi 舊校里 寺址 구교리 사지, Ssang-buk-ri Sa-chi 雙北里 寺址 쌍북리 사지, Wæ-ri Sa-chi 外里 寺址 외리 사지, Im-kang-sa-chi 臨江 寺址 입강사지, Kwan-üm-sa-chi 觀音 寺址 관음사지, Dong-san-ri Sa-chi 東山里 寺址 등산리 사지, Chwi-ryong-sa-chi 鷲龍 寺址 취룡사지, Chŏng-ryong-sa-chi 靑龍 寺址 청룡사지, Yul-ri Sa-chi 栗里 寺址 율리사지, Yong-chŏng-ri Sa-chi 龍井里 寺址 용정리 사지 and Hak-ri Sa-chi 鶴里 寺址 학리 사지.

### 3.2.3. BUDDHIST ARCHITECTURE IN THE LATE SA-BI PERIOD (from 600 to 660 AD)

#### 3.2.3.1. WANG-HŬNG-SA

The site of Wang-hŭng-sa<sup>1</sup> has been investigated in 1934 by a Japanese team [fig. 292]. A roof tile with the inscription 'wang-hŭng'<sup>2</sup> suggested the identity of the temple. The layout could not be determined except for the fact that the temple was built on two levels and included a wooden pagoda, an image hall and a lecture hall which all stood on an approximately south-north axis. On the upper level the remains of a stone terrace, about 10m long, were discovered where the lecture hall is thought to have stood. Foundation stones of the image hall and the pagoda are scattered across the village.

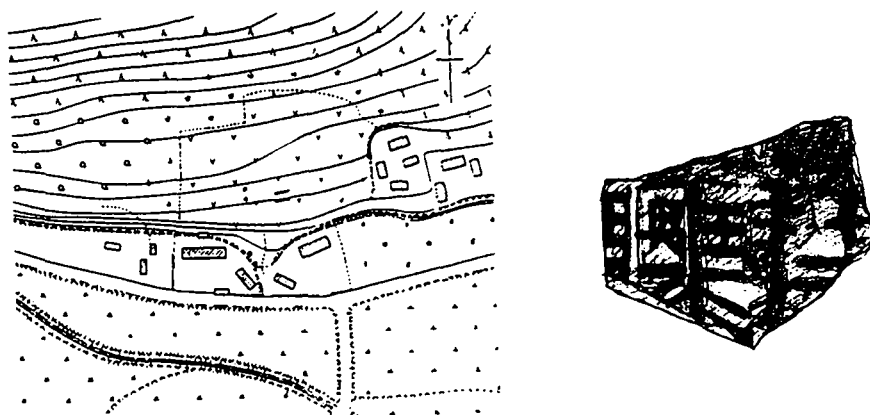


Fig. 292: Site plan of Wang-hŭng-sa 王興寺 왕흥사 (scale: 1 : 2,000) and a fragment of a 'female' roof tile with inscription (no scale) (after: KIM Sung-woo (KIM Sŏng-u 金聖雨 김성우) (1985), p. 507 and drawing by the author)

<sup>1</sup> Wang-hŭng-sa 王興寺 왕흥사 (No. 4.19.10.).

<sup>2</sup> 'Wang-hŭng' 王興 왕흥. See: KIM Sung-woo (KIM Sŏng-u 金聖雨 김성우) (1985), p. 153.

## 3.2.3.2. SŎ-BOK-SA

Sŏ-bok-sa<sup>1</sup> is located on the western side of Bu-so mountain<sup>2</sup>, just north of the modern centre of Bu-yŏ. The temple site lies near the south-western wall of the mountain fortress of Sa-bi<sup>3</sup> [figs. 293, 294]. The central precinct was build on a small flat terrace which is surrounded by quite steep terrain. The main axis of the temple was orientated about 10° east from north, while the natural slope is directed approximately to north-east.

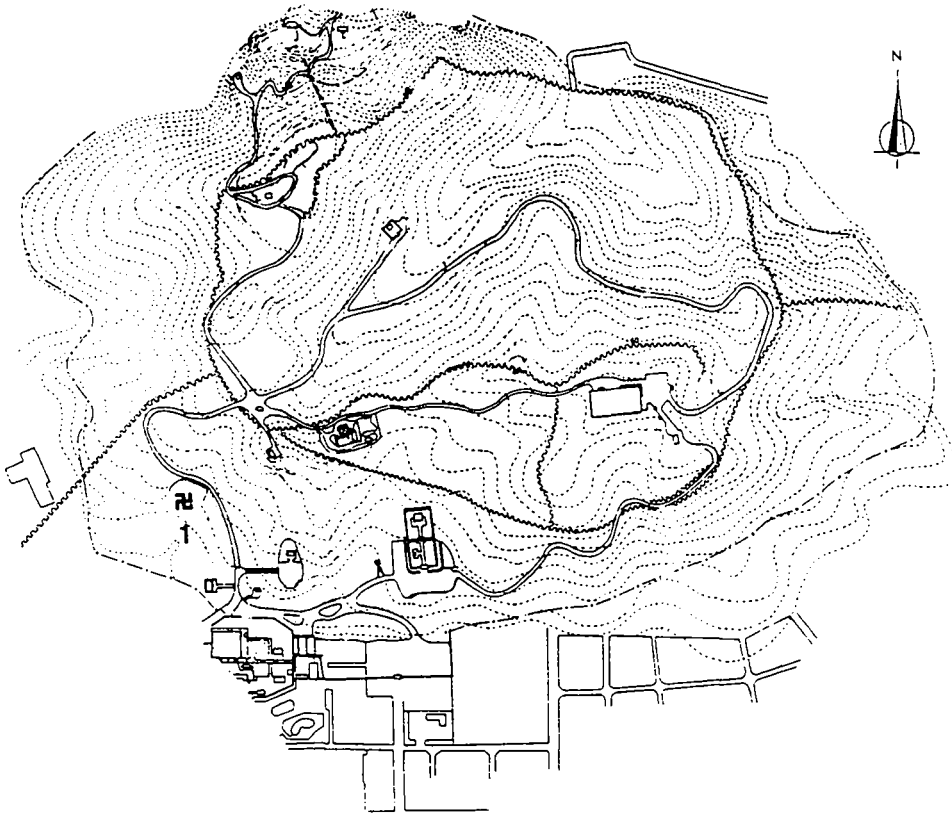


Fig. 293: Site plan of Sŏ-bok-sa 西腹寺 서복사 (1) (early 7th C. AD ?, scale: 1 : 10,000) (after *MHCSRBS* 94 - 1, p. 565)

- 1 Sŏ-bok-sa 西腹寺 서복사 (No. 4.19.4.), literally 'western belly temple', the name might be a corruption of Sŏ-rok-sa 西麓寺, literally 'temple on the western foot [of the mountain]'
- 2 Bu-so-san 扶蘇山 부소산
- 3 Sa-bi-sŏng 泗沘城 사비성.

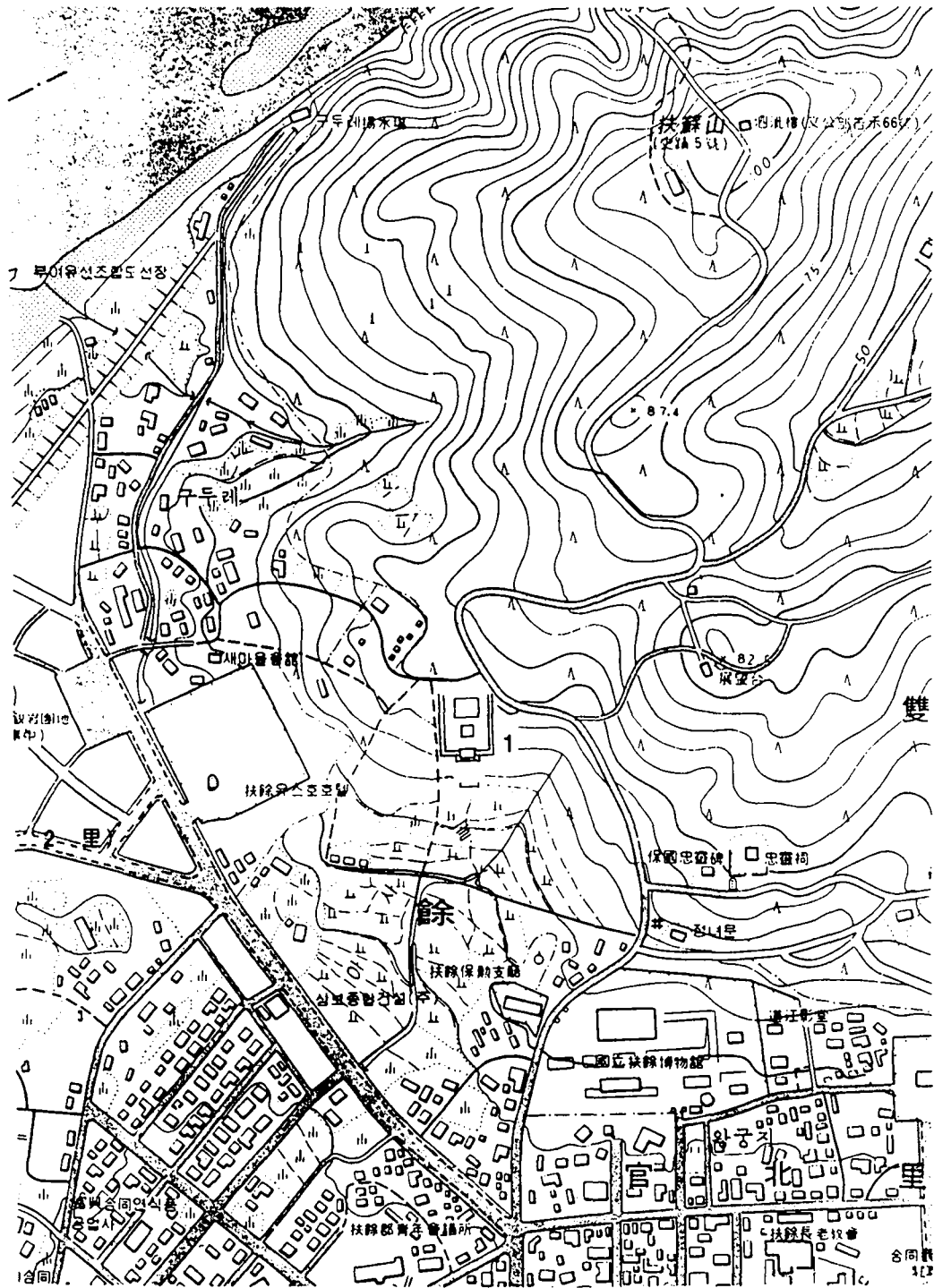


Fig. 294: Site plan of Sō-bok-sa 西覆寺 서복사 (I) (early 7th C. AD ?, scale: 1 : 5,000) (after: CACD NJ 52-13-18 (087))

It is believed that this area belonged to the inner gardens of the Bæk-che royal court. The location of this temple could indicate that it had been reserved for the royal family as a private prayer temple.

The temple site was first investigated in 1942 by the Japanese scholars YONEDA and FUJISAWA<sup>1</sup> but no official report was published. In 1980 a second investigation was conducted by the Cultural Properties Research Institute and the Bu-yŏ National Museum<sup>2</sup>. Unfortunately, the reported measurements do not correspond to the published drawing of the excavation<sup>3</sup> so that no exact measurements can be provided until this contradiction is resolved. The following measurements must therefore be used cautiously.

### 3.2.3.2.1. The general layout

The remains of the platforms of a south gate, a middle gate, a square wooden pagoda and an image hall were excavated [figs. 295, 296]. The general layout shows the same basic features as the temple site at Gun-su-ri where the main structures lay on one axis which leads approximately from south to north. The temple was quite small and the distance between the centre of the middle gate and the centre of the image hall measured probably less than 33m. The centre of the wooden pagoda was placed reportedly 17.5m in front of the centre of the image hall. Traces of the southern, eastern and western galleries were also found, so that the total width of the courtyard can be estimated between 35m and 40m. The south gate lay reportedly about 19m in front of the southern side of the platform of the middle gate.

<sup>1</sup> YONEDA Miyoji 米田美代治 よねだ みよじ 미전 미대치, FUJISAWA Kazuo 藤澤一夫  
みじさわかずお 등택일부.

<sup>2</sup> Cultural Properties Research Institute 文化財研究所 문화재연구소, Bu-yŏ (Puyo) National Museum 國立扶餘博物館 국립부여박물관. See: CHANG Kyŏng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), p. 56; The Compilation Committee of the Bu-yŏ-gun-chi 扶餘郡誌編纂委員會 부여군지편찬위원회 (ed.): Bu-yŏ-gun-chi 「扶餘郡誌부여군지」, Bu-yŏ 扶餘부여, 1987 (the work was not available for this study).

<sup>3</sup> The site is again overgrown with grass so that a precise measurement on the site is difficult. The reported proportion of the platform of the image hall of about 1.2 : 1 contradicts the drawing which features a proportion of about 1.3 : 1. On the other hand the scale which is given on the drawing seems to be slightly erroneous because the two reported distances of 17.5m between the centre of the image hall and the centre of the pagoda as well as the one between the centre of the pagoda and the front edge of the platform of the middle gate are not correctly drawn. See: CHANG Kyŏng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), p. 55f.

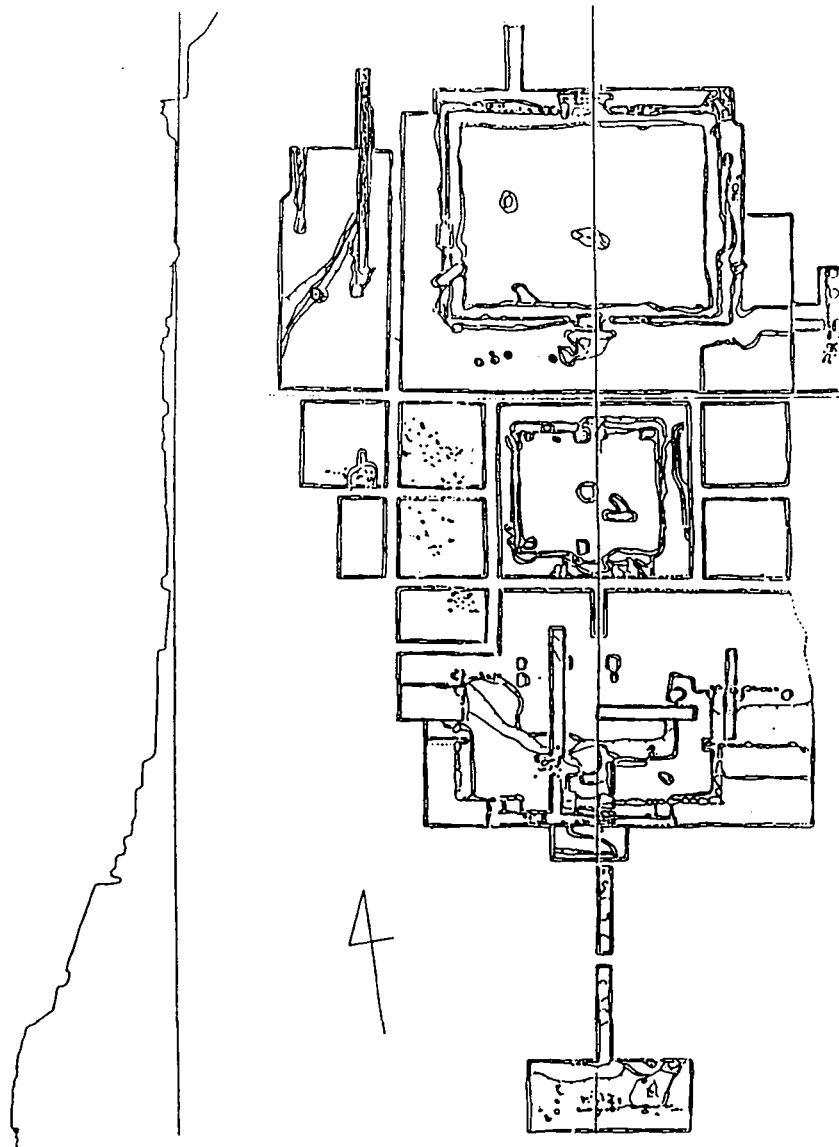


Fig. 295: Excavation plan and section of Sŏ-bok-sa 西腹寺 서복사  
 (early 7th C. AD?, scale: about 1 : 500)  
 (after: CHANG Kyŏng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), p. 55)



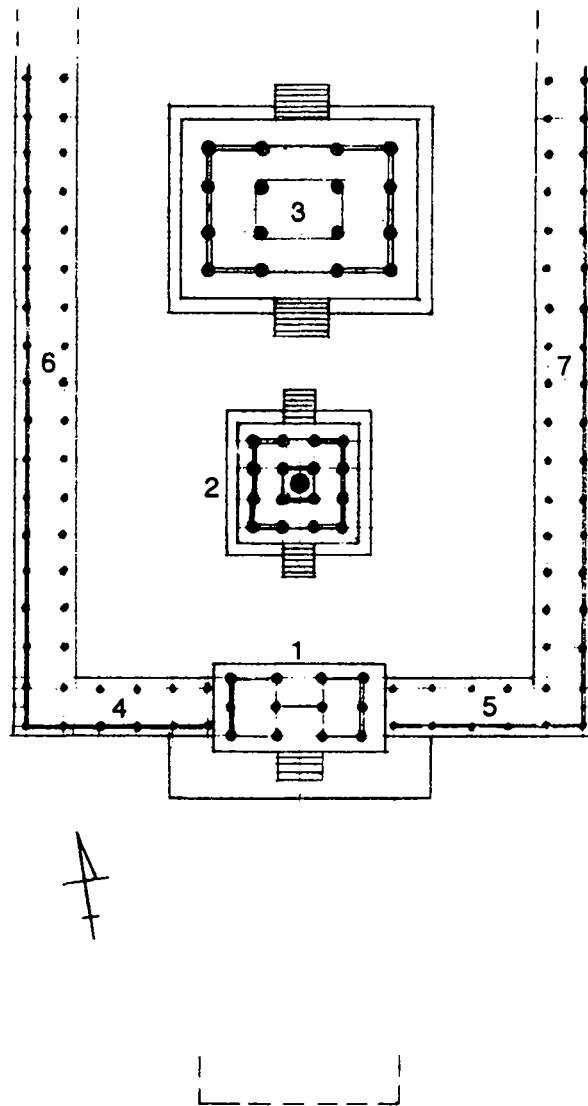


Fig. 296: Reconstructed ground plan of Sŏ-bok-sa 西腹寺 서복사 according to the author with indication of the excavated structures (see table 14) (early 7th C. AD ?, scale: about 1 : 500) (drawing by the author)

However, no evidence of a lecture hall was discovered. Such evidence may still be buried under a heap of earth behind the image hall but it has also been speculated that this temple did not need a lecture hall because its function as royal prayer temple did not require one<sup>1</sup>. But the investigation of the platform of the image hall produced evidence of stairs on its rear side and the lateral galleries seem to have continued beyond the image hall. This indicates that the excavated area does not show the complete layout. At least some remains of a northern gallery would have to be discovered in order to be able to affirm that Sō-bok-sa did in fact not possess a lecture hall.

### 3.2.3.2.2. The buildings

Because of the contradictions between the reported measurements and the excavation drawing several possible measurements are given in table 14<sup>2</sup>.

structure	platform		superstructure			function, comments
	length	width	length	width	no. bays	
structure No. 1	<b>15.2 m</b> (15.2m to 17.3m)	(> 7.5 to > 8.5m)	?	?	?	middle gate
structure No. 2	<b>8.2 m</b> (8.6m to 9.8m)	<b>8.2 m</b> (8.1m to 9.2m)	(~ 6m)	(~ 6m)	(3 x 3)	square wooden pagoda
structure No. 3	<b>16.3 m</b> (15.6m to 17.8m)	<b>13.6 m</b> (12m to 13.6m)	(~ 12m)	(~ 8m)	(3 x 3 ?)	image hall
structure No. 4, 5	twice (9.7m to 11m)	(3.3m to 3.8m)	twice (~ 8m)	(~ 2.5m)	(twice 3 x 1 ?)	southern galleries
structure No. 6, 7	twice (> 40m to > 45m)	<b>3.8 m</b> (3.6m to 4.1m)	twice (> 37m to 42m)	(~ 2.5m)	(twice > 17 x 1 ?)	eastern and western galleries

Table 14: Measurements of the excavated structures of Sō-bok-sa 西腹寺 서복사

<sup>1</sup> See: Bu-yō (Puyo) National Museum 國立扶餘博物館 국립부여박물관 (ed.) (1993), p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> The measurements in brackets are deduced from the excavation drawing with a margin of error of  $\pm 6.5\%$ , the measurements of the superstructures are proposals of the author.

The excavated remains of the platforms do not seem to have been piled upon a completely levelled ground, and the surface of the courtyards which surround the platforms of the wooden buildings has been cut into the natural sedimentary layer<sup>1</sup> so that the layout is carved in relief on the ground [fig. 295].

#### 3.2.3.2.2.1. The south gate, the middle gate and the front gallery

The size of the platform of the south gate could not be confirmed and only piles of stones and fragments of tiles and ceramics indicate its approximate location at a level 9m to 10m below the level of the central courtyard. Steep stairs must have led to the middle gate but nothing of them remains at present.

A stone row which is more than 15m long indicates the position of the southern side of the platform of the middle gate. About 3.4m to the north of the southern side, the eastern lateral stone row turned eastwards for about 4.5m. This was probably the location of the southern side of the front gallery. The gallery was between 3.3m and 3.8m large. It can be assumed that the centre of the middle gate corresponded to the axis of the front gallery so that the centre of the pagoda might have lain 13.2m to 15m behind the centre of the middle gate. The position of the centre of the middle gate also indicates that its platform provided a quite large space in front of the gate which could be compared with the landing of the stairs of Bul-guk-sa<sup>2</sup> of the eighth century AD [fig. 671].

#### 3.2.3.2.2.2. The pagoda, the image hall and the lateral galleries

The platform of the pagoda and the image hall were both carved out of the natural sandstone [fig. 295]. The eroded rock seems still to show that the platforms had two steps. Grooves were cut at the periphery of the platforms which probably received the granite base stones of the retaining walls<sup>3</sup>. The existence of stairs at the front and back of the pagoda and the image hall is indicated by wedge-shaped sandstone masses. The image hall possibly had additional stairs at the southern part of the lateral sides. At the centre of the pagoda platform, a shallow, square hole whose sides measured about 1.2m marks the location of the central wooden column.

About 4.6m to the west of the western side of the image hall platform a row of piles of Bæk-che 'female' tiles was discovered. Some 3.8m further to the west lay the remains of a similar row. These rows seem to indicate the position of the

<sup>1</sup> *Bu-sik-am-chūng* 腐蝕岩層 부식암층.  
See: CHANG Kyōng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), p. 56.

<sup>2</sup> Bul-guk-sa 佛國寺 불국사 (No. 7.34.33.).

<sup>3</sup> CHANG Kyōng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), p. 56

platform of the western gallery. A row of stones and three round foundation stones were uncovered from the eastern gallery which apparently had a slightly bigger distance from the image hall than the western gallery (6m to 7m).

### 3.2.3.2.3. The material remains

A number of interesting remains have been uncovered at Sō-bok-sa. Among them are fragments of wall paintings, fragments of an owl's-tail roof tile, roof-end tiles, fragments of clay figures, gilt-bronze ornaments of a belt and a hexagonal bronze lid of an incense burner [fig. 297]. All these remains are believed to date to the Bæk-che period (seventh century AD).

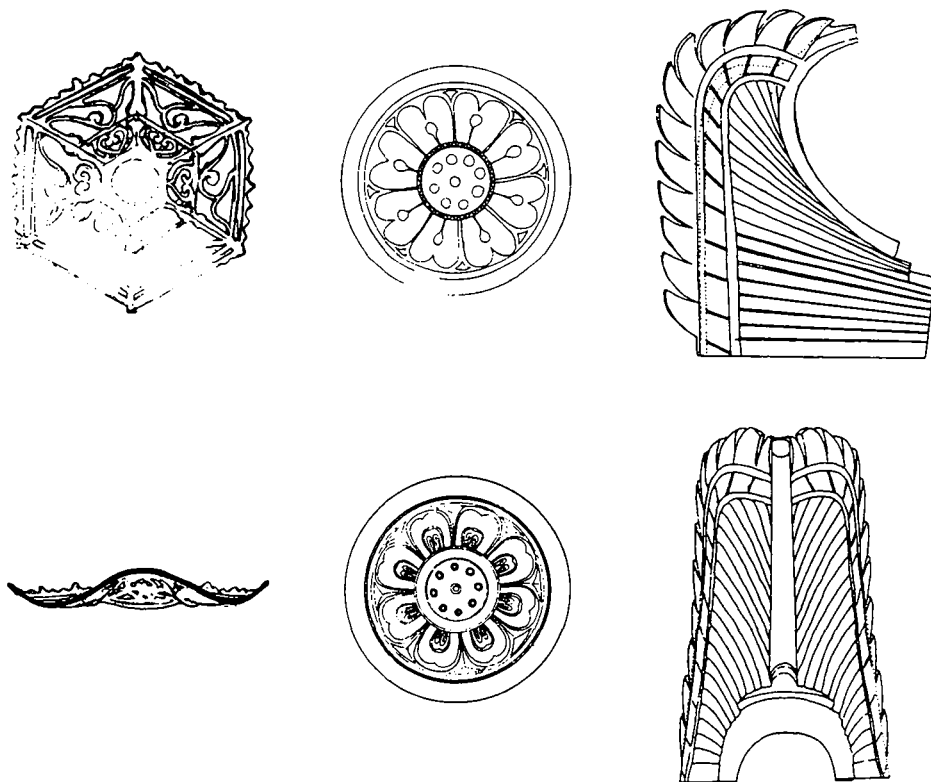


Fig. 297: Material remains of Sō-bok-sa 西腹寺 서복사 : hexagonal bronze lid of an incense burner (Ø = about 34cm, scale: about 1 : 10), 'male' roof-end tiles (scale: about 1 : 5) and owl's-tail tile (scale 1 : 20) (early 7th C. AD) (drawing by the author and after: IM Yōng-chu 林永周 임영주 (1983), pp. 239, 488, 491)

## 3.2.3.3. MI-RŪK-SA

## 3.2.3.3.1. State of the research

Mi-rŭk-sa<sup>1</sup> is undoubtedly the most important site of Buddhist architecture of Bæk-che as much for the size of the temple as for the quality of the remains. Since the Japanese occupation a series of investigations were conducted on the temple site. An early, rather superficial study published by FUJISHIMA<sup>2</sup> failed to discover the central courtyard on the same level as the ruined western stone pagoda. As a result, an erroneous layout was assumed. Three courtyards in an arrangement similar to the Chinese character *pum*<sup>3</sup> were proposed [fig. 298]. In this reconstruction, two minor, fully-developed temples would have flanked the gateway to the major precinct.

The errors of this early excavation were not exposed for more than fifty years until the Cultural Properties Research Institute conducted new excavations beginning in 1980. A much more precise and reliable picture of Mi-rŭk-sa emerged as the excavation proceeded. By the end of 1989 AD, an area of more than 80.000m<sup>2</sup> (about 25.000 *pyŏng*<sup>4</sup>) was investigated and an exhaustive report<sup>5</sup> was published in the same year. The western pagoda and the site of the eastern pagoda had already been investigated between 1974 and 1978 and reports<sup>6</sup> were published in 1974 and 1979 AD. The eastern pagoda was reconstructed in 1990 by reusing stone fragments of the original pagoda. A report<sup>7</sup> on the preparation work for the reconstruction of the eastern stone pagoda was published in the same year.

<sup>1</sup> Mi-rŭk-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 (No. 5.6.2.).

<sup>2</sup> See: KCZS (1930.8.), p. 327; CHŎNG In-guk 鄭寅國 정인국 (1974), p. 184.

<sup>3</sup> *Pum* 品품.

<sup>4</sup> *Pyŏng* 坪 평 = 3.306m<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> See: MHCKLG (1982); MHCKLG (1987, 1989).

<sup>6</sup> See: Wŏn-kwang University 圓光大學校 원광대학교 (ed.) (1974); KIM Hong-sik 金鴻植 김홍식 (1979. 1.).

<sup>7</sup> See: Chŏn-la-buk-do 全羅北道 전라북도 (ed.) (1990).

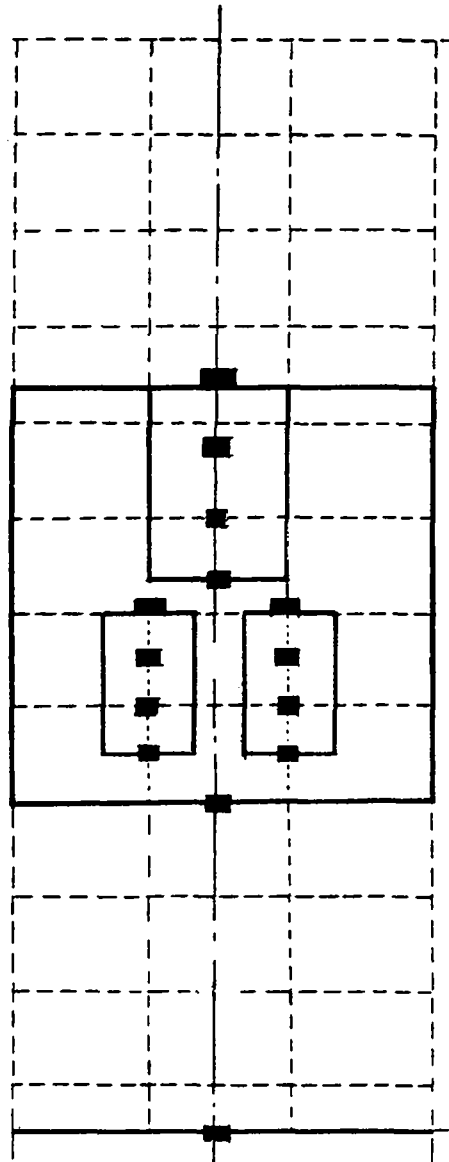


Fig. 298: Assumed layout plan of Mi-rūk-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 according to FUJISHIMA Gaijirō 藤島 亥治郎 及び 藤島 亥治郎 等 遺跡 考査 報告 (early 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 5,000) (after: CHŎNG In-guk 鄭寅國 정인국 (1974), p. 184)

### 3.2.3.3.2. The general layout

The layout of Mi-rük-sa revealed by the recent excavations consisted of three fully-developed parallel courtyards enclosed by galleries [figs. 300 - 302], a unique layout which seems to be directly related to the founding legend of the appearance of a Maitreya triad (see pp. 259ff.). A fourth, northern courtyard connected the three parallel courtyards, its main structure being the lecture hall on the northern side. A large courtyard was later added in front of the three parallel courtyards and two flagpoles were placed on its transversal axis. The three main courtyards were aligned on the southern side and stood on a platform, about 1.4m high, which was equipped with stairs in front of the gates and at the western and eastern corners.

The central courtyard contained a square pagoda and an image hall surrounded by galleries two bays wide which included a middle gate. The galleries measured about 66.5m from the eastern to the western centre of the wooden structure and about 86.8m from the southern to the northern centre. The centre of the pagoda lay about 31m behind the centre of the main gate, a distance which was bigger than at any other confirmed temple site from Bæk-che. The distance between the centre of the image hall and the centre of the pagoda again measured about 31m. Between the image hall and the pagoda stood a big stone lantern the base of which is still extant.

The eastern and western courtyards were similar to one another with the exception of the galleries which were mirrored by the main axis of the central courtyard. Each of the lateral courtyard also contained a pagoda, an image hall and a stone lantern. The galleries included the middle gate but they did not surround the courtyards completely and left the north-western corner (respectively the north-eastern corner) open so that the lateral courtyards were connected with the courtyard of the lecture hall. The centres of the lateral galleries had a distance of 48.2m to 49.3m. The centre of the rear gallery lay about 83.3m behind the centre of the front gallery. The pagodas and the image halls of all three courtyards were aligned on two transversal axes in spite of their different sizes.

To the north of the three courtyards lay the courtyard of the lecture hall. The courtyard was delimited at the front and at the rear by the northern gallery of the central courtyard and the lecture hall. Dormitories formed the lateral limits. The centres of the eastern and western dormitories lay about 118.7m apart. The centre of the lecture hall lay about 45.85m behind the centre of the northern gallery of the central courtyard. It was connected on its north-eastern and north-western corners with the lateral dormitories by double-bay galleries, and at its northern centre with the northern group of monks' cells by a three-by-one-bay gallery on piles leading over a small stream. The north-western part of the temple precinct has been heavily modified during reconstructions.



Fig. 299: Site plan of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사: topographical map  
(early 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 10,000) (after: CACD NJ 52-13-26 (092))



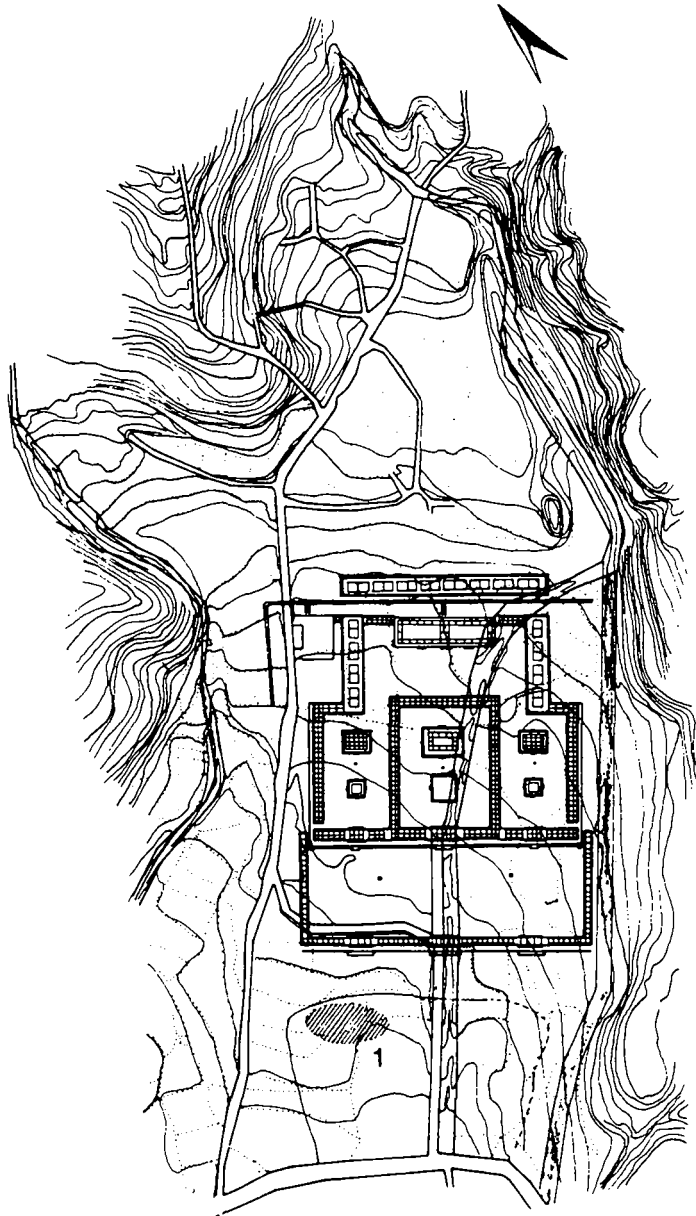


Fig. 300: Site plan of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 (early 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 5,000) with indication of the site of the southern lotus pond (1) (after: CHANG Kyōng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992), p. 94)

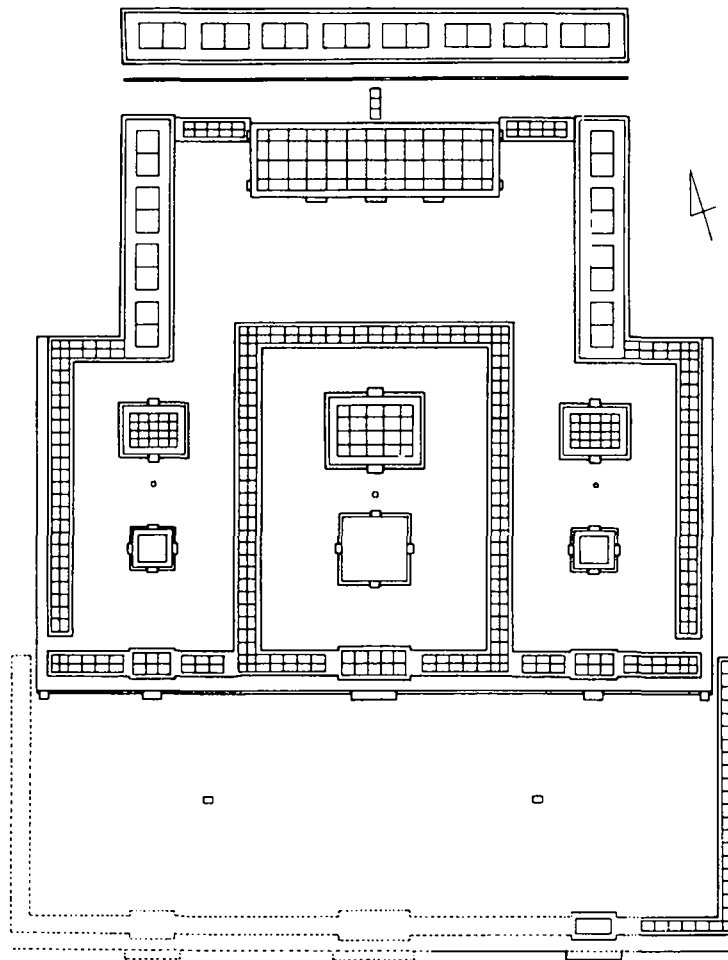


Fig. 301: Layout plan of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미득사 (early 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 2,000)  
 (after: CHANG Kyöng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992), p. 95)

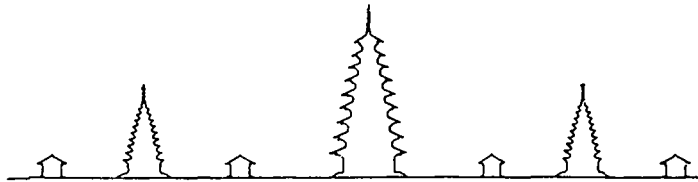
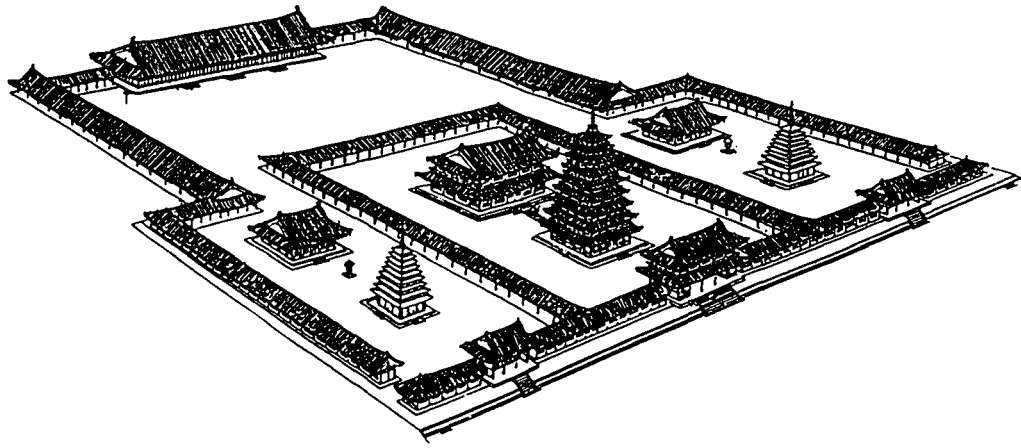


Fig. 302: Reconstructed perspective and two sections (scale: 1 : 2,000) of Mi-rūk-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 (early 7th C. AD) (after: Institute of Cultural Industries 文化産業研究所 문화산업연구소)

About 32.5m behind the centre of the lecture hall was the centre of another dormitory complex. It was connected with the lecture hall at the centre through a three-by-one-bay corridor.

To the south of the three parallel courtyards, a large entrance courtyard enclosed in one-bay-deep galleries was found, measuring about 187m by 68.5m. Three gates were situated in its southern gallery and two banner poles were placed symmetrically to the main axis, at about 89m from each other and at a distance of about 33m to the north from the centre of the southern gallery.

Further to the south lay one or several lotus ponds. Numerous remains of the Bæk-che and Unified Sin-la periods have been excavated there but the size and form of the ponds have not yet been reported.

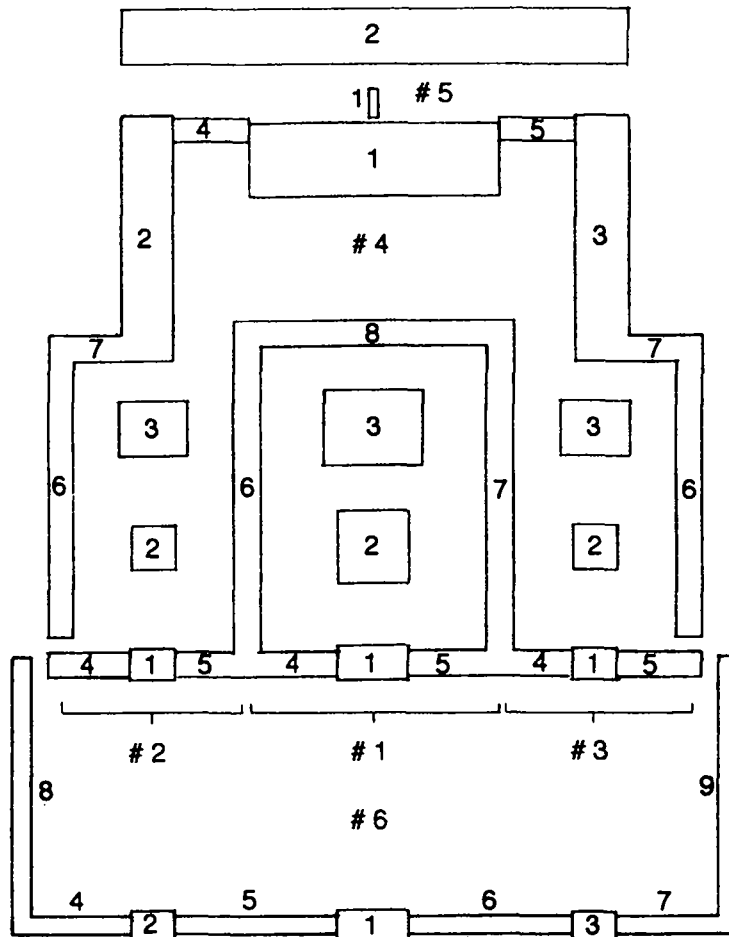


Fig. 303: The excavated structures of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 (see tables 15 - 17) (early 7th C. AD, no scale) (drawing by the author)

## 3.2.3.3.3. The structures

The traces of the numerous discovered structures at Mi-rük-sa can be divided according to the courtyard. Tables 15 to 17 resume the main measurements:

structure	platform		superstructure			function, comments
	length	width	length	width	no. bays	
<b>section # 1: central courtyard</b>						
structure No. 1	17.5m	12.5m ~ 9m	~ 16.5m	~ 6.5m	5 x 2 ?	central middle gate
structure No. 2	19.5m 18.2m (17.6m, 16.7~17m)	19.5m 18.2m (17.6m, 16.7~17m)	12m ?	12m ?	5 x 5 ?	central square pagoda (second step)
structure No. 3	25.9m 26.06m (24m)	20.2m 20m (18.3m)	19.8m 20m	14m	5 x 4	central image hall (second step)
structure No. 4	connected	6.5 ~ 7m	~ 23m	4.7m	7 (5) x 2	south-western gallery of the central courtyard
structure No. 5	connected	6.5 ~ 7m	~ 22.5m	4.7m	7 (5) x 2	south-eastern gallery of the central courtyard
structure No. 6	~ 92m	6.5 ~ 7m	~ 90m	4.7m	29 (25) x 2	gallery between the central and the western courtyards
structure No. 7	91.5m ~ 92m	6.5 ~ 7m	~ 90m	4.7m	29 (25) x 2	gallery between the central and the eastern courtyards
structure No. 8	~ 73m	6.5 ~ 7m	~ 71m	4.7m	21 (19) x 2	gallery between the central and the northern courtyards
<b>section # 2: western courtyard</b>						
structure No. 1	12.07m	8.5m	~ 10m	~ 5.5m	3 x 2	western middle gate
structure No. 2	12.5m (10.7m)	12.5m (10.7m)	7.5m	7.5m	3 x 3	western square stone pagoda
structure No. 3	18.5m (16.5m)	15.2m (13m)	12.7m	9.2m	5 x 4	western image hall
structure No. 4	connected	6.5 ~ 7m	~ 11m	4.7m	3 x 2	south-western gallery of the western courtyard
structure No. 5	~ 21.5m	6.5 ~ 7m	~ 19m	4.7m	6 x 2	south-eastern gallery of the western courtyard
structure No. 6	~ 78m	6.5 ~ 7m	~ 76m	4.7m	24 (22) x 2	western gallery of the western courtyard
structure No. 7	connected	6.5 ~ 7m	~ 19m	4.7m	6 (4) x 2	northern gallery of the western courtyard

Table 15: Measurements of the excavated structures of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 (sections # 1, 2)

structure	platform		superstructure			function, comments
	length	width	length	width	no. bays	
<b>section # 3: eastern courtyard</b>						
structure No. 1	12m	8.5m	~ 10m	~ 5.5m	3 x 2	eastern middle gate
structure No. 2	12.5m (10.7m)	12.5m (10.7m)	7.5m	7.5m	3 x 3	eastern square stone pagoda
structure No. 3	18.45m (16.3m)	15m (12.8m)	12.7m	9.2m	5 x 4	eastern image hall
structure No. 4	connected	6.5 ~ 7m	~ 11m	4.7m	3 x 2	south-western gallery of the eastern courtyard
structure No. 5	~ 21.5m	6.5 ~ 7m	~ 19m	4.7m	6 x 2	south-eastern gallery of the eastern courtyard
structure No. 6	~ 78m	6.5 ~ 7m	~ 76m	4.7m	24 (22) x 2	eastern gallery of the eastern courtyard
structure No. 7	connected	6.5 ~ 7m	~ 19m	4.7m	6 (4) x 2	northern gallery of the eastern courtyard
<b>section # 4: northern courtyard</b>						
structure No. 1	65.2m 65.3m	19.55m 19.64m	61m 61.7m	16m 16.04m	13 x 4	lecture hall
structure No. 2	65.2m	14m	62.9m	4.5m ~ 11.5m	17 (18) x 4 (?)	western dormitories
structure No. 3	55.7m 65.2m	14m	62.9m	4.5m ~ 11.5m	17 (18) x 4 (?)	eastern dormitories
structure No. 4	~ 19.5m	~ 6m	~ 15.5m	~ 4m	5 x 2	north-western building
structure No. 5	~ 19.5m	~ 6m	~ 15.5m	~ 4m	5 x 2	north-eastern building
<b>section # 5: additional northern structures</b>						
structure No. 1	-	-	~ 8m	~ 2.5m	3 x 1	connection corridor between lecture hall and northern dormitories
structure No. 2	~ 132m	~ 13.5m	~ 129.5m	~ 11m	33 x 4 (?)	northern dormitories

Table 16: Measurements of the excavated structures of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 (sections # 3 - 5)

structure	platform		superstructure			function, comments
	length	width	length	width	no. bays	
<b>section # 6: southern courtyard</b>						
structure No. 1	~ 19m ?	~ 8.2m ?	16.5m ?	4.2m ?	5 x 1 (?)	central south gate
structure No. 2	~ 11.8m ?	~ 7.5m ?	9m ?	4.2m ?	3 x 1 (?)	western south gate
structure No. 3	~ 11.8m ?	~ 7.5m ?	9m ?	4.2m ?	3 x 1	eastern south gate
structure No. 4	~ 31.5m ?	~ 5m ?	~ 27m ?	~ 2.8m ?	8 (7) x 1 (?)	south-western gallery of the southern courtyard
structure No. 5	~ 43m ?	~ 5m ?	~ 39m ?	~ 2.8m ?	11 x 1 (?)	south-western intermediate gallery of the southern courtyard
structure No. 6	~ 43m ?	~ 5m ?	~ 39m ?	~ 2.8m ?	11 x 1 (?)	south-eastern intermediate gallery of the southern courtyard
structure No. 7	~ 31.5m	~ 5m	~ 27m	~ 2.8m	8 (7) x 1	south-eastern gallery of the southern courtyard
structure No. 8	~ 74m ?	~ 5m ?	~ 71.5m ?	~ 2.8m ?	21 (20) x 1 (?)	western gallery of the southern courtyard
structure No. 9	~ 74m	~ 5m	~ 71.5m	~ 2.8m	21 (20) x 1	eastern gallery of the southern courtyard

Table 17: Measurements of the excavated structures of Mi-rŭk-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 (section # 6)

## 3.2.3.3.3.1. The central courtyard: the middle gate

No foundation stones of the middle gate were found at their original location, because most of its platform was swept away by a stream<sup>1</sup> whose bed passed in later centuries through the central part of Mi-rŭk-sa. An excavated arrangement of stones seems to indicate the western limit of the wooden structure of the middle gate. As it lay in the continuation of the western upper platform edge of the square pagoda of the central courtyard, it can be assumed that the length of the wooden structure of the middle gate measured about 17.5m. The reconstruction drawings by CHANG<sup>2</sup> surmises that the platform of the middle gate could have measured about

<sup>1</sup> The stream seems to have no name, in the reports it is referred to as *ha-chŏn* 河川 하천. See: MHCKLG (1987, 1989), p. 67.

<sup>2</sup> The reconstruction drawing by CHANG Kyŏng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 has been redrawn by the Institute of Cultural Industries 文化産業研究所 문화산업연구소. The middle gate has not been included in the drawings of single buildings. However the south gate is included which could have had similar measurements. Its platform is supposed to have measured 20m by 8.3m, while the single-storied wooden structure measured 17.7m by 5.1m with 5 by 2 bays. See: CHANG Kyŏng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), pl. 27.

20m by 9m and that the wooden structure might have had five by two bays with a double roof<sup>1</sup> [fig. 304].



Fig. 304: Reconstruction drawings of the central middle gate of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미특사: ground plan, front elevation and schematic section (early 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 500) (after: CHANG Kyöng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), pp. 440ff.)

<sup>1</sup> A table in the work by CHANG suggests a width of the platform of the middle gate of 12.5m what seems to be too large. See: CHANG Kyöng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), p. 210 (pl. 4).



## 3.2.3.3.2. The square pagoda

The excavation of the site of the pagoda uncovered the northern side of the platform [fig. 305]. The remains of the granite retaining walls showed that the platform had two steps. The lower step was about 90cm wide and consisted of base stones and granite cover plates. The second step was much higher (about 1.2m compared to only about 12cm for the lower step) and consisted of base stones<sup>1</sup>, side stones<sup>2</sup> and cover stones<sup>3</sup>. The total height of the platform of about 1.3m can be estimated from the remains of the northern stairs [fig. 306]. It is supposed that the pagoda had stairs at the centre of each side as has been confirmed for the eastern stone pagoda. The stairs were about 1.7m long and 2.6m wide. Five steps, about 24cm high, and a threshold about 10cm high, led to the platform.

On the western and south-western side of the pagoda, an arrangement of stones, about 14m and 6.5m long, seem to have indicated the position of the second step of the platform. The eastern part of the platform of the pagoda was washed away by the stream. As only few fragments of the platform were discovered, the exact size of the platform is not known. The sides of the lower step measured between 18.2m and 19.5m; an average length of about 19m seems to be plausible.

A pile of three stone blocks was found on the interior surface of the platform but the size and the position of the upper block<sup>4</sup> seem to contradict the intuition that it could have been a foundation stone of a wooden structure. Several pits were dug into the platform [fig. 306]. Thin layers of rammed earth of 3cm to 5cm continued until a depth of about 3.5m. Below the layers of rammed earth was a layer of large rocks, about 2m thick. No evidence of a central foundation stone of a wooden column was discovered.

1 Base stone: *chi-dæ-sǒk* 地臺石 지대석.

2 Side stone: *myǒn-sǒk* 面石 면석.

3 Cover stone: *kab-sǒk* 甲石 갑석.

4 The approximately square upper surface of the stone measured about 40cm, which seems to be too small for interior columns of a large wooden pagoda. Its position was about 3m to the west and about 1.4m to the north of the supposed centre of the pagoda. If a reconstruction is based on this stone, then either the interior bays have had very different lengths or a column must have been placed in the main axes. Both solutions are improbable if compared to known pagoda ground plans of Bæk-che, Sin-la and Japan.

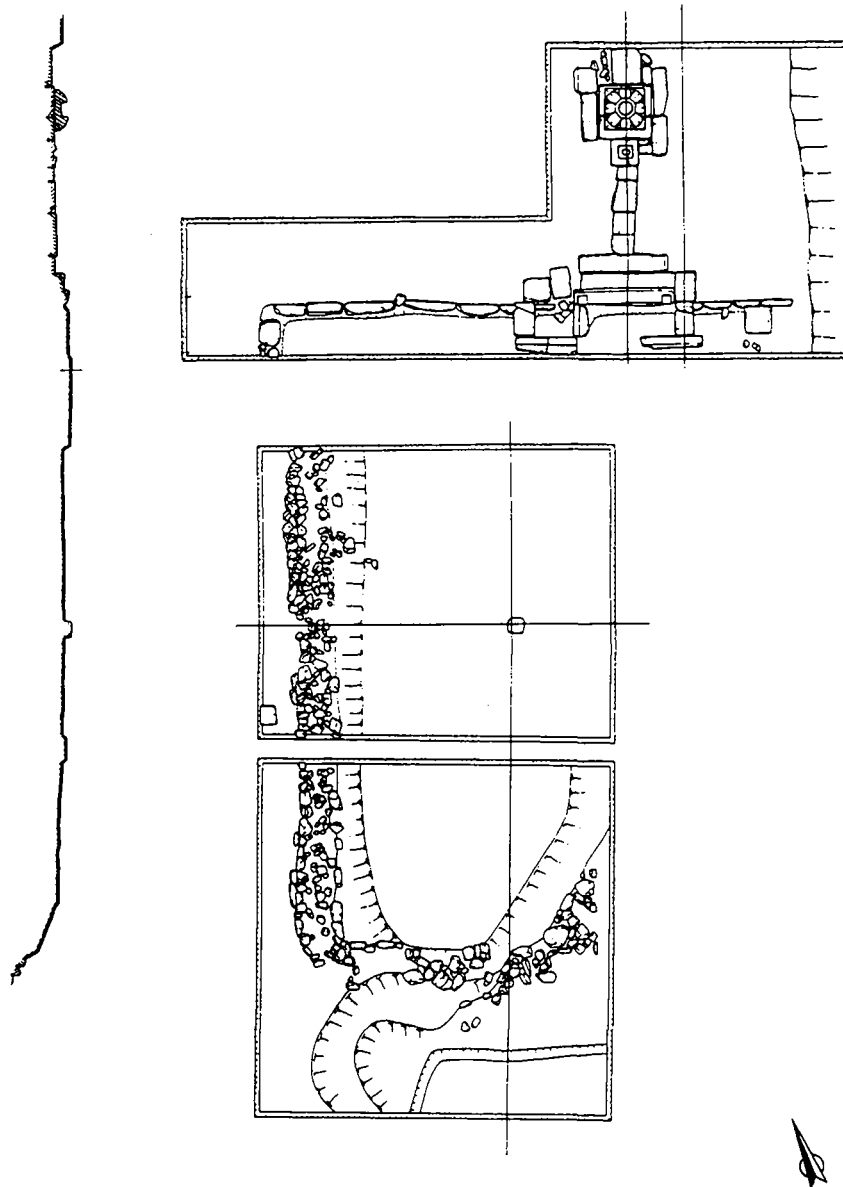


Fig. 305: Excavation plan of the central pagoda of Mi-rŭk-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 (early 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 200) (after: MHCKLG (1987, 1989), pl. 7)

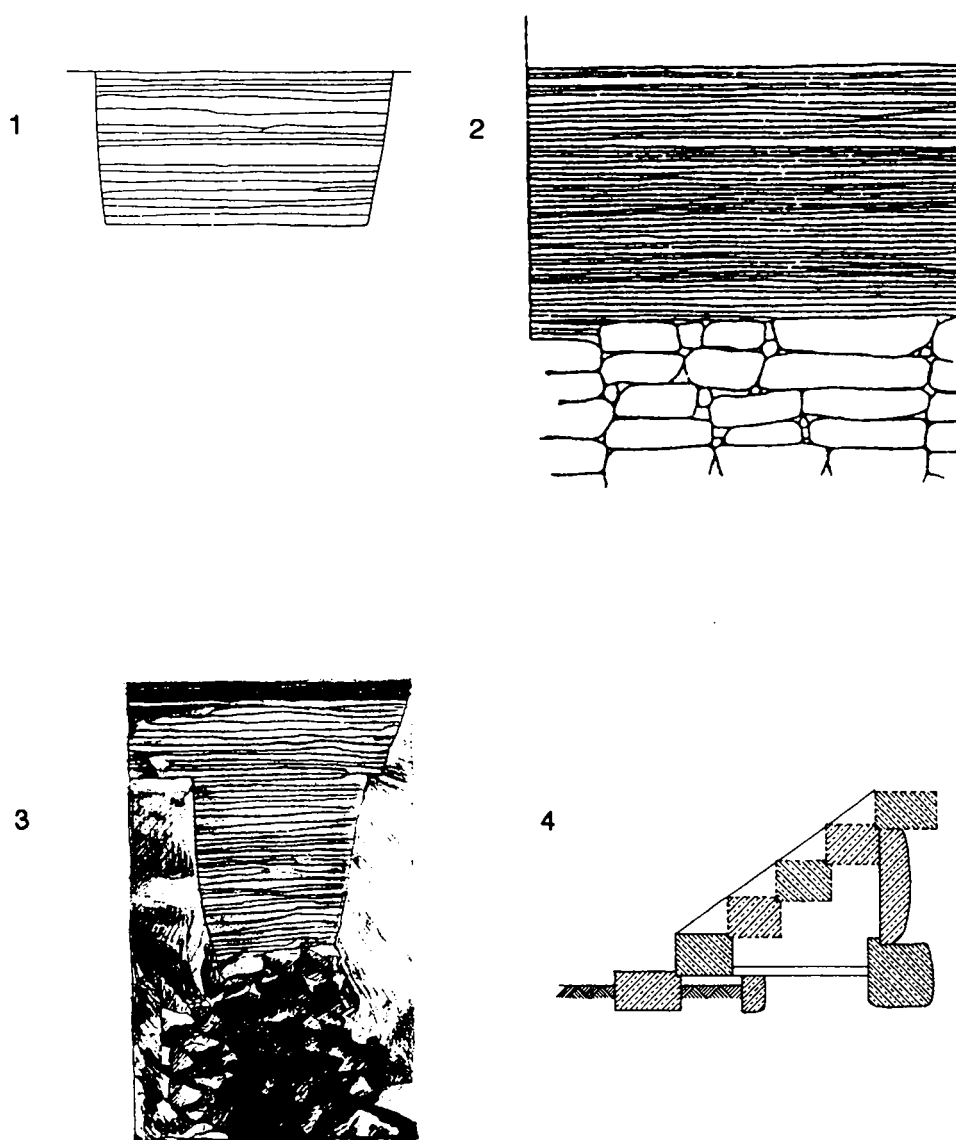


Fig. 306: Central pagoda of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사: sections of the platform (scale: 1 : 100) (1, 2), perspective of a trench into the platform (3) and reconstructed section of the stairs and retaining walls (scale: 1 : 50) (4) (early 7th C. AD) (after: MHCKLG (1987, 1989), pl. 21 (1); CHANG Kyöng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), pp. 451 (2), 233 (4) and drawing by the author (3))

The construction method of the central pagoda is uncertain because no conclusive evidence of foundation stones for wooden columns was found on the site. There is not even evidence of a central foundation stone which is usually lowered deep into the earth and which thus resists most kinds of devastation. A large number of excavated tiles<sup>1</sup> indicates that the pagoda possessed some kind of tile roofs since its founding, what led most authors to conclude that the pagoda was a wooden construction. The central square pagoda of Mi-rük-sa of was thus generally imagined as a nine-storied wooden structure of five by five bays.

The reconstruction drawings by CHANG<sup>2</sup> of such a wooden construction estimates the total height of the pagoda including the platforms at about 45m with a proportion of base to height of about 1 : 3.5 [figs. 307 - 309]. The proportion of the ruined western stone pagoda at Mi-rük-sa is identical in the same reconstruction project<sup>3</sup>. Some details of the reconstruction project will be discussed in Chapter 3.3.

The thick rammed earth layer and the absence of evidence of column foundations could also lead to a different reconstruction project where the main supports of the construction were not punctual but linear or a surface. The following arguments can be cited in support of such a thesis:

1. the foundation of the platform of the central pagoda is different to those of the wooden image halls where numerous foundation stones for wooden columns were found
2. no central foundation stone, peripheral foundation stones nor holes of wooden columns were discovered in the rammed earth
3. no traces of burnt earth or ash were found
4. tiles are not only used in wooden structures but also in brick and clay structures for example
5. is it convincing to imagine the main pagoda as a wooden structure between two pagodas made of labour-intensive and therefore more precious granite ?

<sup>1</sup> More than 800 tile fragments are mentioned in the excavation report. Virtually all of them date to the Bæk-che period, what seems to indicate that the pagoda was not reconstructed in later periods. See further below.

<sup>2</sup> See: CHANG Kyöng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), pp. 419 - 414.

<sup>3</sup> Measured on the project of the eastern pagoda which is based on the reconstruction of the western pagoda by the Cultural Properties Research Institute. The proportion of the stone pagoda at Chöng-nim-sa 定林寺 정림사 (No. 4.19.1.) is about 1 : 5 if the lost finial is reconstructed. In China, the extant wooden pagoda at Fogong-si 佛宮寺 불궁사 features the proportion of 1 : 2.77. The proportions of the Japanese pagodas are about 1 : 5.2 for the pagoda at Hōryū-ji 法隆寺 ほうりゅうじ 법룡사 and ca. 1 : 5 for the pagoda at Yakushi-ji 藥師寺 やくしじ 약사사. In Korea the two only extant examples have the following proportions: 1 : 2 for the pagoda at Bōb-chu-sa 法住寺 법주사 (No. 3.11.1.) and 1 : 3.75 for the pagoda at Ssang-bong-sa 雙峰寺 쌍봉사 (No. 6.9.2.).

On the other hand, the supporters of a wooden construction for the central pagoda can argue that:

1. the only known materials for pagodas in Bæk-che are stone and wood, but the numerous excavated tiles make a stone construction unlikely
2. no bricks nor important stone fragments were found on the site of the central pagoda, brick or stone constructions are therefore unlikely
3. the method of rammed earth could have made the use of a foundation stone for the central wooden column unnecessary
4. continuous agriculture and the stream might have erased the foundations of the wooden columns

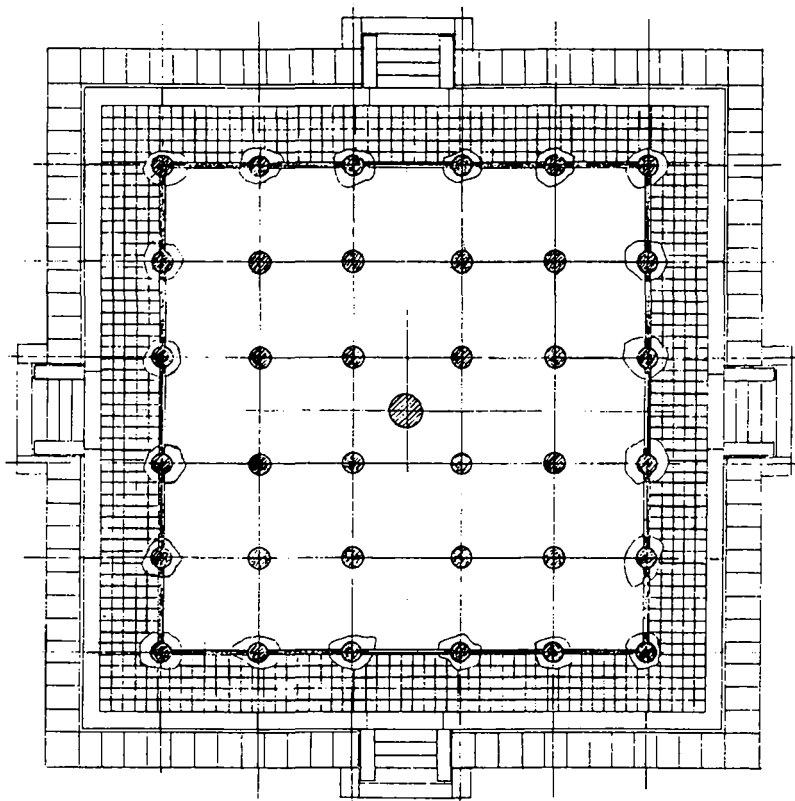


Fig. 307: Reconstruction drawings of the central pagoda of Mi-rŭk-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 according to CHANG: ground plan (early 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 200)  
(after: Institute of Cultural Industries 文化産業研究所 문화산업연구소)

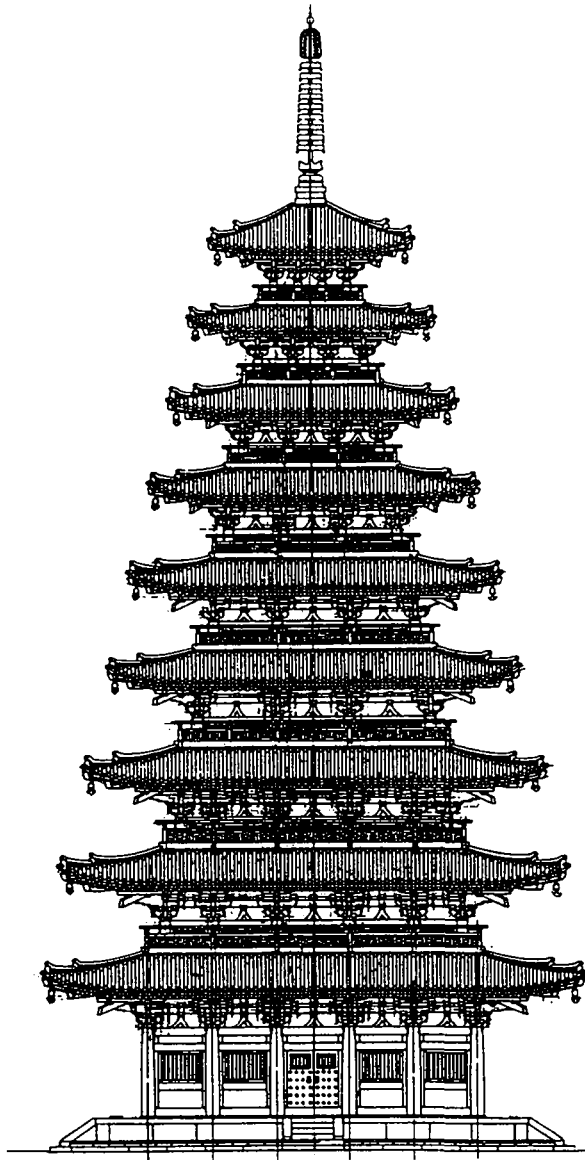


Fig. 308: Reconstruction drawings of the central pagoda of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 according to CHANG: front elevation (early 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 300)  
(after: Institute of Cultural Industries 文化産業研究所 문화산업연구소)

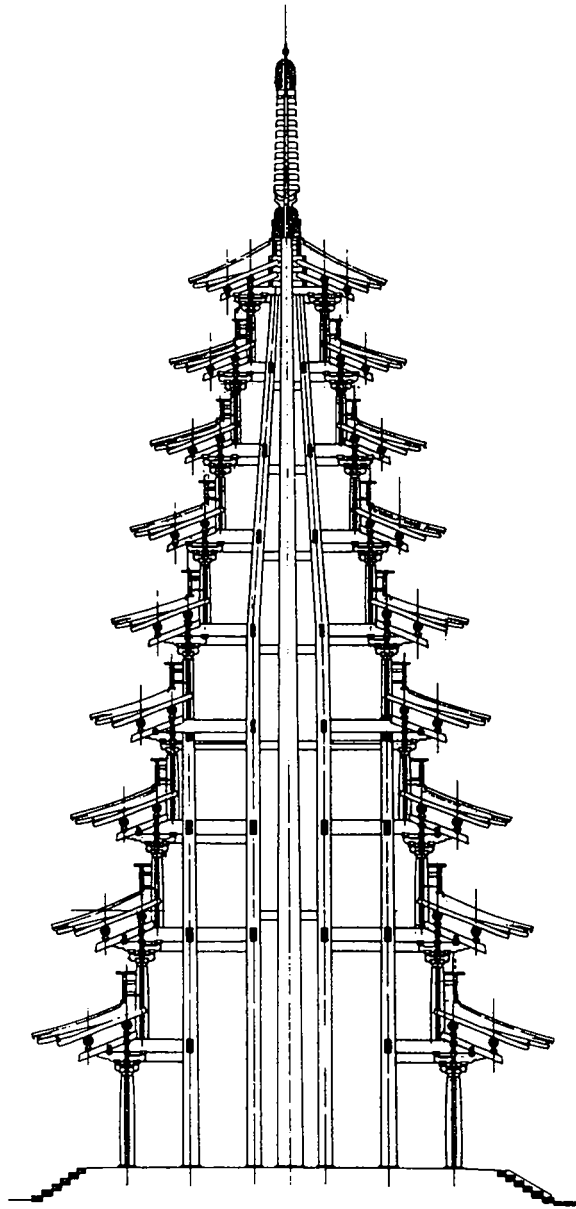


Fig. 309: Reconstruction drawings of the central pagoda of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 according to CHANG: section (early 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 300)  
(after: Institute of Cultural Industries 文化産業研究所 문화산업연구소)

The arguments for each position are important enough to shed doubt on the other. The excavation of the pagoda of Yongning-si in Luoyang of the Northern Wei<sup>1</sup> [figs. 151, 407ff.] could suggest a new hypothesis for the construction of the central pagoda of Mi-rük-sa. This possibility is discussed in detail in Chapter 3.3. so that I only mention here that this hypothesis would consist of a mixed structure of a brick or earth core and a peripheral wooden structure which would have been attached to the core. This hypothesis has the advantage to be able to explain the discovery of the numerous roof tiles and the fact that the pagoda had no central foundation stone, but it is still not able to answer all the questions, in particular why the lateral pagodas were built in stone.

#### 3.2.3.3.3. The central image hall

The eastern side of the platform of the central image hall was washed away by the stream as in the case of the pagoda, but the southern, western and northern sides provide enough information for a complete reconstruction. At least thirteen foundation stones were uncovered inside the platform at their original locations [fig. 310]. It seems that a wooden column stood at each of the thirty intersections of the axes of the foundation stones. The eight corner bays measured all about 3.3m, the intermediate lateral bays about 3.7m and the intermediate front and rear bays about 4.5m.

The platform was surrounded on all four sides with an arrangement of stones, about 1.8m wide, except at the sites of the front and rear stairs. This stone arrangement recalls those around the octagonal pagodas of Ko-gu-ryō. The platform of the image hall was about 1.44m high and had two steps of heights of about 23cm and 1.21m [fig. 311]. Its retaining walls were constructed in a similar way to those of the platform of the pagoda. The lower cover stones measured about 1m by 80cm by 13cm. The second step of the platform possessed square granite pillars, with sides measuring 50cm to 60cm, in each corner. They protruded from the surface of the side stones by 3cm to 5cm. The exact position of the side stones and the corner pillars was carved into the upper surface of the base stones. The front and rear stairs were about 2.5m long and 3.7m wide. They consisted of five stone steps, about 24cm high, a threshold, about 7cm high and a landing stone, about 17cm high.

<sup>1</sup> Yongning-si 永寧寺 영녕사, Luoyang 洛陽 낙양, Northern Wei 北魏 북위 (386 - 534 AD). See: Chapter 2.3., pp. 184f., Chapter 3.3., pp. 546ff.



The square foundation stones were placed parallel to the retaining walls; they were about 35cm high and their sides measured 1m to 1.1m. On top of these foundation stones stood the actual foundations of the wooden columns [fig. 311]. The square granite columns, probably about 1m high and 65cm large, were placed diagonally on the lower foundation stones. The top 9cm were carved into a circle, about 40cm in diameter, and the remaining surface of the square was rounded

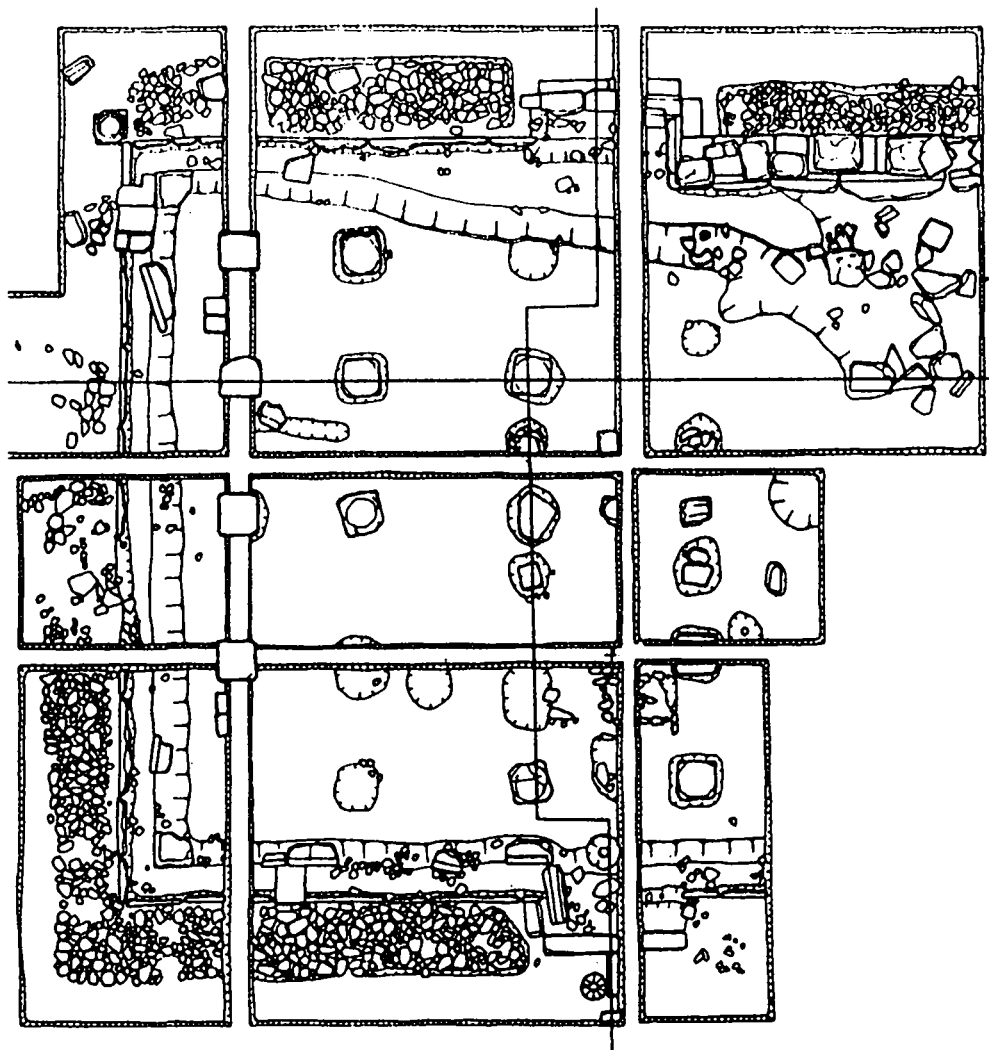


Fig. 310: Excavation plan of the central image hall of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 (early 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 200) (after: MHCKLG (1987, 1989), p. 107, pl. 8)

towards the corners. The empty space around the foundation columns inside the retaining walls was filled with earth.

The central image hall was not particularly big and must have stood in the shadow of the large pagoda. The reconstruction drawings by CHANG<sup>1</sup> propose a double-roofed structure with a total height of about 19m [figs. 312 - 315]. Two central columns are removed in the ground plan so that a new function for the two central foundation stones would have to be proposed. However, the foundation stones can hardly be the foundations of the altar or the Buddhist images because in this case a large central foundation could be expected for the central Maitreya figure. It is also supposed that the floors of the early image halls were covered by tiles so that the explanation of the stones as foundations for a wooden floor is not likely either. It seems thus that the original central image hall of Mi-rŭk-sa featured a ground plan where no interior column was removed.

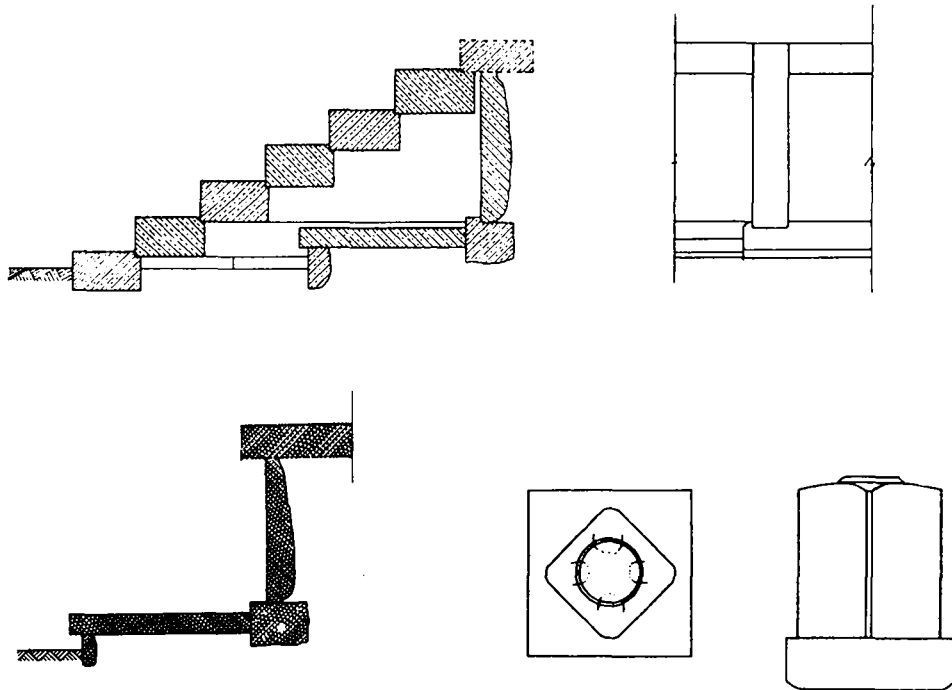


Fig. 311: Central image hall of Mi-rŭk-sa 彌勒寺 미특사: section of the stairs and retaining wall of the platform and plan and elevation of a foundation stone (early 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 50) (after: CHANG Kyŏng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), pp. 227f, 248)

<sup>1</sup> See: CHANG Kyŏng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), p. 411, 414, 442.

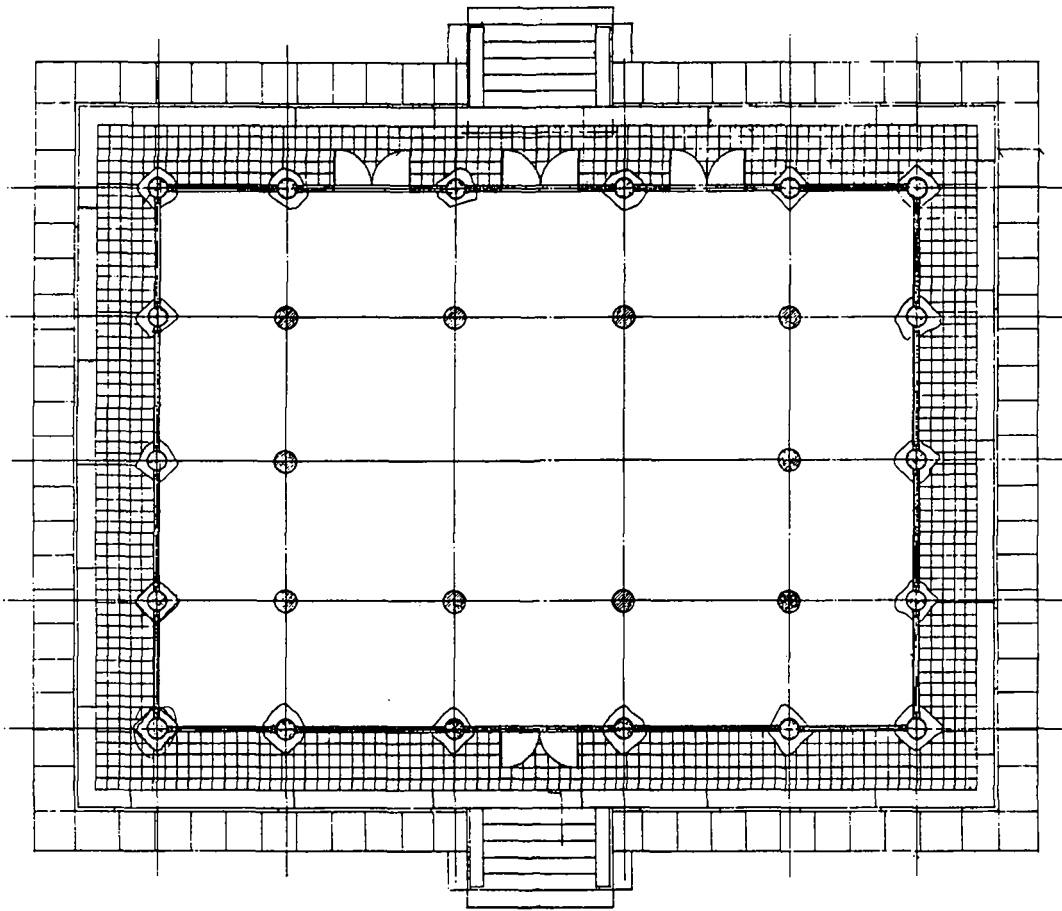


Fig. 312: Reconstruction drawings of the central image hall of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 according to CHANG: ground plan (early 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 200)  
(after: Institute of Cultural Industries 文化産業研究所 문화산업연구소)

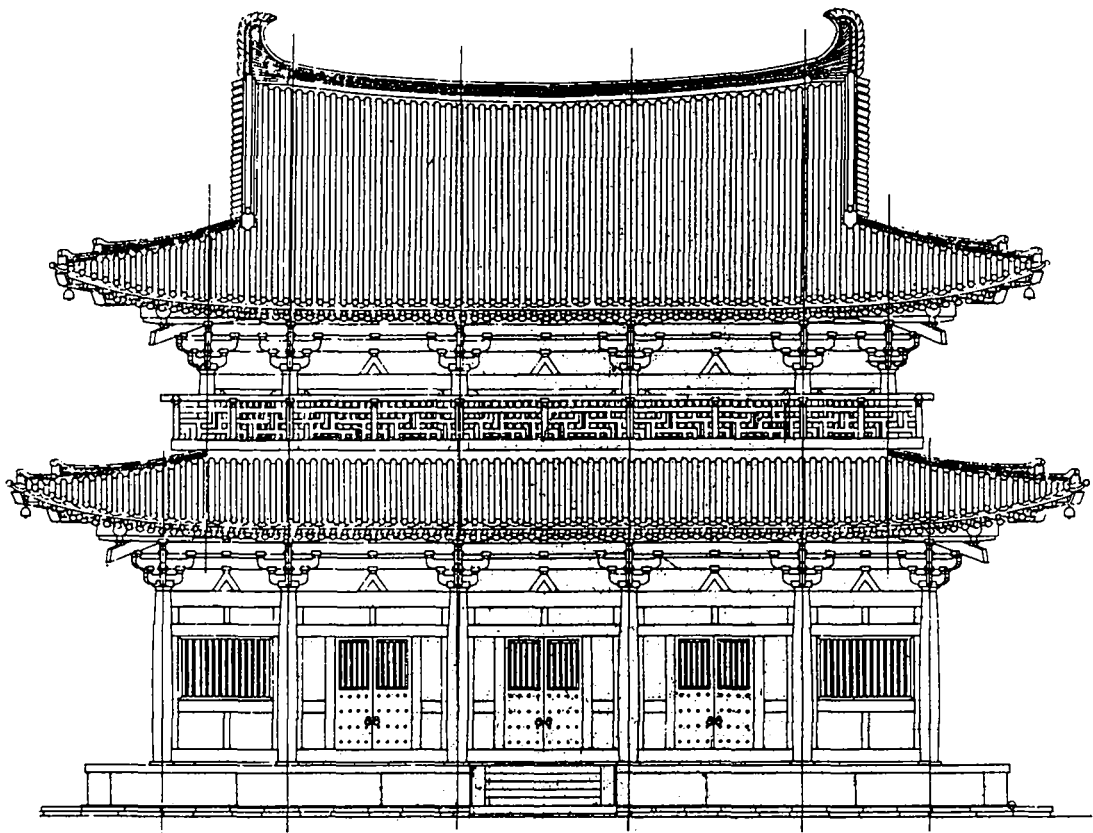


Fig. 313: Reconstruction drawings of the central image hall of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 according to CHANG: front elevation (early 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 200)  
(after: Institute of Cultural Industries 文化産業研究所 문화산업연구소)

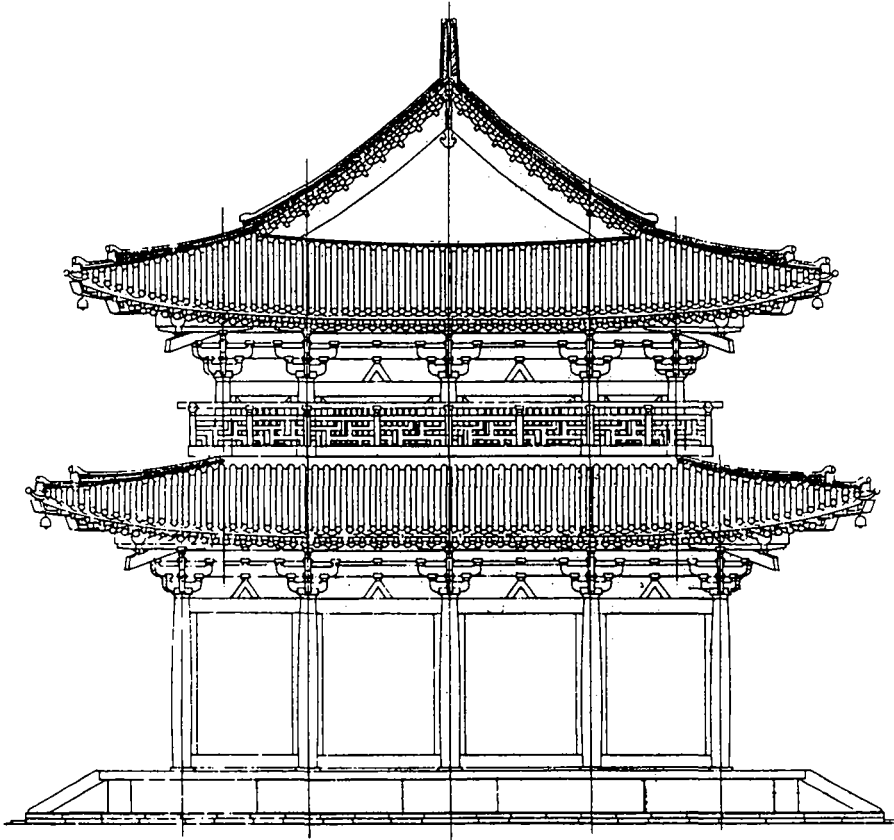


Fig. 314. Reconstruction drawings of the central image hall of Mi-rŭk-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 according to CHANG: lateral elevation (early 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 200)  
(after: Institute of Cultural Industries 文化産業研究所 문화산업연구소)

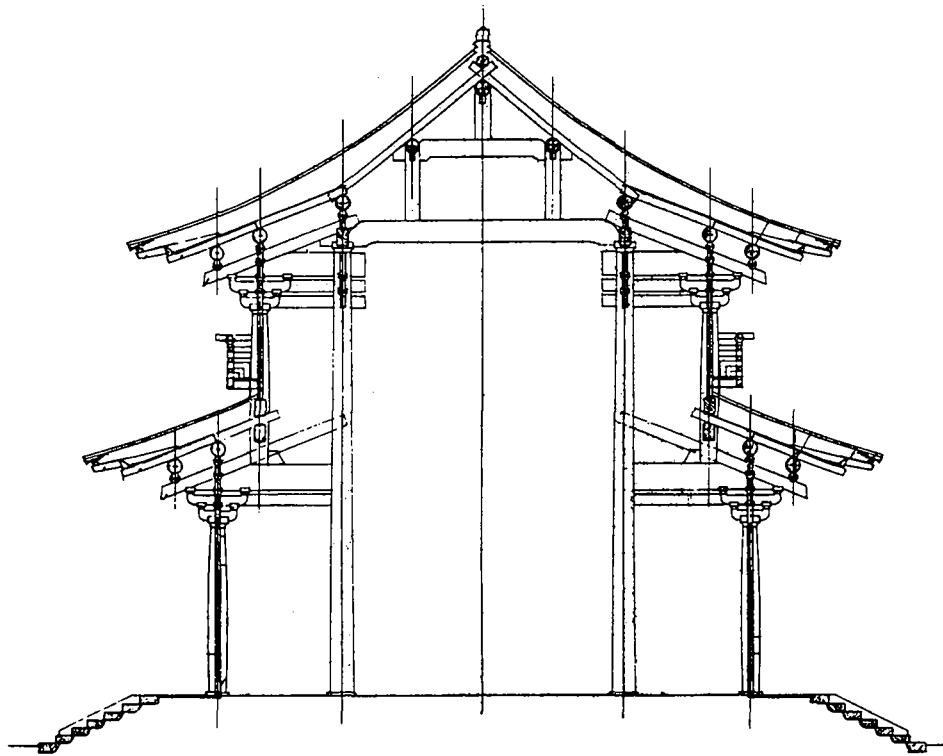


Fig. 315: Reconstruction drawings of the central image hall of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 according to CHANG: section (early 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 200)  
(after: Institute of Cultural Industries 文化産業研究所 문화산업연구소)

## 3.2.3.3.4. The stone lantern

The stone lantern stood about 13.5m behind the centre of the central pagoda. The two lowest base stones of the lantern stood still at their original site [figs. 305, 316]. The sides of the lower foundation stone of the lantern measured about 1.36m. The upper part of the square base stone, whose sides measured about 1.05m, was carved with an inverted lotus flower.

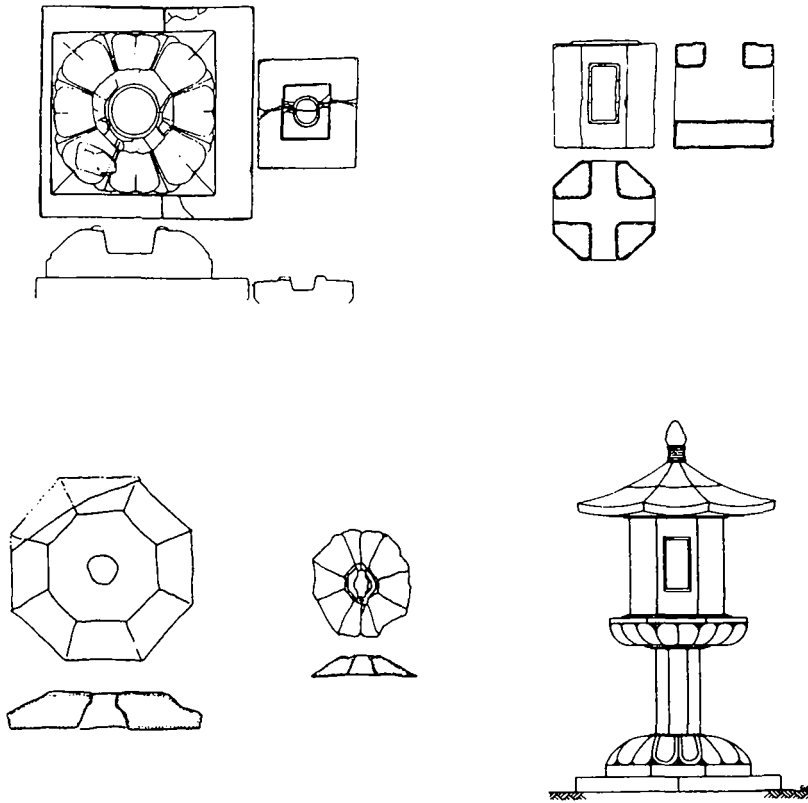


Fig. 316: Plans and sections of fragments and reconstructed elevation of the central stone lantern of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 (early 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 50) (after: MHCKLG (1987, 1989), pl. 34-2ff.; CHANG Kyöng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), pp. 374, 376f.)

By assembling the pieces of the stone lantern which were found during the various excavations, the original form of the lantern can be reconstructed [fig. 316]. The height of the original lantern can thus be estimated at about 2.4m. The lantern was formed of the two above-mentioned base stones, an octagonal pillar, a lotus-shaped base of the fire chamber (this piece was not found), the octagonal fire chamber with four openings, the lower and upper stones of the octagonal pyramidal roof and a finial (also missing).

The lantern shows that Bæk-che used the octagonal form at least for stone constructions. The remains of an exceptional nine-sided building at I-sǒng-san-sǒng<sup>1</sup> [fig. 468] indicates that Bæk-che constructed polygonal pavilions which could have looked similar to the Japanese Yumedono<sup>2</sup> pavilion type [figs. 526f.].

### 3.2.3.3.5. The galleries

Parts of the western, northern and eastern galleries of the central courtyard were quite well preserved so that the reconstruction of these galleries is possible [fig. 317]. The galleries were two bays deep and possibly featured a separation wall along the central axes. The lateral galleries and the northern gallery were connected at the north-western and north-eastern corners. No gates were discovered in these galleries but it can be assumed that there were openings in the walls in order to permit the access to the other courtyards at least at the rear of the image hall and possibly on the transversal axis of the three pagodas. The longitudinal bays measured 3.3m to 3.4m and the transversal bays between 2.1m and 2.4m. The platforms were delimited by low retaining walls formed of side stones, about 35cm high, and cover stones, 1.2m to 2m long, about 38cm wide and 16cm high [fig. 318]. The side stones were lowered into the earth so that the platforms were about 34cm high.

The excavation report<sup>3</sup> supposes that the lateral galleries have been connected to the southern galleries of the central courtyard but not to those of the lateral courtyards. This assumption makes the position of the separation walls precarious. The perspective by CHANG<sup>4</sup> imagines therefore the southern galleries as a continuous structure which stood on a long two-stepped platform and which was

<sup>1</sup> I-sǒng-san-sǒng 二聖山城 이성산성. See: CHANG Kyǒng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992), p. 80ff.; *HGKCS*, p. 141f.

<sup>2</sup> Yumedono 夢殿 ゆめどの 몽전. An octagonal pavilion in the eastern precinct of Hōryū-ji 法隆寺 ほうりゅうじ 법룡사, constructed in 739 AD. See: NAKAGAWA Takeshi 中川 武なかがわたくし 중천 무 (1990), p. 172f.

<sup>3</sup> See: MHCKLG (1987, 1989), pl. 3-1, 3-2.

<sup>4</sup> See: CHANG Kyǒng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), p. 435f.



only interrupted by the three middle gates [figs. 302, 318]. The assumption of an interruption of the southern galleries is based on discovery that the southern edge of the gallery of the central courtyard was shifted by about 50cm to the north compared the edge of the platform of the eastern courtyard relative to the retaining wall which ran along all three courtyards. But as the exact location of the columns are not known it seems that the assumption rendered in the perspective provides a more practical solution. In this case, the separation walls of the lateral galleries would be continued until the southern row of columns of the southern gallery and joined there the southern separation wall. The other assumption would create two galleries of only three bays with open ends.

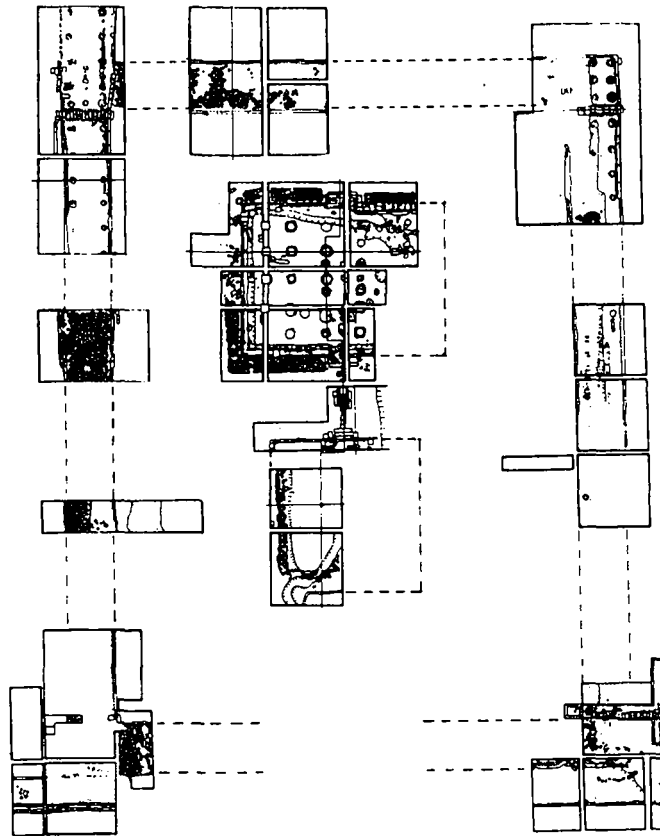


Fig. 317: Excavation plan of the central courtyard of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사: galleries, square pagoda, central image hall (early 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 1,000) (after: MHCKLG (1987, 1989), pp. 104, 106ff.)

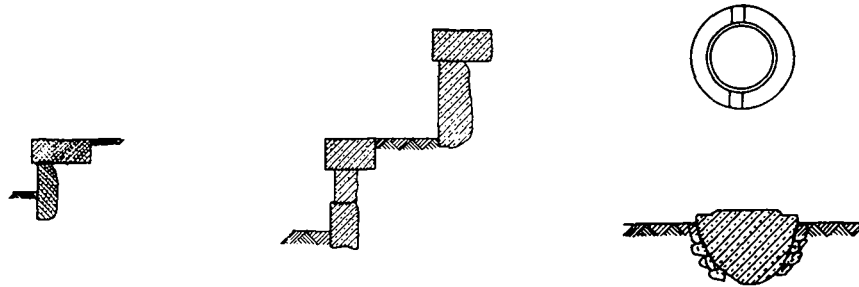


Fig. 318: Sections of the retaining walls of the platform of the galleries and of the southern two-stepped platform and plan and section of a foundation stone of the galleries of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 (early 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 50)  
(after: CHANG Kyöng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), pp. 237f., 260)

At the ends of the lateral galleries there were drainage ditches similar to those of Chöng-rim-sa<sup>1</sup> mentioned above. The drainage system seems to have been well developed, and the ditches of the eastern gallery were connected to an underground drainage ditch which ran between the eastern image hall, the eastern stone pagoda and the eastern gallery of the central courtyard.

#### 3.2.3.3.6. The eastern and western courtyards: the middle gates

The sizes of most structures of the eastern and western courtyards are assumed to have been identical as has been confirmed for the eastern and western image halls and stone pagodas. The platform of the middle gate of the western courtyard was heavily damaged so that the excavated evidence of the eastern middle gate has also been applied to the western middle gate.

The remains of the eastern middle gate include the two northern corner stones of the platform and three holes where foundation stones were located. The foundation stones had a distance of about 12.3m from each other. Two of the holes belonged to the northern column row and had a distance of about 6.85m from each other and about 1.15m from the northern edge of the platform. One hole lay about 2.8m to the south of the northern holes, about on the longitudinal axis of the southern gallery and belonged therefore to the central row of columns of the middle gate. With these elements the measurements given in the table can be calculated if the gate is imagined as symmetrical with the two main axes.

<sup>1</sup> Chöng-rim-sa 定林寺 정림사 (No. 4.19.1.). See: pp. 323ff.

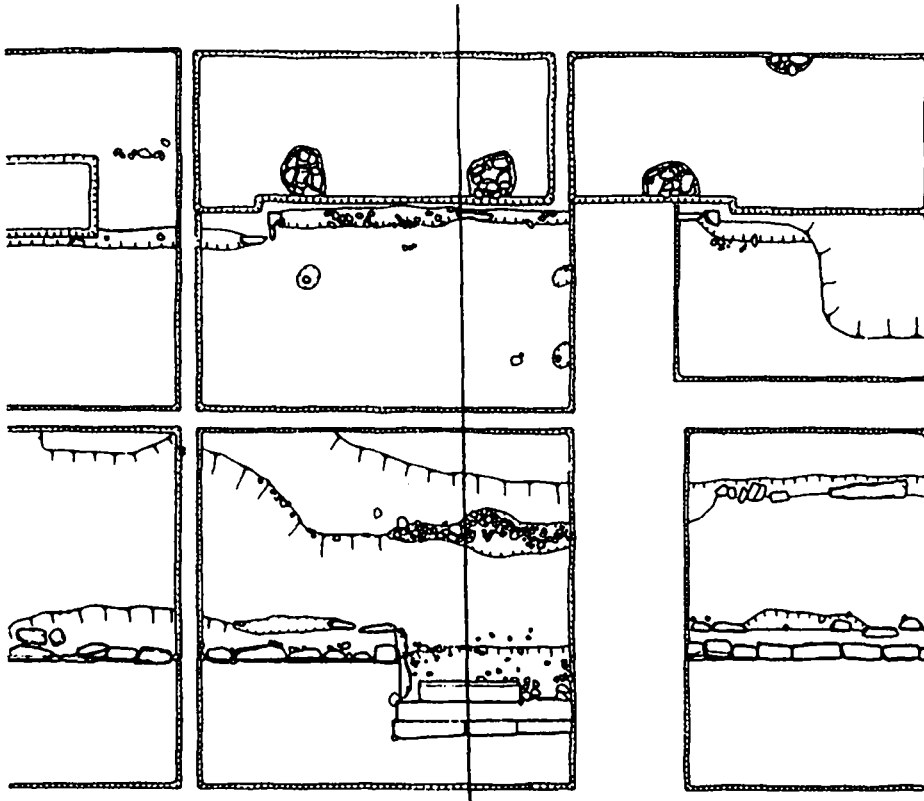


Fig. 319: Excavation plan of the eastern middle gate of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 (early 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 200) (after: MHCKLG (1987, 1989), p. 104, pl. 6)

### 3.2.3.3.7. The square stone pagodas

While the construction material of the central pagoda is still doubtful, it is certain that both lateral pagodas were made of stone<sup>1</sup>. Parts of the lower six stories of the western stone pagoda are still extant. A consolidation work in 1915 AD sealed most of the western part of the remains in a thick cement layer. A few photographs show however the state of the pagoda before the intervention. It is questionable if it should be tried to peel the cement off the structure because there is danger of further damage to the original stones. Instead of reconstructing the western pagoda, a project to reconstruct the eastern pagoda on its original

<sup>1</sup> As mentioned above it is quite surprising that the lateral pagodas are made in a much more labour-intensive material than the supposed central wooden pagoda. Stone was considered a more precious material than wood also in East Asia, so that the central pagoda could be expected to have been made of stone, rather than the lateral ones. An explanation may be that the intended size of the central pagoda made a stone construction either too expensive or structurally too complicated.

foundations based on the form of the western pagoda and the remaining construction material found on the site has been executed from 1992 to 1993 AD.

### 3.2.3.3.7.1. The damaged western pagoda

The damaged western pagoda [figs. 320 - 329] belongs to the most important architectural remains of the Bæk-che period together with the stone pagoda of Chǒng-rim-sa [figs. 239 - 241] and the tomb of King Mu-ryǒng with its material remains [figs. 438, 621, 629]. As only the lower part of the pagoda is extant, several authors have tried to imagine the original shape of the structure. It had first been assumed that the pagoda had only seven stories but since the reconstruction report of the eastern pagoda, most authors acknowledge that the western pagoda too originally had nine stories. An argument for this assumption is a passage in the *Yu-gŭm-ma-gi*<sup>1</sup> which states that in the eighteenth century AD "only seven stories remained of the [western ?] stone pagoda" what seems to imply that the pagoda originally had at least nine stories<sup>2</sup>.

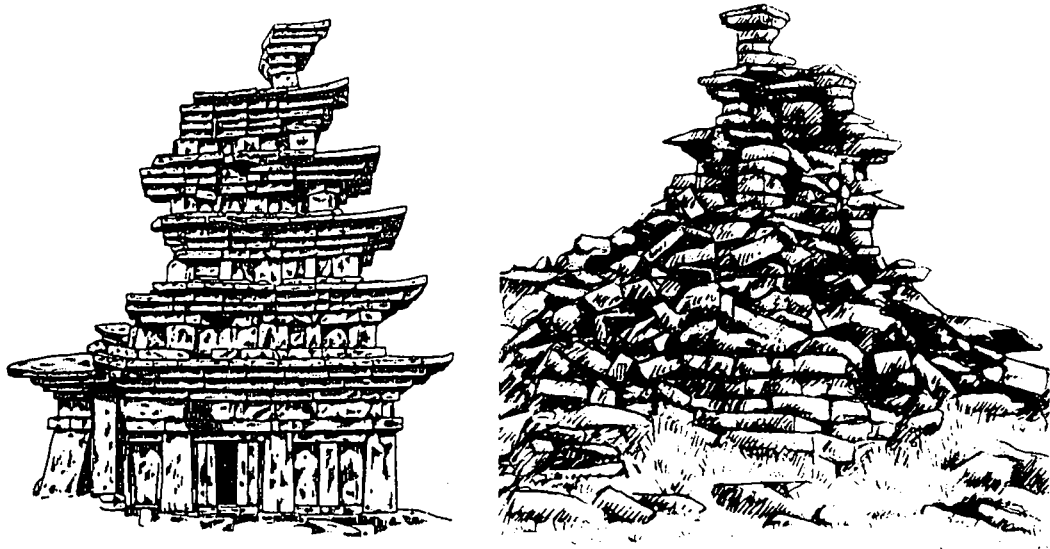


Fig. 320: Perspectives of the front and back sides of the western stone pagoda of Mi-rŭk-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 before the consolidation work of 1915 AD (early 7th C. AD) (after: GRISWOLD, KIM Chewon et al. (1964), p. 80 and drawing by the author)

<sup>1</sup> *Yu-gŭm-ma-gi* 「遊金馬記 유금마기」, by KANG Hu-chin 康候晉 강후진 during the reign of Yǒng-cho 英祖 영조 (r. 1725 - 1776). See: Chŏn-la-buk-do 全羅北道 전라북도 (ed.) (1990), p. 60.  
<sup>2</sup> An odd number of stories was the rule in the overwhelming majority of pagodas in East Asia.

In order to evaluate the details of the reconstruction projects it is necessary to discuss the extant part of the pagoda first. Table 18 resumes the main measurements of the damaged western pagoda:

number of stories	6 (originally 7 or 9 ?)
total height	12.94m
general angle	~ 74°
general proportion	(not complete)

	1st story	2nd story	3rd story	4th story	5th story	6th story
1. body ht. <sup>1</sup>	2.93m (~3m)*	0.69m (~0.65m)	0.55m (~0.58m)	0.48m (~0.5m)	0.42m (~0.45m)	0.37m (~0.48m)
2. br. ht. <sup>2</sup>	0.72m (~0.7m)	0.65m (~0.68m)	0.69m (~0.62m)	0.64m (~0.6m)	0.75m (~0.72m)	0.84m (~0.7m)
3. roof ht. <sup>3</sup>	0.56m (~0.6m)	0.49m (~0.55m)	0.56m (~0.65m)	0.55m (~0.62m)	0.71m (~0.62m)	0.38m (~0.32m)
4. body wi. <sup>4</sup>	8.27m	~ 7.5m	~ 6.9m	~ 5.7m	~ 4.9m	~ 4.1m
5. eaves wi. <sup>5</sup>	~ 10.8m	~ 9.8m	~ 9.2m	~ 7.9m	~ 6.4m	~ 5.8m
6. roof gra. <sup>6</sup>	~ 6°	~ 5.5°	~ 6°	~ 6.5°	~ 6°	~ 6.5°
7. br. angle <sup>7</sup>	~ 31.5°	~ 30°	~ 33°	~ 37°	~ 39°	~ 35°
8. bo. prop. <sup>8</sup>	1 : 2.82 (2.8)	1 : 10.87 (11.5)	1 : 12.55 (11.9)	1 : 12 (11.4)	1 : 11.67 (10.9)	1 : 11.08 (8.5)
9. wi. prop. <sup>9</sup>	1 : 1.31	1 : 1.31	1 : 1.33	1 : 1.39	1 : 1.31	1 : 1.41
10. h. pro. <sup>10</sup>	2.31 (2.3) : 1	1 : 1.65 (1.5)	1 : 2.26 (2.2)	1 : 2.49 (2.4)	1 : 3.46 (3.0)	1 : 3.28 (2.1)

\* in brackets: approximate measurements considering the inclination of the various elements

Table 18: Measurements of the damaged western stone pagoda of Mi-rŭk-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사

- 1 The body height: the base is not counted because it is still buried in the ground
- 2 The bracket height: the first four stories have three steps, the upper two stories four steps
- 3 The roof height includes the roof stones composed of a vertical and a roof slope portion and the base of the next story which can consist of one of two steps.
- 4 The body width.
- 5 The eaves width.
- 6 The roof gradient is the angle of the slope of the roof and the base line of the roof stones.
- 7 The bracket angle is the angle between the tangent of the roof eaves and the bracket stone and the base line of the roof stones.
- 8 The body proportion is the quotient of the height and the width of each story.
- 9 The width proportion is the quotient of the width of the body and the width of the eaves of each story.
- 10 The height proportion is the quotient of the height of the body and the height of the roof and bracket of each story.

## 3.2.3.3.7.1.1. The platform

The platform of the pagoda is still buried in the ground but partial excavations revealed that it had two steps [figs. 321 - 329]. The total height of the platform, from the original ground level to the interior floor level measured about 1.15m. The sides of the lower step were about 12.5m long, those of the upper step about 10.7m. The retaining walls were constructed in the same way as those of the image halls and the central pagoda. The lower step was 15cm to 20cm high, the upper step about 95cm to 1m.

## 3.2.3.3.7.1.2. The foundations

The superstructure stood on thirteen square foundations, twelve on the periphery and one in the centre [figs. 321 - 329]. The peripheral foundations lay on the same level as the lower platform step and they measured about 1.3m by 1.3m by 50cm. On top of these foundations lay the actual foundation stones of the stone columns of the faces. They measured about 1.2m by 1.2m by 70cm. The central column possessed the largest foundations: two square stone blocks with side lengths of about 1.6m and with heights of about 70cm and 80cm.

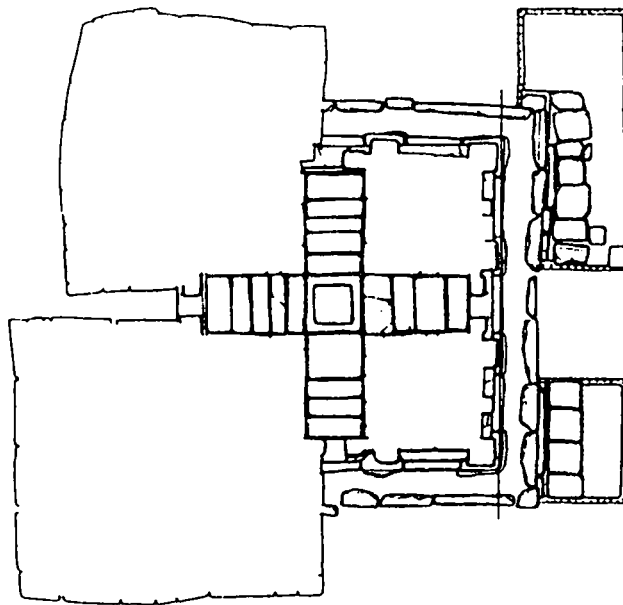


Fig. 321: Excavation plan of the damaged western stone pagoda of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 (early 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 200) (after: MHCKLG (1987, 1989), p. 109)

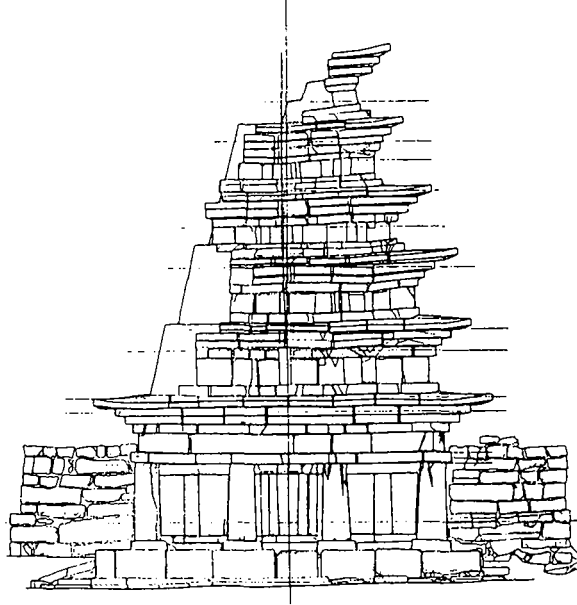


Fig. 322: Eastern elevation of the damaged western stone pagoda of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 (early 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 200) (after: KIM Hong-sik 金鴻植 김홍식 (1979), p. 117)

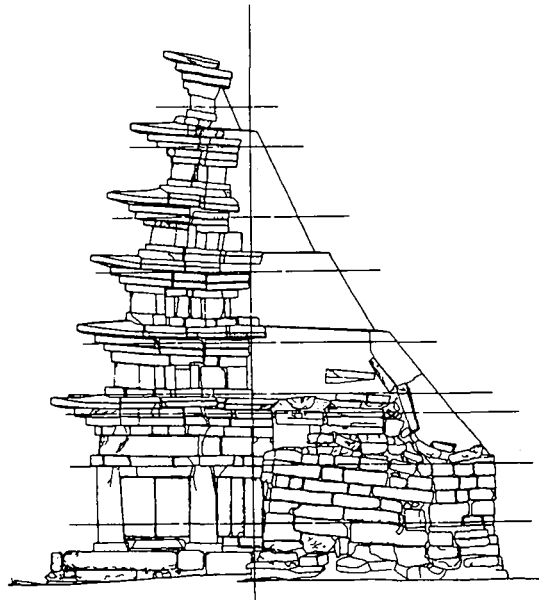


Fig. 323: Northern elevation of the damaged western stone pagoda of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 (early 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 200) (after: KIM Hong-sik 金鴻植 김홍식 (1979), p. 120)

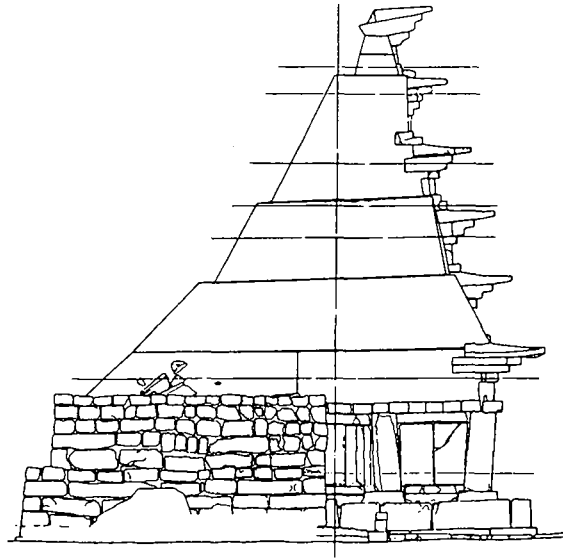


Fig. 324: Southern elevation of the damaged western stone pagoda of Mi-rŭk-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 (early 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 200) (after: KIM Hong-sik 金鴻植 김홍식 (1979), p. 119)

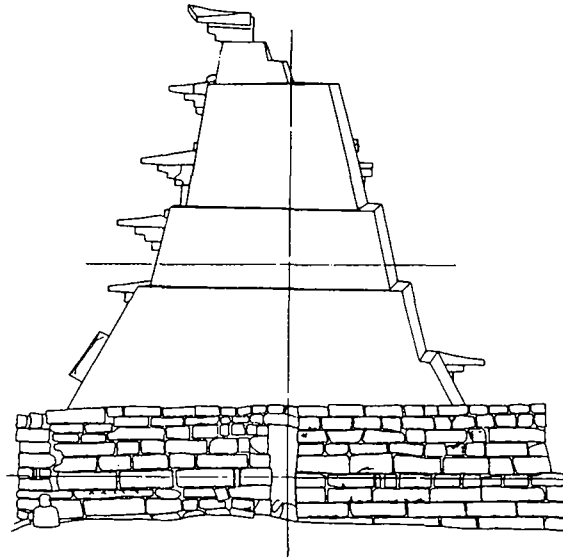


Fig. 325: Western elevation of the damaged western stone pagoda of Mi-rŭk-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 (early 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 200) (after: KIM Hong-sik 金鴻植 김홍식 (1979), p. 119)



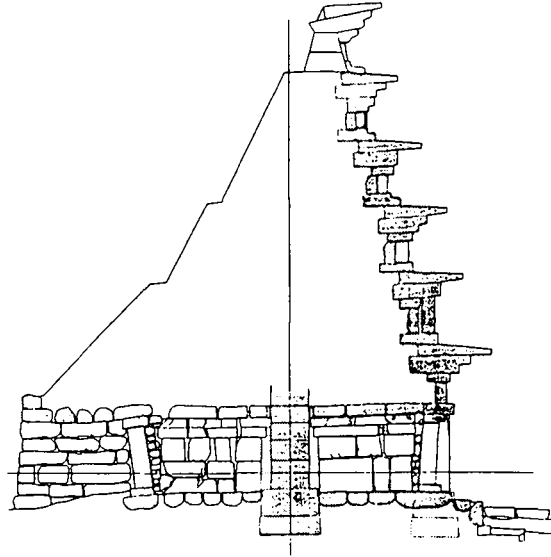


Fig. 326: West-east section of the damaged western stone pagoda of Mi-rŭk-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 (early 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 200) (after: KIM Hong-sik 金鴻植 김홍식 (1979), p. 121)

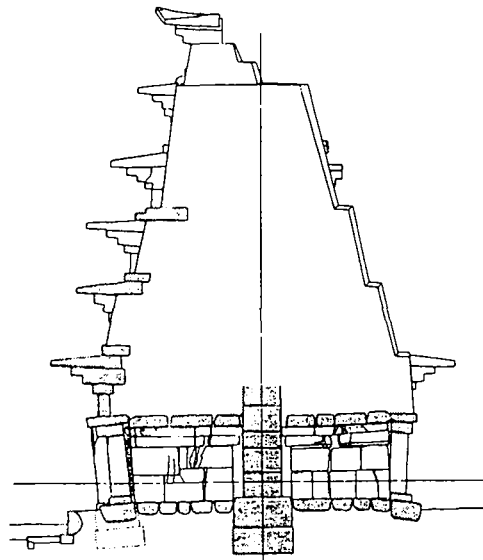


Fig. 327: North-south section of the damaged western stone pagoda of Mi-rŭk-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 (early 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 200) (after: KIM Hong-sik 金鴻植 김홍식 (1979), p. 122)

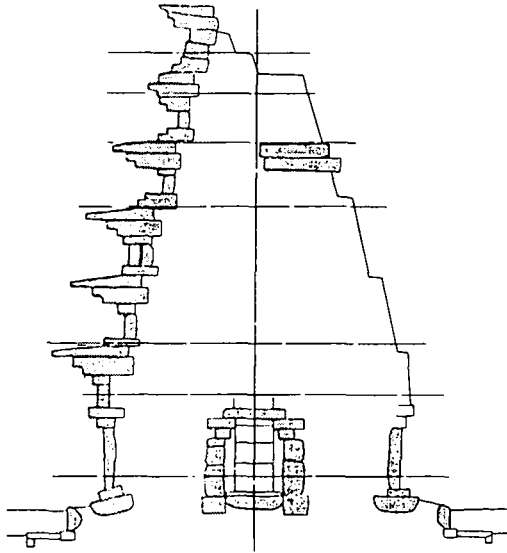


Fig. 328: North-south section of the damaged western stone pagoda of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 (early 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 200) (after: KIM Hong-sik 金鴻植 김홍식 (1979), p. 123)

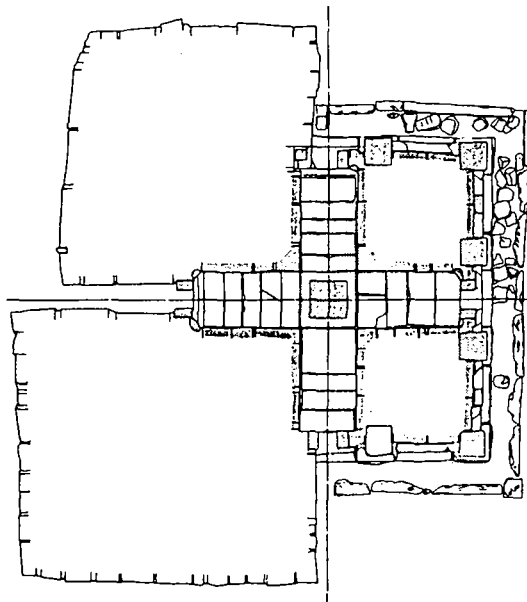


Fig. 329: Ground plan of the damaged western stone pagoda of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 (early 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 200) (after: KIM Hong-sik 金鴻植 김홍식 (1979), p. 105)

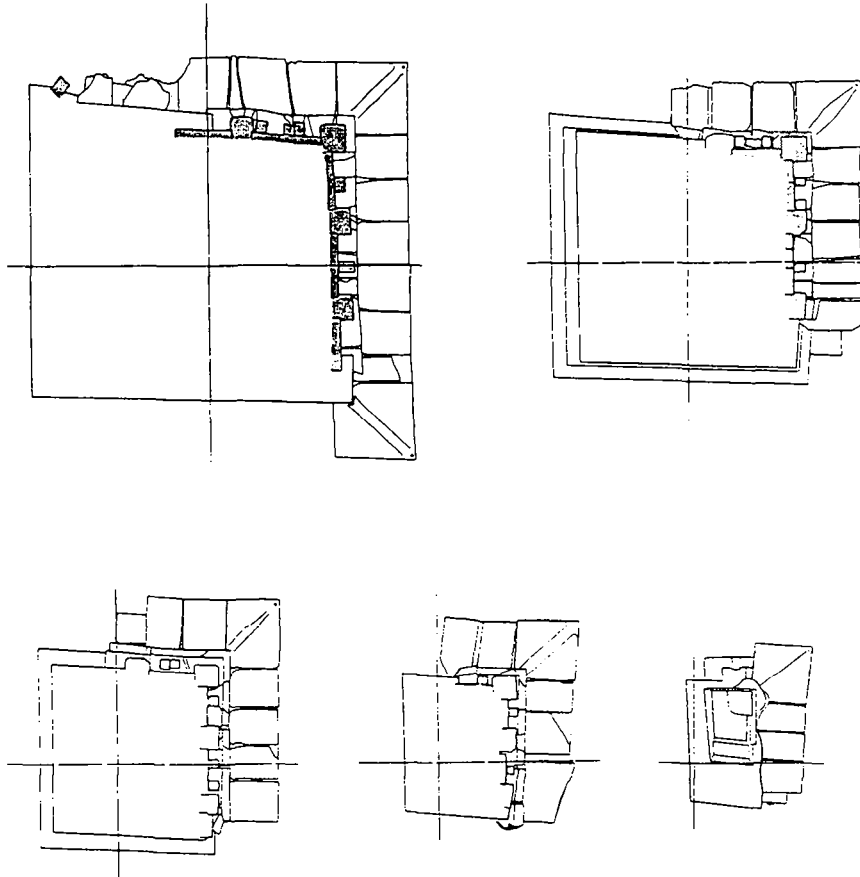


Fig. 329: Plans of the upper stories of the damaged western stone pagoda of Mi-rŭk-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 (early 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 200) (after: KIM Hong-sik 金鴻植 김홍식 (1979), pp. 109, 111, 113ff.)

### 3.2.3.3.7.1.3. The ground plan

The ground plan of the pagoda had thus faces with four columns and three bays. The central bays featured narrow opening (now about 50cm wide, originally maybe about 1m wide) which led to a cross-shaped tunnel whose branches were about 1.5m wide and 1.9m to 2m high [figs. 322, 328f.]. The tunnels were covered with long slabs which were placed on two levels of stone corbels. At the centre of the cross stood the central square pillar whose sides measured about 1m. The sides and the floor of the tunnels were also constructed by stone.

## 3.2.3.3.3.7.1.4. The interior structure

There are several assumptions concerning the structure of the remaining space beside and above the tunnels. As the ruined sides have been sealed off by the cement coat of 1915, it has so far been impossible to investigate these spaces. There are basically four possibilities for the construction method of the remaining interior spaces:

- 1 they were largely empty
- 2 they were completely filled with cut granite blocks or pebbles
- 3 they were completely filled with a mixture of earth and pebbles
4. a stone structure along the tunnel walls consolidated the faces by connecting them to the central column but left some spaces empty

The first possibility is the least probable because the faces seem to be too weak to be able to support almost all of the weight of the upper stories. The second assumption has been chosen for the reconstruction of the eastern pagoda which has been filled with granite blocks<sup>1</sup>. The third construction method is similar to the second but the interior pressure of the earth would seem to need thicker retaining walls than what has been able to be seen from the outside. Early photographs<sup>2</sup> before the consolidation work of 1915 show the partially-collapsed structure from several angles [fig. 320]. A view from the west, in particular, seems to contradict the third assumption and possibly also the second. The photograph shows that the face of the north-eastern corner was easily separated from any possible filling material. Four blocks of the central column can also be seen. Many stone blocks remain on top of the ground plan as if the structure collapsed into itself. If there were an earthen filling, hill-shaped, over-grown ruins would be expected and the pressure of the earth would have ejected the stone blocks of the faces towards the outside. The earth would also stick to the central column and the faces so that the earth would probably not have been washed off the faces and the central column in such a clean manner as shown in the photograph. A similar reflection also seems to contradict the second possibility because it is not likely that the outer faces would resist better than a massive core. The faces and the core would also be much more closely connected to each other so that the faces would not peel off as shown on the photograph. A filling with granite blocks would be expected to leave many more uncertain granite blocks on the site of the western and eastern pagoda.

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<sup>1</sup> In spite of the reconstruction drawings which seem to indicate large empty spaces [figs. 342 - 345].

<sup>2</sup> See: Chŏn-la-buk-do 全羅北道 전라북도 (ed.) (1990), p. 283f.

Furthermore, the weight of completely filled pagodas would probably need much deeper foundations than the excavated foundations with a depth of only about 1.2m.

The fourth method seems to be best able to explain the view seen on the early photographs of the collapsed western pagoda. It would also provide an explanation of the rather shallow foundations. As the interior spaces could not be investigated only speculation can be made about the nature of an interior stone structure. However, it seems conceivable that the walls of the tunnels continued beyond the roofs of the tunnels and thus connected the columns of the second story with each other and with the central pillar [fig. 338]. Additional 'roofs' on top of this wall would then have permitted to narrow the width of the tunnel so that the upper walls would lie on the axes of the columns of the third story. The same method could then be repeated for the upper stories until the walls and the central column possible filled almost the whole interior space of the seventh to ninth stories. This construction method would thus leave substantial spaces in the corners empty, which would lighten the structure but also increase the risk of an interior collapse as shown on the early photographs.

#### 3.2.3.3.3.7.1.5. The faces of the ground level

The square peripheral columns were about 2m high and their sides varied from about 80cm at the bottom to about 65cm at the top [figs. 322 - 324]. The corner bays were filled with side stones which were framed at the bottom and the top by 'ties'. The columns protruded by about 35cm from the side stones. On the eastern side there are small intermediate columns which stand on the lower 'tie' but several specialists assume that these columns were added to prevent the total collapse of the pagoda at the beginning of the twentieth century<sup>1</sup>. The openings feature thresholds, doorjambs and lintels. The openings possibly originally had bronze doors.

At the level of the roofs of the tunnels there a belt of 'ties' on top of the columns which was about 25cm high and protruded about 15cm from the outer sides of the columns [figs. 322, 323]. Above this belt followed a layer of stones, about 53.5cm high, which was aligned with the outer sides of the columns. This concluded the body of the ground story of the pagoda.

Three bracket steps and the roof stones followed the body of the first story. The first bracket step was identical with the belt of 'ties'. The upper two steps were carved from stones, about 48cm high, so that each step protruded by 25cm to 30cm relative to the lower step. The roof stones of the first story had cantilevers of about

<sup>1</sup> See: Chŏn-la-buk-do 全羅北道 전라북도 (ed.) (1990), p. 73.

57cm. Both the lower and upper edges of the eaves were 'bent' upwards at the corners by about 12cm. The vertical part of the roof eaves became slightly thicker towards the corners but not as much as in the case of the stone pagoda of Chǒng-rim-sa<sup>1</sup>. The slope of the roofs was very small with about 6° [figs. 326ff.]. A belt of 'ties' concluded the roof of the first story and served as base for the body of the second story. This belt retreated to the inside of the pagoda by 25cm to 35cm relative to the belt of 'ties' of the ground story.

#### 3.2.3.3.7.1.6. The faces of the upper stories

The body of the second story consisted of twelve square outer columns with side lengths of about 70cm and twelve side panels between them which were placed 30cm to 35cm to the interior of the outer sides of the columns [fig. 329]. The intermediate posts are again thought to be later additions because they are irregularly placed in front of the side panels and do not seem to have been planned at the beginning. The bracket and roof stones of the second story are analogous to those of the first story.

The structures of the third to sixth stories were basically the same as that of the second story but their size became slightly smaller with each story [fig. 329]. The belts of 'ties' on top of the third to fifth roofs were formed of two steps instead of one as was the case in the lower two stories. The bracket stones of the fifth and sixth story featured four steps instead of the three steps of the lower stories. The square central column is thought to have continued until the top of the pagoda and may have had an important role in preventing the total collapse of the pagoda.

#### 3.2.3.3.7.1.7. The reconstruction drawings

A reconstruction project by KIM Hong-sik<sup>2</sup> in 1979 AD showed that it is possible to imagine the western pagoda as a seven-storied structure instead of a nine-storied structure [figs. 331 - 334]. The main weakness of this project, however, is the necessity to recede the upper stories excessively in order to keep the roof of the seventh story small enough for the reception of the finial. Thus the tangent of the roof corners does not form a straight line as was the case at the stone pagoda of Chǒng-rim-sa but is bent at the corners of the fourth and sixth story. The straight tangent of the roof corners is a general rule of virtually all Korean stone

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<sup>1</sup> Chǒng-rim-sa 定林寺 정림사 (No. 4.19.1.). See above, pp. 333ff.

<sup>2</sup> See: KIM Hong-sik 金鴻植 김홍식 (1979).

and wooden pagodas<sup>1</sup>. The project proposes to fill the interior space with cut granite blocks, making deeper foundations necessary. In spite of the stone filling, the central column is continued until the top what seems to be superfluous in the

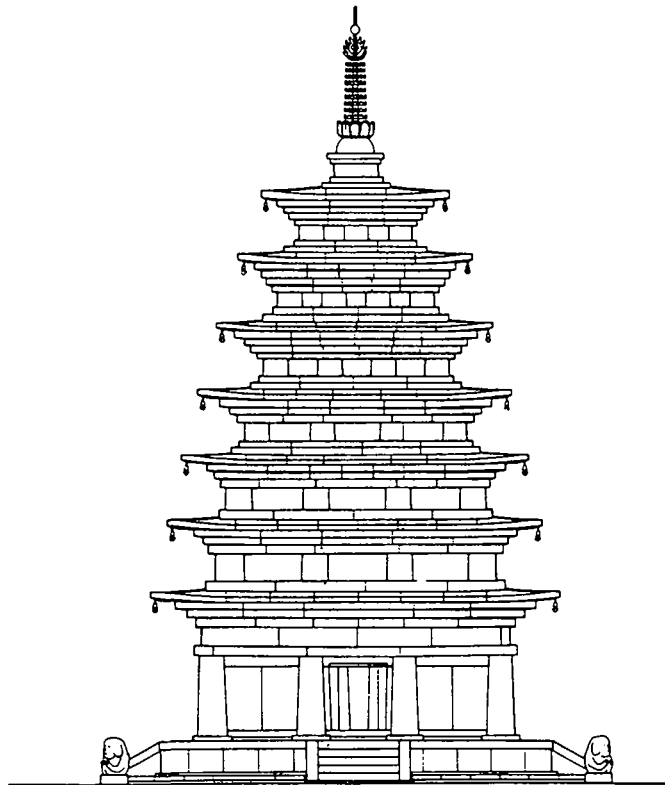


Fig. 331: Reconstruction drawing of the western stone pagoda of Mi-rŭk-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 according to KIM: front elevation (early 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 200) (after: KIM Hong-sik 金鴻植 김홍식 (1979), p. 153)

<sup>1</sup> Notable exceptions in Korea are the Chŏng-hye-sa 淨惠寺 정혜사 (No. 7.33.1.) stone pagoda from Unified Sin-la which possesses a relatively large roof at the first story and the Ko-ryŏ and early Cho-sŏn marble pagodas of Kyŏng-chŏn-sa 敬天寺 경천사 (No. 10.12.6.) and Wŏn-gak-sa 圓覺寺 원각사 (No. 1.1.10.) whose first three stories have cross-shaped plans. But the upper parts of all three pagodas follow again the rule of strait tangents. The stone pagoda of Chŏng-am-sa 淨岩寺 정암사 (No. 2.16.1.) from the Ko-ryŏ period which imitates a brick structure, features a bent tangent at the fourth and sixth stories but this particularity could stem from later repairs in the 18th C. AD. In China, a number of brick, stone and wooden pagodas feature curved tangents (e.g. the brick pagoda of Songyue-si 嵩嶽寺 송악사 of the Northern Wei 北魏 북위 period) or added roofs at the ground level (e.g. the wooden pagoda at Yingxian 凝縣 응현 of the Liao 遼 요 period).

homogeneous volume of the upper stories. The reconstruction drawing by FUJISHIMA<sup>1</sup> is similar to the project of KIM and also counts seven stories [fig. 335]. He does not indicate the interior structure and the proportions are very approximate, in particular those of the platform and the roofs.

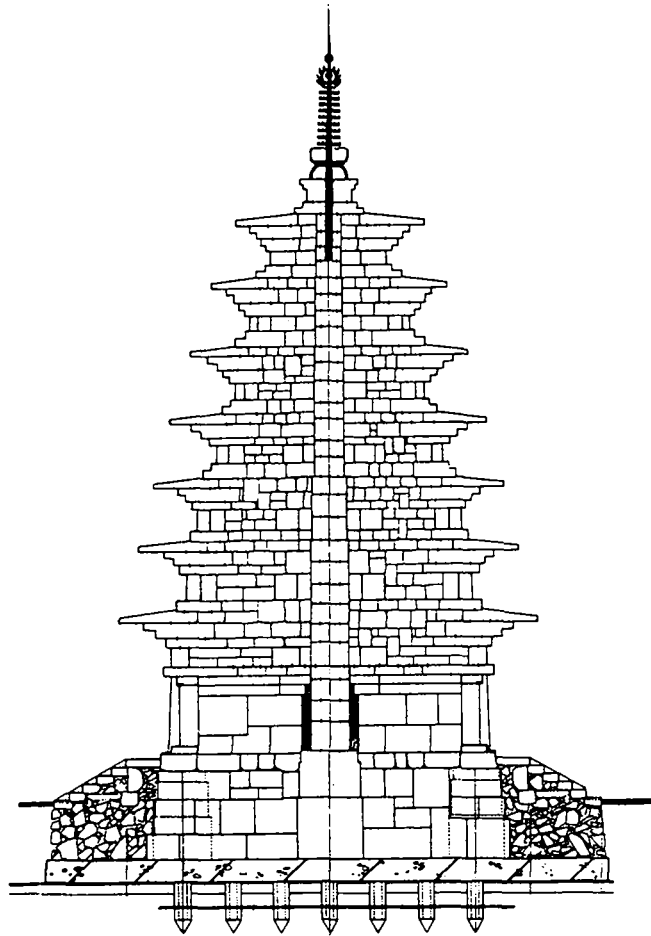


Fig. 332: Reconstruction drawing of the western stone pagoda of Mi-rūk-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 according to KIM: section (early 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 200)  
(after: KIM Hong-sik 金鴻植 김홍식 (1979), p. 154)

<sup>1</sup> See: FUJISHIMA Gaijirō 藤島亥治郎 ふじしまがいじろう 등도 해치랑 (1986), p. 142.



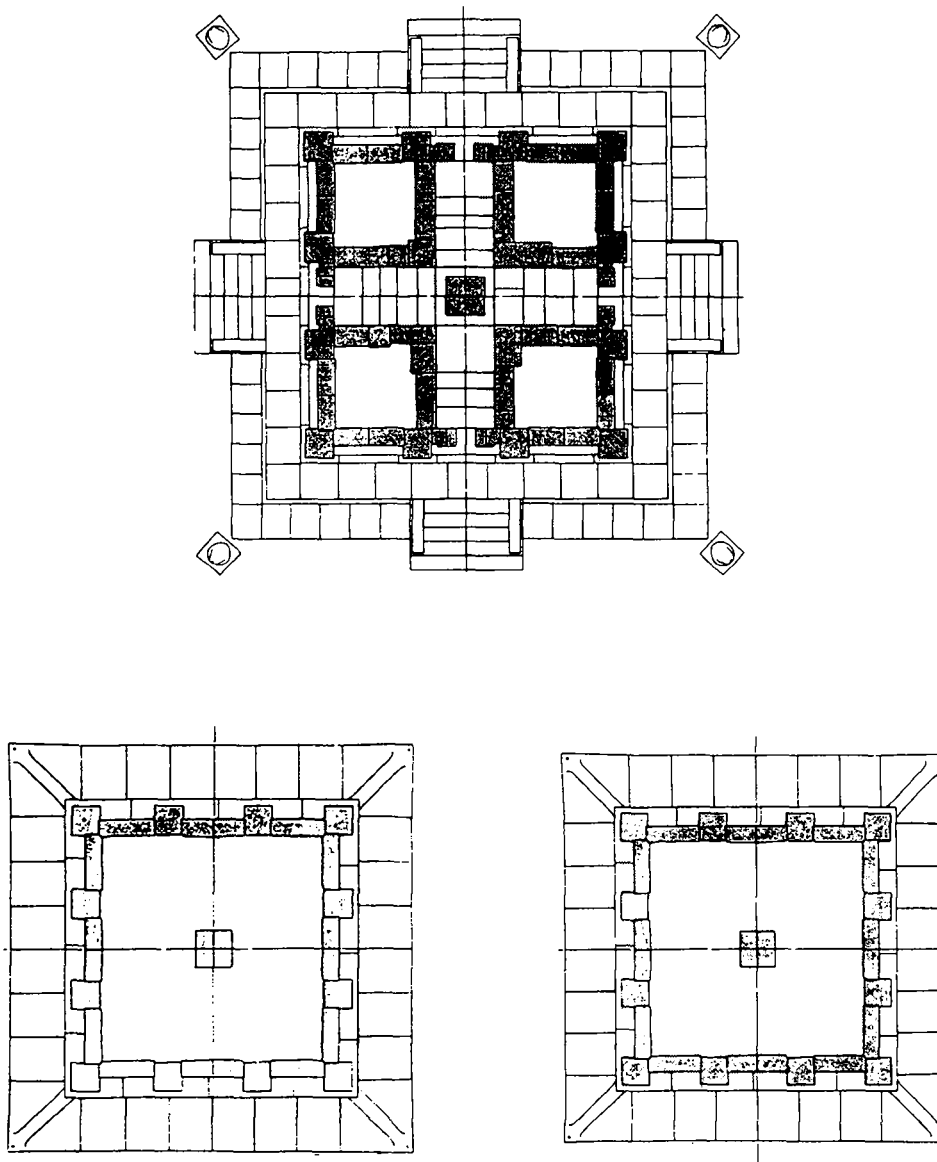


Fig. 333: Reconstruction drawings of the western stone pagoda of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 according to KIM: ground plan and plans of the 2nd and 3rd stories (early 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 200) (after: KIM Hong-sik 金鴻植 김홍식 (1979), pp. 139, 142, 144)

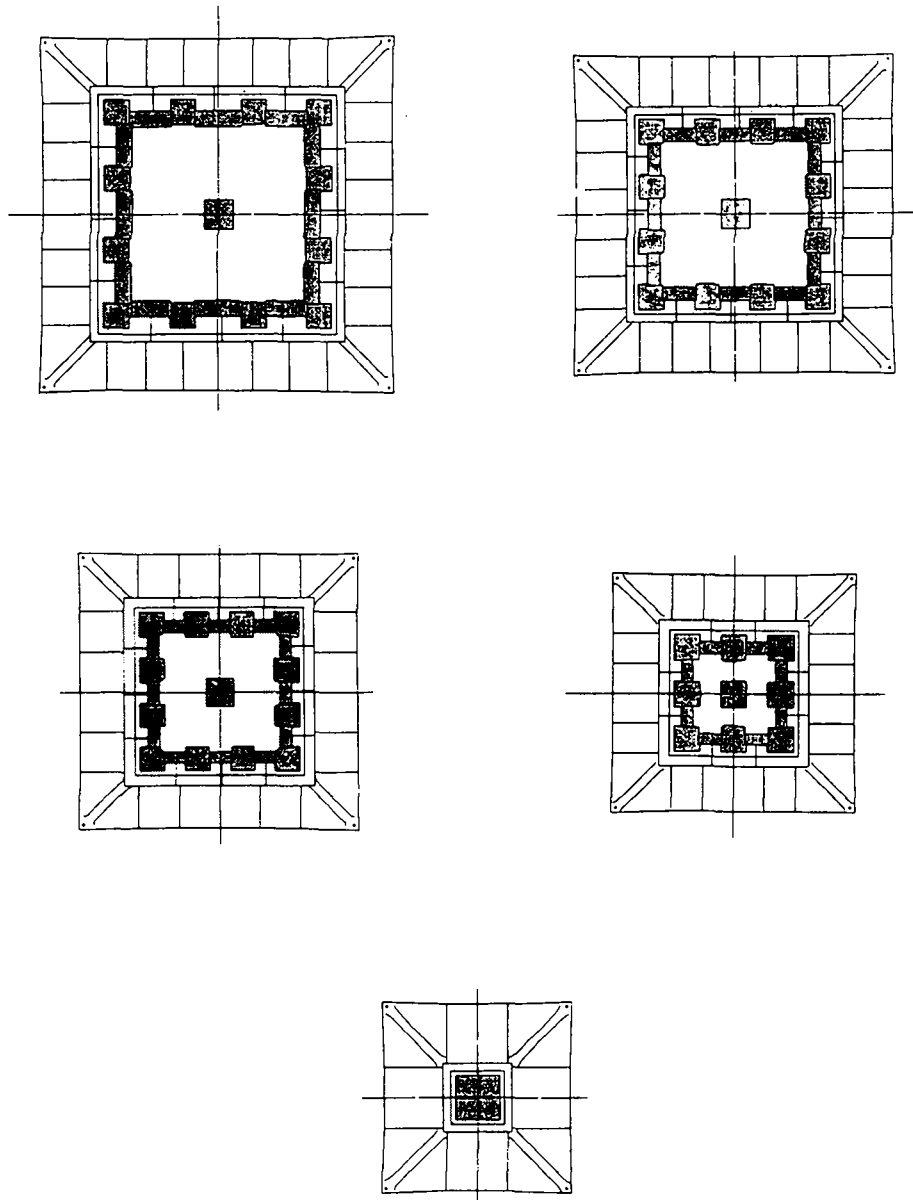


Fig. 334: Reconstruction drawings of the western stone pagoda of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 according to KIM: plans of the 4th to 7th stories and roof plan (early 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 200) (after: KIM Hong-sik 金鴻植 김홍식 (1979), pp. 146, 148, 150ff.)

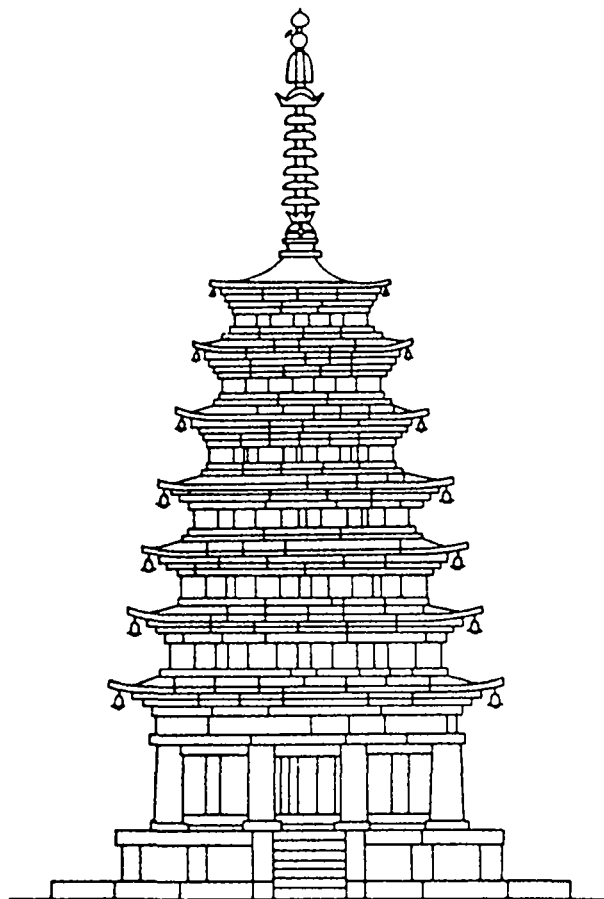


Fig. 335: Reconstruction drawing of the western stone pagoda of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 according to FUJISHIMA: front elevation (early 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 200) (after: FUJISHIMA Gajirō 藤島亥治郎 ふじしま かいじろう 등도 해치랑 (1986), p. 142)

A North Korean reconstruction project was reproduced by VIOLET<sup>1</sup>, which shows a nine-storied elevation [fig. 336]. The tangent of the roof corner is almost strait so that it could be easily adapted. The drawing shows the upper stories with four-stepped brackets what has also been proposed by the seven-storied reconstruction project. The proposed platform is much too high because the (East German) author reproduced a North Korean drawing without consulting the South Korean excavation reports. The above-mentioned intermediate posts between the

<sup>1</sup> The original source is probably: RI Yō-song 리여송 (RI Jōsong): *Outline of the History of Art of Korea (Abriss der koreanischen Kunstgeschichte)* 「朝鮮美術史概要 조선미술사개요」, Guk-rib-chul-pan-sa 國立出版社 국립출판사, Pyōng-yang 平壤 평양, 1955, (in Korean), pl. 31. See: VIOLET (1987), p. 44; YI Wang-ki 李王基 이왕기 (1994), p. 279.

main columns are supposed to be original in this project. With these reserves, the North Korean drawing seems to be quite close to the original aspect of the pagoda.

I tried to integrate the above-mentioned observations in new reconstruction drawings of the elevation and section of the western pagoda [figs. 337, 338].

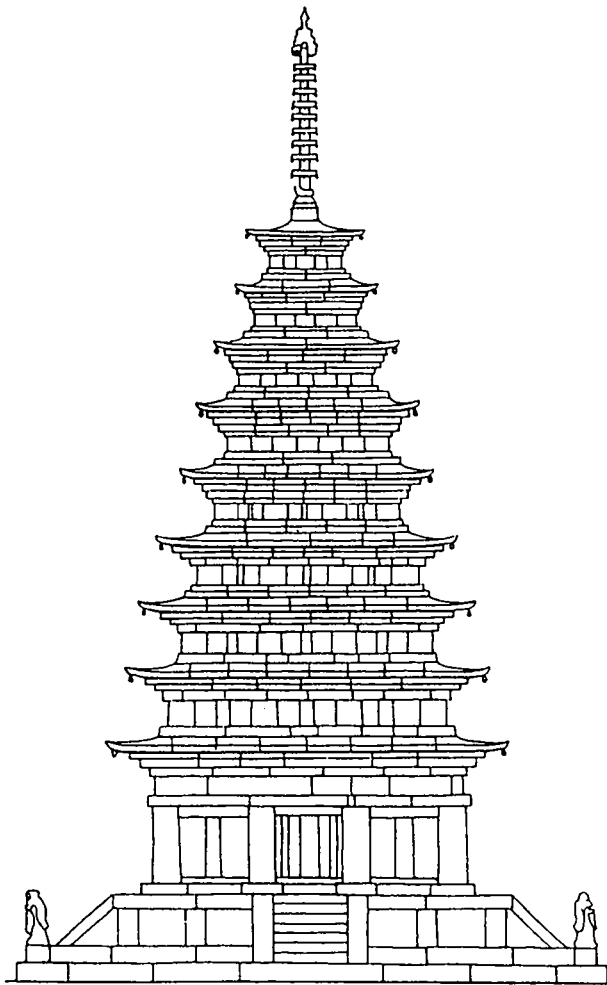


Fig. 336: Reconstruction drawing of the western stone pagoda of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 according to RI: front elevation (early 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 200) (after: VIOLET (1987), p. 44)

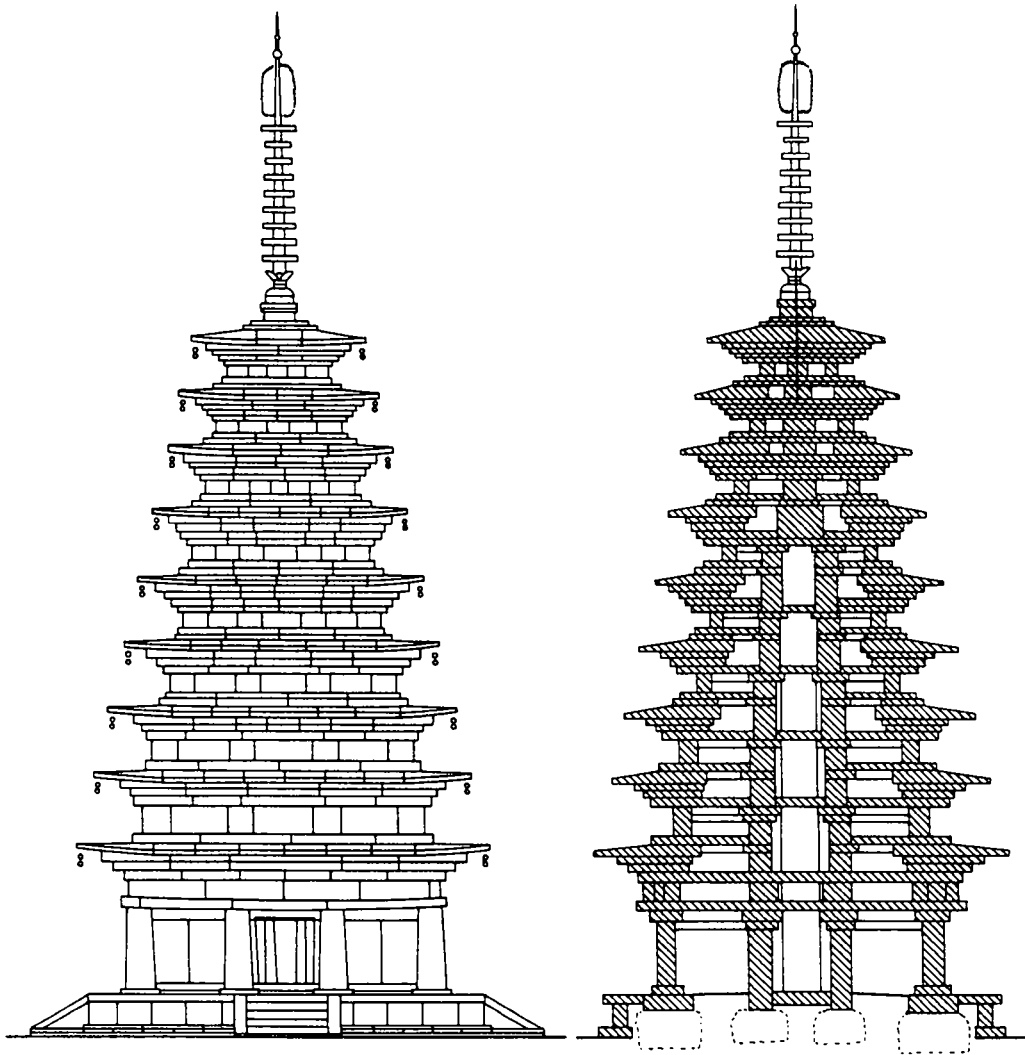


Fig. 337: Reconstruction drawings of the western stone pagoda of Mi-rŭk-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 according to the author: front elevation and section (early 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 200) (drawings by the author)

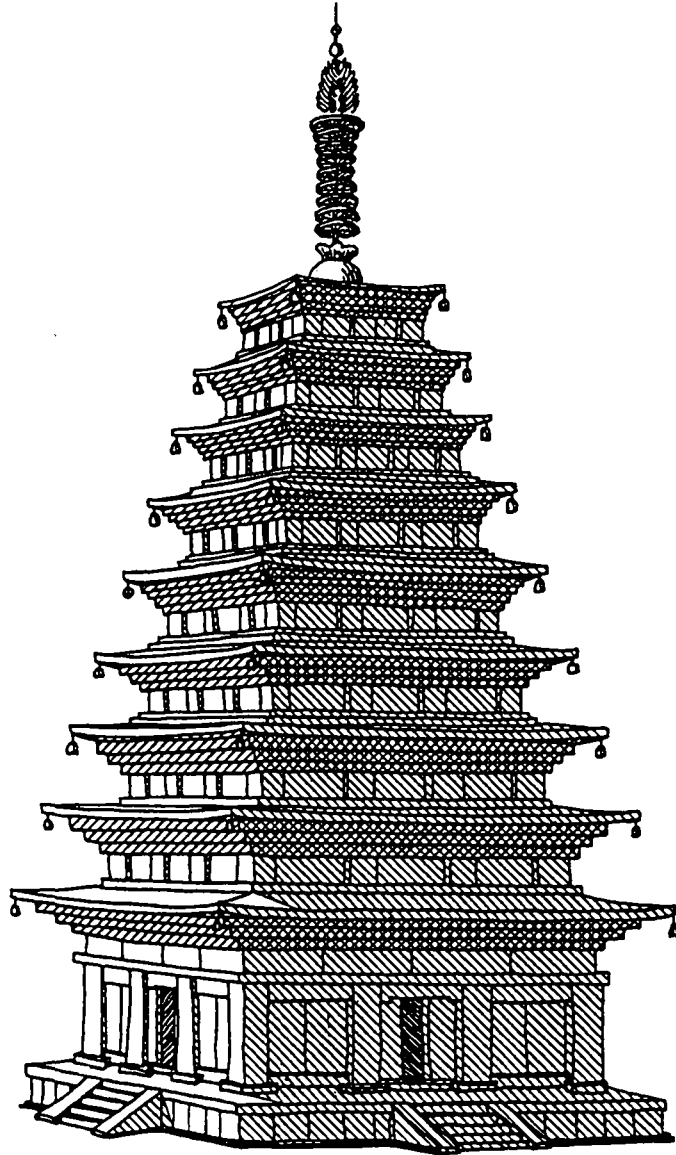


Fig. 338: Reconstructed perspective of the western stone pagoda of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 according to the author (early 7th C. AD) (drawing by the author)

### 3.2.3.3.7.2. The eastern pagoda: the platform and foundations

The site of the eastern pagoda was excavated in the summer of 1974 and a report was published in December of the same year. The excavation revealed the location of eleven of the twelve peripheral foundations of the columns [figs. 339, 340]. But no central foundation stone was found nor any evidence that such a stone once existed. The soil was rammed in layer of 20cm to 30cm to a depth of about 1.5m below the foundation stones. The stairs in the middle of each side were better preserved at the eastern pagoda. They were about 2.9m wide, 1.8m long and counted six steps. The sides of the stairs consisted of base stones, triangular side stones and an oblique cover stone.

The size and construction details of the platform and the column foundations [figs. 339, 340] were virtually identical with those of the western pagoda so that it could be concluded that these remains were contemporaneous with the western pagoda. Only the absence of the central foundations was a major difference.

At least 223 stone blocks and stone fragments have been counted around the eastern pagoda and 74 around the western pagoda which could have belonged to the two stone pagodas. As the construction of the faces, the tunnels and the central pillar alone needed at least 720 large stone blocks according to the reconstruction project of the eastern pagoda, only approximately 25% of the original stones of the pagodas remained on the temple site. The remaining stones must have been moved away and reused in rural constructions.

#### 3.2.3.3.7.2.1. The reconstruction of the eastern stone pagoda

The report<sup>1</sup> on the extant fragments of the eastern pagoda has shown that the construction method of the eastern pagoda was different from the western pagoda. The main difference lies in the structure of the bodies of the second to ninth stories. While the bodies of the stories of the western pagoda are all constructed with independent pillars and side stones, the pillars of the eastern pagoda are only carved in much thicker side stones [figs. 342 - 346]. Another difference is the number of bracket steps of the upper roofs. While the western pagoda features four steps at the fifth and sixth story, no stone fragments were apparently found which would permit

<sup>1</sup> See: Chŏn-la-buk-do 全羅北道 전라북도 (ed.) (1990).

a similar reconstruction of the eastern pagoda<sup>1</sup>. Therefore the eastern pagoda has been reconstructed with three bracket steps below each roof.

The first difference seems to indicate that the remains of the eastern pagoda are not contemporaneous with the western pagoda. The reconstruction report argues therefore that the eastern pagoda was reconstructed in the Unified Sin-la or

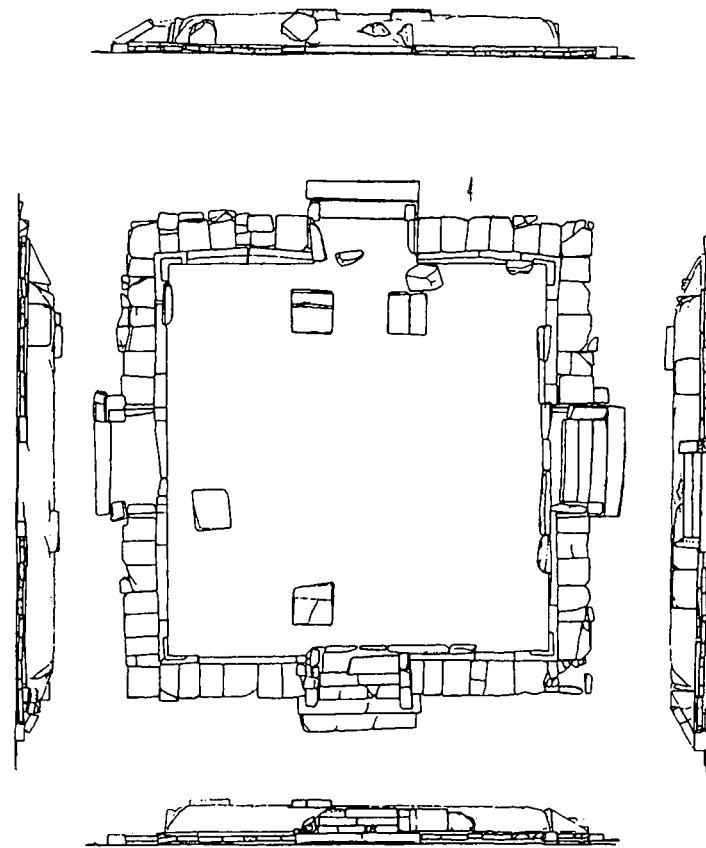


Fig. 339: Excavation plan and four elevations of the platform of the eastern stone pagoda of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 (early 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 200)  
(after: Chŏn-la-buk-do 全羅北道 전라북도 (ed.) (1990), p. 325)

<sup>1</sup> In the case of three bracket steps, the upper two steps are carved in a single stone while the lower step is a separate piece. In the case of four bracket steps, the lower two steps would also be carved in one piece. The report does not satisfactorily explain why the extant fragments cannot be assembled to four steps. In this case, the pieces attributed to the lower steps would have to be placed elsewhere. As the pieces attributed to the lower steps do not possess significant characteristics, this possibility cannot be completely excluded.



Hu-bæk-che<sup>1</sup> periods. A short passage on the *Hye-gŏ Guk-sa-bi*<sup>2</sup> indicates that a pagoda of Mi-rŭk-sa was inaugurated in the summer of 922 AD but neither the precise location in the temple precinct nor the construction material is mentioned in the text. The report<sup>3</sup> assumes that this passage concerns the eastern stone pagoda.

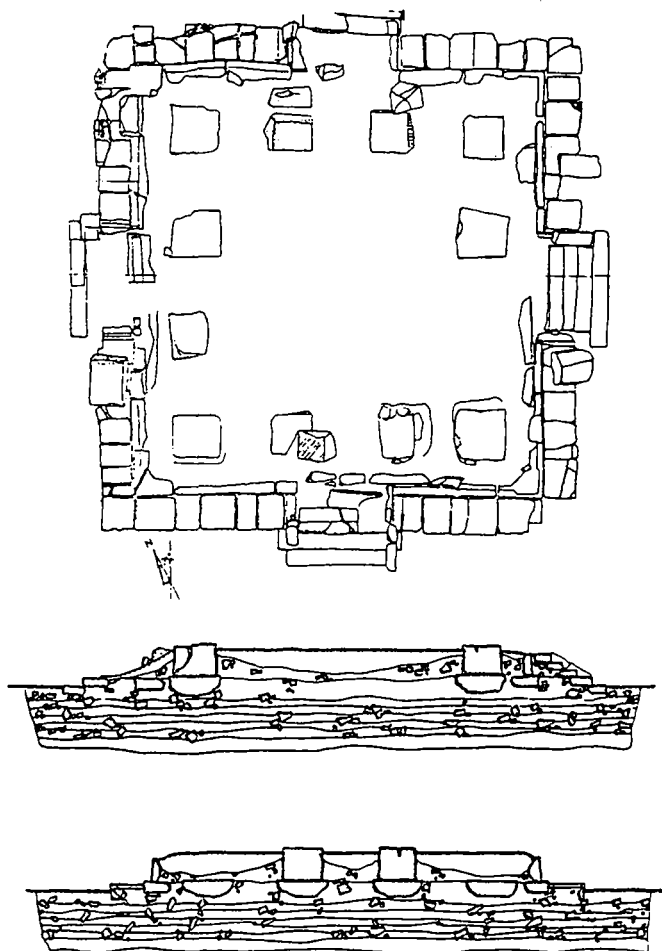


Fig. 340: Excavation plan and two sections of the platform of the eastern stone pagoda of Mi-rŭk-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 (early 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 200) (after: Wŏn-kwang University 圓光大學 校원광대학교 (ed.) (1974), p. 59; *MHCSRBS* 92 - 1, p. 862)

- <sup>1</sup> Hu-bæk-che 後百濟 후백제, a short dynasty (892 - 936 AD) in the south-west of the Korean peninsula towards the end of Unified Sin-la 統一新羅 통일신라 (668 - 935). See: Chŏn-la-buk-do 全羅北道 전라북도 (ed.) (1990), p. 60.
- <sup>2</sup> *Hye-gŏ Guk-sa-bi* 「惠居國師碑 혜거국사비」, a stone stele erected in 974 AD. See: HŎ Hŭng-sik 許興植 허흥식 (1986, 1990), pp. 579 - 597, original text, pp. 582f.
- <sup>3</sup> See: Chŏn-la-buk-do 全羅北道 전라북도 (ed.) (1990), p. 60.

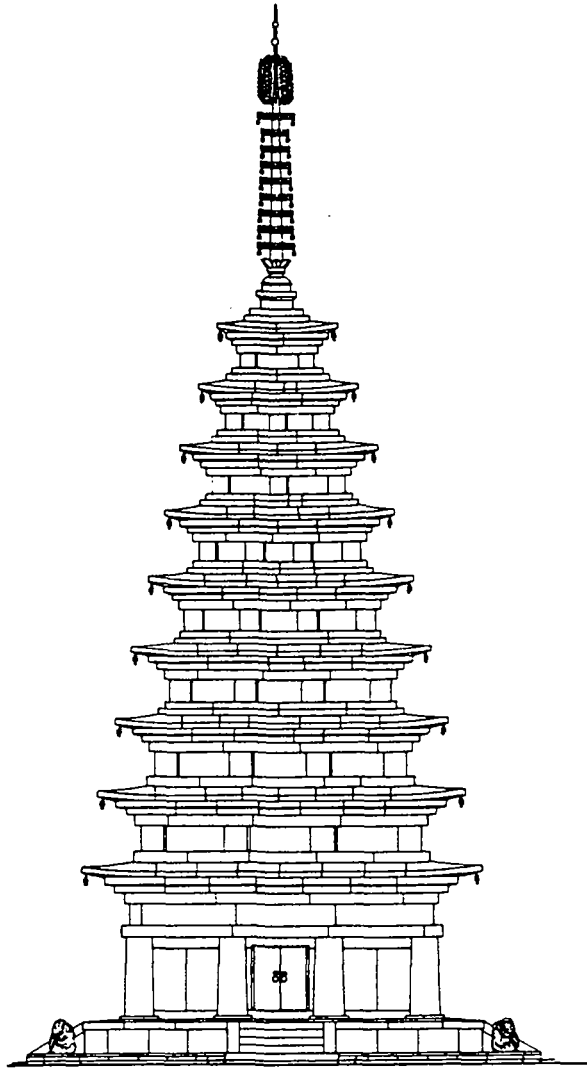


Fig. 341: Reconstruction of the eastern stone pagoda of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사: front elevation (1992 - 1993 AD, scale: 1 : 200) (after: *MHCSRBS* 92 - 1, p. 865)

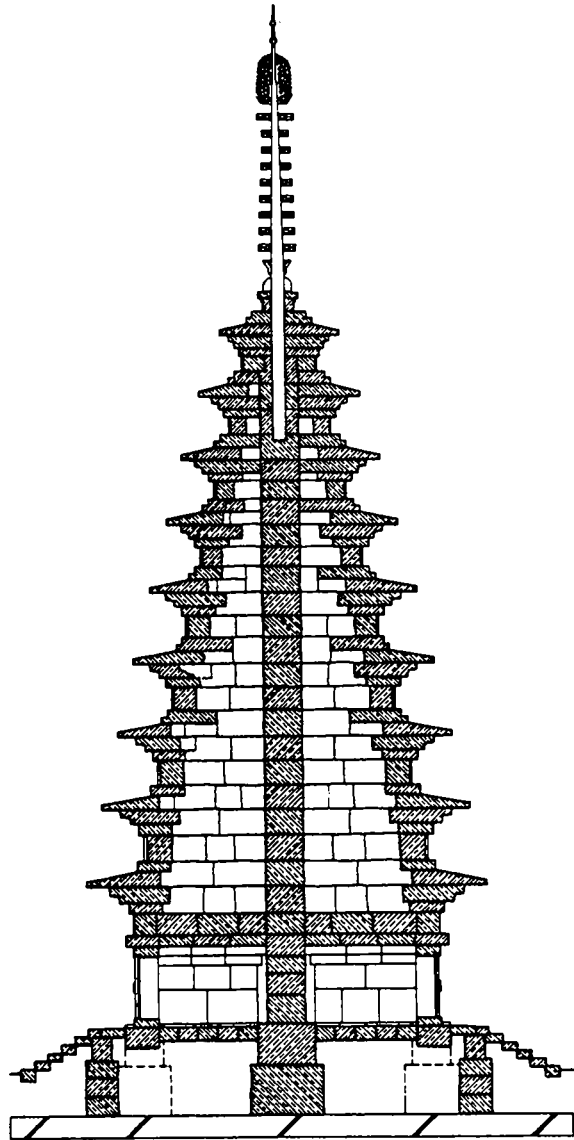


Fig. 342: Reconstruction of the eastern stone pagoda of Mi-rŭk-sa 彌勒寺 米得寺: section (1992 - 1993 AD, scale: 1 : 200) (after: *MHCSRBS* 92 - 1, p. 865)

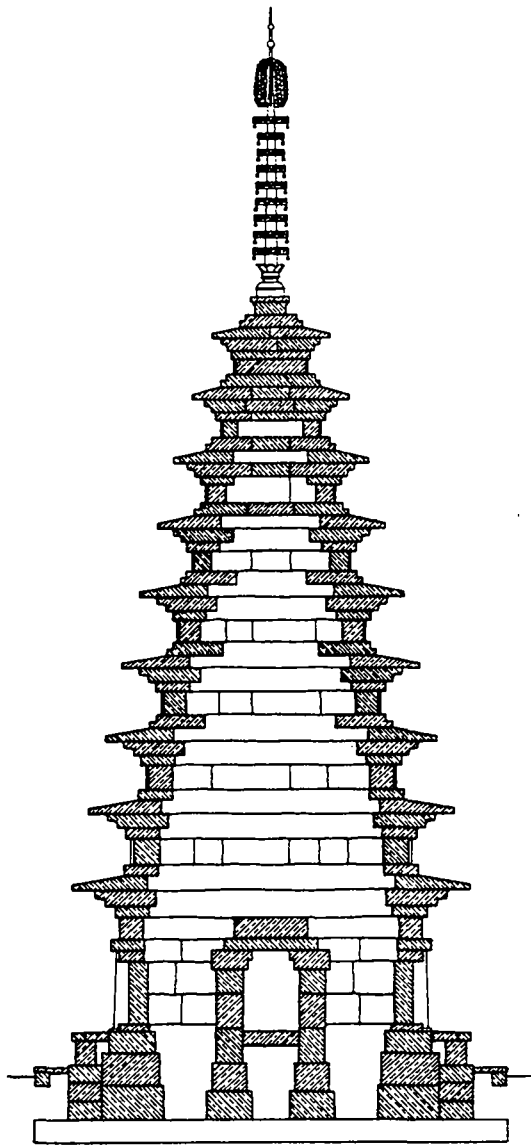


Fig. 343: Reconstruction of the eastern stone pagoda of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 彌勒寺: section (1992 - 1993 AD, scale: 1 : 200) (after: *MHCSRBS* 92 - 1, p. 865)

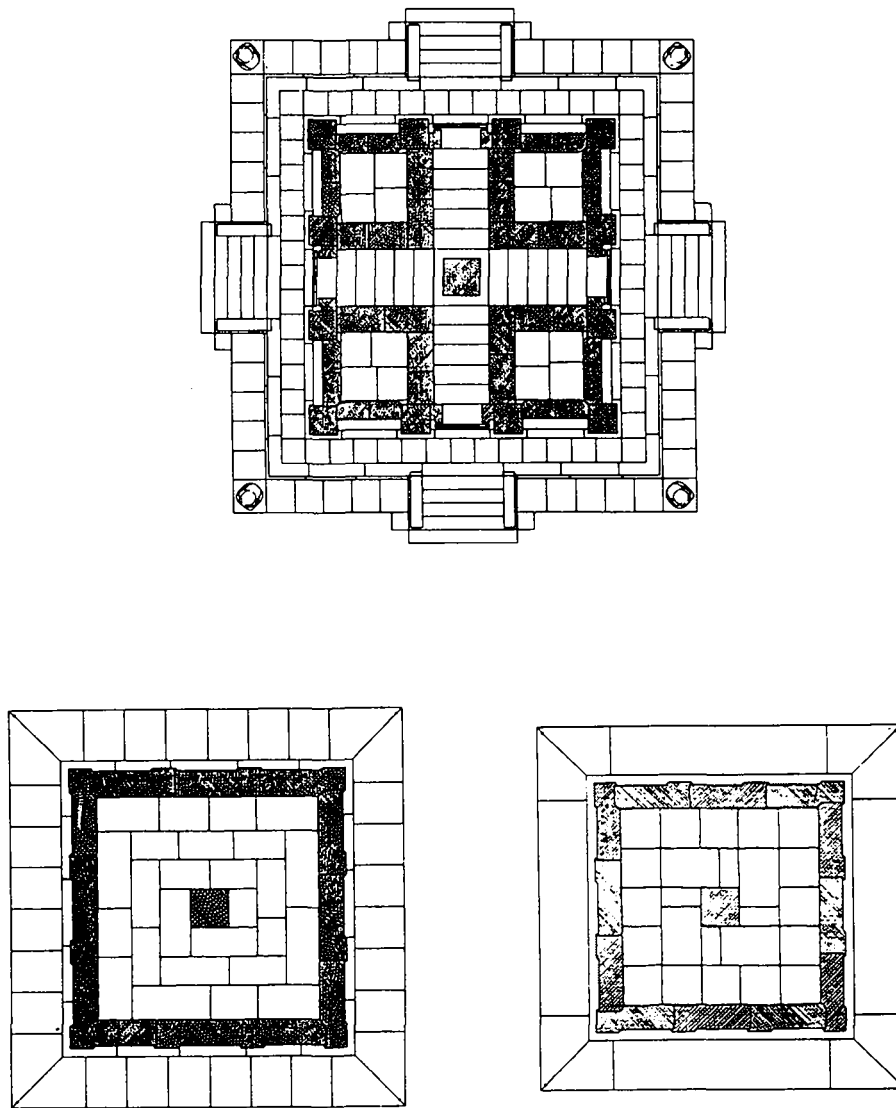


Fig. 344: Reconstruction of the eastern stone pagoda of Mi-rŭk-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사: ground plan and plan of the 2nd and 3rd stories (1992 - 1993 AD, scale: 1 : 200) (after: *MHCSRBS* 92 - 1, pp. 862f.)

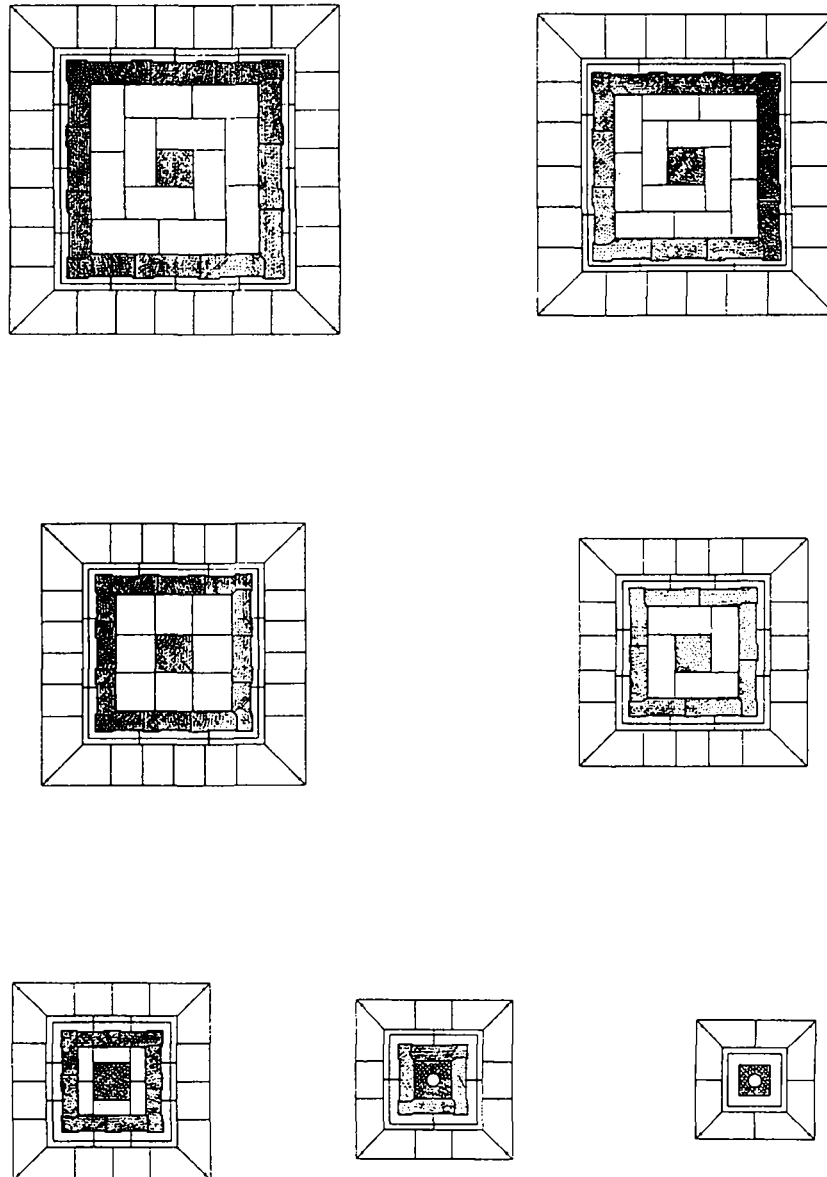


Fig. 345: Reconstruction of the eastern stone pagoda of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사: plans of the 4th to 9th stories and roof plan (1992 - 1993 AD, scale: 1 : 200) (after: *MHCSRBS* 92 - 1, pp. 863f.)

Table 19 lists the main measurements of the reconstructed eastern stone pagoda of Mi-rük-sa according to the reconstruction report<sup>1</sup>:

number of stories	9
total height <sup>2</sup>	27.80m (19.81m)
general angle	72.5° ~ 77°
general proportion <sup>3</sup>	1 : 3.36 (1 : 2.40)

	1st story	2nd story	3rd story	4th story	5th story	6th story	7th story	8th story	9th story
1. bo.h. <sup>4</sup>	4.15m*	0.68m	0.64m	0.61m	0.55m	0.50m	0.46m	0.43m	0.37m
2. br.h. <sup>5</sup>	0.71m	0.66m	0.64m	0.62m	0.61m	0.59m	0.55m	0.53m	0.53m
3. r.h. <sup>6</sup>	0.66m	0.62m	0.71m	0.71m	0.68m	0.68m	0.66m	0.64m	0.61m**
4. bo.w. <sup>7</sup>	8.27m	7.34m	6.57m	5.79m	4.99m	4.21m	3.42m	2.67m	1.87m
5. e.w. <sup>8</sup>	10.48m	9.59m	8.71m	7.88m	6.91m	6.06m	5.17m	4.21m	3.14m
6. r. gr. <sup>9</sup>	9.7°	9.4°	10°	10.1°	10.4°	12.3°	12.9°	15.2°	12.7°
7. br. a. <sup>10</sup>	24.9°	25.1°	26°	27.2°	28.8°	29°	31.3°	32.2°	38°
8. b. p. <sup>11</sup>	1 : 1.99*	1 : 10.79	1 : 10.27	1 : 9.49	1 : 9.07	1 : 8.42	1 : 7.43	1 : 6.21	1 : 5.05
9. w. p. <sup>12</sup>	1 : 1.27	1 : 1.31	1 : 1.33	1 : 1.36	1 : 1.38	1 : 1.44	1 : 1.51	1 : 1.58	1 : 1.68
10. h. p. <sup>13</sup>	3.03 : 1*	1 : 1.88	1 : 2.11	1 : 2.18	1 : 2.35	1 : 2.54	1 : 2.63	1 : 2.72	1 : 3.08

\* without base: body height: 2.90m, body proportion: 1 : 2.85, height proportion: 2.12 : 1

\*\* finial: 7.99m

Table 19: Measurements of the reconstructed eastern stone pagoda of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺미륵사

<sup>1</sup> See: Chŏn-la-buk-do 全羅北道 전라북도 (ed.) (1990).

<sup>2</sup> The first number includes the finial, the second omits it.

<sup>3</sup> The general proportion is the quotient between the body width of the first story and the total height of the pagoda. In bracket the proportion without finial.

<sup>4</sup> The body height.

<sup>5</sup> The bracket height: the first four stories have three steps, the upper two stories four steps.

<sup>6</sup> The roof height includes the roof stones composed of a vertical and a roof slope portion and the base of the next story which can consist of one or two steps.

<sup>7</sup> The body width.

<sup>8</sup> The eaves width.

<sup>9</sup> The roof gradient is the angle of the slope of the roof and the base line of the roof stones.

<sup>10</sup> The bracket angle is the angle between the tangent of the roof eaves and the bracket stone and the base line of the roof stones.

<sup>11</sup> The body proportion is the quotient of the height and the width of each story.

<sup>12</sup> The width proportion is the quotient of the width of the body and the width of the eaves of each story.

<sup>13</sup> The height proportion is the quotient of the height of the body and the height of the roof and bracket of each story.

The reconstruction is based on the extant part of the western pagoda on one hand and on the scrupulous study of the stone fragments of the eastern pagoda. The reconstruction report<sup>1</sup> describes the stones whose original locations in the structure have been identified with more or less certainty [fig. 346]. Except for the body of the seventh story, no side of any story could be completely reconstructed with the extant fragments. Therefore, the widths of the stories and roofs have been estimated on the basis of the western pagoda remains. The height of many of the various levels, however, could be identified with the fragments of the eastern pagoda if the conclusions of the report are accepted. Table 20 gives the heights of these levels based on the stone fragments<sup>2</sup>.

	1st story	2nd story	3rd story	4th story	5th story	6th story	7th story	8th story	9th story
1. bo.h.	?	0.69m	0.64m	0.61m	0.55m	0.50m	0.475m	?	0.38m
2. br.h.	0.70m	0.635m	0.62m	0.62m	0.595m	0.58m	0.555m	?	?
3. r.h.	0.645m	0.62m	0.745m	0.71m	0.665m	0.64m	?	?	?*

\* height of *no-ban*<sup>3</sup>: 0.48m

Table 20: Height measurements of the eastern stone pagoda of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 based on the stone fragments

The reconstruction raises several problematic questions which seem not to have been taken seriously enough by the authorities responsible for the reconstruction project. Some concern the basic decision to reconstruct the pagoda on the original foundations, others the chosen construction method or details of the exterior form. The following list names some of the problems:

1. The heavy intervention on the original site makes future investigations of the eastern pagoda site impossible.
2. The form of the reconstructed pagoda is not certain enough to allow it to be placed beside the western pagoda.
3. The style of reconstructed pagoda is supposed to show a pagoda of Hu-bæk-che, but most of the unknown elements (e.g. interior organisation, general size and shape) have been copied from the earlier Bæk-che pagoda. As no evidence of a central pillar nor the columns of the first story were found, it is arbitrary to

<sup>1</sup> See: Chŏn-la-buk-do 全羅北道 전라북도 (ed.) (1990).

<sup>2</sup> See: Chŏn-la-buk-do 全羅北道 전라북도 (ed.) (1990), pp. 110 - 282, 322.

<sup>3</sup> *No-ban* 露盤 노반, the square base of the finial.



copy the structure and details of the western pagoda. The same reflection can be made for the details of the doors and the belts of 'ties' of the lowest story.

4. The measurements of the extant stone blocks have been transposed into the supposed measure unit of the Bæk-che period what, beside being anachronistic, also introduced possible errors of about  $\pm 1$ cm for each stone block.
5. The decision to fill the interior space has been made without considering lighter construction methods and thus made deeper foundations necessary.
6. The tangent of the roof corners is bent at the fifth and seventh stories which indicates that the bodies and roof eaves of the upper stories are too short.

As for the last question, it seems easily possible to correct the widths of the upper stories without contradicting the measurements of the extant stone fragments. The reconstruction projects features the following measurements:

	1st story	2nd story	3rd story	4th story	5th story	6th story	7th story	8th story	9th story
4. bo.w.	8.27m	7.34m	6.57m	5.79m	4.99m	4.21m	3.42m	2.67m	1.87m
5. e.w.	10.48m	9.59m	8.71m	7.88m	6.91m	6.06m	5.17m	4.21m	3.14m

Table 21: Width measurements of the reconstructed eastern pagoda of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사

All four stones of the body of the ninth story have been identified. If these stones are assembled the story measured at least 1.98m according to the measurements given in the report<sup>1</sup>. I propose thus the following corrections:

	1st story	2nd story	3rd story	4th story	5th story	6th story	7th story	8th story	9th story
4. bo.w.	8.27m	7.34m	6.57m	5.79m	4.99m	4.21m	3.42m	~2.75m	~2.0m
5. e.w.	10.48m	9.59m	~8.6m	~7.8m	6.91m	6.06m	~5.3m	~4.5m	~3.8m

Table 22: Width corrections for the eastern stone pagoda of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 proposed by the author

In conclusion, it would have been more prudent to construct the eastern pagoda in a museum courtyard instead of the original site<sup>2</sup>. Reduced models would also have allowed to compare various reconstruction attempts. The responsible authorities risk being harshly criticised if new evidence shows that some of the chosen construction methods and details were wrong.

<sup>1</sup> See: Chŏn-la-buk-do 全羅北道 전라북도 (ed.) (1990), pp. 162, 165, 173.

<sup>2</sup> Several collaborators of the report have voiced concern about the reconstruction of the eastern pagoda on the original site. See: Chŏn-la-buk-do 全羅北道 전라북도 (ed.) (1990), pp. 63 - 70.

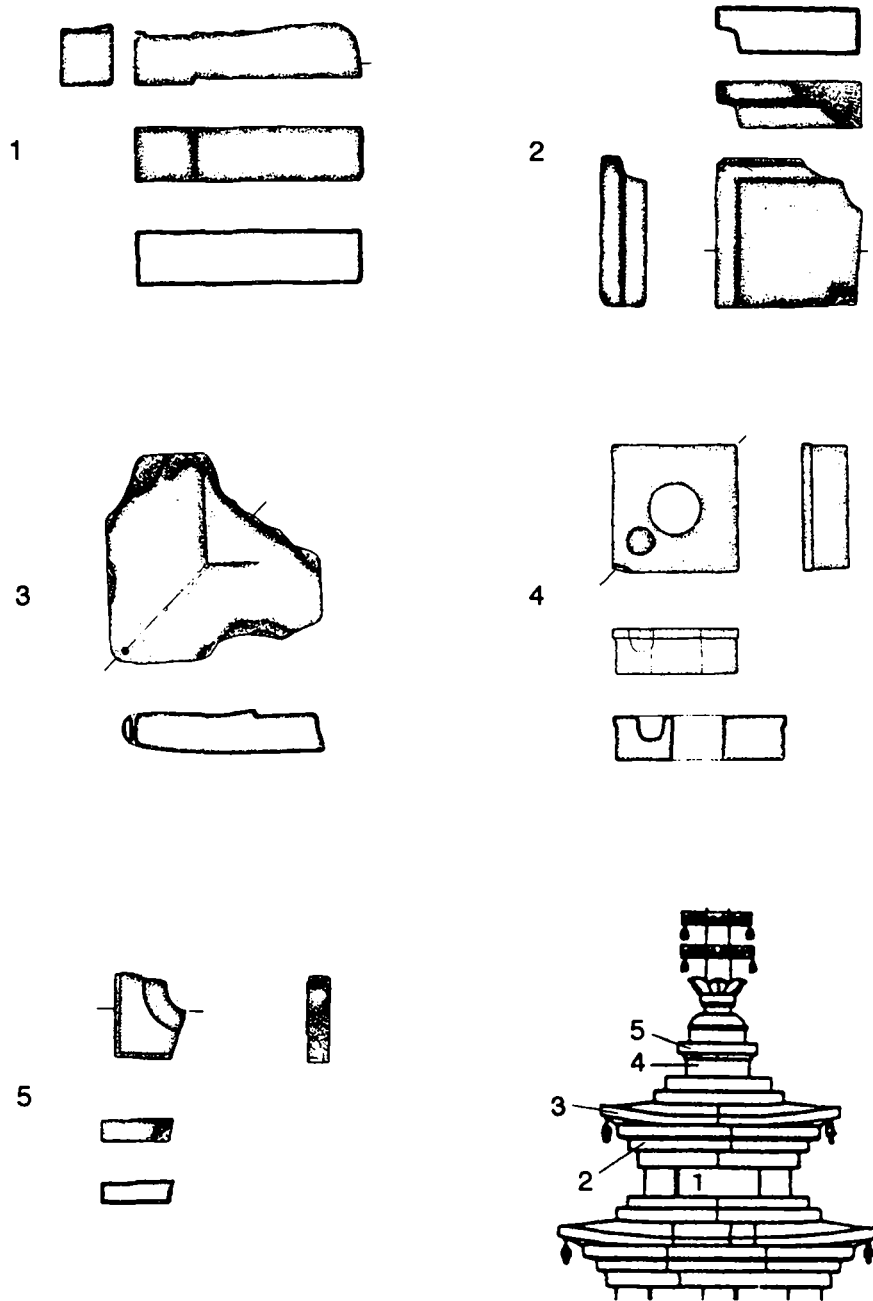


Fig. 346: Some remaining stone blocks of the eastern stone pagoda of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 (10th C. AD ?, scale: 1 : 50) and their position in the reconstruction (scale: 1 : 100) (after: Chön-la-buk-do 全羅北道 전라북도 (ed.) (1990), pp. 133, 145, 165, 224, 322)

## 3.2.3.3.8. The lateral image halls

The excavated remains of the lateral image halls showed that their platforms and foundations were almost identical with those of the central image hall with the exception that the scale of the lateral image halls was reduced [figs. 247 - 249]. It is

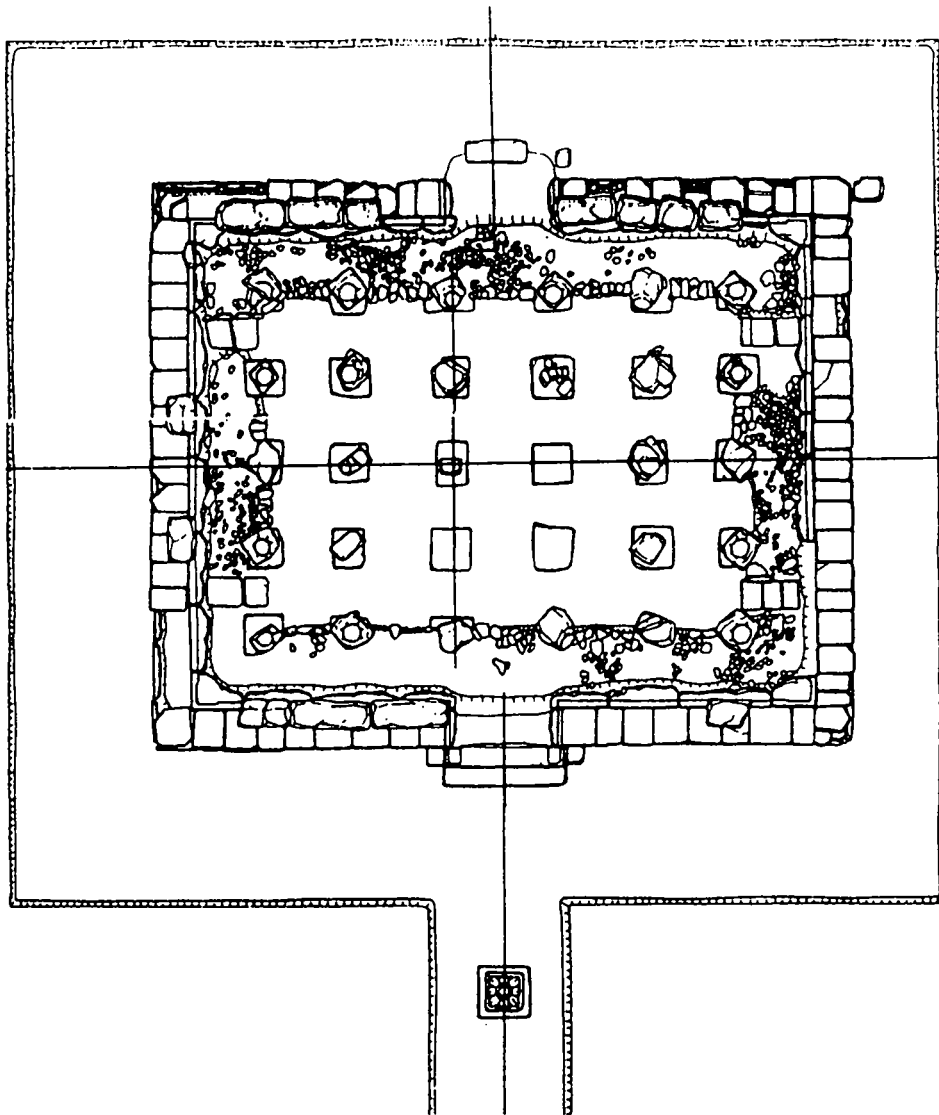


Fig. 347: Excavation plan of the eastern image hall of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 (early 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 200) (after: MHCKLG (1987, 1989), p. 106)

not sure whether the lateral image halls featured stone-covered bands around the lower platform step. In particular the platform and the foundations of the eastern image hall were well preserved and the general similarity to the central and western image halls permitted to reconstruct missing elements of the other image halls.

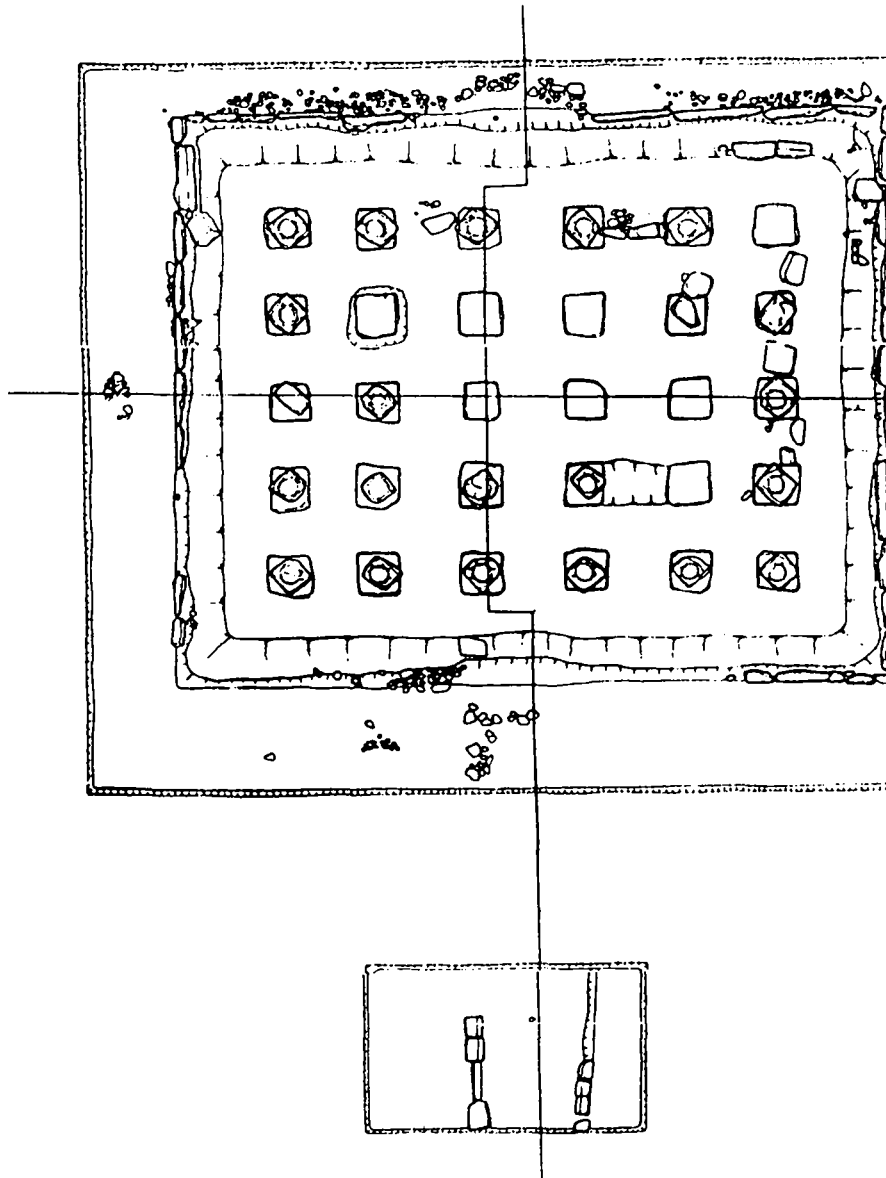


Fig. 348: Excavation plan of the western image hall of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 (early 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 200) (after: MHCKLG (1987, 1989), p. 106)

CHANG<sup>1</sup> supposes that the image halls of the lateral courtyards were single-roofed structures [fig. 302]. Between the pagodas and the image hall stood similar stone lanterns to the central courtyard. They were about as big as than the central lantern but their roofs were made of single stone blocks [fig. 349].

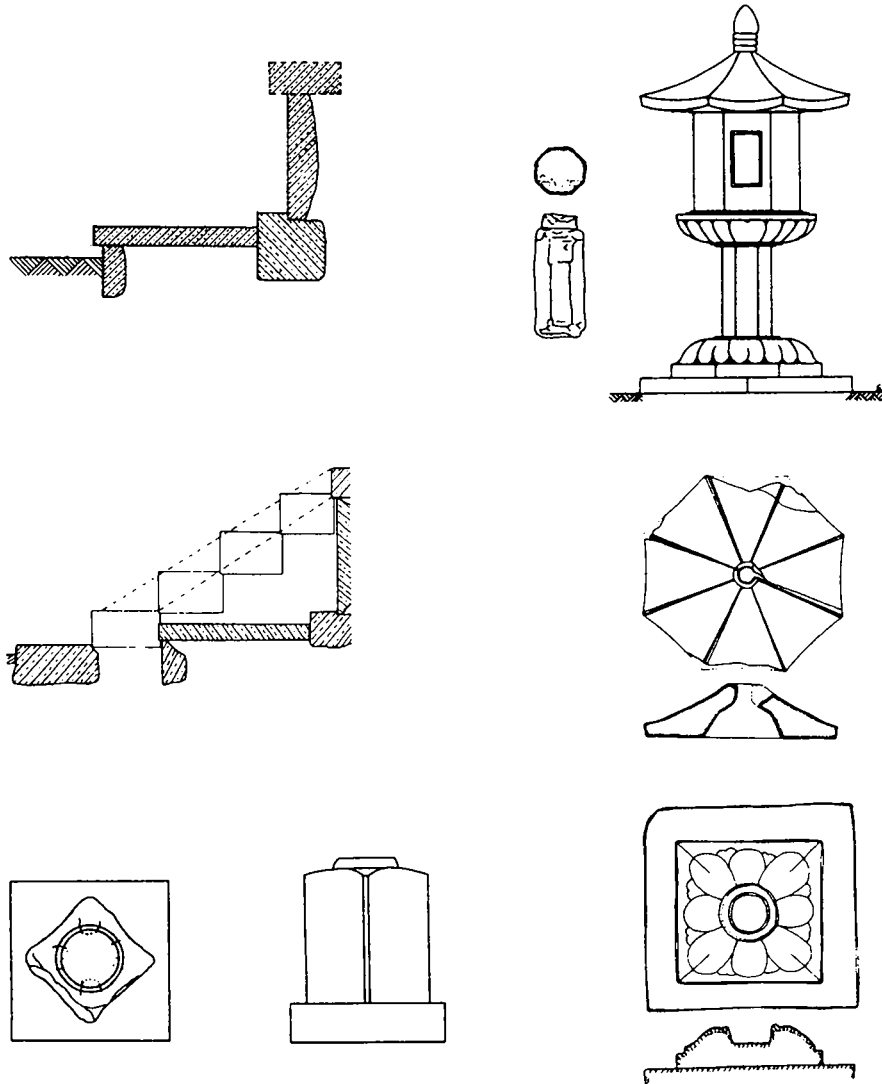


Fig. 349: The lateral image halls of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 彌勒寺: sections of the stairs and retaining walls and plan and elevation of a foundation stone and a stone lantern (early 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 50) (after: MHCKLG (1987, 1989), p. 75, CHANG Kyöng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), pp. 228, 250)

<sup>1</sup> See: CHANG Kyöng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), p. 435f.

## 3.2.3.3.9. The galleries

While the connection with the southern gallery of the central courtyard is still uncertain as mentioned above, the excavations have shown that the outer corners of the lateral courtyards were open [figs. 350]. The platforms of the southern galleries stopped at the height of the exterior edges of the easternmost and westernmost galleries. The retaining wall which ran along the southern side of all three courtyards turned at the outer corners and ran along the westernmost and easternmost galleries before merging with the retaining walls of the platforms of the northern galleries of the lateral courtyards. Small stairs delimited the southern retaining walls and defined the distance of the lateral retaining walls and the edges of the platforms of the lateral galleries.

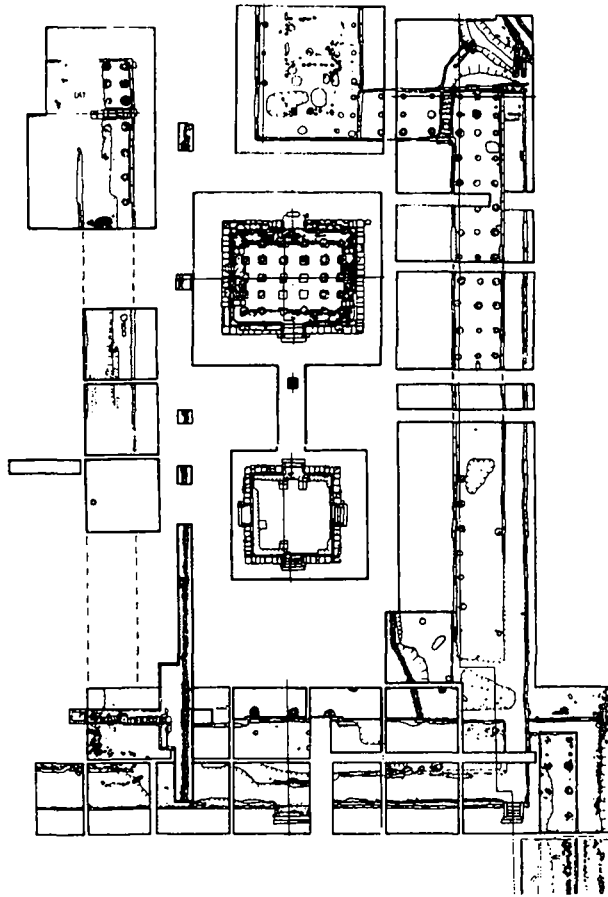


Fig. 350: Excavation plan of the eastern courtyard of Mi-rŭk-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 with middle gate, pagoda, image hall and galleries (early 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 1,000) (after: MHCKLG (1987, 1989), pp. 104ff.)

At the northern corners were ditches for the drainage system. The northern galleries only reached as far as the beginning of the platforms of the image halls where they were connected with the monks' cells which turned northwards thus leaving an opening of about 15.5m with the northern gallery of the central courtyard. All galleries of the lateral courtyards were two bays deep and probably possessed a separation wall on the axes of the exterior bays. The platforms and the foundation stones were identical to those of the platforms of the central courtyard. The northern gallery of the western courtyard has been reconstructed with a different building in a later period, thus leaving only few traces of the original gallery [fig. 351].

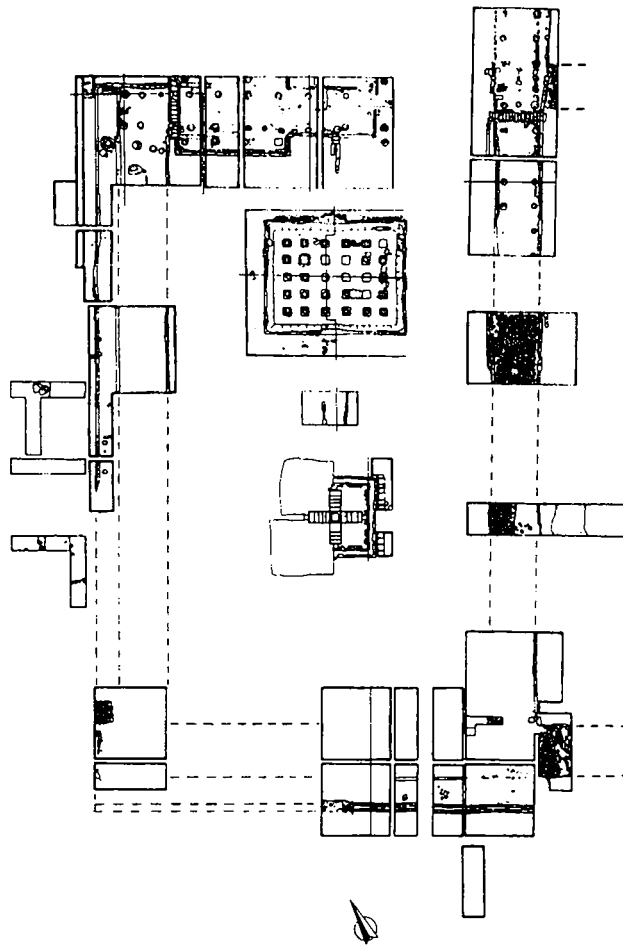


Fig. 351: Excavation plan of the western courtyard of Mi-rūk-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 with pagoda, image hall and galleries (early 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 1,000)  
(after: MHCKLG (1987, 1989), pp. 104ff.)

## 3.2.3.3.3.10. The courtyard of the lecture hall: the lateral dormitories

The lateral buildings of the northern courtyard seem to have been dormitories for the monks. The foundations of the eastern complex [fig. 352] were better preserved because the site of the western dormitories was reconstructed with different buildings in a later period (probably in Ko-ryö). Two types of foundations were found on the platform which was delimited by simple retaining walls, about 41cm high, formed of side and cover stones. Close to the edges of the platform stood round foundation stones, about 56cm in diameter, which were spaced about 3.8m from south to north. The southern side probably featured three bays, also of about 3.8m. At the south-eastern corner it seems that the structure of the dormitories was altered in order to provide supports for the connection bay between the northern gallery and the dormitories.

Inside this periphery of columns, remains of the separation walls of the cells were discovered, showing a layout of groups of two cells with a common separation wall in the centre [fig. 352]. Four groups of twin cells were formed on each side of the northern courtyard. The groups were separated by corridors, about 2.9m wide. The cells measured about 6m from south to north and 5.8m from east to west<sup>1</sup>. At the outer end of the partition lay tiny spaces of about 1.55m by 1.1m so that they seem to have been destined for the common use of two cells. The function of these small spaces is not clear. The report<sup>2</sup> suggests that the cells had their entries from the corridors and the rear side and that the twin cells communicated with each other through a door in the partition, but this seems to be pure speculation because no threshold stones or other evidence of doors were discovered at the suspected places.

The general structure of the dormitories could have combined a skeleton structure on the outside and bearing walls on the inside because, on one hand, the span of about 11.5m seems to be too long for minor buildings and, on the other hand, the rhythm of the cell walls did not correspond with that of the portico columns. Only in one instance was a round foundation stone found in a corner of a cell while most of the peripheral foundation stones were still extant. It is possible that the foundation stone was moved from its original location. As no similar extant construction is known in Korea, it is difficult to reconstruct the roof of the dormitories. The reconstruction drawing by CHANG<sup>3</sup> where all four groups of twin cells are united under one large hip-and-gable roof can serve as a working hypothesis which will have to be evaluated by future evidence [fig. 302].

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<sup>1</sup> The measurements are based on the axes of the walls.

<sup>2</sup> See: Chŏn-la-buk-do 全羅北道 전라북도 (ed.) (1990), pp. 122, 538.

<sup>3</sup> See: CHANG Kyöng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), p. 435f.



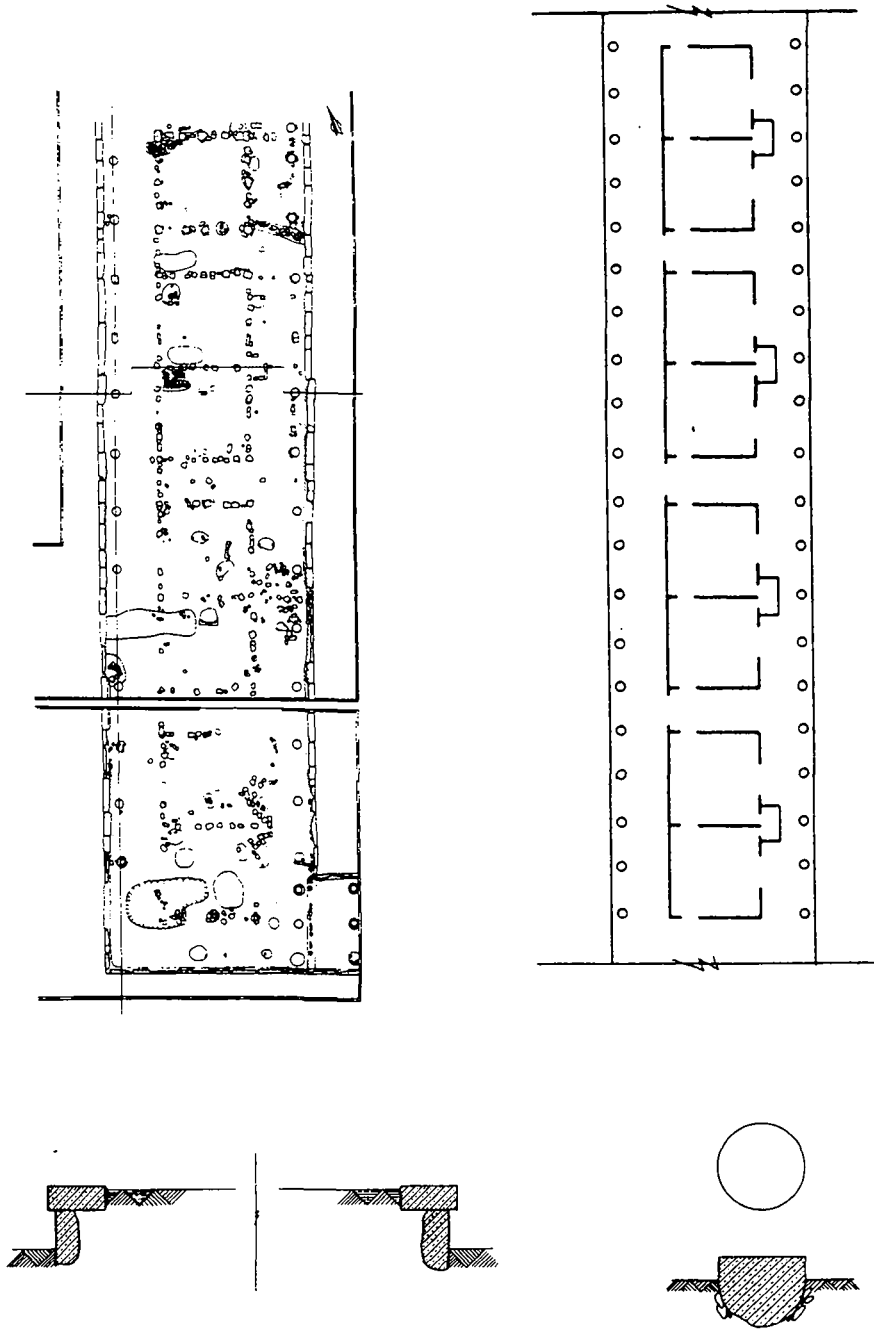


Fig. 352: The eastern dormitories of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사: excavation plan and organisation scheme (scale: 1 : 500), section of the platform and plan and section of a foundation stone (scale: 1 : 50) (early 7th C. AD) (after: MHCKLG (1987, 1989), p. 122, pl. 5)

## 3.2.3.3.11. The lecture hall and its peripheral structures

Most of the eastern part of the platform of the lecture hall has been washed away by the stream. But the western part produced enough evidence for the reconstruction of the entire plan if a symmetrical structure is assumed [fig. 353]. The platform of the lecture hall had only one step with a height of about 1.05m, composed of base, side and cover stones. Three stairs led to the wooden structure at its fourth, seventh and tenth bays. They were about 5.3m wide and 1.7m long. Smaller stairs, about 2.7m wide and 1.7m long, were placed in front of the corner

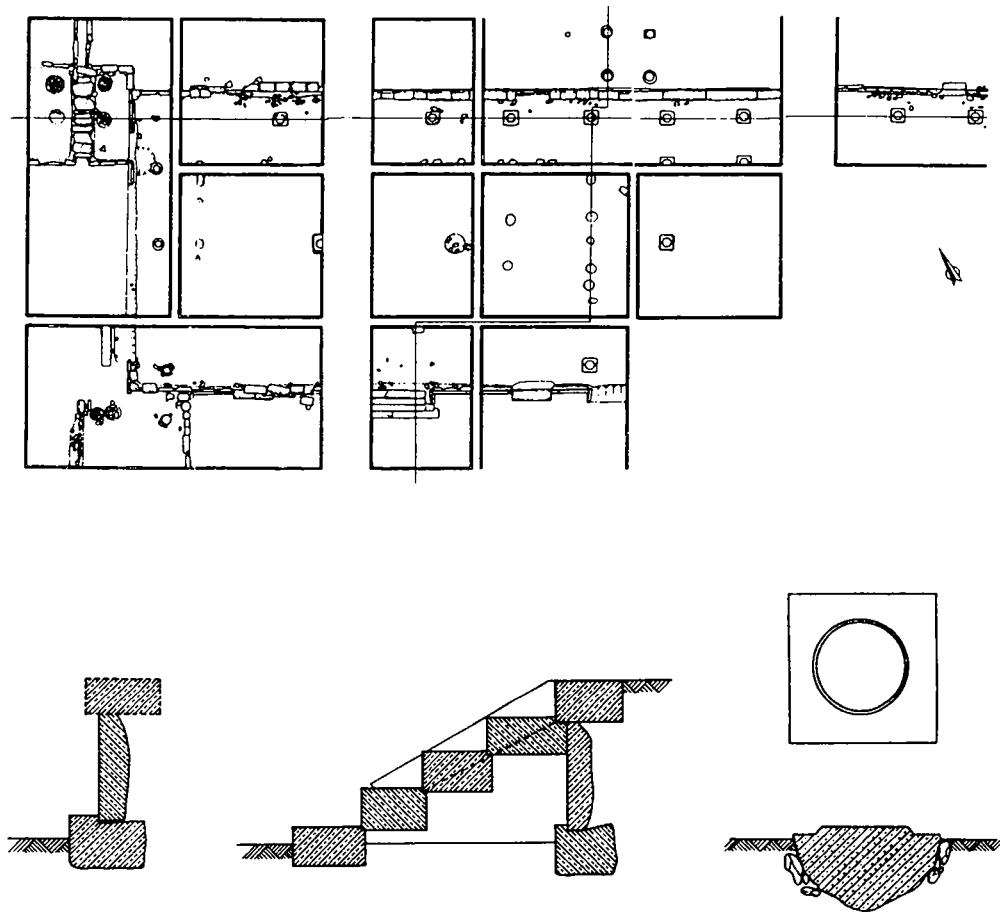


Fig. 353: The lecture hall of Mi-rŭk-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사: excavation plan (scale: 1 : 500), sections of the stairs and platform and plan and section of a foundation stone (scale: 1 : 50) (early 7th C. AD) (after: MHCKLG (1987, 1989), pl. 11; CHANG Kyōng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), pp. 234, 236, 253)

bays on the lateral sides, about 1.9m away from the southern and northern corners of the platform. The corner bays of the wooden structure measured about 3m and all other bays about 5m. The sides of the square granite foundation stones were about 95cm long, a carved circle of about 55cm diameter protruded by about 4.5cm from the upper surface.

Among the remains of the eastern side of the platform of the lecture hall were traces of charcoal which seem to come from rafters [fig. 354]. These traces indicate that the lecture hall had either a hip roof or a hip-and-gable roof. The report claims that the forms of the charcoal traces show eaves constructions with rafters (*chō-ma-sō-gka-ræ*<sup>1</sup>), transversal rafter ties (*pyōng-ko-dæ*<sup>2</sup>) and flying rafters (*bu-yōn*<sup>3</sup>). Two round rafter-end tiles (*yōn-mok-wa*<sup>4</sup>) from Bæk-che which were found close to the charcoal site. Flying rafters usually had rectangular sections so that rectangular rafter-end tiles could also be expected to be found if flying rafters were used in the Bæk-che constructions. However, there is no compelling evidence so far that Bæk-che used flying rafters which could have been an innovation of the Chinese Tang dynasty.

A reconstruction drawing [fig. 300] suggests that the interior of the lecture hall was divided in two equal parts by creating a kind of corridor at the central bay and by omitting four central columns on each side. This assumption is based on the discovery of a foundation stone<sup>5</sup> in the centre of the lecture hall. The drawing also seems to establish a direct connection between the northern dormitories and the central courtyard. The lecture hall of Mi-rūk-sa would then resemble the plan of the lecture hall of Nūng-sa<sup>6</sup> mentioned above where two distinct structures seem to have been assembled under one roof. A foundation stone, however, which lay close to the central row of columns in the western part of the lecture hall could indicate a building where no interior columns were removed as in the case of the image halls. The reconstruction drawings by the Institute of Cultural Industries propose a third variant where all central columns are removed [fig. 355].

<sup>1</sup> *Chō-ma-sō-gka-ræ* 처마서까래, also called *chang-yōn* 長椽 장연, the longer, lower rafters which usually have a round section.

<sup>2</sup> *Pyōng-ko-dæ* 平高臺 평고대, a square wooden tie which is placed on the end of rafters or flying rafters. This piece is called *kioi* 木負 きおい, 목부 (if placed on rafters) and *kayaoi* 茅負 かやおい, 모부 (if placed on flying rafters) in Japan.

<sup>3</sup> *Bu-yōn* 浮椽 부연, the flying rafters have usually a square section.

<sup>4</sup> *Yōn-mok-wa* 椽木瓦 연목와, these round tiles protect the end of the rafters from the rain. They can easily be distinguished by the small hole in their centre for the fixation nail.

<sup>5</sup> At least four interior foundation stones were excavated. Two of the interior foundation stones belonged to the northern intermediate row and two to the central row of columns (the western one seems to have been moved from its original location, the other belonged to the central bay). It can be expected that the lecture hall was symmetric in both major directions so that the southern intermediate axis would also have had a row of columns.

<sup>6</sup> Nūng-sa 陵寺 능사 (No. 4.19.7.). See above, pp. 369f.

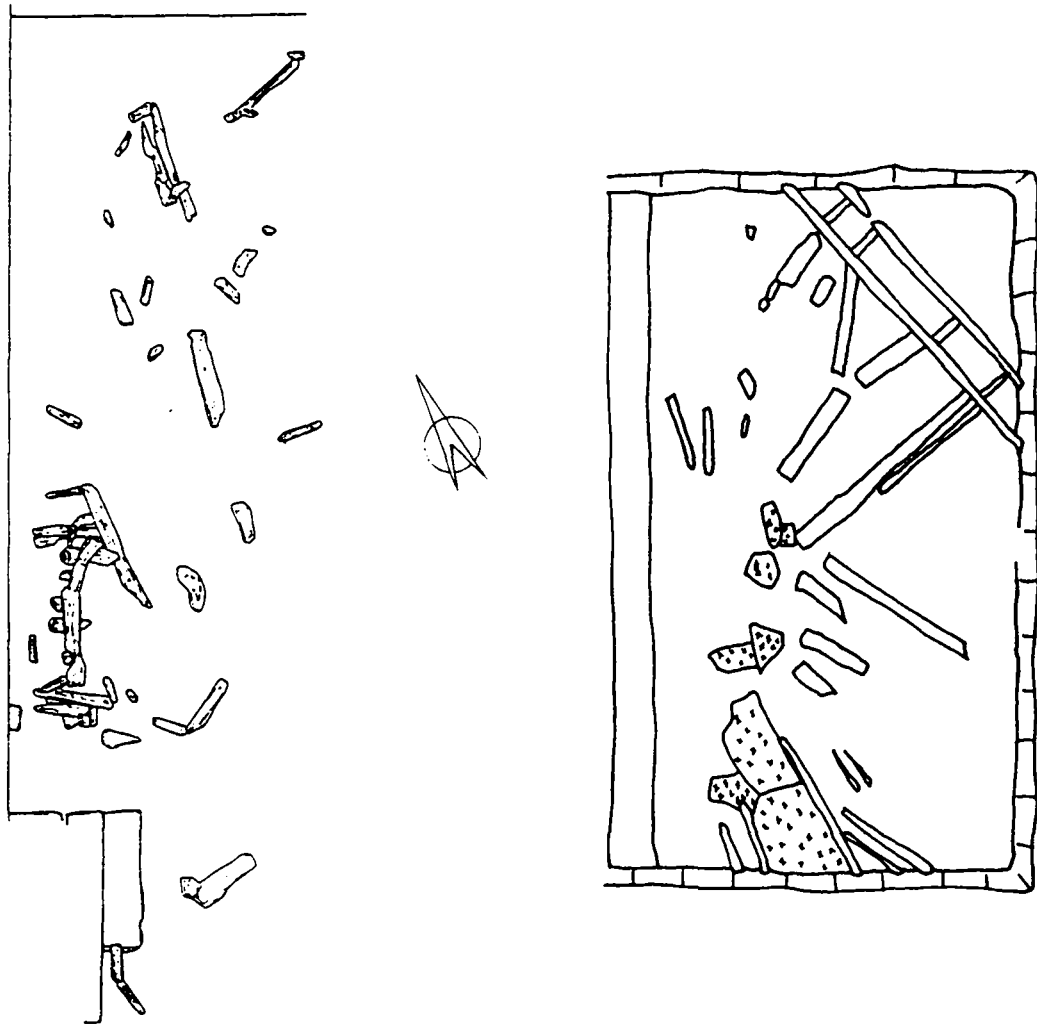


Fig. 354: Two excavation drawings of charcoal remains of rafters to the east of the platform of the lecture hall of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미특사 (early 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 100 and no scale) (after: MHCKLG (1987, 1989), p 112; CHANG Kyöng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), p. 288)

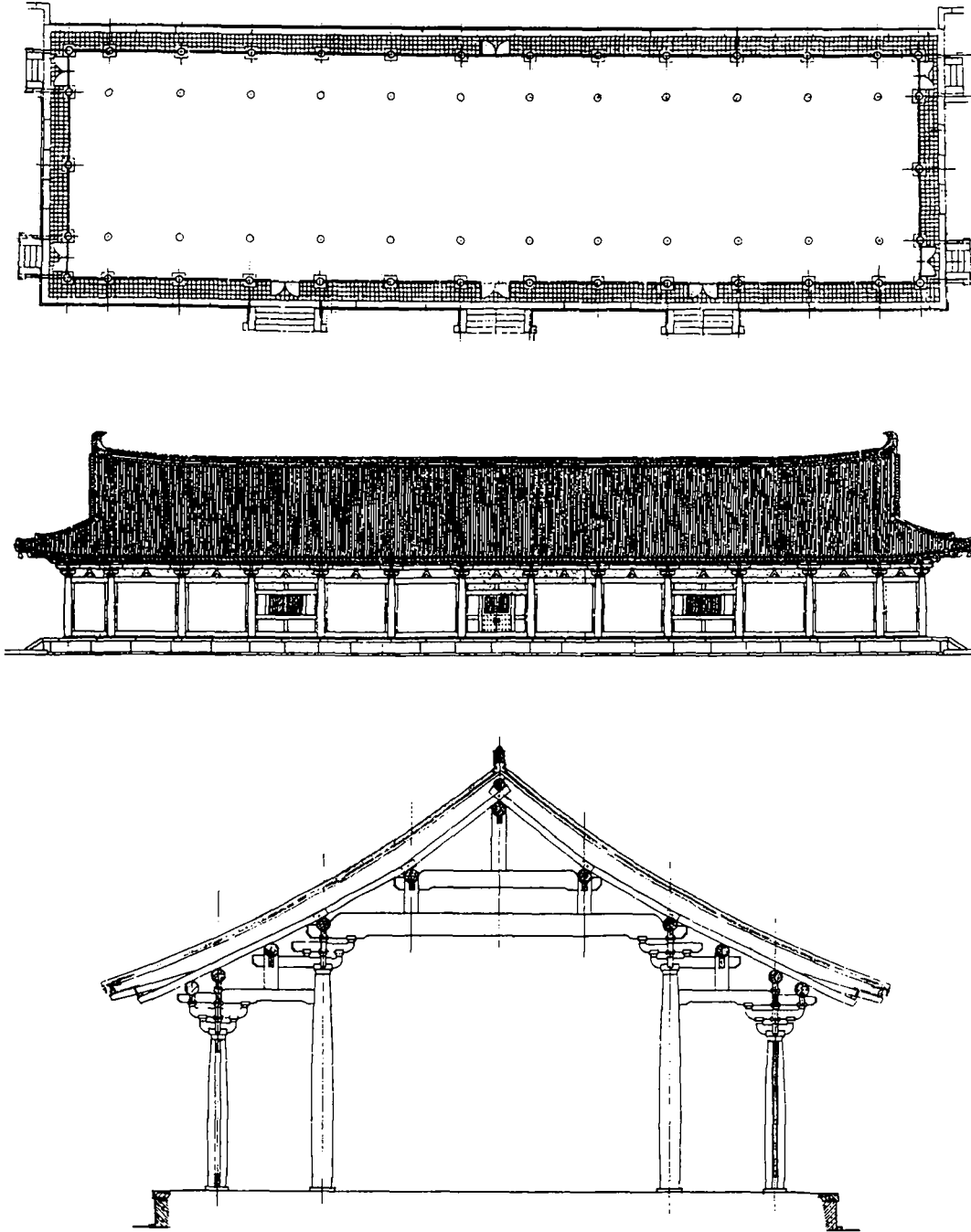


Fig. 355: Reconstruction drawings of the lecture hall of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사: ground plan, front elevation (scale: 1 : 500) and transversal section (scale: 1 : 200) (early 7th C. AD) (after: The Institute of Cultural Industries 文化産業研究所 문화산업연구소)

To the east and west, five-bays-long galleries seem to have connected the lecture hall with the lateral dormitories. They were two bays deep and their platform resembled the galleries of the front courtyards. The central row of columns was aligned with the rear face of the lecture hall. Another small gallery or corridor connected the lecture hall with the northern dormitories. This gallery did not have a platform but the round upper foundation stones were about 65cm high so that it is possible that the gallery possessed an elevated wooden floor like a bridge.

### 3.2.3.3.12. The northern dormitories and additional structures of later periods

Only fragments of the foundations of the northern building complex remain. It is however supposed that in the Bæk-che period the northern complex of monks' cells was similar to the lateral dormitories of the lecture hall courtyard. The complex then probably consisted of eight groups of twin cells [fig. 356].

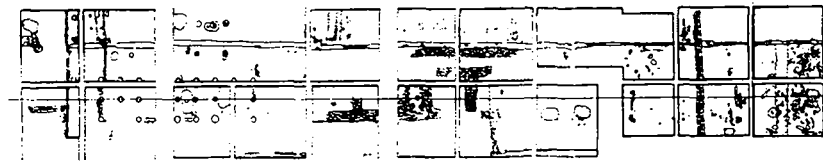


Fig. 356: Partial excavation plan of the northern dormitories (?) of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 (early 7th C. AD ?, scale: 1 : 500) (after: MHCKLG (1987, 1989), p. 118)

The western part of the northern courtyard and the area to the north of the lecture hall were heavily transformed in reconstruction from the Unified Sin-la and Ko-ryŏ periods. A detailed description of the remains is not necessary for the present study and the difficult question of the dating of the various structures would lead too far. But it is interesting to observe how the well developed original layout plan was transformed. The western gallery of the central courtyard was prolonged until the platform of the lecture hall, creating thus a small courtyard connected to the western courtyard [fig. 357]. To the north of this new courtyard, a quite large building was constructed in front of the western gallery of the lecture hall. The western dormitories and the northern gallery of the western courtyard were demolished and replaced by four buildings at least. Additional important structures were built to the west of the new courtyard.

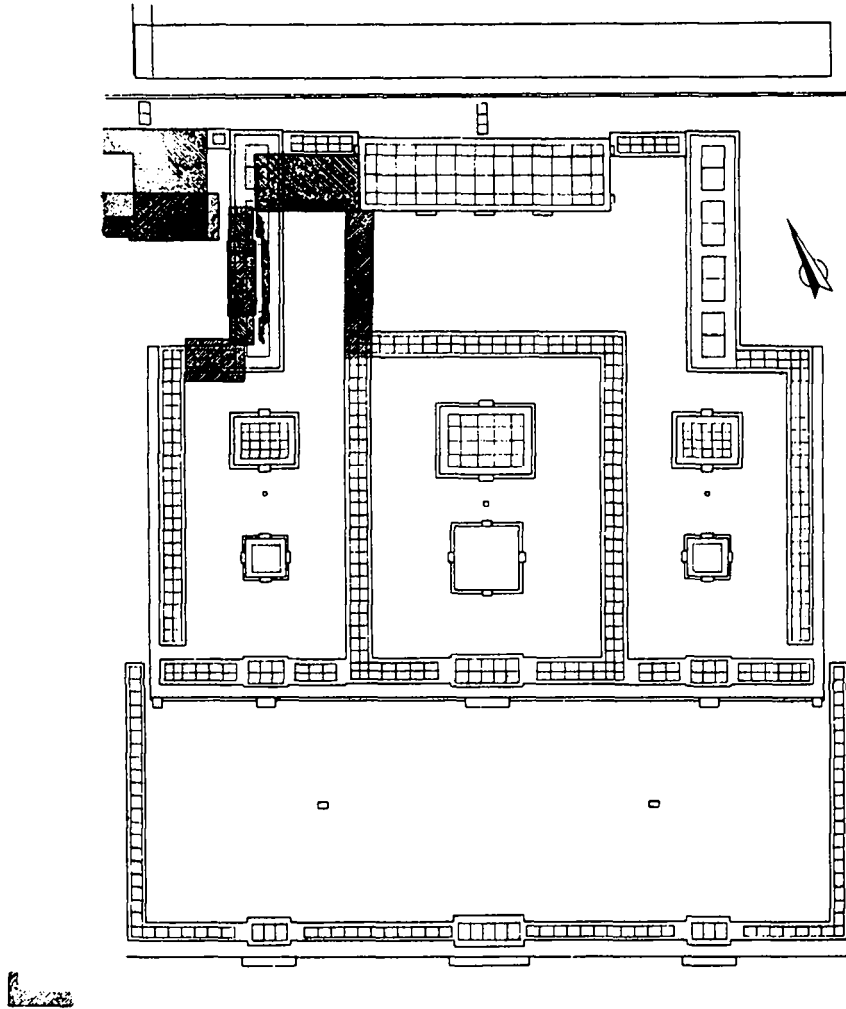


Fig. 357: Layout plan of the additional buildings of later period of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 (early 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 2,000) (after: MHCKLG (1987, 1989), pl. 12)

The excavated tile fragments from different periods can give approximate life spans of the various structures. The analysis by CHANG<sup>1</sup> concluded that the western and the central image halls were used longer than the eastern image hall. He also suspects that the central pagoda was not reconstructed after the Bæk-che period. This could mean that the centre of the temple shifted westwards to the western stone pagoda and the later structures mentioned above.

<sup>1</sup> See: CHANG Kyŏng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), pp. 336 - 351.

This method of dating, however, has its limits. It can for example be argued that immediate reconstructions after a fire or a storm could either erase all evidence the earlier periods or to the contrary that old tiles which did not originally belong to the structure, could be reused. Not to mention the fact that well-built structures can survive several centuries without having to change their tiles. Furthermore, the supposed reconstruction of the eastern pagoda in Hu-bæk-che does not seem to fit the assumed life span of the eastern image hall because it is difficult to imagine the pagoda without an image hall in a period where the importance of pagodas was diminished.

#### 3.2.3.3.13. The southern courtyard and the flagpole supports of Unified Sin-la

At the south-eastern corner of the eastern courtyard, the remains of a platform and the foundations of a one-bay-deep gallery were excavated [figs. 358, 359]. This platform started just east of the end of the southern gallery. It ran about 74m towards the south where the platform turned to the west. After about 31.5m, the platform became larger to receive a south gate on the axis of the eastern courtyard. A two-stepped retaining wall stood in front of this southernmost gallery. Though the remains to the west of the eastern south gate were destroyed, it is supposed that there were analogous south gates in front of the central and western courtyards. The remains of large stairs were excavated in front of the eastern south gate. They were about 14.6m wide, 5.5m long and 1.6m high. The two lowest steps were still complete and fragments of the four following steps and the side walls were uncovered.

As traces of a mud wall were discovered beneath the platform of the eastern south gate, CHANG<sup>1</sup> concludes that the southern galleries were not built at the time of the founding but that they were a later addition. He did not indicate a time frame for this enlargement. However, roof end tiles with typical Bæk-che lotus flower patterns which were discovered at the eastern gallery of the southern courtyard<sup>2</sup>, seem to indicate that the southern galleries were still built in the Bæk-che period. The construction methods of the platforms, the foundation stones, the drainage system and the stairs are similar to those of the structures of the main courtyards. This seems to support my assumption of an early construction date of the southern galleries.

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<sup>1</sup> See: CHANG Kyōng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992), p. 100.

<sup>2</sup> See: MHCKLG (1987, 1989), pp. 158f., 191, 197.



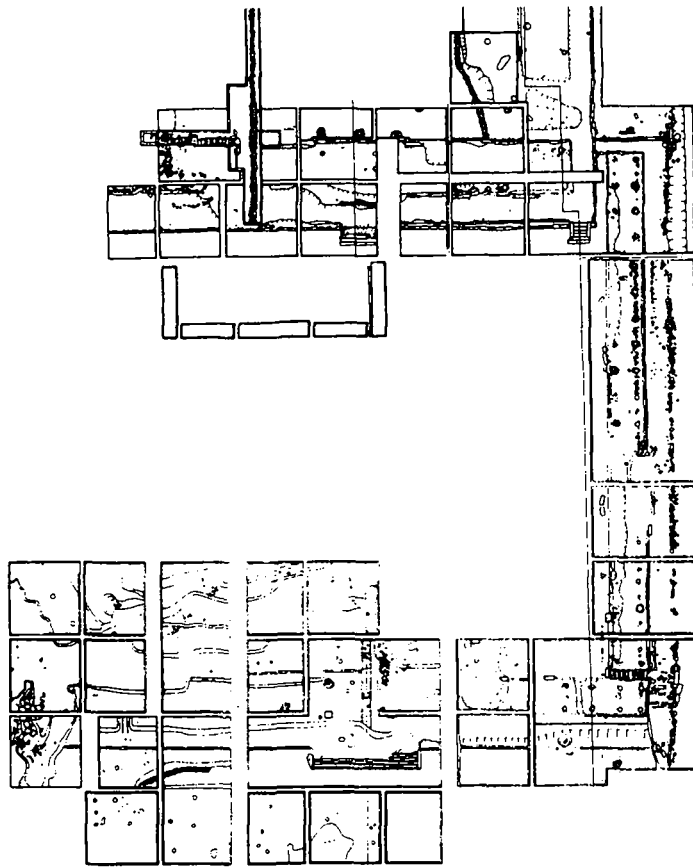


Fig. 358: Excavation plan of the eastern part of the southern courtyard of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 (7th C. AD ?, scale: 1 : 1,000) (after: MHCKLG (1987, 1989), pp. 105, 151f.)

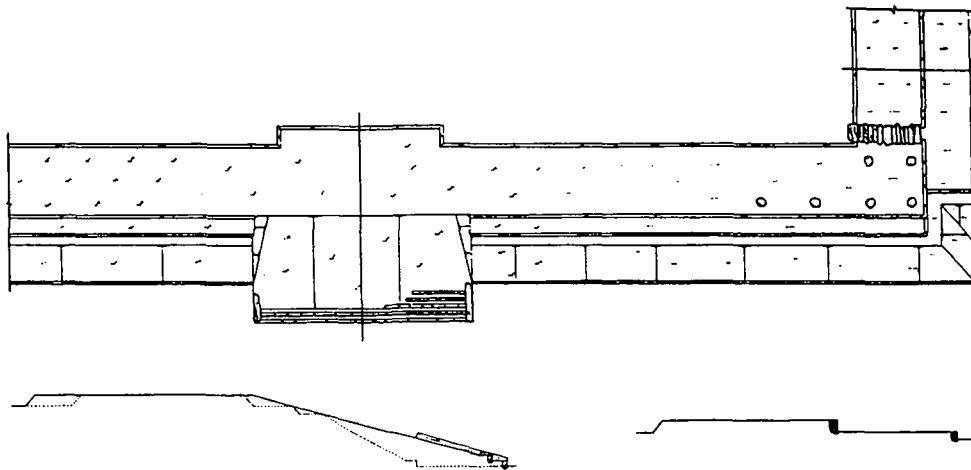


Fig. 359: Plan (scale: 1 : 500) and two sections (scale: 1 : 200) of the eastern south-gate and the south-eastern corner of the southern courtyard of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 (7th C. AD ?, scale: 1 : 2,000) (after: MHCSRBS 86, p. 321)

It seems that the southern courtyard was empty with the exception of two flagpoles which were placed in front of the south-western gallery of the eastern courtyard and the south-eastern gallery of the western courtyard. The axis between the flagpoles divided the eastern gallery of the southern courtyard almost exactly in two equal parts. Both pairs of stone flagpole supports are still extant on the site, at a distance of each other of about 90m. The supports were about 3.95m and 5m high<sup>1</sup> and stood on rectangular bases 55cm to 65m high [fig. 360]. The flagpoles were made of octagonal granite pieces which were probably held together with metallic rings. Six fragments of one pole from Mi-rük-sa are preserved in the Bu-yö National Museum<sup>2</sup>. The reconstruction of the missing pieces indicates that the flagpoles probably reached a height<sup>3</sup> of more than 11m. The sides of the bases were decorated with an *an-sang*<sup>4</sup> pattern. The style of the flagpole supports is comparable to that of the flagpole supports of Güm-san-sa and Bul-guk-sa<sup>5</sup> what indicate that the Mi-rük-sa flagpoles could have been erected in the middle of the eighth century during the Unified Sin-la period<sup>6</sup>.

Though the acknowledged later date of the flagpoles can induce the assumption that the whole southern courtyard was built at the same time, it is not necessarily so. While the construction of two flagpoles is a small intervention, the construction of three monumental stairs, three gates and long galleries much increased the prestige of the temple. It is doubtful that such a glorifying project was realized in the Unified Sin-la at a temple site which belonged to a former rival kingdom. KIM<sup>7</sup> has pointed out that the temples of the Unified Sin-la period did not reach the scale of

<sup>1</sup> Most authors only give the measurements of one of the support pairs. The western supports however are clearly taller than the eastern ones. See: CHIN Hong-söb 秦弘燮 진홍섭 (1995), p. 508; MHCKLG (1987, 1989), p. 518, pl. 3-1, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Bu-yö National Museum 國立扶餘博物館 국립부여박물관.

<sup>3</sup> This is the height of the extant stone flagpole at Na-chu 羅州 나주 of the Ko-ryö period which also had an octagonal section. The round and octagonal stone flagpole at Üb-næ-ni 邑內里 읍내리, Dam-yang 潭陽 담양 of the Cho-sön period is about 15m high. Its supports are only 2.5m high and the flagpole measures only 44cm in diameter. See: CHÖN Kyöng-hwa 千敬化 천경화 (1993), p. 610f.

<sup>4</sup> *An-sang* 眼象 안상, a decorative motive which was used to decorated furniture legs. See: CHIN Hong-söb 秦弘燮 진홍섭 (1997), pp. 118 - 168.

<sup>5</sup> Güm-san-sa 金山寺 금산사 (No. 5.3.2.), Bul-guk-sa 佛國寺 불국사 (No. 7.34.33.). CHANG compares the supports rather with those of Bu-sök-sa 浮石寺 부석사 (No. 7.10.3.) and Suk-su-sa 宿水寺 숙수사 (No. 7.10.5.) and dates thus the Mi-rük-sa flagpole supports to the early Unified Sin-la period (seventh to early eighth century?). Some authors even date the supports to the early Ko-ryö period. See: CPS 6, p. 131, 264; CHANG Kyöng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), p. 379; SGSSC, p. 202.

<sup>6</sup> The *Cultural Properties Survey* assumes that the supports date to the later half of the Unified Sin-la period. See: CPS 6, p. 146, 277.

<sup>7</sup> See: KIM Sung-woo (KIM Söng-u 金聖雨 김성우) (1985), p. 278.

the larger royal temples of the Three Kingdoms period. In spite of the later flagpole supports I assume therefore that the southern courtyard was constructed before the end of Bæk-che in 660 AD.

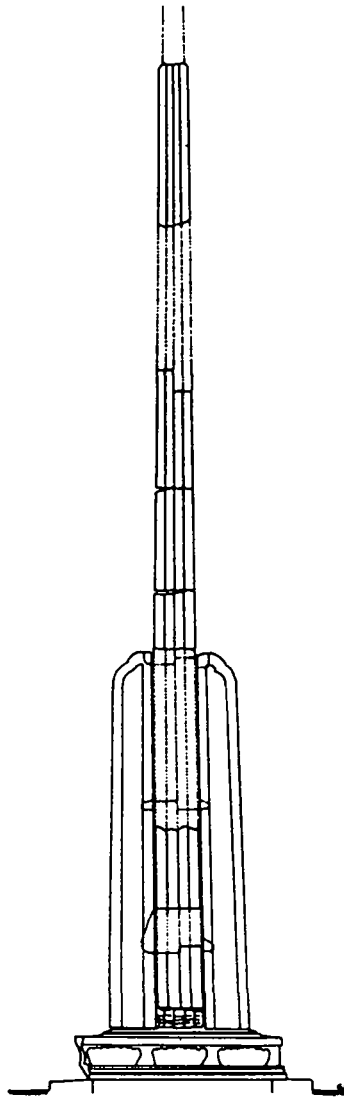


Fig. 360: Elevation of the western flagpole supports with the reconstructed stone flagpole of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 (Unified Sin-la: about 8th C. AD ?, scale: 1 : 100) (after: CHANG Kyöng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), p. 380)

## 3.2.3.3.4. The material remains

The numerous material remains excavated at Mi-rük-sa include a fragment of wall painting, various roof tiles, numerous ceramics of different types, a fragment of a terracotta house model, a fragment of a gilt-bronze pagoda model, gilt-bronze Buddhist figurines, a stone miniature pagoda, various bronze ornaments, small bronze bells, a bronze miniature horse, bronze coins, bronze chop-sticks and spoons, iron tools (axes, scissors, nails), a wooden capital, wooden recipients and jewels of various materials.

The excavation reports describe the objects in detail. For the present study only the objects with a possible connection to Bæk-che architecture will be discussed. These are in particular the roof tiles, the building models, the wall painting fragment and the wooden capital. The fragments of a gilt-bronze miniature pagoda and a terracotta building model, however, date probably to the Ko-ryō period<sup>1</sup> and the general form and the details<sup>2</sup> of the stone miniature pagoda seem to indicate that it was carved in the Unified Sin-la period.

## 3.2.3.3.4.1. Roof tiles

As mentioned above, tiles from Bæk-che, Unified Sin-la and Ko-ryō were excavated at Mi-rük-sa which shows the approximate life-span of the temple. The tiles can be classified according to their form, function and location on the roof and according to their decorations. The following types of roof tiles can be distinguished:

'female' roof tiles (*am-khi-wa*<sup>3</sup>)

'male' roof tiles (*su-khi-wa*<sup>4</sup>)

'female' roof-end tiles (*am-mak-sæ*<sup>5</sup>)

'male' roof-end tiles (*su-mak-sæ*<sup>6</sup>)

<sup>1</sup> The miniature pagoda fragment has not been dated in the excavation report. Extant miniature pagodas of the Ko-ryō period show similarities with the fragment. See: *HGŭM* 23, pl. 68 - 73; MHCKLG (1987, 1989), p. 449, 463f.

<sup>2</sup> The granite miniature pagoda has three stories with quite steep roofs. The base is relatively high and features the so-called *an-sang* 眼象 안상 pattern on the four sides (see above in connection with the flagpole supports). See: MHCKLG (1987, 1989), p.457f.

<sup>3</sup> *Am-khi-wa* 암키와, also called *yō-wa* 女瓦 여와.

<sup>4</sup> *Su-khi-wa* 수키와, also called *bu-wa* 夫瓦 부와.

<sup>5</sup> *Am-mak-sæ* 암막새, also called *yō-mak-sa* 女莫斯 여막사.

<sup>6</sup> *Su-mak-sæ* 수막새, also called *bu-mak-sa* 夫莫斯 부막사.

rafter-end tiles (*yŏn-mok-wa*<sup>1</sup>)  
 ridge tiles (*čhak-go*<sup>2</sup>)  
 ridge-end tiles (*mang-wa*<sup>3</sup>)  
 owl's-tail tiles (*čhi-mi*<sup>4</sup>)  
 gable-end tiles (*bak-kong-mak-sæ*<sup>5</sup>)

The decorations include various forms of lotus flowers, foliage, herbs, birds, monster faces, stamps, inscriptions, dates and geometric pattern. The most frequent inscription was 'Mi-rük-sa' and 'Dæ-mi-rük-sa'<sup>6</sup> confirming thus the identity of the temple with certainty [fig. 361]. The dates found on certain tiles belong to the late Unified Sin-la and the Ko-ryŏ periods. Some Bæk-che tiles can only be distinguished from those of Unified Sin-la through comparison with tiles from other sites which have been dated. 'Male' roof-end tiles featuring lotus flowers with undivided petals (*dan-pan-yŏn-hwa-mun*<sup>7</sup>) are usually dated to the Three Kingdoms period [fig. 361]. Tiles with more complicated lotus flowers, animals and monsters pattern are thought to date to later periods.

The fragments of a Bæk-che owl's-tail tile scattered on the site of the eastern dormitories have been assembled. The reconstructed tile is about 99cm high, 86cm long and 28cm wide [fig. 361]. Fragments of other owl's-tail tiles have been found on the sites of the lecture hall, western dormitories, the pond to the south of the precinct, the northern gallery of the central courtyard, the western gallery of the western courtyard, the image hall of the eastern courtyard and the central pagoda. As buildings with a centralized plan and pyramidal roofs have no need for such tiles, it seems that the owl's-tail tile fragment of the central pagoda site belonged to an other building, most probably the middle gate or the central image hall. This example shows that the excavated tiles can not always be interpreted as belonging to the roof covering of the buildings on a specific site. Only a large number of similar tile fragments seems to justify such conclusions.

1 *Yŏn-mok-wa* 椽木瓦 연목와.

2 *Čhak-go* 着固 착고, also written 着高 착고.

3 *Mang-wa* 望瓦 망와.

4 *Čhi-mi* 鷗尾 치미.

5 *Bak-kong-mak-sæ* 박공막새, also written *bak-kong-mak-sa* 朴工莫斯 박공막사.

6 *Mi-rük-sa* 彌勒寺 미특사, *Dæ-mi-rük-sa* 大彌勒寺 대미특사.

7 *Dan-pan-yŏn-hwa-mun* 單瓣蓮花紋 단판연화문, literally: single-petal-lotus-flower-pattern (streak).

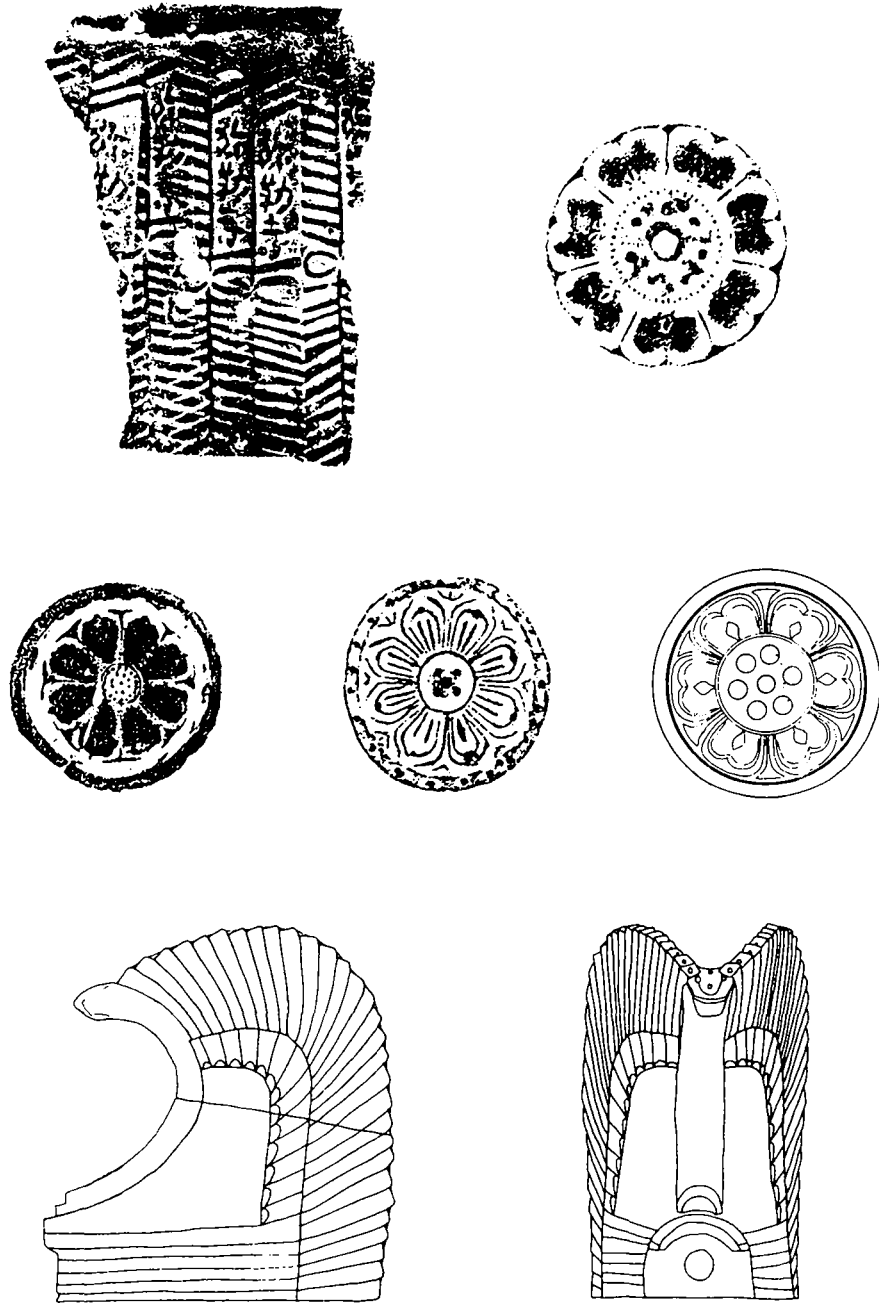


Fig. 361: Rubbings of a 'female' roof tile with inscription (no scale) and a rafter-end tile, rubbings and drawing of 'male' roof-end tiles (scale: about 1 : 5) and two elevations of a reconstructed owl's-tail tile (scale: 1 : 20) of Mi-rŭk-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 (early 7th C. AD) (after: MHCKLG (1987, 1989), pp. 197f.; CHANG Kyŏng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), pp. 311, 335; IM Yŏng-chu 林永周 임영주 (1983), p. 488)

## 3.2.3.3.4.2. Wall painting fragments

Fragments of wall painting have been found at the site of the central image hall and the southern pond in front of the temple precinct. It seems that they could not yet be attributed to a particular period but they might date either to Bæk-che or Unified Sin-la. While the painted design of the fragment of the image hall has been tentatively interpreted as a chrysanthemum flower, that of the fragment of the southern pond clearly shows a honeysuckle foliage pattern [fig. 362].

## 3.2.3.3.4.3. The wooden capital

A fragment of a square wooden bracket capital was discovered in 1987 at the site of the southern lotus pond. It was about 9.5cm high, its upper sides were about 15.8cm long and its lower sides about 8.4cm [fig. 363]. A hole, about 3.6cm in diameter, was cut in the bottom face and the top face was shaped in such a way as to receive a horizontal cylinder of a diameter of about 7.7cm. This form indicates that the bracket was supporting a hand rail of a balustrade. CHANG<sup>1</sup> supposes therefore that it belonged either to the central (wooden ?) pagoda or a two-storied structure. The location of the capital could also indicate that it might have belonged to a pavilion on the edge of the lotus pond. The capital can be compared with a balustrade capital from An-ab-chi<sup>2</sup> of Unified Sin-la which was 8.5cm high and had similar side lengths of 11cm and 8cm. The hand rail probably had a diameter of about 8.6cm. The bottom hole was only about 2cm in diameter. The proportions of the two capitals are not identical. The Mi-rük-sa capital had a height proportion of about 1.18 : 1 between the upper and lower parts of the capital while that of the An-ab-chi capital was about 1.84 : 1. The rail is lowered deeper into the Mi-rük-sa capital and it was thinner than the rail of An-ab-chi. CHANG<sup>3</sup> dates the capital to the Bæk-che period but acknowledges that it could also belong to the Unified Sin-la period.

<sup>1</sup> See: CHANG Kyöng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), p. 387f.

<sup>2</sup> An-ab-chi 雁鴨池 안압지 is located in Kyöng-chu 慶州 경주 and was constructed in 674 AD. See: MHCKLG (1978), p. 252, 257.

<sup>3</sup> See: CHANG Kyöng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), p. 396f.

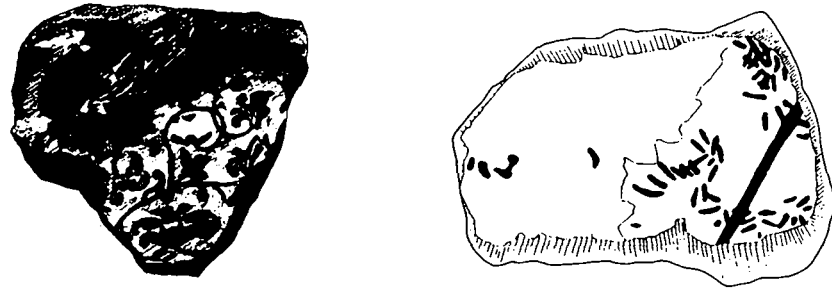


Fig. 362: Two fragments of wall painting of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사  
(Bæk-che / Unified Sin-la ?, scale : 1 : 2)  
(after: MHCKLG (1987, 1989), p. 447 and drawing by the author)

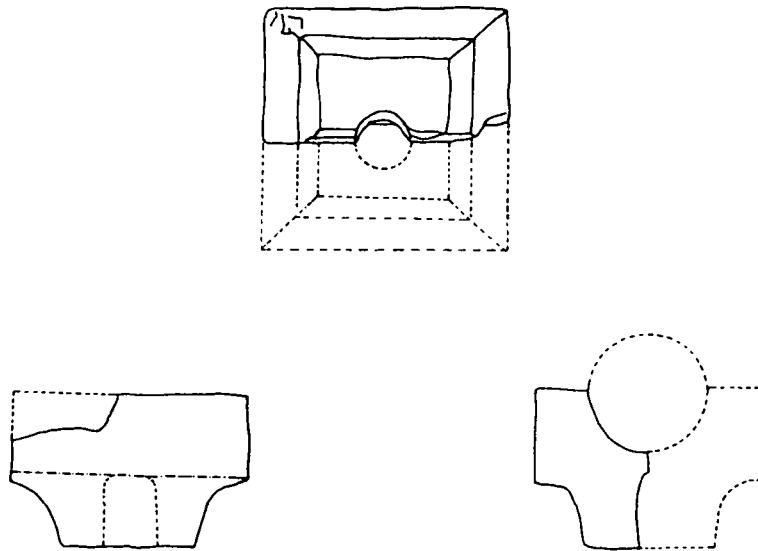


Fig. 363: Wooden capital of a railing post of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사  
(Bæk-che / Unified Sin-la ?, scale : 1 : 5)  
(after: CHANG Kyöng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), p. 396)



## 3.2.3.4. KWAN-KUNG-SA

About 4.7km to the south-south-east of the stone pagoda of Mi-rŭk-sa lies another temple site of the late Bæk-che dynasty. It is commonly known as the 'temple site at Wang-kung-ri'<sup>1</sup> but the excavation unearthed inscribed tiles with its original name, Kwan-kung-sa<sup>2</sup>. The excavations of the temple site are not yet concluded but they already revealed the foundations of the image hall and a small lecture hall [fig. 364].

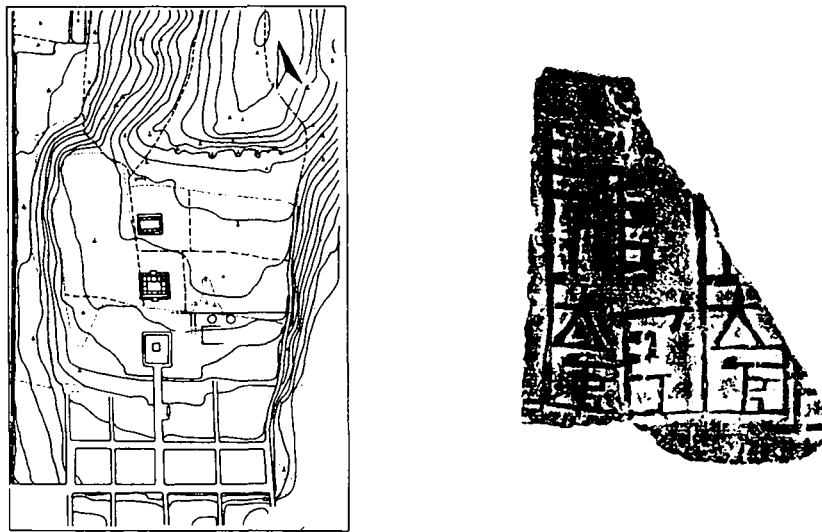


Fig. 364: Site plan (scale : 1 : 5,000) and an inscribed fragment of a 'female' roof tile (no scale) of Kwan-kung-sa 官宮寺 官宮사 (Bæk-che to Ko-ryŏ), (after: CHANG Hŏn-dŏk 張憲德 장헌덕 (1993), p. 78; CHANG Kyŏng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), p. 132)

## 3.2.3.4.1. The general layout

The extant five-storied stone pagoda and the remains of the image and lecture halls were aligned on an axis orientated about 7° to east from magnetic north. This is also the approximate orientation of the stone pagoda. The centre of the image hall lay about 37.5m behind the centre of the pagoda and the centre of the lecture hall had a distance of about 42.5m from the centre of the image hall [fig 365]. No clear evidence of a middle gate or galleries has been excavated so far. Table 23 resumes the measurements of the two excavated structures:

<sup>1</sup> Wang-kung-ri 王宮里 왕궁리.

<sup>2</sup> Kwan-kung-sa 官宮寺 官宮사. Sec: Chapter 3.1., p. 263.

structure	platform		superstructure			function, comments
	length	width	length	width	no. bays	
structure No. 1	~ 24.5m (23.2m)	~ 17.6m (16.33m)	19.2m	~ 12.3m	5 x 4	image hall (second step)
structure No. 2	~ 17.5m	~ 12m	14.8m	9.6m	5 x 4	lecture hall

Table 23: Measurements of the excavated structures of Kwan-kung-sa 官宮寺 관궁사

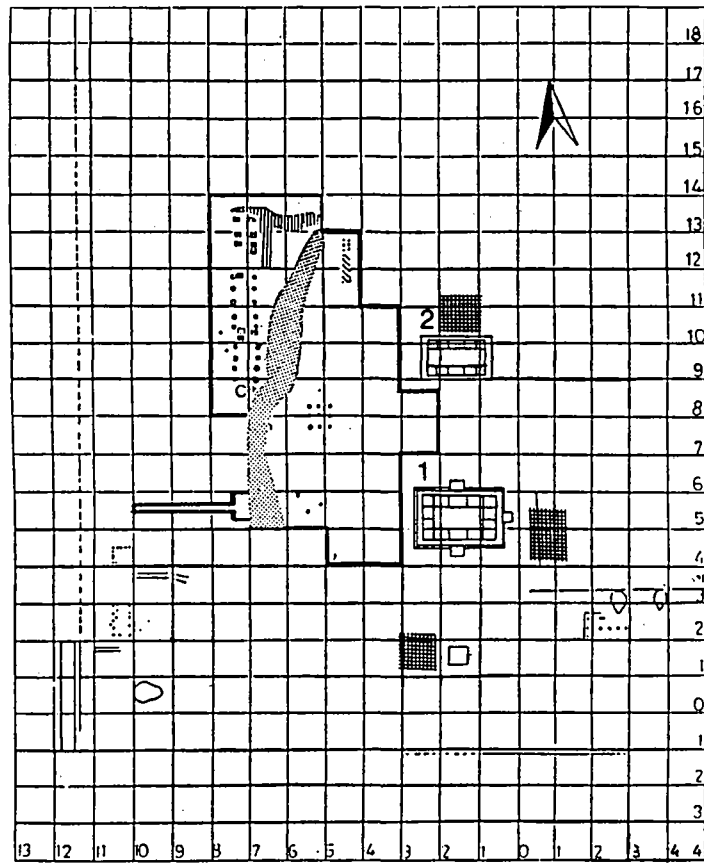


Fig. 365: Site plan of Kwan-kung-sa 官宮寺 관궁사 with indication of the provisional excavation results (Bæk-che to Ko-ryō, scale : 1 : 2,000) (after: Bu-yō Cultural Properties Institute 扶餘文化財研究所 부여문화재연구소 (ed.) (1993.1.), p. 12)

## 3.2.3.4.2. The pagoda

As the five-storied stone pagoda [fig. 366] was executed in a style reminiscent of that of the Bæk-che period, scholars have disagreed about the construction date of this pagoda for some time. The assumption that the extant pagoda was built in the ninth or tenth centuries AD, which corresponds to the Hu-bæk-che period<sup>1</sup>, is now most widely accepted. Therefore, the pagoda is not discussed here in detail.

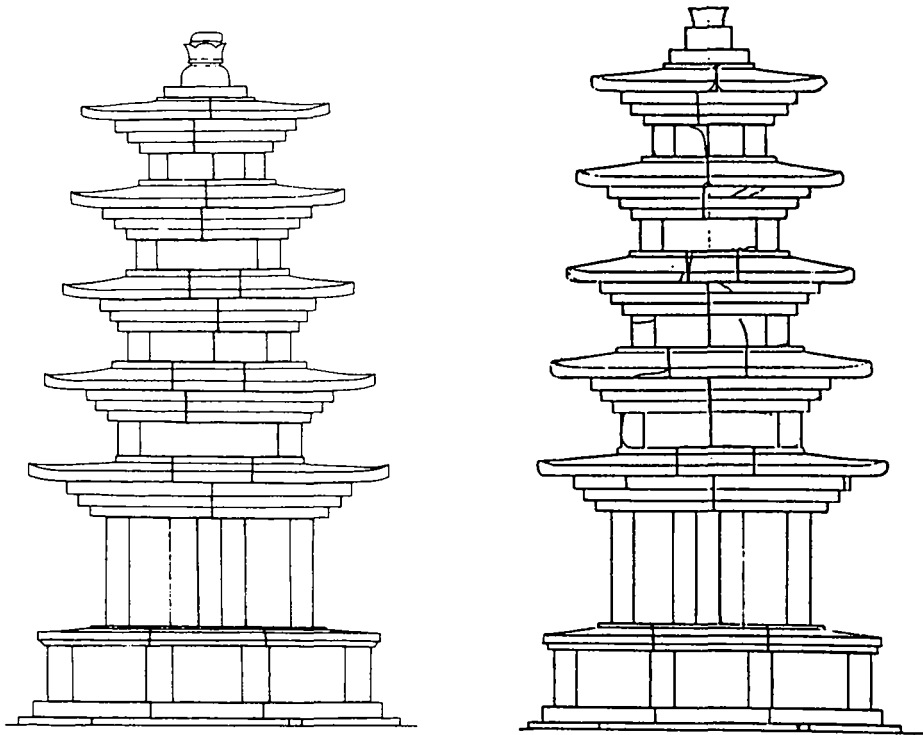


Fig. 366: Two elevations of the five-storied stone pagoda of Kwan-kung-sa 官宮寺 觀宮寺 (Hu-bæk-che / Ko-ryŏ: 9th - 10th C. AD ?, scale : 1 : 100) (after: CHANG Hŏn-dŏk 張憲德 장헌덕 (1993), p. 81; CHŎN Kyŏng-hwa 千敬化 천경화 (1993), p. 39)

<sup>1</sup> Hu-bæk-che 後百濟 후백제, from 892 to 936 AD. Many authors prefer the more cautious term of 'late Unified Sin-la - early Ko-ryŏ' 羅末麗初 나말려초 but the revival of the Bæk-che style is difficult to explain without referring to the founding of Hu-bæk-che. A number of pagodas in this style remain in the former Bæk-che territory from the same period as the Kwan-kung-sa pagoda. See: CHŎN Dŭk-yŏm 千得琰 천득염 (1990).

Until the dismantlement and reconstruction of the pagoda from 1965 to 1966 AD, the base was covered with a heap of earth. When the earth was removed, four octagonal foundation stones were discovered which supported the corners of the first story, as well as a square foundation stone in the centre<sup>1</sup> [fig. 367]. The foundation stones stood on the lowest level of the base of the pagoda. The space between the foundation stones was filled with rocks of various sizes and forms. The reconstruction team decided to replace this structure with the present base whose design has been based on discovered fragments of side and cover stones.

The central foundation stone featured three square holes in its upper face arranged in the form of the Chinese character *pum*<sup>2</sup>. In one of the holes lay a bronze bell and a bronze Buddha figurine, about 9cm high. Two holes were also cut in a roof stone of the first story. The western hole contained a gilt-bronze box with nineteen golden sheets on which the text of the *Diamond Sūtra*<sup>3</sup> was engraved. A golden box with a glass *śarīra* bottle lay in the eastern hole [fig. 368]. All the relics are thought to date to the ninth or tenth century AD so that they could belong to the Hu-bæk-che period.



Fig. 367: Perspective of the base of the dismantled five-storied stone pagoda of Kwan-kung-sa 官宮寺 官宮사 (Hu-bæk-che / Ko-ryŏ: 9th - 10th C. AD ?, no scale) (drawing by the author)

<sup>1</sup> The Korean edition of the work by YONEDA features a photograph of the excavated base of the pagoda. See: YONEDA Miyoji 米田 美代治 よねだ みよじ みぜん みだいぢ (1975), pp. 123 - 132; CHANG Hŏn-dŏk 張憲德 장헌덕 (1993), pp. 79f.

<sup>2</sup> *Pum* 品 품.

<sup>3</sup> *Diamond Sūtra* 金剛經 금강경. See: *HGŭM* 23, pl. 117 -120, p. 220.

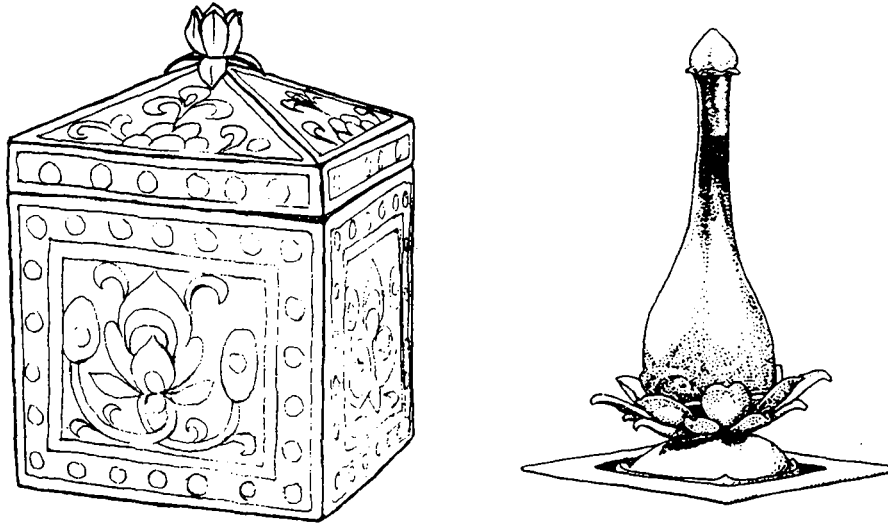


Fig. 368: Perspectives of the golden *sarira* box (h = 7.8cm) and the glass *sarira* bottle (h = 7.7 cm) of the stone pagoda of Kwan-kung-sa 官宮寺 觀宮寺 (Hu-bæk-che / Ko-ryō: 9th - 10th C. AD ?, no scale) (drawing by the author and after: KEILHAUER (1986), p. 92)

It is possible that the site of the extant five-storied stone pagoda is the original location of the pagoda of Kwan-kung-sa of the Bæk-che period. It could also be speculated that the central foundation stone of the stone pagoda belonged to a wooden pagoda because a stone pagoda does usually not need such a foundation stone.

#### 3.2.3.4.3. The image hall

The excavation of the site of the image hall showed that the platform probably had two steps, similar to other temple sites of Bæk-che [fig. 369]. No foundation stone was uncovered at its original place but heaps of stones indicated the location of the columns. The corner bays were probably about 2.4m long, the intermediate bays of the front and rear faces measured about 4.8m and those of the lateral sides about 3.75m. It seems that the platform possessed four stairs, one in the middle of each side if it is supposed that the remains of the eastern stairs indicate that there were also stairs symmetrically on the western side. As the wooden structure had five by four bays, the lateral stairs stood in the axis of the central row of columns. The lateral stairs were less wide, measuring about 2.7m by 2.4m compared to about 3.5m by 2.4m for the front and rear stairs.

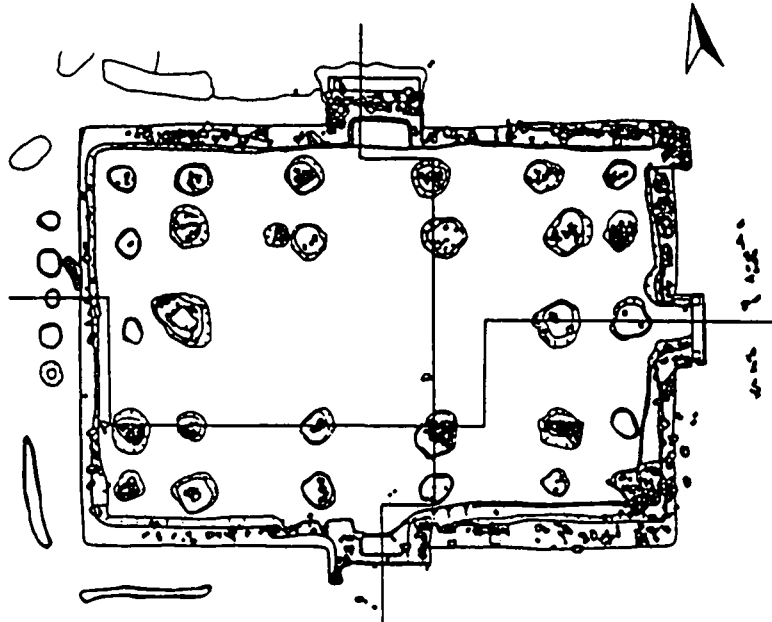


Fig. 369: Excavation plan of the image hall of Kwan-kung-sa 官宮寺 관궁사 (early 7th C. AD ?, scale: 1 : 300) (after: CHANG Hön-dök 張憲德 장헌덕 (1993), p. 84)

In his reconstruction drawings, CHANG Hön-dök<sup>1</sup> proposes a platform with a total height of about 1.3m and stairs with six steps with a heights of about 20cm each [figs. 371, 372]. The same drawings reconstruct the image hall as a two-storied structure with a double-height central space. The proposition of the inner articulation of the ground plan and section is based too much on late examples of Korean Buddhist architecture to be convincing. The balcony of the second story, for example, is only an ornamental element in order to make the faces resemble those of the *kondō* of Hōryū-ji<sup>2</sup> [fig. 441]. The narrow outer bays resemble those of extant multi-storied Buddhist image halls in Korea but the long proportions of the ground plan (1.56 : 1, core: 1.92 : 1) result in a so narrow upper story<sup>3</sup> that there remains doubt about the number of stories of the image hall of Kwan-kung-sa.

<sup>1</sup> See: CHANG Hön-dök 張憲德 장헌덕 (1993), pp. 121ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Kondō* 金堂 こんどう 금당, Hōryū-ji 法隆寺 ほうりゅうじ 법룡사. See: CHANG Hön-dök 張憲德 장헌덕 (1993), pp. 108 - 113.

<sup>3</sup> The Dæ-ung-bo-chön 大雄寶殿 대웅보전 of Ma-gok-sa 麻谷寺 마곡사 is proportionally the longest extant two-storied Buddhist image halls of the Cho-sŏn period. Its proportions are: 1.65 : 1, core: 1.71 : 1. The Dæ-ung-bo-chön 大雄寶殿 대웅보전 of Bōb-chu-sa 法住寺 법주사 has the narrowest core: about 2.1 : 1 but it counts 7 by 4 bays. See: KIM Bong-kŏn 金奉建 김봉건 (1994), pp. 110f., 228f., 260f.; Chapter 2.2., p. 146.

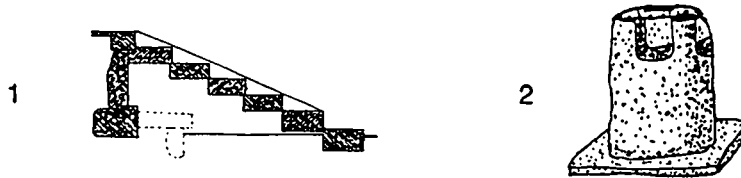


Fig. 370: Reconstructed section of the stairs of the image hall (1) (scale: 1 : 100) and perspective of a foundation stone (2) of Kwan-kung-sa 官宮寺 관공사 (7th C. AD ?), (after: CHANG Hön-dök 張憲德 장헌덕 (1993), p. 122; SIN Yöng-hun 申榮勳 신영훈 (1975), p. 62)

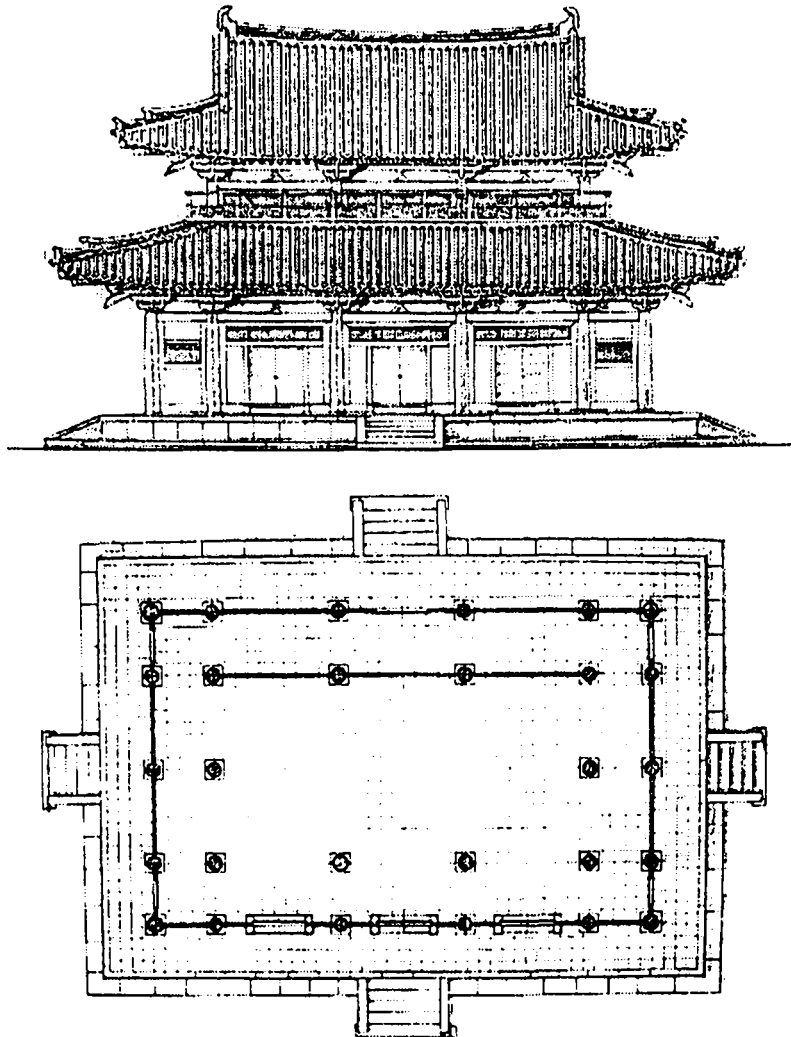


Fig. 371: Reconstructed plan and elevation of the image hall of Kwan-kung-sa 官宮寺 관공사 (early 7th C. AD ?, scale: 1 : 300) (after: CHANG Hön-dök 張憲德 장헌덕 (1993), p. 135)

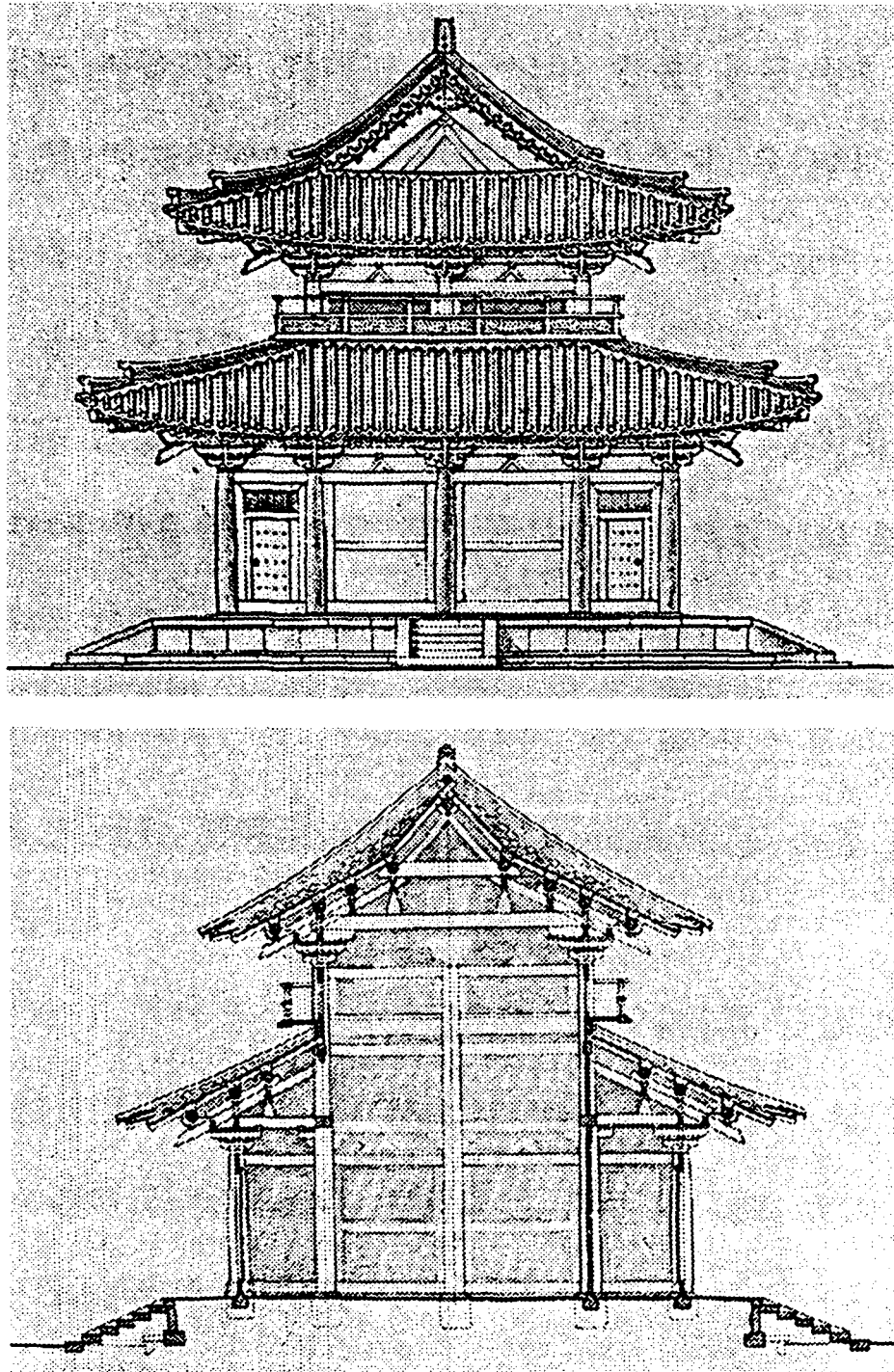


Fig. 372: Reconstruction drawings of the image hall of Kwan-kung-sa 官宮寺 觀公寺 according to CHANG: lateral elevation and section (early 7th C. AD ?, scale: 1 : 200) (after: CHANG Hŏn-dŏk 張憲德 張憲德 (1993), p. 136)



Several foundation stones which were discovered on the site and which have been placed around the stone pagoda are reminiscent of the upper part of the foundation stones of the image halls of Mi-rŭk-sa so that these foundation stones could have also originally belonged to the image hall. Some of the foundations stones feature notches in the upper face which could indicate that the foundation stones were connected by stone or wooden ties [fig. 370].

#### 3.2.3.4.4. The lecture hall

The site of the lecture hall was less well preserved than that of the image hall. But the location of the columns was also here indicated by heaps of stones [fig. 373]. The corner bays of the longer sides measured 2.3m to 2.4m, the central bay 3.5m to 3.6m and the intermediate bays about 3.3m. The lateral sides had corner bays with a length of 2.3m and the length of the intermediate bays measured about 2.5m.

The remains of an earlier structure were discovered below these foundations so that it is supposed that the upper structure dates to a reconstruction during the Unified Sin-la period<sup>1</sup>.

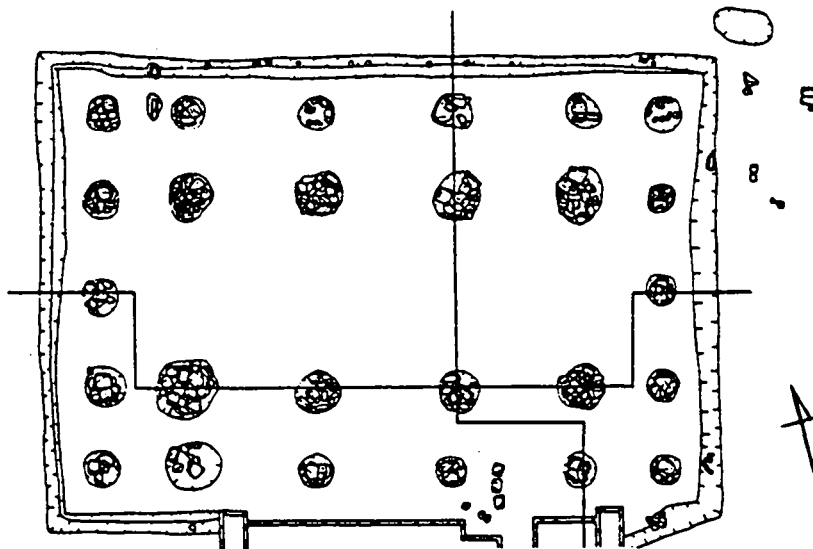


Fig. 373: Excavation plan of the lecture hall of Kwan-kung-sa 官宮寺 관궁사 (Unified Sin-la ?, scale: 1 : 200) (after: CHANG Hŏn-dŏk 張憲德 장헌덕 (1993), p. 86)

<sup>1</sup> See: CHANG Hŏn-dŏk 張憲德 장헌덕 (1993), pp. 84ff.

## 3.2.3.5. CHE-SÖK-SA

The only remains of Che-sök-sa are tile fragments with honeysuckle pattern and the inscription 'Che-sök-sa'<sup>1</sup> as well as a large fragment of the central foundation stone of a wooden pagoda<sup>2</sup> [fig. 374]. Rising ground measuring about 12.5m by 12.5m in length and about 1.5m in height seems to indicate the site of the pagoda. The foundation stone was broken in half. It was originally square and its sides probably measured about 1.8m. A square *śarīra* hole was carved in the centre, measuring about 60cm by 60cm by 18cm.

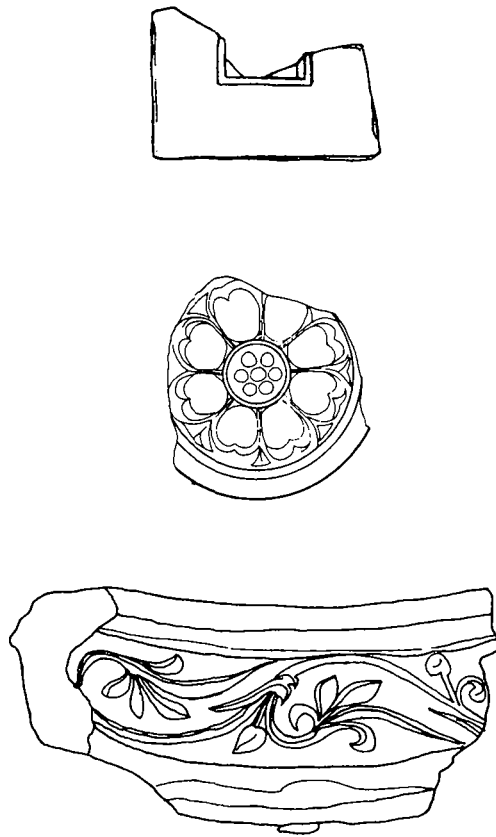


Fig. 374: Perspective of the fragment of the central foundation stone of the wooden pagoda and 'male' and 'female' roof-end tiles of Kwan-kung-sa 官宮寺 관궁사 (early 7th C. AD ?, no scale) (drawing by the author and after: IM Yöng-chu 林永周 임영주 (1983), pp. 487, 491)

<sup>1</sup> Che-sök-sa 帝釋寺 제석사 (No. 5.6.4).

<sup>2</sup> See: CHANG Kyöng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), pp. 28ff.

### 3.3. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE BUDDHIST ARCHITECTURE OF BÆK-CHE

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#### Preliminary remarks

While the layout of the royally-sponsored temples of Bæk-che are well known as shown in Chapter 3.2, much of the wooden construction methods and details remains obscure. As the early Buddhist architecture of Japan is said to have been strongly influenced by Bæk-che<sup>1</sup>, its extant structures can provide supplementary indications on the characteristics of the Buddhist architecture of Bæk-che. In order to get a global image one can assemble the fragments found on Korean soil with the evidence from China and Japan. The picture thus obtained is still very fragile and new discoveries might well correct it considerably.

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<sup>1</sup> See: *KGMS* No. 185, p. 3ff.

### 3.3.1. LAYOUT OF THE ROYALLY-SPONSORED TEMPLES OF BÆK-CHE

At least two basic types of temples of the Bæk-che period should be distinguished. On the one hand there were the official state temples which were built in the vicinity of the capitals by royal order and maintained by funds from the royal household. Numerous traces of the layout of these temples were excavated as described in the foregoing chapter.

On the other hand there were probably numerous small temples and hermitages spread over a much larger territory, which were founded on the initiative of individual monks or the local nobility and population. This second type of temples probably had an infrastructure too ephemeral to leave traces for the archaeologists to discover. These temples are only known from historical records and from very rare discoveries of Buddhist sculptures and fragments of roof tiles. It seems to be impossible to reconstruct the layout of these remote temples with certainty, but it can be speculated that many of these hermitages and small temples slowly developed out of the simplest imaginable temple type, an isolated straw hut which offered space for one meditating monk only<sup>1</sup>.

This discussion has thus to be limited to the type of royally-sponsored temples. Most of the excavated temples were located inside or near the two last capitals of Bæk-che. It is therefore assumed that many of the temples found near the modern city of Kong-chu<sup>2</sup> were founded during the second period of Bæk-che (from 475 to 538 AD), while those situated near the modern city of Bu-yŏ<sup>3</sup> date probably from the third and last period of Bæk-che (from 538 to 660 AD). Because of the short duration of the second period, no fundamental difference of the temple layout could be found. The dates of the temple sites which have no historical records are speculative if not based on clear archaeological evidence.

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<sup>1</sup> See Chapter 5, pp. 955ff.

<sup>2</sup> Kong-chu 公州 공주 [fig. 690 (13)].

<sup>3</sup> Bu-yŏ 扶餘 부여 [fig. 690 (19)].

## 3.3.1.1. Topography and orientation

As more temple sites are known from Bæk-che than any other contemporaneous kingdom on the Korean peninsula, the analysis of their topography and orientation is likely to provide clues to the question of how the sites were selected and organized. Table 24 lists some of the characteristics of the sites of the temple sites of Bæk-che:

temple name	level	slope	front side morphology	rear side morphology	orientation
Dæ-tong-sa	~ 25m	< -3%	flat valley (downtown)	flat valley, river	~ 4° to the east
Sö-hyöl-sa	~ 100m ?	?	hill	mountain, cave	westwards ?
Nam-hyöl-sa	~ 140m ?	?	narrow valley	mountain, cave	~ 30° to the east ?
Gun-su-ri Sa-chi	~ 10m	< +3%	plain (small hill ?)	plain	5° to the east
Güm-gang-sa	~ 20m	< +3%	river, mountain	small hill	86.3° to the west
Chöng-rim-sa	~ 15m	< +3%	lotus ponds, plain	plain (small hill ?)	4.5° to the east
Nüng-sa	~ 15m	~ +10% ?	large valley	small hill	3.6° to the east
Ye-san Sa-chi	~ 80m	?	valley ?	mountain ?	~ 17° to the west
Chön-wang-sa I	~ 12m	< +3%	?	?	?
Chön-wang-sa II	33m	~ +20%	small valley	hill	6° to the east
Dong-nam-ri Sa-chi	12m	< +3%	plain	plain	3° to the west
Wang-hüng-sa	~ 20m	~ +30% ?	river, mountain (fortress)	mountain	~ 20° to the west ?
Sö-bok-sa	~ 60m	~ +25%	slope, plain	mountain fortress	10° to the east
Mi-rük-sa	49m	~ +3%	lotus pond(s), plain	mountain	25° to the east
Kwan-kung-sa	~ 30m	~ +4%	plain	plain	7° to the east
Che-sök-sa	~ 30m	?	plain	plain	?

Table 24: Geographical situation of the known Buddhist temples of Bæk-che

These characteristics seem to confirm the rules for temple site selection observed for the temples of Ko-gu-ryö discussed in Chapter 2.3.<sup>1</sup> Notable exceptions are the entrance of Dæ-tong-sa which was located uphill and where the river lay to the north and thus to the back of the temple, the westwards orientation of Güm-gang-sa and possibly that of Sö-hyöl-sa. But these exceptions allowed the

<sup>1</sup> These rules are the following:

1. the entrance is located at the lower side of the site,
2. the entrance is preferably placed between the south-east and the south-west,
3. the main axis of the temple usually follows the slope of the site,
4. there is frequently a river or a pond in front of the temple and
5. there is frequently a hill with a forest behind the temple. See: Chapter 2.3., p. 158.

layout of the temples to follow other important rules of the site organisation. While the main axis of Dæ-tong-sa pointed quite precisely northwards, the orientation of Güm-gang-sa and Sö-hyöl-sa placed the mountain to the back of the temple and the river or stream in front of it. The orientation of Nam-hyöl-sa, the temple site at Ye-san, Wang-hüng-sa and Mi-rük-sa all seem to deviate to the east or the west from north by up to 30° in order to follow the contours of the surrounding topography.

It seems thus that three main types of sites were selected for the royally sponsored temples of Bæk-che:

1. Valley floors at the foot of mountains. Typical examples for this choice are Mi-rük-sa, Güm-gang-sa, Nüng-sa and O-hab-sa<sup>1</sup>.
2. Plains without a noticeable mountain or hill behind them. Dæ-tong-sa, Chöng-rim-sa, Kwan-kung-sa and the temple site at Gun-su-ri<sup>2</sup> belong to this type.
3. Slopes of hills or mountains. Wang-hüng-sa and Sö-bok-sa<sup>3</sup> belong to this type. Some of the small temples also had a similar situation: Sö-hyöl-sa, Nam-hyöl-sa and the temple site at Ye-san.

The examples of Mi-rük-sa, Dæ-tong-sa, Chöng-rim-sa and Sö-bok-sa can illustrate these three types of Bæk-che temple sites.

#### 3.3.1.1.1. Mi-rük-sa

The site of Mi-rük-sa<sup>4</sup> is 49m above sea level and it is located about 1.6km to the south-south-west of Mi-rük-san<sup>5</sup> (428m high) [figs. 375, 376]. At three-quarters of this distance lies the hermitage Sa-cha-am<sup>6</sup> which is mentioned in the *Sam-guk-yu-sa* in connection with the founding of Mi-rük-sa (see Chapter 3.1., p. 260). The small stream which was channelled along the eastern gallery of the eastern courtyard has its spring in a small valley to the west of the southern secondary

<sup>1</sup> Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 (No. 5.6.2.), Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺 금강사 (No. 4.19.12.), O-hab-sa 烏合寺 오합사 (No. 4.16.1.), today's Söng-chu-sa-chi 聖住寺址 성주사지.

<sup>2</sup> Dæ-tong-sa 大通寺 대통사 (No. 4.13.1), Gun-su-ri Sa-chi 軍守里寺址 군수리사지 (No. 4.19.6.), Chöng-rim-sa 定林寺 정립사 (No. 4.19.1.), Kwan-kung-sa 官宮寺 관궁사 (No. 5.6.3.).

<sup>3</sup> Wang-hüng-sa 王興寺 왕흥사 (No. 4.19.6.), Sö-bok-sa 西腹寺 서복사 (No. 4.19.4.).

<sup>4</sup> Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 (No. 5.6.2.).

<sup>5</sup> Mi-rük-san 彌勒山 미륵산, the name is obviously derived from the name of the temple and its founding legend. See: Chapter 3.1., pp. 259 - 261.

<sup>6</sup> Sa-cha-am 獅子庵 사자암, in the *Sam-guk-yu-sa* 「三國遺事 삼국유사」 it is called Sa-cha-sa 獅子寺 사자사, what could indicate that it was a fairly important temple at the time, excavations of this hermitage and of the mountain fortress on Mi-rük-san have not produced much information about the Bæk-che period, see: *MHCSRBS* 92-1, p. 866ff.

summit of the mountain (403m high). At about half the distance between the summit and the temple site, the valley starts to form a 'Kesseltal'<sup>1</sup> at the entrance of which the temple was constructed. Low arms of the mountain seem thus to embrace the precinct on the eastern and western sides [figs. 299, 376].

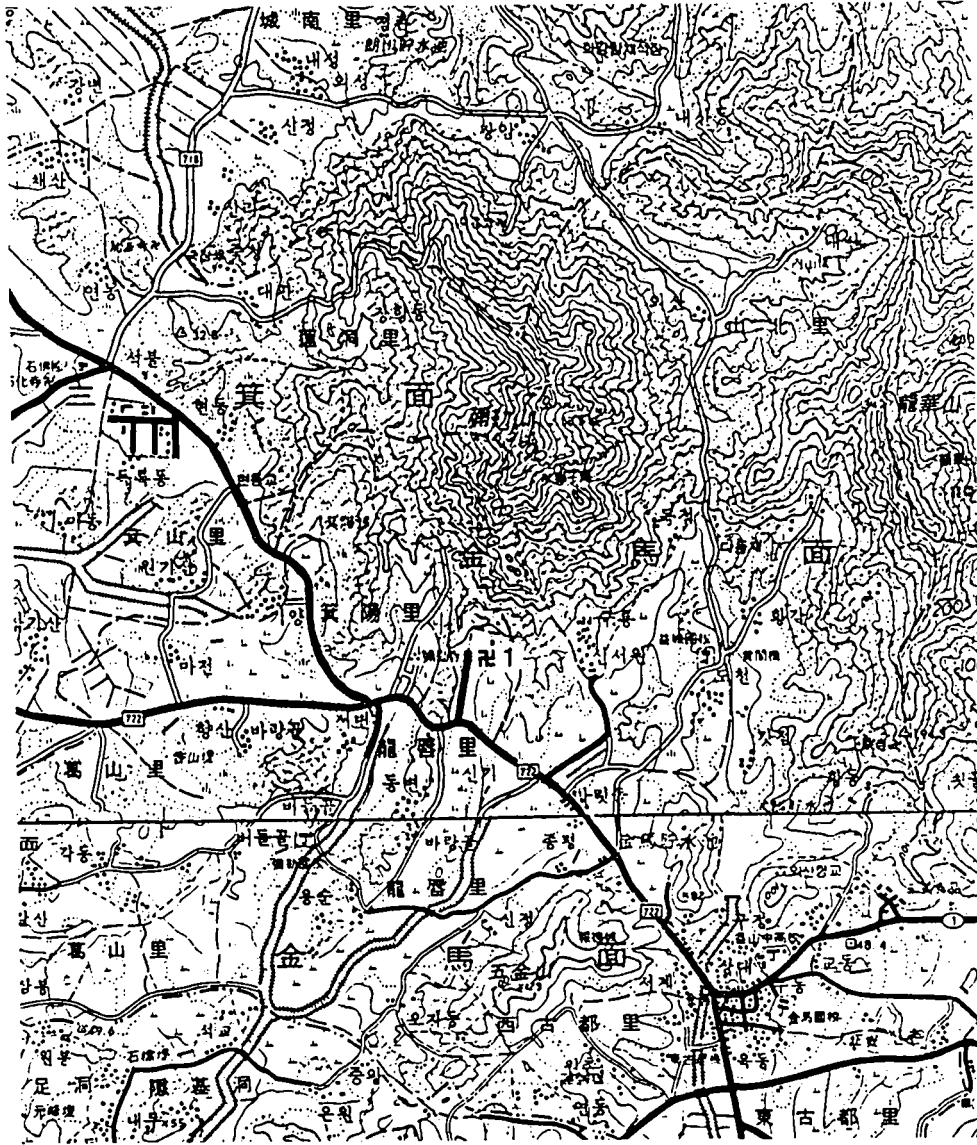


Fig. 375: Geographical situation of Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사(1)  
(early 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 50,000) (after: CACD NJ 52-13-26)

<sup>1</sup> German term for a valley enclosed by mountains (in the form of a 'kettle' = horse-shoe shape).

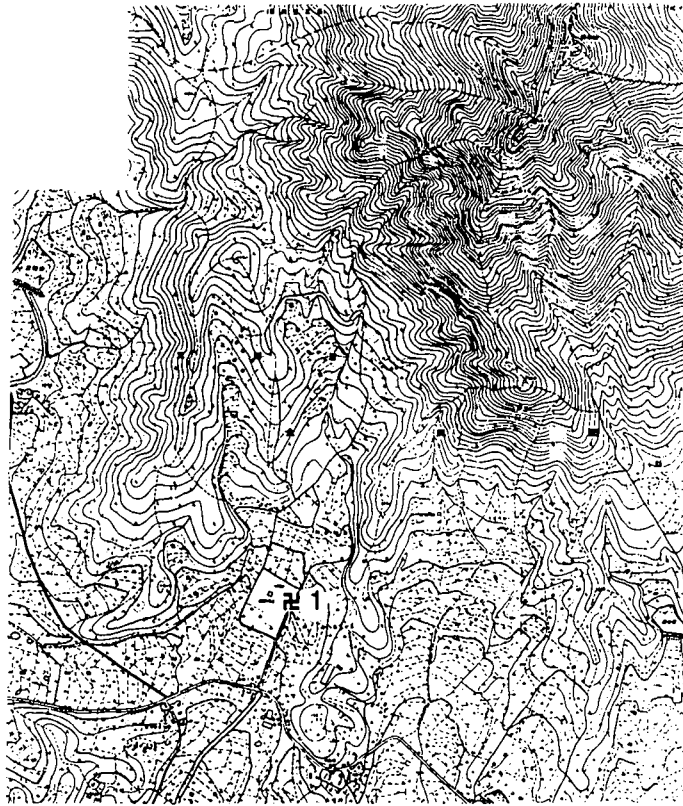


Fig. 376: Geographical situation of Mi-rūk-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 (1)  
(early 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 20,000) (after: CACD NJ 52-13-26 (092))

The main axis of the temple site had a declination of about  $25^\circ$  to the east from magnetic north. The main axis did not point directly to the top of the mountain but deflected by about  $7.5^\circ$  to the north. Still today, the axes of temples in Korea do rarely coincide with the axes of the main mountains. The principal reason advanced for this 'imprecision' of the layout is the need of the human constructions to 'follow the course of nature',<sup>1</sup> i.e. to remain humble towards nature. The axes of a mountains are considered so powerful that it is feared that 'blocking the energy'<sup>2</sup> of the mountain could provoke misfortune and disaster for the human settlement. In popular terms it would be explained that a construction obstructing the direct access to the mountain would 'anger the mountain spirit'<sup>3</sup>. These beliefs are an integral part of the so-called *pung-su chi-ri*<sup>4</sup> theory which is briefly presented below.

<sup>1</sup> 'Follow the course of nature' 自然의理致를 따르다 자연의 이치를 따르다.

<sup>2</sup> 'Blocking the energy' 氣기를 막는다.

<sup>3</sup> 'Anger the mountain spirit' 山神 산신이 화났다

<sup>4</sup> *Pung-su chi-ri* 風水地理 풍수지리, literally the 'wind and water geography'. For an introduction see: FEUCHTWANG (1974).



## 3.3.1.1.2. Dæ-tong-sa

The city of Kong-chu<sup>1</sup>, where Dæ-tong-sa was located, is organized in a valley enclosed by mountains on the eastern, southern and western sides [figs. 377, 378]. The main stream of the valley, called Che-min-čhôn<sup>2</sup> (see Chapter 3.2.), flows from south to north into the Güm River<sup>3</sup> which forms the northern limit of the city. To the east of the mouth of the stream lies the mountain fortress of Kong-san-söng<sup>4</sup> where the royal palace was probably located during the Ung-chin period.

The temple site lies to the west of the stream and to the east of a small hill, the 148m-high Bong-hwang-san<sup>5</sup>. This site can thus be compared to the that of Güm-gang-sa near Bu-yö<sup>6</sup> with the exception that there the river flows in the opposite direction. It seems that the northern direction (rule No. 2, see p. 497, n. 1) was more important for the layout of Dæ-tong-sa than the rules of the contours, the mountain and the water (rules No. 1 and 3 to 5).

One can only speculate as to the reasons for this preference. The fact that the temple was located inside (or at least close to) the royal city might have been an important factor for the orientation of the temple because Bæk-che seems to have been strongly influenced by China at that time in the fields of religion, science, statecraft, arts and architecture. As mentioned in Chapter 3.2., p. 273, the axes of the temple are very close to the modern grid of streets. If it is assumed that the modern urban layout is based on ancient configurations, it can thus be speculated that the capital Ung-chin was also organized on a grid of orthogonal streets after the model of the capitals of Chinese dynasties. The temples of the city would then have had to follow the general urban design of the capital. It is not clear whether the stone water basins close the the lecture hall were related to an early form of geomancy<sup>7</sup> or whether they were Buddhist symbols.

<sup>1</sup> Kong-chu 公州 공주 [fig. 690 (13)].

<sup>2</sup> Che-min-čhôn 齊民川 계민천.

<sup>3</sup> Güm-kang 錦江 금강.

<sup>4</sup> Kong-san-söng 公山城 공산성.

<sup>5</sup> Bong-hwang-san 鳳凰山 봉황산, 'phoenix mountain'.

<sup>6</sup> Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺 금강사 (No. 4.19.10.), Bu-yö 扶餘 부여 [fig. 690 (19)].

<sup>7</sup> See below, pp. 507ff.

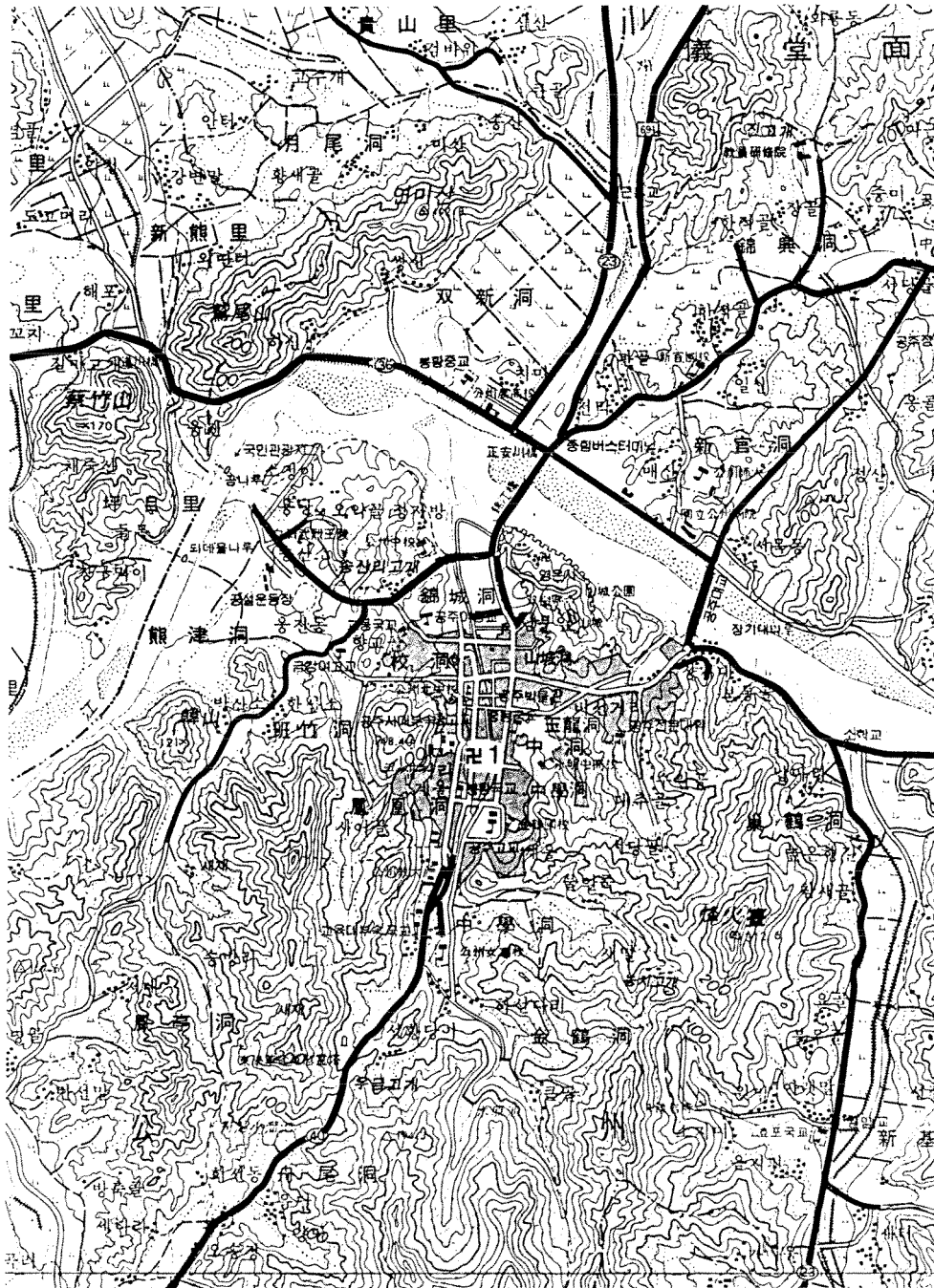


Fig. 377: Geographical situation of Dae-tong-sa 大通寺 대통사 (1) (527 / 529 AD, scale: 1 : 50,000) (after: CACD NJ 52-13-19)

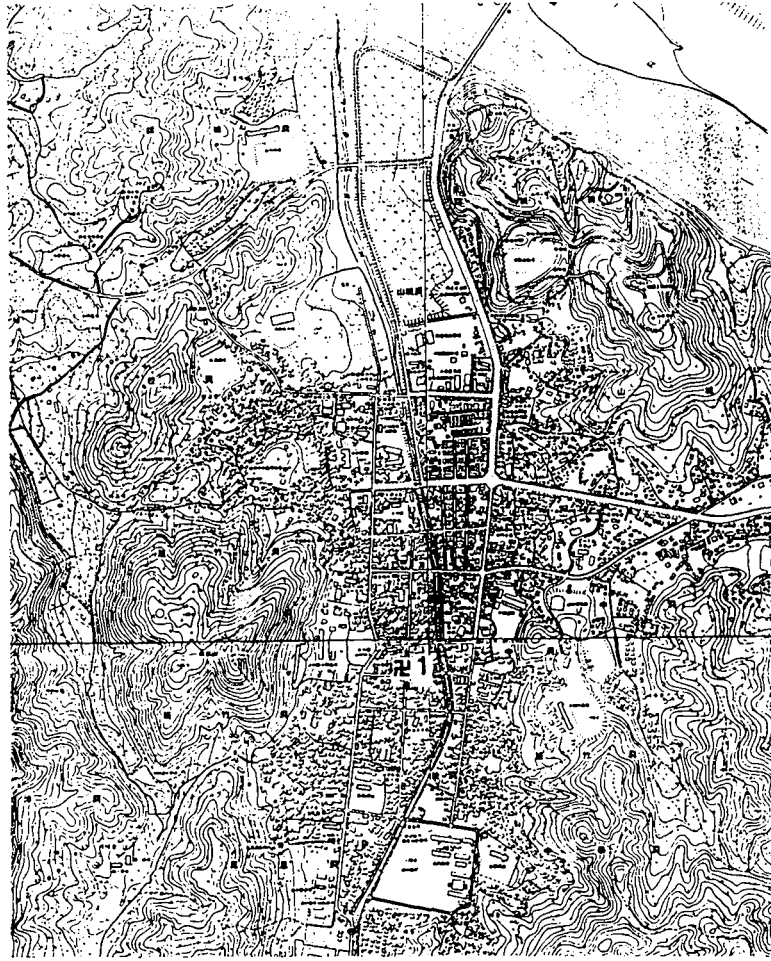


Fig. 378: Geographical situation of Dæ-tong-sa 大通寺대통사(1)  
(527 / 529 AD, scale: 1 : 20,000) (after: CACD NJ 52-13-19 (015 / 016 / 025 / 026))

### 3.3.1.1.3. Chǒng-rim-sa

Chǒng-rim-sa was in a similar situation to Dæ-tong-sa because this temple too, lay in the centre of a royal capital on a rather flat site. The capital Sa-bi<sup>1</sup> was located within a meander of the Gŭm River (also called Bæk-ma River)<sup>2</sup>. Bu-so-san<sup>3</sup>, the northern mountain of the capital with a fortress on its summit and the royal palace at its southern foot, forms the core around which the river meanders [figs. 379, 380].

<sup>1</sup> Sa-bi 泗批사비, today's Bu-yŏ 扶餘부여[fig. 690 (19)].

<sup>2</sup> Gŭm-kang 錦江금강, Bæk-ma-kang 白馬江백마강.

<sup>3</sup> Bu-so-san 扶蘇山부소산.



Fig. 379: Geographical situation of Chŏng-rim-sa 定林寺 정림사 (1) and Sŏ-bok-sa 西復寺 서복사 (2) (6th - 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 50,000) (after: CACD NJ 52-13-18)

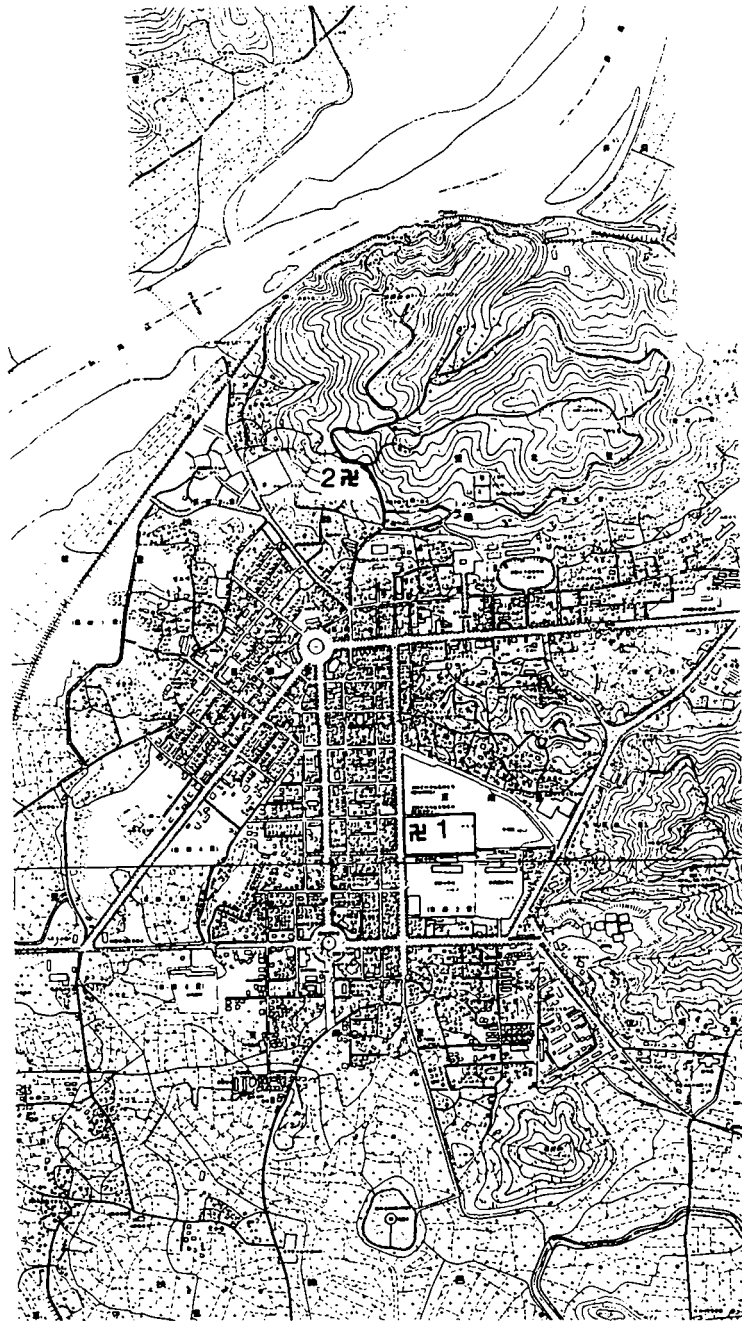


Fig. 380: Geographical situation of Chông-rim-sa 定林寺 정림사 (1) and Sô-bok-sa 西復寺 서복사 (2) (6th - 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 20,000) (after: CACD NJ 52-13-18)

The capital was thus delimited to the north, west and south by the river while the eastern limit was formed by hills among which the 121m-high Güm-sǒng-san<sup>1</sup> is pre-eminent. The mountain with the palace and the river to the south show the careful selection of the site for the capital and thus also for its temples.

The southern side of the fortress with the royal palace lay about 800m to the north of the temple precinct, while the summit of Güm-sǒng-san was at a distance of about 1km to the east. About 1km to the south of the temple site lay the big artificial pond Kung-nam-chi, built in 634 AD [fig. 183]. Chǒng-rim-sa was thus located at the very centre of the city of Sa-bi. The lotus pools which were excavated to the south of the temple precinct probably served as reflecting pools and might have symbolized the 'perfume oceans'<sup>2</sup> surrounding mount Sumeru<sup>3</sup>. But it is also possible that they are geomantic corrections of the site as there was no flowing water immediately to the south of the temple site.

While the sites of Ung-chin and Dæ-tong-sa were rather unusual in terms of geomancy, those of Sa-bi and Chǒng-rim-sa seem to fit the requirements for a propitious site according to the theory of *pung-su chi-ri*.

#### 3.3.1.1.4. Sǒ-bok-sa

Sǒ-bok-sa lay inside the palace walls of Bu-yǒ on the steep south-western slopes of Bu-so-san<sup>4</sup> [figs. 379, 380]. The access to the temple was at the lowest level of the site at the southern side. Stairs climbed a height of about 11m until they reached the main platform of the temple. The inner precinct of the temple was levelled to a flat surface because the temple layout with lateral galleries required such a flat site. Though the site of Sǒ-bok-sa is not such a clear example as that of Mi-rük-sa it seems still to follow the basic rules of *pung-su chi-ri* as listed below. The lateral sides of the temple, however, were obviously less well protected than in the case of a site on a valley floor enclosed by mountains as in the case of Mi-rük-sa.

<sup>1</sup> Güm-sǒng-san 錦城山 금성산.

<sup>2</sup> Hyang(-su)-hæ 香水海 향수해. In many religions, water is considered a purifying element.

<sup>3</sup> Mount Sumeru 須彌山 수미산, the cosmic mountain at the centre of the universe according to Buddhist cosmology. See: LA VALLÉE POUSSIN (1926), vol. 2, ch. III, p. 143f., 159ff.

<sup>4</sup> Bu-so-san 扶蘇山 부소산.

## EXCURSUS 3: PUNG-SU CHI-RI or FENG SHUI

*Pung-su chi-ri* is a complex and rather mysterious subject. It is a discipline which lies between science, superstition, religion, fortune telling and philosophy. *Pung-su chi-ri* has been accepted as the only reliable way to choose propitious sites for the housing of the living and the tombs of the dead for at least one thousand years in China, Korea, Vietnam<sup>1</sup> and to a lesser degree in Japan<sup>2</sup>. To choose the right site was essential because it was site selection which was thought to determine the fortune or misfortune of a person, a family, a village, or even of the whole nation as in the case of the selection of the site of the capital.

The somewhat mysterious character of *pung-su chi-ri*, or *feng shui*<sup>3</sup> as it is commonly known in the West, is probably the reason for its increasing interest among the Western public. The literature on the subject has become very vast but well-founded research studies<sup>4</sup> are still rare. Publications<sup>5</sup> often aim at providing immediate practical benefit for the reader by proposing affordable changes to their houses, gardens, offices or shops such as placing aquariums, plants, mirrors or mobiles at strategic locations in order to improve their health and their financial situation. It goes without saying that this dilettantish and superstitious version of *feng shui* does not do justice to the millenary philosophical system which takes many years of hard training to master.

The origins of Chinese geomancy or *feng shui* date back to the antiquity of China. NEEDHAM<sup>6</sup> argues that many elements of *feng shui* were already well known by the beginning of the Western Han dynasty<sup>7</sup>. Probably during the Three Kingdoms period of China<sup>8</sup>, these loose ideas were consolidated into a system<sup>9</sup>. It is possible that this already elaborate system was introduced into Korea at about the same time as Buddhism in the fourth century AD. Colourful paintings of the typical

<sup>1</sup> See: FEUCHTWANG (1974), pp. 228 - 230.

<sup>2</sup> See: FEUCHTWANG (1974), pp. 226f.

<sup>3</sup> *Feng shui* 風水 풍수 is the Chinese pronunciation of *pung-su*.

<sup>4</sup> One of the best studies in a Western language on Chinese geomancy is in my opinion the work by FEUCHTWANG. NEEDHAM gives also some useful information on the history of *feng shui*. For Korean geomancy in Western languages see the work by YOON as well as the one by CLÉMENT. Studies in Korean language are very numerous; good introductions are the works by CHŒ. See: FEUCHTWANG (1974); NEEDHAM (1954 ff.), vol. 2, ch. 14 (6), pp. 359 - 363; YOON Hong-key (YUN Hong-ki) 尹弘基 윤홍기 (1976); CLÉMENT Sophie, CLÉMENT Pierre, SHIN Yong-hak (1987); CHŒ Chang-cho 崔昌祚 최창조 (1984, 1992); CHŒ Chang-cho 崔昌祚 최창조 (1990, 1991).

<sup>5</sup> Such an example among many others is: ROSSBACH (1983).

<sup>6</sup> NEEDHAM Joseph (1954 ff.), vol. 2, ch. 14, p. 359ff.

<sup>7</sup> Western Han 西漢 서한 (206 BC to 8 AD).

<sup>8</sup> Three Kingdoms period of China 三國時代 삼국시대 (220 to 265 AD)

<sup>9</sup> See: NEEDHAM Joseph (1954 ff.), vol. 2, ch. 14, p. 360.

mythical animals associated with geomancy and the four cardinal directions were found in several stone tombs of the Ko-gu-ryō and Bæk-che kingdoms<sup>1</sup> of the sixth and seventh century AD, which seems to indicate that some basic elements of geomancy were known on the Korean peninsula toward the end of the Three Kingdoms period of Korea<sup>2</sup> at the latest.

The set of ideas which constitutes the basis of *pung-su chi-ri* or *pung-su sa-sang*<sup>3</sup>, as its philosophical branch is called in Korea, are derived from such ancient Chinese concepts as the theory of *yin* and *yang*<sup>4</sup>, and the theory of the 'five elements'<sup>5</sup> [fig. 381]. Both theories are extremely difficult to define. Generations of Sinologists have discussed them and the literature on the subject is vast<sup>6</sup>. For some scholars, the two theories form the basis of Chinese cosmology and metaphysics, while others consider them rather in connection with the founding of settlements in prehistoric times and the cycle of agriculture.

<sup>1</sup> See: Bu-yō (Puyo) National Museum 國立扶餘博物館 국립부여박물관 (ed.) (1993), p. 42; CHŎE Mu-chang 최무장: (1990, 1992), p. 18ff.

<sup>2</sup> Three Kingdoms period 三國時代 삼국시대의 Korea lasted until 660 (defeat of Bæk-che) or 668 AD (defeat of Ko-gu-ryō).

<sup>3</sup> *Pung-su sa-sang* 風水思想 풍수사상.

<sup>4</sup> Theory of *yin* and *yang* 陰陽說 음양설. Its basic text is the famous *Yi jing* (var. *I Ging*, *Yi king*, *Yi Ching*) 「易經 역경」 (var. *Zhou yi* 「周易 주역」), one of the Five Classics 五經 오경 of Chinese literature. There the *yin* and *yang* are assembled into signs which consist of three or six parts ranging from three (six) times *yang* to three (six) times *yin* creating thus the 8 trigrams or the 64 hexagrams. See: *Chu-yōk* (*Zhou yi*) 「周易 주역」, (1978, 1992); WILHELM (transl.) (1973, 1983).

<sup>5</sup> Theory of the 'five elements' 五行說 오행설. WILHELM prefers the German translation 'Wandelzustände' (about 'condition, state of change') instead of 'elements'. The Chinese 'elements' should not be interpreted in the way of those of ancient Greece (i.e. material constituents of all matter) but rather as dynamic principles or forces. There is no equivalent classic book to the *Yi jing* for the five elements, but some indications are contained in the 3rd chapter of the *Li ji* 「禮記 예기」, the *Classic of Rites*: "Der Mensch vereint in sich die Geisteskräfte von Himmel und Erde; in ihm gleichen sich die Prinzipien des Lichtes und Schattigen aus; in ihm treffen sich die Geister und Götter (LEGGE: "... the union of the animal and intelligent (souls) ..."); in ihm finden sich die feinsten Kräfte der fünf Wandelzustände. Der Himmel lässt die Kraft des Lichtes wirken, die sich als Sonne und Sterne versichtbart. Die Erde lässt die Kraft des Schattigen wirken, die sich auswirkt in Bergen und Flüssen. Sie verteilt die fünf Wandelzustände auf die vier Jahreszeiten, und durch deren Harmonie entsteht der Mond. Darum wird er nach dreimal fünf Tagen voll und nach dreimal fünf Tagen dunkel. Die fünf Wandelzustände erschöpfen sich bei ihren Bewegungen und lösen einander ab. Die fünf Wandelzustände, die vier Zeiten, die zwölf Monate bilden einen Kreislauf, indem sie auseinander entstehen. (...)." See: WILHELM (transl.) (1981), pp. 64ff., 339f. For the English translation see: LEGGE (transl.) (1964, 1976), part. 3, pp. 380 - 382, 281 (n. 1).

<sup>6</sup> See for example: GRANET (1934, 1968, 1988), pp. 101 - 318; FITZGERALD (1935, 1954), pp. 220f., 412ff.; REISCHAUER, FAIRBANK (1958, 1960), p. 76f.; FORKE (1964), vol. 1, pp. 20 - 28, 35f., 46 - 50, 170 - 182, 501ff., 518f., 532f.; vol. 3, pp. 45 - 56; FUNG Yu-lan (1966), pp. 129 - 142, 266 - 280; GERNET (1972), pp. 138 - 142 (German translation).



圖極太

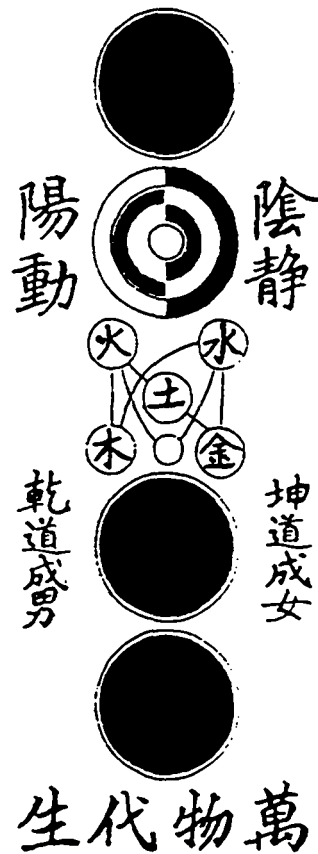


Fig. 381: Diagram illustrating the theory of yin-yang and the Five Elements 陰陽五行說 음양오행설 by ZHOU Dunyi 周敦頤 주돈이 (1017 - 1073 AD) (after: NEMETH (1988), p. 271):

*Diagram of the Great Absolute 「太極圖 태극도」 (German: 'Urprinzip'):*

yang - motion 陽動 양동 / yin - repose 陰靜 음정  
 fire 火 화 / water 水 수 / earth 土 토 / wood 木 목 / metal 金 금 (Five Elements)  
 dao of qian - accomplishing maleness 乾道成男 건도성남 (heaven as male principle) /  
 dao of kun - accomplishing femaleness 坤道成女 곤도성녀 (earth as female principle)  
 innumerable (10,000) things in transformation and descendance 萬物代生 만물대생  
 (all things produced by transformation)

While the *yin* and *yang* represent the simple oppositions (or complementary elements) between light and dark, strong and weak, hard and soft, male and female and so on, the five elements differentiate and associate things and ideas which have no obvious oppositions. Table 25 illustrates the traditional arrangements of some of the categories of the five elements:

element No.	I	II	III	IV	V
category					
five elements 五行오행	earth 土토	metal 金금	wood 木목	fire 火화	water 水수
five directions 五方오방	centre 中央중앙	west 西서	east 東동	south 南남	north 北북
five colours 五色오색	yellow 黃황	white 白백	blue-green 靑靑	red 赤적	black 黑흑
five emperors 五帝오제	yellow emperor 黃帝황제	white emperor 白帝백제	blue-green emp. 靑帝청제	red emperor 赤帝적제	black emperor 黑帝흑제
four spirits (animals) 四神사신	-	tiger 虎호	dragon 龍룡	phoenix 鳳봉	tortoise 龜구
five seasons 五時오시	late summer 土用토용	autumn 秋추	spring 春춘	summer 夏하	winter 冬동
five sounds 五音오음	~F 宮궁	~G 商상	~A 角각	~C 徵치	~D 羽우
five social classes 五階級오계급	master 君군	statesman 臣신	people 民민	servant 事사	matter 物물
five human natures 五人性오인성	faith 信신	justice 義의	humanity 仁인	etiquette 禮예	wisdom 智지
five tastes 五味오미	sweet 甘감	acid (spicy) 辛신	acid 酸산	bitter 苦고	salty 鹹함
five viscera 五臟오장	spleen 脾비	lungs 肺폐	liver 肝간	heart 心심	kidney 腎신
five feelings 五情오정	fear 恐공	angry 怒노	happy 喜희	pleasure 樂낙	sad 悲비
five planets 五星오성	Saturn 土星토성	Venus 金星금성	Jupiter 木星목성	Mars 火星화성	Mercury 水星수성
five mountain forms 五山形오산형	large flat top 土形토형	one round hill 金形금형	small flat top 木形목형	sharp peaks 火形화형	round hills 水形수형
five holy mountains 中國五山中국어오산	Song shan 崧山송산	Hua shan 華山화산	Tai shan 泰山태산	Heng shan 衡山형산	Heng shan 恒山항산
five numbers 五數오수	5 and / or 10 五, 十 오, 십	4 and / or 9 四, 九 사, 구	3 and / or 8 三, 八 삼, 팔	2 and / or 7 二, 七 이, 칠	1 and / or 6 一, 六 일, 육

Table 25: Various categories of 'five elements' in traditional East Asia

Each row lists the five distinct elements of each entity. The vertical columns connect the relevant element of each entity. E.g. the colour 'white' is connected with the animal 'tiger' and the direction 'west'. Thus the paintings of the white tiger are located on the western walls of the painted tombs of Ko-gu-ryō and Bæk-che [fig. 382]. These five vertical columns are connected with each other through two causal chains. One is called 'productive', the other 'destructive'. The productive chain has the following order: I - II - V - III - IV - I while the destructive chain is: I - V - IV - II - III - I. The two causal chains are illustrated as follows: The productive chain: the earth produces the metals (i.e. the metals are extracted from earth), heated metal becomes liquid as water, water makes the trees grow, burning wood produces fire and the fire produces ashes which become earth. The destructive chain: the earth absorbs the water, water extinguishes the fire, fire melts the metals, metal cuts the wood and the plants can break rocks.

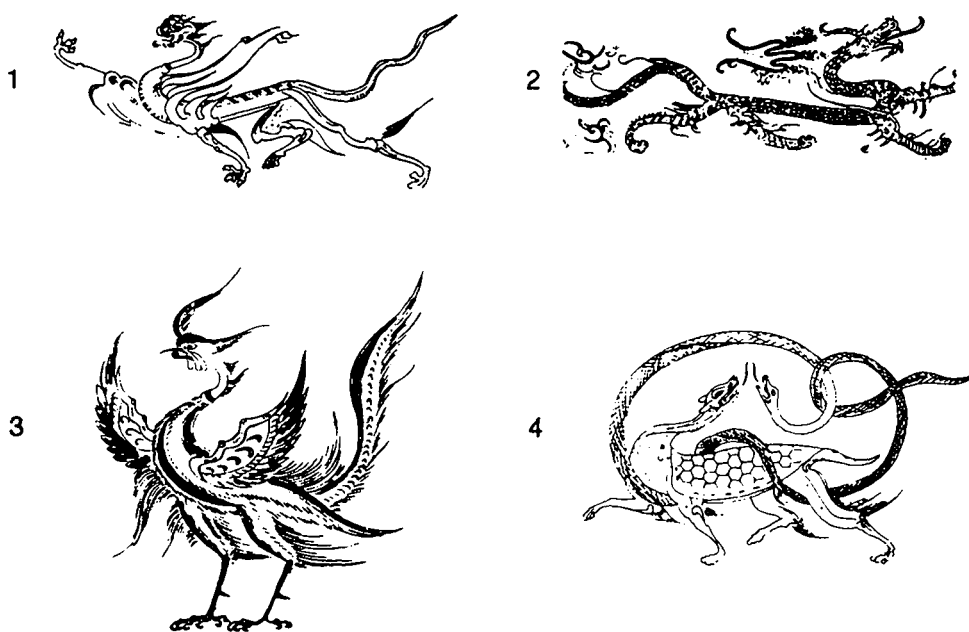


Fig. 382: Murals of the four spirits (animals) (*sishen* 四神사신) from Ko-gu-ryō: the white tiger 白虎 백호 of the west from the middle tomb at U-hyōn-ri 遇賢里中墓 우현리 중묘, Kang-sō 江西 강서 (1), the blue-green dragon 靑龍 청룡 of the east from the tomb at Yak-su-ri 藥水里 壁畫古墳 약수리벽화고분 (2), the red phoenix 赤鳳 적봉 of the south from the middle tomb at U-hyōn-ri 遇賢里中墓 우현리 중묘, Kang-sō 江西 강서 (3) and the black tortoise 黑龜 흑구 of the north from Sam-sil-chong 三室塚 삼실총 (4). (6th - 7th C. AD, no scale) (after: IM Yōng-chu 林永周 임영주 (1983), pp. 350ff.)

In the course of time these basic entities were connected with other entities from astrology [fig. 383] such as the twelve-partite Chinese zodiac<sup>1</sup> [fig. 384] and the ten stems of the calendar<sup>2</sup> as well as from traditional medicine such as the points of energy<sup>3</sup> of the human body [fig. 385]. All these entities were synthesized into the theory of *pung-su chi-ri*. A geomancer may sometimes speak of a particular landscape as of a human body, a particular animal or an astrological constellation. To the Western mind these combinations must seem at least strange and far-fetched. An objection to this whole system might be the fact that none of its claims are logically justified. It is difficult to understand what e.g. a round hill should have in common with the tiger, the colour white, the metals, the west and the lungs.

<sup>1</sup> The twelve-partite Chinese zodiac (*dizhi* 地支 지지 or *shi-er zhi* 十二支 십이지) are attributed to the years and not to the months as in the case of the Western zodiac. They are:

1. mouse 쥐 (*zi* 子 자) (e.g. 400 AD, 412 AD, 700 AD, 1900 AD),
2. cow 소 (*chou* 丑 축) (e.g. 401 AD, 413 AD, 701 AD),
3. tiger 범 (*yin* 寅 인),
4. rabbit 토끼 (*mao* 卯 묘),
5. dragon 용 (*chen* 辰 진),
6. snake 뱀 (*si* 巳 사),
7. horse 말 (*wu* 午 오),
8. sheep 양 (*wei* 未 미),
9. monkey 잔나비 (*shen* 申 신),
10. chicken 닭 (*you* 酉 유),
11. dog 개 (*xu* 戌 술) and
12. pig 돼지 (*hai* 亥 해).

<sup>2</sup> The ten stems of the calendar (*tiangan* 天干 천간 or *shi gan* 十干 십간) are combined with the twelve zodiacs to form the sexagenary cycle. The 10 stems are:

1. *jia* 甲 갑,
2. *yi* 乙 을,
3. *bing* 丙 병,
4. *ding* 丁 정,
5. *wu* 戊 무,
6. *ji* 己 기,
7. *geng* 庚 경,
8. *xiu* 辛 신,
9. *ren* 壬 임 and
10. *gui* 癸 계.

400 AD was for example a *gengzi* 庚子 경자 year. The sexagenary cycle starts usually with the *jiazi* 甲子 갑자 year, e.g. 364 AD, 424 AD, 484 AD, 544 AD, 604 AD, 664 AD, 724 AD and so on (1984 AD was a *jiazi* 甲子 갑자 year). The sexagenary cycle is identical in China and Korea.

<sup>3</sup> *Hyŏl* (Ch. *xue*) 穴 혈, literally 'hole, cavity'. These points of energy are particularly important for acupuncture and acupressure. The term seem to refer to the fact that these points on the surface of the skin permit to influence the whole inner organism, so that they represent a kind of 'entrances'. See: HEMPEN (1988, 1997), pp. 171 - 222.

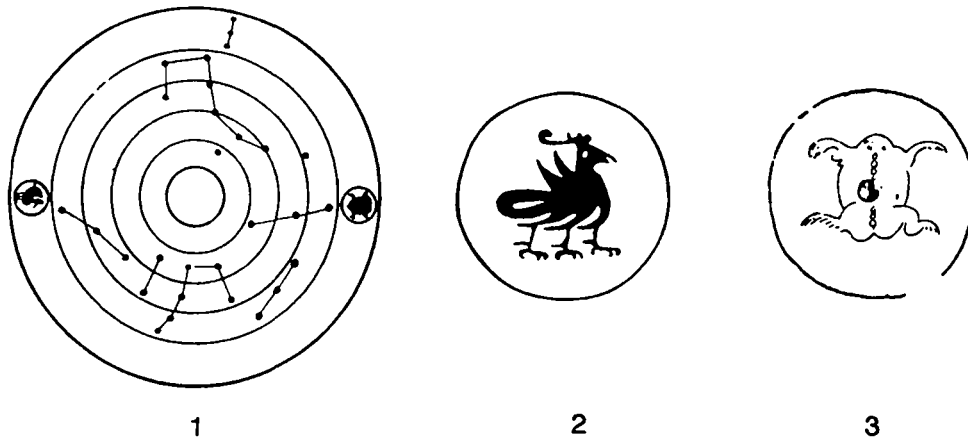


Fig. 383: Astronomical map with sun and moon from Gak-chō-chong 角抵塚 각저총 (1), sign of the sun from Mu-yong-chong 舞踊塚 무용총 (2) and sign of the moon from Tong-gu Sa-sin-chong 通溝四神塚 통구사신총 (3) of Ko-gu-ryō (6th - 7th C. AD, no scale) (after: IM Yōng-chu 林永周 임영주 (1983), pp. 348f.)



Fig. 383: Carvings of the twelve-partite Chinese zodiac (*dizhi* 地支 지지) from the tomb of KIM Yu-sin 金庾信 김유신 (595 - 673 AD) of Sin-la (from left to right and top to bottom in to the order of p. 512, n. 1) (late 7th C. AD, no scale) (after: IM Yōng-chu 林永周 임영주 (1983), p. 478)



Fig. 384: Example of 'points of energy' (hyǒl 穴 혈) in traditional East-Asian medicine from the *Leijing* 「類經 類經」 by ZHANG Jiebin 張介賓 장개빈 (published in 1624 AD) (after: HEMPEN (1988, 1997), p. 207)

The sites are analysed with the geomancer's compass<sup>1</sup> [fig. 385], they are described with the above-mentioned categories and finally a map<sup>2</sup> is drawn which highlights the geomantic characteristics [figs. 386 - 388]. Through the vast number of entities and the almost infinite possibilities of combinations, even subtle variations of landscapes can be analysed and expressed. It is clear that only a specialist is able to consider such a large number of parameters and is still able to

<sup>1</sup> *Na-kyōng* 羅經 나경 or *na-ban* 羅盤 나반. The modern compass is usually called *na-chim-ūi* 羅針 羅針 羅針. See: CHŒ Chang-cho 崔昌祚 최창조 (1984, 1992), pp. 161 - 164; NEEDHAM (1954 ff.), vol. 2, 14, p. 361ff.

<sup>2</sup> Most manuals on geomancy include a number of maps with typical site configurations. See e.g.: GUO PO 郭璞 郭璞 (1993).

determine which of them are the most influential. The geomancer<sup>1</sup> will in the end determine if a particular site is propitious for the proposed function. As the sites are in most cases neither perfect nor frankly disastrous, the geomancer may propose corrections of the landscape such as the construction of a pool of water, the plantation of a series of trees or even sometimes the elevation of a small hill at the sides or the back of the site. The geomancer will also determine the best place for

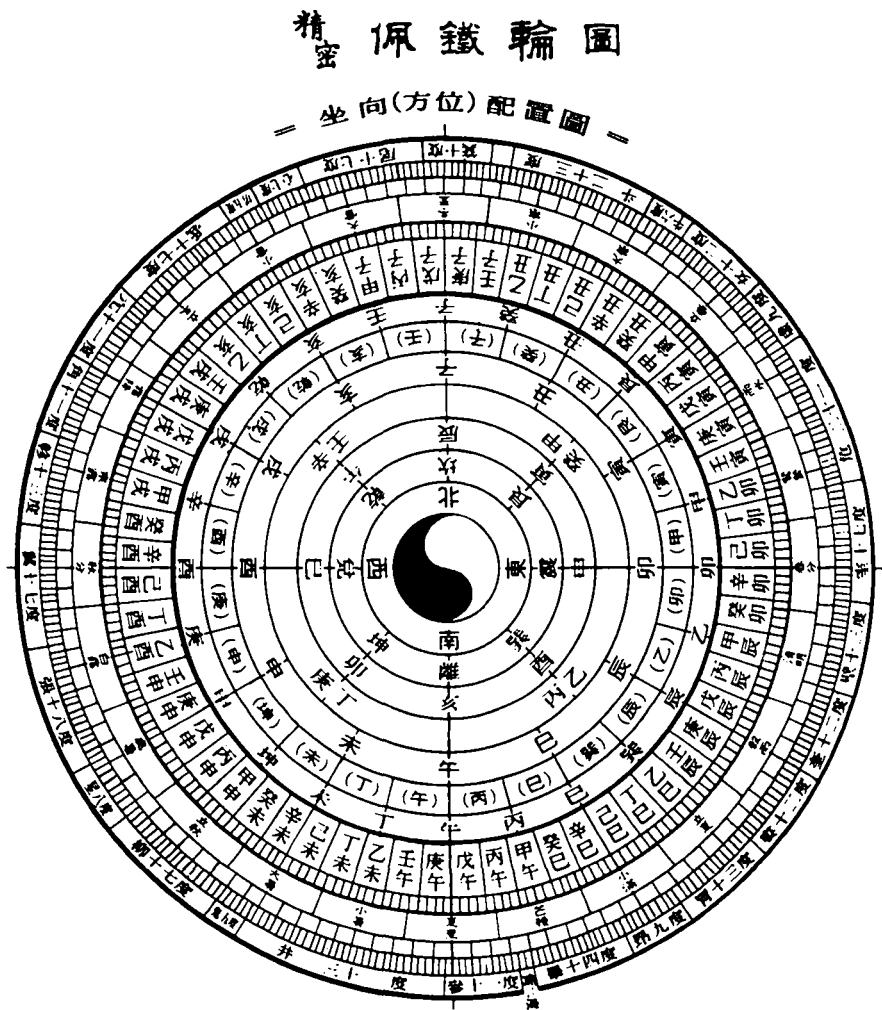


Fig. 385: Drawing of a geomancer's compass 羅經 나경  
(after: SŌ Sŏn-kye 徐善繼 서선계 (1975, 1991), pl. 3)

<sup>1</sup> Chi-kwan 地官 지관.

the entrance to the site and the main axis of the construction. In the case of housings he may also indicate the best location for specific rooms such as the kitchen, the bedrooms and the toilet. In the Republic of Korea, *pung-su chi-ri* is still frequently practiced and the designated architect is usually supposed to accept the recommendations of the geomancer unconditionally and to adapt his project accordingly.



Fig. 386: Scheme of an ideal site for a tomb 明堂-穴 명당-혈  
 (after: CLÉMENT Sophie, CLÉMENT Pierre, SHIN Yong-hak (1987), p. 134)



It is not possible to enter here into the specific rules and mechanisms of *pung-su chi-ri*, not only because this would go beyond the scope of the present study and because its vast multidisciplinary background would need a long introduction, but also because the only qualified writers on the subject are the initiated geomancer themselves who usually transmit their most profound knowledge only to their closest disciples as a professional and spiritual secret.

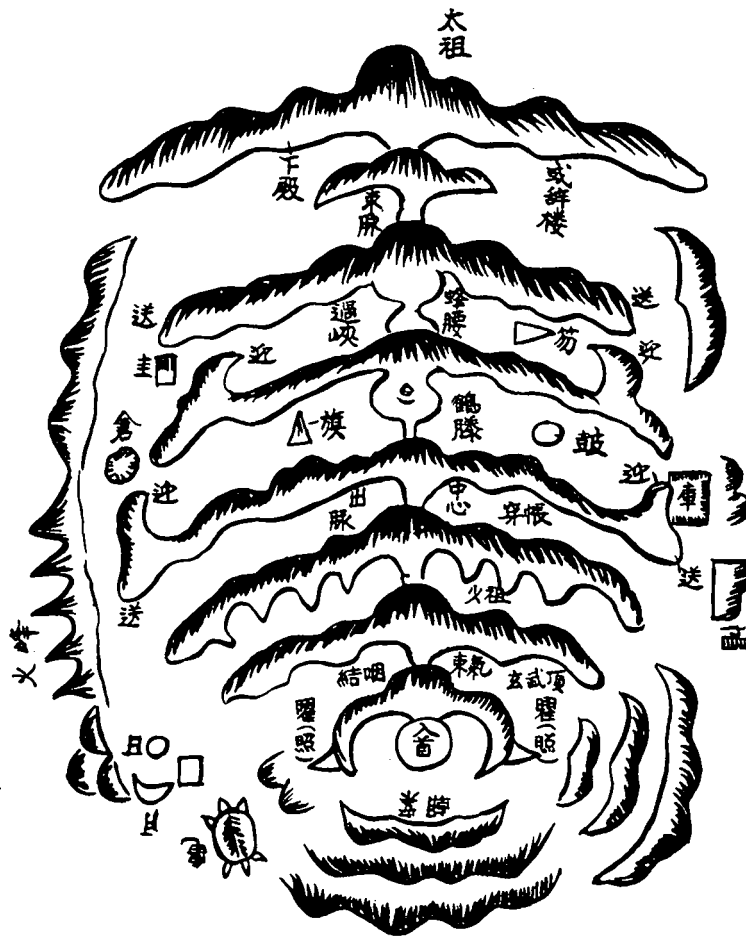


Fig. 387: Example of a scheme of an ideal site for a tomb with Chinese terminology (after: SŌ Sŏn-kye 徐善繼 서선계 (1975, 1991), pl. 1)

The only comment which a layman can make on the choice of a certain site seems thus to be its intuitive and aesthetic appeal. The fact that the ancient Buddhist temple sites figure among the most visited places of Korea seems to be already a superficial proof for the effectiveness of Korean geomancy. As a matter of fact, many Korean tourists appreciate the sites of the Buddhist temples and their mountain scenery more than their architecture and art treasures. Many of the famous temples are thus quite naturally located in the various protected National and Provincial Parks<sup>1</sup>.

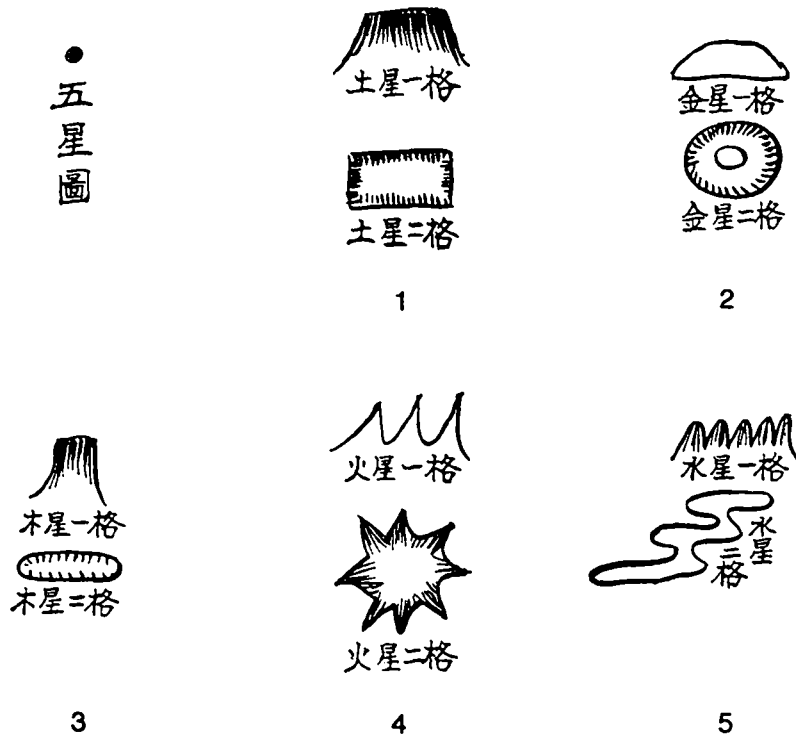


Fig. 388: *Diagram of the Five Stars* 「五星圖 오성도」: the five basic mountain forms 五山形 오산형 according to the five planets in relation to the five elements (elevations and plans):

- |                 |                  |                |
|-----------------|------------------|----------------|
| 1 Saturn 土星 토성  | (element earth): | large flat top |
| 2 Venus 金星 금성   | (element metal): | one round hill |
| 3 Jupiter 木星 목성 | (element wood):  | small flat top |
| 4 Mars 火星 화성    | (element fire):  | sharp peaks    |
| 5 Mercury 水星 수성 | (element water): | round hills    |

(after: SŎ Sŏn-kye 徐善繼 서선계 (1975, 1991), p. 229)

<sup>1</sup> South Korea counts 20 National Park 國立公園 국립공원 and 18 Provincial Park 道立공원. See: *Korea Road Atlas 1993* 「韓國道路地圖 한국도로지도」, (1993), p. 160.

## 3.3.1.2. The architectural organisation of the Buddhist temples of Bæk-che

In order to discuss the architectural organisation of the known Buddhist temples of Bæk-che it is useful to recapitulate the discovered structures mentioned in Chapter 3.2. Table 26 lists the structures which have been excavated at the various temple sites of Bæk-che. The supposed temple sites of Čhŏn-wang-sa II and at Dong-nam-ri are placed in brackets because it is not completely sure that they were in fact Buddhist temples.

temple name	south gate	middle gate	pagoda	image hall	lecture hall	galleries	dormitory	other
Dæ-tong-sa	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	2 basins
Sŏ-hyŏl-sa	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 cave
Nam-hyŏl-sa	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 cave
Gun-su-ri Sa-chi	-	not sure	1	1 (+ 1?)	1	> 2	-	yes <sup>1</sup>
Gŭm-gang-sa	-	1	1	1	1	7	2	-
Chŏng-rim-sa	1	1	1	1	1	6	?	2 ponds
Nŭng-sa	?	1	1	1	1 (div.)	4	3 (+ 2?)	ditches
Ye-san Sa-chi	-	-	?	1	-	-	-	sculpture
Čhŏn-wang-sa I	-	-	1 ?	-	-	-	-	-
(Čhŏn-wang-sa II)	-	-	-	(1)	-	-	-	-
(Dong-nam-ri Sa-chi)	-	(1 ?)	-	(1)	(1)	(2 + 2?)	-	(yes <sup>2</sup> )
Wang-hŭng-sa	-	-	?	?	?	-	-	-
Sŏ-bok-sa	1 ?	1	1	1	-	4	-	-
Mi-rŭk-sa	1 (+ 2)	3	3	3	1	22	> 3	numer. <sup>3</sup>
Kwan-kung-sa	-	-	1 ?	1	1	-	-	?
Che-sŏk-sa	-	-	1 ?	-	-	-	-	-

Table 26: Discovered structures of the known Buddhist temples of Bæk-che

<sup>1</sup> Pavilion-like buildings beside the lecture hall, buildings to the east and west of the lateral galleries

<sup>2</sup> Water basins in front of the supposed image hall and the supposed lecture hall, pavilion-like buildings beside the supposed lecture hall.

<sup>3</sup> Numerous addition structures to the north and west of the main precincts.

The recapitulation of the excavated structures provides thus the following picture:

1. evidence of the south gate was discovered at 3 of the 14 sure temple sites,
2. the middle gate was confirmed at 5 temple sites,
3. the pagoda at 10 temple sites,
4. the image hall at 9 temple sites,
5. the lecture hall at 7 temple sites,
6. galleries at 6 temple sites,
7. dormitories at 3 temple sites and
8. several temples featured additional structures such as water basins, controversial structures of the lecture hall or caves.

The remains of the pagodas and the image halls seem to have been best preserved. This could indicate that these structures were more carefully and more stoutly constructed than the others, which could be explained by the fact that they were the most important structures in the temple precinct. But it has to be remembered that the presence of evidence of an image hall and a pagoda is usually considered the condition *sine qua non* of identifying a nameless building site as a Buddhist temple. The central foundation stone has been discovered at seven of the nine possible wooden pagoda sites at least. This ratio is higher than that of any other structural part of Bæk-che temple buildings.

According to the analysis of the excavated remains, the layout of the Buddhist temples of Bæk-che seems to have been different from that of the known temples of Ko-gu-ryō in several points. While Bæk-che chose similar orientations and site configurations as Ko-gu-ryō for its temples and Bæk-che also used the galleries to delimit the central temples precincts, the architectural organisation of the central courtyard was slightly different. No examples with multiple image halls in the main precinct were found. The important buildings were usually aligned on the main axis and were in most cases arranged in the following order: lotus pond(s) - south gate - middle gate - pagoda - image hall - lecture hall - dormitories. This arrangement of the buildings in the main precinct has been called 'single-pagoda single-image-hall temple-type'<sup>1</sup> layout. Beside the layout, the form and organisation of various buildings, in particular those of the pagodas, seem to have differed from those of Ko-gu-ryō temples, as will be exposed further below.

There were apparently two possible positions for the dormitories in the layout. Either the galleries reached as far as the lecture hall and the dormitories were

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<sup>1</sup> *Dan-tab dan-gŭm-dang-sa-čhal* 單塔·單金堂寺刹 단탑·단금당사찰.

located outside the main precinct of the temple<sup>1</sup> or the galleries stopped at about the height of the image hall and a part of the dormitories continued the approximate alignment<sup>2</sup> of the lateral galleries as far as the lecture hall. The connection between the lecture hall and the lateral dormitories or lateral galleries could be assured either by pavilion-like structures<sup>3</sup> or by short galleries<sup>4</sup>.

### 3.3.1.2.1. Influences from China

The above-mentioned layout type was applied at the majority of the excavated temple sites of Bæk-che<sup>5</sup>. Because of this continuity, scholars suspected early on that this layout type has been imported as a whole from China. Only recently has such a temple site actually been partially excavated in China. This is the site of Yongning-si<sup>6</sup>, a temple which was founded during the Northern Wei dynasty and which was already well known through the account *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Luoyang* written by YANG Xuanzhi<sup>7</sup> in about 547 AD. The translation reads as follows:

"The Yung-ning Monastery was constructed in the first year of the *Hsi-p'ing* period<sup>8</sup> (516 AD), by decree of Empress Dowager Ling, whose surname was Hu<sup>9</sup>. It was located one *li*<sup>10</sup> south of the Ch'ang-ho Gate on the west side of the Imperial

<sup>1</sup> E.g. Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺 금강사 [fig. 218], possibly Chõng-rim-sa 定林寺 정림사 [fig. 235].

<sup>2</sup> E.g. Nüng-sa 陵寺 능사 [fig. 259], Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 [fig. 301].

<sup>3</sup> E.g. Nüng-sa 陵寺 능사 [fig. 259], Gun-su-ri Sa-chi 軍守里寺址 군수리사지 [fig. 194].

<sup>4</sup> E.g. Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 [fig. 301], Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺 금강사 [fig. 218].

<sup>5</sup> The controversial site at Dong-nam-ri 東南里 동남리 [fig. 285] and the monumental Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 [fig. 301] differed from this layout type. While the site at Dong-nam-ri has not been identified with enough certainty as a Buddhist temple, the layout of Mi-rük-sa can be considered a multiplication of the basic layout. The fact that Mi-rük-sa featured several pagodas and several image halls places it close to the Ko-gu-ryõ temple layout with multiple image halls and the Unified Sin-la temple layout with twin pagodas, but the intermediate galleries show that the layout of Mi-rük-sa can be better understood as a triple Bæk-che temple layout.

See: Chapters 3.2., pp. 384ff., 401ff., Chapter, 4.2., pp. 750ff., Chapter 5, pp. 978ff.

<sup>6</sup> Yongning-si 永寧寺 영녕사. See: Chapter 2.3., pp. 184f.

<sup>7</sup> *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Luoyang* (*Luoyang qielanji*) 「洛陽伽藍記 낙양가람기」 by YANG Xuanzhi 楊街之 양현지, completed in 547 AD. See: WANG Yi-t'ung (1984), p. 13 - 42.

<sup>8</sup> The first year of the *Hsi-p'ing* (*xiping*) period 熙平 회평: 516 A.D. *Xiping* is the name of the first period from 516 to 518 of the reign of the 8th Emperor of the Northern Wei 北魏 북위 (386 (439)-534) Xiaoming di 孝明帝 효명제 (r. 516-528).

<sup>9</sup> Empress Dowager Ling (Ling Taihou) 靈太后 영태후, Hu 胡 호.

<sup>10</sup> According to WANG, 1 *li* 里 리 = about one third of a mile (~ 536m), but according to CHANG, 1 *li* 里 리 = 1386 *chõk* 尺 척, which would give about 416m (if 1 Eastern Wei foot (*chü*) 東魏尺 동위척 = 29.99cm). It is also possible that the older Later Wei foot 後魏尺 후위척 was used which measured between 24.67cm to 29.49cm. The excavation of the pagoda site seems to have established that the unit used for the pagoda measured 27.285cm which would give about 378m for 1 *li*. See: WANG Yi-t'ung (1984), p. 249, *HGKCDKIV*, p. 256 (§ 7358); *JAH*, vol. 12, p. 160.

Drive<sup>1</sup>, facing the palace grounds. (...) Within the precincts [of the monastery] was a nine-storied wooden *stūpa*. Rising nine hundred Chinese feet<sup>2</sup> above the ground, it formed the base for a mast that extended for another one hundred Chinese feet; thus together they soared one thousand Chinese feet above the ground, and could be seen as far away from the capital as one hundred li. (...) There were nine roofs, one for each story, with golden bells suspended from the corners of each one, totaling 120 in all. The *stūpa* had four sides, each having three doors and six windows. Painted in vermillion, each door had five rows of gold nails. (...) North of the *stūpa* was a Buddhist hall, which was shaped like the Palace of the Great Ultimate<sup>3</sup>. In the hall was a golden statue of the Buddha eighteen Chinese feet high, along with ten medium-sized images. (...) The monastery had over one thousand cloisters for the monks, both single cloisters and multilevel ones, decorated with carved beams and painted walls. The doors, painted in blue designs, had carved windows. (...) The walls of the monastery were all covered with short rafters beneath the tiles in the same style as our contemporary palace walls. There were gates in each of the four directions. The tower on the South Gate rose two hundred Chinese feet above the ground, had three stories, each with an archway, and was shaped like the present-day Tuan-men<sup>4</sup> of the palace grounds. (...) Under the archway were images of four guardians and four lions, adorned with gold, silver, pearls, and rare stones. (...) The East and West Gates resembled the South Gate, except that the towers had only two stories. The North Gate had no tower; in this it resembled the Wu-t'ou Gate<sup>5</sup>. (...) "In the second month of the third year of *Yung-hsi*<sup>6</sup> (March 534 AD), the *stūpa* caught fire. (...) The fire, which had started on the eighth floor was worse by the early morning. (...) The blaze lasted for three month before it was extinguished. There were flames that went underground around pillars, leaving a smoky smell even one year later."

This monumental temple consisted thus of a rectangular core which was framed by galleries. Each gallery had its gate pavilion, three stories for the southern gate, two stories for the lateral gates and one story for the northern gate. There seems to have been no lecture hall connected with the northern galleries as

<sup>1</sup> Ch'ang-ho Gate (Changhe-men) 闕闕門 창합문 Imperial Drive (Yudao) 御道 어도.

<sup>2</sup> According to Yang, 1 Chinese foot (*chi*) 尺 척 = 24.1cm (during the Jin dynasty 晉진). But it is more probable that a Wei measure unit was used: 1 Eastern Wei foot (*chi*) 東魏尺 동위척 = 29.99cm or 27.285 as the excavation seems to indicate. See: WANG Yi-t'ung (1984), p. 249; *HGKCDKIV*, p. 256 (§7345); *JAH* vol. 12, p. 160.

<sup>3</sup> Palace of the Great Ultimate (Taiji-dian) 太極殿 태극전.

<sup>4</sup> Tuan-men (Duan-men) 端門 단문, the south gate is intended here.

<sup>5</sup> Wu-t'ou Gate (Wutou-men) 烏頭門 오두문.

<sup>6</sup> The second month of the third year of *Yung-hsi* (*yungxi*) 永熙 영희: March 534 AD. *Yungxi* is the name of the reign of the 12th and last Emperor of the Northern Wei 北魏 북위 (386 (439)-534 AD) Xiaowu di 孝武帝 효무제 (r. 532-534 AD).

this was usually the case at temples of Korea and Japan. A nine-storied square wooden pagoda dominated the courtyard. The image hall, similar in decoration and size to the biggest imperial palace building, stood behind the pagoda on the same axis. YANG Xuanzhi stresses on several occasions the resemblance of the temple architecture and the palace architecture which probably signifies that Buddhism enjoyed at that time a social status comparable to that of the emperor. The dormitories and refectories for more than 1,000 monks lay probably behind the central precinct as it was often the case in Korea and Japan<sup>1</sup>.

The excavation<sup>2</sup> of the temple site of Yongning-si has confirmed parts of the related temple layout and its structures [figs. 389, 390]. The size of the courtyard of the square pagoda which was enclosed in galleries appears to have been about 300m by 210m. The centre of the middle gate, whose platform seems to have measured about 22m by 17m, lay approximately 105m in front of the centre of the pagoda. The lateral galleries had openings at about the height of centre of the pagoda which

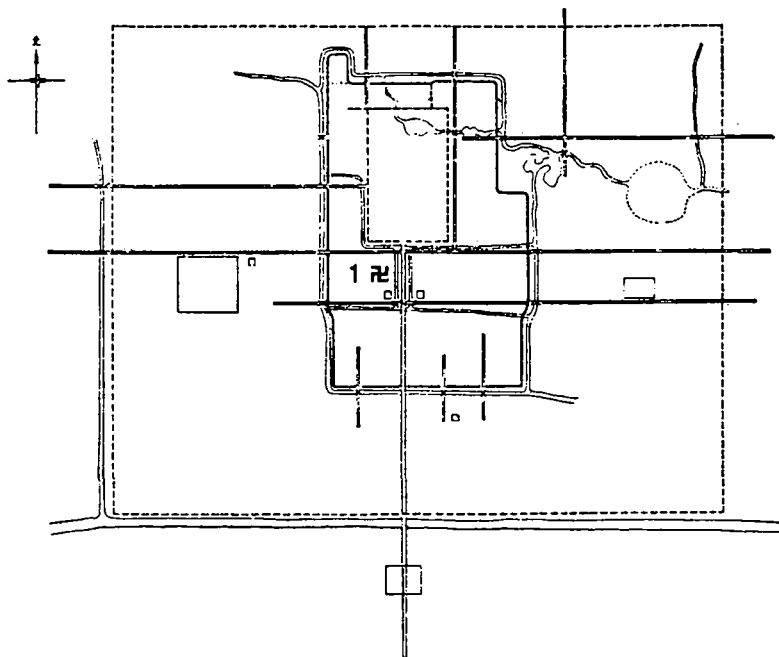


Fig. 389: City plan of Luoyang 洛陽 낙양 and location of Yongning-si 永寧寺 영녕사 (1) (516 AD, scale : 1 : 100,000) (after: ZGJZS, p. 39)

<sup>1</sup> In Korea: Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺 금강사 (No. 4.19.12.), Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황룡사 (No. 7.34.2.) and Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 (No. 5.6.2.). In Japan most of the excavated temple sites had this configuration, e.g. Tōdai-ji 東大寺 とうだいじ 동대사.

<sup>2</sup> See: KG 73 - 4, pp. 198 - 208; WW 92 - 9, pp. 82 - 87, 59.

must have been the location of the eastern and western gates mentioned in the historical text. The sides of the square platform of the pagoda measured approximately 38.2m. The remains of the pagoda will be discussed further below in connection with the pagodas of Bæk-che. No traces of the great image hall to the north of the pagoda of Yongning-si have yet been found.

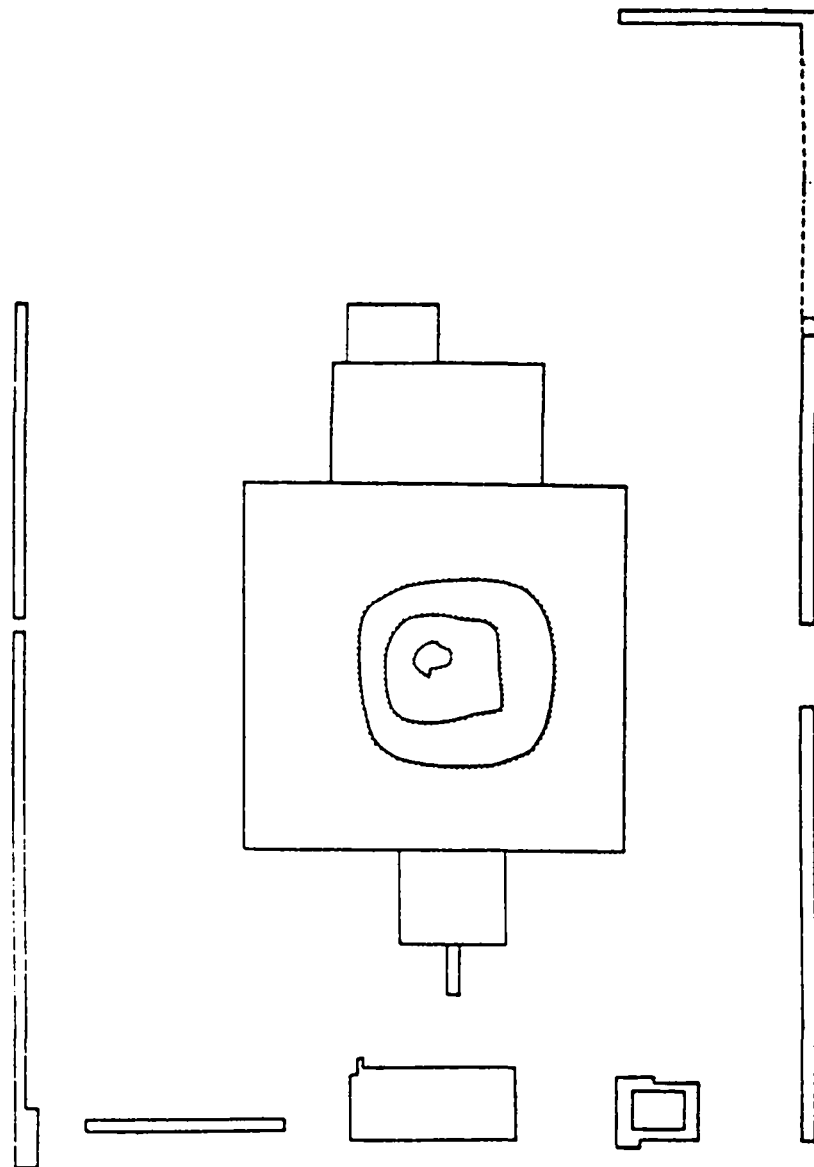


Fig. 390: Excavation layout plan of Yongning-si 永寧寺 영녕사 (516 AD, scale : 1 : 2,000)  
(after: WATSON (1995), p. 176)



The art of the Buddhist caves of Dunhuang<sup>1</sup> is an important source not only for early Buddhist sculpture and painting in China but also for the architecture of caves and for wooden architecture in general thanks to the buildings depicted on the murals which stretch over a period of about 1,000 years.

The murals show galleries, two-storied middle gates, image halls and corner pavilions [figs. 391 - 393], but they rarely depict pagodas and the typical temple layout of Bæk-che with one square pagoda and one image hall on the main axis does apparently not figure among the known murals.

An illustration of Daqingliang-si at Wutai shan<sup>2</sup> in cave No. 61 [fig. 392] shows a three-storied pavilion, but it seems to be placed in a corner of the courtyard. The mural of Wanpusa-lou<sup>3</sup> in the same cave shows a four-storied

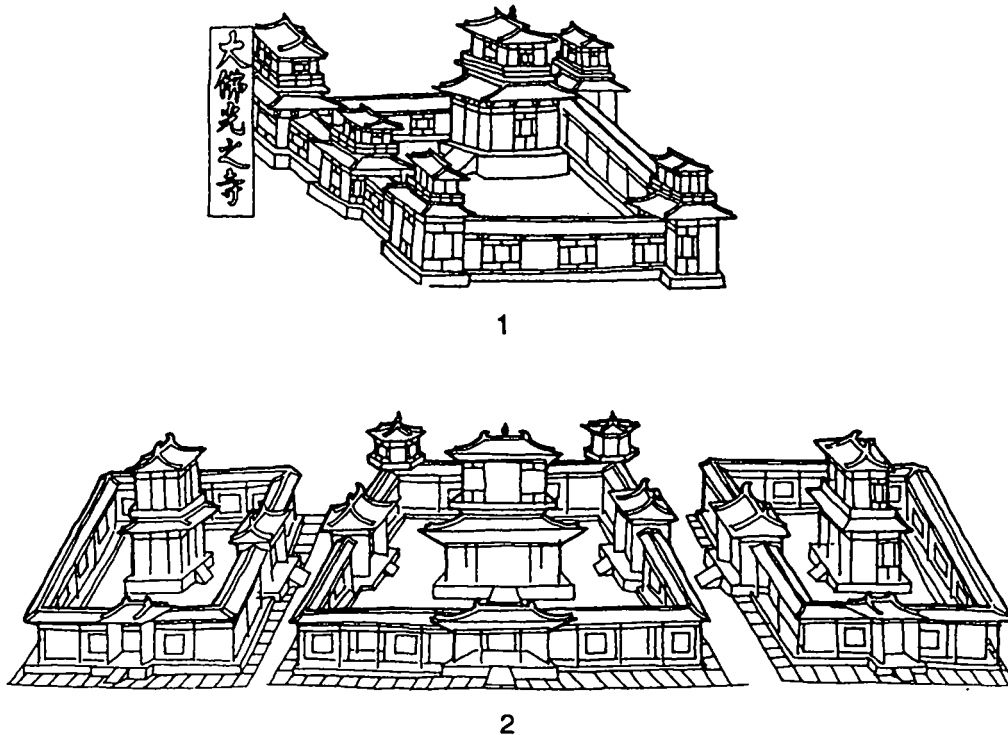


Fig. 391: Murals of Buddhist temples from caves No. 61 (1) and No. 231 (2) at Dunhuang 敦煌 洞窟 (Tang (2) to Song (1) periods, no scale) (after: XIAO Mo 蕭默 소묵 (1989), pp. 70, 80)

<sup>1</sup> Dunhuang 敦煌 洞窟.

<sup>2</sup> Daqingliang-si 大清凉寺 대청량사, Wutai shan 五台山 오대산.  
See: XIAO Mo 蕭默 소묵 (1989), p. 70.

<sup>3</sup> Wanpusa-lou 萬菩薩樓 만보살루, literally '10,000 Bodhisattva pavilion'.  
See: XIAO Mo 蕭默 소묵 (1989), p. 71.

pavilion in a courtyard enclosed by galleries whose corners are formed by two-storied structures [fig. 392]. These multi-storied structures could have had square ground plans but they lack the typical finial of pagodas.

Some murals depict polygonal two-storied pavilions with pagoda-like finials which stand on square platforms and are placed on the main axis of the temple<sup>1</sup> [fig. 393]. While no image hall seems to lie behind these structures, two two-storied

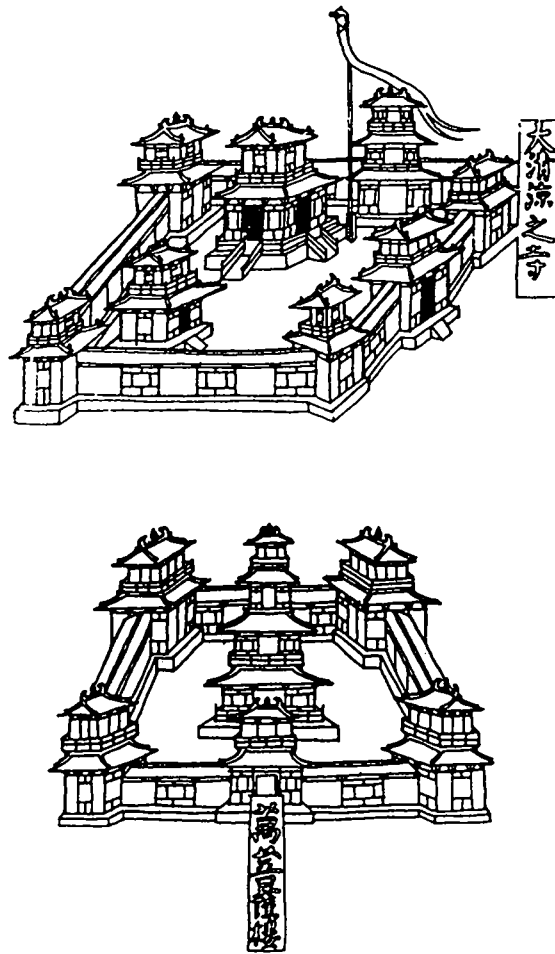


Fig. 392: Murals of Buddhist temples from cave No. 61 at Dunhuang 敦煌 洞窟 with multi-storied pavilions (Song period, no scale) (after: XIAO Mo 蕭默 소묵 (1989), pp. 70f.)

<sup>1</sup> SOPER mentions such a mural on the 3rd panel of the right side in cave No. 61 (Pelliot No. 117, pl. CCXVII). The mural probably dates to the Five Dynasties 五代 오대 (907 - 960 AD) period. A similar mural also figures in cave No. 361 (Pelliot No. 165c) of the Tang period [fig. 393]. See: SOPER (1942), p. 39; XIAO Mo 蕭默 소묵 (1989), p. 73.

structures facing each other are placed on the sides in front of the polygonal structure so that this temple layout seems to be closer to the typical Ko-gu-ryō temple layout than that of Bæk-che.

As most of the murals of Dunhuang with images of temples date to the late Tang period or later, it can be speculated that the temple layout with a square pagoda and one image hall on the main axis was perhaps already out of fashion when the murals were executed.

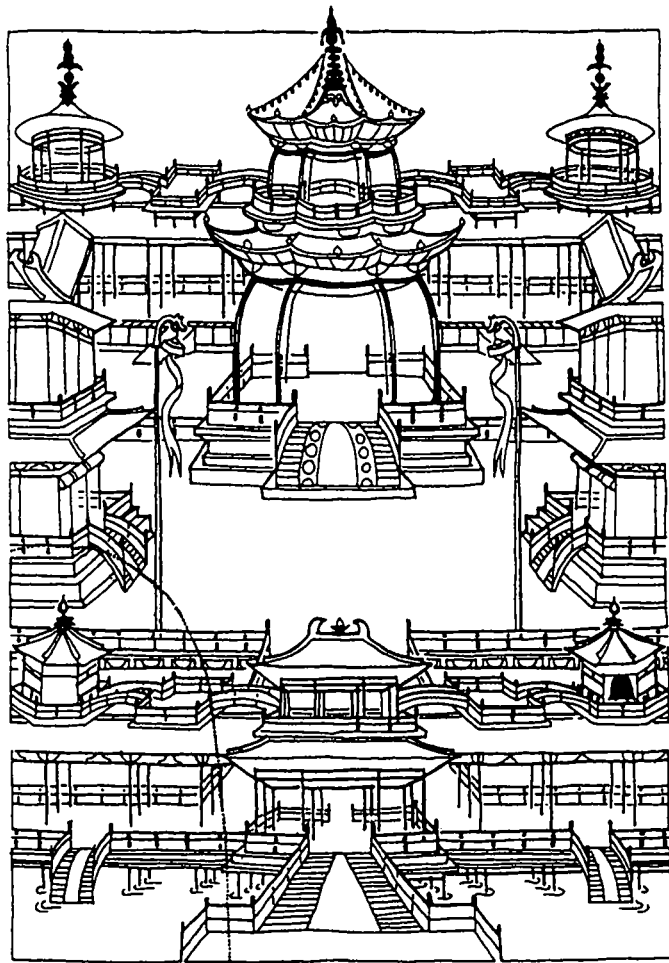


Fig. 393: Mural of a Buddhist temple from cave No. 361 at Dunhuang 敦煌 361窟 with a polygonal pavilion on the main axis (mid-Tang period, no scale) (after: XIAO Mo 蕭默 소묵 (1989), p. 73)

The already-mentioned illustration of the *Guanzhong chuangli jietan tujing*<sup>1</sup> shows a vast temple complex with numerous gates, galleries, pavilions, image halls and dormitories which is said to represent the Jetavana monastery in India but even a superficial glance at the image shows that it is much more Chinese than Indian.

The complex is divided into five sections of successive courtyards enclosed in galleries [figs. 394]. The central section, enclosed by triple galleries, is by far the largest and most important and includes all major religious structures which are organized symmetrically to the main south-north axis. Behind the outer and middle gates<sup>2</sup> and the front Buddha hall<sup>3</sup> stands a single square seven-storied wooden pagoda<sup>4</sup> on the main south-north axis which is flanked by two flagpoles [fig. 395]. The single-storied rear Buddha hall<sup>5</sup> stands behind the pagoda, followed by two three-storied pavilions<sup>6</sup>, triple galleries and the rear gate<sup>7</sup>. A square pond and 'nine golden cauldrons'<sup>8</sup> lie symmetrically behind the rear Buddha hall at approximately the same position as the water basins of Dæ-tong-sa<sup>9</sup> [fig. 190]. Middle galleries connect the Buddha halls and a three-storied pavilion with the lateral galleries so that four successive courtyards are created from south to north. Six additional three- and five-storied pavilions, a belfry, a *sūtra* repository and two ordination platforms are distributed in the various courtyards. The two lateral pavilions of the fourth courtyard are connected by middle galleries to the lateral galleries. Except the centralized pagoda, all other structures of the central section seem to have faced southwards.

The lateral sections were surrounded by simple galleries and divided into smaller courtyards with dormitories. Gardens lie between the lateral sections which could have served as access to the various dormitories. The lateral courtyards of the southern and northern sections contained various minor buildings beside the gates. Two additional sections with successive courtyards were located to the east of the temple complex, separated by a garden.

<sup>1</sup> *Guanzhong chuangli jietan tujing* 「關中創立戒壇圖經 관중창립계단도경」, (T 1892.45.807a - 819a), written in 667 by Daoxuan 道宣 道宣 (596 - 667 AD). The date of the illustration is not certain. It could date to the Song dynasty (960 - 1279 AD) but it was possibly based on an earlier plan. The present version in T 1892 is a reprint of 1675 AD. The top of the plan points southwards. See: Chapter 2.3., p. 160; FORTE (1988), pp. 51f., fig. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Outer gate: *waimen* 外門 외문, middle gate: *zhongmen* 中門 중문.

<sup>3</sup> Front Buddha hall: *qian fodian* 前佛殿 전불전.

<sup>4</sup> Seven-storied pagoda: *qizhong-ta* 七重塔 칠중탑.

<sup>5</sup> Great rear hall of Buddha's preaching: *hou foshuofa-dadian* 後佛說法大殿 후불설법대전.

<sup>6</sup> Three-storied pavilion: *sanzhong-ge* 三重閣 삼중각.

<sup>7</sup> Rear gate: *houmen* 後門 후문.

<sup>8</sup> Square flower pond: *fang huachi* 方華池 방화지, nine golden cauldrons: *jiu jinhuo* 九金鑊 구금화. The function and symbolism of the cauldrons are not clear.

<sup>9</sup> Dæ-tong-sa 大通寺 대통사 (No. 4.13.1.). See: Chapter 3.2., p. 270, fig. 190.

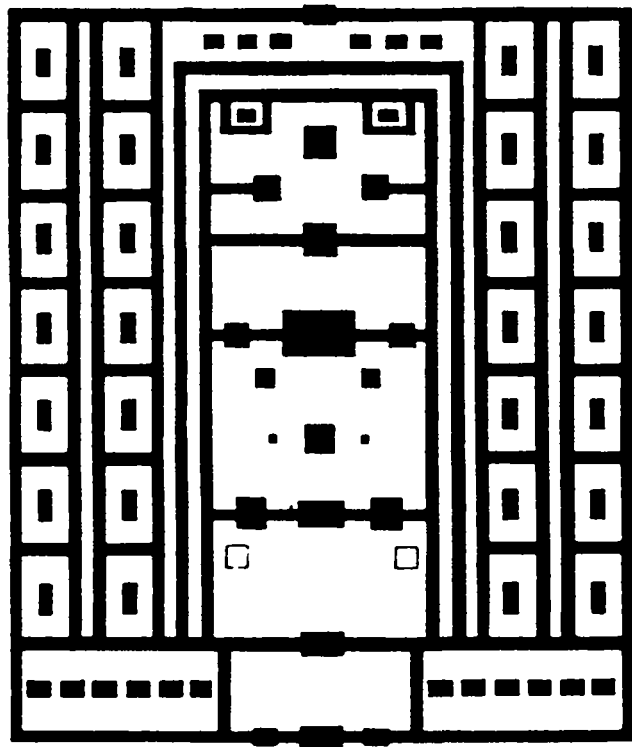
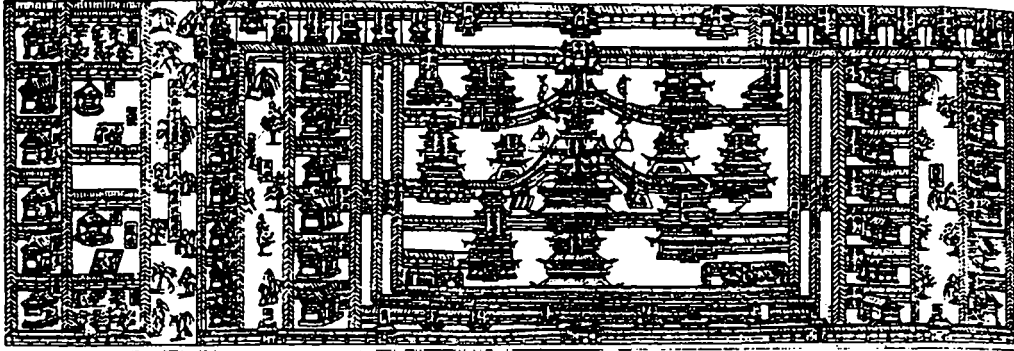


Fig. 394: Ideal temple layout (Jetavana monastery in India) according to the *Guanzhong chuangli jietan tujing* 「關中創立戒壇圖經 觀衆 창립계단도경」 (667 AD, reprint of 1675 (possibly after a Song edition) and reconstructed layout scheme according to LIU (no scale) (after: FORTE (1988), fig. 1; LIU Dunzhen 劉敦楨 유돈정 (1980), p. 13)

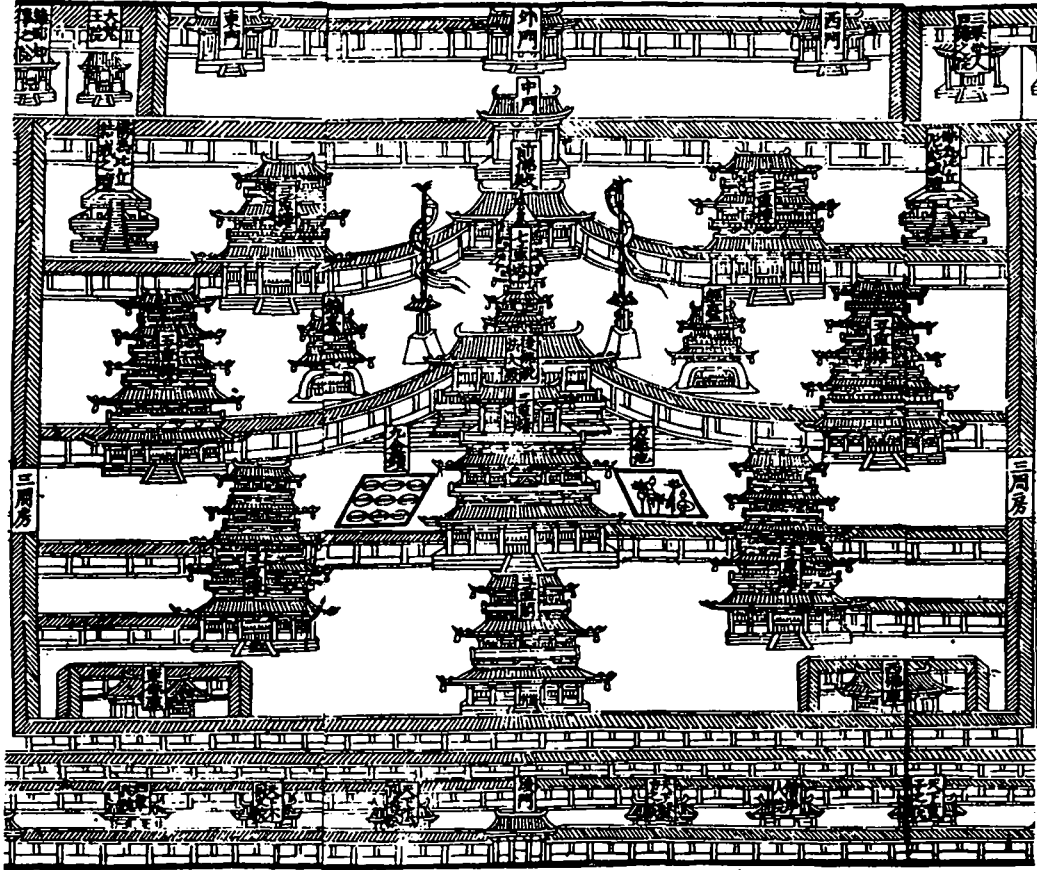


Fig. 395: Central section of the ideal temple layout (Jetavana monastery in India) according to the *Guanzhong chuangli jietan tujing* 「關中創立戒壇圖經 관중창립계단도경」 (667 AD, reprint of 1675 AD, possibly after a Song edition, no scale) (after: FORTE (1988), fig. 1)

While the general layout in five sections whose central section includes all important buildings, is reminiscent of that of Ko-gu-ryō's Chōng-rŭng-sa, the emphasis of the main axis and the square wooden pagoda is similar the Bæk-che temple layout. The additional structures including the lateral pavilions, flagpoles, belfry, *sūtra* repository and ordination platforms do not have equivalents in the discovered sites of early Buddhist temples in East Asia. As the image is supposed to illustrate a text completed in 667 AD, several of its elements seem to represent innovations of the early Tang period which were not yet present in Ko-gu-ryō and Bæk-che. This is the case for the flagpoles, the belfry and the *sūtra* repository. The lateral multi-storied pavilions could be understood as possible elements of particularly large temple complexes which were not necessary for smaller temples.

The presence in China of several crucial elements<sup>1</sup> of the typical Bæk-che temple layout during the Northern Wei period suggests that Bæk-che imported the basic temple layout together with other elements of Buddhist art such as Buddhist sculpture and painting. It is nevertheless possible that the layout of the Bæk-che temples possessed some particular characteristics which were not present or did not have the same importance in the early temples of the Chinese mainland. However, a deeper comparison between the early temples of Korea and China can only be undertaken when more evidence of the early Chinese temples has been excavated.

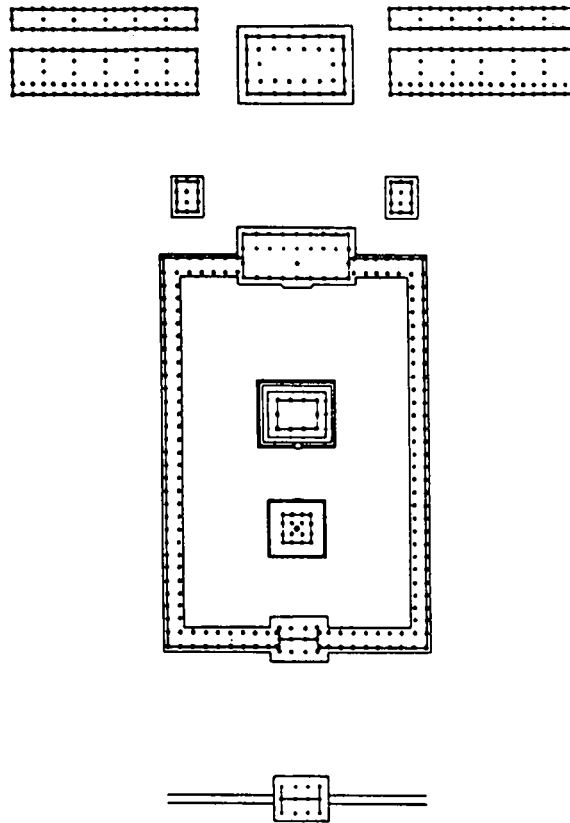


Fig. 396: Layout of Shitennō-ji 四天王寺 してんのうじ 사천왕사 at Ōsaka 大阪 おおさか 대판 (593 AD, scale : 1 : 2,000) (after: OOKA Minoru (1973), appendix)

<sup>1</sup> In particular the galleries, the square wooden pagoda, the main south-north axis and the absence of lateral image halls beside the pagoda.

## 3.3.1.2.2. Evidence of the 'Kudara-style' in Japan

In Japan, several early temples followed the same layout as the typical Bæk-che temples. Such examples are Shitennō-ji [fig. 396], Wakakusa-dera (the original Hōryū-ji) [fig. 397] and Yamada-dera<sup>1</sup> [fig. 398] which date all to the Asuka period<sup>2</sup>. The typical temple layout type of Bæk-che became known in Japan as the



Fig. 397: Layout of Wakakusa-dera 若草寺わかくさでら 약초사 at Nara 奈良なら 나랏 (probably 607 AD, scale: 1 : 1,000) (after: MIZUNO Seiichi (1974), foldout 1)

<sup>1</sup> Shitennō-ji 四天王寺してんのうじ 사천왕사, Wakakusa-dera 若草寺わかくさでら 약초사 (Hōryū-ji 法隆寺ほうりゅうじ 법룡사), Yamada-dera (or Sanden-ji) 山田寺やまだでら (さんでんじ) 산전사.  
<sup>2</sup> Asuka 飛鳥あすか 비조 (552 - 645 AD).



Kudara-style (i.e. Bæk-che style)<sup>1</sup>. But no scholar maintains today that this layout was actually developed by Bæk-che because evidence of this layout can be found on the Chinese mainland as mentioned above.

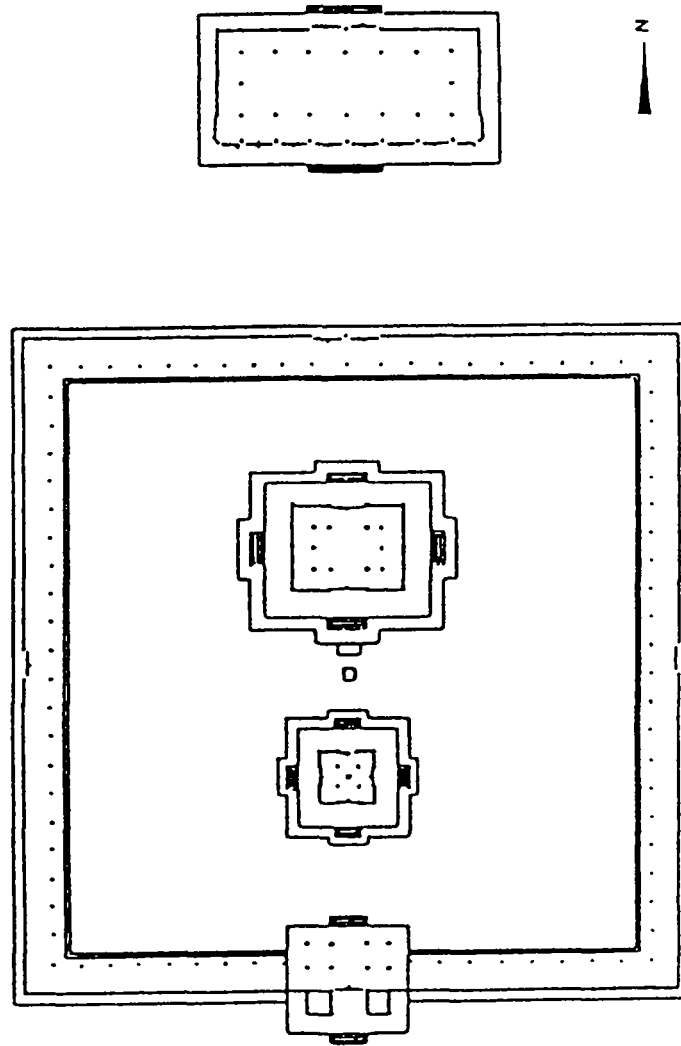


Fig. 398: Layout of Yamada-dera 山田寺 やまだでら 산전사 at Nara 奈良 なら 나랑 (641 - 676 AD, scale : 1 : 1,000)  
(after: CHANG Kyōng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), p. 122)

<sup>1</sup> Kudara-*shiki* 百濟式 くだらしき 백제식. Kudara くだら is the Japanese pronunciation of the Chinese characters used for Bæk-che 百濟 백제.

The size and proportions of these three Japanese temples were comparable to several temples of Bæk-che. Table 27 gives the main measurements of the layout of the various temples from Korea and Japan:

temple name	gallery wi. <sup>1</sup>	gallery le. <sup>2</sup>	prop. <sup>3</sup>	surface	Δ m.g - p. <sup>4</sup>	Δ p. - i.h. <sup>5</sup>	Δ i.h. - l.h. <sup>6</sup>
Chông-rim-sa	46.3m	77.8m	1 : 1.68	3,602m <sup>2</sup>	20m	26.3m	31.7m
Ntng-sa	52.5m	73.5m	1 : 1.40	3,859m <sup>2</sup>	17.5m	22.4m	33.6m
lateral Mi-rük-sa	48.75m	83.3m	1 : 1.71	4,061m <sup>2</sup>	31m	31m	21.3m (-)
central Mi-rük-sa	66.5m	86.8m	1 : 1.31	5,772m <sup>2</sup>	31m	31m	24.8m (70.7m)
Gun-su-ri Sa-chi	71m	85m	1 : 1.20	6,035m <sup>2</sup>	(25m ?)	25m	36m
Güm-gang-sa	76.5m	88m	1 : 1.15	6,732m <sup>2</sup>	24.4m	25.3m	48.9m
Dæ-tong-sa	105m (?)	130m (?)	1 : 1.24	13,650m <sup>2</sup> (?)	35m - 40m (?)	45m - 50m	40m - 45m
Wakakusa-dera	57m (?)	87m (?)	1 : 1.53	4,959m <sup>2</sup> (?)	24m (?)	27m (?)	36m (?)
Shitennō-ji	65m	94.5m	1 : 1.45	6,143m <sup>2</sup>	29.0m	29.6m	41.4m
Yamada-dera	81m	85m	1 : 1.05	6,885m <sup>2</sup>	26.5m (?)	31m	26.5m (60m)

Table 27: Measurements of the layout of Buddhist temples of Bæk-che and Asuka Japan

The table shows that the size of the majority of the 'single-pagoda single-image-hall' temples was between 5,000m<sup>2</sup> and 7,000m<sup>2</sup> but several excavated Korean temples were clearly smaller. The average proportion of the width and length of the galleries was about 1 : 1.38 and 1 : 1.34 in Korea and Japan, respectively, but the proportions of the galleries strongly vary between about 1 : 1 and 1 : 1.7 so that it is difficult to speak of a common rule for the proportion of the temples with the same layout type.

The proportion of the distances of the centres of the main buildings of the various temples seems to indicate that there were several general proportions applied. Concerning the distance between the middle gate and the image hall as well as the distance between the image hall and the lecture hall (or northern gallery),

<sup>1</sup> Gallery width.

<sup>2</sup> Gallery length.

<sup>3</sup> Proportion of the gallery width to the gallery length.

<sup>4</sup> Distance between the centre of the middle gate and the centre of the pagoda.

<sup>5</sup> Distance between the centre of the pagoda and the centre of the image hall.

<sup>6</sup> Distance between the centre of the image hall and the centre of the lecture hall.

two Korean temples<sup>1</sup> had a proportion of  $\leq 1.2 : 1$ , four temples<sup>2</sup> a proportion of about  $\sqrt{2} : 1$  and three temples<sup>3</sup> a proportion of  $\geq 2 : 1$ . The last proportion type is applied particularly in temples where the lecture hall is placed behind the northern gallery<sup>4</sup>. The comparison of the distance between middle gate, pagoda and image hall, reveals proportions of about  $1 : 1$  (four temples<sup>5</sup>),  $1 : 1.15$  (two Japanese temples<sup>6</sup>) and  $1 : 1.3$  (three Korean temples<sup>7</sup>). But there seems to be no connection between the first and the second sets of proportions. The planners of the temple layouts seem to have been remarkably free in choosing the proportions which fitted best the territory as well as the size and function of the temple.

The orientation of the three above-mentioned Japanese temples was roughly to the north<sup>8</sup> and thus comparable to those of Chōng-rim-sa, Nūng-sa and the temple site at Gun-su-ri<sup>9</sup>. Both, Chōng-rim-sa [fig. 234] and Shitennō-ji [fig. 396], had lotus ponds which were arranged symmetrically to the main axis though the location of the lotus ponds behind the lecture hall of Shitennō-ji is rather reminiscent of the location of the lotus pond on the illustration of the *Guanzhong chuangli jietan tujing*<sup>10</sup> [figs. 394f.]. At Hōryū-ji, only the ponds of the reconstruction of the later half of the seventh century AD to the north-west of the original site are extant. The distance between the ponds is much bigger than that of the ponds of Chōng-rim-sa which were separated by a bridge-like dike, but the lotus pond(s) of Mi-rūk-sa [fig. 300] might have had a similar configuration to those of Hōryū-ji.

The common features of the mentioned Japanese temples and the Bæk-che temples seems to be a clear indication that Bæk-che influenced Japan heavily in the sixth and seventh century AD. Based on this general assumption it follows that the early wooden buildings in Japan might retain some of the characteristics of Bæk-che wooden architecture (see further below, pp. 559ff., 589ff.).

<sup>1</sup> Nūng-sa 陵寺 능사: 1.19 : 1, Gūm-gang-sa 金剛寺 금강사: 1.02 : 1.

<sup>2</sup> Chōng-rim-sa 定林寺 정림사: 1.46 : 1, Gun-su-ri Sa-chi 軍守里寺址 군수리사지: 1.39 : 1, Wakakusa-dera 若草寺 わかくさでら 약초사: 1.42 : 1, Shitennō-ji 四天王寺 してんのうじ 사천왕사: 1.42 : 1.

<sup>3</sup> Lateral Mi-rūk-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사: 2.91 : 1, central Mi-rūk-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사: 2.5 : 1, Dæ-tong-sa 大通寺 대통사: 2 : 1, Yamada-dera 山田寺 やまだでら 산전사: 2.17 : 1.

<sup>4</sup> In the case of Mi-rūk-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 and Yamada-dera 山田寺 やまだでら 산전사.

<sup>5</sup> Mi-rūk-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사: 1 : 1, Gun-su-ri Sa-chi 軍守里寺址 군수리사지: 1 : 1, Gūm-gang-sa 金剛寺 금강사: 1 : 1.04, Shitennō-ji 四天王寺 してんのうじ 사천왕사: 1 : 1.02.

<sup>6</sup> Wakakusa-dera 若草寺 わかくさでら 약초사: 1 : 1.13, Yamada-dera 山田寺 やまだでら 산전사: 1 : 1.17.

<sup>7</sup> Chōng-rim-sa 定林寺 정림사: 1 : 1.32, Nūng-sa 陵寺 능사: 1 : 1.28, Dæ-tong-sa 大通寺 대통사: 1 : 1.27.

<sup>8</sup> The difference from north direction and the direction of the axis does usually not exceed  $\pm 22.5^\circ$  from north (about  $22^\circ$  to the west from north for the original Hōryū-ji 法隆寺 ほりゅうじ 법룡사).

<sup>9</sup> Chōng-rim-sa 定林寺 정림사: about  $4.5^\circ$  to east, Nūng-sa 陵寺 능사: about  $3.6^\circ$  to east, Gun-su-ri-sa-chi 軍守里寺址 군수리사지: about  $5^\circ$  to east.

<sup>10</sup> *Guanzhong chuangli jietan tujing* 「關中創立戒壇圖經 관중창립계단도경」.

## 3.3.1.2.3. Bæk-che's Güm-gang-sa and the balanced-symmetrical Japanese temples

The particular orientation of the main axis of Güm-gang-sa [fig. 203] which leads from east to west has drawn attention from some authors<sup>1</sup> who were eager to explain the seemingly unorthodox layout of several early Japanese temples, including Hōryū-ji [figs. 399, 400], Kawara-dera [fig. 401], Kanzeon-ji [fig. 402] and the temple site at Minami Shiga<sup>2</sup> [fig. 403]. The main characteristic of these temples is the fact that the pagoda does not stand on the south-north axis established by the middle gate but a perpendicular axis is created on which lie the image hall and the pagoda. The image hall can either face the pagoda as in the case of Kawara-

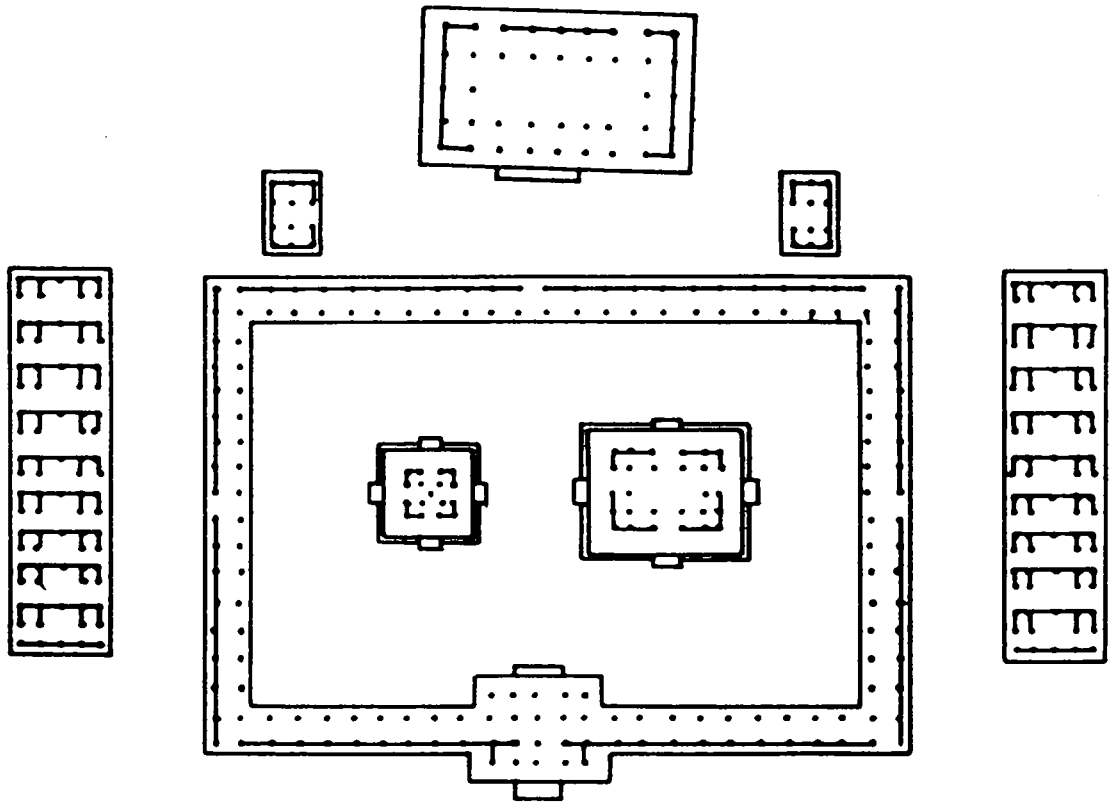


Fig. 399: Original layout of Hōryū-ji 法隆寺ほりゅうじ 법동사, at Nara 奈良なら 나랑 (7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 1,000) (after: CHANG Kyōng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), p. 105)

<sup>1</sup> See: BUISSON (1989), p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> Hōryū-ji 法隆寺ほりゅうじ 법동사, Kawara-dera 川原寺かわらで라 천원사 (both near Nara 奈良なら 나랑), Kanzeon-ji 觀世音寺かんぜおんじ 관세음사 (near Fukuoka 福岡ふくおか 북강 City), Minami Shiga Haiji 南滋賀慶寺みなみしがはいじ 남자하평사 (in Shiga 滋賀しが 자하 Prefecture). See: OOKA Minoru (1973), appendix.

dera and Kanzeon-ji or it can be turned southwards as in the case of Hōryū-ji. The result is a balanced symmetry between the tall pagoda and the larger image hall on either side of the now empty south-north axis which leads either to an additional image hall (Kawara-dera, Minami Shiga Haiji), the lecture hall (Kanzeon-ji, present Hōryū-ji) or to the rear gallery (original Hōryū-ji).

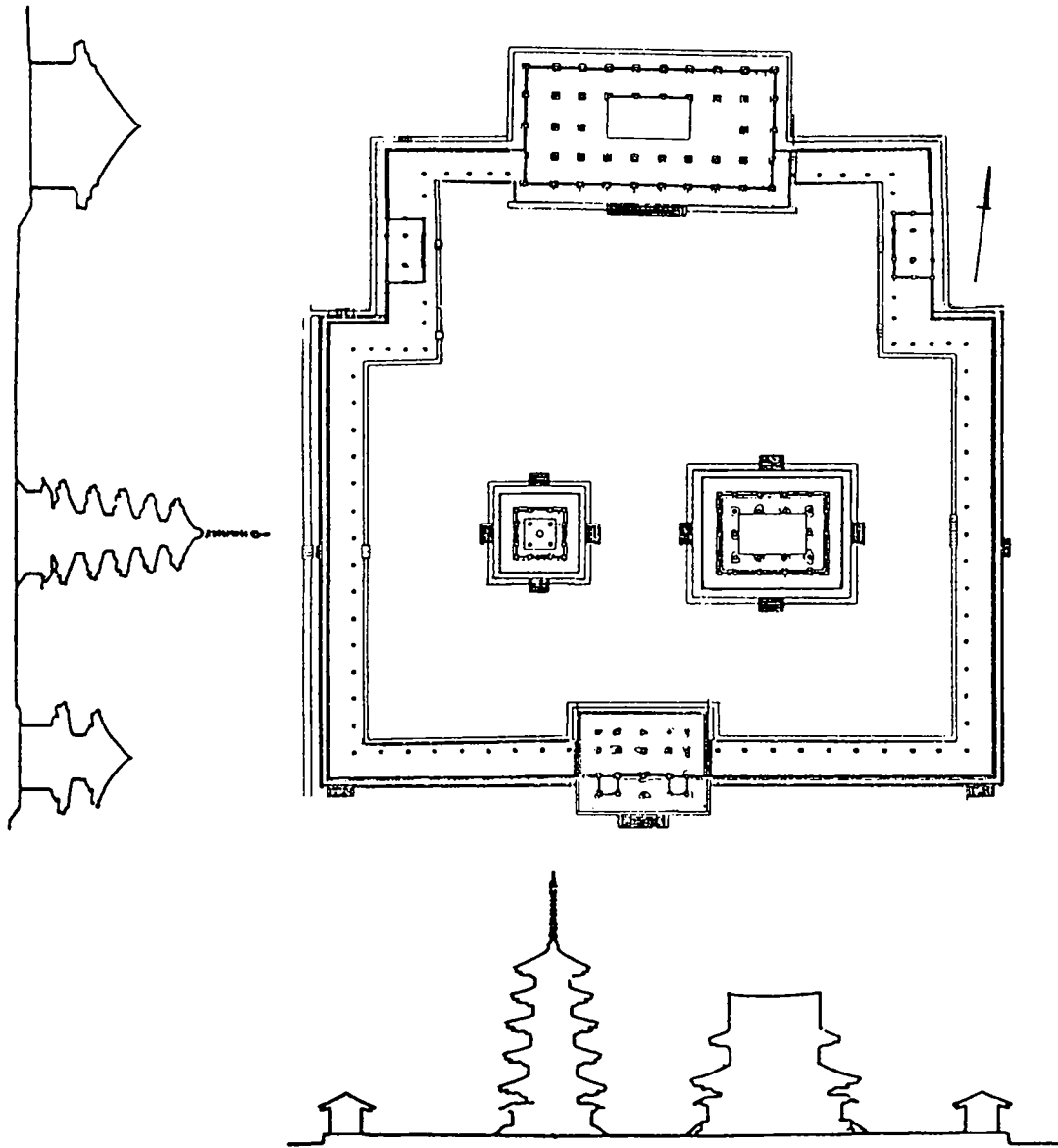


Fig. 400: Extant layout and two sections of Hōryū-ji 法隆寺ほりゅうじ 법동사 at Nara  
 奈良なら나랑 (7th C. AD, later reconstructions and enlargements, scale: 1 : 1,000)  
 (after: CHANG Kyōng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), p. 106, 446)

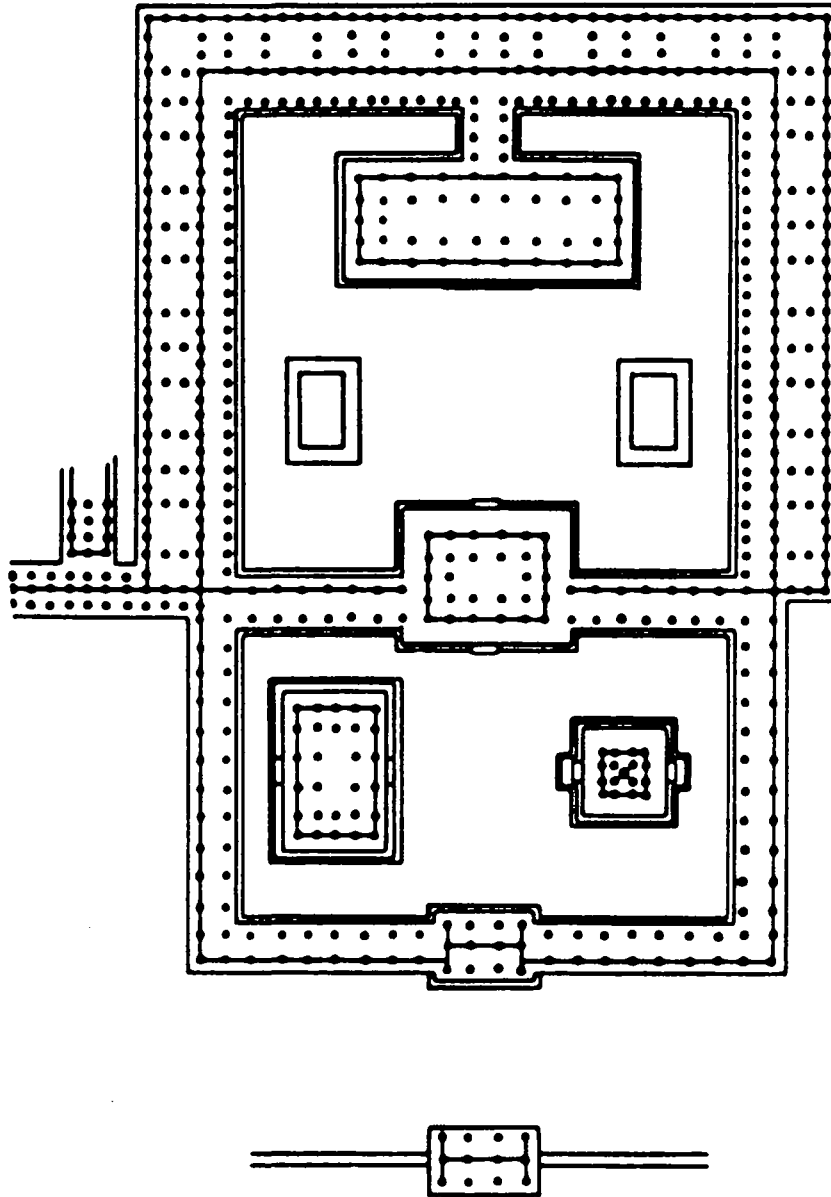


Fig. 401: Layout of Kawara-dera 川原寺かわらでら 천원사 at Nara 奈良なら 나랑 (mid-7th C. AD, scale : 1 : 1,000) (after: OOKA Minoru (1973), appendix)

BUISSON<sup>1</sup> seems to think that the exceptional east-west axis of Güm-gang-sa was the model for the Japanese balanced-symmetrical temples by providing an example of shifted axis. This assumption would imply that the layout of Güm-gang-sa was deliberately chosen to contrast with the traditional temple layout. However, I do not consider the layout of Güm-gang-sa to be a precursor of the Japanese balanced-symmetrical layout type and I believe that the orientation of Güm-gang-sa can be satisfactorily explained by its geographical and topographical circumstances.

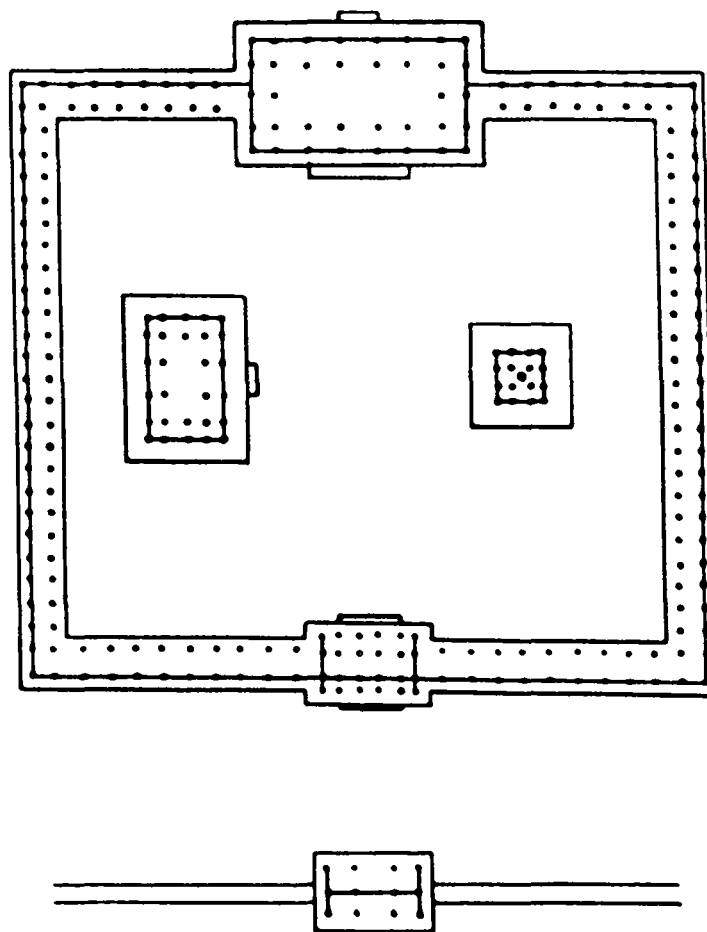


Fig. 402: Layout of Kanzeon-ji 觀世音寺 かんぜおんじ 觀世음사 (in Tsukushi 筑紫 つくし 축자, near Fukuoka 福岡 ふくおか 북강, Kyūshū 九州 きゅうしゅう 九州) (mid-7th C. AD, scale : 1 : 1,000) (after: OOKA Minoru (1973), appendix)

<sup>1</sup> BUISSON turns the layout of Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺 금강사 (No. 4.19.12.) by 180° (by mistake ?). See: BUISSON (1989), p. 38.

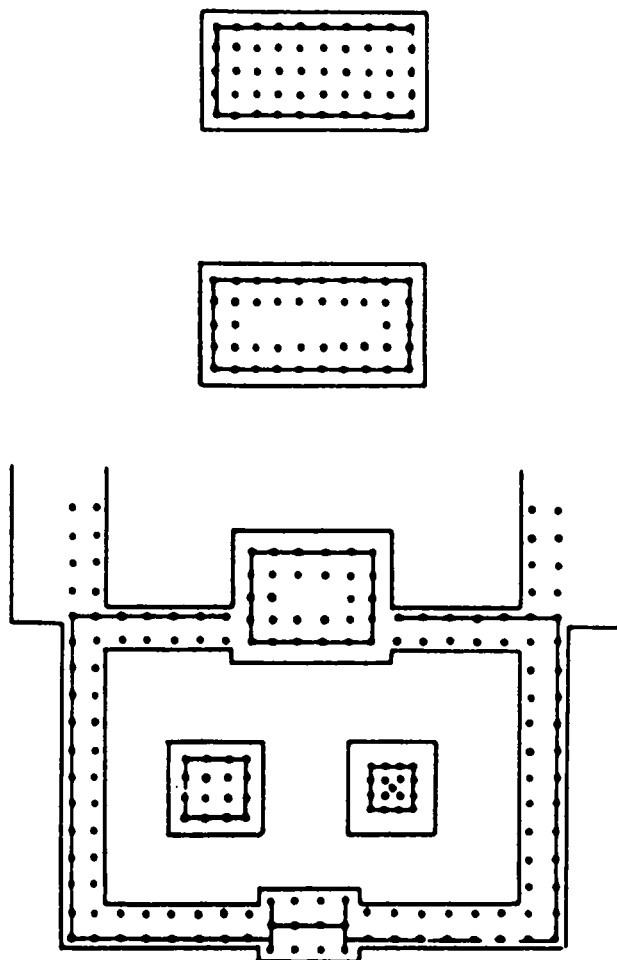


Fig. 403: Layout of Minami Shiga Haiji 南滋賀慶寺みなみしがはいじ 남자하페사 (Shiga 滋賀しが자하 Prefecture, mid-7th C. AD, scale : 1 : 1,000) (after: OOKA Minoru (1973), appendix)

The orientation of Güm-gang-sa seems to be connected with geomantic<sup>1</sup> considerations. The importance of this typical East-Asian philosophical perception of the morphology of the living territory and its symbolism and influences on humans has been briefly discussed above (pp. 507ff.). The complicated ancient system of analyzing the environment and its application to the advantage of the inhabitants can unfortunately not be wholly clarified in this limited framework. What is relevant here is the general orientation of the constructions and the

<sup>1</sup> *Feng shui* 風水 풍수 in China or *pung-su chi-ri* 風水地理 풍수지리 in Korea. See: pp. 507 - 518.



surrounding environment. As an ideal basic model *pung-su chi-ri* presents a polarized territory where the main access is in the south, the highest point of the territory in the north.

Further important elements are somewhat lower heights to the east and the west. In the south there should be either a pond or a stream flowing to the west and even more to the south another small mount or hill. If any of these basic elements, mountain or water, or even only its particular form is different from the basic model, then adjustments can be made. This is where the system becomes complicated and almost inaccessible to the uninitiated. In the present case the water element lies to the east and flows to the south. This situation seems to have called for an adjustment which was met by rotating the whole precinct by 90°.

A similar case was the proposition of the Buddhist monk Mu-hak<sup>1</sup> for the construction of Han-yang<sup>2</sup>, the new capital of the Cho-sŏn dynasty which was never carried out. He proposed to place the royal palace to the west with the main axis running from east to west as in Gŭm-gang-sa. This proposal however was not retained by the court and a more conventional solution with a south-north axis was implemented.

It can thus be assumed that the particular orientation of Gŭm-gang-sa eastwards was due to topographical and geomantic reasons and has no connection with the Japanese balanced-symmetrical temples. The unorthodox layout of Hōryū-ji and other temples in Japan with similar layouts, however, was probably not the result of a geomantic adaptation to a particular site. This can be shown by the fact that the first temple construction (Wakakusa-dera, fig. 397) at the site of Hōryū-ji followed the traditional orientation and layout.

The Japanese balanced-symmetrical temple layout type seems to be a conscious deviation from and development of the traditional temple layout which was imported from Bæk-che. As it is known that Ko-gu-ryŏ also influenced early Buddhist Japan (see Asuka-dera, p. 136, fig. 118), it can be supposed that the joint influences from Bæk-che and Ko-gu-ryŏ created the opportunity to experiment with both traditions. While the lateral position of the image halls, for example, is similar to that of the lateral image halls of Ko-gu-ryŏ, the fact that there are only two free-standing structures within the galleries is reminiscent of Bæk-che temples. I will return to this subject in connection with the comparison of the Buddhist architecture of the Korean Three Kingdoms in Chapter 5 (pp. 953, 975, 977ff.).

<sup>1</sup> Mu-hak Dæ-sa 無學大師 무학대사 lived from 1327 to 1405 AD. Mu-hak is a pseudonym of Cha-cho 自超 자초.

<sup>2</sup> Han-yang 漢陽 한양, today's Seoul (Sŏ-ul) 서울. See: CLÉMENT Sophie, CLÉMENT Pierre, SHIN Yong-hak (1987), pp. 209 - 231.

### 3.3.2. BUILDING TYPES USED IN THE BUDDHIST ARCHITECTURE OF BÆK-CHE

#### 3.3.2.1. The square pagoda

All wooden pagodas of Bæk-che have been destroyed long ago. Only the foundations of some of them remain today. However, two stone pagodas have survived. Together with evidence from China and Japan it seems thus possible to reconstruct the general shape and some construction methods of the wooden pagodas of Bæk-che. To the contrary of Ko-gu-ryō, all known pagodas of Bæk-che had a square plan. A short excursus in the development of the earliest square pagodas of China and Japan can provide a context for the evidence from Bæk-che.

##### 3.3.2.1.1. The early square pagodas in China

In the chapter on Ko-gu-ryō I have briefly treated the Chinese pagodas in connection with the remains of octagonal pagodas of the temples of Ko-gu-ryō. There I was particularly interested in the Chinese polygonal brick pagodas, here I will concentrate on the square pagodas made of wood, earth, brick and stone.

No early Chinese square wooden pagoda is extant<sup>1</sup>. However there is evidence on them through an exceptional excavation and several paintings, sculptures and scriptures. The nine-storied square wooden pagoda of Yongning-si<sup>2</sup> in Luoyang mentioned above has been considered the climax of Buddhist architecture of the Northern Wei dynasty<sup>3</sup>. Its foundations have been excavated recently and produced important information about the early Buddhist temples of China<sup>4</sup> [fig. 151]. The description in the above-mentioned *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries of Luoyang*<sup>5</sup> states that the pagoda possessed nine stories and was more than 200m high which is surely an exaggeration. According to the text, each side of the pagoda had three doors and six windows, i.e had nine bays. The excavation showed that this information of the text was correct: the pagoda had in fact nine bays on each side at its base. The sides of the pagoda were 32m to 33m long, so that a total height of the pagoda of 100m to 120m seems possible. The text claims that the spire on the top was one tenth of the total height of the pagoda. Most extant pagodas of East Asia

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<sup>1</sup> Most of them were probably destroyed during the Buddhist persecution of 845 AD. See: CH'EN Kenneth K. S. (1972, 1973), pp. 226 - 233.

<sup>2</sup> Yongning-si 永寧寺 영녕사.

<sup>3</sup> Northern Wei 北魏 북위 (386 - 534 AD).

<sup>4</sup> See: WW 92 - 9, p. 82ff.; WW 98 - 5, pp. 51 - 64.

<sup>5</sup> See: pp. 521 ff.; WANG Yi-t'ung (1984).

have proportionally higher finials<sup>1</sup>, but the taller the pagoda, the smaller the finial is proportionally. At a supposed height of about 120m, a metal pole of about 12m would already count among the longest extant ones<sup>2</sup>. The size of the Yongning-si pagoda can be compared to the pagoda of Hwang-ryong-sa<sup>3</sup> of Sin-la which had probably also nine stories but counted only seven bays and its sides at the base were about 22m long. Reconstruction attempts assumed a height of this pagoda of about 76m, including a 13m high pole (see Chapter 4.2., figs. 562ff.). It is possible that each story of the Yongning-si pagoda was accessible and that each possessed its own Buddha statues [figs. 408, 411] as it is still the case of the pagoda of Fogong-si at Yingxian<sup>4</sup> of 1056 AD [fig. 147] and as it can be seen on the sculptures in the Buddhist caves.

The excavation revealed that the core of the pagoda was formed by a huge pile of unfired bricks whose function was probably to reinforce the huge construction. This core whose remains are still more than 4m high, was five (or seven ?) bays wide in both directions and numerous square holes of wooden columns were discovered in its interior [fig. 151]. It seems thus that the structure of the core was a combination of a wooden frame consisting of columns and ties and a massive filling of unfired bricks. This construction method with a mud core<sup>5</sup> is an ancient method which can be traced back to the Zhou dynasty<sup>6</sup>; a famous example was the *ming-tang* of the Han dynasty<sup>7</sup> whose foundations and mud core were excavated at Chang'an<sup>8</sup> [figs. 404 - 406]. The core in these constructions was usually made of numerous thin levels of rammed earth and not of prefabricated unfired bricks as in the case of the pagoda of Yongning-si. The system of introducing a wooden frame deep into the mud core does not seem to be known from other building sites. This system of unfired bricks was apparently chosen because the rammed earth method would probably have destroyed the wooden joints between the vertical columns and the horizontal ties.

- 1 In the extant Japanese pagodas this proportion is usually between one fourth and one third. In Korea the examples of stone pagodas from the Sin-la dynasty feature usually proportions between one fourth and two fifth. The wooden pagoda of Bōb-chu-sa 法住寺 법주사 (No. 3.11.1.) [figs. 432ff.] and the restored wooden pagoda of Ssang-bong-sa 雙峰寺 쌍봉사 (No. 6.9.2.) [fig. 667] have both a proportion of the finial of about one sixth of the total height.
- 2 The height of big extant finials vary between 9m for the pagoda of Hōryū-ji 法隆寺 ほりゅうじ 법통사 [figs. 419ff.] in Japan and ca. 12m for the pagoda of Fogong-si 佛宮寺 불궁사 [fig. 147] in China.
- 3 Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황룡사 (No. 7.34.2.). See: Chapter 4.2., pp. 795ff.
- 4 Fogong-si 佛宮寺 불궁사, Yingxian 凝縣 응현.
- 5 See: AB LXVIII, No. 3, pp. 360 - 378.
- 6 Eastern Zhou 東周 동주 (770 - 249 BC (var. 256, 222)).
- 7 *Ming-tang* 明堂 명당, Western (Former) Han 前漢 전한 (206 BC - 8 AD)
- 8 Chang'an 長安 장안, the capital of Western (Former) Han 前漢 전한. See: STEINHARDT (1984), pp. 69 - 77.

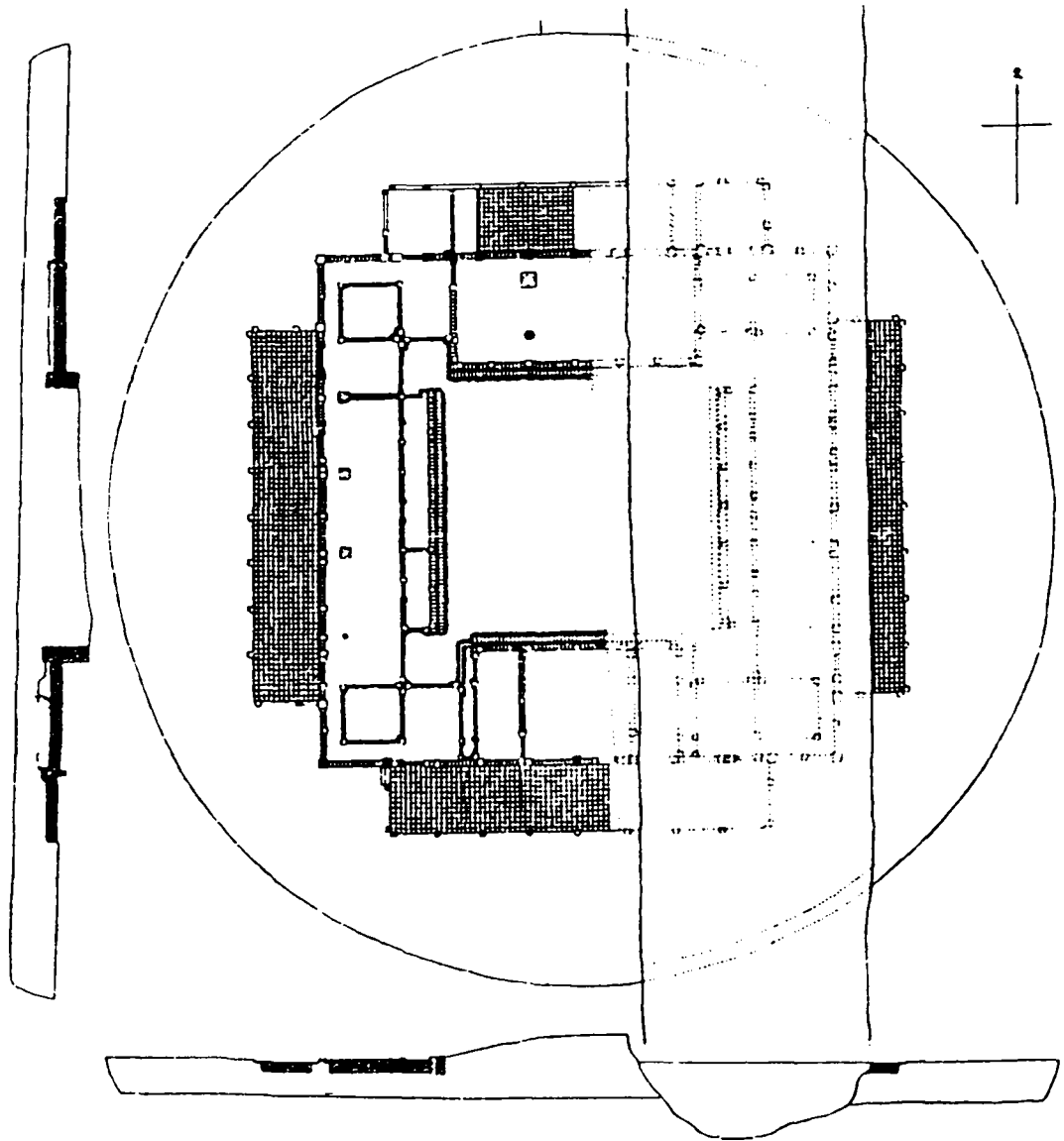


Fig. 404: Partially reconstructed plan and two sections of the Han 漢 *ming-tang* 明堂 명당 in Chang'an 長安 장안 (1st C. BC or AD, scale: 1 : 500) (after: LIU Dunzhen 劉敦楨 유근정 (1980), p. 46)

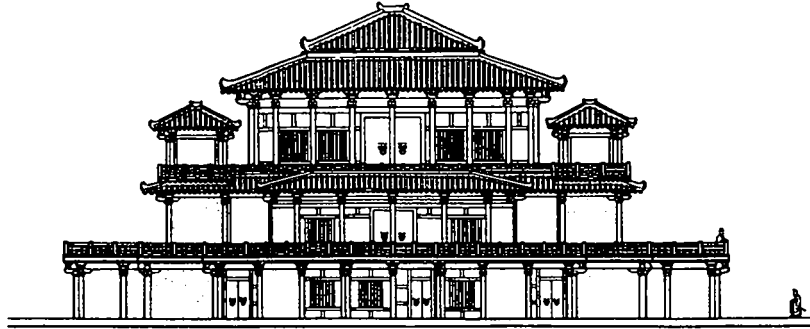


Fig. 405: Reconstructed elevation of the Han 漢한 *ming-tang* 明堂명당 in Chang'an 長安장안 (1st C. BC or AD, scale : 1 : 500) (after: STEINHARDT (1984), p. 73)

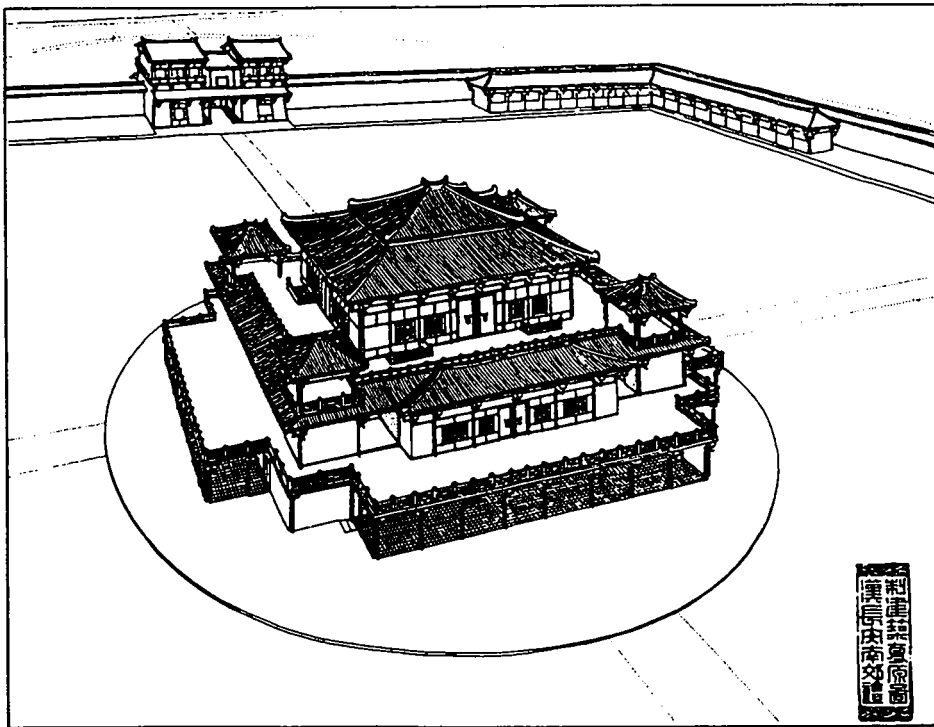


Fig. 406: Reconstructed perspective of the Han 漢한 *ming-tang* 明堂명당 in Chang'an 長安장안 (1st C. BC or AD, no scale) (after: STEINHARDT (1984), p. 72)

Several Chinese scholars have proposed reconstruction drawings of the original form and structure of the Yongning-si pagoda [figs. 407 - 413]. These reconstruction drawings do not even agree on the size and organisation of the platform and foundations of the ground plan which shows that some drawings are speculations based on a constructive preconception rather than on archaeological evidence. It is sometimes difficult to judge which proposition can be justified by the excavation results. One reconstruction proposal [figs. 407 - 409], for example, supposes protruding reinforcements at the four corners<sup>1</sup> which would have had a similar structure to the central core, but all other reconstruction drawings seem to reject this interpretation.

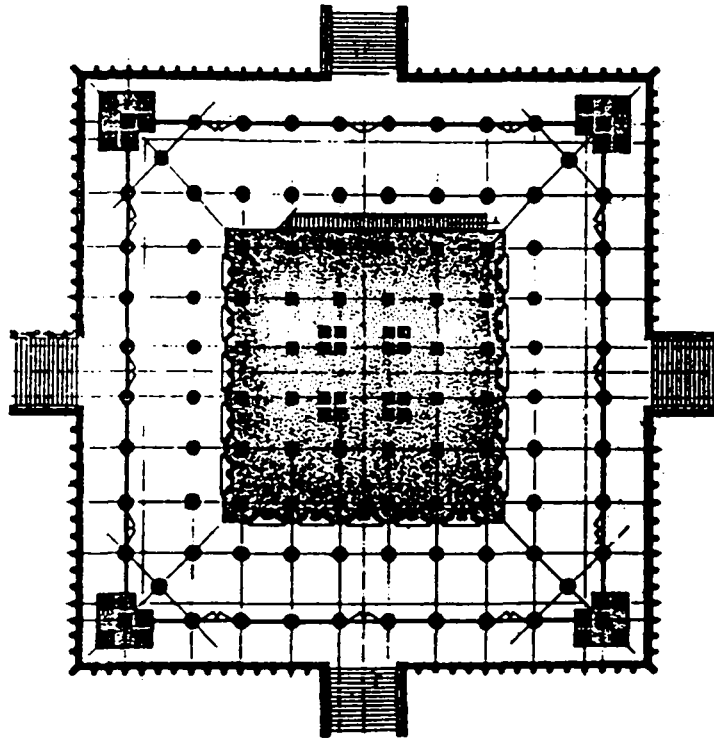


Fig. 407: Reconstructed ground plan I of the pagoda of Yongning-si 永寧寺 永寧사 in Luoyang 洛陽 낙양 (516 AD, scale : 1 500) (after: WW 92 - 9, p. 84)

<sup>1</sup> The reconstructed section interrupts the corner piles at the roof of each story what is structurally improbable. If in fact there were such corner piles, then they were probably connected with the main pile (maybe through arches ?) because their height would destabilize the structure rather than reinforce it. This interpretation of the corners seems to have been inspired by several stone reliefs and free-standing stone models of square pagodas [fig. 150] in Buddhist caves of the Northern Wei which seem to show examples of such a construction method. See: WW 92 - 9, p. 83.

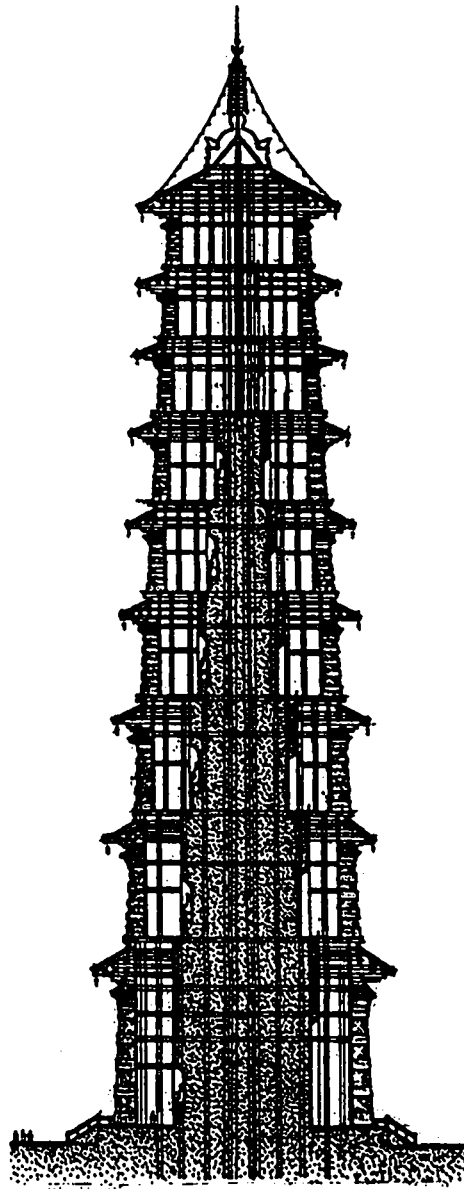


Fig. 408: Reconstructed section I of the pagoda of Yongning-si 永寧寺 영녕사 in Luoyang 洛陽 낙양 (516 AD, scale: 1 : 1,000) (after: WW92 - 9, p. 85)

Other controversial questions are the original heights of the pagoda and the unfired brick core. While all reconstructions agree with the historical texts in assuming nine stories, the proposed total height of the reconstruction drawings

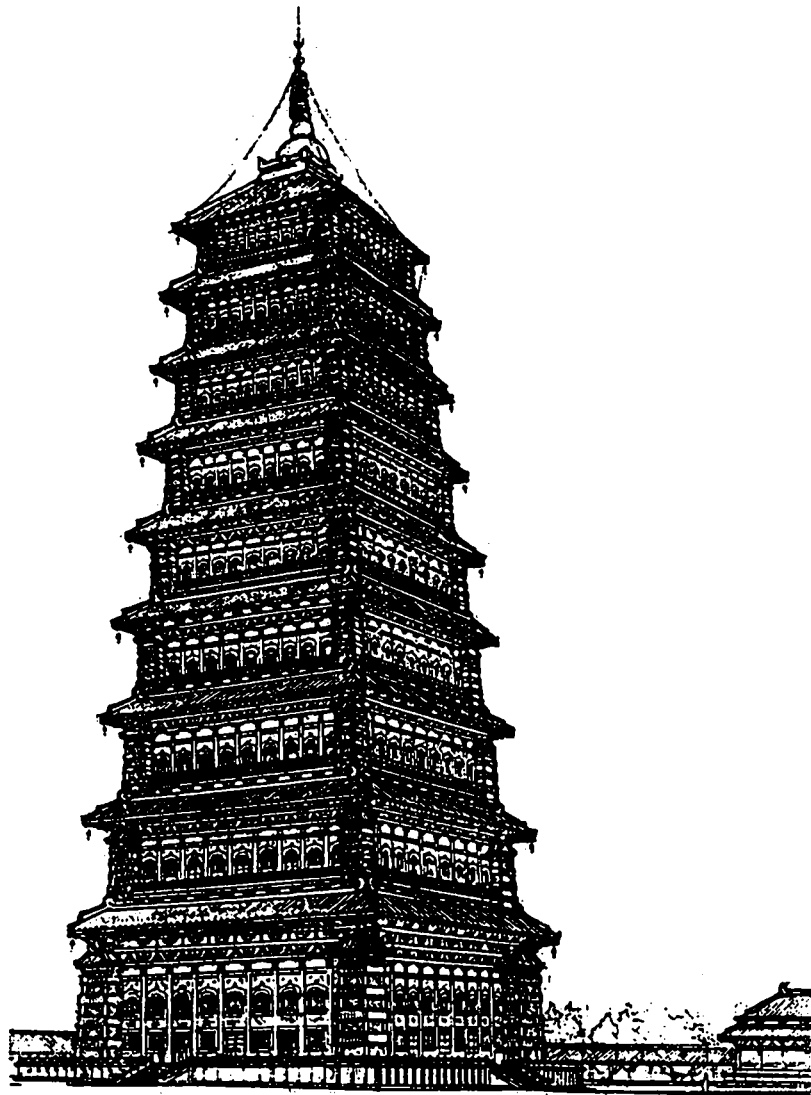


Fig. 409: Reconstructed perspective I of the pagoda of Yongning-si 永寧寺 永寧사 in Luoyang 洛陽 낙양 (516 AD, no scale) (after: WW92 - 9, p. 86)



varies between 100m and 160m. FORTE<sup>1</sup> even argues that the historical number of 1,000 *chi* (about 280m) could be accurate. The unfired brick core is imagined to have reached the fifth to seventh stories of the pagoda with a height of 50m or more according to the various reconstruction proposals. These figures seem to be speculative as the extant foundations do not allow to evaluate the original height of the core. The different nature of the foundations of columns of the outer bays and those of the core [fig. 151], however, seem to indicate that the core was in fact higher than the extant remains so that it can be assumed that it reached at least as far as the ceiling of the ground floor.

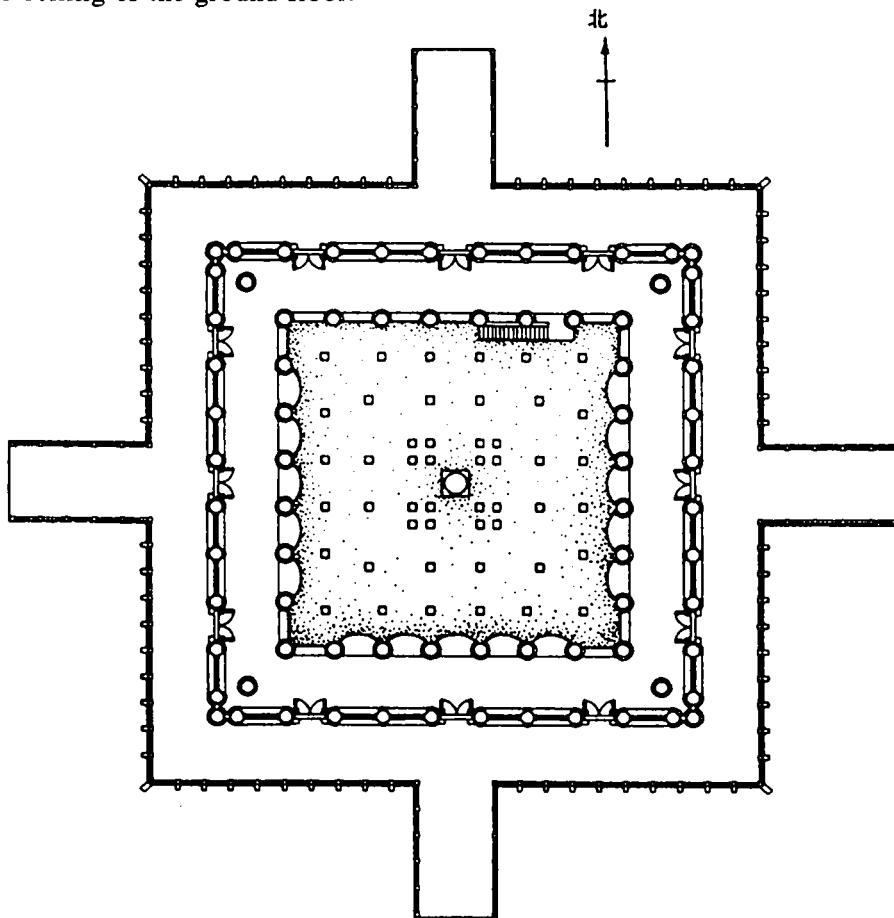


Fig. 410: Reconstructed ground plan II of the pagoda of Yongning-si 永寧寺 영녕사 in Luoyang 洛陽 낙양 (516 AD, scale : 500) (after: WW98 - 5, p. 56)

<sup>1</sup> He suggests that the lower platform of the pagoda which measured 101m by 98m was the actual building platform. The problem of this proposal, beside its unpractical size for a wooden structure, is the fact that the historical text speaks of nine bays of the ground floor which must correspond to the nine excavated bays whose total length is about 32m. See: FORTE (1988), pp. 129 - 136.

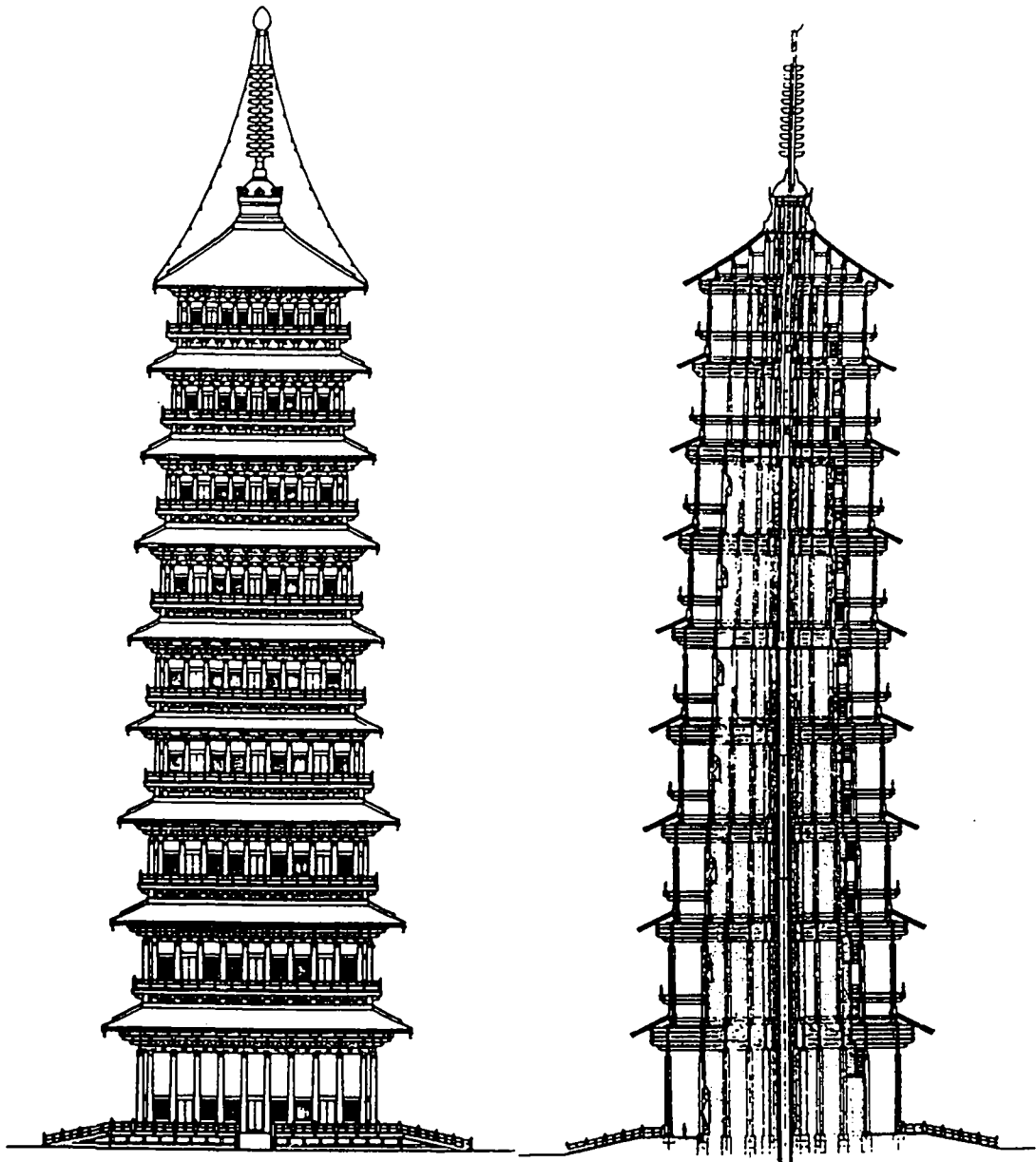


Fig. 411: Reconstructed elevation and section II of the pagoda of Yongning-si 永寧寺 영녕사 in Luoyang 洛陽 낙양 (516 AD, scale: 1 : 1,000) (after: WW98 - 5, p. 61)

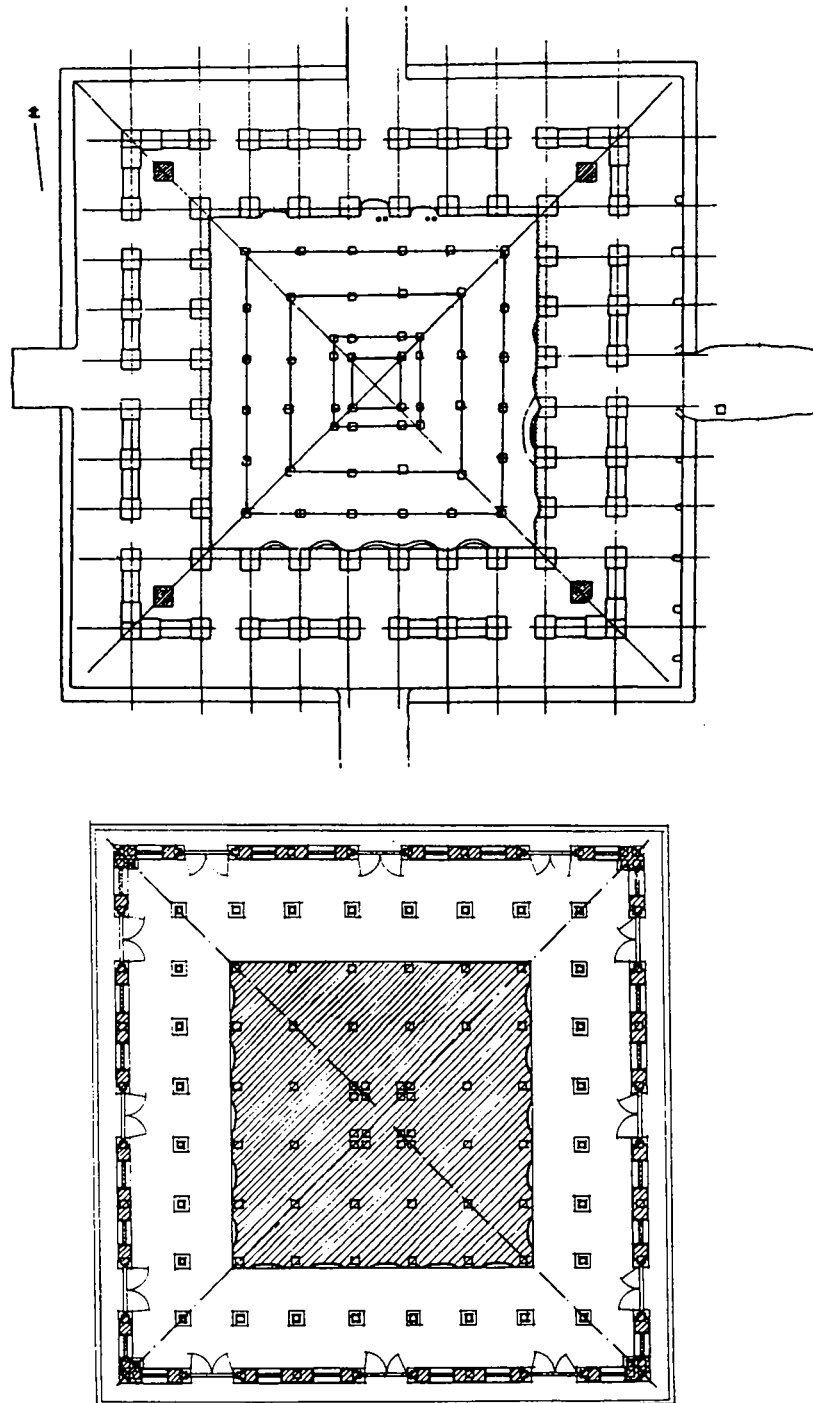


Fig. 412: Reconstructed ground plans III and IV of the pagoda of Yongning-si 永寧寺 영녕사 in Luoyang 洛陽 낙양 (516 AD, scale: 1 : 500)  
(after: WW98 - 4, p. 81; CHEN Mingda 陳明達 진명달 (1990), pl. 26)

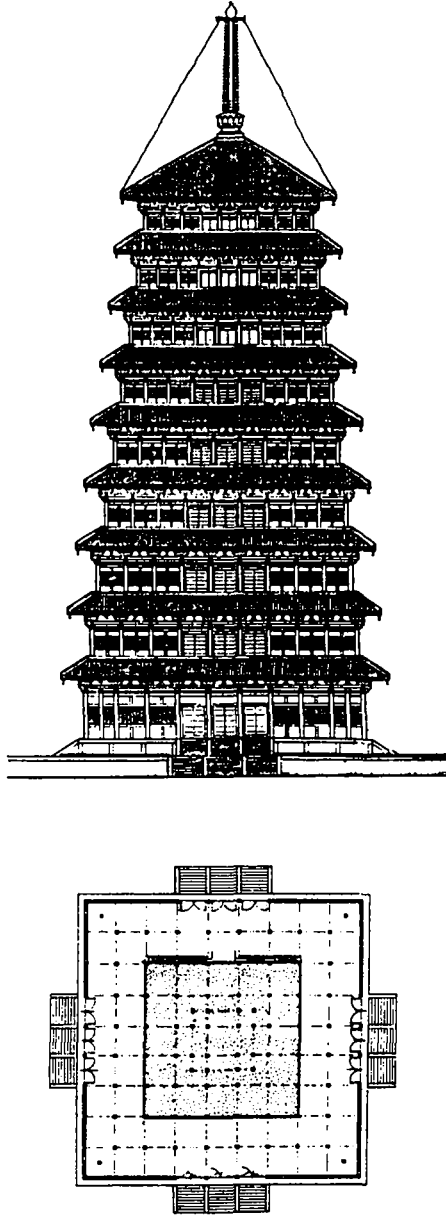


Fig. 413: Reconstructed ground plan and elevation V of the pagoda of Yongning-si 永寧寺 영녕사 in Luoyang 洛陽 낙양 (516 AD, scale: 1 : 1,000) (after: *JAH* 12, p. 158)

The text of the *Buddhist Monasteries of Luoyang* mentions that golden bells were suspended from the roof corners and that the doors were painted in red and decorated with golden nails. These details can still be seen on extant buildings in all three major East Asian countries and are examples of the extraordinary continuity of architectural design in East Asia. Several other (probably also square) three- and five-storied (wooden) pagodas are mentioned in the account on the temples of Luoyang as well as some brick and stone *stūpas* including a round one<sup>1</sup>.

The earliest known multi-storied square masonry pagodas of China seem to date to the Sui and early Tang dynasties, many of them constructed around the capital Xi'an<sup>2</sup> [fig. 414 - 416]. The *śarīra* pagoda of Xianyou-si at Zhouzhi, dating

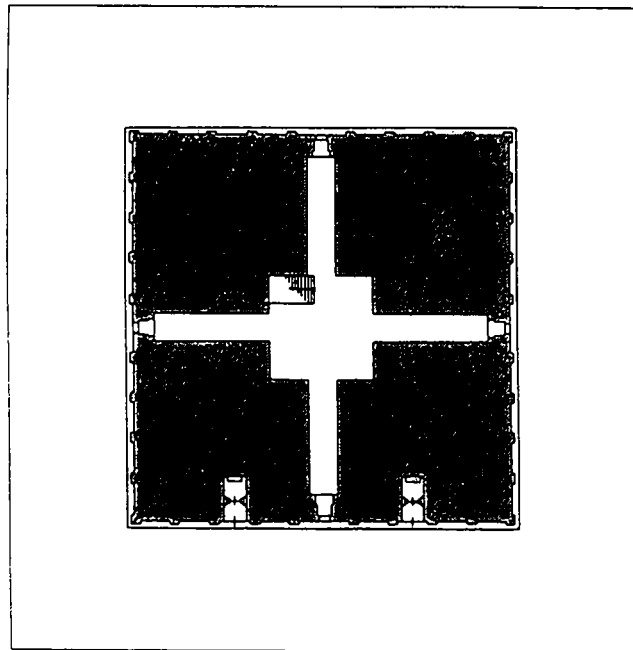


Fig. 414: Ground plan of the Dayan-ta 大雁塔 대안탑 of Cien-si 慈恩寺 자은사 in Xi'an 西安 서안 (701 - 704 AD, scale: 1 : 500) (after: BOERSCHMANN (1931), p. 44)

<sup>1</sup> See: WANG Yi-t'ung (1984), p. 242.

<sup>2</sup> Among the early square brick pagodas in the Xi'an 西安 서안 area are the following: the Xianyou-si 顯遊寺 현유사 (the Chinese characters are not sure) pagoda at Zhouzhi 周至 주지, about 70km to the west of Xi'an 西安 서안, built from 601 to 604 AD of the Sui 隋 수 dynasty. The Xuanzang-ta 玄奘塔 현장탑 of Xingjiao-si 興教寺 흥교사 constructed in 669 AD, the pagoda of Xiangji-si 香積寺 향적사 constructed in 681 AD (var. 706 AD), the 'Big Wild Goose Pagoda' Dayan-ta 大雁塔 대안탑 of Cien-si 慈恩寺 자은사 reconstructed from 701 to 704 AD and the 'Small Wild Goose Pagoda' Xiaoyan-ta 小雁塔 소안탑 of Jianfu-si 薦福寺 천복사 constructed from 707 to 709 AD. See: LIU Dunzhen 劉敦楨 유근정 (1980), pp. 131ff.; LUO Zhewen 羅哲文 라철문 (1994), p. 133, 135 - 138, 205f., 209ff.

between 601 and 604 AD, seems to be the oldest known multi-storied square brick pagoda in China. The most famous is probably the Dayan-ta of Cien-si which was built in the early eighth century AD. The Xiaoyan-ta of Jianfu-si of the same period features the typical proportions and construction method of the majority of the square masonry pagodas of Tang. The earliest examples of these pagodas in China probably served as models for the square brick and brick-like stone pagodas of Ancient Sin-la (see Chapter 4.2., pp. 848ff., 879ff., 905ff.).

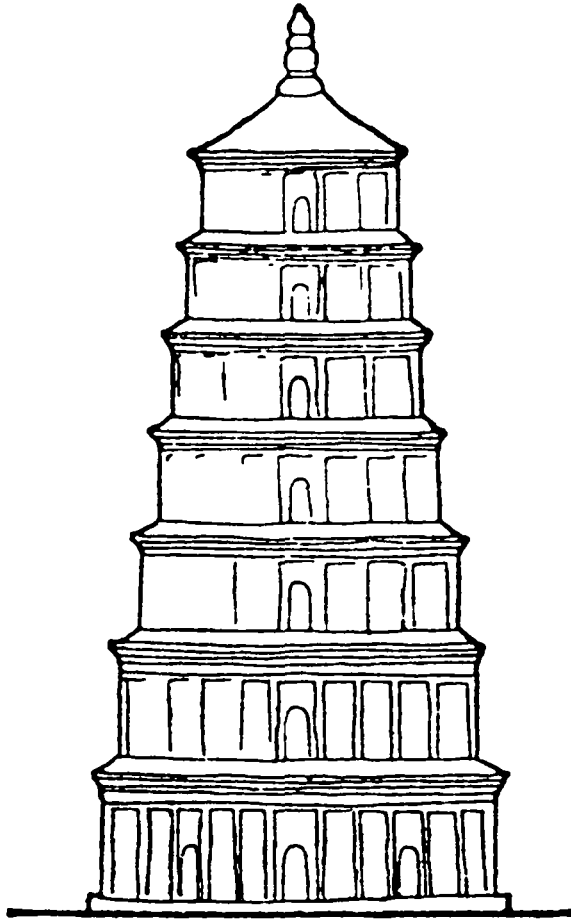


Fig. 415: Elevation of the Dayan-ta 大雁塔 대안탑 of Cien-si 慈恩寺 자은사 in Xi'an 西安 서안 (701 - 704 AD, scale: 1 : 500) (after: QI Yingtao 祁英濤 기영도 (1981, 1983), p. 60)

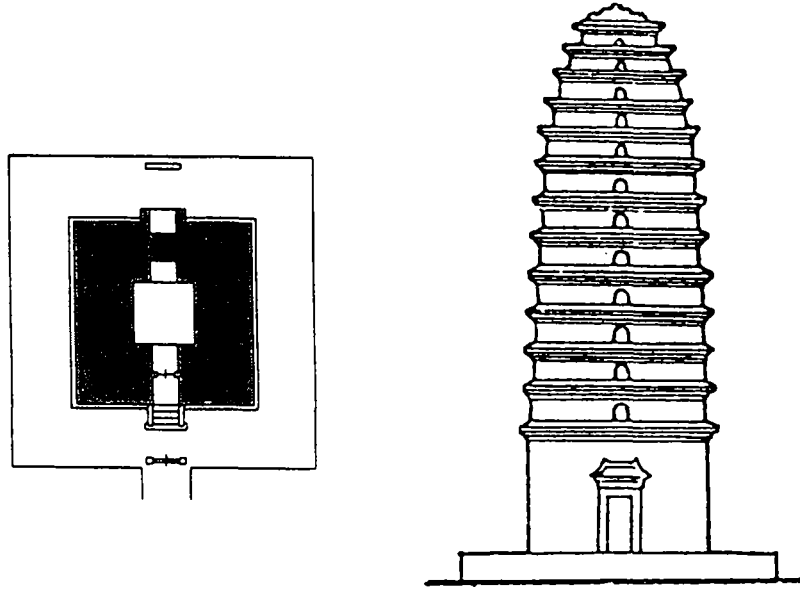


Fig. 416: Ground plan and elevation of the Xiaoyan-ta 大雁塔 대안탑 of Jianfu-si 慈恩寺 자은사 near Xi'an 西安 서안 (707 - 709 AD, scale: 1 : 500)  
(after: BOERSCHMANN (1931), p. 96; QI Yingtao 祁英濤 기영도 (1981, 1983), p. 61)

The account of the temples of Luoyang during the Western Wei dynasty includes the description of several brick pagodas, but for none of them it is indicated that it had a square ground plan. Despite the lack of evidence for their existence, I still assume that among the numerous pagodas erected during the Western Wei there were also square multi-storied masonry pagodas. However, the form and proportion as well as the construction method of the two remaining stone pagodas of Bæk-che cannot be traced back to contemporaneous or earlier Chinese examples.

In August 1981 AD, the octagonal Ming brick pagoda of Famen-si near Xi'an<sup>1</sup> collapsed due to heavy rain. The excavation which was undertaken in 1986 as part of the reconstruction project<sup>2</sup> of the pagoda showed that the Ming pagoda was built on an earlier wooden pagoda which featured a underground structure of three rooms, a passage and a stairway [fig. 417]. It is supposed that the wooden pagoda dated to 659 AD when an even earlier temple was reconstructed<sup>3</sup>. Important gold,

<sup>1</sup> Famen-si 法門寺 법문사 at Fufeng 扶風 부풍, near Xi'an 西安 서안, Shaanxi 陝西 섬서.

<sup>2</sup> See: LUO Zhewen 羅哲文 라철문 (1994), p. 139.

<sup>3</sup> The original temple is said to have belonged to the 80,000 temples founded by Aśoka. But it was supposedly destroyed at the end of the Zhou 周 주 dynasty (249 BC !). The temple was thus named Ayu-si 阿育寺 아육사 (literally Aśoka temple). See: CH'EN Kenneth K. S. (1973), p. 267; LUO Zhewen 羅哲文 라철문 (1994), p. 137.

silver and glass artifacts were discovered inside the rooms together with several *śarīra* allegedly including a finger bone of the historical Buddha<sup>1</sup>. The sides of the square platform of the earlier pagoda were probably about 25m long. The edge of the platform was delimited by two superimposed rows of flat stones. The wooden structure seems to have had five bays on each side, measuring approximately 20m. The central part of the foundations were destroyed through the construction of the Ming brick pagoda of 1579 AD. It is therefore not clear if the Famen-si pagoda was built in the same way as the Yongning-si pagoda with a central unfired brick core or in the way of the pure wooden pagodas of Bæk-che and Japan.

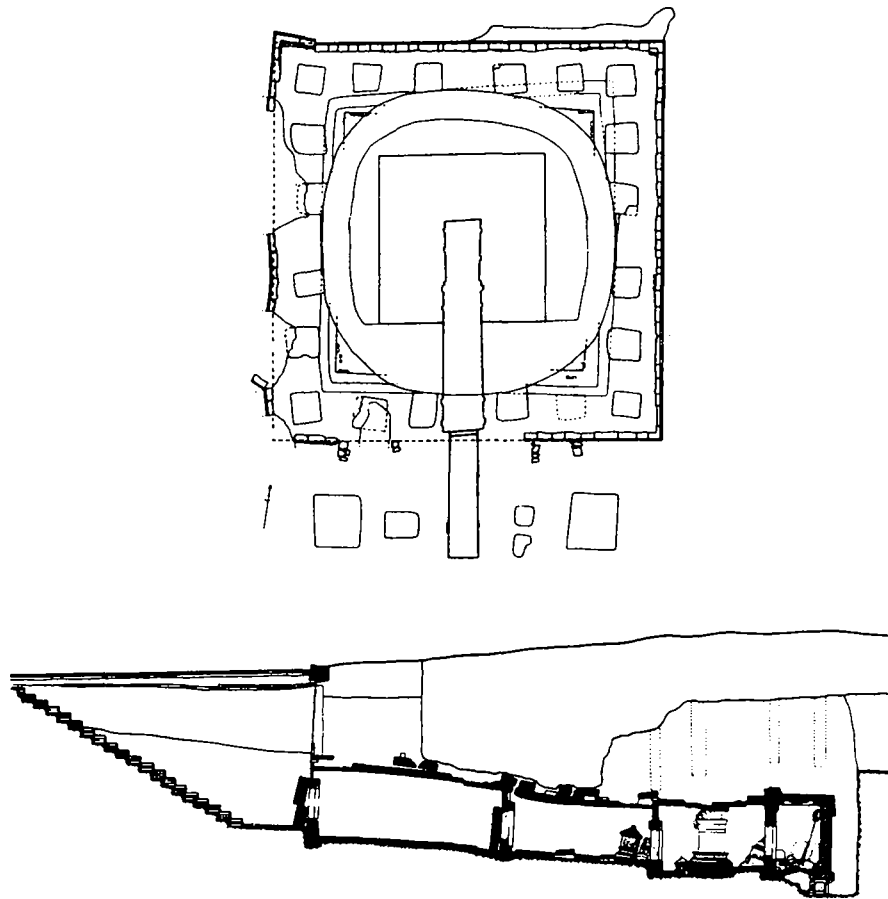


Fig. 417: Excavation plan (scale: 1 : 500) and section of the underground palace (scale: 1 : 200) of the pagoda of Famen-si 法門寺 법문사 near Xi'an 西安 서안 (659 AD ?) (after: WW 88 - 10, pp. 2,4)

<sup>1</sup> See: CHEN Quanfang, WANG Renbo et al. (1992), pp. 198 - 205.



The reliefs at the Yungang caves among others<sup>1</sup> show mostly square wooden pagodas. The three-dimensional sculptures are particularly interesting as they not only imitate the typical wooden construction of square wooden pagodas, but they are comparable to the miniature stone pagodas of Korea. In most cases they were cut from the living rock and served as a supporting column of the cave, but in at least one case the stone pagoda is free standing and complete with finial [fig. 150]. Two of the documented six examples feature the reinforced corners as it was assumed for one set of reconstruction drawings of the Yongning-si pagoda [figs. 407 - 409]. It cannot be decided from these models if the large-scale wooden pagodas had a central column. A small granite votive pagoda of the Six Dynasties described by ECKE<sup>2</sup>, however, shows a central column so that he could conclude that the early Chinese square wooden pagodas usually featured central columns. Three examples of wooden pagoda models from Yungang had the same number of bays on each story<sup>3</sup> [fig. 150]. The stories must have been structurally independent as it can still be seen at examples from China, Korea and Japan<sup>4</sup> [figs. 147, 421ff., 427ff, 667]. The roofs of the successive stories had strait eaves, only the corner ridges might have been slightly curved in one example<sup>5</sup> [fig. 418] at least. It seems that the miniature stone pagodas were used in China mainly in caves until the Tang dynasty.

Paintings in Dunhuang show occasionally pagodas. One of the earliest image dates to the Western Wei<sup>6</sup> dynasty and depicts a three-storied square pagoda [fig. 418]. The image is a simplified bird's-eye view. The sky-blue tile roofs and round black door-frames in white walls on each side and on each story can be distinguished. The columns and the number of bays are however not depicted so that it is not clear which material the pagoda was made of. From the Tang dynasty<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Yungang 雲岡 운강, caves No. 2, 6, 7 and 21. Among other locations is the precinct of the temple Chungfu-si 崇福寺 승복사 in Shuoxian 朔縣 석현, Shanxi 山西 산서, though its origin is not certain, this miniature pagoda was probably enshrined in a wooden building.

<sup>2</sup> The Six Dynasties 六朝 육조 (4th to 6th C. AD) include the periods of the Sixteen Kingdoms 十六國 십육국 and the Northern and Southern Dynasties 南北朝 남북조. "One may assume that the introduction of the central pillar and the rhythmical order of the eaves was the prerequisite of the formation of the early timber pagoda. (...) With the introduction of the central pillar and the *chattrā*-like range of pentroofs, a hieratic building had grown out of a secular tower, fit to receive, as its finial, the holy of holies - the *stūpa*." See: *MS*, vol. 42, pp. 295 - 311, pl. XIII d.

<sup>3</sup> Two of them had 3 bays, one had 5 bays.

<sup>4</sup> China: the octagonal wooden pagoda of Fogong-si 佛宮寺 불궁사. Korea: the three storied square wooden pagoda at Ssang-bong-sa 雙鳳寺 쌍봉사. Japan: most of the ancient square wooden pagodas, among them the square five storied wooden pagoda at Hōryū-ji 法隆寺 호우리유지 법룡사.

<sup>5</sup> Yungang 雲岡 운강, cave No. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Western Wei 西魏 서위 (535 - 556 AD), cave No. 254, see: PENG Hua-shi (1981), pl. 14.

<sup>7</sup> Tang 唐 당 (618 - 907 AD), cave No. 103, see: PENG Hua-shi (1981), pl. 75.

paintings of a seven-storied wooden pagoda [fig. 418] and a pavilion-like single-storied stone *stūpa* are extant while from the Northern Song<sup>1</sup> an image of a white square three-storied full-size stone or brick pagoda was discovered.

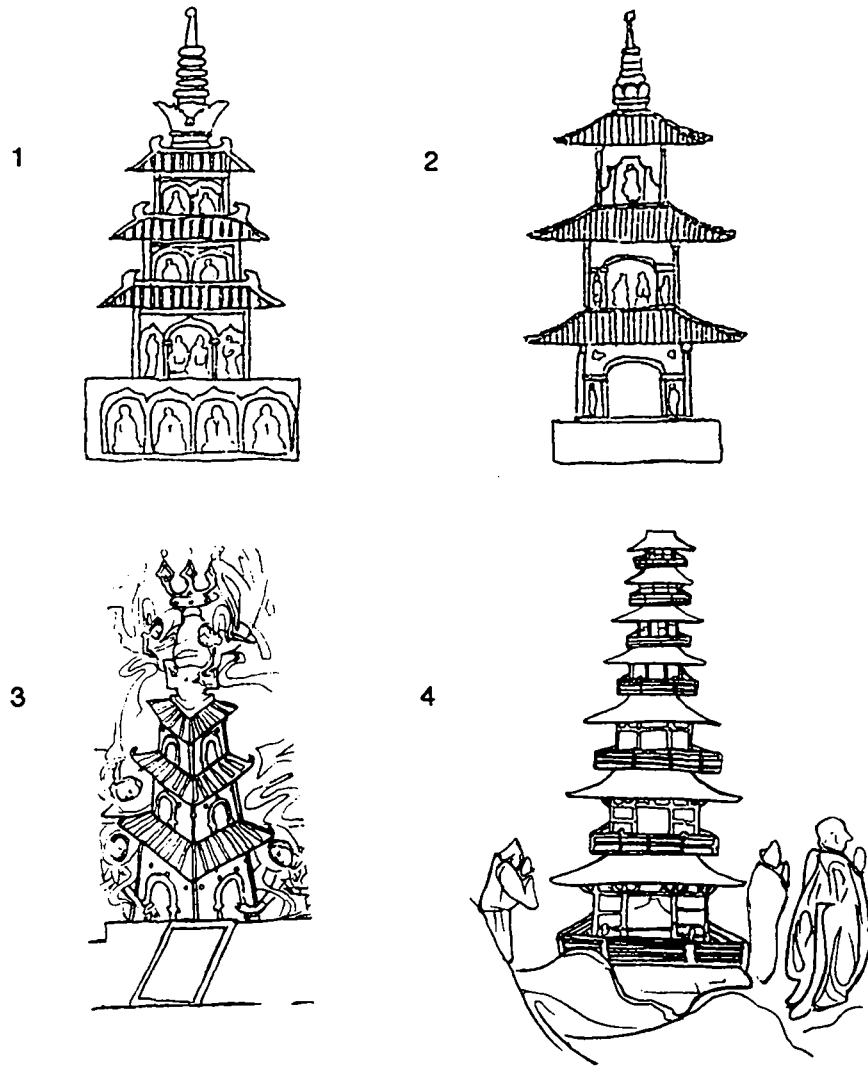


Fig. 418: Reliefs of pagodas from the Yungang 雲岡 운강 cave No. 11 (1) (Northern Wei) and Longmen 龍門 용문 cave No. 20 (2) (Northern Wei) as well as murals of pagodas from the Dunhuang 敦煌 둔황 caves No. 254 (3) (Northern Wei) and No. 323 (4) (early Tang) (no scale) (after: YEH Ta-sung (YE Dasong) 葉大松 엽대송 (1977), pp. 114, 134 (1, 2) and drawings by the author (3, 4))

<sup>1</sup> Northern Song 北宋 북송 (960 - 1127 AD), cave No. 61.  
See: LI Zehou 李澤厚 이택후 (1991), p. 58

## 3.3.2.1.2. The early square wooden pagoda in Japan

According to SOPER<sup>1</sup> the following three wooden pagodas were extant from the seventh century: the three storied pagodas of Hokki-ji and Hōrin-ji<sup>2</sup> as well as the five storied pagoda of Hōryū-ji<sup>3</sup>. The Hōrin-ji pagoda, which seems to have been almost identical with the Hokki-ji pagoda in size and form, was destroyed by a lightning in 1944 AD and has been rebuilt since. Other studies date the pagoda of Hokki-ji to 706 AD<sup>4</sup> and the pagoda of Hōryū-ji to the early eight century AD<sup>5</sup> but their bracket sets could feature an older style of the Northern and Southern Dynasties in the fifth and sixth century in China (see further below).

## 3.3.2.1.2.1. The square wooden pagoda of Hōryū-ji

The wooden structure of the five-storied pagoda of Hōryū-ji can best be described as a series of five superimposed receding square pavilions which are pierced through their centre by the octagonal central column<sup>6</sup> [figs. 419 - 425]. Each 'pavilion' thus possesses its body formed of columns, walls, openings and balconies, its bracket sets and its pyramidal roof covered with tiles. But the upper stories are not accessible in contrast to numerous Chinese pagodas. Distinct stories are expressed at the exterior by balconies which seem to be the prolongation of floors. But the upper stories do not have floors and the balconies are only decoration.

The plans of the pagoda count three bays on each side, except for the top story which has only two bays on each side. The outer columns of the different stories are not superimposed because each story recedes slightly relative to the lower one. The interior is occupied by four 'regular' columns and a huge central column which runs from the bottom to the top of the pagoda.

The space created by the four interior columns of the ground floor is completely filled with clay models of caves which form the background of four

<sup>1</sup> See: SOPER (1942), p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> An elevation and a section of the pagoda of Hokki-ji 法起寺 ほっきじ 법기사 figures in CHANG. Old photographs of the pagoda of Hōrin-ji 法輪寺 ほろうんじ 법륜사 can be found in PAINE & SOPER. See: CHANG Kyōng-ho 張慶浩 장경호, in: *Kōn-chuk-sa* 「建築士 건축사」, 90 - 03, p. 41; PAINE & SOPER (1971), pl. 122.

<sup>3</sup> Hōryū-ji 法隆寺 ほろうりゅうじ 법룡사.

<sup>4</sup> See: SUZUKI Kakichi (1980), p. 75.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. CHANG, but according to the analysis of MIZUNO, the Hōryū-ji 法隆寺 ほろうりゅうじ 법룡사 pagoda was completed by 693 AD. See: CHANG Kyōng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), p. 406; MIZUNO Seiichi (1974), p. 89.

<sup>6</sup> Central column: J: *shinbashira* (K: *sim-chu*) 心柱 심바しら심주.

famous Buddhist events and legends: *parinirvāna*<sup>1</sup>, the division of the *śarīra*<sup>2</sup>, Vimalakīrti<sup>3</sup> and Maitreya<sup>4</sup>. The whole composition of the four scenes could symbolize the cosmic mountain Sumeru which stands in the centre of the universe. The core of the Hōryū-ji pagoda is also reminiscent of the unfired brick core of the Yongning-si pagoda (see above) which undoubtedly also featured numerous sculptures at the four sides on the ground story.

A ceiling is placed at the height of the bracket sets of the lowest story. The four interior columns stop at each story and their distances follow the narrowing of the outer columns. Because of the complete interruption of the structure at each

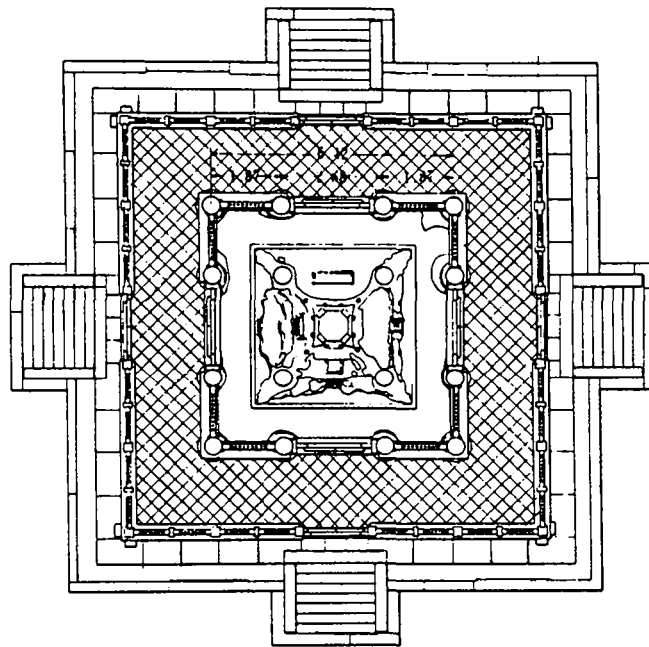


Fig. 419: Ground plan of the five-storied pagoda of Hōryū-ji 法隆寺ほりゅうじ 五層塔  
(693 AD?, scale: 1 : 200)  
(after: OONISHI Shūya 大西修也 おおにし しゅうや 大서수야 (1990), p. 66)

<sup>1</sup> *Parinirvāna*, the death of the historical Buddha. See: RENOUE & FILLIOZAT (1985), vol. II, pp. 490f. (§ 2209).

<sup>2</sup> After the cremation of the historical Buddha, the remaining *śarīra* (relics) were divided in eight portions which were enshrined in *stūpas*. The urn which held the *śarīra* and the charcoal of the were enshrined in two additional *stūpas*. See: RENOUE & FILLIOZAT (1985), vol. II, pp. 491f. (§ 2211).

<sup>3</sup> A Buddhist layman who succeeded in following the path of Bodhisattvas while living in the profane world. See: FRIEDRICHS etc. (1989), pp. 646; FISCHER & YOKOTA Takezo (1944).

<sup>4</sup> The future Buddha. See: RENOUE & FILLIOZAT (1985), vol. II, p. 573 (§ 2337).

story, the central column is important for the general stability<sup>1</sup>. During the early periods, the central column was often lowered deep into the platform.

This central column also has an important symbolism which is identical to the spire of the Indian *stūpa*<sup>2</sup>. It has to be remembered that the original function of the Buddhist *stūpa* was to receive the relics (*śarīra*) of the historical Buddha. Frequently a container for the *śarīra* of the Buddha or a saint was integrated in the *stūpas* and pagodas. For the wooden pagodas, this place was often a niche in the centre of the foundation stone of the central column [fig. 420]. The whole structure of the pagoda was thus literally built on the remains of the Buddha and the saints. If the spire of the *stūpa* is identified with the ancient symbol of the axis of the world<sup>3</sup> linking the nadir with the earth and the zenith, then the remains of the Buddha stay symbolically in the centre of the universe.

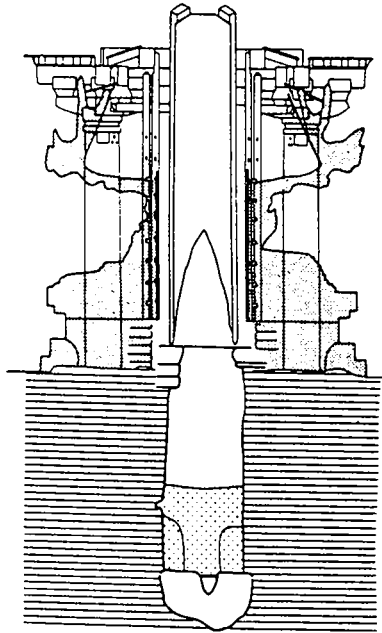


Fig. 420: Section of the core with clay sculptures and the foundation of the central column of the five-storied pagoda of Hōryū-ji 法隆寺ほりゅうじ 법룡사 (693 AD?, scale: 1 : 100) (after: OONISHI Shūya 大西修也 おおにししゅや 大서수야 (1990), p. 66)

<sup>1</sup> MURASE claims that it has no structural function and supports only the finial. This argument has also been adopted by UEDA Atsushi, but he adds that it has a "stabilizing function in earthquakes". SUZUKI seems to attribute more structural importance to the central column. The multi-storied watch towers with interrupted stories of the Han dynasty [fig. 477] seem to have been built without a central column so that it must be concluded that it is not an indispensable structural element. See: MURASE Miyeko (1996), p. 18; *Japan Echo*, vol. 22, No. 1, Spring 1995; SUZUKI Kakichi (1980), p. 202.

<sup>2</sup> See: SNODGRASS (1985), pp. 163 - 188, 320 - 341.

<sup>3</sup> See e.g.: ELIADE (1975, 1991), pp. 151 - 255.

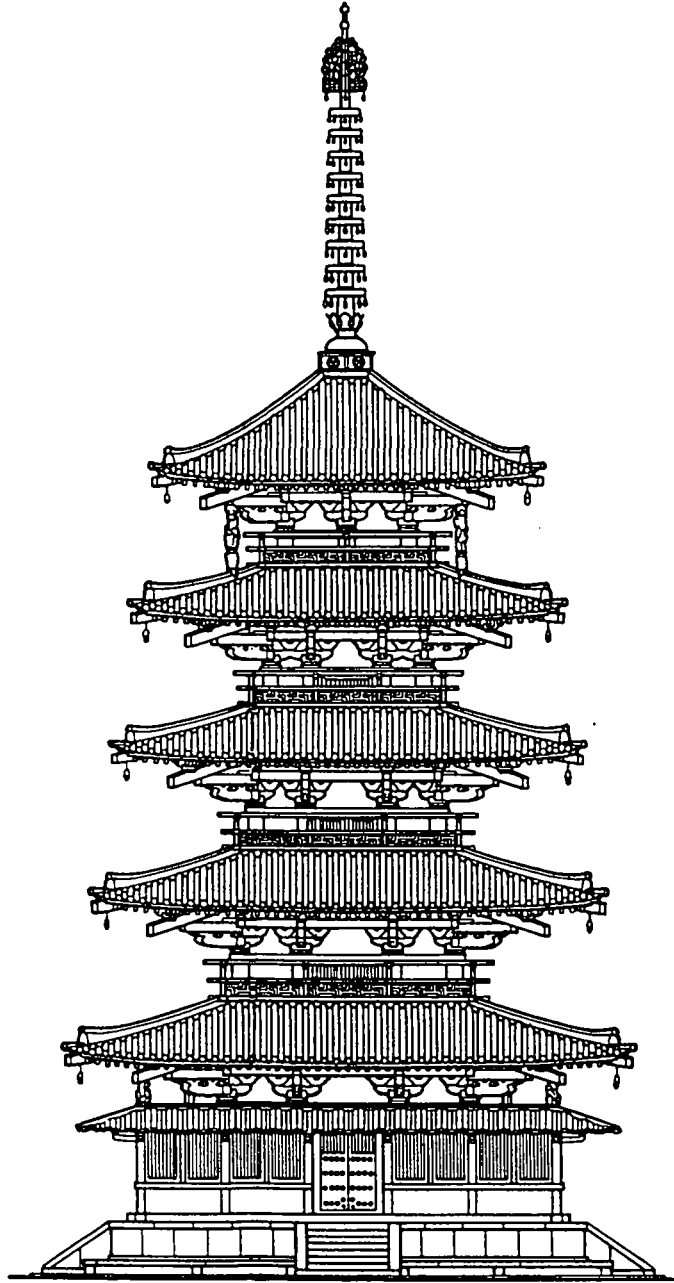


Fig. 421: Extant elevation of the five-storied pagoda of Hōryū-ji 法隆寺ほりゅうじ 五層塔  
(693 AD?, later additions and repairs, scale: 1 : 200)  
(after: MASUDA Tomoya, FUTAGAWA Yukio, (1969), pp. 52f.)

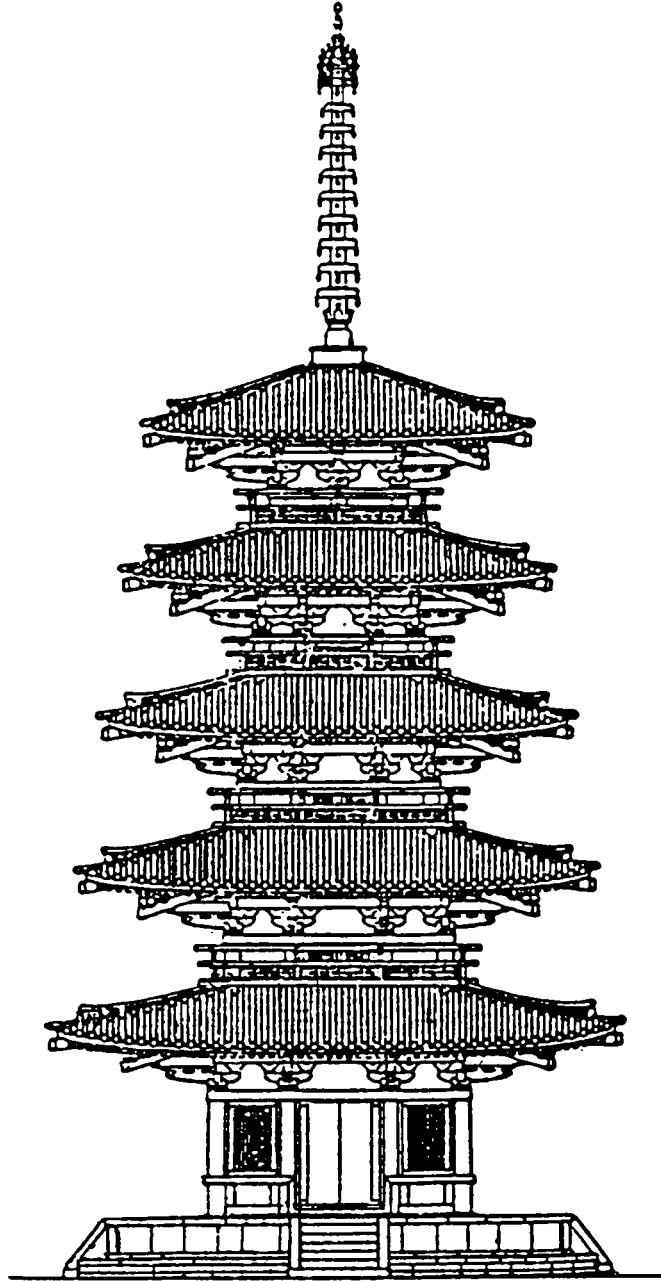


Fig. 422: Reconstructed elevation of the five-storied pagoda of Hōryū-ji 法隆寺ほりゅうじ 법룡사 (693 AD ?, scale: 1 : 200)  
(after: Chung-chōng-nam-do 忠清南道 충청남도 (ed.), (1991), p. 100)

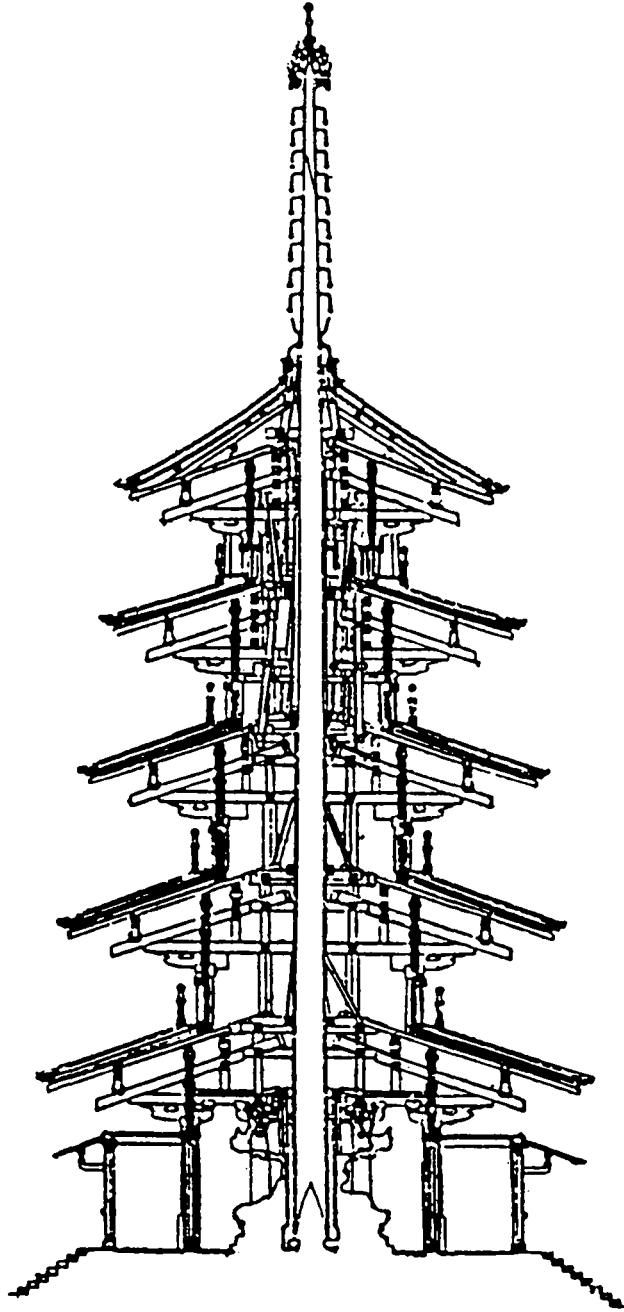


Fig. 423: Extant section of the five-storied pagoda of Hōryū-ji 法隆寺ほりゅうじ 법룡사 (693 AD?, later additions and repairs, scale: 1 : 200)  
(after: Chung-chōng-nam-do 忠清南道 충청남도 (ed.), (1991), p. 100)



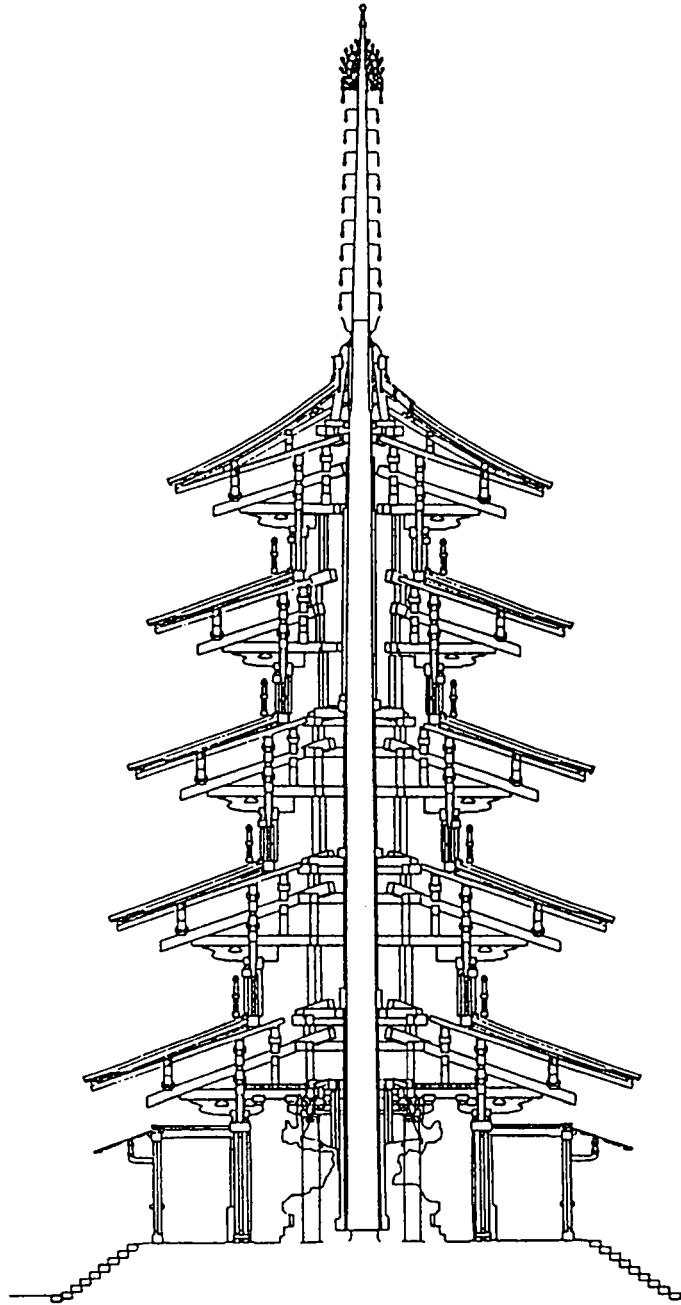


Fig. 424: Extant section of the five-storied pagoda of Hōryū-ji 法隆寺ほりゅうじ 법룡사 without later reinforcements (693 AD ?, later additions (portico), scale: 1 : 200) (after: CHANG Kyōng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), p. 109)

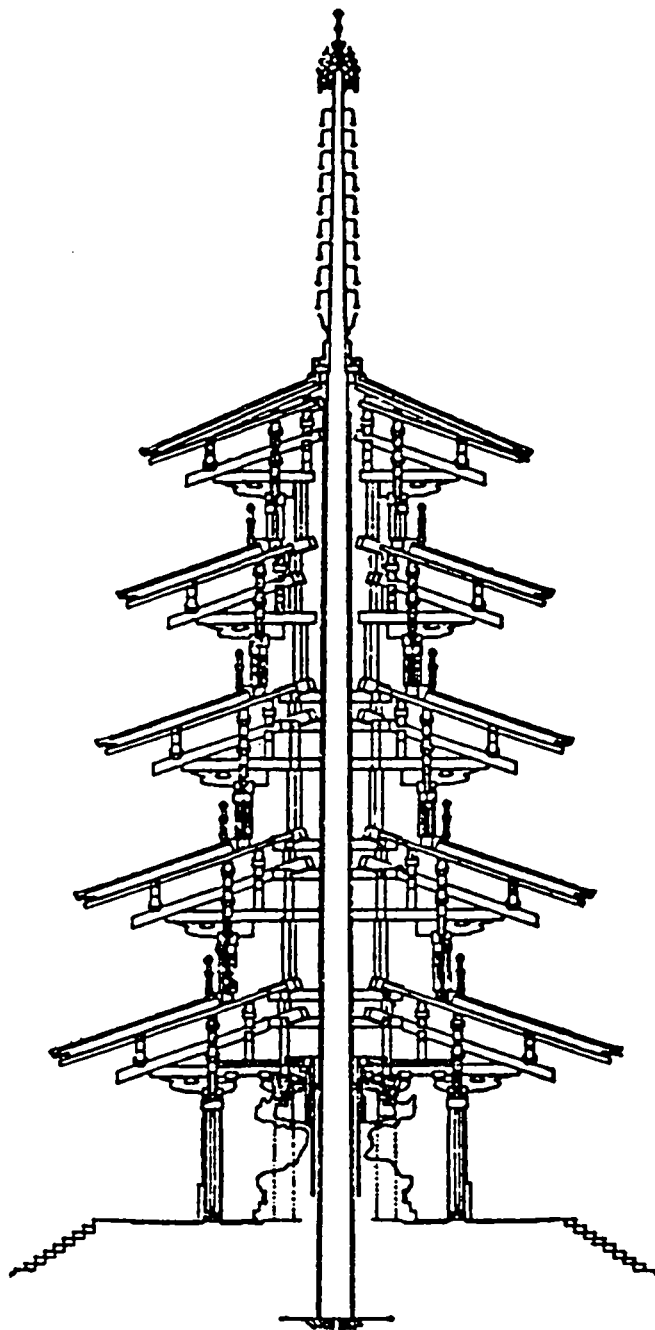


Fig. 425: Reconstructed section of the five-storied pagoda of Hōryū-ji 法隆寺ほりゅうじ 法隆寺 (693 AD?, scale: 1 : 200)  
(after: Chung-chōng-nam-do 忠濟南道충청남도 (ed.), (1991), p. 100)

Table 28 resumes the main measurements of the five-storied pagoda of Hōryū-ji according to CHANG<sup>1</sup>:

number of stories	5
total height <sup>2</sup>	34.06m (32.66m)
general angle <sup>3</sup>	82°
general proportion <sup>4</sup>	1 : 5.31 (1 : 5.09)
finial proportion <sup>5</sup>	1 : 3.37

	1st story	2nd story	3rd story	4th story	5th story
1. story height	3.2m (+ b: 1.50m)	1.2m	1.1m	1m	0.9m
2. bracket height	0.9m	0.9m	0.9m	0.9m	0.9m
3. roof height <sup>6</sup>	1.9m	1.9m	1.9m	1.9m	3.4m (+ f: 9.69m)
4. body width <sup>7</sup>	6.42m (b: 12.45m)	5.66m	4.84m	4.03m	3.23m
5. eaves width	14.27m	12.87m	11.81m	10.78m	9.69m
6. roof gradient	20°	21°	19°	19.5°	31°
7. bracket angle	11°	12°	13°	14°	14°
8. body proportion <sup>8</sup>	1 : 2.01	1 : 4.72	1 : 4.40	1 : 4.03	1 : 3.59
9. width proportion <sup>9</sup>	1 : 2.22	1 : 2.27	1 : 2.44	1 : 2.67	1 : 3.00
10. height proportion <sup>10</sup>	1.14 : 1	1 : 2.33	1 : 2.55	1 : 2.80	1 : 4.78

Table 28: Main measurements of the five-storied pagoda of Hōryū-ji 法隆寺はうりゅうじ 법룡사

<sup>1</sup> See: CHANG Kyōng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), pp. 109, 406.

<sup>2</sup> The total height includes the base, the wooden structure and the finial. In brackets is the height without the finial.

<sup>3</sup> The general angle is the inclination of the tangent of the eaves of the stories relative to the horizon.

<sup>4</sup> The general proportion is the quotient of the width of the lowest story and the total height of the pagoda. In brackets is the proportion without the finial.

<sup>5</sup> The finial proportion is the quotient of the height of the finial and the height of the rest of the structure including the base.

<sup>6</sup> (f = finial height).

<sup>7</sup> The body width measures the distance of the axes of the corner columns. (b = base width).

<sup>8</sup> The body proportion is the quotient of the height and the width of each story

<sup>9</sup> The width proportion is the quotient of the width of the body and the eaves of each story

<sup>10</sup> The height proportion is the quotient of the height of the body and the roof (including the brackets) of each story. The first story includes the base.

The beams which lie on the cloud-shaped brackets<sup>1</sup>, the oblique cantilevers<sup>2</sup> and the rafters are joined together towards the centre of each story by square frames which were probably linked to the central column. The last roof ends with *roban*, *fukubachi* and *ukebana*<sup>3</sup> from where the finial<sup>4</sup> rises with its symbolic decoration<sup>5</sup>.

A low corridor surrounds the pagoda nowadays but this is most probably a later addition as are the corner rafter supports of the lowest and highest stories. It is also assumed that the top roof had originally about the same gradient as the lower four roofs. A difficult question is the arrangement of the rafters which in the present state have a square section and remain parallel on the whole length of the sides. It is not sure whether the rafters had this form since the beginning or whether an earlier fan-raftering was changed later. I will return to this question further below.

### 3.3.2.1.2.2. The square wooden pagoda of Hokki-ji

The construction method of this pagoda is almost identical with that of the pagoda of Hōryū-ji. The differences lie in the proportions: the Hokki-ji<sup>6</sup> pagoda has higher bodies on the upper stories so that they are more apparent from the outside than at the pagoda of Hōryū-ji where the successive horizontal eaves and their shadow dominate the elevation [figs. 426 - 429]. While the central column of the Hōryū-ji pagoda is anchored at a depth of about 3m below the upper surface of the platform, the central column of the Hokki-ji pagoda stops on the upper level of the platform and stands on a foundation stone.

<sup>1</sup> Cloud-shaped brackets: *kumoto kumohijiki* 雲斗雲肘木 くもとくもひじき 운두운주목 (K: *un-hyōng chōm-cha* 雲形檐遮 운형첨차).

<sup>2</sup> Oblique cantilevers: *odaruki* 尾垂木 おだるき 미수목 (K: *ha-ang* 下昂 하양).

<sup>3</sup> *Roban* (K: *no-ban*) 露盤 ろばん 노반, 'dew basin'; *fukubachi* 伏鉢 ふくばち 북발 (K: *bok-bal* 覆鉢 북발), 'reversed bowl'; *ukebana* 請花 うけばな 청화 (K: *ang-hwa* 仰花 양화), 'flower bowl'.

<sup>4</sup> Finial: *sōrin* (K: *sang-ryun*) 相輪 そりん 상륜.

<sup>5</sup> They include: *hōrin* (K: *bōb-ryun*) 法輪 ほくりん 법륜, 'sacred rings'; *suien* (K: *su-yōn*) 水煙 すいえん 수연, 'water flame' *ryūsha* 龍舎 りゅうしゃ 용사 (K: *yong-cha*) 龍車 용차, 'dragon wheel' and *hōju* (K: *bo-chu*) 寶珠 ほうちゅ 보주, 'sacred jewel'.

See: SNODGRASS (1985), pp. 162, 342 - 352; SUZUKI Kakichi (1980), p. 192.

<sup>6</sup> Hokki-ji 法起寺 ほつきじ 법기사.

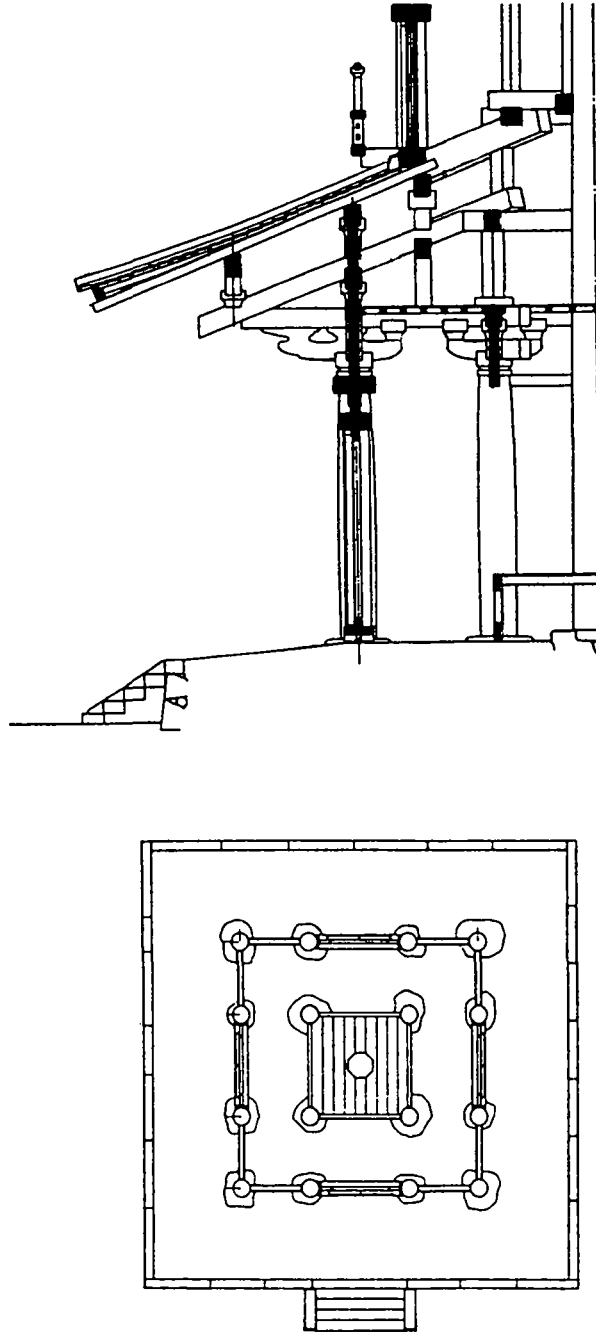


Fig. 426: Ground plan (scale: 1 : 200) and detail of the section (scale: 1 : 100) of the three-storied pagoda of Hokki-ji 法起寺ほつきじ 법기사 (706 AD) (after: ICOMOS (ed.) (1996), pp. 45f.)

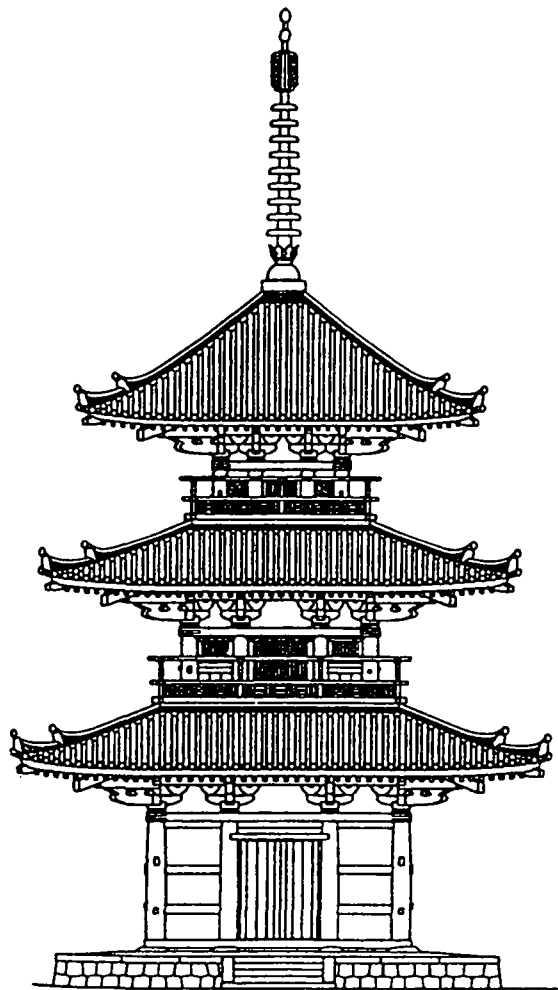


Fig. 427: Elevation before restoration of the three-storied pagoda of Hokki-ji 法起寺 ほつきじ 법기사 (706 AD, scale: 1 : 200) (after: ICOMOS (ed.) (1996), p. 45)

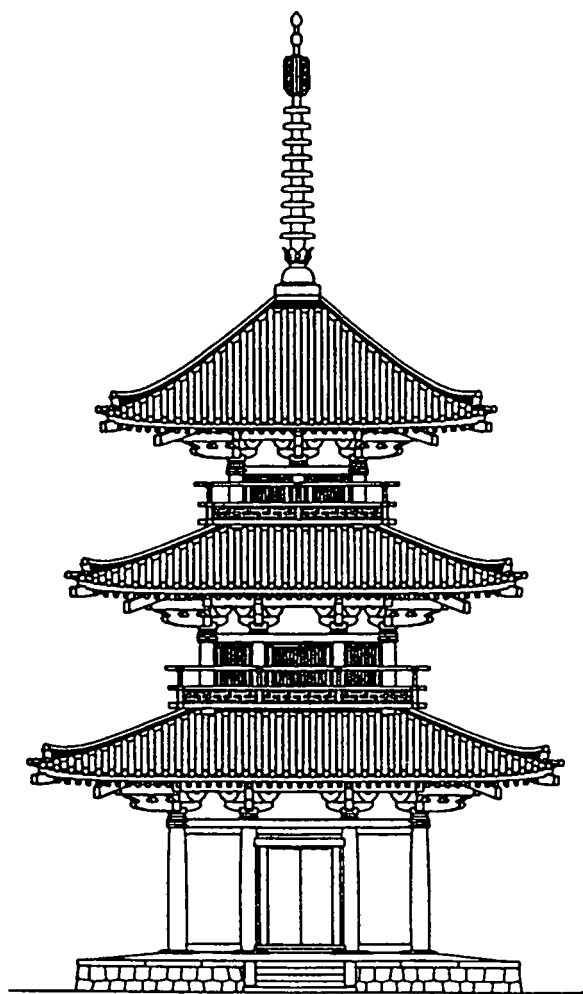


Fig. 428: Elevation after restoration of the three-storied pagoda of Hokki-ji 法起寺 ほっきじ 법기사 (706 AD, scale: 1 : 200) (after: ICOMOS (ed.) (1996), p. 45)

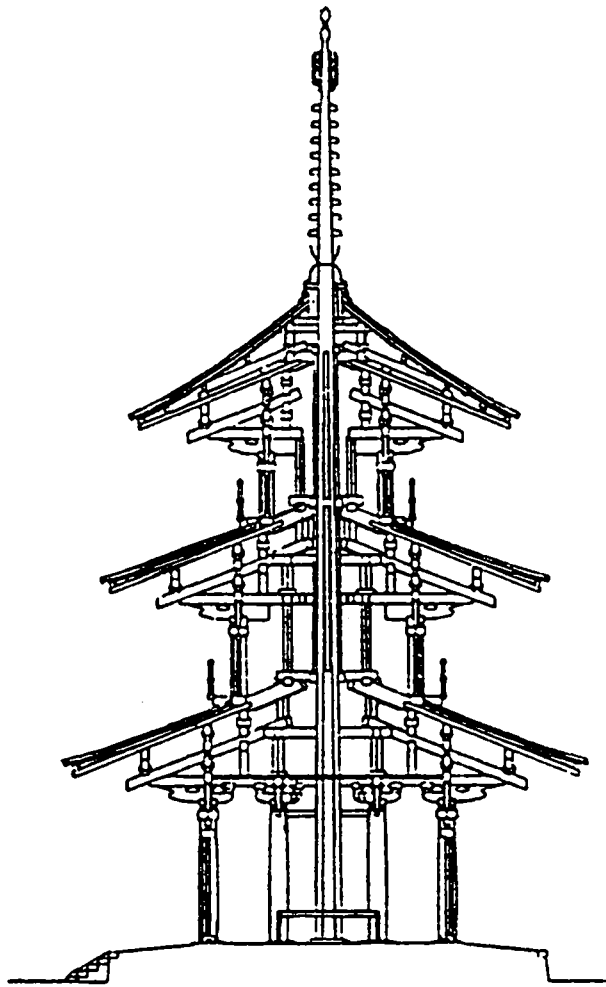


Fig. 429: Section of the three-storied pagoda of Hokki-ji 法起寺 ほっきじ 법기사 (706 AD, scale: 1 : 200) (after: KCS 90 - 03, p. 41)



Table 29 lists the analogous measurements to the Hōryū-ji pagoda of the three-storied pagoda of Hokki-ji:

number of stories	3
total height <sup>1</sup>	25.32m (18.0m)
general angle <sup>2</sup>	79.5°
general proportion <sup>3</sup>	1 : 3.94 (1 : 2.80)
finial proportion <sup>4</sup>	1 : 2.46

	1st story	2nd story	3rd story
1. story height	3.4m (+ b: 1.08m)	1.85m	1.4m
2. bracket height	0.9m	0.9m	0.9m
3. roof height <sup>5</sup>	2.05m	2.0m	3.55m (+ f: 7.33m)
4. body width <sup>6</sup>	6.42m (b: 11.65m)	4.78m	3.22m
5. eaves width	13.32m	11.32m	9.76m
6. roof gradient	21°	20°	35°
7. bracket angle	15°	15°	16°
8. body proportion <sup>7</sup>	1 : 1.89	1 : 2.58	1 : 2.3
9. width proportion <sup>8</sup>	1 : 2.07	1 : 2.37	1 : 3.03
10. height proportion <sup>9</sup>	1.15 : 1	1 : 1.57	1 : 3.18

Table 29: Main measurements of the three-storied pagoda of Hokki-ji 法起寺ほっきじ 법기사

The pagoda was recently repaired and the top story which had three bays was remodelled after the Hōryū-ji pagoda with only two bays. Old photographs show the now destroyed pagoda of Hōrin-ji also with three bays on the top story.

<sup>1</sup> The total height includes the base, the wooden structure and the finial. In brackets is the height without the finial.

<sup>2</sup> The general angle is the inclination of the tangent of the eaves of the stories relative to the horizon.

<sup>3</sup> The general proportion is the relation between the width of the lowest story and the total height of the pagoda.

<sup>4</sup> The finial proportion is the quotient of the height of the finial and the height of the rest of the structure including the base.

<sup>5</sup> (f = finial)

<sup>6</sup> The body width measures the distance of the axes of the corner columns. (b = base width)

<sup>7</sup> The body proportion is the quotient of the height and the width of each story

<sup>8</sup> The width proportion is the quotient of the width of the body and the eaves of each story

<sup>9</sup> The height proportion is the quotient of the height of the body and the roof (including the brackets) of each story. The first story includes the base.

## 3.3.2.1.2.3. The ruined pagoda sites

A number of ancient temple sites have been discovered and excavated around the Asuka capital. Table 30 resumes some of the important measurements of the known pagodas and pagoda sites of early Japan and Bæk-che.

temple name	platf. length <sup>1</sup>	side length	No. bays	No. stories	total height	gen. angle	gen. pro. <sup>2</sup>
Asuka-dera <sup>3</sup>	12m	(~ 6m)	3 ?	(5 ?)	?	?	?
Wakakusa-dera	12.7 - 13.5m	?	3 ?	?	?	?	?
Kawara-dera <sup>4</sup>	11.5m	8.5m	3 ?	?	?	?	?
Sbitennō-ji	12.1m (16.5m)	6.4m (~7m)	3	(5)	(~ 37m)	(~ 79°)	(~1 : 5.3)
Tachibana-dera <sup>5</sup>	?	~ 7m	3 ?	?	?	?	?
Daikan-daiji <sup>6</sup>	36.4m	15.2m	5	7 or 9	?	?	?
Yamada-dera	13.2m	6.1m	3	?	?	?	?
Hōryū-ji	12.45m	6.42m	3	5	34.06m (33m)	82° (81°)	1 : 5.31
Hokki-ji	11.65m	6.42m	3	3	25.3m	79.5°	1 : 3.94
Dæ-tong-sa	~ 20m ?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Gun-su-ri Sa-chi	13.9m	~ 10.9m	5 ?	?	?	?	?
Gūm-gang-sa I	14.2m	10m ? (12m)	3 or (5) ?	(5)	(38.7m)	(78°)	(1 : 3.23)
Gūm-gang-sa III	11.8m	~ 9m ?	3 ?	?	?	?	?
Nūng-sa	11.7m / 10.4m	( 7.5m)	3	(5)	(32.8m)	(80°)	(1 : 4.37)
Sō-bok-sa	8.1 - 9.8m	~ 6m ?	3	?	?	?	?
central Mi-rūk-sa	19.5m / 17.6m	12m ? (12.8m)	(5 ?)	(9 ?)	(45m)	(78°)	(1 : 3.52)
Chōng-rim-sa <sup>7</sup>	3.0m	1.93m	1	5	8.85m + ?	79.5°	1 : 4.59
western Mi-rūk-sa <sup>8</sup>	12.5m / 10.7m	7.5m	3	6 (7 / 9)	(20.5 - 26.8m)	74° (76°)	(1 : 3.57)
eastern Mi-rūk-sa	12.5m / 10.7m	7.5m	3	(9)	(27.8m)	(75.5°)	(1 : 3.71)

Table 30: Main measurements of the known pagodas of early Japan and Bæk-che

<sup>1</sup> Platform length. All following pagodas had square ground plans, all sides had the same length.

<sup>2</sup> General proportion

<sup>3</sup> Asuka-dera 飛鳥寺あすかから比叡寺.

<sup>4</sup> Kawara-dera 川原寺かわらでら 禰園寺.

<sup>5</sup> Tachibana-dera 橋寺たちばなでら 鞠寺.

<sup>6</sup> Daikan-daiji 大官大寺だいかんだいじ 大観大寺.

<sup>7</sup> The pagoda of Chōng-rim-sa 定林寺 정림사 is made of stone. The side length indicates the distance of the axes of the corner stones, this length is also used for the general proportion. This is the reason for the difference of these measurements with those of table 11 in Chapter 3.2., p. 332.

<sup>8</sup> The pagodas of the western and eastern courtyards of Mi-rūk-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 are made of stone. For the measurements see the note on the Chōng-rim-sa stone pagoda above.

The comparative table shows that, except the small stone pagoda of Chǒng-rim-sa, the majority of Bæk-che pagodas and the early Japanese pagodas had a similar ground plan of three or five bays with side lengths of about the same range of 6m to 15m. The similarities between the Buddhist architecture of early Japan and Bæk-che include also the construction method of the platform and the foundations as well as the decoration of the roof tiles (see further below.)

It seems that Japan did not import at that time the masonry construction methods with bricks and stone of China nor the combination of mud brick and wooden construction of the Yongning-si pagoda. Because of the tendency of scholars to look back from Japan to Korea and China, masonry buildings have often been neglected by scholars on East Asian architecture. As I showed in Chapter 2.3., pp. 186ff. on Ko-gu-ryō, there is a possibility that the early Korean kingdoms may have used the Chinese method of combining brick and wooden constructions, especially for larger pagodas.

### 3.3.2.1.3. The wooden pagoda in Bæk-che

If the evidence of the early pagodas in China and Japan is compared it appears that the construction methods were quite different. While the Chinese used several construction materials for the superstructure (wood, stone, fired and unfired bricks) and various ground plans (square, hexagon (?), octagon (?) and dodecagon), the Japanese seem to have build their early pagodas exclusively in wood with a square plan. The question then arises as to which methods were used on the Korean peninsula.

The pagoda type found in early Japan (the pagodas of Hōryū-ji and Hokki-ji) was known in Bæk-che as the comparison of the ruined pagoda sites has indicated (table 30). Such examples of temples with pure wooden pagodas in Bæk-che were: Sō-bok-sa, Gūm-gang-sa, Nūng-sa, Che-sōk-sa and the temple sites at Gun-su-ri<sup>1</sup> and Ku-a-ri. The Bæk-che and Japanese square wooden pagoda type seems also to have existed in mainland China as models of Han wooden towers<sup>2</sup> and a miniature votive pagoda with a central column<sup>3</sup> seem to confirm.

<sup>1</sup> The only extant wooden pagoda with five bays in Korea (at Bōb-chu-sa 法住寺 법주사, No. 3.11.1., figs. 432 - 434) has side lengths of about 12.4m and a total height of about 25m with five successive roofs. This height can be considered the minimum height for the wooden pagoda of Gun-su-ri Sa-chi 軍守里寺址 군수리사지, because Bæk-che architecture tended to emphasize the vertical more than the Cho-sōn dynasty as can be seen by the extant stone pagodas at Chǒng-rim-sa 定林寺 정림사 and Mi-rūk-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사.

<sup>2</sup> See e.g.: CHEN Mingda 陳明達 진명달 (1990), pl. 24.

<sup>3</sup> A granite votive pagoda from the Six Dynasties. Height of the model: 32.8cm. See: p. 557; *MS* vol. 42, pp. 299 - 301, pl. XIII d.

As mentioned in Chapter 3.2., p. 379, an important fragment of a bronze miniature pagoda was discovered near the building site at Dong-nam-ri which could have been Chŏn-wang-sa<sup>1</sup> [fig. 430]. The fragment reproduces an intermediate story of a square wooden pagoda.

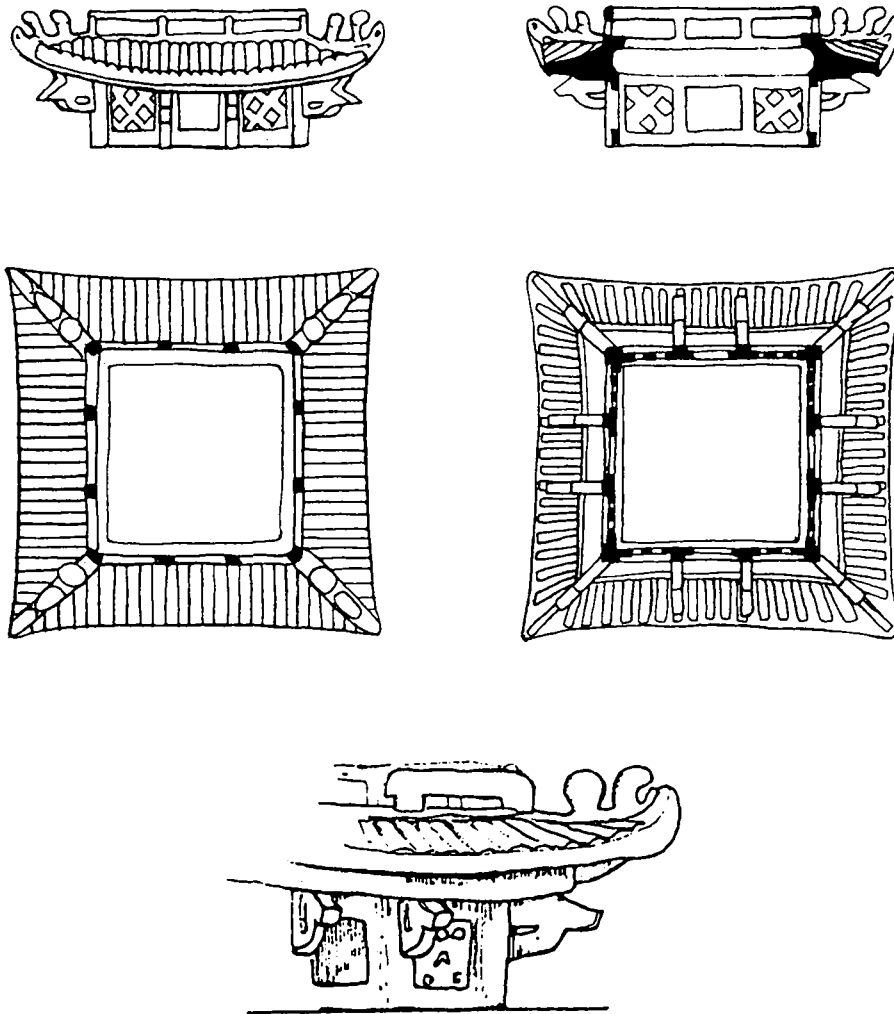


Fig. 430: Two plans, elevation and section and partial perspective of the fragment of a bronze pagoda model excavated at Chŏn-wang-sa 天王寺 천왕사 at Bu-yŏ 扶餘 부여 (6th C. AD ?, scale: 1 : 3) (drawings by the author and after: BÆ Byŏng-sŏn 裴秉宣 배병선 (1993), p. 36 (perspective))

<sup>1</sup> Dong-nam-ri 東南里 동남리, Chŏn-wang-sa 天王寺 천왕사. See: Chapter 3.2., p. 379.

The eaves of the model are about 13.7cm long, the fragment is about 5.4cm high. It is composed of the body with three bays of which the central one is open and the lateral ones feature oblique lattice windows. Bracket sets protrude from the columns without ties between the columns. This seeming anomaly will be discussed further below, pp. 632ff. The rafters in the corners are arranged in the form of a fan and there are no flying rafters. The roofs are covered with tiles, the corner ridges were decorated with curved tiles which are similar to a number of tiles excavated from Ko-gu-ryō<sup>1</sup>. On top of the upper roof edges stand balustrades similar to those of the miniature wooden pagoda of Kairyūō-ji<sup>2</sup> [fig. 431].

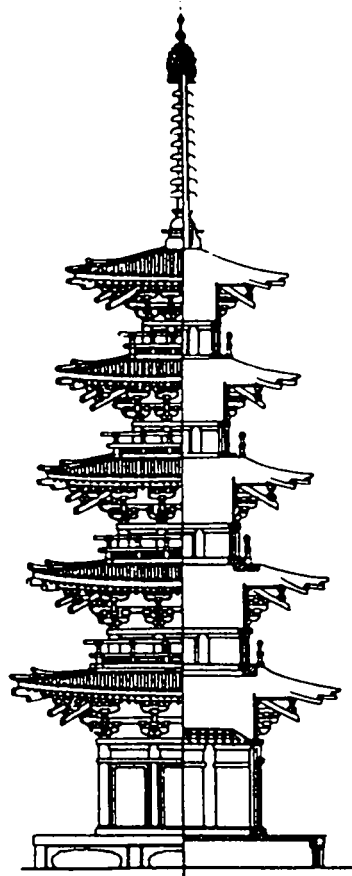


Fig. 431: Partial elevation and section of the wooden pagoda model at Kairyūō-ji 海龍王寺かいりゅうおうじ 해룡왕사 (early 8th C. AD ?, scale: 1 : 40) (after: OOKA Minoru (1973), p. 110)

<sup>1</sup> See: Chapter 2.3., p. 215, fig. 170.

<sup>2</sup> Kairyūō-ji 海龍王寺かいりゅうおうじ 해룡왕사. See: OOKA Minoru (1973), p. 53.

This fragment of a miniature pagoda thus shows that the main characteristics of the early Japanese pagodas were known in Bæk-che: the stories of the pagoda were completely separated, the pagoda frequently had three bays, the brackets featured simple bracket arms and one oblique cantilever, there were no flying rafters and each upper story featured a balcony. It shows furthermore that fan rafters were used in Bæk-che so that the Japanese parallel rafters are probably a later development independent from Korean influence. The discovery of the miniature pagoda fragment seems to justify the reconstruction attempts for some of the better preserved pagoda sites of Bæk-che based on the Asuka pagodas.

The reconstruction projects for the pagodas of Güm-gang-sa [figs. 221 - 223] and the central pagoda of Mi-rük-sa [figs. 307 - 309] are on the one hand based on the Hōryū-ji pagoda [figs. 419 - 425] and on the other hand on the extant five-storied wooden pagoda of Bōb-chu-sa which was reconstructed in 1624 AD [figs. 432 - 434]. The column entasis, the brackets, the cantilever, the balconies and the finial are almost identical with the pagoda of Hōryū-ji. The inner structure, however, resembles that of the pagoda of Bōb-chu-sa where the interior columns of the ground floor continue in the upper floors. The second row of columns of the ground floor of the Güm-gang-sa pagoda reconstruction thus forms the outer

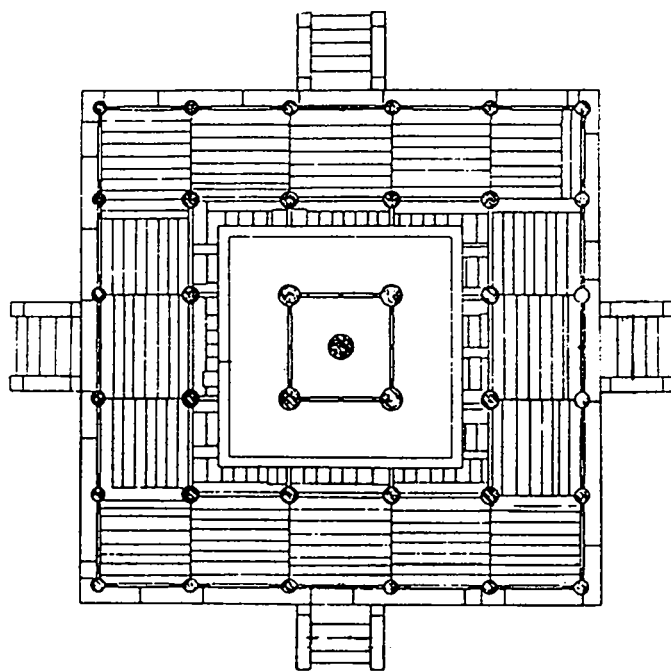


Fig. 432: Ground plan of the pagoda (Pal-sang-chōn 捌相殿 팔상전) of Bōb-chu-sa 法住寺 법주사 (1624 AD, scale: 1 : 200) (after: CHŎNG In-guk 鄭寅國 정인국 (1974), p. 79)

columns of the third story, while the second row of columns of the ground floor of the Mi-rŭk-sa pagoda reconstruction forms the outer columns of the fifth story. In the pagoda of Bŏb-chu-sa the innermost four columns reach as far as the roof of the fourth story and the second row of columns of the ground floor thus forms the outer columns of the third story as in the reconstruction of the Gŭm-gang-sa pagoda. Such a construction method creates a high interior space of several stories and the windows of the upper stories help illuminate the narrow space. It seems evident that balconies in front of the windows of the Bŏb-chu-sa pagoda type are contradictory because there are obviously no upper floors as can be seen at once from the interior. The presence of a balcony indicates thus in virtually all cases in

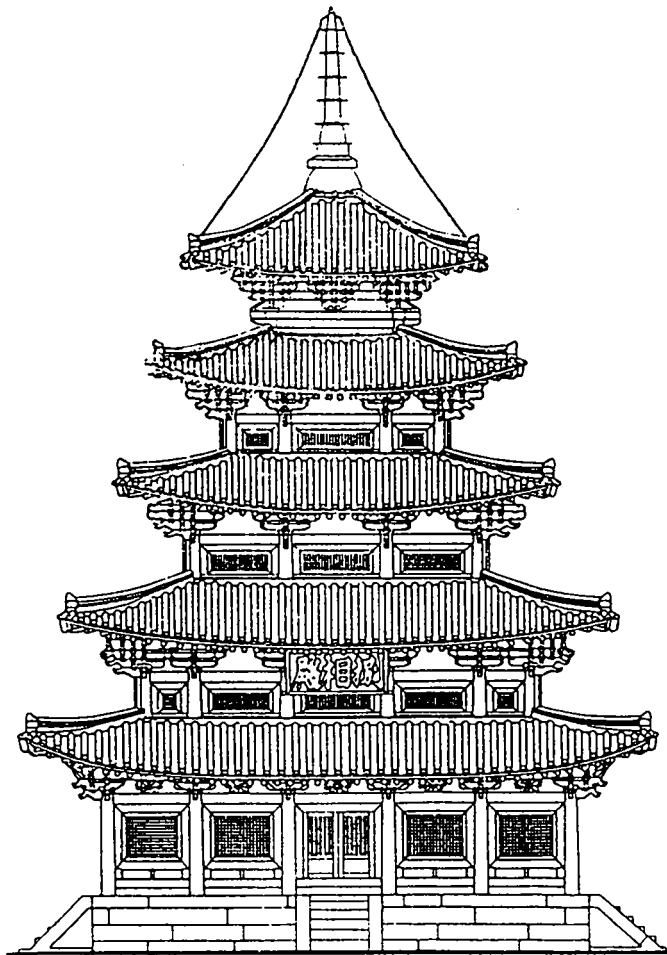


Fig. 433: Elevation of the pagoda (Pal-sang-chŏn 楞相殿 팔상전) of Bŏb-chu-sa 法住寺 법주사 (1624 AD, scale: 1 : 200) (after: CHŎNG In-guk 鄭寅國 정인국 (1974), p. 80)

China and Japan that the interior structure is completely interrupted at the height of the balcony (in the case of pagodas with the exception of the central column) and that there are no interior spaces with a height of several stories. It seems in fact that the structure of the Bōb-chu-sa pagoda is an isolated case in all East Asia. It is thus very improbable that Bæk-che used such a structure for its pagodas. The reconstructions of wooden pagodas of Bæk-che do not feature windows on the upper stories as in the case of most Japanese pagodas. The Bōb-chu-sa pagoda and the fragment of the miniature pagoda, however, have lattice windows in each bay and the Japanese pagodas feature usually doors in the central bays of each story. It is therefore more probable to imagine doors and windows on the upper stories of the wooden pagodas of Bæk-che.

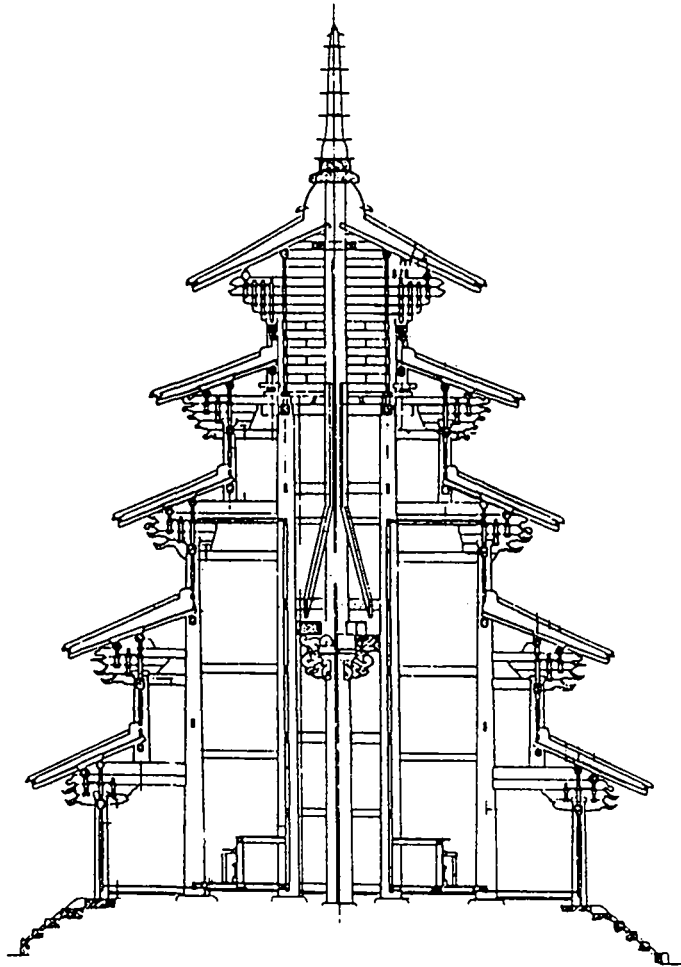


Fig. 434: Section of the pagoda (Pal-sang-chōn 栴相殿 팔상전) of Bōb-chu-sa 法住寺 법주사 (1624 AD, scale: 1 : 200) (after: CHŎNG In-guk 鄭寅國 정인국 (1974), p. 298)



The reconstruction project of the pagoda of Nūng-sa [figs. 263 - 265] does not make the same mistake. Its structure is very close to that of the pagoda of Hōryū-ji. The brackets try to reproduce a supposed style prior to the one seen at Hōryū-ji. This supposed style is based on the interior brackets of Hōryū-ji and artistic renderings from the Northern Wei dynasty<sup>1</sup>. This bracket set has been called 'three-block bracketing' in Japan because "the bracket complex [is] composed of three small bearing blocks above and one base bearing block below the bracket arm"<sup>2</sup>. Between the bracket sets are inverted 'V' posts<sup>3</sup> which have been discussed in connection with the tombs of Ko-gu-ryō in Chapter 2.3. Although these bracket sets are speculative, the result of the reconstruction project is interesting for a discussion of the development of the cloud-shaped bracket arms of Asuka architecture. The top roof is elevated in the typical Japanese manner of later centuries which seems to be contradictory. Differences with the Hōryū-ji pagoda structure are the round crossbeams, the round fan rafters as well as the presence of flying rafters. While the available evidence suggests in fact that Korea and China always used round fan rafters, it is doubtful that the flying rafters were already used in Bæk-che in the sixth century when Nūng-sa was founded.

#### 3.3.2.1.4. The stone pagoda in Bæk-che

In spite of the often-repeated close relationship with Japan, Bæk-che did apparently not export the stone pagoda there. Among the known stone pagodas of China, only some examples of pagodas in form of *vajrāsana*<sup>4</sup> from the Ming and Qing dynasties<sup>5</sup> [fig. 435] have some superficial resemblance with the stone pagoda of Mi-rūk-sa, but as they are about one thousand years younger, they almost seem to imitate the Bæk-che model. Other, formally less close but about contemporaneous examples are the Simen-ta of Shentong-si at Licheng of 544 AD [fig. 436] and the Huichong-ta of Lingyan-si at Changqing<sup>6</sup> of 744 AD [fig. 437]. The Simen-ta features four entries as its name indicates and a central square pillar

<sup>1</sup> See: OOKA Minoru (1973), pp. 14 - 16, 62.

<sup>2</sup> Three-block-bracketing: *mitsuo-tokyō* 三斗斗栱みつおときょう 삼두두공 if the bracket arm lies only in the plan of the wall and *demitsuo-tokyō* 出三斗斗栱데미つおときょう 출삼두두공 if another bracket arm protrudes from the wall. See: OOKA Minoru (1973), p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Inverted 'V' posts: *in-cha-tæ-kong* 人字台工 인자태공. See: Chapter 2.3., pp. 210 - 213.

<sup>4</sup> *Vajrāsana* 金剛座 금강좌 (literally 'diamond seat, throne'). This pagoda type has five towers which symbolize the five summits of the cosmic mountain Sumeru. See: LUO Zhewen 羅哲文 라철문 (1994), pp. 264ff.

<sup>5</sup> Ming 明 명 (1368 - 1644 AD), Qing (1644 - 1910 AD) 淸 淸.

<sup>6</sup> Simen-ta 四門塔 사문탑, Shentong-si 神通寺 신통사, Licheng 歷城 역성, Shandong 山東 산둥. Huichong-ta 慧崇塔 혜승탑, Lingyan-si 靈岩寺 영암사, Changqing 長淸 장청, Shandong 山東 산둥. See: *MS* vol. 42, pp. 295 - 311, pl. X - XV.

with Buddha images on each side. The Huichong-ta has two superimposed roofs which have roof gradients of  $14^\circ$  to  $15^\circ$  and bracket angles of  $22^\circ$  to  $29^\circ$ , measurements which are close to those of the Chông-rim-sa stone pagoda ( $13^\circ$  to  $16^\circ$  and  $30^\circ$  to  $35^\circ$ ) and the reconstruction of the eastern pagoda of Mi-rük-sa ( $9.4^\circ$  to  $15.2^\circ$  and  $24.9^\circ$  to  $38^\circ$ ). But beside these rare common elements, the form and construction methods of the early Chinese stone *stūpas* and pagodas are different from the two extant stone pagodas of Bæk-che.

Among the alleged early Japanese stone pagodas are those of Ishitō-ji, Rokutan-ji, Tō no Mori and Eizan-ji<sup>1</sup>. The form of the 'miniature' pagodas of Rokutan-ji and Eizan-ji is reminiscent to square Tang pagodas with multi-eaves [fig. 416]. The three-storied pagoda of Ishitō-ji is similar to certain 'Bæk-che-style' stone

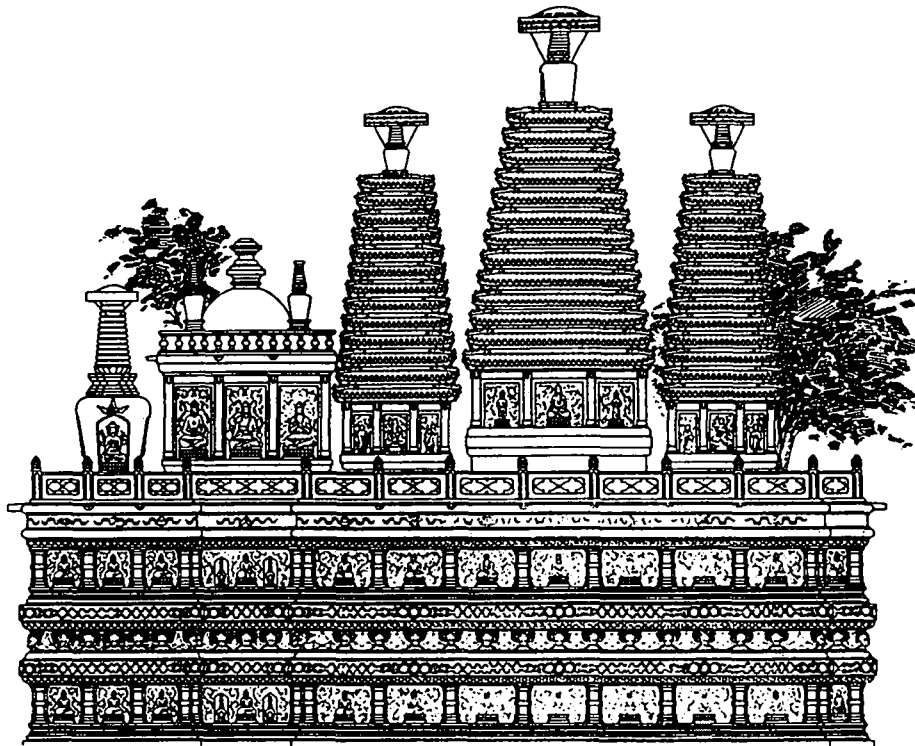


Fig. 435: Elevation of the *vajrasana* pagoda of Biyun-si 碧雲寺 벽운사 near Beijing 北京 북경 (1748 AD, scale: 1 : 200) (after: BOERSCHMANN (1925), pl. 330)

<sup>1</sup> Ishitō-ji 石塔寺 いしとうじ 석탑사 at Shiga 滋賀 しが자하, height: 7.5m, 7th C. AD (?). Rokutan-ji 鹿谷寺 ろくたんじ 녹곡사 near Nara 奈良なら나랑, height: 5.5m, late 7th C. AD (?). Tō no Mori 塔の森 とうのもり 탑의삼 near Nara 奈良なら나랑, height: 4.85m, about 8th C. AD (?). Eizan-ji 築山寺 えいざんじ 영산사 near Nara 奈良なら나랑, height: about 4m (?), 8th C. AD (?). See: OOKA Minoru (1973), p. 179; *SKBJZS* 2, pl. 88, pp. 202 - 204, 238.

pagodas which were constructed in the Hu-bæk-che and Ko-ryŏ periods from the tenth to fourteenth centuries AD in the south-western part of the Korean peninsula<sup>1</sup>. The Tō no Mori pagoda, a hexagonal structure with six extant stories and a height

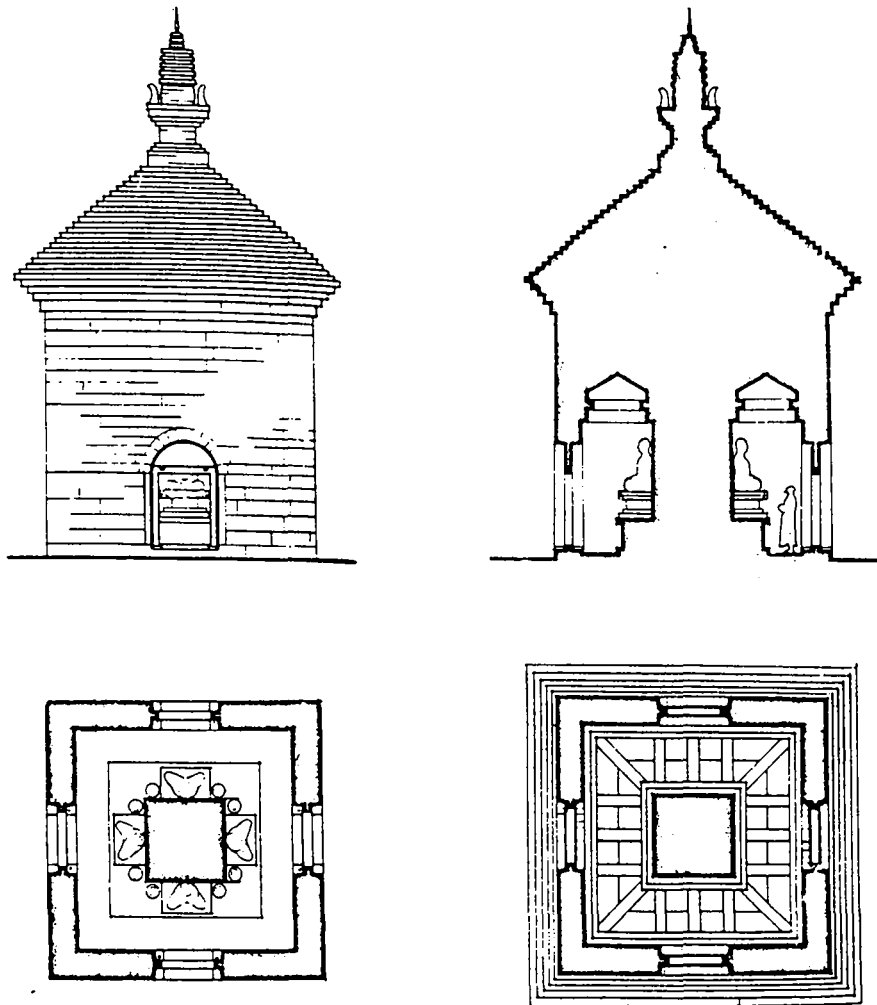


Fig. 436: Ground and ceiling plan, elevation and section of the Simen-ta 四門塔 사문탑 of Shengtong-si 神通寺 신통사 (544 AD, scale: 1 : 200) (after: *MS* vol. 42, pl. XI)

<sup>1</sup> These pagodas follow the general proportions and certain details of the Bæk-che stone pagodas but feature a simplified structure less elaborate details and are less carefully executed. They often have double platforms which seem to have been taken over from Sin-la stone pagodas. The three-storied stone pagoda of Chang-ha-ri 長蝦里 장하리 (No. 4.19.9.) near Bu-yŏ 扶餘 부여 of the Ko-ryŏ period is one of the examples which can easily be compared to the Ishitō-ji 石塔寺 이시とう지 석탑사 pagoda. See: CHŌN Dŭk-yŏm 千得瑛 천득염 (1990), pp. 49 - 52.

of about 4.85m is similar to octagonal and hexagonal stone pagodas of the Ko-ryŏ period<sup>1</sup>. These pagodas are usually dated to the seventh and eighth centuries AD, but if they are compared to Korean and Chinese pagodas it seem that they were executed rather between the late eighth and late thirteenth centuries AD.

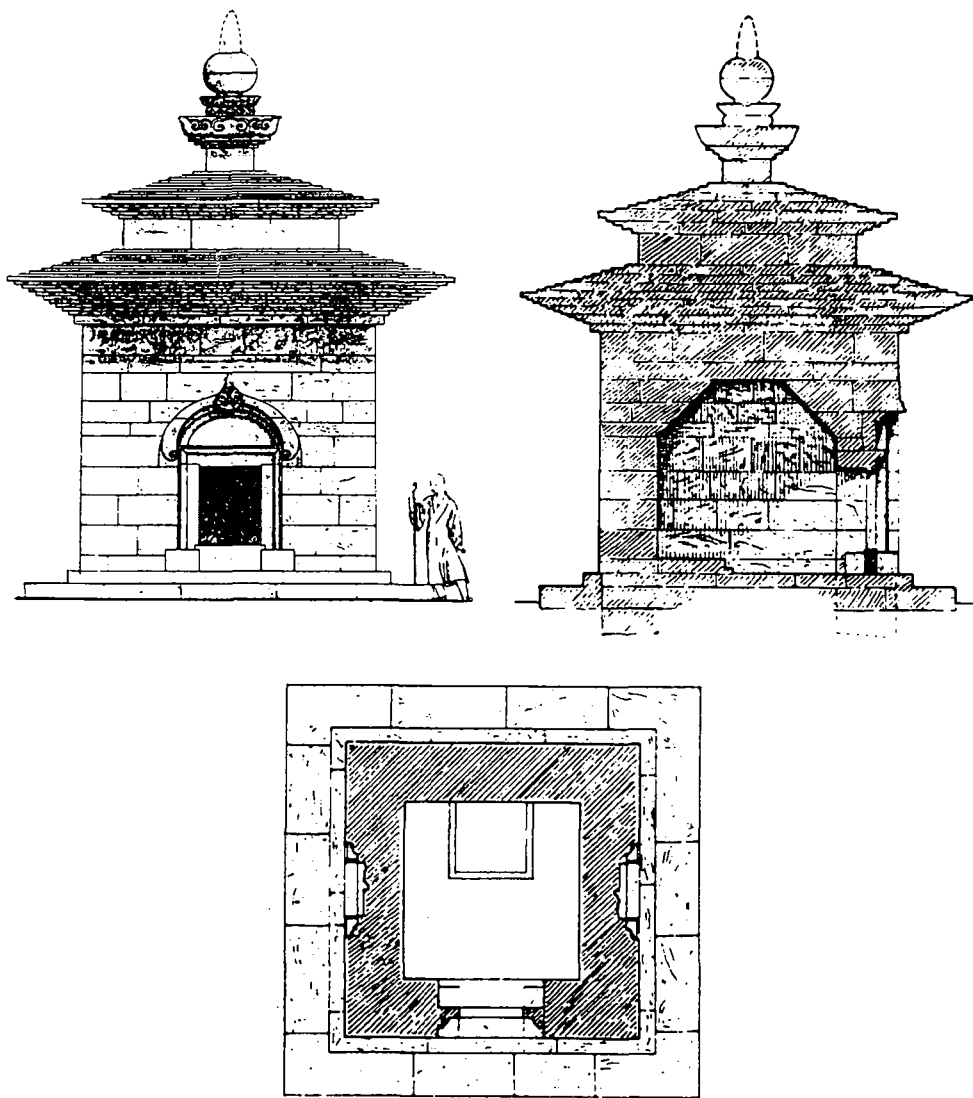


Fig. 437: Ground plan, elevation and section of the Huichong-ta 慧崇塔 혜승탑 of Lingyan-si 靈岩寺 영암사 (744 AD, scale: 1 : 100) (after: *MS* vol. 42, pl. XIVf.)

<sup>1</sup> E.g. the five-storied octagonal stone pagoda of Yŏng-myŏng-sa 永明寺 영명사 (No. 10.1.4.) (10th C. AD) and seven-storied hexagonal stone pagoda of Hong-bok-sa 弘福寺 홍복사 (No. 10.1.6.) (Ko-ryŏ) both in Pyŏng-yang. See: *CSYCYMDK* 11, pp. 81 - 85.

The form and construction methods of the two extant stone pagodas of Bæk-che seem thus to be unparalleled elsewhere in East Asia. It is difficult to find causes for or effects from these structures in China or Japan. It seems only save to claim that the stone pagodas of Unified Sin-la and the following periods are based on these experiments by Bæk-che. The miniature pagodas of China and Central Asia may of course have been important sources of inspiration for Bæk-che but the Chöng-rim-sa pagoda seems to be the first miniature stone pagoda to assume the central position in the temple courtyard in front of the main image hall instead of the monumental pagodas made of brick and wood. The stone pagodas of Bæk-che can thus be considered the beginning of the long-lived Korean tradition of outdoor miniature stone pagodas in the main courtyard of the Buddhist temples. The fact that no other East Asian countries developed such a preference for miniature stone pagodas is a further indication that this is a indigenous development and a typical characteristic of Korean Buddhist architecture.

#### 3.3.2.1.5. The question of other construction methods for pagodas in Bæk-che

The stone pagodas of Bæk-che show the skill of its artisans in stone masonry and fired bricks were used for the construction of vaults of royal tombs<sup>1</sup> [figs. 438, 439] in the Ung-chin period of Bæk-che. It is therefore possible that Bæk-che applied brick construction methods for pagodas in a similar way as those extant in China.

While the presence of foundation stones, especially the central foundation stone, is a clear indication of a purely wooden construction of the type of the pagodas of Hōryū-ji and Hokki-ji, the absence of such foundation stones at the central pagoda of Mi-rük-sa raises the question of a different construction method. Only roof tile fragments and a well prepared platform indicate that the site once featured an important superstructure. This situation is particularly doubtful because the foundation stones of most other wooden buildings of the temple except for the pagoda are rather well preserved. The possibility of a mixed construction for the central pagoda at Mi-rük-sa can therefore not be completely excluded. Even the discovered roof tiles could fit the hypotheses of a different construction method

<sup>1</sup> Brick tombs were built especially during the Ung-chin 熊津 웅진 period of Bæk-che (475 - 538 AD). Examples are the Mu-ryōng-wang-rūng 武寧王陵 무령왕릉 in Kong-chu 公州 공주 [fig. 690 (13)] (constructed in 525 AD, Mu-ryōng Wang was the 25th king of Bæk-che and reigned from 501 to 523 AD when he died) and tomb No. 6 at Song-san-ri 宋山里 송산리 near Kong-chu 公州 공주. See: *HGKCS*, pp. 175 - 178; YUN Chang-sōb 尹張燮 윤장섭 (1996), pp. 140 - 145.

because Chinese mixed-structure pagodas used to have tile roofs for protection. Even pure brick pagodas feature sometimes roof tiles<sup>1</sup>.

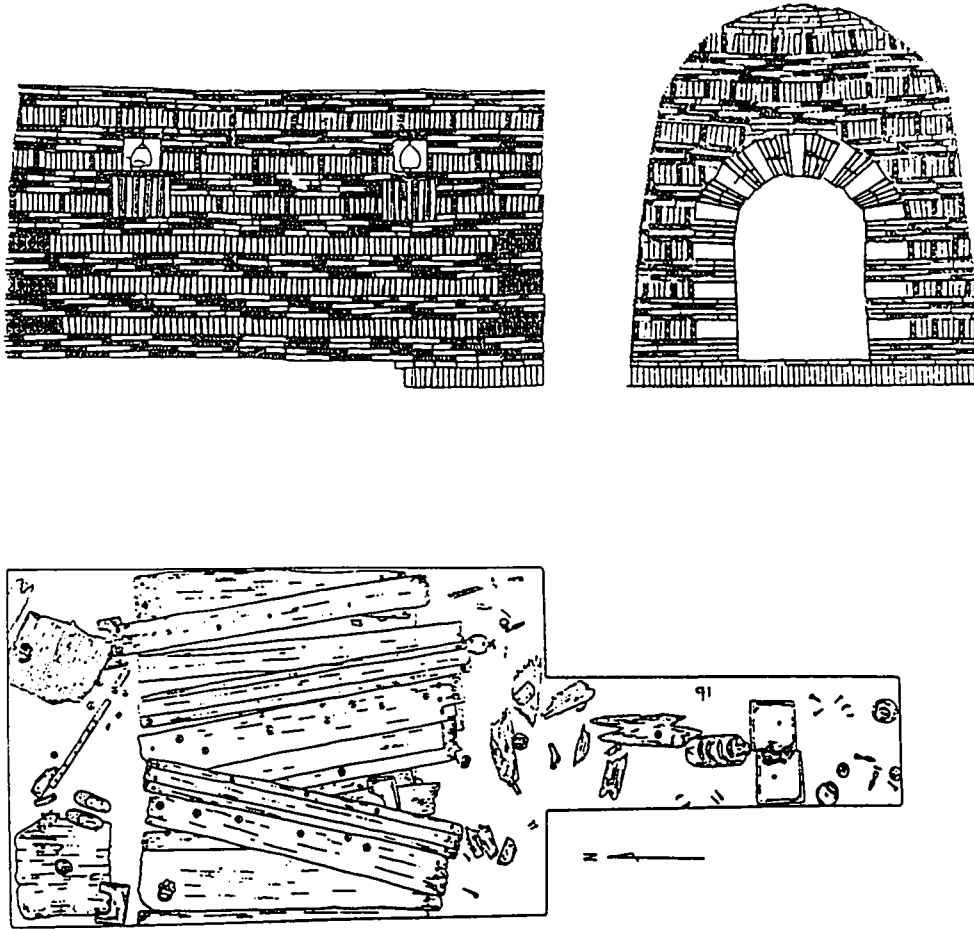


Fig. 438: Ground plan and two elevations of the Mu-ryŏng Wang-rŭng 武寧王陵 무령왕릉 (525 AD, scale: 1 : 60) (after: Chung-chŏng-nam-do 忠清南道 충청남도 (ed.) (1991), pp. 36f.)

<sup>1</sup> In Korea such examples are the 7-storied brick pagoda of the temple site of Bŏb-hŭng-sa 法興寺 법흥사 (No. 7.9.2.) and the five-storied brick pagoda of Bŏb-rim-sa 法林寺 법림사 (No. 7.9.3.), both in An-dong 安東 안동. See: Chapter 4.2., pp. 905ff., figs. 634f.; *HGM* 9, pl. 139, 143.

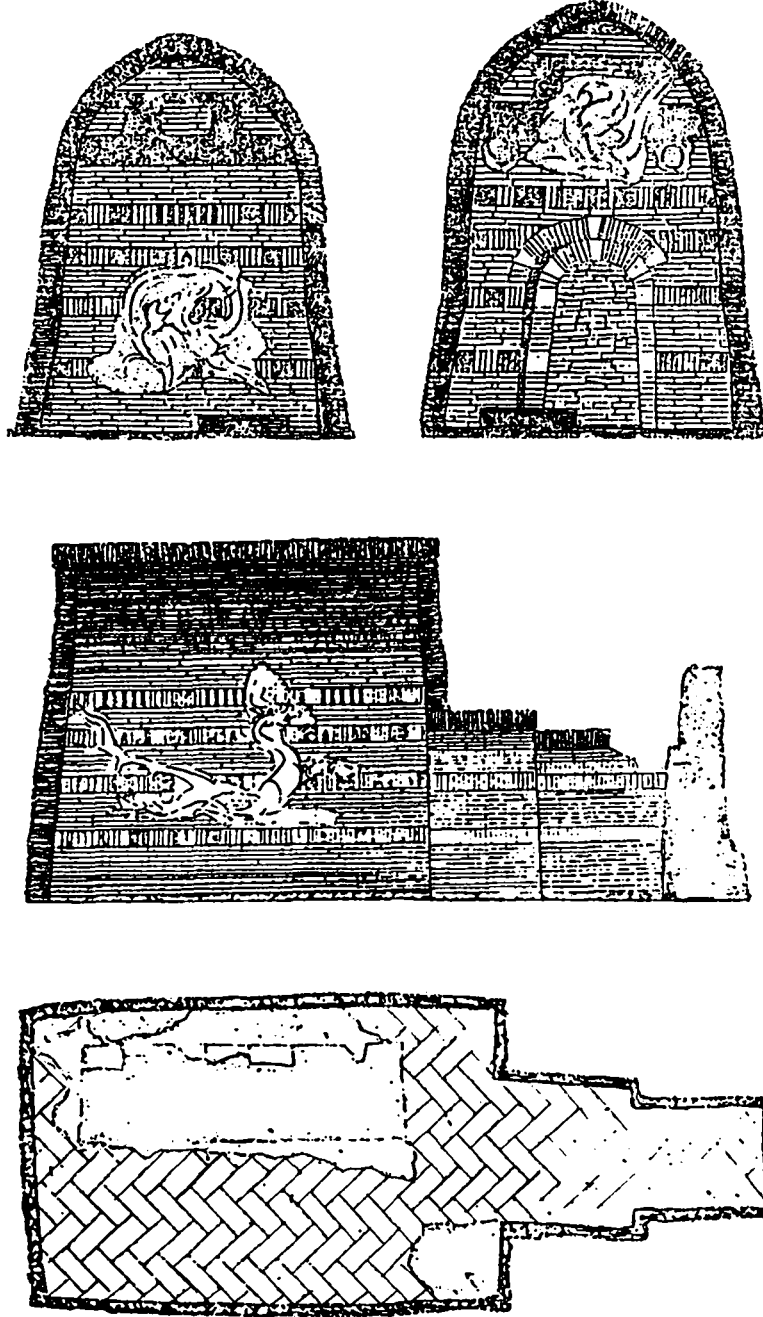


Fig. 439: Ground plan and three elevations of the tomb No. 6 at Song-san-ri 宋山里 송산리 (early 6th C. AD, scale: 1 : 60)  
(after: Chung-čhŏng-nam-do 忠清南道 충청남도 (ed.) (1991), p. 39)

If the central pagoda of Mi-rük-sa was not a purely wooden construction, which other construction method could explain the complete lack of indication of the construction materials? A stone structure would most probably leave enough evidence behind to prove its existence. In the case of a brick structure it can also be expected that not only roof tiles but also fragments of fired bricks of the walls would remain on the site. The excavation reports, however, do not mention such fragments. It seems therefore that only ephemeral materials like wood and unfired bricks remain as probable construction materials for the central pagoda of Mi-rük-sa. As no foundation stones of wooden columns (in particular the central one) were found and as the platform of the pagoda seems well suited for a linear load-bearing structure, a construction method with a solid core reminiscent of that of the Yongning-si<sup>1</sup> pagoda is not excluded.

The structure of the central pagoda of Mi-rük-sa, however, could hardly have been a precise copy of the structure of the pagoda of Yongning-sa because the platform of the central pagoda of Mi-rük-sa did neither show a pile of unfired bricks with holes for an interior wooden frame nor peripheral foundation stones for the wooden coat as in the case of the Yongning-si pagoda [fig. 151]. It can be speculated that the peripheral wooden structure could have been lighter than that for Yongning-si and that the construction of the core could have been made of layers of rammed earth in continuation of the platform construction without an interior wooden frame. This possibility, although it cannot be supported by material evidence so far, should be kept in mind when new discoveries are made at other temple sites of Bæk-che.

A still unsolved problem is the fact that the lateral pagodas of Mi-rük-sa were built in a much more labour-intensive (and thus more precious and more prestigious) material than the central pagoda. Even if a mixed construction technique is imagined, the general aspect of the pagoda would probably still show a wooden coat and tile roofs on the exterior. It can then only be speculated that the projected size of the central pagoda was too difficult to be made in stone. It would also be possible that the innovation of replacing the central wooden pagoda with a (reduced-scale) stone pagoda was not yet accepted by the religious or secular authority supervising the construction of this official state temple<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Yongning-si 永寧寺 영녕사. See: pp. 542 - 552.

<sup>2</sup> The 'miniature' stone pagoda of Chöng-rim-sa 定林寺 정림사 (No. 4.19.1.) is probably older than the pagodas of Mi-rük-sa because it is still located in the centre of the capital of Bæk-che, but the relatively small size of this temple could indicate that it was not nearly as important to the clergy and the royal family as Mi-rük-sa. It can be speculated that important constructions followed the architectural traditions more closely than minor temples. See: Chapter 3.2., pp. 325f.



### 3.3.2.2. The image hall

Because no Buddhist image halls of Bæk-che has survived, several scholars<sup>1</sup> have tried to compare the ruins of the Bæk-che image halls with Japanese evidence of early image halls.

#### 3.3.2.2.1. The image hall in Japan

In Japan only the image hall of Hōryū-ji<sup>2</sup> is close enough in time to be comparable with Bæk-che architecture. The image hall is even said to have been built by carpenters from Bæk-che or by their (Japanese) disciples, which seems

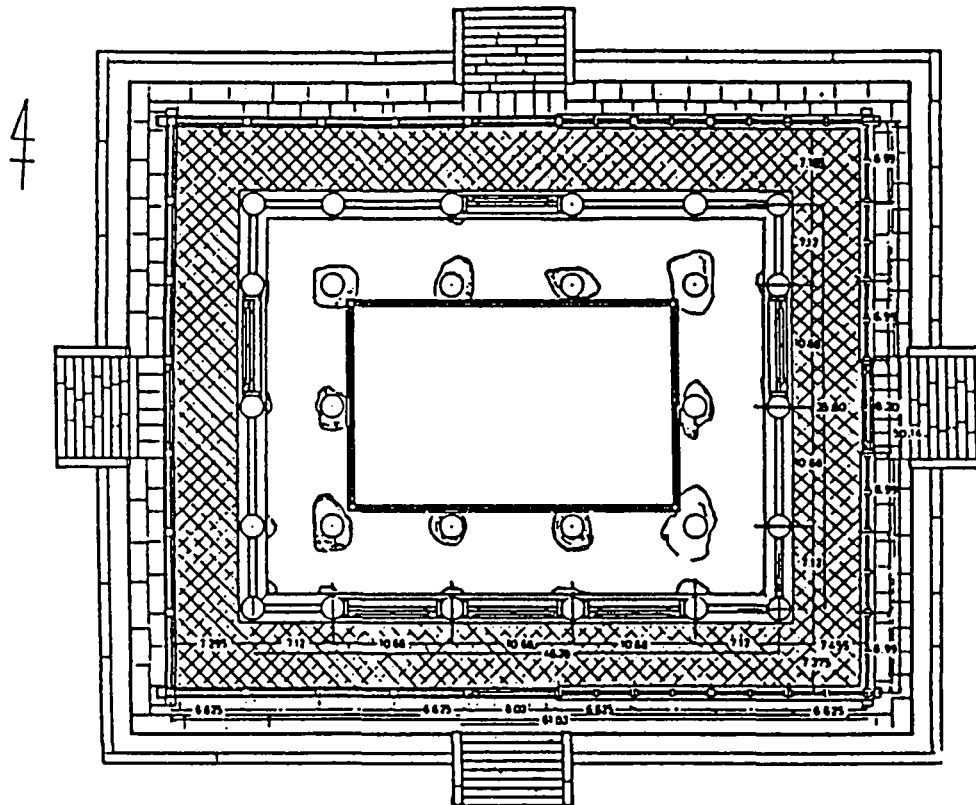


Fig. 440: Ground plan of the image hall of Hōryū-ji 法隆寺ほりゅうじ 법동사 (after 670 AD, scale: 1 : 200) (after: CHANG Hōn-dōk 張憲德 장헌덕 (1993), p. 110)

<sup>1</sup> E.g CHANG Kyōng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), pp. 82 - 128. 400 - 414.

<sup>2</sup> The image hall (*kondō* 金堂 こんどう 금단) of Hōryū-ji 法隆寺ほりゅうじ 법동사.

more probable. There is still no certainty about the age of this building. Most scholars<sup>1</sup> admit however that the primary structure dates to the late seventh century, maybe only a decade or two after the fall of Bæk-che (after the fire of 670 AD). The present aspect of the *kondō*, however, is different from the original one because a small roof and an ambulatory on the ground floor were added later. The sculpted supports of the corner rafters<sup>2</sup> are also later additions. Furthermore, it is supposed that the roofs were remodelled and that fan rafters were possibly exchanged for the now extant parallel rafters<sup>3</sup>.

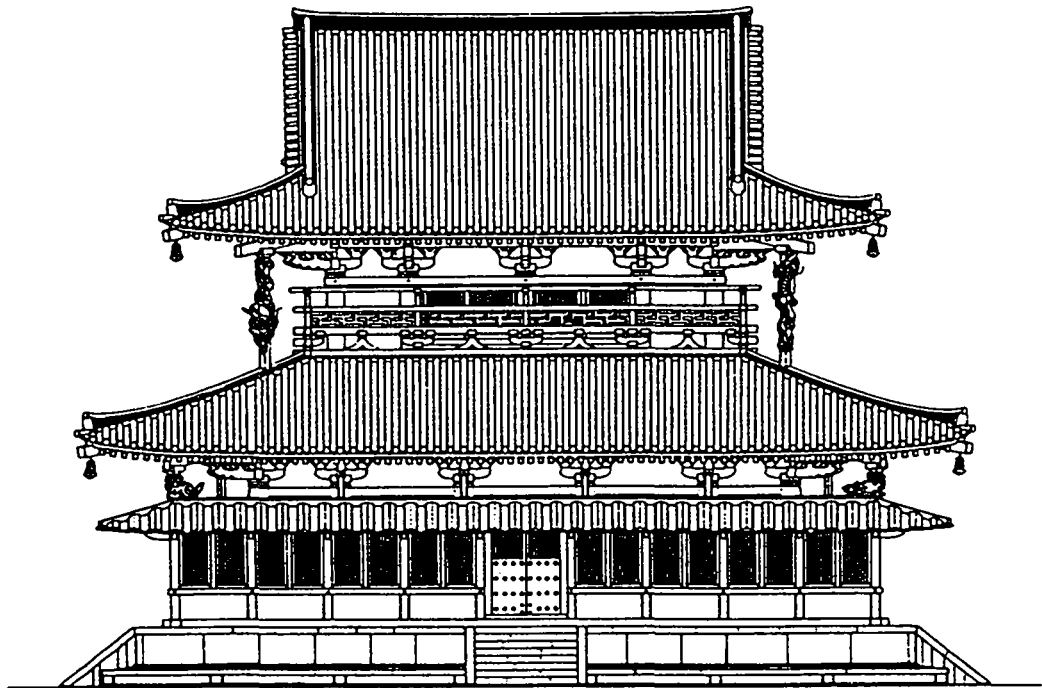


Fig. 441: Extant southern elevation of the image hall of Hōryū-ji 法隆寺ほうりゅうじ 법룡사 (after 670 AD, scale: 1 : 200) (after: ICOMOS (ed.) (1996), p. 28)

<sup>1</sup> See: MIZUNO Seiichi (1974), pp. 88 - 91.

<sup>2</sup> They are similar to the Korean *hwal-chu* 活柱 활주 of the Cho-sŏn period. See also Chapter 2.2., pp. 113f.

<sup>3</sup> Fan rafters J: *ōgi-daruki* 扇椽 おうぎだるき 선추 (K: *sŏn-cha-yŏn* 扇子椽 선자연), parallel rafters J: *heikō-daruki* 平行椽 へいこうだるき 평행추 (K: *pyŏng-haeng-u-yŏn* 平行隅椽 평행우연). See further below, p. 644ff.

The original *kondō* of Hōryū-ji was a two-storied structure with a hip-and-gable roof [figs. 440 - 447]. The two stories were completely separated by a caisson ceiling on the inside. The upper story features a balcony with balustrades which are supported by simple 'three-block bracketing' and inverted 'V' supports. The upper story was probably inaccessible from the beginning and might have been conceived only for the exterior spatial balance with the five-storied pagoda in the courtyard. The columns of the upper story are not placed in the continuation of the columns of the lower story. This complicates the structure considerably because the upper story has to be reinforced separately and cannot profit from the high columns of the lower story as is the case in most extant multi-storied buildings in Korea<sup>1</sup>. The upper story is stabilized by a spatial net of ties and beams which occupy most of the

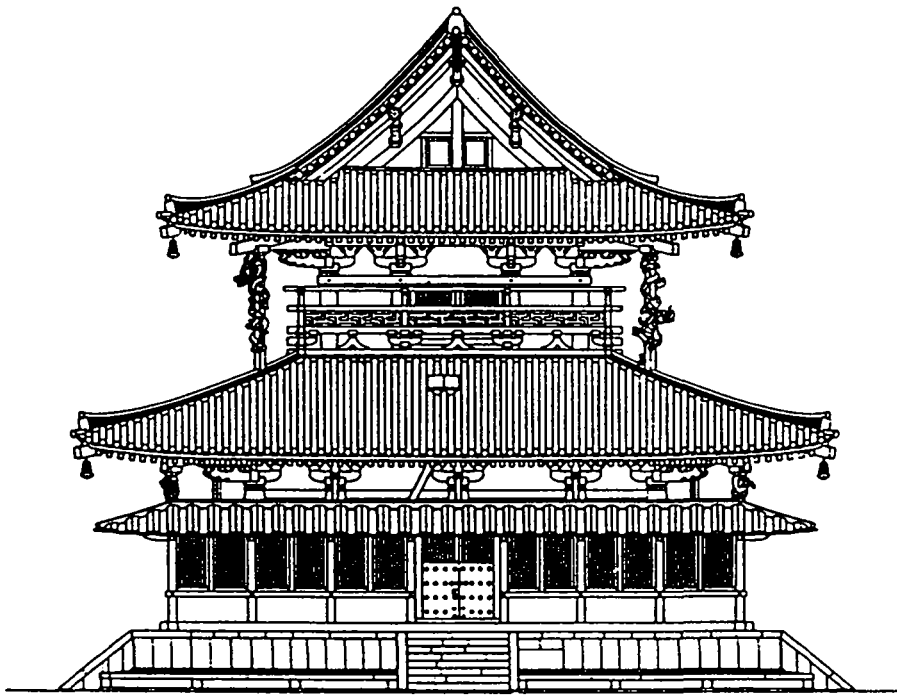


Fig. 442: Extant lateral elevation of the image hall of Hōryū-ji 法隆寺ほりゅうじ 法隆寺  
(after 670 AD, scale: 1 : 200) (after: ICOMOS (ed.) (1996), p. 29)

<sup>1</sup> See: KIM Bong-kōn 金奉建 김봉건 (1994).

interior space. As it is known that the roofs were reconstructed several times in subsequent centuries it is possible that supplementary ties were then introduced to enhance the stability of the upper story.

The general structure of the image hall is thus quite similar to that of the pagoda in that it consists of two largely independent, superimposed pavilions. The main differences to the pagoda are the missing central column, the existence of a hip-and-gable roof on the second story and the brackets of the balustrade of the image hall. The details of the bracket sets, the oblique cantilevers, the cross-beams

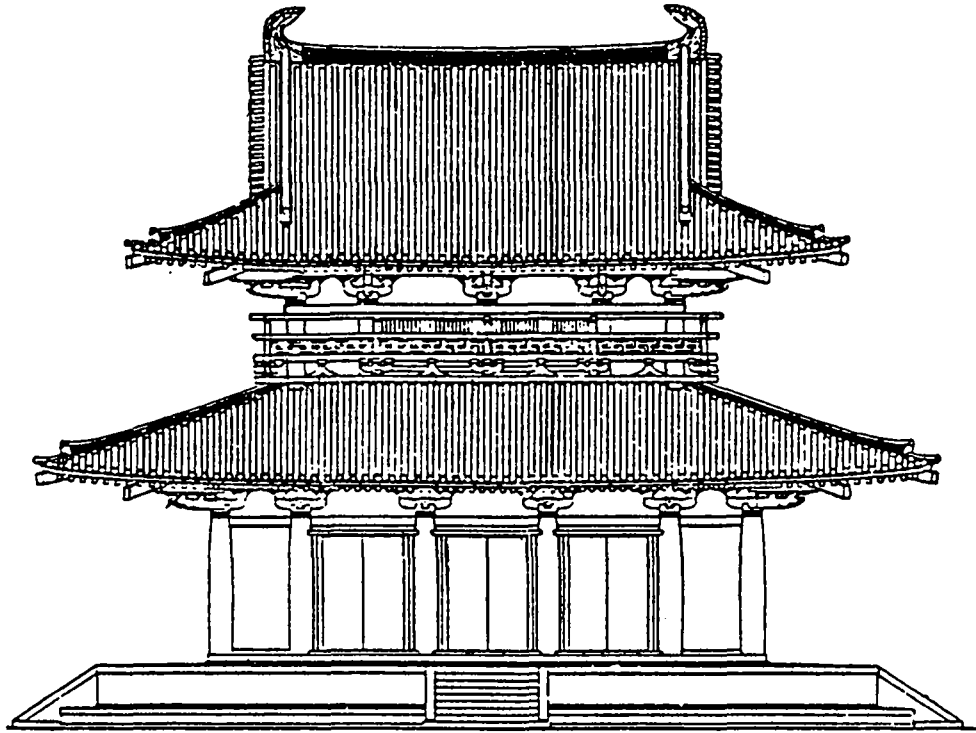


Fig. 443: Reconstructed southern elevation of the image hall of Hōryū-ji 法隆寺ほうりゅうじ 법동사 (after 670 AD, scale: 1 : 200) (after: Chung-chōng-nam-do 忠清南道 충청남도 (ed.) (1991), p. 99)

and the square parallel rafters are identical with the exception that the cloud-shaped bracket arms of the image hall are decorated with carvings on the lateral sides while those of the pagoda are plain.

The main beams of the lower story are placed above the caisson ceiling at the level of the brackets of the balustrade of the second story and do not lie directly on the bracket sets on top of the columns of the lower story. It seems that the image hall of Hōryū-ji is the only remaining example of such a structure in East Asia.

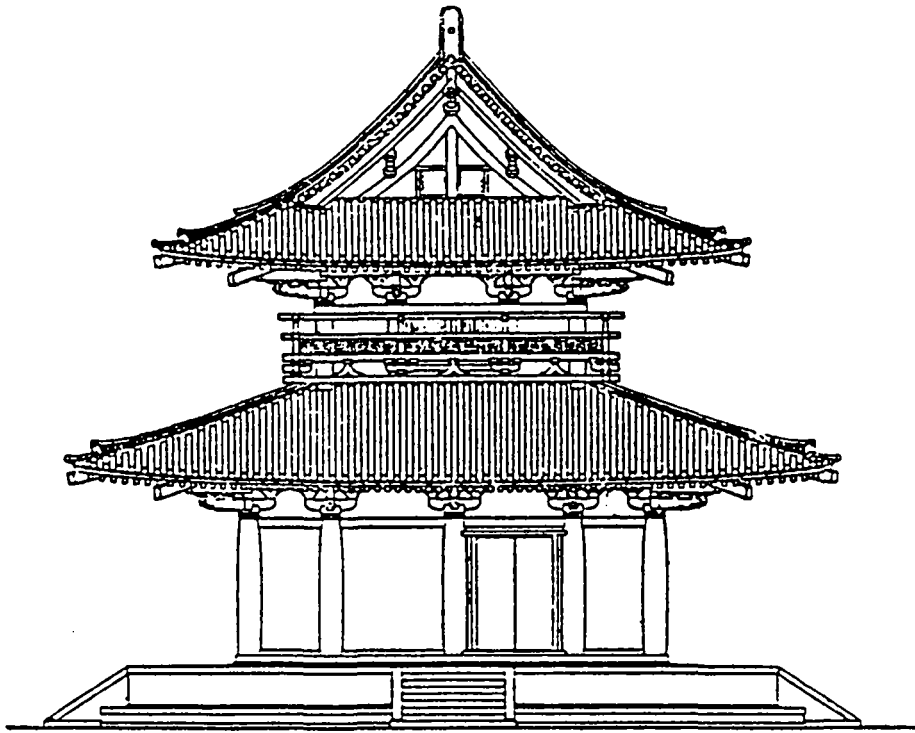


Fig. 444: Reconstructed lateral elevation of the image hall of Hōryū-ji 法隆寺はうりゅうじ 법룡사 (after 670 AD, scale: 1 : 200) (after: Chung-chōng-nam-do 忠淸南道 충청남도 (ed.) (1991), p. 99)

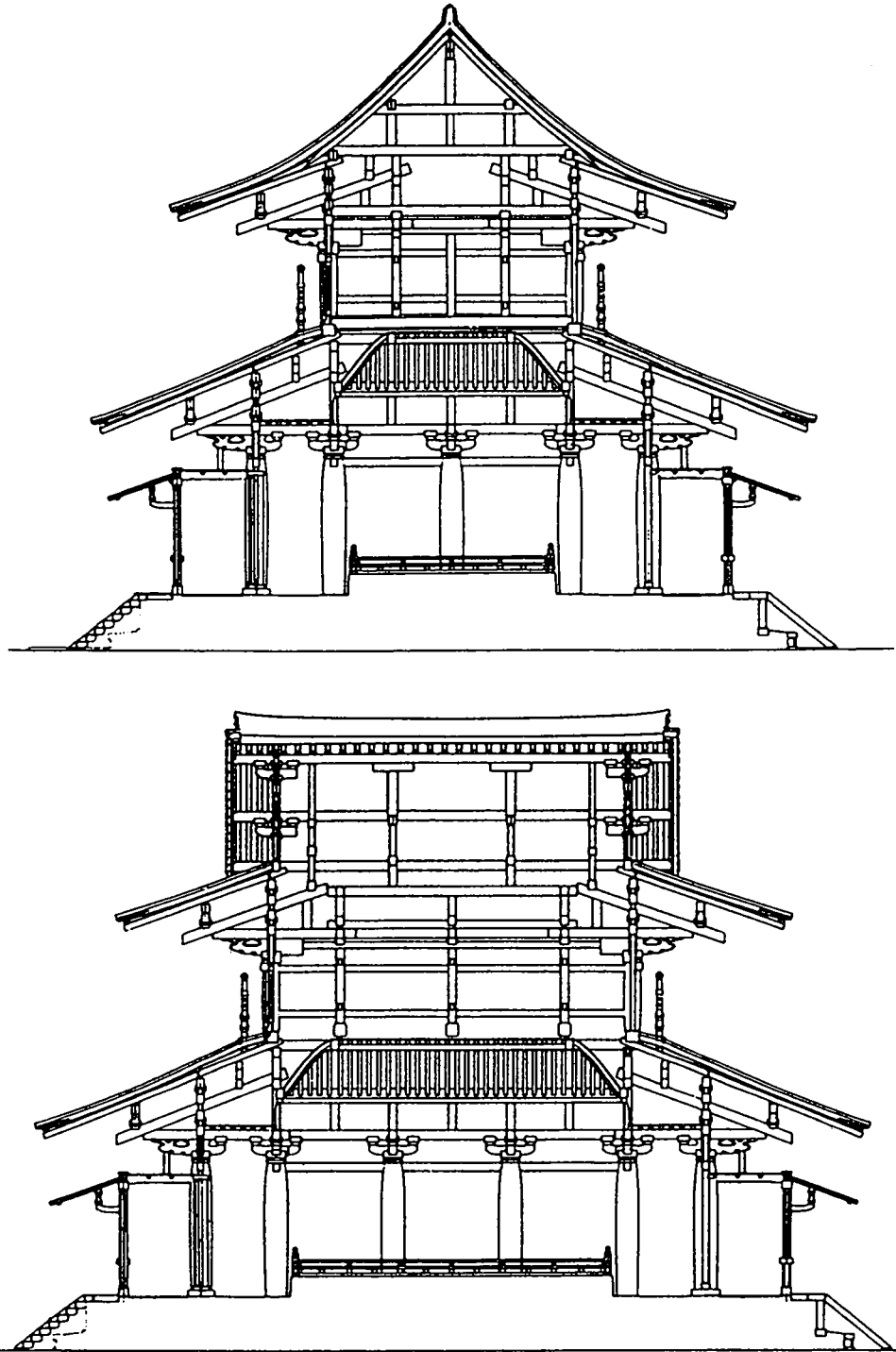


Fig. 445: Two extant sections of the image hall of Horyū-ji 法隆寺ほりゅうじ 법동사 (after 670 AD, scale: 1 : 200) (after: ICOMOS (ed.) (1996), pp. 28f.)

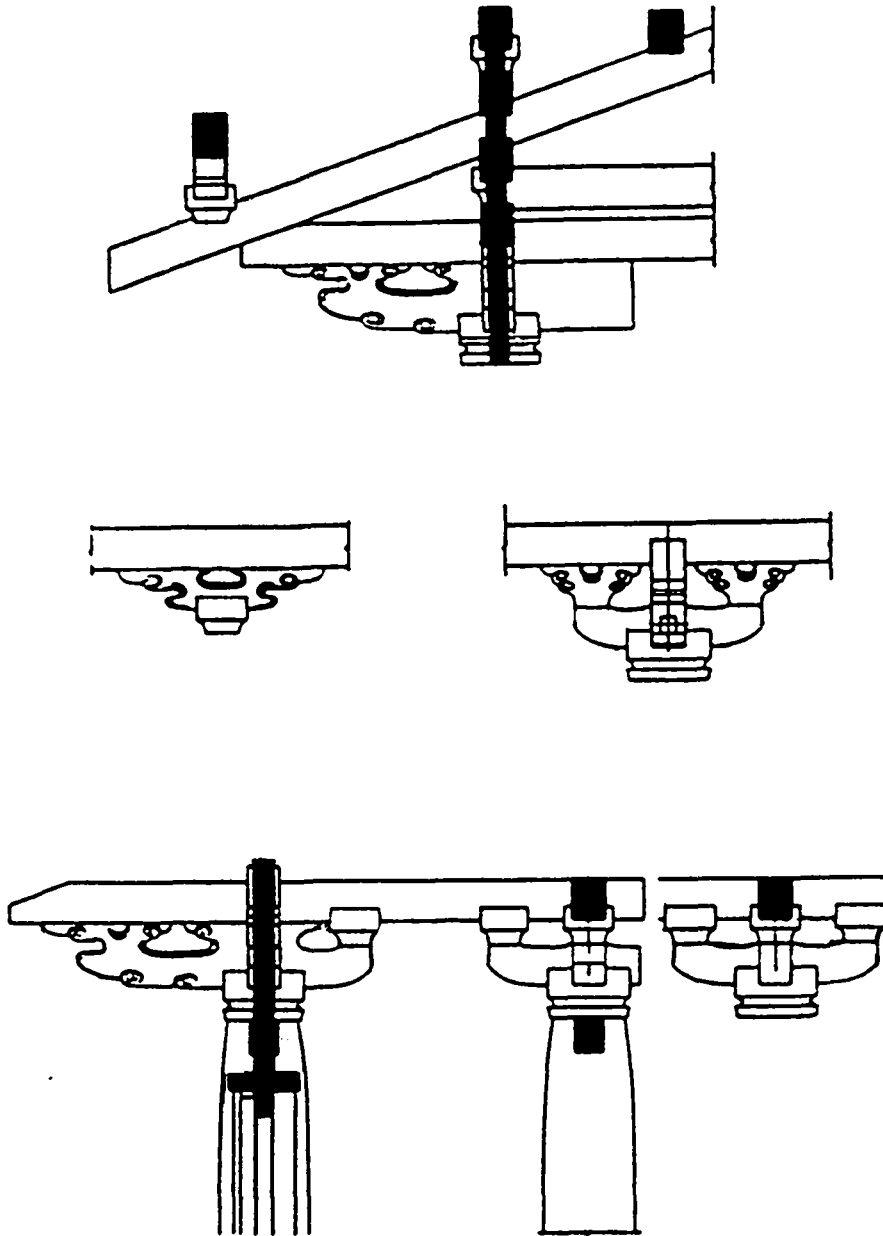


Fig. 446: Details of the bracket sets of the image hall of Hōryū-ji 法隆寺はりゆじ 법룡사  
(after 670 AD, scale: 1 : 50)  
(after: Chung-ehng-nam-do 忠濟南道충청남도 (ed.) (1991), p. 96)

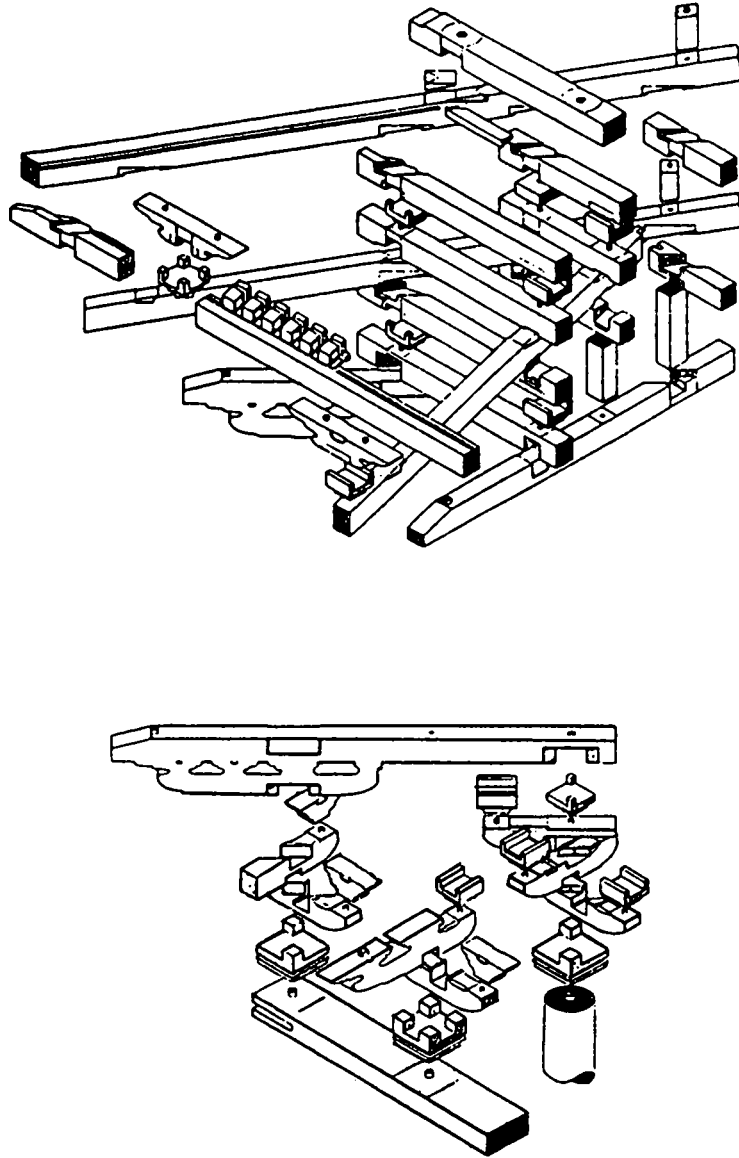


Fig. 447: Two axonometries of a corner bracket set of the image hall of Hōryū-ji 法隆寺ほりゅうじ 법동사 (after 670 AD, no scale) (after: ICOMOS (ed.) (1996), pp. 30)



## 3.3.2.2.2. The image hall in Bæk-che

Table 31 resumes the sizes of the platforms (#) and the plans of the wooden structures (st) of the excavated image halls of Bæk-che and early Japan:

temples of Bæk-che	# size (m)	# surface	# propor.	st size (m)	st surface	struct. pro.	bays / roof
Dæ-tong-sa	~ 32.5 x 22.5	~ 731m <sup>2</sup>	1.444 : 1	-	-	-	?
Dong-nam-ri Kõn-mul-chi	30.3 x 21.2	645.4m <sup>2</sup>	1.429 : 1	-	-	-	?
Mi-rük-sa (centre)	25.9 x 20.2	523.2m <sup>2</sup>	1.282 : 1	19.8 x 14.0	277.2m <sup>2</sup>	1.414 : 1	5 x 4 / D ?
Gun-su-ri Sa-chi	27.3 x 19.1	521.4m <sup>2</sup>	1.429 : 1	(~ 21 x 13)	(~ 273m <sup>2</sup> )	(1.62 : 1)	7 x 4 / D ?
Kwan-kung-sa	24.5 x 17.6	431.2m <sup>2</sup>	1.392 : 1	19.2 x 12.3	236.2m <sup>2</sup>	1.561 : 1	5 x 4 / S ?
Güm-gang-sa I	21.2 x 17.9	379.5m <sup>2</sup>	1.184 : 1	(18.5 x 14)	(259m <sup>2</sup> )	(1.32 : 1)	5 x 4 / D ?
Nüng-sa	22 x 16.1	354.2m <sup>2</sup>	1.366 : 1	16.4 x 11.3	185.3m <sup>2</sup>	1.451 : 1	5 x 3 / S ?
Chõng-rim-sa	20.5 x 15.6	319.8m <sup>2</sup>	1.314 : 1	18.8 x 13.8	259.4m <sup>2</sup>	1.362 : 1	7 x 5 / D ?
Mi-rük-sa (west, east)	18.5 x 15.2	281.2m <sup>2</sup>	1.217 : 1	12.7 x 9.2	116.8m <sup>2</sup>	1.380 : 1	5 x 4 / S ?
Güm-gang-sa II	19.1 x 13.9	265.5m <sup>2</sup>	1.374 : 1	(16.5 x 11)	(182m <sup>2</sup> )	(1.50 : 1)	5 x 4 / S ?
Chõn-wang-sa II	18.0 x 14.7	264.6m <sup>2</sup>	1.224 : 1	15.7 x 11.9	186.8m <sup>2</sup>	1.319 : 1	7 x 6 / D ?
Sõ-bok-sa	16.3 x 13.6	221.7m <sup>2</sup>	1.199 : 1	(~ 12 x 8)	(~ 96m <sup>2</sup> )	(1.50 : 1)	(3 x 3 / S)
Ye-san Sa-chi	12 x 10	120m <sup>2</sup>	1.200 : 1	6.3 x 5.4	34.0m <sup>2</sup>	1.167 : 1	3 x 3 / S

temples of Asuka - Hakuho	# size (m)	# surface	# propor.	st size (m)	st surface	struct. pro.	bays / roof
Daikan-dajji	56.0 x 30.0	1.680m <sup>2</sup>	1.867 : 1	45.4 x 20.8	944.3m <sup>2</sup>	2.183 : 1	9 x 4 / S ?
Kawara-dera (centre) (upper step)	(~ 26 x 21) 24.0 x 19.2	(546m <sup>2</sup> ) 460.8m <sup>2</sup>	(1.238 : 1) 1.250 : 1	16.8 x 12.0	201.6m <sup>2</sup>	1.400 : 1	5 x 4 ?
Asuka-dera (centre) (upper step)	(24 x 20) 21.2 x 17.5	480.0m <sup>2</sup> 371.0m <sup>2</sup>	1.200 : 1 1.211 : 1	(~ 15 x 12)	180.0m <sup>2</sup>	1.250 : 1	5 x 4 ?
Asuka-dera (east, west) (upper step, core)	(22 x 18.5) 20.1 x 15.4	407.0m <sup>2</sup> 309.5m <sup>2</sup>	1.189 : 1 1.305 : 1	(19.5 x 15) 15.6 x 11.0	292.5m <sup>2</sup> 171.6m <sup>2</sup>	1.300 : 1 1.418 : 1	7 x 6 5 x 4
Hõryü-ji [addition] (upper step)	21.5 x 18.5 20.2 x 16.4	397.8m <sup>2</sup> 331.3m <sup>2</sup>	1.162 : 1 1.232 : 1	[18.5 x 15.3] 14.0 x 10.8	[283.1m <sup>2</sup> ] 151.2m <sup>2</sup>	[1.21 : 1] 1.296 : 1	[9 x 7] 5 x 4 / D
Yamada-dera	21.6 x 18.2	393.1m <sup>2</sup>	1.187 : 1	(14.5 x 11)	159.5m <sup>2</sup>	1.318 : 1	5 x 4 ?
Wakakusa-dera	21.8 x 17.5	381.5m <sup>2</sup>	1.246 : 1	?	?	?	?
Minami Shiga Hai-ji: centre	(20.5 x 17.5)	(359m <sup>2</sup> )	(1.171 : 1)	(15.5 x 12)	(186m <sup>2</sup> )	(1.29 : 1)	5 x 4 ?
Kanzeon-ji	(22 x 16)	(352m <sup>2</sup> )	(1.375 : 1)	(16 x 9.5)	(152m <sup>2</sup> )	(1.68 : 1)	5 x 4 / D ?
Shitennõ-ji (upper step, core)	19.9 x 17.2 (17.5 x 14.5)	342.3m <sup>2</sup> (234m <sup>2</sup> )	1.157 : 1 (1.207 : 1)	(14.5 x 12) 11.1 x 7.7	(174m <sup>2</sup> ) 85.5m <sup>2</sup>	(1.21 : 1) 1.442 : 1	5 x 4 3 x 2 / S ?
Tachibana-dera	20.0 x 16.7	334.0m <sup>2</sup>	1.198 : 1	?	?	?	?
Kawara-dera (west)	21.8 x 14.8	322.6m <sup>2</sup>	1.473 : 1	17.9 x 10.9	195.1m <sup>2</sup>	1.642 : 1	5 x 4 ?

Table 31: Main measurements of the known image halls of Bæk-che and Asuka - Hakuho Japan

Table 32 shows that the average measurements of the Bæk-che and the early Japanese image halls are surprisingly similar, especially if the measurements of Daikan-daiji, the largest of the early Japanese temples, are omitted.

temples	# size (m)	# surface	# propor.	st size (m)	st surface	struct. pro.	bays / roof
average of Bæk-che	22.6 x 17.2	~ 389m <sup>2</sup>	1.312 : 1	16.5 x 11.6	191.4m <sup>2</sup>	1.418 : 1	-
average of early Japan	25.4 x 19.7	499.6m <sup>2</sup>	1.289 : 1	19.6 x 13.5	263.6m <sup>2</sup>	1.457 : 1	-
Japan without Daikan-daiji	22.0 x 17.8	392.3m <sup>2</sup>	1.236 : 1	16.1 x 11.7	188.0m <sup>2</sup>	1.376 : 1	-

Table 32: Average measurements of the known image halls of Bæk-che and Asuka - Hakuho Japan

The measurements of the extant image hall of Hōryū-ji [table 31] are close to the average values so that it can probably be considered a typical example of image halls of the Buddhist architecture in early Japan and Bæk-che. Among the sites in Bæk-che, the foundations of the image halls of Güm-gang-sa and Nüng-sa seems to be the closest to those of the Hōryū-ji image hall.

Accordingly, the elevations of the reconstruction drawings<sup>1</sup> of the image halls of Nüng-sa [figs. 267 - 269], Güm-gang-sa [figs. 224 - 227] and Mi-rük-sa [figs. 312 - 315] are heavily based on the Hōryū-ji image hall [figs. 440 - 445]. However, as in the case of the pagodas, the interior structure of the reconstruction drawings does not seem to be in harmony with the elevations. The southern elevation of the reconstruction project of the image hall of the Nüng-sa clearly shows separated stories (the columns are not superimposed), while the section features 'high columns' and one high interior space which is articulated with balconies in the interior and the exterior. This disposition was probably derived from the interior space of the Guanyin-ge of Dule-si<sup>2</sup> of 984 AD [fig. 448]. However, as mentioned in Chapter 3.2., p. 368, the ground plan of five by three bays seems to indicate that the image hall was a single-storied structure.

The projects for the image halls of Güm-gang-sa and Mi-rük-sa repeat the same errors as for their pagodas: their sections are based on Cho-sön examples of the image halls after the sixteenth century such as the Mi-rük-chön of Güm-san-sa [fig. 449] or the Gak-hwang-chön of Hwa-öm-sa<sup>3</sup> [fig. 450]. The sections are then

<sup>1</sup> Mainly the reconstruction drawings by the Institute of Cultural Industries 文化産業研究所 문화산업연구소. See: Chapter 3.2., pp. 315 - 318, figs. 224 - 227, pp. 366 - 368, figs. 267 - 269, pp. 423 - 426, figs. 312 - 315.

<sup>2</sup> Guanyin-ge 觀音閣 관음각, Dule-si 獨樂寺 독락사 in Jixian 蓟縣 거현, Tianjin 天津 천진. See: LIU Dunzhen 劉敦楨 유돈정 (1980), pp. 194 - 199.

<sup>3</sup> The three-storied Mi-rük-chön 彌勒殿 미륵전 of Güm-san-sa 金山寺 금산사 (No. 5.3.2.) was built in 1635 AD; the two-storied Gak-hwang-chön 覺皇殿 각황전 of Hwa-öm-sa 華嚴寺 화엄사 (No. 6.7.1.) in 1702 AD. See: KIM Bong-kön 金奉建 김봉건 (1994), pp. 82 - 96, 242 - 245.

decorated with details from early Japanese architecture, such as the columns, the bracket sets, the oblique cantilever and the balconies. The result is not convincing in either case. The reconstruction drawings of the central image hall of Mi-rük-sa

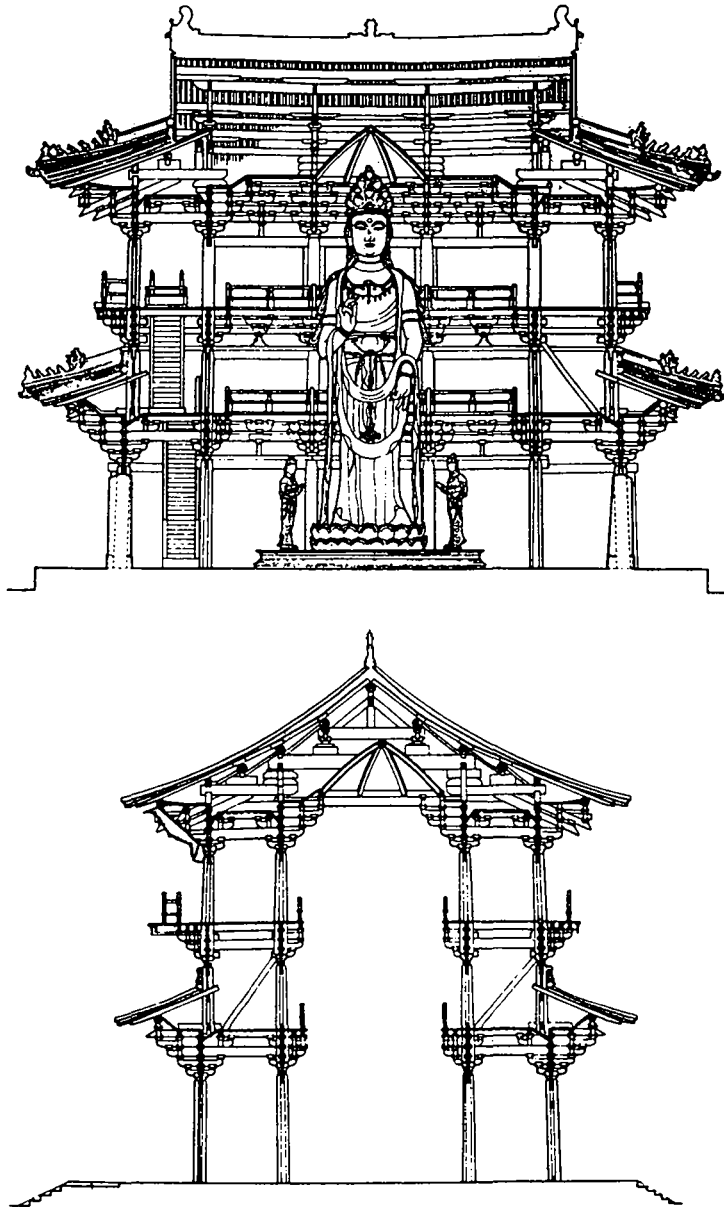


Fig. 448: Two sections of the Guanyin-ge 觀音閣 관음각 of Dule-si 獨樂寺 독락사 in Jixian 薊縣 계현, Tianjin 天津 천진 (984 AD, scale: 1 : 300) (after: ZHANG Yuhuan (ed.) (1986), pp. 90f.)

even changes the discovered ground plan<sup>1</sup> which clearly indicates that no interior column was removed.

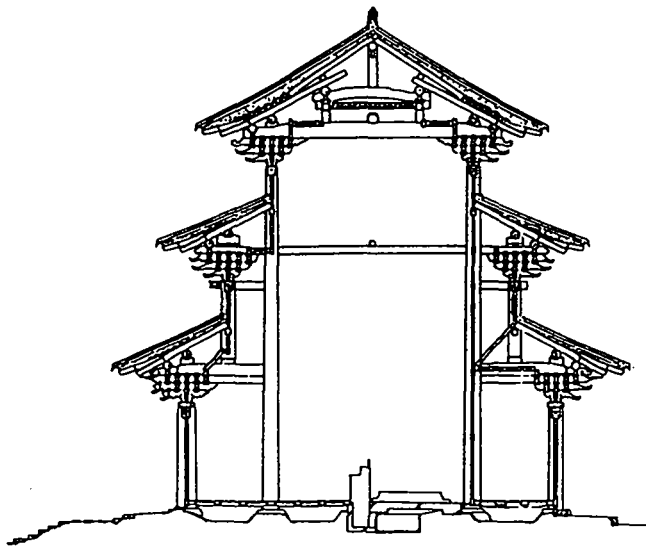
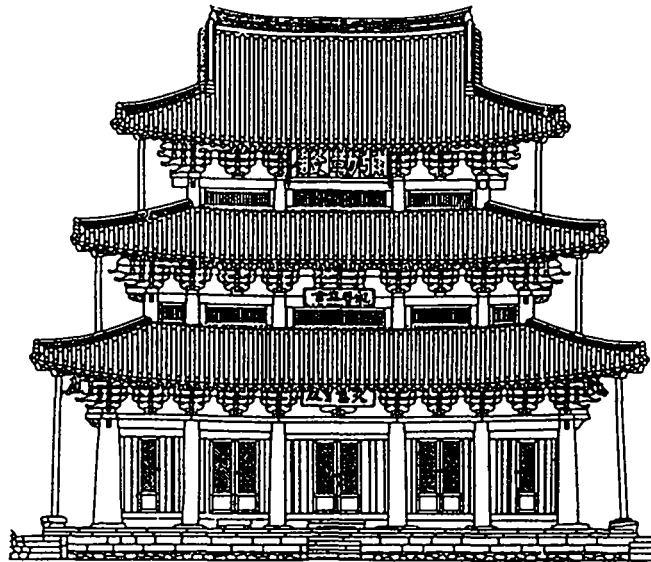


Fig. 449: Front elevation and section of the Mi-rūk-chōn 彌勒殿 미륵전 of Güm-san-sa 金山寺 금산사 (1636 AD, scale: 1 : 300) (after: MHCKLG (1987), pp. 480, 484)

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<sup>1</sup> See: Chapter 3.2., pp. 424 - 426.

Many modern reconstruction projects fall victim to their own ambition by trying to reconstruct the buildings in the most prestigious way possible. The image halls are thus invariably imagined as multi-storied structures. While the Hōryū-ji image hall is in fact a two-storied structure and numerous cases of multi-storied

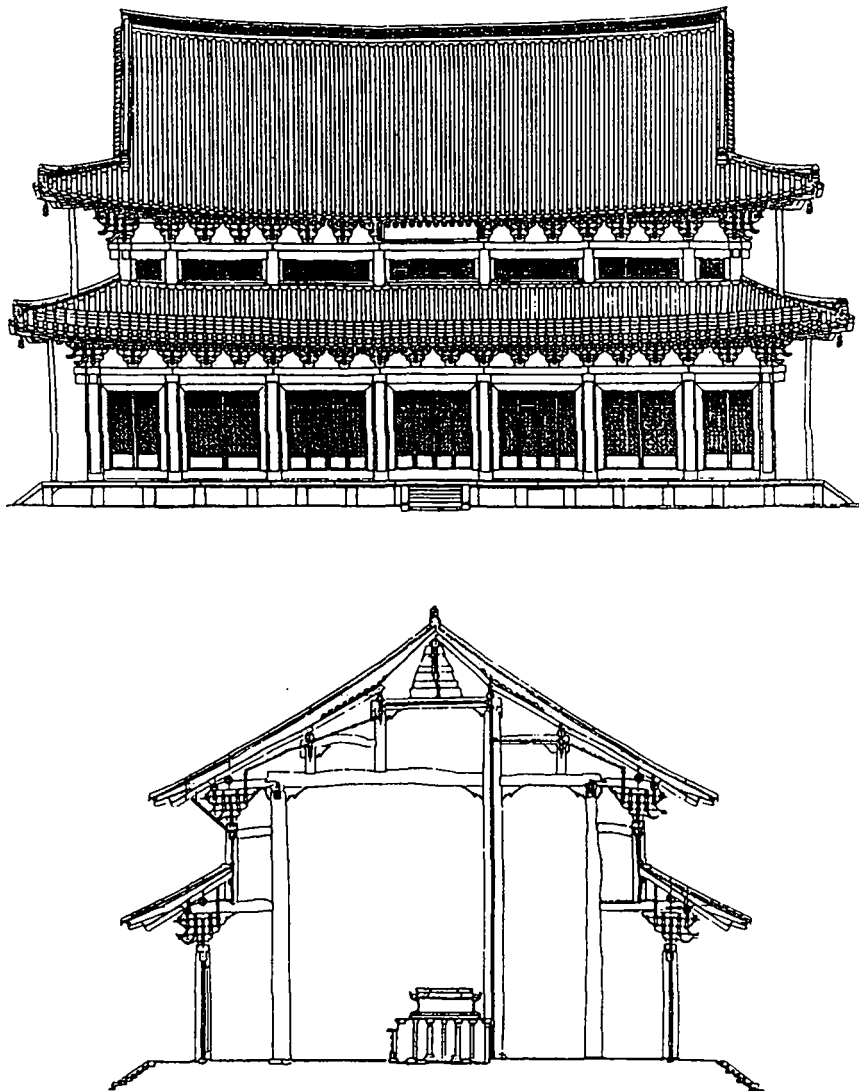


Fig. 450: Front elevation and section of the Gak-hwang-chōn 覺皇殿 각황전 of Hwa-ōm-sa 華嚴寺 화엄사 (1702 AD, scale: 1 : 300) (after: MHCKLG (1986), pp. 287, 291)

image halls are recorded for important temples in China and Japan<sup>1</sup> (e.g. the image hall of Yakushi-ji: fig. 451), such structures are rather exceptional among extant Korean image halls of the Cho-sŏn period<sup>2</sup> and early examples of single-storied image halls are also known from China and Japan such as the Dongda-dian of Foguang-si<sup>3</sup> of 857 of China [figs. 452, 453] and the image hall of Tōshōdai-ji<sup>4</sup> of the Nara period of Japan [fig. 454]. The 'miniature' image hall of the famous Tamamushi shrine<sup>5</sup> is also a single-storied structure [fig. 455]. I tend therefore to

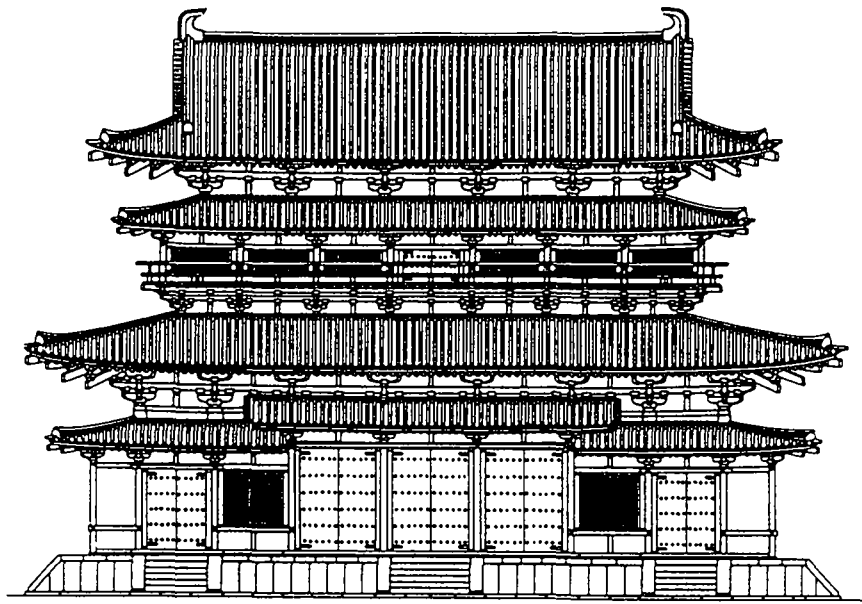


Fig. 451: Front elevation of the reconstructed image hall of Yakushi-ji 藥師寺やくしじ 약사사 in Nara 奈良なら 나랑 (early 8th C. AD, reconstruction: late 20th C. AD, scale: 1 : 300) (after: MATSUYAMA Tetsuo 松山鐵夫まつやまてつお 송산철부 (1990), p. 77)

<sup>1</sup> Numerous murals at Dunhuang show multi-storied image halls. The image halls of Tōdai-ji 東大寺とうだいじ 등대사, Kōfuku-ji 興福寺こうふくじ 흥복사 and Yakushi-ji 藥師寺やくしじ 약사사 in Japan were reportedly two-storied structures. See: Comité de Rédaction de 5000 ans d'art chinois (ed.) (1989), vol. 14; OOKA Minoru (1973), pp. 75 - 80.

<sup>2</sup> KIM has counted 6 extant multi-storied image halls on the Korean peninsula out of 18 extant ancient multi-storied wooden buildings. See: KIM Bong-kŏn 金奉建김봉건 (1994).

<sup>3</sup> Dongda-dian 東大殿등대전 of Foguang-si 佛光寺불광사 (near Wutai 五台오대, Shanxi 山西산서) Other single-storied examples of ancient image halls in China are that of Nanchan-si 南禪寺남선사 (near Foguang-si) of the Tang period and image halls on murals in Dunhuang 敦煌등황.

<sup>4</sup> Tōshōdai-ji 唐招提寺とうしやうだいじ 당초제사.

<sup>5</sup> Tamamushi shrine 玉蟲厨子たまむしのぢし 옥충주자. *Tamamushi* is the Japanese name of the flat-headed borer, an insect. SOPER writes 'shrine' without the last Chinese character. See: SOPER (1942), p. 68.

imagine those Bæk-che image halls as single-storied structures whose ground plan seem to make a multi-storied structure improbable. Such cases are the image halls of Nüng-sa, Kwan-kung-sa, Sō-bok-sa as well as the lateral image halls and maybe even the central image hall of Mi-rük-sa. The image hall of Nüng-sa apparently had five by three bays, a ground plan which does not seem to have been used for two-

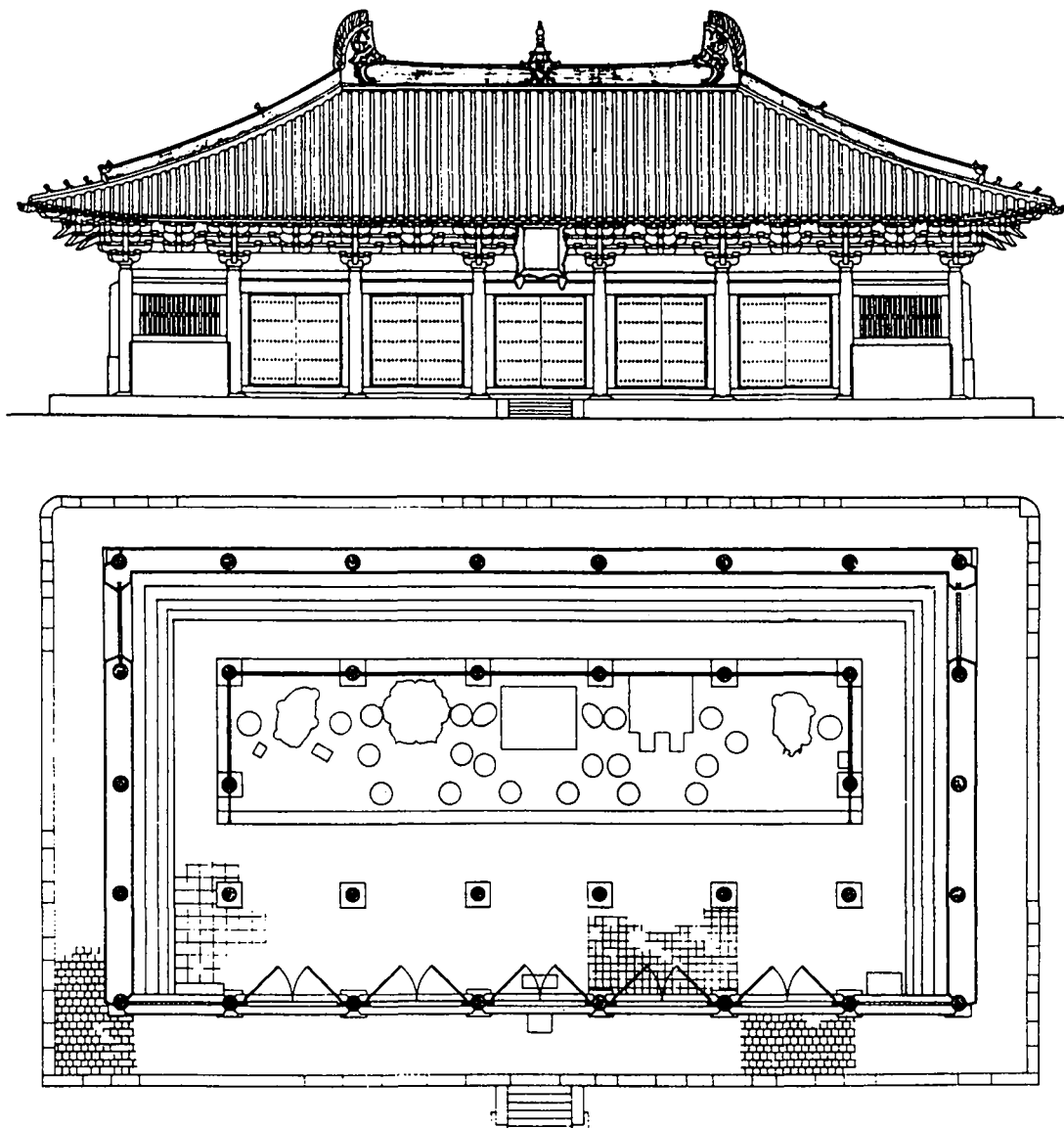


Fig. 452: Ground plan and front elevation of the Dongda-dian 東大殿 동대전 of Foguang-si 佛光寺 불광사 (near Wutai 五台 오대, Shanxi 山西 산서, 857 AD, scale: 1 : 300) (after: LIU Dunzhen 劉敦楨 유돈정 (1980), p. 127; ZHANG Yuhuan (ed.) (1986), p. 77)

storied structures for the extant examples of multi-storied buildings in East Asia (see p. 368). Kwan-kung-sa's image hall had so long proportions (1.56 : 1, core: 1.92 : 1) that the upper story would become very narrow which makes a single storied structure more probable (see p. 490). The excavated platform of the image hall of Sö-bok-sa seems to have been too small to allow the construction of a two-storied structure so that I suppose it to have been a single-storied building with

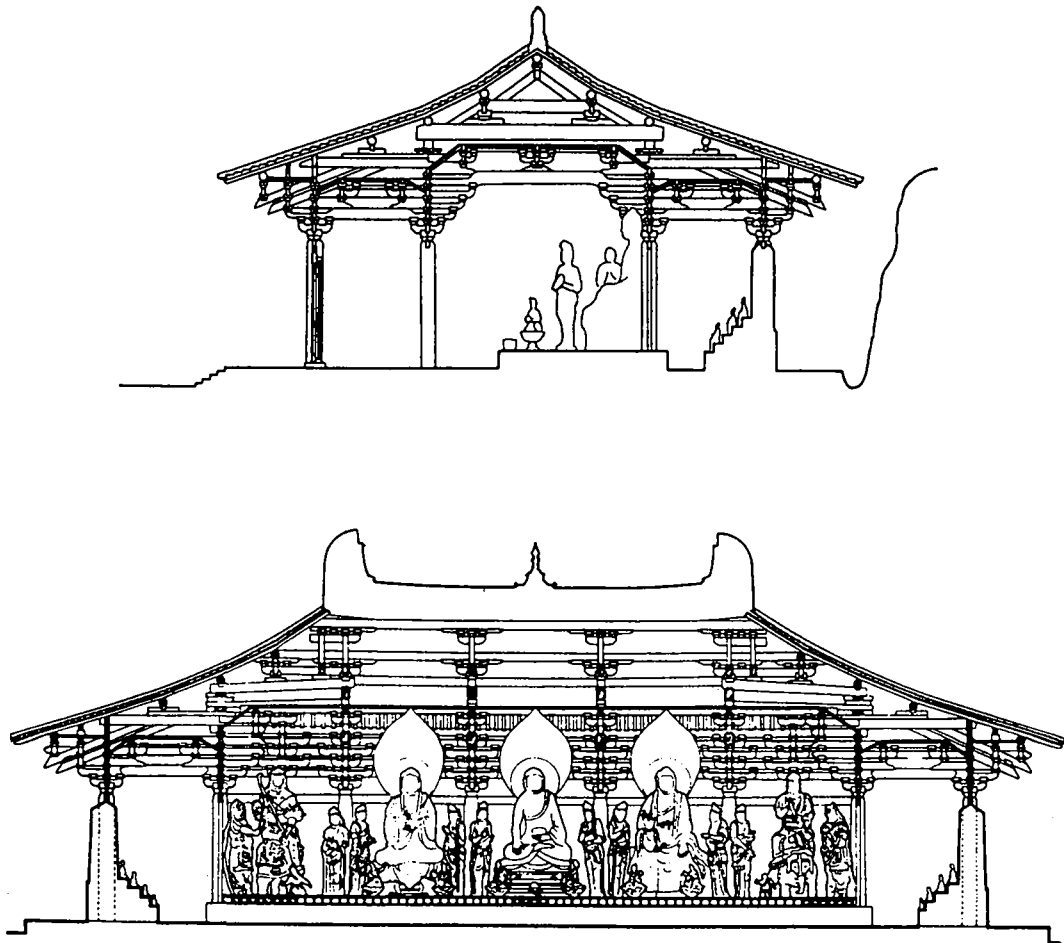


Fig. 453: Two sections of the Dongda-dian 東大殿 등대전 of Foguang-si 佛光寺 불공사 (near Wutai 五台 오대, Shanxi 山西 산서, 857 AD, scale: 1 : 300) (after: ZHANG Yuhuan (ed.) (1986), p. 79)



three by three bays (see fig. 296, table 14). The excavation of the foundations of all three image halls of Mi-rük-sa revealed that no interior columns were removed to create a larger space which could indicate a double height. As to my knowledge there is no extant wooden multi-storied building with a comparable ground plan in East Asia without removed central columns, it seems to be more prudent to assume a single-storied structure for the image halls of Mi-rük-sa (see pp. 423ff., 463ff.).

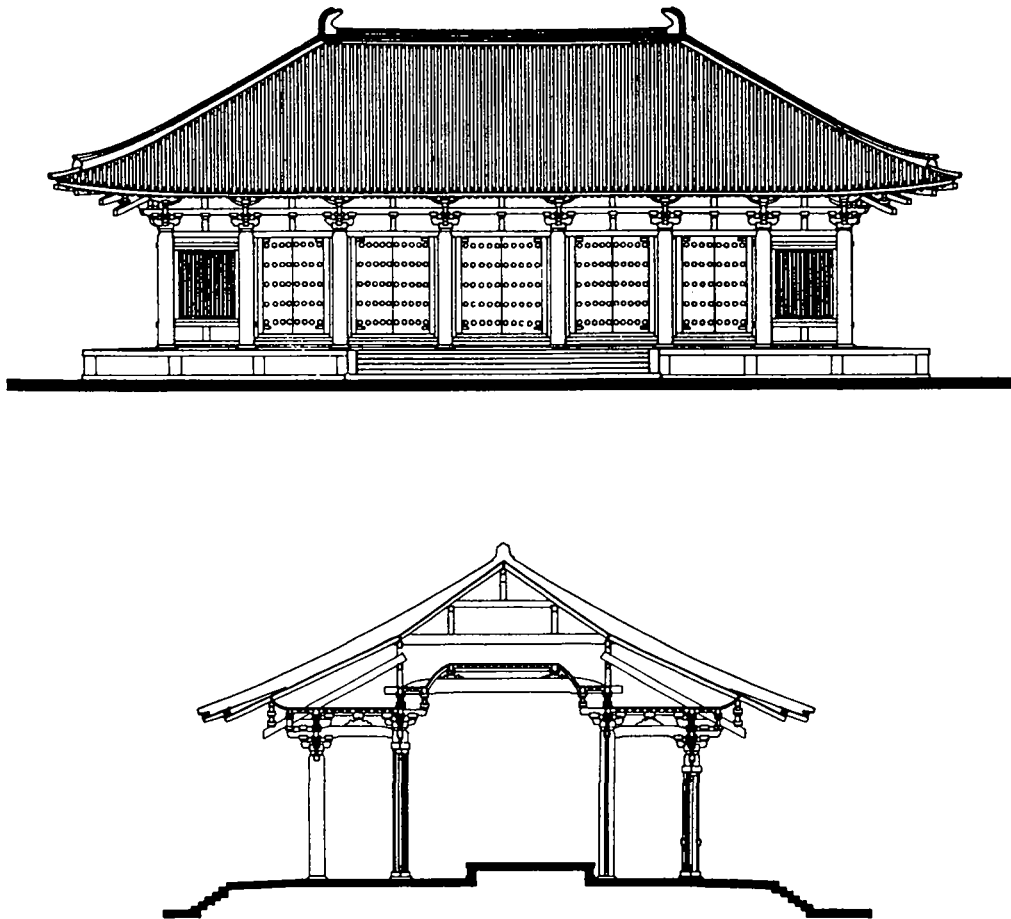


Fig. 454: Reconstructed front elevation and reconstructed section of the image hall of Tōshōdai-ji 唐招提寺とうしょうだいじ 당초제사 in Nara 奈良なら 나라 (759 AD, scale: 1 : 300) (after: BIZALION (1987), pp. 55f.)

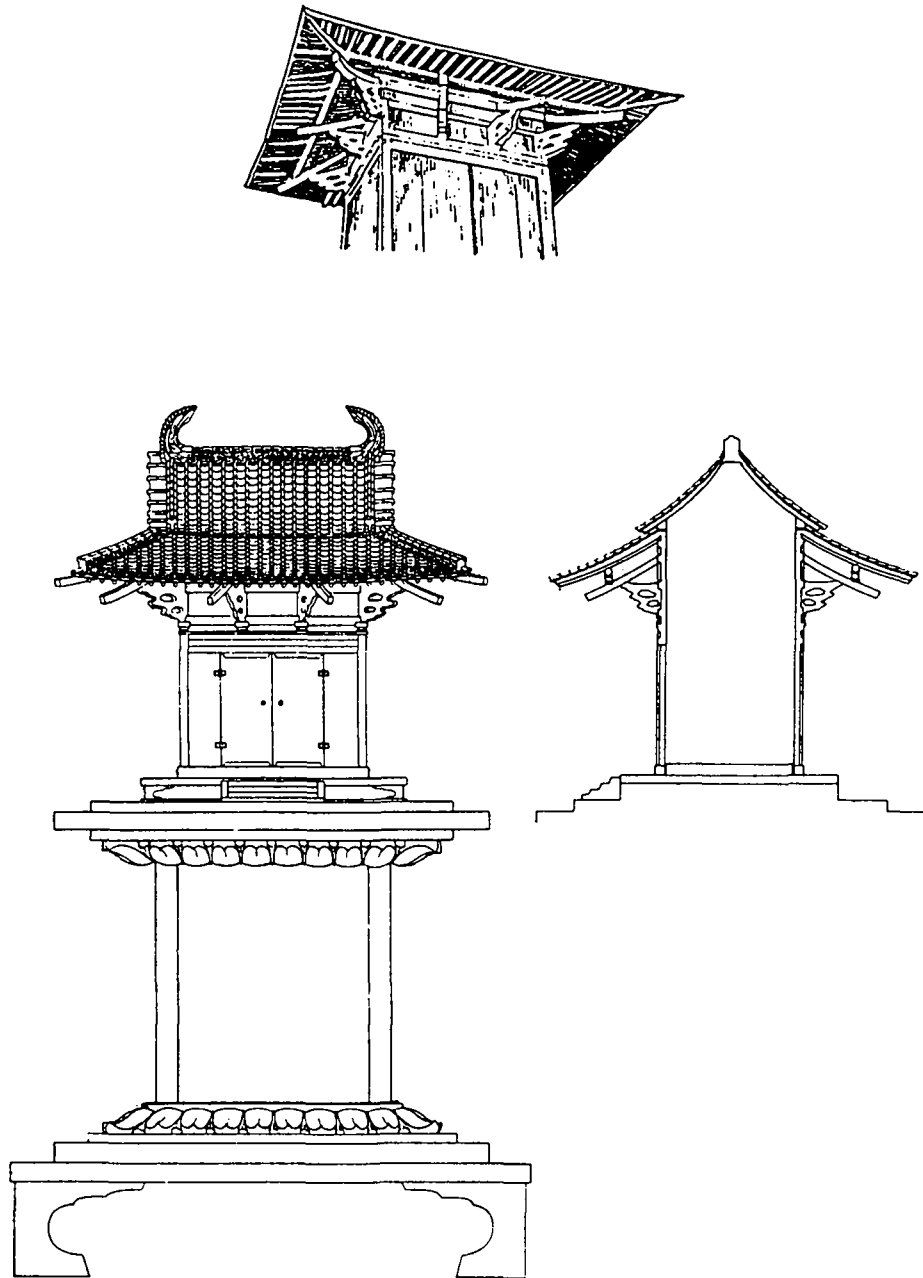


Fig. 455: Front elevation, section (scale: 1 : 20) and partial perspective of the Tamamushi shrine  
 玉蟲廚子たまむしのずし 육층주자 of Hōryū-ji 法隆寺ほりゅうじ 법룡사 (7th C. AD)  
 (after: AKIYAMA Terukazu 秋山光和あきやまてるかず 추산 광화 et al. (1975), p. 3;  
 Hōryū-ji 法隆寺ほりゅうじ 법룡사 (ed.) (n.d.), p. 43;  
 BÆ Byōng-sŏn 裴秉宣배병선 (1993), p. 36)

The interior organisation of the image halls of Bæk-che can only be speculated about on the basis of the interior of the image hall of Hōryū-ji [figs. 440, 445]. The altar with the Buddhist images<sup>1</sup> stands there on an elevated platform in the centre of the building, leaving the outer bays empty (the outer ambulatory which was added later is ignored here). No wall is placed behind the figures, some of which<sup>2</sup> even turn their faces northwards. The famous wall paintings which were lost in a fire in 1949 AD, covered most of the interior faces of the walls which are placed between the exterior columns [fig. 500]. The three central bays of the front side, the central bay of the rear side as well as the northern intermediate bays of the lateral sides have doors, but it is not clear if some of them were originally windows before the ambulatory was added.

Fragments of wall painting found at Sō-bok-sa and Mi-rūk-sa show that some walls at least of Buddhist buildings of Bæk-che were also painted. The ground plans of the excavated image halls seem to allow a similar interior arrangement as the image hall of Hōryū-ji. The possibility of circumambulation<sup>3</sup> of the images seems to have been a typical characteristic of the early Buddhist image halls of India and East Asia. Similar configuration can also be found in Sin-la (see Chapter 4.2., pp. 807ff.). The circular movement of the visitors around the figures of the image hall belonged to the Buddhist liturgy as a kind of procession. The praying circumambulation of pagodas is still considered to be highly beneficial in Korea.

The interior organisation of the Dongda-dian of Foguang-si provides another example of early Buddhist image halls [fig. 452, 453]. It features an ambulatory along the outer walls where numerous small statues are displayed on four steps. The central altar occupies a little more than half of the central space of the image hall, apparently in order to provide more space for the praying monks and visitors. The development of the interior space of the East Asian image halls shows that the main altar was successively moved to the back of the building, reducing thus the importance of the circumambulation until it was completely given up. It can be supposed that the interior organisation of the Bæk-che image halls still belonged to the tradition exemplified by the Hōryū-ji image hall.

<sup>1</sup> In the centre is a Śākyamuni triad 釋迦三尊 석가삼존, to the right Vaiśravaṇa 毘沙門天 비사문천, Bhaiṣajyaguru Buddha 藥師如來 약사여래 and Dhṛtarāṣṭra 持國天 지국천 (the heavenly king of the east), to the left Śrī-mahādevī 吉祥天 길상천, Amitābha Buddha and Virūdhaka 增長天 증장천 (the heavenly king of the south).

<sup>2</sup> Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva 地藏菩薩 지장보살, Śrī-mahādevī 吉祥天 길상천 and two of the four heavenly kings (Virūpākṣa 廣目天 광목천 of the west and Vaiśravaṇa 多聞天 다문천 of the north).

<sup>3</sup> The circumambulation (especially of the *stūpa*) is called *pradakṣiṇā* in Sanskrit (from 'moving to the right!'). The ceremony had to be performed clockwise, thus turning the right shoulder to the object of veneration. The right shoulder remained usually unclad in the Indian Buddhist tradition, a feature which has been preserved in Buddhist sculpture. See: MACDONELL (1929, 1954, 1965), p. 178; FRÉDÉRIC (1987), p. 858.

## 3.3.2.3. The lecture hall of Bæk-che

The excavations of the various temple sites of Bæk-che have produced information on seven lecture halls at least which allows a comparison with evidence of lecture halls from Bæk-che's neighbours. Table 33 resumes the plans of the known lecture halls of Bæk-che, Ancient Sin-la and early Japan:

lecture halls of Bæk-che	# size (m)	# surface	# propor.	st size (m)	st surface	struct. pro.	no. bays
Dæ-tong-sa	~ 53 x 25	1,325m <sup>2</sup>	2.120 : 1	(~48 x 20 ?)	(960m <sup>2</sup> ?)	(2.40 : 1)	(11 x 5 ?)
Mi-rük-sa	65.3 x 19.6	1,280m <sup>2</sup>	3.332 : 1	61.7 x 16.0	987.2m <sup>2</sup>	3.856 : 1	13 x 4
Dong-nam-ri Kõn-mul-chi	52.7 x 21.2	1,117m <sup>2</sup>	2.486 : 1	(~48 x 17 ?)	(816m <sup>2</sup> ?)	(2.82 : 1)	(11 x 4 ?)
Güm-gang-sa	45.5 x 19.1	869.1m <sup>2</sup>	2.382 : 1	~ 40 x 15	600.0m <sup>2</sup>	2.667 : 1	10 x 4
Gun-su-ri Sa-chi	45.1 x 17.9	807.3m <sup>2</sup>	2.520 : 1	(~40 x 14 ?)	(560m <sup>2</sup> ?)	(2.86 : 1)	(10 x 4 ?)
Nüng-sa	~ 38 x 18	684.0m <sup>2</sup>	2.111 : 1	~ 35 x 15	525.0m <sup>2</sup>	2.333 : 1	8 x 4 (5)
Chõng-rim-sa	27.1 x 13.1	355.0m <sup>2</sup>	2.069 : 1	24.6 x 10.7	263.2m <sup>2</sup>	2.299 : 1	7 x 3
average	47.3 x 19.4	919.6m <sup>2</sup>	2.431 : 1	43.1 x 15.7	675.9m <sup>2</sup>	2.748 : 1	-

lecture halls of Sin-la	# size (m)	# surface	# propor.	st size (m)	st surface	struct. pro.	no. bays
Hwang-ryong-sa I	?	?	?	50.5 x 18 ?	(884m <sup>2</sup> ?)	(2.89 : 1)	?
Hwang-ryong-sa II	59 x 22 ?	1,300m <sup>2</sup>	(2.68 : 1)	55 x 17	935m <sup>2</sup>	3.235 : 1	10 x 4
Hwang-ryong-sa III	52.6 x 21.1	1,110m <sup>2</sup>	2.493 : 1	49.1 x 15.9	778.3m <sup>2</sup>	3.094 : 1	9 x 4

lecture halls of early Japan	# size (m)	# surface	# propor.	st size (m)	st surface	struct. pro.	no. bays
Daikan-daiji	~ 53 x 28.5	1,511m <sup>2</sup>	1.860 : 1	45.4 x 20.8	944.3m <sup>2</sup>	2.183 : 1	9 x 4
Asuka-dera	40.0 x 23.2	928.0m <sup>2</sup>	1.724 : 1	35.2 x 18.6	654.7m <sup>2</sup>	1.892 : 1	8 x 4
Yamada-dera	~ 39 x 19.5	760.5m <sup>2</sup>	2.000 : 1	32.8 x 14.2	465.8m <sup>2</sup>	2.310 : 1	8 x 4
Tachibana-dera	38.2 x 18.2	695.2m <sup>2</sup>	2.099 : 1	33.9 x 16.7	566.1m <sup>2</sup>	2.030 : 1	8 x 4 ?
Hõryü-ji	~ 33.5 x 20.5	686.8m <sup>2</sup>	1.634 : 1	29.9 x 16.3	487.4m <sup>2</sup>	1.834 : 1	8 x 4
Kawara-dera	40.6 x 16.0	649.6m <sup>2</sup>	2.538 : 1	35.8 x 11.1	397.4m <sup>2</sup>	3.225 : 1	9 x 4
Kanzeon-ji	~ 32 x 18.5	592.0m <sup>2</sup>	1.730 : 1	~ 28 x 14.5	406.0m <sup>2</sup>	1.932 : 1	7 x 4
Shitennõ-ji	32.3 x 15.1	487.7m <sup>2</sup>	2.139 : 1	28.4 x 10.7	303.9m <sup>2</sup>	2.654 : 1	8 x 4
Minami Shiga Hai-ji	~ 29 x 16	464.0m <sup>2</sup>	1.813 : 1	~ 25 x 11.5	287.5m <sup>2</sup>	2.174 : 1	9 x 4
average	38.3 x 19.7	752.8m <sup>2</sup>	1.949 : 1	33.6 x 14.9	501.5m <sup>2</sup>	2.248 : 1	-

Table 33: Main measurements of the known lecture halls of Bæk-che, Hwang-ryong-sa (Ancient and Unified Sin-la) and Asuka - Hakuho Japan

Table 33 shows that the lecture halls of Bæk-che and early Japan were quite different both in proportion and average size, though the range of size was similar (between 350m<sup>2</sup> and 1,500m<sup>2</sup>). It seems thus that the construction of the lecture hall was less strictly regulated than that of the pagodas and the image halls. The typical eight-by-four-bays lecture hall of the Asuka period was not found among the excavated temples of Bæk-che. Because there is not enough information about the lecture halls of early Buddhist China, Ko-gu-ryō and Ancient Sin-la, it is not clear if the lecture halls of the Asuka period were based on a different tradition than those of Bæk-che. The measurements of the first and second constructions of the lecture hall of Hwang-ryong-sa<sup>1</sup> of Ancient Sin-la seems to be closer to the measurements of the Bæk-che lecture halls than to those of Asuka Japan.

In these circumstances it is difficult to imagine the superstructure of the lecture halls in Bæk-che because no extant building is close enough in time and ground plan to be used as a comparison. The exceptional excavation of the lecture hall of Nūng-sa indicates that the lecture halls were not always a spatial and structural unity as has been assumed so far. This could also explain why the front and back sides could have an even or an odd number of bays.

The lecture hall was probably considered to be a mainly utilitarian building for the teaching of the monks where formal questions of art and architecture were less important. Consequently it can be assumed that the structure, the details and the decoration was less sophisticated than in the pagoda and the image hall. The floor of the lecture halls were probably either made of rammed earth or covered with floor tiles. The lecture halls seem to have had either gable, hip, or hip-and-gable roofs, depending on the size of the lecture hall and the layout of the next buildings. It has been noticed in Chapter 3.2. that the lecture hall of Mi-rūk-sa seems to have had a hip or a hip-and-gable roof (see p. 471, fig. 355), while the lecture hall of Nūng-sa had probably a gable roof to the east and a hip-and-gable roof to the west (see p. 371, fig. 270).

The reconstruction drawings of the lecture halls of Gūm-gang-sa [figs. 228, 229], Chōng-rim-sa [figs. 248 - 255], Nūng-sa [figs. 270, 271] and Mi-rūk-sa [fig. 355] are therefore largely speculative. According to the above-mentioned criteria, the following remarks can be made on these projects:

1. The bracket sets were probably simple and did not involve oblique cantilevers as seem at the pagoda and image hall of Hōryū-ji [fig. 446] which stands in contrast to the recently executed reconstruction of the lecture hall of Chōng-rim-sa.

<sup>1</sup> Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황룡사. See: Chapter 4.2., pp. 780ff., 787ff., 829ff.

2. The eaves probably had simple rafters without flying rafters which stands in contrast to the reconstruction drawings of the Güm-gang-sa and Mi-rük-sa lecture halls. The flying rafters are a feature which might have been introduced to Korea only after the unification of the Korean peninsula by Sin-la in 668 AD.
3. The lecture hall were probably not very tall buildings. The height of the structure might have been determined simply by the depth of the building and a small angle of inclination of the tile roof. The smallest observed slope of traditional tile roofs is about 20° in Korea (e.g. the Hæ-tal-mun of Do-kab-sa<sup>1</sup>, fig. 456) and about 15° in China (e.g. the Da-dian of Nanchan-si<sup>2</sup>, fig. 456). The reconstruction projects of the lecture halls of Chǒng-rim-sa, Güm-gang-sa and Nüng-sa, however, seem to be too high and to have too steep slopes.

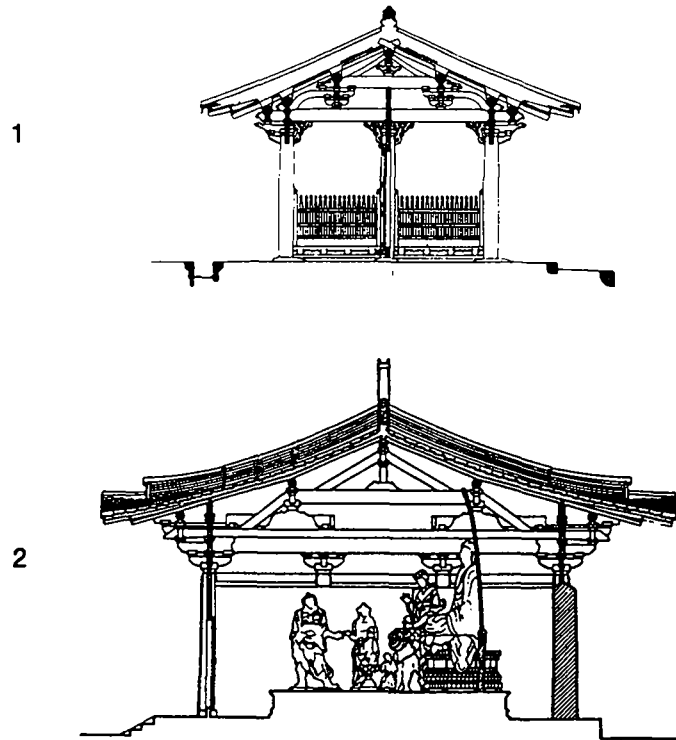


Fig. 456: Sections of the Hæ-tal-mun 解脫門 해탈문 of Do-kab-sa 道岬寺도갑사 (1) (1473 AD, scale: 1 : 200) and the Da-dian 大殿 대전 of Nanchan-si 南禪寺남선사 (2) (782 AD, scale: 1 : 200) (after: *HGÜK KČ* 1, p. 69; LIU Laurence (1989), p. 89)

<sup>1</sup> The roof of the Hæ-tal-mun 解脫門 해탈문 of Do-kab-sa 道岬寺도갑사 (No. 6.12.1.), built in 1473 AD, has a slope of about 20°. See: *HGÜK KČ* 1, pp. 58 - 83.

<sup>2</sup> The roof of Da-dian 大殿 대전 of Nanchan-si 南禪寺남선사, built in 782 AD, has a slope of about 16°. See: LIU Dunzhen 劉敦楨 유근정 (1980), pp. 121 - 124.

The section of the reconstruction project of the lecture hall of Nŭng-sa [fig. 271] tries to integrate the discovery of a series of wooden columns in the walls of the western half of the lecture hall. This construction system has apparently been copied from the 'string column' structure<sup>1</sup> of Chinese domestic architecture [fig. 457]. It would however necessitate that most of the transversal rows of columns had a similar number of columns. The excavation has shown however that in most rows there was a span of the main beams of about 10m which excludes the Chinese 'string-column' structure. Furthermore, the same system of close-set wall columns was also used in the longitudinal walls what cannot be explained with the 'string-column' system. I tend therefore to interpret the numerous wall columns as part of the non-load-bearing walls. They were possibly introduced to stabilize the walls and improve the insulation by allowing thicker walls. The lecture hall of Nŭng-sa is exceptional among the known lecture halls of Korea because it possessed a heating system in the western part (see further below, p. 631).

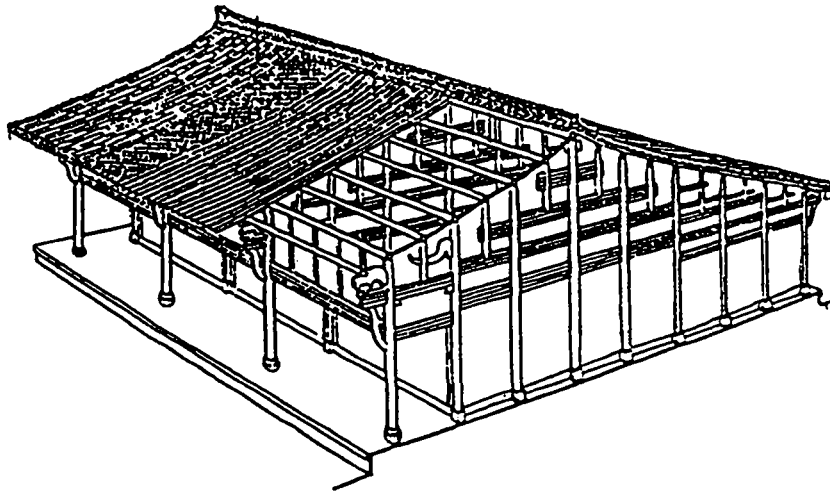


Fig. 457: Perspective of a Chinese 'string-column' structure (*chuandou* 穿斗 穿斗 var. 穿逗 穿逗) (no scale) (after: WEN Yijin (1989), p. 94)

<sup>1</sup> The 'string-column' system *chuandou* 穿斗 穿斗 consists of numerous columns which conduct the load of the roof directly to the foundations without the help of beams charged with flexion. The beams only 'string' the columns together. It stands in opposition to the *taijiang* 台梁 台梁 system ('pile-up' system) of few columns and large superimposed beams charged with flexion. The *chuandou* system is frequently used in domestic architecture because the interior spaces become rather small. See: WEN Yijin (1989), p. 94f.

The probably closest extant examples to the Bæk-che lecture halls are nevertheless to be found in Japan<sup>1</sup>. They are the *kōdō* of Tōshōdai-ji<sup>2</sup> (Nara period, figs. 458, 459), although it was originally a palace building, as well as the *dempōdō* (Nara period) and the *daikōdō* (tenth century AD) of Hōryū-ji<sup>3</sup> [fig. 460]. But the flying rafters of all three structures, the typical Japanese 'hidden-roof' constructions<sup>4</sup> of the *kōdō*, *daikōdō* as well as the wooden floor of the *dempōdō* have to be made abstraction of because they are later changes or additions.

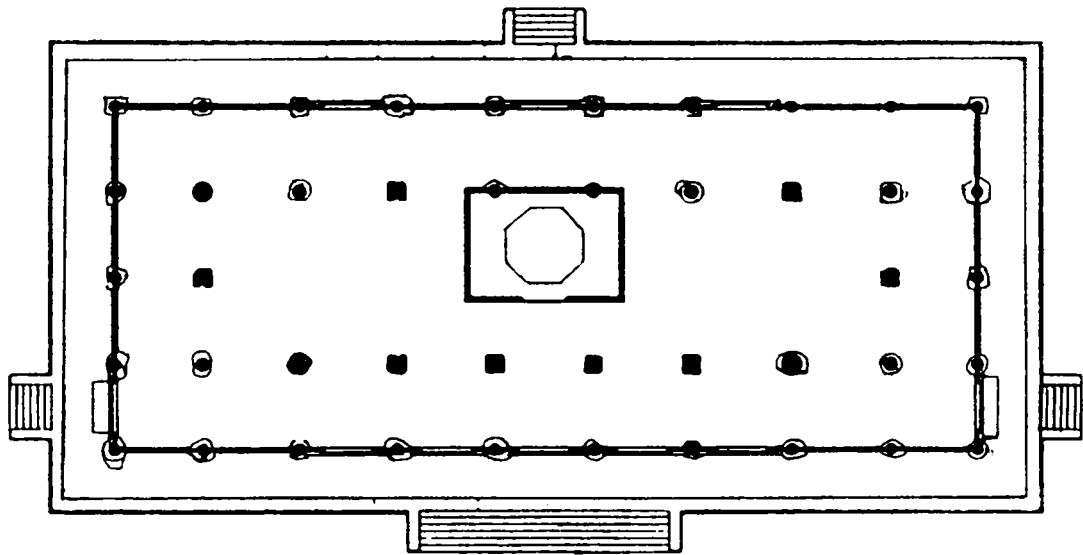


Fig. 458: Extant ground plan of the *kōdō* 講堂 講堂 of Tōshōdai-ji 唐招提寺 とうしょうだいじ 당초계사 (Nara period, scale: 1 : 300) (after: NAKAGAWA Takeshi 中川 武 なかがわ たけし 증천무 (1990), p. 165.)

<sup>1</sup> See: SUZUKI Kakichi (1980), p. 206; PARENT (1983), pp. 31, 73f.; NAKAGAWA Takeshi 中川 武 なかがわ たけし 증천무 (1990), pp. 164f.

<sup>2</sup> *Kōdō* 講堂 講堂, Tōshōdai-ji 唐招提寺 とうしょうだいじ 당초계사. See: NAKAGAWA Takeshi 中川 武 なかがわ たけし 증천무 (1990), pp. 164f.

<sup>3</sup> *Dempōdō* 傳法堂 ぜんぽうどう 전법당, it was also originally a residence, *daikōdō* 大講堂 だいこうどう 대강당, Hōryū-ji 法隆寺 ほうりゅうじ 법룡사. See: SUZUKI Kakichi (1980), pp. 98 - 103, 126 - 131; PARENT (1983), p. 31.

<sup>4</sup> 'Hidden-roof' construction (J: *noyane* 野屋根 のやね 아옥근), "roof structure built above the exposed roof. It has its own support system and hidden rafters set at a different incline from that of the rafters of the exposed roof" (PARENT). This construction method allows to raise the slope of the roof covering or assembling several buildings under one roof without changing the interior spaces [fig. 459]. It became typical for buildings of Japan's medieval period. See: PARENT (1983), pp. 112ff. 319.



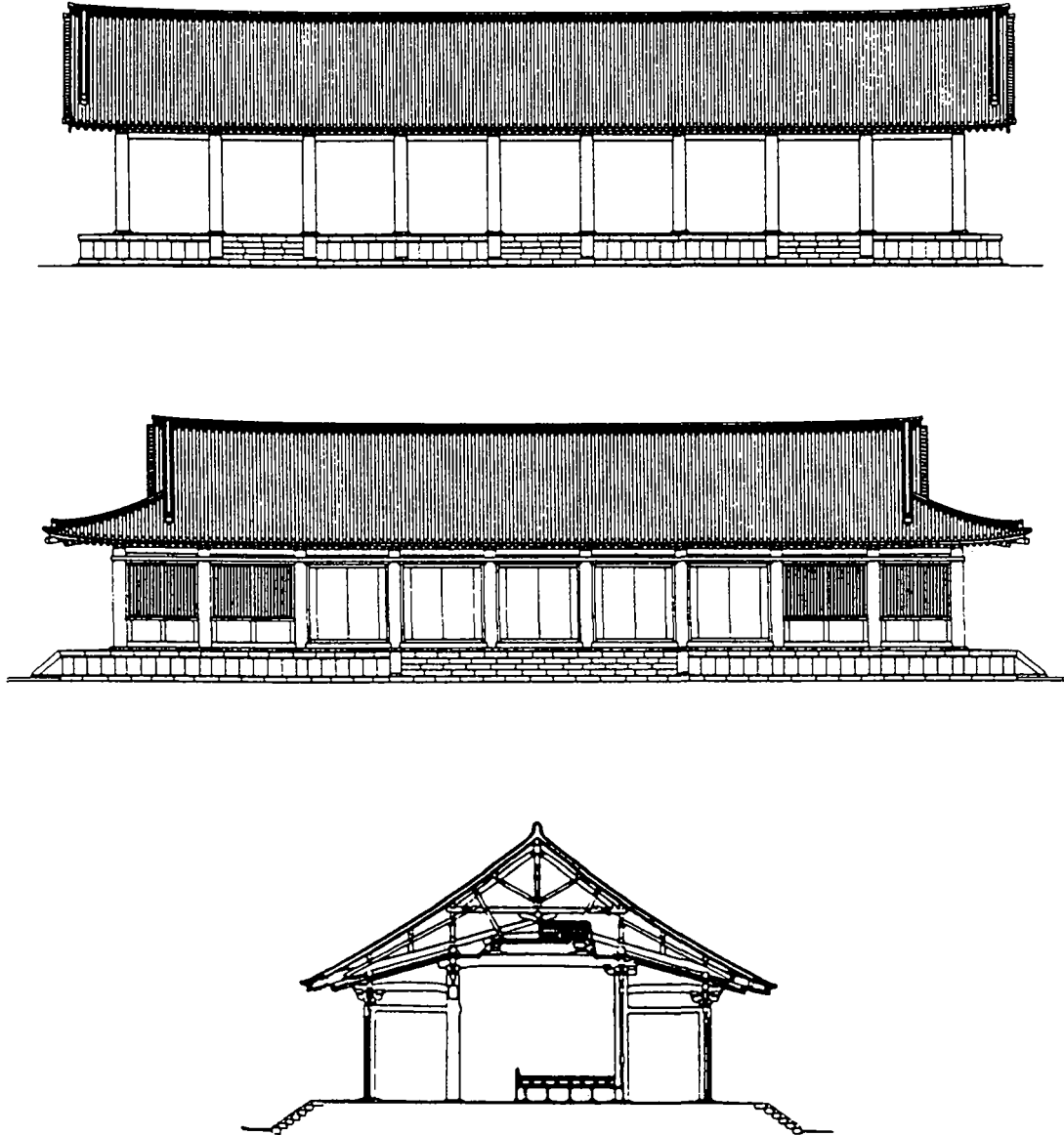


Fig. 459: Reconstructed original front elevation, front elevation of the first reconstruction and extant section (with 'hidden roof') of the *kōdō* 講堂 こうどう 강당 of Tōshōdai-ji 唐招提寺とうしゅうだいじ 당초계사 (Nara period and later reconstructions, scale: 1 : 300) (after: ASAI Kazuharu 浅井和春あさいかずはる 천정 화춘 (1990), p. 86; NAKAGAWA Takeshi 中川武なかがわたくし 증천무 (1990), p. 165)

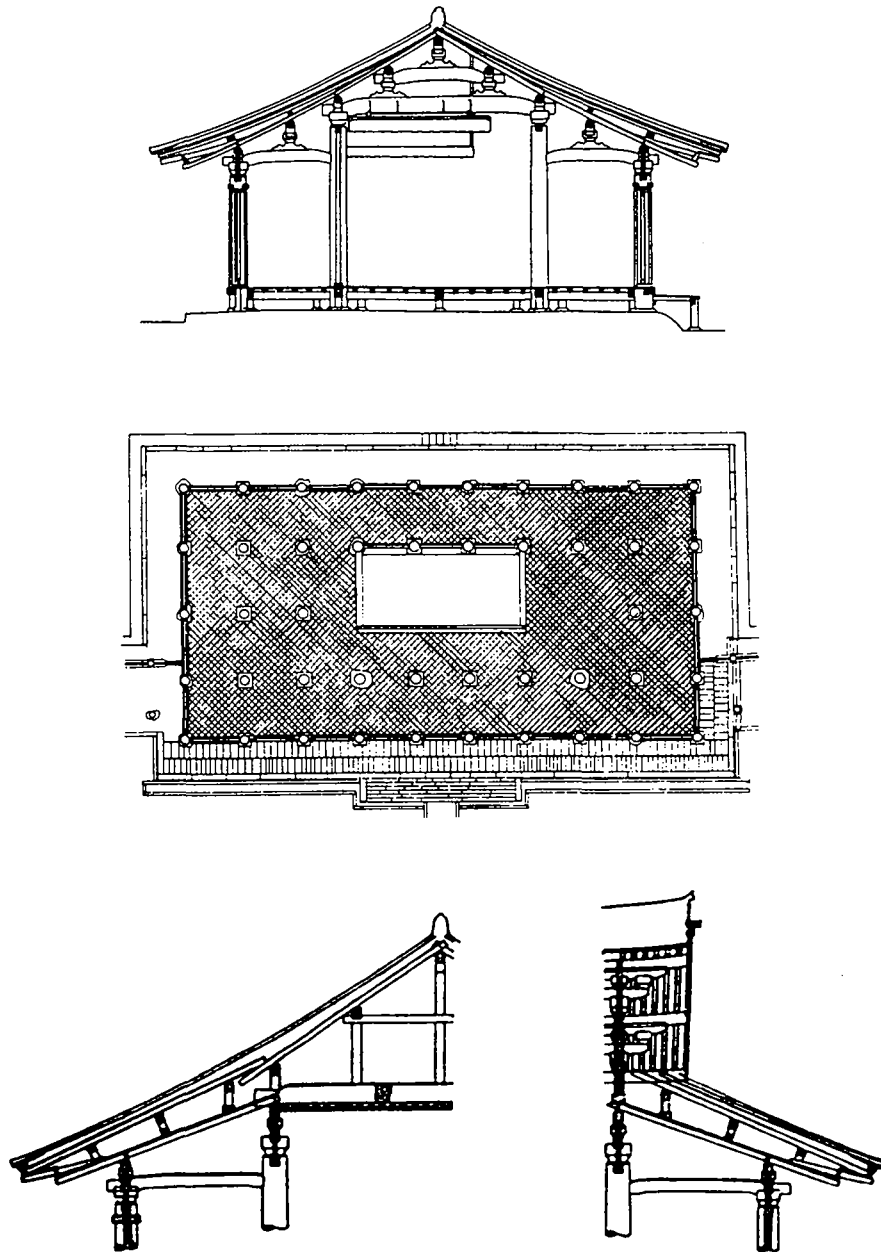


Fig. 460: Section of the *dempōdō* 傳法堂 せんぼうどう 전법당 (Nara period, scale: 1 : 200), ground plan (scale: 1 : 500) and two partial sections (scale: 1 : 200) of the *daikōdō* 大講堂 だいかうどう 대강당 (10th C. AD) of Hōryū-ji 法隆寺 ほうりゆうじ 법룡사 (after: Shōgokusha 彰國社 しょうこくしゃ 창국사 (ed.) (n.d.), p. 155; OONISHI Shūya 大西修也 おおにし しゅうや 대서수야 (1990), p. 70; PARENT (1983), p. 74)

## 3.3.2.4. The gates and galleries

The excavations of the various temple sites of Bæk-che have produced information on several gates of Buddhist temples which allows a comparison with evidence of gates from Asuka - Hakuho Japan [table 34]:

gates of Bæk-che	# size (m)	# surface	# propor.	st size (m)	st surface	struct. pro.	no. bays
Dong-nam-ri Kõn-mul-chi	~ 17 x 12.1	205.7m <sup>2</sup>	1.405 : 1	(~ 15 x 9 ?)	(135m <sup>2</sup> ?)	(1.67 : 1)	(5 x 3 ?)
Mi-rük-sa: central middle	~ 17.5 x 9	157.5m <sup>2</sup>	1.944 : 1	~16.5 x 6.5	107.3m <sup>2</sup>	2.538 : 1	5 x 2 ?
Mi-rük-sa: central south	~ 19 x 8.2	155.8m <sup>2</sup>	2.317 : 1	(16.5 x 4.2)	69.3m <sup>2</sup>	3.929 : 1	5 x 1 ?
Güm-gang-sa	13.3 x 10.6	141.0m <sup>2</sup>	1.255 : 1	~ 9.5 x 6.5	61.75m <sup>2</sup>	1.462 : 1	3 x 2 ?
Mi-rük-sa: east, west middle	12 x 8.5	102.0m <sup>2</sup>	1.412 : 1	~ 10 x 5.5	55.0m <sup>2</sup>	1.818 : 1	3 x 2
Chõng-rim-sa	13.1 x 7.1	93.01m <sup>2</sup>	1.845 : 1	11.3 x 5.3	59.89m <sup>2</sup>	2.132 : 1	3 x 1
Nümg-sa	~ 11.7 x 7.6	88.92m <sup>2</sup>	1.539 : 1	~10.2 x 3.7	37.74m <sup>2</sup>	2.757 : 1	3 x 1
Mi-rük-sa: east, west south	~ 11.8 x 7.5	88.5m <sup>2</sup>	1.573 : 1	(9 x 4.2)	37.8m <sup>2</sup>	2.143 : 1	3 x 1
Sõ-bok-sa	~11.5 x 6 ?	69.0m <sup>2</sup> ?	1.917 : 1	(~ 9 x 4 ?)	(36.0m <sup>2</sup> ?)	(2.25 : 1)	(3 x 1 ?)
average	14.4 x 8.5	122.4m <sup>2</sup>	1.690 : 1	12.4 x 5.4	66.64m <sup>2</sup>	2.300 : 1	-

gates of Asuka-Hakuho	# size (m)	# surface	# propor.	st size (m)	st surface	struct. pro.	no. bays
Daikan-daiji	(~ 30 x 19 ?)	(570m <sup>2</sup> ?)	(1.579 : 1)	23.5 x 12.2	286.7m <sup>2</sup>	1.926 : 1	5 x 3
Hõryü-ji	(~17.5 x 13.5)	(236m <sup>2</sup> )	(1.296 : 1)	11.9 x 8.55	101.6m <sup>2</sup>	1.389 : 1	4 x 3
Yamada-dera	(~ 16 x 14 ?)	(224m <sup>2</sup> ?)	(1.143 : 1)	(~ 11 x 9 ?)	(99m <sup>2</sup> ?)	(1.22 : 1)	(3 x 3)
Asuka-dera	15.3 x 13.5	206.6m <sup>2</sup>	1.133 : 1	10.2 x 7.6	77.52m <sup>2</sup>	1.342 : 1	3 x 3
Kanzeon-ji	(~ 16 x 11 ?)	(176m <sup>2</sup> ?)	(1.455 : 1)	(~12 x 7.5?)	(90.0m <sup>2</sup> ?)	(1.60 : 1)	(5 x 3 ?)
Shitennõ-ji	13.6 x 12.4	168.6m <sup>2</sup>	1.097 : 1	9.09 x 6.06	55.09m <sup>2</sup>	1.500 : 1	3 x 2
Kawara-dera	14.0 x 10.1	141.4m <sup>2</sup>	1.386 : 1	10.3 x 6.36	65.51m <sup>2</sup>	1.619 : 1	3 x 2
Minami Shiga Hai-ji	(~ 13 x 10 ?)	(130m <sup>2</sup> ?)	(1.300 : 1)	(~ 9.5 x 6 ?)	(57.0m <sup>2</sup> ?)	(1.58 : 1)	(3 x 2)
Tachibana-dera	10.9 x 9.09	99.08m <sup>2</sup>	1.199 : 1	9.09 x 6.06	55.09m <sup>2</sup>	1.500 : 1	(3 x 2 ?)
average	16.7 x 13.0	216.9m <sup>2</sup>	1.288 : 1	12.3 x 8.06	98.61m <sup>2</sup>	1.520 : 1	-

Table 34: Main measurements of the known gates of Buddhist temples of Bæk-che and Asuka - Hakuho Japan

It is interesting to notice that the middle gates seem to have been larger in early Japan than in Bæk-che while it the opposite is true for the size of the lecture halls. A good example of an early Japanese middle gate is that of Hõryü-ji built around 700 AD [fig. 461] although the even number of bays of the front side is exceptional and must probably be understood in connection with the balanced-

symmetrical layout of the temple<sup>1</sup> [figs. 399f. 461]. The Japanese predilection for large two-storied gates can also be observed in later periods (e.g. in the Kamakura period<sup>2</sup>); the gate even seems to eclipse the image hall in some temples<sup>3</sup>.

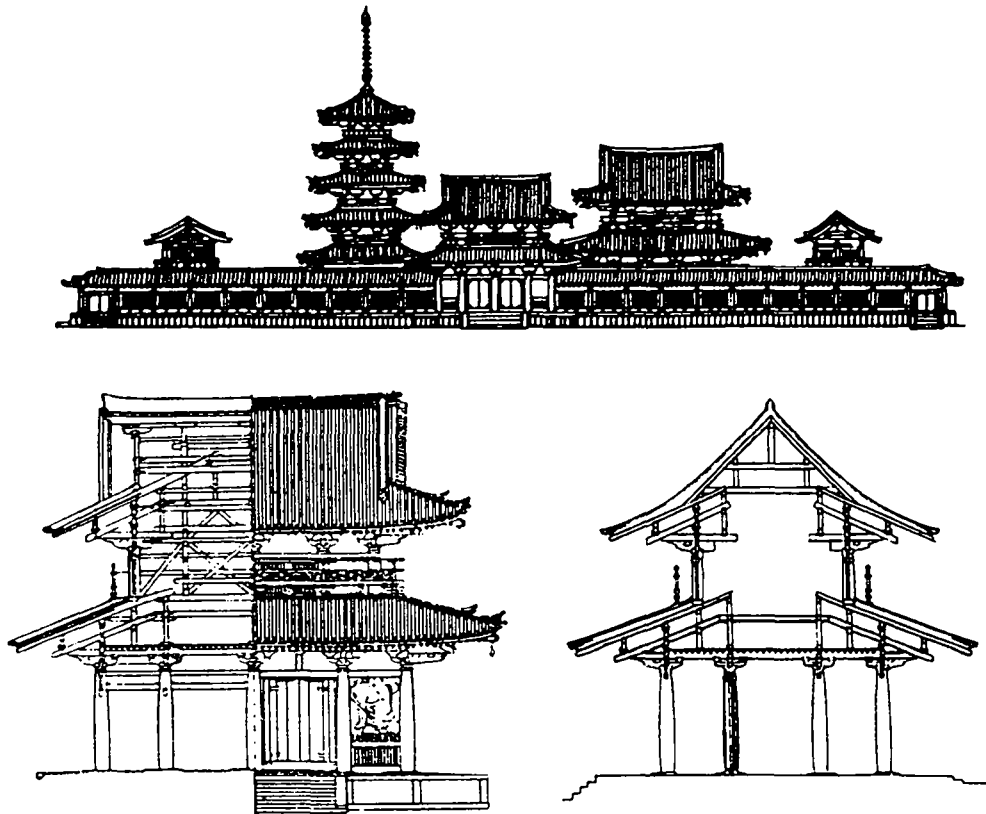


Fig. 461: South elevation of Hōryū-ji 法隆寺ほりゅうじ 법룡사 (scale: 1 : 1,000), partial front elevation, partial section and section of the middle gate (*chūmon* 中門ちゅうもん 중문) (scale: 1 : 300) (around 700 AD) (after: VIOLET (1984), p. 36; BUHOT (1949), p. 67; KIM Hong-sik 金鴻植 김홍식 et al. (1993), p. 85)

The Korean temple gates seem to have been more modest in size and decoration. The priority of the lecture hall over the gates might have led to the typical Korean temple entrance which was formed of an elevated lecture hall (*nu-gak*<sup>4</sup>). The entrance was either below the lecture hall [fig. 462] or on either side of it [fig. 463]. The ancient layout has thus been inverted by placing the lecture hall in

<sup>1</sup> The south-eastern gallery counts 10 bays while the south-western has only 9. The centre of the second bay (counted from the east) of the middle gate lies thus on the main axis of the courtyard.

<sup>2</sup> Kamakura 鎌倉 かまくら 景享 period (1185 - 1338 AD).

<sup>3</sup> E.g. Nanzen-ji 南禅寺 なんぜんじ 남선사 in Kyōto 京都 きょうと 경도 and Engaku-ji 圓覺寺 えんがくじ 원각사 in Kamakura 鎌倉 かまくら 景享.

<sup>4</sup> *Nu-gak* 樓閣 누각.

front of the image hall. Economic difficulties of small mountain temples seem to have induced the Korean temple architects to realize that the traditional two-storied gate, whose second story had no practical function, could be transformed into a multi-functional structure. When Buddhism became subject to ever increasing social

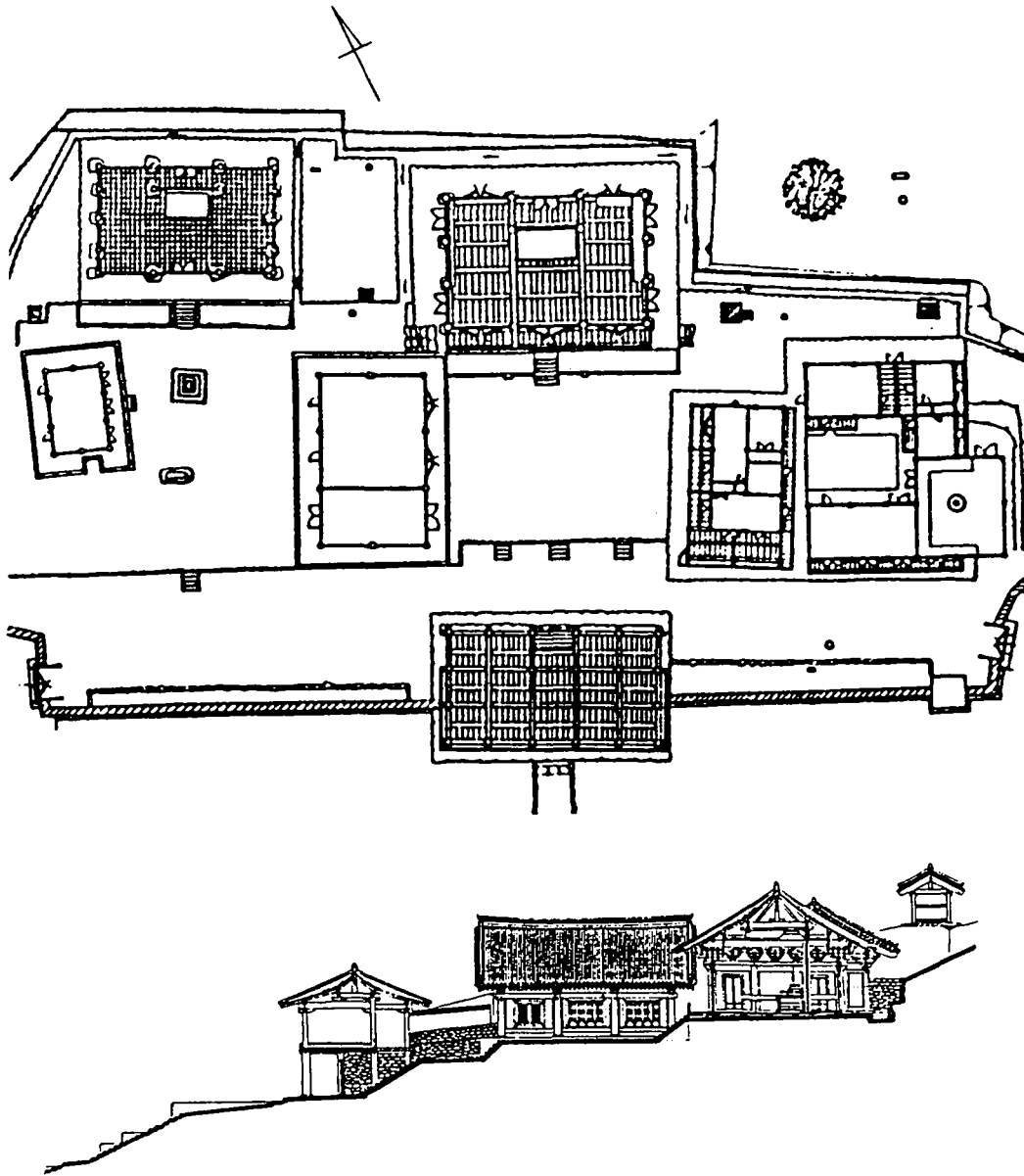


Fig. 462: Layout plan and section of Bong-chong-sa 鳳停寺 봉정사 (No. 7.8.1.)  
(Ko-ryō to Cho-sŏn periods, scale: 1 : 500) (after: *HGŭK KC* 11, pp. 65f.)

and political pressure in the Cho-sŏn period, this economical solution became the standard temple layout even for temples in the plains. It is thus probable that the two-storied middle gate of the early periods was the precursor of the typical Korean elevated lecture halls (see also Chapter 5, pp. 986ff., 1009ff.).

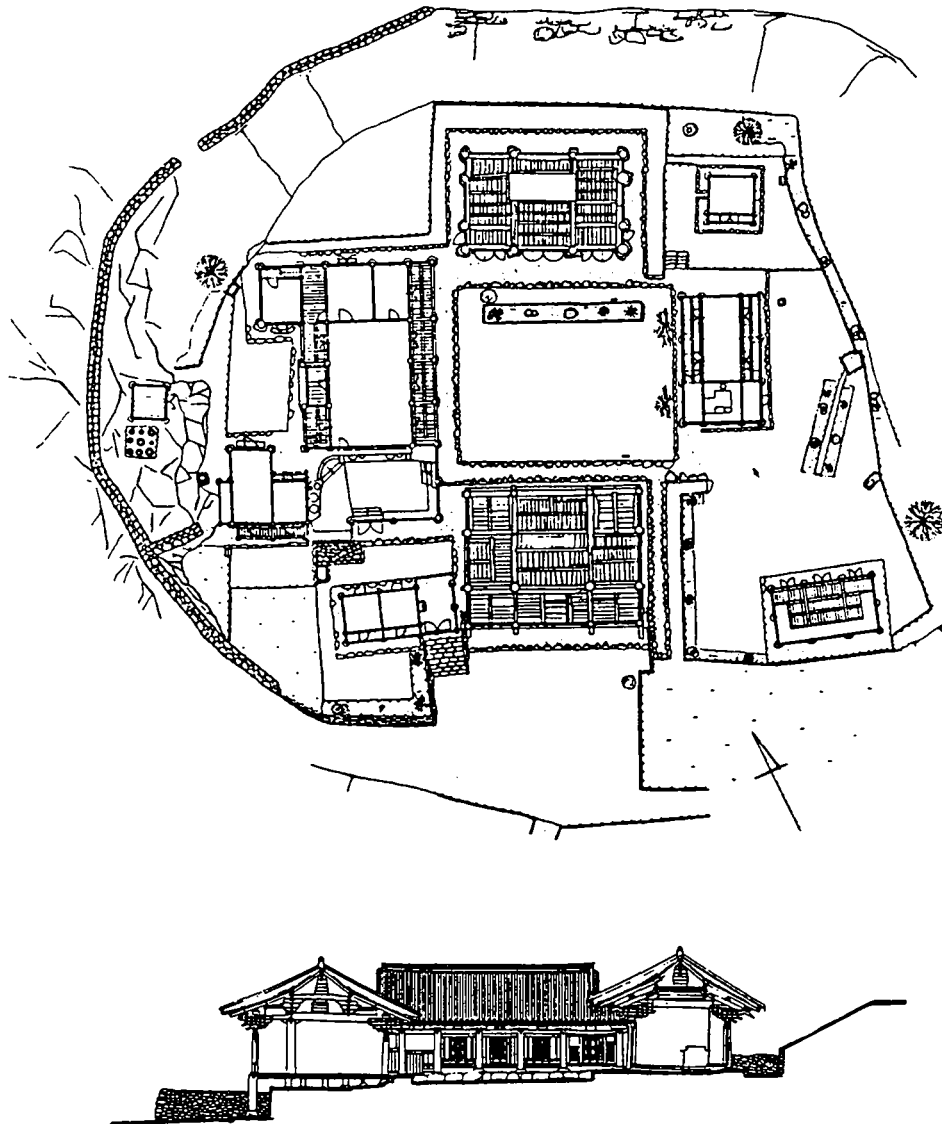


Fig. 463: Layout plan and section of Hwa-am-sa 花嚴寺 화암사 (No. 5.7.1.)  
(Cho-sŏn period, scale: 1 : 500) (after: MHCKLG (1985), pp. 23, 26)

The criticism of the reconstruction drawings of the middle gate of Güm-gang-sa [figs. 219, 220] focuses on the same questions as for the pagoda and the image hall: the chosen structure conflicts with the details of the oblique cantilevers and the decorative balconies. Although two-storied gates with three or five bays by two bays are still extant in Korea<sup>1</sup>, it is not certain that the middle gate of Güm-gang-sa and the central middle gate of Mi-rük-sa [fig. 304] were in fact such structures, in particular as the front bays of the middle gate of Güm-gang-sa seem to have been too short to justify a second story. The simple, single-storied reconstruction drawings of the middle gate of Nüng-sa [fig. 262] seem to be reasonable both in elevation and section. The drawings use the same reconstructed early bracket sets as in the reconstructions of the pagoda and the image hall of the same temple.

The galleries of Bæk-che can be divided into simple one-bay-deep galleries and two-bay-deep galleries. One-bay-deep galleries were confirmed at Güm-gang-sa [fig. 215], Chöng-rim-sa [fig. 234], Nüng-sa [fig. 258], Sö-bok-sa [fig. 295] and the southern courtyard of Mi-rük-sa [fig. 358]. The two-bay-deep galleries were only confirmed at the main courtyards of Mi-rük-sa [figs. 317, 350, 351] but the reported width of the galleries of the building site at Dong-nam-ri of about 7m [fig. 285] makes two-bay-deep galleries at least possible.

The front half of the galleries of Hōryū-ji seem to be by far the oldest wooden galleries remaining in East Asia (around 700 AD, fig. 464). Their structure and details thus provide the closest model for the galleries of the Korean Three Kingdoms period. The round columns are connected with each other through ties at the top. Large capitals which are shaped like those painted in several Ko-gu-ryō tombs<sup>2</sup> [fig. 168] receive the rectangular beams. Simple 'three-block' bracket sets<sup>3</sup> are placed on the capitals and support two of the three crossbeams of the roof. The ridge crossbeam is also supported by 'three-block' bracket sets which are placed on top of inverted 'V' supports. This system resembles the structure of the antechamber of the Čhön-wang-chi-sin-čhong<sup>4</sup> [fig. 169].

The reconstruction projects of the galleries of Güm-gang-sa [figs. 230, 231] and Nüng-sa [fig. 276] chose different solutions. Strait king's posts<sup>5</sup> were preferred

<sup>1</sup> E.g. Don-hwa-mun 敦化門 돈화문 (1609 AD, 5 by 2 bays) of Čhang-dök-kung 昌德宮 창덕궁 and Hong-hwa-mun 弘化門 홍화문 (1616 AD, 3 by 2 bays) of Čhang-kyōng-kung 昌慶宮 창경궁. See: KIM Bong-kōn 金奉建 김봉건 (1994), pp. 248 - 251.

<sup>2</sup> E. g. in the tomb No. 2 in An-ak 安岳 안악. See: Chapter 2.3., p. 211, fig. 168.

<sup>3</sup> *Demitsudo-tokyō* 出三斗斗拱 출삼두두궁. See: PARENT (1983), p. 307.

<sup>4</sup> Čhön-wang-chi-sin-čhong 天王地神塚 천왕지신총. See: Chapter 2.3., pp. 211 - 213, fig. 169.

<sup>5</sup> The strait king's posts (*dæ-kong* 臺工 대궁) can be simple, decorated or in the shape of bracket sets (*po-dæ-kong* 包臺工 포대궁). Clay models of farm houses of the Han dynasty seem to indicate that the use of simple strait king's post antedates probably that of inverted 'V' king's posts (*in-cha-dæ-kong* 人字臺工 인자대궁 or *si-odh-cha-dæ-kong* 丩자대궁) which might have been reserved for prestigious buildings. See: LIU Dunzhen 劉敦楨 유둔정 (1980), pp. 50f., 68, 81, 98f.

to the inverted 'V' supports and the bracket sets of the Güm-gang-sa galleries were equipped with bracket arms in the direction of the beams and the crossbeams. The exterior bracket arms at least seem to be superfluous because there are no exterior crossbeams. Their only justification seems to be to balance the interior bracket arms which were omitted in the Hōryū-ji galleries.

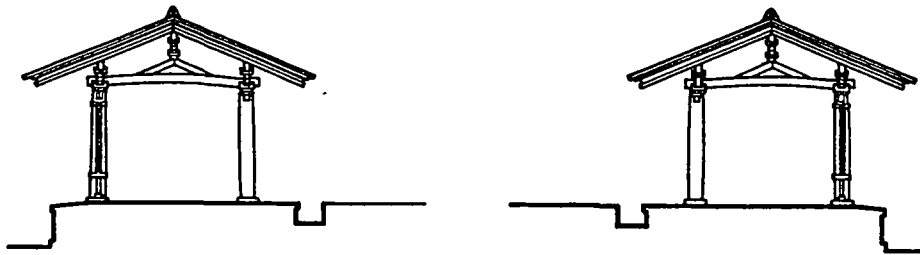


Fig. 464: Sections of the lateral galleries of Hōryū-ji 法隆寺ほりゅうじ 법룡사 (around 700 AD, scale: 1 : 200) (after: MASUDA Tomoya, FUTUGAWA Yukio (1969), p. 53)

### 3.3.2.5. The dormitories and the question of the belfry and *sūtra* repository

The layout of dormitories was confirmed at Nūng-sa [fig. 258] and Mi-rūk-sa [figs. 352, 356]. Their existence has been proven at Güm-gang-sa (see p. 307), and the additional building remains behind the image halls of the temple site at Gun-suri (see pp. 288f.) and Chōng-rim-sa [fig. 246] could also have belonged to the dormitories. It is possible that the Nūng-sa and Mi-rūk-sa dormitories are representative of two different types of dormitories. At Mi-rūk-sa, an important number of individual cells were apparently combined under a large roof, while at Nūng-sa, the dormitories were formed of several independent buildings of various size, some of which had heating systems.

The dormitory complexes of Mi-rūk-sa resemble those of several early temples in Japan, in particular those of Kawara-dera [figs. 401, 465] and the temple site at Minami Shiga [fig. 403] which were also located between the image hall and the lecture hall. But the arrangement in groups of two cells seems to have been a particularity of Mi-rūk-sa. In Japan the rhythm of the cells seems to have followed the regular wooden columns of the front side and created various spaces large of one to four bays.



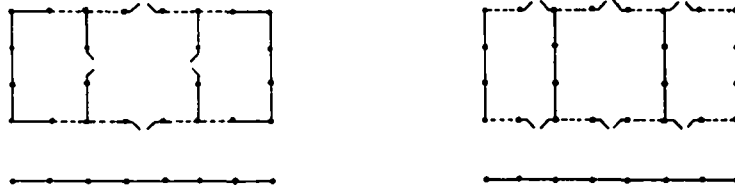


Fig. 465: Layout of the dormitories of Kawara-dera 川原寺かわらでら 천원사 (mid-7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 500) (after: CHANG Kyōng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), p. 254)

The structures to the east and west of the lecture hall of Nūng-sa were possibly used as dormitories or retreats for higher monks (see Chapter 3.2., p. 372). Their location is reminiscent of the remains of pavilions beside the lecture halls of the temple site at Gun-su-ri (see pp. 289f.) and the building site at Dong-nam-ri (see p. 386). The Japanese investigation teams concluded that they might have been the belfries and the *sūtra* repositories of the temple as can be observed at Hōryū-ji<sup>1</sup> for example [fig. 399]. Beside these disputed examples there seems to be no other example of belfry and the *sūtra* repository during the Korean Three Kingdoms period<sup>2</sup>. If these structures belonged to the typical temple at that period as claimed by several Japanese scholars, it could be expected that at least Mi-rūk-sa and the first reconstruction of Hwang-ryong-sa possessed them which seems not to be the case. The belfry and the *sūtra* repository seem to have become popular in Korea shortly after the unification of the Korean peninsula by Sin-la with the construction of Bo-mun-sa [fig. 466] and Sa-čhōn-wang-sa<sup>3</sup> [fig. 467] together with raise of popularity of the twin-pagoda temple layout<sup>4</sup>. In the light of the excavation results of Nūng-sa, I tend to interpret the lateral structures beside the lecture halls of the temple site at Gun-su-ri and the building site at Dong-nam-ri also as auxiliary buildings with a close relationship with the lecture hall similar to those of Nūng-sa.

<sup>1</sup> At Hōryū-ji, the *sūtra* repository (*kyōzō* 經藏 きょうぞう 경장) lies to the west and the belfry (*shurō*, *shōrō* 鐘樓 しゆらう, しゅうらう 종루) to the east. They seem to be additions of the early Nara period (early 8th C. AD) because they figure on an inventory of 747 AD. The belfry was reconstructed in the Heian period. See: SÖPER (1942), p. 20, 24, 125, 203f.

<sup>2</sup> The case of Hūng-ryun-sa 興輪寺 흥륜사 of Ancient Sin-la will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.2., pp. 740ff.

<sup>3</sup> Bo-mun-sa 普門寺 보문사 (No. 7.34.6.), Sa-čhōn-wang-sa 四天王寺 사천왕사 (No. 7.34.7.) [fig. 507 (6)]. Both temple sites lie to the east of Kyōng-chu 慶州 경주.

<sup>4</sup> Twin-pagodas temple 雙塔伽藍 쌍탑가람. See: KIM Sung-woo (KIM Sōng-u 金聖雨 김성우) (1985), pp. 282 - 291.

Reconstruction projects of dormitories have been only been proposed for Nŭng-sa [figs. 272 - 275]. The elevations and sections seem to be plausible with the exception of the structure of the western building which repeats the same Chinese 'string-column' structure (see p. 611) as the image hall. As there seems to be no evidence that this structure was ever used on the Korean peninsula, its use for the reconstruction of Bæk-che temples appears to be far-fetched at least.



Fig. 466: Layout of the remains of Bo-mun-sa 普門寺 보문사  
(late 7th - early 8th C. AD, scale: 1 : 1,000) (after: *NB 2*, p. 149)

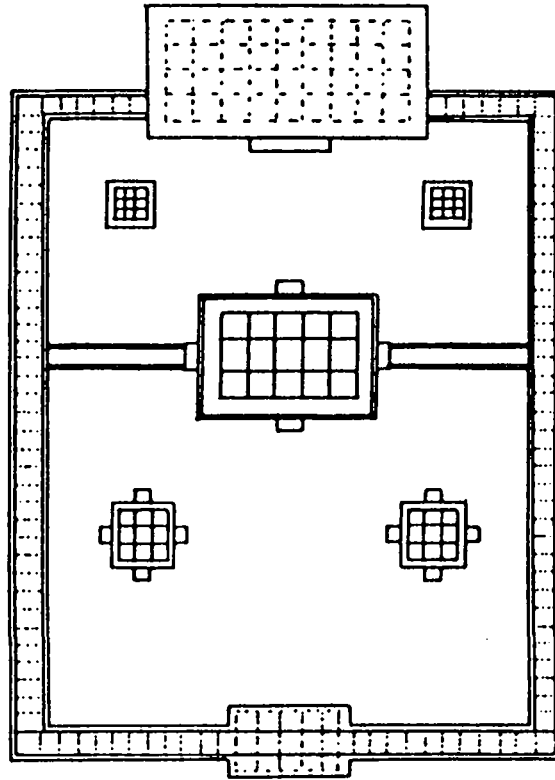


Fig. 467: Reconstructed layout of Sa-chŏn-wang-sa 四天王寺 사천왕사 (679 AD, scale: 1 : 1,000) (after: MHCKLG (1982), p. 376)

### 3.3.2.6. Other structures and the question of the refectories

Additional structures in Buddhist temples of Bæk-che were lotus ponds, stone lotus basins and stone lanterns. Lotus ponds were confirmed for Chŏng-rim-sa [figs. 234, 237] and Mi-rŭk-sa [fig. 300]. The stone basins at Dæ-tong-sa [fig. 188] and the building site at Dong-nam-ri [fig. 287] could have replaced the traditional lotus ponds when the particular circumstances<sup>1</sup> did not allow to dig full-scale ponds in front of the temple. The function of the ponds can be explained on an architectural, geomantic and religious level. In architectural terms, the reflective ponds in front

<sup>1</sup> Such reasons could be the lack of space or because the geomancer concluded that the construction of large ponds would be pernicious.

of the main face of a building enhances the grandeur by optically doubling the its height. The existence of water in front of human constructions has always been a constant preoccupation of geomancy<sup>1</sup>. In religious terms water has a purifying character and in Buddhism the ponds also represent the oceans surrounding mount Sumeru and allow to grow the lotus flowers which are a very important Buddhist symbol<sup>2</sup>. The stone lanterns, beside illuminating the courtyard, were also sculptural objects which could integrate religious and philosophical symbols such as the wisdom of Buddha or the cycle of death and rebirth<sup>3</sup>.

No evidence of refectories were discovered so far at the known temple sites of Bæk-che while such structures have been reported from several early Japanese temples such as Shitennō-ji [fig. 396], Kawara-dera [fig. 401] and the temple site at Minami Shiga<sup>4</sup> [fig. 403]. It is possible that the refectories, which probably also existed in Bæk-che, were either placed less rigourously in the temple precinct than in Japan or their construction material was re-used more easily because it did not have the strong religious connotation which protected the main structures. Another possible explanation would be that the lecture halls were used not only for teaching but also as refectories. While this is imaginable for smaller temples, it seems improbable for large temples such as Mi-rük-sa.

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<sup>1</sup> The most probable explanation for this can be found in basic rules for healthy housing implantation since the neolithic period: as the water flows to the lowest place of the site, the entrances of dwellings which are orientated towards this point, are well protected from water, snow or mudslides.

<sup>2</sup> The parable of the lotus flower is probably the most famous example of this symbolism. The historical Buddha decided to preach the Buddhist doctrine after contemplating three lotus flowers in a pond which he compared to the human mind. The first flower was stuck to the ground so that not even his teaching could elevate the corresponding mind. The second flower was already blooming on the surface of the pond so that it needed no help any more. The third lotus flower floated still in the middle of the water. As the Buddha realized that his teachings could help those people who try to reach awakening but go astray because of lack of guidance, he decided to postpone his *nirvāṇa* to preach the Buddhist *dharma*.

<sup>3</sup> The Buddhist interpretation of rebirth and *karma* is often explained as follows: rebirth is like a blown-out candle which is lit again: it is the same and not the same at once. The term *dengming* 燈明 등면 means "a lamp hung before a Buddha as symbol of his wisdom".  
See: SOOTHILL, HODOUS (1969), p. 448.

<sup>4</sup> See: OOKA Minoru (1973), pp. 102, 117f., appendix.

### 3.3.3. CONSTRUCTION METHODS AND MATERIALS

While there is much more archaeological evidence of Buddhist temples in Bæk-che than in Ko-gu-ryō, it is more difficult to reconstruct the construction details of Bæk-che because it did not reproduce architectural structures as clay house models nor illustrate them in murals of tombs as in the case of Ko-gu-ryō. In many cases it can only be speculated that elements which occur both in Ko-gu-ryō and early Japan were probably also known in Bæk-che and Ancient Sin-la.

#### 3.3.3.1. General building forms

The ground plans of the Buddhist buildings of Bæk-che resembled in many aspects those of Ko-gu-ryō. They were mostly rectangular, their southern, larger side was usually the main face which was divided into an odd number of bays. In the case of housings and lecture halls, the number of bays can be even and the orientation of minor buildings can be east- or westwards. The load-bearing structure was generally formed by a wooden skeleton and the important buildings were covered with tiles. The only safely known roof form is the square pagoda with pyramidal roofs. Irrefutable evidence for this form are the stone pagodas and the fragment of a miniature bronze pagoda<sup>1</sup> [fig. 430]. Several of the other important roof forms (polygonal pyramidal roofs, gable roof, hip roof and hip-and-gable roof) are supposed to have existed too but definite evidence is difficult to cite. It has been shown that the lecture hall of Mi-rük-sa possessed either a hip roof or hip-and-gable roof because remains of rafters were found on the lateral sides (see p. 471). The octagonal stone lanterns of Mi-rük-sa [figs. 316, 349] and the hexagonal incense burner lid of Sō-bok-sa<sup>2</sup> [fig. 297] could indicate that also octagonal and hexagonal building forms were used in Bæk-che. The remains of a nine-sided pavilion at I-sōng-san-sōng<sup>3</sup> [fig. 468] seems to be an indication in the same direction. The carving on a tile fragment<sup>4</sup> seems to depict a monk and a temple building in a mountainous countryside [fig. 469]. If the carving can be taken literally, the single-storied building seems to have a hip-and-gable roof. The tile roofs seem to have been generally curved in two directions as the roofs of the fragment of a miniature

<sup>1</sup> See: above pp. 576ff. and Chapter 3.2., p. 379.

<sup>2</sup> Sō-bok-sa 西復寺 서복사. See: Chapter 3.2., p. 400.

<sup>3</sup> I-sōng-san-sōng 二聖山城 이성산성. See: *HGKCS*, pp. 141f.

<sup>4</sup> On a wall or floor tile found at Wæ-ri 外里 외리. See: Chapter 3.2., p. 391.

bronze pagoda, the stone pagodas and the carving on a tile fragment seem to suggest. The extant structures of early Japan<sup>1</sup> also fit this assumption.

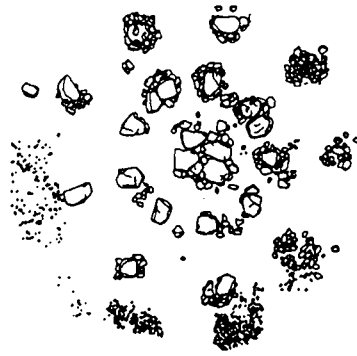


Fig. 468: Excavation plan of a nine-sided pavilion at I-sŏng-san-sŏng 二聖山城 이성산성 (Bæk-che, scale: 1 : 100) (after: CHANG Kyŏng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992), p. 81)

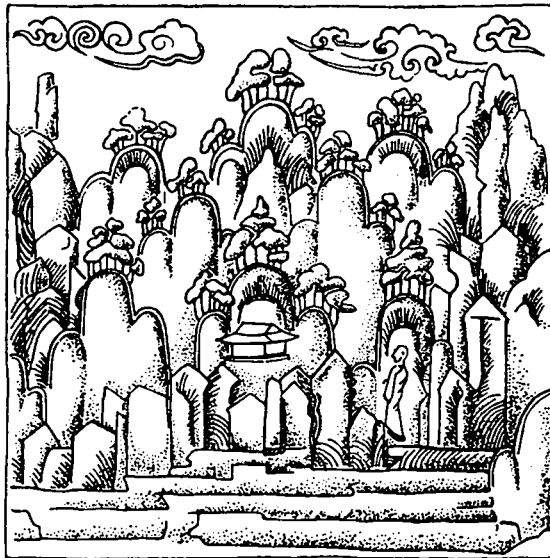


Fig. 469: Carving of a monk and a building in a hilly countryside on a decorative floor tile from Wæ-ri 外里 외리 and detail of the building (late 6th - early 7th C. AD, no scale) (after: KEILHAUER (1986), p. 55; RI Hwa-sŏn 리화선 (1993), p. 191)

<sup>1</sup> E.g. the image hall and the pagoda of Hōryū-ji 法隆寺 ほりゅうじ 법룡사 and the miniature image hall of the Tamamushi shrine 玉蟲厨子 たまむしのずし 옥충주자. See: pp. 559ff., 589ff. 606.

Chinese historical sources<sup>1</sup> contain the description of several Bæk-che structures, including elevated buildings on piles and pit houses which had their entrances in the roof and necessitated a ladder to climb down to the bottom. But these descriptions seem only to apply to domestic architecture because no evidence of such structures was discovered so far at temple sites. The excavation of an underground space with a wooden floor and a ladder near Dæ-chŏn Metropolis<sup>2</sup> [fig. 470] could possibly illustrate the second building type mentioned in the Chinese texts while the first type might have resembled the elevated log cabins known from Ko-gu-ryŏ, Ka-ya, Sin-la and Japan<sup>3</sup> [figs. 39 - 41, 160, 505].

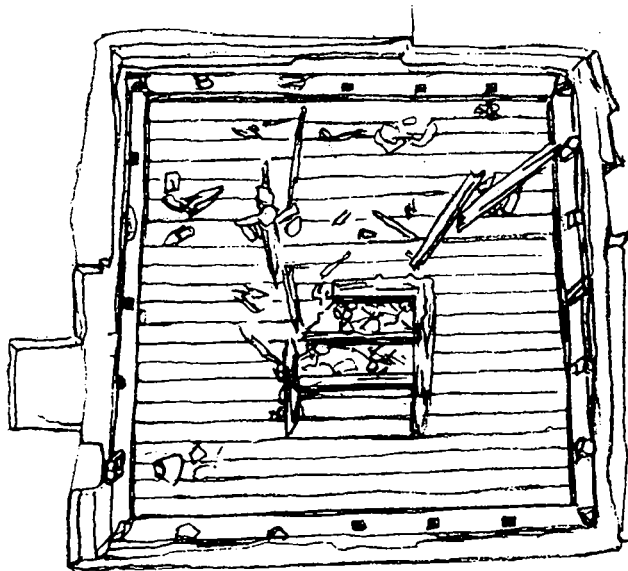


Fig. 470: Perspective of the remains of a pit construction in Dæ-chŏn Metropolis 大田廣域市 대전광역시 (Bæk-che, no scale) (drawing by the author)

- <sup>1</sup> E.g. the *Hou Wei shu* 「後魏書 후위서」: "Die Häuser in Päkche (Bæk-che) stehen auf hohen Ständern, deshalb musste man mit einer Leiter auf und ab steigen." The *Wei shu* 「魏書 위서」: "Die Stadt hat eine Stadtmauer und die Bevölkerung baute Erdgrubenhäuser und Gebäude die wie Gräber aussehen und den Eingang auf dem Dach haben, deshalb musste man mit einer Leiter auf und ab steigen. (...) Die Bevölkerung Päkches (Bæk-che) baute ihre Gebäude hoch über der Erde (Pfahlbau) weil der Boden sehr feucht war." See: YOO-KIM Bok-nam (1980), p. 137. See also Chapter 1.2., pp. 45ff.
- <sup>2</sup> At Wŏl-pyŏng-dong 月坪洞 월평동, Dæ-chŏn Metropolis 大田廣域市 대전광역시. The sides of the floor measured about 5.2m and was lowered into the ground by about 1.2m. The remains have been dated to the 6th or early 7th century AD. See: *The Chosun Ilbo* 「朝鮮日報 조선일보」, 1994. 12. 29, p. 1; *The Korea Times*, Jan. 4, 1995, p. 10
- <sup>3</sup> See: Chapter 1.2., pp. 45ff., Chapter 2.3., pp. 195, 199, fig. 160, Chapter 4.1., pp. 668f.

### 3.3.3.2. The foundations, platforms and heating system

The foundations are evidently the best preserved elements of the Buddhist architecture of Bæk-che and Chapter 3.2 has devoted much space to the description of the various platform constructions. The platforms can be distinguished by three criteria:

1. according to the number of steps: simple platforms and two-stepped platforms,
2. according to the construction material of the retaining wall: cut or uncut stone platforms and tile or brick platforms,
3. according to the position of the wooden superstructure in the case of two-stepped platforms: columns only on the upper step or columns on both steps.

The simple platforms seem to have been used in Buddhist architecture mainly for minor buildings such as gates, galleries, lecture hall and housing of the monks so that the two-stepped platform was practically limited to pagodas and image halls. Each material could be used for any of the platform types but it seems that the tile and brick platforms were less frequent than the stone platforms.

The most prestigious platform type was probably the two-stepped stone platform with columns only on the upper step such as was excavated at the main structures of Mi-rük-sa [fig. 311]. The platforms of the pagoda and the image hall of Hōryū-ji [figs. 441, 445] resemble this type but their lower retaining walls are more elaborate than in the known examples from Bæk-che. While the Hōryū-ji platforms possess intermediate and corner posts in the lower retaining walls but not in the upper ones, the Bæk-che platforms usually possessed corner posts in the upper retaining walls only. As the platform of the stone pagoda of Chōng-rim-sa is the only known case of intermediate posts [figs. 239, 240], it seems that this element was not frequently used in Bæk-che. The intermediate posts in the retaining walls of the platforms later became typical of Unified Sin-la platforms.

The platform type with wooden columns on both steps of the platform seems to have been limited to a few image halls such as at Chōng-rim-sa [fig. 243] and the building site at Dong-nam-ri (Chōn-wang-sa ?)<sup>1</sup> [figs. 282 - 284]. As no such building seems to be extant in East Asia, it is difficult to reconstruct their superstructure. This type was also reported from the eastern and western image

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<sup>1</sup> Chōng-rim-sa 定林寺 정림사 (No. 4.19.1.), Dong-nam-ri Kōn-mul-chi 東南里建物址 동남리건물지 possibly Chōn-wang-sa 天王寺 천왕사 (No. 4.19.2.) See: Chapter 3.2., pp. 336f., 379ff.



halls of Asuka-dera [fig. 471] and the eastern image hall of Güm-gang-sa of Ko-gu-ryō [fig. 126]. SUZUKI<sup>1</sup> proposes that the "outer row of pillars (...) held up the eaves"<sup>2</sup>, what seems to suggest that these buildings did not possess full-fledged bracket sets as the main structures of Hōryū-ji.

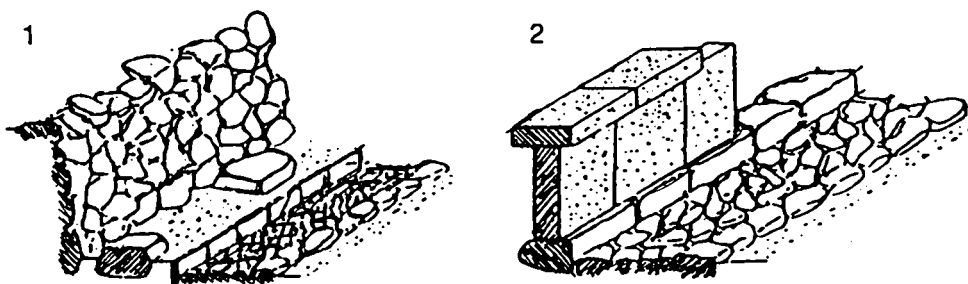


Fig. 471: Perspectives of the platform constructions of the lateral (1) and central image halls (2) of Asuka-dera 飛鳥寺 あすかてら 비조사 (late 6th C. AD ?, no scale) (after: CHANG Kyōng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992), p. 89)

The case of the central image hall of Hwang-ryong-sa<sup>3</sup>, however, seems to exclude such a simple solution (see Chapter 4.2.). It seems to be more probable to suppose that the columns of the lower step belonged to an independent portico similar to that of the Yakushi-ji pagoda<sup>4</sup> [fig. 472] of 730 AD which stands however on the same level as the main structure.

The foundations of the wooden columns of Bæk-che were in general similar to those of Ko-gu-ryō: the square or round foundation stones were placed on heaps of stones which in turn lay on several layers of rammed earth. The ruined image halls

<sup>1</sup> See: SUZUKI Kakichi (1980), p. 43f.

<sup>2</sup> This proposition is possibly based on the frequent enlargements of extant structures by prolonging the roof and adding one or two supplementary rows of columns in later Japan. This technique seems to be directly connected with the 'hidden roof' (J. *noyane* 野屋根 のやね 아옥근) construction which is apparently a purely Japanese invention of the mid-Heian period. See: PARENT (1983), p. 22ff., 110ff., 319.

<sup>3</sup> KIM suppose an independent portico in his reconstruction drawings of the central image hall Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황동사. See: Chapter 4.2., p. 813ff., KIM Dong-hyōn 金東賢 김동현 (1992), pp. 178 - 180.

<sup>4</sup> Yakushi-ji 藥師寺 약사사. See: NAKAGAWA Takeshi 中川 武 なかがわたけし 중천무 (1990), pp. 166f.

of Mi-rük-sa, Kwan-kung-sa and Im-kang-sa<sup>1</sup> used a particular type of foundation which consists of placing a first foundation stone on the level of the courtyard and adding a stone post which had the height of the platform [figs. 311, 349, 372]. This system seems to add stability to the foundation because the filling of the platform is not as stable as the natural soil. To my knowledge no similar cases of foundations have been reported from other East Asian kingdoms but the evidence of the contemporaneous periods in China is still scant.

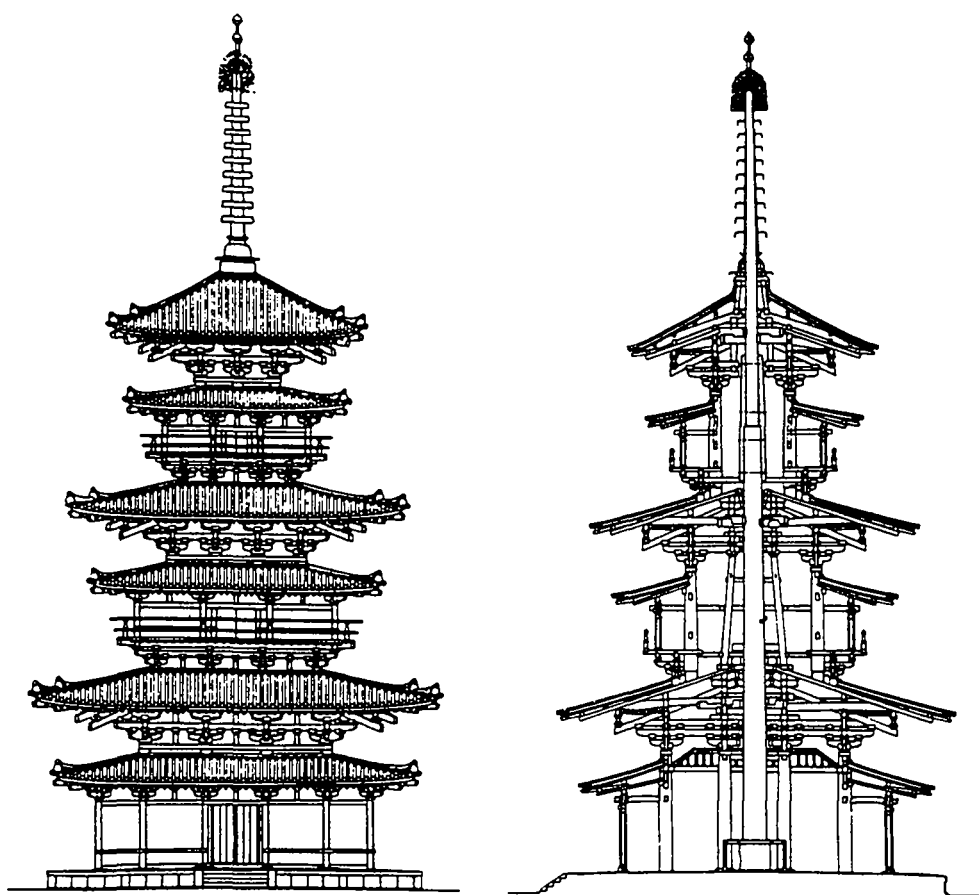


Fig. 472: Elevation and section of the eastern pagoda of Yakushi-ji 藥師寺やくしじ 약사사 (730 AD, scale: 1 : 300)  
(after: MATSUYAMA Tetsuo 松山鐵夫まつやまてつお 승산철부 (1990), p. 84)

<sup>1</sup> Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 (No. 5.6.2.), Kwan-kung-sa 官宮寺 관궁사 (No. 5.6.3.), Im-kang-sa 臨江寺 임강사 near Bu-yō 扶餘 부여. See: SIN Yōng-hun 申榮勳 신영훈 (1975), p. 62.

The early Korean heating system, its Chinese counterpart and its use in Ko-gu-ryŏ have already been discussed in Chapters 1.2., pp. 48 - 50 and Chapter 2.3., pp. 201 - 203. The discovery of heating conduits along walls in five interior spaces of Nŭng-sa<sup>1</sup> confirm that Bæk-che used a similar heating system as Ko-gu-ryŏ. It seems that the heating was limited to a single conduit per room during the Three Kingdoms period. Multiple conduits are first confirmed from Bar-hæ<sup>2</sup> [fig. 473].

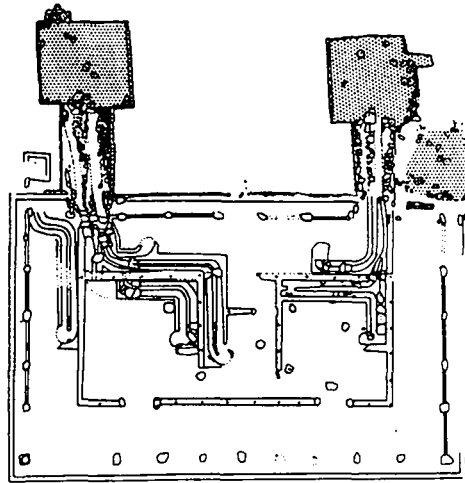


Fig. 473: Excavation plan of a heating system with multiple smoke conduits of Bar-hæ 渤海 발해 at Sang-kyŏng-yong-čhŏn-bu 上京龍泉府 상경용천부 (8th - 9th C. AD ?, scale: 1 : 500) (after: CHANG Kyŏng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992), p. 515)

### 3.3.3.3. The columns, walls and openings

Not much is known of the columns, the walls and the openings of the Buddhist architecture of Bæk-che. The stone pagodas and the miniature bronze pagoda fragment of Bæk-che are not very informative. The reconstructions are usually based on the extant buildings of the Asuka period in Japan (mainly of Hōryū-ji). Based on the fact that the square pillars of the western stone pagoda of Mi-rŭk-sa feature a slight entasis it has been speculated that the round wooden columns usually had similar forms and proportions as the columns of the main buildings to Hōryū-ji.

<sup>1</sup> Nŭng-sa 陵寺 능사 (No. 4.19.7.). See: Chapter 3.2., pp. 369 - 373, figs. 270, 274.

<sup>2</sup> In a palace building of Bar-hæ 渤海 발해 (698 to 926 AD) of Sang-kyŏng-yong-čhŏn-bu 上京龍泉府 상경용천부 (probably 8th to 9th C. AD). The multiple conduits discovered at the buildings No. 3 and No. 10 to the west of the temple precinct of Mi-rŭk-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 at Ik-san 益山 익산 date probably to Ko-ryŏ. See: CHANG Kyŏng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992), pp. 514f., 518 - 521.

Most walls of the Buddhist architecture of Bæk-che seem to have been non-load-bearing, constructed apparently in a similar way to most of the walls of the extant traditional architecture of Korea. The system consists of applying layers of a mixture of clay and straw on a skeleton of thin lattices fixed between the columns and ties. Several tombs in the Kong-chu area show that Bæk-che mastered also the load-bearing brick wall and vault. The skill of stone wall construction is impressively demonstrated in the stone pagodas of Chöng-rim-sa and Mi-rük-sa.

The corner bays of the bronze fragment of the miniature pagoda show diagonally-latticed windows<sup>1</sup> [fig. 430]. These lattices are reminiscent of the design on the top of the lantern roofs at the Yinan tomb<sup>2</sup> [fig. 58] as well as the windows of several clay models and stone carvings of the Eastern Han dynasty<sup>3</sup>. Such lattice windows are still extant in China, Korea and Japan<sup>4</sup>. The form of a stone threshold at Chöng-rim-sa [fig. 246] indicates that a second wooden threshold<sup>5</sup> was placed on the base stone of the doors similar to an extant tradition in South Korea.

#### 3.3.3.4. The bracket sets

The above-mentioned fragment of a bronze miniature pagoda [fig. 430] is the only evidence of the bracket sets of Bæk-che if the extant structures in Japan are omitted. The small capital of a railing post which was found in the lotus pond in front of Mi-rük-sa gives only little supplementary information on the bracket sets (see Chapter 3.2., p. 483, fig. 363).

The brackets of the bronze miniature pagoda consist of an upwards-curved bracket arm and a transversal beam which seem to support an oblique cantilever which is called 'tail rafter' in Japan<sup>6</sup>. The transversal beam and the tail rafter are not separated in the small model but the structural similarities with the 'cloud-shaped' bracket sets<sup>7</sup> in Japan are striking [fig. 474]. While the corner brackets are placed at an angle of 45° (respectively 135°) to the plans of the columns, the intermediate brackets are perpendicular to the sides similar to the those of the pagoda [fig. 421], image hall [fig. 441] and middle gate [fig. 461] of Hōryū-ji and a

<sup>1</sup> Diagonally-latticed windows, K: *sa-ryöng-chang* (Ch: *xieling chuang*) 斜樞窓 사랑창. See: Chung-öhöng-nam-do 忠濟南道 충청남도 (ed.) (1991), p. 236.

<sup>2</sup> Yinan 沂南 기념. See: Chapter 2.1., p. 65, 77f.

<sup>3</sup> See: LIU Dunzhen 劉敦楨 유돈정 (1980), pp. 68 - 73.

<sup>4</sup> See: ZHANG Yuhuan (ed.) (1986), p. 162f.; YI Kyöng-chæ 李耿在 이경재 (1971, 1987), p. 31, 94, 133ff., 155, 172ff.; BUISSON (1989), p. 143, 201, 227.

<sup>5</sup> Threshold: K: *mun-chi-bang* 門地枋 문지방. See: HGKCDK I, p. 60; HGKCDK IV, § 2867.

<sup>6</sup> Tail rafter, J: *odaruki* 尾樑 おだるき 미추. In China and Korea, the oblique cantilever is called *xia-ang* (K: *ha-ang*) 下昂 하양 (literally 'low-rise' i.e. 'a structural element which reaches low on one side and rises on the other').

<sup>7</sup> "Cloud-shaped" bracket set, J: *kumo-hijiki* 雲肘木 くもひじき 운주목.

model of a (Buddhist ?) hall from the Sui period<sup>1</sup> [fig. 475]. The intermediate brackets of the front and back side of the Tamamushi shrine<sup>2</sup> [fig. 455] and possibly those of the image hall of Yamada-dera<sup>3</sup> [fig. 476] are exceptionally slightly turned towards the corners as if they tried to follow the fan-rafter system.

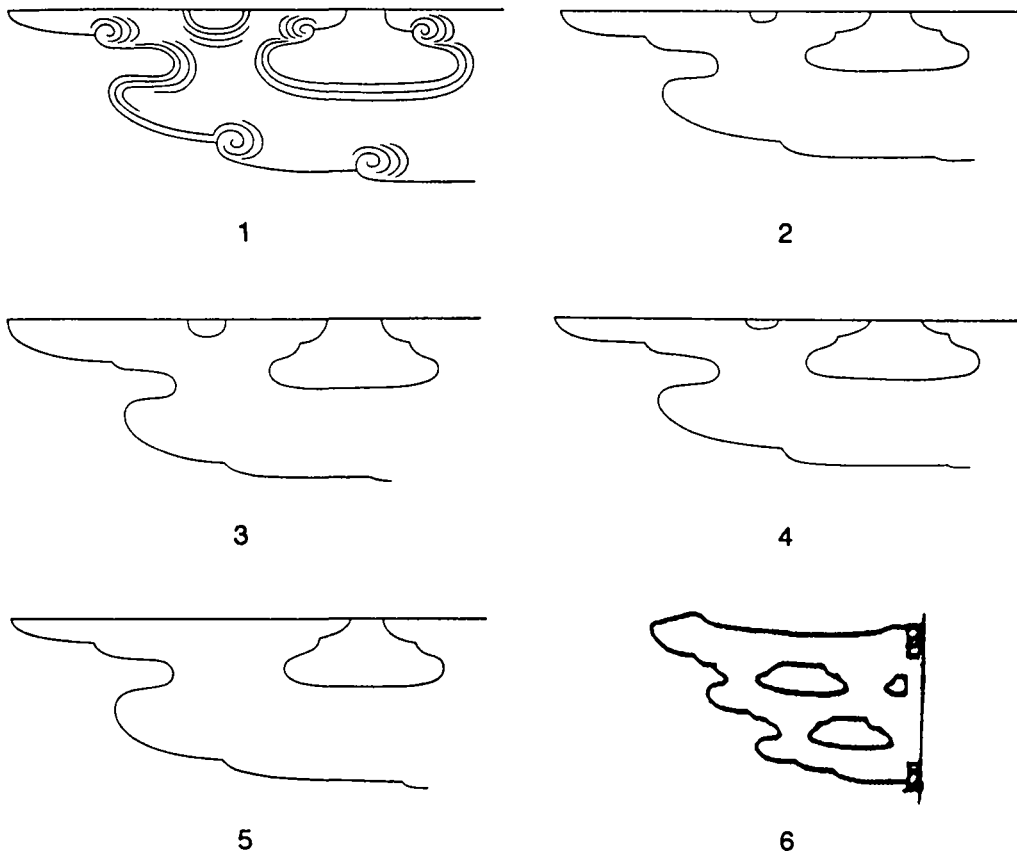


Fig. 474: Details of 'cloud-shaped' bracket arms, *kuno-hijiki* 雲肘木 くもひじき 운주목 (Asuka period, 7th C. AD, scales: 1 : 30 (1 - 5), about 1 : 4 (6)) (after: SKBJZS 2, p. 152; KIM Dong-hyön 金東賢 김동현 (1996), p. 299 (6)).

- Legend:
- 1 image hall of Hōryū-ji 法隆寺ほりゅうじ 법룡사
  - 2 pagoda of Hōryū-ji 法隆寺ほりゅうじ 법룡사
  - 3 middle gate of Hōryū-ji 法隆寺ほりゅうじ 법룡사
  - 4 pagoda of Hōrin-ji 法輪寺ほりんじ 법륜사
  - 5 pagoda of Hokki-ji 法起寺ほっきじ 법기사
  - 6 Tamamushi shrine 玉蟲廚子たまむしのずし 옥충주자

<sup>1</sup> Sui 隋수 (581 to 618 AD). See: HAN Dong-su 韓東洙 한등수, YANG Ko-yōng 楊鏞永 양호영 (1992), p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> Tamamushi no Zushi 玉蟲廚子たまむしのずし 옥충주자.

<sup>3</sup> Yamada-dera 山田寺 やまだでら 산전사. See: NHnBJ 196, pp. 43f.



Fig. 475: Perspective of a clay model of a building (Buddhist image hall ?) of the Sui period 隋 卽 in the Henan Provincial Museum 河南省博物館 하남성박물관 (581 - 618 AD, no scale) (drawing by the author)

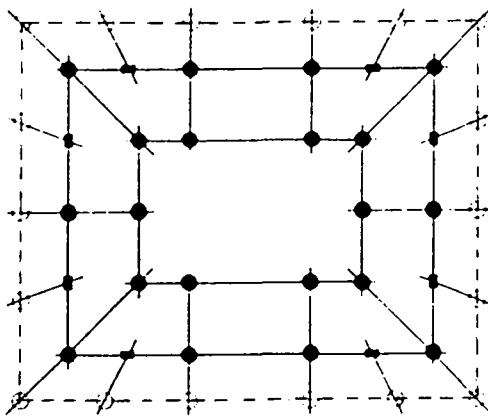


Fig. 476: Scheme of the direction of the bracket sets of the image hall of Yamada-dera 山田寺 やまだでら 산전사 and reconstructed perspective (641 - 676 AD, scale: 1 : 300) (after: *NHnBJ* 196, p. 43)

In comparison with the miniature image hall of the Tamamushi shrine in Hōryū-ji [fig. 455], the Bæk-che miniature pagoda fragment [fig. 430] is too small to represent all the details of the bracket set. Nevertheless, an interpolation with the help of Chinese and Japanese evidence seems to permit a reconstruction. As mentioned above, the bracket sets of the Bæk-che model are not placed on a capital but protrude from the square columns. This seeming anomaly has either been overlooked by most scholars or has been interpreted as an artistic compromise due to the reduced size of the model. Evidence from China could however indicate that there was in fact an alternative construction method to the 'capital-and-tie' system which was used in the main buildings of Hōryū-ji and which became the standard for prestigious wooden buildings for more than a thousand years.

A number of clay models [fig. 477, 478] and carvings in stone, bronze and tiles [fig. 479] from the Han period<sup>1</sup> feature bracket sets which protrude from the columns or walls without column capitals or ties below them. As these models are larger and give very precise details of the small capitals on the bracket arms, it is difficult to argue that the omission of column capitals can simply be attributed to the reduced scale. It seems that a stage of the development of this 'tree-like', 'plugged-bracket-arm' system which is still used in domestic architecture of China and Taiwan<sup>2</sup> [figs. 480, 481] featured double columns<sup>3</sup> at the corners with 'plugged' brackets protruding perpendicular to the plan of the walls [fig. 478]. The columns would probably become too weak if two bracket arms were 'plugged' at the same height. The problem was solved by placing the corner bracket at an angle of 45° (respectively 135°) to the plans of the walls as in the bronze miniature pagoda of Bæk-che [fig. 430] and the lowest story of the watch tower model from a Han tomb at Shanxian, Henan<sup>4</sup> [fig. 477 (1)]. The brackets supporting the outer beams of the

<sup>1</sup> Among them are the following pieces: a building model from a Han tomb in Yingyang 滎陽 형양 in Henan 河南 하남, watch towers (*wanglou* 望樓 망루) from several Han tombs: Gaotang 高唐 고당 in Shandong 山東 산둥, Wangdu 望都 망도 in Hebei 河北 하북, Shanxian 陝縣 섬현 in Henan 河南 하남. A molded brick from a Han tomb at Chengdu 成都 성도, Sichuan 四川 사천 (*huaxiangzhuan* 畫像磚 화상석) features a three-bay-long building with 'plugged' brackets and a watch tower with 'capital-and-tie' brackets. This piece illustrates that both systems were used at the same time, according to the situation. See: LIU Dunzhen 劉敦楨 유돈정 (1980), pp. 68, 71 - 73; Chung-čhōng-nam-do 忠濟南道 충청남도 (ed.) (1991), p. 219.

<sup>2</sup> There are frequently two superimposed 'plugged' bracket arms in Taiwan's domestic architecture. The lower is called *fugong* 副拱 부궁, the upper *zhengong* 正拱 정궁. The bracket sets of several Japanese buildings of the so-called *daibutsu* 大佛 だいぶつ 대불 style of the Kamakura period (e.g. the south main gate of Tōdai-ji 東大寺 とうだいじ 등대사) also belongs to this structural type but the corner problem has been solved by 'plugging' three series of bracket arms into the corner columns. See: LIN Huicheng 林會承 임회승 (1989), p. 69ff.; PARENT (1983), pp. 95 - 105.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. at the watch tower model of the Han tomb at Wangdu 望都 망도 in Hebei 河北 하북. See: LIU Dunzhen 劉敦楨 유돈정 (1980), p. 73.

<sup>4</sup> Shanxian 陝縣 섬현 in Henan 河南 하남. See: LIU Dunzhen 劉敦楨 유돈정 (1980), p. 71.

antechamber of the Chŏn-wang-chi-sin-čhong<sup>1</sup> [fig. 169] and possibly also the bracket sets painted in the Sŏng-čhong<sup>2</sup> [fig. 167 (6)] of Ko-gu-ryŏ could also belong to this 'plugged-bracket-arm' structure type. Most bracket sets reproduced in the tombs of Ko-gu-ryŏ, however, belong to the 'capital-and-tie' system [figs. 164, 166, 167, 168] though the ties are usually placed on top of the bracket sets and not below the capital as in the case of earliest structures of Hōryū-ji [fig. 446].

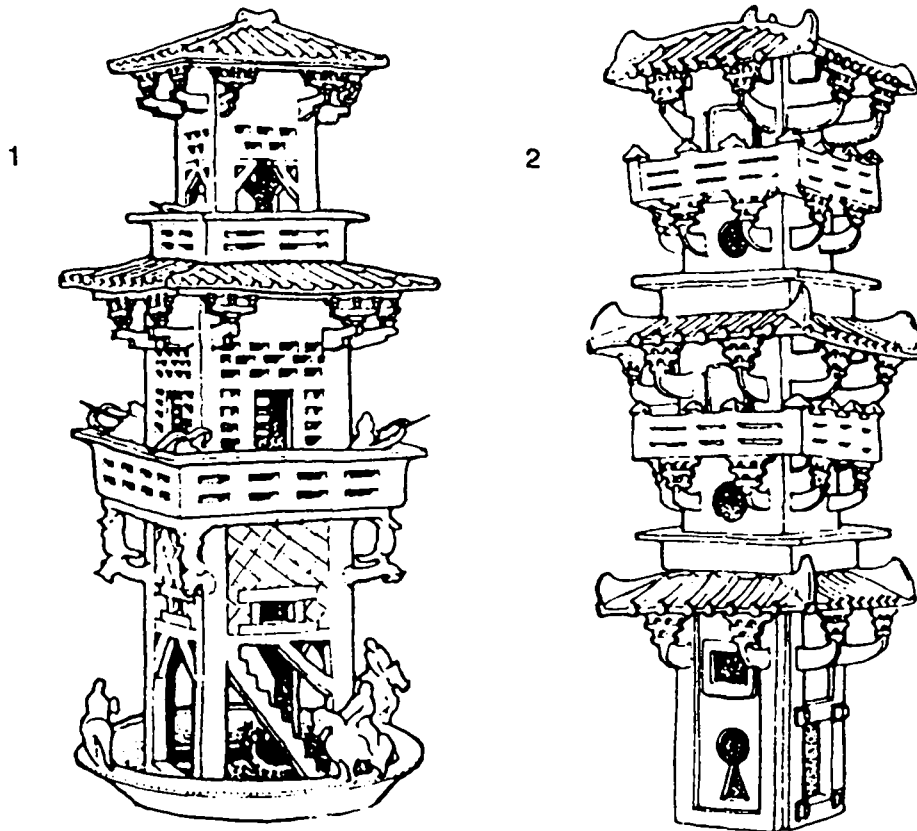


Fig. 477: Clay models of watch towers with 'plugged' bracket arms from Han tombs at Wangdu 望都 망도, Hebei 河北 하북 (1) and Shanxian 陝縣 심현, Henan 河南 하남 (2) (Han period, no scale) (after: LIU Dunzhen 劉敦楨 유돈정 (1980), p. 71)

<sup>1</sup> Chŏn-wang-chi-sin-čhong 天王地神塚 천왕지신총. See: Chapter 2.3., p. 212.

<sup>2</sup> Sŏng-čhong 星塚 성총. See: Chapter 2.3., p. 209, fig. 167 (6).



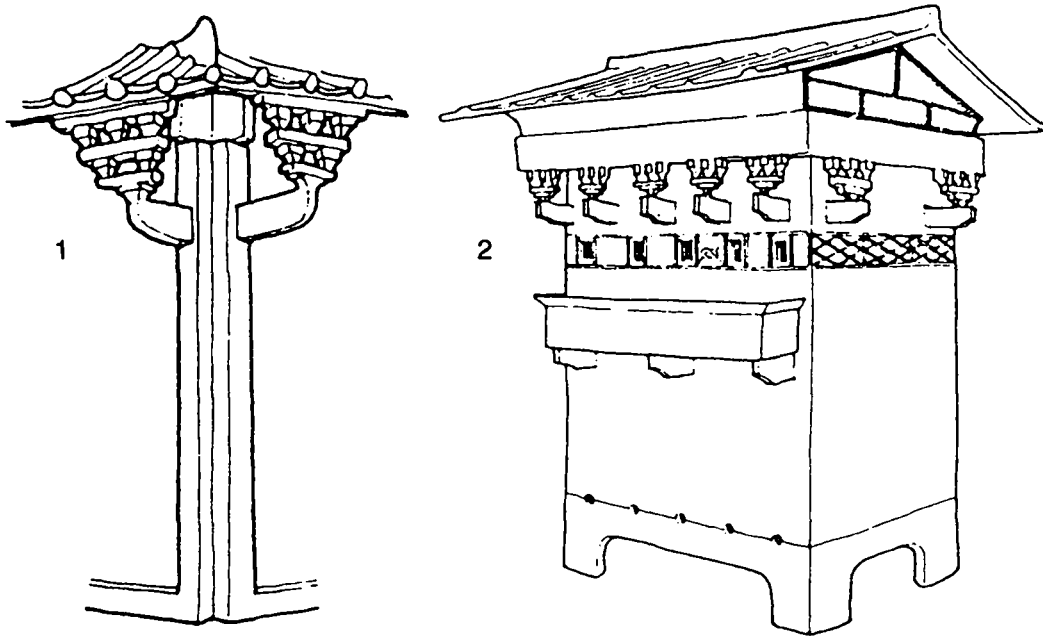


Fig. 478: Detail of the watch tower model of Shanxian 陝縣 성현, Henan 河南 하남 (1) and clay models of a building with 'plugged' bracket arms from Yingyang 滎陽 형양, Henan 河南 하남 (2) (Han period, no scale) (after: LIU Dunzhen 劉敦楨 유돈정 (1980), p. 68, 73)

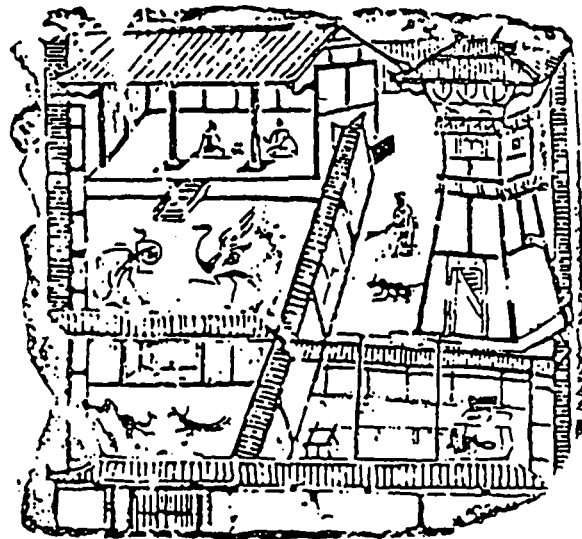


Fig. 479: Carving on a tile from Chengdu 成都 성도, Sichuan 四川 사천 (Han period, no scale) (after: Chung-ch'ong-nam-do 忠濟南道 충청남도 (1991), p. 219)

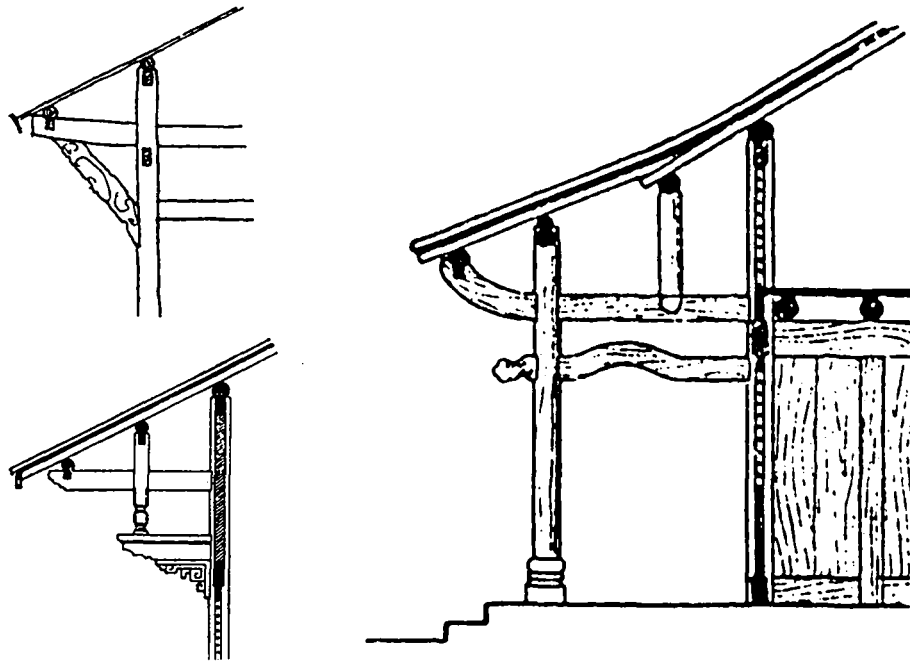


Fig. 480: Examples of 'plugged' bracket arms in Chinese traditional domestic architecture (modern traditional, scale: about 1 : 100) (after: BOYD (1962), p. 31; BOERSCHMANN (1925), vol. 1, p. 62)

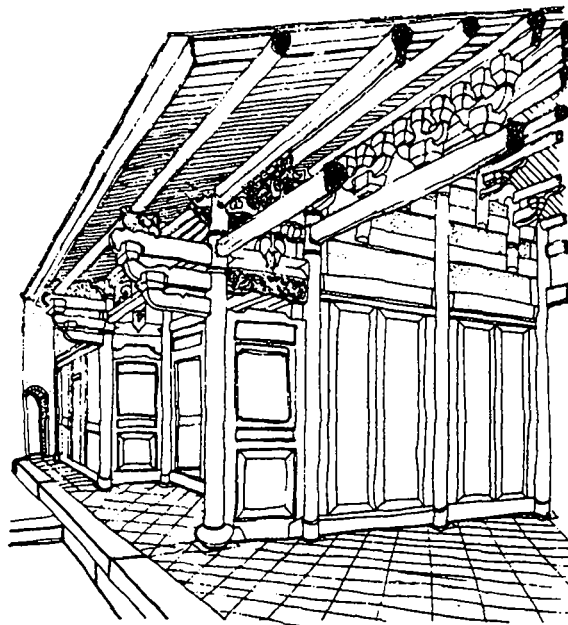


Fig. 481: Perspective of 'plugged' bracket arms in traditional domestic architecture of Taiwan 臺灣 대만 (modern traditional) (after: LIN Huicheng 林會承 임희승 (1989), p. 70)

Some extant structures of the Ko-ryŏ and Cho-sŏn periods still retain this system of 'plugged' bracket arm, the so-called *hŏdh-čhŏm-čha*<sup>1</sup>, in combination with the fully-developed bracket sets. Among them are the bracket sets of the Dæ-ung-chŏn of Su-dŏk-sa [fig. 482], the Hæ-tal-mun of Do-kab-sa [fig. 456] and the Hwa-ŏm-kang-dang of Bong-chŏng-sa<sup>2</sup> [fig. 488]. All these buildings follow the so-called *chu-sim-po*<sup>3</sup> style where the bracket sets lie only on top of columns and not on the tie beams which connect the outer columns. This style seems to have been prevalent in all East Asia [figs. 48, 430, 441, 454, 455] until the seventh century AD at least when the intercolumnar bracket (K: *da-po*<sup>4</sup>) sets began to become popular in Tang China<sup>5</sup> [fig. 452, 483]. The system of 'plugged' bracket arms integrated into bracket sets is to my knowledge only used in Korea which seems to indicate that the 'plugged' bracket arm observed at the model of a Bæk-che pagoda was a popular feature of Bæk-che and the following periods (in particular Hu-bæk-che and Ko-ryŏ ?).

The purely Korean type of bracket set called *ik-kong*<sup>6</sup>, whose first examples date to the early Cho-sŏn period, also seems to be a development of the 'plugged' bracket arm. The *ik-kong* is placed only on top of the columns and possesses a *hŏdh-čhŏm-čha*, a bracket arm which is plugged into the column below the capital [figs. 484, 485]. The distinctions between some examples of *chu-sim-po* [figs. 486 - 488] and *ik-kong* are fluid and usually based only on the decorative elements so that I tend to classify all bracket sets which feature a *hŏdh-čhŏm-čha* [figs. 484, 485, 488] as belonging to the same uniquely Korean bracket set type. This type was most

<sup>1</sup> *Hŏdh-čhŏm-čha* 헛첨차. See: *HGKCDK* IV, p. 120, § 3304.

<sup>2</sup> The Dæ-ung-chŏn 大雄殿 대웅전 of Su-dŏk-sa 修德寺 수덕사 (No. 4. 6.1.) of 1308 AD, the Hæ-tal-mun 解脫門 해탈문 of Do-kab-sa 道岬寺 도갑사 (No. 6.12.1.) of 1473 AD, the Hwa-ŏm-kang-dang 華嚴講堂 화엄강당 of Bong-chŏng-sa 鳳停寺 봉정사 (No. 7.8.1.) of the early 17th C. AD. Other examples are the Gæk-sa-mun 客舍門 객사문 at Kang-rŭng 江陵 강릉 of the 14th C. AD (?), the Yak-sa-chŏn 藥師殿 약사전 of Kwan-ryong-sa 觀龍寺 관룡사 (No. 8.8.1.) of the early 15th C. AD (?), the Cho-sa-dang 祖師堂 조사당 of Bu-sŏk-sa 浮石寺 부석사 (No. 7.10.3.) of 1377 AD (var. 1372), the Yŏng-san-chŏn 靈山殿 영산전 of Kŏ-cho-am 居祖庵 거조암 (No. 7.19.8.) of 1375 AD, the Ha-sa-dang 下舍堂 하사당 of Song-kwang-sa 松廣寺 송광사 (No. 6.8.1.) of the early 15th C. AD and the Gŭk-rak-chŏn 極樂殿 극락전 of Sŏng-bul-sa 成佛寺 성불사 (No. 10.10.1.) of 1320 AD (var. 1374, 1376), the Guk-sa-chŏn 國師殿 국사전 of Song-kwang-sa 松廣寺 송광사 (No. 6.8.1.) of the early 15th C. AD.

<sup>3</sup> *Chu-sim-po* 柱心包 주심포. This is a typical Korean term which can be explained by the fact that this style was longer preserved in Korea than in China. See: *HGKCDK* IV, p. 117, § 3220.

<sup>4</sup> *Da-po* 多包 주심포. This style became the standard for most later Buddhist buildings in China so that no particular term seems to have been used there. See: *HGKCDK* IV, p. 117, § 3211.

<sup>5</sup> The intercolumnar brackets, however, were apparently already known during the Chinese Han dynasty [fig. 479] and also feature on carvings of the Northern Wei dynasty [fig. 150, 172]; the inverted 'V' supports are probably precursors of the intercolumnar bracket sets as some murals of Ko-gu-ryŏ seem to suggest [fig. 161].

<sup>6</sup> *Ik-kong* 翼工 익공. See: YI Dal-hun 李達勳 이달훈 (1989).

frequently used in Confucian architecture (*sŏ-wŏn*<sup>1</sup>). Buddhist temples seem to have applied this style mainly for minor buildings because of its apparent simplicity.

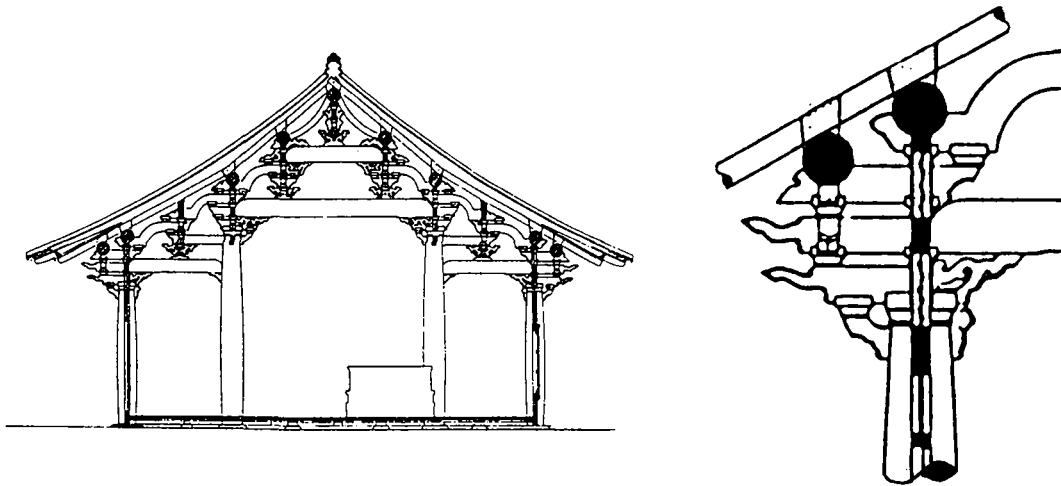


Fig. 482: Section (scale: 1 : 200) and detail of a bracket set (scale: 1 : 50) of the Dæ-ung-chŏn 大雄殿 대웅전 of Su-dŏk-sa 修德寺 수덕사 (1308 AD) (after: *HGŭK KC* 4, p. 29)

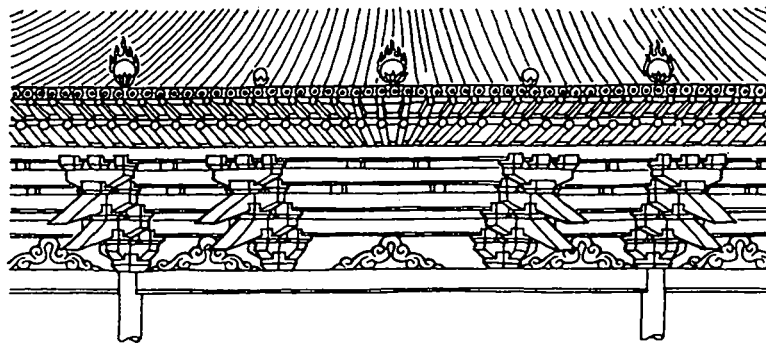


Fig. 483: Mural in Cave No. 231 at Dunhuang 敦煌 洞窟 231 showing a building with intercolumnar bracket sets (mid-Tang (839 AD), no scale) (after: XIAO Mo 蕭默 소묵 (1989), p. 230)

<sup>1</sup> *Sŏ-wŏn* 書院 서원. See: KIM Ŭn-chung 金銀重 김은중 (1994).

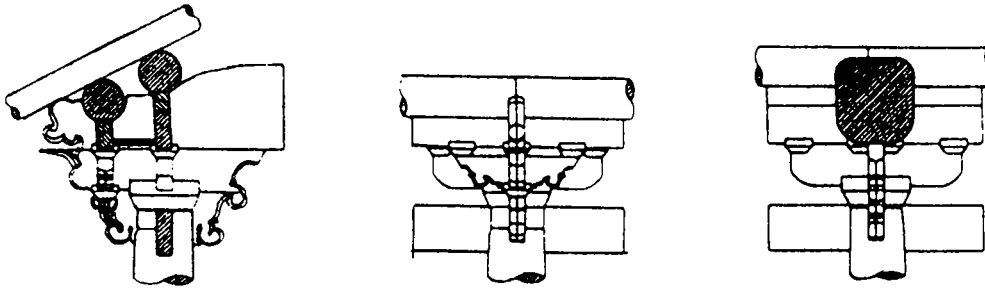


Fig. 484: *Ik-kong* 翼工 익공 bracketing of the *kang-dang* 講堂 강당 of Do-dong-sŏ-wŏn 道東書院 도동서원 (1604 AD, scale: 1 : 50) (after: MHCKLG (1989), p. 322)

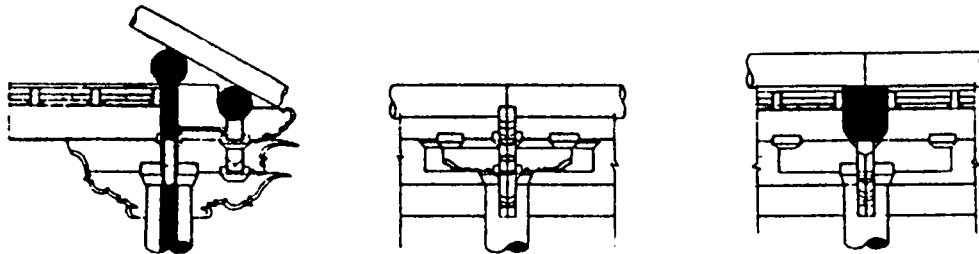


Fig. 485: *Ik-kong* 翼工 익공 bracketing of the *Ko-gŭm-dang* 古金堂 고금당 of Bong-chŏng-sa 鳳停寺 봉정사 (early 17th C. AD, scale: 1 : 50) (after: HGŭKC 12, p. 161)

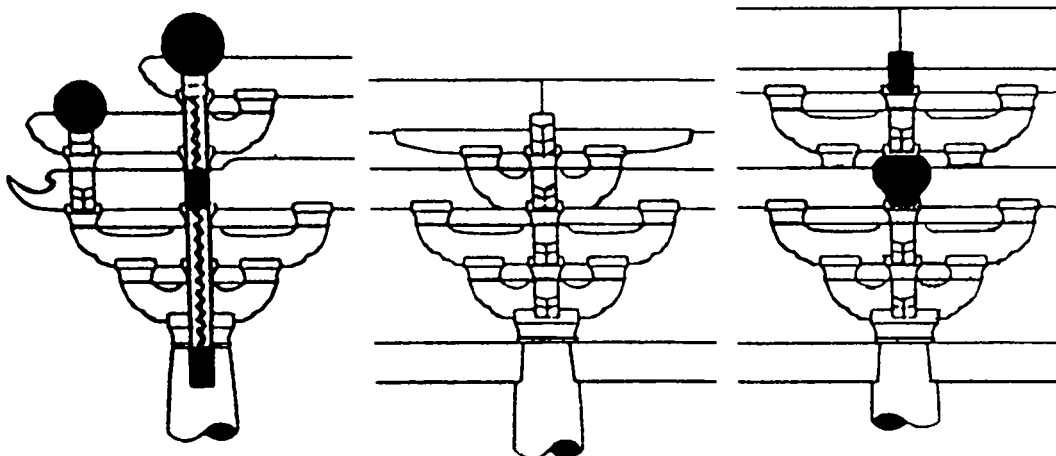


Fig. 486: *Chu-sim-po* 柱心包 주심포 bracketing of the *Mu-ryang-su-chŏn* 無量壽殿 무량수전 of Bu-sŏk-sa 浮石寺 부석사 (late 13th C. AD ?, scale: 1 : 50) (after: MHCKLG (1980), p. 215)

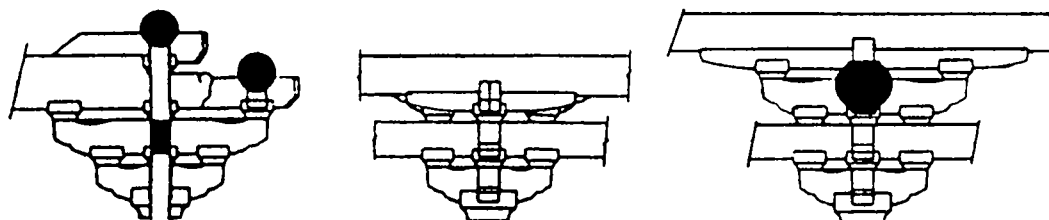


Fig. 487: *Chu-sim-po* 柱心包 주심포 bracketing of the Gük-rak-chŏn 極樂殿 극락전 of Bong-chŏng-sa 鳳停寺 봉정사 (early 13th C. AD?, scale: 1 : 50) (after: CHŎNG In-guk 鄭寅國 정인국 (1974), p. 226)

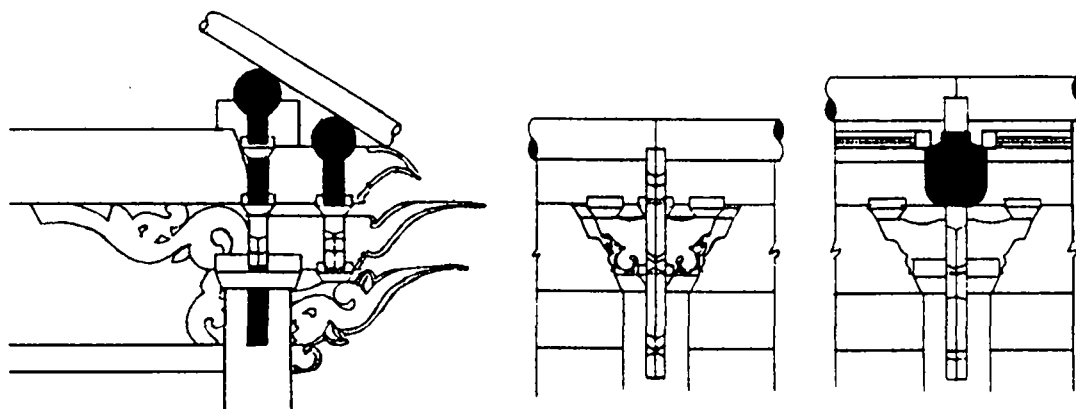


Fig. 488: *Chu-sim-po* 柱心包 주심포 bracketing of the Hwa-ŏm-kang-dang 華嚴講堂 화엄강당 of Bong-chŏng-sa 鳳停寺 봉정사 (early 17th C. AD, scale: 1 : 50) (after: *HGŭK KŎ* 12, p. 121f)

It can be argued that the period of the Korean Three Kingdoms was the time when the 'capital-and-tie' system established itself as the standard for representative wooden buildings. The 'cloud-shaped' bracket system of the Asuka period [figs. 446, 447] and the brackets of the above-mentioned Sui model [fig. 475] can then be considered as a combination of the 'plugged' brackets and the 'capital-and-tie' system. This hybrid system seems then to have been the precursor of the multi-levelled, multi-directional bracket sets as exemplified in the architecture of the Tang and Nara periods<sup>1</sup> [figs. 452 - 454].

<sup>1</sup> E.g. the Dongda-dian 東大殿 등대전 of Fogong-si 佛光寺 불공사 in China and the *kondō* 金堂 금당 of Tōshōdai-ji 唐招提寺 としゅうだいじ 당초제사.

The Bæk-che bronze miniature pagoda [fig. 430] seems consequently to belong to an earlier stage of the development of typical East Asian bracket set. To my knowledge it is furthermore the only example of a pure 'plugged' bracket set where an oblique cantilever can be distinguished. This fragment is also of particular importance for the history of Korean architecture because the bracket set with oblique cantilever is only represented in Korea with a single extant wooden building of the early seventeenth century AD: the Gŭk-rak-chŏn of Hwa-am-sa in Wan-chu County, Chŏn-la North Province<sup>1</sup> [fig. 489], which was part of the former territory of Bæk-che. The fragment seems thus to indicate that the oblique cantilevers had also a long tradition in Korea.

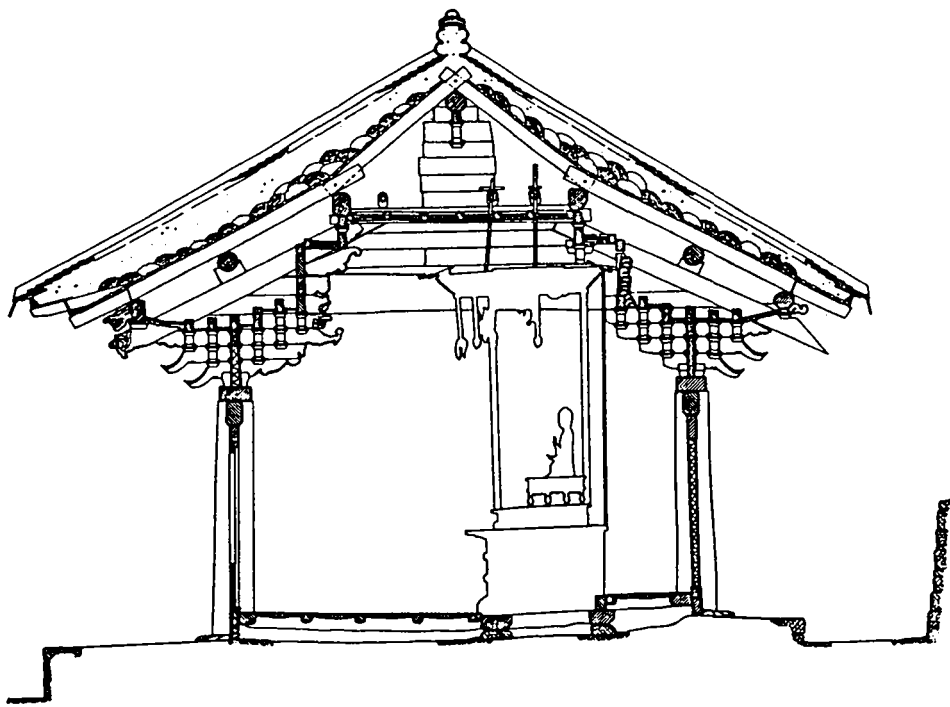


Fig. 489: Section of the Gŭk-rak-chŏn 極樂殿 극락전 of Hwa-am-sa 花嚴寺 화암사 (1605 AD, scale: 1 : 100) (after: CHANG Kyŏng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992), p. 411)

<sup>1</sup> Gŭk-rak-chŏn 極樂殿 극락전, Hwa-am-sa 花嚴寺 화암사, Wan-chu-gun 完州郡 완주군, Chŏn-la-buk-do 全羅北道 전라북도. See: MHCKLG (1985).

## 3.3.3.5. The roof structure

The roof structure including the beams, crossbeams and rafters of the Buddhist architecture of Bæk-che is still badly known. The above-mentioned miniature bronze pagoda fragment [fig. 430] and a stone fragment of a hip-and-gable tile roof discovered at Yŏn-hwa-sa in Yŏn-gi county<sup>1</sup> [fig. 490] are the only known pieces of evidence.

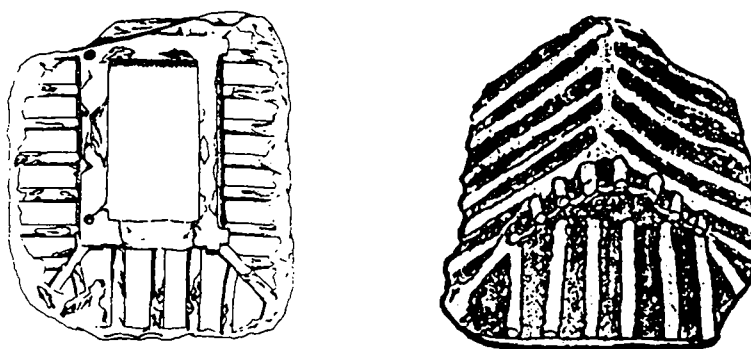


Fig. 490: Plan of the rafters (scale: 1 : 10) and perspective of the miniature hip-and-gable stone roof of Yŏn-hwa-sa 蓮花寺 연화사 (Bæk-che) (after: HWANG Su-yŏng 黃壽永 황수영 (1989, 1990), p. 263; BÆ Byŏng-sŏn 裴秉宣 배병선 (1993), p. 83)

The models do not indicate the interior structure but at least the form and arrangement of the rafters can be seen clearly. While the rafters of the stone roof fragment have typical round sections, those of the bronze pagoda fragment seem to have been rectangular, but this form is possibly due to the small size and the particular material (cast bronze) of the model. The excavated rafter-end tiles of Bæk-che were invariably round which is a good indication for generally round rafters in Bæk-che. The rafters of the model image hall of the Tamamushi shrine are also round.

The corner rafters of the bronze miniature pagoda [fig. 430] were clearly arranged in the shape of a fan while the two extant corners of the stone miniature roof fragment [fig. 490] feature parallel rafters. The fan rafter arrangement is in general accordance with the observation of the vast majority of

<sup>1</sup> Yŏn-hwa-sa 蓮花寺 연화사 (No. 4.11.1.) Yŏn-gi-gun 燕岐郡 연기군.



extant traditional wooden architecture in Korea and central China where none of the major wooden buildings feature parallel rafters so that it was assumed that the Japanese practice of parallel, square rafters in the corners was developed independently from China and Korea. The excavation of the remains of round corner fan rafters at Shitennō-ji<sup>1</sup> [fig. 491] confirmed the suspicion that the fan rafters were originally introduced to Japan through Korea but they seem to have been discarded already at the beginning of the Nara period because all ancient buildings of Hōryū-ji feature square parallel rafters in the corners [fig. 492].

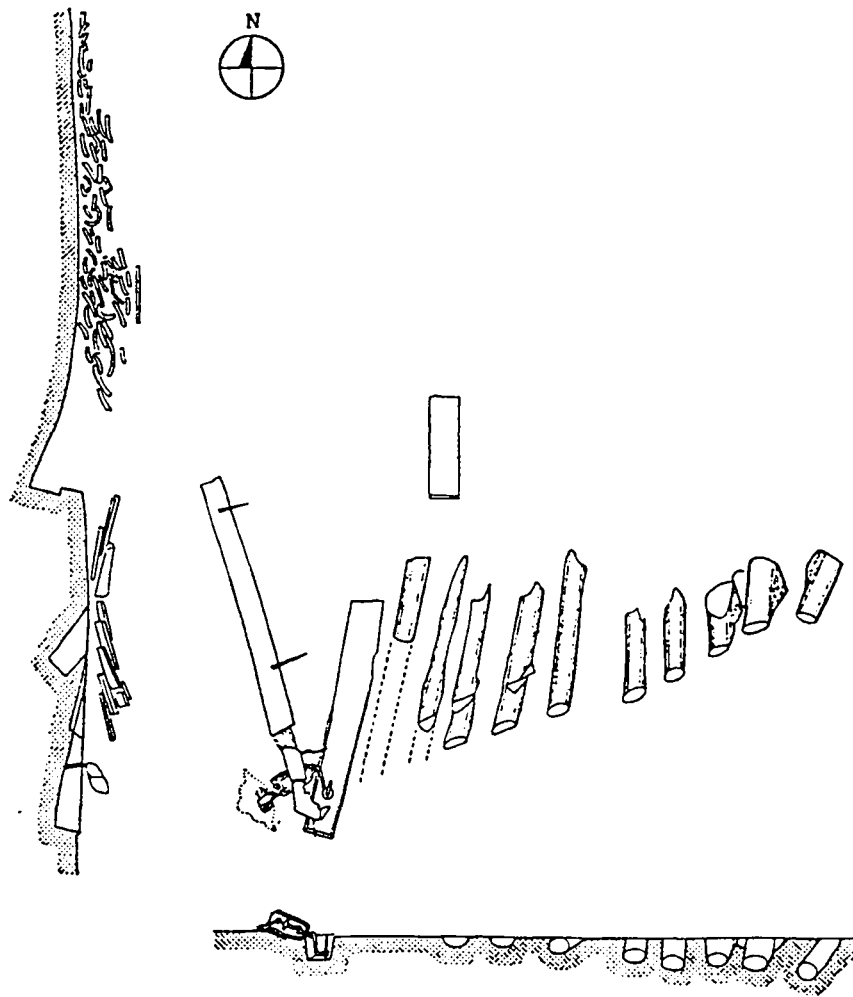


Fig. 491: Excavation plan and sections of the fan rafters of the lecture hall of Shitennō-ji 四天王寺してんのらじ 사천왕사 (6th - 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 50) (after: PARENT (1983), p. 54)

<sup>1</sup> Shitennō-ji 四天王寺してんのらじ 사천왕사. See: SUZUKI Kakichi (1980), p. 50.

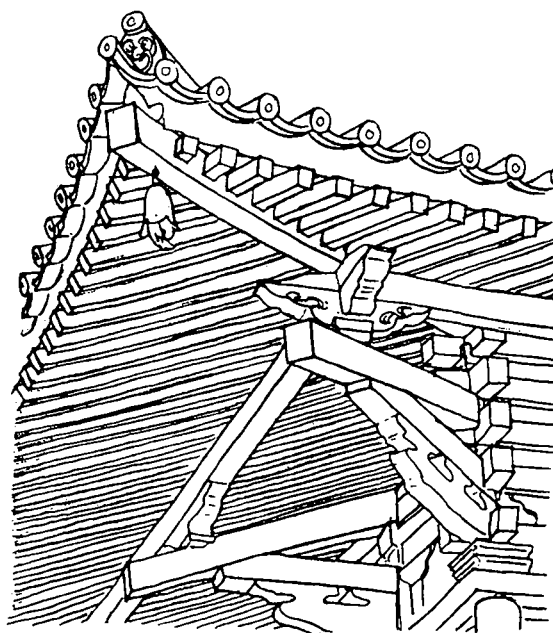


Fig. 492: Perspective of the square parallel rafters of the upper roof of the image hall of Hōryū-ji 法隆寺はうりゅうじ 법룡사 (after 670 AD, no scale) (drawing by the author)

The round parallel rafter of the Yōn-hwa-sa miniature stone roof challenges the assumption that the parallel rafters are a purely Japanese invention. The rafters of the Tamamushi shrine [fig. 455] are quite similar to those of the Bæk-che stone roof as they are also round and parallel in the corners. This could signify that Bæk-che experimented with round parallel rafters and transmitted them to Japan. In this case the parallel rafters were apparently not adopted by Unified Sin-la when it conquered Bæk-che so that it was eliminated from Korean traditional architecture.

The fact that the intermediate bracket sets of the front and the back side of the Tamamushi shrine are turned slightly towards the corners, however, could indicate that they followed the direction of fan rafters as the reconstructed perspective of the Yamada-dera image hall assumes [fig. 476] so that the extant parallel rafters could be a later transformation. It is difficult to judge which evidence can be trusted and one could argue that the parallel rafters of the Yōn-hwa-sa miniature stone roof should non be taken literally because stone sculpture does not always represent the exact details of wooden structures<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Examples of other parallel rafters in stone are the roof of a stone stele of Dæ-hŭng-sa 大興寺 대흥사 (No. 6.17.1.) which was probably executed in the late Cho-sŏn period and the roof of an octagonal *stūpa* of the Ko-ryŏ period in the Kyŏng-buk National University Museum 慶北大學校博物館 경북대학교 박물관 in Dæ-gu 大邱 대구. The octagonal *stūpas* of Unified Sin-la and the ten-storied stone pagoda of Kyŏng-čhŏn-sa 敬天寺 경천사 (No. 10.12.6.) of 1348 AD generally feature fan rafters. See: *HGŭM* 9, pl. 121; *HGŭM* 15, pl. 4, 21, 33, 53, 54.

No flying rafters are shown on the miniature bronze pagoda or the miniature stone roof and also contemporaneous buildings, models and images from China and Japan seem to indicate that the flying rafter became only popular with the Tang dynasty. To my knowledge<sup>1</sup> the earliest evidence of flying rafters in Japan are those excavated at the site of the Kita Yakushi-dō<sup>2</sup> of about 680 AD, those of the eastern pagoda of Yakushi-ji which dates to 730 AD [fig. 493] and those of the miniature

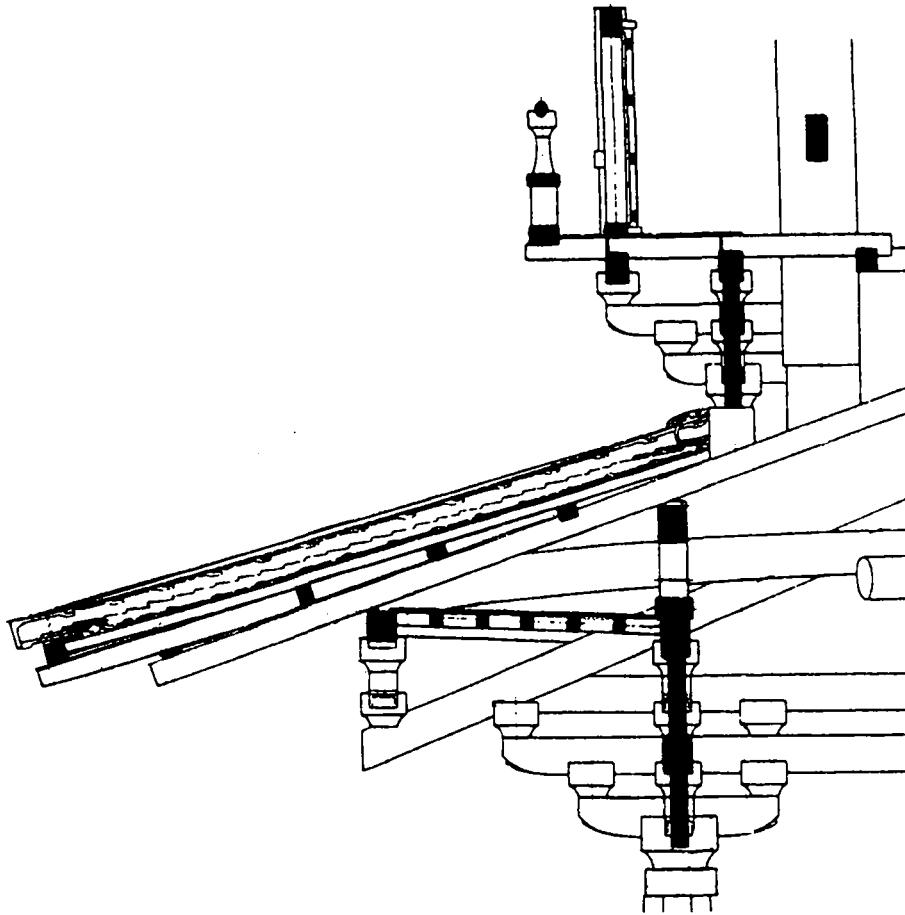


Fig. 493: Section of the eastern pagoda of Yakushi-ji 薬師寺やくしじ 약사사 with flying rafters (730 AD, scale: 1 : 50) (after: Shōgokusha 彰國社しょうこくしゃ 창국사 (n.d.), p. 56)

- <sup>1</sup> SUZUKI claims that the flying rafters (J: *hien-daruki* 飛檐椽 *히엔다르키 비첨추*) "are first seen in the Hakuho period (662 - 710 AD), and become the orthodox forms of the Nara-period Buddhist halls". He supposes that Kawara-dera 川原寺かわらでら 천원사 (built from 662 to 667 AD) already featured flying rafters. See: SUZUKI Kakichi (1980), p. 51f.
- <sup>2</sup> Kita Yakushi-dō 北薬師堂きたやくしどう 북약사당 in Fukuoka 福岡 ふくおか 북강 prefecture. See: SUZUKI Kakichi (1980), p. 52.

wooden pagodas of Kairyūō-ji and Gangō-ji<sup>1</sup> [fig. 494] of the eighth century AD. In China, evidence of the flying rafters seems to appear for the first time in wall paintings in Dunhuang of the early Tang (about 618 to 712 AD) and on the stone carving on the door lintel of the Dayan pagoda<sup>2</sup> of about 701 to 704 AD [fig. 495].

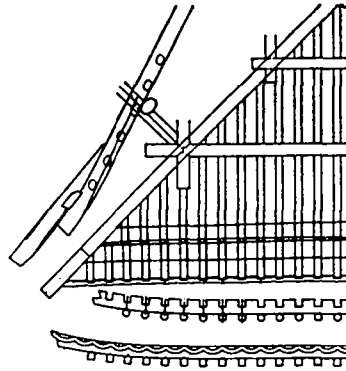


Fig. 494: Plan, section and elevation of the rafters and flying rafters of the miniature pagoda of Gangō-ji 元興寺가んごうじ 원흥사 (8th C. AD, no scale) (after: PARENT (1983), p. 52)



Fig. 495: Carving of an image hall with flying rafters on the lintel of the Dayan-ta 大雁塔 대안탑 of Cien-si 慈恩寺 자은사 (701 - 704 AD, no scale) (after: LIU Dunzhen 劉敦楨 유돈정 (1980), p. 119)

<sup>1</sup> Yakushi-ji 藥師寺やくしじ 약사사, Kairyūō-ji 海龍王寺かいりゅうおうじ 해룡왕사, Gangō-ji 元興寺가んごうじ 원흥사.

<sup>2</sup> Dayan-ta 大雁塔 대안탑. See: LUO Zhewen 羅哲文 라철문 (1994), p. 133, 135.

In Korea, the excavated flying rafters of An-ab-chi in Kyōng-chu<sup>1</sup> [fig. 496] could date to the first half of the Unified Sin-la period (eighth century AD ?) and the drawing on the frontispiece of a copy of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*<sup>2</sup> featuring a two-storied building with flying rafters dates to 754 or 755 AD [fig. 497].

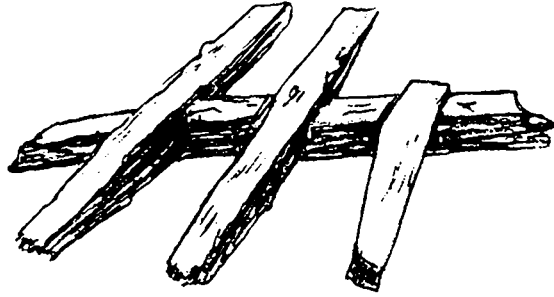


Fig. 496: Perspective of the excavated flying rafters of An-ab-chi 雁鴨池 안압지 (Unified Sin-la, 7th - 8th C. AD, no scale) (drawing by the author)

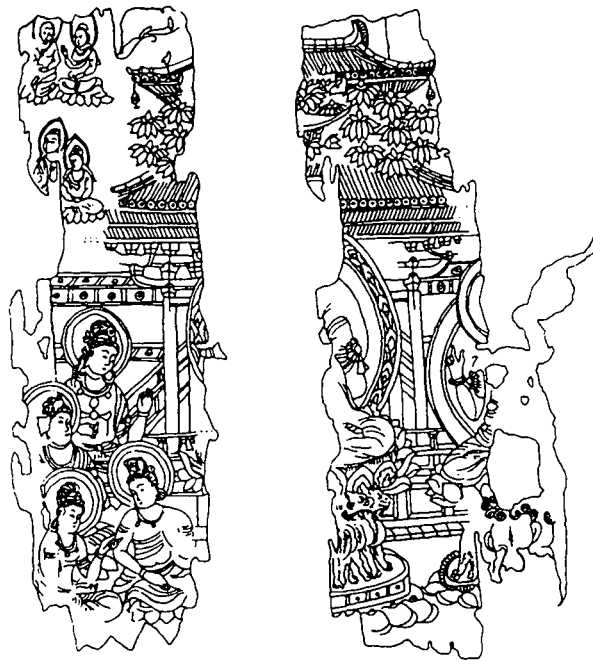


Fig. 497: Frontispiece of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* showing a building with flying rafters (754 / 755 AD, no scale) (after: CHANG Kyōng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992), p. 166)

<sup>1</sup> An-ab-chi 雁鴨池 안압지, Kyōng-chu 慶州 경주. See: MHCKLG (1978).

<sup>2</sup> *Bæk-chi-muk-sō Dæ-bang-kwang-bul-hwa-öm-kyōng Byōn-sang-do*  
「白紙墨書大方廣佛華嚴經變相圖 백지묵서 대방광불화엄경 변상도」.  
See: Ho-am Gallery 湖巖갤러리 호암갤러리 (ed.) (1993), pp. 109 - 113.

## 3.3.3.6. The roof covering, balustrades and decorations

The major Buddhist buildings were covered with several tile types to fit the various places of the roof. The so-called 'male & female' tiles were used for the main slopes of the roof, while the ridges and the eaves called for special tile forms. The basic forms of the Bæk-che tile types were similar to those of Ko-gu-ryō and in fact to most of those of East Asia. The differences appear mostly in the decorative details of the ridge-end and roof-end tiles. In particular the various motives for the male roof-end tiles are useful for the dating of the excavated structures. The decorations on Bæk-che tiles include six- to twelve-petals lotus flowers, honeysuckle flowers, geometric patterns, monsters, owl's tails, inscriptions as well as landscapes for wall or floor tiles. Examples of these designs are included in Chapter 3.2, figs. 189, 201f., 216, 247, 277, 279, 281, 288, 291, 297, 361 and 374.

The above-mentioned fragment of a miniature pagoda [fig. 430] shows two decorative pieces on each corner ridge. The interior pieces seem to be tile spheres on stands while the exterior ones are reminiscent of the famous 'comma jewels'<sup>1</sup> of early Korea and Japan [fig. 498]. The corner ridges of extant palace buildings of the Cho-sŏn period show series of up to nine small clay figures which seem to have a protective rather than decorative function. But Buddhist architecture seems to lost this tradition and only exceptionally are there monster faces at the end of the corner ridges or in the middle and at the end of the main ridge of image halls as in the case of the Dæ-ung-chŏn of Bul-kab-sa<sup>2</sup>.



Fig. 498: 'Comma jewels' from the tomb of King Mu-ryōng 武寧王陵 무령왕릉 (1) and Japan (2) (about 525 AD and 6th - 7th C. AD, no scale) (after: Kong-chu National Museum 國立公州博物館 국립공주박물관 (ed.) (1981, 1993), p. 34f.; SKBJZS 1, p. 217)

<sup>1</sup> 'Comma jewels' are called *magatama* 勾玉 *まがたま* 勾玉 in Japan and *gok-ok* 曲玉 곡옥 in Korea.

<sup>2</sup> Dæ-ung-chŏn 大雄殿 대웅전 of Bul-kab-sa 佛甲寺 불갑사 (No. 6.2.1.). See: HGÜK KČ 14.

One of the reliefs of a stele which was discovered at Bi-am-sa in Yŏn-gi county<sup>1</sup> shows an assembly of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas seated on lotus flowers which emerge from an elevated platform to which a stair is leading [fig. 499]. The date on the stele indicates the year 689 AD of Unified Sin-la but the location in traditional Bæk-che territory and the general style of the stele indicates that it has to be attributed to Bæk-che artisans. The edge of the platform is protected by an elaborate balustrade which is reminiscent of those of the upper story of the image hall of Hōryū-ji [fig. 441 - 444]. Fragments of a similar balustrade with angular wood pieces were also uncovered in An-ab-chi [fig. 626] from the Unified Sin-la period. As such balustrades were also frequently used in contemporaneous China it can be assumed that multi-storied buildings of Bæk-che often featured comparable balustrades.



Fig. 499: Relief of an assembly of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas on a platform with a balustrade from Bi-am-sa 碑巖寺 비암사 in Yŏn-gi-gun 燕岐郡 연기군 (689 AD, no scale, h = 57.5cm) (after: HWANG Su-yŏng 黃壽永 황수영 (1989, 1990), p. 249)

<sup>1</sup> Bi-am-sa 碑巖寺 비암사, Yŏn-gi-gun 燕岐郡 연기군, Chung-chŏng-nam-do 忠淸南道 충청남도. See: HWANG Su-yŏng 黃壽永 황수영 (1989, 1990), pp. 248 - 251; CHIN Hong-sŏb 秦弘燮 진홍섭 (1995), pp. 344f.

The interior and exterior of the walls and of most wooden elements were probably painted but neither the colours nor the extent of the painted decorations can be reconstructed without spectacular new evidence. The murals in the image hall of Hōryū-ji [fig. 500], which were destroyed in a fire in 1949 AD, were said to have reflected the Bæk-che painting style. But as they were probably executed at the beginning of the eighth century AD, they might have been already deeply influenced by the styles of the Tang dynasty. The few remains of murals in Bæk-che tombs<sup>1</sup> [fig. 501] show a certain similarity with murals from Ko-gu-ryō but the motives were limited to lotus flowers, clouds and the four (animal) spirits.



Fig. 500: Mural of a Bodhisattva in the image hall of Hōryū-ji 法隆寺はろりゅうじ 법동사 (late 7th - early 8th C. AD, destroyed in 1949 AD, no scale) (after *SKBJZ* 2, pl. 19; *KGMS* 185, 1990.3., p. 159)

<sup>1</sup> E.g. the tombs at Nūng-san-ri 陵山里 능산리. See: *BGinCd* 102-22, pp. 44, 96, 109f.



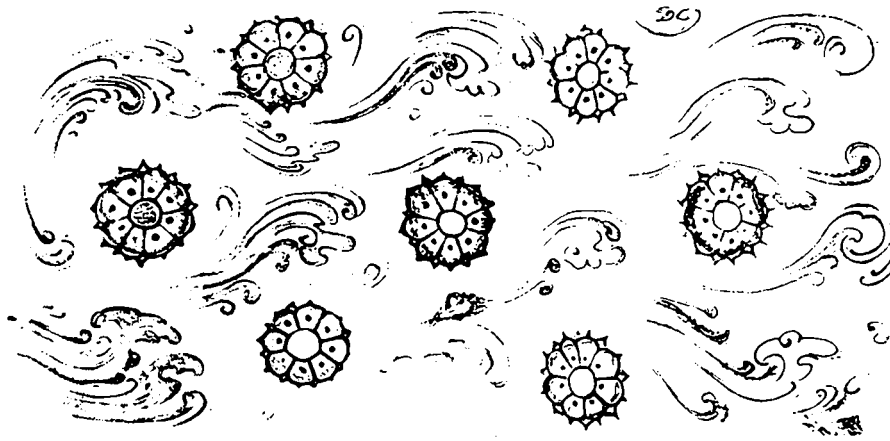


Fig. 501: Murals of lotus flowers, clouds and the white tiger of the west in Bæk-che tombs at Nŭng-san-ri 陵山里 능산리 (late 6th - early 7th C. AD, no scale)  
(after KIM Wŏn-yong 金元龍 김원용, AN Hwi-chun 安輝濬 안휘준 (1993, 1996), p. 397; *BGinCd* 102-22, p. 110)



## **CHAPTER 4:**

### **ANCIENT SIN-LA (& KA-YA)**



#### 4.1. THE HISTORY OF BUDDHISM OF KA-YA & ANCIENT SIN-LA

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##### Preliminary remarks

Chapter 4 treats the history of Buddhism and the Buddhist architecture of the Ka-ya federation<sup>1</sup> and the kingdom of Ancient Sin-la<sup>2</sup> from their respective adoption of Buddhism until the defeat of Bæk-che and Ko-gu-ryŏ by the combined forces of Sin-la and Tang China around the middle of the seventh century AD<sup>3</sup>. It corresponds to the time lapse of the two foregoing chapters and thus closes the Three Kingdoms period of Korea.

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<sup>1</sup> Ka-ya 伽耶 / 加耶 / 伽儼 가야 lasted traditionally from 42 AD to 562 AD.

<sup>2</sup> Ancient Sin-la 古新羅 고신라 lasted traditionally from 57 BC to 668 AD. From this time on, the kingdom is usually called Unified Sin-la 統一新羅 통일신라 which lasted until 935 AD.

<sup>3</sup> Bæk-che 百濟 백제 was decisively defeated in 660 AD and Ko-gu-ryŏ 高句麗 고구려 in 668 AD. See: LEE Ki-baik (YI Ki-bæk 李基白 이기백) (1984), pp. 66 - 71.

## 4.1.1. THE HISTORY OF BUDDHISM IN THE KA-YA FEDERATION

## Preliminary remarks

Ka-ya (also called Ka-rak or Ka-ra<sup>1</sup>) was a loose federation of local tribes and historians count at least six separate political entities<sup>2</sup>. The history of Ka-ya is still quite obscure mostly due to the short duration of the federation. From excavations of tombs<sup>3</sup> of Ka-ya it is known that its ceramics and metallurgy were well developed and it seems that Ka-ya traded iron products with other regions of the Korean peninsula and with the Japanese islands.

Based on controversial passages in the *Nihonshoki*<sup>4</sup>, Japanese historians have for a long time maintained that Japan possessed the territory of Ka-ya as a colony, called Mimana<sup>5</sup>, but in the light of the Korean historical and archaeological evidence which seems to prove the political and cultural difference of Ka-ya from early Japan, many scholars<sup>6</sup> have now revised the interpretation of the relevant passages of the *Nihonshoki*. The old claim, however, can still be found in recent western publications<sup>7</sup> which are not up to date with the results of East Asian history and archaeology<sup>8</sup>.

The introduction of Buddhism to Ka-ya may cautiously be placed between the middle of the fifth century and the early sixth century AD, after the official adoption of Buddhism in Bæk-che (late fourth century AD) and simultaneously or a little earlier than in Ancient Sin-la (early sixth century AD). The Buddhism of Ka-ya does not seem to have had the occasion to develop its own distinctive features because less than one century after the supposed introduction of Buddhism, the Ka-ya federation was gradually absorbed by Sin-la between 532 and 562 AD<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ka-rak 駕洛 / 加洛 가락, Ka-ra 伽羅 / 加羅 / 迦羅 가라.

<sup>2</sup> These six tribes were: 1. Güm-kwan-ka-ya 金官伽耶 금관가야 or Bon-ka-ya 本伽倻 본가야 (at today's Kim-hæ 金海 김해, fig. 694 (15)), 2. A-ra-ka-ya 阿羅伽耶 아라가야 (at today's Ham-an 咸安 함안, fig. 694 (7)), 3. Ko-ryōng-ka-ya 古寧伽耶 고령가야 (at today's Chin-chu 晋州 진주, fig. 694 (22) or Ham-čhang 咸昌 함창), 4. Dæ-ka-ya 大伽耶 대가야 (at today's Ko-ryōng 高靈 고령, fig. 693 (28)), 5. Sōng-san-ka-ya 星山伽耶 성산가야 (at today's Sōng-chu 星州 성주, fig. 693 (27)) and 6. So-ka-ya 小伽耶 소가야 (at today's Ko-sōng 固城 고성, fig. 694 (20)).

<sup>3</sup> See: YI Ūn-čhang 李殷昌 이은창, YUN Se-yōng 尹世英 윤세영 (1992)

<sup>4</sup> *Nihonshoki* 「日本書紀にほんしよき 일본서기」. See: *NHSC* (ASTON, 1956), pp. I: 249, 253, 348, 392, II: 7f., 35, 39, 42ff., 80f., 119, 124f.

<sup>5</sup> Mimana 任那 미나나 임나, also called Im-na-ka-ra 任那加羅 임나가라 in Korean sources. See: *SGSSC*, p. 1116f.

<sup>6</sup> See: BROWN (1993), p. 123, 308ff.

<sup>7</sup> E.g. SHIMIZU (1997), p. 47

<sup>8</sup> For a (rather polemic) discussion of the Mimana question see: HONG Wōn-tak 洪元卓 홍원탁 (1988), pp. 243 - 262; HONG Wōn-tak 洪元卓 홍원탁 (1994), pp. 205 - 219.

<sup>9</sup> See: LEE Ki-baik (YI Ki-bæk 李基白 이기백) (1984), p. 41.

## 4.1.1.1. LEGENDS OF AN EARLY INTRODUCTION OF BUDDHISM INTO KA-YA

## 4.1.1.1.1. Princess Hō Hwang-ok and Wang-hu-sa

A legend contained in the *Sam-guk-yu-sa*<sup>1</sup> relates the arrival by ship in Ka-rak (Ka-ya)<sup>2</sup> of a sixteen-year-old Indian princess, called Hō Hwang-ok, from a certain state called A-yu-ta<sup>3</sup> in 48 AD. The legend states that she carried on her ship a "five-story square tower (pagoda) of fine-grained reddish-speckled stone with exquisite carvings on it"<sup>4</sup>, called Pa-sa-tab<sup>5</sup>. This pagoda was a present of her parents as a sign of Buddha's protection against bad luck. On the spot in the territory of Ka-rak where she changed her Indian cloths for those of Ka-ya, a temple named Myōng-wōl-sa<sup>6</sup> was allegedly founded by King Su-ro<sup>7</sup> in the same year. Hūng-guk-sa [fig. 502] and Chin-guk-sa<sup>8</sup> were allegedly also founded at that time for the prosperity of wife and son. King Su-ro is then said to have married the Princess Hō and to have lived together with her for one hundred and forty-one years until Queen Hō died in 189 AD at the age of one hundred and fifty-seven.

In 452 AD, King Chil-chi<sup>9</sup> allegedly founded a temple at the place where Princess Hō married King Su-ro and called it Wang-hu-sa<sup>10</sup>. The name of Wang-hu-sa signifies literally 'queen's temple'. Already Il-yōn<sup>11</sup> interpreted this name as referring to Princess Hō Hwang-ok. The temple was later destroyed and another

<sup>1</sup> *Sam-guk-yu-sa* 「三國遺事 삼국유사」 compiled by IL-YŌN 一然 일연 in the late 13th C. AD. See: *SGYS*, pp. 101, 318f., (161 - 164).

<sup>2</sup> Ka-rak 駕洛國 가락국, a variant name of one of the names of the Ka-ya federates (Gūm-kwan-ka-ya 金官伽耶 금관가야 or Bon-ka-ya 本伽倻 본가야).

<sup>3</sup> Indian princess Hō Hwang-ok 許黃玉 허황옥 from A-yu-ta 阿踰陀 아유타 (also called A-yu-do 阿踰闍 아유도), Ayodhyā, a capital in Northern India (about 6km to the east of Faizabad), its name means "town which cannot be subdued by war". HA & MINTZ try to relate A-yu-ta to the capital of Thailand Ayudhyā (var. Ayuthya, Ayuthia), but this is an obvious anachronism because Ayudhyā was not yet founded during the lifetime of Il-yōn (it was the capital of Siam from 1350 to 1767 AD). See: *SGYS*, p. (162); ROWLAND (1953, 1984), p. 434.

<sup>4</sup> *SGYS* according to the translation by HA. The original text has: 塔方四面五層其彫鏤甚奇石微赤斑色其質良脆 탐방사면오층 기조루심기 석미적반색 기질량취.

<sup>5</sup> Pa-sa-tab 婆娑塔 파사탑.

<sup>6</sup> Myōng-wōl-sa 明月寺 명월사, named so because of the 'moon like' beauty of the princess. See: *MSKĆ* II, pp. 173f.

<sup>7</sup> Su-ro Wang 首露王 수로왕, the first king of the Ka-ya federation 駕洛國 가락국, reigned traditionally for 157 years from 42 AD to 199 AD!

<sup>8</sup> Hūng-guk-sa 興國寺 흥국사 (No. 8.1.3.), Chin-guk-sa 鎭國寺 진국사. See: *MSKĆ* II, pp. 173f.

<sup>9</sup> Chil-chi Wang 鎭知王 칠지왕, the 8th king of Ka-ya, reigned from 451 to 492 AD.

<sup>10</sup> Wang-hu-sa 王后寺 왕후사.

<sup>11</sup> See: *SGYS*, p. (168).

temple, called Chang-yu-sa<sup>1</sup>, was constructed nearby in the early Ko-ryō dynasty. Later it was also called Im-kang-sa and today there is a small temple nearby, called Chang-yu-am<sup>2</sup> [fig. 502].

In the thirteenth century AD, when Il-yōn wrote the *Sam-guk-yu-sa*, it seems that there was still a monument with an inscription of the founding myth of Ka-ya<sup>3</sup> on the site of Wang-hu-sa. This legend includes several archaic religious symbols of pre-Buddhist Ka-ya. The founding legend states that six eggs descended from heaven at the end of a purple string. People made rings of string around the eggs and carried five of them to their chief towns. The sixth egg remained in the main castle of the Ka-ya federation<sup>4</sup>. It seems that the eggs symbolized the ruling power of each of the six members of the federation and that the similarity of the eggs was a symbol of their common cultural ties. The string of rice straw is a very important symbol of the sacredness of an object or a place in Korean folk religion until now.

The inscription contained apparently no allusion to Buddhism or the legend of Queen Hō. This makes it difficult to believe that at the time of the founding of Wang-hu-sa, Buddhism had existed in Ka-ya for already four hundred years. I suggest therefore that the founding of Wang-hu-sa might have marked the beginning of Buddhism in Ka-ya in the middle of the fifth century AD. The temple could then have been named after an unknown queen who helped introduce Buddhism in Ka-ya.

#### 4.1.1.1.2. Man-ō-sa and Čhil-bul-am

Other legendary temple foundings are also connected with King Su-ro. One of them, recorded in the *Sam-guk-yu-sa*<sup>5</sup>, seems to be an adaptation of an Indian legend<sup>6</sup>. It states that during the early reign of King Su-ro "a poisonous dragon<sup>7</sup> [lived] in the mountains (...) in a jade pond<sup>8</sup> and [it] carried on with five female

<sup>1</sup> Chang-yu-sa 長遊寺 장유사.

<sup>2</sup> Im-kang-sa 臨江寺 임강사, Chang-yu-am 長遊庵 장유암 (No. 8.14.1.)

<sup>3</sup> See: *SGYS*, p. (168f.).

<sup>4</sup> One of the main castles of the Ka-ya federation was located at today's Kim-hae 金海 김해 [fig. 694 (15)].

<sup>5</sup> *Sam-guk-yu-sa* 「三國遺事 삼국유사」. See: *SGYS*, pp. 120 - 122, 359 - 362, (251 - 255).

<sup>6</sup> The *Sam-guk-yu-sa* 「三國遺事 삼국유사」 compares the Korean legend with an account in the 7th chapter of the *Kwan-bul-sam-mae(-hæ)-kyōng* 「觀佛三昧(海)經 관불삼매(해)경」 by Ka-ham 可函가함 (?). The *sūtra* has been translated by Buddhahadra 佛陀跋陀羅 불타발타라 (359 - 429 AD) The similarities of the two legends and the period of translation of the *sūtra* are clear indications that the date attributed to the Korean legend is anachronistic. See: *T* 643.15.679b - 681b, *SGYS*, p. (252).

<sup>7</sup> Poisonous dragon 毒龍 독룡.

<sup>8</sup> Jade pond 玉池 옥지.



ogres (*rākṣasīs*)<sup>1</sup> on the sapphire waves, calling up thunderstorms and devastating crops of the five grains<sup>2</sup> throughout the four seasons. Using his magic art<sup>3</sup>, (...) King [Su-ro] pronounced spells against the dragon to stop his mischief, but to no avail. It was not until he prayed to Buddha to enforce his Five Commandments<sup>4</sup> on the monsters that they ceased to do harm. Then the fish and dragons of the Eastern Sea came to these mountains and filled a valley with water and lived there, making music by striking jade stones with their heads and tails." King Su-ro then allegedly founded Man-ō-sa<sup>5</sup> (literally '10,000-fish temple') [fig. 502] in this valley in the year 46 AD in gratitude for the help of Buddha.

Another legend states that the youngest seven of the ten sons of King Su-ro followed a certain Ok-bo Sōn-sa to the Chi-ri mountain<sup>6</sup> to practice Buddhism during six years and became Buddhas (i.e. experienced Buddhist awakening) in the eighth month of 103 AD. The place where they stayed is said to have developed into Chil-bul-am<sup>7</sup>, literally the 'seven-Buddhas hermitage' [fig. 502]. A variant of the legend places similar events in the reign of King Sin-mun<sup>8</sup> of Unified Sin-la.

<sup>1</sup> *Na-cha-nyō* 羅刹女 나찰녀. Man-eating monsters.

<sup>2</sup> The five grains 五穀 오곡. They are: rice (*Oryza sativa* 쌀 / 米미), barley (*Hordeum sativum* 보리 / 麥맥), two kinds of millet (*Setaria italica* 조 / 粟속 and *Panicum miliaceum* 기장 / 黍서) as well as soybean (*Glycine max* 콩 / 豆두).

<sup>3</sup> Magic art 呪術 주술, i.e. sorcery: probably shamanistic rituals.

<sup>4</sup> Five commandments 五戒 오계. They are: 1. do not destroy life, 2. do not steal, 3. refrain from sexual desire, 4. do not tell lies and 5. do not consume alcohol and narcotics. The translation is not very accurate. The text has rather: "(...) [the king] asked Buddha to preach [to the monsters] so that they received the five commandments (...)", i.e. they became followers (monks) of the Buddha. A variant of the legend states that the Buddha carried with him 6 monks and 10,000 heavenly beings 天人 천인. See: *SCSC*, pp. 153f.

<sup>5</sup> Man-ō-sa 萬魚寺 만어사. *SGYS* states that the temple was not founded until 1180 AD: "In the eleventh year of King Myōng-chong 明宗 명종 of Ko-ryō, Man-ō-sa was first built 創창 on this mountain." See: *SGYS*, p. 120, 359, (252).

<sup>6</sup> Chi-ri-san 智異山 지리산 [fig. 684 (23)], Ok-bo Sōn-sa 玉寶禪師 옥보선사. See: *SCSC*, p. 604.

<sup>7</sup> Chil-bul-am 七佛庵 칠불암, also called Čhil-bul-sa 七佛寺 칠불사 (No. 8.24.1.). Some scholars (e.g. *BKSC*) connect the founding of Čhil-bul-am with the Ka-ya-gūm 伽椰琴 가야금 player Ok-bo-ko Sōn-in 玉寶高仙人 옥보고선인 who is said to have founded the temple Un-sang-wōn 雲上院 온상원 or Un-su-wōn 雲水院 온수원 in 45 AD, but other scholars disagree about the time when Ok-bo-ko Sōn-in 玉寶高仙人 옥보고선인 lived (e.g. Yi Hong-chik 李弘植 이홍직) and place his life during the reign of Kyōng-dōk Wang of Sin-la (r. 742 - 764 AD). See: *BKSC*, p. 872; *SGSSC*, p. 842.

<sup>8</sup> Sin-mun Wang 神文王 신문왕, the 31st king of Sin-la, reigned from 681 to 691 AD. This variant seems to have been recorded on the ridge beam 七佛庵上梁文 칠불암상량문 of a building of the temple. It states that 7 princes who heard the jade flute 玉笛 옥적 play of Ok-bu Sōn-in 玉浮仙人 옥부선인 followed him to Chi-ri-san, studied Buddhism for 6 years and became Buddhas. See: *SCSC*, p. 604.

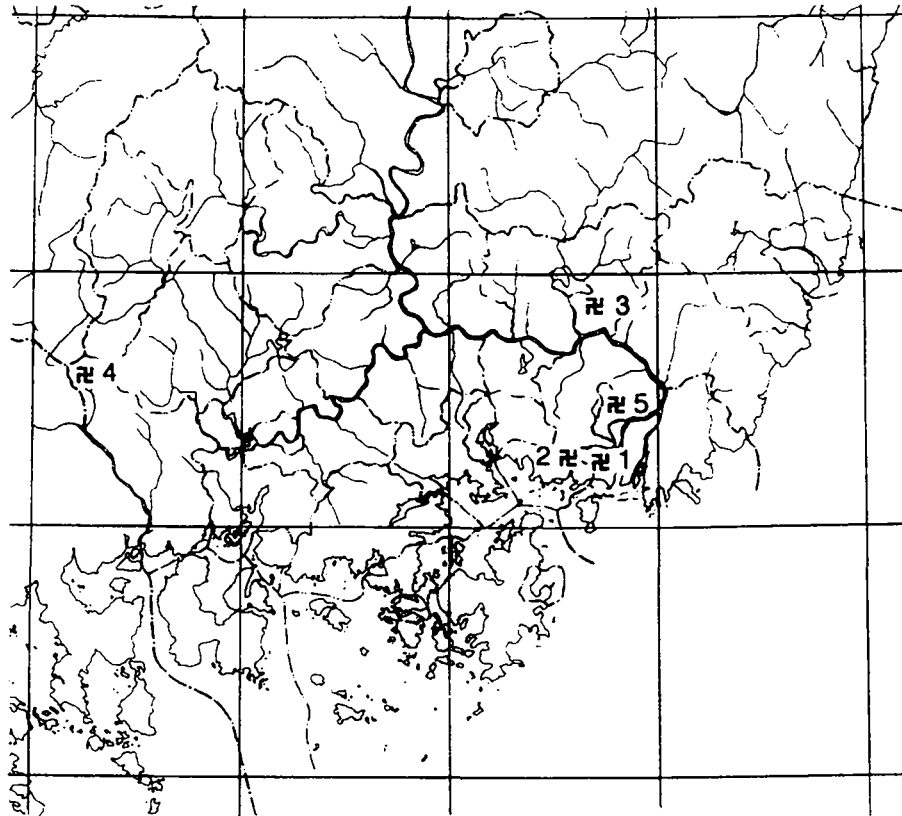


Fig. 502: Legendary temple foundations of Ka-ya 伽倻가야

- Legend:
- 1 Hŭng-guk-sa 興國寺 흥국사
  - 2 Chang-yu-am 長遊庵 장유암
  - 3 Man-ŏ-sa 萬魚寺 만어사
  - 4 Čhil-bul-am 七佛庵 칠불암
  - 5 Ūn-ha-sa 銀河寺 은하사 and Yŏng-gu-am 靈龜庵 영구암

## 4.1.1.1.3. Chang-yu Hwa-sang

Chang-yu Hwa-sang, also called Hō Bo-ok Sōn-in<sup>1</sup>, is one of the few alleged Ka-ya monks known by name. The records present him as the brother-in-law of King Su-ro (seemingly the brother of Queen Hō Hwang-ok) or as the uncle of the mother of King Kō-dŭng<sup>2</sup> so that he would have lived in the first or second century AD if the dates for King Su-ro and King Kō-dŭng are about correct. Chang-yu Hwa-sang is said to have founded at least three temples: Ūn-ha-sa, Yōng-gu-am and Chang-yu-am<sup>3</sup>. However, considering the general context of the history of Ka-ya and if a monk with this name really existed, the life of Chang-yu Hwa-sang and his temple foundings would rather fit the late fifth or the early sixth centuries AD.

<sup>1</sup> Chang-yu Hwa-sang 長遊和尚 장유화상, Hō Bo-ok Sōn-in 許寶玉仙人 허보옥 선인, this name seems to indicate that he was the brother of Queen Hō Hwang-ok. The fact that most of the figures are presented as relatives seems to be an indication for the legendary character of the stories.

<sup>2</sup> Kō-dŭng Wang 居登王 거등왕, the 2nd king of Ka-rak, reigned traditionally from 199 to 259 AD. Brother-in-law: *chō-nam* 妻舅 처남, uncle of one's mother: *wæ-suk* 外叔 외숙. See: *MSKĈ* II, pp. 172, 176.

<sup>3</sup> Ūn-ha-sa 銀河寺 은하사 (No. 8.15.1.), Yōng-gu-am 靈龜庵 영구암 (No. 8.15.2.), Chang-yu-am 長遊庵 장유암 (No. 8.14.1.). According to legends, these temples were all founded in the 1st or 2nd C. AD.

## 4.1.1.2. TEMPLE FOUNDINGS

Beside the obviously legendary accounts mentioned above, the following alleged temple foundings also fall into the Ka-ya period [fig. 503]: Sin-hŭng-sa allegedly founded in 301 AD by a certain Sin-bon<sup>1</sup>, Kwan-ryong-sa<sup>2</sup> reportedly founded in 349 or 353 AD, the above-mentioned Wang-hu-sa founded on the order of King Chil-chi<sup>3</sup> in 452 AD, and Wŏl-kwang-sa founded by Crown Prince Wŏl-kwang<sup>4</sup>, possibly in the first half of the sixth century AD although no precise date is related. In addition, as mentioned in Chapter 3.1. (pp. 237 - 240), it is possible that the foreign monk Yŏn-gi Cho-sa<sup>5</sup> who lived mainly in Bæk-che, founded several temples (among them Dæ-wŏn-sa and Sŏ-bong-sa<sup>6</sup>) in the early sixth century AD in the western part of Ka-ya near the Chi-ri mountains<sup>7</sup> [fig. 177].

While the dates advanced for the founding of Kwan-ryong-sa seem to be in contradiction with the history of Buddhism of the other Korean kingdoms and while the foundings of Wŏl-kwang-sa and Sin-hŭng-sa are very uncertain, the (former) existence of a stele with the founding myth of Ka-ya at the site of Wang-hu-sa mentioned above makes this alleged founding and its date the most probable of all.

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- <sup>1</sup> Sin-bon 信本 신본. At the time of the founding, Sin-hŭng-sa 新興寺 신흥사 (No. 8.13.13.) is said to have possessed 110 buildings. It is not clear if the territory around the temple belonged to Sin-la or to Ka-ya at the alleged founding time. See: *MSKC* IV, p. 172; *SCSC*, p. 386.
- <sup>2</sup> Kwan-ryong-sa 觀龍寺 관룡사 (No. 8.8.1.). The date of 349 AD appears among other documents in the *Yŏng-nam Chang-nyŏng-hyŏn Hwa-wang-san Kwan-ryong-sa sa-chŏk* 「嶺南昌寧縣火王山觀龍寺事蹟 영남 창녕현 화왕산 관룡사사적」. The date of 353 AD is recorded on the ridge beam inscription 「昌寧觀龍寺藥師殿上梁文 창녕 관룡사 약사전 상량문」 of the *Yak-sa-chŏn* 藥師殿 약사전, constructed in 1507 AD. Nothing more seems to be known about this alleged founding. Both dates seem to be too early because neither Ko-gu-ryŏ nor Bæk-che had introduced Buddhism at that time. See: *HGŭK KC* 6, pp. 5f.
- <sup>3</sup> Wang-hu-sa 王后寺 왕후사 (see: Chang-yu-am 長遊庵 장유암, No. 8.14.1.) Chil-chi Wang 鎡知王 길지왕, the 8th king of Ka-rak, reigned from 451 to 492 AD. The founding of Wang-hu-sa has been mentioned above in connection with the legendary arrival of an Indian princess in the first century AD.
- <sup>4</sup> Wŏl-kwang-sa 月光寺 월광사 (No. 8.5.3.), Tæ-cha Wŏl-kwang 太子月光 태자월광 (n.d.). Nothing more is known about the prince or the founding. The temple site lies at the mouth of the valley which leads to Hæ-in-sa 海印寺 해인사, which was founded in the Unified Sin-la period and is today one of the most important temples in Korea. The twin three-storied stone pagodas of Wŏl-kwang-sa are also dated to Unified Sin-la.
- <sup>5</sup> Yŏn-gi Cho-sa 緣起祖師 연기조사.
- <sup>6</sup> Dæ-wŏn-sa 大源寺 대원사, Sŏ-bong-sa 栖鳳寺 서봉사.
- <sup>7</sup> Chi-ri-san 智異山 지리산.

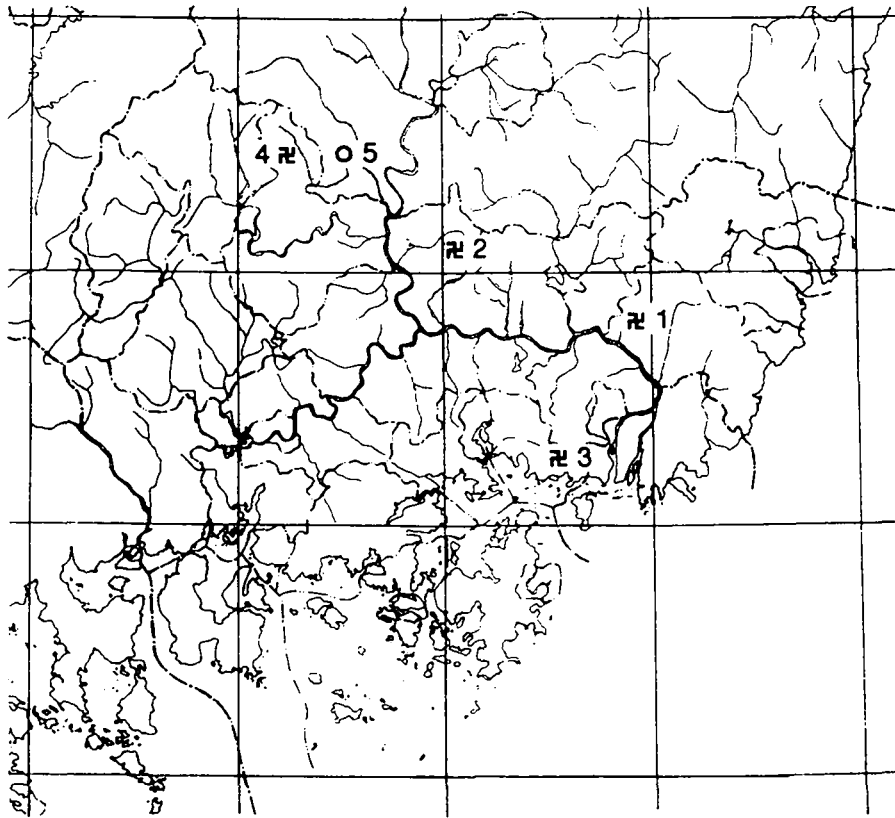


Fig. 503: Historically possible temple foundations of Ka-ya 伽倻가야

- Legend:
- 1 Sin-hŭng-sa 新興寺 신흥사
  - 2 Kwan-ryong-sa 觀龍寺 관동사
  - 3 Wang-hu-sa 王后寺 왕후사 (Chang-yu-am 長遊庵 장유암)
  - 4 Wŏl-kwang-sa 月光寺 월광사
  - 5 Ko-ryŏng-ŭb 高靈邑 고령읍 (tomb with lotus flower murals)

## 4.1.1.3. KA-YA MATERIAL EVIDENCE OF CONTACT WITH BUDDHISM

Because no Buddhist sculpture can yet be attributed with certainty to Ka-ya, the murals with lotus flowers in a tomb at Ko-a-dong in Ko-ryōng<sup>1</sup> [fig. 503], a clay house model with a gable tile roof and an owl's tail tile<sup>2</sup> and roof tiles with lotus flower designs<sup>3</sup> [fig. 504] seem to be so far the only material indication that the Ka-ya federation had in fact some contact with Buddhism. While the presence of lotus flowers and tile roofs does not imply that Buddhism was an officially accepted religion, it seems at least probable that together with the construction techniques and the decorations the spiritual culture of the Buddhist neighbours of Ka-ya was also introduced to a certain degree.

An excavation in 1963 revealed traces of stuccoed walls with murals in the oblong burial chamber of the tomb at Ko-a-dong. Paintings of red, blue, green and brown lotus flowers were found on the ceiling of the chamber and the corridor. The design and the arrangement on the ceiling of the lotus flowers are similar to those found in the Bæk-che tomb at Nūng-san-ri near Bu-yō<sup>4</sup> [fig. 501], dated to the late Bæk-che period (538 - 660 AD). The tomb in Ko-ryōng was probably constructed towards the end of Dæ-ka-ya in the first half of the sixth century. These circumstances suggest that Buddhism could have been introduced to Ka-ya through Bæk-che.

The possibility that Ka-ya might have accepted Buddhism about a century earlier than Japan<sup>5</sup> is another argument against the widespread misinterpretation of the above-mentioned passages of the *Nihonshoki*<sup>6</sup> which claim that Ka-ya (Mimana) was but a Japanese colony on Korean soil. Quite to the contrary, it can be supposed that Bæk-che and Ka-ya considerably influenced the culture of Japan because parts of their population seem continuously to have moved to the Japanese islands from the fifth to the seventh centuries AD<sup>7</sup> and could thus have laid the foundations of the Buddhist culture of Japan.

<sup>1</sup> Tomb with murals of Ko-a-dong 古衙洞壁畫古墳 고아동벽화고분 at Ko-ryōng-ūb 高靈邑 고령읍.

<sup>2</sup> A photograph of a clay model which BAK claims to date to the Ka-ya period, shows an oblong building with a gable roof. The 'female' and 'male' rows of tiles are clearly marked. One side of the ridge ends with an owl's-tail tile while the other end seems to be broken. The origin and the present location of the model are not certain. See: BAK Ōn-kon 朴彦坤 박언곤 (1990), p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> HGKCDK VI claims that a roof-end tile with an eight petals lotus flower, discovered in 1915 AD at Ko-ryōng 高靈 고령, dates to the Dæ-ka-ya period. See: HGKCDK VI, pp. 51f.

<sup>4</sup> Nūng-san-ri 陵山里 능산리, Bu-yō 扶餘 부여. See: Chapter 3.3., p. 653, fig. 501.

<sup>5</sup> Buddhism was introduced into Japan in 538 AD (var. 552 AD) when Bon-ka-ya was already absorbed by Sin-la (532 AD) and Dæ-ka-ya was about to fall (562 AD). See: KAMATA Shigeo 鎌田 茂雄 かまた しげお 鎌田 무용 (1988, 1991), p. 272; Chapter 3.1., p. 233.

<sup>6</sup> *Nihonshoki* 「日本書紀にほんしょき 일본서기」.

<sup>7</sup> See: HONG Wōn-tak 洪元卓 홍원탁 (1994), pp. 53 - 59, 117 - 129, 219.

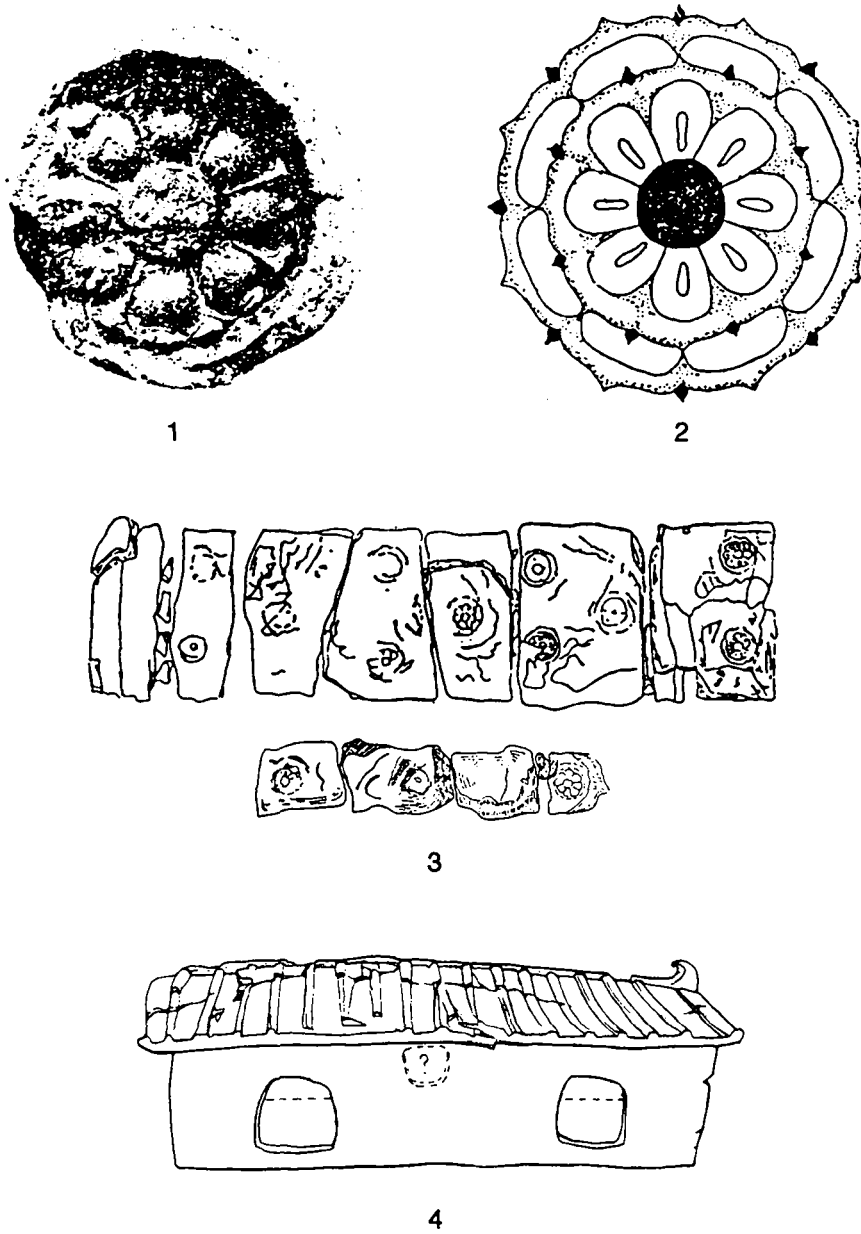


Fig. 504: Material evidence for contact with Buddhism in Ka-ya 伽倻가야:

'male' roof-end tile with lotus flower design (no scale) (1), detail (2) (scale: 1 : 5) and layout (3) of murals of lotus flower designs on the ceiling of the tomb at Ko-a-dong 古衙洞 고아동 at Ko-ryŏng 高靈 고령 (scale: 1 : 50) and perspective of a clay model of a building with a tile gable roof and owl's-tail tile (4)

(after: *HGKCDK* VI, p. 51 (1); YUN Chang-sŏb 尹張燮 윤장섭 (1996), p. 165 (2, 3); and drawing by the author (3))

#### 4.1.1.4. TRACES OF THE ARCHITECTURE OF KA-YA

The lack of evidence makes any discussion of the Buddhist architecture of the Ka-ya federation impossible. There is not even enough information to portray Ka-ya architecture in general. The only extant structures are tombs and foundations of fortress walls. An exceptional tile-roofed clay model of a gable house has been mentioned above. Most other models show constructions with four round columns which bear round beams [fig. 505 (4)]. Truss posts are placed in the centre of the beams, they support the ridge of a straw-thatched gable roof. The straw is attached by ropes in two directions, along the slope of the roof and parallel to the ridge. One model seems to be a two-storied construction or a building on piles. A ladder leads to the elevated floor. Some of these clay models and other potteries in form of animals (horses, birds), chariots and boats<sup>1</sup> were probably used as cups for wine during ceremonies.

#### 4.1.1.5. CONCLUSIONS

In spite of the scarce information, it can be supposed that Buddhism was probably introduced to the Ka-ya federation by unknown monks from Bæk-che between the middle of the fifth century to the early sixth century AD. The nobility of Ka-ya could have accepted Buddhism and permitted the development of a community of monks with temples on a modest scale. The political circumstances seem not to have allowed Ka-ya to develop Buddhism to the level of the monuments of Ko-gu-ryō, Bæk-che and Ancient Sin-la. The claim of certain Korean historians<sup>2</sup> which try to uphold the thesis of an introduction of Buddhism to Ka-ya by sea directly from India as early as the first century AD, seems to be unfounded. If this theory were true, more archaeological evidence of such a long tradition could be expected to be found.

As only very little archaeological evidence of a contact of Buddhism in Ka-ya has been discovered so far and at least eight hundred years lie between the events and the first extant records it is difficult to judge the historical value of the accounts. About one hundred years after the supposed founding of Wang-hu-sa, the federation of Ka-rak and Dæ-ka-ya was destroyed by Sin-la in 532 and 562 AD. As the earliest evidence of Buddhism of Bæk-che and Sin-la dates from a time toward

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<sup>1</sup> See: IM Yōng-chu 林永周 임영주 (1983), p. 577; *HGŭM* 5, pl. 85 - 93; YI Ūn-chang 李殷昌 이은창, YUN Se-yōng 尹世英 윤세영 (1992), pp. 158 - 170.

<sup>2</sup> See e.g.: KO Chun-hwan 高濬煥 고준환 (1993).



the end of Ka-ya<sup>1</sup>, it is not certain that more Buddhist material evidence from Ka-ya has survived.



Fig. 505: Traces of architecture in Ka-ya 伽倻가야: perspectives of 4 clay models of buildings (three of them have straw-thatched roofs, one seems to have a tile roof (2) and one buildings stands on piles with a ladder (3)) (after: BAK Ōn-kon 박彦坤 박언곤 (1990), p. 27 (1 - 3); IMYŏng-chu 林永周 임영주 (1983), p. 577 (4))

<sup>1</sup> Dæ-tong-sa 大通寺대통사 (No. 4.13.1.) in Kong-chu 公州공주 in 529 AD for Bæk-che and Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺황룡사 (No. 7.34.2.) in Kyŏng-chu 慶州경주 in 553 AD for Ancient Sin-la.

#### 4.1.2. THE HISTORY OF BUDDHISM OF ANCIENT SIN-LA

##### Preliminary Remarks

The kingdom of Sin-la is the longest dynasty in Korean history if the semi-historical kingdom of Ancient Cho-sŏn<sup>1</sup> is neglected. Sin-la's conquest of the other kingdoms of the Korean peninsula between 660 and 668 AD is one of the most decisive dates in Korean history. This chapter treats only the period of Sin-la before the unification which corresponds to the late periods of the other early Korean kingdoms.

Sin-la was the last of the early Korean kingdoms to accept Buddhism as state religion. But once officially adopted, Buddhism fell on fertile ground. In the interval of 140 years from the introduction of Buddhism in 527 AD to the unification of the Korean peninsula in 668 AD, more than 100 Buddhist temples were built in the territory of Ancient Sin-la according to available temple chronicles<sup>2</sup>. Already in the first century of its existence, the Buddhism of Sin-la produced eminent monks who travelled to China in search of more knowledge. The kings used the new religion very efficiently to fortify the country and to prepare it for the conquest of the neighbouring kingdoms.

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<sup>1</sup> Ancient Cho-sŏn 古朝鮮 고조선. See Chapter 1.1., pp. 4 - 10.

<sup>2</sup> See: SCSC.

## 4.1.2.1. LEGENDS OF EARLY TEMPLE FOUNDINGS

## 4.1.2.1.1. Yu-chö̃m-sa

The earliest Buddhist temple on the Korean peninsula is said to have been founded in the first year of King Nam-hæ<sup>1</sup> of Sin-la (4 AD). The legend<sup>2</sup> states that a ghost dragon<sup>3</sup> carried fifty-three Buddha images<sup>4</sup> from India through the state of Wöl-chi-guk to the port of An-čhang-hyön<sup>5</sup>. The estranged Governor No-čhun<sup>6</sup> of the village announced this event to King Nam-hæ, who ordered the founding of the temple Yu-chö̃m-sa<sup>7</sup> [fig. 506]. This date would place the introduction of Buddhism into Korea some sixty years before that of China and is therefore hardly believable. It states correctly the existence of the small state Wöl-chi-guk at this moment, which was one of the Ma-han tribes, on the west coast of modern south Čhung-čhö̃ng province<sup>8</sup>.

## 4.1.2.1.2. Bo-kyö̃ng-sa

In the year 67 AD, at the time when the Indian monks Ma-dü̃ng and Čuk-bö̃b-ran<sup>9</sup> arrived in China, they allegedly sent a round mirror with twelve faces<sup>10</sup> to Sin-la. Beneath Chong-nam<sup>11</sup> mountain, a thirty meter large pond was filled with earth and the mirror was buried beneath the image hall<sup>12</sup> constructed on the site of the former pond. The building later developed into Bo-kyö̃ng-sa<sup>13</sup>, literally

<sup>1</sup> Nam-hæ Čha-čha-ung 南解次次雄 남해차차웅, the second king of Sa-ro 斯盧 사로 (Sin-la 新羅 신라), reigned traditionally from 4 to 23 AD.

<sup>2</sup> Recorded in the *Yu-chö̃m-sa Bon-mal-sa-čhi* 「楡帖寺本末寺誌 유점사본말사지」. See: *HGSČCS* II, p. 935.

<sup>3</sup> Ghost dragon 神龍 신룡.

<sup>4</sup> The 53 Buddhas of the legend could be identical with the Buddhas mentioned in a *sūtra* called *Kwan-yak-wang-yak-sang-i-bo-sal-kyö̃ng* 「觀藥王藥上二菩薩經 관약왕약상이보살경」. It belongs to the Tantric school 密敎 밀교 and was translated into Chinese by Kālayāśas 曇良耶舍 강량야사 in the first half of the 5th C. AD, which is an argument for considering this story a legend. The same number of Buddha statues are also reported from Sim-wön-sa 心源寺 삼원사 (No. 10.10.2.). See: *T* 1161.20.664a-b.

<sup>5</sup> Wöl-chi-guk 月氏國 월지국, An-čhang-hyön 安昌縣 안창현.

<sup>6</sup> Governor No-čhun 宰盧儋 제노춘.

<sup>7</sup> Yu-chö̃m-sa 楡帖寺 유점사 (No. 10.9.6.).

<sup>8</sup> Ma-han 馬韓 마한, Čhung-čhö̃ng-nam-do 忠濟南道 충청남도.

<sup>9</sup> Ma-dü̃ng 摩騰 마등 and Čuk-bö̃b-ran 竺法蘭 속법란.

<sup>10</sup> *Sib-i-myö̃n* 十二面 십이면 (12 images, sides ?).

<sup>11</sup> Chong-nam-san 終南山 종남산, called today Næ-yö̃n-san 內延山 내연산 or Næ-yö̃ng-san 內迎山 내영산. See: *SCDGYCSR*, p. 392.

<sup>12</sup> *Bö̃b-dang* 法堂 법당.

<sup>13</sup> Bo-kyö̃ng-sa 寶鏡寺 보경사 (No. 7.17.1.).

'treasure-mirror temple' [fig. 506]. As in the first reported legend, there seems to be little reason to attribute this legend to an early introduction of Buddhism. Mirrors were very important attributes of shamans and political leaders. Several mirrors which date to both Han dynasties<sup>1</sup> were excavated on the Korean peninsula, so that this legend may have a historical background but its Buddhist character might have been added later.

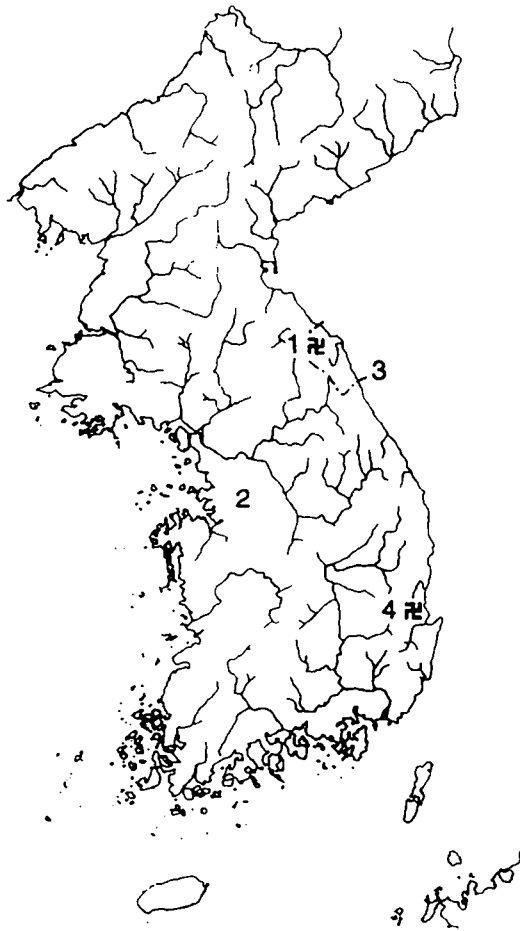


Fig. 506: Legendary temple foundations of Ancient Sin-la 古新羅 고신라.

- Legend:
- |   |                       |
|---|-----------------------|
| 1 | Yu-chöm-sa 楡岾寺 유점사    |
| 2 | Wöl-chi-guk 月氏國 일지국   |
| 3 | An-čhang-hyön 安昌縣 안창현 |
| 4 | Bo-kyöng-sa 寶鏡寺 보경사   |

<sup>1</sup> Han 漢 dynasties: from 206 BC to 220 AD.

## 4.1.2.2. THE INTRODUCTION OF BUDDHISM INTO ANCIENT SIN-LA

## 4.1.2.2.1. Muk-ho-cha and his precursors

The *Sam-guk-sa-gi*<sup>1</sup> contains the following account of the first contact of Sin-la with Buddhism: "In the reign of King Nul-chi<sup>2</sup>, the monk Muk-ho-cha (var. Hük-ho-cha)<sup>3</sup> arrived in Il-sön-gun<sup>4</sup> from Ko-gu-ryö and the villager Mo-rye<sup>5</sup> invited him to live in a cave on his property<sup>6</sup>. At this time, the Liang dynasty<sup>7</sup> sent an envoy [to Sin-la] with cloths and incense [as gifts]. As nobody in the court knew what incense was, the King sent messengers throughout the kingdom to ask if somebody knew it. Muk-ho-cha saw the incense and said to the messenger: 'If you burn this incense, then the air will be filled with perfume and everybody will attain holiness, and there is no greater holiness than the Three Jewels which are the Buddha, the Dharma and the Community<sup>8</sup>, and if someone prays to the burning of incense, then the spirits will surely reply.' At this time a daughter of the king became ill and he sent for Muk-ho-cha so that he may burn incense in front of the princess and pray. Soon the princess recovered and the King rewarded Muk-ho-cha generously. Muk-ho-cha however gave the reward to Mo-rye and went away. Nobody saw him any more."

The *Hæ-dong-ko-süng-chön*<sup>9</sup> adds that prior to Muk-ho-cha, two other Ko-gu-ryö monks arrived in Ancient Sin-la and that Mo-rye said to Muk-ho-cha: "Formerly, when the Ko[-gu]-ryö monk Chöng-bang<sup>10</sup> came to our country (i.e. Ancient Sin-la), the king and officials regarded his advent as an evil omen and

1 See: *SGSG* I, pp. 69f., 80.

2 Nul-chi Ma-rib-kan 訥祗麻立干 訥祗麻立干, the 19th king of Sa-ro (Sin-la), reigned from 417 to 457 AD.

3 Muk-ho-cha 墨胡子 목호자. Also called Hük-ho-cha 黑胡子 흑호자.

4 Il-sön-gun — 善郡 일선군, today's Sön-san 善山 선산.

5 Mo-rye 毛禮 모례.

6 LEE mentions the possibility that this place could be today's Do-ri-sa 桃李寺 도리사 (No. 7.22.1.): "When A-do came to Mo-rye's house and sat in meditation, brilliant light flooded the room, its brightness spreading to Heaven and Earth. Mo-rye went out in surprise, climbed the hill at the back, and found a most wonderful place for a hermitage. There he built one; the peach trees then started to blossom amid the snow. He therefore named the hermitage Do-ri 桃李 도리 (literally 'peach and plum') and the village beneath it Do-kæ 桃開 도개 (literally 'open peach')." In Chinese *taoli* (K: *do-ri* 桃李 도리) is a metaphor for someone's disciples which could indicate another motive for the name of the temple (e.g. temple of the disciples of Buddha). See: *HDKSC*, p. 54, n. 242.

7 Liang dynasty 梁 양 (502 - 557 AD). There is some chronological confusion, perhaps the Northern Liang 北凉 북량 (397 - 439 AD) or the Western Liang 西凉 서량 (406 - 421 AD) are intended.

8 The Buddha 佛陀 불타, the *dharma* 達磨 달마 and the community of monks 僧伽 승가.

9 See: *HDKSC*, pp. 51f.; GRAYSON (1985), pp. 29, 151, 155, T 2065, p. 1018.

10 Chöng-bang 正方 정방.

killed him. Another [monk], named Myöl-gu-bi (Myöl-gu-bin ?)<sup>1</sup>, came after him, and he too was killed."<sup>2</sup>

#### 4.1.2.2.2. A-do and the seven cardinal temples

"During the reign of King So-chi<sup>2</sup>, a monk, called A-do<sup>3</sup>, who strongly resembled Muk-ho-cha in appearance, came to Sin-la with three disciples and resided in Mo-rye's home while preaching Buddhism to the people. Not long after, A-do died without suffering any pain or sickness<sup>4</sup>. But his disciples recited the Buddhist chants and continued preaching, until they made many converts."<sup>5</sup>

The *Sam-guk-yu-sa* and the *Hæ-dong-ko-sŭng-chŏn*<sup>6</sup> complement this account on A-do by his biography which is placed some two hundred years before these events. It says that A-do was born in Ko-gu-ryŏ and his mother's name was Ko Do-yŏng<sup>7</sup>. His father was an envoy from Cao Wei named Wo Kumo<sup>8</sup> who came to Ko-gu-ryŏ during the *zhengshi* era<sup>9</sup> (240 - 248 AD). A-do became a monk at the age of five and went to China when he was sixteen years old to study under Xuanzhang<sup>10</sup> and to meet his father. When he returned his mother made a prophecy about seven cardinal temples<sup>11</sup> [fig. 507] to be built in the early time of Buddhism in Sin-la. The *Sam-guk-yu-sa* gives the following order of founding:

1. Hŭng-ryun-sa<sup>12</sup> founded in 528 AD
2. Yŏng-hŭng-sa<sup>13</sup> founded in 540 (var. 528 AD)
3. Hwang-ryong-sa<sup>14</sup> founded in 554 AD
4. Bun-hwang-sa<sup>15</sup> founded in 634 AD

<sup>1</sup> Myöl-gu-bi (Myöl-gu-bin 滅垢玼 별구빈?), also called Myöl-gu-swæ (-bi?) 滅垢璜 별구쇄? (there is some confusion about the Chinese characters and their (ancient?) Korean pronunciation.)

<sup>2</sup> So-chi Ma-rib-kan 炤知麻立干 소지마립간, the 21st king of Sa-ro (Sin-la), reigned from 479 to 499 AD.

<sup>3</sup> A-do 阿道 아도 (var. 我道 아도). See: Chapter 2.1., p. 87.

<sup>4</sup> Which probably means that he attained *nirvāṇa*.

<sup>5</sup> See: *SGYS*, p. (180).

<sup>6</sup> See: *SGYS*, pp. (180ff.); *HDKSC*, pp. 52 - 55.

<sup>7</sup> Ko Do-yŏng 高道寧 고도영.

<sup>8</sup> Cao Wei 曹魏 조위, Wo Kumo 我堀摩 아굴마.

<sup>9</sup> *Zhengshi* 正始 정시.

<sup>10</sup> Xuanzhang 玄奘 현장.

<sup>11</sup> *Chil-chŏ-ka-ram* 七處伽藍 칠처가람. A legend states that at the sites of these temples were the ruins of temples which were built during former Buddha periods. See: *HDKSC*, p. 54.

<sup>12</sup> Hŭng-ryun-sa 興輪寺 흥륜사 (completed in 544 AD) (No. 7.34.20.).

<sup>13</sup> Yŏng-hŭng-sa 永興寺 영흥사 (var. founded in 576 or 684 AD) (No. 7.34.41.).

<sup>14</sup> Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황룡사 (var. founded in 553 AD) (No. 7.34.2.).

<sup>15</sup> Bun-hwang-sa 芬皇寺 분황사 (No. 7.34.1.).

5. Yǒng-myo-sa<sup>1</sup> founded in 636 AD
6. Sa-chǒn-wang-sa<sup>2</sup> founded in 680 AD
7. Dam-ǒm-sa<sup>3</sup> founded in the late seventh century (?)

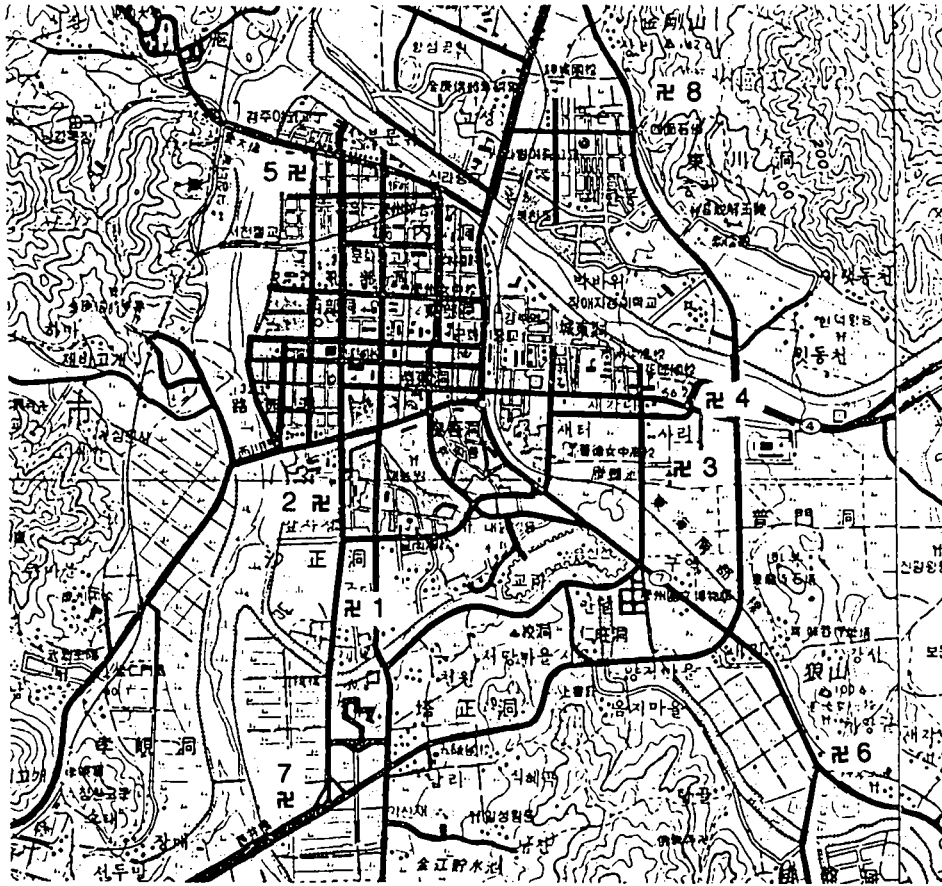


Fig. 507: The seven cardinal temples and Cha-chu-sa 刺楸寺 자추사 of Kyōng-chu 慶州 경주의 Ancient Sin-la 古新羅 고신라 (scale: 1 : 50,000) (after: CACD NI 52-2-06):

- Legend:
- 1 Hŭng-ryun-sa 興輪寺 흥륜사
  - 2 Yǒng-hŭng-sa 永興寺 영흥사
  - 3 Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황룡사
  - 4 Bun-hwang-sa 芬皇寺 분황사
  - 5 Yǒng-myo-sa 靈妙寺 영묘사
  - 6 Sa-chǒn-wang-sa 四天王寺 사천왕사
  - 7 Dam-ǒm-sa 曇嚴寺 담엄사
  - 8 Cha-chu-sa 刺楸寺 자추사

1 Yǒng-myo-sa 靈妙寺 영묘사 (var. founded in 632 AD) (No. 7.34.40).  
 2 Sa-chǒn-wang-sa 四天王寺 사천왕사 (var. founded in 679 AD) (No. 7.34.7).  
 3 Dam-ǒm-sa 曇嚴寺 담엄사 (No. 7.34.24).

Following the prophecy of his mother, A-do set out for Sin-la in 263 AD. Then follows a similar story to that of Muk-ho-cha. A-do cures the princess Söng-guk<sup>1</sup> in the third year of King Mi-čhu<sup>2</sup> (264 AD) and in order to fulfil the mother's prophecy he wished as a reward that a temple be erected in Čhön-kyöng-rim, called Hüng-ryun-sa<sup>3</sup>. The sister of Mo-rye became a nun through A-do and founded the temple Yöng-hüng-sa in Sam-čhön-gi<sup>4</sup>. But after the death of King Mi-čhu (284 AD) the people of Sin-la rose up against Buddhism and A-do died soon after, suspending the spread of Buddhism in Sin-la.

Il-yön<sup>5</sup> tried to solve these anachronisms by supposing that Muk-ho-cha was simply a pseudonym of A-do. Thus A-do would be the monk who arrived in Ko-gu-ryö in 374 AD and travelled some forty-five years later to Sin-la during the reign of King Nul-chi.

The number seven is often associated with shamanism in Korea. Other examples for the use of this magic number are: the seven-pointed sword<sup>6</sup> which Bæk-che offered as a gift to a Japanese ruler, a bronze ring with seven bells from Ka-ya<sup>7</sup> [fig. 508], the crowns with decorations in form of seven-branched trees<sup>8</sup> of the kings of Ko-gu-ryö, Bæk-che, Ka-rak and Sin-la [figs. 629f.] and, perhaps most significantly, the special powers which were attributed to the Seven Stars<sup>9</sup> (the Big Dipper), representations of which can be found in several tombs of Ko-gu-ryö<sup>10</sup> [fig. 156 and which are still very important in modern shamanism. There was a tradition in Siberia where the shaman reaches the seven heavens of the shaman mythology by climbing in trance the seven branches fixed in a birch stem<sup>11</sup>. It

1 Söng-guk 成國公主 성국공주.

2 Mi-čhu Ni-sa-güm 味都尼師今 미추니사금, the 13th king of Sin-la, reigned from 261 to 284 AD.

3 Čhön-kyöng-rim 天鏡林 천경림 (literally 'heavenly-mirror forest'), Hüng-ryun-sa 興輪寺 흥륜사 (No. 7.34.6.) ('temple [where] the wheel [of the *dharma*] is raised'). According to YI Ki-bæk, forests "were regarded as holy precincts and were the bases of primordial shamans."

See: TAMURA Enchō 田村圓澄 たむらえんちよう 전촌원정 (Jan. 1985), p. 28

(citation after: YI Ki-bæk 李基白 이기백: *Treatise of Ancient Korean History*

『韓國古代史論 かんこくこだいしろん 한국고대사론』, Gakuseisha 學生社 がくせいしゃ 학생사, 1976, p. 88 (the work was not available for this study)).

4 Yöng-hüng-sa 永興寺 영흥사 ('Temple [where the *dharma*] is raised eternally'), Sam-čhön-gi 三川岐 사천기.

5 See: *SGYS*, pp. 182f.

6 *Čhil-čhi-do* 七支刀 칠지도, in Japan: Isonokami Shrine 石上神宮 いそのかみじんぐう 석상신궁. See: HONG Wön-tak 洪元卓 홍원탁 (1994), pp. 251ff, 399.

7 *Čhōng-dong-čhil-chu-ryōng* 青銅七珠鈴 청동칠주령, found in Bu-san 釜山 부산, Bok-čhön-dong tomb No. 22 福泉洞 22 號墳 북천동 22 호 분, in the Museum of Bu-san University 釜山大學校博物館 부산대학교 박물관, see: *HGüM* 22, pl. 110, p. 216.

8 See: *HGüM* 22, pl. 1, 107, 114, 178, p. 186.

9 *Čhil-söng* 七星 칠성. The Big Dipper is also important for East Asian Buddhism and Taoism. See: SOOTHILL, HODOUS (1969), p. 12; ROBINET (1995), p. 26.

10 See: ČHŬE Mu-chang 최무장 (1990, 1992), pp. 98, 124.

11 See: ELIADE (1975, 1991), pp. 263ff., the numbers 9 and 12 also occur.



is therefore possible that the 'seven cardinal temples' were located in correspondence with shamanistic and geomantic theories and rites of territorial protection against evil influences.

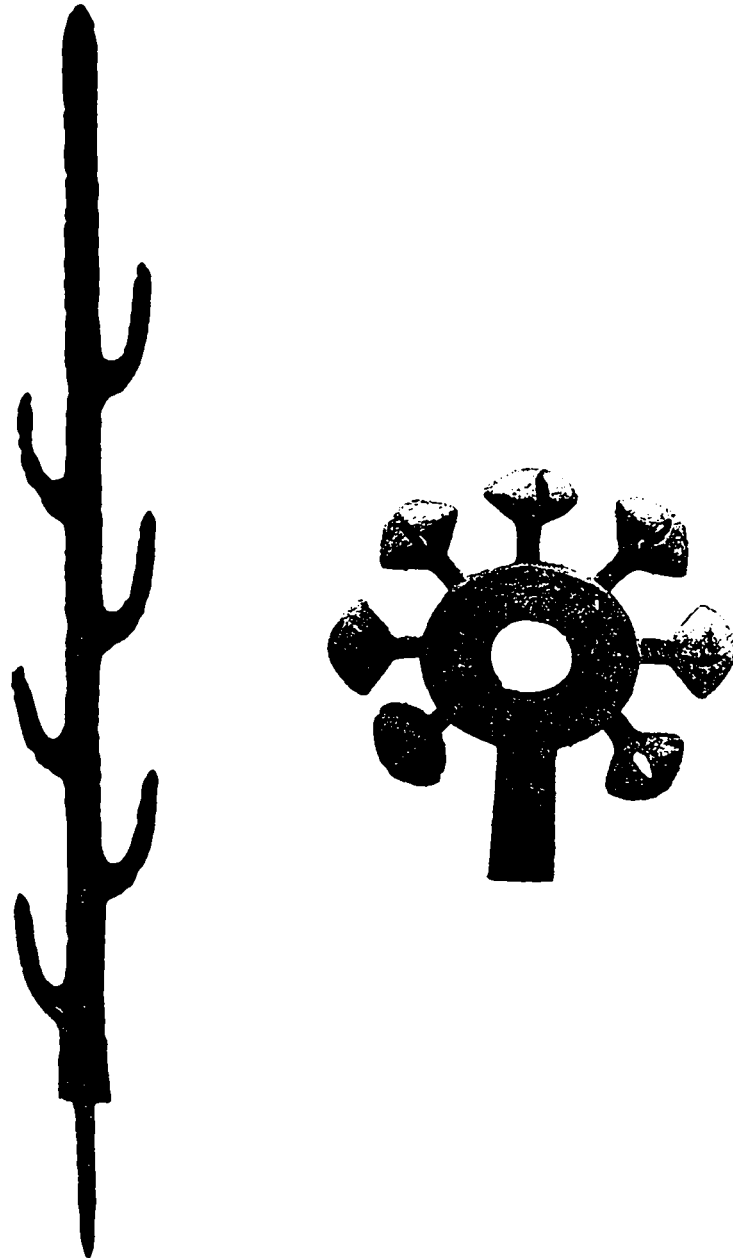


Fig. 508: The seven-pointed sword of Bæk-che 百濟백제 (369 AD ?, scale: 1 : 10) and a bronze ring with seven bells from Ka-ya 伽倻가야 (5th C. AD, scale: about 1 : 2) (after: IM Yǒng-chu 林永周 임영주 (1983), p. 379; *HGM* 22, pl. 110)

## 4.1.2.2.3. The martyrdom of I-cha-don and the founding of Cha-ču-sa

According to the *Sam-guk-sa-gi* and the *Sam-guk-yu-sa*, Buddhism was officially adopted in Sin-la in 527 AD, after the martyrdom of I-cha-don<sup>1</sup>, a minor official of the court of King Bōb-hūng<sup>2</sup>. No foreign monk seems to have intervened in this event, which might signify that there was already a small Buddhist community of monks in Sin-la at the moment of the martyrdom. The story can be resumed as follows: I-cha-don, a Buddhist layman (maybe he even gave up his office to become a monk), tried to help his king in introducing Buddhism against the opposition of the nobility. He convinced the king of the need of a sacrifice in order to win the support of the noble families. I-cha-don suggested that the king should sentence him to death for allegedly having disobeyed his orders. The king followed his suggestion and sentenced I-cha-don to be executed by beheading. When the sword cut his neck, I-cha-don's head flew high in the air and spouted blood white as snow [fig. 509]. Then suddenly a storm arose with rain, lightning and thunder and the wild animals ran frightened in all directions. At the place on Mount



Fig. 509: Carving of the martyrdom of I-cha-don 伊次頓 이차돈 on a granite stele from Bæk-ryul-sa 栢栗寺 백률사 (now National Museum of Kyōng-chu 國立慶州博物館 국립경주박물관) (9th C. AD, scale: about 1 : 10) (after: KEILHAUER (1986), p. 348)

<sup>1</sup> I-cha-don 伊次頓 이차돈, also spelled 異次頓 이차돈, his family name was BAK 朴 박, his names were Kō-cha-don 居次頓 거차돈, Čhō-do 處道 처도 or Yōm-čhok 厭觸 엽촉. See also: BUSWELL (1983), pp. 74f.

<sup>2</sup> Bōb-hūng Wang 法興王 법흥왕, the 23rd king of Sin-la, reigned from 514 to 539 AD.

Güm-gang<sup>1</sup>, where I-cha-don's flying head had fallen according to the legend, his body was buried and Cha-ču-sa<sup>2</sup> was founded in 528 AD.

As it seems questionable that the king should have his supporter executed, it is more probable that the nobility acted on its own and killed one of the king's closest allies in order to manifest their opposition. However, the martyrdom produced the opposite effect as the population might have been impressed by the faith and courage of I-cha-don. It was probably this power struggle which kept Buddhism from being accepted earlier in Sin-la as the powerful families had a well-founded fear of losing influence to an officially supported Buddhist community.

The interpretation that it was a religious struggle between shamanism and Buddhism seems less probable as similar struggles would have arisen also in Ko-gu-ryō and Bæk-che which had very similar religious backgrounds. Buddhism never directly attacked shamanism, but, quite to the opposite, popular Buddhism accepted many concepts and deities from it. As to the difference between Sin-la and the other kingdoms we might recall that Sin-la is supposed to have consolidated itself the last, which could mean that in the early sixth century the noble families kept still some of their privileges, whereas Ko-gu-ryō and Bæk-che were already centralized monarchies at the time of the introduction of Buddhism.

#### 4.1.2.2.4. Early temple foundings

Several extant temples in the traditional territory of Sin-la claim to have been founded prior to the official introduction of Buddhism in Sin-la in 527 AD [fig. 510]. They are in chronological order:

1. Chik-chi-sa, founded by Muk-ho-cha in 418 AD<sup>3</sup>
2. Do-ri-sa, founded by A-do Hwa-sang when he arrived in Sin-la<sup>4</sup>
3. Yu-ga-sa, founded by Gük-dal (var. Bo-cho) in 493 AD<sup>5</sup>

As nothing more is known about their foundings it is again difficult to judge the historical value of these dates. It might however be recalled that it is quite probable that there existed a small Buddhist community in Sin-la from the middle

<sup>1</sup> Güm-gang-san 金剛山 [fig. 543 (1 - 3)], a small mountain to the north-east of Kyōng-chu 慶州 경주 (not to be mistaken with the mountain range of the same name in modern North Korea).

<sup>2</sup> Cha-ču-sa 刺楸寺 자추사, the extant temple Bæk-ryul-sa 栢栗寺 백률사 (No. 7.34.9.).

<sup>3</sup> Chik-chi-sa 直指寺 직지사 (No. 7.25.2.), founded by Muk-ho-cha 墨胡子 목호자.

<sup>4</sup> Do-ri-sa 桃李寺 도리사 (No. 7.22.1.), founded by A-do Hwa-sang 阿道和尚 아도 화상.

<sup>5</sup> Yu-ga-sa 瑜伽寺 유가사 (today's Dong-hwa-sa 桐華寺 등화사) (No. 7.1.2.).  
Founded by Gük-dal 極達 극달 (var. Bo-cho 普照 보조).

of the fifth century at least, and that there existed also a small number of temples (probably thatched houses given to the monks by laymen). The only Buddhist element of these 'temples' might have been some small Buddhist statues and paintings imported from China and copied in Korea. But of course, nothing of this has been discovered during excavations.

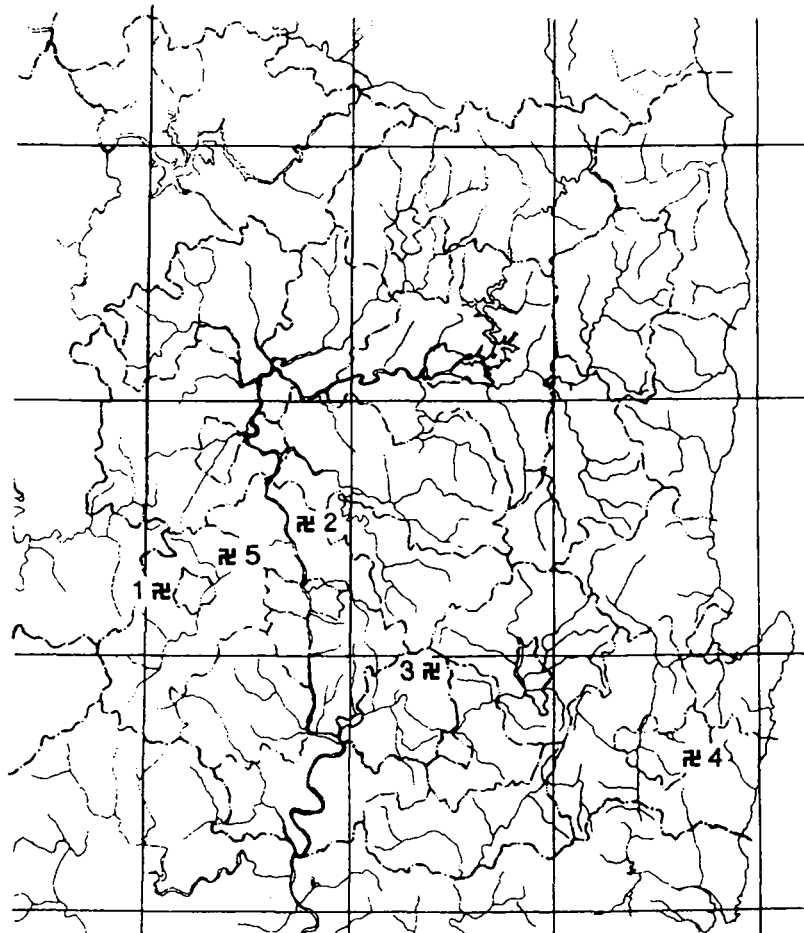


Fig. 510: Alleged temple foundations and reconstructions until the end of the reign of Bōb-hūng Wang 法興王 법흥왕 of Ancient Sin-la 古新羅 고신라 (until 539 AD):

- Legend:
- 1 Chik-chi-sa 直指寺 직지사
  - 2 Do-ri-sa 桃李寺 도리사
  - 3 Yu-ga-sa 瑜伽寺 유가사 (today's Dong-hwa-sa 桐華寺 동화사)
  - 4 Bul-guk-sa 佛國寺 불국사
  - 5 Kye-rim-sa 雞林寺 계림사

## 4.1.2.3. REIGN OF KING BÖB-HŬNG (r. 514 - 539 AD)

King Bōb-hŭng ('the King [who] raised the *dharma*') was the first king of Ancient Sin-la to become a Buddhist layman. He allowed his people to become monks and nuns and he prohibited butchery on ten national holidays. The first officially accepted Buddhist temples were founded soon after the adoption of Buddhism as the state religion in 527 AD [fig. :

528 AD: Cha-ĉu-sa (today's Bæk-ryul-sa), founded to honour the martyrdom of I-ĉa-don on the order of King Bōb-hŭng<sup>1</sup>

528 AD: Hŭng-ryun-sa, founded on the order of King Bōb-hŭng<sup>2</sup>

528 AD: Bul-guk-sa, founded on the order of King Bōb-hŭng (var. 540 AD)<sup>3</sup>

528 - 539 AD: Kye-rim-sa, founded by A-do Hwa-sang (?)<sup>4</sup>

about 540 AD: Yōng-hŭng-sa, founded on the order of Queen Pa-do<sup>5</sup>

There is no structure extant from the founding time in any of these temples. The founding dates of Bul-guk-sa and Kye-rim-sa are not sure. In particular Kye-rim-sa can hardly have been founded by A-do Hwa-sang at that time because A-do Hwa-sang is said to have lived in the early fifth century according to most historical sources<sup>6</sup>. But the records for Cha-ĉu-sa, Hŭng-ryun-sa and Yōng-hŭng-sa are quite credible as their founding stories figure in the *Sam-guk-yu-sa*<sup>7</sup>.

In 540 AD, King Bōb-hŭng abdicated in favour of the son of his younger brother in order to join the Buddhist community of monks. The former king received the Buddhist name Bōb-un or Bōb-kong<sup>8</sup> and lived until his death in Hŭng-ryun-sa. Queen Pa-do became a nun and founded for this reason Yōng-hŭng-sa, the first nunnery of Sin-la, around 540 AD. Her Buddhist name was Bōb-ryu or Myo-bōb<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cha-ĉu-sa 刺楸寺 자추사 (today's Bæk-ryul-sa 柏栗寺 백율사) (No. 7.34.17.). I-ĉa-don 異次頓 이차돈. See above, pp. 678f.

<sup>2</sup> Hŭng-ryun-sa 興輪寺 흥륜사 (No. 7.34.20.).

<sup>3</sup> Bul-guk-sa 佛國寺 불국사 (No. 7.34.33.).

<sup>4</sup> Kye-rim-sa 雞林寺 계림사 (No. 7.25.5.). A-do Hwa-sang 阿度和尙 아도화상.

<sup>5</sup> Yōng-hŭng-sa 永興寺 영흥사 (No. 7.34.41.). Pa-do Bu-in 巴刀夫人王妃 파도부인왕비.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 676.

<sup>7</sup> See: *SGYS*, pp. (189, 59, 181).

<sup>8</sup> Bōb-un 法雲 법운, Bōb-kong 法空 법공.

<sup>9</sup> Bōb-ryu 法流 법류, Myo-bōb 妙法 묘법.

## 4.1.2.4. REIGN OF KING CHIN-HŬNG (r. 540 - 575 AD)

During King Chin-hŭng's<sup>1</sup> reign the first Sin-la monks travelled to China to receive direct transmission of the Buddhist *dharma*. Hyŏn-kwang<sup>2</sup> travelled to China in the early years of the reign of Chin-hŭng Wang and became a disciple of the Tiantai precursor Huisi<sup>3</sup>. With his master he studied the *Lotus sūtra*<sup>4</sup> which he introduced to Sin-la after his return. In 549 AD, Gak-dŏk<sup>5</sup> returned from a voyage to the Chinese Liang dynasty<sup>6</sup> and carried the first Buddha's *śarīra* with him which he seems to have enshrined in the pagoda of Hŭng-ryun-sa.

The new Buddhist environment in Sin-la began to attract monks from the neighbouring Korean kingdoms and from China. In spite of the political enmity between Sin-la and Ko-gu-ryŏ<sup>7</sup>, the monk Hye-ryang<sup>8</sup> of Ko-gu-ryŏ was awarded in 551 the highest rank in the Sin-la clergy, *guk-tong*, 'national head monk'<sup>9</sup>. Hye-ryang introduced the custom of the '*dharma* assemblies', big seminars of monks and laymen where the Buddhist theory is expounded in detail by masters. Among the first such retreats were the '*Dharma* Assembly of the Hundred High Seats (Bæk-ko-chwa-bŏb-hwæ)' and the '*Assembly of the Eight Precepts* (Pal-kwan-chæ-hwæ)'<sup>10</sup>. In 565 and 576 AD the Chinese monk Myŏng-kwan and the 'barbarian' monk Bi-ma-ra arrived in Sin-la from the Chen dynasty<sup>11</sup> bringing *sūtras* and treatises with them. With the middle of the sixth century, Sin-la definitely emerged from historical obscurity and from that moment on, it played an important role in East Asia until its end in the tenth century AD.

<sup>1</sup> Chin-hŭng Wang 眞興王 진흥왕, the 24th king of Sin-la, reigned from 540 to 575 AD.

<sup>2</sup> Hyŏn-kwang 玄光 현광.

<sup>3</sup> Tiantai 天台 천태, Huisi 慧思 혜사, he was also the teacher of Zhiyi 智顓 지의, the important systemiser of the Tiantai 天台 천태 school.

<sup>4</sup> *Lotus sūtra*, the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra* 「妙法蓮華經 보법연화경」 T 262.

<sup>5</sup> Gak-dŏk 覺德 각덕. The text does not state where he enshrined the *śarīra*, but Hŭng-ryun-sa 興輪寺 흥륜사 is the only temple mentioned in the section. See: HDKSC, p. 70.

<sup>6</sup> Liang 梁 양, a dynasty in South China with its capital at Jiankang 建康 건강 (today's Nanjing 南京 남경); it lasted from 502 to 557 AD.

<sup>7</sup> Between 553 and 568 AD, Sin-la conquered large territories of Ko-gu-ryŏ, reaching almost to the Dæ-dong-kang 大同江 대동강. See: BYON Tæ-sŏb 변태섭 etc. (1990, 1993), p. 23.

<sup>8</sup> Hye-ryang 惠亮 혜량.

<sup>9</sup> *Guk-tong* 國統 국통.

<sup>10</sup> Bæk-ko-chwa-bŏb-hwæ 百高座法會 백고좌법회, where the *In-wang-kyŏng* 「仁王經 인왕경」 was expounded for the prosperity of the kingdom. Pal-kwan-chæ-hwæ 八關齋會 팔관재회.

<sup>11</sup> Myŏng-kwan 明觀 명관, Bi-ma-ra 毘摩羅 비마라, Chen 南朝 陳 남조진, a dynasty in South China, it lasted from 557 to 589 AD, the successor of the Liang 梁 양 dynasty.

## 4.1.2.4.1. The Pung-wöl-do (var. Hwa-rang-do)

Towards the end of his reign, King Chin-hüŋ established an association of young noble men, called the Pung-wöl-do (var. Hwa-rang-do)<sup>1</sup>. It was an organisation which aimed at educating the youth in the Buddhist faith and patriotism. The knowledge of the art of war seems to have been an integral part of the education of these elite cadets. During the unification wars of the seventh century the *hwa-rang*<sup>2</sup> were especially known for their courage and fighting skills. Buddhism seems to have helped them to overcome the fear of death through its theories of rebirth and retribution. It does not seem that the *hwa-rang* and their Buddhist teachers had any doubt about their right to destroy the neighbouring kingdoms. They must have perceived the conquest of the Korean peninsula as the unavoidable destiny and mission of their country.

A series of recent studies<sup>3</sup> have discussed the Pung-wöl-do. It seems that it can be brought in close relation with the Maitreya belief which was particularly popular during the early periods of Buddhism in East Asia. The leader of the Pung-wöl-do, called *guk-sön*<sup>4</sup>, for example, seems to have been considered as a symbol of Maitreya. I will return to this subject further below in connection with the founding of Sin-sön-sa<sup>5</sup> (see pp. 693ff.).

## 4.1.2.4.2. Temple foundings

More than twenty alleged temple foundings and reconstructions fall in the reign of the second Buddhist king of Sin-la. The following list includes the more important ones [fig. 511]:

553. 2. AD: Hwang-ryong-sa, founded on the royal order of King Chin-hüŋ<sup>6</sup>

553 AD: Böb-chu-sa, founded by Üi-sin Cho-sa<sup>7</sup>

557 AD: Un-mun-sa (var. 560 AD) and Dæ-bi-sa<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pung-wöl-do 風月道 風月道 (var. Hwa-rang-do 花郎徒 花郎徒). See: KIM Yöŋ-tæ 金煥泰 김영태 (1986), pp. 46 - 48; The Korean Buddhist Research Institute (ed.) (1993), pp. 58 - 60.

<sup>2</sup> *Hwa-rang* 花郎 花郎.

<sup>3</sup> See: LANCASTER Lewis: *Maitreya in Korea*, in: SPONBERG, HARDACRE (eds.) (1988), pp. 137 - 141, 150f.; AA LIII, p. 345f.; SGYS, pp. 234 - 237.

<sup>4</sup> Guk-sön 國仙 國仙. See: KIM Yöŋ-tæ 金煥泰 김영태 (1986), p.48; The Korean Buddhist Research Institute (ed.) (1993), p. 60.

<sup>5</sup> Sin-sön-sa 神仙寺 신선사 (No. 7.33.4.)

<sup>6</sup> Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황룡사 (No. 7.34.2.). See below, pp. 685ff.

<sup>7</sup> Böb-chu-sa 法住寺 법주사 (No. 3.11.1.); Üi-sin Cho-sa 義信祖師 의신조사. See below, p. 687.

<sup>8</sup> Un-mun-sa 雲門寺 운문사 (No. 7.30.5.); Dæ-bi-sa 大悲寺 대비사 (No. 7.30.6.). See p. 688.

565 AD: Song-rim-sa, founded by Myǒng-kwan Dæ-sa<sup>1</sup>  
 566 AD: Chi-wǒn-sa and Sil-che-sa<sup>2</sup>

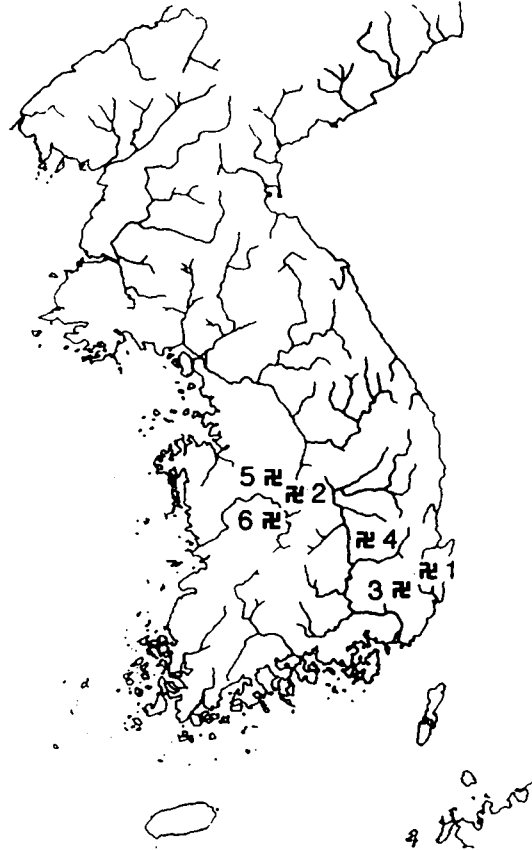


Fig. 511: Temple foundings and reconstructions during the reign of Chin-hǔng Wang 眞興王 진흥왕 of Ancient Sin-la 古新羅 고신라 (540 - 575 AD):

- Legend:
- 1 Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황룡사
  - 2 Bǒb-chu-sa 法住寺 법주사
  - 3 Un-mun-sa 雲門寺 운문사 and Dæ-bi-sa 大悲寺 대비사
  - 4 Song-rim-sa 松林寺 송림사
  - 5 Bo-sal-sa 菩薩寺 보살사
  - 6 Yong-am-sa 龍巖寺 용암사

<sup>1</sup> Song-rim-sa 松林寺 송림사 (No. 7.23.1). A legend states that Myǒng-kwan Dæ-sa 明觀大師 명관대사 returned in 565 AD from Chen 陳 진 with an envoy. He carried Buddha's *sarira* with him which he enshrined in the Ho-guk-an-min Ki-wǒn-bo-tab 護國安民祈願寶塔 호국안민기원보탑 in Pal-kong-san 八公山 팔공산 [fig. 684 (22)]. A variant legend seems to connect Song-rim-sa with the return in 544 AD of Gak-dǒk Cho-sa 覺德祖師 각덕조사 from Liang 梁 양 with an envoy. But this monk is said to have enshrined the *sarira* in the pagoda of Hǔng-ryun-sa 興輪寺 흥륜사 in Kyǒng-chu 慶州 경주, so that the relation to Song-rim-sa is not clear. See: Chapter 4.2, pp. 740, 876ff.; *MSKC* II, p. 95; *SCSC*, p. 357; *AA* XXII, pp. 95 - 112.

<sup>2</sup> Chi-wǒn-sa 祇園寺 지원사, Sil-che-sa 實際寺 실제사. Their precise locations are unknown.



567 AD: Bo-sal-sa, founded by Ūi-sin Cho-sa<sup>1</sup>

575 AD: reconstruction (var. founding) of Bul-guk-sa<sup>2</sup>

540 - 575 AD (probably after 553 AD): Yong-am-sa, founded by Ūi-sin Cho-sa<sup>3</sup>

#### 4.1.2.4.2.1. The founding of Hwang-ryong-sa and the casting of its Buddhist statues

The founding of Hwang-ryong-sa is undoubtedly the most important event in Buddhist architecture of the reign of Chin-hŭng Wang, maybe even of the whole period of Ancient Sin-la. The *Sam-guk-yu-sa*<sup>4</sup> states the following founding legend: "In the second month of the fourteenth year of King Chin-hŭng's reign [553 AD] a yellow dragon appeared near the site of the detached purple palace<sup>5</sup>, which was then under construction to the south of the royal residence. The king therefore changed the intended palace into a temple, naming it Hwang-ryong-sa", literally 'emperor-dragon temple'. Yellow was the colour symbolizing the kings and emperors in China and Korea. The Chinese characters for emperor and yellow are pronounced in the same way which invites a play on words<sup>6</sup>. The *Sam-guk-yu-sa* mentions in addition that "the surrounding wall was built in the thirteenth year of the king's reign [569 AD] and so the whole construction was completed in seventeen years."<sup>7</sup>

The most notable fact of this account is the improvised transformation of a palace into a Buddhist temple which seems to indicate the similarity of their basic layout. Hwang-ryong-sa became the biggest and most influential temple not only of Ancient Sin-la but of the whole of the Sin-la dynasty. Its history lasted until the Mongol invasions in 1238 AD when the temple was completely burnt to ashes and was never rebuilt again. The temple was transformed several times during the first century of its existence. I will return to the reconstruction of the temple and its

<sup>1</sup> Bo-sal-sa 菩薩寺보살사 (No. 3.10.4.). See below, p. 687.

<sup>2</sup> Bul-guk-sa 佛國寺불국사 (No. 7.34.33.). See also above, p. 681.

<sup>3</sup> Yong-am-sa 龍巖寺용암사 (No. 3.12.1.). See below, p. 687.

<sup>4</sup> See: *SGYS*, pp. (205f.).

<sup>5</sup> Purple palace 紫宮자궁.

<sup>6</sup> Yellow is 黃황, emperor 皇황. The pronunciation of both words are the same in each East Asian country: Ch: *huang*, K: *hwang* 황, J: *kō* こう. Both writings are used sometimes for the same temple: Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 / 黃龍寺 황룡사.

<sup>7</sup> See: *SGYS*, pp. 102, 320, (205f.).

giant nine-storied wooden pagoda further below, pp. 717ff. The architectural aspects of the first Hwang-ryong-sa will be discussed in Chapter 4.2., pp. 767ff.

The *Sam-guk-yu-sa* relates the legend of the casting of the triad of Hwang-ryong-sa. It states that King Aśoka<sup>1</sup> ordered that three large statues be cast with 57,000 *gŭn* of yellow iron (?) and 30,000 *bun* of yellow gold<sup>2</sup>. After three failures, the crown prince suggested to send the metal together with models of the statues to the various Buddhist countries for search of skilled metallurgists. After an odyssey of 1,300 years<sup>3</sup> the ship reached the Korean peninsula and the statues were finally cast in the capital of Sin-la in 574 AD. The main Buddha weighted 35,007 *gŭn* of yellow iron and 10,198 *bun* of gold<sup>4</sup> and was 16 feet high (about 5.3 m). The attending figures contained each 12,000 *gŭn* of yellow iron and 10,136 *bun* of gold<sup>5</sup>. The captain of the ship is then said to have returned to India in order to report the success of the casting to King Aśoka. This legend is obviously anachronistic and far-fetched, but it shows the aspiration of the Sin-la kingdom to be considered an essential member of the Buddhist world.

The great Buddha of Tōdai-ji<sup>6</sup>, cast between 745 and 749 AD, needed reportedly 492 tons of copper, 8.4 tons of tin and several hundred kilograms of

<sup>1</sup> Aśoka, king of the Maurya dynasty in India, reigned from 272 to 236 BC. He created the first vast empire of India, he converted to Buddhism after the massacre at Kalinga in 260 BC.

<sup>2</sup> 57,000 *gŭn* of 'yellow iron' (?) 黃鐵五萬七千斤 황철오만칠천근 = 34 tons 200kg (?); 30,000 *bun* of yellow gold 黃金三萬分 황금삼만분 = 1 ton 800kg (?). The value of the (modern ?) measure units: 10 *bun* 分 = 1 *gŭn* 斤 斤 = 600g (= 1.323 lbs.). YU prefers a assumed measure unit of the Tang dynasty: 1 *gŭn* 斤 斤 = 225g. The amount of metal would then be: 12 tons 825kg iron and 675kg gold. According to CHANG, 1 *gŭn* = 1,600 *bun* which leads to: 1 *bun* = 0.375g but this seems to result in too small amounts of gold (30,000 *bun* = 11.25kg). See: YU Hong-chun 俞弘濬 유흥준 (1993), p. 188; HGSĈCS IV, p. 257 (§ 7369); KIM Sung-woo (KIM Sŏng-u 金聖雨 김성우) (1985), p. 215.

<sup>3</sup> King Aśoka actually lived about 800 years before the casting of the statues of Hwang-ryong-sa.

<sup>4</sup> 35,007 *gŭn* = 21 tons (var. 7.877t); 10,198 *bun* = 612kg (var. 229kg). It seems that the second value (1 *gŭn* 斤 斤 = 225g) results in too little metal for a 5.3m high statue. In comparison, the statue of Louis XV on horseback, cast in 1758 AD, which was 16 feet or about 5.28m high, needed 60,710 pounds or about 29.72t of metal (and 22,942 pounds or about 11.23t of metal for the waste and security). See: Ministère de la Culture (ed.) (1978, 1984), pp. 251, 255.

<sup>5</sup> 12,000 *gŭn* = 7 tons 200kg (var. 2.7t); 10,136 *bun* = 608kg (var. 228kg). The total of the material used for the three statues combined is bigger than the amount which was initially available. Some metal must thus have come from a different source.

<sup>6</sup> Tōdai-ji 東大寺とうだいじ 동대사 in Nara 奈良なら 나라. The statue was cast in numerous parts which were assembled on the final location before the building was finished.

gold<sup>1</sup>. The Tōdai-ji statue, with a height 16.2m, was more than three times taller than the Hwang-ryong-sa Buddha. The proportion between the amount of metal and height is about correct if the main Buddha of Hwang-ryong-sa is imagined as a standing figure<sup>2</sup>. This supposition seems to be confirmed by an account in the *Samguk-yu-sa* which states that in the year after its completion the golden Buddha began to shed tears which flowed down to its feet. This was perceived as "an omen of the King's death, which occurred the next year [576 AD]." The excavation of the temple site revealed the bases of the Buddha triad. The traces of the central figure show a carved ring with an outer diameter of about 1.6m. The attending figures had a respective diameter of 0.9m to 0.95m. This information suggests that the lateral Buddhas were also standing figures and could have had heights of about 3m. All three statues melted during a fire caused by the Mongol invasions of the 13th century AD.

#### 4.1.2.4.2.2. The founding of Bōb-chu-sa, Yong-am-sa and Bo-sal-sa

Bōb-chu-sa, Yong-am-sa and Bo-sal-sa<sup>3</sup>, founded by a certain Ūi-sin Cho-sa<sup>4</sup> between 553 and 575 AD, lie in mountainous central Korea near the modern localities of Bo-ūn, Ok-čhōn and Čhōng-chu<sup>5</sup>. This territory came to belong to Sin-la only after the campaigns against Bæk-che from 551 to 553 AD when Sin-la gained for the first time direct access to the Yellow Sea. The founding of these temples may have demonstrated the new authority to the local population and may have served as rest places for travellers and official messengers on their trip from the west coast to the capital of Sin-la. Bōb-chu-sa became after several reconstructions the most important temple in Čhung-čhōng North Province<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Figures according to TANAKA (1 *kin* 斤 きん 匁 = 666g): 739,560 *kin* 斤 きん 匁 of copper, 12,618 *kin* 斤 きん 匁 of tin. The exact amount seems to be disputed and most authors mention different figures. SWANN has: 1,000,000 pounds of bronze, 250kg of gold. HALL has: about 3,000,000 pounds (675t ?) copper, tin and lead, 13,000 pounds (2.9t ?) of gold. LAJTA has: 437t of bronze, 75kg of mercury, 130kg of gold. FRÉDÉRIC mentions a weight of 450,000kg. See: TANAKA Yoshiyasu 田中 義恭 たなか よしやす 伝説 의공 (1990), p. 50; HALL (1968, 1994), p. 65; SWANN (1967), p. 49; LAJTA (1969, 1985), p. 34; FRÉDÉRIC (1996), p. 170.

<sup>2</sup> If the measure unit of 1 *gūn* 斤 匁 = 600g is supposed, then about 2.5m<sup>3</sup> of bronze and 30dm<sup>3</sup> of gold were used for the main statue of Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황룡사 compared to about 56m<sup>3</sup> of metal for the Buddha of Tōdai-ji 東大寺 とうだいじ 등대사.

<sup>3</sup> Bōb-chu-sa 法住寺 법주사 (No. 3.11.1.), Yong-am-sa 龍巖寺 용암사 (No. 3.12.1.), Bo-sal-sa 菩薩寺 보살사 (No. 3.10.4.).

<sup>4</sup> Ūi-sin Cho-sa 義信祖師 의신조사.

<sup>5</sup> Bo-ūn 報恩 보은 [fig. 689 (11)], Ok-čhōn 沃川 옥천 [fig. 689 (12)], Čhōng-chu 濟州 청주 [fig. 689 (10)].

<sup>6</sup> Čhung-čhōng-buk-do 忠清北道 충청북도. Several important extant stone works date to the Unified Sin-la period. See: *CPS* 4, pp. 194 - 197.

## 4.1.2.4.2.3. The founding of Un-mun-sa and Dæ-bi-sa

An interesting pattern of temple foundings is a group of five temples in the mountains to the south-west of the capital Gŭm-sŏng (today's Kyŏng-chu)<sup>1</sup> in 557 or 560 AD. The extant Un-mun-sa, now one of the biggest nunneries in Korea, formed the central temple of this group and dependant temples were founded in the cardinal directions. The unity of these five temples was stressed by a common Chinese character in the temple names: *kab*<sup>2</sup>. Among the extant temples with the same character are Kye-ryong-kab-sa<sup>3</sup> and Do-kab-sa<sup>4</sup>. Kye-ryong-kab-sa is frequently called Kab-sa<sup>5</sup>, but another Chinese character is used, meaning 'armour'<sup>6</sup>. I suspect that the group of five temples mentioned above originally used the character *kab* = 'armour'. The change of characters with the same pronunciation but different meaning is quite frequent in Korea. If the original character was 'armour', the geographical distribution of the five temples becomes clearer. As mentioned in Chapter 3.3., p. 510, East Asia usually counted five major directions, adding the centre to the four cardinal directions. To occupy the five directions meant to take possession of it and protect it from all influences which might threaten the sovereignty. Through temple foundings the wilderness became 'civilized'. The four cardinal temples formed the limit of the human world and what lay beyond was wilderness. The fifth temple in the centre was the base of the four peripheral hermitages. Buddhism played thus an important role in 'civilizing' remote mountainous areas which were sacred and dangerous.

<sup>1</sup> Gŭm-sŏng 金城 금성, Kyŏng-chu 慶州 경주.

<sup>2</sup> *Kab* 峽, 'gorge'. Un-mun-sa was originally called Dæ-chak-kab-sa 大鵲岬寺 대작갑사 or Chak-kab-sa 鵲岬寺 작갑사, literally '(big) magpie-gorge temple'. To the north lay Buk-dæ-am 北臺庵 북대암, 'northern plateau hermitage', or So-bin-kab-sa 所賓岬寺 소빈갑사, 'place-[for]-guests-gorge temple', (today's Dæ-bi-sa, though it lies almost exactly to the west of Un-mun-sa), to the east was Ka-sŭl-kab-sa 嘉瑟岬寺 가슬갑사, 'good-lute-gorge temple', to the south was Chŏn-mun-kab-sa 天門岬寺 천문갑사, 'heaven-gate-gorge temple', and to the west was So-chak-kab-sa 小鵲岬寺 소작갑사, 'small magpie-gorge temple'.

<sup>3</sup> Kye-ryong-kab-sa 鷄龍岬寺 계룡갑사 (No. 4.12.3.), in Kong-chu-gun 公州郡 공주군 near Dæ-chŏn Metropolis 大田廣域市 대전광역시 [fig. 690 (1, 12)].

<sup>4</sup> Do-kab-sa 道岬寺 도갑사 (No. 6.12.1.), in Chŏn-la-nam-do 全羅南道 전라남도 in Yŏng-am-gun 靈巖郡 영암군 [fig. 692 (12)].

<sup>5</sup> Kab-sa 甲寺 갑사 (No. 4.12.3.). Another temple in Chŏn-la-nam-do 全羅南道 전라남도 also uses this character in its name: Bul-kab-sa 佛甲寺 불갑사 (No. 6.2.1.) in Yŏng-kwang-gun 靈光郡 영광군 [fig. 692 (2)].

<sup>6</sup> *Kab* 甲 갑.

## 4.1.2.5. REIGN OF KING CHIN-PYÖNG (r. 579 - 631)

## 4.1.2.5.1. Activities of famous monks

Chi-myōng and Wōn-kwang<sup>1</sup> were the two most influential monks during the reign of King Chin-pyōng<sup>2</sup>. Both travelled to China during the Chinese Sui dynasty (581 - 619). The Sin-la monk Wōn-čhük<sup>3</sup>, a member of the royal clan, travelled to Tang in 627 AD, when he was only fourteen or fifteen years old and never returned to Sin-la. He became one of the major disciples of Xuanzang and excelled in the 'theory of mere ideation' (*viññaptimātratā*), the centre-piece of the Yogācāra school<sup>4</sup>. According to the *Hæ-dong-ko-sǔng-chōn*<sup>5</sup>, the first Sin-la monks to travel to Western China and India departed toward the end of the reign of King Chin-pyōng. They were A-ri-ya-bal-ma (voyage: 627 - 649 AD), Hye-ōb, Hyōn-gak and Hye-ryun<sup>6</sup>. The *Hæ-dong-ko-sǔng-chōn* contains short biographies of them and other famous monks. Chi-myōng, who studied from 585 to 602 AD in China, first introduced the *Vinaya*<sup>7</sup> to Sin-la. He received the title of Dæ-dæ-dök<sup>8</sup>, 'Great Great Virtue', from King Chin-pyōng. Wōn-kwang went to Sui China in 589 AD, wrote there the *Kōl-sa-pyo*<sup>9</sup> in 608 AD on the order of Yang di<sup>10</sup>. After he returned to Sin-la, he became abbot of Hwang-ryong-sa and in 613 AD held the Bæk-ko-chwa-bōb-hwæ<sup>11</sup> in the same temple. The famous 'five secular rules'<sup>12</sup> are attributed to

<sup>1</sup> Chi-myōng 智明 지명, Wōn-kwang 圓光 원광. He went to China in 589 AD (?) when he was 25 years old and came back to Sin-la in 600 AD. Later he returned to China and wrote the *Kōl-sa-pyo* 「乞師表 걸사표」 there in 608 AD. In 613 AD, Wōn-kwang is said to have established the Bæk-ko-chwa-bōb-hwæ 百高座法會 백고좌법회 in Kyōng-chu's 慶州 경주 Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황룡사 and lectured there. He is said to have died in Hwang-ryong-sa in 630 AD at the age of 99 or 84 years.

<sup>2</sup> Chin-pyōng Wang 眞平王 진평왕, the 26th king of Sin-la, reigned from 579 to 631 AD. (The 25th king was Chin-chi Wang 眞知王 진지왕 who reigned shortly from 576 to 579 AD.).

<sup>3</sup> Wōn-čhük 圓測 원측 lived from 613 to 696 AD. His memorial pagoda stands to the east of that of Xuanzang 玄奘 현장 at Xingjiao-si 興教寺 흥교사 in Xi'an 西安 서안. See: *BKSC*, p. 656; *The Korean Buddhist Research Institute* (1993), pp. 96f., 101f.; *KIM Sōng-kyōng* 金性經 김성경 (1986), vol. 1, pp. 114 - 126.

<sup>4</sup> *Vijñaptimātratā*: *yu-sik* 唯識 유식. Yogācāra school = Dharmalakṣaṇa school (Ch: Faxiang zong, K: Bōb-sang-chong, J: Hossō-shū 法相宗 법상종). See: *SOOTHILL* (1969), p. 344; *TAKAKUSU Junjirō* (1947, 1965, 1975), pp. 81 - 98.

<sup>5</sup> See: *HDKSC*.

<sup>6</sup> A-ri-ya-bal-ma 阿離耶跋摩 아리아발마, Hye-ōb 慧業 혜업, Hyōn-gak 玄恪 현각, Hye-ryun 惠輪 혜륜.

<sup>7</sup> *Vinaya*, literally 'discipline', meant are the texts which treat the rules of the monks and nuns in the Buddhist community. In Korean: *yul* 律 율.

<sup>8</sup> Dæ-dæ-dök 大大德 대대덕.

<sup>9</sup> *Kōl-sa-pyo* 「乞師表 걸사표」, literally 'The Begging Paragon (model of excellence)'.

<sup>10</sup> Yang di 煬帝 양계, the second emperor of the Sui 隋 수 dynasty, reigned from 604 to 618 AD.

<sup>11</sup> Bæk-ko-chwa-bōb-hwæ 百高座法會 백고좌법회.

<sup>12</sup> *Se-sok-o-kye* 世俗五戒 세속오계.

Wŏn-kwang. These rules regulated in particular the life of the *hwa-rang* elite soldiers of whom Wŏn-kwang was one of the most influential teachers:

1. Serve your king with loyalty
2. Serve your parents with filial piety
3. Keep your friendships with trust
4. Do not retreat in wartimes
5. Do not destroy life indiscriminately

These rules seem to be more Confucian than Buddhist, but the Buddhist clergy in Korea was apparently from ancient times conscious of their social role and encouraged such typically Confucian principles as loyalty and filial piety for laymen. This could be a response to early accusations against Buddhism<sup>1</sup>. Buddhism was repeatedly accused of breaking the social order by preventing the monks to serve their parents and the secular sovereign. Rules were thus established in the Koryŏ period allowing only the third son to enter the priesthood in order to keep the patriarchal line of the families alive<sup>2</sup>. The five secular rules contrast strongly with the first five precepts for monks:

1. Do not destroy life
2. Do not steal
3. Refrain from sexual desire
4. Do not tell lies
5. Do not consume alcohol and narcotics

Only the last of the secular rules corresponds to the first precept for monks with only a slight difference. The five precepts are the most important of the 'ten precepts'<sup>3</sup> which must be followed by Buddhist monks. The remaining five are:

6. Do not use flower ornaments or perfume
7. Do not dance, do not watch theatre shows
8. Do not sleep on high or large beds (i.e. too comfortable beds)
9. Do not eat between official meals
10. Do not acquire gold, money or jewels.

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<sup>1</sup> See: CH'EN Kenneth K.S. (1973), pp. 14 - 60.

<sup>2</sup> This law was promulgated in Korea in 1059 AD. See: KAMATA Shigeo 鎌田茂雄 かまた しげお 鎌田 무용 (1988, 1991), pp. 133, 286.

<sup>3</sup> It can be supposed that the 'ten precepts' (K: *sib-kye* 十戒 십계) for monks were used from very beginning of Buddhism in Sin-la. They belong to the initial vow of ordination of monks and nuns.

## 4.1.2.5.2. Temple foundings

The following list shows the main foundings and reconstructions of Buddhist temples during the reign of King Chin-pyŏng [figs. 511, 512]:

- 583 AD: Kwan-ryong-sa, reconstructed (var. founded) by Chŭng-bŏb Guk-sa<sup>1</sup>  
 584 AD: reconstruction of the image hall of Hwang-ryong-sa<sup>2</sup>  
 587 AD: Gŭm-sŏn-dæ, founded by Un-dal Cho-sa<sup>3</sup>  
 587 AD: Dæ-sŭng-sa<sup>4</sup>  
 588 AD: Kim-ryong-sa, founded by Un-dal Cho-sa<sup>5</sup>  
 591 AD: Un-mun-sa, reconstructed by Wŏn-kwang (?)<sup>6</sup>  
 597 AD: Sam-rang-sa<sup>7</sup>  
 599 AD: Hŭng-guk-sa, founded by Wŏn-kwang (?)<sup>8</sup>  
 600 AD: Dæ-bi-sa, reconstructed by Wŏn-kwang (?)<sup>9</sup>  
 611 AD (var. mid-7th C. AD): Sin-sŏn-sa, founded by KIM Yu-sin or Cham-chu Dæ-sa (?)<sup>10</sup>  
 617 AD: Mu-wi-sa, founded by Wŏn-hyo Dæ-sa (?)<sup>11</sup>  
 579 - 631 AD: Bŏb-kwang-sa, founded on the order of King Chin-pyŏng by Wŏn-hyo Dæ-sa (?)<sup>12</sup>

It has to be noted that several of the founding dates do not fit with the related life dates of the monk who is said to have conducted the founding or reconstruction. Wŏn-kwang, for example, is said to have been in China during his alleged foundings and reconstructions. Wŏn-hyo was born in the same year as his first temple founding (617 AD: Mu-wi-sa) according to the relevant temple chronicle. And the founding of Bŏb-kwang-sa can hardly have been made on the order of Chin-pyŏng Wang by Wŏn-hyo, who was only 14 years old when the king died.

<sup>1</sup> Kwan-ryong-sa 觀龍寺 관동사 (No. 8.8.1.), Chŭng-bŏb Guk-sa 證法國師 증법국사 (note: the title Guk-sa is a later addition to the name during the Ko-ryŏ period). See also further above.

<sup>2</sup> Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황동사 (No. 7.34.2.), image hall: *gŭm-dang* 金堂 금당.

<sup>3</sup> Gŭm-sŏn-dæ 金仙臺 금선대 (No. 7.5.4.), Un-dal Cho-sa 雲達祖師 온달조사.

<sup>4</sup> Dæ-sŭng-sa 大乘寺 대승사 (No. 7.5.2.).

<sup>5</sup> Kim-ryong-sa 金龍寺 김동사 (No. 7.5.3.).

<sup>6</sup> Un-mun-sa 雲門寺 운문사 (No. 7.30.5.), Wŏn-kwang 圓光 원광. See above p. 688.

<sup>7</sup> Sam-rang-sa 三郎寺 삼랑사 (No. 7.34.19.).

<sup>8</sup> Hŭng-guk-sa 興國寺 흥국사 (No. 1.14.1.).

<sup>9</sup> Dæ-bi-sa 大悲寺 대비사 (No. 7.30.6.). See above, p. 688.

<sup>10</sup> Sin-sŏn-sa 神仙寺 신선사 (No. 7.33.4.), KIM Yu-sin 金庾信 김유신, Cham-chu Dæ-sa 岑殊大師 잠주대사. See below, pp. 693ff.

<sup>11</sup> Mu-wi-sa 無爲寺 무위사 (No. 6.19.1.), Wŏn-hyo Dæ-sa 元曉大師 원효대사. See pp. 722ff.

<sup>12</sup> Bŏb-kwang-sa 法光寺 법광사 (No. 7.17.2.).

It must be decided in such cases which piece of information is more probable. It seems clear that Wŏn-hyo cannot have founded so many temples in all parts of Korea. Here I tend to support the date of the founding rather than the name of the founder. In the case of Wŏn-kwang the opposite is more probable. The mistake of date is so small that it possibly occurred while copying manuscripts.

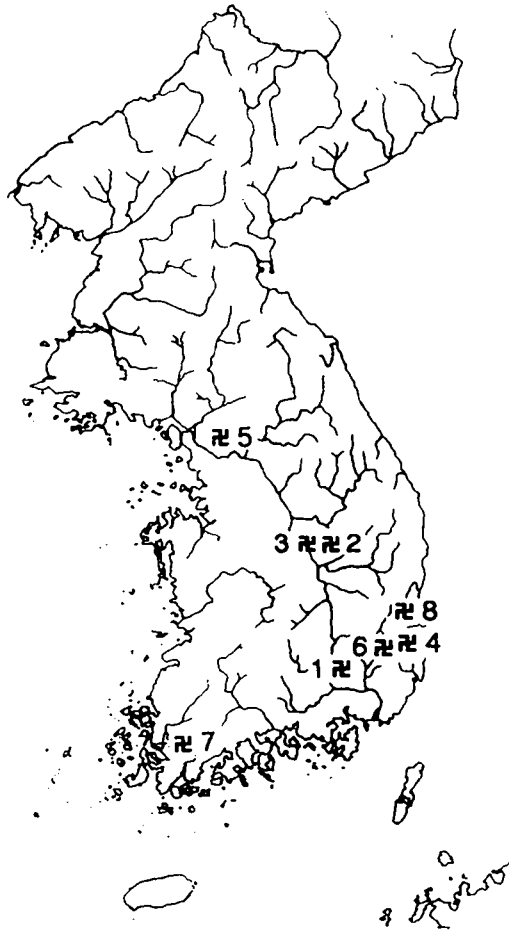


Fig. 512: Temple foundings and reconstructions during the reign of Chin-pyŏng Wang 眞平王 진평왕 of Ancient Sin-la 古新羅 고신라 (579 - 631 AD):

- Legend:
- 1 Kwan-ryong-sa 觀龍寺 관동사
  - 2 Dae-sŭng-sa 大乘寺 대승사
  - 3 Kim-ryong-sa 金龍寺 김룡사 and Gŭm-sŏn-dae 金仙臺 금선대
  - 4 Sam-rang-sa 三郎寺 삼랑사
  - 5 Hŭng-guk-sa 興國寺 흥국사
  - 6 Sin-sŏn-sa 神仙寺 신선사
  - 7 Mu-wi-sa 無爲寺 무위사
  - 8 Bŏb-kwang-sa 法光寺 법광사



## 4.1.2.5.2.1. Sin-sŏn-sa and the grotto of Gun-wi county with the Buddhist triad

A legend relates that KIM Yu-sin<sup>1</sup>, who became the leading general of Sin-la in the unification wars of 660 to 668 AD, meditated and prayed to Buddha in a (natural) grotto of Wŏl-sæng<sup>2</sup> mountain in 611 AD when he was seventeen years old and already a leading *hwa-rang*<sup>3</sup>. It was then that he embraced for the first time his dream to unify the three Korean kingdoms. Suddenly, a magic sword<sup>4</sup> descended from heaven and in one strike, KIM Yu-sin hewed a huge rock in two pieces. The mountain was therefore renamed Dan-sŏk-san<sup>5</sup>, 'cut-stone mountain'. Later, Cham-chu Dæ-sa, a disciple of Cha-chang Yul-sa<sup>6</sup>, founded a hermitage beside the grotto and called it Sin-sŏn-sa<sup>7</sup>.

## 4.1.2.5.2.1.1. The spatial characteristics of the grotto of Sin-sŏn-sa

The temple is situated on the western slope of the Dan-sŏk mountain to the west of Kyŏng-chu, at a steep spot where the slope raises from the north to the south [fig. 513]. The temple features today two small housings and a small hall dedicated to the mountain spirit<sup>8</sup>, all of which are located close to the stream, about 100m to the north-east of the grotto. In contrary to the famous Sŏk-kul-am<sup>9</sup> grotto of the eighth century AD which is an artificial stone cave covered with earth, the site of Sin-sŏn-sa used a natural rock formation which, today at least, is open to the sky [fig. 515]. The grotto has entrances in the north-west, north and north-east but it is not clear which one was preferred at the beginning [fig. 514]. At present, the north-western and the northern entrances can be used. The grotto was covered in 1994 AD with a steel-and-Plexiglas structure<sup>10</sup> in order to protect the reliefs [fig. 518].

<sup>1</sup> KIM Yu-sin 金庾信 김유신 lived from 595 to 673 AD.

<sup>2</sup> Wŏl-sæng-san 月生山 월생산.

<sup>3</sup> *Hwa-rang* 花郎 화랑. See: p. 683.

<sup>4</sup> *Sin-kŏm* 神劍 신검.

<sup>5</sup> Dan-sŏk-san 斷石山 단석산. It is also possible that the rock formation of the grotto of Sin-sŏn-sa gave the mountain its name (ADAMS: "The surface is smooth and straight as if cut by a sharp blade"). See: ADAMS (1979, 1991), p. 233.

<sup>6</sup> Cham-chu Dæ-sa 峯珠大師 잠주대사 (n.d.) Cha-chang Yul-sa 慈藏律師 자장율사 (608 - 686 AD) As Cha-chang went to China from 636 to 643 AD, it can be argued that the founding of the hermitage happened around the middle of the 7th C. AD at the earliest. See: p. 714; *MSKC* III, p. 384; *SCSC*, p. 383.

<sup>7</sup> Sin-sŏn-sa 神仙寺 신선사 (No. 7.33.4.).

<sup>8</sup> San-yŏng-gak 山靈閣 산영각.

<sup>9</sup> Sŏk-kul-am 石窟庵 석굴암. See: Chapter 5, pp. 962f.

<sup>10</sup> See: *MHCSRBS* 93, pp. 74 - 79.

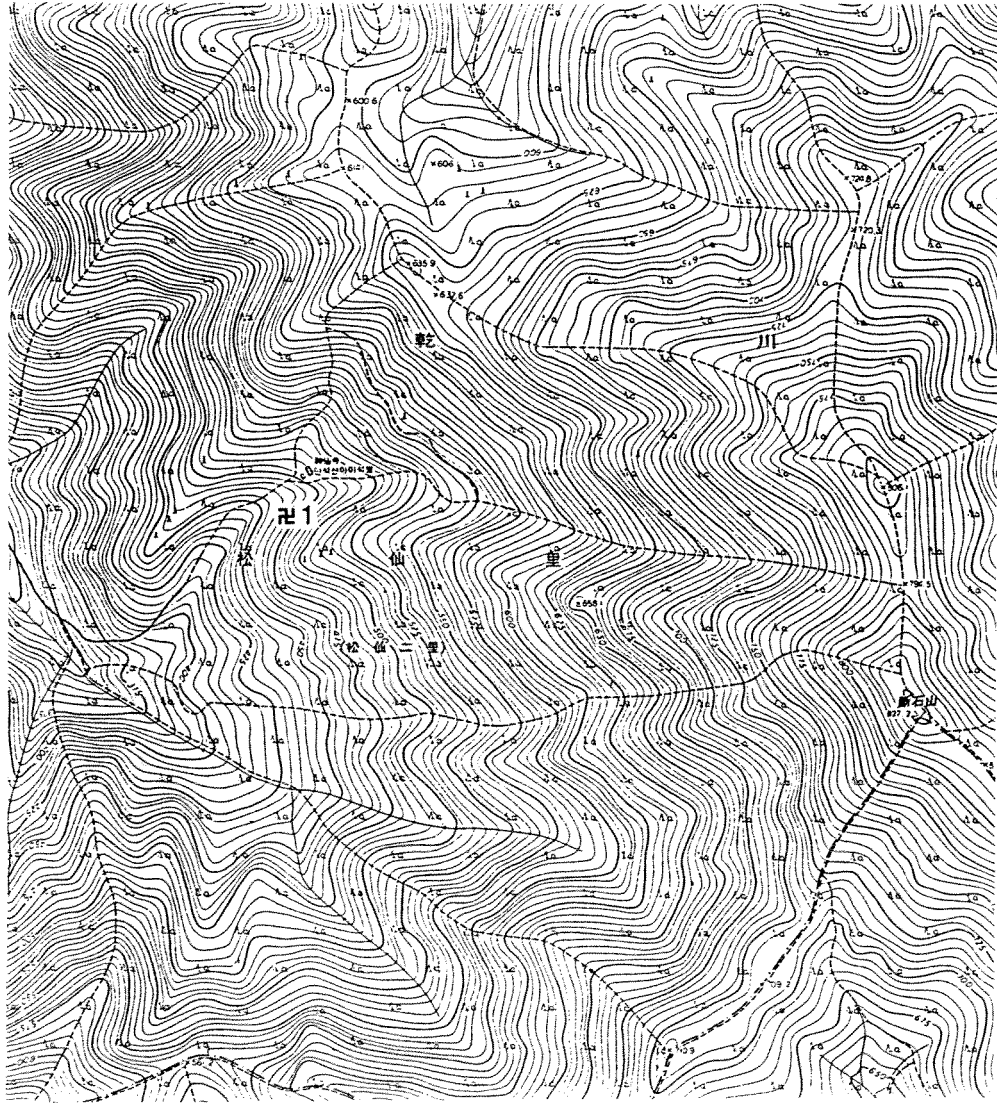


Fig. 513: Geographic situation of Sin-sŏn-sa 神仙寺 신선사 (1) (scale: 1 : 10,000)  
(after: CACD NI 52-2-06 (084))

The plan of the grotto forms the Korean character ㄷ (or a mirrored F) [fig. 514]. To the south the grotto is formed by an L-shaped rock which protrudes from the slope and by two free-standing rocks to the north. The main space of the grotto measured about 13.5m by 2.7 to 3.4m. The height of the southern rock formation is 10m to 11m from the level of the floor of the grotto while the northern free-standing rocks are about 8.5m high. At the eastern end of the southern rock, the space turns by about 70° to the north-east and continues for about 5m until the end of the rock formations. The space between the two northern free-standing rocks measures about 4.5m in length and 1.2m in width.

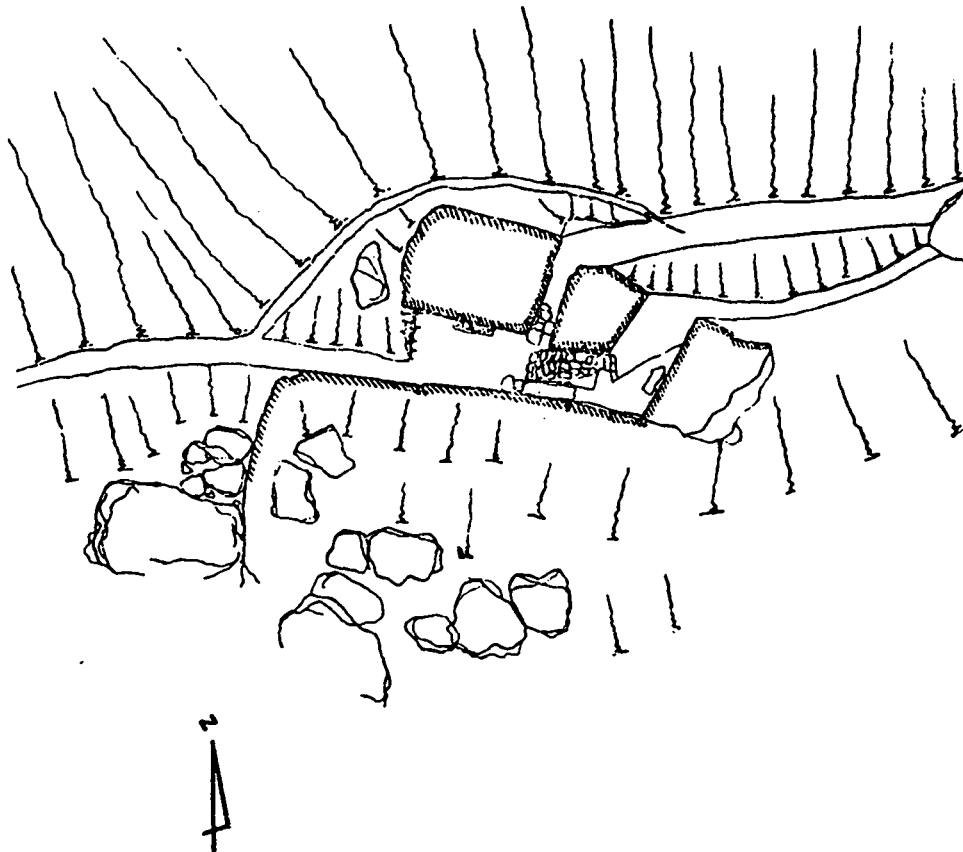


Fig. 514: Layout of the natural rock formation of Sin-sŏn-sa 神仙寺 신선사 (scale: 1 : 400)  
(after: HWANG Su-yŏng 黃壽永 황수영 (1989, 1990), p. 275)

Seven of the ten figure reliefs are carved in the southern wall of the north-western free-standing rock [fig. 515]. The Maitreya Buddha<sup>1</sup> figure which is 8.2m high, occupies almost the whole southern surface of the north-eastern rock and two Bodhisattva reliefs can be seen on the northern walls of the southern rock formation which also bears an inscription (see further below). At present, small altars are arranged in front of the four main reliefs. The number and importance of the reliefs on the northern free-standing rocks seem to indicate that north-east was the main ceremonial direction of the grotto in spite of the narrow space and the slope of the site which is higher in the south. The summit of the mountain lies to the east-south-east of the temple which, according to geomantic rules, would favour the longitudinal direction of the main space of the grotto. It can be speculated that the fact that the longer side is usually the main face of Korean buildings so that the interior space is often much wider than deep, was a factor in rejecting the longitudinal direction of the grotto. The choice of the northern rocks rather than the southern formation as support of the main images seems to have astronomical reasons as the north is the favourite position for houses, temples and tombs according to geomantic rules (see Chapter 3.3., pp. 507 - 518). The site of Sin-sŏn-sa is thus not ideal from a geomantic point of view. The spectacular natural rock formation and its suitability for reliefs which needed minimal architectural arrangements, probably stimulated the establishment of a small temple at this site.

Fragments of roof tiles<sup>2</sup> seem to indicate that the open space was covered with a wooden roof in the past. But there is no clear indication that the grotto was covered from its founding on. No other traces of an architectural intervention can be detected. The site is therefore more important for the history of sculpture and religion than for the development of architecture of the Sin-la kingdom.

#### 4.1.2.5.2.1.2. The inscription and the reliefs

Sin-sŏn-sa is one of the earliest known grotto temple of Korea with stone carvings and the earliest cave temple of Sin-la<sup>3</sup>. As number of rock carvings dated to the early seventh century AD figure in the grotto, it can be supposed that it was used for Buddhist ceremonies before the establishment of the hermitage by Cham-chu Dæ-sa. Ten carved figures and an inscription<sup>4</sup> of about 375 Chinese

<sup>1</sup> Maitreya is usually considered a Bodhisattva, but in Korea it seems that Maitreya is sometimes represented in his future role as Buddha (K: Mi-rŭk-yŏ-ræ 彌勒如來 미록여래).

See: HWANG Su-yŏng 黃壽永 황수영 (1989, 1990), p. 283.

<sup>2</sup> See: ADAMS (1979, 1991), p. 233.

<sup>3</sup> See: CPS 8, pp. 369f.; ADAMS (1979, 1991), p. 233.

<sup>4</sup> About 215 characters of the assumed 375 are legible.

See: KIM Yŏng-tæ 金漢泰 김영태 (1992), pp. 340 - 343.

characters were found on the various natural walls. The smaller figures have a height of about 1m, while the biggest figure of a standing Buddha is 8.2m high<sup>1</sup>.

The inscription identifies the main figure as Maitreya, the future Buddha<sup>2</sup> which seems to concern the relief on the north-eastern free-standing rock [fig. 515]. The hand gesture of the relief is a frequent East Asian combination of the *abhaya-mudrā*, 'seal of the absence of fear' and the *varada-mudrā*, 'seal of the granting of a wish'<sup>3</sup>, which is usually associated with the historical Buddha<sup>4</sup>. HWANG<sup>5</sup> suggests that the tallest figure could have been carved about one century later than the smaller ones but this seems to be a speculation only based on stylistic features.

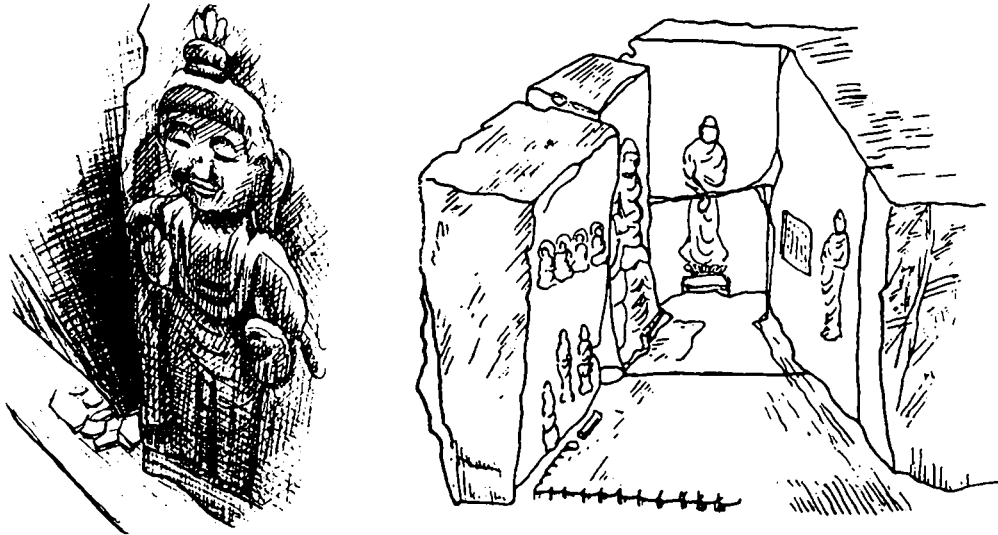


Fig. 515: Sketch of the layout of the rocks with the reliefs and perspective of the relief on the north-eastern rock of Sin-sŏn-sa 神仙寺 신선사 (early 7th C. AD?, no scale) (after: HWANG Su-yŏng 黃壽永 황수영 (1989, 1990), p. 276 and drawing by the author)

<sup>1</sup> ADAMS has 22 feet = about 6.6m. See: ADAMS (1991), p. 234

<sup>2</sup> The relevant section reads: "(...) in Sin-sŏn-sa a three *chang*-high stone Maitreya figure and two Bodhisattva were made (...)" "(...) 神仙寺作彌勒石像一區高三丈菩薩二區(...)" 신선사작미륵석상일구고삼장보살이구 (...). 3 *chang* 丈장 = 30 *chŏk* 尺척 = 6m to 10m according to the various measure units. If the extant figure is intended with this description then one *chŏk* 尺척 would measure about 27.3cm which would correspond to the measure used at the time in the Chinese Sui 隋 dynasty (1 *Sui lelu chi* 隋樂律尺 수락률척 = 27.29 cm) but there is no clear indication that this measure was used in Sin-la.

<sup>3</sup> The combination of *abhaya-mudrā* 施無畏印 시무외인 and *varada-mudrā* 與願印 여원인 is called *tong-in* 通印 통인 'seal of communication' in Korean Buddhist sculpture.

<sup>4</sup> The 'seals' are not absolute indications of the identity of the represented figure. E.g. a gilt-bronze figure in the Philadelphia University Museum with *tong-in* 通印 통인 is identified by an inscription as Maitreya. (But WATSON still calls it an "image of Śākyamuni in manifestation"). See: JIN Shen 金申 김신 (1994, 1995), pp. 206, 485; WATSON (1995), pp. 128, 130.

<sup>5</sup> See: *HGüM* 10, pl. 101, 102, pp. 222f.

On the rock to the west of the rock with the main figure, there is a relief of a sitting meditating Bodhisattva [fig. 516]. A similar figure can also be found beside the main Buddha at Sŏ-san<sup>1</sup> [fig. 178] which is usually interpreted as a Maitreya. The fact that there are two images of the same figure could be interpreted as showing the stages of the career of Maitreya as Bodhisattva and future Buddha.

On the same rock there are also the reliefs of two unique figures in wide trousers and high pointed caps [fig. 516]. They were identified variously as Buddhist monks, shamanistic priests, donors or *hwa-rang* youths. It is known that the area around the Dan-sŏk mountain was used as a training site for the Pung-wŏl-do (Hwa-rang-do). Only the cloths and the attributes of the relief figures seem to give indications on their identity. The figure in front carries an incense burner, while the figure behind holds a willow branch in his hands. They wear jackets with wide sleeves. Their trousers are very wide, the shoes have sharp points which turn upwards. On their heads they wear a sock-shaped caps which are bent to the front.

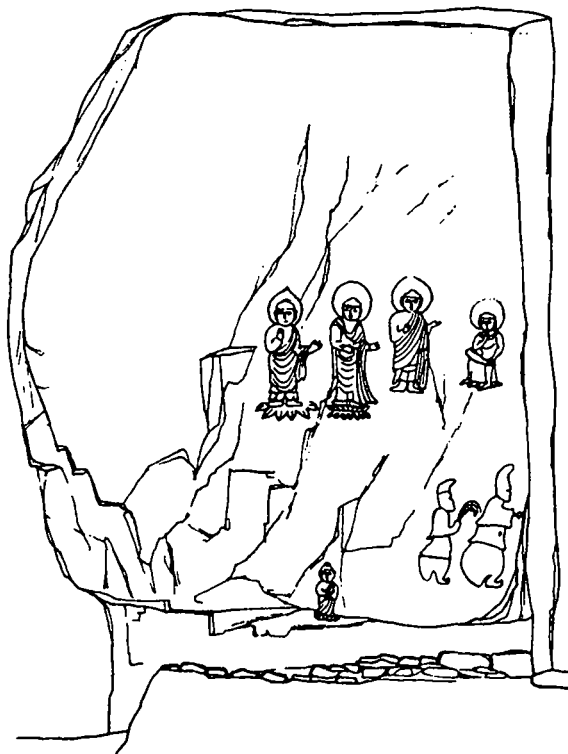


Fig. 516: Relief on the north-western rock of Sin-sŏn-sa 神仙寺 신선사 (early 7th C. AD ?, scale: about 1 : 100) (after: HWANG Su-yŏng 黃壽永 황수영 (1989, 1990), p. 277)

<sup>1</sup> Sŏ-san-gun 瑞山郡 서산군 [fig. 690 (3)]. See Chapter 3.1., pp. 244ff.

With the exception of the caps and the shoes, this could be a description of the popular cloths of the late Cho-sŏn dynasty which are clearly distinguished from Buddhist cloths. I tend therefore to exclude the interpretation of Buddhist monks. While it is not known how the *hwa-rang* used to dress, pointed caps are known from shamans from Siberia and the Altai region<sup>1</sup>. While the willow branch is essential in the Shintō rites of Japan which are thought to have developed from similar sources as shamanism in Korea, the use of incense is typical of Buddhism.

The reliefs of the two figures with high pointed caps can be compared to the controversial reliefs of Kongwang shan in Jiangsu<sup>2</sup>, China, which WU Hung<sup>3</sup> has dated between the late second and the third centuries AD. Several of the represented figures wear cone-shaped caps; the reliefs X65 and X74 [fig. 517] show such figures with flowers or a branch in their hands. The caps, however, are less high than those at Sin-sŏn-sa and a ribbon is attached at the lower ends. The figures of Kongwang Shan wear either quite tight trousers or skirts and their shoes are not clearly pointed upwards. WU has argued that the Kongwang Shan reliefs, while inspired by Buddhist iconography (e.g. *parinirvāṇa* scene), "are Taoist in content. (...) Instead of proclaiming these carvings to be the earliest Buddhist art in China, therefore, it is perhaps more appropriate to say that they are the earliest examples of Taoist art."

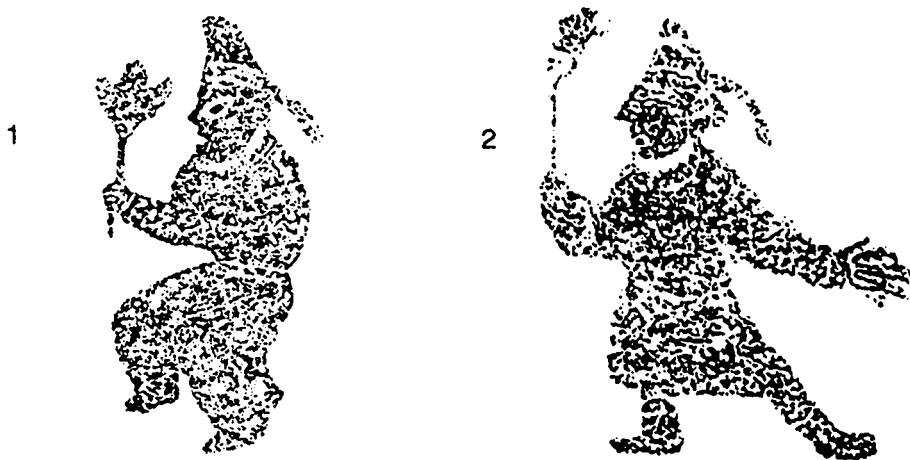


Fig. 517: Rubbings of the reliefs X65 (1) and X74 (2) of Kongwang shan 孔望山 公望山 in Jiangsu 江蘇 강소. (late 2nd - 3rd C. AD ?, no scale) (after: WW81 - 7, pp. 3f.)

<sup>1</sup> Korea's female shamans of today do not wear such caps, but hats or scarfs on the head are still important signs. See: Korea (National Museum of) 國立中央博物館 국립중앙박물관 (ed.) (1995), p. 156f.

<sup>2</sup> Kongwang shan 孔望山 公望山, Jiangsu 江蘇 강소. See: AA XLVII, pp. 292 - 303, figs. 62 - 82; WW81 - 7, pp. 1 - 20.

<sup>3</sup> See: AA XLVII, p. 295.

The fact that the Sin-sŏn-sa reliefs also include 'non-Buddhist' elements could indicate that they are equally the result of a combination of indigenous beliefs and newly-introduced Buddhist iconography. The reliefs of Sin-sŏn-sa could thus be considered among the first material evidence of the combination of shamanistic and Buddhist practices in Ancient Sin-la.

#### 4.1.2.5.2.1.3. The modern protection structure

The recent protection structure of the grotto of Sin-sŏn-sa raises the question as to which means should be applied for conservation and modern reconstructions of ancient cultural remains. The Venice Charter of ICOMOS<sup>1</sup> of 1964 AD which has tried to establish guide-lines for the conservation and restoration of monuments and sites states: "(...) any extra work [apart the restoration] which is indispensable must be distinct from the architectural composition and must bear a contemporary stamp". The objective of this rule is to be able to distinguish the original elements from modern ones but it leaves open what is to be understood by 'contemporary stamp'. Does it mean that always the most recent developments in international architecture should be applied or that ancient architectural traditions which are still alive can also be used? Both points of view have its supporters and it seem impossible to decide the question abstractly. I think that the means of reconstruction must be based on the particular situation of the object to be restored or conserved. The context in which the object is located is also of great importance.

In the present case, the intervention seems to be too heavy-handed and rather out of context [fig. 518]. When one approaches the site from below, the vaulted steel-and-Plexiglas roof can be seen from afar and hardly integrates well into the countryside. The beams of the structure cast unwanted shadows on the reliefs so that photographs without strong artificial light become difficult. On the other hand, it is understandable that a transparent cover was chosen in order to preserve enough light for the visitors and it would be difficult to imagine a wooden structure with a tile roof on the rock formation in the present condition. While the choice of the material was probably judicious, the formalisation is less convincing and a more discrete protection roof which would also have limited the problem of shadow would have been possible in my opinion.

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<sup>1</sup> See: ICOMOS (1996b), pp. 11f.



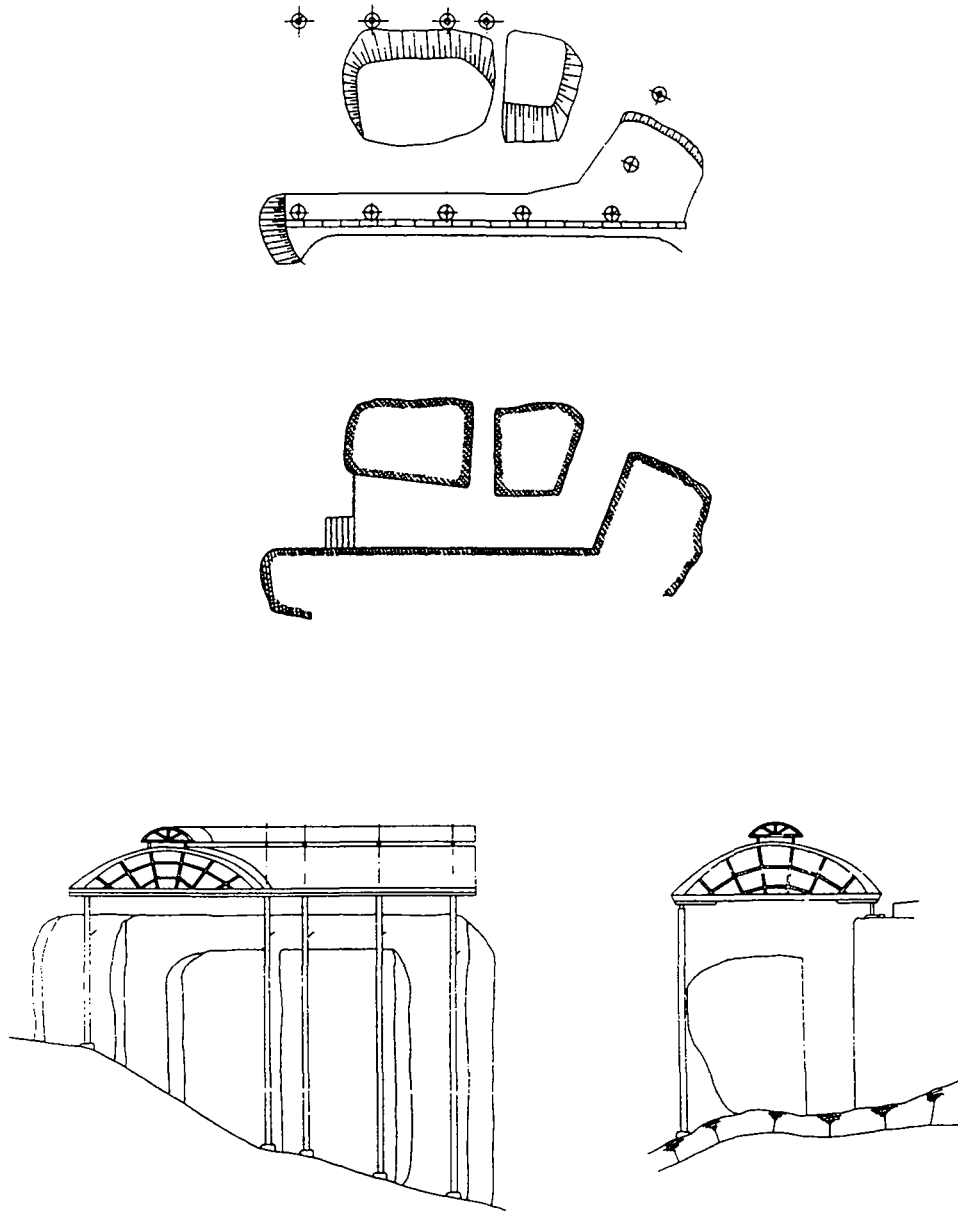


Fig. 518: Two plans and two elevations of the modern protection structure of Sin-sŏn-sa  
神仙寺 신선사 (1994 AD, scale: 1 : 400) (after: *MHCSRBS* 93 - 2, pp. 77f.)

## 4.1.2.5.2.1.4. The grotto at Gun-wi county with the Buddhist triad

The grotto temple which is nowadays called the 'second Sök-kul-am' or 'triad cave temple'<sup>1</sup> is the second known cave temple of Sin-la. It was only rediscovered in 1962 AD. The site lies to the west of the Pal-kong mountains near modern Dæ-gu Metropolis<sup>2</sup>. The grotto has a different configuration than the grotto of Sin-sön-sa and the artificial grotto Sök-kul-am near Kyöng-chu<sup>3</sup> of the middle of the eighth century AD. Here the grotto takes advantage of a natural cave located in a vertical stone wall of several tens of meters [fig. 519]. The floor and the rear wall of the natural cave at least seem to have been roughly arranged by stone-masons. The floor of the grotto lies about 11m above the bed of the stream<sup>4</sup>. Originally there must have been a wooden construction to climb to the grotto; nowadays a concrete stairway leads to a 6m-by-6m large concrete slab in front of the grotto. The grotto itself has an almost square plan of 3.8m by 4.3m and a height of 4.25m. The ceiling is vaulted and the entry forms almost a circle [figs. 520, 521].



Fig. 519: Site plan of the grotto at Gun-wi-gun 軍威郡 군위군 with the Buddhist triad (1) (late 7th C. AD ?, scale: about 1 : 1,000) (after: *HKgCK* 93 - 6, p. 87)

<sup>1</sup> Che-i Sök-kul-am 第二石窟庵 제이석굴암, Sam-chon-sök-kul-sa 三尊石窟寺 삼존석굴사 (No. 7.21.2.) See: HWANG Su-yöng 黃壽永 황수영 (1989, 1990), pp. 350f.

<sup>2</sup> Pal-gong-san 八公山 팔공산 [fig. 684 (22)], Dæ-gu Metropolis 大邱廣域市 대구광역시 [fig. 693 (1)]

<sup>3</sup> Sök-kul-am 石窟庵 석굴암 (No. 7.34.34.), Kyöng-chu 慶州 경주.

<sup>4</sup> KIM has: "some eighteen feet above the water" (about 5.4m); this must be an error. See: KIM Wön-yong 金元龍 김원용 (1986), p. 311.

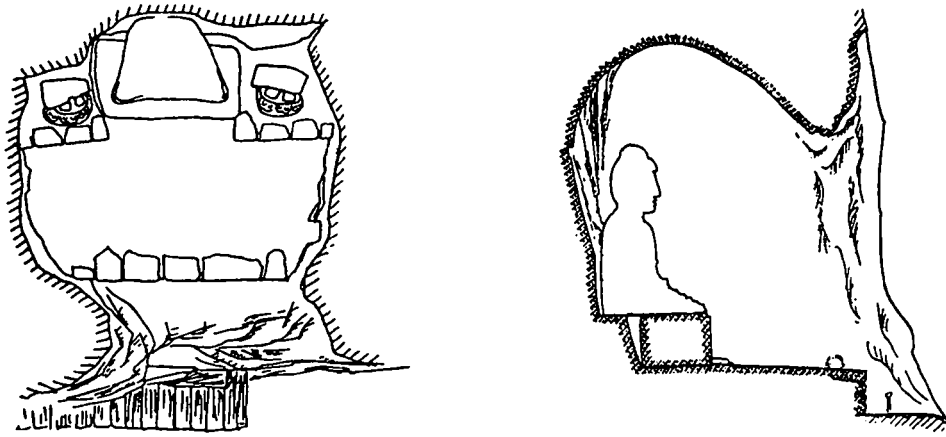


Fig. 520: Plan and section of the grotto at Gun-wi-gun 軍威郡 군위군 with the Buddhist triad (late 7th C. AD ?, scale: 1 : 100) (after: *HKgCK* 93 - 6, p. 87)

Three figures sit in the grotto: according to KIM and HWANG<sup>1</sup>, the sitting central figure in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā*<sup>2</sup> represents Amitābha Buddha<sup>3</sup> while the two standing Bodhisattvas represent Avalokiteśvara to his left and Mahāsthāmaprāpta<sup>4</sup> to his right [fig. 521]. The hand gesture (*mudrā*) of the main Buddha would rather point to the historical Buddha Śākyamuni, but Avalokiteśvara, whose iconography<sup>5</sup> is well established, is usually associated with Amitābha. The Buddha figure is 2.88m high with the base, the Bodhisattvas have a height of 1.8m and 1.9m respectively. The stone blocks of the figures seem to have been lifted into the grotto and were not cut from the rock of the cliff. The halo of the Buddha is carved directly in the rear wall behind the figure and it still bears traces of paint. It is most likely that the figures and the background were painted in strong colours as was the custom in most Buddhist traditions. KIM compares the figures with Sui and early Tang

<sup>1</sup> See: KIM Wŏn-yong 金元龍 김원용 (1986), pp. 311f.; HWANG Su-yŏng 黃壽永 황수영 (1989, 1990), p. 350.

<sup>2</sup> *Bhūmisparśa-mudrā* 降魔觸地印 항마촉지인, the 'seal of the touch of the earth'. This *mudrā* is most characteristic for the historical Buddha. See: SAUNDERS (1960), pp. 80 - 84.

<sup>3</sup> Amitābha Buddha 阿彌陀佛 아미타불, 'Buddha boundless light' of the western paradise (Sukhāvati 極樂 극락). See: SOOTHILL, HODOUS (1969), p. 287.

<sup>4</sup> Avalokiteśvara 觀世音菩薩 관세음보살, Bodhisattva "regarder of the world's sounds, or cries, the so-called Goddess of Mercy", stands to the left of Amitābha. Mahāsthāmaprāpta 大勢至菩薩 대세지보살, Bodhisattva "who has obtained great power, or stability, who sits on the right of Amitābha, controlling all wisdom". See: SOOTHILL, HODOUS (1969), pp. 349, 489.

<sup>5</sup> Avalokiteśvara can be recognized by his attributes: crown, jewels and most characteristically a vase in one hand.

figures in China and dates thus the execution of the figures to the turning point of Ancient Sin-la and Unified Sin-la, the second half of the seventh century AD<sup>1</sup>.

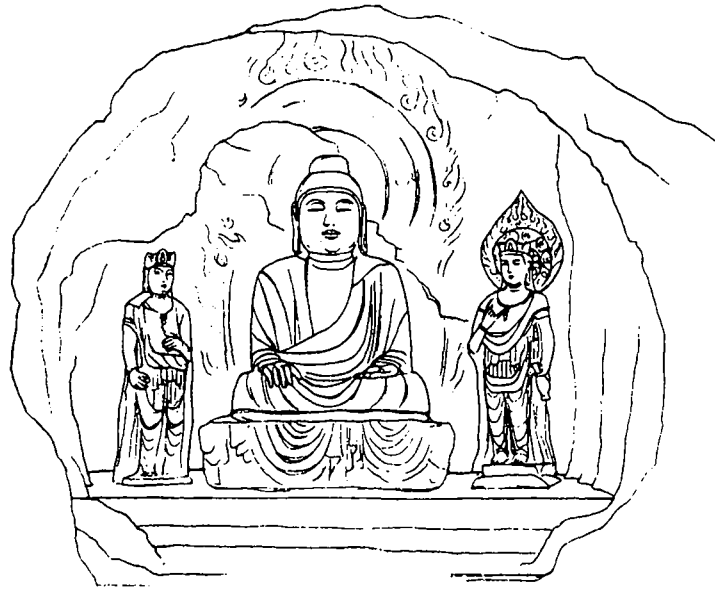


Fig. 521: Perspective of the grotto at Gun-wi-gun 軍威郡 군위군 with the Buddhist triad (late 7th C. AD ?, no scale) (drawing by the author)

#### 4.1.2.5.2.1.5. Conclusions

The grottos of Sin-sŏn-sa and Gun-wi county show that the ancient Indian tradition of cave temples which was successively transmitted to Central Asia and China, reached as far as the Korean peninsula. As several cave temples and reliefs are known from Bæk-che (see Chapter 3.1., pp. 244ff., Chapter 3.2., pp. 274ff.) but not from Ko-gu-ryŏ, it can be supposed that this tradition was first transmitted to Ancient Sin-la through Bæk-che. The two described Sin-la grottos can be considered as early experiments of the possible techniques of stone carving: reliefs cut in the walls of the cave or free-standing sculptures placed in the cave. Both techniques were later used to create Sŏk-kul-am<sup>2</sup> [figs. 664f.], the masterpiece of Korean grotto architecture of the mid-eighth century AD.

<sup>1</sup> HWANG dates the figures around the year 700 AD. See: KIM Wŏn-yong 金元龍 김원용 (1986), p. 311; HWANG Su-yŏng 黃壽永 황수영 (1989, 1990), pp. 350f.

<sup>2</sup> Sŏk-kul-am 石窟庵 석굴암 (No. 7.34.34.). See: Chapter 5., p. 926f.

## 4.1.2.6. THE PERIOD FROM 632 TO 668 AD

## 4.1.2.6.1. Historical background

This last period before the unification of the Korean peninsula saw the first two reigning queens of Sin-la: Queen Sŏn-dŏk and Queen Chin-dŏk<sup>1</sup>. The reign of King Mu-yŏl and the first eight years of the reign of King Mun-mu<sup>2</sup> complete the period of Ancient Sin-la. Queen Sŏn-dŏk's reign is today particularly known for the construction of the extant stone astronomical observatory Čhŏm-sŏng-dæ<sup>3</sup> [fig. 522] which is one of the oldest extant observatories in East Asia.

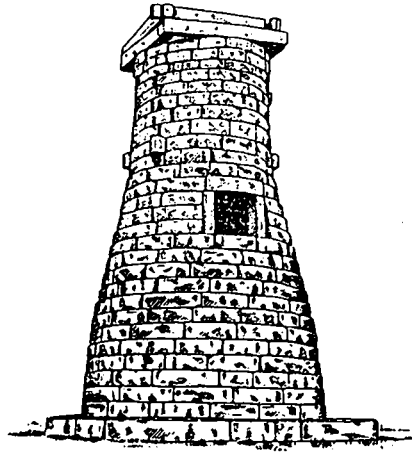


Fig. 522: Perspective of the astronomical observatory Čhŏm-sŏng-dæ 瞻星臺 첨성대 (about 632 - 646 AD, no scale) (after: GRISWOLD, KIM Chewon etc. (1964), p. 88)

The last two decades of Ancient Sin-la were marked by military preparation and war. Sin-la allied itself with Tang China had hoped to extend its rule to the Korean peninsula. The combined forces subdued Bæk-che in the seventh month of 660 AD and Ko-gu-ryŏ surrendered in the ninth month of 668 AD. With the fall of Ko-gu-ryŏ the period of the Three Kingdoms came to an end. The Chinese established a military government in the occupied territories and took some 200,000 prisoners from Ko-gu-ryŏ to China. But resistance to Chinese rule arose soon and Sin-la began to turn against its ally. By 674 AD Sin-la had all territory south of the

<sup>1</sup> Sŏn-dŏk Yŏ-wang 善德女王 선덕여왕, the 27th monarch of Sin-la, reigned from 632 to 646 AD; Chin-dŏk Yŏ-wang 眞德女王 진덕여왕, the 28th monarch of Sin-la, reigned from 647 to 653 AD.  
<sup>2</sup> Mu-yŏl Wang 武烈王 무열왕, the 29th king of Sin-la, reigned from 654 to 660 AD, Mun-mu Wang 文武王 문무왕, the 30th king of Sin-la, reigned from 661 to 680 AD.  
<sup>3</sup> Čhŏm-sŏng-dæ 瞻星臺 첨성대.

Dæ-dong<sup>1</sup> River under its control. The military presence of Tang China on the Korean peninsula ceased completely in 698 AD when the kingdom Bar-hæ<sup>2</sup> was founded in modern North Korea and Manchuria [fig. 523].

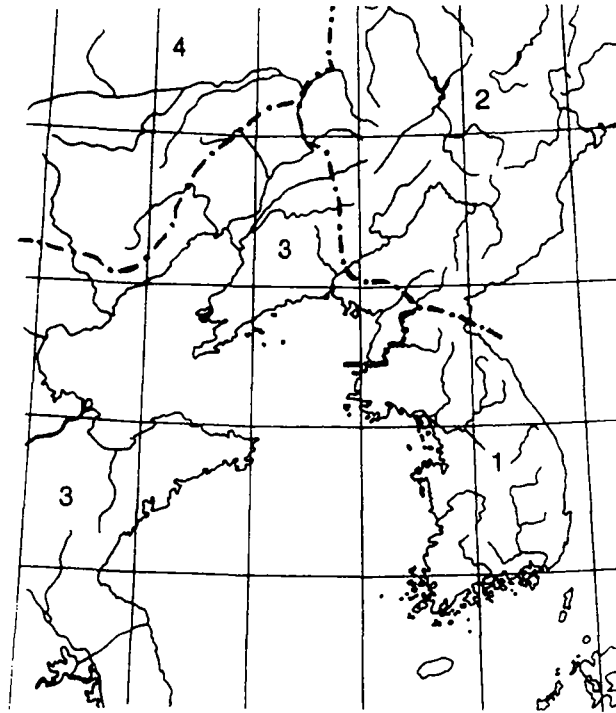


Fig. 523: Unified Sin-la 統一新羅 통일신라 (1), Bar-hæ 渤海 발해 (2), Tang 唐 당 (3) and Khitan 契丹 거란 (4) in about 820 AD.

Buddhism grew into a powerful institution of the Sin-la kingdom. The advisers of the kings and queens as well as the instructors of the *hwa-rang* elite soldiers were frequently Buddhist monks. Buddhism succeeded in unifying the social classes of the Sin-la people in one belief and one vision of the future. Sin-la fought with religious enthusiasm for the enlargement of its kingdom and the unification of the Korean peninsula. The final victory was perceived as a triumph of Buddha. The fact that the conqueror and the conquered already had the same religion (beside similar linguistic and cultural backgrounds) made it easier for the defeated people to accept the new rulers. Since the middle of the seventh century the biggest part of the Korean peninsula has remained unified with the exception of a short period of the tenth and the second half of the twentieth centuries AD.

<sup>1</sup> Dæ-dong-kang 大同江 대동강 [fig. 684 (4)].

<sup>2</sup> Bar-hæ 渤海 발해 lasted from 698 to 926 AD.

## 4.1.2.6.2. Böb-rang and the early Sön school

Not much is known about the alleged founder of the Korean Sön<sup>1</sup> (J: Zen, Skr: Dhyāna) school, Böb-rang<sup>2</sup>. He is said to have travelled to China sometime between 632 and 646 AD and studied there under the fourth Chan (J: Zen) patriarch Daoxin<sup>3</sup> who lived from 580 to 651 AD. After his return to Sin-la he transmitted his teachings to Sin-hæng<sup>4</sup> who is considered the second Sön patriarch in Korea.

BUSWELL<sup>5</sup> suggests that the apocryphal *Vajrasamādhi-sūtra*<sup>6</sup> could have been written by Böb-rang or a monk with a similar background shortly after the unification of the Korean peninsula. It seems that the Sön doctrines did not meet with great success in Korea until the early ninth century AD when the first 'official' Sön temple was founded<sup>7</sup>. According to BUSWELL<sup>8</sup>, the difficulties in propagating his Sön teachings could have been a reason for the author to compose the *Vajrasamādhi-sūtra* which contains several important doctrines of early Chinese Chan Buddhism.

## 4.1.2.6.3. Temple foundings

Many temples were founded during this last period before the unification. Out of some 60 temple foundings more than two-thirds are attributed to only three monks. They were Cha-chang Yul-sa, Wön-hyo Dæ-sa and Ūi-sang Dæ-sa<sup>9</sup>. They are also considered the founders of three of the five important Buddhist schools of Unified Sin-la. Because of the special position of these monks, their life and alleged temple foundings will be discussed separately below. The following list gives the names and dates of temple foundings [fig. 524] which were founded by other persons than the three above mentioned monks:

<sup>1</sup> Sön school 禪宗 선종, Zen ぜん.

<sup>2</sup> Böb-rang 法朗 법랑 (n.d.).

<sup>3</sup> Daoxin 道信 도신 (580 - 651 AD).

<sup>4</sup> Sin-hæng 神行 신행 (704 - 779 AD). The life dates seem to indicate that Sin-hæng was rather a second generation disciple of Böb-rang if the claim that Böb-rang studied under Daoxin is accepted.

<sup>5</sup> BUSWELL supposes a Korean author because the text is first mentioned by Korean commentators, especially Wön-hyo Dæ-sa 元曉大師 원효대사. See: BUSWELL (1989).

<sup>6</sup> *Vajrasamādhi-sūtra* (*Güm-gang-sam-mæ-kyōng*) 「金剛三昧經 금강삼매경」. See: T 273.9.365c - 374b; for the commentary by Wön-hyo Dæ-sa 元曉大師 원효대사: *Güm-gang-sam-mæ-kyōng-non* 「金剛三昧經論 금강삼매경논」. T 1730.34.961a - 1008a.

<sup>7</sup> The first of the Nine Mountain Sön Schools 九山禪門 구산선문 was the Sil-sang-san 實相山 실상산 school at Sil-sang-sa 實相寺 실상사 (No. 5.13.2.) which was founded by Hong-čhök 洪陟 홍척 in 828 AD.

<sup>8</sup> See: BUSWELL (1989), pp. 174 - 177.

<sup>9</sup> Cha-chang Yul-sa 慈藏律師 자장율사 lived from 608 to 686 AD, Wön-hyo Dæ-sa 元曉大師 원효대사 lived from 617 to 686 AD and Ūi-sang Dæ-sa 義湘大師 의상대사 from 625 to 702 AD.

- 632 AD: Chǒng-su-sa (today's Yong-hwa-sa), founded by Ūn-chǒm<sup>1</sup>  
 634 AD: Bun-hwang-sa<sup>2</sup>  
 634 AD: Ūn-bong-am, founded by Ching-pa Hwa-sang<sup>3</sup>  
 635 AD: Yǒng-myo-sa, founded on the order of Queen Sǒn-dǒk<sup>4</sup>  
 635 AD: Bo-mun-sa, founded by Hwæ-chǒng<sup>5</sup>  
 635 AD: Kǒn-hǔng-sa (today's Sin-hǔng-sa), founded by Myǒng-rang Bǒb-sa (?)<sup>6</sup>  
 about 635 AD: Gǔm-kwang-sa, founded by Myǒng-rang Bǒb-sa<sup>7</sup>  
 638 AD: Gǔm-gok-sa, founded by Gǔm-ran<sup>8</sup>  
 639 AD: Chǒng-su-sa, founded by Hwæ-chǒng<sup>9</sup>  
 639 AD: Mang-wǒl-sa, founded by Hæ-ho Cho-sa<sup>10</sup>

- <sup>1</sup> Chǒng-su-sa 淨水寺 정수사, Yong-hwa-sa 龍華寺 용화사 (No. 8.28.1.), Ūn-chǒm 恩齋 은齋. Nothing more is known about the founding. See: *BKSC*, p. 641.
- <sup>2</sup> Bun-hwang-sa 芬皇寺 분황사 (No. 7.34.1.). See below, pp. 710f., Chapter 4.2., pp. 841ff.
- <sup>3</sup> Ūn-bong-am 隱鳳庵 은봉암 (No. 8.27.3.), Ching-pa Hwa-sang 澄波和尚 징파화상. A variant claims that Wǒn-hyo Dæ-sa 元曉大師 원효대사 founded the temple in 658 AD. See: *MSKĈ* II, p. 197; *BKSC*, p. 695; *SCSC*, p. 506.
- <sup>4</sup> Yǒng-myo-sa 靈妙寺 영묘사 (No. 7.34.35.), Sǒn-dǒk Yǒ-wang 善德女王 선덕여왕. See: *SGSG* I, p. 90, 103
- <sup>5</sup> Bo-mun-sa 普門寺 보문사 (No. 1.3.1.), Hwæ-chǒng 懷正 회정. See below, pp. 711ff.
- <sup>6</sup> Kǒn-hǔng-sa 建興寺 건흥사, Sin-hǔng-sa 新興寺 신흥사 (No. 8.11.4.), Myǒng-rang Bǒb-sa 明朗法師 (fl. 632 - 679 AD) A variant states that Myǒng-rang founded the temple in 673 AD. Myǒng-rang is said to have travelled to Tang in 632 AD and returned 4 years later (635 AD) which could fit approximately with the alleged founding. Myǒng-rang is particularly known for his advice to Munmu Wang 文武王 문무왕 to construct Sa-chǒn-wang-sa 四天王寺 사천왕사 shortly after the unification of the Korean peninsula (679 AD). Myǒng-rang's mother is said to have been a sister of Cha-chang Yul-sa 慈藏律師 자장율사. See: *BKSC*, pp. 207f., 516; *SCSC*, p. 388; *SGYS*, pp. (98ff.), (337f.).
- <sup>7</sup> Gǔm-kwang-sa 金光寺 금광사 (No. 7.34.27.). The site of the temple is supposed to be close to the sites of Nam-kan-sa 南澗寺 남간사 (No. 7.34.25.) and Chang-rim-sa 昌林寺 창림사 (No. 7.34.26.). At the site, the remains of a 5-storied stone pagoda have been found which dates probably to the Unified Sin-la period. The legend in the *SGYS* states that Myǒng-rang Bǒb-sa 明朗法師 founded the temple after his return from Tang: "During his return voyage he was invited to enter the palace of the King Dragon of the Sea, and instructed the dragon in esoteric Buddhist prayers. The Dragon gave him 1,000 yang (pounds) of gold and escorted him through a submarine tunnel which ended under a well from which he sprang into his home garden. He then donated his home for conversion into a temple and decorated its pagoda with the gold given him by the dragon. The glittering gold shone far and wide to the four directions, and so the temple was named Gǔm-kwang-sa 金光寺 금광사, the temple of golden light." See: *SGYS*, pp. 155f., 429, (337f.); *KCGS* 33.12., pp. 9, 24.
- <sup>8</sup> Gǔm-gok-sa 金谷寺 금곡사 (No. 7.23.2.), Gǔm-ran 金蘭 금란. See: *BKSC*, p. 101.
- <sup>9</sup> Chǒng-su-sa 淨水寺 정수사 (No. 1.3.2.). See below, pp. 711ff.
- <sup>10</sup> Mang-wǒl-sa 望月寺 망월사 (No. 1.8.1.), Sǒn-dǒk Yǒ-wang 善德女王 선덕여왕 is said to have asked Hæ-ho Cho-sa 海浩祖師 해호조사 to stay at the royal court but he declined and lived instead at a hermitage which he built in Do-bong-san 道峯山 도봉산. There he prayed daily for the country so that Sǒn-dǒk Yǒ-wang renamed the hermitage Mang-wǒl-sa 望月寺 망월사 after the name of a mountain fortress (Mang-wǒl-sǒng 望月城 망월성) which lay on Dong-dæ 東臺 동대 of the same mountain. See: *SGSSC*, p. 408; *BKSC*, p. 204; *MSKĈ* I, p. 72; *SCSC*, p. 158.



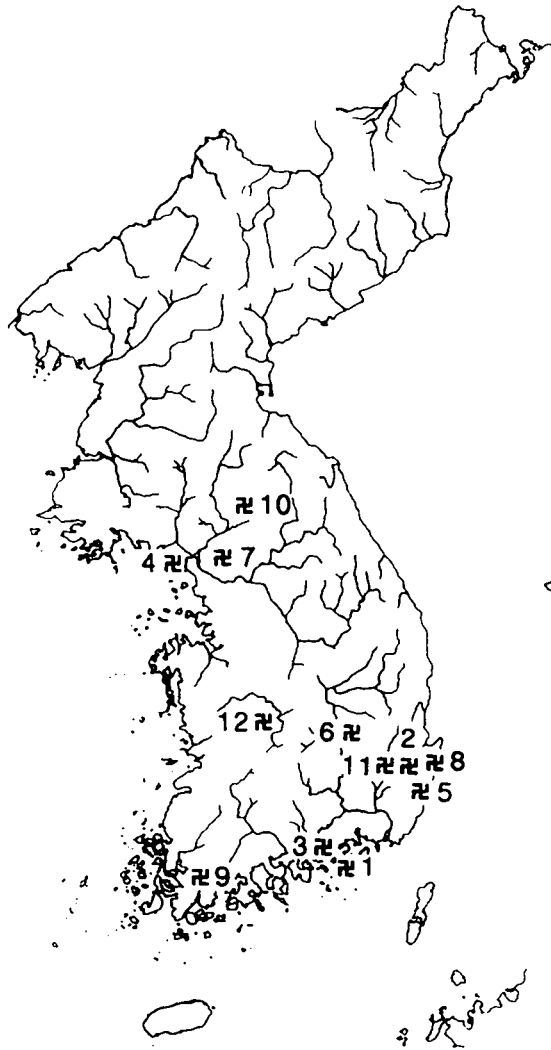


Fig. 512: Temple foundings and reconstructions during the period of 632 to 668 AD of Ancient Sin-la 古新羅 고신라 (without the foundings by the three major monks):

- Legend:
- 1 Chông-su-sa 淨水寺 정수사 (today's Yong-hwa-sa 龍華寺 용화사)
  - 2 Bun-hwang-sa 芬皇寺 분황사, Yǒng-myō-sa 靈妙寺 영묘사 and Gŭm-kwang-sa 金光寺 금광사
  - 3 Ūn-bong-am 隱鳳寺 은봉사
  - 4 Bo-mun-sa 普門寺 보문사 and Chông-su-sa 淨水寺 정수사
  - 5 Kǒn-hŭng-sa 建興寺 건흥사 (today's Sin-hŭng-sa 新興寺 신흥사) and Wǒn-wǒn-sa 遠願寺 원원사
  - 6 Gŭm-gok-sa 金谷寺 금곡사
  - 7 Mang-wŏl-sa 望月寺 망월사 and Chang-ŭi-sa 壯義寺 장의사
  - 8 Im-chông-sa 林井寺 임정사 (today's Ki-rim-sa 祇林寺 기림사)
  - 9 Gŭm-gok-sa 金谷寺 금곡사
  - 10 Sim-wŏn-sa 深源寺 심원사
  - 11 Kyǒng-hŭng-sa 慶興寺 경흥사
  - 12 Yǒng-guk-sa 寧國寺 영국사

- 643 AD: Im-chǒng-sa (today's Ki-rim-sa), founded by Kwang-yu Dæ-sa<sup>1</sup>  
 632 - 646 AD: Güm-gok-sa, founded Mil-bon Dæ-sa<sup>2</sup>  
 647 AD: Sim-wǒn-sa, founded by Yǒng-wǒn<sup>3</sup>  
 659 (var. 656 AD): Chang-üi-sa, founded on royal order of Mu-yǒl Wang<sup>4</sup>  
 659 AD: Kyǒng-hǔng-sa, founded by Hye-kong Hwa-sang<sup>5</sup>  
 668 AD: Yǒng-guk-sa (?)<sup>6</sup>  
 about 668 (var. before 673 AD): Wǒn-wǒn-sa, founded by An-hye, Nang-yung,  
 Kim Yu-sin, Kim Üi-wǒn and Kim Sul-chong<sup>7</sup>

#### 4.1.2.6.3.1. Bun-hwang-sa

According to the *Sam-guk-sa-gi*, the construction of Bun-hwang-sa was completed in the first month of 634 AD<sup>8</sup>. The text does not name the founder of the temple but the proximity to Hwang-ryong-sa and the royal palaces which lay to the south of the temple seems to imply that Bun-hwang-sa was founded on the initiative of Queen Sǒn-dǒk or another high member of the royal court.

- <sup>1</sup> Im-chǒng-sa 林井寺 임정사, Ki-rim-sa 祇林寺 기림사 (No. 7.33.5.). Kwang-yu Dæ-sa 光有大師 광유대사 is said to have been a national of India (Chǒn-čhuk Bǒm-ma-ra-guk 天竺梵摩羅國 천축 범마라국). The extant foundations of a wooden pagoda could date to the founding period (reign of Sǒn-dǒk Yǒ-wang 善德女王 선덕여왕) according to *HGüSC* 5. See: *SGSSC*, p. 210; *BKSC*, p. 106; *MSKČ* II, p. 119; *SCSC*, p. 91; *CPS* 8, p. 373; *HGüSC* 5, p. 32.
- <sup>2</sup> Güm-gok-sa 金谷寺 금곡사 (No. 6.19.3.). Mil-bon Dæ-sa 密本大師 밀본대사 is said to have belonged to the Mil-chong 密宗 밀종 (Tantric school). *SCSC* notes that the temple lay then in Bæk-che territory so that it is questionable if a Sin-la monk could have founded the temple at that time. See: *SCSC*, p. 84; *MSKČ* IV, p. 336.
- <sup>3</sup> Yǒng-wǒn 靈源 영원 is said to have founded several temples on Bo-kæ-san 寶蓋山 보개산 at that time. Among them were Sim-wǒn-sa 深源寺 심원사 (No. 2.1.2.), also called Hǔng-rim-sa 興林寺 흥림사, Yǒng-wǒn-sa 靈源寺 영원사 and Bǒb-hwa-sa 法華寺 법화사. See: *BKSC*, p. 521, *SCSC*, p. 396.
- <sup>4</sup> Chang-üi-sa 壯義寺 장의사 (No. 1.1.7.). See below, p. 713.
- <sup>5</sup> Kyǒng-hǔng-sa 慶興寺 경흥사 (No. 7.31.4.), Hye-kong Hwa-sang 慧空和尚 혜공화상. Nothing more is known about this founding. See: *MHCSRBSG* 90-II, p. 329; *SCSC*, p. 41.
- <sup>6</sup> Yǒng-guk-sa 寧國寺 영국사 (No. 3.13.2.). The temple was reconstructed (or founded ?) in the late 11th C. AD by Üi-čhǒn Dæ-gak Guk-sa 義天大覺國師 의천 대각국사 (1055 - 1101 AD) and called Guk-čhǒng-sa 國淸寺 국청사 (the first name seems to be unknown which casts doubt on the founding legend). The extant name dates back to Kong-min Wang 恭愍王 공민왕 of Ko-ryǒ 高麗 고려 (r. 1352 - 1374 AD). See: *CPS* 4, pp. 68, 218.
- <sup>7</sup> Wǒn-wǒn-sa 遠願寺 원원사 (No. 7.33.12.), An-hye 安惠 안혜 and Nang-yung 朗融 낭융 were disciples of the above-mentioned monk Myǒng-rang Bǒb-sa 明朗法師 명랑법사. KIM Yu-sin 金庾信 김유신 (595 - 673 AD) was the most important general of the unification war. KIM Üi-wǒn 金義元 김의원 (n.d.) and KIM Sul-chong 金述宗 김술중 (n.d.) are otherwise unknown. The twin 3-storied pagodas and other stone works on the site date probably to a reconstruction in the 8th C. AD. See: *SGYS*, pp. 156, 429f. (339); *ADAMS* (1991), p. 155, *CPS* 8, p. 380.
- <sup>8</sup> Bun-hwang-sa 芬皇寺 분황사 (No. 7.34.1.). See: *SGSG* I, p. 90, 103; *SCSC*, p. 281; *MSKČ* II, p. 114; *BKSC*, p. 326; *SGSSC*, p. 553f.; *CPS* 8, p. 297.

As mentioned in connection with the biography of A-do, Bun-hwang-sa was considered to belong to the 'seven cardinal temples' of Sö-ra-böl<sup>1</sup> and it must thus have been one of the most prestigious and largest temples of Sin-la. A legend claims that the site was already a Buddhist temple during a previous Buddha period<sup>2</sup>.

In 643 AD, when Cha-chang Yul-sa<sup>3</sup> returned from Tang with part of the *Tripitaka* and temple ornaments<sup>4</sup>, Queen Sön-dök is said to have appointed him abbot of Bun-hwang-sa and invited him to a royal reception. Wön-hyo Dæ-sa<sup>5</sup>, too, stayed here for much of his religious life, so that the temple later became the centre of the Böb-söng<sup>6</sup> school of Korean Buddhism which united the disciples and followers of Wön-hyo Dæ-sa.

#### 4.1.2.6.3.2. Bo-mun-sa and Chöng-su-sa

In 635 and 639 AD the monk Hwæ-chöng<sup>7</sup> allegedly founded two temples on the islands of Kang-hwa and Sök-mo<sup>8</sup>, in the westernmost part of the territory of Sin-la: Bo-mun-sa and Chöng-su-sa<sup>9</sup>. The islands belonged originally to the territory of Ma-han and Bæk-che, but Ko-gu-ryö conquered them around the year 400 AD. Sin-la finally succeeded in seizing them from Ko-gu-ryö in 553 AD. The Kang-hwa and Sök-mo islands are situated in front of the mouth of the Han<sup>10</sup> River close to the present capital of South Korea, Sö-ul (Seoul).

1 Seven cardinal temples 七處伽藍 칠처가람. Sö-ra-böl 徐羅伐 서라벌, the old name of Güm-söng 金城 금성, today's Kyöng-chu 慶州 경주. See: pp. 674 f.

2 Previous Buddha period 前佛時代 전불시대. According to Buddhist cosmology, each world can have only one Buddha but innumerable other worlds with their Buddhas have existed before our world and will exist after our world. The legend seems to apply the *karma* theory to geographic locations.

3 Cha-chang Yul-sa 慈藏律師 자장율사. See below, pp. 714ff.

4 *Tripitaka* 大藏經 대장경, according to SCSC Cha-chang carried the following ornaments: banners 幡 번, pennons 幢 당 (flags) and flower ornaments 花蓋 화개 for image halls 佛殿 불전. See: SCSC, p. 281.

5 Wön-hyo Dæ-sa 元曉大師 원효대사. Some authors claim that Wön-hyo Dæ-sa founded the temple. See below, pp. 722ff.

6 Böb-söng-chong 法性宗 법성종, literally 'Dharma-nature School', founded sometime after the death of Wön-hyo Dæ-sa in 686 AD. It is the fourth of the 5 major Buddhist schools of Unified Sin-la. The others are: 1. the Yul-chong 律宗 율종 (Vinaya school), founded in 646 AD by Cha-chang Yul-sa, 2. the Yöl-ban-chong 涅槃宗 열반종 (Nirvāṇa school), founded between 654 and 660 AD by Bo-dök Hwa-sang 普德和尚 보덕화상 (see Chapter 2.1., pp. 92f.), 3. the Hwa-öm-chong 華嚴宗 화엄종 (Avatamsaka school), founded in 676 AD by Ŭi-sang Dæ-sa 義湘大師 의상대사 and 5. the Böb-sang-chong 法相宗 법상종 (Yogācāra school), founded in 766 AD by Chin-pyo Yul-sa 眞表律師 진표율사 (fl. 740 - 766 AD).

7 Hwæ-chöng 懷正 회정 (n.d.)

8 Kang-hwa-do 江華島 강화도 [fig. 687 (3)], Sök-mo-do 席毛島 석모도.

9 Bo-mun-sa 普門寺 보문사 (No. 1.3.1.), Chöng-su-sa 淨水寺 정수사 (No. 1.3.2.).

10 Han-kang 漢江 한강 [fig. 684 (7, 8)], Sö-ul (Seoul) 서울.

Buddhism was allegedly introduced to Kang-hwa island as early as 381 AD, when the islands were still part of Bæk-che. At that time, Chin-chong-sa (today's Chŏn-dŭng-sa) was reportedly founded by A-do Hwa-sang<sup>1</sup> who came to Ko-gu-ryŏ from China. In 416 AD, five more temples are said to have been founded by Chŏn-čhuk Cho-sa<sup>2</sup> on the island which was then under the rule of Ko-gu-ryŏ.

Bo-mun-sa and Chŏng-su-sa are both situated on mountains close to the Yellow Sea and dominate a beautiful view over the ocean. In particular Bo-mun-sa is traditionally dedicated to the Hæ-su Kwan-ŭm Bo-sal<sup>3</sup>, the protector of the navigators. Temples with a similar situation and function were later also founded on the eastern and southern coasts of the Korean peninsula: Nak-san-sa founded by Ŭi-sang Dæ-sa<sup>4</sup> in 671 AD and Bo-ri-am founded allegedly by Wŏn-hyo Dæ-sa<sup>5</sup> in the late seventh century AD. Beside their function as protector for sailors<sup>6</sup>, these three temples and their Avalokiteśvaras are also famous for their alleged power to fulfil wishes, in particular the wish for male descendants, a belief which seems closer related to shamanism than Buddhism.

The founding legend of Bo-mun-sa states that the temple was founded in the fourth month of 635 AD, after fishermen caught twenty-two Buddhist statues<sup>7</sup> in their nets. In 649 AD, Hwæ-chŏng allegedly enshrined the statues in a cave and called the temple Bo-mun-sa. The legend is doubtful because Hwæ-chŏng is known to have lived in the middle of the twelfth century in the Gŭm-gang mountains<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Chin-chong-sa 眞宗寺 진종사, Chŏn-dŭng-sa 傳燈寺 전등사, No. 1.3.3., A-do Hwa-sang 阿度和尙 아도화상.

<sup>2</sup> Chŏn-čhuk Cho-sa 天竺祖師 천축조사. See Chapter 2.1., p. 94.

<sup>3</sup> Hæ-su Kwan-ŭm Bo-sal 海水觀音菩薩 해수관음보살, the 'ocean-water Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva'.

<sup>4</sup> Nak-san-sa 洛山寺 낙산사, No. 2.9.1. Ŭi-sang Dæ-sa 義湘大師 의상대사. Var. in 676 AD. See: *SCSC*, pp. 96 - 98; *MSKČ* I, pp. 190, 192; *CPS* 3, p. 205.

<sup>5</sup> Bo-ri-am 普堤庵 보리암, No. 8.25.3., Wŏn-hyo Dæ-sa 元曉大師 원효대사. Var. in 683 AD. See: *SCSC*, pp. 239f.; *MSKČ* II, p. 209; *CPS* 10, p. 565.

<sup>6</sup> Similar beliefs can also be found in China: e.g. the island Putuo shan 普陀山 보타산 near Shanghai 上海 상해 which is dedicated to Kuanyin 觀音 관음 (Avalokiteśvara). See: BOERSCHMANN (1911).

<sup>7</sup> The 22 statues are said to have represented: *a.* a Buddhist triad, consisting of Śākyamuni Buddha 釋迦牟尼佛 석가모니불, Maitreya Bodhisattva 彌勒菩薩 미륵보살 (left side, see p. 696, n. 1) and Dipamkara Buddha 提和竭羅佛대(제)화갈라불 (right side); *b.* 18 Arhants 羅漢 나한; *c.* the last figure was either Avalokiteśvara (승자?) 觀世音菩薩 관세음보살 (*SCSC*) or Na-ban-chon-cha 那畔尊者 나반존자 (*HGŭSC* 15) which is better known in Korea under the name Dok-sŏng 獨聖 덕성 ('lonely saint'), a figure which is often put in relation with the shamanistic mountain spirit 山神 산신 and is possibly based on the Arhant Pindola 賓頭盧尊者 빈두로존자. See: *SCSC*, pp. 242f.; *HGŭSC* 15, p. 73; *BKSC*, pp. 112, 349f.

<sup>8</sup> Hwæ-chŏng 懷正 회정 is said to have reconstructed Bo-dŏk-am 普德庵 보덕암 (var. Bo-dŏk-kul 普德窟 보덕굴) in Gŭm-gang-san 金剛山 금강산 [fig. 684 (15)] in 1156 AD which was reportedly founded by the famous Ko-gu-ryŏ monk Bo-dŏk 普德 보덕 in 627 AD. See: Chapter 2.1., pp. 92f.; *SCSC*, pp. 236, 242.

The site of Chǒng-su-sa is located to the east of Ma-ni mountain which is famous for its Dan-gun altar<sup>1</sup> on its summit. The founding legend of the temple states that Hwæ-chǒng recognized that the site of the future Chǒng-su-sa was well suited for meditation while he was worshipping at the altar of the Ma-ni mountain. Buddhist and shamanistic legends of Kang-hwa County seem to be so intermingled that they are good examples for the combination of the two spiritual traditions.

#### 4.1.2.6.3.3. Chang-ŭi-sa

According to the *Sam-guk-yu-sa*<sup>2</sup>, the *hwa-rang* officers Chang-čhun-rang and Pa-rang<sup>3</sup> fell in 656 AD in a battle opposing armies of Sin-la and Bæk-che while they were still very young. In 659 AD, King Mu-yŏl personally led another campaign against Bæk-che and the dead *hwa-rang* soldiers allegedly appeared in his dream. They said: "We offered our lives for king and country in a former battle. Though we are now only pale ghosts, we wish to join Your Majesty's army to defend the fatherland forever, but, being overshadowed by SU Dingfang<sup>4</sup>, the Tang general, we have to follow behind him all the time. We beg you to give us a small unit of crack troops so that we may attack the enemy and fight for a swift victory."

King Mu-yŏl conducted a Buddhist memorial service to honour the patriotic spirit of these two *hwa-rang* officers and ordered the founding of the temple Chang-ŭi-sa, meaning approximately 'temple of the brave and righteous', in the Buk-han<sup>5</sup> mountains to the north of modern Sŏ-ul (Seoul). The story illustrates that the alliance with Tang China was purely opportunistic. Even before the victory of the alliance, Tang China was already portrayed as a future enemy. The obvious war of aggression against Bæk-che and Ko-gu-ryŏ is described in the legend as the 'defense of the fatherland'. The political role of Buddhism in Ancient Sin-la is expressed by the founding of a Buddhist temple whose main function was to offer a space to pray for the fallen soldiers.

<sup>1</sup> A myth states that Dan-gun 檀君 단군 offered his first sacrifice to heaven at the altar 靈星壇 참성담 on Ma-ni-san 摩尼山 마니산 (originally called Ma-ri-san 摩利山 마리산, meaning reportedly 'sacred mountain') in 2265 BC. Every October 3rd (the use of the solar calendar is an indication for the recent establishment of the rite), the *kæ-čhŏn-čhŏl* 開天節 개천절 is celebrated on this mountain. In obvious imitation of the Olympic flame, the fire for the annual National Athletic Championship of Korea 全國體育祭典 전국체육제전 is also lit here. See: CLARK (1961), p. 139; KEILHAUER (1986), pp. 192, 225.

<sup>2</sup> See: *SGYS*, pp. 53, 232, (92).

<sup>3</sup> Chang-čhun-rang 長春郎 장춘랑, Pa-rang 罷郎 파랑 (var. Pa-bŏl-gu 罷伐九 파벌구).

<sup>4</sup> SU Dingfang 蘇定方 소정방.

<sup>5</sup> Chang-ŭi-sa 臧義寺 / 莊義寺 / 壯義寺 장의사 (No. 1.1.7.), Buk-han-san 北漢山 북한산 [fig. 684 (18)]. The extant flagpole supports on the temple site date probably to Unified Sin-la. See: *SGSSC*, p. 1153; *BKSC*, p. 763; *CPS* 1, p. 244; *SCSC*, p. 529; *MSKČ* 1, p. 32; ČHŎN Kyŏng-hwa 千敬化 천경화 (1993), p. 600.

## 4.1.2.7. THE THREE MAJOR MONKS OF ANCIENT SIN-LA

The three most influential Buddhist scholars of the Sin-la dynasty were born within thirty years in the early seventh century AD shortly before the unification of the Korean peninsula. They were Cha-chang Yul-sa, Wŏn-hyo Dæ-sa and Ūi-sang Dæ-sa<sup>1</sup>.

## 4.1.2.7.1. Cha-chang Yul-sa

## 4.1.2.7.1.1. Biography and temple foundings and reconstructions

Cha-chang Yul-sa was reportedly born in 608 AD. He is said to have abandoned his wife and children to become a monk and went to Tang China to study Buddhist doctrines from 636 to 643 AD. On the famous mountain Wutai shan (Qingliang shan)<sup>2</sup>, he received transmission from Mañjuśrī<sup>3</sup> in a dream. He met several great monks of China, among them Fashun (also called Dushun), the founder of the Avataṃsaka school<sup>4</sup> of China and Daoxuan, the founder of the Vinaya school<sup>5</sup>. When he returned to Sin-la, he supervised the reconstruction of the nine-storied wooden pagoda of Hwang-ryong-sa, became the abbot of this temple and founded Tong-do-sa<sup>6</sup> for the Korean Vinaya school which he established. As National Preceptor<sup>7</sup> he helped to interpret Buddhism in a way which was favourable to the aspirations of the Sin-la kingdom to conquer the whole Korean peninsula. In 649 AD, he convinced the nobility to exchange the traditional noble dresses against the Tang court dresses. Tang China became the model for the education and life of the Sin-la elite. Towards the end of his life, Cha-chang Yul-sa left the capital to live on the O-dæ<sup>8</sup> mountains. There he searched in vain for a reappearance of Mañjuśrī because Cha-chang Yul-sa had neglected his spiritual training due to of his political involvements as National Preceptor. He died in 686 AD, the same year as Wŏn-hyo Dæ-sa.

<sup>1</sup> Cha-chang Yul-sa 慈藏律師 자장율사, Wŏn-hyo Dæ-sa 元曉大師 원효대사, Ūi-sang Dæ-sa 義湘大師 의상대사.

<sup>2</sup> Wutai shan 五臺山 오대산, Qingliang shan 淸涼山 청량산.

<sup>3</sup> Mañjuśrī 文殊菩薩 문수보살, the Bodhisattva of wisdom.

<sup>4</sup> Fashun 法順 법순, Dushun 杜順 두순 (557 - 640 AD), the founder (var. 3rd patriarch) of the Chinese Avataṃsaka school = Huayan zong (K: Hwa-ŏm-chong) 華嚴宗 화엄종.

<sup>5</sup> Daoxuan 道宣 도선, the 1st patriarch of the Chinese Vinaya school 律宗 율종 (596 - 667 AD).

<sup>6</sup> Tong-do-sa 通度寺 통도사 (No. 8.13.1.).

<sup>7</sup> National Preceptor 國統 국통.

<sup>8</sup> O-dæ-san 五臺山 오대산, the Korean counterpart to the Chinese Wutai shan 五臺山 오대산 after which it is named.

At least twenty three temple foundings and reconstructions are attributed to Cha-chang Yul-sa for the decade between 643 and 652 AD<sup>1</sup>. Many of these temples still exist today but in most cases no material remains from Ancient Sin-la are extant. Among the important foundings and reconstructions are the following:

643 AD: Hwang-ryong-sa (reconstruction of the nine-storied wooden pagoda)<sup>2</sup>

643 AD: Hwa-ŏm-sa (reconstruction ?)<sup>3</sup>

643 (var. 645 AD): Wöl-chŏng-sa and five cardinal temples on Mount O-dæ<sup>4</sup>

643 AD: Hŭng-nyŏng-sa and its Chŏk-myŏl-bo-kung<sup>5</sup>

643 AD: Bong-chŏng-am<sup>6</sup>

643 (var. 632 - 647 AD): Chŏng-am-sa and its Chŏk-myŏl-bo-kung<sup>7</sup>

643 (var. 645 AD): Tæ-hwa-sa<sup>8</sup>

644 AD: Mun-su-sa<sup>9</sup>

645 (var. 644 AD): Chik-chi-sa (reconstruction)<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There seem to be no recorded temple founding attributed to Cha-chang Yul-sa for his 30 last years. A few temples claim to have been founded by Cha-chang Yul-sa earlier than 643 AD what seems to be in contradiction with his biography. (E.g. 619 AD: O-ŏ-sa 吾魚寺 오어사 (No. 7.17.4.); 636 AD: Da-sol-sa 多率寺 다솔사 (No. 8.23.1.), 640 AD: Sam-hwa-sa 三和寺 삼화사 (No. 2.19.1.); 640 - 642 AD: Ma-gok-sa 麻谷寺 마곡사 (No. 4.12.1.). Ma-gok-sa lay in the heartland of Bæk-che, but Sin-la had direct access to the Yellow Sea so that the monks did not need to cross enemy territory.)

<sup>2</sup> Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황룡사 (No. 7.34.2.) See below, pp. 717ff.

<sup>3</sup> Hwa-ŏm-sa 華嚴寺 화엄사 (No. 6.7.1.). The fact that the temple still lay in the territory of Bæk-che at that time sheds doubt about this claim. See: *SGSSC*, p. 1554; *MSKĆ II*, p. 349; *SCSC*, p. 653.

<sup>4</sup> Wöl-chŏng-sa 月精寺 월정사 (No. 2.15.1.), O-dæ-san 五臺山 오대산. See below, pp. 719f.

<sup>5</sup> Hŭng-nyŏn-sa 興寧寺 흥녕사, today's Bŏb-hŭng-sa 法興寺 법흥사 (No. 2.14.1.), Cha-chang Yul-sa is said to have enshrined some pieces of the *śarīra* of Buddha in the Chŏk-myŏl-bo-kung 寂滅寶宮 적멸보궁 (literally 'nirvāṇa treasure palace', consisting of a wooden building without Buddha figures but with a window at the rear side and a multi-stepped stone platform with a stone *stūpa* behind the building) which he founded. The temple became important as Sa-cha-san-mun 獅子山門 사자산문, one of the 9 Mountain Sŏn School 九山禪門 구산선문, which was established here in 850 AD by Do-yun Guk-sa 道允國師 도운국사.

<sup>6</sup> Bong-chŏng-am 鳳頂庵 봉정암 (No. 2.6.3.) See below, p. 721.

<sup>7</sup> Chŏng-am-sa 淨岩寺 정암사 (No. 2.16.1.). Cha-chang Yul-sa is said to have enshrined some of the *śarīra* of Buddha in the stone pagoda (imitating a brick construction) behind the Chŏk-myŏl-bo-kung 寂滅寶宮 적멸보궁 which he founded. The extant pagoda (Su-ma-no-tab 水瑪瑙塔 수마노탑) dates to the Ko-ryŏ or Cho-sŏn periods and lies about 80m behind the Chŏk-myŏl-bo-kung on a steep slope (about 40m above the temple). It seems impossible to reconstruct the original layout of the founding period. See: Chapter 4.2., pp. 919f.; *CPS* 3, p. 190; *SGSSC*, p. 1195; *BKSC*, p. 780; *SCSC*, p. 539f.

<sup>8</sup> Tæ-hwa-sa 太和寺 태화사 (No. 8.12.2.). This ruined temple also claims that Cha-chang enshrined some pieces of the *śarīra* of Buddha in its *stūpa*. But the bell-shaped *stūpa* with the 12 symbols of the Chinese zodiac at the site seems to date to Unified Sin-la (about 9th C. AD). See: *CPS* 10, p. 408; *SCSC*, p. 614; KAMATA (1988, 1991), p. 276.

<sup>9</sup> Mun-su-sa 文殊寺 문수사 (No. 5.19.3.). The fact that the site lay in the territory of Bæk-che at that time sheds doubt about this claim. See: *MSKĆ II*, p. 312; *SCSC*, p. 173; *CPS* 6, p. 240.

<sup>10</sup> Chik-chi-sa 直指寺 직지사 (No. 7.25.2.). See: *CPS* 8, p. 452; *MSKĆ II*, p. 20; *SCSC*, p. 566.

646 AD: Tong-do-sa<sup>1</sup>  
 647 AD: Han-kye-sa<sup>2</sup>  
 652 AD: Sin-hŭng-sa<sup>3</sup>

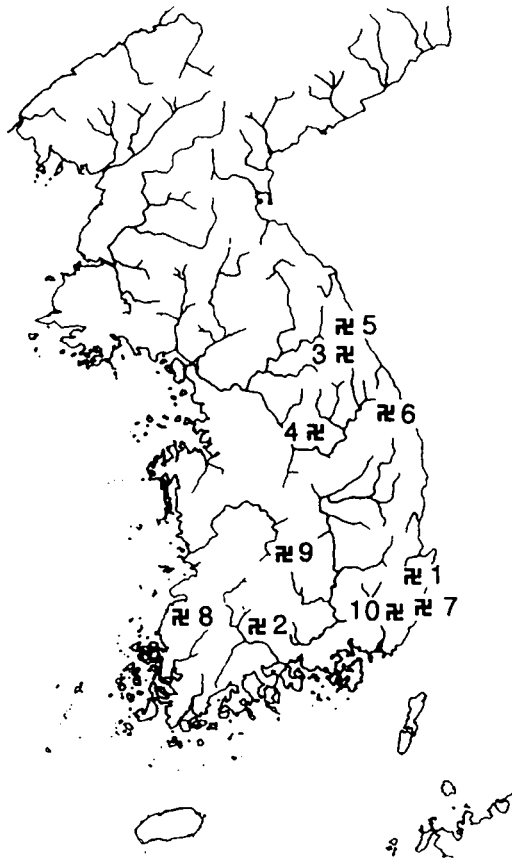


Fig. 513: Alleged temple foundings and reconstructions by Cha-chang Yul-sa 慈藏律師 자장율사:

- Legend:
- 1 Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황룡사
  - 2 Hwa-ŏm-sa 華嚴寺 화엄사
  - 3 O-dæ-san 五臺山 오대산. Wŏl-chŏng-sa 月精寺 월정사 and five cardinal temples
  - 4 Hŭng-nyŏng-sa 興寧寺 흥녕사
  - 5 Sŏr-ak-san 雪嶽山 설악산. Bong-chŏng-am 鳳頂庵 봉정암, Han-kye-sa 寒溪寺 한계사 and Sin-hŭng-sa 神興寺 신흥사
  - 6 Chŏng-am-sa 淨岩寺 정암사
  - 7 Tæ-hwa-sa 太和寺 봉화사
  - 8 Mun-su-sa 文殊寺 문수사
  - 9 Chik-chi-sa 直指寺 직지사
  - 10 Tong-do-sa 通度寺 통도사

<sup>1</sup> Tong-do-sa 通度寺 통도사 (No. 8.13.1.). See below, pp. 720f.

<sup>2</sup> Han-kye-sa 寒溪寺 한계사 (No. 2.6.4.). See below, p. 721.

<sup>3</sup> Sin-hŭng-sa 神興寺 신흥사 (No. 2.8.1.). See below, p. 721.



## 4.1.2.7.1.2. The reconstruction of the wooden pagoda of Hwang-ryong-sa

According to a legend recorded in the *Sam-guk-yu-sa*<sup>1</sup>, Cha-chang Yul-sa had an encounter with a dragon guardian of the *dharma* during his stay in Tang:

"While Chajang (Cha-chang) was passing by the shores of T'ai-ho Lake (Dahuo chi<sup>2</sup>), a guardian of the *dharma* emerged from the water and asked him why he had come. Chajang replied that he was in search of enlightenment.

"What difficulties beset your country ?' asked the guardian.

"Our country is bordered by Moho (Mal-gal<sup>3</sup>) to the north and Japan (Wæ<sup>4</sup>) to the south, and Koguryō (Ko-gu-ryō) and Paekche (Bæk-che<sup>5</sup>) often infringe upon our borders. Thus foreign incursions bring hardship to the people,' Chajang replied.

"You have as a ruler a woman who has virtue but lacks majesty. Thus do neighbouring countries harbour designs upon your own. You must return quickly.'

"What can I do to benefit my country ?' Chajang asked.

"The dragon, the protector of the *dharma*<sup>6</sup> at Hwangnyong Monastery (Hwang-ryong-sa), is my eldest son. At the command of the Buddha he is protecting your country. Upon your return, erect a nine-story stupa in the monastery. Then neighbouring states will surrender, barbarians will offer tributes, and the royal work will be secured. When the stupa is complete, hold the Assembly of the Eight Prohibitions (Pal-kwan-hwæ<sup>7</sup>) and grant amnesty to all criminals; then your enemies will be unable to harm your country. For the sake build a monastery to the south of the capital and pray for my happiness; then I too shall repay your kindness.'

"After presenting Chajang with a piece of jade, the guardian vanished.

"On the sixteenth day of the seventeenth year of Chen-kuan (*zhenkuan*), *kye-myō*<sup>8</sup>, [4th day of the 9th month of 643 AD<sup>9</sup>], Chajang returned to Silla (Sin-la) with such imperial gifts as scriptures, images, cassocks, and silk, and reported to the king about the need to erect a stupa. As the queen deliberated, her ministers advised

<sup>1</sup> Cited after LEE Peter H. (in brackets are additions by the author). See: *SGYS*, pp. 104f., 322ff., (207ff.); LEE Peter H. (YI Hak-su 李鶴洙 이학수) (1993), pp. 88f.

<sup>2</sup> Dahuo chi (K: Dæ-hwa-chi) 大和池 대화지.

<sup>3</sup> Mal-gal 靺鞨 말갈.

<sup>4</sup> Wæ 倭 왜.

<sup>5</sup> Yō-che 麗濟 여제 = Ko-gu-ryō 高句麗 고구려 and Bæk-che 百濟 백제.

<sup>6</sup> Ho-bōb-yong 護法龍 호법용.

<sup>7</sup> Pal-kwan-hwæ 八關會 팔관회.

<sup>8</sup> *Zhenkuan* 貞觀 정관, the reign title of the second Tang emperor Taizong 太宗 태종 (r. 626 - 649). *Kye-myō* 癸卯 계묘, the 40th year of the sexagenary cycle.

<sup>9</sup> The inscription on the *śarīra* box found in the central foundation stone of the pagoda dated to 872 AD confirms the date of 643 AD for the reconstruction of the pagoda. See: Chapter 4.2, pp. 835f.

her to offer precious goods to attract an architect from Paekche. The Paekche architect Abiji (A-bi-chi<sup>1</sup>) arrived and began to work in stone and wood, and the *igan* Yongch'un (Yong-čhun, var. Yong-su<sup>2</sup>) supervised the work performed by his two hundred assistants.

"But on the day a pillar was erected, Abiji had a dream in which Paekche fell. Perplexed, he stopped working. Then suddenly there was an earthquake and darkness descended, whereupon an old monk and a thug emerged from the gate of the main hall, set the pillar in place, and vanished. With remorse Abiji completed the stupa.

"According to the record, the height above the iron plate was forty-two *ch'ök* (*čhök*<sup>3</sup>) and that below it, one hundred eighty-three *ch'ök*. Chajang distributed the hundred relics he had received on Mount Wu-t'ai (Wutai shan<sup>4</sup>) and enshrined them in the Platform of the Path at T'ongdo Monastery (Tong-do-sa<sup>5</sup>) and in the stupa at Taehwa Monastery (Dæ-hwa-sa<sup>6</sup>), thus fulfilling the request of the dragon of the T'ai-ho Lake.

"With the stupa completed, the kingdom enjoyed peace and the peninsula was unified - such was its efficacy. (...) According to the *Tongdo sŏngnip ki* (*Dong-do-sŏng-rib-ki*<sup>7</sup>, Record of the Establishment of the Eastern Capital) by the worthy Anhong (AN Hong<sup>8</sup>), the twenty-seventh ruler of Silla was a queen. She had the Way but lacked majesty, and therefore her neighbours invaded her country. The nine-story stupa was erected at Hwangnyong Monastery south of the palace in order to daunt the enemies of Silla. The first story represents Japan; the second, China; the third, Wu-yüeh (Wuyue<sup>9</sup>); the fourth, T'angna (Tak-la<sup>10</sup>); the fifth, Ŭngyu (Ŭng-yu<sup>11</sup>); the sixth, Moho (Mal-gal); the seventh, Tanguk (Dan-guk<sup>12</sup>); the eighth, Yŏjök (Yŏ-čök<sup>13</sup>); and the ninth, Yemaek (Ye-mæk<sup>14</sup>)."

1 A-bi-chi 阿非知 아비지.

2 Yong-čhun 龍春 용춘, Yong-su 龍樹 용수.

3 *Čhök* 尺 척 = 29cm to 36cm, depending on the units used by the various dynasties. The total height of the Hwang-ryong-sa pagoda measured thus between 65m and 81m according to this source.

4 Wutai shan 五台山 오태산.

5 Tong-do-sa 通度寺 통도사 (No. 8.13.1.).

6 Dæ-hwa-sa 大和寺 대화사 (var. Tæ-hwa-sa 太和寺 태화사 (No. 8.12.2.)).

7 *Dong-do-sŏng-rib-ki* 「東都成立記 동도성립기」.

8 AN Hong 安弘 안홍 (n.d.).

9 Wuyue (K: O-wŏl) 吳越 오월, a state in north-eastern China.

10 Tak-la 托羅 탁라, otherwise unknown.

11 Ŭng-yu 鷹遊 응유, otherwise unknown.

12 Dan-guk 丹國 단국, otherwise unknown.

13 Yŏ-čök 女狄 여적, otherwise unknown.

14 Ye-mæk 穢貊 예맥, a Korean tribe in modern North Korea and Manchuria. Note that the two main rivals of Ancient Sin-la, Bæk-che and Ko-gu-ryŏ, are not included in this list.

See: Chapter 1.1., pp. 11ff.

The information that a Bæk-che architect led the construction team raises questions about the affirmation that the pagoda would protect the country. If the construction of the pagoda was a matter of national defence against the enemies of Sin-la, why would an enemy architect be allowed to design it? Is it possible that the pagoda gained this image of national pride only later? As the account of A-bi-chi seems to be quite credible (it seems to admit that the architects of Bæk-che were superior to those of Sin-la, its later conqueror), the three competing kingdoms seem still to have collaborated and influenced each other in the fields of culture and religion until the mid-seventh century AD. In particular Sin-la seems to have accepted cultural influences from both Ko-gu-ryō and Bæk-che, both of which had longer Buddhist traditions and more relations with China.

#### 4.1.2.7.1.3. The temples of the O-dæ mountains

In 643 AD Cha-chang Yul-sa reportedly founded five temples on the O-dæ mountains. The name of the mountain is the Korean pronunciation of the Chinese Wutai shan<sup>1</sup>. When Cha-chang Yul-sa returned from Tang China he carried with him numerous *śarīra* of the historical Buddha. He allegedly enshrined thirty-seven pieces of *śarīra* in the Chōk-myōl-bo-kung<sup>2</sup>, which belonged to the central temple of the five O-dæ-san temples, Chung-dæ-sa<sup>3</sup>. Two kilometres to the north-east, Cha-chang Yul-sa founded Buk-dæ-sa<sup>4</sup> and one kilometre to the south Sō-dæ-sa<sup>5</sup>. The remaining two temples, Nam-dæ-sa and Dong-dæ-sa<sup>6</sup> were situated at a short distance from each other about six kilometres to the south east of Chung-dæ-sa. Together with a sixth temple, Wōl-chōng-sa<sup>7</sup>, these two temples formed the entrance to the O-dæ-san valley. As in the case of the original temple of Un-mun-sa<sup>8</sup> the precise geographic location of the cardinal temples is less important than the occupation of the territory. Here the 'eastern' and 'southern' temples protected the

<sup>1</sup> O-dæ-san (Ch. Wutai shan) 五臺山 오대산. It seems that Cha-chang Yul-sa 慈藏律師 자장율사 compared this Korean mountain to that of China and hoped to find here the same vision of Mañjuśrī towards the end of his life. See above, p. 714.

<sup>2</sup> Chōk-myōl-bo-kung 寂滅寶宮 적멸보궁, '*nirvāna* treasure palace'. It is the name of an extant wooden building which does not possess a Buddha image but a window in the middle of the rear wall which permits to see the alleged tomb where Cha-chang Yul-sa buried the *śarīra*. A small stone stele with a carved multi-storied pagoda (which looks like a pine tree) indicates the place where the *śarīra* is buried. See: YU Hong-chun 兪弘濬 유흥춘 (1994d), pp. 52ff.

<sup>3</sup> Chung-dæ-sa 中臺寺 중대사, 'central plateau temple'.

<sup>4</sup> Buk-dæ-sa 北臺寺 북대사, 'northern plateau temple'.

<sup>5</sup> Sō-dæ-sa 西臺寺 서대사, 'western plateau temple'.

<sup>6</sup> Nam-dæ-sa 南臺寺 남대사, 'southern plateau temple', Dong-dæ-sa 東臺寺 동대사, 'eastern plateau temple'.

<sup>7</sup> Wōl-chōng-sa 月精寺 월정사 (No. 2.15.1.).

<sup>8</sup> Un-mun-sa 雲門寺 운문사 (No. 7.30.5.). See above, p. 688.

entrance of the valley and the 'western' and 'northern' temple guarded the sides. The back of the main temple was simply protected by the main mountain.

In this way it seems possible to understand the way the territory was perceived in early Korea. The territory was probably divided according to its accessibility and usefulness to the humans. The fundamental division was wilderness and human culture. In the case of the O-dæ mountain valley, the slopes are basically wilderness and the bottom is cultivated or at least accessible. As the main direction of the valley runs from the north-west to the south-east, the entrance lies between the eastern and the southern temples. The main temple is then consequently located between the northern and the western temples. The territory which lies above the five temples remained wilderness, while the area which is defined by these five points became the cultural territory of humans.

#### 4.1.2.7.1.4. Tong-do-sa and its Chök-myöl-bo-kung

Of all the temple foundations of Cha-chang Yul-sa, the founding of Tong-do-sa in 646 AD was probably the most important. The temple was designed to serve as the centre of his newly founded Vinaya school. Cha-chang Yul-sa also enshrined here pieces of Buddha's *śarīra* in an altar which was called Güm-gang-kye-dan, 'diamond ordination platform'<sup>1</sup>. This platform is still extant but has been reconstructed several times since. Tong-do-sa is considered to be the only orthodox ordination place for monks in Korea and it counts thus among the 'three treasure temples' of Korea.<sup>2</sup>

The temple site lies about 40km to the south of Kyöng-chu. The small stream<sup>3</sup> in front of the temple runs from west to east so that the main entry of the temple lies to the east of the precinct. While no extant structure of Tong-do-sa can be traced back to the founding period, but today the main hall is located to the south of the ordination platform with the *śarīra stūpa*. As in the case of the Chök-myöl-bo-kung in the O-dæ mountain, the main hall does not feature a Buddha image but only a window on the ordination platform. The layout of the original temple seems to be impossible to reconstruct, but the site hardly permitted an orthodox layout with middle gate, pagoda, image hall, lecture hall and dormitories on a south-north axis.

<sup>1</sup> Güm-gang-kye-dan 金剛戒壇 금강계단.

<sup>2</sup> 'Three treasure temples' 三寶寺刹 삼보사찰. The three treasures represent the basic rules of Buddhist life: the historical Buddha preached the Buddhist *dharma* for the first time, the *dharma* encompasses all the teachings and the community of monks (*saṅgha*) keep the tradition alive. Tong-do-sa with its *śarīra* of the historical Buddha stands for the first treasure, the Buddha. The other two treasure temples are Hæ-in-sa 海印寺 해인사 (No. 8.5.1., *dharma*) and Song-kwang-sa 松廣寺 송광사 (No. 6.8.1., *saṅgha*).

<sup>3</sup> Tong-do-čhön 通度川 통도천.

I assume that the locations of the ordination platform and the main hall did not change much with the successive reconstructions. The particular layout with a *stūpa* or tomb behind an 'imageless' main hall seems to be a Korean speciality<sup>1</sup> which could date back to Cha-chang Yul-sa. An important characteristic of this layout is the fact that the *stūpa* is the last and highest structure of the precinct and no building can be placed behind it. The *stūpa* forms thus the limit between the cultural domain and wilderness. In contrast to the pagoda which is usually placed at the centre of the precinct in front of the image hall, the *stūpa*, whether it contains the *śarīra* of Buddha or of a famous monk, seems to have been practically always placed at the edge of the precinct or clearly outside the temple. As both the pagoda and the *stūpa* symbolize the *nirvāṇa* of Buddha, temple precincts with a Chök-myöl-bo-kung do usually not feature an additional pagoda. For this reason it can be supposed that no pagoda was originally built in front of the main hall of Tong-do-sa<sup>2</sup>.

#### 4.1.2.7.1.5. The temples of the Sör-ak mountains

When Cha-chang Yul-sa first brought Buddhism to the O-dæ mountain area, he went even further north to the Sör-ak mountains<sup>3</sup>. He founded on the western slopes Han-kye-sa which became through many displacements and reconstructions the extant Bæk-dam-sa<sup>4</sup>. Two hermitages in the same area also claim Cha-chang Yul-sa as their founder in 643 AD: O-se-am and Bong-chöng-am<sup>5</sup>. A few years later (652 AD) Cha-chang Yul-sa founded Hyang-söng-sa, which became the extant Sin-hüŋg-sa<sup>6</sup>, and two hermitages Nüŋg-in-am (today's Næ-wön-am) and Kye-cho-am<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Several temples feature such a layout. Among them are the two mentioned Chök-myöl-bo-kung of O-dæ-san and Böb-hüŋg-sa. Yong-yön-sa 龍淵寺 응연사 (No. 7.29.1.), and Da-sol-sa 多率寺 다솔사 (No. 8.23.1.), also feature similar layouts but they date to the late 17th C. and the 20th C. AD, respectively. Other temples feature similar platforms with *stūpas* but no 'imageless' hall in front (e.g. Güm-san-sa 金山寺 금산사 (No. 5.3.2.), and Sin-rük-sa 神勒寺 신흑사 (No. 1.18.3.)).

<sup>2</sup> Instead, a 5-storied stone pagoda seems to have been built on the small hill to the south of the main precinct during the Ko-ryö period. Two more stone pagodas stand in the precinct but they date probably to the early Ko-ryö period (three-storied pagoda in front of the Yöŋg-san-chön 靈山殿 영산전) and 1920 AD (5-storied pagoda in front of the Kæ-san-cho-dang 開山祖堂 개산조당).

<sup>3</sup> Sör-ak-san 雪嶽山 설악산.

<sup>4</sup> Han-kye-sa 寒溪寺 한계사, Bæk-dam-sa 百潭寺 백담사 (No. 2.6.1.).

<sup>5</sup> O-se-am 五歲庵 오세암 (No. 2.6.2.) and Bong-chöng-am 鳳頂庵 봉정암 (No. 2.6.3.). The latter is said to be one of the temples where Cha-chang Yul-sa enshrined the *śarīra* of Buddha. The main building of Bong-chöng-am is thus called Chök-myöl-bo-kung but the particular topographic situation (at a height of about 1,500m above sea level!) did not permit the typical layout.

<sup>6</sup> Hyang-söng-sa 香城寺 향성사, Sin-hüŋg-sa 神興寺 신흑사 (No. 2.8.1.). The three-storied stone pagoda at the original site of Hyang-söng-sa (about 2km to the east of Sin-hüŋg-sa) dates probably to a reconstruction in the 9th C. AD. See: *CPS* 3, p. 142; *SCSC*, pp. 387f.

<sup>7</sup> Nüŋg-in-am 能仁庵 능인암 (today's Næ-wön-am 內院庵 내원암 (No. 2.8.2.)), Kye-cho-am 繼祖庵 계조암 (No. 2.8.3.).

It seems that the objective of these temple foundings was to spread Buddhism to the major regions of Sin-la and entrench it in the local population. Even if many of the temple foundings were not much more than small thatched huts, the fact that Buddhism was present on the most holy mountains of Sin-la symbolizes the Buddhist conquest of the territory of Sin-la.

#### 4.1.2.7.2. Wŏn-hyo Dæ-sa

Wŏn-hyo Dæ-sa is said to have been born in 617 AD into one of the six original families of Ancient Sin-la<sup>1</sup>. He is considered by several modern authors as the most eminent Buddhist scholar of the whole Korean history. His influence is also considerable in China and Japan<sup>2</sup>. Wŏn-hyo Dæ-sa was a rather eccentric monk and had a very particular life. In 650 AD Wŏn-hyo Dæ-sa and Ūi-sang Dæ-sa started a trip to China to study under the famous monk Xuanzang<sup>3</sup> who had studied seventeen years in India. However, the trip was aborted and Wŏn-hyo never tried to go to China again.

According to his biographies, Wŏn-hyo reached awakening during this failed trip. One night he awoke and felt thirsty. He found a cup with water in the dark and drank gladly from it. In the morning he realized that he had slept in a tomb and that the cup was a shattered dirty skull. Through this experience he felt that he could understand enough about Buddha through his own experience and that it was not necessary for him to search for a teacher in China any longer.

Back in his homeland, he led a very unorthodox life for a monk, breaking such basic precepts as refraining from drinking and sexual intercourse with prostitutes. This lifestyle did not please the Buddhist leaders of the time. But his commentaries to famous *sūtras* were so brilliant that nobody dared to punish him. In one famous incident, Wŏn-hyo Dæ-sa was not invited to a great law assembly Bæk-ko-chwa-bŏb-hwæ, 'Dharma Assembly of the Hundred High Seats'<sup>4</sup>. But the king fell ill and felt that he would not recover unless Wŏn-hyo Dæ-sa addressed the whole assembly alone. Wŏn-hyo Dæ-sa triumphed over the established clergy and declared: "In the past you needed one hundred roof rafters to hold up this assembly, today there is need only for one big beam."

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<sup>1</sup> Wŏn-hyo Dæ-sa 元曉大師 원효대사. For his biography see:

OH Yŏng-bong (BÖB-AN) 吳英禪 오영봉 (法眼 법안) (1992), pp. 226 - 250.

<sup>2</sup> See: OH Yŏng-bong (BÖB-AN) 吳英禪 오영봉 (法眼 법안) (1992), p. 198ff.

<sup>3</sup> Xuanzang (Hsüan-tsang) 玄奘 현장, born in about 596, died in 664 AD.

<sup>4</sup> Bæk-ko-chwa-bŏb-hwæ 百高座法會 백고좌법회. See above, pp. 682, 689.

Wön-hyo Dæ-sa's relation with Princess Kwa, the widowed sister of King Mu-yöl<sup>1</sup>, is particularly famous. The legend claims that the king introduced the princess to him in the Yo-sök<sup>2</sup> palace after Wön-hyo Dæ-sa sang an enigmatic song in the streets of the capital: "Who dares lend me an axe without a handle? I'll hew down the pillars supporting the heaven!"

The princess and Wön-hyo Dæ-sa had a son together, named Söl-čhong<sup>3</sup>, who later became one of the most outstanding Confucian scholars of the Sin-la dynasty. Söl-čhong allegedly developed the *i-du* (or the *ku-kyöl*) system<sup>4</sup>, an attempt to use Chinese characters for the Korean language, which, together with other early Korean writing systems, seem to have influenced the Japanese scripts<sup>5</sup>. After the relationship with Princess Kwa, Wön-hyo Dæ-sa judged that he could no longer be an orthodox monk and called himself 'small layman'<sup>6</sup>.

According to historical sources, Wön-hyo Dæ-sa wrote at total of 119 books in over 260 volumes. Only 21 books in 24 volumes of them have survived<sup>7</sup>. Even though only fragments of the work of Wön-hyo Dæ-sa are extant, they are important enough to place him among the most important Buddhist writers of Korea. Wön-hyo Dæ-sa never joined any of the established Buddhist schools of China, but emphasized the need to overcome the sectarian differences of the numerous schools in order to truly understand the message of Buddha. He was the forerunner of one of the main characteristics of Korean Buddhism which has been called either harmonization or syncretism. The followers of the example of Wön-hyo Dæ-sa called later their movement either the Hæ-dong-chong, 'Korean school', or Bōb-sōng-chong, 'Dharma-nature School'<sup>8</sup>, because Wön-hyo Dæ-sa tried to find

<sup>1</sup> Kwa Kong-chu 寡公主 과공주, Mu-yöl Wang 武烈王 무열왕, the 29th king of Sin-la, reigned from 654 to 660 AD.

<sup>2</sup> Yo-sök-kung 瑠石宮 요석궁.

<sup>3</sup> Söl-čhong 薛聰 설총 (n.d.). See: *SGSSC*, p. 646.

<sup>4</sup> *I-du* 吏讀 이두 (var. *i-to* 吏吐 이토 / *i-do* 吏道 이도 / *i-sŏ* 吏書 이서 / *i-du* 吏頭 이두 / *i-tu* 吏套 이투 / *i-čhal* 吏札 이찰), *ku-kyöl* 口訣 구결. To put it in simple terms, the difference between the two systems is that the *i-du* uses Chinese characters for their phonetic value while the *ku-kyöl* added simplified Chinese characters to Chinese texts in order to help Koreans to read them in their language. LEE Ki-moon supposes that Söl-čhong 薛聰 설총 might be rather connected with the *ku-kyöl* system because the *i-du* system seems to have been used before his time. See: LEE Ki-moon (YI Ki-mun 李基文 이기문) (1977), pp. 53ff.; *SGSSC*, pp. 150, 992.

<sup>5</sup> *Man'yō-gana* 万葉まんようがな 만엽가나, *hiragana* ひらがな and *katakana* カタカナ. The invention of the *hiragana* is traditionally attributed to Kūkai 空海 くうかい 공해 (774 - 835 AD) and that of the *katakana* to Kibi no Makibi 吉備眞備 きびのまきび 길비의 진비 (695 - 775 AD). LEE Ki-baik notes that an early Korean "set of rules (...) of transcription (...) later influenced the creation of the Japanese writing system known as *Man'yō-gana*." See: LEE Ki-baik (YI Ki-bæk 李基白 이기백) (1984), p. 57; LEE Ki-moon (YI Ki-mun 李基文 이기문) (1977), pp. 57f.; LEWIN (1968), pp. 392f.

<sup>6</sup> Small layman 小姓居士 소성거사.

<sup>7</sup> See: OH Yōng-bong (BÖB-AN) 吳英禱 오영봉 (法眼 법안) (1992), pp. 195, 250 - 272.

<sup>8</sup> Hæ-dong-chong 海東宗 해동종, Bōb-sōng-chong 法性宗 법성종.

the nature of the Buddhist *dharma* in all the sacred texts of the *Tripitaka*<sup>1</sup>. Wŏn-hyo Dæ-sa died in the same year as Cha-chang Yul-sa, in 686 AD.

More than 20 temples are said to have been founded by Wŏn-hyo Dæ-sa in the period prior to the unification of the Korean peninsula in 668 AD. Among them are [fig. 514]:

617 AD: Mu-wi-sa (?)<sup>2</sup>

before 632 AD: Böb-kwang-sa, founded on the order of King Chin-pyŏng (?)<sup>3</sup>

about 634 (var. 648 AD): Čho-kæ-sa<sup>4</sup>

646 AD: Næ-wŏn-am<sup>5</sup>

647 - 653 AD: Chin-kwang-sa<sup>6</sup>

651 AD: Yul-gok-sa<sup>7</sup>

654 AD: Čhuk-rim-sa<sup>8</sup>

654 AD: An-chŏng-sa<sup>9</sup>

660 AD: Do-rim-sa<sup>10</sup>

661 AD: Hŭng-sŏ-am<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Tripitaka* 大藏經 대장경, literally 'three baskets', the whole of the Buddhist canon.

<sup>2</sup> Mu-wi-sa 無爲寺 무위사 (No. 6.19.1.). Beside the anachronistic date, the site lay furthermore in the territory of Bæk-che which makes the claim very doubtful. See: Chapter 3.1., p. 254; *CPS* 7, p. 403 *SCSC*, p. 171; *SGSSC*, p. 432; *BKSC*, p. 226; *MSKČ* II, p. 397.

<sup>3</sup> Böb-kwang-sa 法光寺/法廣寺 법광사 (No. 7.17.2.). See: *SGSSC*, p. 505; *BKSC*, p. 269; *CPS* 8, p. 367; *SCSC*, p. 215.

<sup>4</sup> Čho-kæ-sa 初開寺 초개사 (No. 7.31.6.). See below, p. 726.

<sup>5</sup> Næ-wŏn-am 內院庵 내원암, today's Næ-wŏn-sa 內院寺 내원사 (No. 8.13.4.), was allegedly founded by Wŏn-hyo Dæ-sa as one of 89 hermitages to Dæ-dun-sa 大菴寺 대둔사. See: *BKSC*, p. 124; *CPS* 10, p. 511; *MSKČ* II, p. 149; *SCSC*, p. 104.

<sup>6</sup> Chin-kwang-sa 津寬寺 진관사 (No. 1.1.1.). Nothing more is known about this alleged founding. See: *BKSC*, p. 830; *MSKČ* I, p. 45; *SCSC*, p. 567.

<sup>7</sup> Yul-gok-sa 栗谷寺 율곡사 (No. 8.4.6.). Nothing more is known about this alleged founding. See: *CPS* 10, p. 582; *MSKČ* II, p. 228; *SCSC*, p. 505.

<sup>8</sup> Čhuk-rim-sa 竹林寺 죽림사, today's Pyo-čhung-sa 表忠寺 표충사 (No. 8.9.1.). See: *CPS* 10, p. 490; *MSKČ* II, p. 159; *SCSC*, p. 620.

<sup>9</sup> An-chŏng-sa 安靜寺 안정사 (No. 8.27.1.). Nothing more is known about this alleged founding. See: *CPS* 10, p. 538; *SCSC*, p. 412; *SGSSC*, p. 777; *BKSC*, p. 562; *MSKČ* II, p. 196.

<sup>10</sup> Do-rim-sa 道林寺 도림사 (No. 6.6.3.). The site was still in the territory of Bæk-che at that time. See: Chapter 3.1., p. 256; *CPS* 7, p. 337; *SCSC*, p. 133; *MSKČ* II, p. 345.

<sup>11</sup> Hŭng-sŏ-am 興瑞庵 흥서암, today's Hŭng-guk-sa 興國寺 흥국사 (No. 1.6.1.). The founding legend states, that during his practice at Wŏn-hyo-dæ 元曉臺 원효대 (apparently another hermitage which he founded) on Han-san 漢山 한산 (today's Buk-han-san 北漢山 북한산), Wŏn-hyo Dæ-sa saw during three days an auspicious sign 瑞氣 서기 at the foot of the mountain to the west. When he went to look for it, he saw a radiant 發光 발광 seated Bhaiṣajyaguru Buddha figure 藥師如來 坐像 약사여래좌상 rise from the place of the present Yak-sa-čhŏn 藥師殿 약사전. After this event, Wŏn-hyo Dæ-sa decided to found Hŭng-sŏ-am 興瑞庵 흥서암 (literally 'rise-good-omen hermitage'). See: *SGSSC*, p. 1591; *BKSC*, p. 399; *MSKČ* I, p. 41; *SCSC*, p. 666.



663 AD: Chǒng-ryang-sa<sup>1</sup>

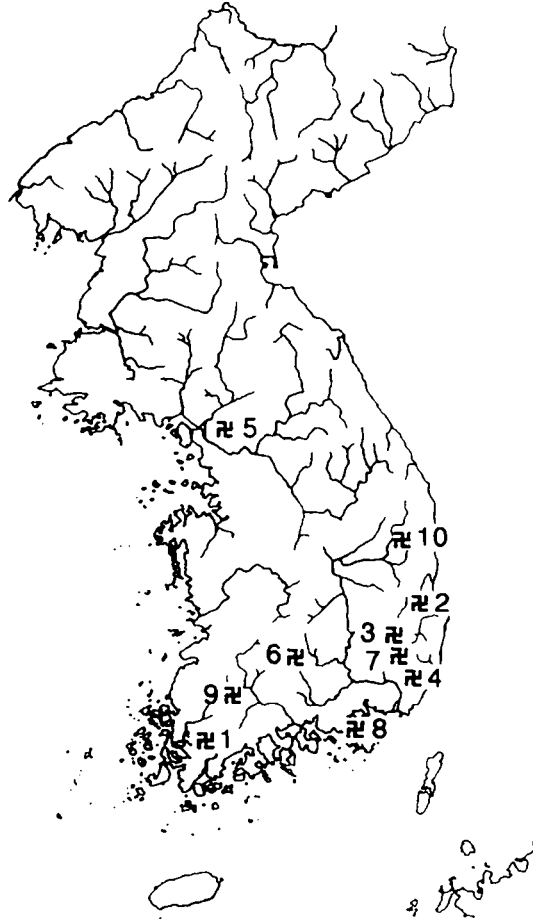


Fig. 514: Alleged temple foundings and reconstructions by Wǒn-hyo Dæ-sa 元曉大師 원효대사:

- Legend:
- 1 Mu-wi-sa 無爲寺 무위사
  - 2 Bǒb-kwang-sa 法光寺 법광사
  - 3 Cho-kæ-sa 初開寺 초개사
  - 4 Næ-wǒn-am 內院庵 내원암
  - 5 Chin-kwan-sa 津寬寺 진관사 and Hǔng-sǒ-am 興瑞庵 흥서암
  - 6 Yul-gok-sa 栗谷寺 율곡사
  - 7 Chuk-rim-sa 竹林寺 죽림사
  - 8 An-chǒng-sa 安靜寺 안정사
  - 9 Do-rim-sa 道林寺 도림사
  - 10 Chǒng-ryang-sa 淸涼寺 청량사

<sup>1</sup> Chǒng-ryang-sa 淸涼寺 청량사 (No. 7.12.3.), also called Yǒn-dæ-sa 蓮臺寺 연대사. Wǒn-hyo Dæ-sa is said to have founded two temples in Chǒng-ryang-san 淸涼山 청량산. Næ-chǒng-ryang-sa 內淸涼寺 내청량사 below Yǒn-hwa-bong 蓮花峰 연화봉 and Wæ-chǒng-ryang-sa 外淸涼寺 외청량사 below Gǔm-tab-bong 金塔峰 금탑봉. Beside these two main temples, there were once 27 hermitages spread on the mountain slopes. See: *CPS* 9, p. 373; *MSKĆ* II, p. 62; *SCSC*, p. 587.

According to Wŏn-hyo Dæ-sa's biography, he became a monk at the age of about eighteen in 634 or 635 AD. The dates of the first alleged temple foundings must therefore be erroneous: the legendary founding of Mu-wi-sa falls in the year when Wŏn-hyo Dæ-sa was born and King Chin-pyŏng, who died in 632 AD, can hardly have ordered Wŏn-hyo Dæ-sa to build a temple before his ordination. It is more probable that Mu-wi-sa and Bŏb-kwang-sa were founded by other monks around the reign of King Chin-pyŏng.

As centuries passed, it became a common custom to credit the three most eminent monks of the seventh century AD with the majority of the temple foundings which fell in about that time. In many cases it has become impossible to distinguish between legend and historical fact. This is true in particular for Wŏn-hyo Dæ-sa because he led a life outside the orthodox clergy and did not have regular disciples. What was called later a temple founding might have been at the time simply a short sojourn in a certain area during a trip. The local people could then have founded a small temple to commemorate the event<sup>1</sup>.

When Wŏn-hyo Dæ-sa became a monk he transformed his home into a temple and called it Čho-kæ-sa<sup>2</sup>. As Wŏn-hyo's family seems to have belonged to ancient nobility, it appears that the house which Wŏn-hyo Dæ-sa transformed into a temple was one of several which belonged to the family. It could then be speculated that the house was similar to the large, tile-roofed *yang-ban* mansions some of which are still extant in the Kyŏng-chu area<sup>3</sup>. This would indicate that at that time no specific religious architectural feature was needed to denote a small Buddhist temple. Even nowadays, a normal apartment in a housing complex in South Korea can be called a Buddhist temple if it is used for any Buddhist purposes. There has therefore been an enormous difference between royally sponsored temples<sup>4</sup> such as Hŭng-ryun-sa, Hwang-ryong-sa or Bun-hwang-sa and small hermitages founded on the private initiative of monks or laymen.

<sup>1</sup> This could be the case of the temples around present Sŏ-ul (Seoul) 서울 which lay on the probable route to China: Chin-kwang-sa 津寬寺 진관사 (No. 1.1.1.), and Hŭng-guk-sa 興國寺 흥국사 (No. 1.6.1.).

<sup>2</sup> Čho-kæ-sa 初開寺 초개사 (No. 7.31.6.). The temple is said to have been located in Bul-chi-čhon 佛地村 불지촌, Cha-in-myŏn 慈仁面 자인면, Kyŏng-san-gun 慶山郡 경산군, but the precise location seems to be unknown. Several authors (e.g. SCSC) date the founding of the temple to 648 AD or to the reign of Chin-dŏk Yŏ-wang 眞德女王 진덕여왕 (r. 647 - 653 AD) but this date seems to be in contradiction with the biography. See: SGSSC, p. 1357; BKSC, p. 856; SCSC, p. 666.

<sup>3</sup> *Yang-bang* 兩班 양반, the two high classes of the Cho-sŏn period (military and civilian authority). Such mansions can be seen e.g. in Yang-dong Ma-ŭl 良洞 마을 양동마을, about 18km to the north of Kyŏng-chu 慶州 경주. See: Kyŏng-chu-gun 慶州郡 경주군 (ed.) (1994).

<sup>4</sup> In China and Japan the most important of the royally sponsored temples were designated as *dasi* (J: *daijū*) 大寺 だいじ 대사 but this term does not seem to have been used in Korea (or its use has been forgotten?). See: HBGR VI, pp. 679 - 711.

## 4.1.2.7.3. Ūi-sang Dæ-sa

## 4.1.2.7.3.1. Biographical remarks

Ūi-sang Dæ-sa<sup>1</sup>, born in 625 AD, was the youngest of the three major Buddhist scholars of the seventh century; he died in 702 AD. He was a close friend of Wŏn-hyo Dæ-sa and in 650 AD they travelled together on the aborted trip to China where Wŏn-hyo Dæ-sa reached his awakening. But to the contrary of Wŏn-hyo Dæ-sa, Ūi-sang Dæ-sa attempted another trip to China in search of a master ten years later (660 or 661 AD). In the Zhongnan mountains to the south of Chang'an<sup>2</sup> he became a disciple of Zhiyan<sup>3</sup>, the second patriarch of the Huayan school<sup>4</sup>. But Ūi-sang Dæ-sa developed the most fruitful relation with Fazang<sup>5</sup>, the third patriarch of the Huayan school and successor of Zhiyan. Fazang was the most eminent systematiser of the Huayan school and Ūi-sang Dæ-sa, his senior of almost twenty years, influenced him greatly. Even after Ūi-sang Dæ-sa returned to Unified Sin-la in 671 AD, they continued to correspond with each other on Buddhist topics.

4.1.2.7.3.2. The Hwa-ŏm-chong and  
the *Chart of the Avatamsaka-ekayāna-dharmadhātu*

Ūi-sang Dæ-sa founded the Korean Hwa-ŏm-chong which was called first Wŏn-yung-chong<sup>6</sup>. This school became the most important scholastic school in the Unified Sin-la period and Buddhist philosophical discussion in Korea was deeply influenced by the *Avatamsaka-sūtra* and its commentaries down to the present day. Of the numerous treatises written by Ūi-sang Dæ-sa only few fragments are extant in addition to a short chart with a commentary. As the quintessence of his studies, Ūi-sang Dæ-sa wrote the *Chart of the Avatamsaka-ekayāna-dharmadhātu*<sup>7</sup> [fig. 515, frontispiece] and presented it to his teacher Zhiyan in 661 AD<sup>8</sup>.

1 Ūi-sang Dæ-sa 義湘大師 의상대사.

2 Zhongnan shan 終南山 증남산, Chang'an 長安 장안.

3 Zhiyan 智儼 지엄, lived from 602 to 688 AD.

4 Huayan school 華嚴宗 화엄종, Avatamsaka school.

5 Fazang 法藏 법장, lived from 643 to 712 AD.

6 Hwa-ŏm-chong 華嚴宗 화엄종, Wŏn-yung-chong 圓融宗 원융종.

7 *Chart of the Avatamsaka-ekayāna-dharmadhātu* 「華嚴一乘法界圖 화엄일승법계도」. See: T 1887A.45.711a - 716a; for English translations see: LEE Peter H. (YI Hak-su 李鶴洙 이학수), BAKER et al. (eds.) (1993), pp. 161 - 164; The Korean Buddhist Research Institute (ed.) (1994), pp. 76 - 89 (the translation on pp. 729f. was slightly changed by the author).

8 See: BUSWELL (1983), p. 7.

The text of 210 Chinese characters is written in a rectangle of 15 by 14 characters and forms a *maṇḍala* representing a stylized *svastika* (or *sauvastika*)<sup>1</sup>:

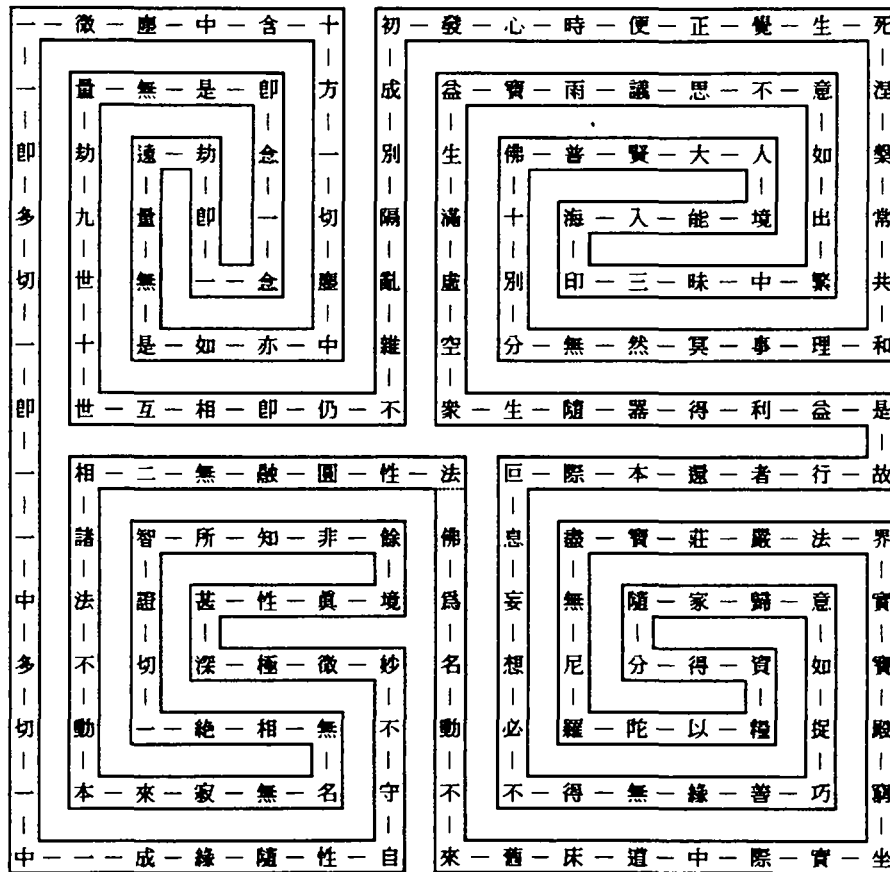


Fig. 515: *Chart of the Avataṃsaka-ekayāna-dharmadhātu* 「華嚴一乘法界圖 화엄일승법계도」 by Ūi-sang Dæ-sa 義湘大師 의상대사 (661 AD)

<sup>1</sup> The *svastika* has crampons which turn to the right (clockwise direction), in the *sauvastika* they turn to the left (counter-clockwise). See: SOOTHILL, HODOUS (1969), p. 203a.

Translation

"Part 1. Process of self-realization (lines 1-18)

A. The reality of enlightenment (lines 1-4)

Line 1. *Since dharma-nature is round and interpenetrating, it is without any sign of duality.*

Line 2. *All dharmas are unmoving, and originally calm.*

Line 3. *No name, no form, all distinctions are abolished.*

Line 4. *It is known through the wisdom of enlightenment, not by any other means.*

B. The explanation of the real aspect of this world (lines 5-18)

a. The reality of *yŏn-gi*<sup>1</sup> (causality, Skr: *pratītya-samutpāda*) (lines 5-6)

Line 5. *The true nature is extremely profound, exceedingly subtle and sublime.*

Line 6. *It does not attach to self-nature, but manifests following [causal] conditions.*

b. The *dhāraṇī* (lines 7-8)

Line 7. *In the one is the all, in the many is the one.*

Line 8. *The one is identical to the all, the many are identical to the one.*

c. The meaning of worldly events (lines 9-10)

Line 9. *One particle of dust contains the ten directions.*

Line 10. *And so it is with all particles of dust.*

d. The meaning of time (lines 11-14)

Line 11. *Incalculably long eons are identical to a single thought-instant.*

Line 12. *And a single thought-instant is identical to incalculably long eons.*

Line 13. *The nine time periods and the ten time periods are mutually identical;*

Line 14. *Yet they are not confused nor mixed but function (have been formed) separately.*

e. The level of spiritual exercises (lines 15-16)

Line 15 *The moment one begins to aspire with the heart, instantly perfect enlightenment [is attained].*

Line 16. *Saṃsāra and nirvāṇa are always harmonized together.*

f. Conclusion (lines 17-18)

Line 17. *Particular phenomena and universal principle (noumenon) are invisible and indistinct.*

Line 18. *This is the world of the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra and the ten Buddhas.*

---

<sup>1</sup> *Yŏn-gi* 緣起 연기.

## Part 2. The altruistic character: the profit of others (lines 19-22)

Line 19. *In Śākyamuni's hæ-in<sup>1</sup> (ocean-seal) samādhi,*

Line 20. *Many unimaginable miracles are produced.*

Line 21. *This rain of jewels benefiting all sentient beings fills all empty space.*

Line 22. *All sentient beings receive this wealth according to their capacities (like a vessel).*

## Part 3. The way and the virtue of practice (lines 23-30)

## A. The way of practice (lines 23-26)

Line 23. *Therefore, one who practices contemplation returns to the primordial realm.*

Line 24. *And without ceasing ignorance (false thought) it cannot be attained.*

Line 25. *By unconditioned expedient means one attains complete freedom.*

Line 26. *Returning home (to the primordial realm) you are rewarded (obtain riches, food) according to your merits (capacity).*

## B. The merit and virtue of practice (lines 27-30)

Line 27. *With an inexhaustible treasure of dhāraṇī,*

Line 28. *One adorns the dharmadhātu like a true palace of jewels.*

Line 29. *Finally, seated on the throne of the Middle Way of Ultimate Reality,*

Line 30. *That which is originally without motion is named Buddha."*

The *maṇḍala* has been used in Buddhist ceremonies probably since the Sin-la period in a similar way as the mazes on the floor of Gothic cathedrals in Europe<sup>2</sup> [fig. 516]. The *maṇḍala* is drawn on the ground of the central courtyard of the temple and the faithful follow its traces while praying or chanting [fig. 517]. But there are also some differences between the Buddhist *maṇḍala* and Christian mazes: while the mazes usually have an entry at the periphery and a destination in the centre (idea of progression and direction), the mentioned Korean *maṇḍala* starts in the centre and returns at the end to the point of departure<sup>3</sup>, thus symbolizing the circle of life with its reincarnation and retribution of *karman*.

<sup>1</sup> *Hæ-in* 海印 해인.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. the famous labyrinth (maze) on the floor of the cathedrals of Chartres (12th C. AD) and Reims (13th C. AD), France. See: JUNG (1964, 1990), p. 171.

<sup>3</sup> For obvious practical reasons, the *maṇḍalas* drawn on the courtyards start at the periphery and ends usually just beside its start (e.g. in the north-western corner). See: BAK Čhan-ho 朴贊豪 박찬호 (1986), p. 57ff.; BÖB-HÜNG 法興 범흥 (1992), p. 80.

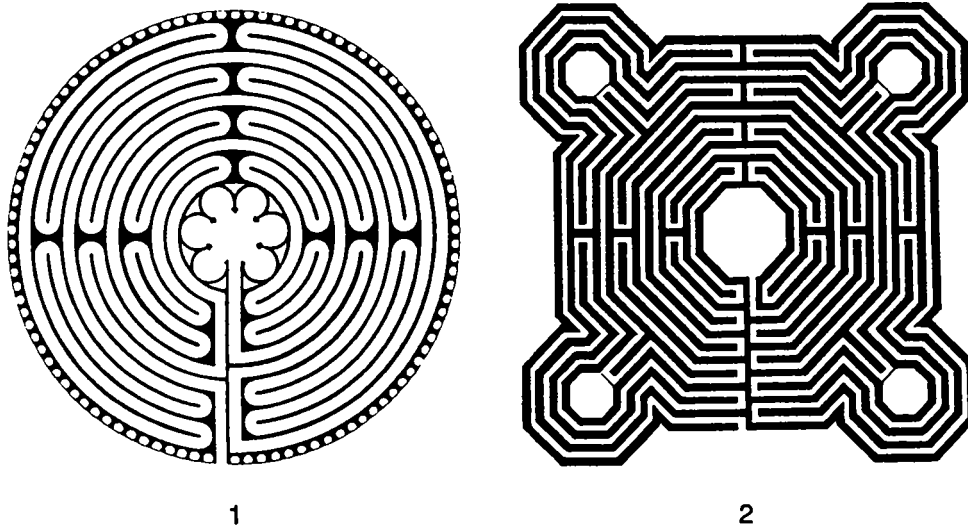


Fig. 516: Mazes on the floors of the cathedrals of Chartres (1) (12th C. AD) and Reims (2) (13th C. AD) (no scale) (after: HOFSTÄTTER (1964), p. 58)



Fig. 517: Perspective of the main courtyard of Song-kwang-sa 松廣寺 송광사 (No. 6.8.1.) with procession along the indications of the *Chart of the dharmadhātu*. The followers carry copies of *sūtras* on their heads. (drawing by the author)

## 4.1.2.7.3.3. The legend of Sŏn-myo

A famous legendary anecdote about Ūi-sang Dæ-sa is his unfulfilled love with Sŏn-myo<sup>1</sup>. They allegedly met in the Chinese city of Dengzhou on the Shandong<sup>2</sup> peninsula when Ūi-sang Dæ-sa attempted for the second time to travel to China. Sŏn-myo was the daughter of a Buddhist layman who offered a place to stay for travelling monks. Sŏn-myo fell in love with Ūi-sang Dæ-sa but he resisted her advances and explained to her that his destiny was to remain a monk and study Buddhism in China. After completing his studies under Zhiyan, Ūi-sang Dæ-sa passed again through Dengzhou. Sŏn-myo heard that Ūi-sang Dæ-sa was about to board a ship, but the ship left the port before she could bring Ūi-sang Dæ-sa the gift which she had prepared. So, Sŏn-myo jumped into the ocean and became a dragon and followed Ūi-sang Dæ-sa to Korea and protected him. When Ūi-sang Dæ-sa founded his main monastery, Bu-sŏk-sa in 676 AD<sup>3</sup> in the early years of Unified Sin-la, the dragon is said to have lain down below the main hall of the temple and petrified. The rock to the left of the extant building bears the characters *bu-sŏk*<sup>4</sup>, 'floating stone' in memory of the dragon Sŏn-myo.

## 4.1.2.7.3.4. Early temple foundings by Ūi-sang Dæ-sa

The influence of Ūi-sang Dæ-sa began only after his return to Korea after the unification wars and therefore goes beyond the frame of this study. Nevertheless, as in the cases of Cha-chang Yul-sa and Wŏn-hyo Dæ-sa, a number of temples claim to have been founded by Ūi-sang Dæ-sa before 668 AD. But only four out of eleven alleged foundings fit the biographical data. All other dates make little sense because

<sup>1</sup> Sŏn-myo 善妙 선묘, the legend figures in the biography of Ūi-sang 唐新羅國義湘傳 당신라국의상전 in the *Song gao seng zhuan* (SGSZ) 「宋高僧傳 송고승전」. See: T 2061.50.729a-c; CHŌN Hæ-chu (HO-RYŌN) 全海住(好蓮) 전해주 (호련) (1993), pp. 84f., 90; (MU SOENG SUNIM (1987), p. 45f., contains an expanded variant of the story)

<sup>2</sup> Dengzhou 登州 등주, Shandong peninsula 山東半島 산둥반도

<sup>3</sup> Bu-sŏk-sa 浮石寺 부석사 (No. 7.10.3.). Variant dates for the founding are: 661 - 680 AD (reign of Mun-mu Wang 文武王 문무왕), 672 and 677 AD. See: BKSC, p. 320; CPS 9, p. 350; MSK II, p. 47; SGSSC, pp. 539, 964; MHCKLG (1980), p. 19; SCSC, p. 278.

<sup>4</sup> Bu-sŏk 浮石 부석.



they are set during the period of his studies in China<sup>1</sup>. The following temple foundings are at least theoretically possible [fig. 518]:

651 AD: Bul-yǒng-sa<sup>2</sup>

654 - 661 AD: Wöl-li-sa<sup>3</sup>

654 - 661 AD: Ung-chǒng-am<sup>4</sup>

658 (var. 663 AD): Ŭi-sang-am<sup>5</sup>

#### 4.1.2.7.3.4.1. Bul-yǒng-sa and Wöl-li-sa

A legend claims that Ŭi-sang Dæ-sa drove away with a magic formula nine dragons who lived in the deep gorges Bul-yǒng-kye-gok<sup>6</sup>. He founded a temple at the centre of the gorge and called it first Ku-ryǒng-sa, literally 'nine dragon temple'<sup>7</sup>. It was later renamed Bul-yǒng-sa<sup>8</sup>, literally 'Buddha-shadow temple' and is now one of the leading nunneries in South Korea. The name of Ŭi-sang Dæ-sa seems to have been integrated into this legend in order to seem historically more plausible.

The chronicles of Wöl-li-sa<sup>9</sup> claim that Ŭi-sang Dæ-sa stayed here for meditation and reached his first awakening. The name of the temple (literally 'moon-light temple') is said to come from the exceptional moon-light which Ŭi-sang Dæ-sa experienced while studying here.

<sup>1</sup> Ku-ryong-sa 龜龍寺구룡사 (No. 2.12.1.), founded allegedly in 666 or 668 AD (see: *BKSC*, p. 72; *CPS* 3, p. 170; *MSKĆ* I, p. 249; *ŚĀSC*, p. 68), Bo-dök-sa 報德寺보덕사 (No. 2.14.2.), founded allegedly in 668 (var. 661 - 680 AD) (see: *SGSSC*, p. 520; *BKSC*, p. 294; *MSKĆ* I, p. 243; *ŚĀSC*, p. 236), Bo-mun-sa 普門寺보문사 (No. 7.6.6.), allegedly founded in 667 or 676 AD (see: *SGSSC*, p. 522; *BKSC*, p. 297; *ŚĀSC*, p. 243), Wön-hyo-am 元曉庵원효암 (No. 8.7.1.), allegedly founded together with Wön-hyo Dæ-sa in 667 AD (see: *MSKĆ* IV, p. 187; *ŚĀSC*, p. 493) and Ŭng-sök-sa 凝石寺응석사 (No. 8.21.2.), alleged construction of a lecture hall 講院강원 in 662 AD (see: *MSKĆ* IV, p. 205; *ŚĀSC*, p. 511).

<sup>2</sup> Bul-yǒng-sa 佛影寺불영사 (No. 7.13.1.). See below.

<sup>3</sup> Wöl-li-sa 月裡寺월리사 (No. 3.9.2.). See below.

<sup>4</sup> Ung-chǒng-am 熊井庵웅정암, today's Yǒng-chi-sa 靈之寺영지사 (7.19.2.). See: *MHCSRBS* 91-2, p. 388; *ŚĀSC*, p. 440.

<sup>5</sup> Ŭi-sang-am 義湘庵의상암 (8.27.4.) (var. in 663 AD). Ŭi-sang is said to have received a message from heaven 天供천공 (?) at Ŭi-sang-sǒn-dæ 義湘禪臺의상선대 above the temple where he practiced *chwa-sǒn* (J: *zazen*) 坐禪좌선. See: *MSKĆ* II, p. 197; *ŚĀSC*, p. 512; *BKSC*, p. 702.

<sup>6</sup> Bul-yǒng-kye-gok 佛影溪谷불영계곡.

<sup>7</sup> Ku-ryǒng-sa 九龍寺구룡사.

<sup>8</sup> Bul-yǒng-sa 佛影寺불영사 (No. 7.13.1.). See: *SGSSC*, p. 557; *CPS* 9, p. 381; *BKSC*, p. 335; *MSKĆ* II, p. 68; *ŚĀSC*, p. 288f.

<sup>9</sup> Wöl-li-sa 月裡寺월리사 (No. 3.9.2.). See: *CPS* 4, p. 180; *ŚĀSC*, p. 496.

The temple foundings which are alleged to the period before Ŭi-sang Dæ-sa's trip to China are less plausible than those which fall in the Unified Sin-la period because the former seem to have little connection to his biography.

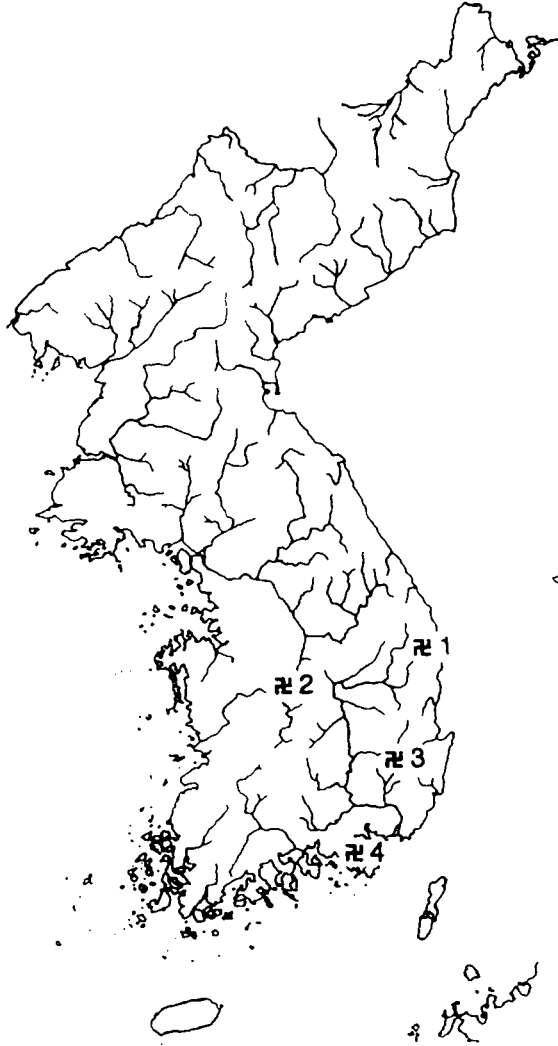


Fig. 518: Alleged early temple foundings and reconstructions by Ŭi-sang Dæ-sa 義湘大師 의상대사:

- Legend:
- 1 Bul-yŏng-sa 佛影寺 불영사
  - 2 Wŏl-li-sa 月裡寺 월리사
  - 3 Ung-chŏng-am 熊井寺 응정사
  - 4 Ŭi-sang-am 義湘庵 의상암

## 4.1.2.8. THE BUDDHIST SCULPTURE OF ANCIENT SIN-LA

Several dozens of extant stone and bronze sculptures are dated by Korean specialists to the Ancient Sin-la period, but only in exceptional cases can a precise date be attributed to them. The sculpture of the three ancient Korean kingdoms are often so similar, that for a number of pieces, whose place of discovery is unknown, the specialists are unable to agree on their country of origin<sup>1</sup>. Among the favourite themes were images of the various Buddhas and Bodhisattvas [figs. 519, 520]: Śākyamuni, the historical Buddha, Amitābha, the Buddha of the Western Paradise, Bhaiṣajyaguru, the Buddha of Healing and several Bodhisattvas and protection deities<sup>2</sup>. Images of the Maitreya Bodhisattva, the future Buddha, were particularly popular. In the Korean Three Kingdoms period, Maitreya was usually represented in the so-called meditating position, already mentioned in connection with the Buddhism of Ko-gu-ryō and Bæk-che. Another popular Bodhisattva was Avalokiteśvara [fig. 520], who symbolizes universal compassion and is often found together with images of Amitābha.

The material used for Buddhist sculpture was mainly gilt bronze and granite. Fragments of clay sculptures have also been found during excavations<sup>3</sup>. At least eighteen small gilt bronze Buddhas and Bodhisattvas<sup>4</sup> are known, of which six show the future Buddha Maitreya and three Avalokiteśvara, the Bodhisattva of compassion. Most extant gilt bronze figures of the Ancient Sin-la period do not exceed 30cm in height<sup>5</sup>. All the larger bronze sculptures, which are mentioned in

<sup>1</sup> This is the case for the two most celebrated sculptures of the Korean Three Kingdoms period, the two meditating Maitreyas in the National Museum in Sō-ul 서울 and Bu-yō 扶餘 부여. The one in Bu-yō is nowadays associated with Bæk-che. The other figure has been attributed by some authors to the Ancient Sin-la period (see: ). KANG U-bang attributes it to Ko-gu-ryō. (See: Chapter 2.1., p. 99f.; Chapter 3.1., pp. 263f.; Bu-yō (Puyo) National Museum 國立扶餘博物館 국립부여박물관 (1993), p. 73; McCUNE (1962), p. 87, Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs (ed.) (1956), p. 146; KANG U-bang 姜友邦 강우방 (1990), p. 55ff, 484f.

<sup>2</sup> Śākyamuni Buddha 釋迦牟尼佛 석가모니불, Amitābha Buddha 阿彌陀佛 아미타불, Bhaiṣajyaguru Buddha 藥師如來 약사여래, Bodhisattvas 菩薩 소삼, protection deities: lions 獅子 사자, yakṣas 夜叉 야차, Lokapālas 四天王 사천왕 and Vajrapāṇis or Vajradharas 金剛力士 금강역사 / 金剛手 금강수 / 金剛神 금강신 (in Korea the Vajrapāṇis are often confused with In-wang 仁王 인왕 or I-wang 二王 이왕. It seems difficult to distinguish them).

<sup>3</sup> For terracotta figures see: *BGinCd* 103-26, p. 21; Kyōng-chu National Museum 國立慶州博物館 국립경주박물관 (ed.) (1989), p. 42 (roof-end tile with smiling face from Yōng-myo-sa 靈妙寺 영묘사 (No. 7.34.40)).

<sup>4</sup> For gilt bronze Buddhas see: Kyōng-chu National Museum 國立慶州博物館 국립경주박물관 (ed.) (1989), p. 62; *HGūM* 10, pl. 19, 21; KANG U-bang 姜友邦 강우방 (1990), p. 89. For gilt bronze Bodhisattvas see: Kyōng-chu National Museum 國立慶州博物館 국립경주박물관 (ed.) (1989), p. 62; *HGūM* 10, pl. 24f., 28f., 34, 35, 38; KANG U-bang 姜友邦 강우방 (1990), p. 90, 92.

<sup>5</sup> Two famous meditating Maitreya figures in the National Museums in Sō-ul 國立中央博物館 국립중앙박물관 and Bu-yō 國立扶餘博物館 국립부여박물관 are exceptional in measuring 83cm and 93.5cm. See: Chapter 2.1., pp. 99ff. and Chapter 3.1., pp. 263f.

literary sources, were destroyed by accidental or intentional fires and their metal was recycled for new sculptures, tools or weapons.

There remain over forty stone sculptures and reliefs of the Ancient Sin-la period<sup>1</sup>. Many stone sculptures are heavily eroded by weather. Reliefs were often cut in the living rock as in the case of the Sin-sŏn-sa grotto. Most other examples are free-standing figures. Among the representative free-standing works are the Buddha triad at Bæ-ri<sup>2</sup> [fig. 519] and the Maitreya triad in the National Museum of Kyŏng-chu<sup>3</sup>. There are also at least six stone Maitreyas and two stone Avalokiteśvara figures. The reliefs at the four entrances of the stone pagoda of Bun-hwang-sa show Vajrapānis, 'diamond titans'<sup>4</sup>. Four stone lions sit in the corners [fig. 520].



Fig. 519: Buddhist triad at Bæ-ri 拜里 배리 at Kyŏng-chu 慶州 경주 (7th C. AD?, granite, height of central Buddha: 2.75m) (drawing by the author)

<sup>1</sup> For stone Buddhas see: *HGŭM* 10, pl. 100 - 102, 114; Kyŏng-chu National Museum 國立慶州博物館 국립경주박물관 (ed.) (1989), p. 67, KANG U-bang 姜友邦 강우방 (1990), p. 140, *BGinČd* 103-26, p. 72. For stone Bodhisattvas see: Kyŏng-chu National Museum 國立慶州博物館 국립경주박물관 (ed.) (1989), p. 67; *HGŭM* 10, pl. 101, 108, 114; KANG U-bang 姜友邦 강우방 (1990), p. 140, *BGinČd* 103-26, p. 73f, 75. For stone *devas* see: *HGŭM* 9, pl. 3f. (8 Vajrapānis and 4 lions belong to the stone pagoda of Bun-hwang-sa 芬皇寺 분황사).

<sup>2</sup> Buddha triad at Bæ-ri 慶州拜里三尊佛立像 경주배리삼존불입상. The triad is sometimes dated to the early Unified Sin-la period (8th C. AD). See: *HGŭM* 10, pl. 114.

<sup>3</sup> See: Kyŏng-chu National Museum 國立慶州博物館 국립경주박물관 (ed.) (1989), p. 67.

<sup>4</sup> Gŭm-gang-yŏk-sa 金剛力士금강역사. Compare with the *yŏk-sa* 力士역사 on murals in certain tombs of Ko-gu-ryŏ. See: Chapter 2.3., pp. 206f.

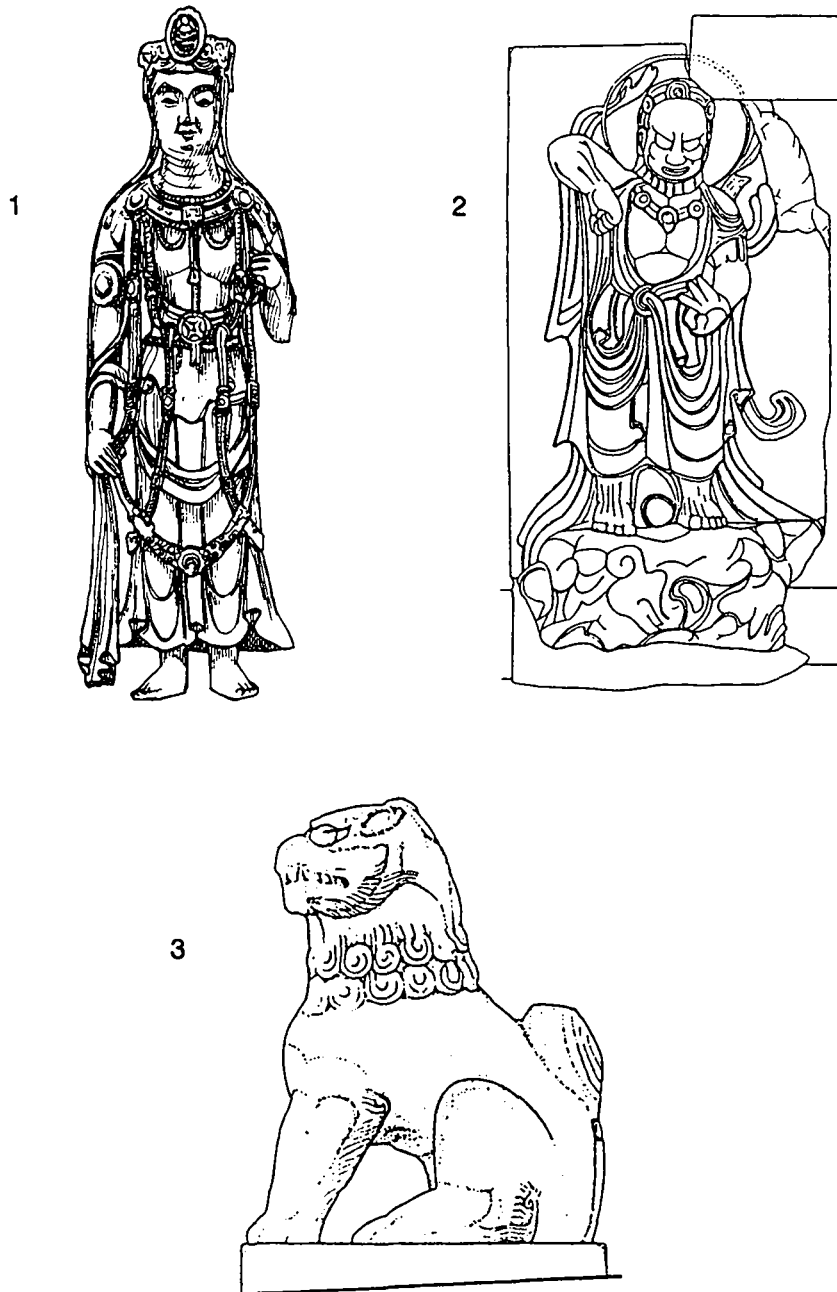


Fig. 520: Gilt-bronze Avalokiteśvara from Sōn-san 善山 선산 (7th C. AD, h: 32cm) (1) stone Vajrapāni (2) and lion (3) of Bun-hwang-sa 芬皇寺 분황사 (scale: 1 : 20) (drawing by the author (1) and after: MHCKLG (1992b), pp. 88, 97)

The number of known sculptures from the Ancient Sin-la period is still small. Only few of the mentioned themes are represented by two or more objects which could serve to describe the characteristics of the sculpture of Ancient Sin-la and to distinguish it from the sculpture of the other kingdoms. Those works whose kingdom of origin is known, vary more among themselves than they are distinct from those of the other kingdoms. In the first centuries after the introduction of Buddhism, the Korean kingdoms seem to have conserved the characteristics and styles of the Buddhist sculpture which they received from the Chinese Northern Wei, Liang, Western and Eastern Wei, Northern Qi and Zhou dynasties<sup>1</sup>. The same observation can also be made of the sculpture of the Asuka period of Japan which is also very similar to the sculpture of the Korean Three Kingdoms and the Chinese Northern Wei dynasty. The known pieces of East Asian Buddhist sculpture until the middle of the seventh century AD have survived mostly by chance and the examples which would permit to see clearer differences between them have possibly long since disappeared.

There is a conflict between two ways of observing historical remains of art. One method attempts to divide the works in as many categories as possible: period of time, place of origin, author, style, purpose or theme. The other tries to compare objects of different periods, places or styles to find some common structure or function<sup>2</sup>. In the present case of the Buddhist sculpture of the Korean Three Kingdoms period, it seems that a combination of both approaches might serve best. The attempt to attribute the questionable pieces to a precise period and place helps to get a clearer picture of the extant remains. But it should not be forgotten that Buddhism was at that time already an international religion with an international art and its continuity through space and time can be considered one of its essential characteristics.

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<sup>1</sup> Northern Wei 北魏 북위 (386 - 534 AD), Liang 梁 양 (420 - 479 AD), Western and Eastern Wei 西·東魏 서·동위, Northern Qi and Zhou 北齊·周 북제·주 (534 - 581 AD).

<sup>2</sup> This approach to art has been called *Vergleichende Kunstwissenschaft* (comparative art science) in German, but also this approach needs the basic results of the traditional history of art. See: FREY (1949).

## 4.2. THE BUDDHIST ARCHITECTURE OF ANCIENT SIN-LA AND ITS CHARACTERISTICS

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### Preliminary Remarks

The excavated temple sites of Ancient Sin-la do not show such a uniformity in layout as observed for the majority of the known temples of Bæk-che and in a certain degree also in Ko-gu-ryö. Each temple site discovered so far had its particular layout which was so different from the other known temple layouts that the remains and the interpretation of the characteristics of the Buddhist architecture of Ancient Sin-la are best treated in a single chapter. The possible relations with the temples of the other Korean kingdoms as well as with those of China and Japan are thus discussed after the description of the discovered remains of each temple of Ancient Sin-la.

## 4.2.1. HŪNG-RYUN-SA

## 4.2.1.1. Historical remarks

The construction of Hŭng-ryun-sa allegedly started in 528 AD, one year after the martyrdom of I-cha-don<sup>1</sup>. The *Hæ-dong-ko-sŭng-chŏn* states that timber for its construction was cut in the Chŏn-kyŏng forest<sup>2</sup> in 534 AD so that some scholars argue that this was the start of the construction. The *Sam-guk-sa-gi* finally records that the temple was completed in 544 AD<sup>3</sup>.

Five years later, Gak-dŏk<sup>4</sup> returned to Hŭng-ryun-sa from China with *sarira* which he possibly enshrined in an extant pagoda or in a newly constructed one. It seems that the pagoda of Hŭng-ryun-sa became particularly famous because a ceremony was conducted each spring involving the circumambulation of the pagoda accompanied by chanted prayers<sup>5</sup>. Some time in the Unified Sin-la period, the image hall is said to have housed ten statues of famous Sin-la monks<sup>6</sup>. And in the early tenth century AD<sup>7</sup>, the temple seems to have counted one (or several?) image halls, one (or two?) pagoda(s), left and right *sūtra* repositories, left and right galleries, a southern gate and ponds to the south<sup>8</sup>, but no lecture hall was mentioned

<sup>1</sup> Hŭng-ryun-sa 興輪寺 흥륜사 (No. 7.34.20.), I-cha-don 伊次頓 이차돈. See Chapter 4.1., pp. 674, 681; *SGYS*, pp. 92, 301, (181).

<sup>2</sup> Chŏn-kyŏng-rim 天鏡林 천경림. See: *HDKSC*, p. 61; CHANG Kyŏng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992), p. 127; *SGSSC*, p. 1591.

<sup>3</sup> The second month of the fifth year of the reign of Chin-hŭng Wang 眞興王 진흥왕 (r. 540 - 575 AD). See: *SGSG I*, pp. 71, 81.

<sup>4</sup> Gak-dŏk 覺德 각덕. LEE translates as follows: "...in the tenth year of King Chinhŭng (549) he returned to the old capital with a Liang envoy who brought relics. The king ordered officials to go out and welcome them with due ceremony in front of the Hŭngnyun monastery (Hŭng-ryun-sa). This, too, was the beginning [of the worship] of relics [in Silla]." See: Chapter 4.1., pp. 682, 684 (n. 1), p. ; *HDKSC*, p. 70.

<sup>5</sup> See: *HGŭSC* 3, p. 57.

<sup>6</sup> The material of the statues is not indicated in the original text ; the mention "plaster" in the translation is probably an addition by HA. The monks represented were: 1. A-do 我道 아도, 2. Yŏm-ŏk 厭屬 염속 (I-cha-don 伊次頓 이차돈), 3. Hye-suk 惠宿 혜숙, 4. An-ham 安舍 안함, 5. Ŭi-sang 義湘 의상, 6. Pyo-hun 表訓 표훈, 7. Sa-pa 蛇巴 사파, 8. Wŏn-hyo 元曉 원효, 9. Hye-kong 惠空 혜공 and 10. Cha-chang 慈藏 자장. See: *SGYS*, p. 99, 315, (198).

<sup>7</sup> Reign of Kyŏng-myŏng Wang 景明王 경명왕 (r. 917 - 923 AD).

<sup>8</sup> Buddha halls and pagodas 殿塔 전탑, left and right *sūtra* repositories 左右經樓 좌우경루, left and right galleries 左右廊廡 좌우랑우, southern gate 南門 남문, reflecting ponds 南池 남지. The term *chŏn-tab* 殿塔 전탑 'halls and pagodas' does not give a precise number of buildings. In the text only the left *sūtra* repository is mentioned which seems to imply that there was also a right *sūtra* repository (or a right belfry ?). See: *SGYS*, p. (214f.).



in the text<sup>1</sup>. At that time the southern gate and the left and right galleries were destroyed by fire and reconstructed.

All this information indicates that Hŭng-ryun-sa was an important temple of Ancient Sin-la and raises the hope that future excavations may confirm some of the historical sources.

#### 4.2.1.2. Investigation results: the layout and measurements

The temple site was investigated in 1970 AD and again between 1978 and 1982 AD<sup>2</sup> when some test excavations were conducted. The site is still used as a Buddhist nunnery which seems to be the main reason that no full-scale excavation was undertaken so far.

##### 4.2.1.2.1. The layout

The temple lies to the south of the modern city of Kyŏng-chu [fig. 507 (1)], about 350m to the north of the O-nŭng bridge which crosses the So-hang river<sup>3</sup> [fig. 521]. The site is completely flat and the temple seems to have been orientated northwards with a margin of plus or minus five degrees. The layout plan shows the extant buildings of the nunnery and the visible traces of the old temple [fig. 522]. Only three visible building remains seem to date to the Sin-la period and a fourth one has been located by excavations. The layout was dominated by a huge image hall which lay probably in the centre of the precinct. On a level about 30m to the south of the front side of the platform of the image hall, the remains of two octagonal buildings were located the centres of which lay at a distance of about 59.2m from one another<sup>4</sup>. About 17m to the east of the eastern octagonal building traces of a single-bay gallery were found. Its wooden structure was about 2.7m large and the longitudinal spans measured about 3.5m.

<sup>1</sup> *Kang-dang* 講堂 강당, it is possible that the lecture hall was included in the term *chŏn-tab* 殿塔 전탑 'halls and pagodas'. The text is not a description or inventory of the temple and is therefore not necessarily complete.

<sup>2</sup> See: CHANG Kyŏng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992), pp. 127 - 129; KIM Chŏng-ki 金正基 김정기 (n.d.), No. 18, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> O-nŭng-kyo 五陵橋 오능교, So-hang-chŏn 小項川 소항천 also called Nam-chŏn 南川 남천.

<sup>4</sup> The measurement by the author produced a distance of about 61m (53.2m between the edges of the heaps of stone). See: CHANG Kyŏng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992), pp. 127 - 129.

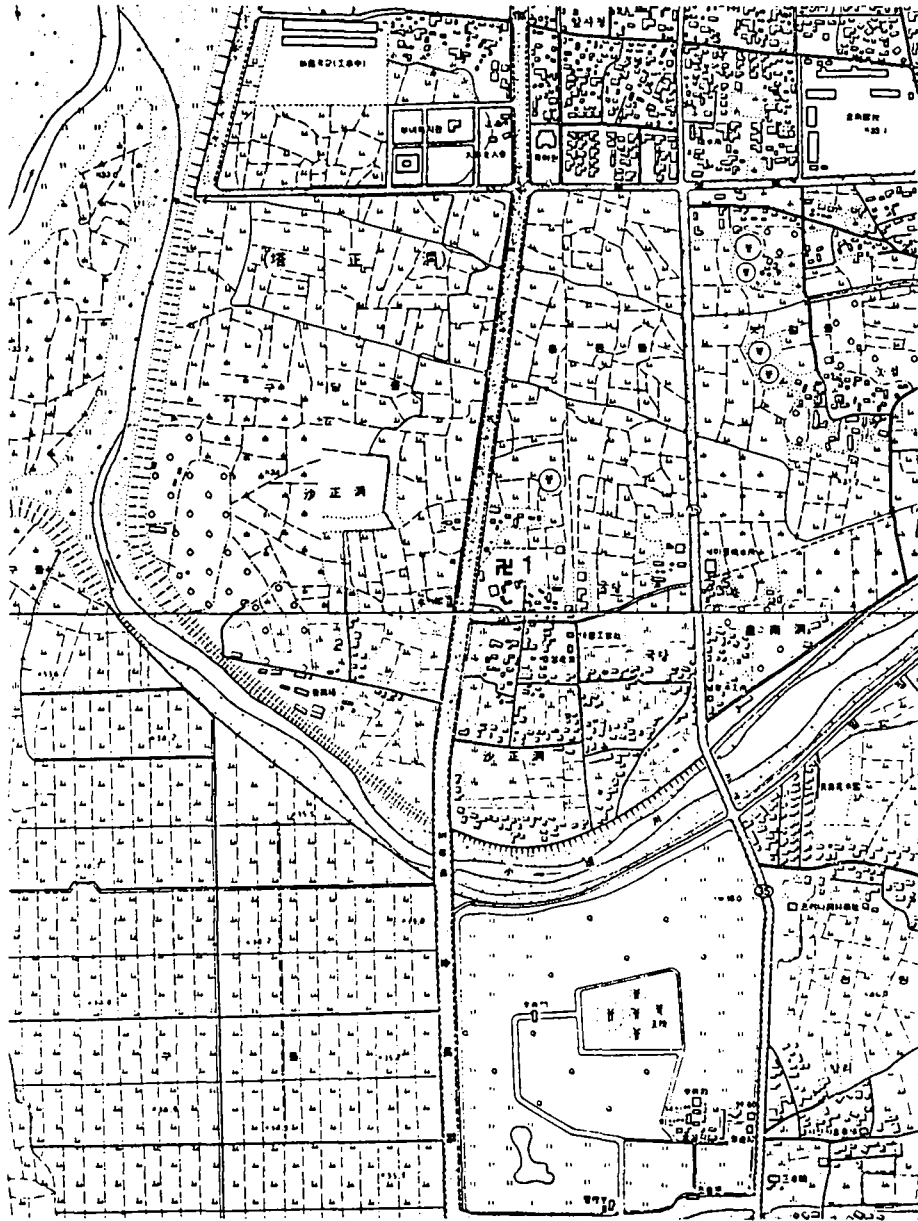


Fig. 521: Topographical situation of Hŭng-ryun-sa 興輪寺 흥륜사(1) (scale: 1 : 10,000)  
(after: CACD NI 52-2-06 (069 / 079))

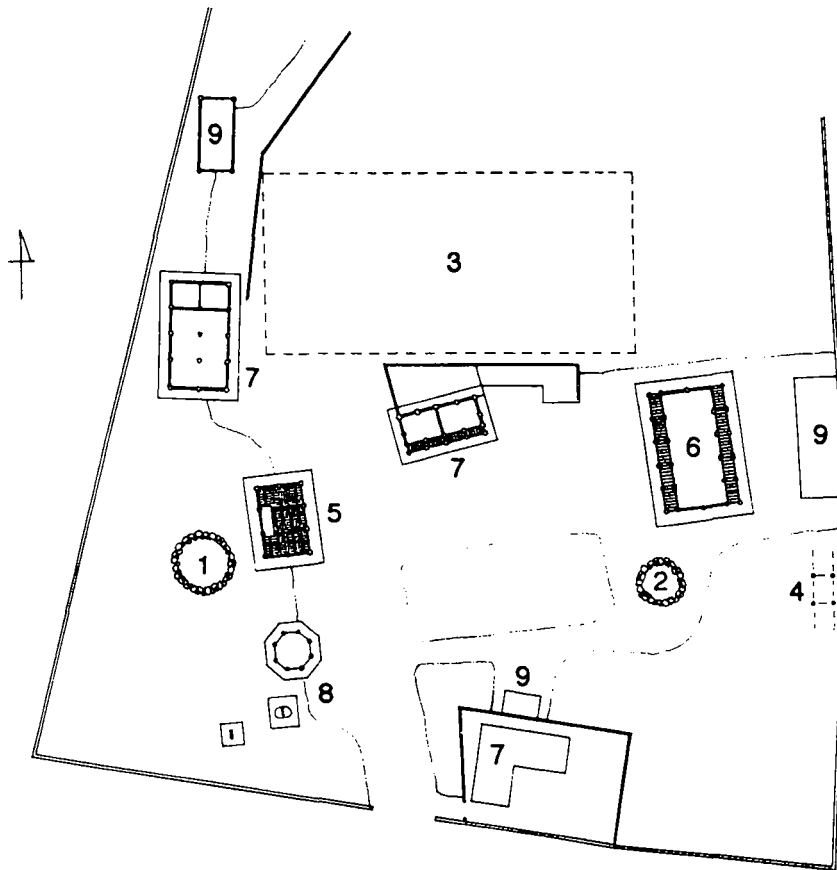


Fig. 522: Layout of the extant Hŭng-ryun-sa 興輪寺 흥륜사 with indication of the original structures (528 AD ? / 20th C. AD, scale: 1 : 1,000) (drawing by the author)

- Legend:
- 1 site of the western octagonal building
  - 2 site of the eastern octagonal building
  - 3 site of the original image hall
  - 4 site of the remains of the eastern gallery (?)
  - 5 extant image hall
  - 6 extant meditation hall
  - 7 extant dormitories
  - 8 bell pavilion and stele
  - 9 auxiliary structures (storage, toilets)

## 4.2.1.2.2. The structures

The now visible heap of earth<sup>1</sup> at the site of the image hall measures about 49.1m by 23.7m which is smaller than the reported size of the image hall. The size of the visible remains of the octagonal structures do not correspond either with the reported ones<sup>2</sup>. Nothing seems to be known so far of the ground plan of the image hall and the construction details of the platform. The platforms of the octagonal buildings [fig. 523], however, seem to have had two steps made of an arrangement of natural stones reminiscent of those of the platforms of the lateral image halls of Asuka-dera in Japan<sup>3</sup>. Two-stepped platforms are characteristic of the early periods of Buddhist architecture in Korea as noticed in the earlier chapters, so that its existence seems to be a valid argument for dating the foundations of the octagonal structures of Hŭng-ryun-sa to the Ancient Sin-la period.

Table 35 resumes the reported measurements of the structures (see fig. 522) according to CHANG<sup>4</sup>:

structure	platform		superstructure			function, comments
	length	width	length	width	no. bays	
structure No. 1	∅ = 10.5m	sides: 4.5m	?	?	?	western octagonal building, wooden pagoda ?
structure No. 2	∅ = 10.5m	sides: 4.5m	?	?	?	eastern octagonal building, wooden pagoda ?
structure No. 3	166 尺 (50.3m)	101 尺 (30.6m)	?	?	?	central image hall
structure No. 4	?	?	? x 3.5m	2.7m	? x 1	fragment of the eastern gallery

Table 35: Measurements of the excavated structures of Hŭng-ryun-sa 興輪寺 흥륜사

<sup>1</sup> The site of the image hall is overgrown with grass but no building stands on it. The measurements were taken by the author on May, 13th 1997.

<sup>2</sup> The visible heaps of stones are clearly smaller than what has been reported: the diameter of the eastern heap measures about 6.75m, while the diameter of the western heap measures about 8.75m (measurements by the author). The visible heaps of stones were not part of the original platform and indicate only the approximate location of the buried remains.

<sup>3</sup> Asuka-dera 飛鳥寺 あすかてら 비조사. See: Chapter 3.3., pp. 628f., fig. 471.

<sup>4</sup> See: CHANG Kyŏng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992), pp. 127ff.

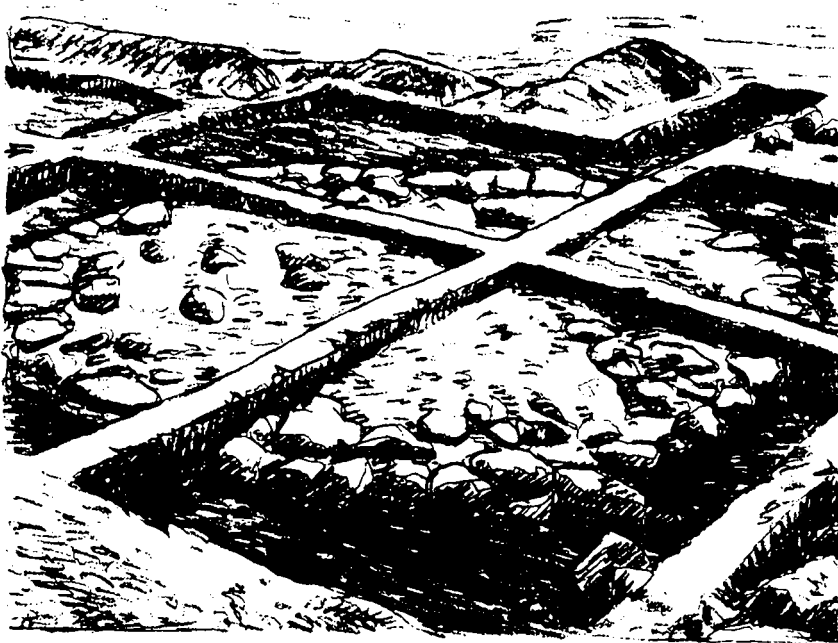


Fig. 523: Perspective of the excavated remains of the platform of the eastern octagonal building (wooden pagoda ?) of Hŭng-ryun-sa 興輪寺 흥륜사 (the white lines are the access paths for the excavation team) (528 AD ?, no scale) (drawing by the author)

#### 4.2.1.2.3. The material remains

During the various investigations a large number of decorated roof and floor tiles were discovered at Hŭng-ryun-sa which seem to date to Ancient Sin-la and Unified Sin-la<sup>1</sup>. It seems thus that the temple was reconstructed repeatedly in the Unified Sin-la period and that its importance declined after the end of Sin-la. Roof-end tiles with simple lotus designs similar to those of Bæk-che and an exceptional roof-end tile with a smiling human face were found dating to Ancient Sin-la<sup>2</sup> [fig. 524]. The floor tiles with foliage decorations and roof tiles with double lotus designs and monster ornaments seem to date rather to Unified Sin-la [fig. 524].

<sup>1</sup> See: KIM Dong-hyŏn 金東賢 김등현 et al. (1976), pp. 4, 21, 30 - 34, 202, 254, 267, 308, 319f., 384.

<sup>2</sup> See: CHANG Kyŏng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992), p. 128; IM Yŏng-chu 林永周 임영주 (1983), pp. 221, 511, 515

Several tiles with inscriptions were also discovered, one of which reads 'Yöng-myo-chi-sa'<sup>1</sup>. A large rectangular stone basin of Hüng-ryun-sa which was moved to the Kyöng-chu National Museum<sup>2</sup> has been dated to the eight or ninth century AD during the Unified Sin-la period [fig. 525].

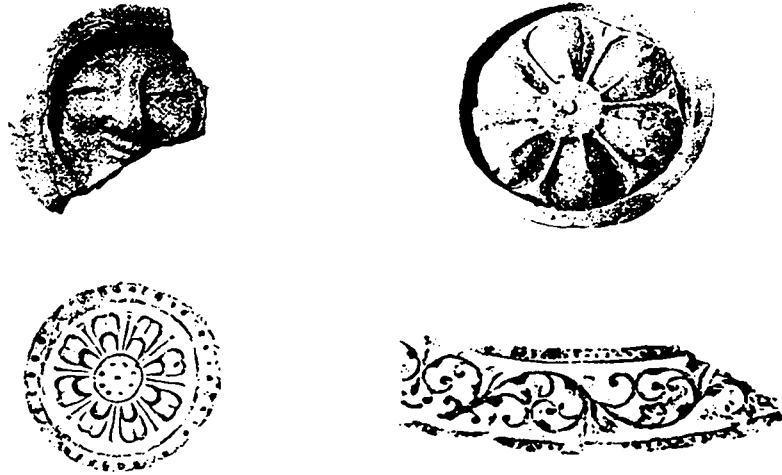


Fig. 524: Excavated 'male' and 'female' roof-end tiles of Hüng-ryun-sa 興輪寺 흥륜사 (Ancient Sin-la / Unified Sin-la, no scale) (after: KIM Dong-hyön 金東賢 김동현 etc. (1976), pp. 4, 30f.; IM Yöng-chu 林永周 임영주 (1983), p. 514)

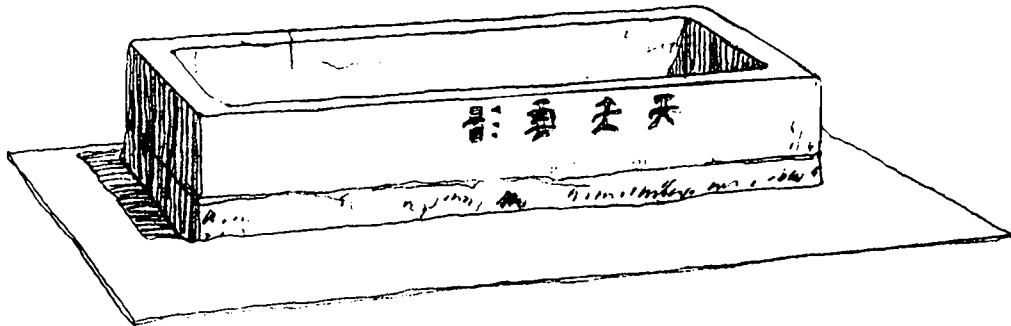


Fig. 525: Perspective of the stone basin of Hüng-ryun-sa 興輪寺 흥륜사 (8th - 9th C. AD, no scale) (drawing by the author)

<sup>1</sup> 'Yöng-myo-chi-sa' 靈廟之寺 영묘지사, it is possible that this tile belonged originally to Yöng-myo-sa 靈妙寺 영묘사 (No. 7.34.40) whose name is sometimes written Yöng-myo-sa 靈廟寺 영묘사. See: Chapter 4.1., p. 675; CHANG Kyöng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992), p. 128; IM Yöng-chu 林永周 임영주 (1983), pp. 497f., 503f., 520ff.  
<sup>2</sup> The basin measures about 3.92m by 1.77m by 0.72m. See: Kyöng-chu National Museum 國立慶州博物館 국립경주박물관 (ed.) (1989), p. 156.

## 4.2.1.3. The octagonal buildings: an influence from Ko-gu-ryō ?

The most intriguing element of the investigations is the discovery of the octagonal buildings in front of the main hall. The date of construction of the buildings are not certain but there is a fair chance that they may in fact date to Ancient Sin-la in spite of the questions such structures would then raise for this period. CHANG<sup>1</sup> has interpreted the remains as belonging to octagonal pagodas but he does not give his conclusions for the construction material and techniques nor the implications of such an assumption.

No other known wooden or brick pagoda of Ancient and Unified Sin-la seems to have had an octagonal plan, and octagonal elements are very rare even among the numerous stone pagodas of the Unified Sin-la period<sup>2</sup>. The octagonal structures of Hŭng-ryun-sa are thus most reminiscent of the octagonal pagodas of Ko-gu-ryō<sup>3</sup> though the latter were much larger (see Chapter 2.2., 2.3.). The reduced size could possibly be related to the fact that the buildings were doubled at Hŭng-ryun-sa.

The size of the octagonal buildings of Hŭng-ryun-sa is close to the octagonal pavilions in Japan among which the Yumedono in Hōryū-ji<sup>4</sup> seems to be the oldest [figs. 526, 527]. But such pavilions do not seem to have been placed in front of image halls and do not seem to have been built in pairs either. In fact, these pavilions are a kind of image hall of secondary precincts so that this type of building seems to be improbable for the octagonal structures of Hŭng-ryun-sa.

A last possibility is to interpret the octagonal buildings as the *sūtra* repositories mentioned in the *Sam-guk-yu-sa*<sup>5</sup> or as belfries which would stand in a similar position as the square pavilions in the second reconstruction of Hwang-ryong-sa<sup>6</sup>. However, no contemporaneous octagonal *sūtra* repositories nor belfries are known so far and it is probable that the custom to include these buildings in the main precinct started in Korea only in the early Unified Sin-la period<sup>7</sup> so that this

<sup>1</sup> See: CHANG Kyōng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992), p. 128.

<sup>2</sup> The most famous pagoda with octagonal elements is the Da-bo-tab 多寶塔 다보탑 of Bul-guk-sa 佛國寺 불국사 of the middle of the 8th C. AD. The approximately contemporaneous pagodas of Sōk-kul-am 石窟庵 석굴암 and Do-pi-an-sa 到彼岸寺 도피안사 have octagonal bases which could be related to the octagonal bases of Buddhist sculpture (sometimes called 'Sumeru base' 須彌座 수미좌) such as the central Buddha of Sōk-kul-am.

On the 'Sumeru base' see: SICKMAN, SOPER (1956, 1982), p. 424.

<sup>3</sup> The diameter of the platforms of the octagonal pagodas of Ko-gu-ryō foundations measured between 18.2m and 26.5m. With 10.2m in diameter, the surfaces of the plans of the Hŭng-ryun-sa pagodas were only about one fourth of those of Ko-gu-ryō.

See: Chapter 2.2., pp. 107, 110, 140 - 143, 151 - 154; Chapter 2.3., pp. 186 - 189.

<sup>4</sup> Yumedono 夢殿 ゆめどの 佛殿, Hōryū-ji 法隆寺 ほりゅうじ 佛堂사.

<sup>5</sup> See: SGYS, p. (214f.).

<sup>6</sup> Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황룡사 (No. 7.34.2.). See below, figs. 555 - 557, Chapter 5, p. 986.

<sup>7</sup> See: Chapter 3.3., pp. 621 - 623.

interpretation is not very convincing. The latter two interpretations present furthermore the difficulty that they are not able to give an alternative position for the pagoda which existed in the main precinct with high probability. Though there seem to be enough space between the two octagonal buildings for a pagoda, no remains of foundations of such structures were discovered.

It seems that the interpretation of CHANG is the most probable unless a thorough excavation uncovers new evidence. The relatively small size of the structures hints at a construction technique different from that proposed for the pagodas of Ko-gu-ryō. Here a purely wooden, brick or stone structure seems to be more appropriate. As no evidence of a brick or stone construction has been found so far, the solution of a purely wooden building seems to be most probable.

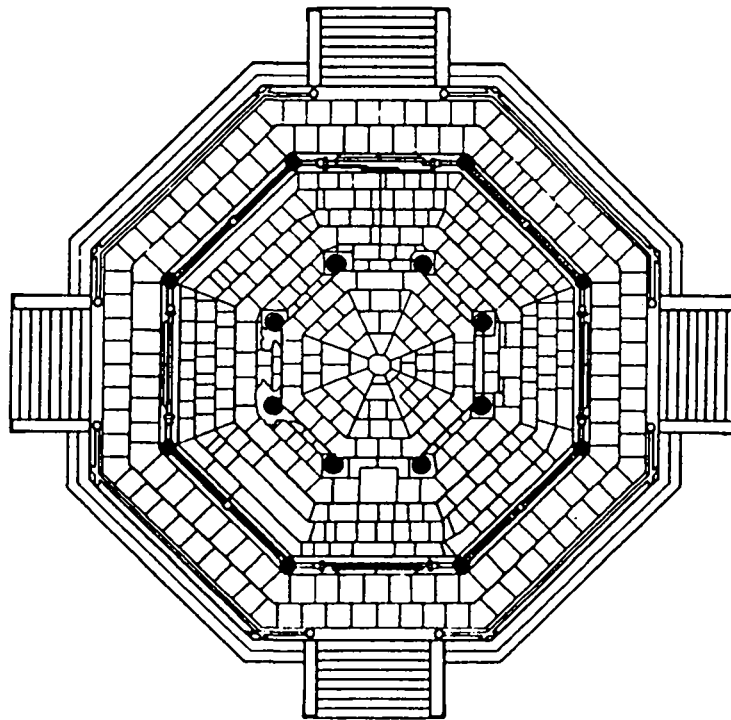


Fig. 526: Ground plan of the Yumedono 夢殿ゆめどの of Hōryū-ji 法隆寺ほりゅうじ at Nara 奈良 (Japan) (739 AD, scale: 1: 200) (after: NAKAGAWA Takeshi 中川 武なかがわたけし (1990), p. 173)



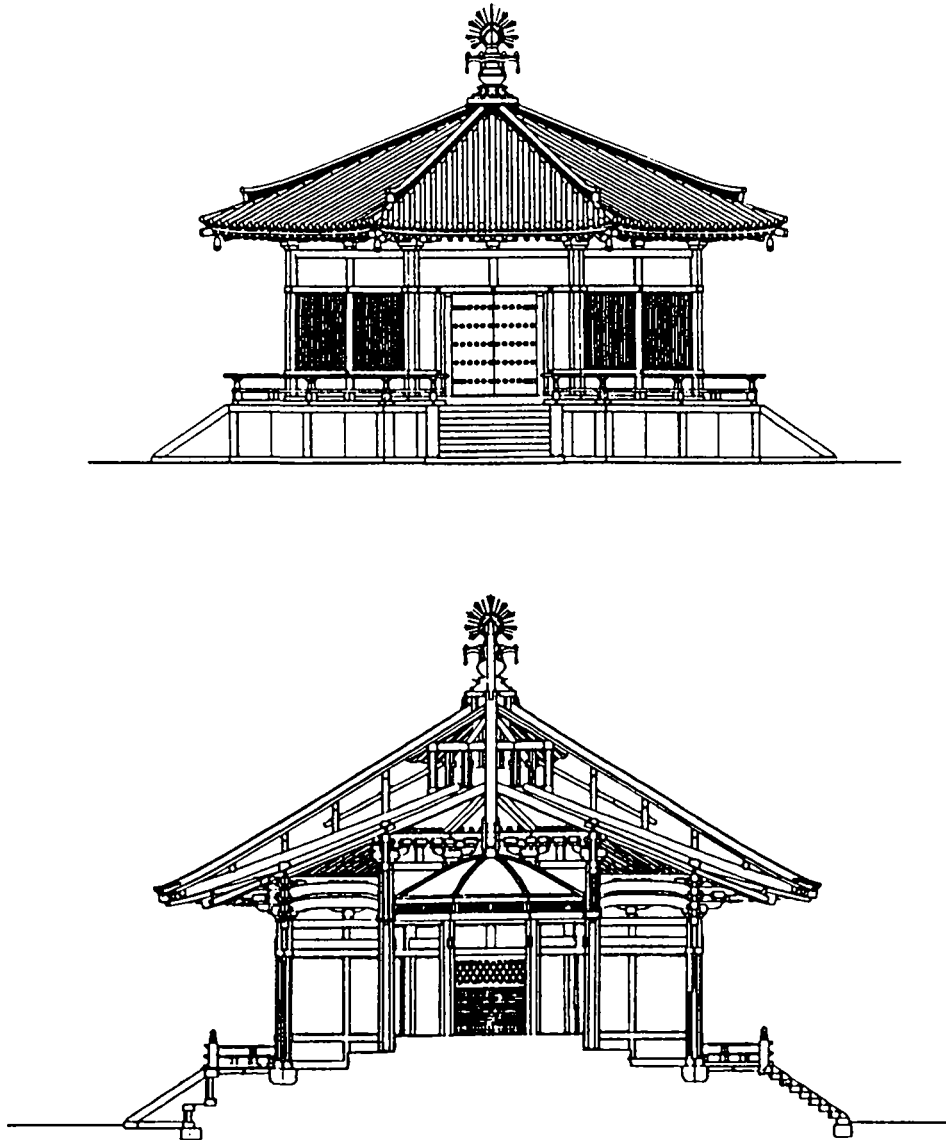


Fig. 527: Supposed original elevation and extant section of the Yumedono 夢殿ゆめどの 佛殿 of Hōryū-ji 法隆寺ほりゅうじ 佛殿 at Nara 奈良なら 奈良 (Japan) (739 AD, later repairs (section), scale: 1 : 200) (after: NAKAGAWA Takeshi 中川 武なかがわたけし 증천무 (1990), p. 173)

## 4.2.1.4. The octagonal buildings: an early example of twin pagodas in Korea ?

If the interpretation of CHANG is followed and the octagonal pagodas date to Ancient Sin-la, they would thus represent the earliest evidence of twin pagodas in the main courtyard of any temple in East Asia. The twin pagodas in the main precinct became a frequent feature of temples of Unified Sin-la, in particular after miniature stone pagodas became dominant over wooden pagodas. The earliest Korean temples with twin pagodas are generally considered to be Sa-chŏn-wang-sa [fig. 466], Mang-dŏk-sa [figs. 528, 529] and Bo-mun-sa<sup>1</sup> [fig. 467] which featured square wooden pagodas in front of the image halls, as well as Kam-ŭn-sa<sup>2</sup> [fig. 530] with its extant three-storied stone pagodas [fig. 631].

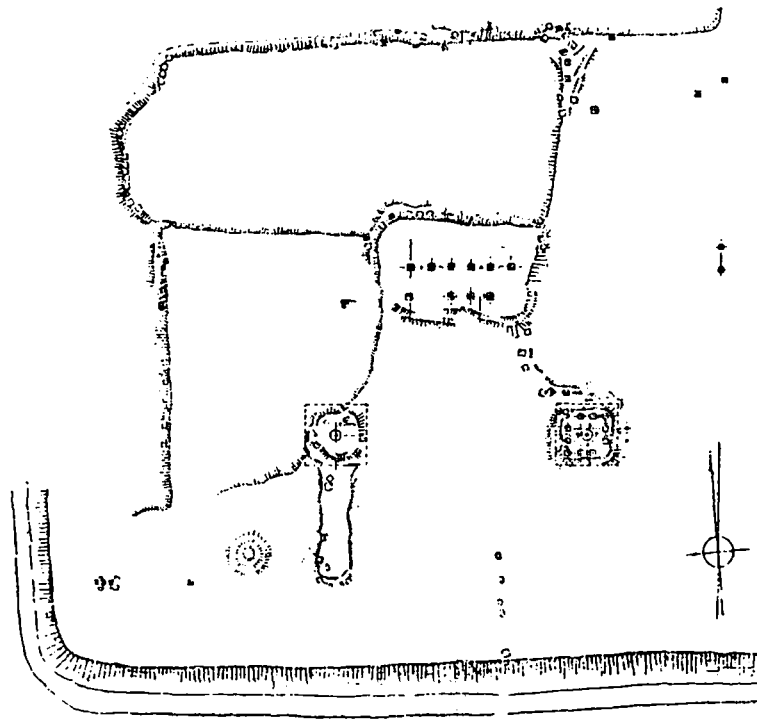


Fig. 528: Excavated remains of Mang-dŏk-sa 望德寺 망덕사 (late 7th C. AD, scale : 1 : 1,000) (after: YONEDA Miyoji 米田 美代治 よねだ みよじ 미전 미대치 (1975), p. 97)

<sup>1</sup> Sa-chŏn-wang-sa 四天王寺 사천왕사 (No. 7.34.7.) [fig. 466], Mang-dŏk-sa 望德寺 망덕사 (No. 7.34.8.) [figs. 528, 529], Bo-mun-sa 普門寺 보문사 (No. 7.34.6.) [fig. 467].

<sup>2</sup> Kam-ŭn-sa 感恩寺 감은사 (No. 7.33.10.).

All these temples were reportedly founded in the second half of the seventh century, shortly after the downfall of Bæk-che and Ko-gu-ryō. It has frequently been assumed that the development of the twin pagodas in Korea and Japan has to be attributed to the Unified Sin-la and Nara periods. The evidence of Hŭng-ryun-sa, however, could indicate that the twin pagodas were already a feature of certain Buddhist temples of Ancient Sin-la.

Except Sin-la, no other Korean kingdom seems to have used the twin-pagoda-layout. Mi-rŭk-sa, with its three parallel courtyards with single pagodas and single image halls, however, is already quite close to the twin-pagoda-layout [fig. 302].

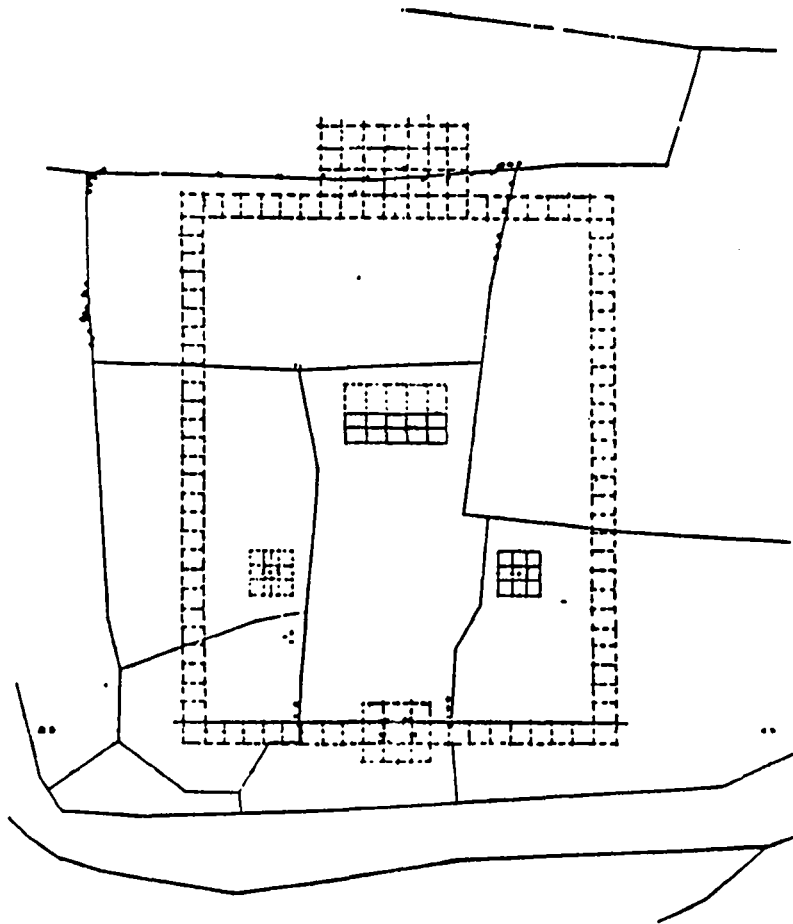


Fig. 529: Supposed layout of Mang-dök-sa 望德寺 망덕사 (late 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 1,000) (after: KANG Kang-čhöl 姜綱哲 강강철 (1990), p. 119)

Though the pagodas were still separated by galleries, Mi-rük-sa<sup>1</sup> shows clearly that a temple with more than one pagoda was conceivable for the religious authority of Bæk-che.

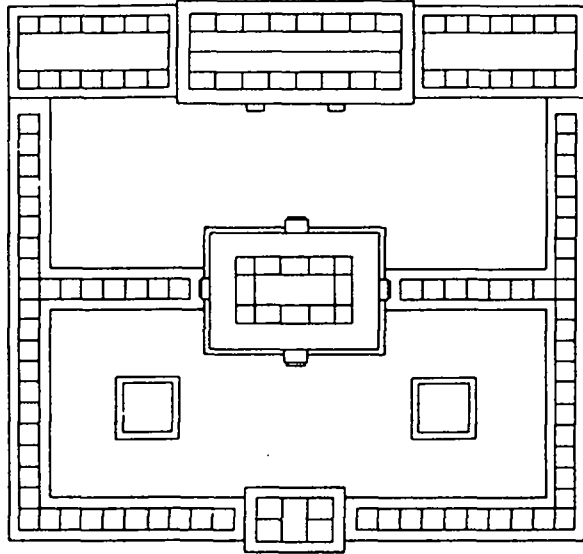


Fig. 530: Reconstructed layout of Kam-ün-sa 感恩寺 감은사 (late 7th C. AD, scale : 1 : 1,000)  
(after: CHANG Kyöng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992), p. 173)

#### 4.2.1.5. Evidence of early twin pagodas in China and Japan

The earliest extant twin pagodas in the main precinct<sup>2</sup> of a Buddhist temple in China seem to date to the middle of the Tang period: the nine-storied square stone pagodas of Lingquan-si in Anyang, Henan<sup>3</sup> [fig. 531]. However, numerous reliefs in the caves of Yungang<sup>4</sup> seem to represent twin wooden pagodas in front of Buddha figures which sometimes sit in image halls. The best such example is probably the

<sup>1</sup> Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사. See: Chapters 3.1., 3.2., 3.3.

<sup>2</sup> A possibly earlier example of twin pagodas, the brick pagodas of Jigong 基公 기공 (died 682 AD) and the Korean monk Wön-chük 圓測 원측 (died 696 AD), both disciples of Xuanzang 玄奘 현장 (died 664 AD) at Xingjiao-si 興教寺 흥교사 of the late 7th C. AD (and later reconstructed) did not belong to the main precinct of the temple, but are funerary pagodas. See: BOERSCHMANN (1931), p. 52.

<sup>3</sup> Lingquan-si 靈泉寺 영천사, Anyang 安陽 안양, Henan 河南 하남. See: WW 86 - 3, pp. 70 - 79.

<sup>4</sup> Yungang 雲岡 운강.

relief on the southern wall of the cave No. 6, right above the entrance which dates to the period between 475 and 490 AD<sup>1</sup> [fig. 532]. The pagodas on this relief represent square wooden structures with five stories, five tile roofs and a triple finial. Each story features a central seated Buddha which is flanked by two standing figures on each side (these details are not represented on fig. 532). Decorations (bells?) are added at the roof corners and at the *yanglianban*<sup>2</sup>. Between the pagodas, above the lintel of the entrance is another triad of Buddhist figures under a curtain and a large tile roof. It seems obvious to compare this composition with the image halls of Buddhist temples with their sculptures. As the roof corners of the pagodas overlap the edges of the composition of the main triad and as the bases of the pagodas are lower than that of the main triad, it seems clear that the pagodas are meant to stand in front of the 'image hall' in approximately the same position as in the Sin-la temples with twin pagodas such as Sa-*chön-wang-sa*.

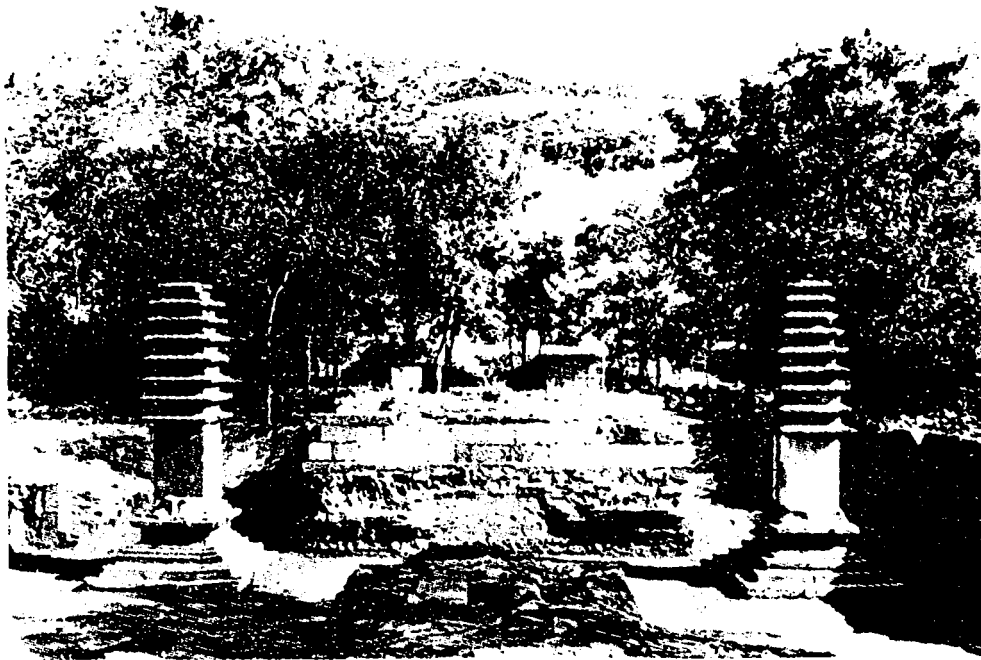


Fig. 531: Photograph of the twin stone pagodas of Lingquan-si 靈泉寺 영천사 at Anyang 安陽 안양, Henan 河南 하남 (Tang period) (after: WW 86 - 3, pl. 7)

<sup>1</sup> See: WATSON (1995), p. 119; HAN Chông-hí 韓正熙 한정희 (1981), p. 10, pl. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Yanglianban* 仰蓮瓣 양련반 (in Korea this element is called *ang-hwa* 仰花 앙화): the lotus petals at the base of the finial. See: LIANG Ssu-ch'eng (LIANG Sicheng 梁思成 양사성) (1901, 1984), p. 133; CHANG Chung-sik 張忠植 장충식 (1987, 1991), p. 62.

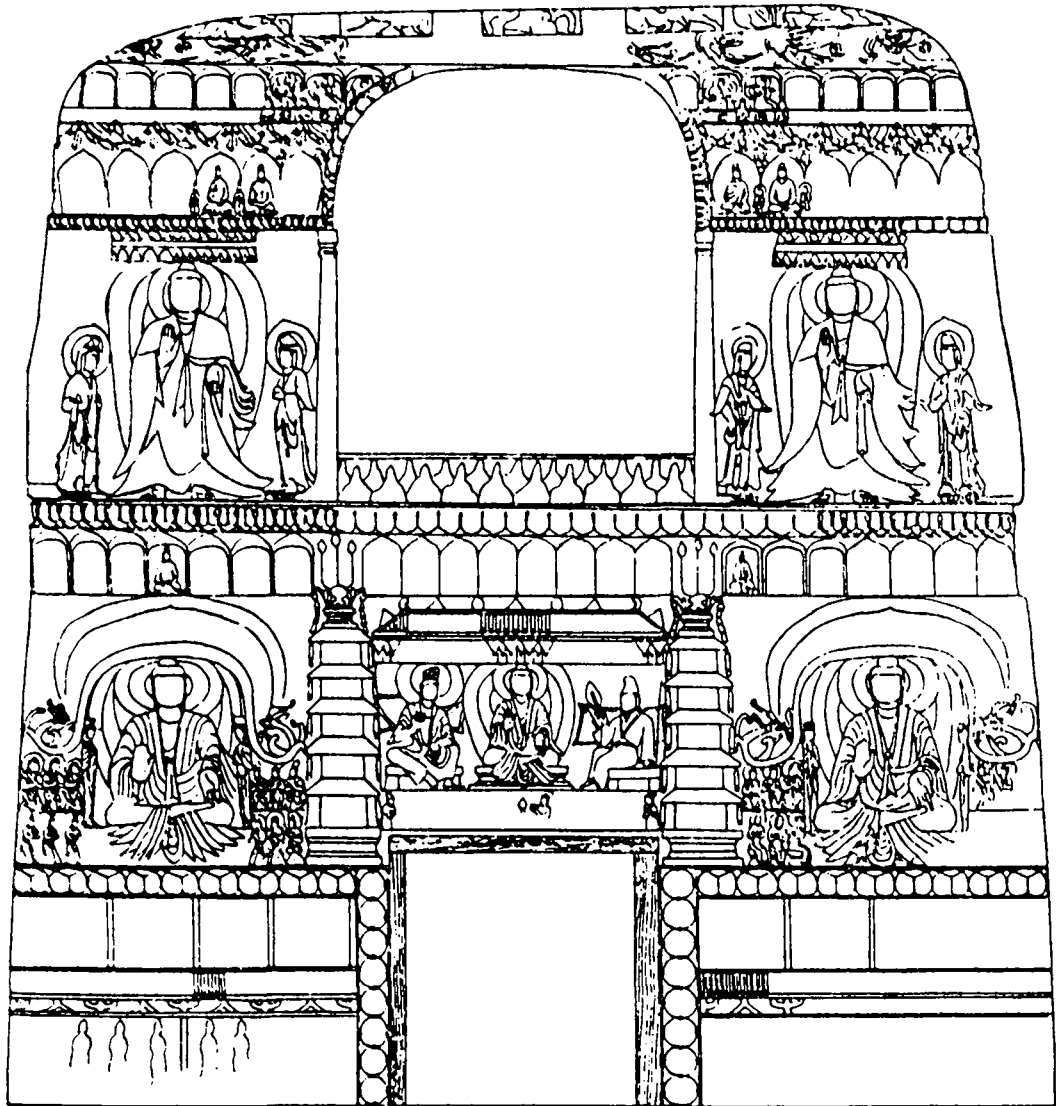


Fig. 532: Elevation of the southern wall of the cave No. 6 at Yungang 雲岡 曇岡 (475 - 490 AD, scale: 1 : 100) (after: WATSON (1995), p. 119)

In addition to this already clear evidence, a passage in the *Lidai minghua ji*<sup>1</sup> states that between 317 and 322 AD, an eastern and a western pagoda was constructed for Changle-si<sup>2</sup>. The walls of these pagodas were reportedly decorated with paintings which leads HAN<sup>3</sup> to suppose that they were wooden structures but this argument is weak because stone or brick structures can also easily be decorated with paintings as numerous tombs of various periods show. The text does not indicate where these pagodas stood and if they had a direct spatial relationship to each other. Nevertheless, the text shows that from very early on (maybe from the very beginning of Chinese Buddhism on?) it was conceivable that East Asian Buddhist temples possessed more than a single pagoda or *stūpa*.

The earliest Japanese twin pagodas were probably built at Yakushi-ji in 698 AD<sup>4</sup> [fig. 533], a little later than the Sin-la temples Sa-čhōn-wang-sa, Mang-dök-sa and Kam-ün-sa. The square three-storied wooden pagodas of Yakushi-ji stood inside the main courtyard in approximately the same position as the supposed octagonal pagodas of Hüng-ryun-sa. The only other known Japanese example of twin pagodas in the main courtyard is the ruined temple at Niibari of about the eighth century AD<sup>5</sup> [fig. 534], but here the pagodas were built at the level of the image hall.

Three temples are known to have had twin pagodas in front of the main courtyard: Daian-ji [fig. 535], Tōdai-ji [fig. 536] and Saidai-ji<sup>6</sup> [fig. 537]. While the former two were built in the middle of the eighth century AD with square wooden pagodas, the first project in the late eighth century of Saidai-ji seems to be the only Japanese attempt to build twin octagonal pagodas. But the project was abandoned after the platforms were finished and the pagodas were finally constructed with square ground plans<sup>7</sup>. Even if the project was not executed it still shows that twin octagonal pagodas were at least conceivable in the eighth century AD so that the above-mentioned interpretation of the excavation of the octagonal structures at Hüng-ryun-sa as wooden pagodas does not seem so anachronistic any more.

<sup>1</sup> *Lidai minghua ji* 「歷代名書記 역대명화기」. See: HAN Chōng-hí 韓正熙 한정희 (1981), p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Changle-si 昌樂寺 장악사.

<sup>3</sup> See: HAN Chōng-hí 韓正熙 한정희 (1981), pp. 9f.

<sup>4</sup> Yakushi-ji 藥師寺やくしじ 약사사.

<sup>5</sup> Niibari Hai-ji 新治廢寺にいばりはいじ 신치폐사, at Ibaraki 茨木 자목. See: OOKA Minoru (1973), foldout 1.

<sup>6</sup> Daian-ji 大安寺 だいはんじ 대안사, Tōdai-ji 東大寺 とうだいじ 동대사, Saidai-ji 西大寺 さいだいじ 서대사. The pagodas of Tōdai-ji (maybe also those of Daian-ji) had their own courtyards with galleries and gates at the four cardinal directions.

<sup>7</sup> See: OOKA Minoru (1973), pp. 39, 61.

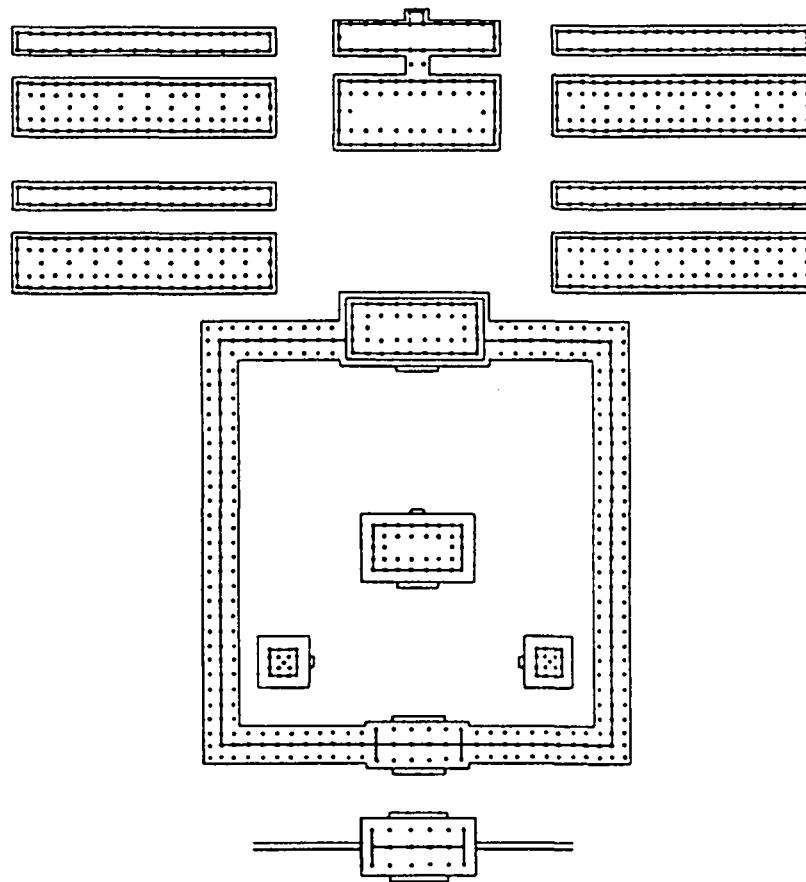


Fig. 533: Layout of Yakushi-ji 薬師寺やくしじ 약사사 at Nara 奈良なら 나랑  
(late 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 2,000) (after: OOKA Minoru (1973), appendix)



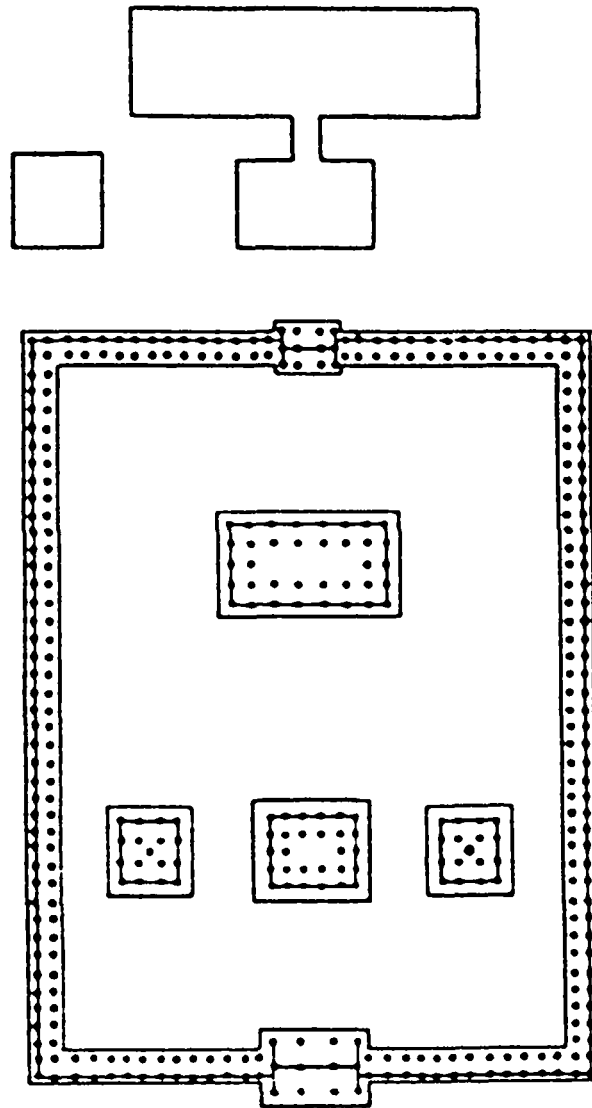


Fig. 534: Layout of Niibari Hai-ji 新治廢寺にいばりはいじ 신치 폐사, at Ibaraki 茨木 자목 (8th C. AD, scale: 1 : 1,000) (after: OOKA Minoru (1973), appendix)

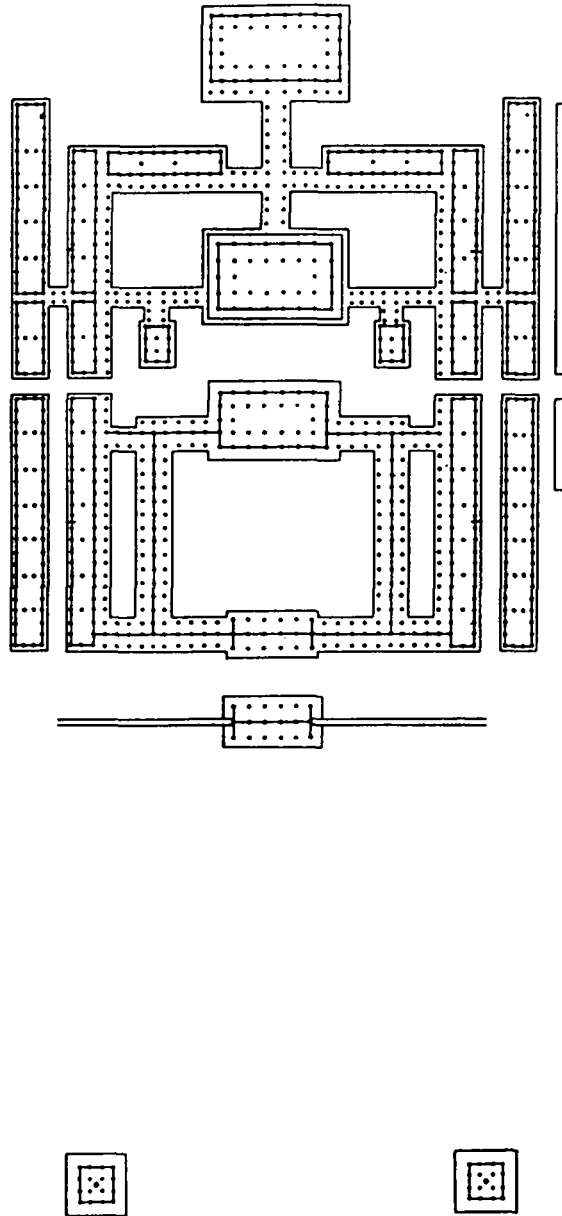


Fig. 535: Layout of Daian-ji 大安寺 だいはんじ 대안사 at Nara 奈良 なら 나람 (mid-8th C. AD, scale: 1 : 2,000) (after: OOKA Minoru (1973), appendix)

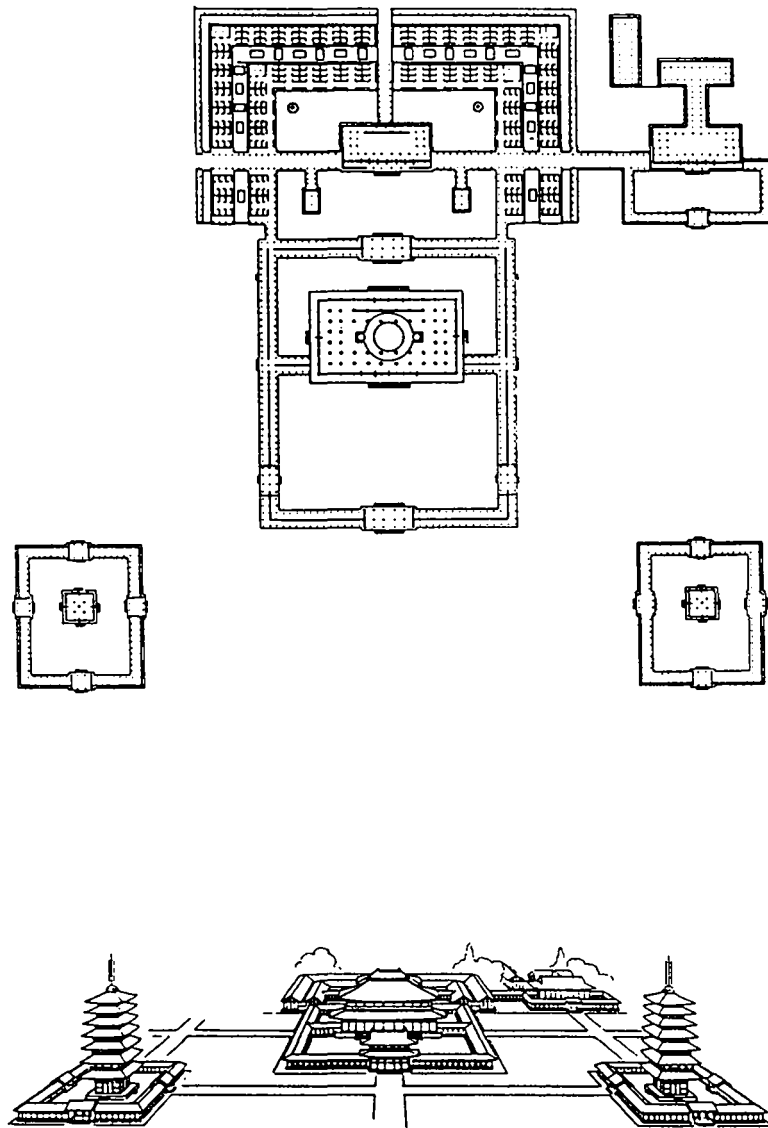


Fig. 536: Layout and reconstructed perspective of Tōdai-ji 東大寺 とうだいじ 동대사 at Nara 奈良 なら 나랑 (mid-8th C. AD, scale: 1 : 5,000) (after: SOPER (1942), pl. 15)

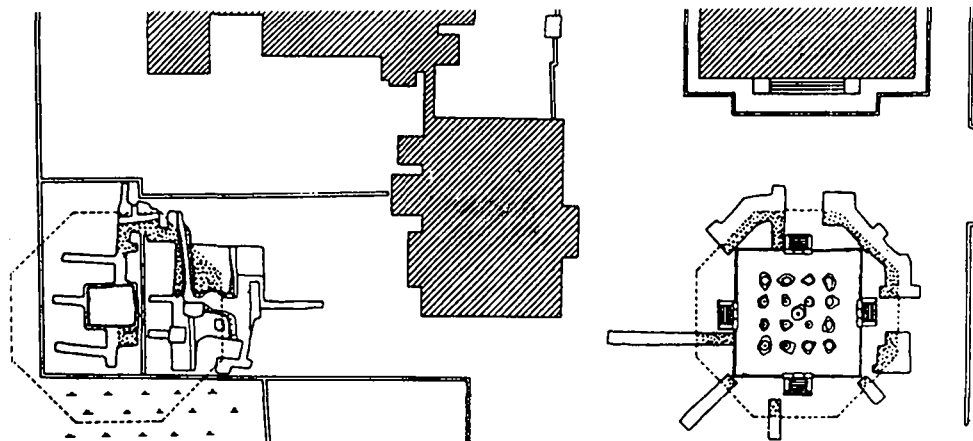


Fig. 537: Site of the twin pagodas of Saidai-ji 西大寺 さいだいじ 서대사 at Nara 奈良 なら 나라 (late 8th C. AD, scale: 1 : 1,000) (after: OOKA Minoru (1973), p. 39)

KIM<sup>1</sup> claims that the double pagodas of the seventh and eighth century AD (Tang, Unified Sin-la and Nara periods) implies a "new interpretation" of the "very definition and meaning of 'temple' and 'religious structures'" so that the temple lost its religious monumentality to a certain degree and "more consideration was given to man's place in the temple." He goes almost as far as to say that the East Asian twin pagodas are a heresy: "It should be noted that no convincing religious reason can be found for the doubling of pagodas; duplication of the architectural shell of the pagoda without relics is against the original Indian concept of the Buddhist *stūpa*."<sup>2</sup> While it is correct that the *stūpa* was originally conceived as a burial, its symbolism already developed considerably in India, as numerous studies show<sup>3</sup>, so that the physical presence of relics in the *stūpa* was less primordial. Furthermore, the multiplication of the *stūpa* is not an exclusive East Asian phenomenon but can be observed in virtually all Buddhist countries, including Buddhist India. It would be

<sup>1</sup> See: KIM Sung-woo (KIM Sōng-u 金聖雨 김성우) (1985), p. 413

<sup>2</sup> See: KIM Sung-woo (KIM Sōng-u 金聖雨 김성우) (1985), p. 483

<sup>3</sup> FUSSMAN notes that "early Buddhists were not overly concerned with relics. A *stūpa*, with or without relics, is only a memorial. When seeing it, people remember (*anusmaranti*) the Buddha and his teaching, which induces in them a good thought (*kuśala-citta-*), which produces good *karma* (*punya-*). By building a *stūpa* and paying it homage, one could also reap good fruits. (...) Built over ashes or empty, a *stūpa*, thus, was not a proper tomb; it was a memorial (...). That is why *stūpa* and *cāitya* (...) are quasi-synonyms. Being memorials much more than tombs, even for Hindus, *stūpas* could be raised over anything likely to induce a good thought, be it personal belongings of the Buddha, places where he passed through, ashes of *arhants* and so on" (*JIABS* 9 - 2, pp. 44f.). See: KOTTKAMP (1992); SNODGRASS (1985); *JIABS* 7 - 2, pp. 67 - 93; *JIABS* 9 - 2, pp. 37 - 53.

very difficult to explain why East Asian architects dared to duplicate the pagoda if a Buddhist dogma existed which would forbid a temple to have more than one pagoda<sup>1</sup>. I am neither convinced by the idea that "the visual weight of the paired pagodas (...) is much less than (...) when there is only one pagoda"<sup>2</sup> which seem to be one of KIM's arguments for his claim that "in the first pattern, the pagoda was the master of the temple; in the last pattern, man is."<sup>3</sup> In my opinion, the 'visual weight' of buildings is as much the result of their relative sizes as of their number and geometric position. It seems obvious to me that a pair of pagodas has more 'visual weight' than a single one of the same size. KIM probably means that the paired pagodas are no longer the geographic and spiritual centre of the temple which shifted to the image hall(s). Increased importance of the image hall(s), however, can also be achieved by simply reducing the scale of the pagoda, as observed at Bæk-che's Chöng-rim-sa<sup>4</sup> [figs. 235, 239]. In a purely architectural sense, the relation between man and temple seems equally mainly to be a question of proportion. Even without a pagoda, the space of the central courtyard of Tōdai-ji<sup>5</sup> [fig. 536] is hardly 'human' due to its gigantic size and that of its image hall, while small single-pagoda temples, such as Sō-bok-sa<sup>6</sup> [fig. 296], are 'human' in spite of the central position of the pagoda. However, when KIM speaks of 'man's place' in the temple he seems rather to address philosophical problems like 'man's place in

<sup>1</sup> The question would then arise, just how close two temples with one *stūpa* each, can be placed together. Such a supposed dogma could then lead to the claim that there is only one genuine *stūpa*: the first one. But there were already at the beginning of Buddhism ten *stūpas* for the relics of the historical Buddha: "After the Buddha's cremation, his relics (*śarīras*) are said to have been divided into eight portions, and each was placed in a *stūpa*. The pot (*kumbha*) in which the relics were collected and the ashes of the cremation fire were dealt with in the same way [i.e. were placed in two additional *stūpas*]" (JIABS 7 - 2, p.68). Aśoka is said to have opened these ten original *stūpas* and to have distributed the 'true' *śarīra* throughout the Buddhist world to be buried in thousands of *stūpas*. From this point on it must have become obvious that not every single *stūpa* could possibly feature a 'true' *śarīra* in spite of its claim. The investigation of the huge Dhamek *stūpa* at Sarnath near Benares, for example, did not uncover relics.

While it seems that a temple featured one *stūpa* (or pagoda) with alleged 'true' *śarīra* at most, nothing seems to have prevented them from building other *stūpas* (pagodas) without 'true' *śarīra*. These *stūpas* (pagodas) could stand either for other Buddhas (in particular Prabhūtaratna Buddha of the *Lotus sūtra*: e.g. the Da-bo-tab 多寶塔 다보탑 at Bul-guk-sa 佛國寺 불국사 of the 8th C. AD, Unified Sin-la) or be symbols of Buddhist concepts (e.g. the *dharma* or mount Sumeru). Other *stūpas* were dedicated to the disciples of the historical Buddha. See: FRÉDÉRIC (1959), p. 124; JIABS 7 - 2, p. 68f., 81; JIABS 9 - 2, p. 44, 47.

<sup>2</sup> See: KIM Sung-woo (KIM Söng-u 金聖雨 김성우) (1985), p. 415.

<sup>3</sup> According to KIM, in the 'first pattern' of temples in China there was only a pagoda enclosed in a gallery. The 'last pattern' is that of Japanese temple such as Tōdai-ji 東大寺 とうだいじ 동대사 where the pagoda has been expelled from the main courtyard.

See: KIM Sung-woo (KIM Söng-u 金聖雨 김성우) (1985), p. 483.

<sup>4</sup> Chöng-rim-sa 定林寺 정림사. See: Chapter 3.2., pp. 326 - 335.

<sup>5</sup> Tōdai-ji 東大寺 とうだいじ 동대사.

<sup>6</sup> Sō-bok-sa 西腹寺 서복사. See: Chapter 3.2., pp. 395 - 400.

the universe' and 'man as the measure of all things' which are central to European Humanism. Though Buddhism and Confucianism also place 'man' in the centre of their systems (can there be a human system which does not?), 'to be human' is a condition to overcome in the former system and each individual is always bound by the social duties to his superiors and inferiors in the latter system, which are both very different ideas from European individualism. It is therefore difficult to apply the terms and ideas of the European Renaissance to early Korea without an indication of the limits of such a comparison.

Some authors<sup>1</sup> claim that the origin of the East Asian twin pagodas has to be found in the traditional Chinese gate towers, called *que*<sup>2</sup>, which seem to have been particularly popular in the Han dynasties<sup>3</sup> [fig. 538]. Several arguments, however seem to reduce this alleged origin to not much more than superficial similarities:

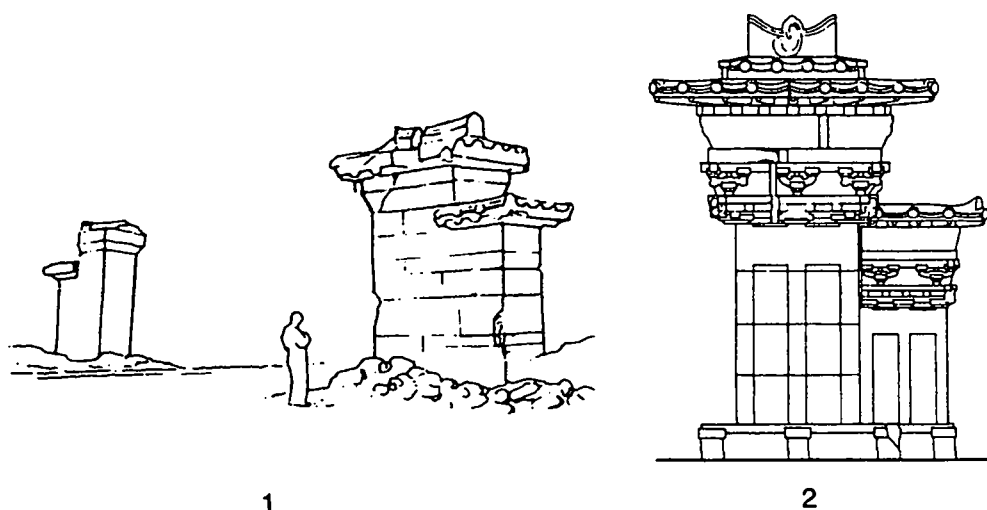


Fig. 538: Perspective of the twin *que* 闕 of Shaoshi 少室소실 temple at Songshan 嵩山송산, Henan 河南하남 (1) and elevation of the *que* 闕 of the Gao Yi 高顯고이 tomb at Ya'an 雅安아안, Sichuan 四川사천 (2) (scale: 1 : 100) (Han period (205 BC - 220 AD) (after: LIANG Ssu-ch'eng (LIANG Sicheng 梁思成 양사성) (1984), p. 27)

<sup>1</sup> E.g. KIM Sung-woo (KIM Sŏng-u 金聖雨 김성우) (1985), pp. 288 - 291.

<sup>2</sup> *Que* 闕. Often called *shuangque* 雙闕 쌍궐, 'twin *que*'.

<sup>3</sup> Though their origin is probably much older, the first known stone 'models' and reliefs showing *que* seem to date to the Qin 秦진 (249 - 206 BC) and Western (Former) Han 前漢전한 (206 BC - 8 AD). See: LIU Dunzhen 劉敦楨 유돈정 (1980), pp. 14, 18, 55f., 70f.

1. The architectural 'archetype' of the gate with emphasised lateral posts is common to almost any ancient culture, including early Buddhist India<sup>1</sup> [figs. 539, 540]. Archaic, simple wooden poles or straw structures which were widespread in many civilisations as gate markers can develop into complicated structures such as the Chinese *que* [fig. 538], the Egyptian temple façade, the Japanese *torii*<sup>2</sup> [fig. 541], the Islamic minarets or the twin towers of European cathedrals.

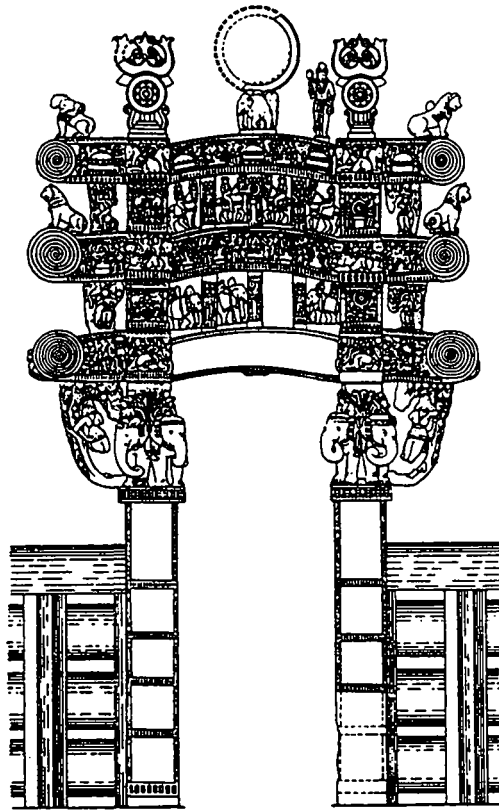


Fig. 539: Northern *torana* of *stūpa* No. 1 at Sāñcī (early 1st C. AD, scale: 1 : 100)  
(after: KOTTKAMP (1992), p. 616)

<sup>1</sup> E.g. the gates of the *stūpa* of Sāñcī (about 4th C. AD), the octagonal columns in front of cave No. 3 of Kanheri, north of Bombay (5th - 6th C. AD) and the protruding lateral towers of the cave No. 12 at Bhājā (2nd C. BC). See: BRADNOCK (1991), pp. 317ff., 966; ROWLAND (1953, 1984), pp. 95 - 107; FRÉDÉRIC (1959), pl. 55; *ENCYCLOPÆDIA UNIVERSALIS* (1981), p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> *Torii* 鳥居 とりい 杵居 (literally: 'dwelling of birds'). See: FRÉDÉRIC (1996), pp. 1142f.

2. The pagoda is essentially a free-standing, centralized structure while the *que* is usually attached to a wall or a gate and has a rectangular plan. The *que* have meaning only in relation to the structure which lies behind them while the (single or multiple) pagodas have a function by themselves. In the layout-type of Tōdai-ji [fig. 536], the pagodas are placed in their own courtyards with galleries which seems to indicate that they were perceived as two separate minor precincts (almost comparable to the lateral courtyards of Mi-rūk-sa, figs. 301, 302) rather than simply as a gateway to the main precinct.

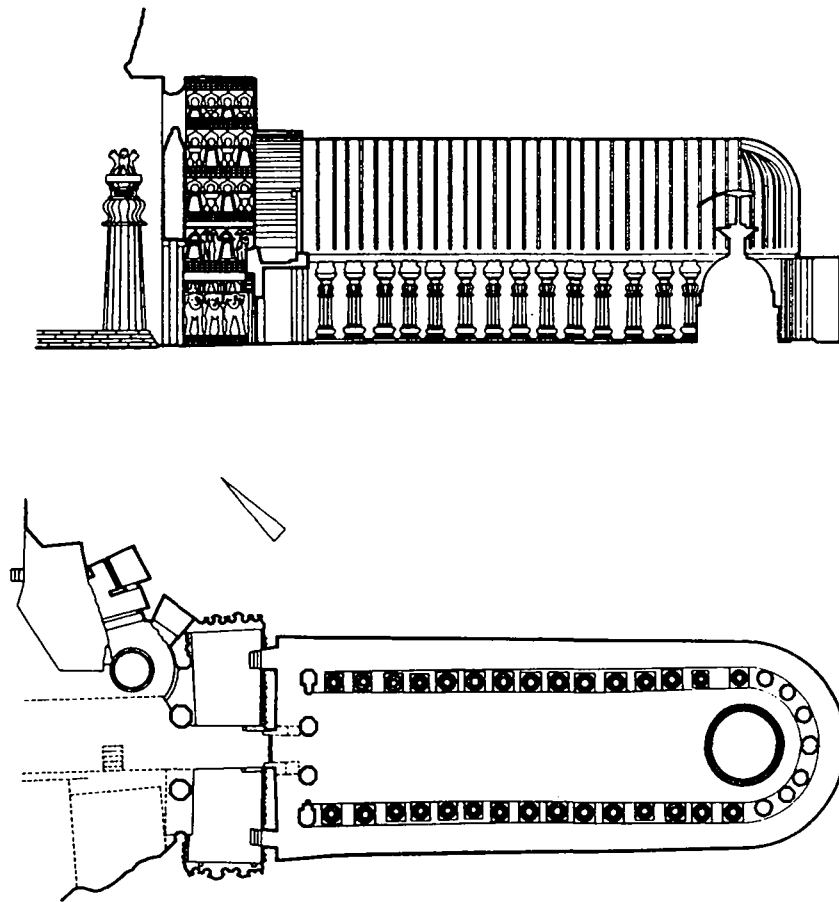


Fig. 540: The *caitya* of Kārī: ground plan and section. Only one of the original pair of free-standing columns remains in front of the entry. (about 120 AD, scale: 1 : 500) (after: VOLWAHSEN (1968), p. 41)



3. The temple layout where the twin pagodas stand in front of the central courtyard (and therefore in a comparable position to the Chinese *que*) has so far only been confirmed in Japan. While it seems quite sure that this layout was not used on the Korean peninsula<sup>1</sup>, its use in China is not certain at least<sup>2</sup>. But Japan does not seem to have used the Chinese style *que* because it had its own deeply-rooted system of 'semantic architecture'<sup>3</sup> [fig. 54].

As the concept of the multiple pagodas is neither a new nor a unique and isolated phenomenon, I tend to interpret the temporary importance of the twin pagodas in the Korean Unified Sin-la and the Japanese Nara period as an expression of the close relation between Buddhism and the state. In fact, it was mainly large, state-sponsored temples which featured twin pagodas, so that it seems legitimate to conclude that it was a particular honour and prestige for a temple to be allowed to build two pagodas<sup>4</sup>. Already from a merely economic point of view it is obvious that only relatively rich temples could afford twin pagodas. This observation alone,

<sup>1</sup> A possible case of such a layout could be the today ruined Bul-il-sa 佛日寺 불일사 (No. 10.12.1.) of the Ko-ryŏ dynasty (built in 951 AD) which had an exceptional fenced site in front of the western precinct (the temple was divided into three courtyards comparable to Mi-rŭk-sa). But this structure has been called *sa-ri-dan-tŏ* 사라단터舍利壇址 (translated as 'Buddhist ossuary site') by North Korean specialists which seems to indicate that it was rather a platform with a small *stūpa*, maybe comparable to the ordination platform of Tong-do-sa 通度寺 통도사 (No. 8.13.1.). The lack of pagoda foundations in the courtyard of the supposed temple site at Dong-nam-ri 東南里 동남리 (No. 4.19.3.) of Bæk-che led some authors to speculate that it had twin pagodas in front of the precinct. No such evidence was found so far supporting this hypothesis. See: CSYCYMDK 10, p. 178 - 182; Chapter 3.2., p. 390.

<sup>2</sup> Japanese sources claim that Daian-ji 大安寺 だいはんじ 대안사 was a copy of the Tang temple Ximing-si 西明寺 서명사 at Chang'an 長安 장안. But the layout of the latter has not yet been confirmed by an archaeological investigation. The literary descriptions and comparisons are to be interpreted cautiously. Maybe the 'imitation' of the temple consisted rather in their comparable grandeur and religious importance than in an exact material reproduction. See: SOPER (1942), n. 93, p. 65.

<sup>3</sup> The Japanese 'seats of gods' (J: *kami no yorishiro* 神の寄城 かみのよりしろ 신의기성) made of reed and bamboo were described by EGENTER who coined the term 'semantic architecture' because these structures do not provide functional interior spaces but are signs or landmarks with religious meaning which are used in Shintō 神道 しんとう 신도 ceremonies. The Korean tradition of 'totem poles' called *chang-sŭng* 長丞 장승 (var. *chang-sæng* 長牲 장생) and *sodh-dæ* 솟대 which are placed annually at the entrance of the villages belong to a similar category of entrance markers and protector deities. See: EGENTER (1994). *BGinCd* 101-15; *HGMHSCSC* 1, pp. 518ff.; *MSDSC* 2, pp. 1204f.

<sup>4</sup> It can be supposed that the temple constructions were supervised by government offices as was the case for other constructions so that a governmental permission was probably required for any major temple founding. A detailed construction code which probably dates to the Unified Sin-la period is included in the *Sam-guk-sa-gi* 「三國史記 삼국사기」. It defines the sizes, construction materials and decorations of the houses of the people of the different social ranks of Sin-la (the lower the social rank, the more restrictions were imposed on the constructions). This indicates that the early Korean kingdoms rapidly accepted the Chinese bureaucratic government system whose rules and laws try to regulate almost all aspects of social life. See: YOO-KIM Bok-nam (1980), pp. 88, 92ff.; *SGSG* II, pp. 173f., 177f.

should be sufficient to show that the interpretation according to which twin pagodas have less importance in the temple than a single one leads to absurd implications.

If Hŭng-ryun-sa indeed featured twin pagodas since its founding, this layout would have to be considered as an early experiment which was still exceptional because later temples of Ancient Sin-la such as Hwang-ryong-sa and Bun-hwang-sa<sup>1</sup> had 'only' single square pagodas.

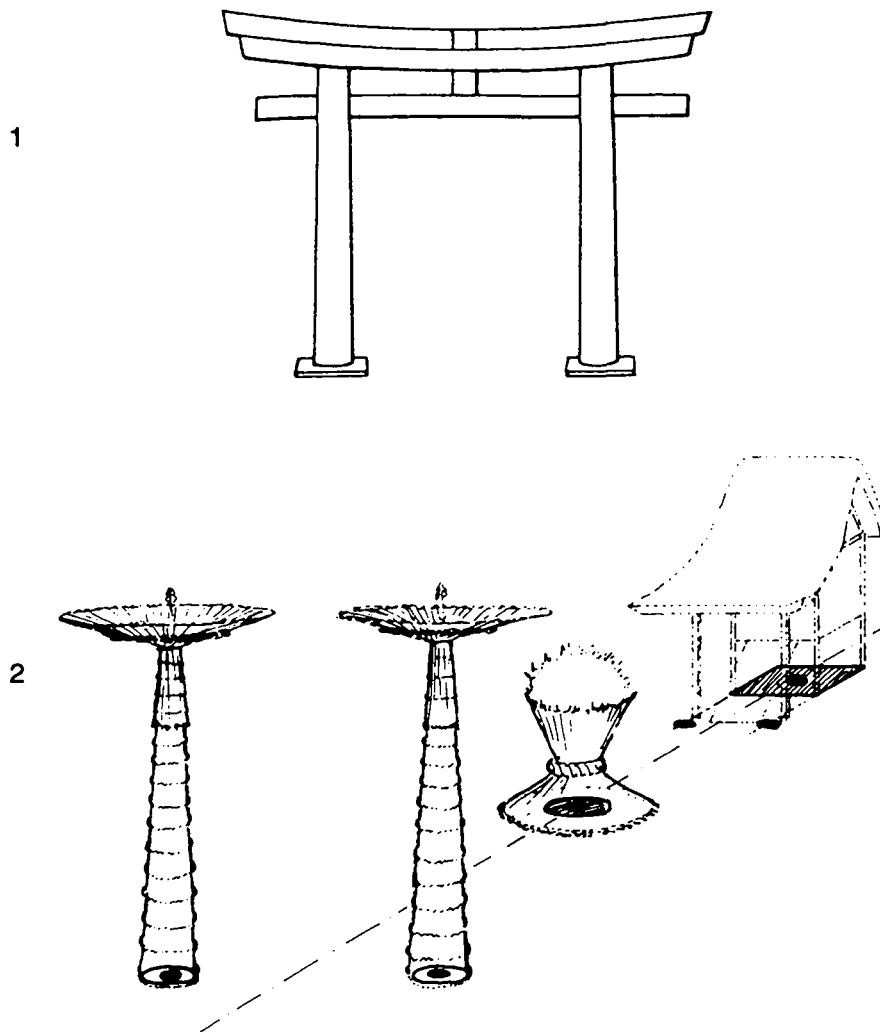


Fig. 541: Examples of a Japanese *torii* 鳥居 とりい 조거 (1) and 'semantic architecture' (2) of Shintō 神道 신도와 신도 (modern traditional, no scale) (after: VIOLET (1984), p. 29 and EGENTER (1994), p. 197)

<sup>1</sup> Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황룡사 (No. 7.34.2.) Bun-hwang-sa 芬皇寺 분황사 (No. 7.34.1.). See below.

## 4.2.2. HWANG-RYONG-SA

### Preliminary remarks

Extensive excavations from 1976 on have made of Hwang-ryong-sa the best known temple site of Ancient Sin-la. Hwang-ryong-sa was undoubtedly the biggest and most prestigious Buddhist temple of the Sin-la dynasty. As its history is recorded in several ancient chronicles<sup>1</sup>, the important dates of the temple are rather well known. KIM<sup>2</sup> has devoted a study entirely to the history and the remains of Hwang-ryong-sa. The following section covers the founding and the first reconstruction. Two more known reconstructions which fall in the period of Unified Sin-la will be only briefly mentioned.

### 4.2.2.1. HWANG-RYONG-SA AT THE MOMENT OF ITS FOUNDING

As mentioned in Chapter 4.1., p. 685, Hwang-ryong-sa was founded in 553 AD on the order of King Chin-hŭng<sup>3</sup> by transforming the construction site for a new palace into a site for a temple. The construction of the surrounding wall was completed in 569 AD. Because of this change of the function during the construction, it can be expected that the original layout of the buildings shows some parallels to palace architecture.

As the temple was reconstructed several times, the lowest level of remains of the building sites are supposed to belong to the first construction of the temple. In several places these original foundations seem to have been completely destroyed, so at the central image hall and the pagoda sites. The hypothetical reconstruction of the original layout is thus tentative and it cannot be excluded that it featured more buildings than could be shown by excavations.

<sup>1</sup> There are three main sources: *SGYS*, *SGSG* and the *Chal-chu-bon-gi* 「刹柱本記 찰주본기」. Some more information is found in the *Ko-ryŏ-sa* 「高麗史 고려사」.

<sup>2</sup> KIM Dong-hyŏn 金東賢 김동현 (1992).

<sup>3</sup> Chin-hŭng Wang 眞興王 진흥왕, the 24th king of Sin-la, reigned from 540 to 575 AD.

## 4.2.2.1.1. The geographical situation

Hwang-ryong-sa was built on a completely flat site [figs. 507 (3), 542], about 1km to the north-east of the approximate centre of the Crescent Fortress<sup>1</sup> which was supposedly the seat of the political power of Ancient Sin-la. In the beginning of the Unified Sin-la period, An-ab pond with its detached palace Im-hæ-chön<sup>2</sup> was built between Hwang-ryong-sa and the Crescent Fortress. The temple lay thus in the very centre of the capital of Sin-la and its prestige and function can be compared to the already-mentioned Yongning-si of the Northern Wei<sup>3</sup> which was built in 516 AD and destroyed less than twenty years later. The fact that both temples featured a giant pagoda in the main courtyard could even be an indication that the construction of Hwang-ryong-sa tried to imitate Yongning-si<sup>4</sup>.

The position of the main axis of the main precinct of the temple seems to have been constant during the successive reconstructions. The axis pointed to about 5° to east from magnetic north<sup>5</sup> [fig. 543], the entry of the temple lay to the south of the precinct in the typical fashion also observed in Bæk-che and Ko-gu-ryō<sup>6</sup>. The axis seems to point almost precisely towards the tripartite summit of Güm-gang mountain<sup>7</sup> [fig. 543 (1 - 3)] where one of the first official Buddhist temples of Sin-la was constructed after the martyrdom of I-cha-don<sup>8</sup>. But this orientation was probably only observable from a distance (e.g. from the southern mountains<sup>9</sup> which lie approximately in the southern continuation of the axis) as the huge buildings must have completely concealed the background when approaching the temple.

- <sup>1</sup> Crescent Fortress 半月城 반월성. The name stems from the form of small, low hills to the north of So-hang-čhön 小項川 소항천 (also called Mun-čhön 文川 문천 or Nam-čhön 南川 남천). Knowledge of urbanism and palace architecture of Ancient Sin-la is still limited, as are those of Bæk-che. See: FUJISHIMA Gaijirō 藤島 亥治郎 ふじしま がいじろう 등도 해치랑, (1986), p. 151 - 178; CHANG Kyōng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992), pp. 122 - 126; ADAMS (1979, 1991), pp. 41f.
- <sup>2</sup> An-ab-čhi 雁鴨池 안압지 and Im-hæ-čhön 臨海殿 임해전, first built in 674 AD. See: MHCKLG (1978); CHANG Kyōng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992), pp. 148 - 160; ADAMS (1979, 1991), pp. 49f.
- <sup>3</sup> Yongning-si 永寧寺 영녕사, Northern Wei 北魏 북위. See: Chapter 3.3., pp. 521ff., 542ff.
- <sup>4</sup> As the size of the first pagoda of Hwang-ryong-sa is not known, this comparison is probably more appropriate for the first reconstruction which is described below. But China surely featured a number of other huge square wooden pagodas which could have served as models for the Hwang-ryong-sa pagoda of 643 AD.
- <sup>5</sup> Measured by the author on May, 17th, 1997. As magnetic north differs by about 4°20' (1980) to west from geographic north and 'true' north (Pole star) 1°38' to east from geographic north in Korea, Hwang-ryong-sa is orientated to a point between geographic north and the Pole star.
- <sup>6</sup> See: Chapter 2.3., pp. 158ff.; Chapter 3.3., pp. 497ff.
- <sup>7</sup> Güm-gang-san 金剛山 금강산.
- <sup>8</sup> Cha-čhu-sa 刺楸寺 자추사 (today's Bæk-ryul-sa 栢栗寺 백률사) was allegedly founded in 528 AD. I-čha-don 伊次頓 이차돈. See: Chapter 4.1., pp. 678f.
- <sup>9</sup> Nam-san 南山 남산. This mountain seems to have been particularly important for Buddhism and numerous temple ruins and stone sculptures have been found there. See: CSSKF (1929, 1994); MHCKLG (1992c); *BGinČd* 103-6, 103-7; ADAMS (1979, 1991), pp. 160 - 207.

Considering the already observed careful selection of the sites of many major constructions in East Asia (religious or secular), these correspondences are surely not coincidental but it can only be speculated about their precise symbolism.

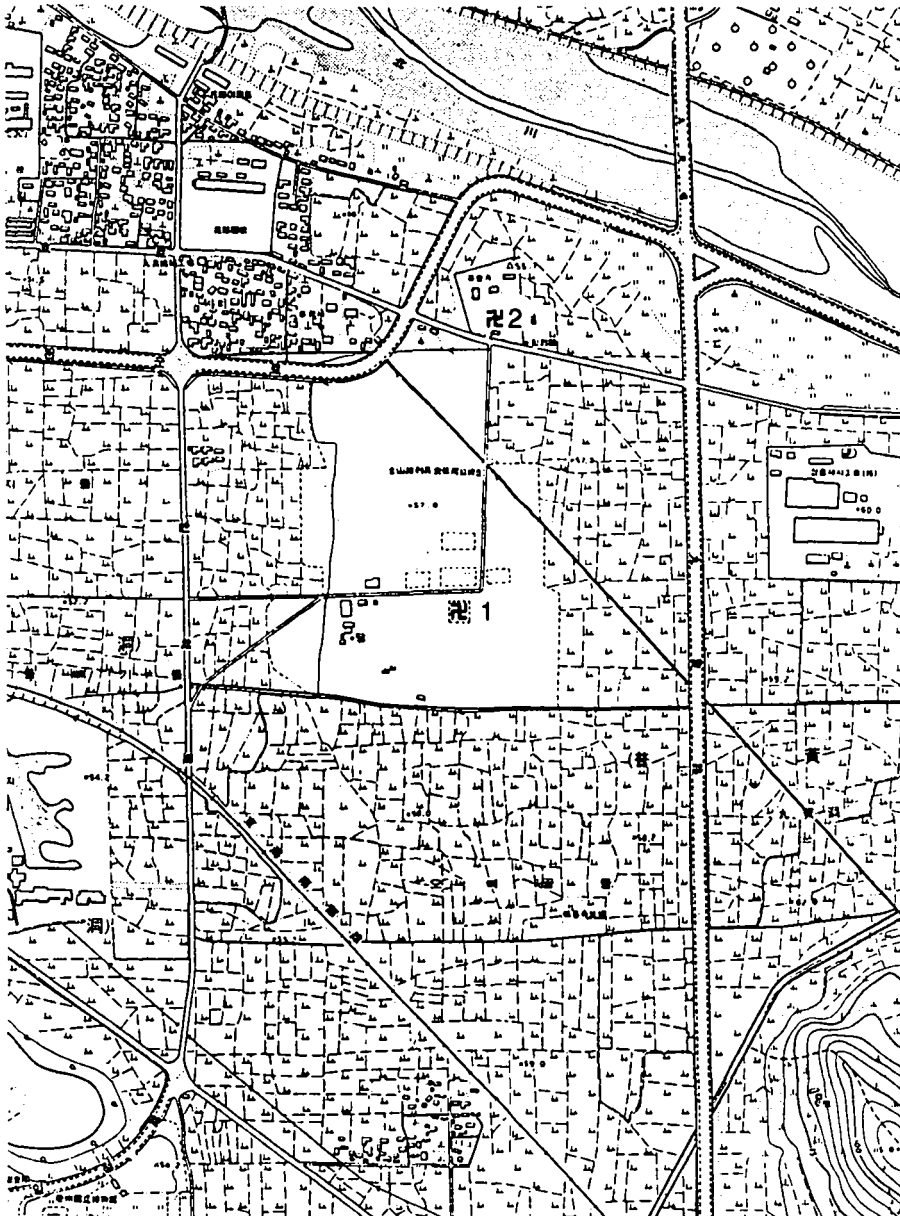


Fig. 542: Topographical situation of Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황동사 (1) and Bun-hwang-sa 芬皇寺 분황사 (2) (scale: 1 : 10,000) (after: CACD NI 52-2-06 (070))



Fig. 543: Eastern surroundings of Kyōng-chu 慶州 경주 with indication of the tripartite summit of Gŭm-gang-san 金剛山 금강산 (1 - 3) and the main axis of Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황룡사 (4) (scale: 1 : 50,000) (after: CACD NI 52-2-06)

## 4.2.2.1.2. The layout of the first construction (founding)

Hwang-ryong-sa has been a huge temple since its founding. The excavations have produced remains of the original temple on a area of about 25,000m<sup>2</sup>. The temple precinct measured<sup>1</sup> about 171.65m from the centre of the eastern dormitories to the centre of the western dormitories and about 136.75m from the centre of the first middle gate in the south to the centre of the supposed position of the lecture hall to the north [fig. 544]. The south gate and the exterior enclosure was probably located about 55m to the south of the first middle gate but the excavated remains<sup>2</sup> of the south gate date probably to later reconstructions. The size is comparable to those of Mi-rük-sa of Bæk-che and Chǒng-rŭng-sa of Ko-gu-ryō<sup>3</sup>.

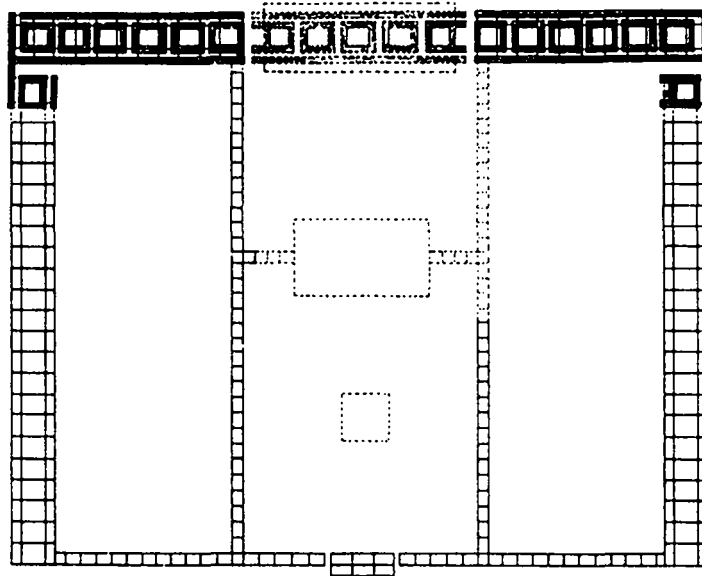


Fig. 544: Reconstructed layout of Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황룡사 at the time of its founding (mid-6th C. AD, scale: 1 : 2,000) (after: MHCKLG (1982, 1984), p. 372)

<sup>1</sup> Measurements according to the excavation report. CHANG has the following measurements: 173.3m by 138.1m. The reason for this difference is not clear. See: MHCKLG (1982, 1984), p. 101; CHANG Kyōng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992), p. 132.

<sup>2</sup> See: *MHCSRBS* 91 / 2, pp. 10 - 18.

<sup>3</sup> Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 (No. 5.6.2.), Chǒng-rŭng-sa 定陵寺 정릉사 (No. 10.1.3.). See: Chapter 2.2., pp. 102f.; Chapter 3.2., pp. 401ff.

Traces of the following structures which were confirmed as dating to the founding period have been discovered:

1. middle gate, south-western and south-eastern galleries
2. intermediate galleries and western middle gallery
3. dormitories on the eastern, western and northern (?) sides

With these elements and the supposition of a general symmetry, the reconstruction of the first Hwang-ryong-sa looks as follows. The middle gate [fig. 545 (1)] lay in the centre and the rear bay of the middle gate lay in the continuation of the one-bay-deep southern galleries [fig. 545 (9, 10)]. The galleries did not touch the middle gate but stopped at a distance of about 1.4m. Supposed monks' dormitories [fig. 545 (5, 6)], which ran northwards, were located at the outer ends of the southern galleries. The southern sides of the dormitories were aligned to the southern sides of the southern galleries. Counting from the middle gate, the sixth and the last bays of the south-western and south-eastern galleries were shorter than the other bays (3m to 3.2m compared to about 4.1m). The last bays served as joints with the dormitories, while the sixth bays had a square ground plan in order to allow the one-bay-deep intermediate galleries [fig. 545 (11, 12)] to be connected with the southern galleries.

The western and eastern dormitories reached northwards as far as the site of the northern structures [fig. 545 (7, 8)] which seem to have had a similar depth as the lateral dormitories but a different organisation. These structures will be discussed in more detail further below, pp. 780ff.. Some traces discovered at the eastern part of the (later reconstructed) lecture hall site could indicate that there was originally no lecture hall between the north-western and north-eastern structures, but that an additional series of similar buildings closed the gap [fig. 545 (4)]. Some authors seem to prefer to ignore these remains<sup>1</sup>.

The one-bay-deep intermediate galleries [fig. 545 (11, 12)] connected the southern galleries with the northern structures and thus divided the large courtyard into three oblong courtyards. The axes of the intermediate galleries had a distance of about 64.25m. The twenty-first bays of the intermediate galleries (counted from the bay of the southern gallery) were shorter than the average bays (about 2.9m compared to about 3.9m) to permit the connection of the middle galleries [fig. 545 (13, 14)] which supposedly led to the image hall [fig. 545 (3)]. The middle galleries divided the central section of the precinct into a front and a back courtyard at a

<sup>1</sup> E.g. CHANG Kyōng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992), pp. 130f.; *HGKCS*, p. 199; YUN Chang-sōb 尹張燮 윤장섭 (1996), p. 158.



proportion of about 1.5 : 1 if the alignment of the northern structures is considered (about 75m for the southern section compared to 50m for the northern section).

Two round piles of stones at the level of the middle gallery to the west of intermediate gallery could indicate that the lateral courtyards also featured buildings with middle galleries, but the foundations of the later western image hall are so close to the site of the intermediate gallery that it seems difficult to distinguish clearly if such a western middle gallery existed. The necessary connection of this supposed western middle gallery with the dormitories seems also to be difficult because the rhythm of the bays of the dormitories does not coincide with that of the intermediate gallery.

The precise location and size of the image hall(s) [fig. 545 (3)] and the wooden pagoda [fig. 545 (2)] could not be located because the later reconstructions of the central image hall and the pagoda probably destroyed all traces. Nevertheless, it is likely that an image hall lay in the axis of the middle gate and the middle galleries. The pagoda would then have stood in front of the image hall, approximately at the same location as the later reconstructed nine-storied wooden pagoda. No middle gates or free-standing structures have been confirmed by the excavations for the lateral courtyards of the first period of Hwang-ryong-sa.

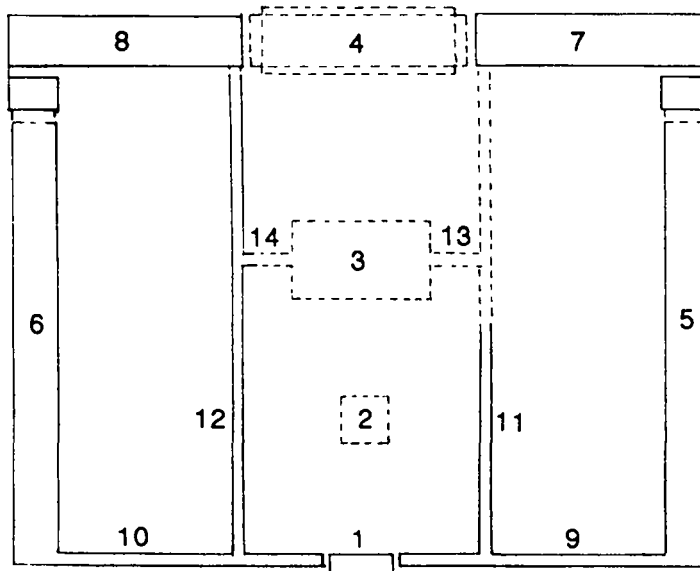


Fig. 545: The excavated structures of Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황룡사 at the time of its founding (see table 36) (mid-6th C. AD, no scale) (drawing by the author)

## 4.2.2.1.3. The structures

Table 36 resumes the confirmed as well as the assumed complementary measurements of the first Hwang-ryong-sa:

structure	platform		superstructure			function, comments
	length	width	length	width	no. bays	
structure No. 1	88.11 尺 (26.70m) (?)	41.58 尺 (12.60m) (?)	55.44 尺 (16.80m) 16.5m	27.12 尺 (8.22m (?)) 6m	3 x 2	middle gate
structure No. 2	?	?	(~ 12m ?)	(~ 12m ?)	?	square wooden pagoda (?)
structure No. 3	?	?	(~ 35m ?)	(~ 20m ?)	?	main image hall (?)
structure No. 4	?	?	~ 50.5m ? ~ 56.5m ?	~ 17.5m ? 9.5m ?	? 11 x 3 ?	lecture hall (?) central dormitories (?)
structure No. 5	?	?	~ 125m 11.5m	~ 11.5m 11.7m	23 x 3 (22 x 3) (21 x 30)	eastern dormitories
structure No. 6	?	?	~ 125m 115.3m	~ 11.5m 11.7m	23 x 3 (22 x 3) (21 x 3)	western dormitories
structure No. 7	?	?	~ 59m	~ 13m	6 x 3 (12 x 3)	north-eastern dormitories (?)
structure No. 8	?	?	~ 58.5m	~ 13m	6 x 3 (12 x 3)	north-western dormitories (?)
structure No. 9	?	?	~ 70.7m 70m	2.75m	17 x 1 (18 x 1)	south-eastern gallery (incl. last bay to the east)
structure No. 10	?	?	~ 70.6m 70m	2.88m	17 x 1 (18 x 1)	south-western gallery (incl. last bay to the west)
structure No. 11	?	?	~ 128m	~ 2.9m	32 x 1 (34 x 1)	eastern intermediate gallery (incl. 1 bay of the south-eastern gallery)
structure No. 12	?	?	~ 128m	~ 2.9m	32 x 1 (34 x 1)	western intermediate gallery (incl. 1 bay of the south-western gallery)
structure No. 13	?	?	~ 16.3m	~ 2.9m	4 x 1 ? (5 x 1 ?)	eastern middle gallery (incl. 1 bay of the eastern intermediate gallery)
structure No. 14	?	?	~ 16.3m	~ 2.9m	4 x 1 ? (5 x 1 ?)	western middle gallery (incl. 1 bay of the western intermediate gallery)

Table 36: Measurements of the excavated structures of the first Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황룡사

## 4.2.2.1.3.1. The middle gate, the southern, intermediate and middle galleries

The foundations of the middle gate, the southern and the intermediate galleries are the best preserved of the structures of the first temple. The later reconstructions of the middle gate kept the same axis but were shifted south by 5.8m (first reconstruction) and 12.3m (second and third reconstructions)<sup>1</sup>. The middle gate and the southern galleries of the first construction thus lay to the north of the subsequent gates and galleries [figs. 546 - 550].

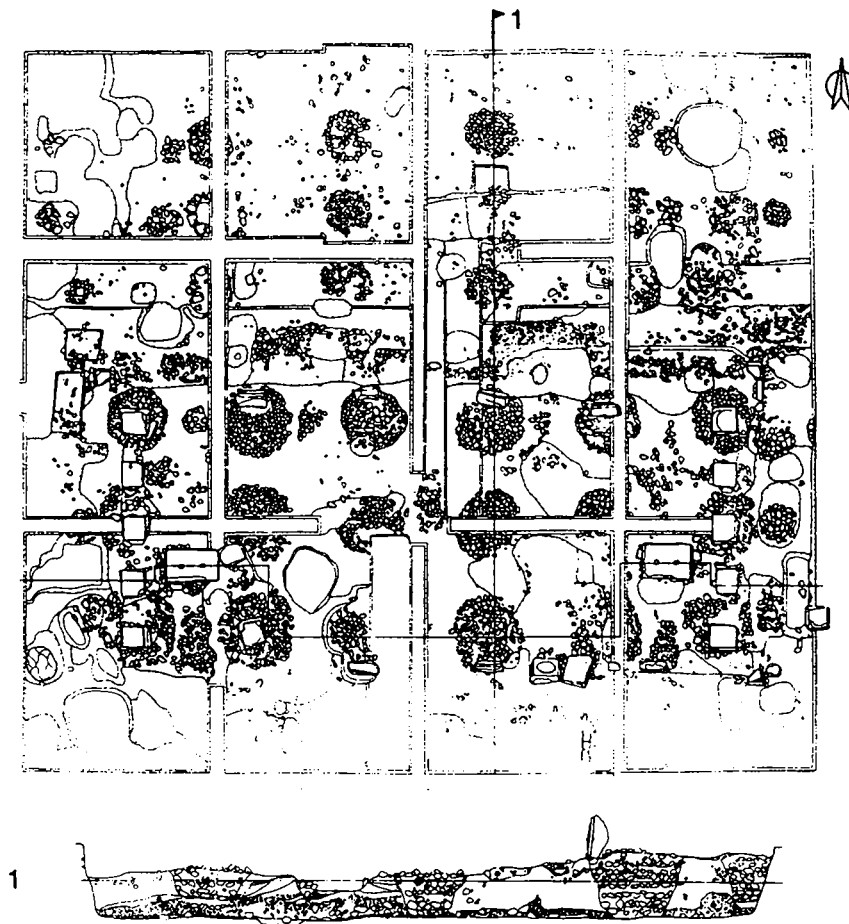


Fig. 546: Excavation plan (scale: 1 : 300) and section (scale 1 : 200) of the foundations of the successive middle gates of Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황룡사 (1 indicates the section) (Ancient Sin-la / Unified Sin-la) (after: MHCKLG (1982, 1984), plans 21, 35-1)

<sup>1</sup> Measurements according to the drawings of the excavation report. The text mentions 6m and 13m. See: MHCKLG (1982, 1984), p. 371f.

The construction of the later belfry and *sūtra* repository which lay in the south-eastern and south-western corner of the temple precinct each destroyed a portion of the foundations of the first southern gallery [fig. 548]. This superimposition is a clear indication that the belfry and *sūtra* repository did not belong to the original layout of Hwang-ryong-sa. The intermediate galleries were also largely untouched because they lay between the three reconstructed image halls [figs. 551, 552].

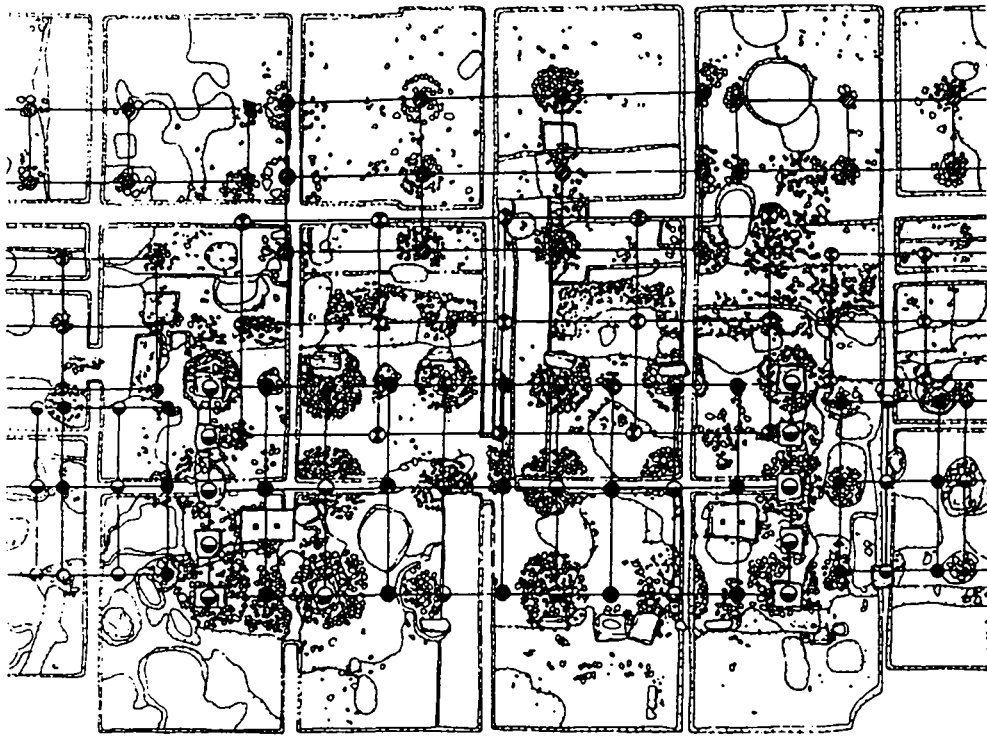


Fig. 547: Interpretation of the excavation plan of the successive middle gates of Hwang-ryong-sa  
 皇龍寺 황동사 (Ancient Sin-la / Unified Sin-la, scale: 1 : 300)  
 (after: MHCKLG (1982, 1984), p. 94):

- middle gate and southern gallery of the founding period
- ⊗ middle gate and southern gallery of the first reconstruction
- middle gate and southern gallery of the second reconstruction
- ◐ middle gate and southern gallery of the third reconstruction

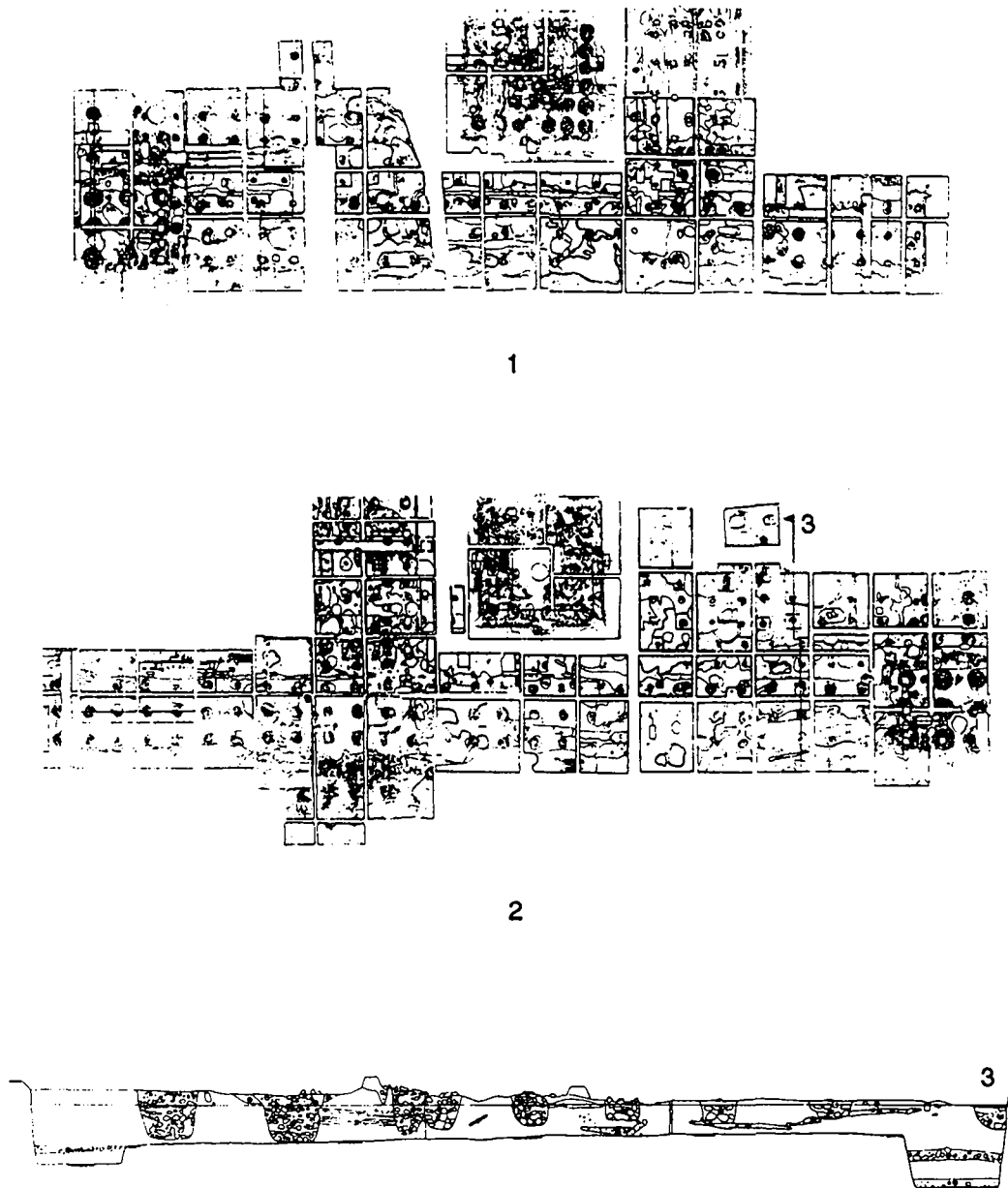


Fig. 548: Excavation plans of the south-eastern (1) and south-western galleries (2) (scale: 1 : 1,000) and section of the foundation of the south-western galleries (3 indicates the section) (scale: 1 : 200) of Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 皇龍寺 (Ancient Sin-la / Unified Sin-la) (after: MHCKLG (1982, 1984), plans 22f., 35-3)

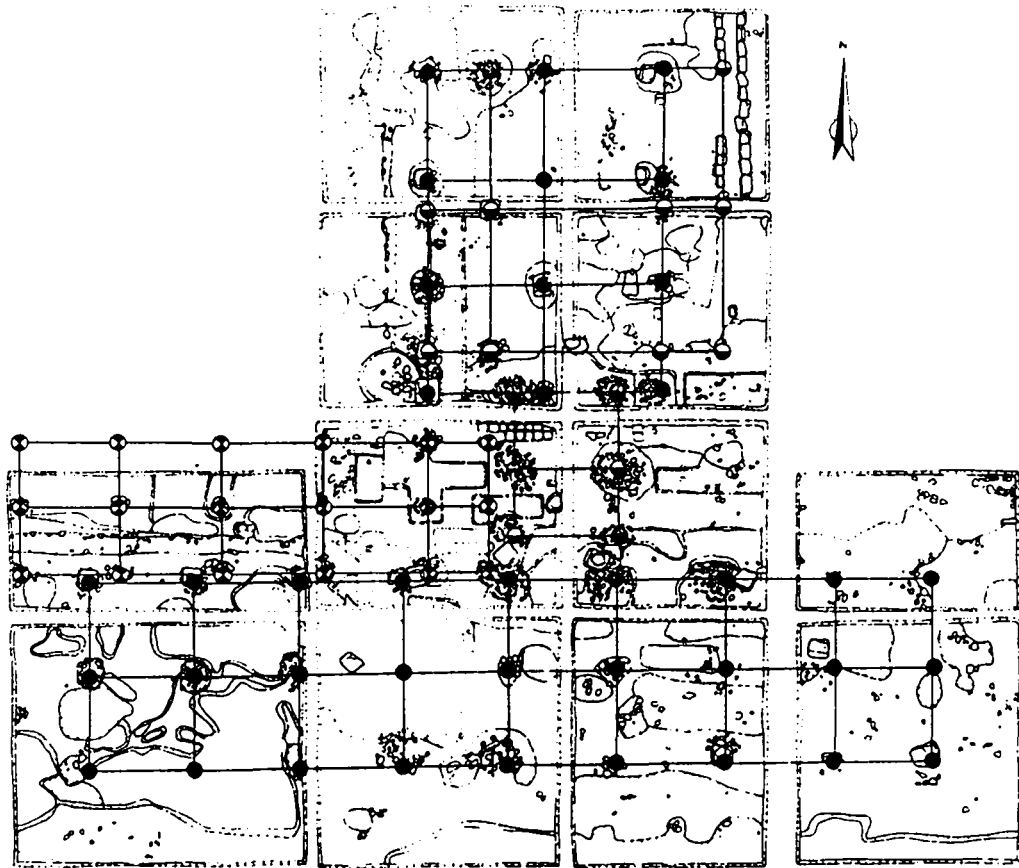


Fig. 549: Interpretation of the excavation plan of the south-eastern corner of Hwang-ryong-sa  
 皇龍寺 황룡사 (Ancient Sin-la / Unified Sin-la, scale: 1 : 300)  
 (after: MHCKLG (1982, 1984), p. 100):

- dormitories of the founding period and first reconstruction
- ⊗ southern gallery of first reconstruction
- southern and lateral galleries of the last reconstruction

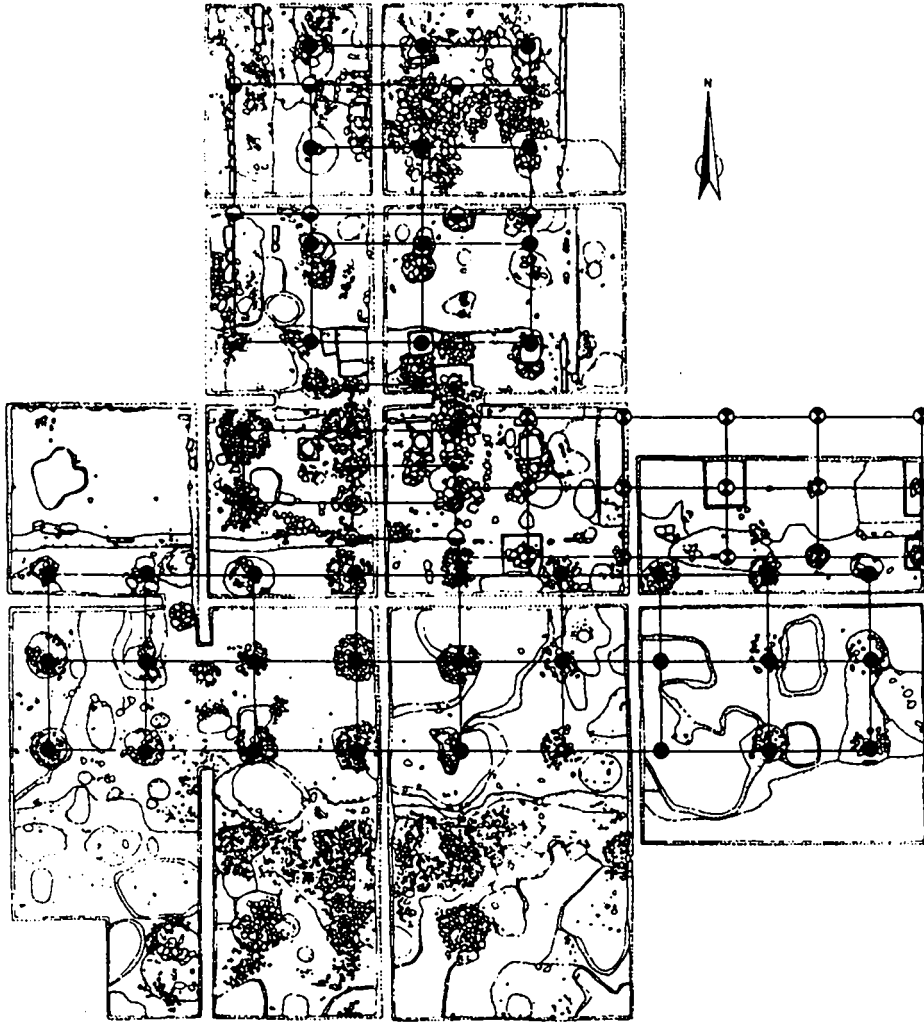


Fig. 550: Interpretation of the excavation plan of the south-western corner of Hwang-ryong-sa  
 皇龍寺 황룡사 (Ancient Sin-la / Unified Sin-la, scale: 1 : 300)  
 (after: MHCKLG (1982, 1984), p. 100):

- dormitories and connection building of the founding period and first reconstruction
- ⊗ southern gallery of first reconstruction
- southern and lateral galleries of the last reconstruction
- ◐ building whose function is not clear

The excavated foundations of the wooden columns of the middle gate consisted of round piles of stone with a diameter of 1.7m to 2m and a depth of about 1m to 1.2m [fig. 546]. No traces of the retaining walls of the platform were located so that the size of the platform can only be guessed from the size of the wooden structure. The remains of the column foundations of the one-bay-deep southern, intermediate and middle galleries were similar in form but their diameter measured between 90cm and 1.4m [fig. 548].

#### 4.2.2.1.3.2. The northern structures and the lateral dormitories

The foundations of the northern structures which were discovered about 40cm to 50cm below the present surface<sup>1</sup> of the earth were different from those of the galleries and the middle gate. They consisted of linear arrangements, about 1.7m to 2m wide, of natural stones which formed a pattern of a series of squares surrounded by an additional line of foundations [figs. 544, 551, 552]. The axes of the outer lines were about 11.5m to 12m apart and the axes of the northern and southern sides of the squares had a distance of 6.4m to 6.5m. The axes of the eastern and western sides of the square were 6.6m to 7.2m apart. The space between the axis of the outer side of one square to that of the next square measured about 2.5m so that the axes of the two squares in the east-west direction had a distance of about 9.1m to 9.7m.

At least one such square was also located at the northern sides of each of the lateral dormitories but it is not sure whether this structure originally continued further southwards. The distance of the centre of these southern squares to the centres of the easternmost and westernmost squares measured about 15.1m. The remainder of the foundations of the lateral dormitories was apparently constructed in a similar way to the middle gate and the galleries with round piles of stones with a diameter between 1m and 2m. The bays in the south-north direction measured about 5.5m and in the east-west direction about 2.5m, 6.7m and 2.5m. It is however very difficult to distinguish the various construction periods because the later two-bays-deep galleries were built right on top of the original dormitories. The interpretation of these remains has been problematic since their discovery and several speculations have been advanced. I discuss some of them in the following paragraph.

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<sup>1</sup> Measurements according to the excavation report. See: MHCKLG (1982, 1984), p. 91f.



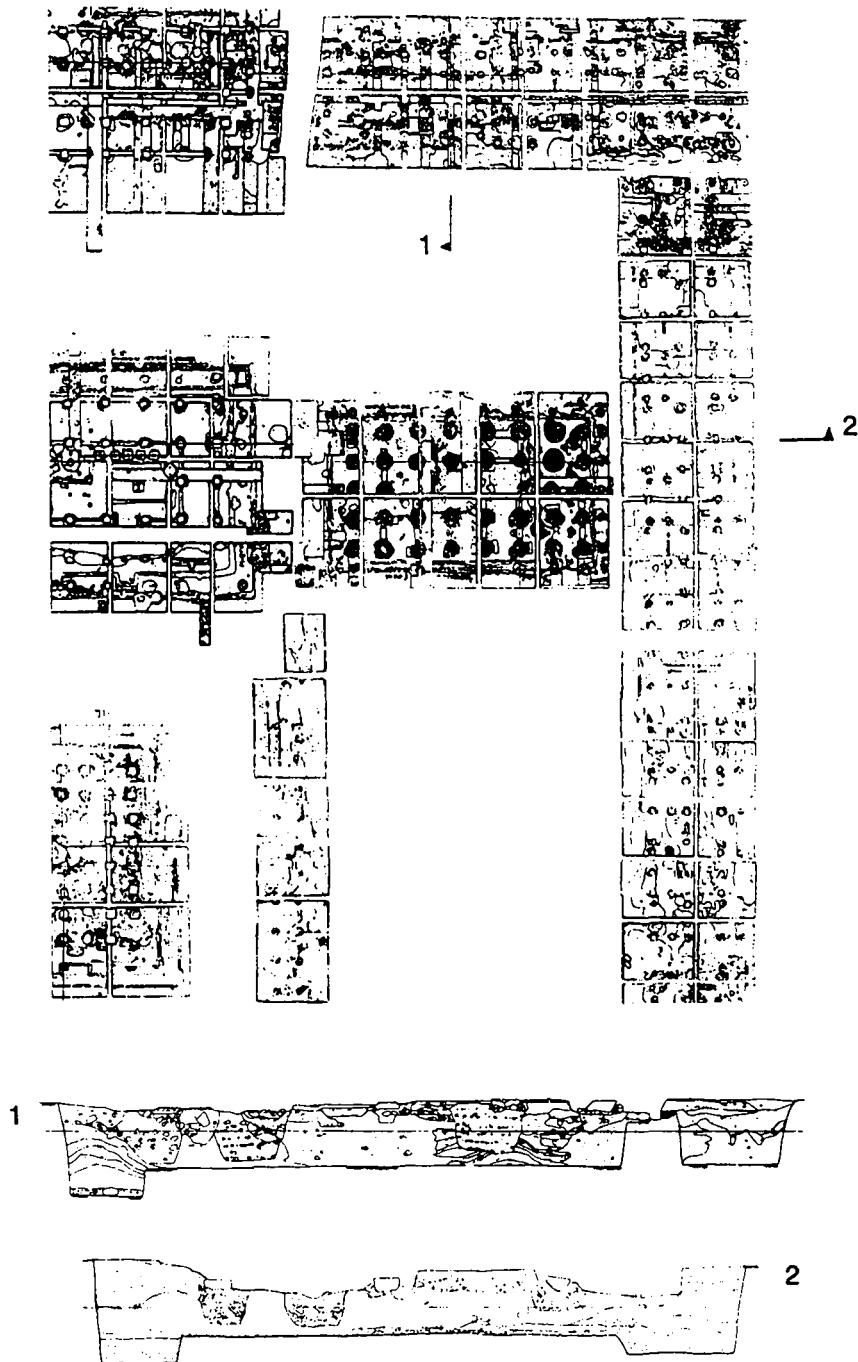


Fig. 551: Excavation plan of the eastern dormitories, eastern intermediate gallery and north-eastern structures (scale: 1 : 1,000) and sections of their foundations (scale: 1 : 200) (1 and 2 indicate the sections) of Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 皇統寺 (Ancient Sin-la / Unified Sin-la) (after: MHCKLG (1982, 1984), plans 16, 24, 34-1, 36-1)

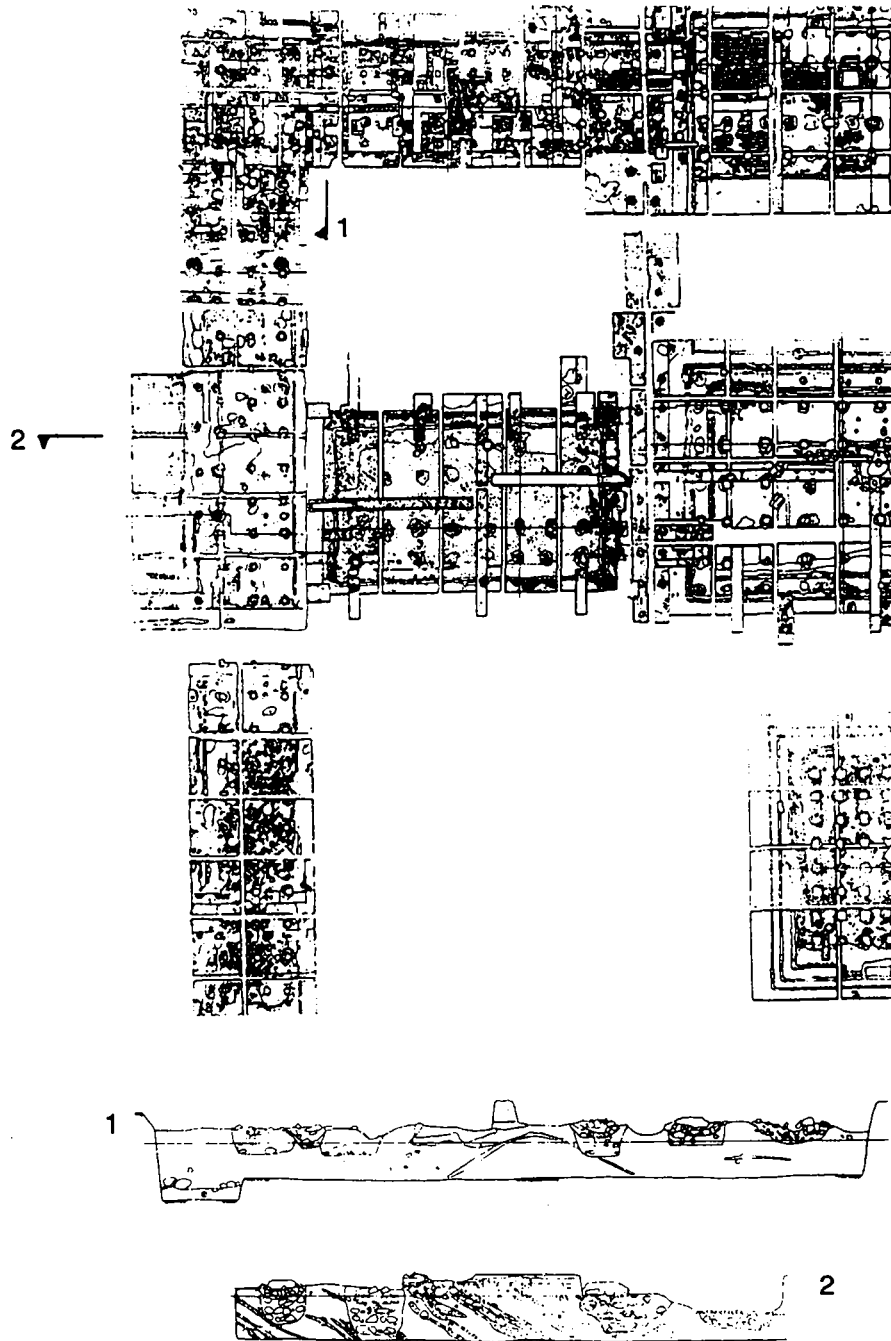


Fig. 552: Excavation plan of the western dormitories, western intermediate gallery and north-western structures (scale: 1 : 1,000) and sections of their foundations (scale: 1 : 200) (1 and 2 indicate the sections) of Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황룡사 (Ancient Sin-la / Unified Sin-la) (after: MHCKLG (1982, 1984), plans 19, 25, 34-2, 36-2)

#### 4.2.2.1.4. Interpretation of the layout and structures of the first Hwang-ryong-sa

The founding legend of Hwang-ryong-sa seems to be able to partially explain the unorthodox layout of the first temple. The enterprise was first planned as a palace so that the location of the image hall was probably destined for the main palace building where the royal court could conduct ceremonies. The lateral courtyards were possibly conceived as private quarters for the royal clan. After the decision to change the palace into a Buddhist temple, the main consequences must have been the addition of a wooden pagoda in the centre of the main courtyard and the transformation of the western, northern and eastern structures into monks' cells. A lecture hall could then have been later added behind the image hall, replacing the central northern structures.

##### 4.2.2.1.4.1. The northern structures

The location of the northern structures and the repetitive nature seem to suggest that they were dormitories of the first temple<sup>1</sup>. But the construction method of the foundations are different from any known dormitory site of early Buddhist temples in Korea. The lateral dormitories of the founding period and the later reconstructions of the dormitories of Hwang-ryong-sa used a much simpler foundation method (closer to that used in Mi-rŭk-sa). It is therefore questionable if the linear northern foundations belonged to dormitories.

It has been speculated that the northern structures were essentially a ground-stabilizing measure because Hwang-ryong-sa was allegedly built on the site of a pond or a marsh<sup>2</sup>. But as this structure was only discovered on a portion of the precinct and as no similar structures are known from other sites with weak ground (in particular Mi-rŭk-sa), this interpretation seems to be far-fetched.

As it seems that the northern structures continued through the site of the later lecture hall, it could be speculated that these foundations belonged to the original palace design which had no need of a large structure at the site of the lecture hall of Buddhist temples. But it is not clear what function such repetitive structures could have had in a royal palace.

<sup>1</sup> While the general sizes and positions in the layout of the northern structures of Hwang-ryong-sa and the dormitories of Mi-rŭk-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 (No. 5.6.2.) are comparable, the foundations of the northern structures were much sturdier and of a completely different type than those of the dormitories of Mi-rŭk-sa. See: Chapter 3.2., pp. 468f.

<sup>2</sup> See: MHCKLG (1982, 1984), pp. 99, 101.

The excavation team has speculated that the type of foundations could hint at load-bearing wall structures<sup>1</sup> but could not provide an explanation of the function of such buildings. Such an interpretation invites a comparison with excavated Chinese Han structures of combined wooden and mud constructions such as in the Chang'an arsenal and the Hua granary<sup>2</sup> where deep pounded mud walls surrounded a wooden core structure. The function of the mud walls was in both cases the safe-keeping of valuable objects, which, however, seems less appropriate for the main precinct of a palace or a temple.

It seems that only new discoveries of comparable structures at other sites could solve the questions of the form and function of the first northern structures of Hwang-ryong-sa.

#### 4.2.2.1.4.2. The lateral courtyards and the galleries

No traces of early structures were discovered during the excavations in the lateral courtyards but compared with what is known from Ko-gu-ryō and Bæk-che<sup>3</sup> and because of the size of the open space of about 46m by 128m, it seems improbable to me that they would have featured no additional structures. However, as the lateral courtyards supposedly did not have separate gates in the southern gallery (though the probable site of such supposed gates was disturbed by the construction of the belfry and the *sūtra* repository so that this supposition cannot be proven) and as the dormitories were directly orientated towards the lateral courtyards, a configuration similar to Mi-rūk-sa where all three front courtyards had a ceremonial function seems to be improbable. The lateral courtyards seem thus to have been reserved for the clergy in a similar way to the lateral courtyards of Chōng-rūng-sa<sup>4</sup> and the northern courtyard of Mi-rūk-sa.

As in some cases in Ko-gu-ryō, but unlike the two-bay-deep galleries of Bæk-che's Mi-rūk-sa, the one-bay-deep intermediate and middle galleries of the first Hwang-ryong-sa raise the question of the existence of partition walls. As the lateral courtyards probably had no middle gates, they were supposedly reached through the

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<sup>1</sup> Extant load-bearing wall structures are rare in East-Asia, and particularly in Korea. Some cases of block houses and mud-wall constructions are known from domestic architecture. Military architecture and city walls are other examples of such structures. It can also be remembered that it is possible that the pagodas of Ko-gu-ryō and maybe the central pagoda of Mi-rūk-sa used a mixed structure of load-bearing walls and wooden skeleton. See: Chapter 2.3., 3.3.

<sup>2</sup> Chang'an arsenal (*wu ku*) 長安武庫 장안무고, Hua granary (*cang*) 華倉 화창. See: *AB* 68 / 3, 366ff.

<sup>3</sup> See: Chapters 2.2., 3.2.

<sup>4</sup> Chōng-rūng-sa 定陵寺 정릉사 (No. 10.1.3.).

intermediate galleries which then might have been open on their whole length, thus avoiding the problems of the location of the partition walls and the connection of the intermediate galleries to the southern gallery<sup>1</sup>.

Middle galleries have so far only been observed at palace buildings of Ko-gu-ryō for the Korean Three Kingdoms period. This is a further indication not only that the first layout of Hwang-ryong-sa was in fact conceived as a palace but also that the palace and temple layouts were basically very close. The middle galleries became popular for Buddhist architecture in the first half of Unified Sin-la<sup>2</sup> and similar configurations can be observed at temples from the late seventh to the middle of the eighth century in Japan<sup>3</sup>.

The assumption that the longitudinal axis of the image hall was identical to the axis of the middle galleries is based on the palace architecture of Ko-gu-ryō and a number of Unified Sin-la Buddhist temples. One of the palace building at An-ab-chi<sup>4</sup> [fig. 553], a temple of Tang China<sup>5</sup> and many temples in Japan<sup>6</sup> show that this configuration is not the only possibility but there are no indications which would allow to determine the precise location of the image hall.

<sup>1</sup> If a partition wall had been placed on the sides of the lateral courtyards, these courtyards would have been delimited on three sides by colonnades and only on one side by a wall. The connection to the southern gallery would then have been rather awkward as the gallery would have led towards a wall or an opening which led to the central courtyard. Such a case is the recent reconstruction of Bul-guk-sa where the western courtyard is located on a lower level. But even here there is doubt if there was not once (mid-8th C. AD) an additional gallery along the retaining wall of the main precinct on the level of the western courtyard. See: YONEDA Miyoji 米田美代治 よねだみよじ 미전 미대치 (1975), pp. 56f.; CHŌNG In-guk 鄭寅國 정인국 (1974), p. 181, (both after the plan by FUJISHIMA Gaijirō 藤島 亥治郎 ふじしま がいじろう 등도 해치랑 in KCZS (1930)).

<sup>2</sup> E.g. at Kam-ün-sa 感恩寺 감은사 and Bul-guk-sa 佛國寺 불국사.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. at Kawara-dera 川原寺かわらでら 천원사, Tōshōdai-ji 唐招提寺とうしやうだいじ 당초제사, Tōdai-ji 東大寺とうだいじ 동대사 and Kōfuku-ji 興福寺こうふくじ 흥복사.

<sup>4</sup> An-ab-chi 雁鴨池 안압지. See: MHCKLG (1978).

<sup>5</sup> The excavation of Qingyong-si 青龍寺 청룡사 (founded in 582 AD, renamed (and reconstructed?) in 711 AD) has shown that the main image hall (and maybe also the minor image hall in the secondary eastern precinct) was connected at the front bay with the lateral galleries through middle galleries. The carving of an image hall on a lintel of Dayen-ta 大雁塔 대안탑 (701 to 704 AD) and the illustration of the *Guangzhong chuangli jietan tujing* 「關中創立戒壇圖經 관중창립계단도경」 also show middle galleries but their exact positions are not clear. See: KG 87 - 4, p. 334f.; Chapter 3.3., pp. 528ff.

<sup>6</sup> In Japan, the centred middle gallery seems to have been the exception (if used at all). All known temples with middle galleries connect them with the front bay of the image hall.

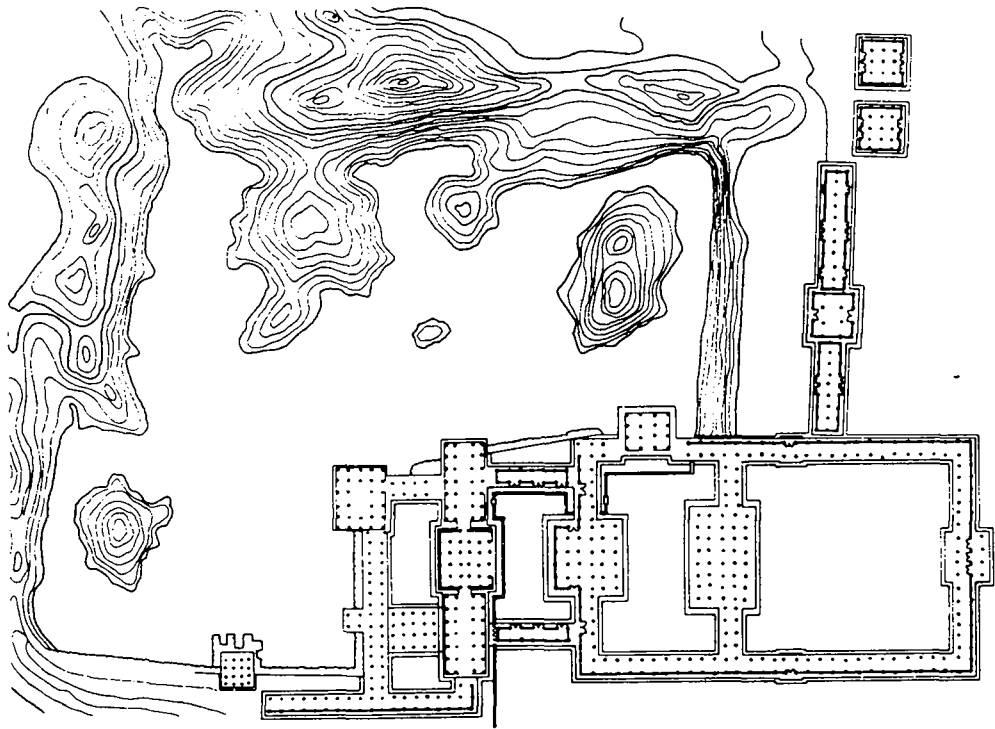


Fig. 553: Reconstructed layout of An-ab-chi 雁鴨池 안압지 (Unified Silla, scale: 1 : 2,000)  
(after: CHANG Kyŏng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992), p. 148)

#### 4.2.2.2. THE FIRST RECONSTRUCTION OF HWANG-RYONG-SA

The first reconstruction of Hwang-ryong-sa was probably not due to an accidental destruction of the first temple by a fire, but seems to have been motivated by dissatisfaction with the first construction. It can only be speculated what were the reasons for this discontent but it seems possible that the first temple was organised more like a palace than a Buddhist temple. When interest in Buddhism grew considerably in the first century of Buddhism in Sin-la among the members of the royal court, the first Hwang-ryong-sa, as the main royal temple, was possibly considered too small and humble to represent the aspirations of state Buddhism in Sin-la.

The first temple does not seem to have been destroyed at once but its main buildings were successively replaced with new, larger structures. Certain layout elements were abandoned while new ones were introduced. Thus Hwang-ryong-sa must have been a continuous construction site for about one hundred years. But this does not seem to have prevented the temple from functioning continuously as the leading temple of the kingdom.

In 574 AD, three large gilt-bronze Buddhist statues were cast (see Chapter 4.1., pp. 685ff.) and in 584 AD the construction of the new image hall began. The intermediate and middle galleries [fig. 545 (11 - 14)] were probably abandoned at that time and the whole precinct became a single unit [fig. 554]. It is supposed that a little later, the western and eastern image halls [fig. 558 (4 - 5)] were constructed whose foundations were excavated. The excavation team<sup>1</sup> suggested that the lateral dormitories [fig. 558 (11 - 12)] were not destroyed at that time but partially transformed into lateral galleries, probably because the function of dormitories was in conflict with the public character of the lateral image halls. It is possible that only those bays of the dormitories which faced the courtyard were used as galleries while the rest of the building could continuously have been used as dormitories. In this case it can be speculated that the entrances to the individual cells were changed from the courtyard side to the exterior side. This would have been possible because an enclosure around the whole temple which ensured the privacy of the clergy was already completed in 569 AD, according to the *Sam-guk-yu-sa*<sup>2</sup>. In addition, new dormitories were possibly constructed around that time to the north of the main precinct. Though a number of structures were discovered there, it seems difficult to distinguish the periods to which they date.

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<sup>1</sup> See: MHCKLG (1982, 1984), p. 101, 373.

<sup>2</sup> See Chapter 4.1., pp. 685ff., 717ff.

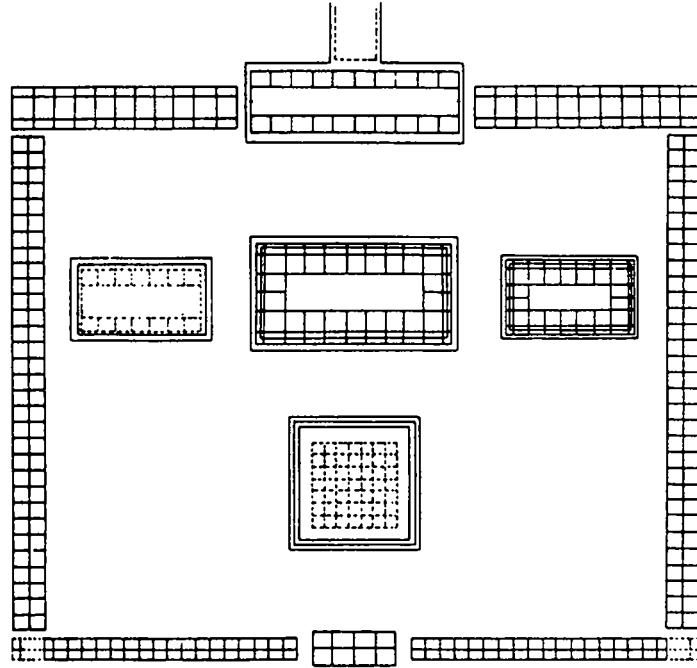


Fig. 554: Reconstructed layout of Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황룡사 after the first reconstruction (about 643 AD, scale: 1 : 2,000) (after: MHCKLG (1982, 1984), p. 373)

In 643 AD, the giant nine-storied wooden pagoda [fig. 558 (2)] was erected under the direction of Cha-chang Yul-sa<sup>1</sup>. This seems to signify that the first pagoda existed until the early seventh century and it is therefore possible that the first middle gate and the southern galleries [fig. 558 (1, 9, 10)] were only replaced at the time of the construction of the wooden pagoda which needed more space in front of it. The disused lateral dormitories could also have been reconstructed as double galleries at this time but the excavation team seems to hesitate on the date of the first construction of the lateral double galleries<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cha-chang Yul-sa 慈藏律師 자장율사. See: Chapter 4.1., pp. 717ff.

<sup>2</sup> While the texts seem to indicate that the lateral double galleries were only constructed in the last stage of the development of Hwang-ryong-sa, the published reconstruction drawings include lateral double galleries already for the first reconstruction (but not for the 2nd reconstruction!). See: figs. 554 - 557; MHCKLG (1982, 1984), p. 101, 373ff.



Thus, less than a century after its founding, almost no original structure of the temple remained. This second layout, however, remained unchanged<sup>1</sup> in its essence during almost 600 years until the final destruction of the temple in 1238 AD; from time to time, the buildings were repaired or reconstructed at about the same locations and sizes. [figs. 555 - 557].

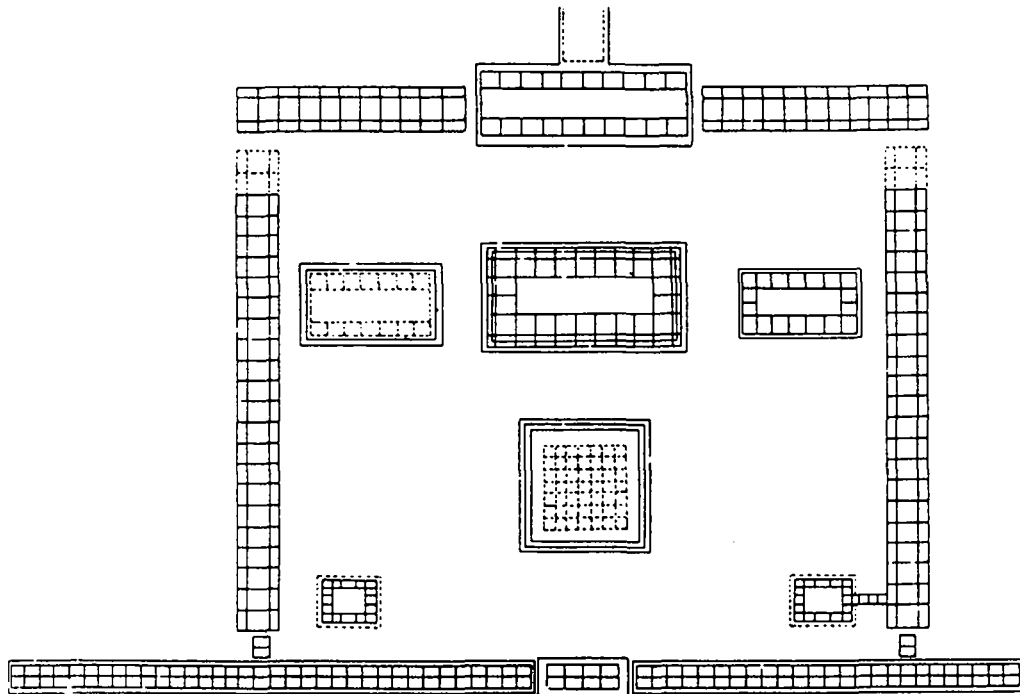


Fig. 555: Layout of Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황룡사 after the second reconstruction (about 754 AD, scale: 1 : 2,000) (after: MHCKLG (1982, 1984), p. 374)

<sup>1</sup> The only important change seems to have been the introduction of the belfry to the south-east of the wooden pagoda and the *sūtra* repository to the south-west of the pagoda. This probably took place during the 2nd reconstruction in the middle of the 8th C. AD.  
See: MHCKLG (1982, 1984), p. 373ff.; KIM Dong-hyŏn 金東賢 김동현 (1992), pp. 62 - 69.

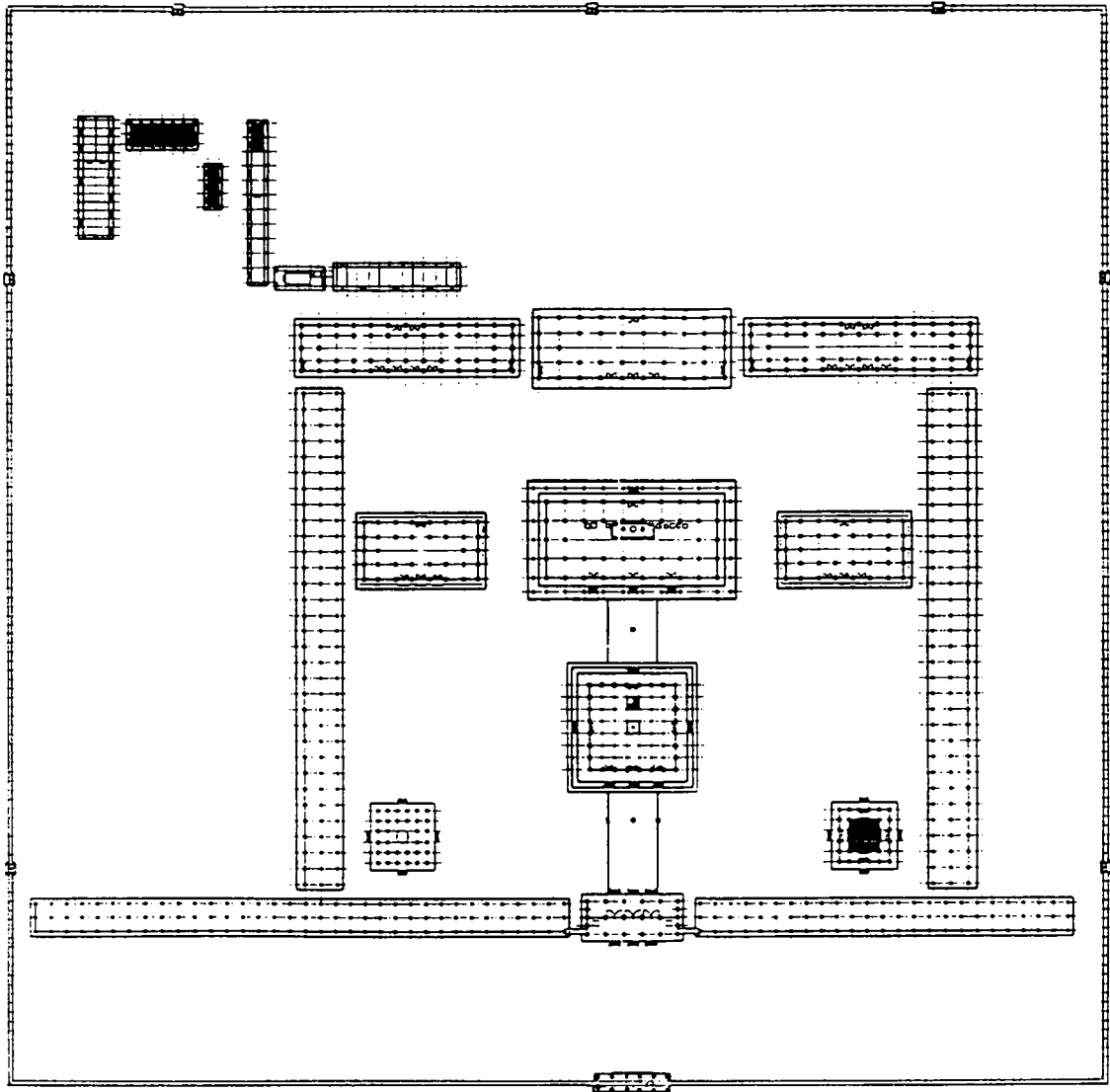


Fig. 556. Layout of Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황릉사 after the third reconstruction (about 1096 AD, scale: 1 : 2,000) (after: YUN Chang-sŏb 尹張燮 윤장섭 (1996), p. 159)

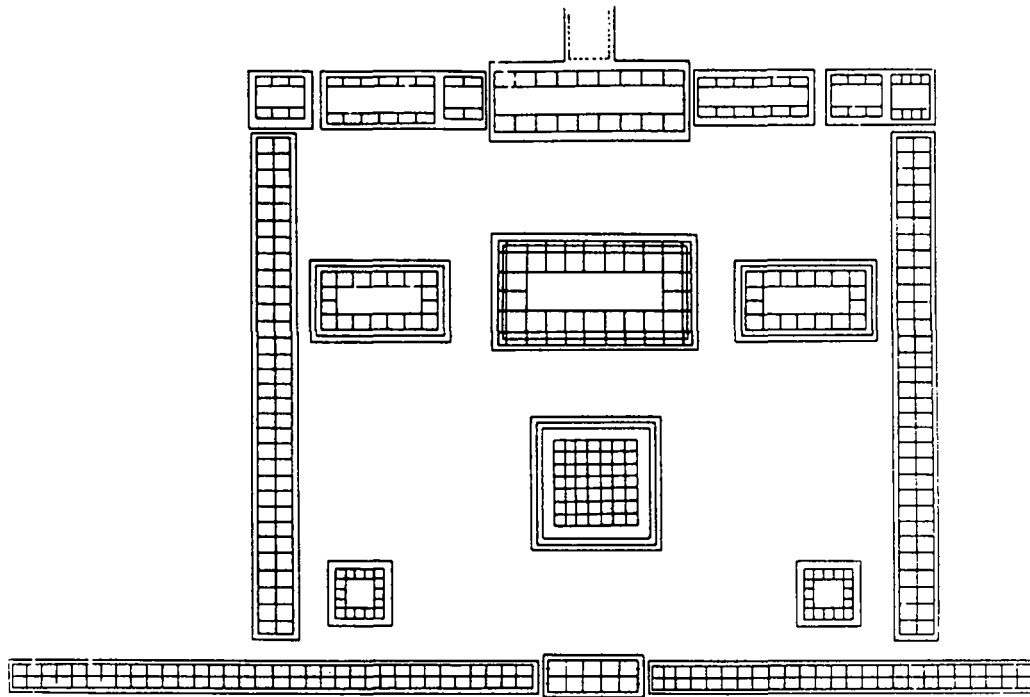


Fig. 557: Layout of Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황룡사 after the third reconstruction (about 1096 AD, scale: 1 : 2,000) (after: MHCKLG (1982, 1984), p. 375)

#### 4.2.2.2.1. The general measurements of the first reconstruction (after 643 AD)

As mentioned above, the centre of the middle gate of the first reconstruction [figs. 546f.] was moved southwards by about 5.8m on the main axis compared to the position of the first middle gate. The distance between the new centre of the middle gate and the centre of the square nine-storied wooden pagoda thus measured about 43.37m. The centre of the central image hall lay about 49.81m behind the centre of the pagoda and the centre of the lecture hall about 50.73m behind that of the central image hall. The distance between the middle gate and the lecture hall measured thus about 142.7m according to the excavation report<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> CHANG has: 143.91m. See: MHCKLG (1982, 1984), p. 101, 372; CHANG Kyōng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992), p. 132.

The longitudinal axes of the lateral image halls did not coincide with the longitudinal axis of the central image hall but were shifted southwards by 1.3m to 1.5m. It seems that the western image hall was placed slightly further southwards than the eastern image hall but it is not certain if this was a deliberate choice. The transversal axes of the eastern and the western image halls had distances from the main axis of the temple of about 56.96m and 56.86m respectively.

The distance between the longitudinal axes of the lateral double galleries measured<sup>1</sup> about 169.1m. It seems that the southern galleries touched neither the middle gate nor the lateral galleries (or dormitories).

#### 4.2.2.2. The structures

Table 37 resumes the measurements of the structures of the first reconstruction after the completion of the nine-storied wooden pagoda in 643 AD [fig. 558]:

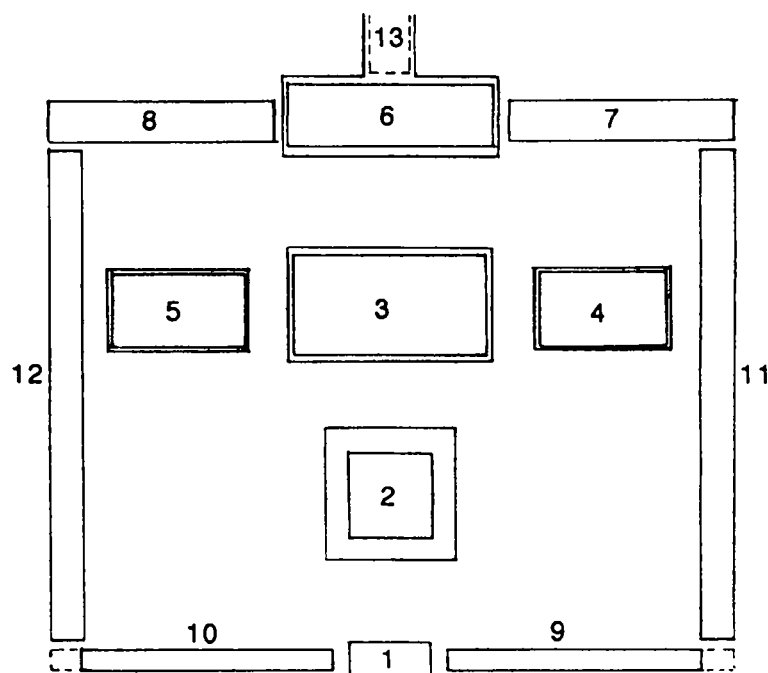


Fig. 558: The excavated structures of Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황룡사 after the first reconstruction (see table 37) (about 643 AD, no scale) (drawing by the author)

<sup>1</sup> CHANG has: 170.79m. See: MHCKLG (1982, 1984), p. 101; CHANG Kyŏng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992), p. 132.

structure	platform		superstructure			function, comments
	length	width	length	width	no. bays	
structure No. 1	26.7m ?	12.6m ?	21m	8.7m	4 x 2	middle gate
structure No. 2	~ 34.3m (28.85m)	~ 34.3m (28.94m)	22.15m	22.15m	7 x 7	square 9-storied wooden pagoda (upper step)
structure No. 3	55.3m 55.44m* ~ 55.5m (49.39m) (52.00m)* (~ 50m)	31.21m (?) 30.31m* ~ 30.5m (24.55m) (26.90m)* (~ 24.8m)	51.76m ~ 51.7m (44.92m) (44.98m)* (~ 45m)	27.88m (?) ~ 27m (19.85m)* (~ 20.2m)	11 x 6  (9 x 4)	<b>central image hall</b> * = according to CHANG ~ = according to drawing (upper step, core) * = according to CHANG ~ = according to drawing
structure No. 4	38.18m (34.1m)	22.73m (18.79m)	(31.07m)	(15.39m)	9 x 6 (7 x 4)	eastern image hall (upper step, core)
structure No. 5	? (35.96m)	? (20.2m)	~ 36.5m (30.42m) (~ 30.8m)	~ 21.9m (15.04m) (~ 16.2m)	9 x 6 (7 x 4)	western image hall (upper step, core)
structure No. 6	? (52.64m)	? (21.1m)	~ 55m (49.07m)	~ 17m (15.86m)	10 x 4 (9 x 4)	lecture hall (reconstruction)
structure No. 7		15.4m ?		11.7m ?	11 x 3 ?	north-eastern dormitories ?
structure No. 8		15.4m ?		11.7m ?	11 x 3 ?	north-western dormitories ?
structure No. 9				5.3m ?	20 x 2 21 x 2 ?	south-eastern gallery
structure No. 10				5.3m ?	20 x 2 21 x 2 ?	south-western gallery
structure No. 11			128.1m	9.1m	31 x 2 ?	eastern gallery
structure No. 12			128.5m	8.6m	31 x 2 ?	western gallery
structure No. 13				?	?	northern gallery ?

Table 37: Measurements of the excavated structures of Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황룡사 after the first reconstruction (about 643 AD)

#### 4.2.2.2.1. The middle gate, the southern and lateral galleries

The foundations of the middle gate of the first reconstruction [fig. 546] were less well preserved than those of the founding period, probably because the later reconstructions disturbed them. With the help of the foundations of the southern galleries, which were better visible, the position of the columns of the middle gate

could be reconstructed. The length of the bays in the longitudinal direction measured about 5.25m while the bays in the transversal direction were about 4.3m long. The main difference between the reconstructed middle gate and the original one is that the reconstructed middle gate counted four bays at the front and rear sides compared to three of the original middle gate [fig. 547]. Thus a row of columns stood in the centre of gate and consequentially in the main axis of the temple. Such a four-bay-long gate can be found at Japan's Hōryū-ji<sup>1</sup> [figs. 399, 400, 461] although this is three bays deep and is not placed in the exact middle of the southern gallery. It seems that the second reconstruction of Hwang-ryong-sa kept the general form of the middle gate of the first reconstruction, but the third and last reconstruction enlarged the gate to five bays on the front and rear sides.

The longitudinal axis of the middle gate of the first reconstruction was approximately identical to that of the two-bay-deep southern galleries [figs. 548ff.]. As in the case of the first construction, the galleries seem not to have touched the middle gate but stopped at a distance of about 3.3m (west) and 2.4m (east). The lengths and widths of the bays of the reconstructed southern galleries were similar to the original ones with the exception that they were two bays deep. The connection of the southern galleries with the lateral galleries has not been completely clarified because these places seem to have been remodelled numerous times to adapt to the ever-changing situation [figs. 549f.]. It seems that the galleries first followed the rhythm of bays of the southern sides of the dormitories of the first construction. This is the main reason for the assumption that the original dormitories were still standing at the time of the construction of the nine-storied wooden pagoda and the related reconstruction of the middle gate and the southern galleries.

When finally the dormitories were reconstructed as double galleries, it is possible that the eastern and western ends of the southern galleries were adapted or shortened on the level of the sides of the lateral galleries which were turned towards the courtyard. It seems that some authors prefer to consider the double lateral galleries as a feature of the last reconstruction of Hwang-ryong-sa but the interior and exterior sides of the lateral double galleries do not correspond with the bays of the last southern galleries while the interior sides of the lateral galleries were identical with the interior sides of the former dormitories and thus also corresponded to a row of columns of the first reconstruction. This seems to indicate that the lateral double galleries had a closer relationship to the first reconstruction than to the later ones.

<sup>1</sup> The middle gate of Hōryū-ji 法隆寺ほりゅうじ 법룡사. See: Chapter 3.3., pp. 536f., 616.

#### 4.2.2.2.2. The square nine-storied wooden pagoda

The foundation stones at the site of the pagoda are believed to date to the reconstruction by Cha-chang Yul-sa in 643 AD. The pagoda of Hwang-ryong-sa was one of the most ambitious construction projects of ancient Korea. The following paragraphs resume the excavation results as described in the report published by the Cultural Properties Research Institute.

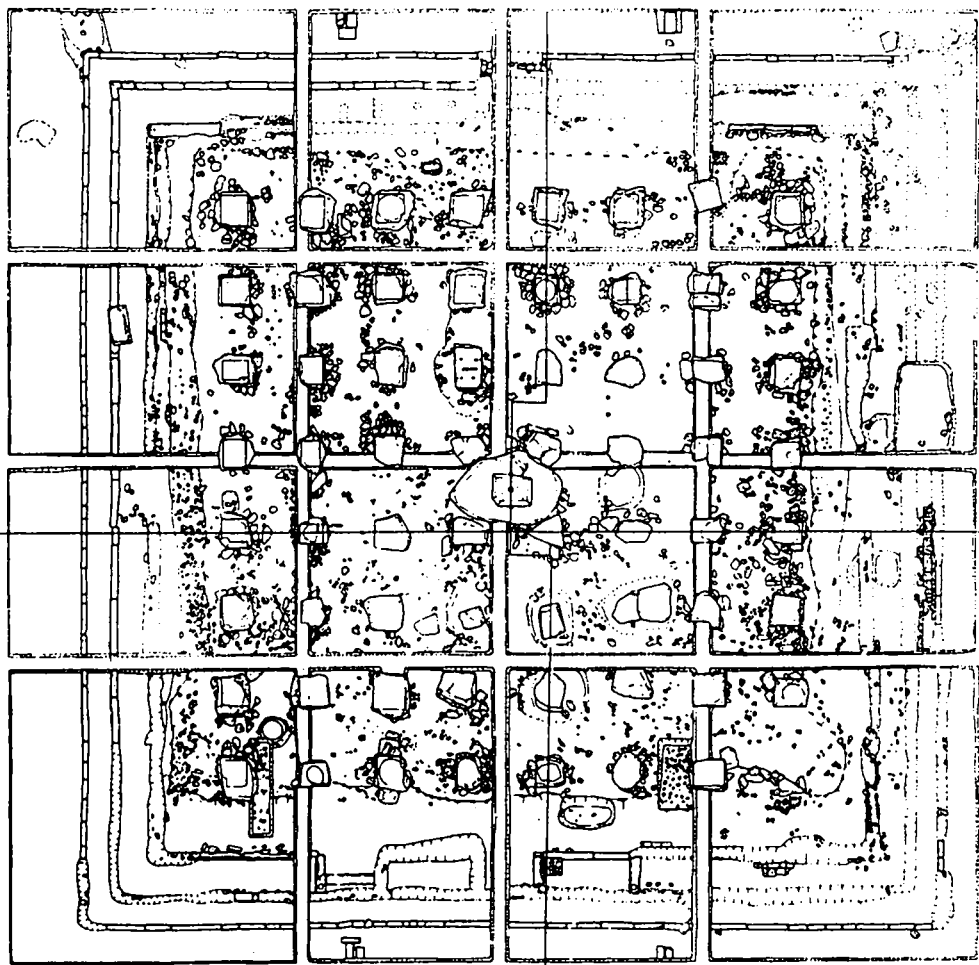
##### 4.2.2.2.2.1. The platform

The platform and the column foundations of the square wooden pagoda of Hwang-ryong-sa were relatively well preserved so that the original aspect of the platform can be reconstructed [fig. 559]. The platform was surrounded by two low steps, the first of which was about 15cm high and 1.15m deep while the second step about 7.5cm high and 1.58m deep. The edges were formed by cut stones sometimes more than 2m long. The sides of the sections of these edge stones measured approximately 20cm. The surfaces of the two steps were covered by square tiles as could be seen on the eastern side of the pagoda platform. The height of the actual platform has been estimated at about 1.52m [fig. 560]. Its retaining walls were formed by base stones, side stones and cover stones. Several base stones were excavated on the southern and northern sides of the pagoda. They were in average about 1.5m long, 25cm high and 30cm high. The visible edges were cut into a small step of about 7cm. It is supposed that the cover stones featured a similar, inverted step. Unfortunately, no side stones nor cover stones were located during the excavation. Neither was there evidence of corner nor of intermediate stone posts but some reconstruction drawings nevertheless suppose their existence. The surface of the main platform was probably also covered with square tiles similar to those of the lower steps.

##### 4.2.2.2.2.2. The column foundations

Almost all the column foundation stones were still extant (only two of the sixty-five were missing) and many lay in their original position. The sides of the upper surfaces of the foundation stones measured between 1m and 1.5m with the exception of the central foundation stone whose diameter varied between 2.5m and 4.5m. The height of the normal foundation stones varied between 60cm and 1m while the central foundation stone was up to 1.6m high [fig. 560]. On top of the central foundation stone lay another large stone which seems to have been placed here after the final destruction of the pagoda in the Ko-ryŏ period. It has been

assumed that its purpose was to protect the relics which were still kept in the square hole in the centre of the foundation stone from deterioration and theft (see further below). The upper surfaces of most foundation stones were cut into squares or rectangles which protruded slightly from the rest of the stone. The forms of the foundation stones of the four columns next to the central column were irregular because they were adapted to the particular form of the central foundation stone.



1 ↓

Fig. 559: Excavation plan of the nine-storied wooden pagoda of Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 幢동사 (1 indicates the section, see: fig. 560) (643 AD, scale: 1 : 300) (after: MHCKLG (1982, 1984), plan 4)



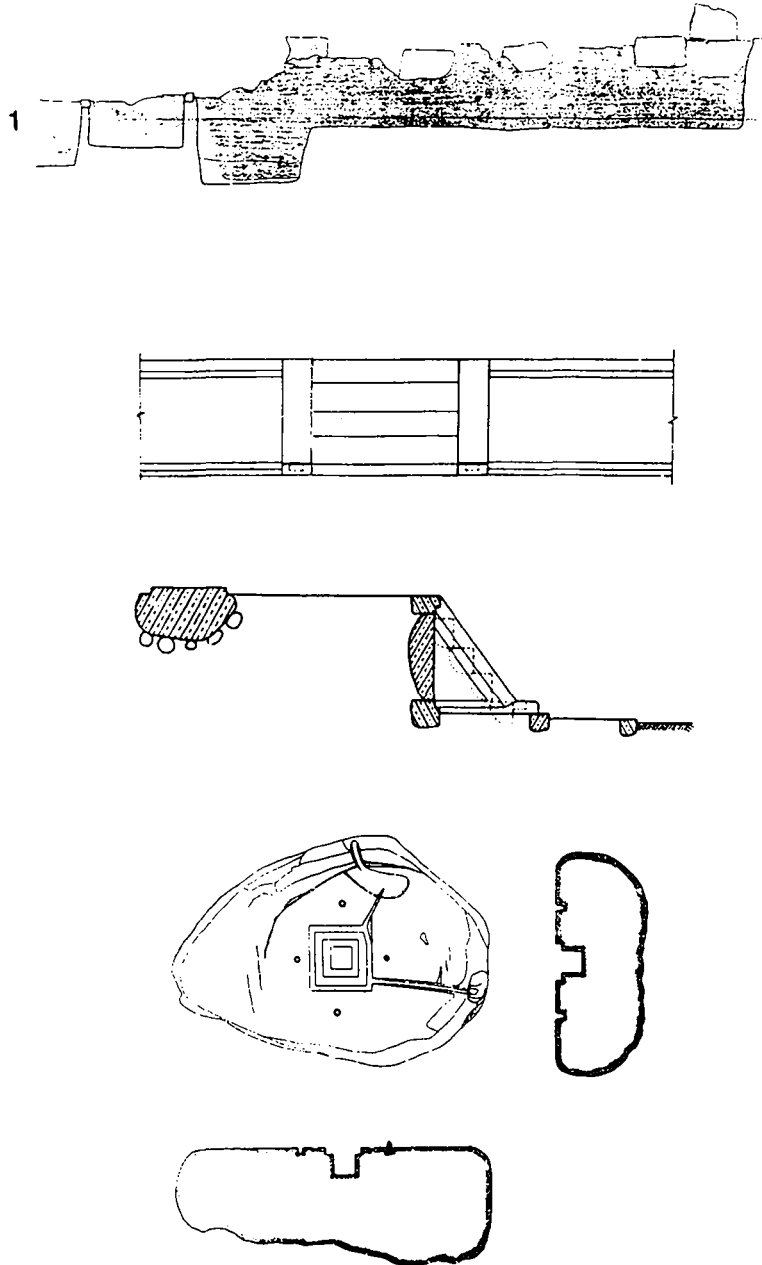


Fig. 560: Section of the platform, details of the stairs, the retaining wall (scale: 1 : 200) and the central foundation stone (scale: 1 : 100) of the nine-storied wooden pagoda of Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 皇龍寺 (643 AD) (1 indicates the section, see: plan fig. 559) (after: MHCKLG (1982, 1984), p. 62, plans 29, 40-2)

#### 4.2.2.2.2.3. The structure of the platform

Six trenches were cut into the platform during the excavation work in order to understand the construction method of the foundations [fig. 560]. They revealed a first layer of black eroded earth and yellowish-brown clay which was about 79cm deep and which thus filled mainly the space between the foundation stones. Below this layer was the main support of the superstructure which consisted of carefully constructed reddish-brown rammed clay layers into which quite regular horizontal layers of natural stones were introduced. The entire layer was about 3.73m deep and counted about 20 stone layers. The foundation stones were placed on beds of large natural stones which looked superficially like the pile of stones of the foundations of the middle gate and other structures of Hwang-ryong-sa. Beside this bed of stones, the structure of the platform right below the foundation stones does not differ from the structure between them so that the structure of the pagoda platform is quite different from the foundation type with round piles of stones. The platform of the western image hall seems to have had a similar platform structure as the wooden pagoda (see further below, pp. 827f.).

#### 4.2.2.2.2.4. The stairs

Each side of the platform featured one flight of stairs except the southern side which had three flights in front of the 'odd' bays of the wooden structure [fig. 559]. The structure and dimensions of all stairs seem to have been equal so that it is enough to describe one example [fig. 560]. The sides of the stairs were formed by a base stone, a triangular side stone and an oblique cover stone. The base stones were 1.35m to 1.50m long, about 33cm high and about 47cm wide. On the outer sides they featured the same carved step as the base stones of the retaining walls of the platform. The oblique cover stone was inserted in a notch in front of which stood a round stone pillar which, judging from the round hole, had a diameter of about 21cm and a depth of 11cm in the base stone. The approximate form of the side stones and the cover stones can only be deduced from the base stones and the assumed height of the platform because no fragments of them could be identified on the site. The steps of the stairs were made of single stone blocks measuring about 1.95m by 30cm by 30cm. Each stair flight had five such steps. The stairs were thus about 2.88m long, 1.47m deep and 1.52m high.

## 4.2.2.2.2.5. The wooden superstructure

The wooden superstructure had seven bays in both directions and no columns were removed in the interior [fig. 559]. The central column lay in the exact centre of the wooden structure and the platform. All outer bays were equally wide with an average of 3.165m and all columns, including the central column, were placed at approximately the same height so that the interior of the pagoda probably did not feature an elevated core. It is difficult to affirm other details of the original wooden structure of the pagoda because no comparable structure is extant in Korea or neighbouring countries. Structures of comparable size were the nine-storied wooden pagoda of Yongning-si<sup>1</sup> [figs. 151, 407 - 413], which was constructed in 516 AD in Luoyang with a ground plan of nine by nine bays of side lengths of about 32m, the seven- or nine-storied wooden pagoda of Daikandai-ji<sup>2</sup> which was built in the middle of the seventh century AD with a ground plan of five by five bays and side lengths of about 16.3m [fig. 561] as well as the twin seven-storied wooden pagodas of Tōdai-ji<sup>3</sup> in Nara which were built in the early eighth century AD with ground plans of three bays by three bays and side lengths of about 16.25m (eastern pagoda) and five by five bays with side lengths of about 22m (?) (western pagoda) [fig. 536]. But all these pagodas have also been destroyed long ago and their original aspect is controversial.

## 4.2.2.2.2.6. The reconstruction drawings

Several drawings have been published which try to reconstruct the elevation of the huge tower [figs. 562 - 567]. The height of the reconstructed Hwang-ryong-sa pagoda is estimated by various scholars<sup>4</sup> between 76m and 81m in accordance with the historical accounts. The reconstruction drawing by KIM<sup>5</sup> [fig. 564] supposes

<sup>1</sup> Yongning-si 永寧寺 영령사, Luoyang 洛陽 낙양. See Chapter 3.3., pp. 542ff.

<sup>2</sup> Daikandai-ji 大官大寺 だいかんだいじ 대관대사. See: CHANG Kyōng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), p. 406; SUZUKI Kakichi (1980), p. 80.

<sup>3</sup> Tōdai-ji 東大寺 とうだいじ 동대사. The pagodas are said to have been approximately 320 *shaku* 尺 (94.54m) high and 55 *shaku* (16.25m) on a side (1 *Tempyō shaku* 天平尺 てんびょうしゃく 천평척 = 29.545cm). This seems to apply to the eastern pagoda which had 3 bays on each side. The excavation of the western pagoda and a layout plan of Tōdai-ji of the 17th C. AD indicate that it had five bays on each side. The two pagodas were constructed with an interval of 12 years (752 AD for the western pagoda and 764 AD for the eastern pagoda which was reconstructed in 1227 AD). See: SOPER (1942), p. 26, 138; KOBAYASHI Takeshi (1975), p. 24f.; TANAKA Yoshiyasu 田中 義恭 たなかよしやす 전중 의공 (1990), foldout.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. KIM Dong-hyōn 金東賢 김동현 (1992), p. 182; CHANG Kyōng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), p. 442; YUN Chang-sōb 尹張燮윤장섭 (1996), p. 162; CHANG Chung-sik 張忠植 장충식 (1987, 1991), p. 110; FUJISHIMA Gaijirō 藤島 亥治郎 ふじしま がいじろう 등도 해치랑 (1986), p. 184.

<sup>5</sup> See: KIM Dong-hyōn 金東賢 김동현 (1992), p. 182.

that the pagoda had seven bays on each of its nine stories while the drawing by FUJISHIMA<sup>1</sup> proposes a reduction of the number of bays according to the stories: seven bays on the ground floor, five bays for the next four stories and three bays for the top four stories [fig. 567]. Both basic systems seem to be conceivable and it is interesting to observe how the cultural background of the two scholars influenced their reconstruction propositions. The drawing by FUJISHIMA features such typical Japanese elements as the exterior ties and long oblique corner cantilevers<sup>2</sup> while the drawing by KIM seems to orientate itself more on Chinese and extant Korean

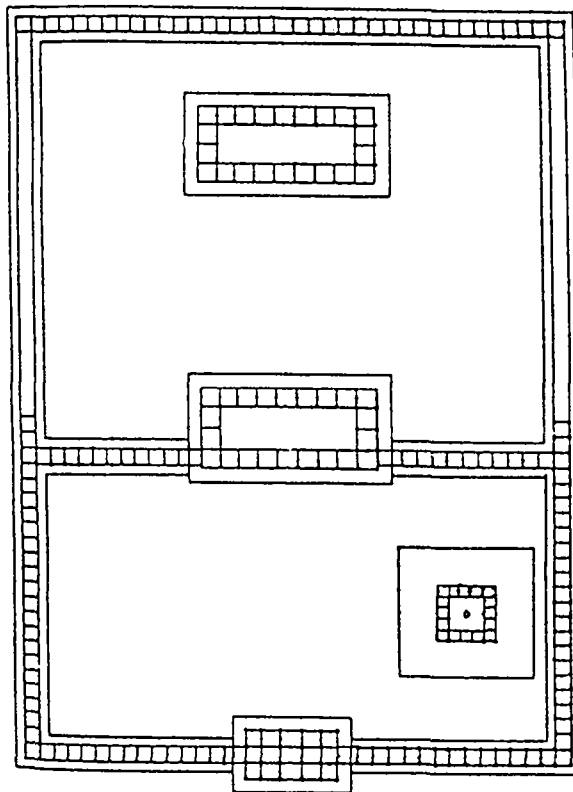


Fig. 561: Reconstructed layout plan of Daikandai-ji 大官大寺だいかんだいじ 대관대사 at Nara 奈良なら 나랑 (697 - 707 AD, scale: 1 : 2,000) (after: CHANG Kyōng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), p. 126)

<sup>1</sup> See: FUJISHIMA Gaijirō 藤島 亥治郎 ふじしま がいじろう 등도 해치람 (1986), p. 184.

<sup>2</sup> Exterior ties: *uchinori nageshi* 内法長押 うちのりなげし 내법장압, oblique corner cantilever: *sumi odoruki* 隅尾垂木 すみおたるき 우미수목. See: NAKAGAWA Takeshi 中川 武 なかがわ たけし 중천무 (1990), p. 262.

architectural details<sup>1</sup>. No section of these reconstructions have yet been proposed so that it is difficult to judge their structural probability. However, it seems that the reconstruction by FUJISHIMA faces more structural problems because he tries to combine the system where the columns of each story are independent with the system of continuous interior columns<sup>2</sup>.

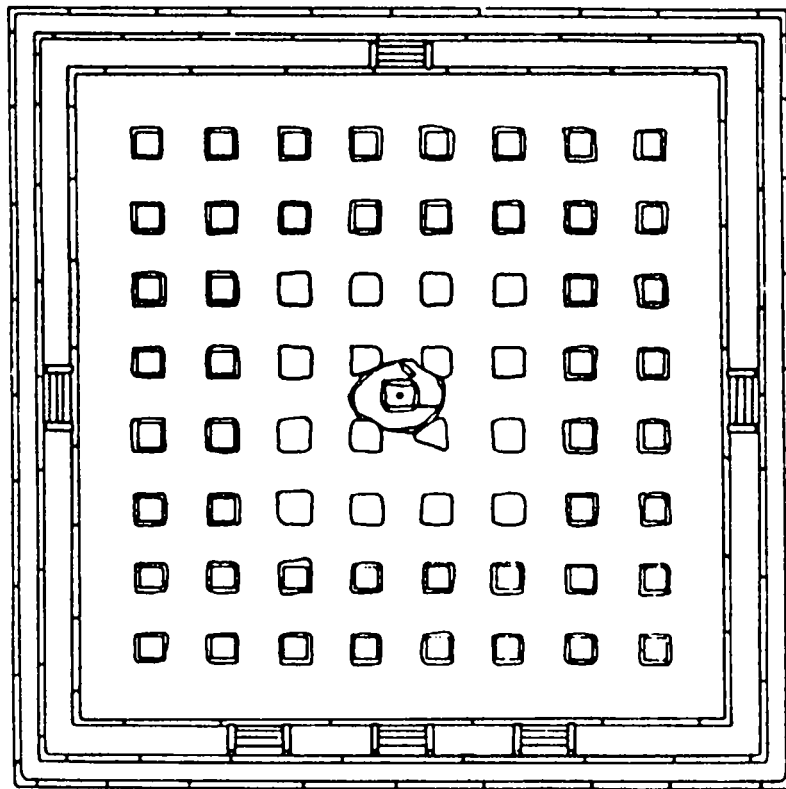


Fig. 562: Reconstructed ground plan of the nine-storied wooden pagoda of Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황룡사 (643 AD, scale 1 : 300) according to CHANG Chung-sik (after: CHANG Chung-sik 張忠植 장충식 (1987, 1991), p. 110)

<sup>1</sup> Among the Chinese examples are the square wood and brick pagoda inside the Great East Gate 大東門 대동문 of Changshu 常熟 상숙, Jiangsu 江蘇 강소 of the early Southern Song 南宋 남송 (1127 - 1279 AD) and details of finials, balconies and bracket sets of several octagonal pagodas of the Liao and Song. The Korean 'flavour' can be mainly seen in the curves of the roofs which recall numerous examples of temple and palace architecture of the Cho-sŏn period. See: LUO Zhewen 羅哲文 라철문 (1994); CHANG Kyŏng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992).

<sup>2</sup> FUJISHIMA seems to preserve the position of the four interior columns around the central column so that it can be assumed that he imagines them as continuous. It must also be noted that the size of the platform and the position of the front stairs in the drawing by FUJISHIMA do not correspond to the excavation results.

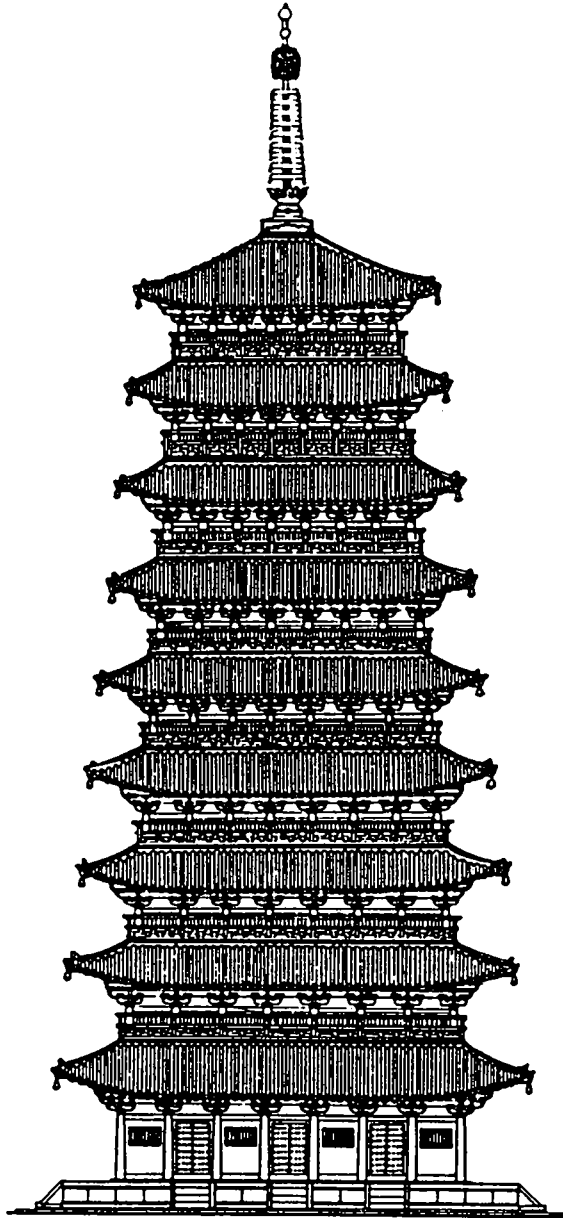


Fig. 563: Reconstructed elevation of the nine-storied wooden pagoda of Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황룡사 (643 AD, scale 1 : 500) according to CHANG Chung-sik (after: CHANG Chung-sik 張忠植 장충식 (1987, 1991), p. 110)

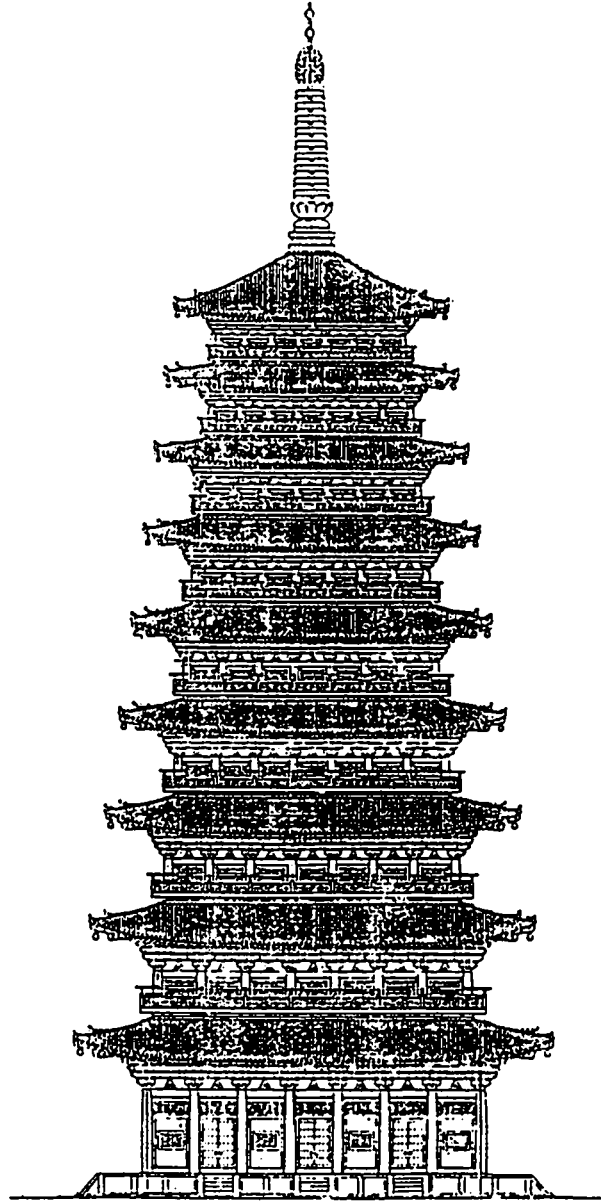


Fig. 564: Reconstructed elevation of the nine-storied wooden pagoda of Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황룡사 (643 AD, scale 1 : 500) according to KIM (after: KIM Dong-hyŏn 金東賢 김동현 (1992), p. 182)

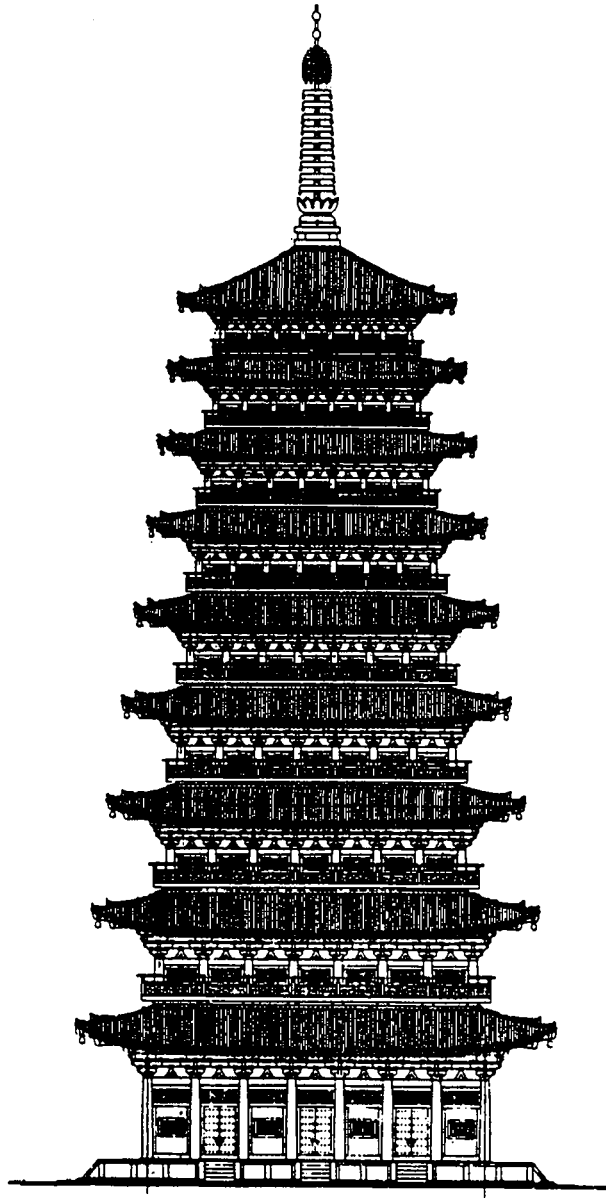


Fig. 565: Reconstructed elevation of the nine-storied wooden pagoda of Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황동사 (643 AD, scale 1 : 500) according to CHANG Kyöng-ho (after: CHANG Kyöng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992), p. 135)



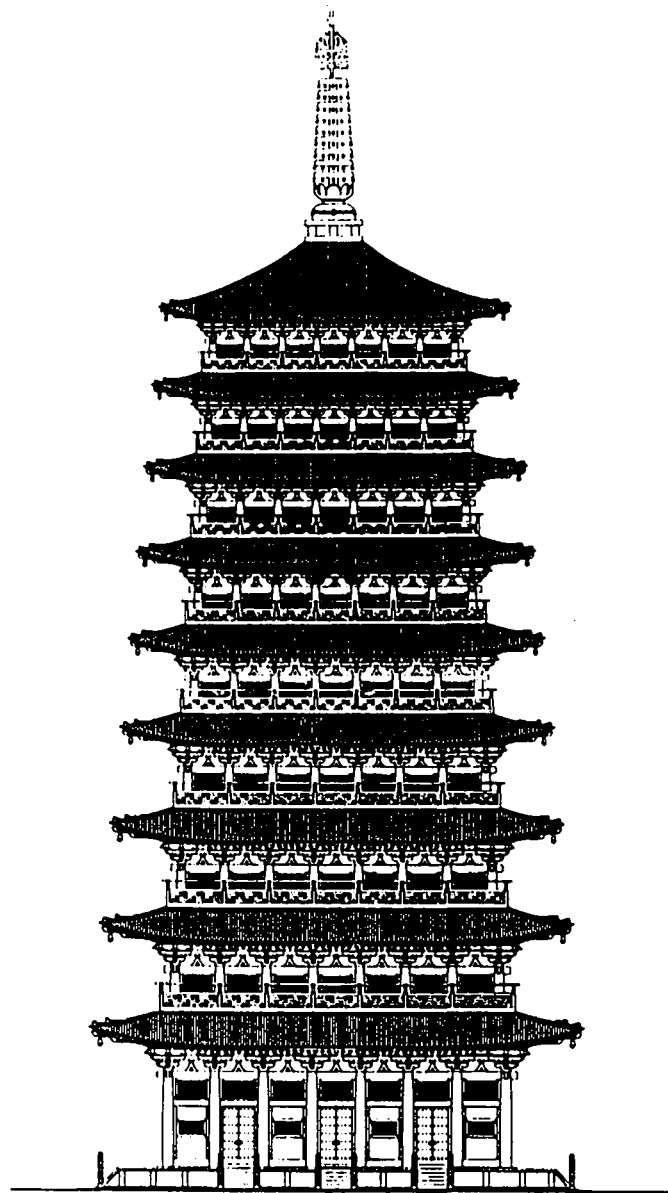


Fig. 566: Reconstructed elevation of the nine-storied wooden pagoda of Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 黃龍寺 (643 A.D, scale 1 : 500) according to YUN (after: YUN Chang-söb 尹張燮 윤장섭 (1996), p. 162)

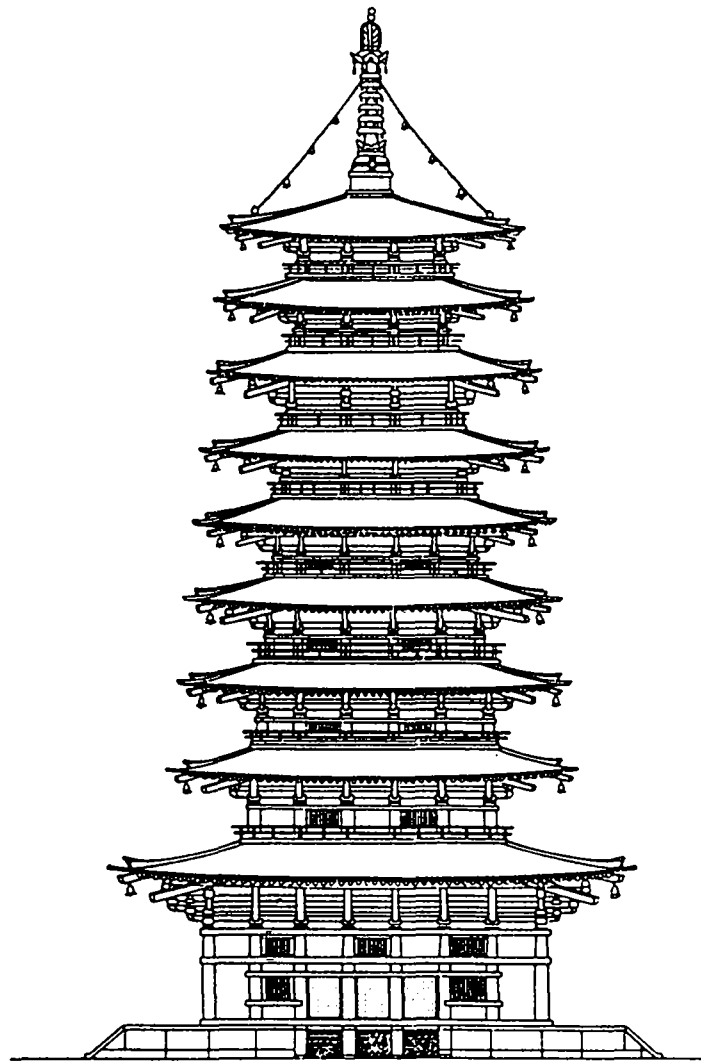


Fig. 567: Reconstructed elevation of the nine-storied wooden pagoda of Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황룡사 (643 AD, scale 1 : 500) according to FUJISHIMA (after: FUJISHIMA Gaijirō 藤島亥治郎 ふじしまがいじろう 등도 해치랑 (1986), p. 184)

## 4.2.2.2.3. The central image hall

The platform, the column foundations and the figure bases of the central image hall were quite well preserved so that its ground plan can be reconstructed with high probability.

## 4.2.2.2.3.1. The platform

The platform consisted of two steps on which stood wooden columns [fig. 568]. The lower step was about 3m wide and supposedly 30cm high [fig. 569]. No edge stones seem to remain on the site but lines of small stones indicated their location. The lower step was covered with square tiles. About 1.7m inside the lower step was the axis of the lower rows of square foundation stones which measured about 70cm by 70cm and were 35cm to 55cm high.

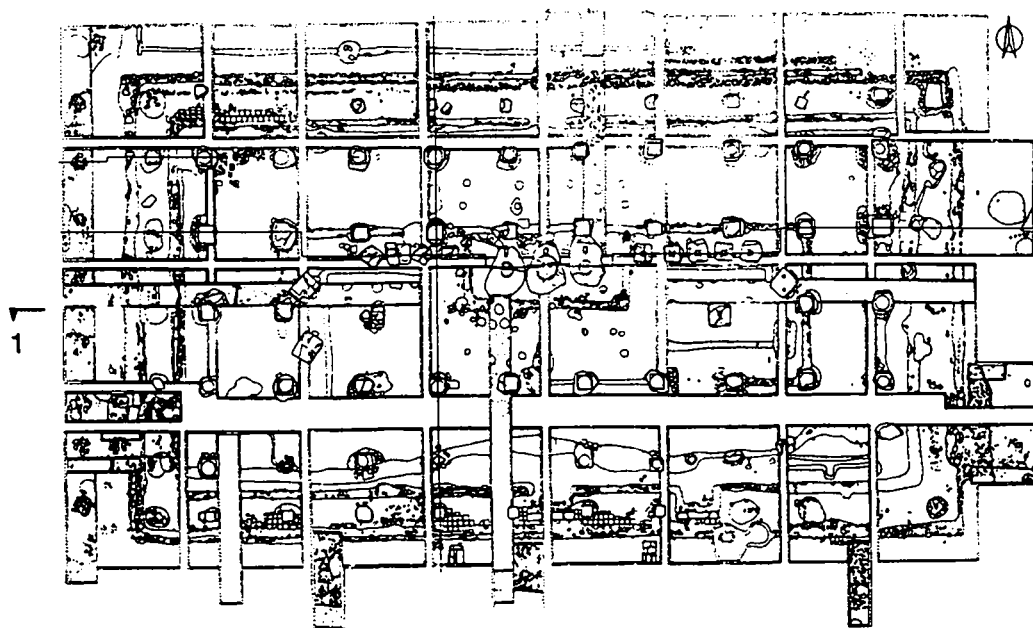


Fig. 568: Excavation plan of the central image hall of Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 幢曇寺 (1 indicates the section, see: fig. 569) (late 6th C. AD, scale 1 : 500) (after: MHCKLG (1982, 1984), plan 3)

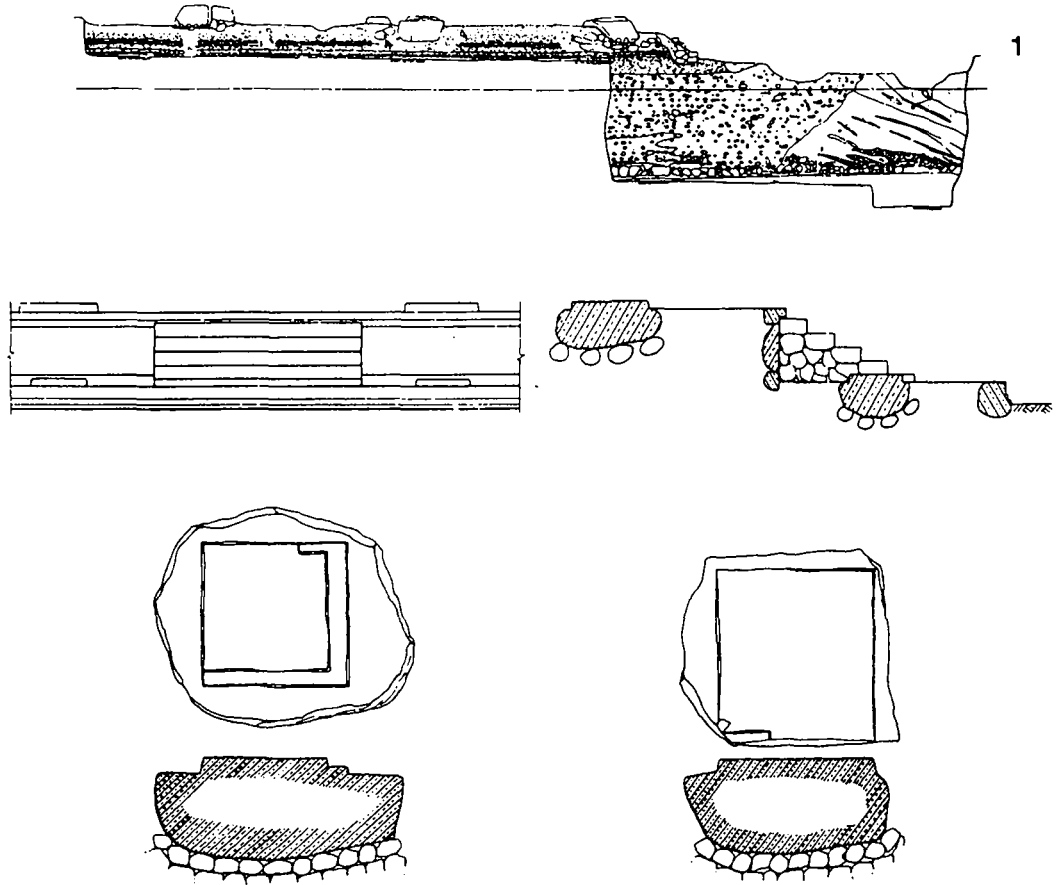


Fig. 569: Section of the platform (scale 1 : 200) (1 indicates the section in the plan, see: fig. 568), details of the stairs and retaining walls (scale 1 : 100) and column foundation stones (scale 1 : 50) of the central image hall of Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황룡사 (late 6th-C. AD) (after: MHCKLG (1982, 1984), p. 54, plan 28; CHANG Kyöng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992), p. 131)

The retaining wall of the upper step was probably composed of base stones, side stones and cover stones [fig. 569] but only a few base stones were located on the western side. One of them measured about 2.27m by 30cm by 30cm while another with the same section was about 1.52m long. They featured no carved steps. The upper step of the platform was probably about 1m high and its surface might also have been covered with tiles. The axes of the outer columns of the main structure were located about 2.2m inside the edge of the upper step. Thus the width of the surrounding structure measured about 3.5m.

#### 4.2.2.2.3.2. The column foundation stones and the structure of the platform

The wooden structure of the central image hall had seventy-eight columns. The foundation stones of about fifty-six of them are still present in their original position. The size of the foundation stones varied greatly, but the upper square surfaces of the foundation stones of the lower step were clearly smaller, with an average side length of about 70cm compared to about 95cm for those of the upper step. The surfaces of a number of foundation stones of the upper step were cut into squares which gradually change into circles with a diameter between 65cm and 90cm. The foundation stones of the upper step were 50cm to 70cm thick while those of the lower step were 35cm to 45cm thick. The foundation stones were placed on a bed of natural stones in a similar way to those of the pagoda.

The trenches which were cut into the platform showed that it consisted of several layers of rammed red and yellow clay [fig. 569]. The top layer of the platform was about 45cm thick and consisted of rammed yellow clay. Then followed thin yellow and red clay layers with a total thickness of about 85cm and a thick layer of rammed reddish-brown clay of about 2.5m. All these layers included also small stones but they were not arranged in layers as in the platform of the pagoda.

#### 4.2.2.2.3.3. The stairs

The existence of stairs has been confirmed at four locations. Three of them lay on the southern side and one in the middle of the northern side. The southern stairs were located in front of the bays No. 3, 5 and 7 (counting from either corner of the southern side of the main structure). No evidence of side walls for these stairs was uncovered as it was at the pagoda site [figs. 560, 569]. The dimensions of the fragments of step stones on the southern side seem to indicate that the stairs were about 2.7m wide and counted five or six steps of an average height of about 18cm. It is possible that the stairs without side stones is a more archaic solution which could confirm that the extant remains of the central image hall are in fact older than those of the pagoda.

#### 4.2.2.2.2.3.4. The possible lateral stairs and their connection to the intermediate galleries

Though the excavation report does not mention the possibility of stairs on the lateral sides of the platform, a number of excavated stones, including two large blocks which could have been step stones<sup>1</sup>, in front of the first bay from the south of the western side of the main structure could be the remains of such stairs. The remains of the foundations of the middle gallery of the first temple are very close to these possible remains of lateral stairs so that they could also have been related to the middle gallery. In this case it could be speculated that the middle and the intermediate galleries were still extant when the new image hall was constructed. As the intermediate galleries [fig. 545 (11 - 14)] fit between the central image hall and the lateral image halls the intermediate galleries could even have been kept after the construction of the lateral image halls. It would then seem necessary that the lateral courtyards have their own middle gates but the excavation of the second southern galleries showed that this was not the case. Furthermore, the bays of the second southern galleries do not fit the axes of the intermediate galleries. It can thus be assumed that the intermediate and middle galleries were abandoned with the construction of the second middle gate and the second southern galleries, but it is possible that the intermediate and middle galleries continued to exist in the period between the construction of the new image hall (584 AD) and that of the nine-storied wooden pagoda (643 AD), when the middle gate was probably also rebuilt.

#### 4.2.2.2.2.3.5. The interior organisation

The ground plan of nine by four bays of the upper step of the central image hall provides valuable information about the spatial and functional organisation of image halls in early Buddhist architecture in Korea. All the bays seem to have had approximately the same width of about 5m. The main structure was organized into outer bays which were probably reserved for circumambulation and a slightly elevated core with the Buddhist images. Six interior columns were removed in the centre of the building in order to provide more space for the altar. It is assumed that the bases indicate the level of the floor of the altar so that the core of the building was elevated by 50cm to 60cm. A rectangular area of about 10.9m by 5.45m around the main triad was again elevated by 30cm to 40cm [fig. 577]. These elevated floors were probably also constructed with earth and low retaining walls as excavated lines of stones at the edges of the altars show.

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<sup>1</sup> See: MHCKLG (1982, 1984), pl. 212-2, plan 3.

## 4.2.2.2.3.6. The Buddhist images

In the centre of the altar stood the huge gilt-bronze Buddhist triad which was cast in 574 AD. Bases of minor images to the left and right of the bases of the main triad indicate that there were at least eight more figures on each side [figs. 568, 570]. Five figures were aligned along the back of the altar which was possibly delimited by a rear wall with Buddhist paintings (*tæng-hwa*<sup>1</sup>). Two figures stood on each lateral side of the altar and their bases were turned by about 45° so that it can be speculated that the images faced the entrance of the building. Finally, one image stood on each side in front of the five rear images in the space created by the removed central columns. It seems however difficult to identify the various figures of the altar. The central triad possibly represented the historical Buddha and two attending Bodhisattvas. While the number sixteen of the remaining figures seems to point to the sixteen Arhats<sup>2</sup>, the various sizes and locations of the bases seem to contradict this intuition. The four images most removed from the triad could for example have represented the four heavenly kings as in the *kondō* of Hōryū-ji<sup>3</sup>.

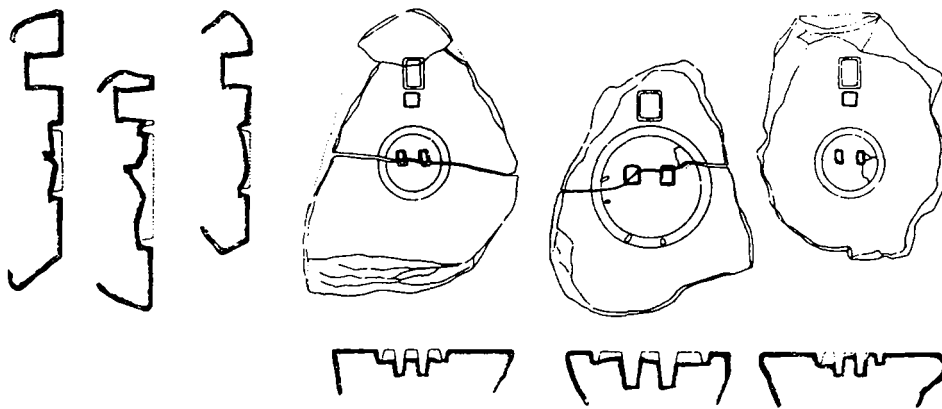


Fig. 570: Plans and sections of the bases of the Buddhist triad of the central image hall of Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황룡사 (late 6th-C. AD, scale 1 : 100) (after: MHCKLG (1982, 1984), plan 37)

<sup>1</sup> *Tæng-hwa* 幀畫 탕화 (also: *chǒng-hwa* 幀畫 정화), the Korean equivalent of the Tibetan *thangka* (*than ka / than sku*).

<sup>2</sup> Arhat (Arhan) 阿羅漢 아라한 / 羅漢 나한, "the disciples appointed to witness to Buddha-truth and save the world". See: FRÉDÉRIC (1987), pp. 95f.; SOOTHILL, HODOUS (1969), pp. 290, 472.

<sup>3</sup> *Kondō* 金堂 こんどう 금당 of Hōryū-ji 法隆寺 ほうりゅうじ 법룡사. See: OONISHI Shūya 大西修也 おおにし しゅうや 대서수야 (1990), p. 62.

## 4.2.2.2.3.7. The temporary shelter for the images

A number of round holes were discovered to the north and south of the bases of the main Buddha triad [fig. 568]. Eight holes in two rows to the north and six holes also in two rows to the south of the images formed an approximate square with side lengths between 10.5m and 11.2m. The holes which were filled with clean yellow clay had a diameter of about 60cm and a depth of about 90cm. The lateral sides coincided thus with the sides of the central altar of the main triad while the rows of holes lay at about 1.5m and 3m to the south and north of the altar edges. The bays between the holes from east to west measured 3.5m to 3.6m. Similar holes were also discovered in a row about 2m in front of the lateral images but no clear pattern emerged.

The report by the Cultural Properties Research Institute interprets these holes as the remains of the foundations of a "temporary scaffolding" where the Buddha images were "installed" while the new image hall was being constructed<sup>1</sup>. The discovery of such a temporary construction could shed light on the process of casting and wooden construction. As mentioned above, the Buddha triad is recorded to have been cast some ten years before the beginning of the construction of the new image hall. It can be speculated that the images were cast directly on the site of the image hall which had the advantage that the heavy sculptures (about twenty tons for the main Buddha) did not need to be transported. But the old image hall had to be destroyed for the casting of the images and a shelter had to be built in its place. This protective structure was probably kept in place until the new image hall was constructed around the figures. It is not sure if the same procedure was also applied to the minor figures because some temporary scaffolding might also have been necessary for the transport and erection of them. This sequence of work where the figures were completed before the building in which they were to be enshrined seems to have been used when large sculptures were involved. When historical sources indicate that giant images were constructed, it can therefore be assumed that the concerned building was either demolished and reconstructed as in the case of the gilt-bronze Bhaiṣajyaguru Buddha of Bun-hwang-sa<sup>2</sup> in 755 AD, or that a new

<sup>1</sup> Temporary scaffolding: *ka-söl-bi-kye* 假設飛階 가설비계 (J: *kasetsu ashiba* 假設足場 *かせつあしば* 가설축장); installed: *an-chi-ha-da* 安置하다 안치하다. The report claims that the holes were dug before the foundation stones of the image hall were put in place. This section of the report was written by KIM Dong-hyön 金東賢 김동현. In his thesis, (which includes long citations of the report) he states that the holes had a diameter of about 21cm (0.7 *chök* 尺척). The excavation drawings seem to be closer to 60cm (2 *chök* 尺척). See: MHCKLG (1982, 1984), p. 53, plan 3; KIM Dong-hyön 金東賢 김동현 (1992), p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> Bhaiṣajyaguru Buddha 藥師如來 약사여래, Bun-hwang-sa 芬皇寺 분황사 (No. 7.34.1.). See *SGYS*, pp. 104, 325f. (211f.).



building was founded at the site of the construction of the image after its completion as in the case of the stone Buddha of Sök-kul-am<sup>1</sup> in 751 AD and the Vairocana Buddha of Tōdai-ji at Nara<sup>2</sup> at about the same time.

#### 4.2.2.2.3.8. The reconstruction drawings

Drawings of the assumed front elevation and lateral elevation of the central image hall have been published by KIM Dong-hyön<sup>3</sup> and a slightly altered version of the front elevation has been reprinted by YUN<sup>4</sup> [fig. 571]. The models which are exhibited in the Independence Hall and the National Museum in Kyōng-chu seem to be based on these drawings.

KIM imagined a two-storied structure with an attached portico on the lower story so that the building looks like a three-storied structure. The centre of the ridge was placed about 22m above the platform while in the drawing published by YUN the height was about 24m mainly because the roofs of the portico and of the second story were higher. But the basic design of both versions is the same.

Unfortunately no section of this design has yet been published so that one can only speculate on the corresponding inner structure. As a number of details of the elevation recall the reconstruction drawings of the image hall of Mi-rük-sa, I suppose that the inner structure here has to be imagined as analogous. Both reconstructions thus seem to use the structural system type of the Gak-hwang-chön of Hwa-öm-sa<sup>5</sup> (see: Chapter 3.3, p. 598, fig. 450). This type features inner 'high columns'<sup>6</sup> and an upper story plan which is reduced by a half bay on each side compared to the ground plan. I have already mentioned in connection with the reconstructions of the image halls of Mi-rük-sa and Güm-gang-sa that it is contradictory to introduce balconies in this type of structure and that no evidence of the use of this structure has yet been found for the periods concerned here<sup>7</sup>. The same mistakes are thus repeated (or rather anticipated) in the reconstructions of the central and lateral image halls of Hwang-ryong-sa.

But beside such doubtful details there are more general questions involved in the reconstruction drawings. They concern the attached portico and the number of stories of the structure.

<sup>1</sup> Sök-kul-am 石窟庵 석굴암 (No. 7.34.34.). See: Chapter 5., pp. 962f.

<sup>2</sup> Tōdai-ji 東大寺 とうだいじ 동대사, Nara 奈良 なら 나랏. See: SOPER (1942), pp. 54ff., n. 99.

<sup>3</sup> See: KIM Dong-hyön 金東賢 김동현 (1992), p. 180.

<sup>4</sup> See: YUN Chang-söb 尹張燮 윤장섭 (1996), p. 160.

<sup>5</sup> Gak-hwang-chön 覺皇殿 각황전 (built in 1702 AD), Hwa-öm-sa 華嚴寺 화엄사 (No. 6.7.1.).

<sup>6</sup> High column: *ko-chu* 高柱 고주.

<sup>7</sup> See further below in connection with the number of stories of the central image hall.

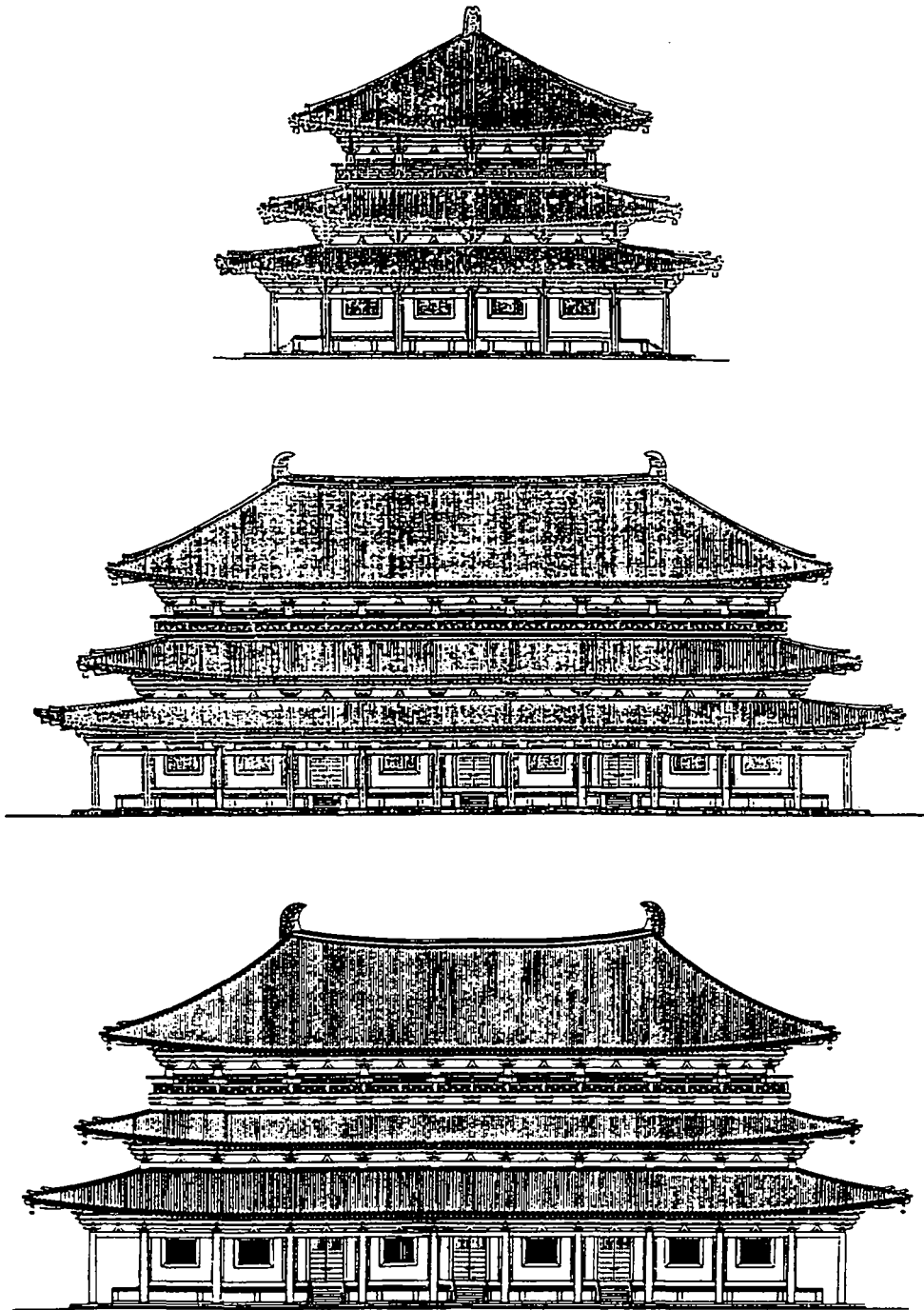


Fig. 571: Reconstructed elevations of the central image hall of Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황룡사 according to KIM and YUN (late 6th-C. AD, scale, 1 : 500) (after: KIM Dong-hyŏn 金東賢 김동현 (1992), p. 180; YUN Chang-sŏb 尹張燮 윤장섭 (1996), p. 160)

## 4.2.2.2.3.9. The attached portico

As mentioned above, the central image hall of Hwang-ryong-sa featured a kind of attached portico around the main structure which stood on the lower step of the platform. The system of portico columns outside the main platform can be traced back to the Chinese Bronze Age at least as excavations of Shang buildings in Panlongcheng and Anyang<sup>1</sup> have shown [fig. 572]. The rhythm of the outer columns of these sites did not always follow the rhythm of the main construction. Reconstruction drawings by Chinese archaeologists show these buildings with thatched two-stepped hip-roofs. Foundations on the lower step of two-stepped platforms were also discovered at a lateral image hall of Güm-gang-sa of Ko-guryō<sup>2</sup> [fig. 126], at the image hall of Chōng-rim-sa [fig. 243] and the building site at Dong-nam-ri [figs. 282 - 284] of Bæk-che<sup>3</sup> as well as at the lateral image halls of Asuka-dera [figs. 118, 471] in Japan<sup>4</sup>. According to the excavation, the first constructions of the lateral image halls of Hwang-ryong-sa featured similar porticos (see further below, pp. 823ff.). But no wooden structure with this particularity seems to be extant in East Asia. The porticos of the image halls and the pagodas of Hōryū-ji [figs. 419, 423, 424, 440 - 442, 445] and Yakushi-ji<sup>5</sup> [fig. 451, 472] for example stand on the same platforms as the main construction and several known examples in China<sup>6</sup> [figs. 147, 574, 575] seem to follow the same principle. SUZUKI<sup>7</sup> has assumed that the lower foundation stones of the lateral image halls of Asuka-dera belonged to a structure which supports the eaves of the first story of the main structure because the early bracket sets were supposedly not strong enough to support the deep eaves (see Chapter 3.3., p. 629).

<sup>1</sup> Shang 商 period (1766 - 1122 BC), Panlongcheng 盤龍城 반동성, Huangpi 黃陂 황피, Hubei 湖北 호북. Anyang 安陽 안양, Henan 河南 하남 (Fu Hao 婦好 부호 tomb pavilion). An exceptional clay model of a house (see: Chapter 1.2., p. 51, fig. 48) from Yanmu 崖墓 애묘 at Mumashan 牧馬山 목마산, Sichuan 四川 사천 of the Eastern Han 東漢 동한 period shows two long columns supporting the eaves of the roof and one shorter central column deeper towards the inside. Two stairs which are placed symmetrically in the longitudinal direction lead to this central column. It is difficult to judge which features of this model could be found in full-scale constructions of that time. I tend to view this model as a caricature. See: WATSON (1995), pp. 104f., STEINHARDT (1984), pp. 62 - 65; LIU Dunzhen 劉敦楨 유돈정 (1980), p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺 금강사 (No. 10.1.3.). See: Chapter 2.2., pp. 146f.

<sup>3</sup> Chōng-rim-sa 定林寺 정림사 (No. 4.19.1.), Dong-nam-ri 東南里 建物址 동남리 건물지 (No. 4.19.3.). See: Chapter 3.2., pp. 336f., 380 - 383.

<sup>4</sup> Asuka-dera 飛鳥寺 あすか であら 비조사. See: Chapter 2.2., pp. 136f., Chapter 3.3., pp. 628f.

<sup>5</sup> Hōryū-ji 法隆寺 ほりゅうじ 법룡사, Yakushi-ji 藥師寺 やくしじ 약사사.

<sup>6</sup> Sometimes it is difficult to distinguish two-storied structures from those with attached porticos. The portico is usually open to the exterior and closed to the interior, but it can be easily transformed. Sometimes the front side features a portico, while the rear side integrates the space of the portico into the main space. See: ZHANG Yuhuan (ed.) (1986), pp. 93, 95, 102f., 104, 128, 130; LIU Dunzhen 劉敦楨 유돈정 (1980), pp. 186f., 207, 230, 288, 404; Chapter 2.3., p. 179, fig. 147.

<sup>7</sup> See: SUZUKI Kakichi (1980), p. 43f.; Chapter 3.3., p. 629.

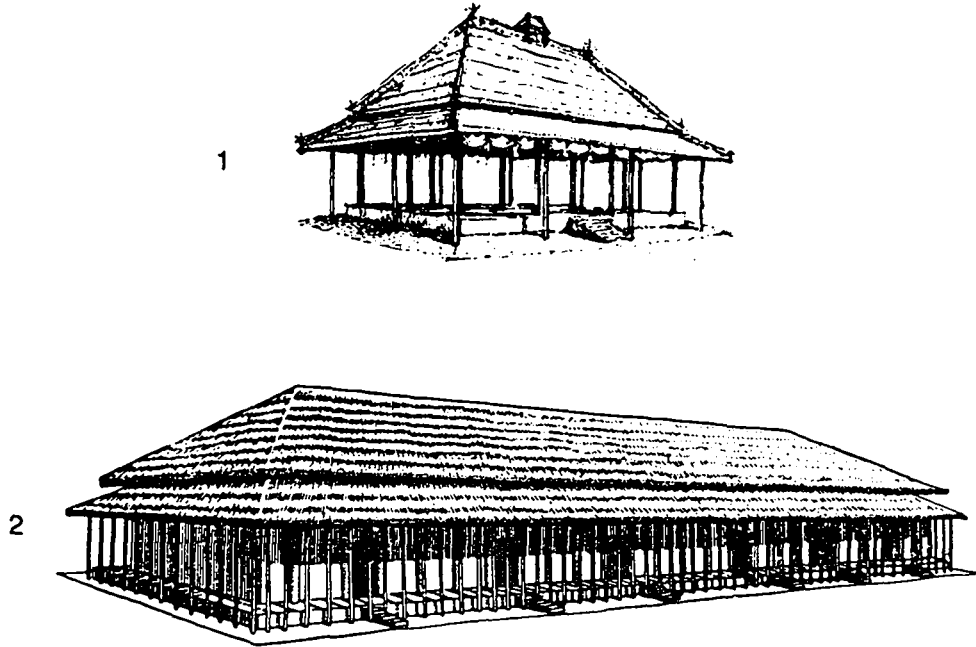


Fig. 572: Reconstructed perspectives of the building sites at Anyang 安陽 안양, Henan 河南 하남 (Fu Hao 婦好 부호 tomb pavilion) (1) and Panlongcheng 盤龍城 반룡성, Huangpi 黃陂 황피, Hubei 湖北 호북 (2) (Shang 商 상 period: 1766 - 1122 BC) (after: WATSON (1995), pp. 104f.)

An extant configuration similar to these lower columns can be found at brick pagodas with attached wooden porticos in China. The octagonal brick pagoda of Yongxiu-si<sup>1</sup> [fig. 573] and apparently also the Tiyun-ta in northern Jiangxi<sup>2</sup> are such examples. The attached portico of the Yongxiu-si pagoda was still extant in the beginning of the twentieth century when BOERSCHMANN<sup>3</sup> measured the structure. The stone columns of the main structure of the Yongxiu-si pagoda and the wooden columns attached to the main structure of the Tiyun-ta stand clearly on higher levels than those of the porticoes. But no additional roofs are added for the main structure. The foundations of the octagonal pagoda of Gŭm-gang-sa of Ko-guryŏ could have had a similar configuration. But can this solution be applied to purely wooden structures such as the image halls of Hwang-ryong-sa ?

<sup>1</sup> Yongxiu-si 永麻寺 영휴사, built in 1764 AD. See: BOERSCHMANN (1931), pp. 260 - 267; LUO Zhewen 羅哲文 라철문 (1994), pp. 40f.

<sup>2</sup> Tiyun-ta 梯雲塔 계운탑, at Nanchang 南昌 남창, Jiangxi 江西 강서, first built in 1090 AD. The wooden coating reportedly dates from a later period. The present condition of the structure is not known to me. See: BOERSCHMANN (1931), pp. 204f.

<sup>3</sup> See: BOERSCHMANN (1931), pp. 263ff.

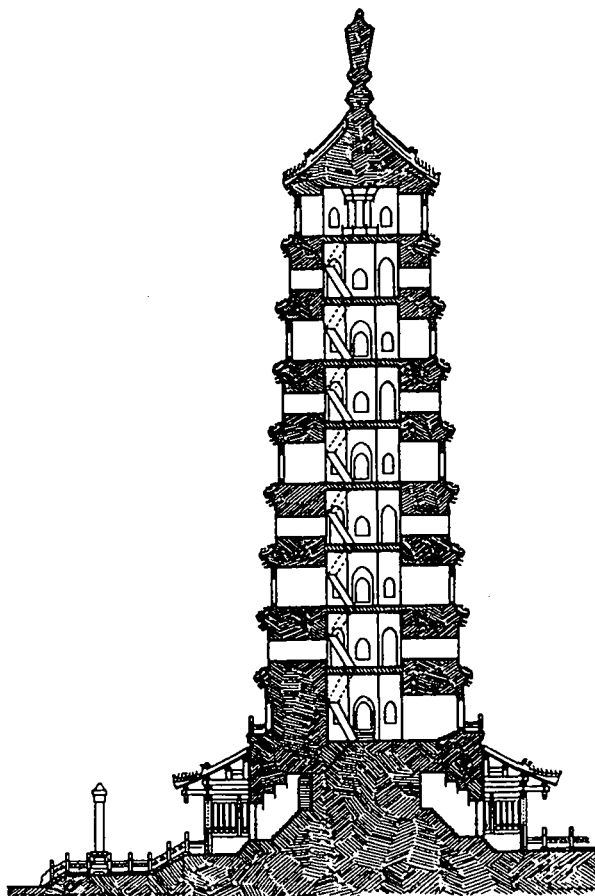


Fig. 573: Section of the octagonal brick pagoda of Yongxiu-si 永祿寺 영휴사 at Chengde 承德 승덕, Hebei 河北 하북 (1764 AD, scale: 1 : 500) (after: BOERSCHMANN (1931), p. 264)

The attached open porticoes of purely wooden structures seem to indicate the opposite (i.e. that the porticos were additional roofs to the actual roofs of the first story) but here the columns of the porticos were usually on the same level as the columns of the main structure. Such examples are the octagonal wooden pagoda of Fogong-si at Yingxian<sup>1</sup> [fig. 147], the Shengmu-dian of Jinci at Taiyuan<sup>2</sup> [figs. 574, 575] in China and the Su-ö-chang-dae at Nam-han-san-söng<sup>3</sup> [fig. 576] in Korea. In

<sup>1</sup> Fogong-si 佛宮寺 불궁사, Yingxian 應縣 응현, Shanxi 山西 산서, built in 1056 AD. See: LIU Dunzhen 劉敦楨 유돈정 (1980), pp. 198, 201, 204 - 207.

<sup>2</sup> Shengmu-dian 聖母殿 성모전, Jinci 晉祠 진사, Taiyuan 太原 태원, Shanxi 山西 산서, built from 1023 to 1031 AD. See: LIU Dunzhen 劉敦楨 유돈정 (1980), pp. 182 - 189

<sup>3</sup> Su-ö-chang-dae 守禦將臺 수어장대 at Nam-han-san-söng 南漢山城 남한산성, to the south of Sö-ul (Seoul) 서울, rebuilt in 1836 AD. See: Kyöng-gi-do 京畿道 경기도 (ed.) (1989), pp. 126 - 164, 451 - 468.

all three cases the attached portico has its own pent roof. In the Chinese examples the roofs of the porticos almost reach the bracket sets of the roof of the main structure while the Korean defense pavilion features windows between the two roofs. These examples are quite close to the reconstruction drawings by KIM if the lower story only is considered and the lower column foundations are ignored.

I think that the portico of the image halls of Hwang-ryong-sa was closer to a structure similar to that of the Shengmu-dian rather than those of the mentioned brick pagodas. In my opinion, the fact that the columns stood on the lower step of the platform is not a fundamental difference to extant wooden structures with porticos. I favour thus the solution proposed by KIM over the reasoning of SUZUKI concerning the lateral image halls of Asuka-dera. The proposition of SUZUKI does not seem to be supported by any extant comparable structure.

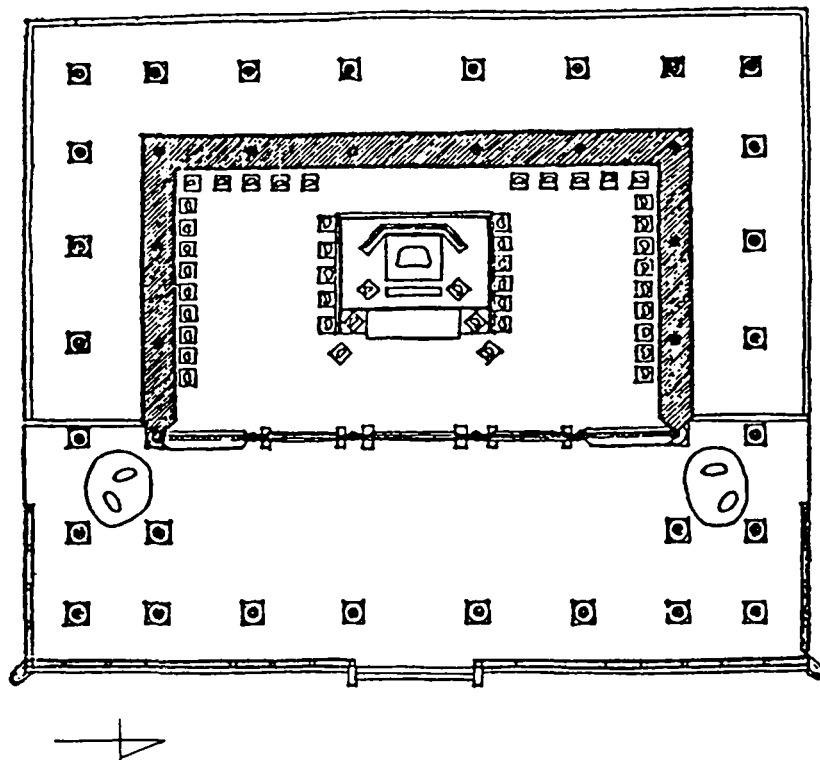


Fig. 574: Ground plan of the Shengmu-dian 聖母殿 성모전 of Jinci 晉祠 진사 at Taiyuan 太原 태원, Shanxi 山西 산서 (1023 - 1031 AD, scale: 1 : 300) (after: LIU Dunzhen 劉敦楨 유돈장 (1980), p. 186)

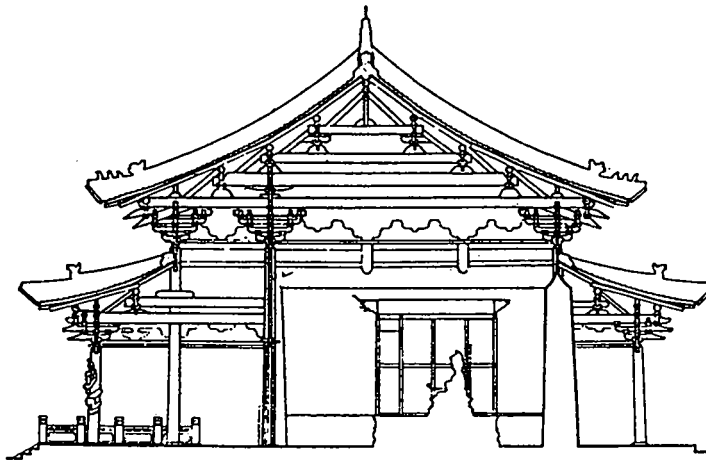
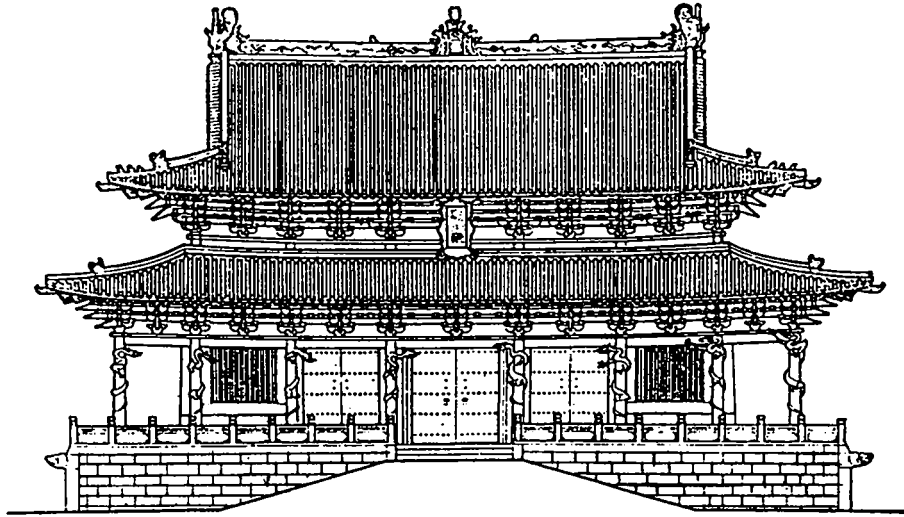


Fig. 575: Front elevation and transversal section of the Shengmu-dian 聖母殿 성모전 of Jinci 晉祠 진사 at Taiyuan 太原 태원, Shanxi 山西 산서 (1023 - 1031 AD, scale: 1 : 300) (after: LIU Dunzhen 劉敦楨 유돈정 (1980), pp. 186f.)

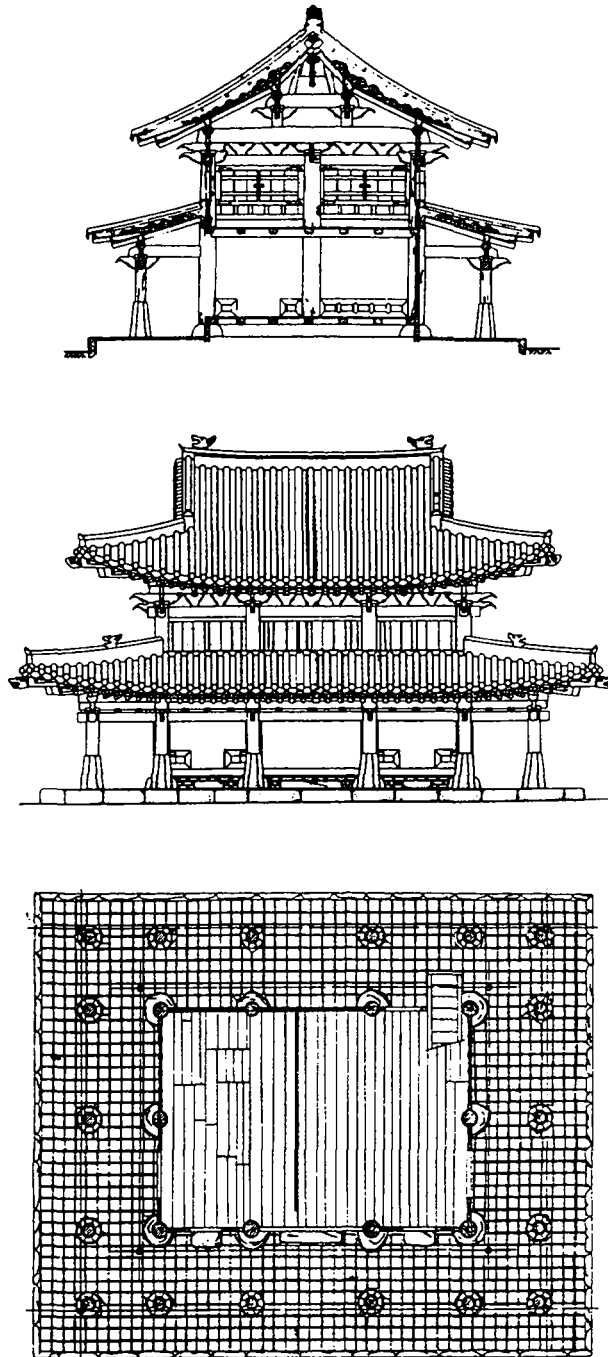


Fig. 576: Ground plan, front elevation and transversal section of the Su-ŏ-chang-dæ  
 守禦將臺 수어장대 at Nam-han-san-sŏng 南漢山城 남한산성 (1836 AD, scale: 1 : 200)  
 (after: Kyŏng-gi-do 京畿道 경기도 (ed.) (1989), p. 131, 456, 460)



## 4.2.2.2.2.3.10. The number of stories

The historical texts do not tell precisely how many stories the image halls of Hwang-ryong-sa had. Because of the size of the temple it has been commonly assumed that they must have been at least two-storied structures. The study by KIM Bong-kön<sup>1</sup> on the multi-storied wooden halls of Korea, however, does not include the image halls of Hwang-ryong-sa among the probable multi-storied structures of Korea, while the first reconstruction of the image hall of Bun-hwang-sa is included. In fact the ground plan of the core of the central image hall of Hwang-ryong-sa lacks an important indication for multi-storied structures: the narrowing of the outer bays which can be observed at most extant multi-storied buildings of East Asia<sup>2</sup> [fig. 440, 448, 450]. In addition, it must be noted that the proportion of the ground plan of the core of about 1 : 2.25 is unusual for two-storied structures. Most multi-storied halls in Korea feature a proportion above 1 : 2, the average being about 1 : 1.45 (excluding the multi-storied gates). As in the case of several reconstructions of Bæk-che image halls, I think that the reconstruction drawings by KIM Dong-hyön try again to be as tall as possible in order to magnify the achievements of Ancient Korea. But I doubt that the size has a decisive influence on the value of an architectural work.

In conclusion, I suggest that the central image hall of Hwang-ryong-sa was a single-storied structure with an attached portico with its own pent roof [fig. 577] comparable to the Shengmu-dian of Jinci [figs. 574, 575]. It could also be compared to the extant Dongda-dian of Foguang-si<sup>3</sup> of 857 AD [figs. 452, 453] whose ground plan is surprisingly similar to that of the central image hall of Hwang-ryong-sa if it is imagined with two more bays in the centre in the longitudinal direction and an

<sup>1</sup> KIM Bong-kön 金奉建 김봉건 (1994).

<sup>2</sup> The narrowing of the outer bays seems to have several reasons:

Firstly, the outer bays of image halls are usually reserved for circumambulation which does not need wide spaces. (This argument is also valuable for single-storied structures but it might particularly apply to those multi-storied buildings where the outer bays are similar to added porticos (type 2 in the study of KIM). [fig. 574, 575])

Secondly, in three of the five multi-storied building types described by KIM (types 3 [figs. 445, 448], 4 [figs. 449, 450] and 5), the walls and outer columns of the upper story are placed above the outer bays of the lower story (in Korea often in the centre of the outer bays) so that the beams connecting the outer columns of the lower story with the interior ones are particularly solicited [figs. 449, 450]. Longer spans would thus need very thick beams which could have been judged disproportional.

Thirdly, undiminished or even wider outer bays compared to the inner bays would have resulted in front and lateral elevations with proportions of the eaves of the upper and lower stories which lay too much visual weight on the lower roof. (The lower roofs already seem to be larger because of the effect of perspective.)

See: KIM Bong-kön 金奉建 김봉건 (1994), p. 61 - 109.

<sup>3</sup> Dongda-dian 東大殿 동대전, Foguang-si 佛光寺 불광사 at Wutai 五台 오태, Shanxi 山西 산서.

attached portico. The Dongda-dian has four bays in the transversal direction, the same as the main structure of the central image hall of Hwang-ryong-sa, so that both buildings have a similar depth (17.66m compared to about 20m). In the centre, four columns are omitted in order to provide space for the rectangular elevated altar which is a little less than one and a half bays deep. Numerous clay images stand on the altar, among which is a Buddha triad with total height of about 7.5m. Furthest away from the triad stand images of the four heavenly kings as I also supposed for Hwang-ryong-sa. Numerous small images stand on four successive steps along the western, northern and eastern sides of the outer bay of the Dongda-dian which was used for circumambulation. A similar configuration is also conceivable for Hwang-ryong-sa except that the steps would have been interrupted in the middle of the rear wall in order to provide space for a door which must have existed in front of the rear stairs.

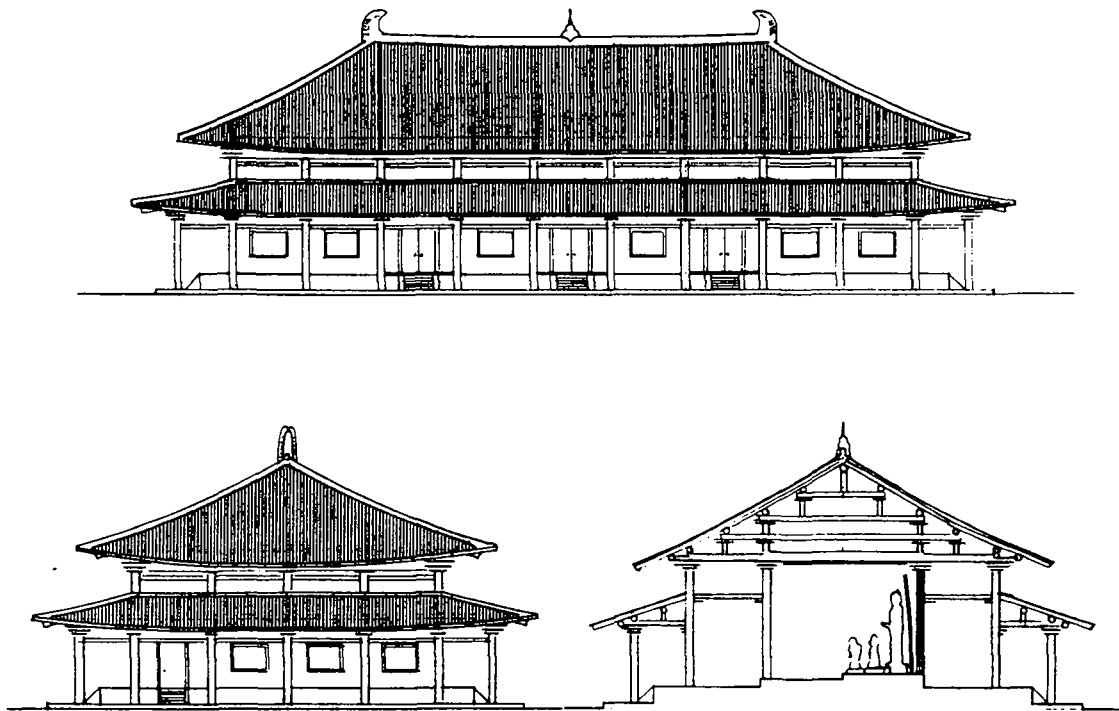


Fig. 577: Reconstructed elevations and transversal section of the central image hall of Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황동사 according to the author (late 6th-C. AD, scale, 1 : 500) (drawings by the author)

## 4.2.2.2.4. The eastern image hall

The excavation of the site of the eastern image hall revealed that it was reconstructed at least twice. The first construction is supposed to date to the period between the first reconstruction of the central image hall and the construction of the nine-storied wooden pagoda but no precise date is known. The first version featured an attached portico on the lower step of the platform similar to that of the central image hall, while the later reconstructions abandoned the portico.

## 4.2.2.2.4.1. The platform and the column foundations

The platforms of the first eastern image hall [fig. 578] seem to have been much lower and simpler than that of the central image hall. Both steps were formed by rows of simple edge stones [fig. 579]. The first step was 15cm to 20cm high and about 2m wide, while the second step was about 25cm high. The axis of the lower

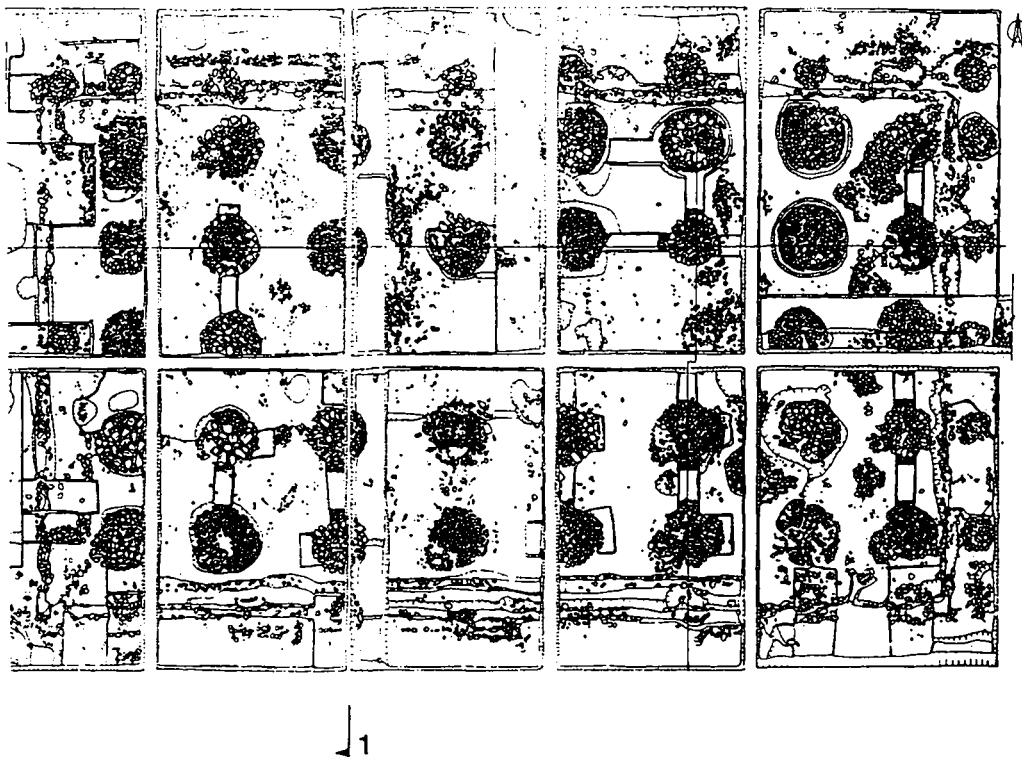


Fig. 578: Excavation plan of the eastern image hall of Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 皇龍寺 (1 indicates the section, see: fig. 579) (late 6th-C. AD / Unified Sin-la, scale 1 : 300) (after: MHCKLG (1982, 1984), plan 8)

foundation stones had a distance of about 60cm from the upper step and the axis of the outer columns of the main structure were located 1.9m to 2m inside the edge of the upper step of the platform. As the platforms were so low, no stairs were necessary.

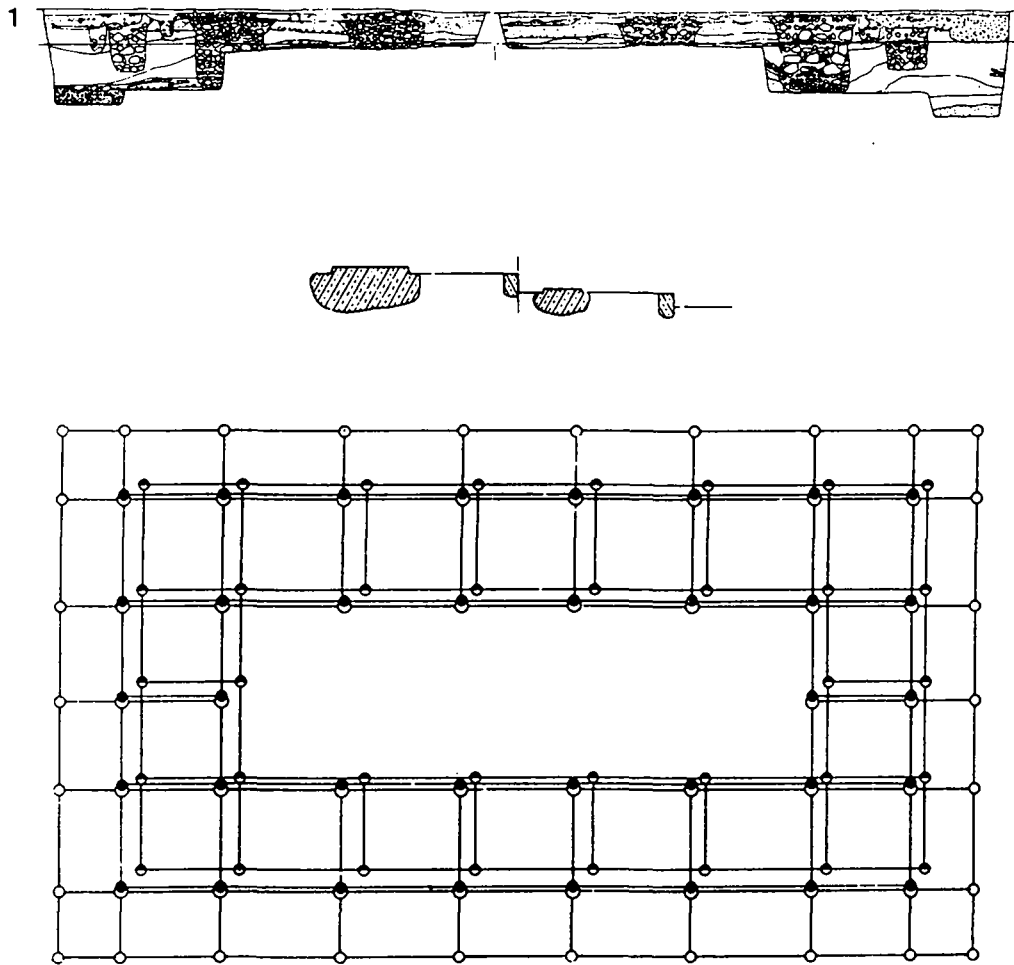


Fig. 579: Section (scale: 1 : 200) (1 indicates the section on the plan, see: fig. 578) and details (scale: 1 : 100) of the platform and scheme of the successive eastern image halls (scale: 1 : 300) of Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황동사 (Ancient Sin-la / Unified Sin-la) (after: MHCKLG (1982, 1984), p. 69f., plan 31):

- first construction
- reconstruction
- last reconstruction

No foundation stones remained on the site of the eastern image hall but round piles of stones indicated their location. These piles had a diameter of 2m to 2.8m for the foundations of the main structure and 1m to 1.7m for the foundations of the portico. These piles of stones were mixed with reddish-brown clay. They were about 2m deep for the main structure and about 1.2m deep for the portico. The later reconstructions slightly moved the location of the foundation stones and added a thin bed of stones on top of the old pile of stones. The location of the axis of all three constructions could thus be reconstructed [fig. 579]. The space between the piles of stones was filled with layers of clay of various colours. The layer at the level of the surface of the stone piles of the original image hall was 30cm to 40cm deep and consisted of yellowish-brown clay with tile fragments.

#### 4.2.2.2.4.2. The superstructure

The portico was about 2.6m wide on the front and back sides and about 2.5m on the lateral sides. The five central bays in the longitudinal direction of the main structure measured in average about 4.6m while the corner and lateral bays were about 3.9m long. The four central columns were removed in the interior of the main structure so that its organisation was probably similar to that of the central image hall of Hwang-ryong-sa and the Dongda-dian of Foguang-si of 857 AD [figs. 452, 453]. If the central image hall was a single-storied structure with an attached portico, it is difficult to imagine the lateral image halls as multi-storied structures so that I assume that the eastern image hall had comparable but smaller elevations and sections as those imagined for the central image hall.

The reconstruction drawing of the western image hall by KIM Dong-hyŏn<sup>1</sup> which was also used for the reduced-scale model of the eastern image hall shows a later version where the portico was abandoned [fig. 580]. But also for these reconstructions, I would favour single-storied structures, mainly because the proportion of the ground plan of about 1 : 2.063 seems to make single-storied structures again more likely (see above, p. 821, n. 2). The proportion of the main structure and the relation between the various bay lengths<sup>2</sup> are almost identical to that of the Dongda-dian [fig. 452] so that this extant structure provides a good image for the later reconstructions of the lateral image halls.

<sup>1</sup> See: KIM Dong-hyŏn 金東賢 김동현 (1992), p. 186.

<sup>2</sup> The general proportion of the Dongda-dian 東大殿 동대전 is about 1 : 1.925. The relation between the lengths of the central five bays to those of the lateral bays is about 1 : 1.149 compared to about 1 : 1.191 (first construction) or 1.218 (second reconstruction) of the eastern image hall of Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황룡사.

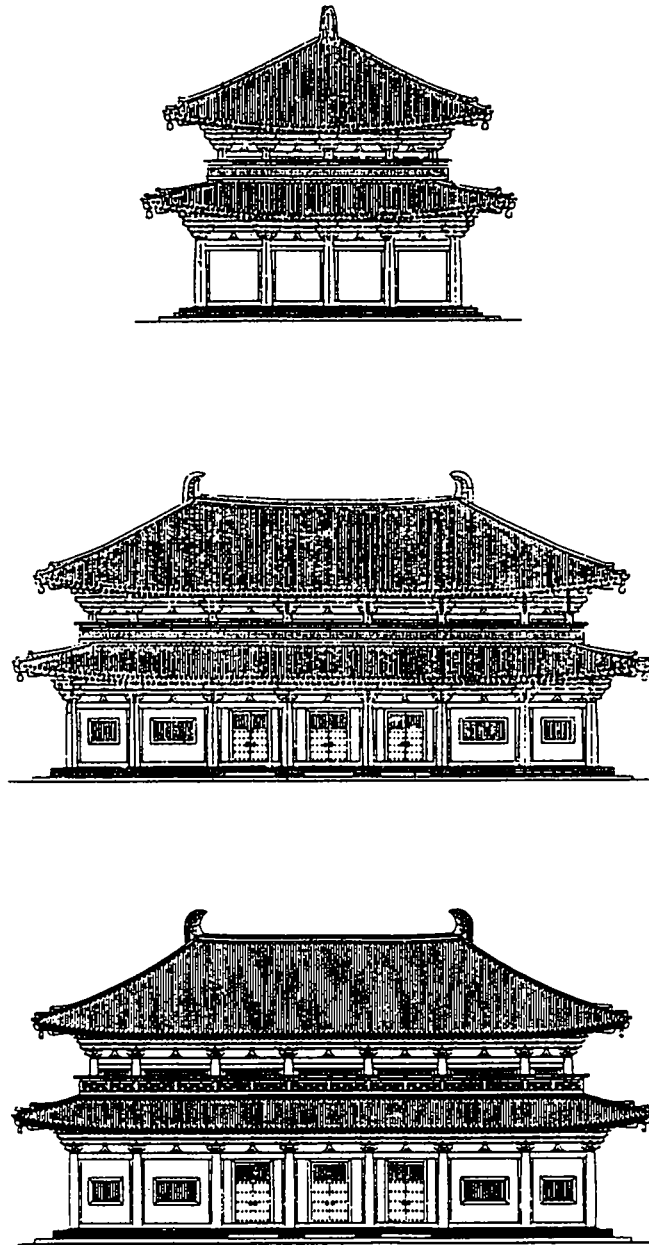


Fig. 580: Reconstructed elevations of the western image hall of Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황릉사 (Unified Sin-la, scale: 1 : 500) (after: KIM Dong-hyŏn 金東賢 김동현 (1992), p. 186; YUN Chang-sŏb 尹張燮 윤장섭 (1996), p. 160)

#### 4.2.2.2.5. The western image hall

The trenches into the platform of the western image hall revealed that its structure resembled that of the pagoda [fig. 581]. The platform consisted of reddish-brown clay into which layers of the small natural stones were placed. It can therefore be supposed that the first reconstruction of the western image hall dates to about the same period as the reconstruction of the pagoda of 643 AD. The western image hall was supposedly built for the first time shortly after the first reconstruction of the central image hall. As the reconstruction of the western image hall replaced the original platform with a new structure of a depth of up to 4m and as the reconstruction seems to have abandoned the surrounding portico, only about fifteen round piles of stones of the original foundations of the portico columns could be excavated.

These piles of stones, with a diameter of 1.5m to 2m and a depth of 1.2m to 1.7m, permit to interpolate the missing foundations and help to reconstruct the original ground plan and its size. The reconstructed measurements correspond approximately to those of the first construction of the eastern image hall so that it can be supposed that the lateral image halls were conceived as symmetrical to the main axis of the temple.

Because of the nature of the platform structure of the first reconstruction which did not use clearly distinguishable, deep piles of stones at the location of the columns, the ground plan of the second western image hall can no longer be reconstructed, except that the size of the platform seems to indicate that the wooden structure of the second western image hall had about the size of the main structure of the first western image hall without the portico. The front and rear bays of the main structure measured about 4.4m, the lateral bays of the main structure were about 4.05m long and the columns of the portico which supposedly stood on a lower step of the platform had a distance of the outer columns of the main structure of about 2.85m.

The second reconstruction of the western image hall whose platform and column foundations are better preserved, dates to a period after the unification of the Korean peninsula in 668 AD. Its platform was constructed with fired bricks and its wooden structure counted seven by four bays. The reconstruction drawings by KIM Dong-hyŏn<sup>1</sup> features the brick platform and five lateral bays so that it is not clear which reconstruction stage they are supposed to represent.

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<sup>1</sup> See: KIM Dong-hyŏn 金東賢 김동현 (1992), p. 186.

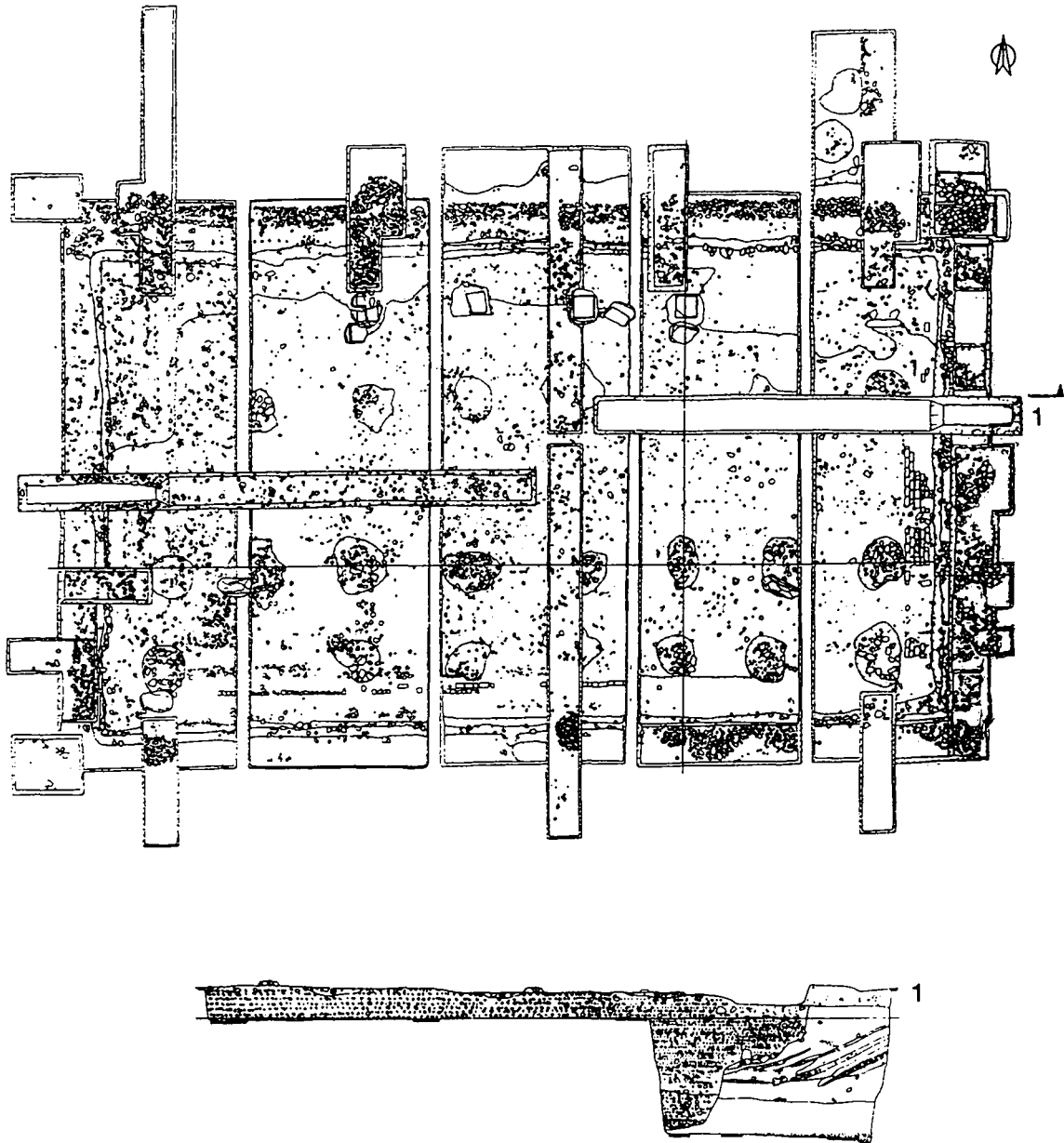


Fig. 581: Excavation plan (scale: 1 : 300) and section of the platform (scale: 1 : 200) of the western image hall of Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황릉사 (1 indicates the section) (late 6th-C. AD / Unified Sin-la) (after: MHCKLG (1982, 1984), plans 9, 32)



#### 4.2.2.2.6. The lecture hall and the northern structures

The remains of two successive stages of structures were found on top of the above-mentioned linear foundations which formed squares on the northern side of the temple. The extant foundation stones seem to date to the last reconstruction of the lecture hall and the lateral northern structures after the unification of the Korean peninsula. The piles of stones which do not correspond to these late structures are supposed to belong to the period of the reconstruction of the central image hall and the nine-storied wooden pagoda.

##### 4.2.2.2.6.1. The lecture hall

The piles of stones of the lecture hall had a diameter of 1.5m to 2.5m and a depth of 1.2m to 1.5m [fig. 582]. The construction method and the size of the platform of the older lecture hall could not be established because the later reconstruction destroyed its traces. It can be supposed that the width of the platform of the earlier lecture hall was about the same as the later one but the length was obviously longer because the earlier lecture hall counted one bay more in the longitudinal direction.

The bays of the lecture hall measured about 5.5m in the longitudinal and about 4.25m in the transversal direction. It seems that all central interior columns were omitted so that the central space which measured about 8.5m by 55m, was placed between two long, corridor-like spaces to the south and the north which were separated by rows of interior columns. The disposition of furniture in the earlier lecture hall is not known but the remains of three square stone bases with side lengths of about 2.8m in the bays next to the central bay of the later image hall seem to indicate the position of so-called 'high seats'<sup>1</sup> from where the *dharma* masters commented the *sūtras* to the assembly. The interior and the exterior portions of the platform of the later lecture hall were covered with square tiles with side lengths of about 34cm and a depth of about 5cm. A similar floor can also be assumed for the earlier construction whose intact material may even have been re-used in the reconstruction.

The lecture hall seems to have been connected with secondary buildings behind the central precinct. But the date and the exact form of the connection building and the additional rear structures have not been established. The remains of a square pavilion with three bays on each side right behind the lecture hall seems to date to a later period.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ko-chwa* 高座 高桌.

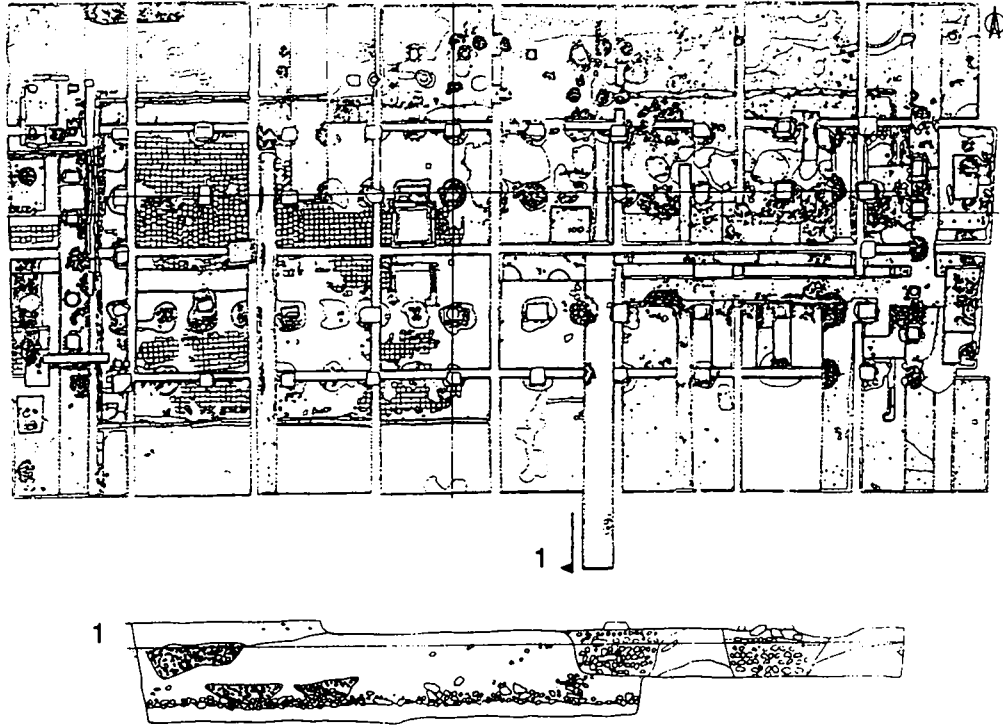


Fig. 582: Excavation plan (scale: 1 : 500) and section of the platform (scale: 1 : 200) of the lecture hall of Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 講堂 (late 6th-C. AD / Unified Sin-la) (after: MHCKLG (1982, 1984), plans 6, 30)

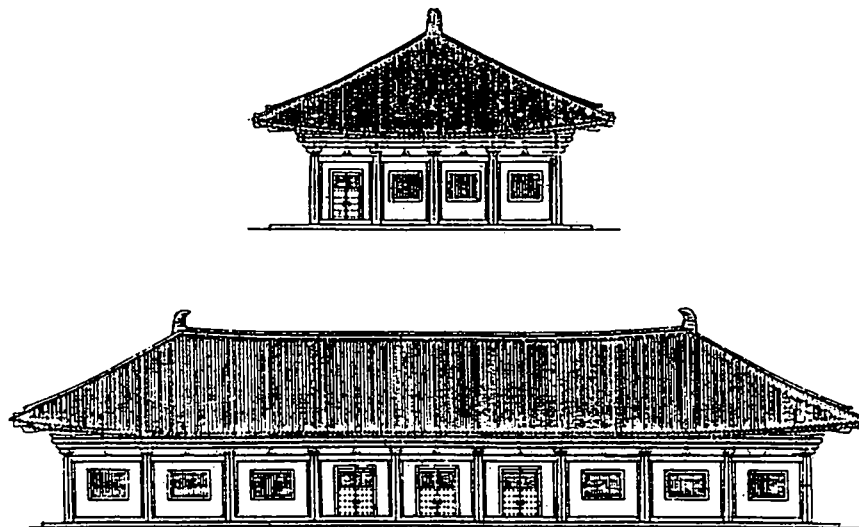


Fig. 583: Reconstructed elevations of the lecture hall of Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 講堂 (Unified Sin-la, scale: 1 : 500) (after: KIM Dong-hyŏn 金東賢 김동현 (1992), p. 193)

The reconstruction drawings by KIM Dong-hyŏn show the later reconstruction of the lecture hall with nine bays on the front and rear sides [fig. 583]. It is a single-storied structure with a hip roof. All details of the roof, the bracket sets and the openings seem to be identical to those of the image halls and the pagoda. While such details can be argued over, I think that the height of the structure is exaggerated for a lecture hall.

#### 4.2.2.2.6.2. The lateral structures

The excavation of the site of the structures to the east and west of the lecture hall revealed a large number of superimposed foundations so that it can be assumed that its buildings were reconstructed several times with various ground plans [figs. 551f.]. It is therefore difficult to reconstruct the different stages with the exception of the last stage, the foundation stones of which still remain in their location and the first stage the linear foundations of which were discussed above. The intermediate stages are less clear so that even the various members of the excavation team do not seem to agree with each other. While CHANG Kyŏng-ho<sup>1</sup> supposes that the second stage of the lateral buildings featured buildings with twelve bays in the east-west direction and four bays in the south-north direction, KIM Chŏng-ki<sup>2</sup> prefers to interpret the remains as belonging to eleven-bay-long and three-bay-deep structures. According to CHANG, the eastern building was about 59m long while the western building measured 57m by 11.88m. It thus seems that the eastern edge of the eastern building was aligned with the eastern side of the eastern dormitories while the western edge of the western building was aligned with the western edge of the western double gallery which could indicate that the two lateral buildings did not belong to the same reconstruction period. As the date of the replacement of the lateral dormitories with double galleries is still disputed (see above, pp. 787ff.), it can only be speculated that the longer, eastern building was older than the shorter western building. It seems difficult to reconstruct the correct number of bays of the lateral buildings because the extant piles of stones do not fit well either proposed number of bays. It is also conceivable that the lateral buildings were already divided into several structures at the second stage as was confirmed for the last stage.

<sup>1</sup> CHANG Kyŏng-ho 張慶浩 장경호. See: MHCKLG (1982, 1984), pp. 91f.

<sup>2</sup> KIM Chŏng-ki 金正基 김정기. See: MHCKLG (1982, 1984), pp. 372f.

For the models at the Independence Hall and in the National Museum in Kyōng-chu the shorter, western version of CHANG with twelve by four bays has been chosen; it seems to correspond to a reconstruction drawing of the whole temple ground plan published by YUN Chang-sōb [fig. 556]. This plan combines a supposed second stage of the lateral northern buildings with the last stage of the belfry and *sūtra* repository to the south-east and south-west of the wooden pagoda. The reconstruction drawing and the models thus contradict themselves. The lateral buildings in the reconstruction drawing imitate the interior spatial organisation of the lecture hall so that they seem to be minor lecture halls. But the actual excavated remains do not seem to provide any evidence for this speculation. If they are compared to the remains of other excavated structure of Hwang-ryong-sa, their dimension and disposition seem most to resemble the lateral dormitories of the first temple layout. I assume therefore that the lateral buildings of the lecture hall were either dormitories for senior monks or auxiliary structures to the lecture hall, such as private study rooms for the *dharma* masters.

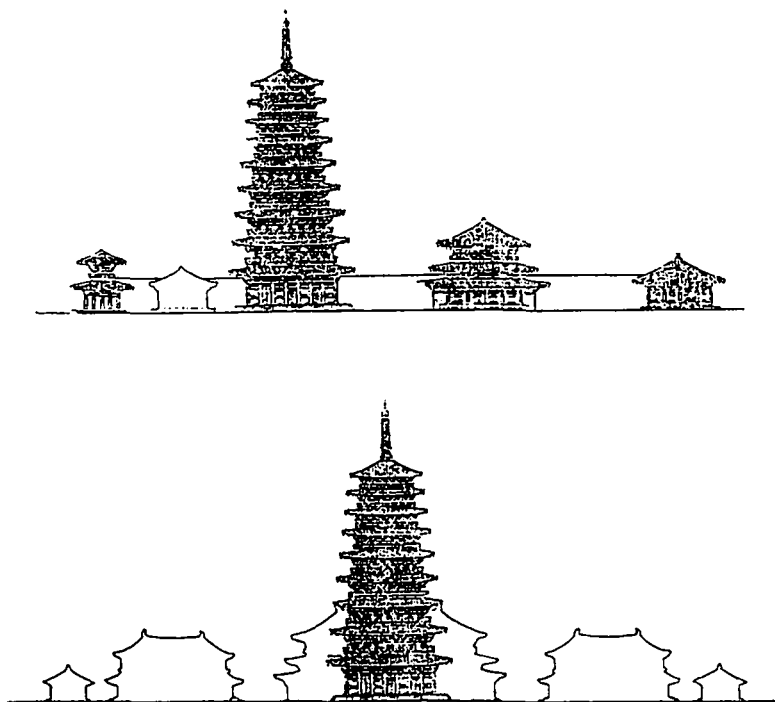


Fig. 584: Reconstructed sections of Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황동사 (Unified Sin-la / Ko-ryō, scale: 1 : 2,000) (after: KIM Dong-hyōn 金東賢 김동현 (1992), p. 177)

## 4.2.2.2.7. The lantern sites

The investigation of the temple site revealed at least five sites of stone lanterns of various periods. Four of them lay in front of the pagoda and one between the pagoda and the central image hall [fig. 556]. The northern lantern lay about 25.8m behind the centre of the wooden pagoda and about 23.6m in front of the centre of the pagoda. The remains of the foundations of the northern lantern consisted of a square, stone-covered surface with side length of about 2.5m [fig. 585]. CHO Yu-chŏn<sup>1</sup> supposes that this lantern dates to the Unified Sin-la period because according to him, the position in front of the image hall only became common after the development of the twin-pagoda layout of the early Unified Sin-la period. But this argument loses its strength if it is accepted that Hŭng-ryun-sa already featured twin pagodas prior to the construction of Hwang-ryong-sa.

Three of the southern lanterns lay on an east-west axis about 24.25m in front of the centre of the wooden pagoda. The central lantern lay on the main south-north axis of the temple while the eastern and western lanterns had a distance of about 6.5m from the central lantern. The sites were identified by square, stone-covered surfaces, similar to that of the northern lantern, with side lengths of 3m to 3.4m for the lateral sites and 1.9m to 2m for the central site [fig. 585].

The fourth lantern lay about 1.9m in front of the central lantern of the above-mentioned three lanterns. Three extant fragments of its base stone which formed a square with side lengths of 2m to 2.1m, are partially superimposed on the foundation of the central lantern [fig. 585]. It can therefore be assumed that the southernmost lantern belonged to a later reconstruction of the temple, probably during the Unified Sin-la, while the three other southern lantern sites must be older, possibly contemporaneous to the construction of the nine-storied wooden pagoda of 643 AD.

Two square lantern-base stones with inverted octagonal lotus flowers were uncovered at an unspecified location of the temple precinct. The excavation report<sup>2</sup> did not try to date them, but the design of one of them is reminiscent of bases of stone lanterns of the Unified Sin-la period, while the other was carved more roughly so that I tend to date it to the Ko-ryŏ period<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> CHO Yu-chŏn 趙由典 조유전. See: MHCKLG (1982, 1984), pp. 120f.

<sup>2</sup> See: MHCKLG (1982, 1984), pp. 283f., pl. 269.

<sup>3</sup> The base stone has similarities with the base of the *stūpa* (*bu-do* 浮屠 부도) of Bul-guk-sa 佛國寺 불국사. See: *BGinCd* 103-27, pp. 108ff.

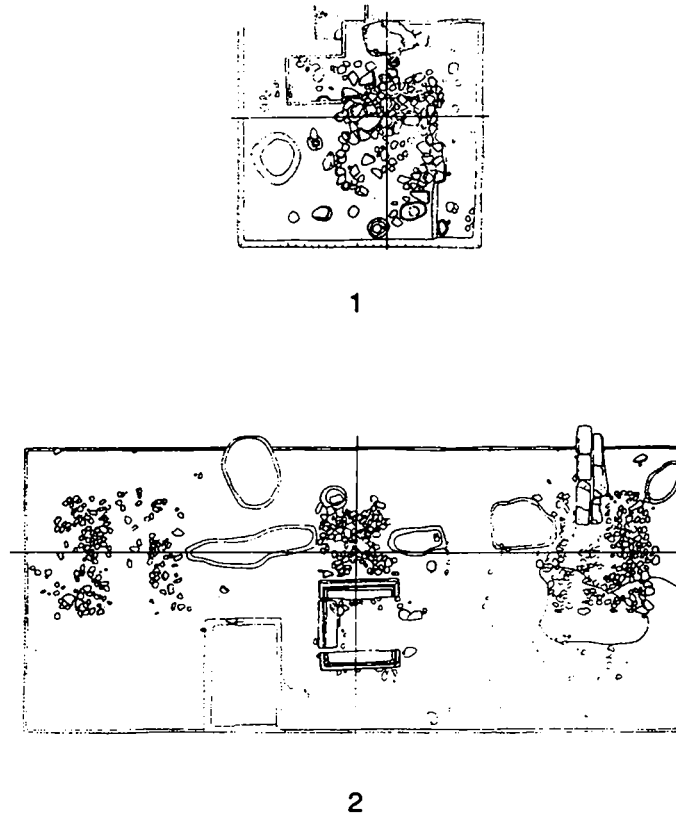


Fig. 585: Excavation plans of the northern (1) and southern lantern sites (2) of Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황룡사 (Ancient Sin-la / Unified Sin-la, scale: 1 : 200) (after: MHCKLG (1982, 1984), plan 26)

#### 4.2.2.2.2.8. The material remains

A large portion of the excavation report on Hwang-ryong-sa is reserved to the description of the numerous objects which were found on the site. The report divides the material remains in the following categories: roof tiles, ceramics, metallic objects and various objects such as jewelry and stone objects. A separate section of the report is devoted to the central foundation stone of the wooden pagoda and the material remains which were discovered in the cavity in its centre. I will discuss here only the objects which can be dated to Ancient Sin-la or which provide some information on this period.

## 4.2.2.2.8.1. The central foundation stone of the wooden pagoda and its treasures

The giant foundation stone of this central pole was discovered on the site. It was composed of two pieces. The lower piece was a large, roughly-cut oval monolith of about 3 m by 4.2 m which was about 1.3 m thick [fig. 560]. A square hole was cut at the centre of the lower foundation stone for the metallic *śarīra* box. At the time of the excavation, the hole was covered by the second stone. Its size was about 1.5 m by 1.2 m by 0.8 m. The two stones were fixed on each other by metallic dowels. As mentioned above, it is supposed that this second stone was placed on the original foundation stone after the final destruction of the wooden pagoda in 1238 AD.

It was particularly fortunate that the *śarīra* box in the foundation stones of the central pole of the pagoda was found almost intact during an investigation in 1964 AD [fig. 586]. The hole in the central foundation stone contained also a number of other objects beside the *śarīra* box, among which were bronze mirrors, bronze bowls, iron scissors, a needle recipient, comma jewels, belt ornaments and jade beads. A chronicle of the history of the pagoda was inscribed on the inside and outside of the four panels of the gilt-bronze *śarīra* box<sup>1</sup>. According to this inscription, the *śarīra* box was placed in the foundation stone in the eleventh month of 872 AD during one of the reconstructions of the nine-storied pagoda which took place from 868 to 874 AD as is known from other sources. It can thus be supposed that the other objects beside the box also date to Unified Sin-la.

Though the founding date of Hwang-ryong-sa is not mentioned in the text on the *śarīra* box, the date of 643 AD for the reconstruction by Cha-chang Yul-sa<sup>2</sup> of the pagoda is confirmed. The lower part of the box was eroded so that a number of characters were lost. Two such lost characters of the first page were interpolated from the context, and it seems that the account of the great Bæk-che architect A-bi-chi<sup>3</sup> and the two hundred minor artisans who followed him to Sin-la in order to build the nine-storied pagoda of Hwang-ryong-sa can be traced back to the ninth century AD at least. This makes the account in the *Sam-guk-yu-sa*<sup>4</sup> more credible (see Chapter 4.1., pp. 717 - 719).

<sup>1</sup> The *śarīra* box is now in the collection of the National Museum in Sŏ-ul (Seoul) 서울.

<sup>2</sup> Cha-chang Yul-sa 慈藏律師 자장율사. See Chapter 4.1., pp. 717 - 719.

<sup>3</sup> A-bi-chi 阿非知 아버지. The passage in question is:

(...) 命監君伊干龍樹大匠□濟□ (...) 명감군이간용수대장□계□  
非等率小匠二百人造斯塔焉 (...) 비등솔소장이백인조사탑언 (...)

If in the first gap the character 百 백 is added and 阿 아 in the second gap, then the passage reads:

"On the order of the *i-kan* (a title ?) Yong-su (the dragon guardian of the *dharma*) the great Bæk-che artisan A-bi[-chi] and others built this pagoda by leading 200 minor artisans".

See Chapter 4.1., pp. 717 - 719; KIM Yŏng-tæ 金漢泰 김영태 (1992), pp. 180 - 186.

<sup>4</sup> See: *SGYS*, pp. 103f., 322 - 325, (207 - 211).

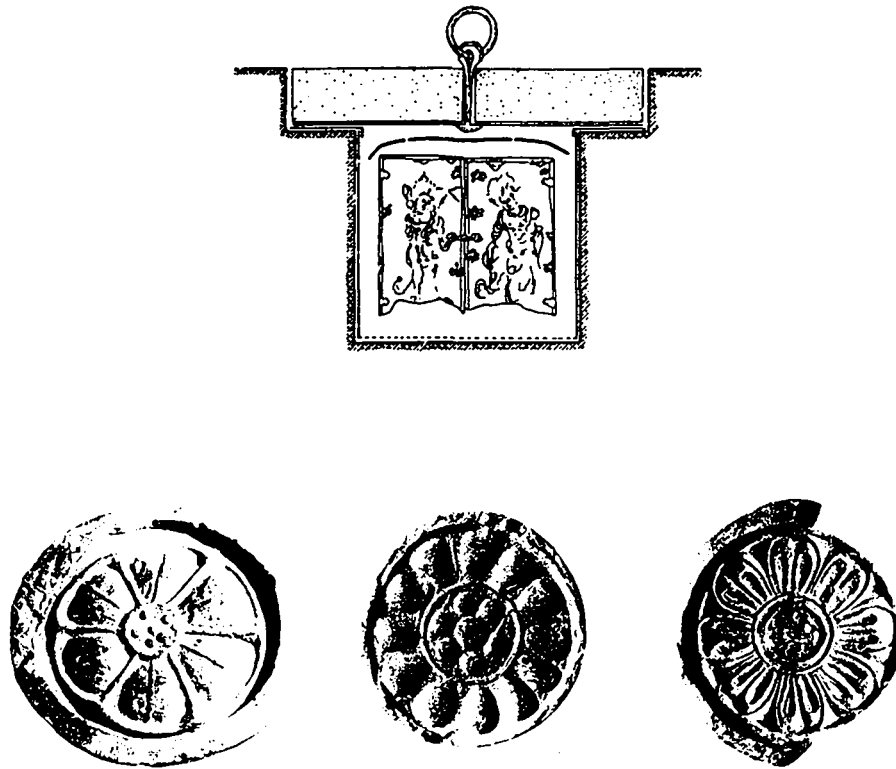


Fig. 586: Cavity in the central foundation stone of the wooden pagoda with the *sarira* box (872 AD, scale: 1 : 10); 'male' roof-end tiles of Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황동사 (Ancient Sin-la / Unified Sin-la, no scale) (after: MHCKLG (1982, 1984), p. 369; KIM Dong-hyŏn 金東賢 김동현 etc. (1976), pp. 36f., 138)

#### 4.2.2.2.8.2. Roof tiles

Roof tile fragments from all periods of the existence of Hwang-ryong-sa have been excavated in large numbers. The report<sup>1</sup> divides them according to their function and design. Of special interest were the tiles featuring ornaments which were placed at the eaves and ridge ends. The following list provides a short overall view of the kinds of decorated tiles found:

<sup>1</sup> See: MHCKLG (1982, 1984), pp. 125 - 212.



1. female roof-end tiles
  - 1.1. foliage designs (25 types)
  - 1.2. grass and flower designs (10 types)
  - 1.3. flower and bird designs (4 types)
  - 1.4. giraffe design (1 type)
  - 1.5. dragon design (1 type)
  - 1.6. monster's face design (1 type)
  - 1.7. monster's eyes design (8 types)
2. male roof-end tiles
  - 2.1. lotus flower designs
    - 2.1.1. simple petals (23 types) [fig. 586 (2)]
    - 2.1.2. thin petals (11 types) [fig. 586 (3)]
    - 2.1.3. double petals (10 types) [fig. 586 (4)]
    - 2.1.4. multiple petals (22 types)
  - 2.2. 'flower of reality'<sup>1</sup> designs (6 types)
  - 2.3. monster's face designs (1 type)
  - 2.4. *kalaviṅka*<sup>2</sup> design (1 type)
  - 2.5. lion design (1 type)
  - 2.6. flower and bird design (1 type)
  - 2.7. monster's eye designs (7 types)
3. bent ridge-end tiles (1 type)
4. oval ridge-end tiles (1 type)
5. ridge tiles (1 type)
6. female corner tiles (1 type)
7. rafter-end tiles
  - 7.1. round rafter-end tiles (1 type)
  - 7.2. flying-rafter-end tiles (1 type)
  - 7.3. corner-rafter-end tiles (1 type)
8. owl's-tail tile (1 type) [fig. 587]
9. dragon dead tiles (1 type)
10. monster face tiles (1 type)
11. flat tiles (bricks)
  - 11.1. floor tiles (1 type)
  - 11.2. green glazed tiles (1 type)
  - 11.3. tile with seated Buddha relief (1 type)

<sup>1</sup> Flower of reality: *sil-sang-hwa* 實相花 실상화.

<sup>2</sup> *Kalaviṅka*, a Buddhist mythical creature with a human head and a bird's body:  
K: *ka-rūng-bin-ga* 迦陵頻迦 가릉빈가.

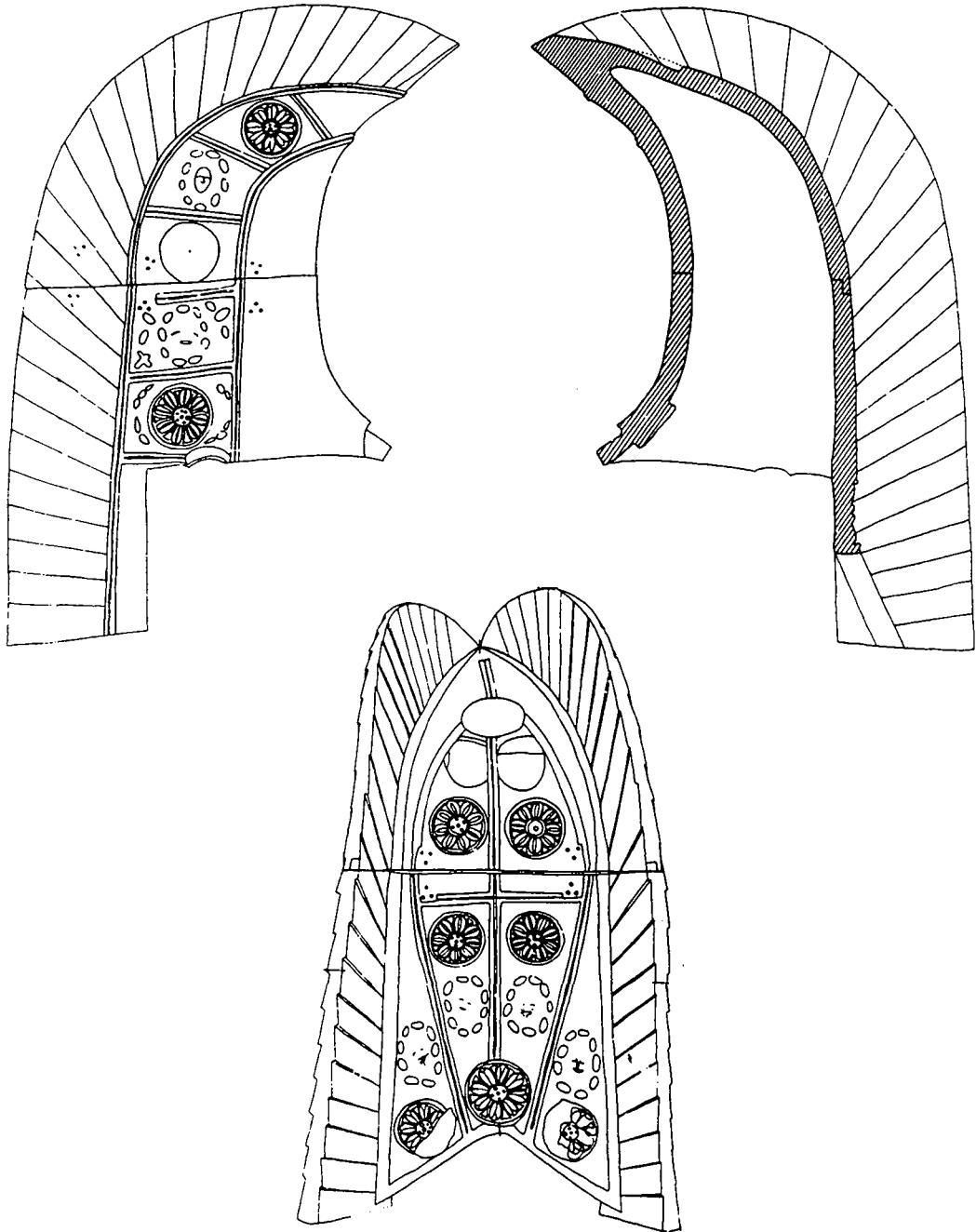


Fig. 587: Elevations and section of the owl's tail tile of the lecture hall of Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황룡사 (Ancient Sin-la, scale: 1 : 20) (after: MHCKLG (1982, 1984), pp. 202f.)

Among these different types, only the female roof-end tiles with simple foliage designs (part of 1.1. of the list above), the male roof-end tiles with simple lotus flower designs (2.1.1., fig. 586 - 2), the male roof-end tiles with lotus flowers with thin petals (2.1.2., fig. 586 - 3), the simple round rafter-end tiles (part of 7.1.) as well as the owl's-tail tile (8., fig. 587) seem to date in majority to the Ancient Sin-la period. While the male roof-end tiles with simple lotus flowers resemble tiles from Bæk-che<sup>1</sup> [figs. 216, 247, 277, 288, 361] the male roof-end tiles with lotus flowers with thin petals are reminiscent of a number of tiles of Ko-gu-ryö<sup>2</sup> [figs. 128, 170]. Both types of early lotus flower designs have also been found at other temple sites of Ancient Sin-la (e.g. Bun-hwang-sa<sup>3</sup>, fig. 614), so that it seems that both Bæk-che and Ko-gu-ryö had considerable cultural influence on Ancient Sin-la. It is commonly assumed that the tile design of Sin-la started to distinguish itself clearly from those of Bæk-che and Ko-gu-ryö around the time of the unification of the Korean peninsula by imitating certain features of the new Tang style from China.

The owl's-tail tile stands out from the other tiles because of its extraordinary size [fig. 587]. It was uncovered at the north-eastern part of the lecture hall and was burnt in two parts with triangular section which seem to have been attached to each other with wire. The height of the two pieces together measured about 1.82m, the lower part was about 1.05 wide at its base. Its sides were decorated with simple lotus flowers and stylized human faces in circles which seems to indicate that the owl's-tail tile dates to the Ancient Sin-la period<sup>4</sup>.

#### 4.2.2.2.3. Conclusions

The excavation report has pointed out that, while the first layout of the central precinct of Hwang-ryong-sa seems to have followed the Bæk-che temple-layout type with a single pagoda and a single image hall, the layout of the first reconstruction was exceptional and hardly comparable to any known temple site in Korea. CHANG<sup>5</sup>, however, stressed the similarities in size, motivation and construction techniques between Hwang-ryong-sa (the first reconstruction) and Bæk-che's Mi-rük-sa<sup>6</sup>, seemingly confirming the account of the arrival of the Bæk-che architect A-bi-chi and the imported work force from Bæk-che. The three image halls of the

<sup>1</sup> See: Chapter 3.2., pp. 308, 343, 375, 387, 482.

<sup>2</sup> See: Chapter 2.2., p. 149; Chapter 2.3., p. 214.

<sup>3</sup> Bun-hwang-sa 芬皇寺분황사 (No. 7.34.1.). See below pp. 873f.

<sup>4</sup> Tiles with simple lotus flower designs are generally considered to have been manufactured during the Three Kingdoms period in Korea, but intact pieces might have been re-used in later periods.

<sup>5</sup> CHANG Kyöng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1991), pp. 201 - 289.

<sup>6</sup> Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺미륵사 (No. 5.6.2.). See: Chapter 3.2., pp. 403ff.

first reconstruction, on the other hand, are reminiscent of the multiple image halls of several temples of Ko-gu-ryō, in particular Chōng-rŭng-sa<sup>1</sup> [fig. 95], if the structures beside its northern image hall are interpreted as secondary image halls. The division into three precincts from east to west of the first layout of Hwang-ryong-sa precedes the similar organisation of Mi-rŭk-sa [fig. 301] by fifty years at least. Only the division of Chōng-rŭng-sa into five precincts is a known older example of a similar layout. But as a comparable organisation of large temples in several lateral minor precincts can be observed on an illustration to the *Guangzhong chuangli jietan tujing*<sup>2</sup> [fig. 394] and on a number of murals from Dunhuang<sup>3</sup> [fig. 133] (see Chapters 2.3. and 3.3.), it can be supposed that this temple layout existed in China before it was introduced into the Korean peninsula. The layouts of palaces of China and Ko-gu-ryō [fig. 142] show that this organisation method probably originated in palace architecture of early China and was adopted for major temples such as Chōng-rŭng-sa, Mi-rŭk-sa and the first Hwang-ryong-sa.

The ground plan of the square wooden pagoda of Hwang-ryong-sa is closely related to those of the square wooden pagodas of Bæk-che and Asuka Japan<sup>4</sup> (see Chapters 3.2. and 3.3.), which seems again to confirm the account of the Bæk-che architect A-bi-chi. Most other structure types of the first reconstruction of Hwang-ryong-sa also have earlier models on the Korean peninsula or in Japan. The foundation structure of deep piles of stones and thin layers of rammed earth can be found in most East Asian Kingdoms of that period. In this sense, the layout and the structures of the first reconstruction of Hwang-ryong-sa are not a precise copy of an earlier temple model nor do they represent a new type of temple but rather they constitute a particular combination of extant spatial and structural elements which were adapted to a particular situation.

According to this interpretation, the construction process of the early Buddhist temples on the Korean peninsula was based neither on blind copying of earlier foreign models nor on genial local inventions, but on a relative creative freedom within certain limits set by the particular cultural, social, religious, economic, political and constructive conditions of each kingdom. This process could also be understood as the playful experimentation of various combinatorial possibilities in contrast to a model of a deterministic progress with an unavoidable final stage as suggested by KIM Sōng-u<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Chōng-rŭng-sa 定陵寺 정릉사 (No. 10.1.3.). See: Chapter 2.2., pp. 105ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Guangzhong chuangli jietan tujing* 「關中創立戒壇圖經 觀音菩薩殿圖經」. See: Chapter 3.3., pp. 528 - 530; T. 1892.45.807a - 819a.

<sup>3</sup> Dunhuang 敦煌 洞窟. See: Chapter 2.3., p. 160.

<sup>4</sup> See: Chapter 3.2., pp. 285f., 299ff., 312ff., 360ff.; Chapter 3.3., pp. 559 - 581.

<sup>5</sup> See: KIM Sung-woo (KIM Sōng-u 金聖雨 김성우) (1985).

### 4.2.3. BUN-HWANG-SA

As mentioned in Chapter 4.1., Bun-hwang-sa<sup>1</sup> was founded in 634 AD, nine years before the construction of the nine-storied wooden pagoda of Hwang-ryong-sa which was located in front of Bun-hwang-sa. So, in spite of the fact that the stone pagoda of Bun-hwang-sa seems to have been one of the largest stone pagoda built by the Sin-la kingdom, it stood in the shadow of the giant pagoda of Hwang-ryong-sa soon after its construction.

The pagoda was repaired several times according to historical texts and the results of recent investigations. Only three stories of the original nine remain today. Coins used during by Ko-ryŏ which were found in the *śarīra* container in the second story, indicate that the pagoda was repaired during the Ko-ryŏ period. It is also reported that the upper half of the nine-storied pagoda collapsed during the Japanese invasions towards the end of the sixteenth century AD and that a monk later tried to reconstruct the pagoda but only succeeded in damaging the ruin even further.

The extant masonry trunk of the pagoda of Bun-hwang-sa has drawn interest from Japanese scholars since the early twentieth century AD. Early photographs<sup>2</sup> show that the structure was in bad shape at the turn of the century. The roofs were overgrown with weed and the central section of the northern side had collapsed into the niche of the first story. The pagoda was therefore investigated and repaired by Japanese scholars in 1915 AD<sup>3</sup>. During the repair work, a *śarīra* container with a number of valuable objects<sup>4</sup> was discovered in the centre of the body of the second story.

Recent excavations which were conducted by the Korean authorities from 1990 AD on<sup>5</sup>, revealed traces of several structures to the north of the stone pagoda which date from successive reconstructions<sup>6</sup>. In 1992 AD, a report on the stone pagoda of Bun-hwang-sa was published by the Cultural Properties Research Institute<sup>7</sup> which provides measured drawings of the extant condition of the structure and proposes possible reconstruction drawings of the original shape of the pagoda.

<sup>1</sup> Bun-hwang-sa 芬皇寺 분황사 (No. 7.34.1.).

<sup>2</sup> See: MHCKLG (1992b), p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> See: CPS 8, p. 297.

<sup>4</sup> See further below, pp. 872ff.

<sup>5</sup> See: NB 1, p. 26; NB 2, p. 71; NB 3, p. 57f.; NB 6, p. 39f.

<sup>6</sup> The first reconstruction occurred probably for the occasion of the casting of the large Bhaiṣajyaguru Buddha 藥師如來 약사여래 statue in 755 AD. See: KIM Bong-kŏn 金奉建 김봉건 (1994), p. 120.

<sup>7</sup> See: MHCKLG (1992b).

The pedestal of a stele of the Ko-ryŏ period, a well, a water basin, fragments of stone lanterns and several foundation stones were also found scattered on the site of Bun-hwang-sa<sup>1</sup>.

#### 4.2.3.1. Geographical situation and orientation

The stone pagoda of Bun-hwang-sa was located about 390m to the north of the centre of the wooden pagoda of Hwang-ryong-sa [fig. 542]. The northern limit of Hwang-ryong-sa coincided with the southern limit of Bun-hwang-sa so that the two temples lay side by side. To the north, Bun-hwang-sa was delimited by the North River<sup>2</sup> though its original bed was slightly different from the extant one. The site of Bun-hwang-sa is thus completely flat as is that of Hwang-ryong-sa. The orientation of the main axis of the temple was also similar to that of Hwang-ryong-sa. The stone pagoda has an orientation of about 5.4° east from magnetic north.

The extant Bo-kwang-chŏn<sup>3</sup> [figs. 588, 589], the extant main hall of Bun-hwang-sa which stands on the eastern part of the original image hall, is orientated westwards as was the larger image hall of the second reconstruction. It is thus possible that the entrance to the temple was shifted in later periods from south to west but the present entrance is again located to the south of the stone pagoda.

#### 4.2.3.2. The layout of the original temple and its structures

The excavation permitted to reconstruct the layout of the first stage of the temple. To the north of the stone pagoda, traces of three image halls were excavated [figs. 590, 591]. All of them had their longer sides turned southwards so that it can be assumed that the entrances of all three image halls were also located on the southern side. The image halls were not aligned on one longitudinal axis as in the case of the second stage of Hwang-ryong-sa; instead the lateral image halls were placed on an intermediate level between the pagoda and the central image hall. This layout was designed according to the Chinese character *pum*<sup>4</sup> which is formed of three squares arranged in a similar fashion. The layout of the first Bun-hwang-sa with its three image halls is reminiscent of the temple layout of Ko-gu-ryŏ with the difference that there the lateral image halls were placed on the level of the pagoda and turned towards it.

<sup>1</sup> See: *CPS* 8, p. 297.

<sup>2</sup> Buk-chŏn 北川 북천.

<sup>3</sup> Bo-kwang-chŏn 普光殿 보광전.

<sup>4</sup> *Pum* (Ch: *pin*) 品.

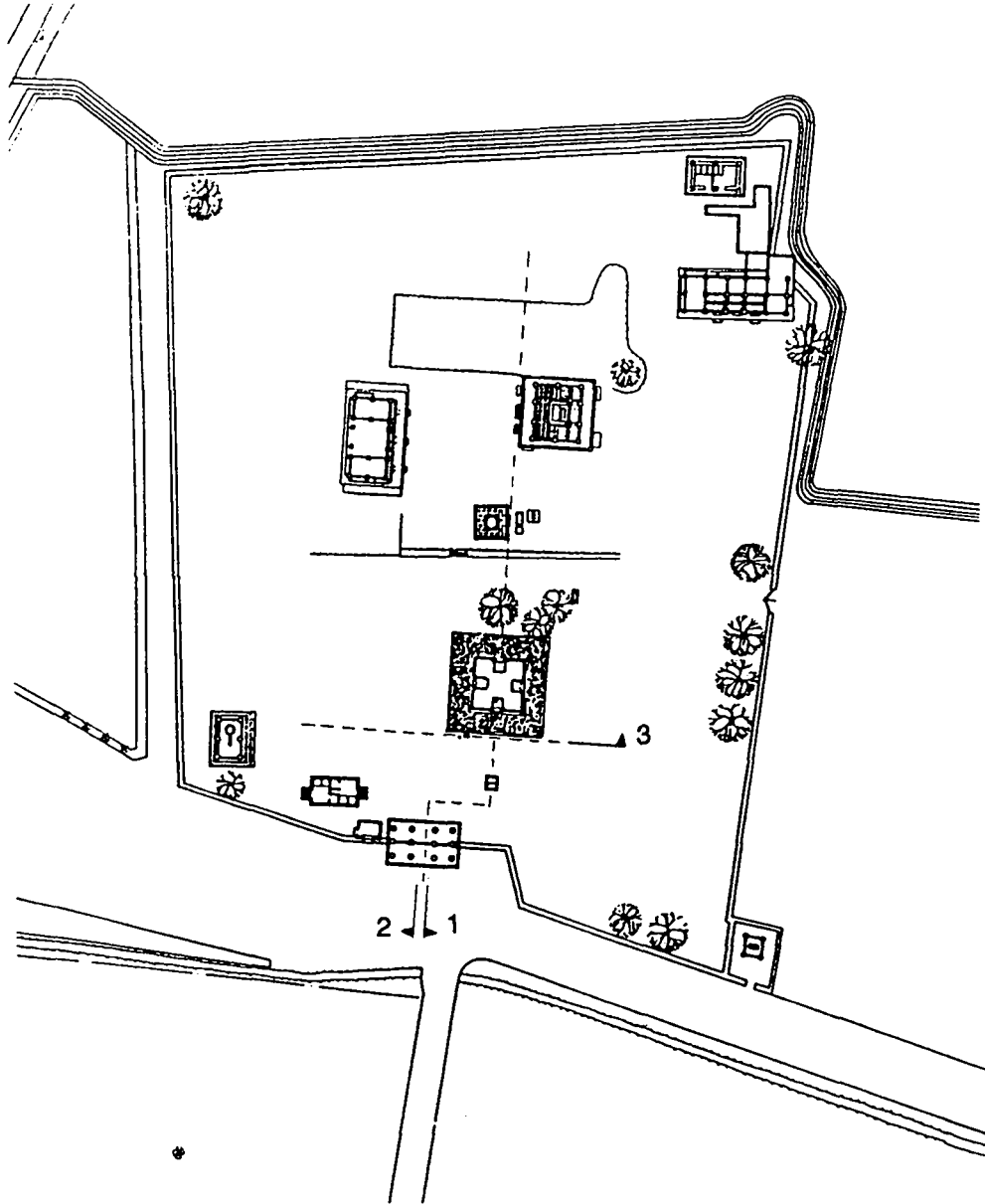


Fig. 588: Extant layout of Bun-hwang-sa 芬皇寺 本幢사 (scale: 1 : 1,000) with indication of the sections (1 - 3) (see: fig. 589) (after: MHCKLG (1992b), p. 62)

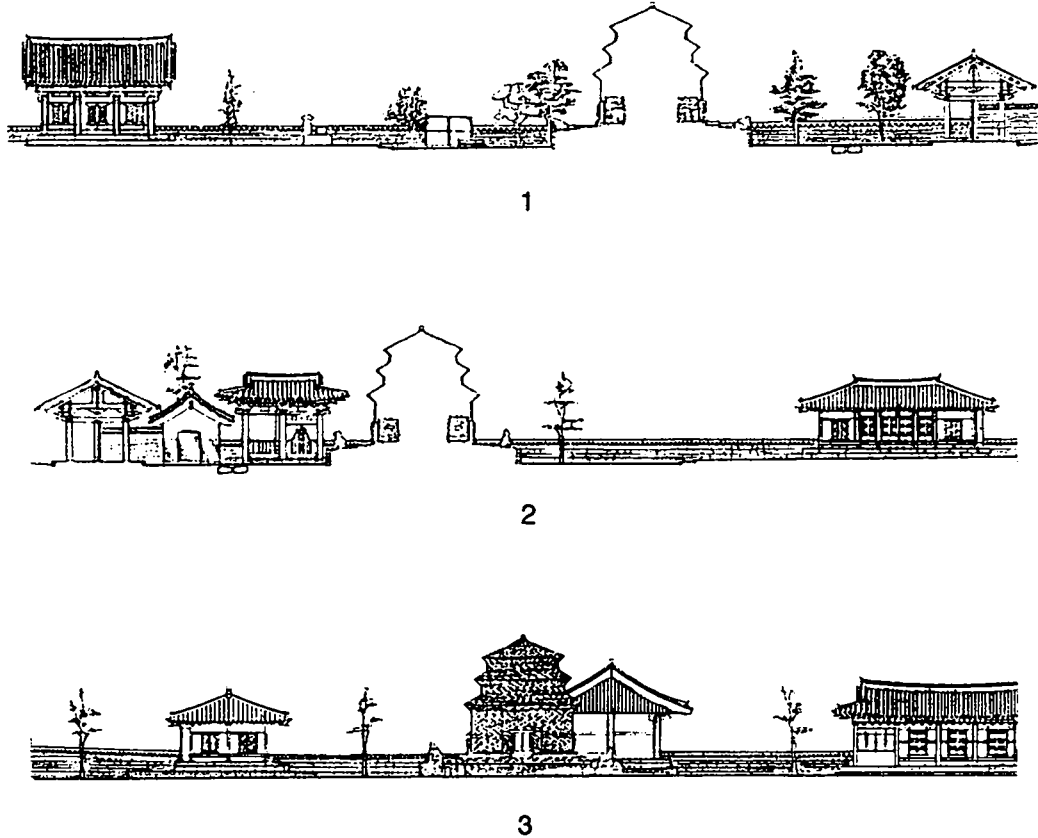


Fig. 589: Three partial sections (1 - 3) of Bun-hwang-sa 芬皇寺 분황사 (scale: 1 : 500)  
(see: plan, fig. 588) (after: MHCKLG (1992b), p. 63)

The three image halls and the stone pagoda of Bun-hwang-sa formed a small courtyard of similar size to the courtyards of several extant temples of the Cho-sŏn dynasty<sup>1</sup> but there the front building is usually an elevated pavilion which functions as entrance and lecture hall while the lateral buildings are dormitories and are turned towards the courtyard. In spite of these important differences, it is significant to note that the spatial relationship of four rectangular structures with a central courtyard can be at least traced back to early Buddhist temples such as Bæk-che's Nŭng-sa [fig. 259] and Sin-la's Bun-hwang-sa.

<sup>1</sup> E.g. Bong-ŭn-sa 奉恩寺 봉은사 (No. 1.1.20), Sin-rŭk-sa 神勒寺 신록사 (No. 1.18.3) or Sin-hŭng-sa 神興寺 신흥사 (No. 2.8.1.).



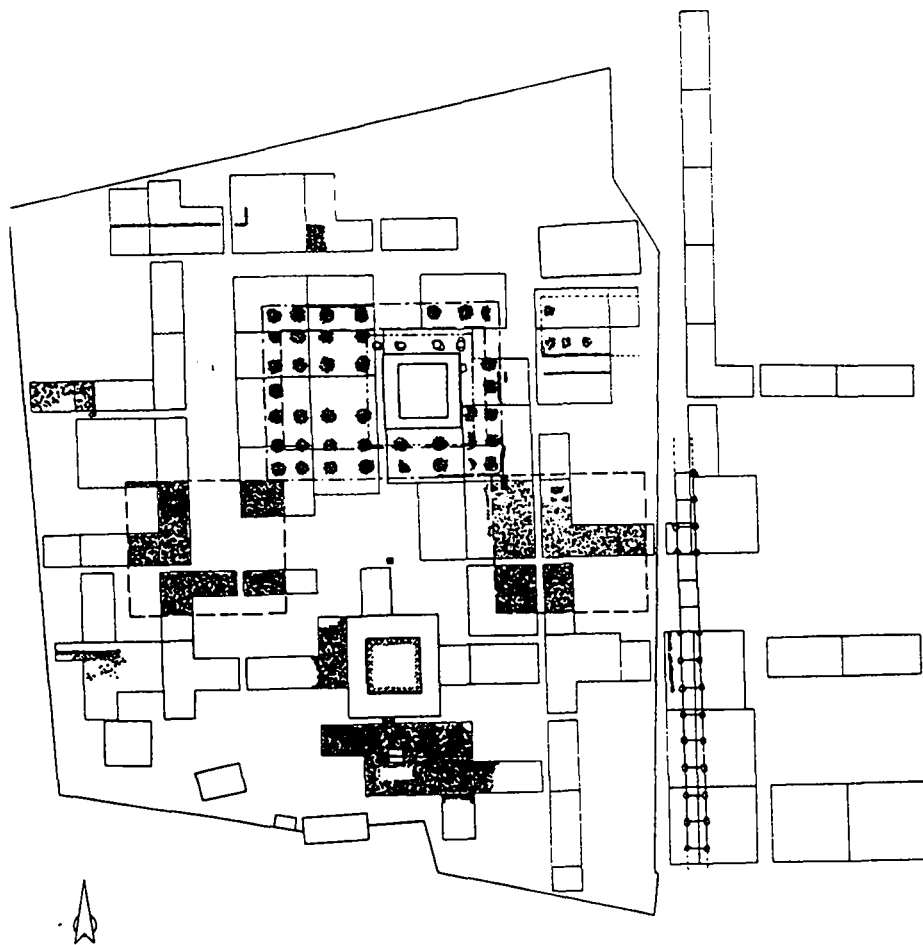


Fig. 590: Layout of Bun-hwang-sa 芬皇寺 분황사 with indication of excavation areas (scale: 1 : 1,000) (after: *NB 3*, p. 59)

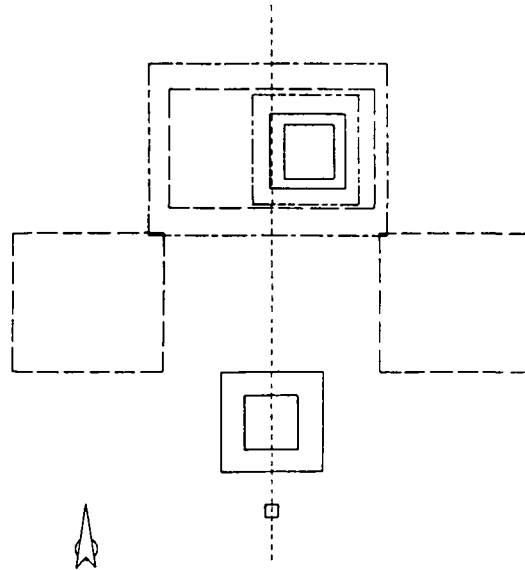


Fig. 590: Successive layouts of Bun-hwang-sa 芬皇寺 분황사 (scale: 1 : 1,000) (after: *NB 3*, p. 63)

- — founding period
- - - first reconstruction
- · - · second reconstruction
- third reconstruction

No sure traces of a lecture hall north of the central image hall were found<sup>1</sup>. It seems that the three image halls and the stone pagoda were surrounded by one-bay-deep galleries which formed a courtyard which was approximately 79m wide and at least as long. In front of the stone pagoda stood a stone lantern which might have been added during the Unified Sin-la period. The foundations of the southern gate were possibly destroyed by the construction of a road in front of the temple.

<sup>1</sup> There is a trace to the north-west of the central image hall which could be the south-western corner of the lecture hall but the age cannot be established.

Table 38 resumes the measurements of the various uncovered structures of the first Bun-hwang-sa [fig. 592]:

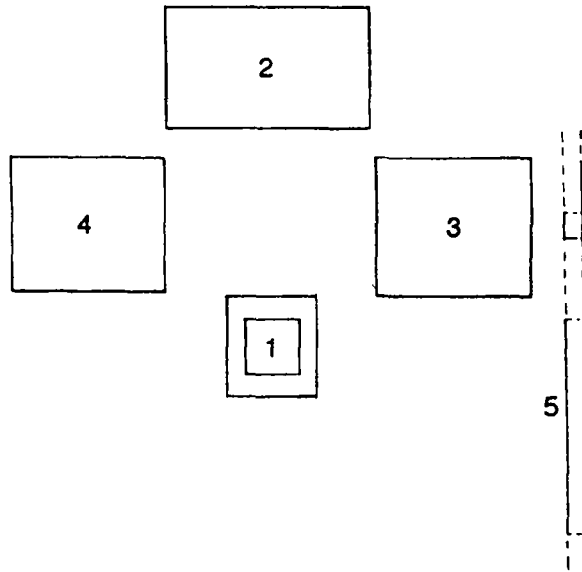


Fig. 592: The excavated structures of the first Bun-hwang-sa 芬皇寺 本황사 (634 AD, no scale) (drawing by the author)

structure	platform		superstructure			function, comments
	length	width	length	width	no. bays	
structure No. 1	12.9m ~ 13.2m	13.0m ~ 13.1m	6.5m ~ 6.6m	6.5m ~ 6.6m	-	3-storied stone pagoda, originally 9-storied
structure No. 2	26.6m	15.4m	?	?	7 x 4 (?) 5 x 3 (?)	central image hall
structure No. 3	20.3m	18m	?	?	5 x 4 (?)	eastern image hall
structure No. 4	20m	18m	?	?	5 x 4 (?)	western image hall
structure No. 5	?	5.7m	? x 3.5m	2.7m	(14 + ?) x 1	fragments of the eastern gallery

Table 38: Measurements of the excavated structures of Bun-hwang-sa 芬皇寺 本황사

## 4.2.3.2.1. The stone pagoda

The stone pagoda of Bun-hwang-sa is the oldest known Buddhist structure of Sin-la which is at least partially extant [figs. 593 - 603]. The structure of the pagoda looks like brick masonry because the andesite<sup>1</sup> stones are cut into the shape and size of bricks. The structure of the pagoda is similar to some Tang brick pagodas in China<sup>2</sup>. But no such structures were discovered so far from Ko-gu-ryö, Bæk-che or

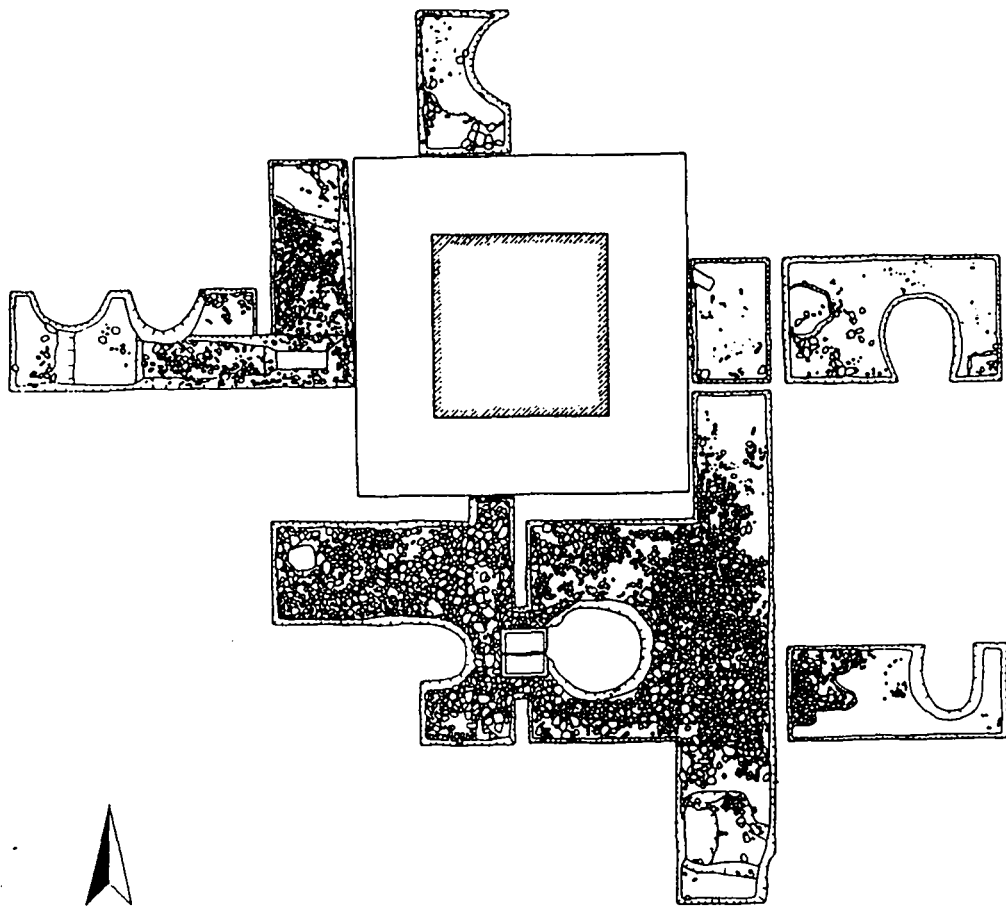


Fig. 593: Excavation plan of the surroundings of the stone pagoda of Bun-hwang-sa 芬皇寺분황사 (scale: 1 : 300) (after: *NB* 2, p. 82)

<sup>1</sup> Andesite (K: *an-san-am* 安山岩 안산암): a gray, fine-grained volcanic rock, chiefly plagioclase and feldspar.

<sup>2</sup> In particular the brick pagoda of Kaiyuan-si 開元寺개원사 at Zhengding 正定정정, Hebei 河北하북 which was built in 639 AD. See: LUO Zhewen 羅哲文라철문 (1994), pp. 159, 163; BOERSCHMANN (1931), pp. 98 - 100.

Japan. Brick pagodas or stone pagodas with a brick-like structure are typical for Sin-la and even the later dynasties of Ko-ryŏ and Cho-sŏn<sup>1</sup> used these methods only exceptionally. The pagoda of Bun-hwang-sa is considered to be the oldest such pagoda on the Korean peninsula (see further below, pp. 876ff, 905ff.).

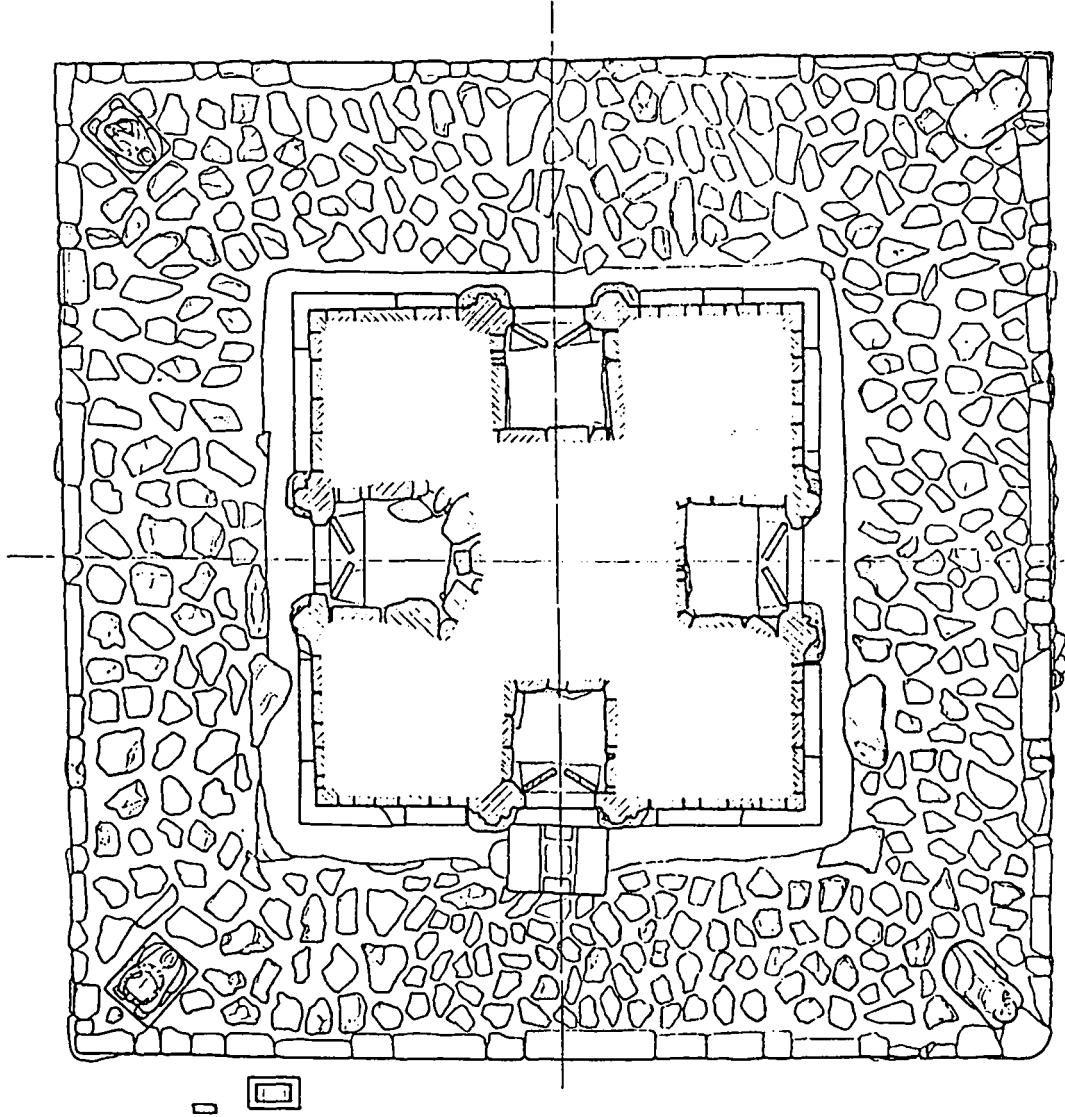


Fig. 594: Ground plan of the stone pagoda of Bun-hwang-sa 芬皇寺 분황사 (634 AD, scale: 1 : 100) (after: MHCKLG (1992b), p. 64)

<sup>1</sup> E.g. the brick pagoda of Sin-rŭk-sa 神勒寺 신록사 (No. 1.18.3.) of Ko-ryŏ 高麗 고려 and the brick-like stone pagoda of Chŏng-am-sa 淨岩寺 정암사 (No. 2.16.1.) of Ko-ryŏ 高麗 고려 or Cho-sŏn 朝鮮 조선. See: below, pp. 905ff.; *HGM* 9, pl. 125, 145, pp. 246, 250; *CPS* 3, p. 190.

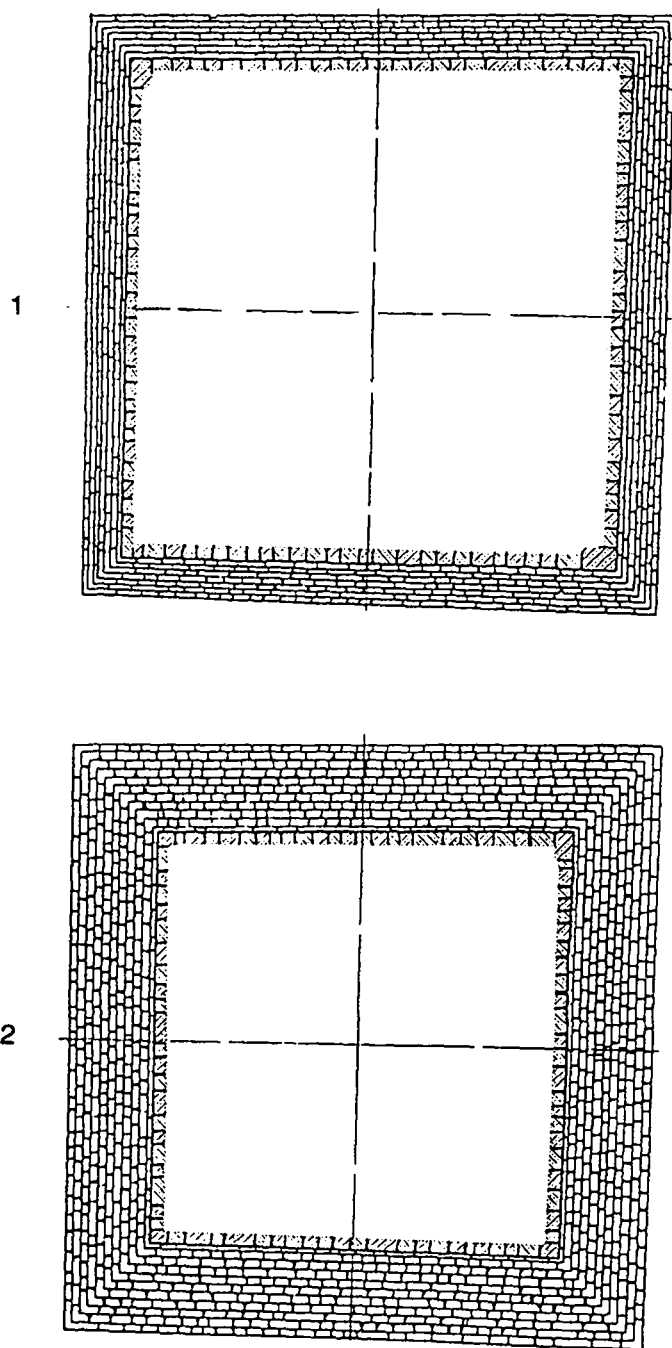


Fig. 595: Plan of the bracket part of the first roof (1) and plan of the second story (2) of the stone pagoda of Bun-hwang-sa 芬皇寺분황사 (634 AD, scale: 1 : 100) (after: MHCKLG (1992b), pp. 65f.)

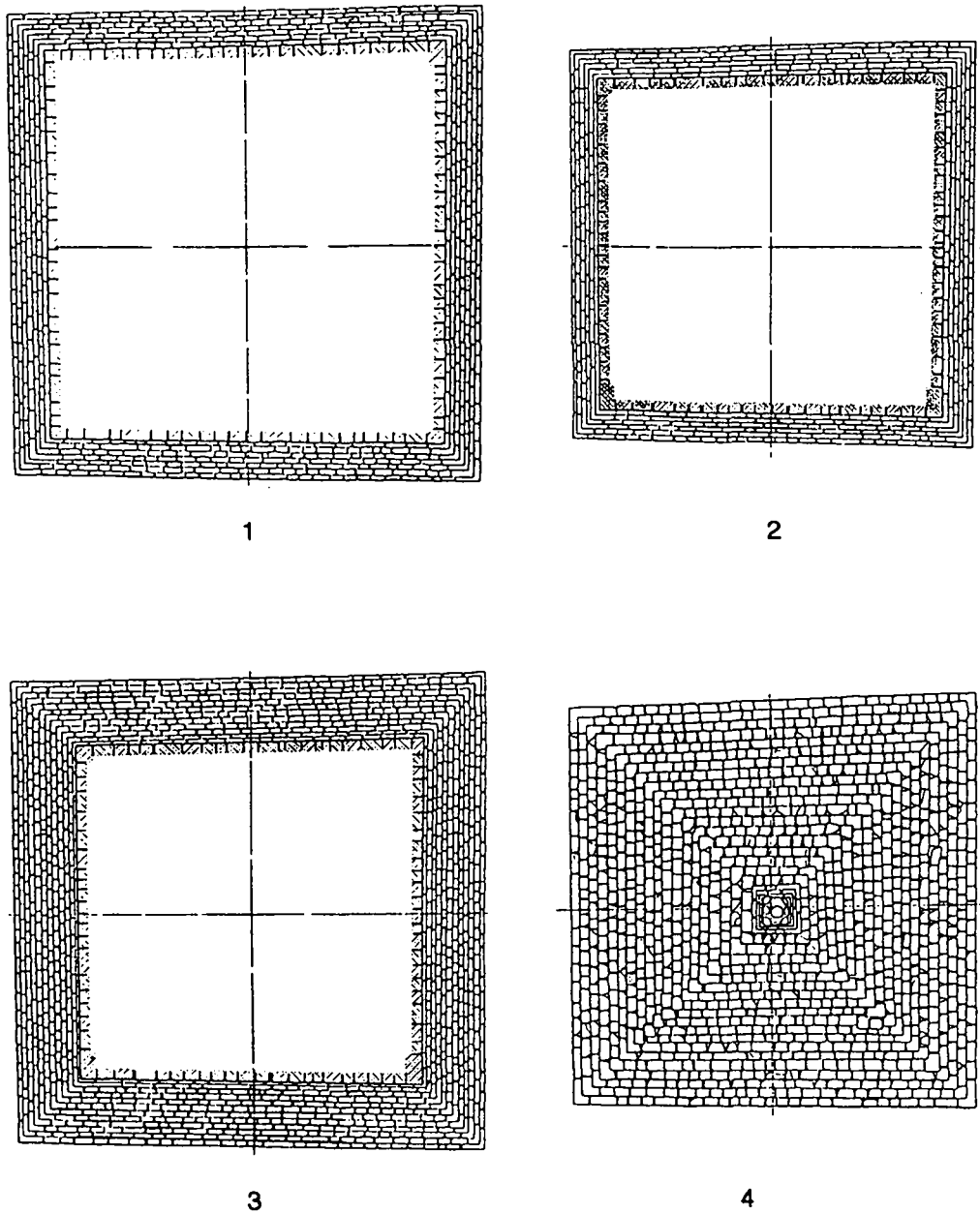


Fig. 596: Plans of the bracket parts of the second (1) and third stories (2) and plans of the third story (3) and final roof (4) of the stone pagoda of Bun-hwang-sa 芬皇寺 本幢寺 (634 AD, scale: 1 : 100) (after: MHCKLG (1992b), pp. 67ff.)

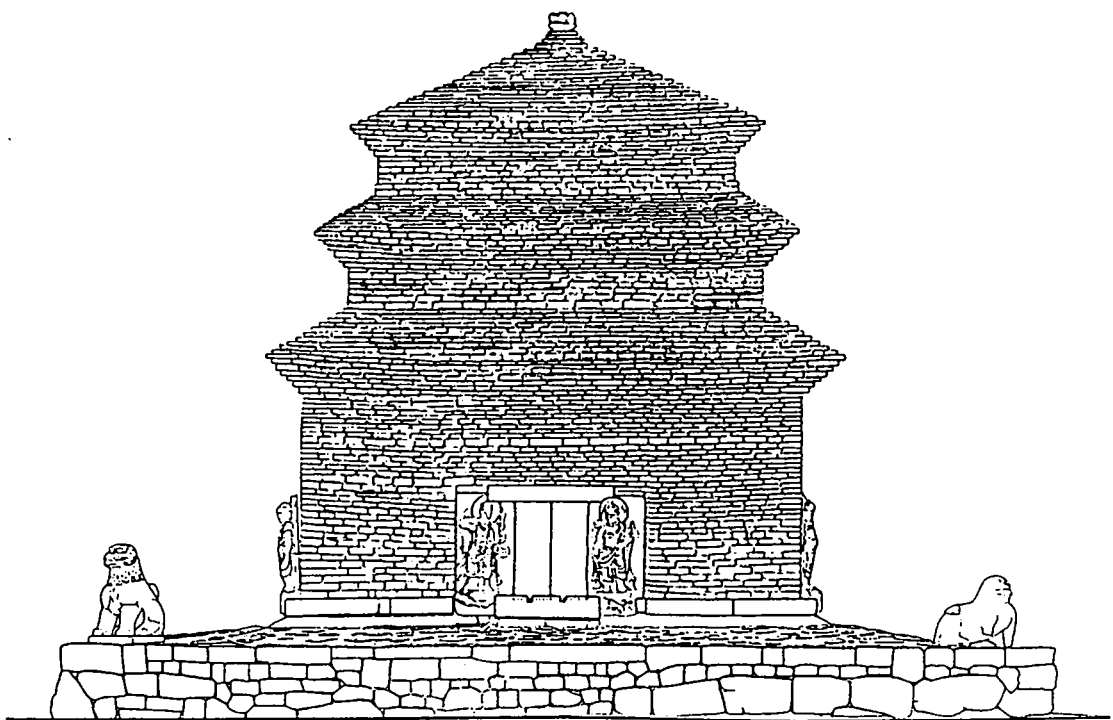


Fig. 597: Southern elevation of the stone pagoda of Bun-hwang-sa 芬皇寺 분황사 (634 AD, scale: 1 : 100) (after: MHCKLG (1992b), p. 73)



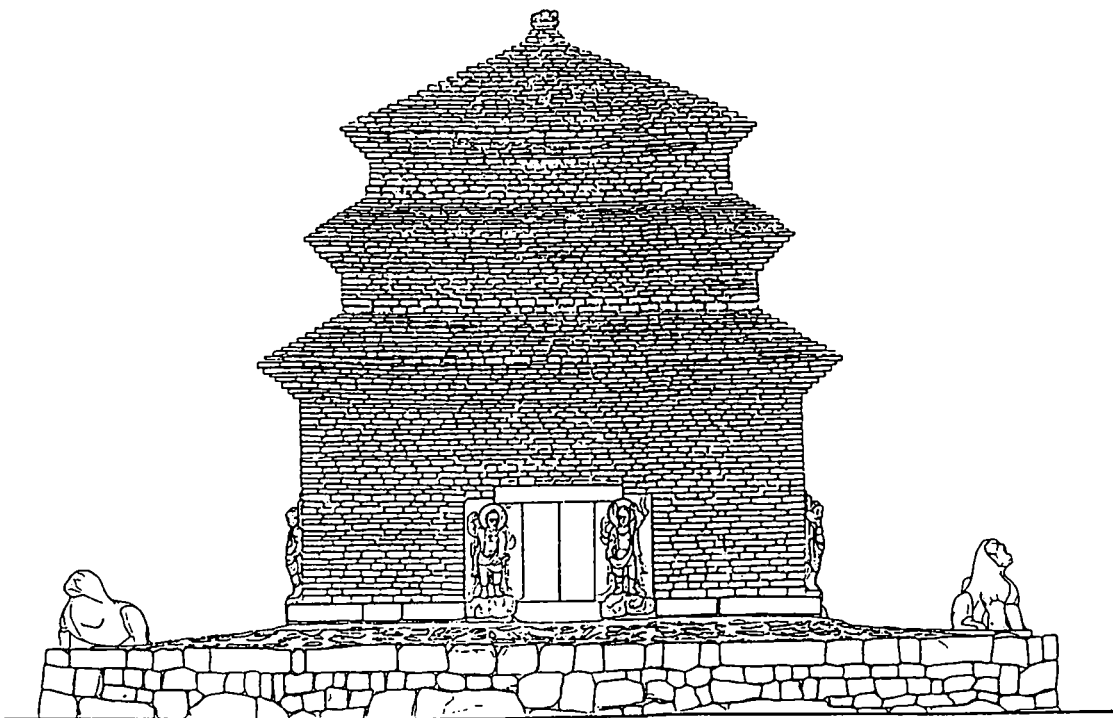


Fig. 598: Northern elevation of the stone pagoda of Bun-hwang-sa 芬皇寺분황사 (634 AD, scale: 1 : 100) (after: MHCKLG (1992b), p. 74)

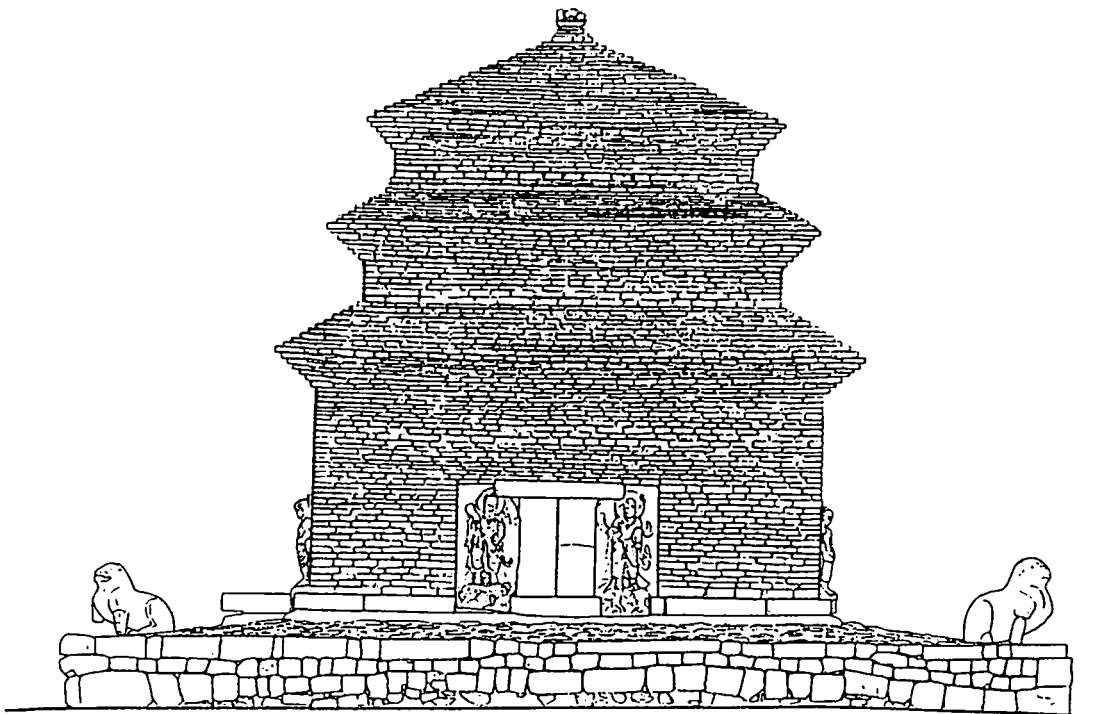


Fig. 599: Eastern elevation of the stone pagoda of Bun-hwang-sa 芬皇寺분황사 (634 AD, scale: 1 : 100) (after: MHCKLG (1992b), p. 71)

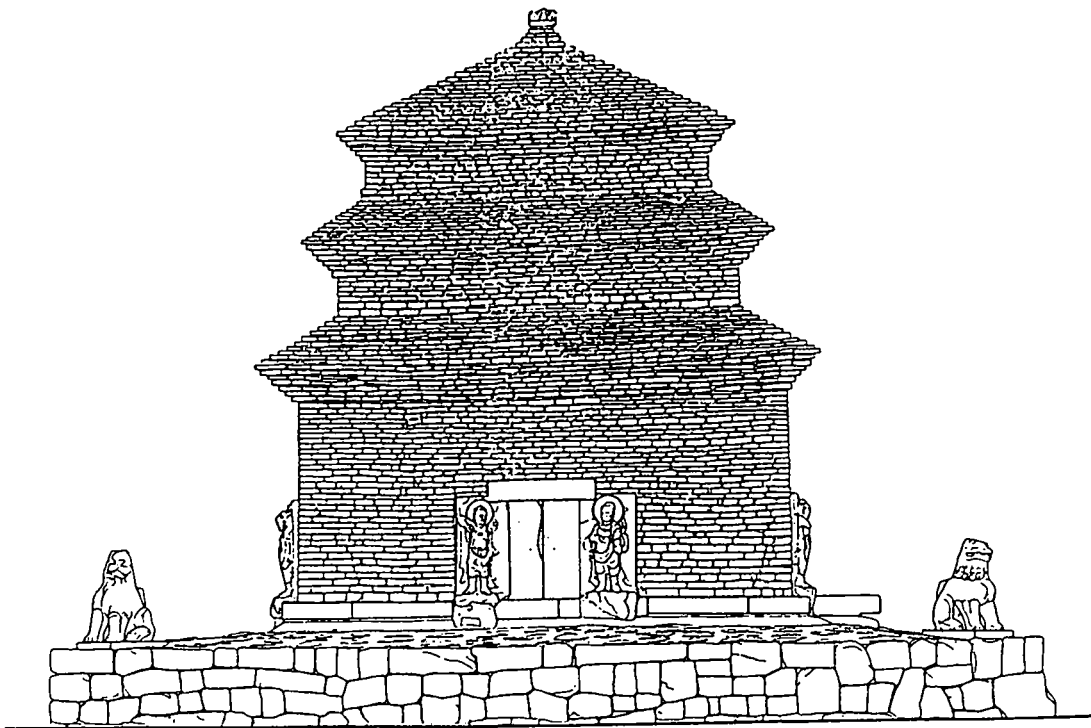


Fig. 600: Western elevation of the stone pagoda of Bun-hwang-sa 芬皇寺분황사 (634 AD, scale: 1 : 100) (after: MHCKLG (1992b), p. 72)

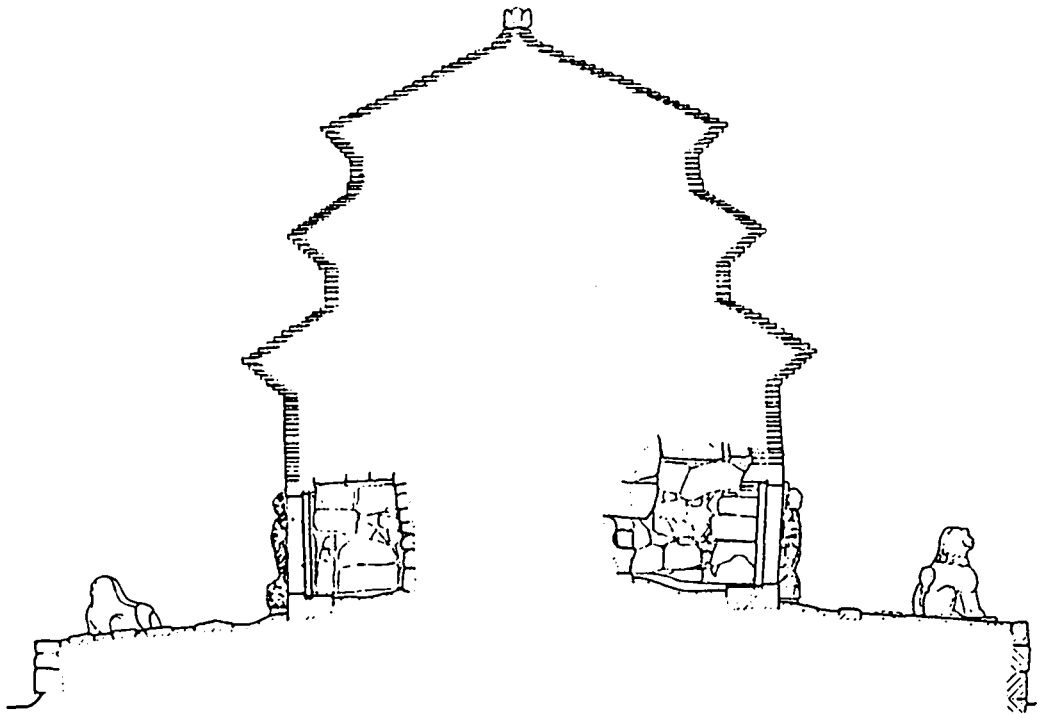


Fig. 601: East-west section of the stone pagoda of Bun-hwang-sa 芬皇寺 분황사 (634 AD, scale: 1 : 100) (after: MHCKLG (1992b), p. 80)

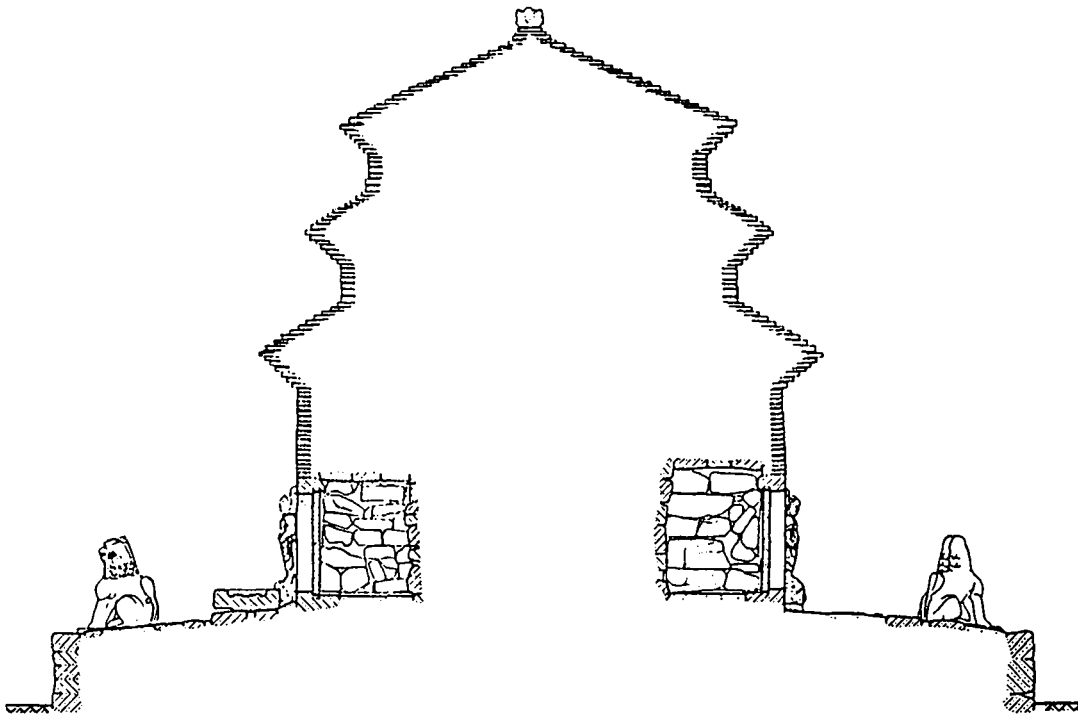


Fig. 602: South-north section of the stone pagoda of Bun-hwang-sa 芬皇寺 분황사 (634 AD, scale: 1 : 100) (after: MHCKLG (1992b), p. 81)

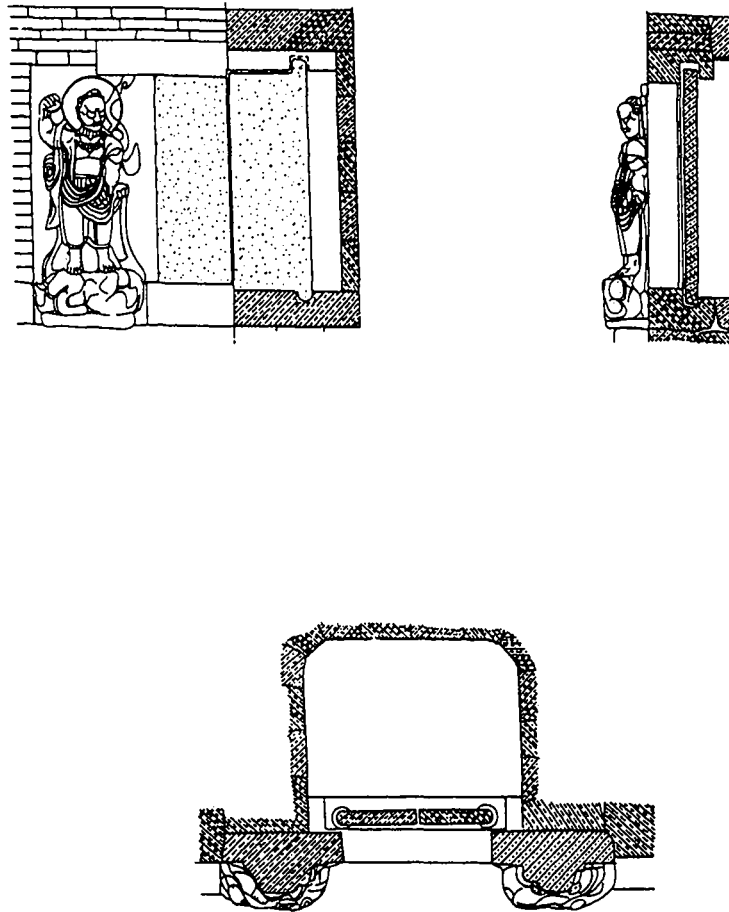


Fig. 603: Details of a niche and its stone doors of the stone pagoda of Bun-hwang-sa 芬皇寺 분황사 (634 AD, scale: 1 : 50) (after: *HGKCDK* VII, p. 228)

The structure is divided into a large, low platform and the actual building which counts three stories in its extant state. The total height of the pagoda with the base is about 9.1m. Table 39 resumes the major measurements and proportions of the pagoda<sup>1</sup>:

number of stories	3
total height <sup>2</sup>	8.936 ~ 9.134m
general angle <sup>3</sup>	~ 70°
general proportion <sup>4</sup>	1 : 1.39

	1st story	2nd story	3rd story
1. story height	2.756 ~ 2.857m (b: + 1.134 ~ 1.364m)	0.493 ~ 0.512m	0.501 ~ 0.514m
2. bracket height	0.448 ~ 0.486m	0.428 ~ 0.457m	0.366 ~ 0.429m
3. roof height	0.626 ~ 0.665m	0.490 ~ 0.504m	1.211 ~ 1.256m (f: + 0.263 ~ 0.277m)
4. body width	6.427 ~ 6.640m	5.231 ~ 5.470m	4.470 ~ 4.716m
6. eaves width	7.433 ~ 7.741m	6.175 ~ 6.462m	5.213 ~ 5.485m
6. roof gradient	31.07°	33.34°	24.44°
7. bracket angle	~ 40°	~ 42°	~ 48°
8. body proportion <sup>5</sup>	1 : 2.33	1 : 10.61	1 : 8.92
9. width proportion <sup>6</sup>	1 : 1.18	1 : 1.21	1 : 1.18
10. height proportion <sup>7</sup>	2.78 : 1	1 : 1.88	1 : 3.26

Table 39: Main measurements of the stone pagoda of Bun-hwang-sa 芬皇寺분황사

<sup>1</sup> Compare with the tables of the stone pagodas of the Bæk-che kingdom. See: Chapter 3.2., p. 332, table 11; p. 433, table 18.

<sup>2</sup> The pagoda, the base of its *chattrā* mast and the platform are included in this measurement.

<sup>3</sup> The general angle is the inclination of the tangent of the eaves of the different stories in respect to the horizon.

<sup>4</sup> The general proportion is the relation between the with of the lowest story and the total height of the pagoda.

<sup>5</sup> The body proportion is the quotient of the height and the width of each story.

<sup>6</sup> The width proportion is the quotient of the with of the body and the width of the eaves of each story.

<sup>7</sup> The height proportion is the quotient of the height of the body and the height of the roof and bracket of each story.

#### 4.2.3.2.1.1. The platform

The sides of the extant square platform measure 12.9m to 13.2m and the height of the platform varies between 80cm and 1m. The retaining walls are formed by three to five irregular layers of roughly-cut stones of various size so that it can be assumed that the retaining walls underwent numerous repairs. The edges of the pagoda stand about 3.2m to 3.3m inside the edges of the retaining walls of the platform. The upper surface of the platform, which is covered with widely-spaced irregular stones, is slightly raised towards the edges of the pagoda by 28cm to 44cm. The original form of the platform was probably more regular and the height of the retaining walls might have reached up to 1.3m. There seems to be no reason to doubt the original position of the position of the retaining walls because the investigation of the ground around the pagoda did not uncover traces of other foundations. At the four corners of the platform sit stone lions which are important pieces of early Sin-la sculpture (see Chapter 4.1., pp. 736f., fig. 520).

#### 4.2.3.2.1.2. The first story

The pagoda stands on a layer of large granite stones which are 20cm to 25cm high and 50cm to 1.35m long. The sides of this first layer are between 6.9m and 7.0m long. The structure of the pagoda is built of dark, brick-like cut andesite stones which are 4cm to 12cm high (on average about 6.5cm). While most stones are rectangular with side lengths between less than 10cm to more than 60cm, the corner stones of the roofs are usually square with side lengths of 25cm to 45cm for the lower part of the roofs and 15cm to 30cm for the upper part of the roofs.

The sides of the first story at its base are 6.47m to 6.55m long and the body, including the granite layer, is 2.76m to 2.86m high. The andesite body counts between 34 and 37 layers of stones. The first roof has a height of about 1.1m which is divided into a 'bracket' part of about 45cm with seven layers of stones including the 'eaves' stone layer and a cover part of 65cm with ten layers of stones. The lengths of the eaves of the first roof measure 7.4m to 7.7m so that the roof protrudes by 48cm to 56cm from the body of the first story.

Four openings, 91cm to 98cm wide and 1.255m to 1.27m high, were placed at the centre of the sides of the first story. The doors were made of two pivoting stone plates [fig. 603]. The openings lead to small square chambers about 1.5m high and whose sides measure about 1.3m. The four chambers do not communicate with each other. They possibly contained Buddhist statues in the beginning. The entrances to the chambers were walled during the repairs of 1915 AD but these walls were removed since. The granite door posts are decorated with stone sculptures of



guardian gods or Vajrapāṇi<sup>1</sup> which are about 1.15m high [fig. 520]. Similar figures are known from other East Asian kingdoms but these figures are the oldest dated examples of the Sin-la kingdom and belong to the important examples of stone sculpture of Sin-la.

The inner walls of the chambers are made of large stone blocks which were roughly cut. The interstices are filled with smaller stones. The ceilings consist of long stone blocks which are placed on the lateral walls of the chambers so that the ceiling stones are parallel to the corresponding sides of the pagoda. With the exception of the four small chambers, the interior of the pagoda was completely filled with earth and stones so that the whole structure became very heavy.

#### 4.2.3.2.1.3. The upper stories

The body of the second story with a height of 49cm to 51cm and side length of 5.23m to 5.47m. The second roof has a height of 95cm and is followed by the body of the third story which is again 50cm high and has side lengths of about 4.6m. The third roof has been altered during the reconstruction in the Cho-sŏn<sup>2</sup> period in order to conclude the pagoda with its present three stories. However, it is assumed that the structure originally continued in a rhythm similar to the lower stories to reach nine stories. The extant third roof is crowned by the granite *ang-hwa*<sup>3</sup> of the original finial. Two other granite pieces of the finial, the *no-ban* and *bok-bal*<sup>4</sup>, were excavated in the vicinity of the pagoda.

#### 4.2.3.2.1.4. The characteristics of the pagoda

In spite of the ruined condition of the pagoda, a number of its original characteristics can still be observed: the general angle of the pagoda was rather small with about 70°. This signifies that the width of the stories decreased a lot from one story to another. Even the stone pagoda of Mi-rŭk-sa of Bæk-che featured a larger angle (about 75°). The average of the general angles observed in later stone pagodas with a similar construction method is over 80°. The steep roof gradients and bracket angles are characteristic for brick constructions. Statically, stone is more resistant to flexion than brick which means that a proper stone construction

<sup>1</sup> Vajrapāṇi: Gŭm-gang-yŏk-sa 金剛力士 금강역사 or In-wang 仁王 인왕.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 866.

<sup>3</sup> *Ang-hwa* 仰花 양화, flower decoration at the base of the finial.

<sup>4</sup> *No-ban* 露盤 노반, the ashlar base of the finial; *bok-bal* 覆鉢 복발, the inverted bowl, a portion of the base of the finial.

technique would have permitted the artisans to widen the roofs as can be observed in the stone pagodas of Bæk-che.

It can thus be concluded that the formal aspect of the pagoda was more important to the artisans than the possibilities offered by the material. The steep angles of the roof made the roofs much higher than in the examples of stone pagodas of Bæk-che which can be best observed in the height proportions. At the Bun-hwang-sa pagoda, the second roof is almost twice as high as the second story (about + 88%), while at the Mi-rük-sa pagoda, the body is about 60% higher than the roof on average.

#### 4.2.3.2.1.5. The reconstruction drawings

The restoration report on the Bun-hwang-sa pagoda by the Cultural Properties Research Institute proposed two possible variants of the original aspect of the pagoda. The possibilities of a seven and a nine storied structure were analysed. Tables 40 and 41 resume the main characteristics of the proposed reconstructions:

number of stories	7
total height	14.81m
gen. angle st. 1 - 4	78°
gen. angle st. 5 - 7	74°
general proportion	1 : 2.28

	1st story	2nd story	3rd story	4th story	5th story	6th story	7th story
1. story height	2.88m	0.53m	0.53m	0.46m	0.46m	0.39m	0.39m
2. bracket height	0.46m	0.48m	0.48m	0.49m	0.42m	0.43m	0.37m
3. roof height	0.7m	0.7m	0.62m	0.6m	0.6m	0.52m	0.92m
4. body width	6.6m	5.95m	5.3m	4.6m	3.86m	3.15m	2.37m
6. eaves width	7.7m	7.05m	6.35m	5.6m	4.75m	3.97m	3.1m
6. roof gradient	40.52°	40.28°	38.22°	37.57°	40.76°	37.15°	36.53°
7. bracket angle	43°	43°	46°	47°	47°	48°	47°
8. body proportion	1 : 2.29	1 : 11.23	1 : 10	1 : 10	1 : 8.39	1 : 8.08	1 : 6.08
9. width proportion	1 : 1.17	1 : 1.18	1 : 1.20	1 : 1.22	1 : 1.23	1 : 1.26	1 : 1.31
10. height proport.	2.5 : 1	1 : 2.23	1 : 2.08	1 : 2.37	1 : 2.22	1 : 2.44	1 : 3.31

Table 40: Main measurements of the proposed reconstruction (seven stories) of the stone pagoda of Bun-hwang-sa 芬皇寺 芬皇사

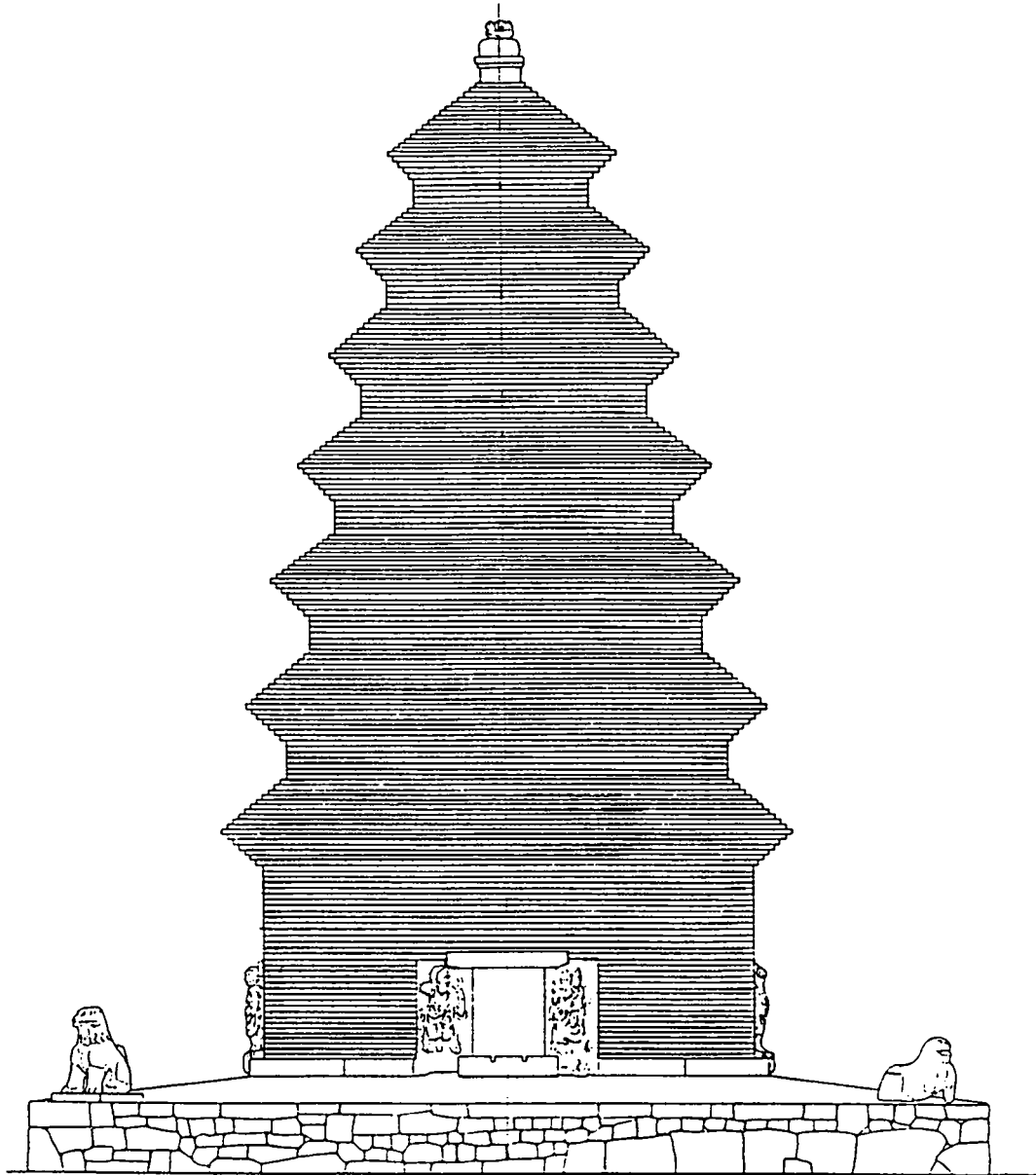


Fig. 604: Reconstructed elevation of the stone pagoda of Bun-hwang-sa 芬皇寺 분황사 (variant with 7 stories) (634 AD, scale: 1 : 100) (after: MHCKLG (1992b), p. 48)

Among the important features of this reconstruction are the steeper general angles. The proposition differentiates the general angle of the first four stories (about 78°) from that of the remaining three top stories (about 74°). In particular the first angle seems to imply that the extant measurements of the pagoda are not identical with the original measurements. In the third story there is already a difference of about 60 cm between the proposition and the extant remains. Natural compressing of the masonry cannot have such an effect. The only explanation of this difference would be that the pagoda had been reconstructed differently in a later period. But there is no evidence of such a total reconstruction. I suppose therefore that the above-mentioned report copied the measurements erroneously. The same error was also made in the second proposition of the original stone pagoda with nine stories [table 41, fig. 605]:

number of stories	9
total height	17.27m
general angle	79°
gen. proportion	1 : 2.66

	1st story	2nd st.	3rd st.	4th st.	5th st.	6th st.	7th st.	8th st.	9th st.
1. story height	2.88m	0.53m	0.53m	0.46m	0.46m	0.39m	0.39m	0.36m	0.36m
2. bracket height	0.46m	0.48m	0.48m	0.48m	0.46m	0.38m	0.4m	0.32m	0.33m
3. roof height	0.7m	0.7m	0.65m	0.63m	0.58m	0.6m	0.51m	0.53m	0.91m
4. bracket width	6.6m	5.95m	5.3m	4.8m	4.33m	3.88m	3.4m	2.95m	2.45m
6. eaves width	7.7m	7.05m	6.4m	5.9m	5.35m	4.8m	4.25m	3.75m	3.25m
6. roof gradient	39.81°	40.76°	40.04°	40.28°	39.34°	41.26°	40.28°	42.27°	35.35°
7. bracket angle	42.3°	42.3°	43.5°	43°	44.5°	42.5°	45°	43°	43°
8. bracket prop.	1 : 2.29	1 : 11.23	1 : 10	1 : 10.43	1 : 9.41	1 : 9.95	1 : 8.72	1 : 8.19	1 : 6.81
9. width prop.	1 : 1.17	1 : 1.18	1 : 1.21	1 : 1.23	1 : 1.24	1 : 1.24	1 : 1.25	1 : 1.27	1 : 1.33
10. height prop.	2.5 : 1	1 : 2.23	1 : 2.13	1 : 2.41	1 : 2.26	1 : 2.51	1 : 2.33	1 : 2.36	1 : 3.44

Table 41: Main measurements of the proposed reconstruction (nine stories) of the stone pagoda of Bun-hwang-sa 芬皇寺 芬皇사

Here the overall angle even reaches 79° which is very close to the smaller examples of stone and brick pagodas of Sin-la. Did the responsible researcher not dare to accept the exceptional measurement of about 70° and tried to fit this oldest pagoda of Sin-la into the mold of the younger ones ?

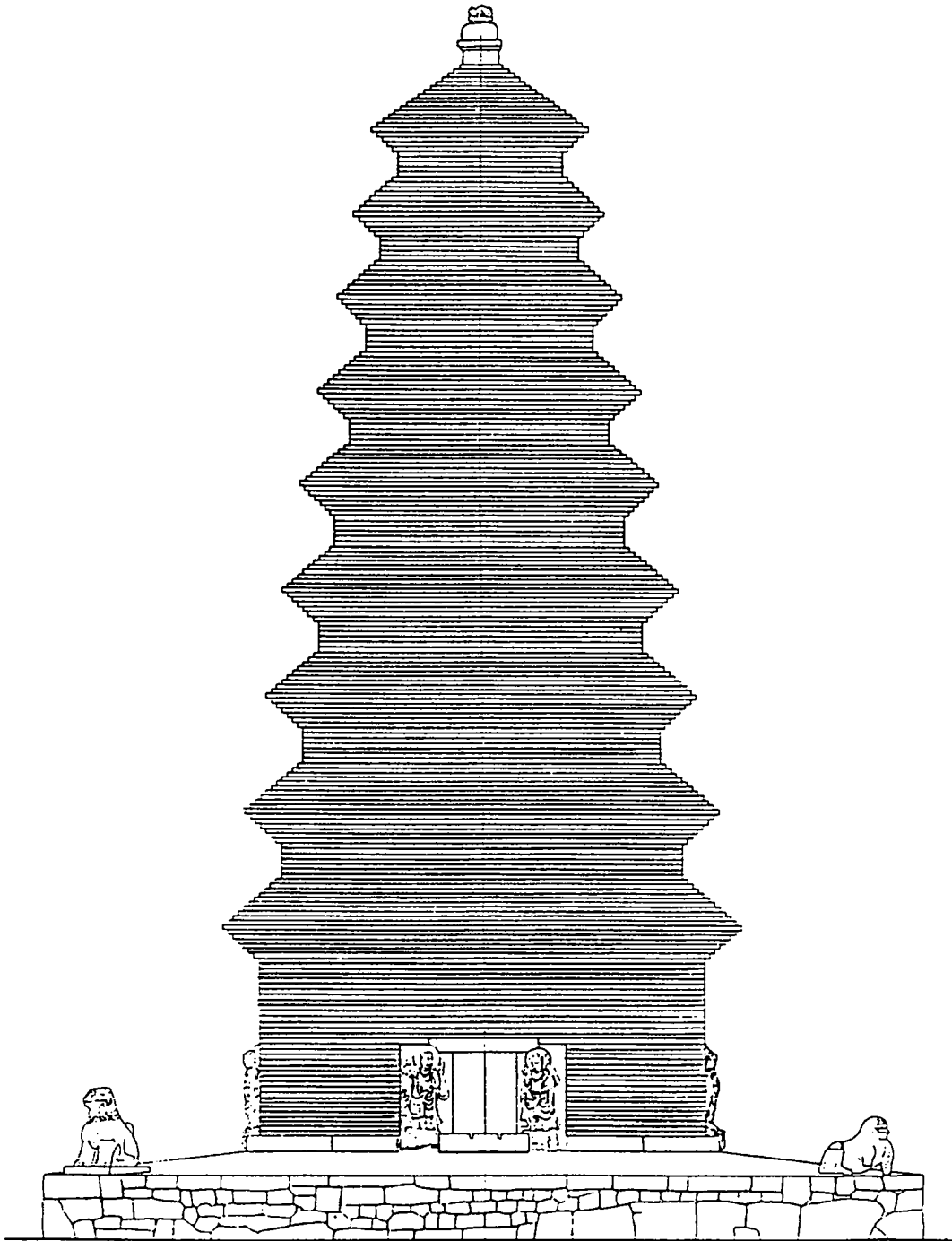


Fig. 605: Reconstructed elevation of the stone pagoda of Bun-hwang-sa 芬皇寺 분황사 (variant with 9 stories) (634 AD, scale: 1 : 100) (after: MHCKLG (1992b), p. 49)

If both reconstruction attempts must be rejected, then a new variant must be proposed. Even though the report mentions the possibility of a seven-storied pagoda instead of a nine-storied structure, the historical text of the *Dong-kyōng-chab-ki*<sup>1</sup> clearly identifies the pagoda as a nine-storied structure: "The nine-storied pagoda of Bun-hwang-sa was one of the three treasures of Sin-la. During the Im-chin-wæ-ran<sup>2</sup>, the upper half of the pagoda was destroyed, later a stupid monk tried to repair it but only broke again half of the ruin". It seems therefore certain that the pagoda originally had nine stories. In addition, any reconstruction attempt has to be based on the extant remains. In particular the general angle of about 70° should not be overlooked. Furthermore, the rhythm of the stories most probably continued in the same manner as observed in the first three stories. This seems to leave little space for errors for the reconstruction drawing. Such a reconstruction could have the following measurements [table 42, fig. 606]:

number of stories	9
total height	~14.15m
general angle	70°
gen. proportion	1 : 2.16

	1st story	2nd st.	3rd st.	4th st.	5th st.	6th st.	7th st.	8th st.	9th st.
1. story height	2.85m	0.5m	0.5m	0.45m	0.38m	0.36m	0.3m	0.3m	0.25m
2. bracket height	0.47m	0.44m	0.4m	0.35m	0.3m	0.28m	0.25m	0.22m	0.18m
3. roof height	0.63m	0.5m	0.46m	0.46m	0.4m	0.38m	0.36m	0.25m	0.25m
4. bracket width	6.55m	5.35m	4.62m	3.87m	3.05m	2.37m	1.75m	1.18m	0.8m
6. eaves width	7.6m	6.4m	5.4m	4.45m	3.63m	2.87m	2.15m	1.5m	1.02m
6. roof gradient	31.22°	33.34°	32.17°	34.05°	33.51°	34.78°	34.97°	33.69°	26.11°
7. bracket angle	40°	42°	48°	45°	45°	45°	45°	45°	45°
8. bracket prop.	1 : 2.30	1 : 10.7	1 : 9.24	1 : 8.6	1 : 8.03	1 : 6.58	1 : 5.83	1 : 3.93	1 : 3.2
9. width prop.	1 : 1.16	1 : 1.20	1 : 1.17	1 : 1.15	1 : 1.19	1 : 1.21	1 : 1.23	1 : 1.27	1 : 1.28
10. height prop.	2.59 : 1	1 : 1.88	1 : 1.72	1 : 1.80	1 : 1.84	1 : 1.83	1 : 2.03	1 : 1.57	1 : 1.72

Table 42: Main measurements of the reconstructed stone pagoda of Bun-hwang-sa 芬皇寺 분황사 (nine stories) according to the author

- <sup>1</sup> *Dong-kyōng-chab-ki* 「東京雜記도경잡기」: Ch. 2: (...) 芬皇寺九層塔新羅三寶之一也壬辰之亂賊毀其半其後有愚僧欲改築之又毀其半 (...) (...) 분황사구층탑신라삼보지일야임진지란 적취기반기후유우승옥개축지우취기반 (...). See: CHIN Hong-sōb 秦弘覺 진홍섭 (1987), p. 161.
- <sup>2</sup> Im-chin-wæ-ran 壬辰倭亂 임진왜란, the Korean term for the Japanese invasions of Korea from 1592 to 1598 AD led by Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 とよとみ ひでよし 풍신수길 (1536 - 1598) which started in the fourth month of the *im-chin* 壬辰 임진 year (1592 AD).

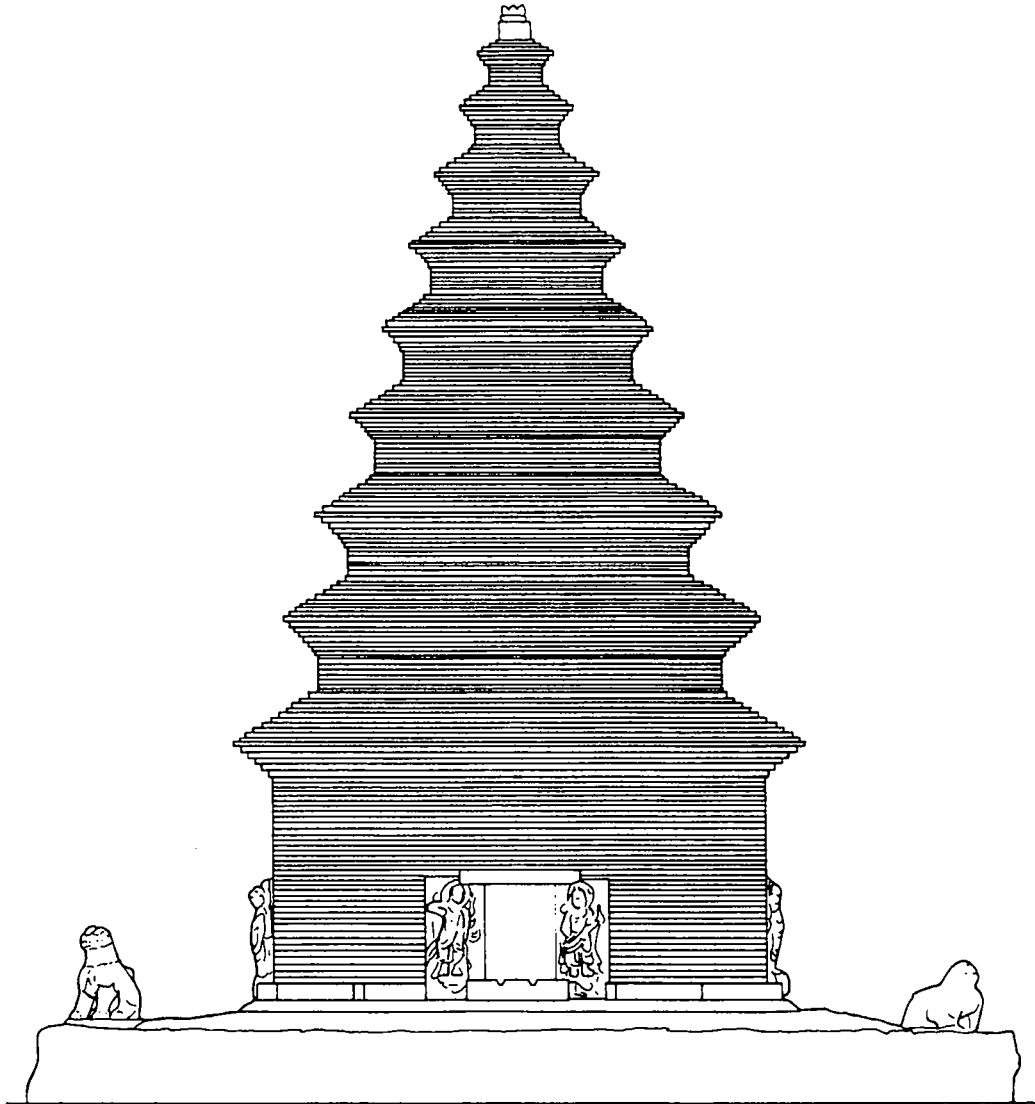


Fig. 606: Reconstructed elevation of the stone pagoda of Bun-hwang-sa 芬皇寺분황사 according to the author (634 AD, scale: 1 : 100) (drawing by the author)

The main differences of this reconstruction drawing compared to those proposed in the report are the height of the total structure and the size of the upper stories. While the reconstruction drawings of the report seem to base themselves on extant brick pagodas in China and Korea, my proposition is closer to the general shape of the reconstructed stone pagodas of Mi-rŭk-sa than to extant brick pagodas.

## 4.2.3.2.2. The northern image hall

The centre of the platform of the central image hall lay about 36m behind the centre of the stone pagoda on the main axis of the temple. The platform measured about 26.6m by 15.4m. The excavation revealed only the foundations of the platform of the central image hall of the first temple [fig. 608]. The foundation stones of the columns were probably removed when the hall was reconstructed in the Unified Sin-la period [figs. 590, 607]. The actual size of the wooden structures remains therefore hypothetical. The wooden structure of the central image hall might have had seven by four bays. The structure of the platform resembled that of the platform of the nine-storied wooden pagoda of Hwang-ryong-sa as it was built with alternate thin layers of stones and rammed earth. This resemblance seems to confirm that Bun-hwang-sa was built at about the same time as the nine-storied wooden pagoda of Hwang-ryong-sa.

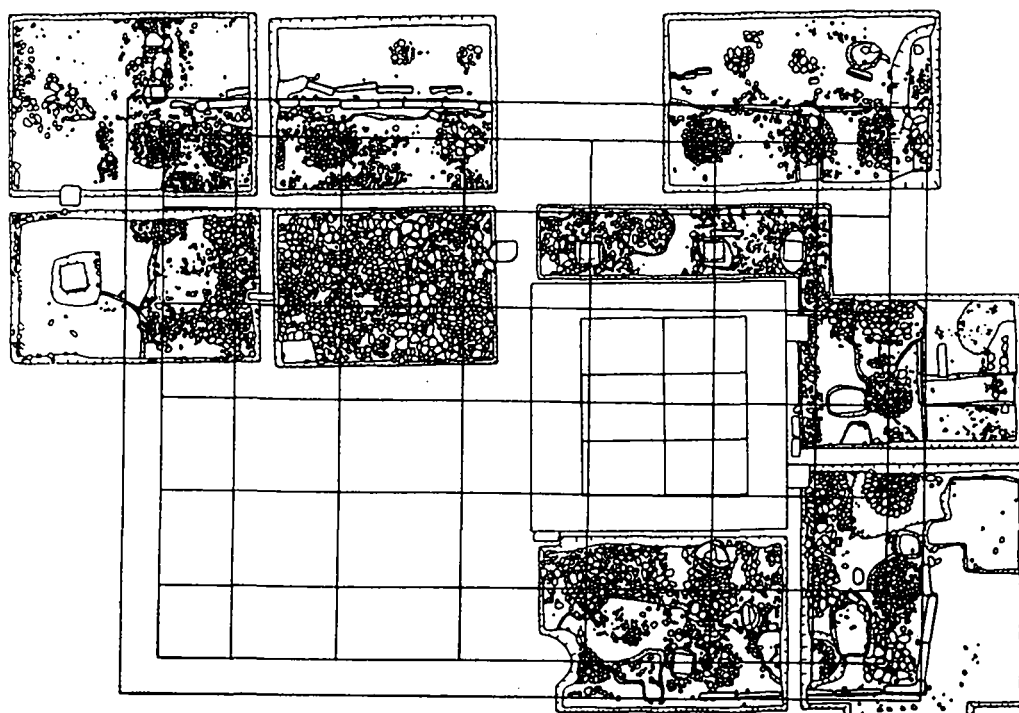


Fig. 607: Excavation plan of the central image hall of Bun-hwang-sa 芬皇寺 芬皇사  
(the grid of columns belongs to the reconstruction in Unified Sin-la)  
(634 AD / Unified Sin-la, scale: 1 : 300) (after: *NB 2*, p. 79)



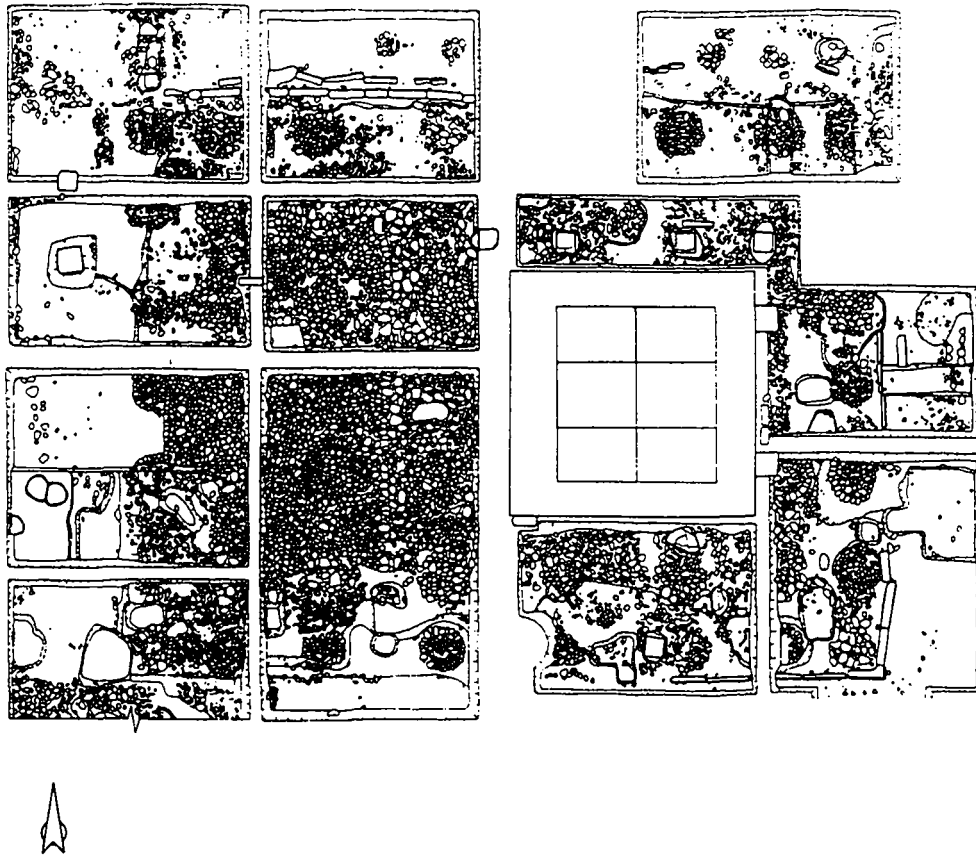


Fig. 608: Excavation plan of the central image hall of Bun-hwang-sa 芬皇寺本황사 (634 AD/ Unified Sin-la, scale: 1 : 300) (after: *NB 3*, p. 65)

#### 4.2.3.2.3. The lateral image halls

The platforms of the three image halls almost touched each other. The centre of the lateral image halls lay about 15.5m to the north and 24m to the east and the west respectively of the centre of the stone pagoda. The platforms of the eastern and western image halls had approximately of the same size of 20m to 20.3m by 18m [figs. 609, 610]. The structure of the platforms was similar to that of the central image hall so that they seem to be contemporaneous. The size of the wooden structure could not be confirmed by the excavation but a structure of five by four bays seems possible.



Fig. 609: Excavation plan of the eastern image hall of Bun-hwang-sa 芬皇寺 분황사 (634 AD, scale: 1 : 300) (after: *NB 2*, p. 80)

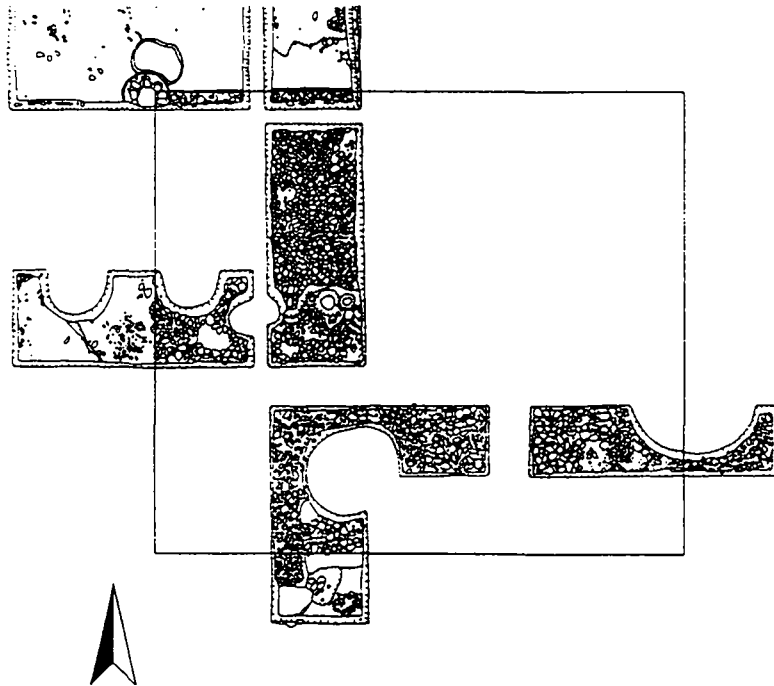


Fig. 610: Excavation plan of the western image hall of Bun-hwang-sa 芬皇寺 분황사 (634 AD, scale: 1 : 300) (after: *NB 2*, p. 81)

## 4.2.3.2.4. The question of the lecture hall

As most temples of the Three Kingdoms period of Korea featured a lecture hall behind the central image hall, the same configuration was also supposed for Bun-hwang-sa. But extensive excavations of the northern area of Bun-hwang-sa did not reveal remains of a lecture hall. Instead, traces of several buildings were uncovered which were turned about 20° east from the main axis of the temple [fig. 611]. The wooden structure of one of these buildings measured at least eight by three bays (about 32.8m by 13.3m).

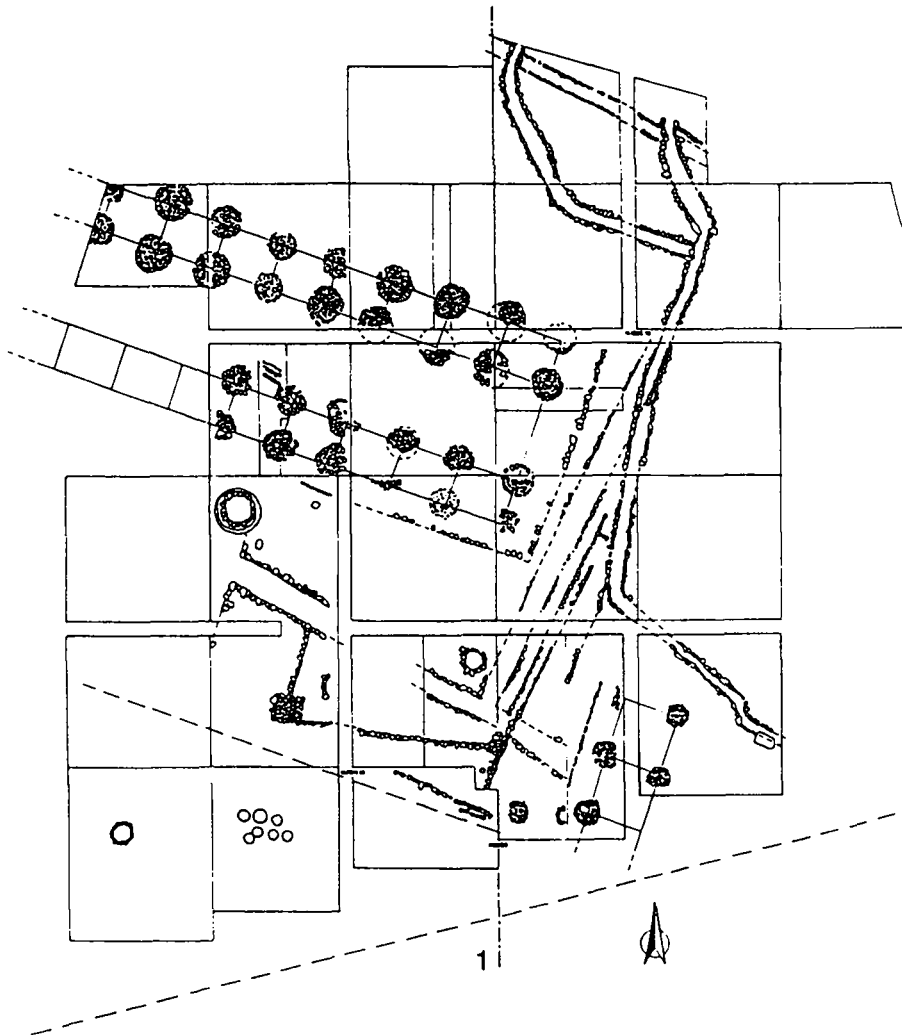


Fig. 611: Excavation plan of the northern area of Bun-hwang-sa 芬皇寺분황사 (1 indicates the south-north axis of the pagoda) (Unified Sin-la ?, scale: 1 : 500) (after: *NB* 6, p. 53f.)

While the size and ground plan could indicate a lecture hall, its location and orientation seem to exclude that the structure belonged to the original temple layout. The column foundations consisted of round piles of stones which resembled more the foundations of the first reconstruction of the central image hall than those of the three halls of the first stage. The construction date of the northern structure could not be determined precisely; it is also possible that the shift in the orientation of the building is connected with the second reconstruction of the central image hall which was turned westwards.

As the western area of Bun-hwang-sa has not yet been investigated because of the presence of a road, it is possible that the site of an early lecture hall can still be discovered. It is however certain that the layout of the original Bun-hwang-sa was exceptional in respect to the lecture hall and the position of the lateral image halls.

#### 4.2.3.2.5. The galleries, flagpole supports and the material remains

The first season of excavation in 1990 uncovered traces of a single-bay-deep gallery just outside the extant eastern boundary of Bun-hwang-sa [fig. 590]. The central axis of this structure, which is supposed to have been part of the eastern gallery, lay about 39.5m to the east of the central axis of the temple. According to the excavation report, the transversal bays were about 2.7m wide and the longitudinal bays about 3.5m long. So far, fourteen such bays have been confirmed. The platform of the gallery was about 5.7m wide and its retaining walls consisted of a single stone step. At the same distance to the west of the central image hall, a short arrangement of stones could indicate the position of the inner edge of the platform of the western gallery but as this arrangement did not continue southwards, its function is not certain.

The stone flagpole supports of Bun-hwang-sa stand about 62m to the south and 36m to the west of the main axes of the stone pagoda<sup>1</sup>. It is possible that there was a second pair of flagstone supports on the eastern side of the main axis of the precinct. The support stones are about 3.7m high and their carving style seems to indicate that they were erected during the Unified Sin-la period<sup>2</sup> [fig. 612].

During the repair of the pagoda in 1915, a granite *śarīra* container was found in the centre of the second story of the stone pagoda of Bun-hwang-sa [fig. 613]. It was divided into two parts. The cover measured about 62cm by 62cm by 26cm,

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<sup>1</sup> According to the drawing in the report on the stone pagoda, the flagpole supports seem to have a distance of almost 40m from the main south-north axis of the temple. This distance would correspond to the distance of the axis of the eastern gallery from the main axis of the temple. See: MHCKLG (1992b), p. 62.

<sup>2</sup> See: NB 3, p. 69.

the lower part about 73cm by 75cm by 47cm. The upper part of the cover was carefully carved into a pyramidal frustum. The cavity inside the container which measured about 32m by 32m by 35.5cm, was carved out of both parts of the container.

Inside the container, jade pieces, scissors, gold and silver needles, coins and gilt bronze ornaments<sup>1</sup> were found which date to the early seventh century AD with the exception of the coins which are from Ko-ryō as mentioned above.

Among the numerous uncovered roof tiles with ornaments [fig. 614] were beside pieces of Unified Sin-la also examples from Ancient Sin-la with designs reminiscent of those of tiles of Bæk-che and Ko-gu-ryō<sup>2</sup> which seems to indicate that Sin-la in general and Bun-hwang-sa in particular, received cultural influences from both neighbouring Korean kingdoms.

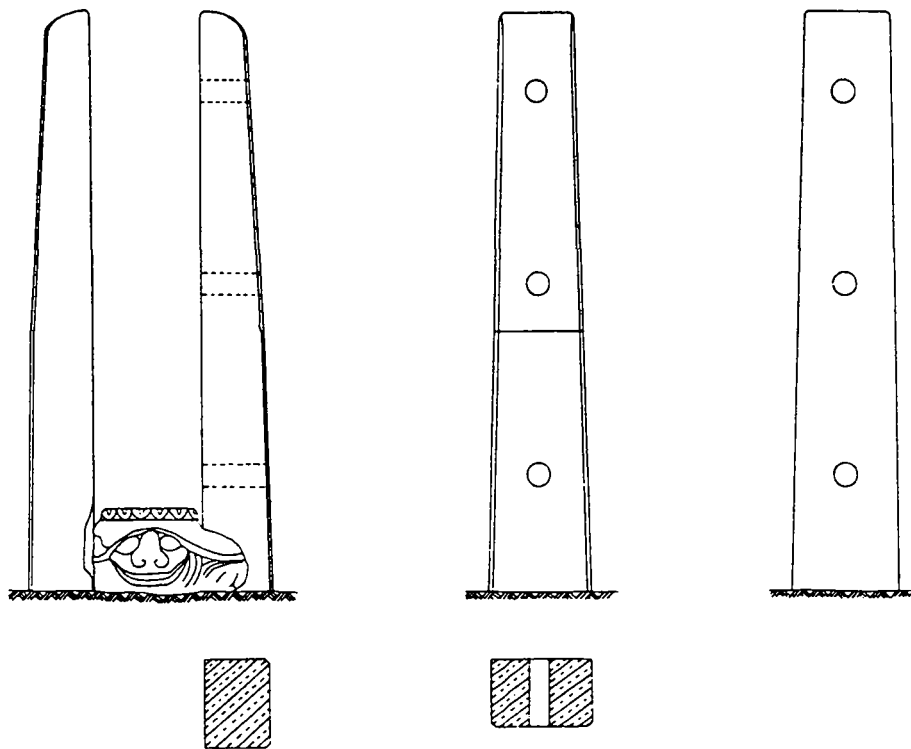


Fig. 612: Plans and elevations of the flagpole supports of Bun-hwang-sa 芬皇寺 분황사 (Unified Sin-la, scale: 1 : 50) (after: *KGMS* 158 / 159, p. 104)

<sup>1</sup> See: *CPS* 8, P. 297; Kyōng-chu National Museum 國立慶州博物館 국립경주박물관 (ed.) (1989), p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> See: KIM Dong-hyōn 金東賢 김동현 et al. (1976), pp. 45, 366 (ill. 1538); *NB* 1, p. 36.

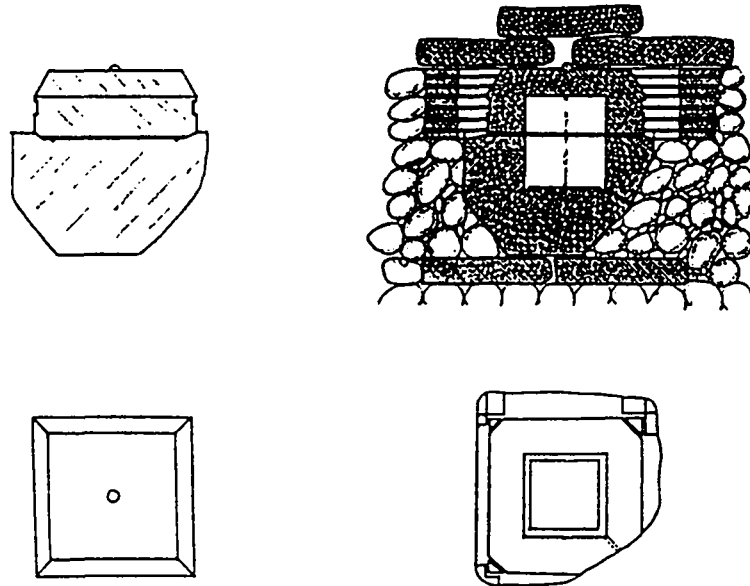


Fig. 613: Two plans, elevation and section of the *sarim* box of the stone pagoda of Bun-hwang-sa 芬皇寺분황사 (634 AD, scale: 1 : 30) (after: MHCKLG (1992b), p. 31)

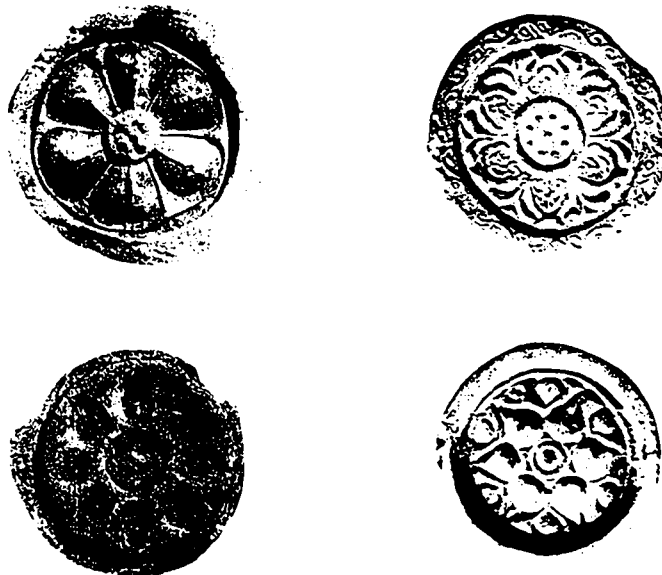


Fig. 614: 'Male' roof-end tiles of Bun-hwang-sa 芬皇寺분황사 (Ancient Sin-la / Unified Sin-la, no scale) (KIM Dong-hyŏn 金東賢 김동현 et al. (1976), p. 44f., 366)

## 4.2.3.3. Conclusions

The position of the lateral image halls of Bun-hwang-sa is unique among what is known of the Buddhist architecture of the Three Kingdoms period of Korea. The stone pagoda seems also to have been exceptional if not in structure at least in scale. The three known temple layouts which were discussed so far have all very different characteristics. It seems plausible to assume that these variations are due to a combination of two or more architectural traditions which influenced Sin-la. I have already mentioned that monks from Ko-gu-ryō, Bæk-che and various Chinese dynasties visited Sin-la<sup>1</sup> and some of them established themselves in temples which were built for them. Roof tiles with lotus designs reminiscent of those of Ko-gu-ryō and Bæk-che were found at Bun-hwang-sa, Hwang-ryong-sa and other sites at Kyōng-chu<sup>2</sup> which seem to indicate that these monks also brought the particular architectural characteristics of their kingdom with them to Sin-la. In this way, Ancient Sin-la's Buddhism can be considered a 'second generation' tradition of Korean Buddhism because for the first time, it was probably more influenced by the neighbouring Korean kingdoms than directly by China. When Sin-la defeated the other Korean kingdoms in 668 AD, this relation changed and Sin-la had much more direct influences from Tang but it also inherited the already well-established traditions of Bæk-che and Ko-gu-ryō so that the culture of Unified Sin-la started to develop several unmistakable Korean characteristics.

Similarly to Hwang-ryong-sa, the layout of Bun-hwang-sa seems to combine the square ground plan of the pagodas of Bæk-che with the layout of multiple image halls of Ko-gu-ryō. The advanced position of the lateral image halls of Bun-hwang-sa seem to be an intermediate solution between the layout of Ko-gu-ryō's Güm-gang-sa and the first reconstruction of Hwang-ryong-sa. The brick-like stone pagoda, however, seems to be an influence neither of Bæk-che nor of Ko-gu-ryō. This building type, to the contrary, seems to be a direct import from China. This hypothesis is further developed below.

<sup>1</sup> See: Chapter 4.1., pp. 673ff, 682, 717ff.

<sup>2</sup> The style of lotus flower designs of Bæk-che seem to have been much more frequent than those of Ko-gu-ryō, which seems to indicate that Sin-la had closer relations to Bæk-che than to Ko-gu-ryō (at least in the field of Buddhism). See: KIM Dong-hyōn 金東賢 김동현 et al. (1976), pp. 30f., 36f., 45, 49f., 61, 74, 78, 151, 188, 194f.f., 274f., 366, 369ff.

#### 4.2.4. THE BRICK PAGODA OF SONG-RIM-SA

##### Preliminary remarks

The legend which claims that a pagoda, called Ho-guk-an-min Ki-wŏn-bo-tab, was first built by Myŏng-kwan Dæ-sa near the Pal-gong mountains in 565 AD<sup>1</sup>, is usually not taken seriously. Instead, it is assumed that Song-rim-sa<sup>2</sup> was founded sometime during the Unified Sin-la period. The material remains which were found in 1959 in the five-storied brick pagoda when it was dismantled and reconstructed were accordingly dated to the same period. KIM Chewon<sup>3</sup>, however, has hinted at the possibility that these remains could be older so that the pagoda might in fact have been built for the first time in Ancient Sin-la.

##### 4.2.4.1. Geographical situation and general layout

Song-rim-sa is located about 12km to the north of the centre of the modern metropolis of Dæ-gu and about 11.5km to the west-south-west of the summit of the Pal-gong mountains<sup>4</sup>. The site lies inside the triangle formed by the confluence of two small rivers at about 105m above sea level [fig. 615]. The general orientation of the temple today is about 6.75° to east from north but the brick pagoda which stands in the centre of the precinct has an direction which derives only about 1.35° east of magnetic north. Beside the pagoda, the temple features eleven structures of which only two are older than one hundred years: the Dæ-ung-chŏn to the north and the Myŏng-bu-chŏn<sup>5</sup> to the east of the pagoda [fig. 616]. As no thorough excavation of the temple precinct has been conducted so far, the original layout of the temple cannot yet be reconstructed. The flat site would however have easily permitted an orthodox layout with galleries, a middle gate, one or several image halls and a lecture hall.

<sup>1</sup> Ho-guk-an-min Ki-wŏn-bo-tab 護國安民祈願寶塔 호국안민기원보탑, Myŏng-kwan Dæ-sa 明觀大師 명관대사, Pal-gong-san 八公山 팔공산. See: Chapter 4.1., p. 684.

<sup>2</sup> Song-rim-sa 松林寺 송림사 (No. 7.23.1.).

<sup>3</sup> KIM Chewon (KIM Chæ-wŏn 金載元 김재원). See: AA XXII 1/2, pp. 95 - 112.

<sup>4</sup> Dæ-gu Metropolis 大邱廣域市 대구광역시 [fig. 693 (1)]. Pal-gong-san 八公山 팔공산 [fig. 684 (22)], the central mountain of the five holy mountains of Sin-la.

<sup>5</sup> Dæ-ung-chŏn 大雄殿 대웅전, the main hall dedicated to the historical Buddha; Myŏng-bu-chŏn 冥府殿 명부전, the hall dedicated to Kṣitigarbha 地藏菩薩 지장보살, the Bodhisattva of the underworld.





Fig. 615: Topographical situation of Song-rim-sa 松林寺 송림사 (1) (scale 1 : 10,000)  
(after: CACD NI 52-2-04 (004))

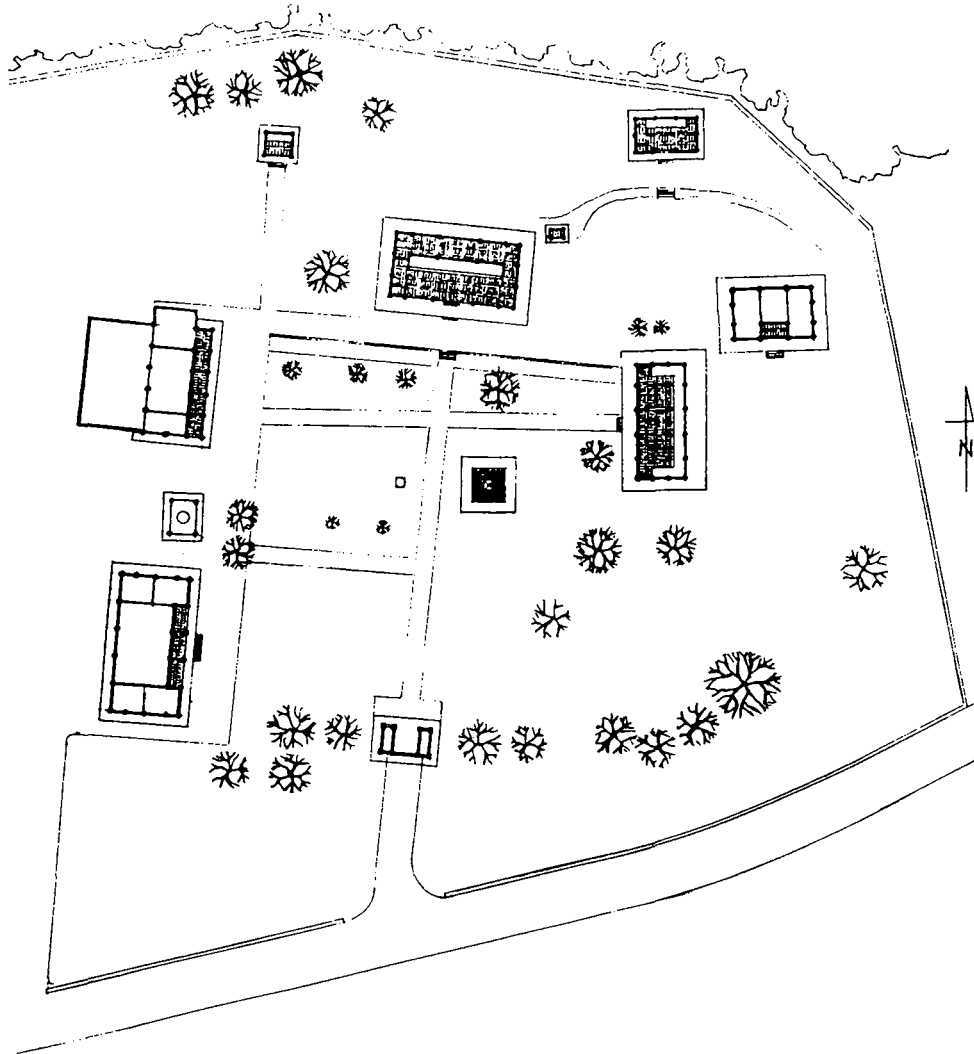


Fig. 616: Extant layout of Song-rim-sa 松林寺 승림사 (scale 1 : 1,000)  
(drawing by the author)

Table 43 resumes the main measurements of the extant structure of the pagoda:

number of stories	5
total height <sup>1</sup>	16.115m / 11.33m
general angle	~ 79°
general proportion <sup>2</sup>	1 : 5.598 / 1 : 3.936

	1st story	2nd story	3rd story	4th story	5th story
1. story height	2.164m + b: 1.58m	0.685m	0.607m	0.540m	0.472m
2. bracket height	0.675m	0.540m	0.540m	0.472m	0.342m
3. roof height	0.743m	0.608m	0.540m	0.473m	0.343m + f: 0.27m + 4.515m
4. body width	2.848 ~ 2.909m	2.436 ~ 2.492m	2.012 ~ 2.072m	1.612 ~ 1.672m	1.257 ~ 1.318m
6. eaves width	4.40mm	3.636m	2.957m	2.351m	1.863m
6. roof gradient	~ 38°	~ 36.5°	~ 41.5°	~ 43°	~ 43.5°
7. bracket angle	~ 39.5°	~ 38.5°	~ 46.5°	~ 45°	~ 44.5°
8. body proportion	1 : 1.330	1 : 3.597	1 : 3.364	1 : 3.041	1 : 2.728
9. width proportion	1 : 1.529	1 : 1.476	1 : 1.448	1 : 1.432	1 : 1.447
10. height proportion	1.526 : 1	1 : 1.676	1 : 1.779	1 : 1.750	1 : 1.451

Table 43: Main measurements of the brick pagoda of Song-rim-sa 松林寺 송림사

#### 4.2.4.2. The platform and the first story

The investigation of 1959 has shown that the platform has been altered several times during reconstructions. Its original form could not be established with certainty but the height of the platform of about 1.58m seems to indicate a two-stepped structure [figs. 617, 618].

In its extant condition, there is no opening nor any added decoration on the bodies of the stories. The lowest story stands on a stone foundation about 4.6m wide. The first two layers of bricks protrude slightly from the rest of the story. The layers of brick are on the average about 6.75cm high. The next layer is formed of bricks which are turned on their smaller side so that the layer became about twice as high as the other 28 layers which follow.

<sup>1</sup> The first measurement includes the finial, the second does not.

<sup>2</sup> The first proportion includes the finial, the second does not.

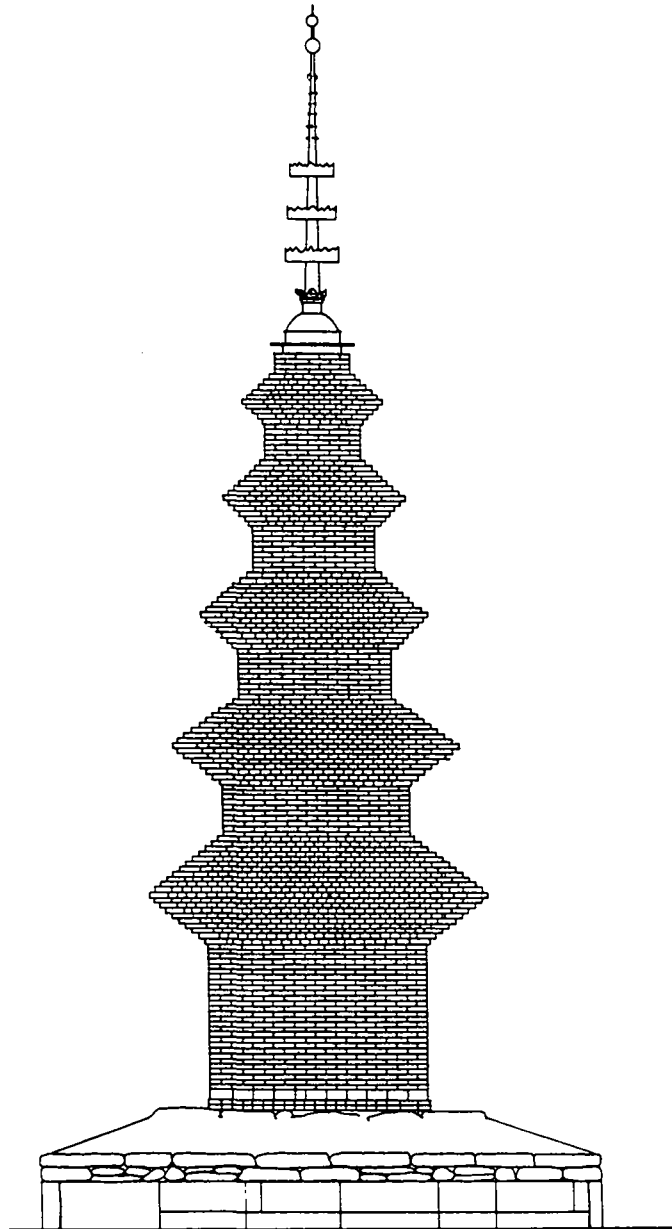


Fig. 617: Elevation of the brick pagoda of Song-rim-sa 松林寺 송림사  
(6th century ?, later reconstructions, scale 1 : 100) (after: AA XXII 1 / 2, p. 96)

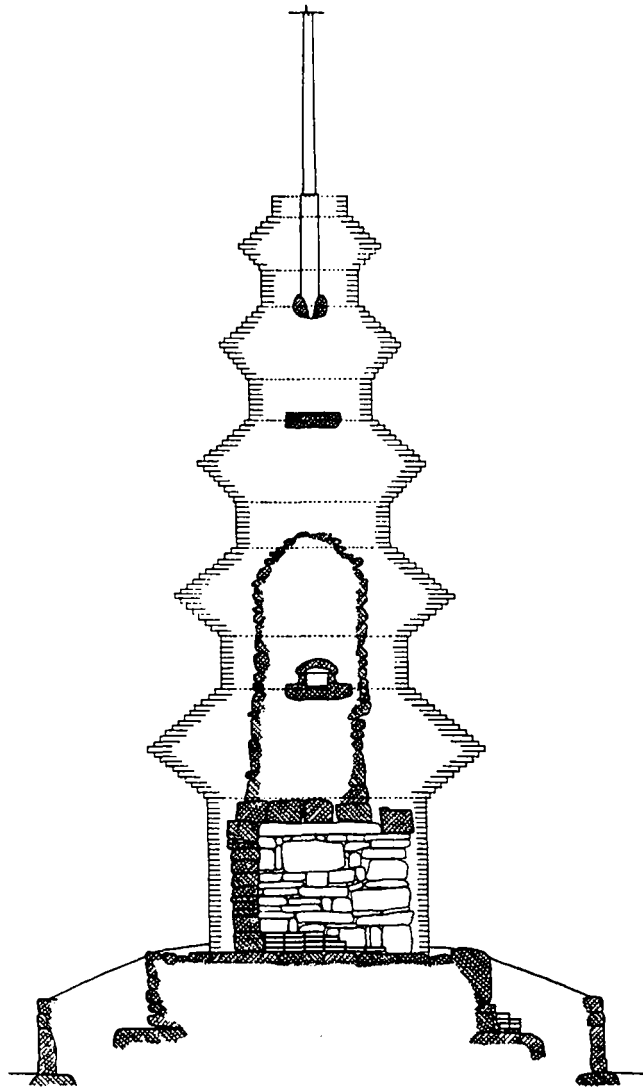


Fig. 618: South-north section of the brick pagoda of Song-rim-sa 松林寺 송림사 (6th century ?, later reconstructions, scale 1 : 100) (after: AA XXII 1 / 2, p. 97)

The bracket part of the first roof counts ten layers of bricks, including the layer of the eaves. The corners are formed by larger, square tiles which seem to strengthen these weak points of the structure. The cover of the first roof consists of eleven layer of bricks.

#### 4.2.4.3. The upper stories

The body of the second story has ten layers of bricks. The heights of the bodies of the upper stories of the pagoda diminish successively by one layer of bricks so that the fifth story counts only seven layers of bricks. The heights of the stories also diminish from story to story but not as regularly as the bodies. The bracket parts of the second and third roof count eight layers, that of the fourth roof seven layers and that of the top roof only five layers of bricks. The cover parts diminish from nine layers to eight to seven and to five layers for the top roof. The brick structure is completed with four additional layers which form the base of the finial so that this part can be considered as part of the *no-ban* and thus as belonging to the finial.

#### 4.2.4.4. The finial

The bronze finial features most of the traditional elements, including *chal-chu*, the upper part of the *no-ban*, *bok-bal*, *ang-hwa*, three *bo-ryun*, *yong-cha* and *bo-chu*<sup>1</sup>. It can thus be considered as the best-preserved ancient bronze finial of Korea. KIM Chewon supposes that it "has retained pretty much its original form" which seems to mean that he dates the finial to the founding of the pagoda. A round Ko-ryŏ celadon 'cosmetic box'<sup>2</sup> which was found below the *bok-bal*<sup>3</sup> indicated that at least the upper part of the pagoda was repaired during the Ko-ryŏ period. The celadon box contained decayed incense and paper which was possibly a *sūtra*. Similar material was found in a rectangular stone box in the centre of the top of the third roof<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Chal-chu* 擦柱 찰주, 'central column', *no-ban* 露盤 노반, 'dew basin', *bok-bal* 覆鉢 북받, 'reversed bowl', *ang-hwa* 仰花 양화, 'flower bowl', three *bo-ryun* 寶輪 보륜, 'sacred rings' *yong-cha* 龍車 용차, 'dragon wheel' and *bo-chu* 寶珠 보주, 'sacred jewel'.

<sup>2</sup> The celadon box with its cover was about 17.8cm in diameter and about 8.1cm high. KIM Chewon dated it to the 12th or 13th C. AD. See: AA XXII 1/2, p. 98.

<sup>3</sup> See above, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> KIM Chewon claims that it lay on top of the fourth roof but the section of the pagoda included in the same article clearly shows that it must have been located on top of the third roof. See: AA XXII 1/2, pp. 97f.

#### 4.2.4.5. The interior structure

The interior of the pagoda consisted of a stone pillar which reached up to the third story. When the bricks of the lowest story were removed during the dismantlement of 1959 AD, a niche built in stone which was once open towards the south and measured about 1.56m by 2.08m by 1.67m, was discovered in this pillar. This niche contained two almost life-sized wooden Buddha images, fragments of two stone images and two small bronze statuettes. KIM Chewon<sup>1</sup> dates these images to the Cho-sŏn period and concludes therefore that the niche was walled at a later period, possibly as late as the early twentieth century AD.

#### 4.2.4.6. The material remains

The most important find during the dismantlement of the brick pagoda was the *śarīra* container which lay in the centre of stone pillar at the height of the second story, in a similar position to that of Bun-hwang-sa. The stone box was shaped like a tortoise [fig. 619] whose interior was painted with lotus flower designs [fig. 620] reminiscent of certain motives of Ko-gu-ryŏ and Bæk-che<sup>2</sup> [figs. 57, 621].

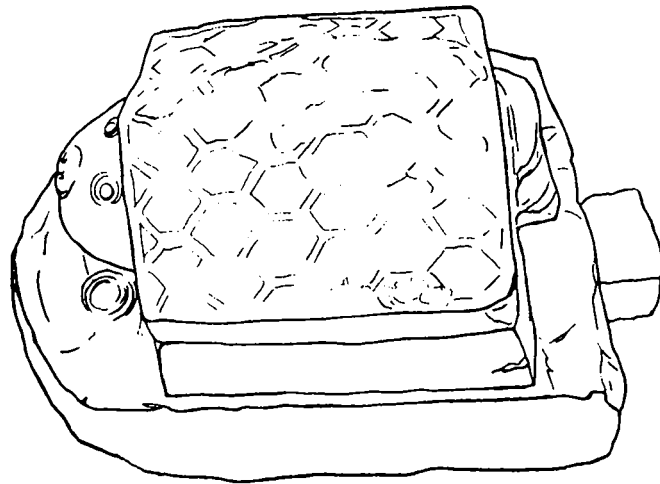


Fig. 619: Perspective of the *śarīra* container of the brick pagoda of Song-rim-sa 松林寺 승림사 (6th century ?, no scale) (drawing by the author)

<sup>1</sup> See: AA XXII 1/2, p. 110.

<sup>2</sup> See: IM Yŏng-chu 林永周 임영주 (1983), pp. 345 - 347, 392, 644f.

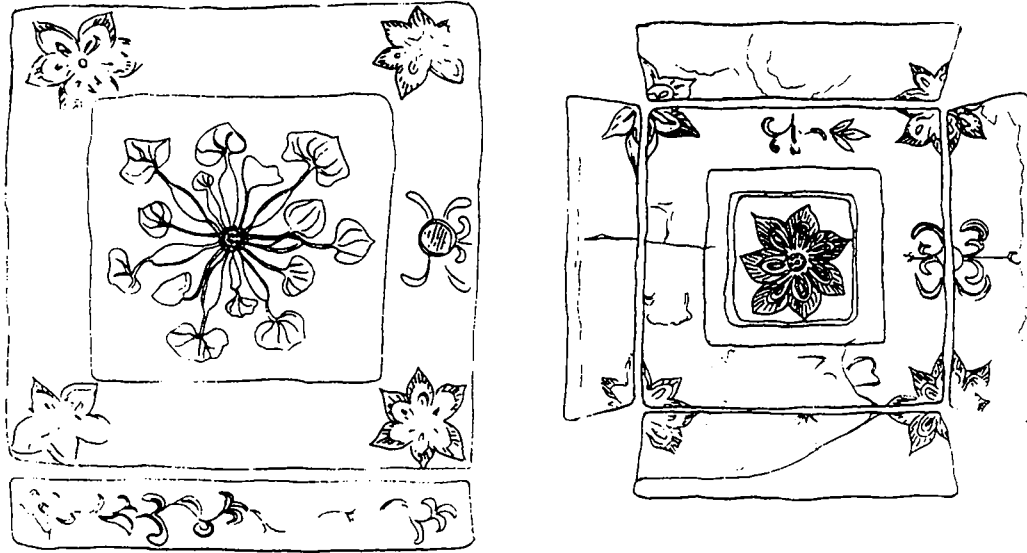


Fig. 620: Paintings in the *sarim* container of the brick pagoda of Song-rim-sa 松林寺 송림사 (6th century ?, no scale) (drawings by the author)

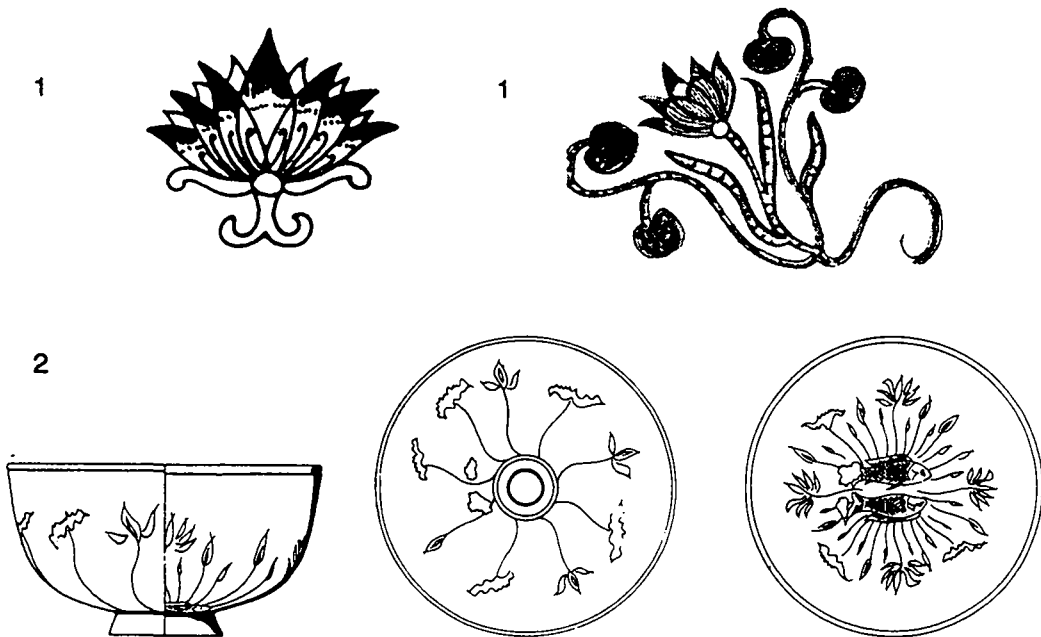


Fig. 621: Murals of lotus flowers in the Mu-yong-chong 舞踊塚 무용총 of Ko-gu-ryŏ 高句麗 고구려 near Ji'an 集安 집안 (1) (5th - 6th C. AD ?, no scale) and a bronze bowl with lotus and fish ornaments from Mu-ryŏng Wang-rŭng 武寧王陵 무령왕릉 of Bæk-che 百濟 백제 (2) (about 525 AD, scale: 1 : 2) (after IM Yŏng-chu 林永周 임영주 (1983), pp. 346f., 392)



Inside the stone box lay a gilt-bronze shrine<sup>1</sup> in the form of a base and a canopy [figs. 622, 623]. The shrine can best be compared to the bronze *śarīra* container [fig. 624] uncovered in the western three-storied pagoda of Kam-ün-sa<sup>2</sup> [figs. 530, 631] dated to the late seventh century AD of Unified Sin-la. The construction technique of the two shrines is different: while the Song-rim-sa shrine is made of thin, assembled gilt-bronze sheets, the shrine of Kam-ün-sa consists of numerous detached parts which are cast in bronze. This difference in construction seems to be partly responsible for the fact that the shrine of the Song-rim-sa pagoda is much simpler in composition and decoration. The high base of the shrine of Kam-ün-sa, however, seems to be related the high bases of the stone pagodas of Unified Sin-la, while the low base of the shrine of Song-rim-sa looks more archaic.

The railing of the base of the shrine of Song-rim-sa was composed on each side of four posts with small capitals which supported the round railing. At the corners these railings were slightly continued to the outside. The space between the lower part of the posts was filled by sticks which were placed so that they formed L-shaped interstices. These surface was covered on the top by a flat sheet of bronze which also continued beyond the corners. This type of railing is known from wall-paintings in Dunhuang<sup>3</sup> [fig. 625], from the balconies of the upper stories of the pagoda of Hōryū-ji<sup>4</sup> [fig. 421] and from a stone relief attributed to Bæk-che artisans [fig. 499]. Wooden fragments of such a railing, dating to the Unified Sin-la period, were also excavated at An-ab-chi<sup>5</sup> [fig. 626] and the same pattern can be seen as relief on the three-storied stone pagoda of Bæk-chang-am near Sil-sang-sa<sup>6</sup> of the late ninth century AD [fig. 626]. The canopy was decorated with gilt-bronze lotus petals and chains with small pendants were attached at the corners. Such canopies are known from murals of Dunhuang of the Tang period [fig. 627]. The decorations are reminiscent of gilt-bronze ornaments of crowns and ear pendants excavated from tombs of Ancient Sin-la, Ka-ya and Bæk-che of the fifth and sixth century AD<sup>7</sup> [fig. 628].

<sup>1</sup> *HGüM* claims that the shrine is made of gold. This might be true for certain pendants of the shrine but the shrine itself clearly seems to be gilded. See: *HGüM* 23, pl. 95, p. 217.

<sup>2</sup> Kam-ün-sa 感恩寺 감은사 (No. 7.33.10.). See: KIM Chæ-wŏn 金載元 김재원, YUN Mu-byŏng 尹武炳 윤무병 (1961).

<sup>3</sup> E.g. cave No. 257 of Northern Wei 北魏 북위 (386 - 534 AD), cave No. 285 of Western Wei 西魏 서위 (535 - 556 AD) and caves No. 112, 158 of Tang 唐 당. See: PENG Huashi (1983), pl. 7, 27, 83, 87.

<sup>4</sup> Hōryū-ji 法隆寺 ほうりゅうじ 법룡사. See: Chapter 3.3., p. 562.

<sup>5</sup> See: MHCKLG (1978), pp. 252f., 258.

<sup>6</sup> Bæk-chang-am 百丈庵 백장암, Sil-sang-sa 實相寺 실상사. See: *KCS* 89-07, p. 47; CHANG Kyŏng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992), p. 160.

<sup>7</sup> See: *HGüM* 22, pl. 1 - 5, 40f., 62f., 66 - 68, 75, 85, 99, 107, 114, 117, 141f., 144f., 178, 180.

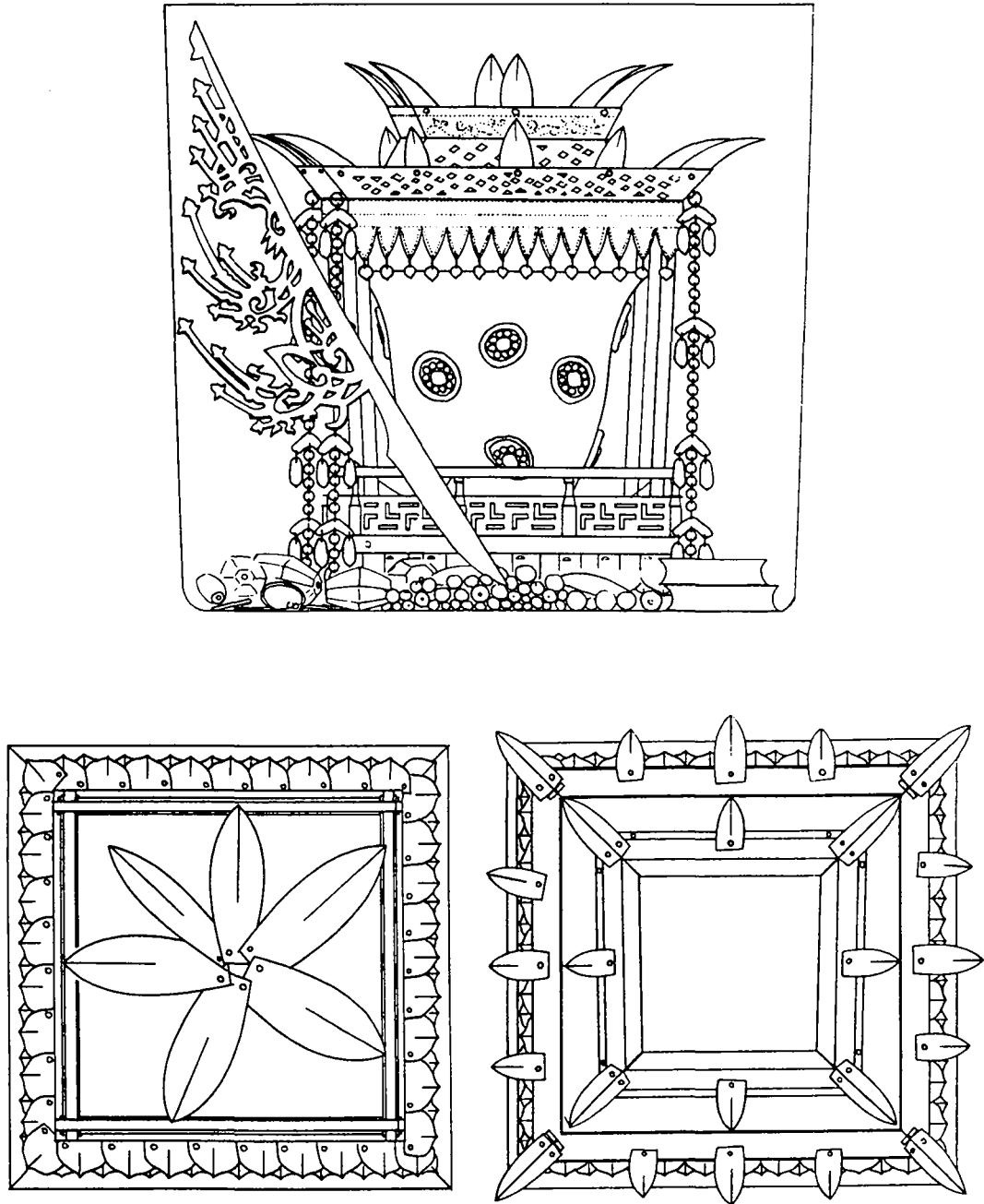


Fig. 622: Section of cavity of the *sarira* container with arrangement of the relics and two plans of the *sarira* shrine of the brick pagoda of Song-rim-sa 松林寺 송림사 (6th century?, scale: 1 : 2) (after: AA XXII 1 / 2, pp. 100, 106f.)

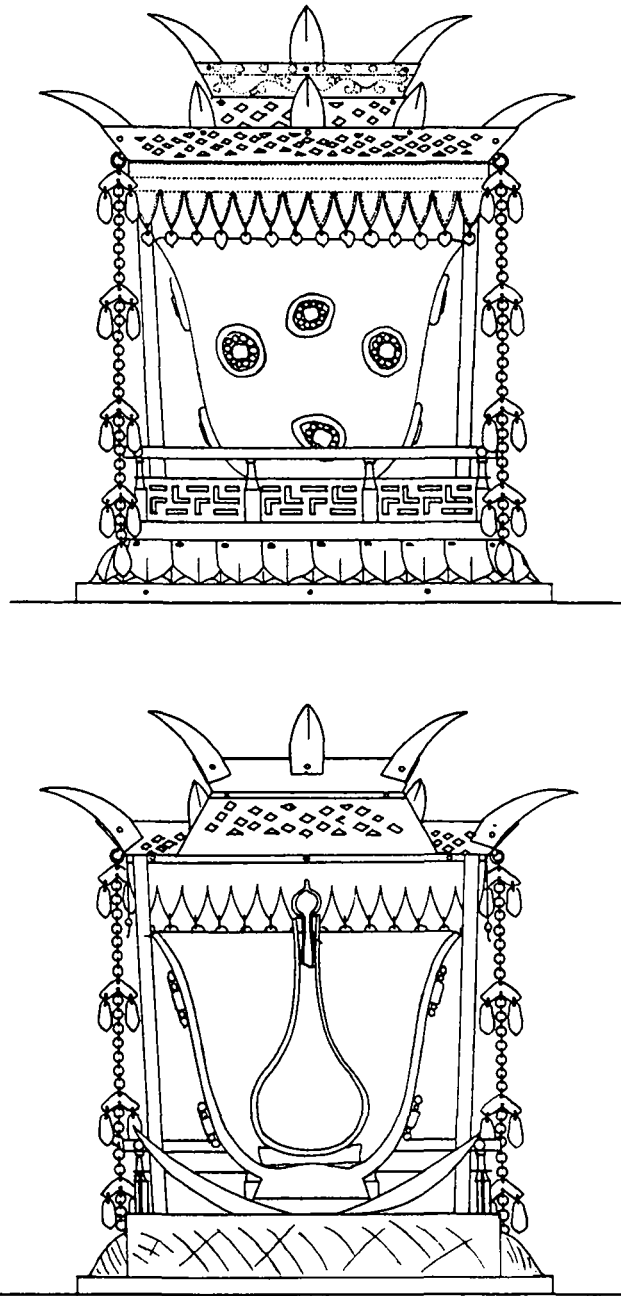


Fig. 623: Elevation and section of the *sarira* shrine of the brick pagoda of Song-rim-sa  
松林寺승탑사(6th century?, scale: 1 : 2) (after: AA XXII 1 / 2, pp. 106f.)

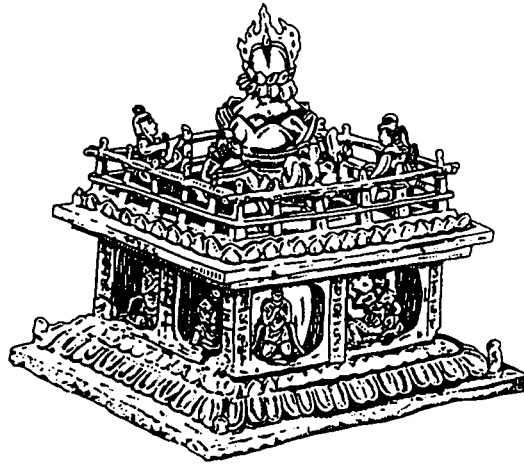
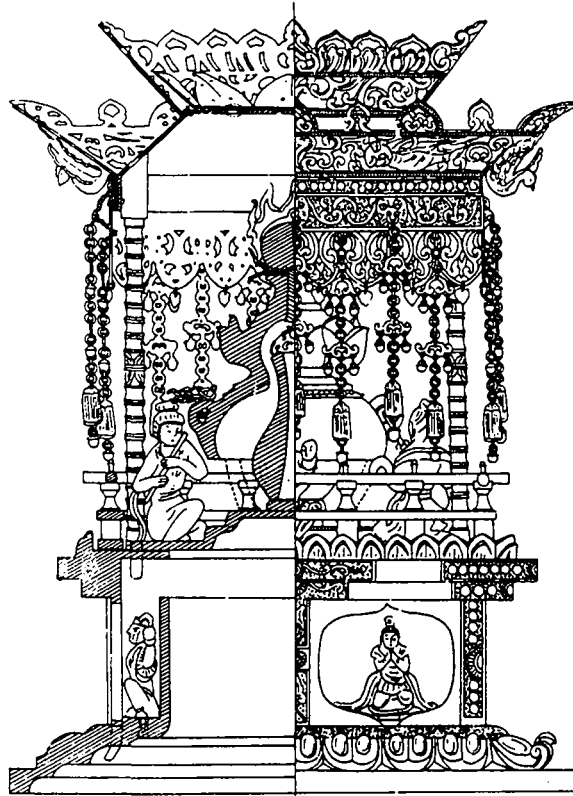


Fig. 624: Partial section, partial elevation (scale: 1 : 2) and perspective of the *sarira* shrine of the western pagoda of Kam-ün-sa 感恩寺 감은사 (late 7th C. AD) (after: KIM Chæ-wön 金載元 김재원, YUN Mu-byōng 尹武炳 윤무병 (1961), plan 19; GRISWOLD, KIM Chewon (1964), p. 100)



Fig. 625: Mural of a building with balustrades from cave No. 285 at Dunhuang 敦煌 285窟 (Northern Wei 北魏 북위, no scale) (drawing by the author)

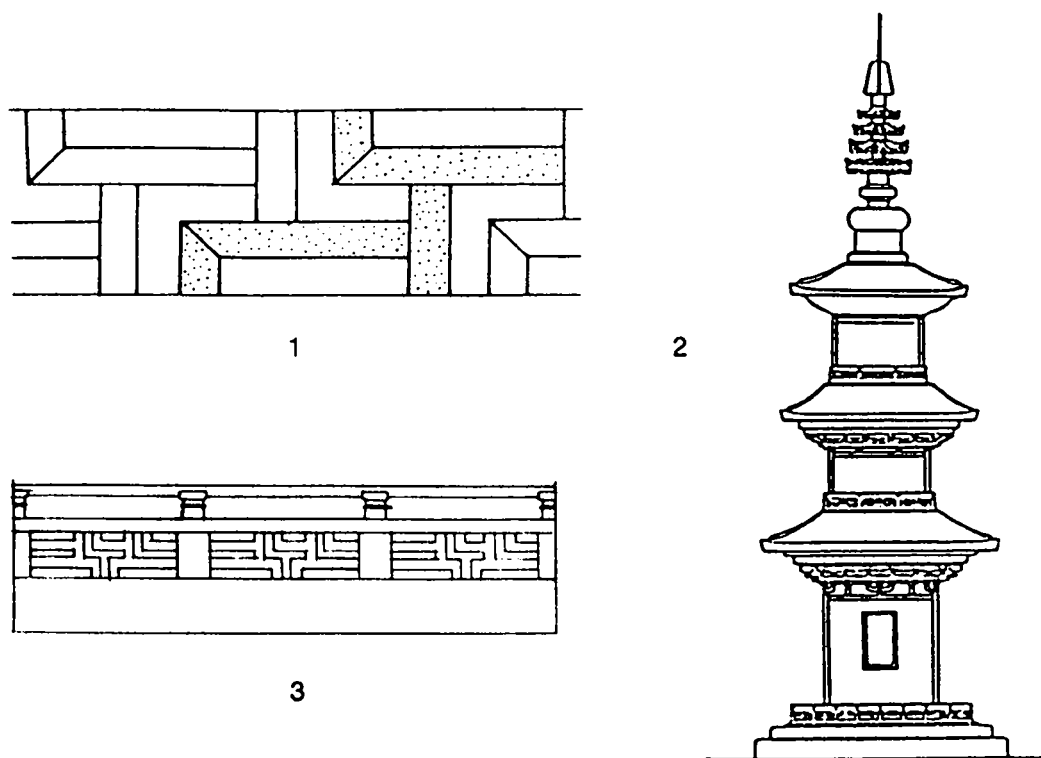


Fig. 626: Excavated fragments of a balustrade from An-ab-chi 雁鴨池 안압지 (1) (scale: 1 : 10), elevation (2) (scale: 1 : 50) of the pagoda of Bæk-chang-am 百丈庵 백장암 near Sil-sang-sa 實相寺 실상사 and relief of a balustrade (3) (scale: 1 : 10) (after: MHCKLG (1978), p. 258; KCS 89 - 07, p. 47 and drawing by the author)

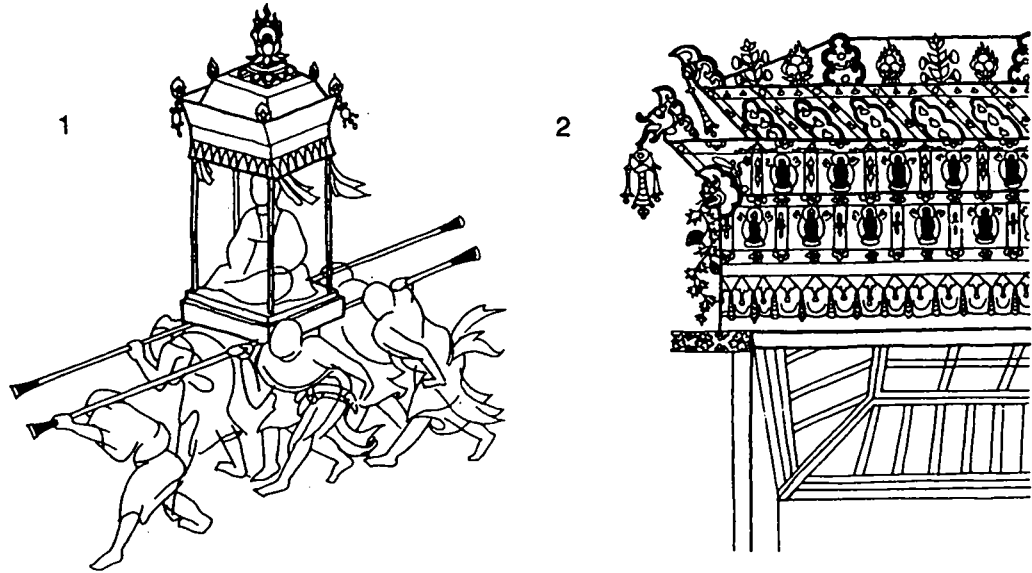


Fig. 627: Examples of canopies from caves No. 323 (1) and 359 (2) at Dunhuang 敦煌 洞窟 (Tang period, no scale) (after: XIAO Mo 蕭默 소학 (1989), pp. 47, 49)

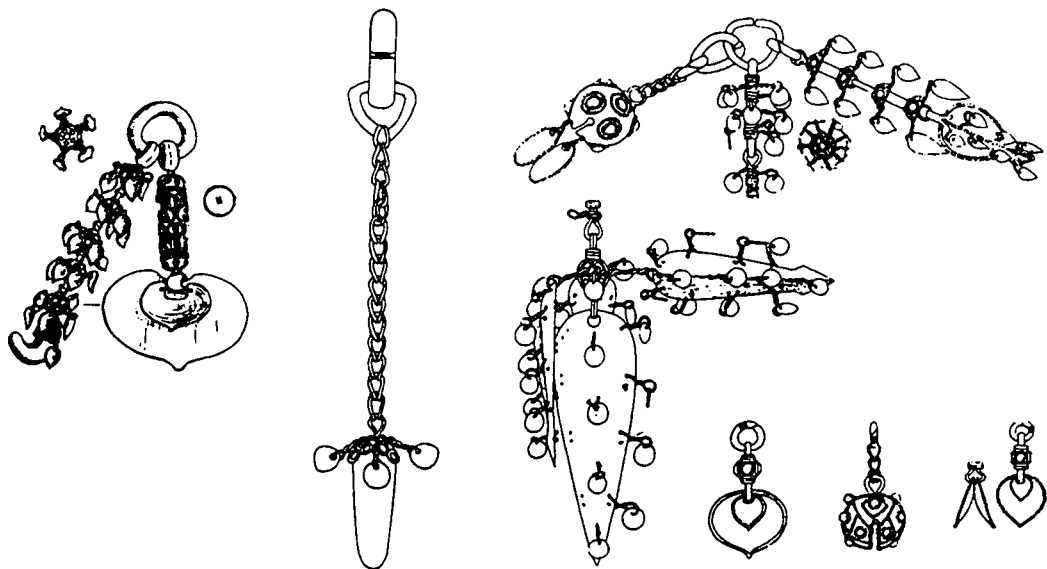


Fig. 628: Various examples of gold ornaments from tombs of Baek-che and Ancient Sin-la (5th - 6th C. AD, no scale) (after: IM Yŏng-chu 林永周 임영주 (1983), p. 382)

A yellowish-green glass cup and a small bottle stood inside the gilt-bronze shrine. The cup was decorated with rings of glass and small pearls [fig. 623]. The form and decoration of this cup is very similar to a cobalt-blue glass cup preserved in the Shōsō-in in Nara<sup>1</sup> which has been attributed to the East Roman Empire by HAYASHI or to Syria by BEURDELEY<sup>2</sup> dating between the fourth and sixth centuries AD. FERRIER<sup>3</sup> mentions a Sasanian glass bowl which was found in a Japanese burial dated to 535 AD. These examples show that it is possible that the glass objects in the Song-rim-sa pagoda were enshrined there in the middle of the sixth century AD.

Beside the shrine there were also a number of other objects in the container of Song-rim-sa. Among them was a tree-like gilt-silver object<sup>4</sup> which has been interpreted as a hair ornament or 'ornamental finial' [fig. 629]. KIM Chewon has wondered if this object is a stylized form of the *bodhi* tree, but I think that the ornament with its seven main branches and numerous small pendants rather resembles the tree-like crowns<sup>5</sup> of the Korean Three Kingdoms which are thought to be connected with the indigenous religion (shamanism) and not with Buddhism [figs. 629. 630].

<sup>1</sup> Shōsō-in 正倉院 しょうそういん 정창원, Nara 奈良なら 나랏.

<sup>2</sup> KIM Chewon suspects on the contrary that both cups were local products of East Asia, but he fails to give any evidence of this claim. The silver stand of the Shōsō-in cup was apparently made in China. To my knowledge, such cups were common neither in the European Antiquity, Byzantine Empire nor the Middle Ages. The glasses might rather have been produced in Persia or Central Asia (Sasanian empire: 224 - 651 AD) ? See: HAYASHI Ryoichi (1975), pl. 16, p. 88f., foldout 1; BEURDELEY (1985), p. 156; AA XXII 1/2, p. 111.

<sup>3</sup> See: FERRIER (1989), pp. 296ff.

<sup>4</sup> The catalogue of the Kyōng-chu Museum claims that it is made of gilt-bronze and that it is 22.2cm high. KIM Chewon has: gilt-silver, 22.1cm high. *HGŭM* and *CHŌN*: gilt-silver, 18cm high. The scale drawing published by KIM Chewon could be the origin of the confusion of the height which shows the object as being about 18cm long. But the its width in this drawing shows that the object must lie obliquely to the plan of the drawing. The correct height is therefore 22.1cm to 22.2cm. The photographs suggest that the inner material was in fact silver and not bronze. See: AA XXII 1/2, p. 109; , *HGŭM* 23, pl. 97; *CHŌN* Kyōng-hwa 千敬化 천경화 (1993), p. 689; Kyōng-chu National Museum 國立慶州博物館 국립경주박물관 (ed.) (1989), p. 59.

<sup>5</sup> See: *HGŭM* 22, pl. 1 - 5, 40f., 62f., 66 - 68, 75, 85, 99, 107, 114, 117, 141 - 145, 178, 180, 188.

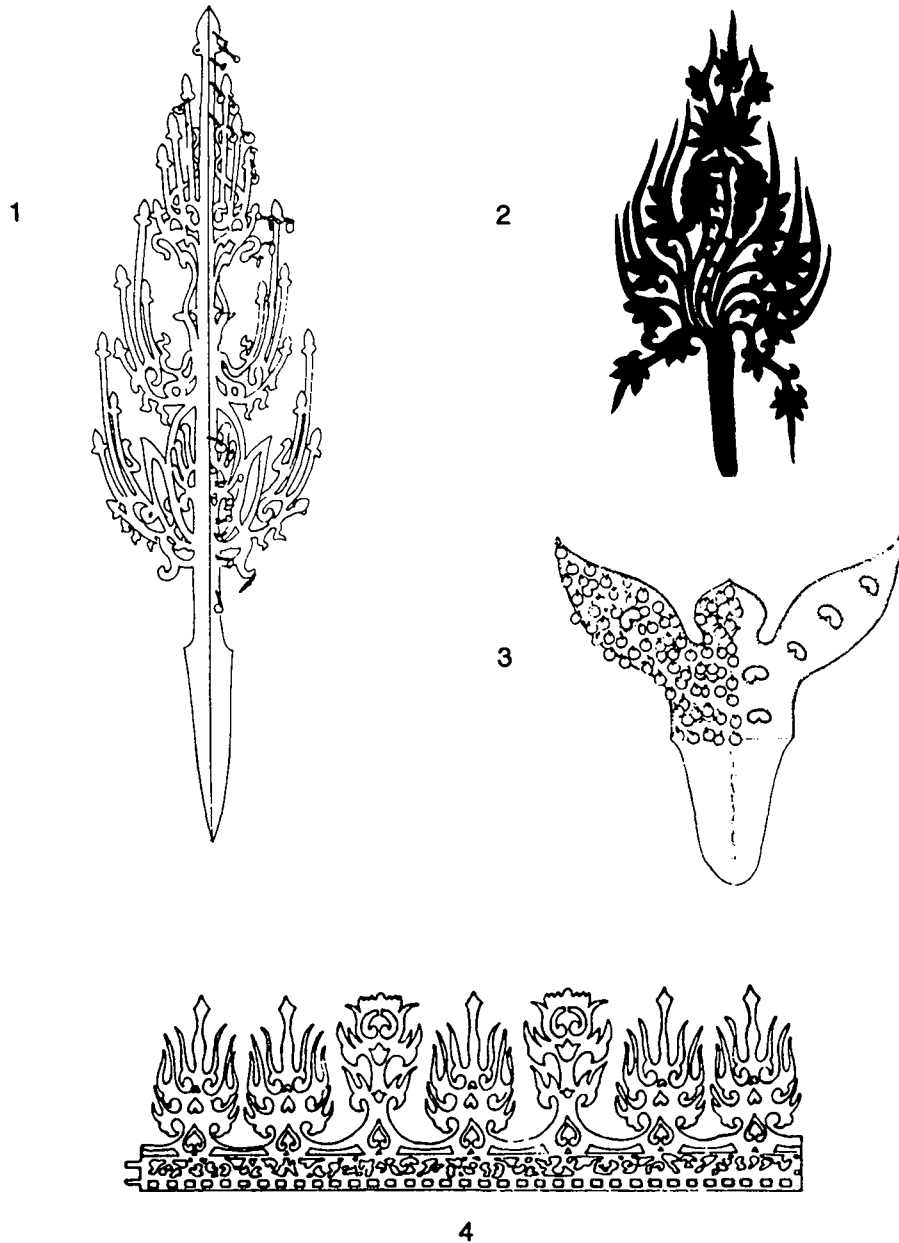
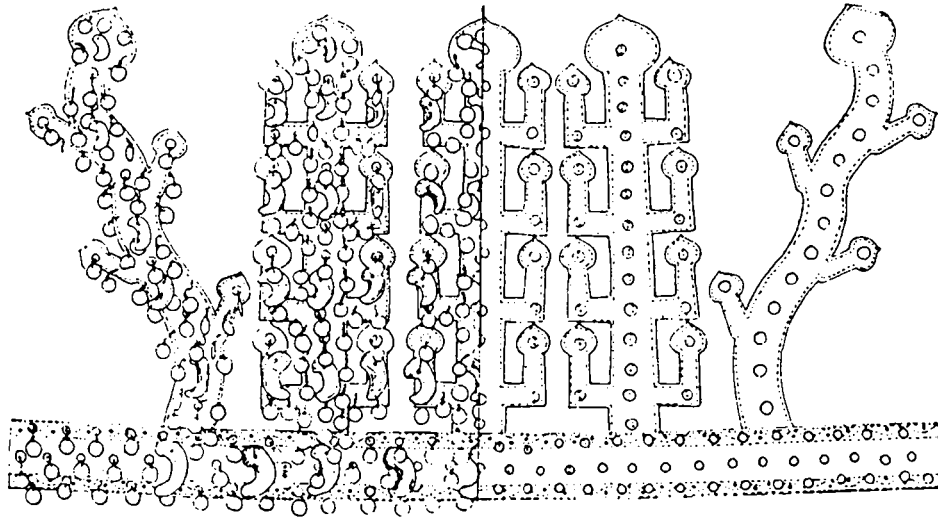
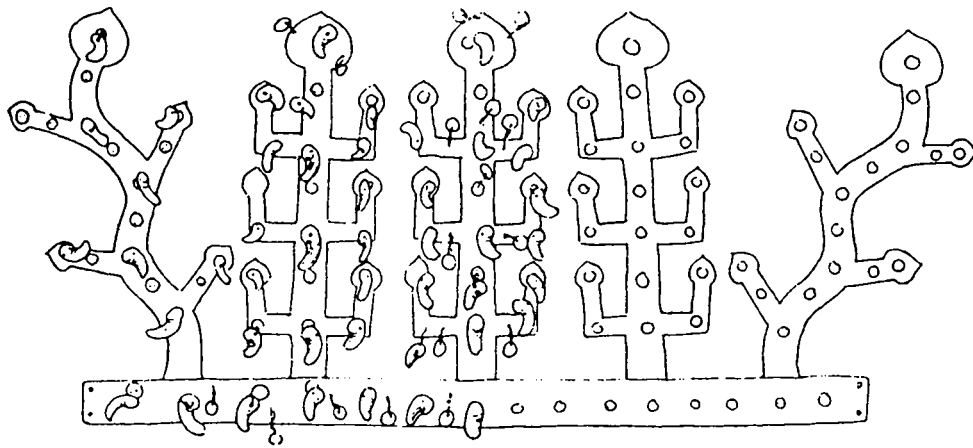


Fig. 629: Tree-like object of the brick pagoda of Song-rim-sa 松林寺 승림사 (1) (6th C. AD ?, scale: 1 : 2), Bæk-che gold ornament from Mu-ryōng-wang-rūng 武寧王陵 무령왕릉 (2) (early 6th C. AD, scale: 1 : 5), Ancient Sin-la gold ornament from Chōn-ma-chōng 天馬塚 천마총 (3) (5th - 6th C. AD, scale: 1 : 5) and Ko-gu-ryō gold crown from the earthen fortress at Chōng-am-ri 清岩里土城 청암리토성, near Pyōng-yang 平壤 평양 (4) (5th - 6th century AD, no scale) (after: IM Yōng-chu 林永周 임영주 (1983), p. 369; IM Yōng-chu 林永周 임영주 (1983), p. 365ff.)





1



2

Fig. 630: Ancient Sin-la gold crowns from Chŏn-ma-chong 天馬塚 천마총 (1) and Kyŏng-chu 慶州 경주 tomb No. 98 (2) (5th - 6th century AD, scale: 1 : 5) (after: IM Yŏng-chu 林永周 임영주 (1983), p. 364)

#### 4.2.4.7. Conclusions

The brick pagoda has been dated by various authors to either the eight or ninth centuries AD<sup>1</sup>, i.e. Unified Sin-la. KIM Chewon<sup>2</sup>, however, has convincingly argued that the material remains in the *śarīra* box and its paintings which were discovered during the dismantlement of the pagoda in 1959, are reminiscent rather of the Three Kingdoms period so that, according to his opinion, the pagoda might have been constructed in the seventh century AD, a little before or after the unification of the peninsula.

The account of Myōng-kwan Dæ-sa thus no longer appears so far-fetched and it is possible that KIM Chewon was actually too cautious by placing the material remains of the Song-rim-sa in the seventh century. As he compares them with objects of the fifth and sixth century, it is not clear why he dates the pagoda and its material remains about one century later. I tend therefore to date the core of the pagoda and the material remains of the second story to about the alleged date of the return of Myōng-kwan Dæ-sa from China in the middle of the sixth century AD.

However, this does not automatically mean that the present aspect of the pagoda dates to the same period. The first story and upper part of the pagoda, at least, later underwent extensive reconstructions, so that it is difficult to say how it looked at the beginning. The extant height and number of stories do thus not necessarily correspond to the original ones. However, it seems safe to claim that the original structure also had a coat of bricks because no fragment of a stone coat were found. If the first brick pagoda of Song-rim-sa was in fact built in the sixth century AD, this would have important implications for the dating of the other known brick pagodas and brick-like stone pagodas of Sin-la which have been dated so far to the periods after the unification. These possible implications are investigated below.

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<sup>1</sup> CPS dates the pagoda to the 9th C. AD. *HGŭM* attributes the contents of the *śarīra* box to the 8th C. AD, while ČHŎN dates them to "Unified Sin-la or Ko-ryō". See: CPS 8, p. 447; *HGŭM* 23, pl.95 - 98, p. 217; ČHŎN Kyōng-hwa 千敬化 천경화 (1993), pp. 688f.

<sup>2</sup> See: AA XXII 1/2, p. 111.

#### 4.2.5. OTHER BRICK PAGODAS AND BRICK-LIKE STONE PAGODAS OF SIN-LA

The *Sam-guk-yu-sa*<sup>1</sup> includes several anecdotes of the life of a monk named Yang-chi<sup>2</sup> who lived during the reign of Queen Sŏn-dŏk<sup>3</sup> of Ancient Sin-la. He is said to have possessed magic powers and was an artist of great talent. "The three sixteen-foot images of Buddha and the statue of the heavenly king, beside the roof-tiles and pagodas at Yŏng-myo-sa<sup>4</sup>, the eight heavenly generals beneath the pagoda at Čhŏn-wang-sa<sup>5</sup>, the three images of Buddha at Bŏb-rim-sa<sup>6</sup>, and the Herculean wrestlers guarding the gate of this last temple are all his work. He wrote the inscription for the panels at Yŏng-myo-sa and Bŏb-rim-sa, and modelled three thousand Buddhas in beautiful designs on bricks from which he built a small pagoda for his home temple (called Sŏk-chang-sa<sup>7</sup>) and worshipped it."

This account seems to indicate that brick pagodas were built in Sin-la before the unification. The brick-like stone pagoda of Bun-hwang-sa suggests the same conclusion because it is hardly believable that it was the first and only such structure in Ancient Sin-la. The cited translation by HA & MINTZ seems to interpret the Chinese text in a way that the Buddha images were molded on the bricks before the construction of the pagoda. As no such decorated brick pagodas remain in Korea, Chinese examples might serve as a comparison. Various techniques of ornamentation can be observed at Chinese brick pagodas. One method consists in forming the figures by a series of bricks which protrude from the walls. This method was particularly popular during the Liao<sup>8</sup> but the relief columns of the dodecagonal pagoda of Songyue-si<sup>9</sup> [fig. 148] already anticipate this technique.

<sup>1</sup> See: *SGYS*, pp. 137, 390f., (291f.)

<sup>2</sup> Yang-chi 良志 양지.

<sup>3</sup> Sŏn-dŏk Yŏ-wang 善德女王 선덕여왕, the 27th monarch of Sin-la, reigned from 632 to 646 AD. See: Chapter 4.1., p. 705.

<sup>4</sup> Yŏng-myo-sa 靈廟寺 영묘사 (No. 7.34.40.) one of the 7 cardinal temples of Kyŏng-chu, founded in 636 AD. See: Chapter 4.1., p. 675

<sup>5</sup> Čhŏn-wang-sa 天王寺 천왕사. Sa-čhŏn-wang-sa 四天王寺 사천왕사 (7.34.7.) was founded in 679 AD, so another temple is probably intended here.

<sup>6</sup> Bŏb-rim-sa 法林寺 법림사, otherwise unknown.

<sup>7</sup> Sŏk-chang-sa 錫杖寺 석장사, probably located to the northwest of the city of Kyŏng-chu 慶州 경주 at Kyŏng-chu-gun 慶州郡 경주군 [fig. 693 (33)]. Hyŏn-gok-myŏn 見谷面 현곡면, Gŭm-chang-ri 金丈里 금창리, Sŏk-chang-ma-ŭl 錫丈 마을 석장마을. No traces of the brick pagoda were discovered so far. See: *SCSC*, p. 329.

<sup>8</sup> Liao 遼 요, ruled northern China from 916 to 1125 AD.

See: LUO Zhewen 羅哲文 라철문 (1994), pp. 156, 170ff.176ff., 183.

<sup>9</sup> Songyue-si 嵩嶽寺 송약사, built in 520 to 528 AD. See: LUO Zhewen 羅哲文 라철문 (1994), p. 188f.

A second method covers the outer surfaces of the pagoda with ornamental tiles which can be glazed. This technique can be dated back to the Tang at least as the pagoda of Xiuding-si at Anyang, Henan<sup>1</sup>, shows. A last method consists in applying a sculpted clay layer on the brick walls. This technique is probably the oldest of all but it is less durable than the others so that such structures can only survive for longer durations in particular conditions such as in the arid climate of Dunhuang<sup>2</sup>.

If the first two methods were used frequently in Sin-la, it could be expected that some traces of decorative reliefs would remain on the brick pagodas, which is not the case. Thus, if the brick pagodas were actually decorated with Buddha figures as the text in the *Sam-guk-yu-sa* suggests, the third method of decoration seems to be the most probable. The text would then have to be translated as follows: "He wrote the inscriptions (...), and built a small brick pagoda and decorated it with three thousand Buddhas. He placed the pagoda in the centre of the temple and worshipped it."

#### 4.2.5.1. CLASSIFICATION OF KOREAN BRICK AND STONE PAGODAS

Several brick pagodas and stone pagodas imitating a brick structure are extant in South Korea. In order to be able to judge if any of the extant structures can be dated to Ancient Sin-la which would then provide an indication of the shape of the first pagoda of Song-rim-sa, it is necessary to analyse the extant pagodas. The stone and brick pagodas of Korea are usually divided into the following categories:

- A. pure brick pagodas
- B. brick-like stone pagodas which imitate a brick structure
- C. brick-like stone pagodas which have the shape of a stone pagoda
- D. pure stone pagodas
- E. various forms

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<sup>1</sup> Xiuding-si 修定寺 수정사, Anyang 安陽 안양, Henan 河南 하남.  
See: LUO Zhewen 羅哲文 라철문 (1994), p. 118f., 222f.; WATSON (1995), p. 182f.

<sup>2</sup> Dunhuang 敦煌 돈황. See: PENG Huashi (1981), pl. 126, 129, 132ff.

The pure stone pagodas (category D) of Sin-la, by far the largest of the categories, are generally believed to have developed after the unification of the peninsula. The earliest examples are supposed to be the twin three-storied stone pagodas of Kam-ün-sa<sup>1</sup> [fig. 631], the three-storied stone pagoda of Ko-sön-sa<sup>2</sup> [fig. 632] and the five-storied stone pagoda at Na-wön-ri<sup>3</sup> [fig. 633]. Among the various other forms (category E) are stepped square pyramids<sup>4</sup>, cones<sup>5</sup>, five-peaked pagodas<sup>6</sup> and numerous types of *stūpas* (*bu-do*<sup>7</sup>) which, in Korea, are usually not counted among the pagodas (*tab-pa*<sup>8</sup>).

<sup>1</sup> Kam-ün-sa 感恩寺 감은사 (No. 7.33.10.), founded in 668, completed in 682 AD. See: *SCSC*, p. 18f.

<sup>2</sup> Ko-sön-sa 高仙寺 고선사 (No. 7.34.37.), founded before 686 AD. See: *SCSC*, p. 49f.

<sup>3</sup> Na-wön-ri 羅原里五層石塔 나원리오층석탑. The temple was probably called Na-wön-sa 羅原寺 나원사 (No. 7.33.2.).

<sup>4</sup> E.g. the so-called Nüng-chi-tab 陵旨塔 능지탑 which is thought to be a monument for Mun-mu Wang 文武王 문무왕 (r. 661 - 680 AD), dated to the 8th C. AD, and the pyramidal pagodas of Sök-tab-ri 石塔里 석탈리 (Kyöng-sang-buk-do 慶尙北道 경상북도, Üi-söng-gun 義城郡 의성군, An-pyöng-myön 安平面 안평면) and Sök-tab-dong 石塔洞 석탑동 (Kyöng-sang-buk-do 慶尙北道 경상북도, An-dong-gun 安東郡 안동군, Buk-hu-myön 北後面 북후면), both dated to late Unified Sin-la (9th C. AD). The pagoda of Do-ri-sa 桃李寺 도리사 (No. 7.22.1.), dated to Ko-ryö (11th C. AD) is a further example. Stepped pyramids were already used in Ko-gu-ryö and Bæk-che for important tombs. It can therefore be supposed that the Unified Sin-la Buddhist pyramids were influenced by these earlier examples. It is however not sure whether the Korean pyramids were charged with Buddhist symbolism before the unification of the peninsula. This uncertainty is the reason why this architectural form is not discussed at length in the present study. See: CHIN Hong-söb 秦弘燮 진홍섭 (1995), pp. 257ff.; CHIN Hong-söb 秦弘燮 진홍섭 (1997), pp. 421 - 446; *CSYCYMDK* 4, pp. 100 - 117; YUN Chang-söb 尹張燮 윤장섭 (1996), pp. 89 - 93 *BGinCd* 102 - 22, pp. 12ff., 29ff.; KIM Chöng-ki 金正基 김정기: *The History of Architecture in Korea* 「韓國建築史概說 한국건축사개설」, in: ? Sö-ul (Seoul) 서울, n.d., No. 16, pp. 6f.;

<sup>5</sup> E.g. the pagoda forest of Tab-sa 塔寺 탑사 in Ma-i-san 馬耳山 마이산, No. 5.9.1., built in early 20th C. AD by YI Kab-ryong 李甲龍 이갑룡. See: *MSKC* II, p. 265ff.

<sup>6</sup> This type is called *vajrasana* (diamond throne) pagoda 金剛寶座塔 금강보좌탑 in China [fig. 435]. *K:o-bang-tab* 五方塔 오방탑. An example of the five-peaked pagoda can be found in the pagoda forest of Tab-sa 塔寺 탑사 (see above) but its use in early Korean Buddhism is not proven by material evidence. This type is quite frequent in China and an early miniature version can be observed in the hand of a heavenly king figure dated to about 650 AD of the *kondō* 金堂 こんどう 금당 of Hōryū-ji 法隆寺 ほうりゅうじ 법동사 in Nara, Japan. Another pagoda type which has a crown divided into four or five parts is the *ratna-piṭaka* (precious box) pagoda Ch: *bao qie yin ta*, K: *bo-hyöb-in-tab* 寶篋印塔 보협인탑 which is said to imitate the form of *sūtra* baskets [fig. 56]. The Simen-ta 四門塔 사문탑 of 611 AD features a finial which has a similar form [fig. 436]. See: LUO Zhewen 羅哲文 라철문 (1990), p. 75, 115 - 120, 124 - 126; LUO Zhewen 羅哲文 라철문 (1994), pp. 264 - 279, 290 - 297; *HGüM* 9, pl. 126, p. 161, 246; MIZUNO Seiichi (1974), p. 74.

<sup>7</sup> *Bu-do* 浮屠 부도. In China this type is called *mu ta* 墓塔 묘탑 (grave pagoda). See: *HGüM* 15; BOERSCHMANN (1931), pp. 366 - 401.

<sup>8</sup> *Tab-pa* 塔婆 탑파 or simply *tab* 塔 탑. With a few exceptions, this term applies to structures with several stories (mostly 3, 5, 7 or 9, sometimes 10, 11 or 13) in Korea. The term *sa-ri-tab* 舍利塔 사리탑 is sometimes used as a synonym for *bu-do* 浮屠 부도. See: *HGüM* 9; *HGüM* 15.

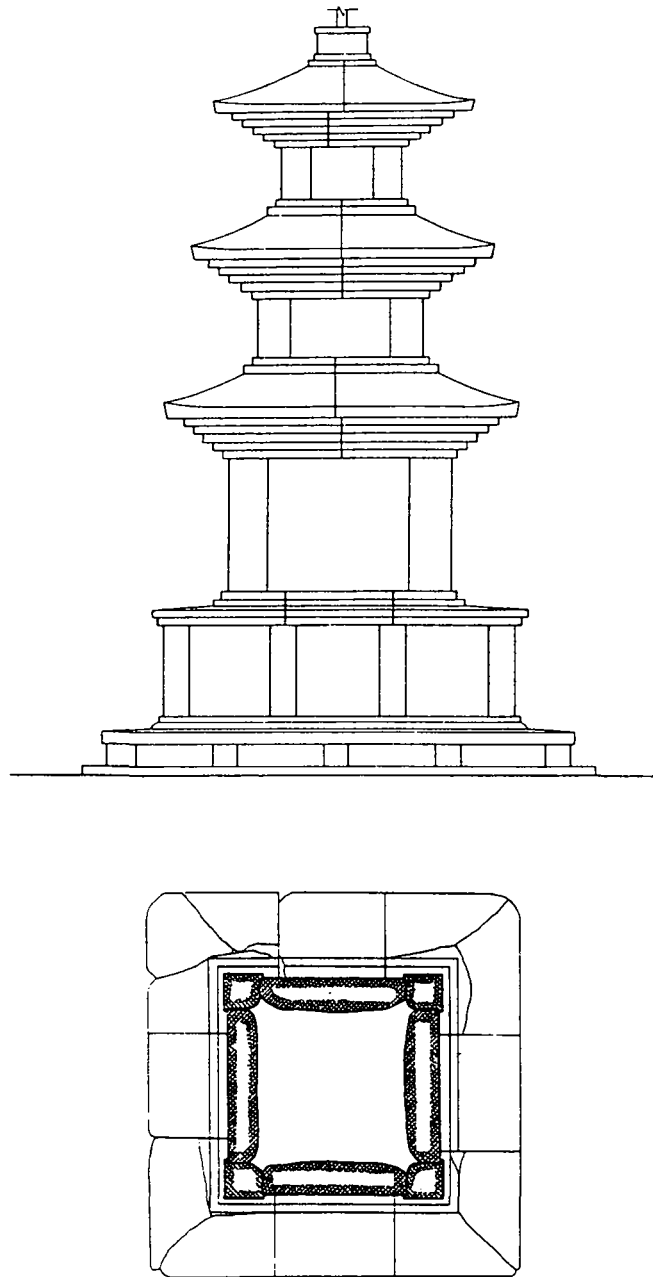


Fig. 631: Plan of the first story and elevation of the western stone pagoda of Kam-ŭn-sa  
感恩寺 감은사 (late 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 100)  
(after: KIM Chæ-wŏn 金載元 김재원 etc. (1961), pl. 11, 13)

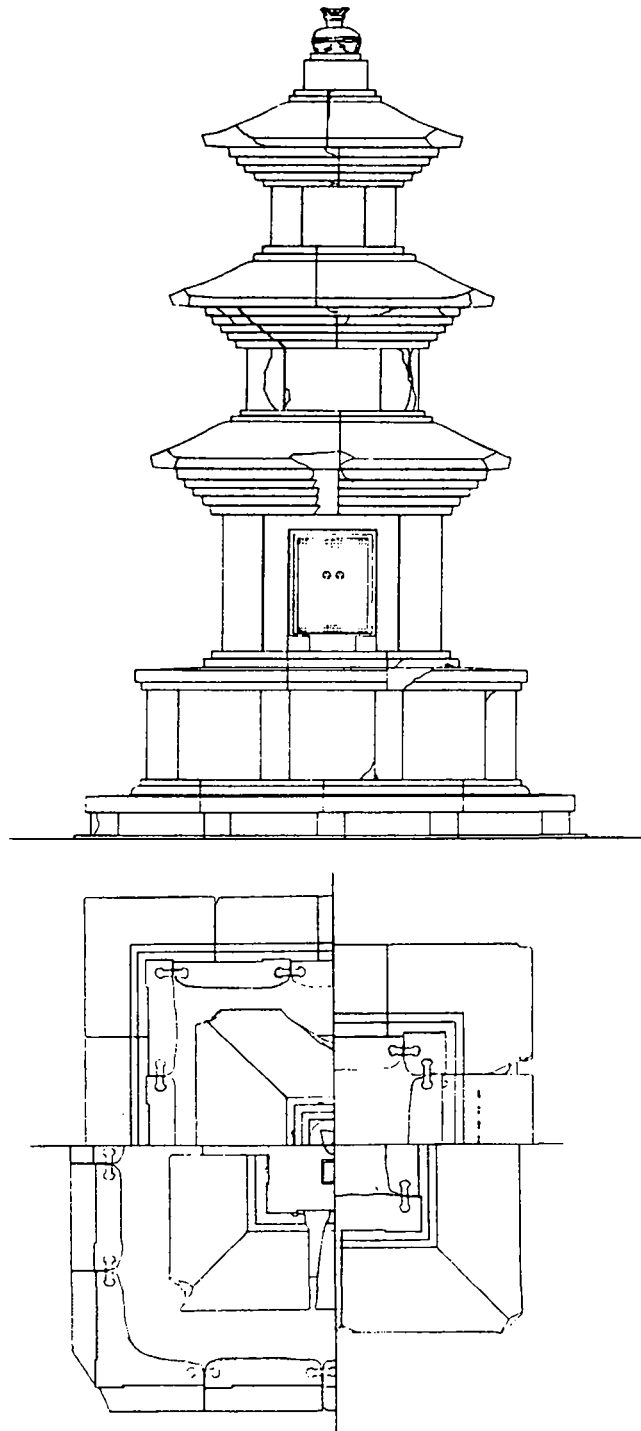


Fig. 632: Six partial plans and elevation of the stone pagoda of Ko-sŏn-sa 高仙寺 고선사 (late 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 100) (after: MHCKLG (1977), pl. 41, 44)

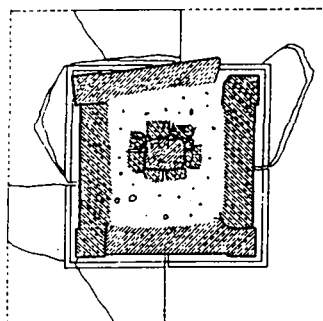
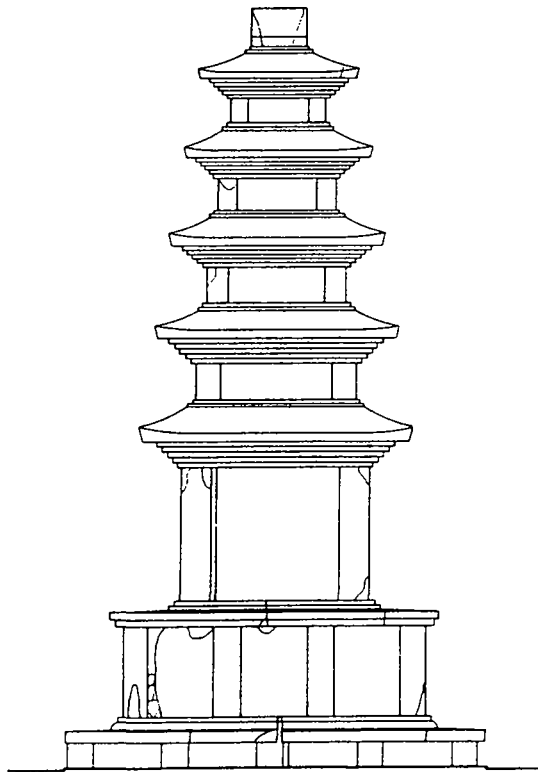


Fig. 633: Plan of the first story and elevation of the stone pagoda of Na-wŏn-sa 羅原寺 나원사 (late 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 100) (after: *HGŭK KC* 7, p. 24, 32)



Tables 44 to 46 list most known examples of the first three categories (A to C):

### A. Pure brick pagodas

number <sup>1</sup>	name	no. of stories	height	attributed date <sup>2</sup>
7.23.1.	Song-rim-sa five-storied brick pagoda <sup>3</sup>	5	16.13m	9th C. AD
7.9.2.	Böb-hüng-sa seven-storied brick pagoda <sup>4</sup>	7	14.6m	8th C. AD
7.8.3.	Cho-tab-ri five-storied brick pagoda <sup>5</sup>	5	8.65m	mid-Unified Sin-la
7.9.3.	Böb-rim-sa five-storied brick pagoda <sup>6</sup>	5, originally 7 ?	8.35m	Unified Sin-la
1.18.3.	Sin-rük-sa multi-storied brick pagoda <sup>7</sup>	6	9.4m	~760 AD / Ko-ryö
7.8.4	Hwa-in-sa multi-storied brick pagoda <sup>8</sup>	4, originally 5 ?	4.66m	mid Unified Sin-la
7.30.8.	Bul-yöng-sa brick pagoda (Sa-bul-tab) <sup>9</sup>	? (ruined)	?	?
7.8.5.	Chang-ki-dong brick pagoda <sup>10</sup>	? (ruined)	?	?
7.8.2.	Kæ-mok-sa brick pagoda <sup>11</sup>	? (ruined)	?	?
7.30.4.	Un-mun-sa Chak-ab-chön <sup>12</sup>	? (ruined)	?	?

Table 44: Pure brick pagodas in South Korea

<sup>1</sup> The numbers correspond to the temple list. See: Appendix 3.

<sup>2</sup> These are the dates which figure most frequently in the specialized literature.

<sup>3</sup> Song-rim-sa five-storied brick pagoda 松林寺五層磚塔 승림사오층전탑. See above, pp. 876ff.

<sup>4</sup> Böb-hüng-sa seven-storied brick pagoda 法興寺七層磚塔 법흥사칠층전탑. See below, pp. 905ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cho-tab-ri five-storied brick pagoda 造塔里五層磚塔 조탑리오층전탑. See below, pp. 912ff.

<sup>6</sup> Böb-rim-sa five-storied brick pagoda 法林寺五層磚塔 법림사오층전탑. See below, pp. 908ff.

<sup>7</sup> Sin-rük-sa multi-storied brick pagoda 神勸寺多層磚塔 신독사다층전탑. See below, pp. 910f.

<sup>8</sup> Hwa-in-sa multi-storied brick pagoda 化人寺多層磚塔 화인사다층전탑 (No. 7.8.4).

See below, p. 910.

<sup>9</sup> Bul-yöng-sa brick pagoda 佛靈寺破磚塔 불영사파전탑 (No. 7.30.8.) Sa-bul-tab 四佛塔 사불탑.

<sup>10</sup> Chang-ki-dong brick pagoda 場基洞磚塔 장기동전탑 (No. 7.8.5.).

See: CHIN Hong-söb 秦弘燮 진홍섭 (1997), pp. 348f.

<sup>11</sup> Kæ-mok-sa brick pagoda 開目寺磚塔 개목사전탑.

See: CHIN Hong-söb 秦弘燮 진홍섭 (1997), pp. 104f.

<sup>12</sup> Un-mun-sa Chak-ab-chön chan-tab-chæ 雲門寺鵲鴨殿殘塔材 운문사작업전탑재.

See: KIM Hí-kyöng 金禧庚 김희경 (1971, 1986), p. 31, appendix.

## B. Brick-like stone pagodas which imitate a brick structure

number	name	no. of stories	height	attributed date
7.34.1.	Bun-hwang-sa brick-like stone pagoda <sup>1</sup>	3, originally 9	9.3m	634 AD
7.14.1.	Bong-kam-dong brick-like stone pagoda <sup>2</sup>	5	11.295m	Unified Sin-la / Ko-ryō
7.14.2.	Hyōn-i-dong brick-like stone pagoda <sup>3</sup>	5	7m	Unified Sin-la
7.14.3.	Sam-chi-dong brick-like stone pagoda <sup>4</sup>	2, originally 3	3.6 ~ 4m	?
7.8.6.	Dæ-sa-dong brick-like stone pagoda <sup>5</sup>	2	3m	?
7.21.-.	Nam-san-dong brick-like stone pagoda <sup>6</sup>	?	?	?
3.5.1.	Chang-rak-ri brick-like stone pagoda <sup>7</sup>	7	9.1m	Ko-ryō
2.16.1.	Chōng-am-sa Su-ma-no-tab <sup>8</sup>	7	9m	Cho-sōn
3.4.6.	Kyo-ri brick-like stone pagoda <sup>9</sup>	1, originally 7	1.14m	?
7.2.7.	Sang-byōng-ri pagoda <sup>10</sup>	?	?	?

Table 45: Brick-like stone pagodas which imitate a brick structure in South Korea

- <sup>1</sup> Bun-hwang-sa brick-like stone pagoda 芬皇寺模磚石塔 분황사모전석탑. See above, pp. 848ff.
- <sup>2</sup> Bong-kam-dong brick-like stone pagoda 鳳甘洞五層模磚石塔 봉감동오층모전석탑 (var. 奉甘洞五層模磚石塔 봉감동오층모전석탑). See below, pp. 914ff.
- <sup>3</sup> Hyōn-i-dong brick-like stone pagoda 縣二洞五層模磚石塔 현이오층모전석탑. See below, pp. 918f.
- <sup>4</sup> Sam-chi-dong brick-like stone pagoda 三池洞模磚石塔 삼지동모전석탑. KIM has: 5 stories with a height of 3.6m. See below; KIM Hí-kyōng 金禧庚 김희경 (1971, 1986), appendix.
- <sup>5</sup> Dæ-sa-dong brick-like stone pagoda 大寺洞模磚石塔 대사동모전석탑 (No. 7.8.6.). See: CHIN Hong-sōb 秦弘燮 진홍섭 (1997), pp. 94, 398ff.
- <sup>6</sup> Nam-san-dong brick-like stone pagoda 南山洞模磚石塔 남산동모전석탑. Location: Kyōng-sang-buk-do 慶尙北道 경상북도, Kun-wi-gun 軍威郡 군위군 [fig. 693 (21)], Bu-kye-myōn 缶溪面 부계면, Nam-san-dong 南山洞 남산동. See: CHIN Hong-sōb 秦弘燮 진홍섭 (1997), p. 93.
- <sup>7</sup> Chang-rak-ri seven-storied brick-like stone pagoda 長樂里七層模磚石塔 장락리칠층모전석탑. See below, p. 919.
- <sup>8</sup> Chōng-am-sa seven-storied brick-like stone pagoda 淨巖寺七層模磚石塔 정암사칠층모전석탑 Su-ma-no-tab 水瑪瑙塔 수마노탑. See below, pp. 919f.
- <sup>9</sup> Kyo-ri brick-like stone pagoda 校里模磚石塔 교리모전석탑 (No. 3.4.6.). See: CHIN Hong-sōb 秦弘燮 진홍섭 (1997), pp. 93, 401f.
- <sup>10</sup> Sang-byōng-ri pagoda 上丙里模磚石塔 상병리모전석탑 (No. 7.2.7.). See: CHIN Hong-sōb 秦弘燮 진홍섭 (1997), pp. 94ff.

## C. Brick-like stone pagodas which have the shape of a stone pagoda

number	name	no. of stories	height	attributed date
7.7.4.	Tab-ri five-storied stone pagoda <sup>1</sup>	5	9.56m	late 7th C. AD
7.7.3.	Bing-san-sa five-storied stone pagoda <sup>2</sup>	5	8.15m	Unified Sin-la / Ko-ryō
7.22.4.	Chuk-chang-sa five-storied stone pagoda <sup>3</sup>	5	~ 11.2m	late 8th C. AD
7.22.-.	Nak-san-dong three-storied stone pagoda <sup>4</sup>	3	8m	Unified Sin-la
7.33.12.	Nam-san Yong-chang-kye pagoda No. 48 <sup>5</sup>	3	4.8m	?
7.33.19.	O-ya-ri three-storied stone pagoda <sup>6</sup>	3	2.5m	Unified Sin-la
7.34.13.	Nam-san-dong eastern stone pagoda <sup>7</sup>	3	7.04m	9th C. AD?
7.34.28.	Sō-ak-dong three-storied stone pagoda <sup>8</sup>	3	5.07m	late Unified Sin-la
7.8.-.	Ha-ri-dong three-storied stone pagoda <sup>9</sup>	3	3.35m	Ko-ryō
3.9.3.	Yōng-ha-ri five-storied stone pagoda <sup>10</sup>	5 (ruined)	?	?
6.9.3.	Un-chu-sa pagoda No. 6 <sup>11</sup>	2 + 1	2.83m	Ko-ryō
6.9.3.	Un-chu-sa pagoda No. 7 <sup>12</sup>	4	4.29m	Ko-ryō
6.19.2.	Wōl-nam-sa stone pagoda <sup>13</sup>	4	3.5m	12th C. AD / Ko-ryō

Table 46: Brick-like stone pagodas which have the shape of a stone pagoda in South Korea

- 1 Tab-ri five-storied stone pagoda 塔里五層石塔 탐리오층석탑. See below, pp. 921ff.
- 2 Bing-san-sa five-storied stone pagoda 氷山寺五層石塔 방산사오층석탑. See below, pp. 925f.
- 3 Chuk-chang-sa five-storied stone pagoda 竹杖寺五層石塔 죽장사오층석탑. See below, pp. 927ff.
- 4 Nak-san-dong three-storied stone pagoda 柘山洞三層石塔 낙산동삼층석탑. See below, p. 932.
- 5 Nam-san Yong-chang-kye pagoda No. 48 南山茸長溪三層石塔 남산용장계삼층석탑. See below, p. 936.
- 6 O-ya-ri three-storied stone pagoda 吾也里三層石塔 오야리삼층석탑 (No. 7.33.19.). See: CHIN Hong-sōb 秦弘燮 진홍섭 (1997), pp. 100f., 398f.
- 7 Nam-san-dong eastern stone pagoda 南山洞東三層石塔 남산동동삼층석탑. See below, pp. 933ff.
- 8 Sō-ak-dong three-storied stone pagoda 西岳洞三層石塔 서악동삼층석탑. See below, pp. 936f.
- 9 Ha-ri-dong three-storied stone pagoda 下里洞三層石塔 하리동삼층석탑. Location: Kyōng-sang-buk-do 慶尙北道 경상북도, An-dong-gun 安東郡 안동군 [fig. 693 (8)], Pung-san-myōn 豊山面 풍산면, Ha-ri-dong 下里洞 하리동. See: CHIN Hong-sōb 秦弘燮 진홍섭 (1997), p. 102, 375, 377.
- 10 Yōng-ha-ri five-storied stone pagoda 靈下里五層石塔 영하리오층석탑 (No. 3.9.3.). See: CHIN Hong-sōb 秦弘燮 진홍섭 (1997), p. 102.
- 11 Un-chu-sa pagoda No. 6 雲住寺石塔 No. 6 온주사석탑 No. 6. Location: Hwa-sun-gun 和順郡 화순군 [fig. 692 (9)], Do-am-myōn 道巖面 도암면, Ha-ri-dong 下里洞 하리동. See: Chōn-nam National University 全南大學校 전남대학교 (ed.) (1991), p. 182f., 225ff., 275f.
- 12 Un-chu-sa pagoda No. 7 雲住寺石塔 No. 7 온주사석탑 No. 7. See above, n. 11.
- 13 Wōl-nam-sa stone pagoda 月南寺模塼石塔 월남사모전석탑. This pagoda seems to be more closely related to the Bæk-che-style stone pagodas which were constructed in the Hu-bæk-che 後百濟 후백제 (892 - 936 AD) and Ko-ryō 高麗 고려 (936 - 1392 AD) periods in the ancient territory of Bæk-che than to the Sin-la pagodas. See: CHIN Hong-sōb 秦弘燮 진홍섭 (1995), p. 234f.; CHIN Hong-sōb 秦弘燮 진홍섭 (1997), p. 102; CHON Dūk-yōm 千得瑛 천득염 (1990). See below, p. 941.

Except the pagodas of Bun-hwang-sa and Song-rim-sa which have already been discussed, the following pagodas are sufficiently documented thus allowing a deeper analysis:

- category A: - Bŏb-hŭng-sa seven-storied brick pagoda  
 - Cho-tab-ri five-storied brick pagoda  
 - Bŏb-rim-sa five-storied brick pagoda
- category B: - Bong-kam-dong brick-like five-storied stone pagoda  
 - Chŏng-am-sa Su-ma-no-tab
- category C: - Tab-ri five-storied stone pagoda  
 - Bing-san-sa five-storied stone pagoda  
 - Chuk-chang-sa five-storied stone pagoda  
 - Nam-san Yong-chang-kye stone pagoda No. 48  
 - Nam-san-dong eastern three-storied stone pagoda  
 - Sŏ-ak-dong three-storied stone pagoda  
 - Ha-ri-dong three-storied stone pagoda  
 - Un-mun-sa pagodas No. 6 and 7  
 - Wŏl-nam-sa pagoda

Six of these pagodas, as main representatives of the three categories, will be described in detail below:

- category A: - Bŏb-hŭng-sa seven-storied brick pagoda  
 - Cho-tab-ri five-storied brick pagoda
- category B: - Bong-kam-dong brick-like five-storied stone pagoda
- category C: - Tab-ri five-storied stone pagoda  
 - Chuk-chang-sa five-storied stone pagoda  
 - Nam-san-dong eastern three-storied stone pagoda

## 4.2.5.2. THE SEVEN-STORIED BRICK PAGODA OF BÖB-HŪNG-SA

The site of the seven-storied brick pagoda of Bōb-hūng-sa<sup>1</sup>, the tallest extant brick pagoda in Korea, lies about 1.4km to the east-northeast of the modern railway station of the city of An-dong in northern Kyōng-sang province<sup>2</sup>. The pagoda is trapped between the Chung-ang-sōn<sup>3</sup> railway to the south and an important residential complex of traditional architecture of a noble family of the Cho-sōn period<sup>4</sup> to the north. There is thus little hope that the layout of the temple might be excavated in the near future. The original natural landscape must have been rather propitious for a temple founding according to the rules of geomancy. The Nak-dong<sup>5</sup> river flows from northeast to southwest only about 100m to the southeast of the pagoda site and to the back of the pagoda there is a small hill which is about 100m high.

The name of the temple is recorded in the *Sin-chūng-dong-guk-yō-chi-sūng-ram*<sup>6</sup> and other historical texts<sup>7</sup> but the early history of the temple seems to be lost. The claim by Korean specialists<sup>8</sup> that this pagoda was built in the eighth century AD, seems therefore to be based on the style of the reliefs of the platform of the pagoda. The pagoda is recorded to have been repaired in 1381, 1487, 1919 and 1956 AD.

<sup>1</sup> Bōb-hūng-sa 法興寺 법흥사 (No. 7.9.2).

<sup>2</sup> An-dong 安東 안동 [fig. 693 (9)], Kyōng-sang-buk-do 慶尙北道 경상북도.

<sup>3</sup> Chung-ang-sōn 中央線 중앙선.

<sup>4</sup> The main residence of the Ko-sōng Yi clan 固城李氏宗宅 고성이씨종택 (Important Folklore Material 重要民俗資料 중요민속자료 No. 185) includes also the Im-chōng-gak 臨濟閣 君子亭 임청각 군자정 (Treasure 寶物 보물 No. 182).

<sup>5</sup> Nak-dong-kang 洛東江 낙동강.

<sup>6</sup> See: *SCDGYCSR*, p. 406.

<sup>7</sup> See: KWON Sang-ro 權相老 권상로 (1979), p. 461.

<sup>8</sup> See: *HGŭM* 9, p. 249.

Table 47 resumes the main measurements of the pagoda:

number of stories	7
total height <sup>1</sup>	~ 14.6m (~ 14.3m)
general angle	~ 84°
general proportion	1 : 4.12

	1st story	2nd story	3rd story	4th story	5th story	6th story	7th story
1. story height	~ 2.16m + b. ~ 2.3m	~ 0.54m	~ 0.48m	~ 0.42m	~ 0.36m	~ 0.30m	~ 0.24m
2. bracket height	~ 0.66m	~ 0.60m	~ 0.54m	~ 0.48m	~ 0.42m	~ 0.42m	~ 0.18m
3. roof height	~ 0.84m	~ 0.78m	~ 0.72m	~ 0.66m	~ 0.60m	~ 0.42m	~ 0.18m + f. ~ 0.3m
4. body width	3.47m base: 5.86m	~ 3.07m	~ 2.82m	~ 2.49m	~ 2.21m	~ 1.96m	~ 1.63m
5. eaves width	~ 4.58m	~ 4.18m	~ 3.90m	~ 3.49m	~ 3.15m	~ 2.77m	~ 2.09m
6. roof gradient	~ 44°	~ 44.5°	~ 40°	~ 37°	~ 36°	~ 35°	~ 18°
7. bracket angle	~ 47.5°	~ 46.5°	~ 44°	~ 45°	~ 39°	~ 40°	~ 42°
8. body proportion	1 : 1.61 b. 1 : 2.55	1 : 5.69	1 : 5.88	1 : 5.93	1 : 6.14	1 : 6.53	1 : 6.79
9. width proportion	1 : 1.32	1 : 1.36	1 : 1.38	1 : 1.40	1 : 1.43	1 : 1.41	1 : 1.28
10. height propor.	1.44 : 1	1 : 2.56	1 : 2.63	1 : 2.71	1 : 2.83	1 : 2.8	1 : 1.5

Table 47: Main measurements of the seven-storied brick pagoda of Bōb-hŭng-sa 法興寺 법흥사

The pagoda stands on a quite high platform whose upper part has been stabilized with cement in the early twentieth century [fig. 634]. The lower half of the platform is decorated with stone reliefs of heavenly kings and supernatural beings<sup>2</sup>. Each side features six panels with reliefs except the southern side whose central two panels were replaced by a stair. KIM Hí-kyōng<sup>3</sup> has noticed that the reliefs are of uneven quality so that some of them probably date to a later period. It can even be questioned if any of them belonged to the original construction because the assembly of twenty-two *devas* have no parallels at other Korean pagodas. Eight such reliefs decorate usually the sides of the second step of the platform of the

<sup>1</sup> The first measurement is the total height including the extant parts of the finial, the second omits the finial parts.

<sup>2</sup> *Sa-chōn-wang* 四天王 사천왕, *pal-bu-chung* 八部衆 팔부중.

<sup>3</sup> See: KIM Hí-kyōng 金禧庚 김희경 (1971, 1986), p. 134.

typical Unified Sin-la stone pagodas after the eighth century AD. It is thus possible that the panels were collected from several ruined stone pagodas and re-used here during a repair. The style of the reliefs are therefore an uncertain indication of the date of the construction of the pagoda. The shape of the original platform seems to be difficult to reconstruct.

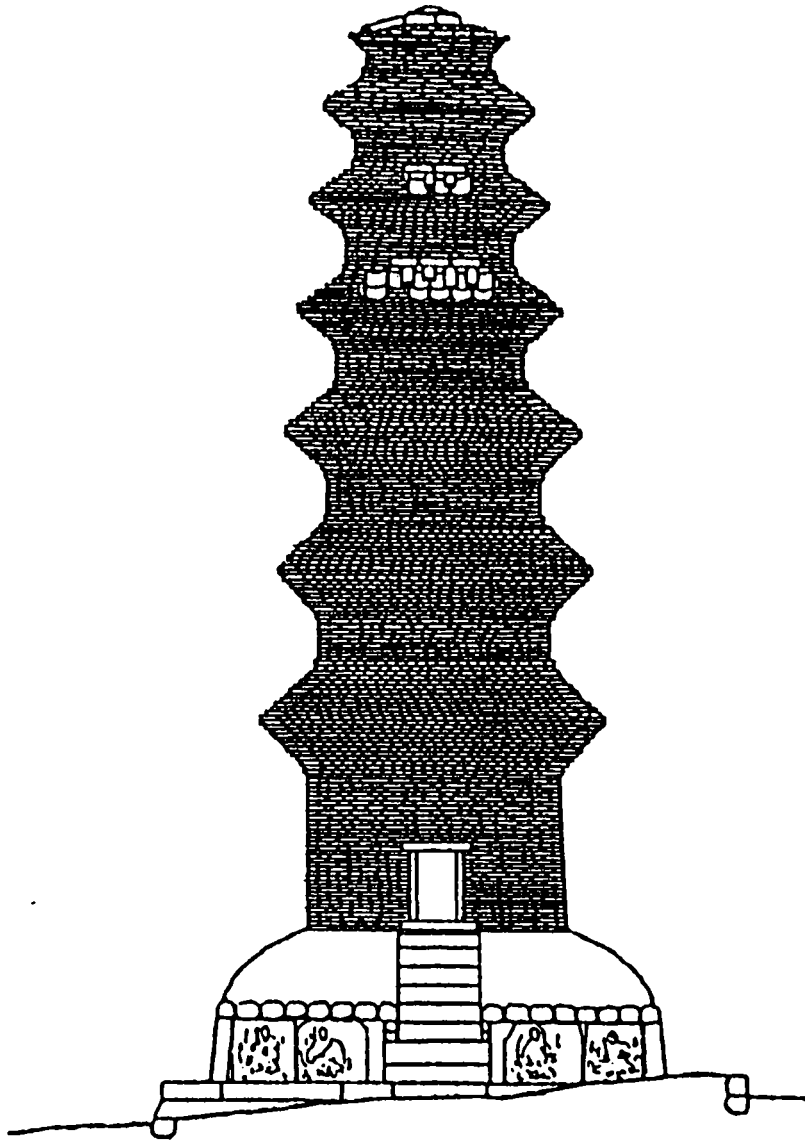


Fig. 634: Southern elevation of the brick pagoda of Bōb-hūng-sa 法興寺 법흥사  
(Ancient Sin-la ?, later reconstructions, scale: 1 : 100) (after: *KCZS* 1934.7., p. 3)

The lowest story features a door, 54cm wide and 98cm high in its southern side which leads to a square interior space which is about 2m high and whose sides measure about 1.65m. The walls of the interior space are made of bricks. The roof is formed by corbelled brick layers which form a pyramid. FUJIYAMA<sup>1</sup> indicated that a square shaft, about 48cm wide, continued above the centre of the niche through the upper stories of the pagoda. He supposed that this shaft provided the space for a central column which formed the finial on top of the pagoda both of which have disappeared.

The structure of the outer walls and roofs is similar to those of the pagoda of Song-rim-sa with the exception that the first and last steps, as well as the eaves of the roofs are formed of two layers of brick instead of one layer as at the pagoda of Song-rim-sa. The bodies and roofs decrease by one layer from one story to the next except for the body of the first story which is obviously much larger than the bodies of the upper stories, and for the roof of the last story which seems to be incomplete. Some of the stories feature roof tiles which are attached with mortar to the bricks of the upper part of the roof. KIM Hí-kyŏng<sup>2</sup> seems to think that all the roofs of the pagoda were originally covered with tiles. But considering the fact that the earliest brick pagodas in China<sup>3</sup> do not feature tile roofs, it seems more probable to me that the tiles were added during a later period to limit the damage done by water infiltration.

As in most brick structures, it is difficult to affirm that the extant structure is exactly the same as the original one, because the mortar which held the bricks together disintegrates as the centuries pass by, so that repeated repairs or reconstructions are necessary during which much of the aspect of the pagoda can be changed. The well-built interior space of this pagoda, however, seems to hint at the possibility that the lower stories of the pagoda retain much of their original shape.

There are unfortunately no clear indications for the date of construction of the pagoda of Bŏb-hŭng-sa. The attributed date of the eighth century AD seems to be speculative and there is no evidence which would prevent it from being dated to the later part of Ancient Sin-la if a general theory of the development of brick pagodas in Korea suggested such a date.

The five-storied brick pagoda of Bŏb-rim-sa<sup>4</sup> is also located in the city of Andong [fig. 635]. It seems that the pagoda was originally seven stories high<sup>5</sup> but it was reconstructed at an unknown time with the extant five stories. The gilt-bronze

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<sup>1</sup> See: *KCZS* 1934. 7., p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> See: KIM Hí-kyŏng 金禧庚 김희경 (1971, 1986), p. 134.

<sup>3</sup> See: LUO Zhewen 羅哲文 락철문 (1994), pp. 136, 163, 188, 209ff.

<sup>4</sup> Bŏb-rim-sa 法林寺 법림사 (No. 7.9.3.).

<sup>5</sup> See: *CPS* 9, p. 2, 223.



finial was reportedly removed from the pagoda in 1598 AD by a certain Myŏng-chang<sup>1</sup>. From 1799 AD on, at the latest, the temple is known to have been abandoned<sup>2</sup>. The pagoda was further damaged during the Korean War (1950 - 1953 AD) and restored in 1962 AD<sup>3</sup>. A pair of stone flagpole supports<sup>4</sup> in the vicinity of the pagoda probably belonged also to the temple.

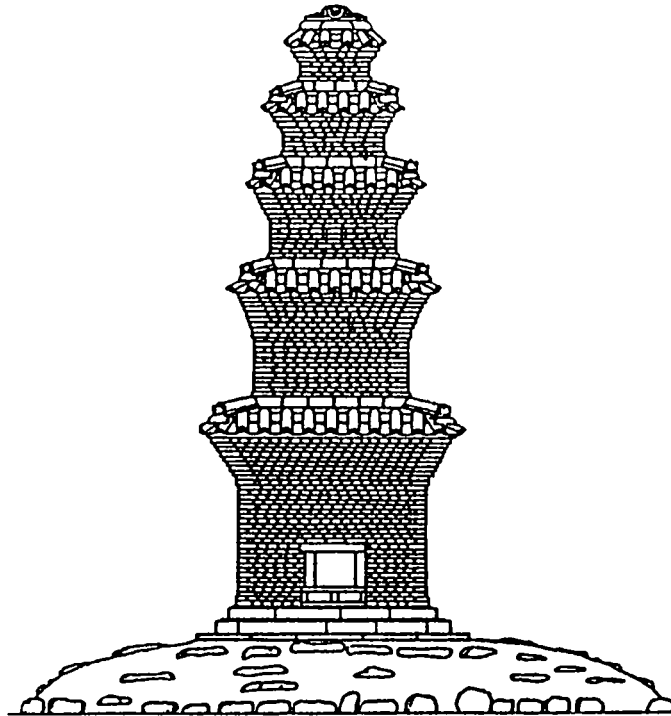


Fig. 635: Southern elevation of the brick pagoda of Bŏb-rim-sa 法林寺 법림사 (Ancient Sin-la ?, later reconstructions, scale: 1 : 100) (after: *KCZS* 1934.7., p. 3)

<sup>1</sup> Myŏng-chang 明將 명장. See: KIM Hŭ-kyŏng 金禮庚 김희경 (1971, 1986), p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> This is the date of the edition of the *Bŏm-u-ko* 「梵宇攷 범우고」 which lists the temple as ruined. See: *SCSC*, p. 217.

<sup>3</sup> See: *CPS* 9, p. 223.

<sup>4</sup> They are about 5m high and date to the Unified Sin-la period. See: *CPS* 9, p. 223; *KCZS* 1934.7., p. 4.

The pagoda stands on a three-stepped granite base. The southern side of the first story features a small niche but the door frame does not seem to be the original one. The bracket part of the roofs are constructed in the same way as those of the pagoda of Böb-hüng-sa. The cover part of the roofs are entirely covered with roof tiles. A relief with two Tang-style Vajrapāṇis is inserted in the southern side of the body of the second story. Small square holes are placed in the centre of several sides of the bodies of the second and third stories. Only one stone fragment of the base of the finial is still extant on top of the pagoda.

It is not clear to which extent the reconstructions changed the general shape of the pagoda. The fact that the bracket parts are steeper than in the other known brick pagodas (on average 60° compared to about 45° for the other brick pagodas) and that the general angle is broken at the third story are an indication of a reconstruction. It is thus questionable if the extant pagoda can be called a Sin-la structure. Maybe only the construction techniques and the general size of the pagoda can be dated back to the founding period which might be approximately contemporary with that of Böb-hüng-sa.

The brick pagodas of Hwa-in-sa<sup>1</sup> and Sin-rük-sa<sup>2</sup> [fig. 636] do not provide much additional information for the brick pagodas of Sin-la. The pagoda of Hwa-in-sa is so heavily damaged that its particular characteristics are difficult to distinguish. Four stories of the supposed original five were still partially extant in 1960 AD<sup>3</sup>. It seems to have been much smaller than the other brick pagodas from the An-dong area as the sides of the first story measured only about 1.22m. The brick pagoda of Sin-rük-sa is usually dated to the Ko-ryō period. The roofs are almost inexistent as the bracket parts consist of only two or one step in addition to the step of the eaves. The base of the pagoda forms a multi-stepped square pyramid reminiscent of the stone pagoda of Do-ri-sa<sup>4</sup> which is also dated to Ko-ryō. As Sin-rük-sa was allegedly founded during the Sin-la period, it is not excluded that the Ko-ryō pagoda is actually a reconstruction of an earlier brick pagoda. This assumption is plausible because no other brick pagoda is known from the Ko-ryō period.

<sup>1</sup> Hwa-in-sa 化人寺 화인사 (No. 7.8.4.) also called: Güm-kye-dong multi-storied brick pagoda 錦溪洞多層塔 금계동다층전탑. See: CHIN Hong-sōb 秦弘燮 진홍섭 (1997), pp. 485 - 491.

<sup>2</sup> Sin-rük-sa 神勒寺 신록사 (No. 1.18.3.). ECKARDT dates the pagoda to 760 AD but this is probably a mistake. See: *HGüM* 9, pl. 145; CHIN Hong-sōb 秦弘燮 진홍섭 (1997), pp. 400ff.; KIM Hí-kyōng 金禧庚 김희경 (1971, 1986), pp. 138f.; *CPS* 2, p. 60, 239; ECKARDT (1929), pp. 59f., pl. XXXVIII.

<sup>3</sup> The photographs by CHIN were published in that year. The author did not have the opportunity to check the present condition of the structure. See: CHIN Hong-sōb 秦弘燮 진홍섭 (1997), pp. 487f.

<sup>4</sup> Do-ri-sa 桃里寺 도리사 (No. 7.22.1.). See above and *HGüM* 9, pl. 111.

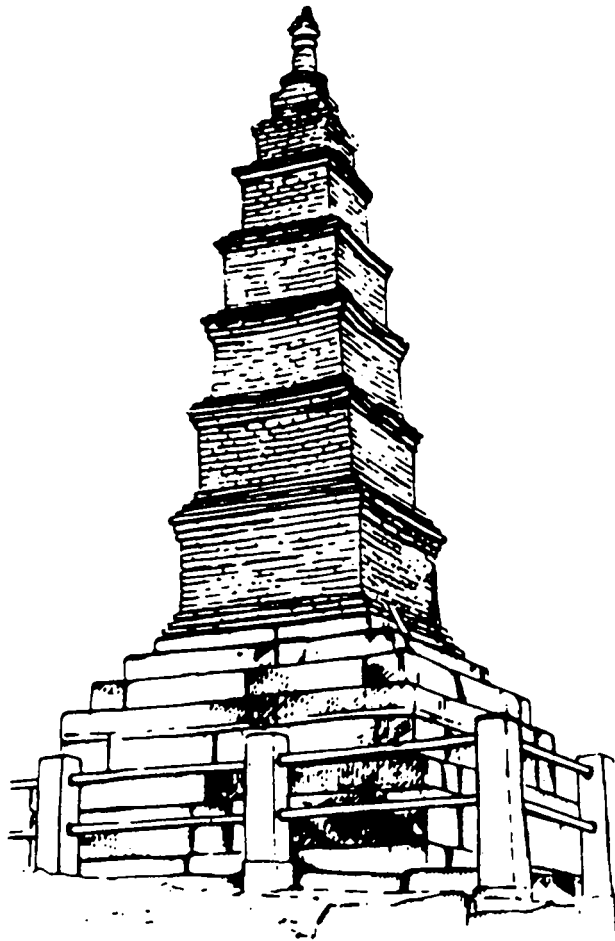


Fig. 636: Perspective of the brick pagoda of Sin-rük-sa 神勒寺 신륙사  
(Ancient Sin-la / Ko-ryŏ ?, later reconstructions) (after: KEILHAUER (1986), p. 227)

## 4.2.5.3. THE FIVE-STORIED BRICK PAGODA OF CHO-TAB-RI

The pagoda at Cho-tab-ri<sup>1</sup> lies about 13km to the southwest of the centre of modern An-dong on the national road leading to Kyŏng-chu. Neither the name of the temple which once stood around the pagoda nor the date of construction of the pagoda are known.

The body of the first story of the pagoda is exceptionally made of stone and the brick structure starts only with the brackets of the first roof [fig. 637]. The pagoda stands on five small steps carved into granite blocks which are placed on an earthen platform. The southern side of the first story has a door which is flanked by two Vajrapānis<sup>2</sup> whose carving is reminiscent of the Tang style. The door leads to a square interior space which is empty at present. The door frame is decorated with a simple moulding.

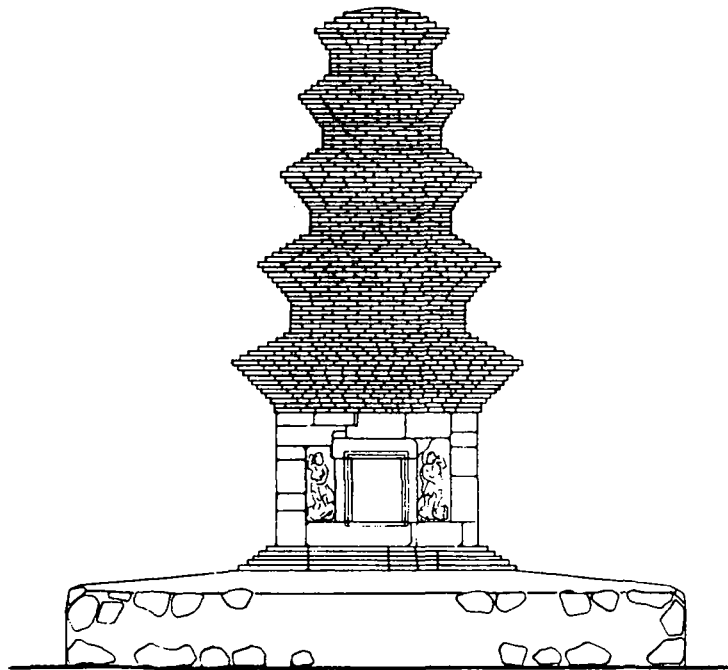


Fig. 637: Southern elevation of the stone and brick pagoda at Cho-tab-ri 造塔里 조탑리 (mid-7th C. AD ?, later repairs, scale: 1 : 100) (drawing by the author)

<sup>1</sup> Cho-tab-ri 造塔里 조탑리 (No. 7.8.3.). See: *HGŪM* 9, pl. 141f., p. 250.

<sup>2</sup> Vajrapānis: Gŭm-gang-yŏk-sa 金剛力士금강역사 or In-wang 仁王인왕, protection deities.

The upper brick part of the pagoda resembles the structure of the Song-rim-sa and Bōb-hūng-sa brick pagodas. The first step of the brackets of the first story is two layer of brick high as the pagoda of Bōb-hūng-sa but all the other steps have single brick layer as the pagoda of Song-rim-sa. The fifth story has probably been altered as the number of layers of the body and the roof do not continue in the same rhythm as the lower stories.

Table 48 resumes the approximate measurements of the pagoda which I have reconstructed from photographs.

number of stories	5
total height <sup>1</sup>	8.65m (~ 7.3m)
general angle	~ 77.5°
general proportion <sup>2</sup>	~ 1 : 3.3 (~ 1 : 2.75)

	1st story	2nd story	3rd story	4th story	5th story
1. story height	~ 1.75m + b. 1.35m + 0.25m	~ 0.42m	~ 0.36m	~ 0.3m	~ 0.36m
2. bracket height	~ 0.6m	~ 0.42m	~ 0.42m	~ 0.36m	~ 0.18m
3. roof height	~ 0.42m	~ 0.42m	~ 0.36m	~ 0.30m	~ 0.24m
4. body width	~ 2.65m base: ~ 8m	~ 2.3m	~ 1.85m	~ 1.55m	~ 1.3m
5. eaves width	~ 3.8m	~ 3.2m	~ 2.6m	~ 2.15m	~ 1.75m
6. roof gradient	~ 28°	~ 32°	~ 34°	~ 35°	~ 30°
7. bracket angle	~ 46°	~ 47°	~ 48°	~ 52°	~ 55°
8. body proportion	~ 1 : 1.5 b. ~ 1 : 5	~ 1 : 5.5	~ 1 : 5	~ 1 : 5	~ 1 : 3.5
9. width proportion	~ 1 : 1.45	~ 1 : 1.4	~ 1 : 1.4	~ 1 : 1.4	~ 1 : 1.35
10. height proportion	~ 1.7 : 1	~ 1 : 2	~ 1 : 2.2	~ 1 : 2.2	~ 1 : 1.2

Table 48: Main measurements of the five-storied brick pagoda of Cho-tab-ri 造塔里 조탑리

The pagoda at Cho-tab-ri is an important link for the understanding of the relation between brick and stone pagodas. It shows that the two structural systems can be combined in exceptional cases.

<sup>1</sup> The first measurement is the total height including the large base, the second omits the base (in brackets).

<sup>2</sup> The general proportion is the relation between the width of the lowest story and the total height of the pagoda (in brackets: without base).

#### 4.2.5.4. THE FIVE-STORIED BRICK-LIKE STONE PAGODA OF BONG-KAM-DONG

The stone pagoda at Bong-kam-dong<sup>1</sup> which lies about 28km to the east of Andong in a hilly region, has been restored and measured in 1988 by the Cultural Properties Research Institute<sup>2</sup>. As in the above-mentioned pagodas, it is not known when this pagoda was built, so its age is only indicated by Sin-la or Ko-ryŏ, a span of about one thousand years.

The brick-shaped rocks with which the pagoda is built are cut of sedimentary rock<sup>3</sup> [figs. 638 - 640]. The height of the stones varies between about 4cm for the stones of the eaves to about 27cm for the largest stones of the second story. This variation is much bigger than that of the stones of the pagoda of Bun-hwang-sa. The first story features a niche which is orientated towards the south. It is about 82cm wide, 1.46cm deep and 1.07m high. The door, measuring about 65cm by 90cm is framed by granite blocks which are decorated with a simple moulding similar to that of the brick pagoda at Cho-tab-ri.

The bodies of the upper stories of the pagoda are articulated into two parts. The lower part is formed of a layer of large stones on which two layers of thinner stones are placed so that they protrude slightly from the sides of the body. It seems that this particularity tries to represent the balconies of the upper stories of wooden pagodas such as those of Hōryū-ji [fig. 421] in Japan or of Fogong-si [fig. 147] in China<sup>4</sup>. The stone pagodas of Unified Sin-la do not usually have such 'balconies' but several stone pagodas of Ko-ryŏ<sup>5</sup> feature them. This would suggest that the pagoda was built during Ko-ryŏ but the moulding of the door frame and the niche hint rather at Sin-la. It is not excluded that the pagoda was first constructed around the time of the pagoda of Bun-hwang-sa and then reconstructed in its extant form during the Ko-ryŏ period.

<sup>1</sup> Bong-kam-dong 鳳甘洞 불감동 (No. 7.14.1.).

<sup>2</sup> Cultural Properties Research Institute 文化財管理局 문화재관리국. See: *MHCSRBS* 88, pp. 6 - 14.

<sup>3</sup> Su-sŏng-am 水成岩 수성암.

<sup>4</sup> Hōryū-ji 法隆寺 ほりゅうじ 법동사, Fogong-si 佛宮寺 불궁사. See: Chapter 2.3., p. 179; Chapter 3.3., p. 562.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. the stone pagoda of Sin-bok-sa 神福寺 신복사 (No. 2.18.1.) in Kang-rŭng 江陵 강릉 [fig. 688 (18)], Kang-wŏn-do 江原도 강원도 of early Ko-ryŏ 高麗 고려. See: *HGM* 9, pl. 99.

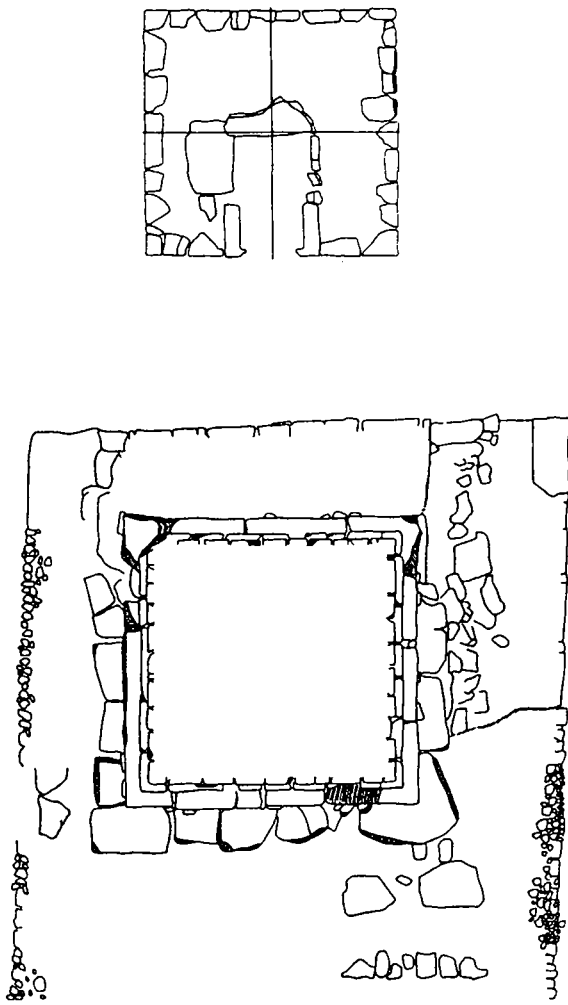


Fig. 638: Plan of the base and the first story of the brick-like stone pagoda at Bong-kam-dong  
鳳甘洞佛菴窟 (mid-7th C. AD ?, reconstruction in Ko-ryŏ, scale: 1 : 100)  
(after: *MHCSRBS* 88 - 2, pp. 9f.)

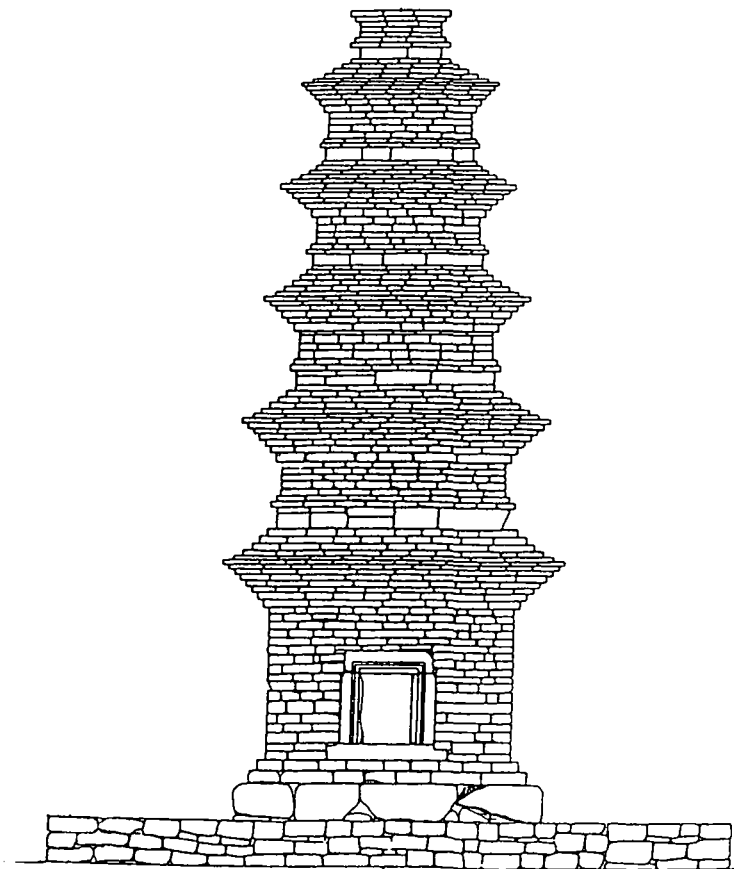


Fig. 639: Southern elevation of the brick-like stone pagoda at Bong-kam-dong 鳳甘洞 봉감동 (mid-7th C. AD?, reconstruction in Ko-ryŏ, scale: 1 : 100) (after: *MHCSRBS* 88 - 2, p. 13)



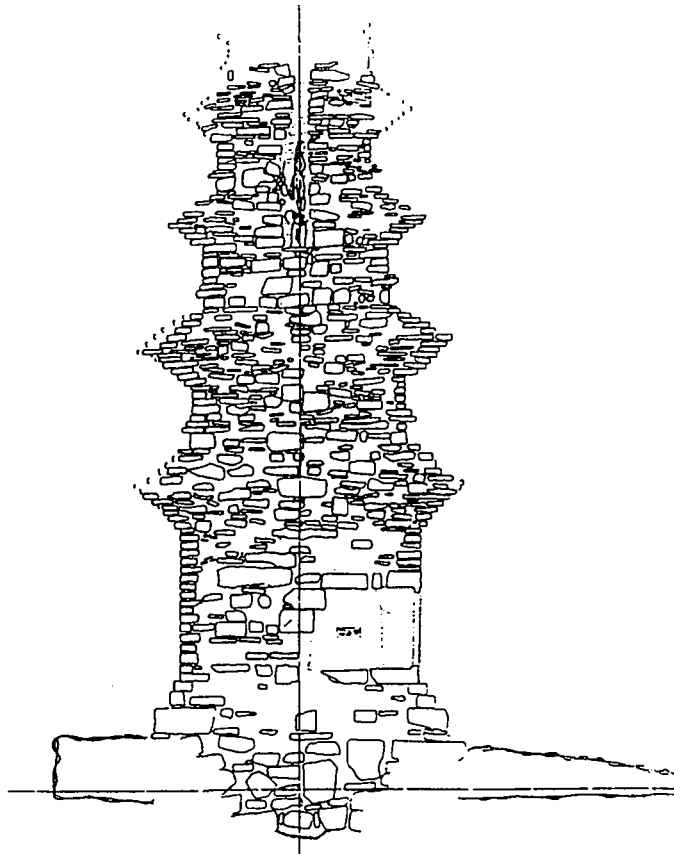


Fig. 640: North-south section of the brick-like stone pagoda at Bong-kam-dong 鳳甘洞 佛甘洞  
(mid-7th C. AD ?, reconstruction in Ko-ryŏ, scale: 1 : 100)  
(after: *MHCSRBS* 88 - 2, p. 12)

Table 49 resumes the main measurements of the stone pagoda at Bong-kam-dong according to the report by the Cultural Properties Research Institute<sup>1</sup>.

number of stories	5
total height <sup>2</sup>	11.295m / 10.645m
general angle	~ 83° / ~ 80°
general proportion	1 : 3.275

	1st story	2nd story	3rd story	4th story	5th story
1. story height	2.030m + b. 1.36m	0.875m	0.790m	0.690m	0.650m
2. bracket height	~ 0.635m	~ 0.58m	~ 0.46m	~ 0.44m	~ 0.395m
3. roof height	~ 0.435m	~ 0.36m	~ 0.34m	~ 0.30m	~ 0.305m + f. 0.650m
4. body width	~ 3.25m base: 4.11m	~ 2.97m	~ 2.55m	~ 2.15m	~ 1.89m
5. eaves width	~ 4.55m	~ 4.09m	~ 3.53m	~ 3.12m	~ 2.61m
6. roof gradient	~ 35°	~ 31°	~ 31°	~ 28.5°	~ 35°
7. bracket angle	~ 45°	~ 46.5°	~ 44°	~ 41.5°	~ 49°
8. body proportion	1 : 1.601 b. 1 : 3.022	1 : 3.394	1 : 3.228	1 : 3.116	1 : 2.908
9. width proportion	1 : 1.400	1 : 1.377	1 : 1.384	1 : 1.451	1 : 1.381
10. height proportion	1.897 : 1	1 : 1.074	1 : 1.013	1 : 1.072	1 : 1.077

Table 49: Main measurements of the five-storied brick-like stone pagoda at Bong-kam-dong 鳳甘洞 봉감동

Two other brick-like pagodas are located in the same county as the Bong-kam-dong pagoda. The Hyön-i-dong<sup>3</sup> pagoda which lies a little to the south of Yöng-yang is similar to the Bong-kam-dong pagoda both in size and general form. The door frames of the niche are decorated with honeysuckle foliage which CHIN Hong-söb<sup>4</sup> dates to the late Unified Sin-la or early Ko-ryö periods. KIM Hí-kyöng<sup>5</sup> places

<sup>1</sup> See: *MHCSRBS* 88 / 2, pp. 6 - 14.

<sup>2</sup> The first measurement is the total height including the extant parts of the finial, the second omits the finial parts.

<sup>3</sup> Hyön-i-dong 縣二洞 현이동 (No. 7.14.2.). See: CHIN Hong-söb 秦弘燮 진홍섭 (1997), pp. 91f., 406.

<sup>4</sup> See: CHIN Hong-söb 秦弘燮 진홍섭 (1997), p. 92.

<sup>5</sup> See: KIM Hí-kyöng 金禧庚 김희경 (1971, 1986), appendix.

the pagoda in the Unified Sin-la period without more precision. The two extant stories of the Sam-chi-dong<sup>1</sup> pagoda, to the east of Yǒng-yang stand on a natural rock. It is much smaller than the other two brick-like pagodas of Yǒng-yang. Six small Buddha figures were discovered on the floor of its niche which opened in the main side of the pagoda. CHIN Hong-sǒb<sup>2</sup> supposes that the pagoda originally had three stories and dates the structure to the early tenth century AD.

The Chang-rak-ri<sup>3</sup> seven-storied stone pagoda which is located about 2.5km to the northeast of the centre of Che-čhǒn City, Čhǒng-čhǒng North Province<sup>4</sup>, has been generally dated to the Ko-ryǒ period. Its particularity consist in the square granite columns which reinforce the corners of the first story. The first story features a niche whose door frame is formed of granite blocks without decoration.

Another important brick-like stone pagoda stands about 80m behind the Chǒk-myǒl-bo-kung of Chǒng-am-sa [fig. 641] in Chǒng-sǒn County, Kang-wǒn Province<sup>5</sup>, which was allegedly founded by Cha-chang Yul-sa<sup>6</sup> in 643 AD for part of the *śarīra* which he brought from China (see Chapter 4.1., pp. 715ff.). The Su-ma-no-tab<sup>7</sup> has been dated either to the Ko-ryǒ or the Cho-sǒn periods but it is probable that it was built on the site of an earlier pagoda of the Sin-la period. The pagoda is reported to have been repaired in 1770, 1778 and 1874 AD<sup>8</sup>. The extant pagoda resembles the brick pagoda of Song-rim-sa in spite of its different construction material. The whole pagoda is about 9m high and is thus smaller than the Song-rim-sa pagoda even with two additional stories. The pagoda stands on six stone steps reminiscent of the upper part of the base of the Sin-rǔk-sa brick pagoda [fig. 636]. The southern side features a granite door frame but no interior space exists today. The finial of the Su-ma-no-tab is complete and seems to date to the Cho-sǒn period because its form is closer to the finial of the Pal-sang-chǒn of Bǒb-chu-sa<sup>9</sup> [fig. 433] than to that of the pagoda of Song-rim-sa [fig. 617].

<sup>1</sup> Sam-chi-dong 三池洞 삼지동 (No. 7.14.3.) in Yǒng-yang-gun 英陽郡 영양군 [fig. 693 (14)]. See: CHIN Hong-sǒb 秦弘燮 진홍섭 (1995), pp. 237f.; CHIN Hong-sǒb 秦弘燮 진홍섭 (1997), pp. 92, 397f.

<sup>2</sup> See: CHIN Hong-sǒb 秦弘燮 진홍섭 (1995), pp. 238; CHIN Hong-sǒb 秦弘燮 진홍섭 (1997), p. 397.

<sup>3</sup> Chang-rak-ri 長樂里 장락리 (No. 3.5.1.). See: CHIN Hong-sǒb 秦弘燮 진홍섭 (1997), p. 93; *HGŭM* 9, pl. 122, pp. 245f.

<sup>4</sup> Čhǒng-čhǒng-buk-do 忠淸北道 충청북도, Che-čhǒn-si 堤川市 제천시 [fig. 689 (5)].

<sup>5</sup> Chǒk-myǒl-bo-kung 寂滅寶宮 적멸보궁, Chǒng-am-sa 淨巖寺 정암사 (No. 2.16.1.), Čhǒng-sǒn-gun 旌善郡 정선군 [fig. 688 (16)], Kang-wǒn-do 江原道 강원도.

<sup>6</sup> Cha-chang Yul-sa 慈藏律師 자장율사.

<sup>7</sup> Su-ma-no-tab 水瑪瑙塔 수마노탑. See: CHIN Hong-sǒb 秦弘燮 진홍섭 (1995), pp. 236f.; CHIN Hong-sǒb 秦弘燮 진홍섭 (1997), pp. 92f., 399f.; *HGŭM* 9, pl. 125, p. 246.

<sup>8</sup> See: *CPS* 3, p. 76, 190.

<sup>9</sup> Pal-sang-chǒn 捌相殿 팔상전, Bǒb-chu-sa 法住寺 법주사, No. 3.11.1. See: Chapter 3.3., pp. 578ff.

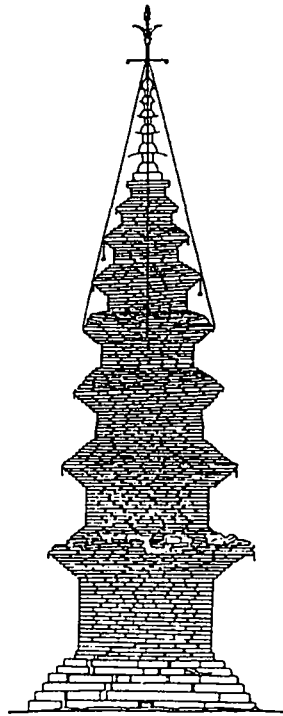


Fig. 641: Elevation of the brick-like stone pagoda of Chǒng-am-sa 淨巖寺 정암사 (mid-7th C. AD ?, reconstruction in Ko-ryŏ or Cho-sŏn, scale: 1 : 100) (after: CHANG Kyŏng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992), p. 259)

As in the case of brick pagodas, the brick-like pagoda type which imitates a brick structure needs regular repairs otherwise it risks collapse after two to three centuries. Collapsed pagodas might them have been reconstructed in later periods with characteristics proper to that period. The extant aspect of these pagodas does therefore not necessarily indicate the date of the first construction of the pagoda.

## 4.2.5.5. THE FIVE-STORIED STONE PAGODA AT TAB-RI

The small village of Tab-ri<sup>1</sup> lies in a hilly region approximately halfway between the cities of Yǒng-čhǒn and An-dong<sup>2</sup> on the national road linking An-dong with Kyǒng-chu. The local streams flow west-northwestwards until they reach the Nak-dong<sup>3</sup> River which flows southwards. Nowadays the pagoda is situated in the centre of the village on top of a small elevation. The name of the temple to which the pagoda belonged is not known and no other remains of the temple have been discovered so far at the site.

The pagoda is divided into a platform, a high first story and four low upper stories with their heavy roofs [figs. 642]. Because of the shadow of the roofs, the upper stories seem almost inexistent to the visitor. The visual effect can be almost compared to the thatched roofs of the temple towers (*meru*) of Bali<sup>4</sup> [fig. 643], though the roofs of the Tab-ri pagoda do not recede as much as these. In spite of the low upper stories, the pagoda is quite tall compared to the lengths of the sides of the first story, especially considering that the tower has only a simple base. On top of the last roof lies the *no-ban*<sup>5</sup> and a fragment of the *bok-bal*<sup>6</sup> is still extant. The other elements of the finial are missing today.

The pagoda stands on a low platform. The retaining walls have four posts at each side which stand on a row of base stones and give the effect of a structure of three by three bays. Side panels are placed between the posts and cover stones complete the platform. The bodies of the stories also feature posts but their number was reduced. The first story has only corner columns while the upper stories have an additional post in the centre of each side. The corner columns of the first story are slightly thinner at the top than at the base, a feature which has been called 'entasis' by some authors<sup>7</sup>. It is however more appropriate to call them simply tapered. In contrast to the posts of the platform which are independent, the columns of the bodies of the stories are usually carved from the same stone block as one of the side panels next to it.

<sup>1</sup> Tab-ri 塔里 탑리 (No. 7.7.5). The village obviously takes its name from this pagoda.

See: *MHCSRBS* 90 - 2, pp. 62 - 66; CHIN Hong-sǒb 秦弘燮 진홍섭 (1995), pp. 135ff.;

CHIN Hong-sǒb 秦弘燮 진홍섭 (1997), p. 97; *HGŭM* 9, pl. 5, p. 216.

<sup>2</sup> Yǒng-čhǒn 永川 영천 [fig. 693 (20)], An-dong 安東 안동 [fig. 693 (9)].

<sup>3</sup> Nak-dong-kang 洛東江 낙동강.

<sup>4</sup> See: RAMSEYER (1977), pp. 123ff.

<sup>5</sup> *No-ban* 露盤 노반, the ashlar base of the finial.

<sup>6</sup> *Bok-bal* 覆鉢 목발, the inverted bowl of the base of the finial.

<sup>7</sup> See: *CPS* 9, p. 240; CHIN Hong-sǒb 秦弘燮 진홍섭 (1995), pp. 135.

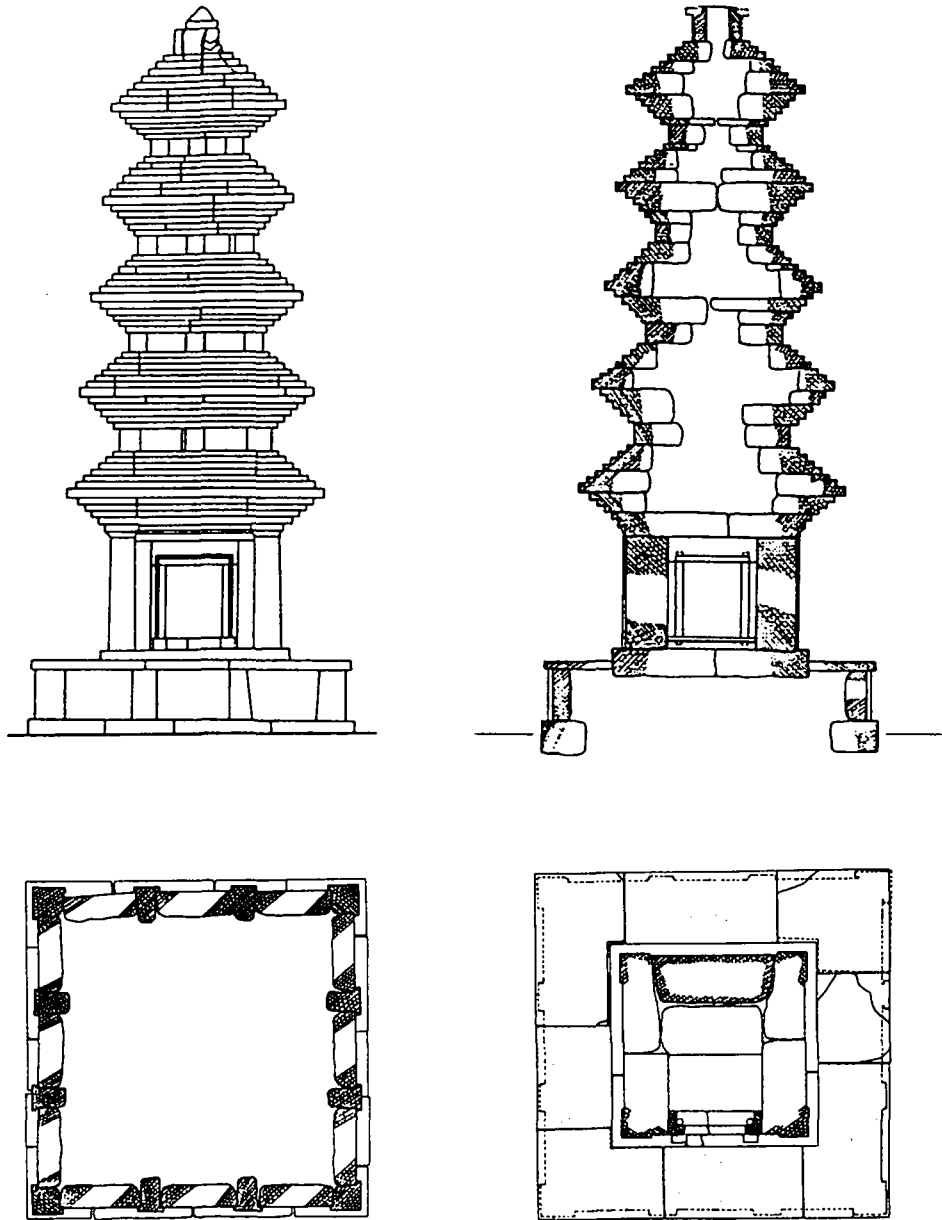


Fig. 642: Two plans, front elevation and section of the stone pagoda at Tab-ri 塔里 塔里 (mid-7th C. AD ?, scale: 1 : 100) (after: *MHCSRBS* 90 - 2, pp. 65f)

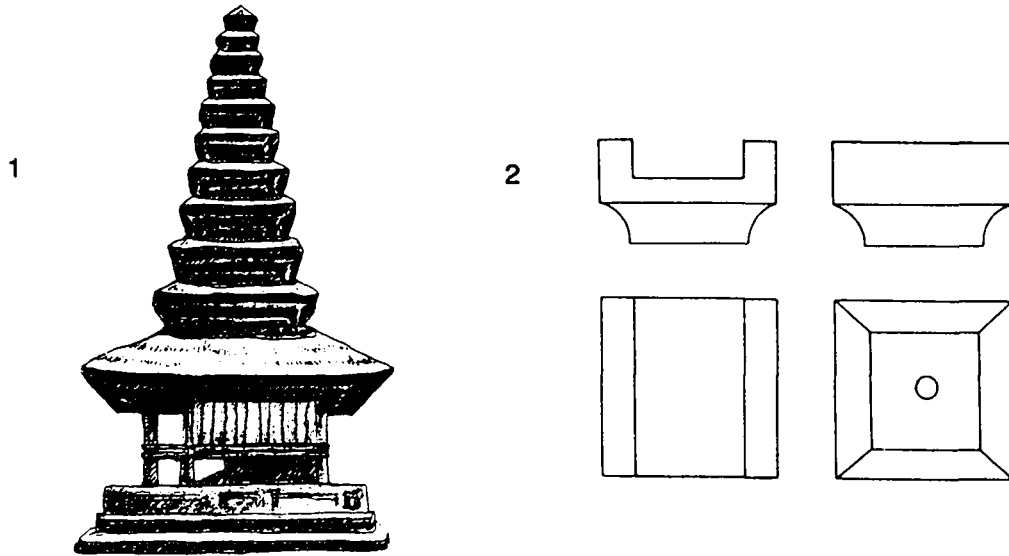


Fig. 643: Perspective of the *meru* (tower) of the temple of Kehen in Bangli, Bali (1) (modern traditional, no scale) and plans and elevations of a wooden capital from An-ab-chi 雁鴨池 안압지 (2) in Kyōng-chu 慶州 경주 (Unified Sin-la: 7th - 8th C. AD, scale: 1 : 10) (drawing by the author and after: MHCKLG (1978), p. 254)

The corner columns of the first story are crowned with square capitals which are cut out of the same piece of stone as the first steps of the corners of the lowest roof. The form of these capitals resembles that of a wooden capital found during the excavation of An-ab-chi in Kyōng-chu<sup>1</sup> [fig. 643]. While the sides of the capital from An-ab-chi measure about 23.5cm, the sides of the stone capitals of the Tab-ri pagoda measure approximately 42cm. The first story has an interior space of about 1.24m by 1.41m by 1.47m whose opening is turned southwards and whose frame is decorated with a simple, carved moulding. The opening probably had once metal doors.

Each roof have five steps below the eaves which serve as brackets and six steps above the eaves as the cover of the roof. The top roof exceptionally has seven steps above the eaves. Numerous stones of the roofs have several carved steps which imitate the structure of bricks. The height of the stones of the roof varies from one to five steps. The structure is therefore substantially different from the brick pagodas and the brick like-stone pagodas (categories A and B) where each step was built of small modules. This difference is the main characteristic of the third category of pagodas of Sin-la. While the stone pagoda of Mi-rük-sa of Bæk-che

<sup>1</sup> An-ab-chi 雁鴨池 안압지, Kyōng-chu 慶州 경주. See: MHCKLG (1978), p. 250, 254.

already featured a similar solution of two steps of the bracket part of the roofs, the same system was apparently not used for the cover part of the roof. It seems obvious that the shape of the roof stones imitate a brick structure. It can therefore be assumed that brick pagodas must already have been well known before the pagoda at Tab-ri was built.

The pagoda has been measured by FUJISHIMA<sup>1</sup> in 1934 AD but his results have apparently been corrected by the Cultural Properties Research Institute<sup>2</sup> in 1990 AD. The following measurements have been obtained by the figures of the recent restoration [table 50].

number of stories	5
total height <sup>3</sup>	9.60m (9.16m)
general angle	~ 83.5°
general proportion	1 : 3.98

	1st story	2nd story	3rd story	4th story	5th story
1. story height	1.47m +base: 1.10m	0.29m	0.27m	0.25m	0.24m
2. bracket height	0.61m	0.44m	0.43m	0.42m	0.41m
3. roof height	0.64m	0.63m	0.63m	0.64m	0.69m +finial: 0.44m
4. body width	2.30m base: 4.20m	2.06m	1.81m	1.55m	1.25m
5. eaves width	3.48m	3.16m	2.84m	2.58m	2.33m
6. roof gradient	~ 40°	~ 40°	~ 41°	~ 41°	~ 39°
7. bracket angle	~ 41°	~ 45°	~ 42°	~ 44°	~ 42°
8. body proportion	1 : 1.56 (base: 1 : 3.82)	1 : 7.10	1 : 6.70	1 : 6.20	1 : 5.21
9. width proportion	1 : 1.51	1 : 1.53	1 : 1.57	1 : 1.66	1 : 1.86
10. height proportion	1.18 : 1	1 : 3.69	1 : 3.93	1 : 4.24	1 : 4.58

Table 50: Main measurements of the five-storied stone pagoda at Tab-ri 塔里 塔리

<sup>1</sup> See: *KCZS* 1934.2., pp. 14 - 16.

<sup>2</sup> See: *MHCSRBS* 90 - 2, pp. 62 - 66

<sup>3</sup> The first measurement is the total height including the extant parts of the finial, the second omits the finial parts.



As this pagoda is constructed by stones especially cut for each position in the structure it can be safely assumed that the extant aspect of the pagoda is the original one. The most important characteristic of this pagoda is the combination of construction methods derived from wooden and brick structures which seems to imply that stone construction methods were a later development which began as imitation of other, earlier construction materials. A similar development of stone architecture has been observed in ancient Egypt and Greece.

After the stone pagoda of Bun-hwang-sa<sup>1</sup>, this stone pagoda is considered to be the oldest extant stone pagoda imitating a brick structure of Sin-la. It has usually been dated around 700 AD<sup>2</sup>, shortly after the unification of the Korean peninsula. Its structure is thought to be an early stage of the typical Unified Sin-la pagodas which integrated elements of this pagoda and characteristics of the Bæk-che stone pagodas<sup>3</sup>, in particular the smooth, sloped roof. As the pagodas of Kam-ün-sa and Ko-sön-sa<sup>4</sup>, the first fully-developed stone pagodas of Sin-la, were completed in about 682 AD and before 686 AD, it can be assumed that the pagoda at Tab-ri or similar pagodas were constructed before these dates which could mean that this structural experiment could date to Ancient Sin-la and be approximately contemporaneous with the pagoda of Bun-hwang-sa which in turn does not seem to have been the first pagoda of its kind.

About 7km to the east-southeast of the pagoda at Tab-ri stands a similar stone pagoda, that of the ruined Bing-san-sa<sup>5</sup> [fig. 644]. It is slightly smaller and its details are simpler. There are no columns on the bodies of the stories and therefore no capitals either. The simple platform features corner posts and a central post on each side. There are less steps on the bracket part of the roofs than at the pagoda at Tab-ri but the general shape is so similar that the pagoda of Bing-san-sa seems to be a conscious, simplified copy of the pagoda at Tab-ri. Because of the imitation of the style of an older pagoda, it is difficult to date the pagoda of Bing-san-sa. CHIN Hong-söb<sup>6</sup> has proposed the eleventh century AD but it could also date to Unified Sin-la.

<sup>1</sup> Bun-hwang-sa 芬皇寺 분황사 (No. 7.34.1.). See above, pp. 848ff.

<sup>2</sup> See: CHANG Chung-sik 張忠植 장충식 (1987, 1991), p. 90; CHIN Hong-söb 秦弘燮 진홍섭 (1995), pp. 135f.

<sup>3</sup> The stone pagodas of Chöng-nim-sa 定林寺 정립사 (No. 4.19.1.) and Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 (No. 5.6.2.). See: Chapter 3.2.

<sup>4</sup> Kam-ün-sa 感恩寺 감은사 (No. 7.33.10.), Ko-sön-sa 高仙寺 고선사 (No. 7.34.37.). See: KIM Chæ-wön 金載元 김재원 etc. (1961); MHCKLG (1977).

<sup>5</sup> Bing-san-sa 氷山寺 빙산사 (No. 7.7.4.). See: KCZS 1934.2., pp. 16f.; CPS 9, p. 242.

<sup>6</sup> See: CHIN Hong-söb 秦弘燮 진홍섭 (1995), pp. 232ff.

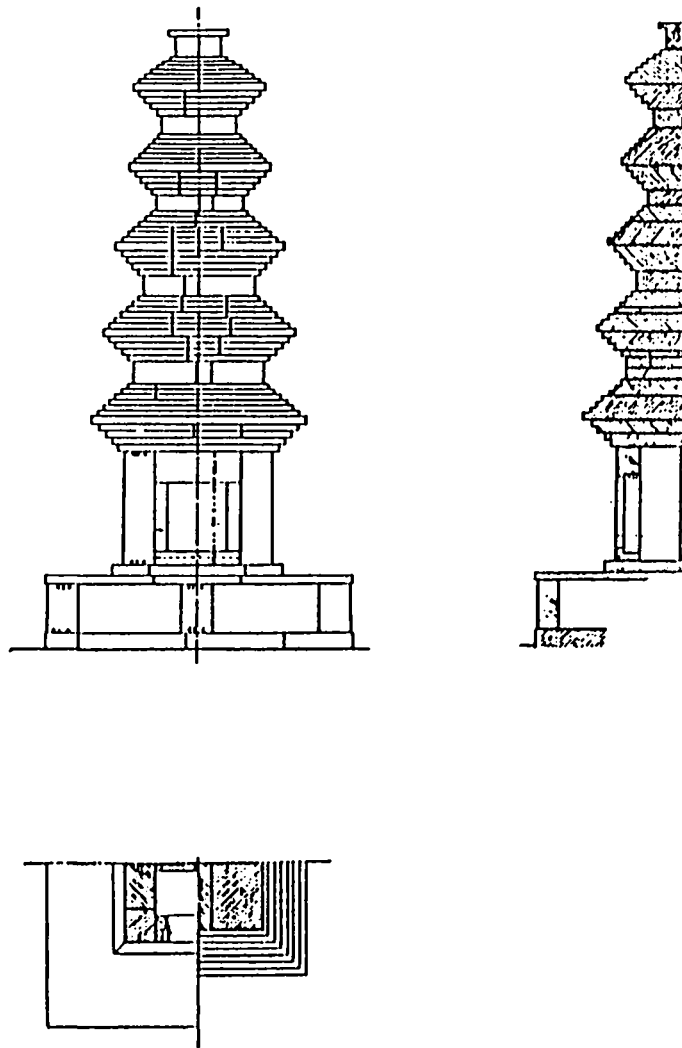


Fig. 644: Two partial plans, elevation and partial section of the stone pagoda of Bing-san-sa 氷山寺 氷山寺  
(Unified Sin-la / Ko-ryŏ, scale: 1 : 100) (after: KCZS 1934.2., p. 16)

## 4.2.5.6. THE FIVE-STORIED STONE PAGODA OF CHUK-CHANG-SA

The pagoda of Chuk-chang-sa<sup>1</sup> lies about 2km to the west of modern Sŏn-san on the western bank of the Nak-dong River<sup>2</sup>. The temple has been ruined for a long time but has been reconstructed recently. The original layout of the temple seems to be lost but the orientation of the pagoda of about 8.4° to east from north could indicate that it followed a traditional layout with the main axis from south to north.

The pagoda stands on a two-stepped platform whose cover stones are slightly sloped [figs. 645 - 647]. The retaining walls of the lower step are formed of base stones and simple side panels without corner posts. A two-stepped base stone which is reminiscent of those of typical Unified Sin-la pagodas<sup>3</sup> [figs. 631 - 633] joins the two steps. The retaining walls of the upper step feature corner posts and three intermediate posts on each side, thus forming a four-by-four-bay structure. Another row of two-stepped stones form the base of the actual pagoda.

The body of the first story consists of simple side stones without corner columns. The southern side is formed of three stones and a small threshold stone for the rectangular opening. The door frame is decorated with simple mouldings similar to those of the pagodas at Cho-tab-ri, Bong-kam-dong and Tab-ri. The interior space is about 1.45m wide, 1.4m deep and 1.75m high. The bodies, the bracket and the roof cover parts of the upper stories consist of one to four stone blocks which completely fill the interior. The bracket parts systematically include the eaves on each roof which contrasts with the typical stone pagodas of Unified Sin-la which have to divide the roof stones below the eaves if the size of the roof became too large to be cut from a single stone block. The pagoda of Chuk-chang-sa is crowned by a *no-ban*<sup>4</sup> but the other elements of the finial are missing today.

<sup>1</sup> Chuk-chang-sa 竹杖寺 죽장사 (No. 7.22.5.). See: *HGŭKKŬC* 7, pp. 78 - 85.

<sup>2</sup> Nak-dong-kang 洛東江 낙동강, Sŏn-san 善山 선산 [fig. 693 (22)].

<sup>3</sup> To elaborate on the characteristics of the typical Unified Sin-la pagodas would go beyond the frame of this study because hundreds of stone pagodas would have to be analyzed. The stone pagodas of Unified Sin-la will hopefully be the subject of a later study. It must suffice here to refer to some Korean and Japanese works: CHANG Ŭng-sik 張忠植 장충식 (1987, 1991), CHIN Hong-sŏb 秦弘燮 진홍섭 (1995), pp. 137 - 193; *HGŭM* 9, pl. 6 - 73, pp. 217 - 233; SUGIYAMA Shinzō 杉山 信三すぎやましんぞう 삼산 신삼 (1944); *KCZS* 1933 - 1934.

<sup>4</sup> *No-ban* 露盤 노반, the ashlar base of the finial.

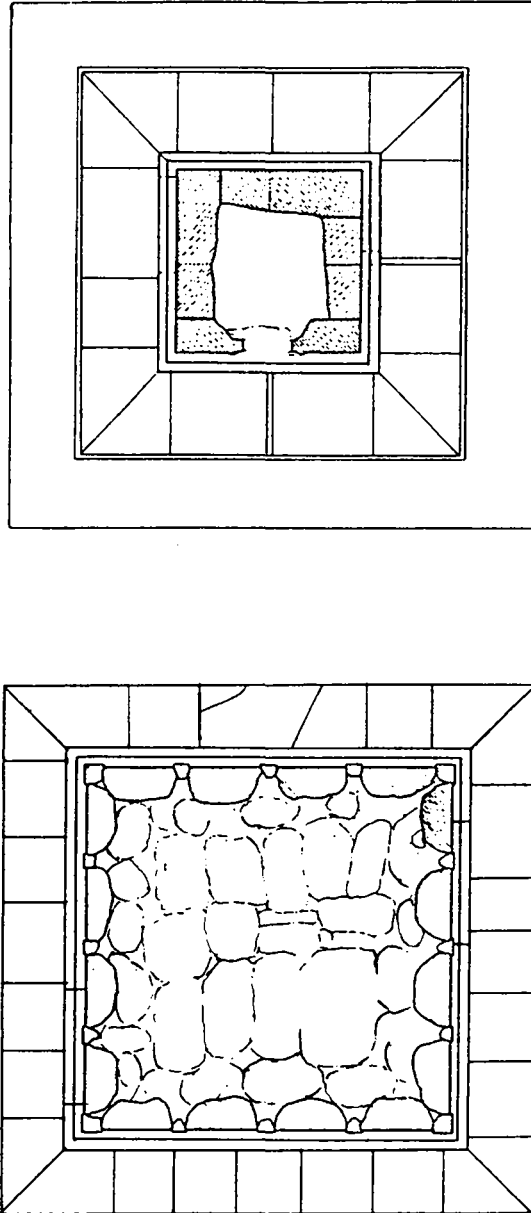


Fig. 645: Two plans of the stone pagoda of Chuk-chang-sa 竹杖寺 죽장사 (late 7th C. AD ?, scale: 1 : 100) (after: *HGŭK KC* 7, p. 85)

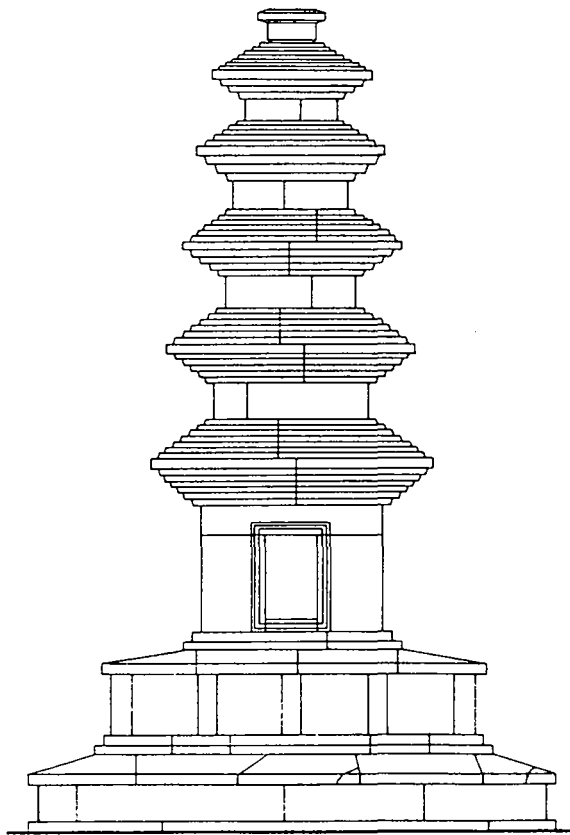


Fig. 646: Southern elevation of the stone pagoda of Chuk-chang-sa 竹杖寺 죽장사 (late 7th C. AD ?, scale: 1 : 100) (after: *HG&K KC* 7, p. 82)

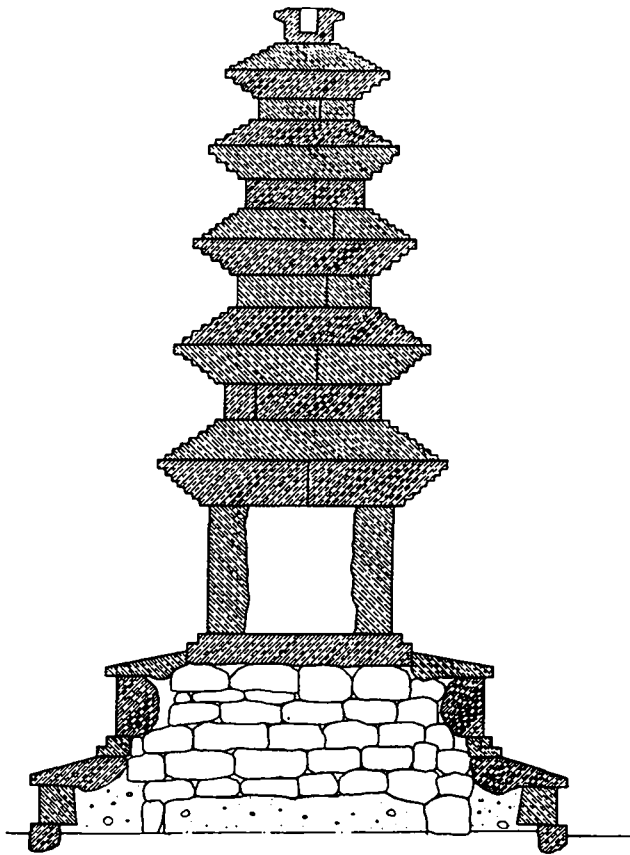


Fig. 647: East-west section of the stone pagoda of Chuk-chang-sa 竹杖寺 죽장사 (late 7th C. AD ?, scale: 1 : 100) (after: *HGŭK KŎ* 7, p. 84)

The following tables resume the main measurements of the pagoda according to the figures given by the Cultural Properties Research Institute<sup>1</sup> [table 51]:

number of stories	5
total height <sup>2</sup>	10.886m / 10.447m
general angle	~ 80.5°
general proportion	1 : 4.310

	1st story	2nd story	3rd story	4th story	5th story
1. story height	1.788m + b. 2.614m	0.455m	0.379m	0.364m	0.273m
2. bracket height	0.621m	0.545m	0.515m	0.455m	0.364m
3. roof height	0.515m	0.500m	0.379m	0.333m	0.348m + f. 0.439m
4. body width	2.424m base: ~ 6.8m	~ 2.06m	~ 1.75m	~ 1.55m	~ 1.24m
5. eaves width	~ 3.81m	~ 3.36m	~ 2.93m	~ 2.50m	~ 2.16m
6. roof gradient	~ 34.5°	~ 35.5°	~ 35°	~ 32.5°	~ 28.5°
7. bracket angle	~ 41.5°	~ 36°	~ 36°	~ 40°	~ 35°
8. body proportion	1 : 1.356 b. 1 : 2.601	1 : 4.527	1 : 4.617	1 : 4.258	1 : 4.542
9. width proportion	1 : 1.572	1 : 1.631	1 : 1.674	1 : 1.613	1 : 1.742
10. height proportion	1.574 : 1	1 : 2.297	1 : 2.359	1 : 2.165	1 : 2.608

Table 51.: Main measurements of the five-storied stone pagoda of Chuk-chang-sa 竹杖寺 죽장사

<sup>1</sup> See: *HGuK KĆ 7*, pp. 78 - 85.

<sup>2</sup> The first measurement is the total height including the extant parts of the finial, the second omits the finial parts.

The pagoda features at least two elements which are typical of the pagodas of the Unified Sin-la period: the two-stepped platform and the two-stepped base stones of the first story. The sloped cover stones of the platforms are reminiscent of the sloped roof of the later stone pagodas of Unified Sin-la but it is not clear if they are directly related. Other elements, such as the missing posts of the first step of the platform and the bodies of the stories of the pagoda, the niche in the first story and the division of the roof stones are not common in pagodas of Unified Sin-la. The Cultural Properties Research Institute<sup>1</sup> has dated the pagoda to the later half of the eighth century AD but the analysis of the structure suggests that it could have been constructed in the early period of Unified Sin-la (late 7th C. AD ?) when the construction methods of stone pagodas were not yet firmly established.

A three-storied stone pagoda with a similar shape is located at Nak-san-dong<sup>2</sup>, about 7.5km to the east of Sŏn-san. Its two-stepped platform is almost identical to several typical stone pagodas of Unified Sin-la<sup>3</sup> [fig. 633]. I suppose therefore that this pagoda is a simplified imitation of the Chuk-chang-sa pagoda which could date to a later period of Unified Sin-la.

<sup>1</sup> See: *HGüK KČ* 7, pp. 78.

<sup>2</sup> Nak-san-dong 洛山洞 낙산동. Location: Kyŏng-sang-buk-do 慶尙北道 경상북도, Sŏn-san-gun 善山郡 선산군 [fig. 693 (22)], Hæ-pyŏng-myŏn 海平面 해평면, Nak-san-dong 洛山洞 낙산동. See: CHIN Hong-sŏb 秦弘燮 진홍섭 (1995), pp. 230ff.; CHIN Hong-sŏb 秦弘燮 진홍섭 (1997), pp. 99.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. the platforms of the five-storied stone pagodas of Na-wŏn-sa 羅原寺 나원사 (No. 7.33.2., fig. 633) and Chang-hang-sa 獐項寺 장항사 (No. 7.33.11.) See: *HGüM* 9, pl. 8, 10.



#### 4.2.5.7. THE EASTERN THREE-STORIED STONE PAGODA AT NAM-SAN-DONG

The twin pagodas of Nam-san-dong are located to the east of the southern mountain of Kyōng-chu<sup>1</sup>, about 6km to the south-southeast of the railway station. Its eastern pagoda is the only known stone pagoda which imitates a brick structure and which is integrated into a twin-pagoda temple layout. The three-storied western pagoda is one of numerous typical stone pagodas of the Unified Sin-la period which feature protection deities on the side panels of the second step of the platform [fig. 648]. The western pagoda is about 5.55m high.

The eastern pagoda stands on a high, sober ashlar stone platform without decorations or moulding [fig. 649]. A three-stepped stone forms the base of the first story of the pagoda which is carved out of a single stone block and features neither a niche nor decorations. The roofs and the upper stories are also made of single blocks without any particular decoration. Only the *no-ban*<sup>2</sup> remains of the finial.

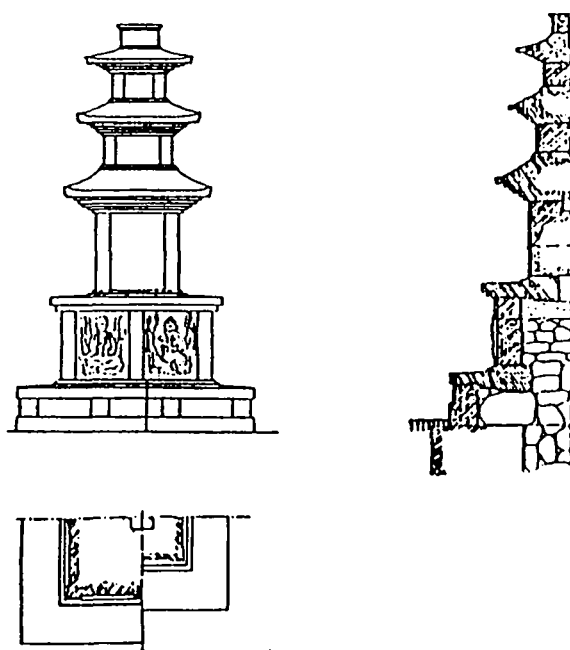


Fig. 648: Two partial plans, elevation, partial section of the western stone pagoda at Nam-san-dong  
南山洞 남산동 (9th C. AD ?, scale: 1 : 100) (after: KCZS 1933.12., p. 19)

<sup>1</sup> Nam-san-dong 南山洞 남산동, Kyōng-chu 慶州 경주, No. 7.34.13.  
See: KCZS 1933. 12., pp. 15f., 28.

<sup>2</sup> *No-ban* 露盤 노반, the ashlar base of the finial.

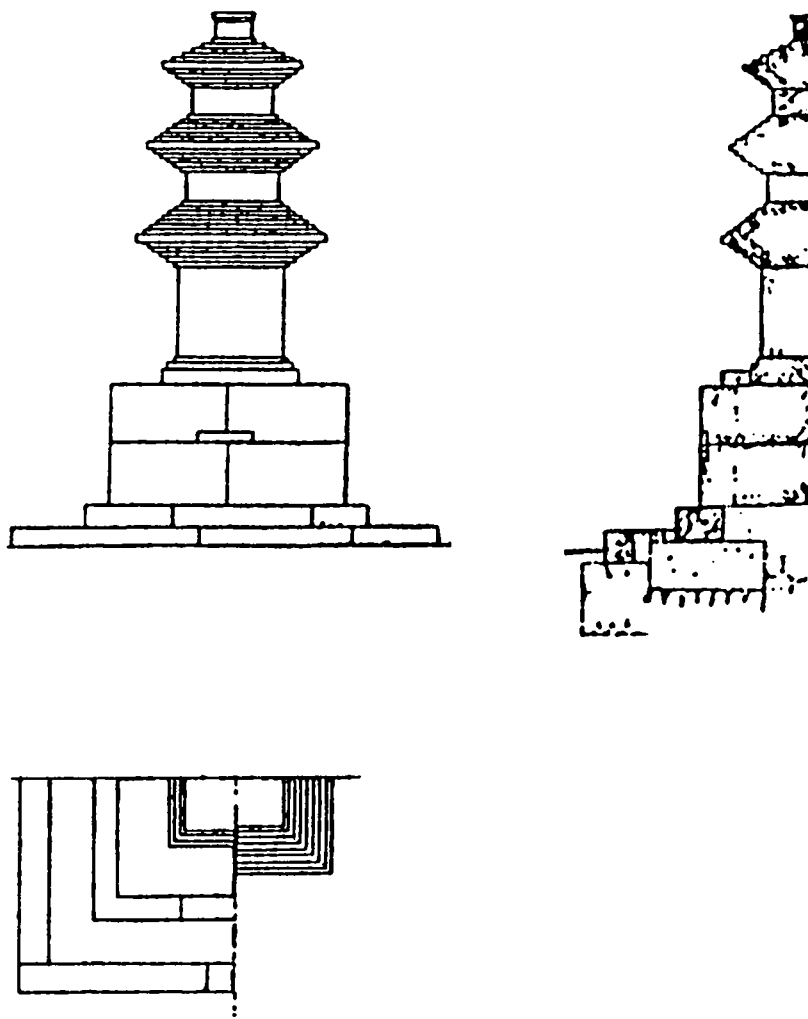


Fig. 649: Two partial plans, elevation and partial section of the eastern stone pagoda at Nam-san-dong 南山洞 남산동 (late 7th - early 8th C. AD ?, scale: 1 : 100) (after: *KCZS* 1933.12., p. 28)

Table 52 resumes the main measurements of the pagoda according to the figures published by FUJISHIMA<sup>1</sup>:

number of stories	3
total height <sup>2</sup>	7.03m / 6.73m
general angle	~ 82°
general proportion	1 : 5.177

	1st story	2nd story	3rd story
1. story height	1.11m + b. 2.66m	0.36m	0.35m
2. bracket height	0.32m	0.30m	0.24m
3. roof height	0.52m	0.47m	0.40m + f. 0.30m
4. body width	1.30m base: 2.9m (5.2m)	1.13m	0.99m
5. eaves width	2.33m	2.09m	1.72m
6. roof gradient	~ 36°	~ 34°	~ 27°
7. bracket angle	~ 33°	~ 34.5°	~ 36.5°
8. body proportion	1 : 1.171 b. 1 : 1.090	1 : 3.139	1 : 2.829
9. width proportion	1 : 1.792	1 : 1.850	1 : 1.737
10. height proportion	1.321 : 1	1 : 2.139	1 : 1.829

Table 52: Main measurements of the eastern stone pagoda at Nam-san-dong 南山洞 남산동

As the two pagodas are so different in style, shape, size and decoration it is difficult to believe that they were constructed simultaneously<sup>3</sup>. The eastern pagoda seems to be the older of the two as it features only a few of the characteristics of the pagodas of Unified Sin-la.

<sup>1</sup> See: KCZS 1933. 12., pp. 15.

<sup>2</sup> The first measurement is the total height including the extant parts of the finial, the second omits the finial parts.

<sup>3</sup> The only other known example of twin pagodas with different shapes are the famous pagodas of Bul-guk-sa 佛國寺 불국사 (No. 7.34.30. of the middle of the 8th C. AD). The Sök-ka-tab 釋迦塔 석가탑 (literally 'Sākyamuni pagoda') to the west follows the typical Unified Sin-la style, while the Da-bo-tab 多寶塔 다보탑 (literally 'Prabhūtaratna pagoda') to the east is an exceptional structure which has no equivalent in East Asia. The names of the pagodas imply that they illustrate a famous passage of the *Lotus sūtra* where Prabhūtaratna Buddha appears in a marvellous pagoda and invites the historical Buddha to join him in the pagoda. The contrast seems thus to be justified by this literary source. In the case of the temple site at Nam-san-ri it is difficult to apply the same reasoning because the brick-like stone pagodas do not have a particular symbolism as has the Da-bo-tab of Bul-guk-sa.

CHŎNG Yŏng-ho<sup>1</sup> has dated both pagodas of Nam-san-dong to the ninth century AD, while I believe that this date could be correct for the western pagoda, the style of the eastern pagoda seems to belong rather to the late seventh or early eighth century AD. Other pagodas similar to the eastern pagoda of Nam-san-dong were built around Kyŏng-chu, including those at Yong-chang-kye [fig. 650] and Sŏ-ak-ri<sup>2</sup> [fig. 651]. The southern side of the first story of the pagoda at Sŏ-ak-ri features a carved decorative door with a relief of a Vajrapāṇi on each side.

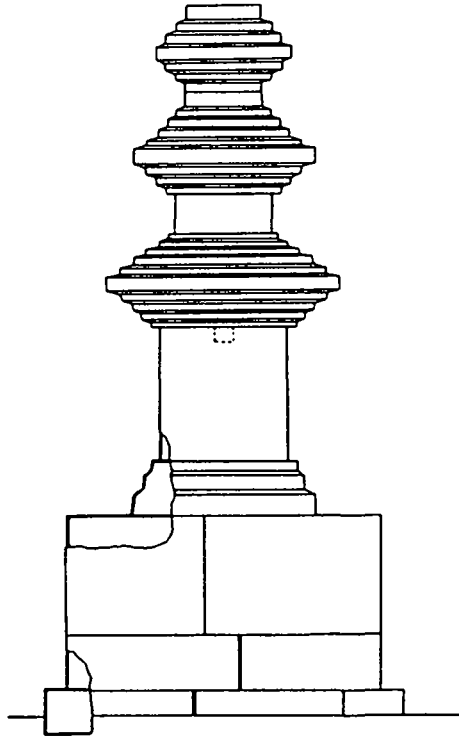


Fig. 650: Elevation of the stone pagoda No. 48 at Yong-chang-kye 葦長溪 몽장계 (Unified Sin-la, scale: 1 : 50)  
(after: CHANG Čhung-sik 張忠植 장충식 (1987, 1991), p. 84)

<sup>1</sup> See: *HGŭM* 9, p. 226.

<sup>2</sup> Sŏ-ak-ri 西岳里 서악리, the pagoda belonged probably to Yŏng-kyŏng-sa 永敬寺 영경사 (No. 7.34.31.). Yong-chang-kye 葦長溪 몽장계, the pagoda belonged possibly to Yong-chang-sa 葦長寺 몽장사 (No. 7.33.12.).

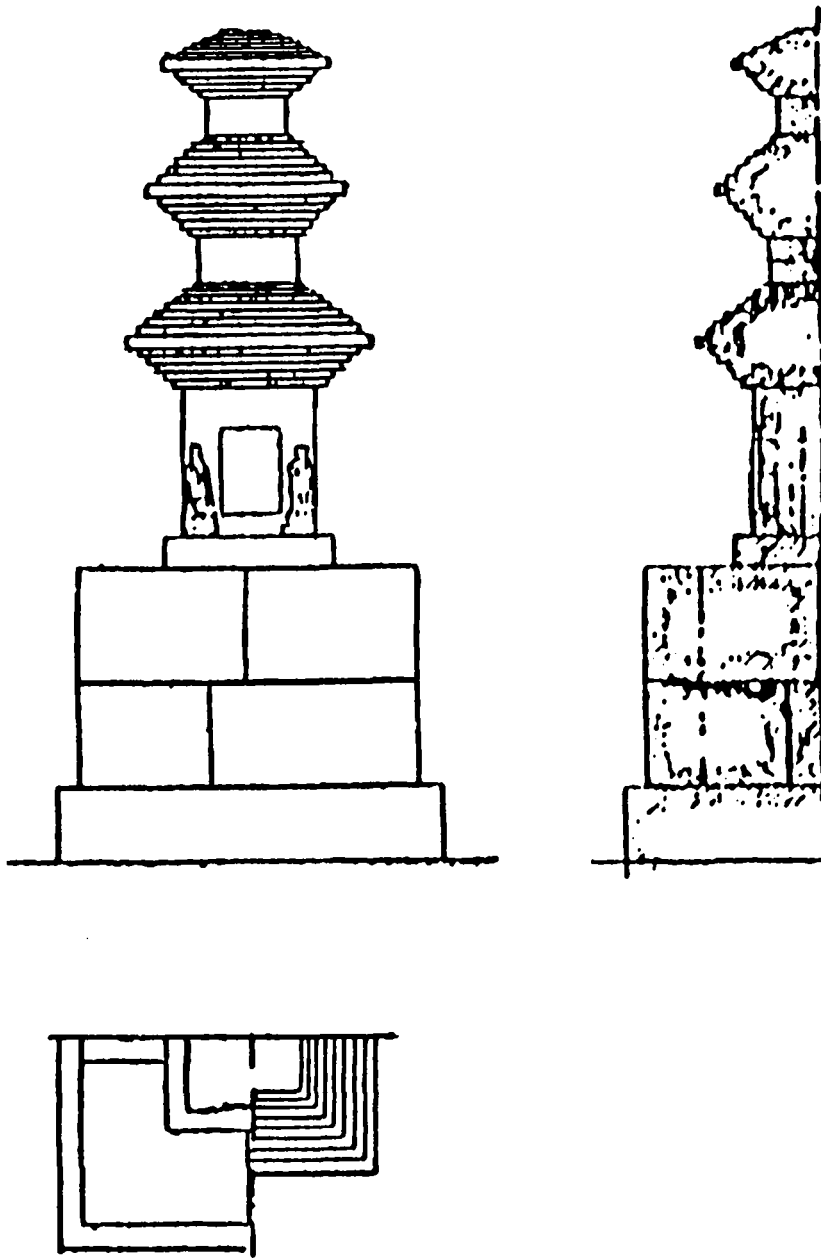


Fig. 651: Two partial plans, elevation and partial section of the stone pagoda at Sŏ-ak-dong  
西岳洞 서악동 (Unified Sin-la, scale: 1 : 50) (after: *KCZS* 1934.12., p. 27)

## 4.2.5.8. CONCLUSIONS

The various extant brick-like stone pagodas seem to illustrate intermediate stages between the early brick and wooden pagodas on the one hand and the typical stone pagodas of Unified Sin-la on the other. The various categories thus represent the major steps of this development. The earliest types of pagodas in Sin-la seem to have been pure wooden pagodas and pure brick pagodas. While it seems that the brick pagodas had square ground plans in Sin-la, the wooden pagodas had possibly square and octagonal plans, corresponding to the references in Bæk-che and Ko-gu-ryō. As no square brick pagodas are known from Bæk-che and Ko-gu-ryō, it must be supposed that the square brick pagodas were introduced directly from China where the earliest extant multi-storied square brick pagodas date to the Sui and early Tang dynasties<sup>1</sup>. This introduction must still have occurred in the Korean Three Kingdoms period as the date of the Bun-hwang-sa<sup>2</sup> pagoda shows.

The assumption that the brick pagodas were introduced directly from China to Ancient Sin-la may help to understand the particular geographic distribution of brick and brick-like pagodas in Korea. Already KO Yu-sōb<sup>3</sup> had noticed in 1944 AD that these pagodas are located exclusively in the territory of Ancient Sin-la, stretching over the modern provinces of Kyōng-gi, northern Čhung-čhōng, Kang-wōn and northern Kyōng-sang<sup>4</sup> [figs. 685 (7, 10, 6, 16), 652], but he seems to have failed to attribute the tradition of brick pagodas to Ancient Sin-la. The biggest concentration of brick and brick-like pagodas lies between An-dong and Kyōng-chu [fig. 693 (9, 34)]. It seems quite plausible that the brick pagoda was in fact introduced to Sin-la along this route which would signify that the northern regions came into contact with this building type before it was introduced to the capital. An-dong could have been a major stopping place on this route so that an independent tradition of pagoda construction developed here which would explain the important number of brick and brick-like pagodas in the area. If on the contrary the brick pagodas were first built in the capital and then spread to the provincial centres it would be difficult to explain why the An-dong area was so rich in brick and brick-like pagodas and not other areas. A large number of remains would rather be expected around the capital.

<sup>1</sup> E.g. the pagodas of Xianyou-si 顯遊寺 현유사 (the Chinese characters are not sure) at Zhouzhi 周至 주지, Shaanxi 陝西 섬서 and that of Fawang-si 法王寺 법왕사 at Dengfeng 登封 등봉, Henan 河南 하남. See: LUO Zhewen 羅哲文 라철문 (1994), pp. 182, 189, 206, 211; BOERSCHMANN (1931), pp. 90 - 106.

<sup>2</sup> Bun-hwang-sa 芬皇寺 본황사. See above, pp. 848ff.

<sup>3</sup> See: KO Yu-sōb 高裕燮 고유섭 (1972, 1992), p. 197.

<sup>4</sup> Kyōng-gi-do 京畿道 경기도, Čhung-čhōng-buk-do 忠清北道 충청북도, Kang-wōn-do 江原道 강원도, Kyōng-sang-buk-do 慶尙北道 경상북도.

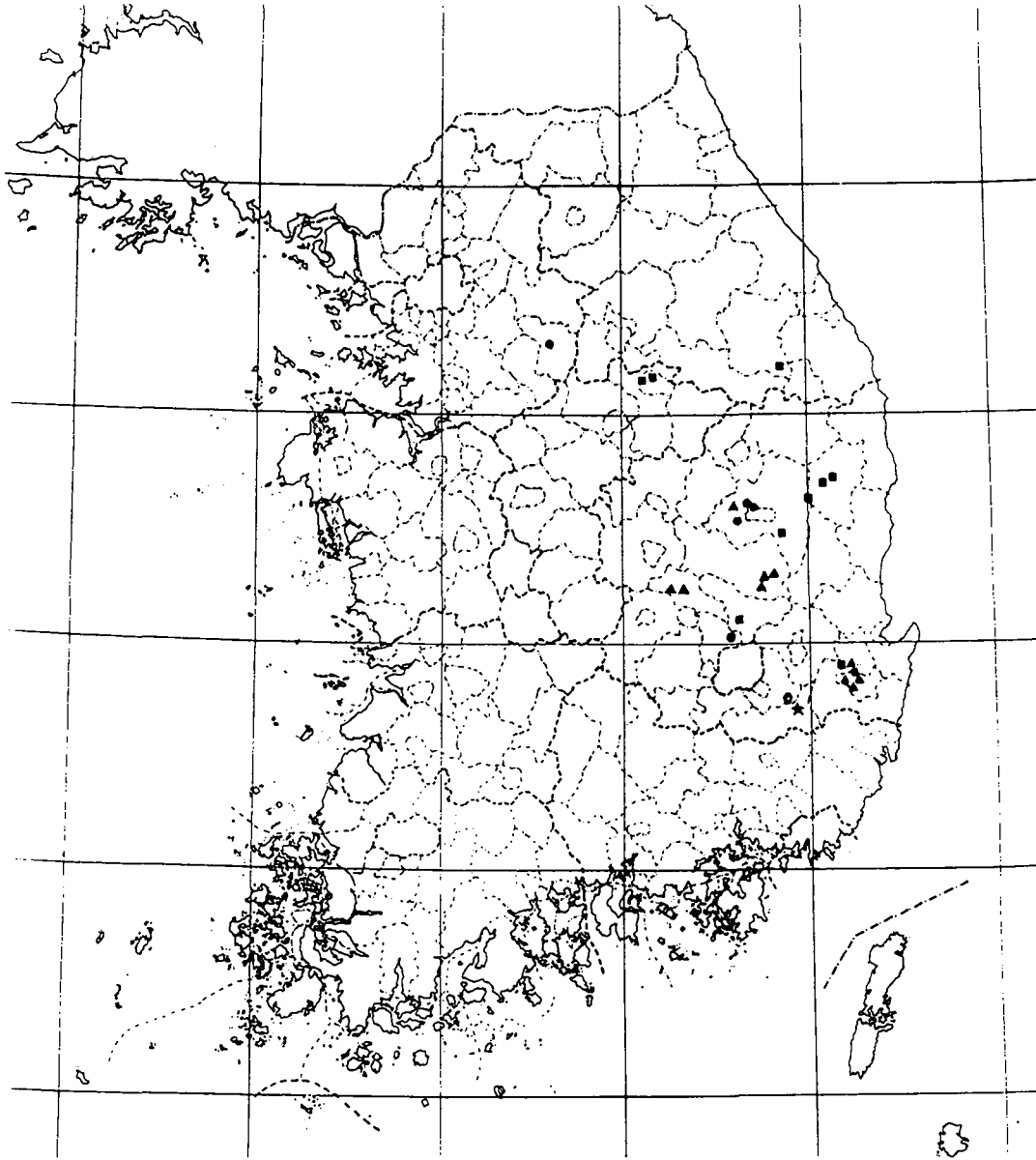


Fig. 652: Distribution of brick pagodas and brick-like stone pagodas in South Korea (drawing by the author after MHCKLG (1992b), p. 15)

- brick pagoda
- ruined brick pagoda
- brick-like stone pagoda imitating a brick structure
- ▲ brick-like stone pagoda using a stone structure
- ★ reported brick pagoda

The extant brick and brick-like structures in the northern territory of Ancient Sin-la are mostly later structures from Unified Sin-la to Cho-sŏn. But the fact that such structures were constructed or reconstructed in these areas is in my opinion a sign that a long tradition existed in these areas which probably has to be traced back to Ancient Sin-la.

The first step of the development from the brick pagoda to the stone pagoda replaced the bricks with brick-like stones by keeping the construction methods and formal aspects of pure brick pagodas. The main representative of this pagoda type is the Bun-hwang-sa pagoda of 643 AD [figs. 594ff.] which was probably not the first of its kind. It can then be speculated that the first brick pagodas were introduced sometime in the second half of the sixth century which would approximately fit the founding legend of the pagoda of Song-rim-sa<sup>1</sup>.

The second step of the development replaced the brick construction method which was not very suitable for stone, with a proper stone construction method involving larger pieces of stone which was piled up vertically and horizontally. But the formal aspect of the brick roofs was not yet abandoned. As Ancient Sin-la did not possess a proper tradition of stone buildings, certain elements of the wooden skeleton structure were translated into stone. The pagoda at Tab-ri<sup>2</sup> [fig. 642] is a good example for this stage which can be placed around the middle of the seventh century AD. It is possible that the use of corner columns in stone pagodas of Sin-la was inspired by the slightly earlier stone pagodas of Bæk-che.

The final step in the development of the stone pagoda of Sin-la seems to have been taken only after the unification of the Korean peninsula when the smooth, sloped roof was favoured over the stepped roof of the brick-like stone pagoda. It appears that this change was influenced strongly by the Bæk-che stone pagodas but it was the gradient of the slope of Unified Sin-la stone pagodas which was chosen so that it seems as if the steps of the brick-like stone pagodas were only cut while the height of the cover stones was left unchanged. Good examples of early Unified Sin-la stone pagodas with smooth, sloped roofs are the twin pagodas of Kam-ŭn-sa<sup>3</sup> [fig. 631].

It is not certain, however, that all the representatives of one category of pagodas belong to the same period because extant structures invited later generations to imitate ancient forms as for example at the pagodas of Tab-ri and that of Bing-san-sa<sup>4</sup>. Local centres of a certain building tradition can preserve archaic building forms for many centuries. It is even possible that a certain style

<sup>1</sup> Song-rim-sa 松林寺 승림사. See above, pp. 876ff.

<sup>2</sup> Tab-ri 塔里 탑리. See above, pp. 921ff.

<sup>3</sup> Kam-ŭn-sa 感恩寺 감은사. See above, pp. 897f.

<sup>4</sup> Bing-san-sa 氷山寺 빙산사. See above, pp. 925f.



was suppressed for a period and later rediscovered in the same region in order to make a cultural or even political statement as can be supposed in the case of the Bæk-che-style stone pagodas<sup>1</sup> [figs. 653, 654] which became suddenly popular in the ancient Bæk-che territory with the decline of Unified Sin-la which had imposed its culture, including its pagoda style, on the local population. A detailed account of these developments, however, must be postponed for a later study.

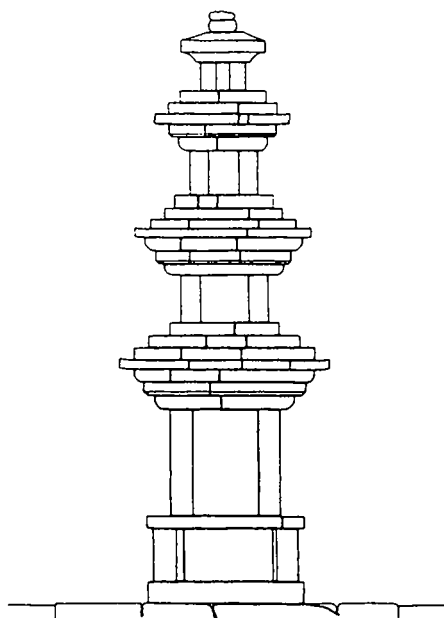


Fig. 653: Elevation of the stone pagoda of Wöl-nam-sa 月南寺 월남사  
(12th C. AD ?, scale: 1 : 100)  
(after: CHÖN Dūk-yŏm 千得瑛 천득염 (1990), p. 69f.)

<sup>1</sup> The later Bæk-che-style stone pagodas were probably influenced by both, Bæk-che and Unified Sin-la stone pagodas. The fact that the brick-like Sin-la pagodas and the Bæk-che-style pagodas have common affinities is a sign that the brick-like Sin-la pagodas retain an archaic style of the Korean Three Kingdoms period. The Un-chu-sa 雲住寺 운주사 pagodas No. 6 and 7 (No. 6.9.3.), in spite of some similarities with Sin-la pagodas, have to be included in the same category of later Bæk-che-style pagodas.

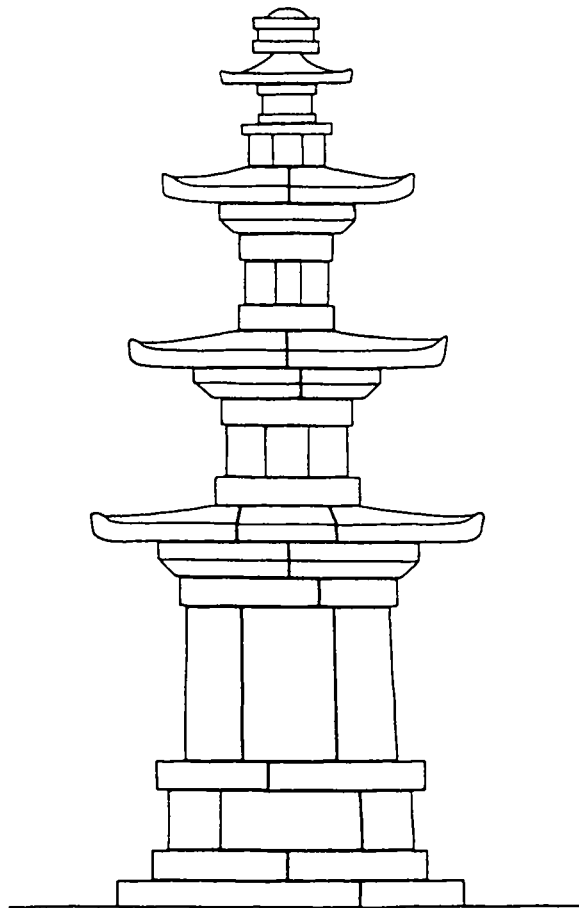


Fig. 654: Elevation of the stone pagoda at Sŏng-buk-ri 城北里 성북리, Bi-in-myŏn 庇仁面 비인면, Sŏ-chŏn-gun 舒川郡 서천군, Chung-chŏng-nam-do 忠濟南道 충청남도 (Ko-ryŏ ?, scale: 1 : 50) (after: CHŌN Dŭk-yŏm 千得瑛 천득염 (1990), p. 44)

**CHAPTER 5:**

**CONCLUSION**



## 5. CONCLUSION

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### Preliminary Remarks

The conclusion contains a brief summary of the main results of the foregoing chapters and tries to provide a model for the development of Buddhist architecture on the Korean peninsula during the Three Kingdoms period. The last part is devoted to an appraisal of the various factors which shaped early Buddhist architecture in Korea and its subsequent developments.

### 5.1. SUMMARY OF THE MAIN RESULTS OF THE STUDY

#### 5.1.1. Ko-gu-ryō

Ko-gu-ryō<sup>1</sup> was reportedly the first Korean kingdom to come in contact with Buddhism and accept it as a state religion. The earliest material evidence of Buddhism on the Korean peninsula, which dates to the early fifth century AD, belongs to Ko-gu-ryō<sup>2</sup>. This seems to support the related introduction of Buddhism in the late fourth century AD.

At least five ruined temple sites in modern North Korea have been identified as belonging originally to the Ko-gu-ryō dynasty. But only the sites of Chōng-rŭng-sa and Gŭm-gang-sa<sup>3</sup> produced a significant amount of information. The age of the remains of the foundations cannot yet be determined with precision but it is possible that Gŭm-gang-sa was in fact the temple mentioned to have been founded in 498 AD. A comparison of the known temple sites of Ko-gu-ryō reveal the following pattern of layout organisation and building types:

1. The temple sites were usually slightly sloped towards the north and a river or ponds were located in front. The entrances often lay between south-east and south-west and the main axis lay perpendicular to the contour lines of the slope.
2. The centre of the main courtyard was formed of large octagonal pagodas whose construction method and elevation are still largely unknown. It is possible that

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<sup>1</sup> Ko-gu-ryō 高句麗 고구려, lasted traditionally from 37 BC to 668 AD.

<sup>2</sup> The inscription of the tomb at Dōk-hŭng-ni 德興里 덕흥리. See: Chapter 2.1., p. 86.

<sup>3</sup> Chōng-rŭng-sa 定陵寺 정릉사 (No. 10.1.3.), Gŭm-gang-sa 金剛寺 금강사 (No. 10.1.1.).

the core of the pagodas was built of unburnt bricks and a wooden scaffolding with successive tile roofs could have been added around this core to protect it. No contemporaneous octagonal wood and brick pagoda is extant from China. The dodecagonal brick pagoda of Songyue-si<sup>1</sup> seems to be the only remaining high-rise polygonal pagoda of China of the early periods. The relationship between the Indian *stūpa* and the East-Asian pagoda has been analyzed by various authors.

3. Several rectangular image halls were placed a round the octagonal pagoda with their entrances facing the pagoda. The image halls seem to have been pure wooden constructions following the Chinese tradition of skeleton structures with tile roofs. The platforms often had two steps. An attached portico sometimes stood on the lower platform step.
4. Chǒng-rǔng-sa is the only known temple site where other structures than pagoda and image halls were also excavated such as galleries, lecture hall and dormitories with heating systems. It is supposed that the other temple sites also featured these building types but their foundations have probably been destroyed, possibly because they were less sturdy and less deep. The 'courtyard architecture' has a very long tradition in China for complexes of various functions. It seems to have been well adapted as an architectural framework for the new foreign religion because the Indian Buddhist temples featured comparable courtyards.
5. The murals and stone structures of royal tombs of Ko-gu-ryō illustrate the general aspect and construction details of Ko-gu-ryō's architecture which has apparently been closely related to contemporaneous architecture on the Chinese mainland. Unfortunately, no clear representation of an octagonal pagoda has been discovered so far. Ko-gu-ryō's wooden buildings used bracket systems of various complexity according to the size and prestige of the building. The inverted 'V' supports on the ties between the columns were a typical feature of Ko-gu-ryō's wooden constructions.

#### 5.1.2. Bæk-che

Buddhism was reportedly introduced to Bæk-che<sup>2</sup> shortly after Ko-gu-ryō accepted it as state religion. But the first material evidence has been dated only to the early sixth century AD, when the capital of Bæk-che was located at Ung-chin

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<sup>1</sup> Songyue-si 嵩嶽寺 송악사. See: Chapter 2.3., pp. 180f.

<sup>2</sup> Bæk-che 百濟 백제, lasted traditionally from 18 BC to 660 AD.

(Kong-chu)<sup>1</sup>. The summit of Bæk-che Buddhist art and architecture was the so-called Sa-bi period from 538 to 660 AD when numerous temples were constructed in the region around the capital Sa-bi (Bu-yō)<sup>2</sup>. The most important remains for Bæk-che's Buddhist architecture come from the sites of Nüng-sa, Chǒng-rim-sa and Mi-rük-sa<sup>3</sup>. But several other temple sites provide additional information such as Dæ-tong-sa, Gun-su-ri Sa-chi, Güm-gang-sa, Čhön-wang-sa, Sö-bok-sa and Kwan-kung-sa<sup>4</sup>. The comparison of the known temple sites of Bæk-che reveals the following pattern of layout organisation and building types:

1. The chosen sites of the Bæk-che temples resemble those of Ko-gu-ryō. A comparison with the principles of geomancy (*pung-su-chi-ri*<sup>5</sup>) seems to indicate that similar rules of site selection were already applied in the earliest periods of Buddhist architecture in Korea.
2. The temples of Bæk-che were mostly organized on a south-north axis, in the following order: lotus pond(s) - south gate - middle gate - pagoda - image hall - lecture hall - dormitories. The middle gate and the lecture hall were frequently included in the galleries which thus surrounded the pagoda and the image hall. In some cases the area behind the image hall was organized more freely which shows that only the front part of the temple had a monumental and symbolic character. Similar temple layouts are also attested from contemporaneous China and Japan. It does not appear that either the Bæk-che layout nor the Ko-gu-ryō layout developed one from the other, rather they seem to have been contemporaneous variants of Buddhist temples which probably had a much earlier common layout prototype whose precise form is still unknown.
3. The pagodas of Bæk-che had in all known cases a square ground plan on a two-stepped platform and were commonly built of wood until the Sa-bi period. Two extant stone pagodas from the last period of Bæk-che can be considered as the first stage of the most typical of Korean Buddhist structures: the miniature stone pagoda in the centre of the main temple courtyard, a type which was further developed in the Unified Sin-la period. Based on a fragment of a miniature bronze pagoda excavated at Čhön-wang-sa, the wooden pagodas of Bæk-che seem to have been similar to the extant pagodas of Hakuho Japan at Hōryū-ji and

<sup>1</sup> Ung-chin 熊津 웅진 (Kong-chu 公州 공주), capital of Bæk-che from 475 to 538 AD.

<sup>2</sup> Sa-bi 泗沘 사비 (Bu-yō 扶餘 부여), capital of Bæk-che from 538 to 660 AD.

<sup>3</sup> Nüng-sa 陵寺 능사 (No. 4.19.7.), Chǒng-rim-sa 定林寺 정림사 (No. 4.19.1.), Mi-rük-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 (No. 5.6.2.).

<sup>4</sup> Dæ-tong-sa 大通寺 대통사 (No. 4.13.1.), Gun-su-ri Sa-chi 軍守里寺址 군수리사지 (No. 4.19.6.), Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺 금강사 (No. 4.19.12.), Čhön-wang-sa 天王寺 천왕사 (No. 4.19.2.), Sö-bok-sa 西腹寺 서복사 (No. 4.19.4.), Kwan-kung-sa 官宮寺 관궁사 (No. 5.6.3.).

<sup>5</sup> *Pung-su-chi-ri* 風水地理 풍수지리. See: Chapter 3.3., pp. 507ff.

Hokki-ji at Nara<sup>1</sup> which can be described as an assembly of several superimposed receding square pavilions with a tall column piercing their centres. It is possible that the central pagoda of Mi-rük-sa had an exceptional structure as no column foundations were discovered during the excavation. The structure of the pagoda of Yongning-si of the Northern Wei<sup>2</sup> with its core built of unburnt bricks could provide a better adapted model for the central pagoda of Mi-rük-sa.

4. The ground plans and the two-stepped platforms of several image halls of Bæk-che resemble those of early Japanese image halls so that it can be supposed that the structure and elevation of Bæk-che image halls can be compared to the extant *kondō* of Hōryū-ji at Nara. However, it cannot uncritically be affirmed that all Bæk-che image halls were two-storied structures. In fact, several ground plans seem to indicate single-storied structures being thus closer to the miniature image hall of the Tamamushi shrine<sup>3</sup>. Some image halls of Bæk-che featured an attached portico whose columns stood on the lower step of the platform as in some buildings of Ko-gu-ryō and Asuka Japan.
5. The lecture halls and middle gates of Bæk-che were possibly based on a different tradition than those of early Japan as a comparison of their ground plans seems to indicate. While the lecture halls of Bæk-che tended to be comparatively large, its middle gates were smaller than those of early Buddhist Japan.
6. While it is certain that the general aspect of the wooden buildings of Bæk-che resembled that of the contemporaneous Chinese and Japanese buildings, their construction details are not yet well known. The mentioned miniature bronze pagoda fragment seems to indicate that Bæk-che used an early form of the 'cloud-shaped' bracket arms<sup>4</sup> where the bracket arms are 'plugged' in the columns without the help of a capital. This detail seems to have been transmitted to later periods so that it can still be observed in extant wooden buildings in Korea. The miniature bronze pagoda fragment also seems to show oblique cantilevers which are known in Korea only from one extant building of the Cho-sön period<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Hakuho 白鳳はくほう 백봉 period, lasted from 645 to 709 AD. Hōryū-ji 法隆寺ほりゅうじ 법룡사, Hokki-ji 法起寺ほつきじ 법기사, Nara 奈良なら 나랏. See: Chapter 3.3., pp. 559 - 575.

<sup>2</sup> Yongning-si 永寧寺영녕사, founded in 516 AD. Northern Wei 北魏북위, lasted from 386 to 534 AD. See: Chapter 3.3., pp. 542 - 553.

<sup>3</sup> Tamamushi no Zushi 玉蟲厨子たまむしのずし 옥충주자. See: Chapter 3.3., pp. 602, 606.

<sup>4</sup> 'Cloud-shaped' bracket arm: J: *kumo-hijiki* 雲肘木くもひじき 온주목 known from the Asuka 飛鳥あすか·미즈 period (from 552 to 645 AD).

<sup>5</sup> The Gūk-rak-chōn 極樂殿극락전 of Hwa-am-sa 花嚴寺화암사 (No. 5.7.1.). See: Chapter 3.3., p. 643.



### 5.1.3. Ka-ya and Ancient Sin-la

Although Ka-ya<sup>1</sup> possibly introduced Buddhism in the middle of the fifth century AD, no significant remains of Ka-ya temples have been discovered before Ka-ya was absorbed by Sin-la<sup>2</sup> in the middle of the sixth century AD. Sin-la might also have come into contact with Buddhism around the middle of the fifth century AD but the new religion was only officially recognized in 527 AD, more than 150 years after the introduction of Buddhism to Ko-gu-ryō. From this moment on, Buddhism was supported strongly and huge temples were already built in the sixth century AD, among them Hŭng-ryun-sa and Hwang-ryong-sa<sup>3</sup>. The period of the seventh century AD before the unification of the Korean peninsula by Sin-la helped by Tang China<sup>4</sup>, saw the construction of Bun-hwang-sa<sup>5</sup> and the huge nine-storied wooden pagoda of Hwang-ryong-sa. The known temple layouts and structures of Ancient Sin-la considerably vary from one another so that it seems difficult to assert a typical Ancient Sin-la temple type. The most characteristic feature might just be the fact that not a single tradition was adopted but that several traditions from Ko-gu-ryō, Bæk-che and China were combined in such a way that the temples of Ancient Sin-la show various degrees of dependency on these traditions. Each temple of Ancient Sin-la thus has to be analyzed and compared with the known East Asian traditions separately:

1. The assumed layout of Hŭng-ryun-sa which features twin octagonal wooden pagodas in front of a huge image hall seems to combine the octagonal ground plan of the Ko-gu-ryō pagodas with the twin pagoda layout which was supposedly introduced directly from the Chinese mainland.
2. The first layout of Hwang-ryong-sa supposedly followed the typical Bæk-che temple layout where the main buildings were aligned on the main south-north axis. It is assumed that the first wooden pagoda had a square plan and stood on about the same site as the reconstructed pagoda. The lateral courtyards recall the layout of Ko-gu-ryō's Chōng-rŭng-sa. The foundations of the northern structures of the first Hwang-ryong-sa have no equivalent so that their function is still unclear.
3. The reconstruction of Hwang-ryong-sa from 574 to 643 AD produced a layout which seems to lay at a cross-roads between the Ko-gu-ryō layout with multiple

<sup>1</sup> Ka-ya 伽耶가야, lasted traditionally from 42 AD to 562 AD.

<sup>2</sup> Sin-la 新羅신라, lasted traditionally from 57 BC to 935 AD.

<sup>3</sup> Hŭng-ryun-sa 興輪寺흥륜사 (No. 7.34.20.), Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺황룡사 (No. 7.34.2.).

<sup>4</sup> Tang 唐당, lasted from 618 to 907 AD.

<sup>5</sup> Bun-hwang-sa 芬皇寺분황사 (No. 7.34.1.).

image halls and the Bæk-che layout where the image hall lay behind the square pagoda. The three image halls which lay side by side are reminiscent of the northern (image ?) halls of Chǒng-rŭng-sa. The huge square nine-storied wooden pagoda was reportedly designed by A-bi-chi, a famous architect from Bæk-che. The new image halls had two-stepped platforms with attached porticos on the lower step, a feature which seems to have been common to several traditions as it has been found in most East Asian kingdoms of that period. The interior arrangement of the central image hall recalls later extant examples from China and Japan.

4. The layout of Bun-hwang-sa combines a square brick-like stone pagoda with three image halls which were built on two separate levels behind the pagoda. The multiple image halls recall again the Ko-gu-ryō temples while the pagoda type was probably imported directly from the Chinese mainland.
5. The grotto temple of Sin-sǒn-sa<sup>1</sup> and that at Gun-wi County<sup>2</sup> show that the ancient Buddhist tradition of cave temples was transmitted to Ancient Sin-la through the Northern Wei (e.g. Yungang and Dunhuang<sup>3</sup>) and possibly Bæk-che (e.g. the three cave temples around Kong-chu<sup>4</sup>).
6. A number of brick pagodas and brick-like stone pagodas are extant on the territory of Ancient Sin-la. Three types can be distinguished: the pure brick pagodas, the brick-like stone pagodas which imitate a brick structure and the brick-like stone pagodas which have the shape of stone pagodas. The pure brick pagodas, which include the Song-rim-sa and Bǒb-hŭng-sa<sup>5</sup> pagodas, are probably the oldest type and were introduced from China sometime in the sixth century AD. Most, if not all brick pagodas, however, were repaired or reconstructed so that the original shape of the Ancient Sin-la brick pagoda is difficult to assess. A similar problem exists for the second type of pagoda among which feature the brick-like stone pagodas of Bun-hwang-sa and Bong-kam-dong<sup>6</sup>. The third type of pagoda is half-way between the brick pagodas and the stone pagodas of the Unified Sin-la period. It is therefore probable that they are the latest type of brick-like stone pagodas. The earliest such pagoda is the one at Tab-ri<sup>7</sup> dating probably to the last decades of Ancient Sin-la. The tradition of brick and brick-like stone pagodas continued during the subsequent

<sup>1</sup> Sin-sǒn-sa 神仙寺 신선사 (No. 7.33.4.).

<sup>2</sup> Grotto at Gun-wi-gun 軍威郡 군위군 (No. 7.21.2.).

<sup>3</sup> Yungang 雲岡 운강, carved between 460 and 505 AD, Dunhuang 敦煌 둔황.

<sup>4</sup> Dong-hyōn-sa 東穴寺 동혈사 (No. 4.13.5.), Nam-hyōn-sa 南穴寺 남혈사 (No. 4.13.2.),

Sō-hyōn-sa 西穴寺 서혈사 (No. 4.13.3.).

<sup>5</sup> Song-rim-sa 松林寺 송림사 (No. 7.23.1.), Bǒb-hŭng-sa 法興寺 법흥사 (No. 7.9.2.).

<sup>6</sup> Bong-kam-dong 鳳甘洞 봉감동 (No. 7.14.1.).

<sup>7</sup> Tab-ri 塔里 탑리 (No. 7.7.5.).

dynasties but their geographic distribution shows that most of these local traditions can be traced back to the Ancient Sin-la period indicating approximately the corridor of introduction of brick pagodas from the north-west towards Kyōng-chu, the capital of Ancient Sin-la (in the south-east of the Korean peninsula).

## 5.2. COMPARISON OF THE BUDDHIST ARCHITECTURE OF THE KOREAN THREE KINGDOMS PERIOD

As established above, the Buddhist architecture of Ko-gu-ryō, Bæk-che and Ancient Sin-la featured different characteristics. Here is the place to point out the relationships between the three traditions and with those of China and Japan.

As far as can be judged from the extant evidence from Ko-gu-ryō and Bæk-che, the traditions of Buddhist architecture of these kingdoms were undoubtedly introduced from China in spite of numerous differences. This fact is obvious not only because the historical texts say so but also because several basic features of their Buddhist architecture are common to both kingdoms and to China: the site selection and its polar organisation, the platforms, the wooden skeleton structure, the use of bracket sets and the tile roof. The differences, however, are important enough to assume that Ko-gu-ryō and Bæk-che drew their inspiration from different local traditions in China. All known Ko-gu-ryō temples featured the characteristic octagonal pagoda and lateral image halls turned towards the pagoda, while Bæk-che's temples had square pagodas and no lateral image halls to the east and west of the pagoda. It seems that the 'plugged' bracket arms were not used in Ko-gu-ryō whose murals always clearly feature capitals on the columns.

Because of the geographic location of Ko-gu-ryō and Bæk-che it has been assumed that Ko-gu-ryō was close to North Chinese traditions, while Bæk-che could have had direct contacts with South China across the Yellow Sea. The historical account that Buddhism was introduced to Ko-gu-ryō from the Former Qin<sup>1</sup> of North China and to Bæk-che from the Eastern Jin<sup>2</sup> of South China seems to support this assumption. Unfortunately, differences between the Buddhist architectures of North and South China of these early periods are not known well enough to prove this thesis. The first tradition of Buddhist architecture in China which is sufficiently known is that of the Northern Wei dynasty of North China of which numerous cave temples with murals and carvings are extant. The dodecagonal brick pagoda of

<sup>1</sup> Former Qin 前秦 전진, lasted from 351 to 394 AD.

<sup>2</sup> Eastern Jin 東晉 동진, lasted from 317 to 420 AD.

Songyue-si<sup>1</sup> and the square wood and unburnt brick pagoda of Yongning-si<sup>2</sup> of Northern Wei were built within a period of less than ten years in the early sixth century AD. It appears thus that, if a difference in Buddhist architecture similar to that between Ko-gu-ryō and Bæk-che actually existed between North and South China in the periods up to the fifth century AD, this difference was blurred by the early sixth century of the Northern Wei dynasty at the latest.

Perhaps, similarly to Sin-la and contemporaneous Japan which both preferred the square over the polygonal pagoda plan, the supposed early North Chinese tradition of octagonal pagodas was successively supplanted by the South Chinese tradition of square pagodas so that the Tang dynasty almost exclusively used the square ground plan for its pagodas. For reasons which are probably related to the rise of the Tantric school<sup>3</sup> of Buddhism but which must still be investigated in more detail, the octagonal ground plan reappeared with force in the Liao, Song and Jin dynasties<sup>4</sup> from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries AD in China, as well as in approximately contemporaneous Ko-ryō<sup>5</sup> in Korea and Kamakura<sup>6</sup> in Japan.

It can then be assumed that the tradition of lateral image halls turned towards the octagonal pagoda also existed in the Chinese Sixteen Kingdoms<sup>7</sup> but that it was abandoned together with the octagonal ground plan of the pagoda. These hypotheses can only be confirmed or contradicted by future excavations of temple sites on the Chinese mainland. It seems that the excavation of Yongning-si of the Northern Wei has raised much interest in early Buddhist architecture in China so that it can be expected that new discoveries will be made in the future.

The traditions of Buddhist architecture of Ko-gu-ryō and Bæk-che are in this hypothesis approximately contemporaneous and in large parts independent from each other. It seems that neither tradition had any noticeable influence on the other; such a development was probably cut short by the annihilation of the two kingdoms in the middle of the seventh century AD.

The traditions of Buddhist architecture of Ancient Sin-la and early Buddhist Japan, however, seem to have been exposed to strong influences from both Ko-gu-ryō and Bæk-che. Soon after a first contact with Buddhism of the two Korean kingdoms, Ancient Sin-la and early Buddhist Japan also turned directly to China and

1 Songyue-si 嵩嶽寺 승약사.

2 Yongning-si 永寧寺 영령사.

3 Tantric school of Buddhism, also called Esoteric Buddhism: K: Mil-kyo 密教 밀교.  
See: STEINHARDT (1997), pp. 393 - 397.

4 Liao 遼 요 of North China lasted from 916 to 1125 AD, Song 宋 송 of South China lasted from 960 to 1279 AD, Jin 金 금 of North China lasted from 1115 to 1234 AD.

5 Ko-ryō 高麗 고려 lasted from 918 to 1392 AD.

6 The Kamakura 鎌倉 かまくら 검창 period lasted from 1185 to 1338 AD.

7 Sixteen Kingdoms 十六國 십육국 (304 - 439 AD).

thus received elements of its Buddhist architectural tradition which were not adopted by Ko-gu-ryō and Bæk-che. Among these newly imported elements were the twin pagoda layout which was used in Sin-la and Japan, and the brick pagoda which seems to have had a limited success in Sin-la only. It can be assumed that the conscious combination of several well-established traditions led to a new freedom of composition in temple layout and individual buildings. It is in this way that the seemingly disparate temple layouts of Ancient Sin-la can be understood. In the same way the so-called 'balanced-symmetrical layout' of several early Japanese temples are probably the result of experimentation in partial combinations of the Ko-gu-ryō (or North Chinese ?) and Bæk-che (or South Chinese ?) traditions.

I have mentioned in Chapter 3.3. that the Hōryū-ji layout plan is probably not a consequence of the exceptional orientation of Güm-gang-sa<sup>1</sup> of Bæk-che but that it can be understood as a simplification and combination of elements of temples of Ko-gu-ryō and Bæk-che. An important clue for this explanation are Kawara-dera and the temple site at Minami Shiga<sup>2</sup> which featured asymmetrical layouts with two image halls, one to the north and one to the west of the centre of the courtyard. The position of the pagoda and the lateral image hall was inverted compared to that of Hōryū-ji which indicates that their relative positions were not strictly fixed. The western image halls of Kawara-dera and Kanzeon-ji<sup>3</sup> were turned towards the pagodas in the same way as the lateral image halls of the temples of Ko-gu-ryō. As the layout with three image halls was also known in Japan (Asuka-dera<sup>4</sup>), it seems that the concept of placing an image hall beside the pagoda was based on the Ko-gu-ryō temple layout. The fact that the number of image halls was reduced from three to two and finally to one which was still placed beside the pagoda could show the influence of the Bæk-che temple layout where the pagoda and the unique image hall have a privileged relationship within the courtyard. It is thus possible that the 'balanced-symmetrical temple layout' was a Japanese particularity which does not have clear precedents in Korea or China.

The first hypothesis of this study can thus be answered as follows: the traditions of Buddhist architecture of Ko-gu-ryō and Bæk-che can be considered as direct continuations and independent developments of two distinct traditions of the Chinese mainland. The traditions of Buddhist architecture of Ancient Sin-la and early Buddhist Japan belonged to a next stage where the various traditions were combined and filtered until new regional preferences were established. The

1 Güm-gang-sa 金剛寺 금강사 (No. 4.19.12.).

2 Kawara-dera 川原寺 かわらでら 천원사, Minami Shiga Hajji 南滋賀慶寺 みなみしがはいじ 남자하폐사.

3 Kanzeon-ji 觀世音寺 かんぜおんじ 관세음사.

4 Asuka-dera 飛鳥寺 あすかでら 비조사.

Buddhist architecture of Ancient Sin-la contains thus the germs of many of the developments in Buddhist architecture of the Unified Sin-la period.

The importance of these results lies in the fact that so far there has been no clear indication that the early Buddhist architecture of China featured strong regional differences. The evidence from early Korea shows now that there must have existed at least two distinct traditions of Buddhist architecture in northern and southern China before the Northern Wei dynasty. Future studies on early Chinese Buddhist architecture will thus have to answer to this conclusion.

### 5.3. THE 'ARCHETYPES' OF EAST ASIAN BUDDHIST ARCHITECTURE

Through the comparison of the different traditions of Buddhist architecture during the Korean Three Kingdoms period, it seems possible to reconstruct a hypothetical development of the layout types of East Asian Buddhist temples which took place in China, Korea and Japan. In order to be able to discuss this complex process it seems indispensable to simplify; only three basic architectural types are thus considered which already bear the germs of the later highly articulated building complexes. These 'archetypes' are the Indian *stūpa*, the ubiquitous straw hut and the architectural boundary which includes the concept of the gate.

#### 5.3.1. The *stūpa*

The architectural type of the *stūpa* and its development into the East Asian pagoda has been treated in Chapter 2.3. and formed the subject of numerous studies so that I can limit its discussion to its architectural characteristics and function. The first essential architectural element of the *stūpa* is its centrality. The ground plan of the *stūpa* is always a regular geometric form which has at least four axes of symmetry as in the case of the square. Other forms of ground plans include the hexagon, octagon, dodecagon and circle. The circle is typical for the earliest *stūpas* and can therefore be considered the archetype of the ground plans of the *stūpas*. Secondly, the *stūpa* is mainly a religious monument commemorating the *nirvāṇa* of the Buddha(s) or saints. Its interior spaces, if they exist at all, are not essential to its function. A *stūpa* is best experienced by contemplating it from the outside and by circumambulating it. This is the main reason why a *stūpa* cannot be connected with other structures but must always be isolated and usually leave enough space to enable a circumambulation. Thirdly, the relative size and height of a *stūpa* are not predetermined but can vary according to the ground plan, the construction material and the religious context. Equally, the number of *stūpas* in one temple precinct is

not limited, some Chinese temples feature true 'forests of *stūpas*'<sup>1</sup>. Finally, the elevation can take many different forms and no dogma imposes its form, although some schools favour certain elevation types over others. This freedom of architectural expression is an important factor for the richness of the Buddhist tradition of the *stūpa* and pagoda.

The archetype of the *stūpa* is symbolized by a filled circle in the subsequent discussion of the development of the layout types: ●.

### 5.3.2. The straw hut

This architectural type stands for all the buildings in the East Asian Buddhist temples whose interior space is essential to their function. They include the image halls, the lecture halls, the dormitories and other minor structures. I think that the differentiation between sacred and profane structures is a relatively late one and that both structures can be traced back to the same archetype, the straw hut. Typical examples of such structures where the sacred and profane function are not clearly distinguished are the simple round, bell-shaped straw hermitages which seem to have existed in almost any religion with a monastic order. Similar hermitages are thus attested from various periods in North India<sup>2</sup> [fig. 655], Gandhāra<sup>3</sup> [figs. 656f.], China<sup>4</sup> [fig. 658], Korea<sup>5</sup> [fig. 659], Japan<sup>6</sup> [fig. 660], and as far as in medieval Christian Switzerland<sup>7</sup> [fig. 661].

<sup>1</sup> 'Forests of *stūpas*' (Ch: *talín* 塔林 탑림). These pagoda forests are usually graveyards for famous monks. See: LUO Zhewen 羅哲文 라철문 (1990), p. 129, 136f.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. a decorative ivory plaque for a piece of furniture from a North Indian atelier which was discovered at Begram dating to the 3rd C. AD, now in Museum Darul Aman at Kabul. See: FISCHER (1979), p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. the reliefs in the Peshawar Museum, depicting the Buddha visiting an ascetic in his straw hut, and in the Musée Guimet showing two ascetics in their leaf-covered huts, dating to Gandhāra (maybe 2nd - 3rd C. AD ?). See: BUSSAGLI (1996), pp. 368, 416.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. murals in the caves No. 10, 61 and 231 at Dunhuang 敦煌 洞窟, dating to the Northern Wei 北魏 북위 (386 - 534 AD), Tang 唐 당 (618 - 907 AD) and Song 宋 송 (960 - 1279 AD). See: XIAO Mo 蕭默 소묵 (1989), p. 200.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. various illustrations of *sūtras* dating to Ko-ryō and Cho-sōn, among them two frontispieces of the 2nd chapter of copies of the *Lotus Sūtra*, one dating to Ko-ryō, the other to 1422 AD (Treasure 寶物 보물 No. 390), and the frontispiece of a copy of the *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* of 1357 AD (Treasure 寶物 보물 No. 696). See: Ho-am Gallery 湖巖갤러리 호암갤러리 (ed.) (1993), pp. 114 - 117, 152.

<sup>6</sup> E.g. a lacquer plate in the Shōsō-in 正倉院 しょうそういん 정창원 at Nara 奈良 なら 나라, dating before 756 AD. It is probably of Chinese origin. See: SPEISER (1959), p. 158.

<sup>7</sup> Two wooden ceiling panels (between 1140 and 1160 AD) of the St. Martin church of Zillis in the Grisons, illustrating St. John preaching in the desert, include paintings of straw hermitages similar to the above mentioned Asian examples. The fact that the image shows most essential structural elements seems to indicate that the painter was familiar with such structures. See: *Kunst in der Schweiz* (1940), fig. 26; JENNY (1971), pp. 190 - 192, pl. 66.



Fig. 655: North Indian ivory plaque (3rd C. AD, 5.9cm by 11.3cm)  
(after: FISCHER (1979), p. 14)



Fig. 656: Gandhāra relief (slate, 2nd - 3rd C. AD ?) (after: BUSSAGLI (1996), p. 368)



Fig. 657: Gandhāra relief (slate, 2nd - 3rd C. AD ?) (after: BUSSAGLI (1996), p. 416)



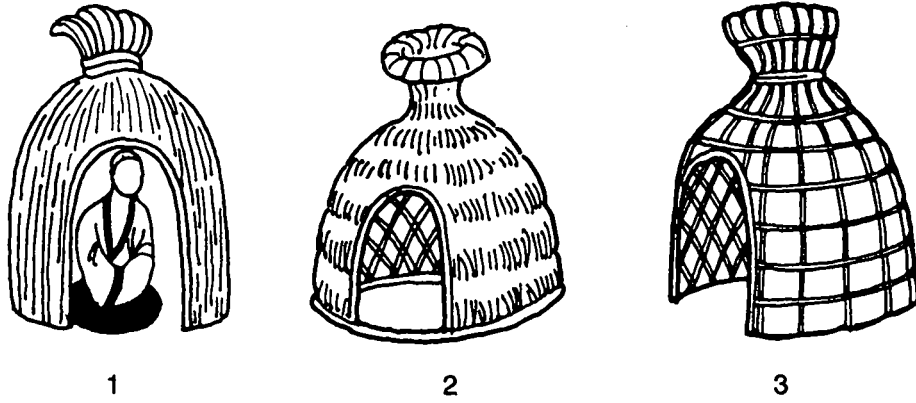


Fig. 658: Three examples of straw huts from Dunhuang 敦煌 돈황 (Northern Wei 北魏 북위 (1), Tang 唐 당 (2), Song 宋 송 (3)) (after: XIAO Mo 蕭默 소묵 (1989), p. 200)



Fig. 659: Three straw huts from illustrations of *sūtras* (Ko-ryŏ 高麗 고려, Cho-sŏn 朝鮮 조선) (after: Ho-am Gallery 湖巖갤러리 호암갤러리 (ed.) (1993), pp. 114, 116, 152)



Fig. 660: Lacquer plate of the Shōsō-in 正倉院 しょうそういん 정창원  
(China ?, before 756 AD, Ø 39.5cm) (after: SPEISER (1951), p. 158)



Fig. 661: Ceiling panel from St. Martin church of Zillis, Switzerland (1140 - 1160 AD)  
(after: *Kunst in der Schweiz* (1940), fig. 26)

The excavated foundations of round and square dwellings at Am-sa-dong<sup>1</sup> in modern Sŏ-ul (Seoul) and similar finds in China are usually interpreted as pyramidal or conical straw huts which can thus be considered as the predecessors of the bell-shaped straw hermitages. Similar straw huts can occasionally still be seen in remote farms of South Korea [fig. 662] where they protect buried jars of *kim-čhi*<sup>2</sup> and other vegetables as reserve for winter. It seems obvious that the round and square Neolithic structures of China and Korea evolved slowly into the rectangular structures of the Bronze Age and into the sophisticated Chinese wooden skeleton buildings with tile roofs as discussed in Chapter 1.2. The round straw hut is thus not only the 'conceptual' prototype of the wooden halls of East-Asia but indeed their historical ancestor.

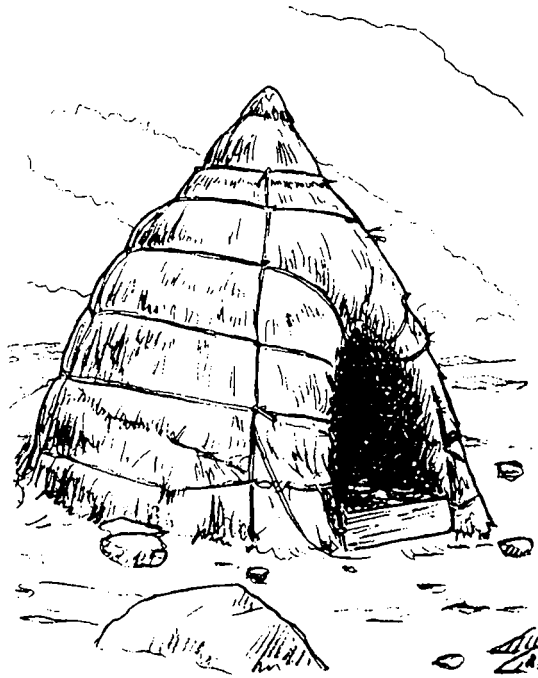


Fig. 662: Perspective of a straw hut for *kim-čhi* 김치 (*čho-mak* 草幕 초막) at Yŏng-wŏl-gun 寧越郡 영월군, Kang-wŏn-do 江原道 강원도 (drawing by the author)

<sup>1</sup> Am-sa-dong 岩寺洞 암사동. See: Chapter 1.2., pp. 21f.

<sup>2</sup> *Kim-čhi* 김치, pickled Chinese cabbage with hot pepper sauce, one of Korea's national dishes.

These straw hermitages could also provide a clearer picture for the numerous small temples which were founded all over the Korean peninsula since the introduction of Buddhism as described in the Chapters 2.1., 3.1. and 4.1. When the historical sources claim that famous monks founded temples and hermitages in remote mountain valleys, the absence of material evidence does not automatically discard the historical sources as legends without historical foundation. It is more probable that the 'founding' of a temple was often rather a religious than an architectural event which mainly sanctified a geographic site. It was probably sufficient for subsequent generations that a Buddhist master cleared a space in the forest, built his modest straw hut and meditated there for a certain period in order to claim that he founded a temple there. The hermitages where revered masters had lived, easily became sites of pilgrimage which favoured the establishment of more durable constructions which eventually evolved into the extant mountain temples of Korea. It is thus not surprising that no material evidence of the first periods of numerous temples of Korea can be cited in support of the historical sources. The only hint that certain temples were in fact founded in early periods are the sites themselves which were chosen following geomantic rules. Probably only those hermitages evolved into the larger extant temples whose sites had sufficient geomantic, aesthetic and historic qualities to justify a continuous religious interest over the centuries. Time can thus be considered as a kind of 'natural selection process' which left only the best temple sites intact. The touristic success of many Buddhist temple sites in Korea seems to support this hypothesis.

The main characteristics of the archetype of the straw hut and its later highly articulated wooden halls are the following: the structure is clearly orientated by the location of its (main) entrance. It thus usually has only a single axis of symmetry which runs through the centre of the entrance. In its developed forms, this architectural type can easily be connected with other buildings of the same type or with boundaries. Its functions evolved greatly with the increased size of the building complexes so that finally each building was almost exclusively reserved for one function only. The ground plan was also adapted to the various new functions and almost every imaginable ground form has been experimented with. The elevations of these buildings show a less great variety of forms in central China and Korea than those of the *stūpas* and pagodas. Even multi-storied buildings were often like superimposed one-storied buildings.

The archetype of the straw hut and its developed forms is symbolized by an empty circle with an indication of the main entrance and orientation in the subsequent discussion of the development of the layout types: ⊙, ⊕, ⊗.

The graphic representations of the straw huts are often quite close to those of caves and grottoes where the Buddha or Bodhisattvas are meditating. Such representations of caves are known for example from Mathurā<sup>1</sup>, Kyzyl and Dunhuang<sup>2</sup> [fig. 663].



1



2

Fig. 663: Two examples of niches: Mathurā (1) and Dunhuang 敦煌 洞窟, cave No. 112 (2) (after: FRÉDÉRIC (1959), p. 109; DE SILVA (1964), p. 174)

<sup>1</sup> E.g. the relief in the Indian Museum of Calcutta. See: FRÉDÉRIC (1959), pp. 95, 109 (fig. 75).

<sup>2</sup> E.g. fragments of wall paintings in the Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin from Kyzyl (Kucha) of the 7th C. AD. Detail of a mural in cave No. 285 at Dunhuang 敦煌 洞窟 of the Western Wei 西魏 时期. It is not always easy to distinguish caves from huts, arcs and halos, all of which have a similar iconographic value. Already PELLIOT could not decide: "Le bas du plafond, sur toutes les parois, est occupé par des ermites en niches (ou huttes) (...); entre les huttes circulent tous les animaux sauvages connus des artistes locaux (...)". Some sculptures of Dunhuang of the Northern Wei (cave No. 248), Western Wei (cave No. 432) and Sui 隋 时期 (cave No. 419) seem even to have combined the different motives. The Buddhas sit in a cave-like niche whose frame looks like twisted straw and the whole composition is crowned by a flame-shaped halo. See: Grand Palais (Galeries nationales du) (ed.) (1995), pp. 216f., 223f.; WATSON (1995), p. 162f.; PELLIOT XIa (1984), P. 55; PENG Huashi (1981), pl. 126, 132, 136.

The occupants of straw huts are usually monks and ascetics, but, in one Korean example at least, a Buddha is also represented as sitting in such a straw hut. While the two kinds of shelter for meditation, the straw hut and the cave, consisted of very different materials they seem nonetheless to have had the same religious and symbolic connotations. The interior bell-shaped spaces of the hut and the cave are quite similar so that the cave temple can typologically be treated as related to the archetype of the straw hut. The cave has similar spatial characteristics as the straw hut as described above, including orientation and symmetry, so that the Buddhist caves in India, Serindia, China and Korea can count among the image halls, especially if they included a Buddha image. The differences between the straw-hut type and the cave type lie obviously in the construction material but also in the fact that the straw-hut type is can be freely placed in the temple layout while the cave type is limited to form the last element of the temple layout and no structure can be placed behind it. The application of the cave type is therefore not of great importance for the discussion of the development of the temple layout in East Asia.

One of the best examples of this kind of image hall is the artificial grotto of Sök-kul-am near Kyöng-chu<sup>1</sup> [fig. 664, 665] of the middle of the eighth century AD of Unified Sin-la. Its circular main chamber of cut stone is covered by a granite dome. The proportion between the interior space of the grotto and the size of the Buddha which is sitting on his pedestal a little behind the geometrical centre of the main chamber is very similar to that of the representations of ascetics and Buddhas in their straw huts and caves. This comparison could even be continued to the Buddha figures inside the *stūpas* of Borobudur [fig. 666] in Java which could be viewed as the merger of the archetype of the *stūpa* and that of the straw hut. Similarly, the *stūpas* and pagodas which feature Buddha images in the inside or on the outside, are intermediate stages between the two archetypes. Centralized pagodas can have clearly orientated ground stories so that it can be difficult to tell to which architectural type these structures belong. Such a structure is the Dæ-ung-chön of Ssang-bong-sa<sup>2</sup> [fig. 667] which, as its name indicates, is the main image hall of the temple but its general form is that of a three-storied wooden pagoda and its top roof has recently been restored to its original pyramidal form.

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<sup>1</sup> Sök-kul-am 石窟庵 석굴암 (No. 7.34.34.), Kyöng-chu 慶州 경주.

<sup>2</sup> Dæ-ung-chön 大雄殿 대웅전, Ssang-bong-sa 雙峰寺 쌍봉사 (No. 6.9.2.).

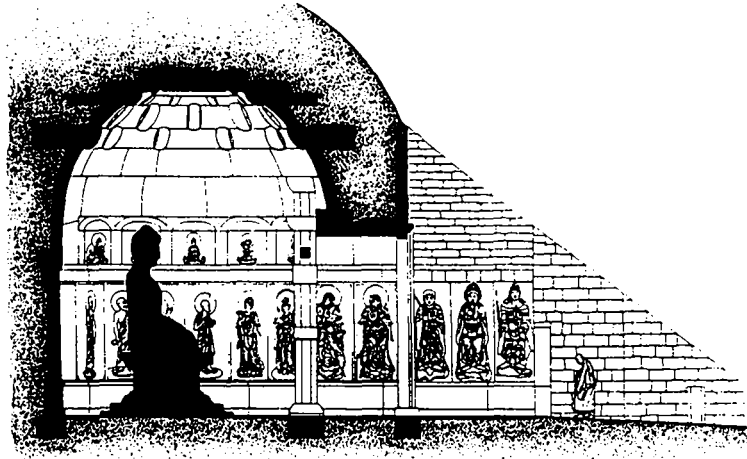


Fig. 664: Sök-kul-am 石窟庵 석굴암: longitudinal section as reconstructed by Japanese officials in the early 20th C. AD (mid-8th C. AD, scale: 1 : 200) (after: EPFL (1992))

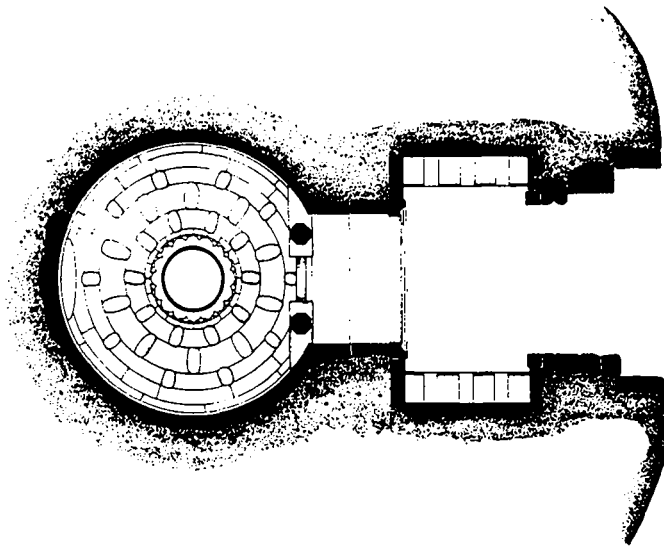


Fig. 665: Sök-kul-am 石窟庵 석굴암: plan of the ceiling as reconstructed by Japanese officials in the early 20th C. AD (mid-8th C. AD, scale: 1 : 200) (after: EPFL (1992))

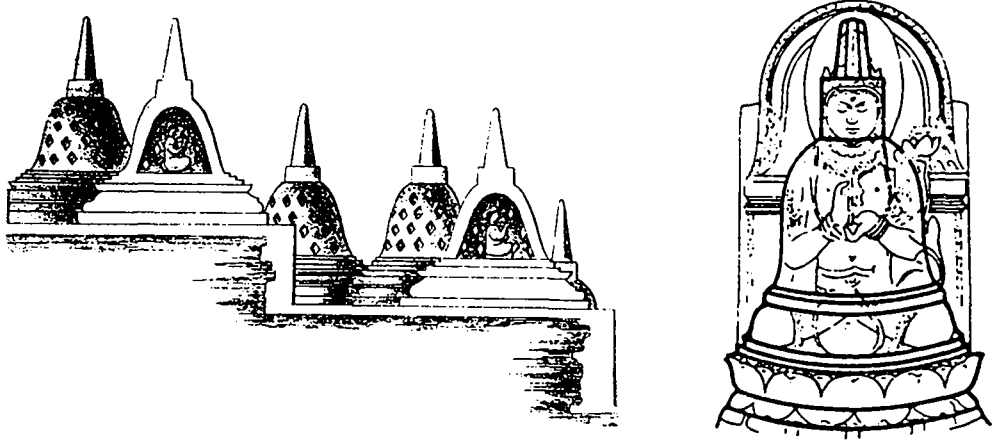


Fig. 666: Partial section of Borobudur (792 - 824 AD, scale: about 1 : 300) and assimilation of the body of Buddha and the *stūpa* (no scale) (after: SCHOPPERT (ed.) (1990), p. 158; MÜS (1935), p. 105)

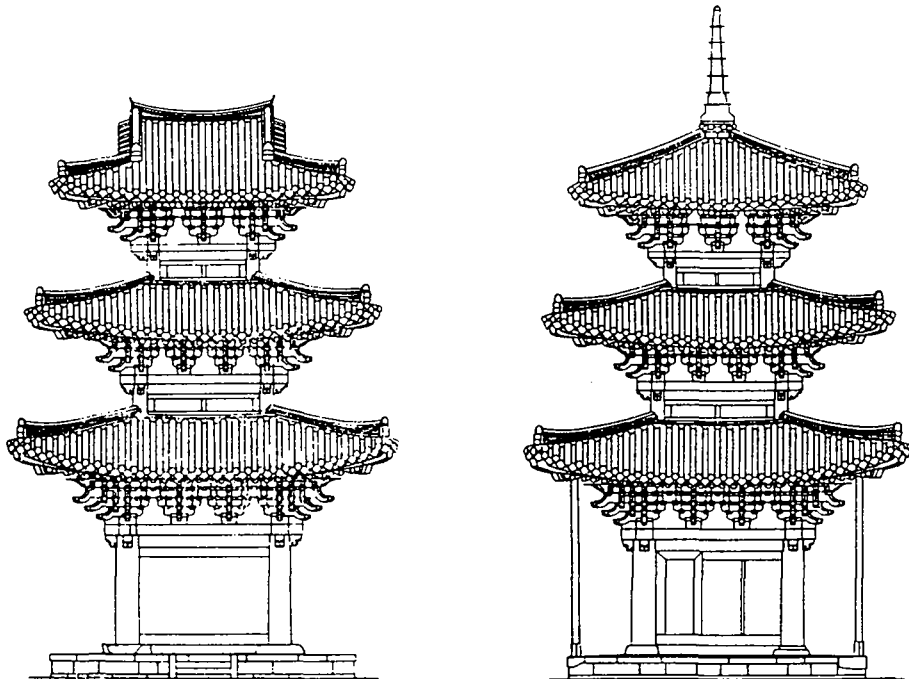


Fig. 667: Dae-ung-chŏn 大雄殿 대웅전 of Ssang-bong-sa 雙峰寺 쌍봉사: ground plan, elevation before and after restoration (late 17th C. AD, scale: 1 : 200) (after: CHŎNG In-guk 鄭寅國 정인국 (1974), p. 83; MHCSRBS 86, p. 522)



### 5.3.3. The boundary and gate

The boundary is a universal architectural element which serves as defense, marking of property and indicating sacred or otherwise restricted areas. The archetype of the boundary naturally includes the gate which permits controlled access for authorized persons. The boundary can be formed of solid material but 'virtual' boundaries which can only be perceived by the initiated can also serve the same purposes. Such 'virtual' boundaries are for example the degrees of privacy inside the temple precincts. The boundaries can consist of architectural elements such as walls, fences, galleries, strained ropes, steps, different floor coverings and ditches but natural elements such as hedges, trees, fields, rivers, water surfaces, rocks, elevations and depressions can also be used as boundaries.

The gate can equally have various forms adapted to the type of boundary which it interrupts. Beside the numerous forms of doors, also stairs, bridges, paths, thresholds and 'markers' can indicate a more or less restricted passage way.

Virtually all temples of Korea possess now (and possessed most certainly also in the past) boundaries and gates of some sort. The following discussion, however, concentrates on the strongest type of boundary and gate: the covered galleries with walls between the outer columns and the building-like gates which often had tile roofs. The reasons for this limitation are the lack of conclusive evidence for the 'weaker' types of boundaries for the early periods of Korean Buddhist architecture and the difficulty to attribute the construction of extant boundaries to a sufficiently precise period of the past. The archetype of the boundary and the gate is symbolized by a simple line which is interrupted at the location of the gate in the subsequent discussion of the development of the layout types.

In response to the second hypothesis of this study, it can be affirmed that the three simple 'archetypes' of the *stūpa*, the straw hut and the boundary are able to represent most features of the layouts of the early Buddhist temples in East Asia. The remaining particular features which fail to be included in the three basic 'archetypes', such as the cave temples, did not have an important influence on the development of the temple layouts.

#### 5.4. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TEMPLE LAYOUT TYPES IN KOREA

The following discussion of the development of the typology of temple layout in Korea tries to explain how the various layout plans are related to each other. The development is viewed here in a typological sense, and not in a strictly historical one. The typology tries to explain complicated forms and relations by tracing them back to 'prototypes' or archetypes and simple relations. Concrete historical examples ('models' in the terminology of typology) will illustrate the validity of the intermediate steps of the proposed development but they do not have to be necessarily older than the complex forms because simple, archaic forms can easily coexist with more developed ones.

##### 5.4.1. Isolated archetypes

The simplest layout form is obviously the isolated presence of one of the archetypes. Their characteristics have been discussed above so that it is sufficient to cite a few examples for illustration.



The isolated *stūpa* archetype is quite frequent. I have mentioned in Chapter 2.3. that after the Tang dynasty numerous brick pagodas were built as landmarks rather than as centres of temples. But the tradition of isolated *stūpa* is possibly the very origin of the Indian Buddhist temple together with a loosely defined sacred precinct. The great *stūpa* of Sāñcī, for example, probably once stood alone in a park and the minor *stūpas*, the stone fence and the other structures were added later. Similar isolated religious monuments are the lion columns of Aśoka. Isolated pagodas and *stūpas* (*bu-do*<sup>1</sup>) can also frequently be found in Korea but it is not always clear if these structures are the only remains of a larger temple or if they were supposed to stand alone. In some cases, however, there can be no doubt that the pagodas and *stūpas* (*bu-do*) were isolated monuments because the sites did not permit the construction of other structures in the immediate vicinity. Such examples are the lion pagoda of Hwa-ōm-sa<sup>2</sup>, the three-storied stone pagoda of Yong-chang-

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<sup>1</sup> *Bu-do* 浮屠 부도.

<sup>2</sup> Hwa-ōm-sa 華嚴寺 화엄사 (No. 6.7.1.).

sa-gok, several stone pagodas of Un-chu-sa<sup>1</sup> and the *stūpas* (*bu-do*) of Tæ-an-sa, Ssang-bong-sa and Yŏn-gok-sa<sup>2</sup>.



Examples of the isolated straw hut archetype are equally easy to find as the hermitage is originally an isolated building for a single person. Some extant Korean 'hermitages' consist of several buildings and include also pagodas but they should more properly be called small temples. The most famous Korean hermitage or small temple is the above-mentioned Sök-kul-am<sup>3</sup> [figs. 664f.] which consists today of the artificial grotto, an isolated wooden image hall, a housing complex further below and a stone pagoda with housing behind it. The artificial grotto is however isolated enough to consider it as belonging to the most simple type of temple layouts.



Isolated boundaries without image hall nor pagoda seems to be contradictory but sometimes natural objects can replace architectural monuments, especially in East-Asian shamanism and Japanese Shintō. Sacred ropes are sometimes fixed on four posts around a sacred tree or rock, thus defining a sacred precinct. Early Indian tree sanctuaries (*bodhigrha*)<sup>4</sup> show a similar concept to the sacred trees of Korean shamanism but in India the boundaries (*harmikā*) are often well-developed architectural structures resembling open galleries with round, octagonal, square or bell-shaped ground plans<sup>5</sup>. It is generally supposed that these tree sanctuaries evolved into the finial of the Buddhist *stūpas* and pagodas as reliefs from various periods and locations indicate<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Yong-chang-sa-gok 葦長寺谷 웅장사곡 (No. 7.33.12.), Un-chu-sa 雲住寺 운주사 (No. 6.9.3.).

<sup>2</sup> Tæ-an-sa 泰安寺 태안사 (No. 6.6.4.), Ssang-bong-sa 雙峰寺 쌍봉사 (No. 6.9.2.), Yŏn-gok-sa 鷲谷寺 연곡사 (No. 6.7.4.).

<sup>3</sup> Sök-kul-am 石窟庵 석굴암 (No. 7.34.34.).

<sup>4</sup> The known examples all seem to belong to the Buddhist tradition but it is probable that the concept of sacred trees is much older than the beginning of Buddhism. The architectural development of the boundary around the trees, however, might be a development proper to Indian Buddhism.  
See: KOTTKAMP (1992), figs. 9 - 16.

<sup>5</sup> See: KOTTKAMP (1992), figs. 13 - 16.

<sup>6</sup> See: KOTTKAMP (1992), figs. 19 - 22.

## 5.4.2. Isolated archetypes with boundary and gate

The first stage of development after the isolated archetypes is the simplest combination of the *stūpa* and hut archetypes with the boundary archetype:



This layout type enhances the importance and sacredness of the *stūpa* and gives it an orientation. It is however important that the boundary does not touch the *stūpa* in order to preserve its basic characteristics. If the isolated *stūpa* can be considered among the earliest elements of the Indian Buddhist temples, then the *stūpa* within a boundary was probably the first stage of evolution of Indian Buddhist architecture. These boundaries were either square or concentric to the round *stūpa*.

In Korea this type of sanctuary layout seems now to be limited to a few Chök-myöl-bo-kung<sup>1</sup> which consist of a wooden buildings in front of the *stūpa* (*bu-do*) and its enclosure. Such examples are the *stūpas* (*bu-do*) of Tong-do-sa [figs. 668, 677], Güm-san-sa and Yong-yön-sa<sup>2</sup>. The *stūpas* (*bu-do*) of Hwæ-am-sa and Bong-in-sa<sup>3</sup> and their octagonal stone boundaries [fig. 669] are exceptional examples because they are commemorative *stūpas* (*bu-do*) and do not belong to a Chök-myöl-bo-kung. The excavation of Ko-sön-sa<sup>4</sup> [fig. 670] has shown that the three-storied stone pagoda stood in its own courtyard surrounded by one-bay-deep galleries to the west of the main courtyard with the main image hall. If the main courtyard and the northern structures are ignored<sup>5</sup>, the pagoda precinct illustrates this early temple layout in an exemplary way.

<sup>1</sup> Chök-myöl-bo-kung 寂滅寶宮 적멸보궁, "nirvāṇa treasure palace". See: Chapter 4.2., pp. 719ff.

<sup>2</sup> Tong-do-sa 通度寺 통도사 (No. 8.13.1.), Güm-san-sa 金山寺 금산사 (No. 5.3.2.), Yong-yön-sa 龍淵寺 용연사 (No. 7. 29.1.).

<sup>3</sup> Hwæ-am-sa 檜巖寺 회암사 (No. 1.7.1.), Bong-in-sa 奉印寺 봉인사 (No. 1.14.6.).

<sup>4</sup> Ko-sön-sa 高仙寺 고선사 (No. 7.34.37.).

<sup>5</sup> This abstraction seems to be admissible because the two precincts are simply added one to another.

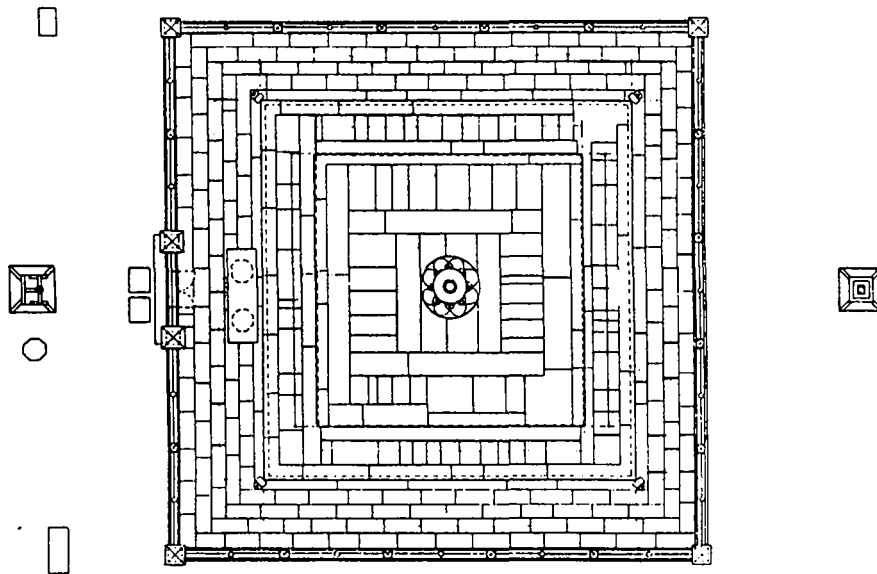
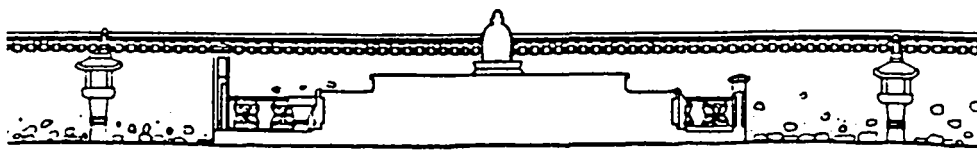


Fig. 668: Güm-gang-kye-dan 金剛戒壇금강계단 of Tong-do-sa 通度寺통도사: plan and section (Cho-sŏn 朝鮮 조선?, scale: 1 : 200) (after Ul-san Institute of Technology 蔚山工科大学蔚山공과대학교 (1980), pp. 35, 39)

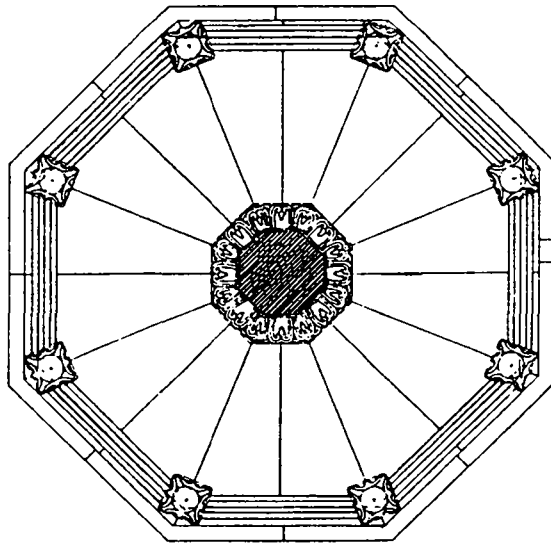
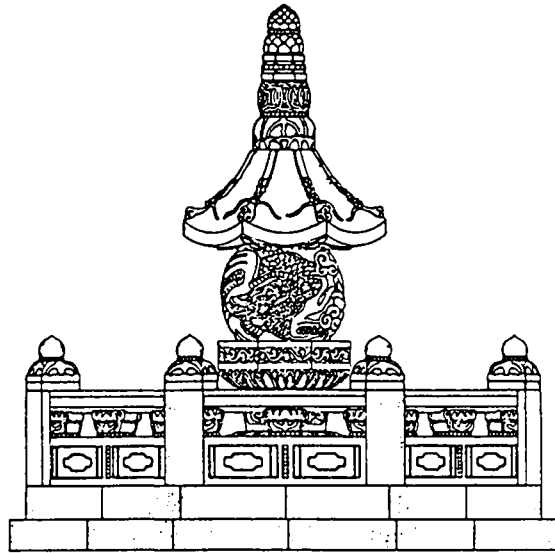


Fig. 669: *Stupa (bu-do 浮屠 부도)* of Bong-in-sa 奉印寺 봉인사: plan and elevation (18th C. AD, scale: 1 : 50) (after: *MHCSRBS* 87, pp. 3f.)

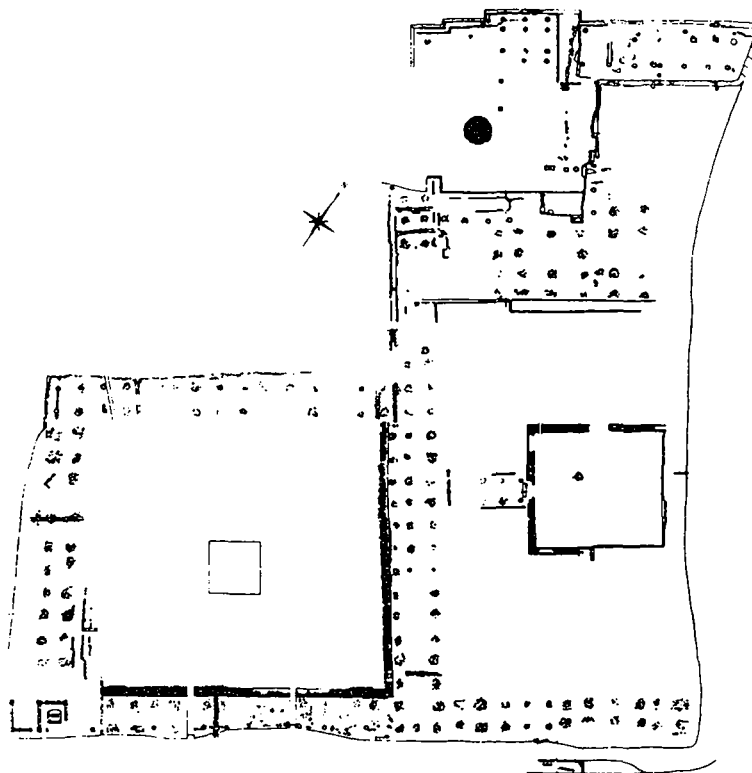


Fig. 670: Excavation plan of Ko-sŏn-sa 高仙寺 고선사 (late 7th C. AD, scale: 1 : 1,000)  
(after: MHCKLG (1977), pl. 4)

While I am not aware of any extant isolated Chinese pagoda with its proper galleries, this type of layout was used in China in the past as several murals from Dunhuang indicate<sup>1</sup>. Numerous isolated pagodas in China are nowadays surrounded by various sorts of boundaries but it is often difficult to tell if they belonged to the original layout or if they are later additions after the other structures of the temples were destroyed. The ruined twin pagodas of Tōdai-ji in Nara<sup>2</sup> with their proper galleries could also be considered as related to this simple layout type if their relation to the huge temple complex is ignored.

For KIM Sōng-u<sup>3</sup>, the 'pagoda temples'<sup>4</sup> which consisted of a pagoda, galleries and a gate, were the earliest form of Buddhist temples in China from which all other temple layouts evolved (see Chapter 2.3., pp. 161ff.). While I agree that this layout was in fact among the earliest temple layouts in China, I do not think that it was the only one imported to China. The image hall was also an integral part of Indian Buddhism when it reached China.



The layout-type combining a single 'straw hut archetype' with a boundary with a gate leads to an increased importance and sacredness of the hut or image hall in a similar way as the *stūpa* and the boundary do. But in the case of the usually rectangular image hall it is possible to insert the building into the rear boundary as in several temples in Japan<sup>5</sup>. The basic layout of this type aligns the entrance of the hut with the gate in order to preserve the main orientation of the hut. It would be imaginable that the gate and the entrance of the hut are not placed on the same axis but it seems that such a layout which reduces the importance of the hut was not commonly used for religious architecture while it became an important feature of Korean domestic architecture. Some asymmetrical variations were used in certain more complex temple layouts.

<sup>1</sup> See: PENG Huashi (1981), pl. 75.

<sup>2</sup> Tōdai-ji 東大寺とうだいじ 동대사, Nara 奈良なら 나랑.

<sup>3</sup> See: KIM Sung-woo (KIM Sōng-u 金聖雨 김성우) (1985), p. 34.

<sup>4</sup> Ch: *tasi*, K: *tab-sa* 塔寺 탑사.

<sup>5</sup> Many of the Kokubun-ji 國分寺 こくぶんじ 국분사, which were erected after the edict of 741 AD followed this layout, e.g. Mutsu Kokubun-ji 陸奥國分寺 むつこくぶんじ 육오국분사. See: Nara National Museum 奈良國立博物館ならこくりつはくぶつかん 나랑국립박물관 (ed.) (1980).

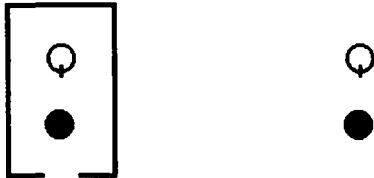


The hut-and-boundary layout is known in Korea mainly from shamanistic architecture where the small shrines<sup>1</sup> are sometimes enclosed within narrow walls. Examples from Korean Buddhist architecture are rarer, the western precinct of Bul-guk-sa<sup>2</sup> (see further below, fig. 671), however, can be considered as a good example if its relation to the rest of the temple is ignored. Some temple feature enclosures around the monks' housings but this feature is more closely related to Korean domestic architecture than to Buddhist architecture.

In China, this layout type is again documented on murals of Dunhuang<sup>3</sup>, while in Japan the main courtyards of Tōdai-ji, Tōshōdai-ji, Kōfuku-ji and several Kokubun-ji<sup>4</sup> are examples for the second kind of this layout type where the image hall is inclosed in the rear gallery. It is difficult to find corresponding examples for this layout in Buddhist India. I suppose therefore that this layout type is most closely related to the ancient Chinese tradition of 'courtyard architecture' as mentioned in Chapter 2.3.

#### 5.4.3. Combination of isolated archetypes with or without boundary and gate

The next stage in the development of East Asian temple layouts combines the archetypes of the *stūpa* and the hut. A subdivision can be made between those temples which possess a boundary and those which do not.



The main impulse for this new layout type was quite certainly the development in India of the religious veneration of the image of Buddha and the wish to visualize the events of his life. The earliest images of Buddha and narrative

<sup>1</sup> The shamanistic shrines are called by various names: Dong-sin-dang 洞神堂 동신당, Sōng-hwang-dang 城隍堂 성황당, Sō-nang-dang 서낭당, Kol-mæ-ki-dang 굴매기당, Dang-chib 당집 or San-sin-dang 山神堂 산신당. See: *BGinCd* 101-24, pp. 14, 30f., 100; *BGinCd* 101-28, pp. 33, 59; HWANG Hōn-man 黃憲萬 황현만 (1993), pp. 180, 207.

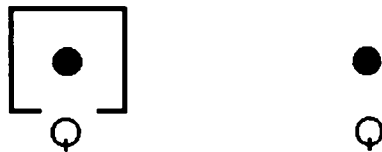
<sup>2</sup> Bul-guk-sa 佛國寺 불국사 (No. 7.34.33.).

<sup>3</sup> See: PENG Huashi (1981), pl. 106.

<sup>4</sup> Tōdai-ji 東大寺 とうだいじ 동대사, Tōshōdai-ji 唐招提寺 とうしゅうだいじ 당초제사, Kōfuku-ji 興福寺 こうふくじ 흥복사, Kokubun-ji 國分寺 こくぶんじ 국분사.

reliefs are thought to have developed at about 100 BC<sup>1</sup>, more than three centuries after the *nirvāṇa* of the historical Buddha, probably through influences from the hellenistic world. It seems that the earliest life-size Buddha figures were placed in separate chapels near the *stūpas* which remained probably the main object of veneration for some time. But there seems to have been no clear rule as to where and how these chapels were to be placed which is again reminiscent of Greek traditions. The community of monks developed at about the same time as the image cult. New structures were needed in the temple precinct to teach, house and nourish the numerous monks. The chapels and monks' cells seem to have been multiplied from very early on and it is not certain that Buddhist India ever had a tradition of temple layouts including only one *stūpa* and one image hall. With the introduction of the multiple image halls around the *stūpa*, the influence of Indian architecture on the Buddhist architecture of East Asia came to an end and from here on it is only question of the internal development of the East Asian temple layouts.

The layout of a single pagoda and a single image hall had an important role in East Asia where it is attested from Northern Wei in China, Bæk-che in Korea as well as Asuka and Hakuho in Japan. It is probable that it was also applied in Ancient Sin-la but no clear evidence has been uncovered so far. This layout was most frequently associated with covered galleries and large gates. Its success in East Asia might be explained on the one hand by the simplicity of the design which nevertheless included all important elements of a Mahāyāna temple, and on the other hand by its resemblance to the Chinese courtyard architecture which placed the most important buildings on the main south-north axis. The fact that the pagoda was usually placed in front of the image hall and in the middle of the courtyard indicates that it was still considered the centre of the temple as was the case in India.



Theoretically, there are a number of other possibilities of combinations of this temple layout. In particular, the position of the hut and the *stūpa* could be inverted. This layout seems to have been applied only for the Chök-myöl-bo-kung [fig. 677] in Korea and its application in China and Japan seems uncertain.

<sup>1</sup> E.g. reliefs from Bhārhut of the Śuṅga period. See: FISHER (1993), pp. 34f.



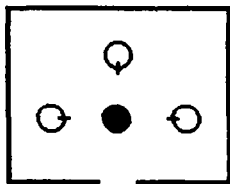
Another possibility is the balanced-symmetrical temple layout of a number of Japanese temples which were already discussed above. It is possible to view this layout as a variant to the single-pagoda, single-image hall-layout on a south-north axis or as a simplification of the layout with multiple image halls. It is probably most appropriate to admit a combined influence from both layout types.

#### 5.4.4. Multiplication and differentiation of certain archetypes

Up till this point the various temple layouts have been very simple and represent the most basic forms of Buddhist architecture in East Asia. Already during the first periods of Buddhism on the Korean peninsula highly developed and complex temple layouts were introduced and further developed.

##### 5.4.4.1. Multiplication of the image hall

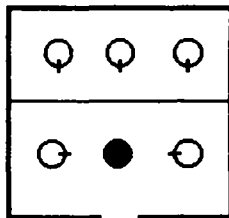
As the layout plan fast becomes very complex, I will discuss first the relationship between the pagoda and the multiple image halls within their galleries. The differentiation between image hall, lecture hall and minor buildings will be mentioned further below.



It seems certain that the Buddhist temple architecture introduced to Ko-guryŏ was characterized by a central octagonal pagoda and several peripheral image halls which were orientated towards the pagoda. Though this layout has not yet been confirmed on the Chinese mainland, it is similar to a number of temple precincts

from Gandhāra and other areas<sup>1</sup> where the central *stūpa* is surrounded by monks' cells or chapels with images. The orientation of the lateral image halls is not typical of Chinese courtyard architecture where the major halls usually face southwards. In India, which did apparently not insist on particular orientations of the temples, such changes in orientation were a common practice so that I tend to consider this feature of the orthodox Ko-gu-ryō temple layout as a residue of Indian architecture.

The reasons for the multiplication of the image halls which had apparently already occurred in India before Buddhism was introduced to East Asia, must be searched for in the doctrine and cosmology of Buddhism in general and of Mahāyāna Buddhism in particular. The growing number of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods and other revered figures which appeared in the Buddhist literature created the demand for new sculptures which had no space in a single chapel. So, instead of enlarging the chapel as occurred with the basilicas in early Christianity, new chapels were added to the early Indian Buddhist temples as was the case in Ancient Greece. As there was no well-defined place for the single image hall in the Indian temple layout, the multiple image halls were also placed around the *stūpa* without clearly defined rules. This sometimes almost chaotic freedom of architectural composition seems to have changed radically for Buddhist architecture when it was confronted with the well-organized courtyard architecture of China. Rules for the construction of Buddhist temples were apparently established with regional differences as the traditions of Ko-gu-ryō and Bæk-che suggest.

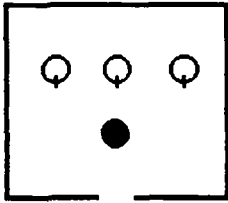


The layout of the central courtyard of Chōng-rŭng-sa<sup>2</sup> of Ko-gu-ryō is exceptional in that it features at least four image halls (if the north-eastern hall whose function is not clear is omitted). Its layout seems to be an intermediate step to the layout of the second Hwang-ryong-sa<sup>3</sup>. The gallery between the pagoda and the northern image halls has been drawn thinner because it is not clear whether it is original and because it was probably open on both sides.

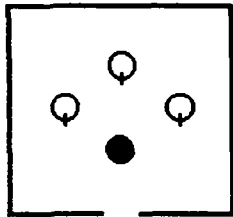
<sup>1</sup> See: SECKEL (1962, 1964), p. 129; KOTTKAMP (1992), pp. 633ff.

<sup>2</sup> Chōng-rŭng-sa 定陵寺 정릉사 (No. 10.1.3.).

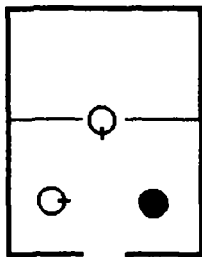
<sup>3</sup> Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황룡사 (No. 7.34.2.).



The layout of the second Hwang-ryong-sa can be considered a combination of the multiple image halls of Ko-gu-ryō and the southwards orientation of the major halls of Chinese courtyard architecture. The fact that the lateral image halls are placed beside the central image hall and not beside the pagoda can probably be explained by the radiating character of the pagoda which only exceptionally allows a building to be placed beside it which does not face it (e.g. Hōryū-ji).



A similar case is the layout of the first Bun-hwang-sa<sup>1</sup>. Though a little later than the second Hwang-ryong-sa, Bun-hwang-sa seems to be closer to the orthodox Ko-gu-ryō layout.

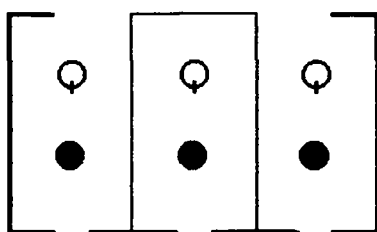


In Japan, in a similar way to the balanced-symmetrical temples with one pagoda and one image hall, a number of temples with multiple image halls were built with divergent balanced-symmetrical layouts. It seems that the Japanese, for

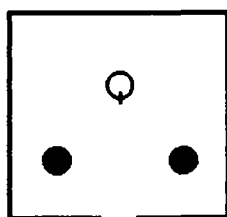
<sup>1</sup> Bun-hwang-sa 芬皇寺 분황사 (No. 7.34.1.)

reasons which are difficult to define, had a particular preference for balanced symmetries and asymmetrical layouts in art and architecture throughout their cultural history. The scheme included here renders the layout of Kawara-dera<sup>1</sup> of the mid-seventh century AD. Other symmetrical temples with multiple image halls were the temple site at Minami Shiga and Kōfuku-ji<sup>2</sup>.

#### 5.4.4.2. Multiplication of courtyards and pagodas



Already Chōng-rŭng-sa of Ko-gu-ryō featured multiple courtyards but the lateral courtyards were clearly less important than the central one and featured no pagodas. Bæk-che's Mi-rŭk-sa is the only known East Asian temple which featured three courtyards complete with pagodas, image halls, galleries and middle gates. Each courtyard can be considered a typical Bæk-che temple but the combination of three such temples is a step towards temples with multiple pagodas.

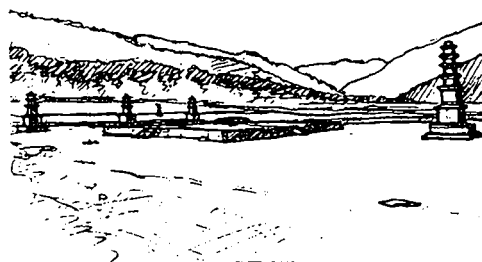
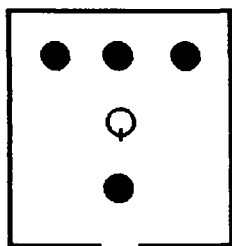


The temple layout with one image hall and twin pagodas in front of it seems to date back to the Northern Wei period of China at least. In Korea, Hŭng-ryun-sa of the early sixth century AD possibly used this layout for the first time; it became very popular during the Unified Sin-la period including among others Kam-ŭn-sa, Sa-chōn-wang-sa, Mang-dōk-sa, Bo-mun-sa, Chōn-gun-dong Sa-chi, Bul-guk-sa,

<sup>1</sup> Kawara-dera 川原寺かわらでら 천원사.

<sup>2</sup> Minami Shiga Haiji 南滋賀慶寺みなみしがはいじ 남자하 폐사, Kōfuku-ji 興福寺こうふくじ 흥복사.

Wön-wön-sa, Sung-bok-sa, Kal-hang-sa, Sön-am-sa, Sil-sang-sa and Bo-rim-sa<sup>1</sup>. The precise reasons which led to the multiplication of the courtyards and the pagodas is difficult to assess but it seems safe to admit that it was connected with the prestige of the temples. The more buildings a temple possessed, and the larger they were, the more monumental and important it appeared. The interpretation according to which the twin pagodas illustrate a famous scene of the *Lotus Sūtra* where the Buddha Prabhūtaratna<sup>2</sup> appeared in his own *stūpa* does not seem to be decisive because the text does not actually mention twin pagodas. It has also often been noticed that the twin pagoda freed the approach to the main image hall which gains thus in monumentality and becomes the focal point of the temple. At the same time the stone pagodas of Unified Sin-la<sup>3</sup> became smaller until they were almost comparable in size to stone lanterns, and were not much more than sculptural objects in the courtyard which could be added or removed without fundamentally changing the spatial character of the temple. In the same amount as the pagoda lost of importance, the courtyard became more and more the central element of the temple layout. I will return to this crucial evolution of Korean Buddhist architecture further below.



In Korea, the layout with multiple pagodas did not evolve much further. Söng-chu-sa<sup>4</sup> has an exceptional layout with one five-storied stone pagoda in front and three three-storied stone pagodas behind the image hall. The twin-pagoda layout

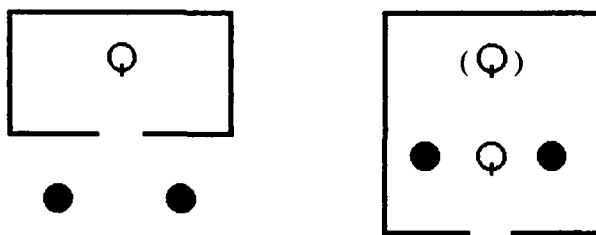
<sup>1</sup> Kam-ün-sa 感恩寺 감은사 (No. 7.33.10.), Sa-éhon-wang-sa 四天王寺 사천왕사 (No. 7.34.7.), Mang-dök-sa 望德寺 망덕사 (No. 7.34.8.), Bo-mun-sa 普門寺 보문사 (No. 7.34.6.), Čhön-gun-dong Sa-chi 千軍洞寺址 천군동사지 (No. 7.34.36.), Bul-guk-sa 佛國寺 불국사 (No. 7.34.33.), Wön-wön-sa 遠願寺 원원사 (No. 7.33.17.), Sung-bok-sa 崇福寺 숭복사 (No. 7.33.16.), Kal-hang-sa 葛項寺 갈항사 (No. 7.25.1.), Sön-am-sa 仙巖寺 선암사 (No. 6.8.2.), Sil-sang-sa 實相寺 실상사 (No. 5.13.2.) and Bo-rim-sa 寶林寺 보림사 (No. 6.20.1.).

<sup>2</sup> Buddha Prabhūtaratna: K: Da-bo-yō-ræ 多寶如來 다보여래. See: KERN (1909), pp. 227 - 238.

<sup>3</sup> Unified Sin-la 統一新羅 통일신라, lasted from 668 to 935 AD.

<sup>4</sup> Söng-chu-sa 聖住寺 성주사 (No. 4.16.1.).

was still used in large-scale temples of the Ko-ryō period as the ruins of Hŭng-wang-sa show. By the Cho-sŏn period, the pagoda had lost its predominant position<sup>1</sup> and although many temples had at least one small stone pagoda, it could be placed in the central courtyard or at another place which was judged propitious according to geomancy.



Japan developed additional variants of the layout with twin pagodas, either by placing the pagodas in front of the main courtyard (Daian-ji, Tōdai-ji, Saidai-ji<sup>2</sup>) or by placing the image hall between the two pagodas (Niibari Haiji<sup>3</sup>).

#### 5.4.4.3. Differentiation of the 'boundary archetype'

The 'boundary archetype' has been considered so far mainly as the most external element of the temple precinct, separating the profane environment from the sacred precinct. But already Chōng-rŭng-sa of Ko-gu-ryō, Mi-rŭk-sa of Bæk-che and the first Hwang-ryong-sa<sup>4</sup> of Ancient Sin-la show, all in different ways, that the galleries can also be used to differentiate internal spaces of the temple precinct. These structures have been called separation, intermediate and middle galleries in this study. A separation gallery was for example placed between the pagoda with the lateral image halls and the northern image halls of Chōng-rŭng-sa. Intermediate galleries run usually from south to north and divide the major courtyards from the minor ones. Finally, the middle galleries laterally connect the image hall with lateral or intermediate galleries. The separation gallery of Chōng-rŭng-sa seems to be highly exceptional but the intermediate and middle galleries had more frequent applications.

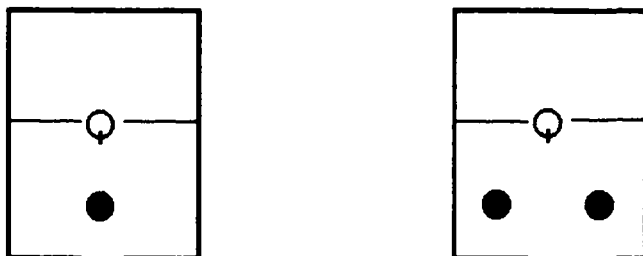
<sup>1</sup> See further below, pp. 986ff.

<sup>2</sup> Daian-ji 大安寺 だいにんじ 大安寺, Tōdai-ji 東大寺 とうだいじ 東大寺, Saidai-ji 西大寺 さいだいじ 西大寺.

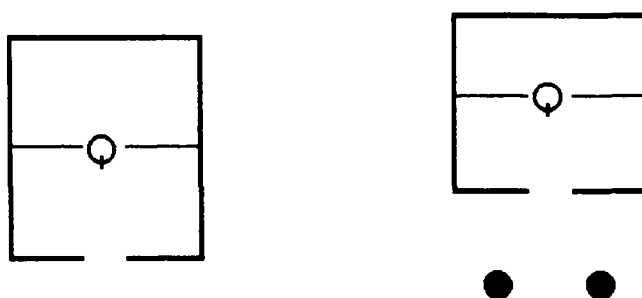
<sup>3</sup> Niibari Haiji 新治慶寺 にいばりはいじ 新治慶寺.

<sup>4</sup> Chōng-rŭng-sa 定陵寺 정릉사, Mi-rŭk-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사, Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황릉사.





The scheme to the left represents the layout of the central section of the first Hwang-ryong-sa, that to the right corresponds to the layout of Unified Sin-la temples, including Kam-ün-sa and the main precinct of Bul-guk-sa<sup>1</sup>. The historical reasons for the introduction of middle galleries in Buddhist temples is not known so that one can only speculate on the basis of the architectural effect of this element. The practical use of the middle gallery seems to be limited to a covered passage from the lateral galleries to the image hall serving as shelter from rain and sun. This, however, does not seem to be a sufficient reason for their introduction as the main approach to the image hall was most probably on the main south-north axis of the precinct where no protected passage was provided. The middle galleries divide the main courtyard into two distinct sections, thus reinforcing the position of the image hall. At An-hak<sup>2</sup> palace of Ko-gu-ryö, the lateral structures of the main halls were sometimes middle galleries but mostly they seem to have been full-fledged buildings attached to the main halls, which recall the lateral structures beside the lecture halls of Bæk-che and Sin-la.

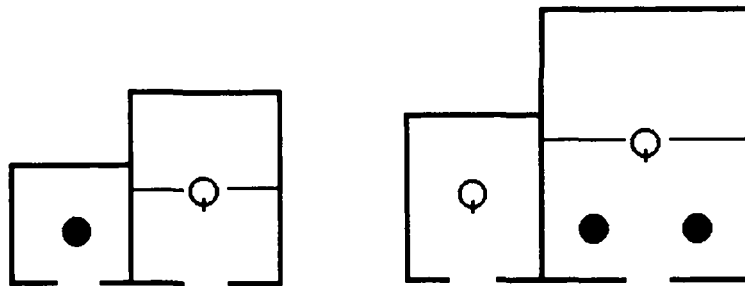


The middle galleries were also used in Japan but the types of Sin-la do not seem to have been reproduced there. Instead, the layout without direct connection

<sup>1</sup> Kam-ün-sa 感恩寺 감은사 (No. 7.33.10.), Bul-guk-sa 佛國寺 불국사 (No. 7.34.33.).

<sup>2</sup> An-hak-kung 安鶴宮 안학궁. See: Chapter 2.3., pp. 171f.

with pagodas (Kōga-dera and possibly Kōfuku-ji<sup>1</sup>) and that with twin pagodas in front of the main courtyard are attested (Tōdai-ji and possibly Daian-ji). The first variant (in particular Kōga-dera) seems to be related to Ko-sōn-sa of the early Unified Sin-la period (see below). The balanced symmetrical temples with two image halls (Kawara-dera and Minami Shiga Haiji<sup>2</sup>) also had middle galleries which connected the northern image halls to the lateral galleries.



The temple complexes with two courtyards of Ko-sōn-sa and Bul-guk-sa<sup>3</sup> [fig. 671] are among the few Korean examples of asymmetrical temple layouts of the seventh and eighth century AD. Ko-sōn-sa seems to be a precursor of Japanese temples which have separate lateral pagoda precincts such as Kōga-dera, Kōfuku-ji, and Gangō-ji<sup>4</sup>. The general layout of Bul-guk-sa with two major image halls seems to be as exceptional as many of its stone works.

1 Kōga-dera 甲賀寺 ころがでら 갑하사, Kōfuku-ji 興福寺 ころふくじ 흥복사.

2 Kawara-dera 川原寺 かわらでら 천원사, Minami Shiga Haiji 南滋賀廢寺 남자하 폐사.

3 Ko-sōn-sa 高仙寺 고선사 (No. 7.34.37), Bul-guk-sa 佛國寺 불국사 (No. 7.34.33.).

4 Kōga-ji 甲賀寺 ころがでら 갑하사, Kōfuku-ji 興福寺 ころふくじ 흥복사, Gangō-ji 元興寺 がんごるじ 원흥사.

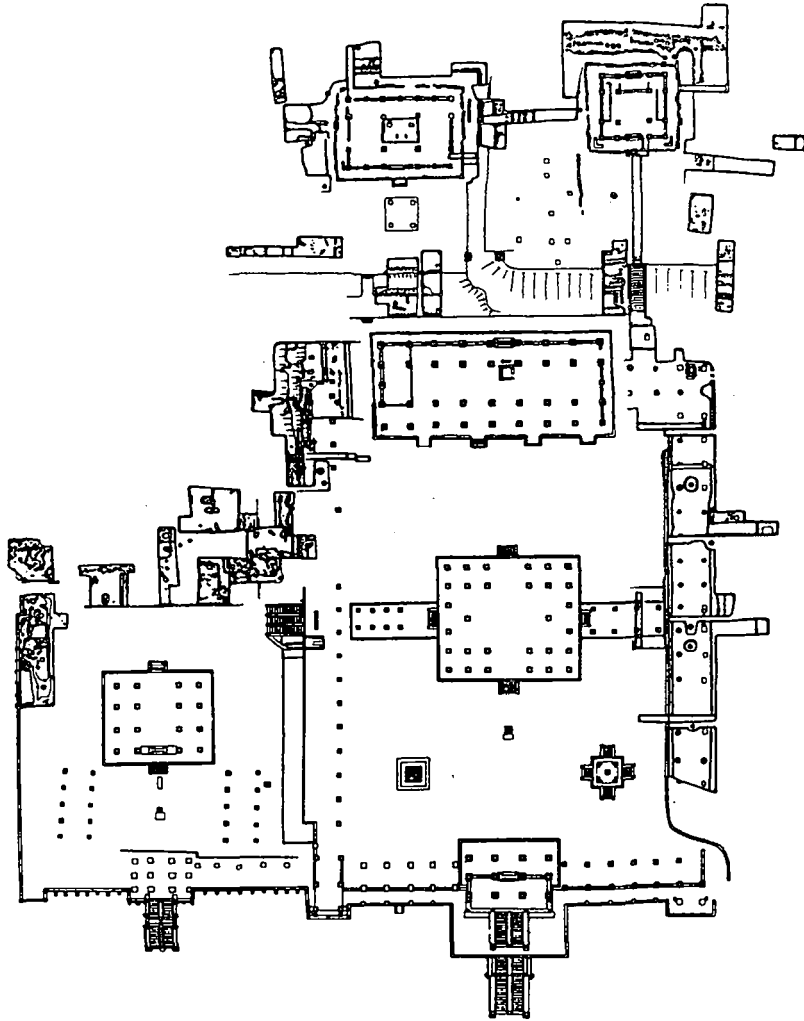
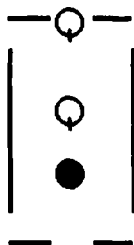


Fig. 671: Excavation plan of Bul-guk-sa 佛國寺 불국사 (mid-8th C. AD, scale: 1 : 1,000)  
(after: MHCKLG (1976), pl. 150)



The galleries began to be broken up during the Ko-ryŏ period and were sometimes treated like independent buildings (e.g. Hŭng-dŏk-sa<sup>1</sup> [fig. 672]). The germ of this development can already be seen at the southern galleries of Mi-rŭk-sa and the galleries of the reconstructed Hwang-ryong-sa. The temple layouts became more irregular (e.g. Man-bok-sa<sup>2</sup>) and some galleries were replaced with buildings (e.g. Hwŏ-am-sa and Bul-il-sa<sup>3</sup>). The galleries were finally almost completely abandoned during the Cho-sŏn period. This process can best be understood by observing the differentiation of the 'straw hut archetype' and the development of the layouts of the 'mountain temples'.

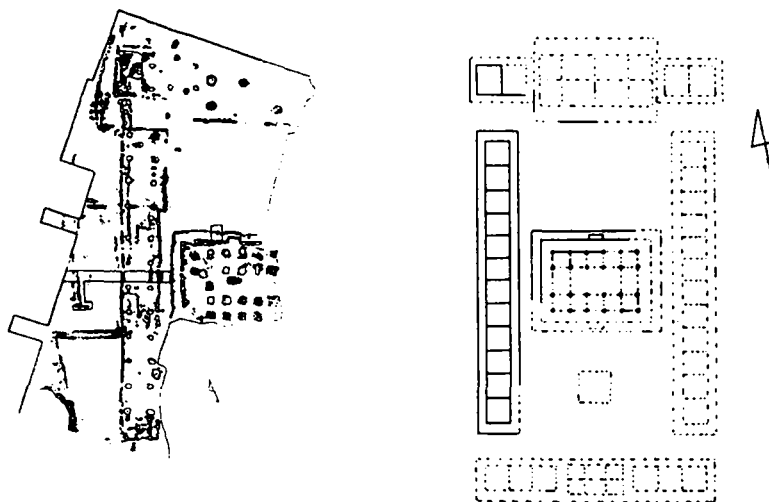


Fig. 672: Excavation plan and reconstructed plan of Hŭng-dŏk-sa 興德寺 흥덕사 (Ko-ryŏ ?, scale: 1 : 1,000) (after: Chung-ŭhŏng-buk-do 忠淸北道 충청북도 (1986), pl. 4, CHANG Kyŏng-ho 張慶浩 장경호 (1992), p. 220)

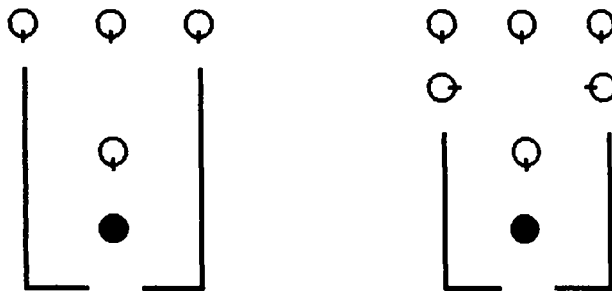
<sup>1</sup> Hŭng-dŏk-sa 興德寺 흥덕사 (No. 3.10.1).

<sup>2</sup> Man-bok-sa 萬福寺 만복사 (No. 5.14.3).

<sup>3</sup> Hwŏ-am-sa 檜巖寺 회암사 (No. 1.7.1.), Bul-il-sa 佛日寺 불일사 (No. 10.12.1.).

## 5.4.4.4. Differentiation of the 'straw hut archetype'

Differentiation between image hall, lecture hall and dormitories already took place in Buddhist India. But, as in the case of the position of the image hall in the temple layout, the positions of the lecture halls and the dormitories do not seem to have been clearly defined. A clarification occurred during the first centuries of Buddhism in China so that several standard positions in the temple layout were established by the time Buddhism was introduced into the Korean peninsula. The lecture hall, almost without exceptions, was at that time placed in the main axis of the main precinct and either inserted in the rear gallery or placed behind it. The dormitories and other minor buildings were placed in the vicinity of the lecture hall, either beside or behind it. The influence of these minor buildings was therefore almost negligible for the layout of the main courtyard as long as the latter was formed by galleries and gates.

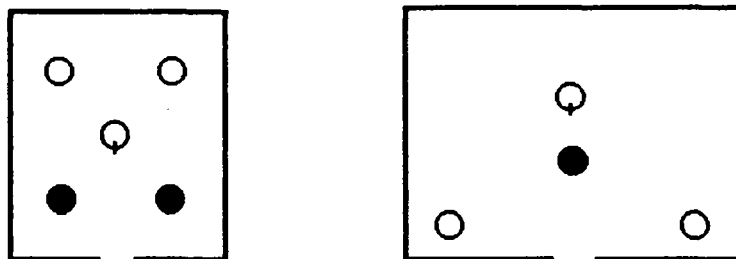


The differentiation can well be demonstrated on several Bæk-che temple sites. To the left is the supposed layout of the temple site at Gun-su-ri<sup>1</sup> and to the right that of Nüŋ-sa<sup>2</sup>. The front section of the temple corresponds to the orthodox Bæk-che temple layout, featuring a middle gate, a square pagoda and an oblong image hall on the main axis of the temple. The galleries enclose the pagoda and the lecture hall on the front and lateral side. The rear of the temple, however, starts to dissolve the gallery by placing minor building to the left and right of the lecture hall. These buildings have often been interpreted as belfry and *sūtra* repository but the newly discovered site of Nüŋ-sa shows that they were rather service structures to the lecture hall such as private study and preparation rooms for the chief monks.

<sup>1</sup> Gun-su-ri Sa-chi 軍守里 寺址 軍守리사지 (No. 4.19.6.). See: Chapter 3.2., pp. 281 - 283.

<sup>2</sup> Nüŋ-sa 陵寺 능사 (No. 4.19.7.). See: Chapter 3.2., pp. 354 - 358.

In the layout of Nūng-sa, the rear part of the lateral galleries was replaced by additional minor structures similar to those placed beside the lecture hall. The lateral buildings were orientated towards the rear courtyard which was delimited by the front sides of these buildings, the rear side of the image hall and the front side of the lecture hall. This temple layout is the oldest known example of an East Asian Buddhist temple courtyard which is not formed by galleries but by four oblong wooden buildings. This configuration is particularly important because it seems to be the precursor of the Korean 'mountain-temple layout' which became dominant in later periods.



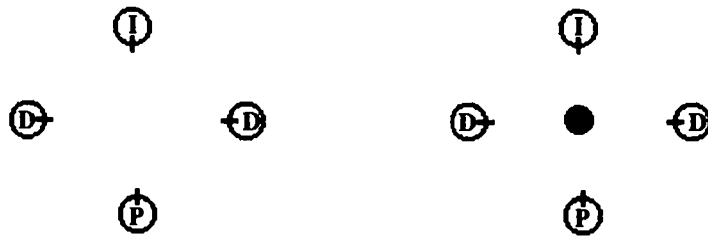
The introduction of the belfry and the mostly symbolic *sūtra* repository during the early Unified Sin-la period had only a limited influence on the layout of the front part of the main courtyard. The two schemes represent the layouts of Sa-čhōn-wang-sa of the late seventh century AD and that of the fourth Hwang-ryong-sa<sup>1</sup> of the eleventh century AD. The belfries and *sūtra* repositories are represented by an empty circle without indication of entrance because they were often square structures with equivalent entrances on all four sides.

#### 5.4.4.5. The 'mountain temples'

In many later temples, especially in those built or rebuilt during the Cho-sōn period, no galleries were used any more but the courtyard remained the basic concept of the temple layout which was now formed by the various image halls, lecture halls, dormitories, pavilions and gates.

This temple layout can include one or several small stone pagodas in the centre of the courtyard but numerous temples have a completely empty courtyard. The stone pagoda was now treated like a piece of furniture which can be added or removed without fundamentally changing the spatial structure of the temple.

<sup>1</sup> Sa-čhōn-wang-sa 四天王寺 사천왕사 (No.7.34.7.), Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 황룡사 (No.7.34.2.).



In order to illustrate the variations of this type of temple layout, it is necessary to distinguish between the function of the various buildings. The image halls are indicated by an 'I' in the circle, dormitories with a 'D' and elevated pavilions with a 'P'. The elevated pavilions function often as a gate and a lecture hall in one. The position of the elevated pavilion can thus often be interchanged with that of the lecture hall or the gate. The shifting of the position of the lecture hall behind the image hall in the earlier temples to the front of the image hall and its transformation into elevated pavilions which also function often as gates, is a particularly interesting topic which must be treated in a later study. The lateral buildings are usually dormitories in small mountain temples, but if the temple possesses several image halls or lecture halls, one or both dormitories can be replaced by an image or a lecture hall. The dormitories then often form a secondary courtyard beside the main courtyard. Large temples can feature several courtyards and a number of isolated buildings such as minor image halls or dormitories of important monks.

The origin of this type of layout has undoubtedly to be found in early Chinese courtyard architecture and extant examples of this architectural style are numerous all over China. While many building complexes with courtyards in China are formed of continuous, interlocked buildings, Korean temples have preserved some of the purest examples of courtyard architecture formed by four independent rectangular buildings.

The basis layout type can be divided according to the form of the courtyard: at least eight different forms can be distinguished in Korea in addition to the Chinese type of a completely closed courtyard: 1. square courtyard, 2. oblong courtyard (in the direction of the main axis), 3. oblong courtyard (in the perpendicular direction to the main axis), 4. trapezoidal courtyard, 5. windmill-shaped (or *svastika*-shaped) courtyard, 6. incomplete courtyard (at least two elements), 7. irregular courtyard and 8. partially open courtyard.

## 1. square courtyard:

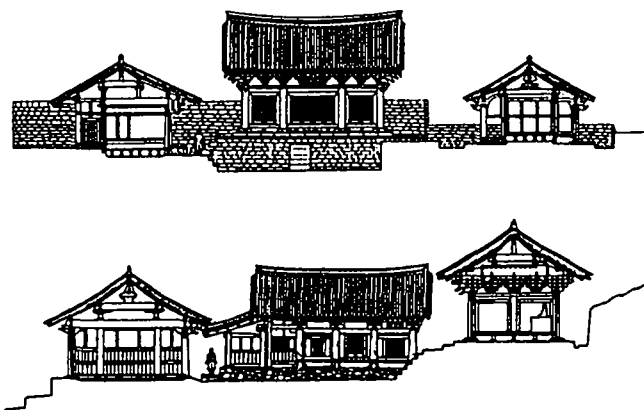
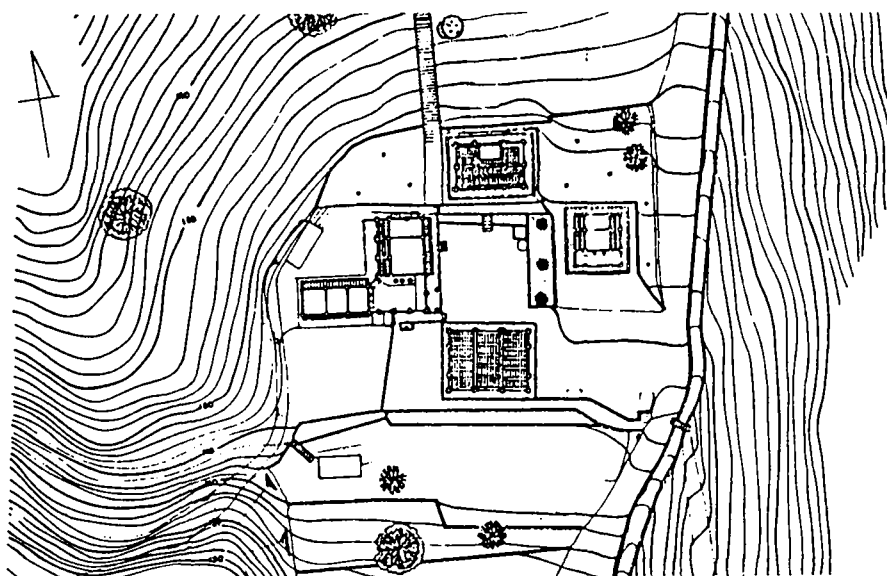
a. one pagoda: e.g.: Sin-rŭk-sa, Sin-hŭng-sa, Bul-yŏng-sa, Hwan-sŏng-sa<sup>1</sup>b. no pagoda: e.g.: Ma-gok-sa, Chang-gok-sa, Hwa-am-sa, Dæ-hŭng-sa<sup>2</sup>

Fig. 673: Chang-gok-sa 長谷寺 장곡사 ground plan (scale: 1 : 1,000) and two sections (scale: 1 : 500) (after: MHCKLG (1988), p. 263; EPFL (1992))

- <sup>1</sup> Sin-rŭk-sa 神勒寺 신록사 (No. 1.18.3.), Sin-hŭng-sa 神興寺 신흥사 (No. 2.8.1.), Bul-yŏng-sa 佛影寺 불영사 (No. 7.13.1.), Hwan-sŏng-sa 環城寺 환성사 (No. 7.31.4.).
- <sup>2</sup> Ma-gok-sa 麻谷寺 마곡사 (No. 4.12.1.), Chang-gok-sa 長谷寺 장곡사 (No. 4.14.1.), Hwa-am-sa 花嚴寺 화엄사 (No. 5.7.1.), Dæ-hŭng-sa 大興寺 대흥사 (No. 6.17.1.).



2. oblong courtyard (in the direction of the main axis):  
 a. one pagoda: e.g.: Bæk-dam-sa<sup>1</sup>  
 b. no pagoda: e.g.: Pa-kye-sa, Kim-ryong-sa, Bong-chong-sa,  
 Bæk-hŭng-am, Ssang-kye-sa<sup>2</sup>

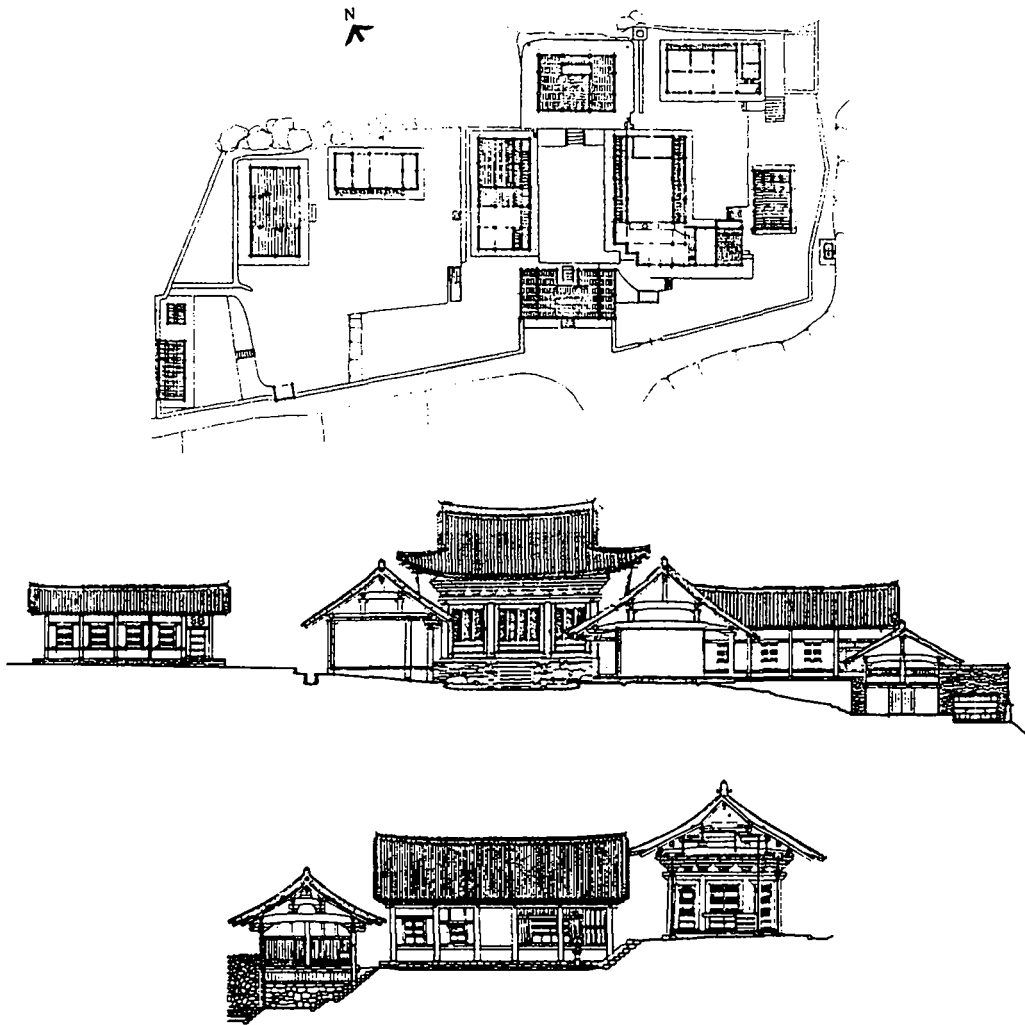


Fig. 674: Bæk-hŭng-am 百興庵 백흥암: ground plan (scale: 1 : 1,000) and two sections (scale: 1 : 500) (after: Yŏng-čhŏn-gun 永川郡 영천군 (1985), pp. 126f.)

<sup>1</sup> Bæk-dam-sa 百潭寺 백담사 (No. 2.6.1.).

<sup>2</sup> Pa-kye-sa 把溪寺 파계사 (No. 7.1.1.), Kim-ryong-sa 金龍寺 김룡사 (No. 7.5.3.), Bong-chong-sa 鳳停寺 봉정사 (No. 7.8.1.), Bæk-hŭng-am 百興庵 백흥암 (No. 7.19.4.), Ssang-kye-sa 雙溪寺 쌍계사 (No. 8.24.2.).

3. oblong courtyard (in the perpendicular direction to the main axis):  
 a. twin pagodas: e.g.: Sŏn-am-sa, Un-mun-sa<sup>1</sup>  
 b. one pagoda: e.g.: Ku-ryong-sa<sup>2</sup>  
 c. no pagoda: e.g.: Čhil-chang-sa, Su-ta-sa, Kab-sa, Yong-mun-sa<sup>3</sup>

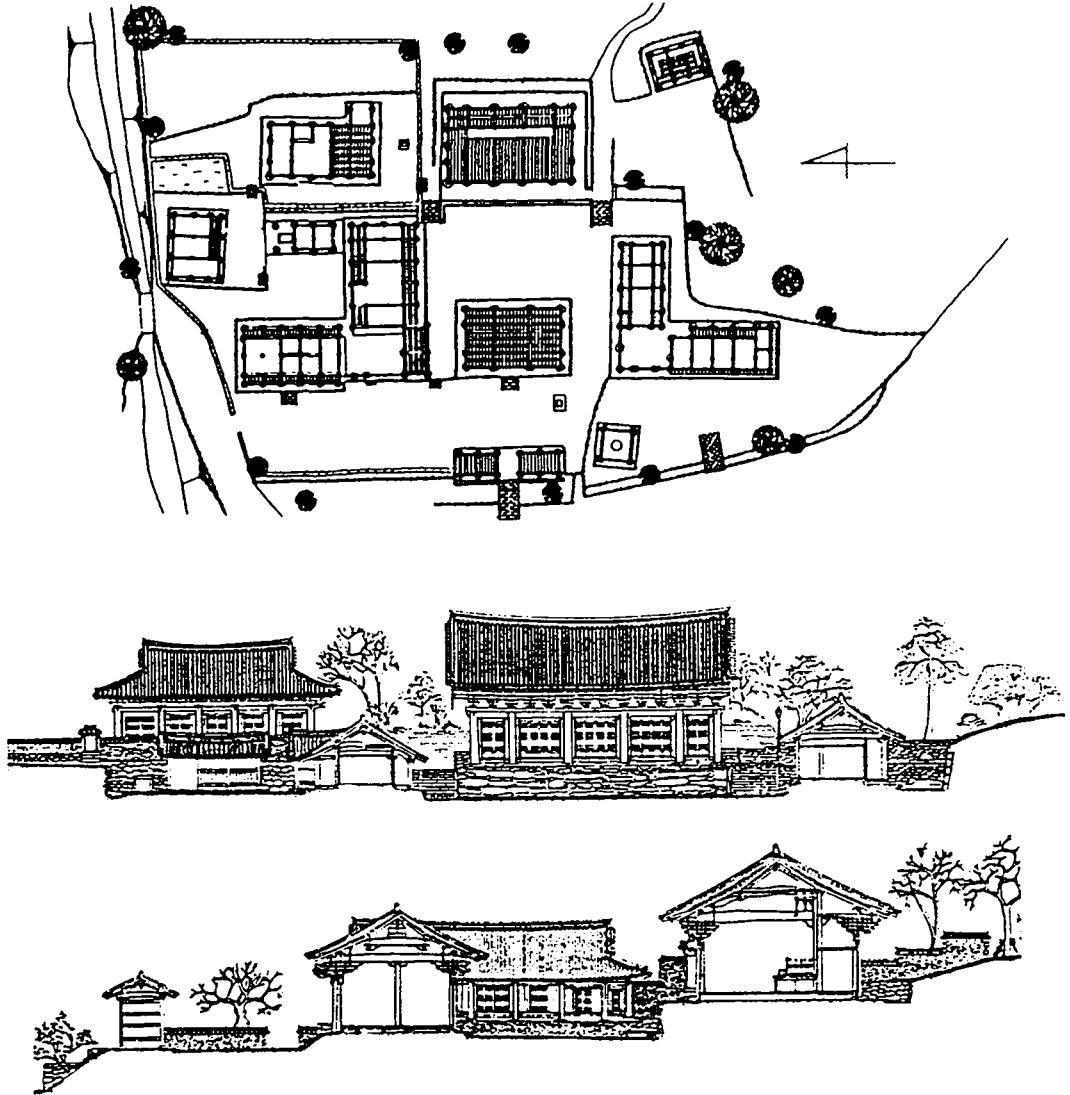


Fig. 675: Kab-sa 甲寺 갑사: ground plan (scale: 1 : 1,000) and two sections (scale: 1 : 500)  
 (after: Kong-chu-gun 公州郡공주군 (1991), p. 59)

- <sup>1</sup> Sŏn-am-sa 仙巖寺 선암사, No. 6.8.2., Un-mun-sa 雲門寺 운문사, No. 7.30.4.  
<sup>2</sup> Ku-ryong-sa 龜龍寺 구룡사, No. 2.12.1.  
<sup>3</sup> Čhil-chang-sa 七長寺 칠장사, No. 1.27.1., Su-ta-sa 壽陀寺 수타사, No. 2.10.1.,  
 Kab-sa 甲寺 갑사, No. 4.12.4., Yong-mun-sa 龍門寺 용문사, No. 7.6.2.

## 4. trapezoidal courtyard:

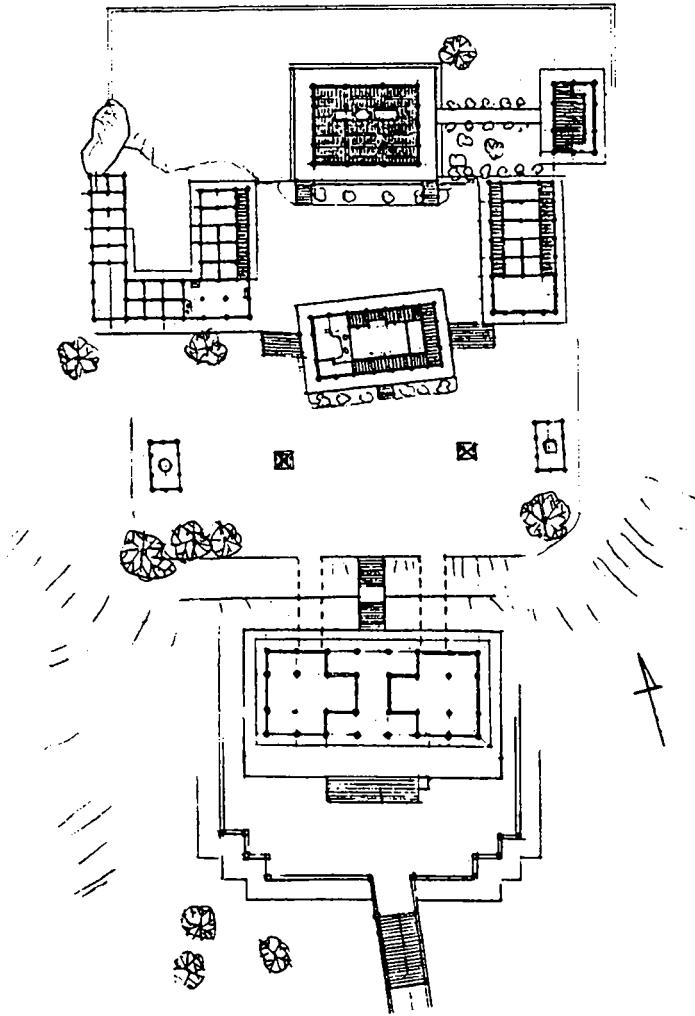
a. one pagoda: e.g.: Kæ-sim-sa, Næ-so-sa, Kwan-čhok-sa<sup>1</sup>b. no pagoda: e.g.: Su-dök-sa, Sung-rim-sa, Dong-hwa-sa, Ūn-hæ-sa<sup>2</sup>

Fig. 676: Su-dök-sa 修德寺 수덕사: ground plan (scale: 1 : 1,000) (drawing by the author)

<sup>1</sup> Kæ-sim-sa 開心寺 개심사 (No. 4.3.1.), Næ-so-sa 來蘇寺 내소사 (No. 5.18.2.),  
Kwan-čhok-sa 灌燭寺 관축사 (No. 4.20.2.).

<sup>2</sup> Su-dök-sa 修德寺 수덕사 (No. 4.6.1.), Sung-rim-sa 崇林寺 승림사 (No. 5.6.1.),  
Dong-hwa-sa 桐華寺 등화사 (No. 7.1.2.), Ūn-hæ-sa 銀海寺 은해사 (No. 7.19.3.).

5. windmill-shaped (svastika-shaped) courtyard:  
no pagoda: e.g.: Ko-un-sa, Tong-do-sa<sup>1</sup>

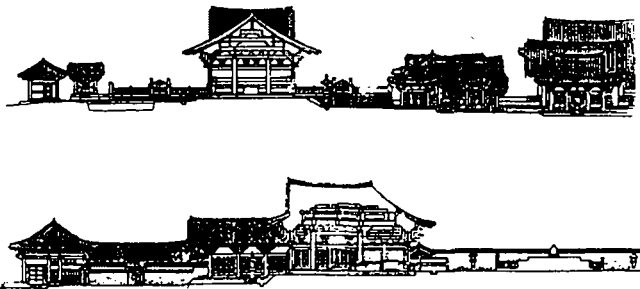
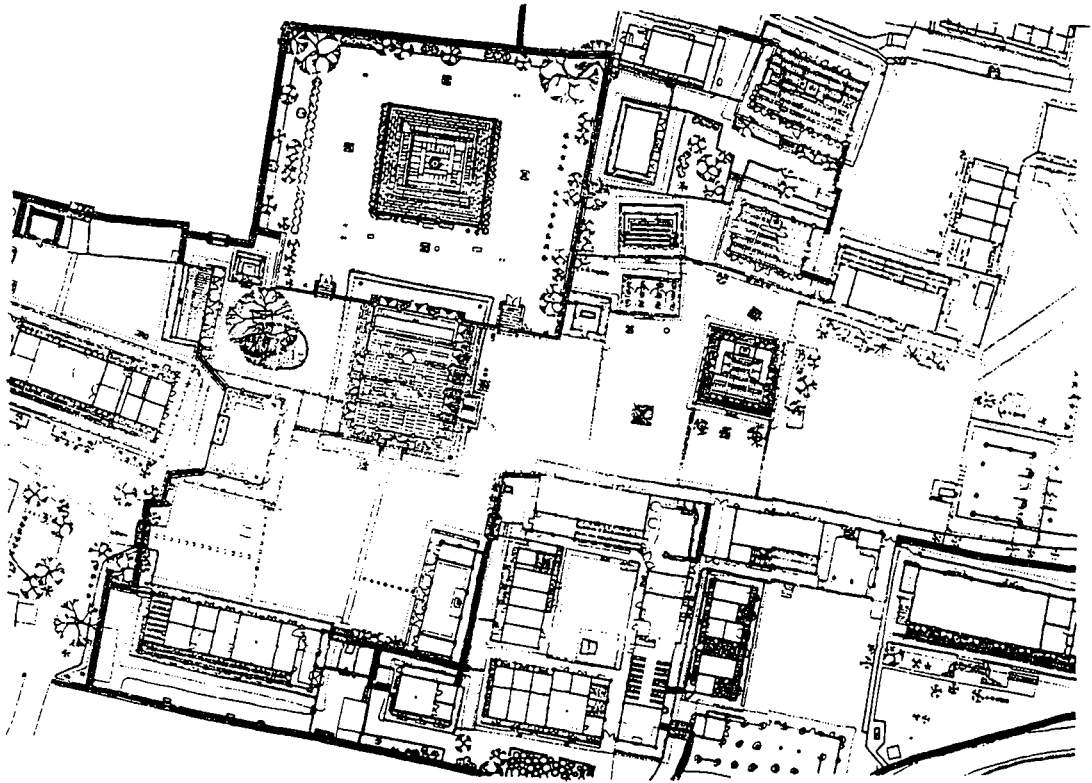


Fig. 677: Tong-do-sa 通度寺 통도사 with its Chök-myöl-bo-kung 寂滅寶宮 적멸보궁:  
ground plan and 2 sections (scale: 1 : 1,000) (after: Ul-san Institute of Technology  
蔚山工科大学 蔚山공과대학교 (1980), p. 23, 32ff.)

<sup>1</sup> Ko-un-sa 孤雲寺 고운사 (No. 7.7.2.), Tong-do-sa 通度寺 통도사 (No. 8.13.1).

## 6. incomplete courtyard (at least two elements):

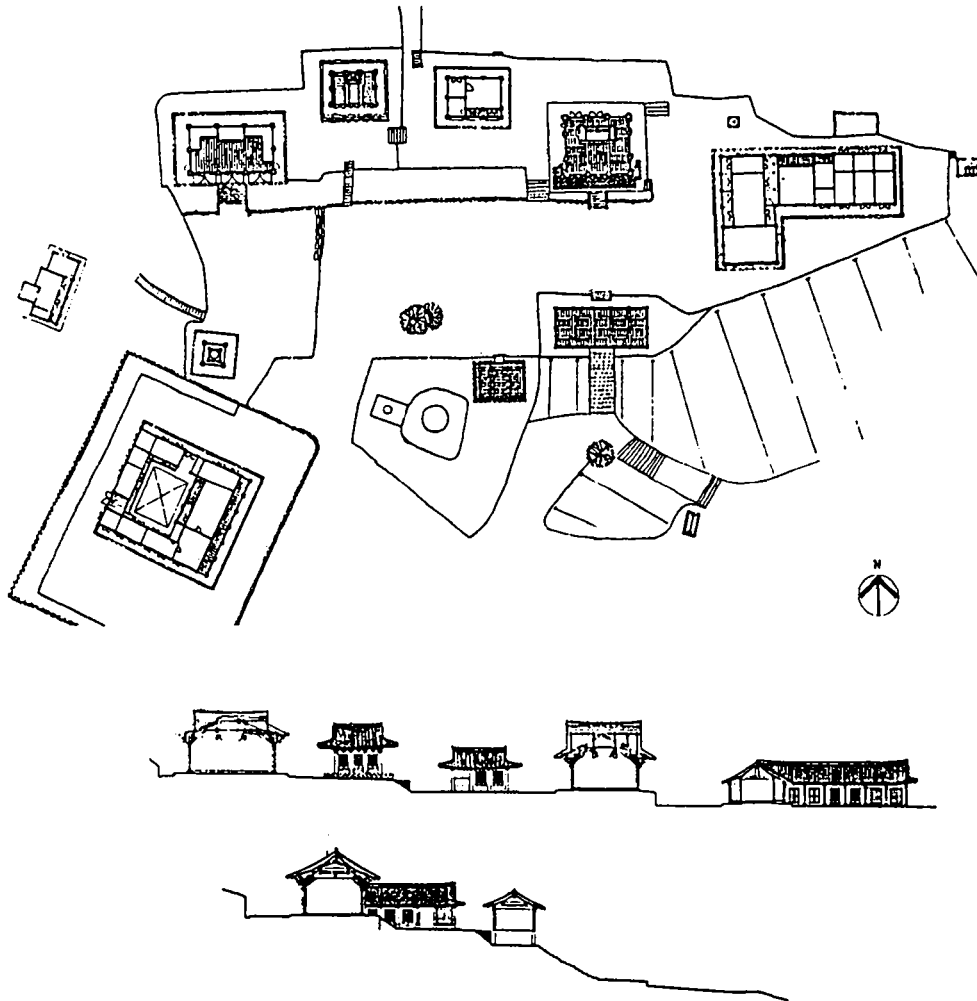
a. twin pagodas: e.g.: Ūn-chök-sa, Sil-sang-sa<sup>1</sup>b. one pagoda: e.g.: Yong-mun-sa, Do-kab-sa, Bong-chöng-sa<sup>2</sup>c. no pagoda: e.g.: Chön-düng-sa, Mi-hwang-sa, Kæ-mok-sa<sup>3</sup>

Fig. 678: Chön-düng-sa 傳燈寺 전등사: ground plan and two sections (scale: 1 : 1,000)  
(after: *HGüK KČ* 8, p. 8)

<sup>1</sup> Ūn-chök-sa 隱寂寺 은적사 (No. 5.1.1.), Sil-sang-sa 實相寺 실상사 (No. 5.13.2.).

<sup>2</sup> Yong-mun-sa 龍門寺 용문사 (No. 1.17.1.), Do-kab-sa 道岬寺 도갑사 (No. 6.12.1.),  
Bong-chöng-sa 鳳停寺 봉정사 (No. 7.8.1.).

<sup>3</sup> Chön-düng-sa 傳燈寺 전등사 (No. 1.3.3.), Mi-hwang-sa 美黃寺 미황사 (No. 6.17.2.),  
Kæ-mok-sa 開目寺 개목사 (No. 7.8.2.).

7. irregular courtyard:

- a. twin pagodas: e.g.: Hwa-ŏm-sa, Bo-rim-sa<sup>1</sup>
- b. one pagoda: e.g.: Chŏng-su-sa, Ma-gok-sa, Gŭm-san-sa, Bŏm-ŏ-sa<sup>2</sup>
- c. no pagoda: e.g.: Bo-hyŏn-sa, Kæ-am-sa, Bæk-yang-sa, Song-kwang-sa, Kwan-ryong-sa, Tong-do-sa<sup>3</sup>

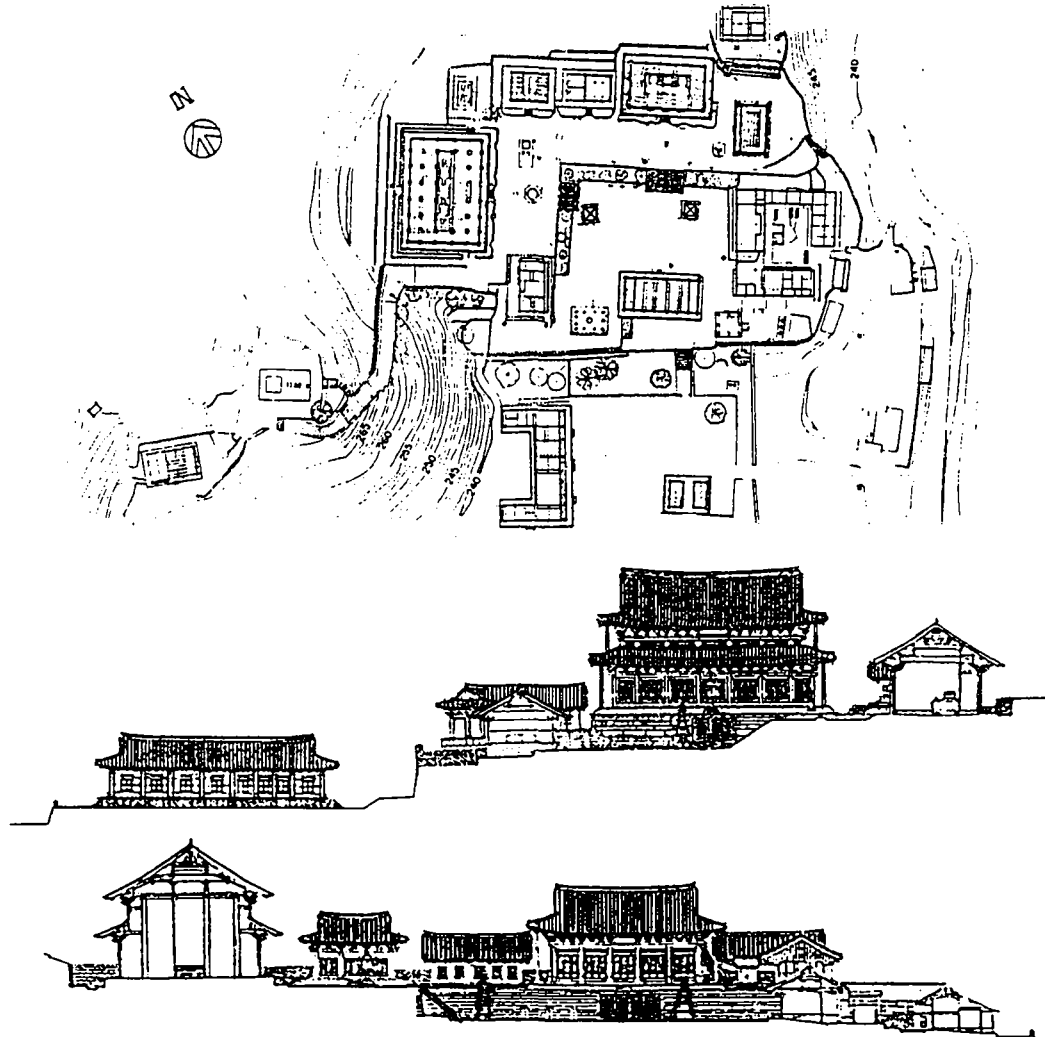


Fig. 679: Hwa-ŏm-sa 華嚴寺 화엄사: ground plan (scale: 1 : 2,000) and 2 sections (scale: 1 : 1,000) (after: MHCKLG (1986), pp. 36ff.)

<sup>1</sup> Hwa-ŏm-sa 華嚴寺 화엄사 (No. 6.7.1.), Bo-rim-sa 寶林寺 보림사 (No. 6.20.1.).  
<sup>2</sup> Chŏng-su-sa 淨水寺 정수사 (No. 1.3.2.), Ma-gok-sa 麻谷寺 마곡사 (No. 4.12.1.), Gŭm-san-sa 金山寺 금산사 (No. 5.3.2.), Bŏm-ŏ-sa 梵魚寺 범어사 (No. 8.1.1.).  
<sup>3</sup> Bo-hyŏn-sa 普賢寺 보현사 (No. 2.17.2.), Kæ-am-sa 開岩寺 개암사 (No. 5.18.1.), Bæk-yang-sa 白羊寺 백양사 (No. 6.4.1.), Song-kwang-sa 松廣寺 승광사 (No. 6.8.1.), Kwan-ryong-sa 觀龍寺 관룡사 (No. 8.8.1.), Tong-do-sa 通度寺 통도사 (No. 8.13.1.).

8. partially open courtyard:  
no pagoda: e.g.: Hŭng-chŏn-sa, Yong-chu-sa<sup>1</sup>

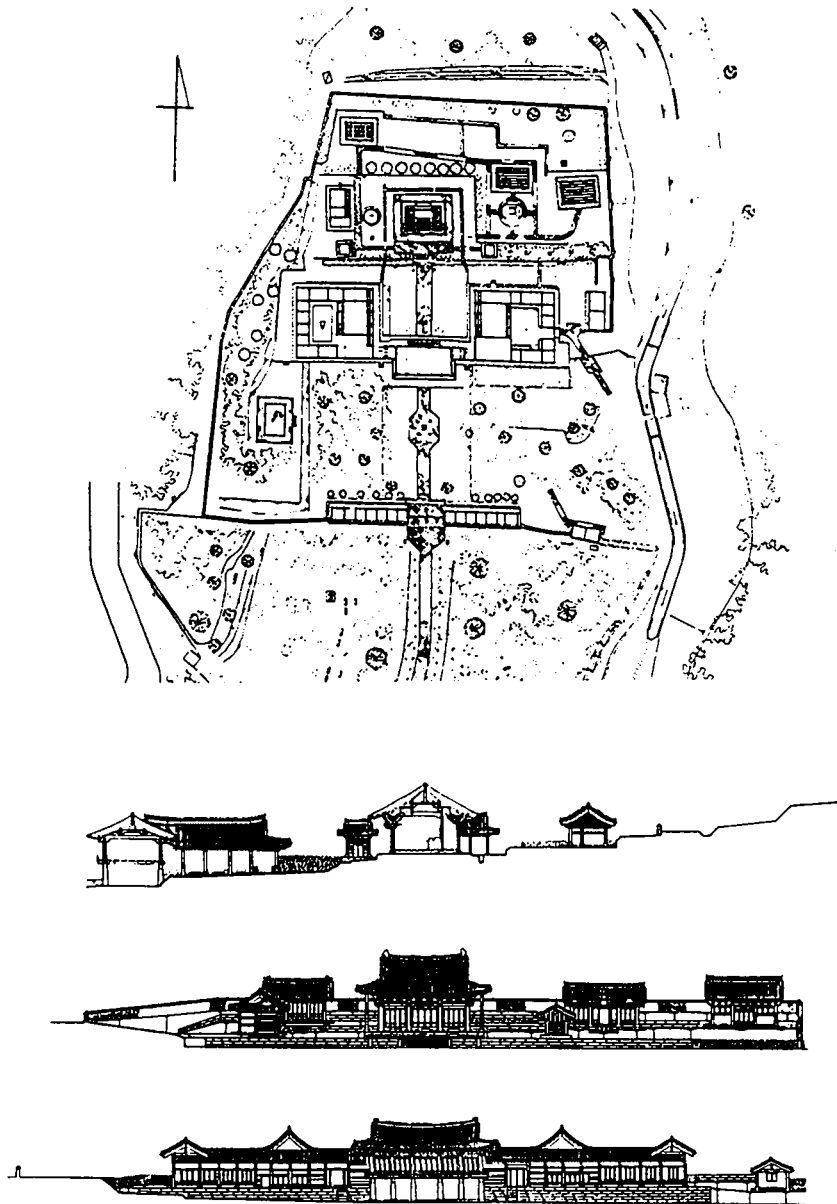


Fig. 680: Yong-chu-sa 傳燈寺 전등사 ground plan (scale: 1 : 2,000), two sections and one elevation (scale: 1 : 1,000) (after: Kyŏng-gi-do 京畿道 경기도 (1989), pp. 215, 479f.)

<sup>1</sup> Hŭng-chŏn-sa 興天寺 흥천사 (No. 1.1.11.), Yong-chu-sa 龍珠寺 용주사 (No. 1.32.1.).

The courtyard layouts can very easily change during reconstructions. Not only can pagodas be added or removed, but also the reconstruction of a lateral dormitory at a different location can strongly change the character of the courtyard. A whole separate study would be necessary to conveniently treat this layout type with its rich variations and subtleties. I have to limit myself to hints of possible relations of this layout type with early temples on the Korean peninsula.

Two configurations of early Buddhist temples in Korea seem to have a relation to the later 'mountain temples': firstly, the layout of multiple image halls around a central pagoda as observed in Ko-gu-ryŏ (Gŭm-gang-sa, Chŏng-rŭng-sa) and interpreted differently in Ancient Sin-la (Hwang-ryong-sa, Bun-hwang-sa). Secondly the possibility of the lateral galleries of some Bæk-che (Nŭng-sa, Mi-rŭk-sa) and Ancient Sin-la temples (Hwang-ryong-sa) to be transformed into dormitories. While the first possible connection leads to the larger 'mountain temples' with several image halls which form courtyards (e.g. Song-kwang-sa, Hwa-ŏm-sa, Gŭm-san-sa, Bæk-yang-sa, Tong-do-sa), the second connection seems to have been the first step in the direction to combine profane buildings (dormitories) with the sacred ones around a courtyard. This combination was probably first experimented in hermitages and smaller temples where the buildings had several functions, such as being at the same time image hall and dormitory. This combination seems to have become generally accepted after Buddhism was no longer officially supported by the government in the Cho-sŏn period.

The courtyard temple layout is not the only one used by mountain temples in South Korea. These remaining temples are based on the isolated 'straw hut archetype' and do not form courtyards. At least three variations can be distinguished (with or without pagodas):

1. single buildings: e.g. Sŏk-kul-am, Do-pi-an-sa, Bŏb-kye-sa<sup>1</sup>
2. buildings placed one beside another (see below, p. 997)
3. buildings placed one behind another (see below, p. 998)

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<sup>1</sup> Sŏk-kul-am 石窟庵 석굴암 (No. 7.34.34.), Do-pi-an-sa 到彼岸寺 도피안사 (No. 2.1.1.), Bŏb-kye-sa 法界寺 법계사 (No. 8.4.1.).



2. buildings placed one beside the other:
  - a. all on the same height (no example known to me in Korea)
  - b. central building advances: e.g. Hŭng-wang-sa<sup>1</sup>
  - c. central building retreats: e.g. Ko-san-sa, Dæ-sŭng-sa, Dæ-bi-sa<sup>2</sup>
  - d. other organisations: e.g. Sang-wŏn-sa, Sŏng-bul-sa, Bul-hwæ-sa<sup>3</sup>

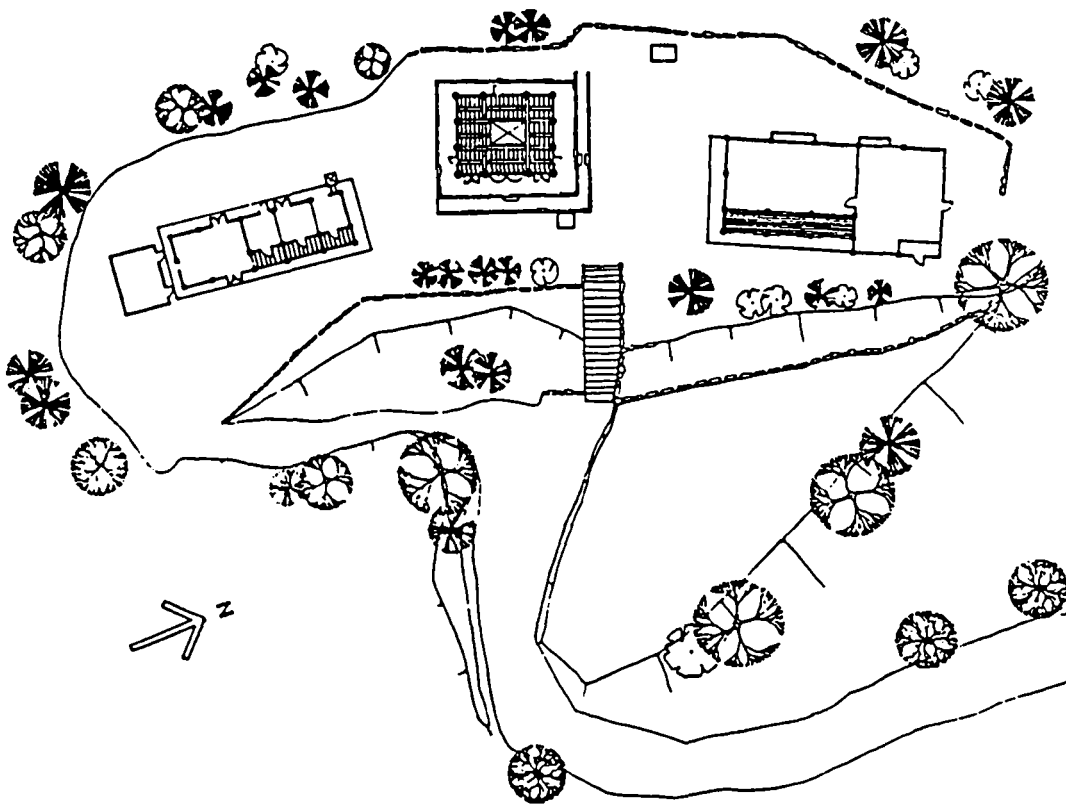


Fig. 681: Ko-san-sa 高山寺 고산사; ground plan (scale: 1 : 500)  
(after: *MHCSRBS* 90-1, p. 554)

- 1 Hŭng-wang-sa 興旺寺 흥왕사 (No. 1.18.2).
- 2 Ko-san-sa 高山寺 고산사 (No. 4.15.1.), Dæ-sŭng-sa 大乘寺 대승사 (No. 7.5.2.),  
Dæ-bi-sa 大悲寺 대비사 (No. 7.30.6).
- 3 Sang-wŏn-sa 上院寺 상원사 (No. 2.15.2.), Sŏng-bul-sa 成佛寺 성불사 (No. 4.9.1.),  
Bul-hwæ-sa 佛會寺 불회사 (No. 6.10.1.).

## 3. (main) buildings placed one behind the other:

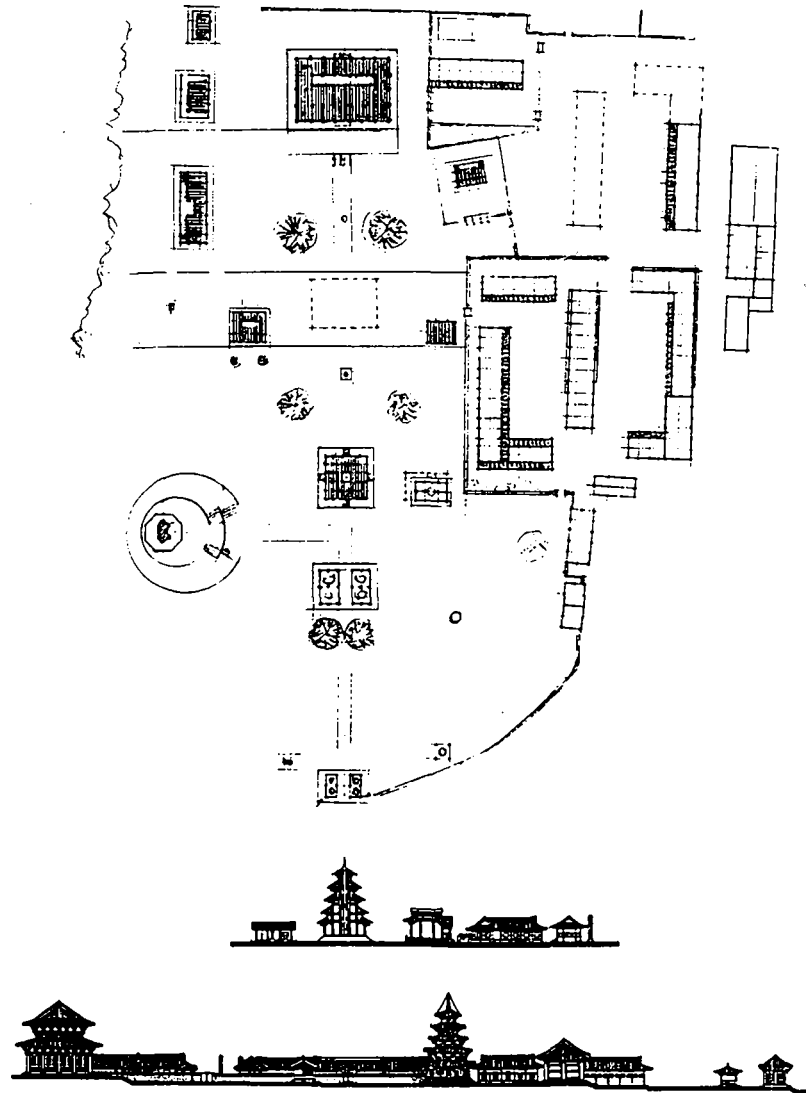
a. on a strait axis: e.g. Bōb-chu-sa, Ssang-bong-sa<sup>1</sup>b. on a sinuous axis: e.g. Bu-sōk-sa, Gak-yōn-sa<sup>2</sup>c. on parallel axes: e.g. Hyōn-dŭng-sa, Sōk-nam-sa, Chōng-pyōng-sa<sup>3</sup>

Fig. 682: Bōb-chu-sa 法住寺 법주사: ground plan and two sections (scale: 1 : 2,000)  
(drawing by the author and after: *BGinCd* 103-34, p. 49)

<sup>1</sup> Bōb-chu-sa 法住寺 법주사 (No. 3.11.1.), Ssang-bong-sa 雙峰寺 쌍봉사 (No. 6.9.2.).

<sup>2</sup> Bu-sōk-sa 浮石寺 부석사 (No. 7.10.3.), Gak-yōn-sa 覺淵寺 각연사 (No. 3.8.1.).

<sup>3</sup> Hyōn-dŭng-sa 懸燈寺 현등사 (No. 1.13.1.), Sōk-nam-sa 石南寺 석남사 (No. 1.27.2.), Chōng-pyōng-sa 淸平寺 청평사 (No. 2.3.1.).

These temples are often located on narrow or steep sites which make a courtyard temple difficult to built. The second type is naturally adapted to narrow sites (e.g. Dæ-sǔng-sa) while successive terraces favour the third type (e.g. Bu-sǒk-sa). Some of these temples are said to have been founded in the Three Kingdoms (e.g. Bul-hwæ-sa and Bǒb-chu-sa) or Unified Sin-la periods (e.g. Ko-san-sa, Bu-sǒk-sa), so that it seems that this layout type, too, can be traced back to the earliest periods of Buddhism on the Korean peninsula.

#### 5.4.5. Conclusions

This survey of the main developments of the layout of Korean Buddhist temples does not pretend to be final. However, it allows one to put the layouts of the earliest periods into perspective and shows, in response to the third hypothesis, that most the extant temple layouts in the Republic of Korea are at least partially based on elements which were already known in the Three Kingdoms period. The development of temple layouts thus consists not so much in the invention of new elements but in the re-evaluation of already known layout parts which thus acquire a new meaning.

The mechanism of this development is complicated because it involves numerous factors. The next paragraphs try to elaborate some of the most important parameters for the evolution of Buddhist architecture in Korea.

### 5.5. INFLUENCES ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF TEMPLE LAYOUTS AND BUDDHIST ARCHITECTURE IN KOREA

The summary of the main developments of the layouts of temples in South Korea, raise the question of why the temple layouts developed so much over the centuries and what influenced the particular changes. The architectural layouts of the cult buildings of some other important religions, including Christianity and Islam, seem to have experienced less strong transformations up to the twentieth century. On the other hand, the elevation of Korean temple buildings remained almost constant during the whole history, while the elevations and sections of the churches and mosques evolved much more and formed the various well-known styles.

As proposed by the third hypothesis of this study, the following paragraphs try to give hints at possible influences for the change of Buddhist architecture in Korea. They are grouped into three 'spheres of influence', namely Indian Buddhism, Chinese civilisation and local Korean culture. For each 'spheres of

influence', some general remarks which are valid for the whole known history are made before I try to describe the specific influences on Buddhist architecture of the Three Kingdoms period.

#### 5.5.1. Indian Buddhism

The impact of a religion on its architecture starts with the adoption of certain architectural forms during the formation of the religion itself. In the case of Buddhism, its first architectural expression was thoroughly Indian in form and concept. This fact had of course a deep influence on the earliest Buddhist architecture of East Asia and even now, as I have showed on several occasions, certain architectural elements or concepts can be traced back to Indian Buddhist architecture. Such examples are the concepts of the *stūpa* or pagoda and the *caitya* or image hall even if their formalisations are almost completely different. One of the few architectural elements which kept a certain formal Indian identity is the East Asian pagoda finial which can easily be compared with those of South Asia.

The influence of Indian Buddhism on the temple architecture of East Asia can be seen in three fields: doctrine, practice and iconography. The religious doctrine forms the basis on which the other elements can grow, it is the appeal of the Buddhist doctrine to the East Asian mind which permitted Buddhist culture to develop at all. The religious practice of Buddhism defines the architectural needs of the community of monks and is the decisive factor for the differentiation of the various structures. The large pantheon of Buddhas and other sacred figures of Mahāyāna Buddhism promoted the construction of several image halls and contributed to the gradual reduction of importance of the *stūpa* in the temple layout. Finally, Buddhist iconography which was partly inspired by hellenistic motives, influenced many of the decorative elements of its architecture, in particular the figurative sculptural elements which were probably inexistent in East Asian architecture before the introduction of Buddhism.

Later developments of a religion can be important factors for change in its architecture. Such an example is the Reformation movement in Europe which insisted on simpler architectural forms than Catholicism. By the time Buddhism was introduced in Korea, the separation between Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna Buddhism was all but completed. Korean Buddhism did thus not experience any dramatic schism like the Reformation. The new doctrines and schools which were introduced during the Three Kingdoms and Unified Sin-la periods did not have a strong impact on temple architecture. The attempt by KIM Bong-ryōl<sup>1</sup> to interpret the extant temples

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<sup>1</sup> See: KIM Bong-ryōl 金奉烈 김봉렬 (1989).

according to the various Buddhist doctrines has therefore not been very successful and only his general evaluation of the Korean temples in the light of Buddhist cosmology is convincing.

#### 5.5.1.1. Influences of Buddhism on early Buddhist architecture in Korea

The present study has shown on several occasions that certain architectural elements and concepts of early Buddhist architecture in East Asia can be traced back to Indian Buddhist traditions. The concept of a monastic religion with an elaborate iconography including architectural monuments, sculptures and paintings was apparently not known in China before the arrival of Buddhism.

It is generally accepted that the concept and the particular forms of the *stūpas* are of Indian origin. The *stūpa* was transformed into the Chinese pagodas during the first centuries of Buddhism in China using typical Chinese wooden construction methods along with brick methods which seem to have been inspired from Indian and Central Asian traditions. The mixture of two distinct constructive traditions can still be felt in extant Chinese pagodas, in particular in the Songyue-si brick pagoda. The study of the Buddhist architecture of Ko-gu-ryō has shown that it must be supposed that the influence of both construction methods reached the Korean peninsula. The octagonal pagodas of Ko-gu-ryō should be understood as mixed structures rather than as wooden constructions of pure Chinese tradition.

The brick and brick-like stone pagodas of Ancient and Unified Sin-la can be considered to represent a second generation influence of Indian Buddhism. During the Chinese Sui and Tang periods, the round and polygonal brick *stūpas* and pagodas with clear Indian influence were transformed into tall square towers with a succession of stepped roofs. Such structures seem to have been built only in China and, on a smaller scale, on the Korean peninsula beginning with Ancient Sin-la.

The concept of placing huge sculptures of gods or saints in halls for veneration seems to have been introduced to China only with Buddhism (if one excludes the large bronze sculptures of the Shu culture (13th to 10th C. BC) which have only recently come to light). In this sense the East Asian image halls have their origin in the Indian *caitya* even if their construction is entirely Chinese.

Finally, the layout of certain early Korean temples does not seem to have its origin in China. In particular the lateral image halls of the Ko-gu-ryō temples do not have a precedent in Chinese architecture. They seem to be more closely related to the chapels and monk's cells arranged in a circle or a square around *stūpas* in Indian and Gandhāra Buddhist temples. The temple layout with several image halls was further developed in Ancient Sin-la so that they may again be considered as second-generation influences from India or Central Asia.

### 5.5.2. Chinese civilisation

The influence of Chinese architectural traditions on the Buddhist architecture of Korea can hardly be overlooked. In fact, the plans, elevations and sections and details of almost all buildings which form the temples were directly developed from typical Chinese buildings. Among the numerous Chinese factors which had an impact on East Asian Buddhist architecture are the social structure of imperial China, its courtyard architecture and the wooden skeleton construction methods.

A first aspect of the Chinese influence on the Buddhist architecture of East Asia has to be found in its society which was completely differently organized from Indian society. In particular, the social hierarchy which culminated in the person of the emperor was much stricter in China than in India so that Buddhism was never allowed to constitute a politically independent society, in contrast to other great religions such as Christianity and Islam. The secular authorities were often suspicious of the power of Buddhism and so ensured that Buddhist architecture did not surpass the monumentality and prestige of palace architecture. Only the pagodas seem to have been allowed to be taller than the main hall of the imperial palace and the description of the famous Yongning-si<sup>1</sup> insists on several occasions on the similarities between the imperial palace and the buildings of the temple. The strict hierarchy implied also a highly developed bureaucracy which developed and enforced strict rules of conduct for its society. The construction of private houses was severely restricted during the Sin-la dynasty as the construction laws contained in the *Sam-guk-sa-gi* indicate. It can thus be expected that the construction and furnishing of temples was also supervised and controlled by the state in order to prevent excesses. The power of the monarch and the magistrates also meant that they were in the best position to promote and sponsor Buddhist temple construction. In particular cases the temples could then equal the royal palaces in splendour and size.

Secondly, the strict orientation of buildings and building complexes as well as the organisation of the complexes around courtyards also have their origin in China as the remains of the Han dynasty clearly show. However, it would not be correct to single out Chinese palace architecture as a direct model for the Buddhist temples to which only a pagoda had to be added. The layout of Ko-gu-ryō's temples show that the process was more complicated than this. The process of establishing the standard layouts of Chinese temples was a mixture of reconstructing Indian temple layouts with Chinese buildings and adapting the loose Indian layout to the strict, polarized

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<sup>1</sup> Yongning-si 永寧寺 영녕사.

layout of Chinese courtyard architecture. The fact that Chinese palaces are also based on Chinese courtyard architecture does not necessarily mean that the Buddhist temples developed out of the palaces. Among the important rules of Chinese courtyard architecture is orientation towards the north so that the entrances of the complexes and the major buildings lie in the south. The major buildings are placed on the main south-north axis and command the courtyard which lies in front of them. The lateral sides of the complexes are formed either by galleries or minor buildings which are built more or less close together. The main face of the buildings are usually the longer sides, so that low eaves and large roofs dominate the front elevation. This particularity could have favoured the development of the curved roofs in order to 'lighten' the appearance of the heavy tile roofs.

Thirdly, the Chinese wooden skeleton construction became the standard for virtually all image halls, gates, lecture halls and dormitories of East Asian temples. The wooden buildings were usually composed of the following elements: the foundation consists of an elevated earthen platform with one or several stairs. The retaining walls were formed either of stone panels or brick and tile walls. The oblong superstructure used a wooden skeleton frame. The round wooden columns were placed on large carved or natural foundation stones which prevented the wood from rotting. The interior floors were often covered by square tiles in the earlier periods. In the Cho-sŏn period, practically all buildings featured wooden floors if there was no floor heating system. The walls between the columns were only filling which allowed the placing numerous doors and windows. The typical image hall featured doors on all four sides and several windows on the front side at least. A certain number of columns could be removed in the interior of large spaces (image halls, lecture halls). The columns were connected with each other through ties in the plan of the walls and by beams in the interior. The beams were placed on more or less sophisticated bracket sets which reduced the span of the beams, strengthened the stability of the structure and served as decorative elements. The roof structure consisted of a number of superimposed beams separated by posts which could have the form of bracket sets. The ends of the beams and the exterior bracket sets received the crossbeams which in turn carried the rafters. The rafters were often separated into an upper and lower piece which allowed the creation of the typical curving of the roof in the direction of the rafters. The curving in the direction of the crossbeams was assured by placing wedges on the upper ties of the walls and the ridge piece. The intermediate crossbeams were also curved. The rafters were covered with boards or other suited materials and earth was added to ensure smooth curves. Finally tiles were placed on the roof and the wooden parts and the walls were painted with various colours.

This description can be applied to Korean, Chinese and Japanese Buddhist buildings with the exception that the floor covering was particular to each country according to its life style. While China almost never had wooden floors, Japan did not use floor heating. The majority of buildings were single-storied structures, and multi-storied buildings were only exceptionally constructed (mainly for pagodas, gates and image halls).

#### 5.5.2.1. Influences of Chinese civilisation on early Buddhist architecture in Korea

The Chinese architectural tradition seems to have been first introduced to the Korean peninsula through the four Han commanderies in modern North Korea. However, it is doubtful that this had a deep influence on the local population. Typical Han roof tiles were only found in the territory of the commanderies so that it seems that they did not spread further until the consolidation of the various Korean kingdoms in the fourth century AD. This political and social process was certainly influenced and speeded up by the contact with the highly developed Chinese civilisation.

The introduction of Buddhism probably coincided with the introduction of other elements of the contemporaneous culture on the Chinese mainland. They included the government and education systems and very likely also monumental Chinese architecture which, at first, was probably only used for palace and temple architecture as well as for the fortification of cities. It seems thus that Chinese construction methods as a whole were introduced to Ko-gu-ryō and Bæk-che in the late fourth century AD, and reached Ka-ya and Sin-la somewhat later.

The wooden halls and galleries of early Buddhist architecture in Korea were thus profoundly Chinese in character. The strict layout of building complexes (temples, palaces) around courtyards based on a central south-north axis was probably also introduced together with Buddhism. It can be supposed that at first, Korean carpenters mainly tried to copy Chinese models and learn from them. It is difficult to determine how long this first period lasted but it can be assumed that the western Korean kingdoms culturally caught up with the Chinese mainland by the middle of sixth century AD as the material remains of Ko-gu-ryō and Bæk-che show. The period of assimilation of Chinese culture of Ancient Sin-la seems to have started later but it was considerably shorter than for Ko-gu-ryō and Bæk-che, possibly because Sin-la could profit from the experiences of the other Korean kingdoms.

China certainly continued to influence Korea also after the period of assimilation but the Korean kingdoms seem to have started to develop their own



cultural preferences, and Chinese influences were filtered according to them. The Tang style of sculpture, for example, was readily accepted by Sin-la but the masterpieces of the eighth century in Korea at Bul-guk-sa and Sök-kul-am show a remarkable degree of uniqueness which can only be explained by the fact that the Korean artisans were not satisfied in only reproducing Chinese models but took them as a source of inspiration for new developments with a Korean character.

### 5.5.3. Local Korean culture

While much of the later developments of East Asian architecture undoubtedly occurred in China, the contribution of the peripheral countries, especially Korea and Japan, should not be underestimated. A comparable case is East Asian Buddhism, to which, until recently, the contribution of Korea has been considered negligible. Thanks to the efforts of a few scholars, in particular Robert BUSWELL<sup>1</sup>, the Buddhism of Korea is not only better known today, but so is the interrelation between the various East Asian countries. A similar effort has to be made in the field of architecture in order to understand the mutual influences and particular characteristics. This process is only at the beginning for East Asian Buddhist architecture so that this discussion cannot be considered final.

Local Korean culture always had a certain influence on the Buddhist architecture of Korea as the tangible differences from China and Japan show. The particular historical and cultural conditions of Korea inevitably leave their mark on all its cultural achievements. While these marks are sometimes involuntarily, certain particular features seem to be conscious departures from the imported models. These conscious changes may answer to political, social, economic or aesthetic needs and preferences of the Korean people.

As the Korean kingdoms adopted the Chinese system of a centralized bureaucratic monarchy, the favour or disfavour of Buddhism in the eyes of the government had a direct impact on the construction projects of temples. Buddhism remained the official state religion for about 1,000 years until the end of the Koryŏ dynasty. Temples were thus allowed to flourish and equal the royal palaces in luxury. The establishment of the Cho-sŏn dynasty in 1392 AD, however, introduced hostile policies towards Buddhism. Due to political pressure it became almost impossible to maintain Buddhist temples in the cities and villages and virtually only the temples which were located in remote mountain valleys were able to survive. Monks were even forbidden to enter the capital. Not many temples actually seem to have been condemned to destruction, but temples which burnt down by accident or

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<sup>1</sup> See: BUSWELL (1983); BUSWELL (1989); BUSWELL (1992)

through war were simply not allowed to be rebuilt at the same place and a large number of 'urban' temples were probably transformed into various public and private buildings. The lack of public funding forced the Buddhist community to scale down the temples and their buildings so that today Korean Buddhist architecture seems to be modest compared to Chinese and Japanese temples. This process eventually eliminated a whole range of Korean temple layouts and probably also a number of building types of Korean Buddhist architecture.

The reaction of the community of monks to political changes also influences the future of Buddhist architecture. In the case of the severe restrictions imposed on Buddhism during the Cho-sŏn dynasty, the monks seem to have accepted their fate without much resistance. Instead of trying to fight the new government policy which could have led to the complete destruction of the Buddhist temples, the monks adapted to the new situation and concentrated themselves on the essential functions of Buddhism. When the country was in danger during the Japanese invasions by Hideyoshi (1592 - 1598 AD), the monks even formed armies in support of the monarchy which inflicted so much harm on them.

Political changes are often conditioned or accompanied by social and economical factors. The Cho-sŏn dynasty based its doctrines on Neo-Confucianism with its strict social project which had no place for a monastic religion which promoted celibacy and the social rupture of the community of monks. To the extent that Neo-Confucian ideas progressed among the ruling class and (mainly male) parts of the population, Buddhism had to regress and numerous temples were scaled down or abandoned. Neo-Confucianism profited from the economic disaster following the Mongol invasions in the Ko-ryŏ dynasty which touched the general population. Because of its privileged position at the royal court, Buddhism does not seem to have been touched much by these hardships which possibly aroused the anger of certain social classes.

Aesthetic preferences certainly play an important role in the development of distinct architectural traditions, but they are difficult to measure. An appraisal of the architectural preferences of a whole nation almost inevitably becomes subjective and is based more on feelings and intuition than established facts. Chinese architecture as a whole (if such a view is possible at all) differs sensibly from that of Korea and Japan. The monumental heaviness of certain Chinese structures stands in contrast to the simple harmony of Korean buildings which varies again from the filigreed stylishness of certain Japanese constructions. It might sound a biased opinion, but even after years of study of East Asian architecture, I tend to view Korean architecture as the most representative architectural tradition of East Asia which balances well the temptations of imposing monumentality, excessive decoration and ceremonial stiffness. In a way that is difficult to define, Korean

temples seem to be more 'Chinese' than most Chinese buildings and the preconception of many Westerners as to what they imagine to be 'Chinese' architecture (which should rather be called 'East Asian architecture') might best be matched by Korean Buddhist architecture.

5.5.3.1. Influences of the local culture on early Buddhist architecture in Korea:  
Korean contributions to early East Asian Buddhist architecture

It is particularly difficult to assess the precise influence of the pre-existing local culture of Korea on early Buddhist architecture because the culture before the arrival of Buddhism is still little known. The influence of shamanism on the religious practices of the Korean people can be appreciated to a certain degree, but its contribution to religious architecture is more difficult to evaluate. The harmonious geographic setting of the temples, for example, could be attributed to geomancy and local shamanism which always had a veneration and respect for nature. These elements, however, were not exclusively Korean because similar traditions also existed in China and Japan.

It is thus only through comparison of the material remains of the Buddhist architecture of the Korean Three Kingdoms period with those of contemporaneous China and Japan that certain characteristics emerge which cannot be attributed to foreign traditions. Future discoveries, in particular in China, will probably have an impact on the evaluation of certain elements of early Korean Buddhist architecture which cannot be traced back for the time being but which are likely to have had some kind of precedent on the Chinese mainland. The following list, in response to the fourth hypothesis, indicates the most likely contenders for the label 'Korean contributions to early East Asian Buddhist architecture':

1. The remains of the octagonal pagodas which occupied the centre of the temple precincts of Ko-gu-ryō have no clear precedent on the Chinese mainland. They are possibly the oldest remains of Buddhist architecture in the whole of East Asia and unless new evidence is uncovered in China, it seems questionable whether it will be possible to distinguish to what extent these structures were independent developments of Ko-gu-ryō or an imported tradition from the Chinese mainland (possibly northern China). The general cultural development of Ko-gu-ryō strongly suggests that the concept of the octagonal pagoda must have been imported but how far the Ko-gu-ryō examples followed the imported models remains an open question.

2. The temple layout with multiple image halls around or behind the central pagoda is not yet attested on the Chinese mainland before the Tang. However, the temple layout of Ko-gu-ryō observed at Güm-gang-sa for example, where three image halls are placed to the north, east and west of the pagoda was also discovered in Japan (Asuka-dera). This indicates that this layout type was a well-established tradition in East Asia which could suggest that it also existed in China. This layout type ultimately belongs to the Indian Buddhist temple where chapels or monks' cells were arranged around the *stūpa*. The question remains as to how similar this Ko-gu-ryō layout was to its supposed Chinese precedents.
3. The multiple-image-hall temple layout of Ko-gu-ryō's Güm-gang-sa was further developed by Ko-gu-ryō at Chōng-rŭng-sa and by Ancient Sin-la at Hwang-ryong-sa and Bun-hwang-sa as explained in the typological study. These developments seem to be exclusively Korean because their application cannot be detected in Japan nor in China. The layouts of the three above-mentioned temples are similar enough to the layout of Ko-gu-ryō's Güm-gang-sa to suggest that they evolved from it without the help of other foreign traditions.  
The layouts of Bæk-che's Nŭng-sa and Mi-rŭk-sa must be understood in a similar way. The layouts of both temples have a clear relation to the typical Bæk-che temple layout as observed at Bæk-che's Güm-gang-sa. Their variations seem to respond to particular ceremonial and functional needs.  
It is probable that the five mentioned temple layouts are unique achievements which did not start distinct traditions of their own. They are variations, combinations and experiments based on the various imported traditions. This shows that Korean artisans already displayed a freedom of spirit and sense of innovation before the end of the Three Kingdoms period. These were important conditions for the future development of Buddhist architecture in Korea and later developments are often based on such early experiments.
4. The 'miniature' stone pagoda replaced the huge wooden or brick pagodas in the main courtyard for the first time in Bæk-che (Chōng-rim-sa, Mi-rŭk-sa). The concept of this relatively small monument in front of the image hall, as well as its construction techniques, cannot, at present, be traced to China. The fact that the 'miniature' stone pagodas in the main courtyard of the temple were so popular in Unified Sin-la, which conquered Bæk-che in the mid-seventh century AD, is a good indication that this building type is a Korean development. China and Japan did not ignore the 'miniature' pagodas but their formalisation and function seem generally to have been different. There, the 'miniature' pagodas were only seldom placed in the main courtyard and served in most cases as funerary monuments to important monks.

#### 5.5.4. Pagoda-centred temple layout and courtyard-centred temple layout

It is generally accepted that the centre of the Indian Buddhist temple was formed by the *stūpa*. This feature was introduced to China together with the Buddhist doctrines. Here the *stūpa* was transformed into the East Asian pagoda but it remained the centre of the main precinct. The temples of the Korean Three Kingdoms seem to have featured pagodas almost without exception (if the small hermitages are neglected) and it was often the most imposing structure of the whole temple.

The Korean 'mountain temples' which were built about one thousand years later contrast strongly with this image of early East Asian Buddhist architecture. Most importantly, the pagoda has completely disappeared or is reduced to a sculptural object which can be placed at various locations within the temple precinct. The main feature of the Buddhist temple is now the image hall which occupies the place of honour to the north of the almost empty courtyard formed on the other sides by minor buildings.

How can this extraordinary development be explained? Is it, as some authors<sup>1</sup> suggest, the result of the Sŏn<sup>2</sup> (C: Chan, J: Zen) movement which supposedly rejected the veneration of Buddha's relics and images, or can this development be attributed to the 'sinicization' of Buddhism<sup>3</sup> which slowly eliminated most Indian elements from its architecture?

The fifth hypothesis included in the introduction of this study proposes that the development of the layout of the later 'mountain temples' of Korea and the fact that the pagoda lost its importance in the temple layout can best be explained by a combination of the three 'spheres of influence' introduced above, namely Indian Buddhism, Chinese civilisation and local Korean culture. The following paragraphs try to demonstrate this assumption.

##### 5.5.4.1. Influences of Buddhism

I have noted that the main influence of Mahāyāna Buddhism on the development of Buddhist architecture in East Asia was the shift of importance from the *stūpa* and pagoda to the various image halls. As the pagoda was the main Buddhist symbol in the temple, the loss of its dominant position in the temple layout lead paradoxically to smaller possible influences of Buddhism on later developments

<sup>1</sup> E.g. KIM Sung-woo (KIM Sŏng-u 金聖雨 김성우) (1985), pp. 248f.

<sup>2</sup> Sŏn school: K: Sŏn-chong 禪宗 선종.

<sup>3</sup> See: KIM Sung-woo (KIM Sŏng-u 金聖雨 김성우) (1985), pp. 468 - 472.

of East Asian temple architecture. While Mahāyāna Buddhism actively encouraged the veneration of the numerous Buddhas and Bodhisattvas (which were enshrined in the various image halls) instead of that of the historical Buddha alone (for whom a single *stūpa* in the temple courtyard would be enough), it did not impose a new orthodox temple layout and the possibility to place a pagoda in the central position of the temple layout was always maintained for all Buddhist school.

It has often been repeated that the Korean temple layout without pagoda in its courtyard is a Sōn invention because of its verbal aversion against formalism. As there is no clear architectural distinction between temples belonging to the various Buddhist schools in Korea, this thesis must imply that the supposed Sōn invention was readily accepted by most other schools as a possibility at least. In numerous cases, temples changed from one school to another without the layout having to be adapted. The only change might have been to add some new buildings or rename old ones for the worship of the favoured Buddhist figures of the new school. The presumption of a Sōn invention seems thus to be pure speculation based only on doctrines which cannot be controlled in the temples. As a matter of fact, many of the newly founded leading Sōn temples not only featured single or twin stone pagodas in their main courtyard, but the Sōn school was the first to introduce the *stūpa* (*bu-do*<sup>1</sup>) as a burial for famous monks. This shows that, contrary to the supposed iconoclasm, the Sōn school attached importance not only to the veneration of the relics of the historical Buddha but also of those of the patriarchs of their own school.

The fact that Buddhism did not have a determining influence on the later developments of Korean temple architecture shows an important characteristic of its doctrines. In order for new developments of religious architecture to happen it is primordial that the religion concerned allows the necessary freedom of expression and innovation. Mahāyāna Buddhism seems to have been one of the most tolerant religions in terms of architectural expression. There is not a single architectural element which is judged indispensable for a building or building complex to be called a Buddhist temple. It is possible that because Mahāyāna Buddhism had virtually been erased in its country of origin and exported to such a different civilisation as China played an important role in the fact that no absolute, dogmatic rules for the construction of temples were developed.

The influence of Mahāyāna Buddhism on later developments of Korean architecture mainly lies in my opinion in the general, undogmatic acceptance of architectural changes if they are motivated and justified by other important factors.

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<sup>1</sup> *Bu-do* 浮屠부도.

#### 5.5.4.2. Influence of Chinese civilisation

The Korean courtyard-centred temple layout has obviously a close relationship to Chinese courtyard architecture as mentioned on several occasions. The pagoda, on the contrary, was a foreign element which was introduced to the typical Chinese courtyard. It is thus imaginable that the reduction in size of the pagoda during the Unified Sin-la period and later its possible elimination from the temple layout can be understood as a process of restoring the original Chinese courtyard architecture. This process would have to be called 'sinicization' of Buddhist architecture. It has been mentioned above that Buddhist doctrines did not represent an obstacle to such an evolution.

This evolution can be well illustrated with the help of Korean examples as shown in the typological study. To demonstrate the same thing in China where this development supposedly originated, seems more difficult. Huge brick and wooden pagodas continued to be constructed in most parts of China and during virtually all subsequent dynasties until the end of the Qing dynasty. These pagodas were in many cases still the centre of the temple, especially during the Liao dynasty as the study by STEINHARDT<sup>1</sup> has shown.

Other Buddhist temples, however, did in fact have no pagodas any longer in their main courtyard. It has been mentioned that the murals of Dunhuang only seldom feature temples with pagodas in their centre. Most pagodas and *stūpas* seem to stand freely in the countryside as landmarks or for the commemoration of a deceased master monk or an important Buddhist event. The two oldest extant wooden structures in China of the Tang dynasty belong to temples (Nanchan-si and Foguang-si<sup>2</sup>) whose layout does not feature large pagodas in the central (and never did as far as we know). The courtyards are formed by several image halls on the rear and the lateral sides and gates on the front side of the temples. Walls fill the gaps between the buildings or enclose the whole temple precinct. Comparable examples of courtyard-centred temple layouts can be observed regularly in later periods as well. The closed-courtyard type, where the buildings on all four sides of the courtyards are built one against the other, became particularly popular in southern China.

It thus seems that China always pursued several temple layout types at once and never decided on one development alone. The exact reasons for this would have to be examined in a separate study but it seems that the size of China alone would justify several several distinct traditions flourishing in parallel. The circumstances

<sup>1</sup> See: STEINHARDT (1997).

<sup>2</sup> Nanchan-si 南禪寺 남선사, Foguang-si 佛光寺 불광사, both in Shanxi 山西 산서.

of the foundings of the various temples as well as the available resources must also have played important roles in determining the layout.

Japanese Buddhist architecture seems never to have developed the courtyard-centred temple layout. Instead, when the galleries started to be abandoned in the Heian period, the various elements of the temple were spread freely over the temple precinct so that they took on the character of pavilions in a park. The reduced importance of the pagoda can thus also be observed in Japan where Japanese garden architecture avoided centrality or clear axes so that the temples no longer had a single centre. The later wooden pagodas of Japan could therefore be built in a similar fashion and size as in the early periods; their location in the layout indicated their reduced importance.

While Mahāyāna Buddhism seems mainly responsible for the possible reduction of importance of the pagoda in the temple layout, Chinese civilisation and its traditional courtyard architecture had a considerable influence on the development of the Korean courtyard-centred temple layout, but they alone do not explain the clear preference of this temple type in Korea.

#### 5.5.4.3. Influences of local Korean factors

The decisive factors for the development of the Korean courtyard-centred temple layout have to be found in Korea itself. The modest size and the mountain location of the majority of extant Korean Buddhist temples can best be explained by the continuous persecution during the Cho-sŏn period and by the interest of the Neo-Confucianism of the literati. The economical situation of the Buddhist community was therefore limited and made huge construction projects impossible. Only the sporadic support of particular members of the royal court or the local nobility permitted the construction of the larger extant buildings. It is thus easily understandable that the community of monks chose those temple layout types for reconstructions and new foundings which corresponded best to the contemporary political and economical situation.

Another explanation, however, has to be found, firstly, for the preference for relatively small stone pagodas in the Unified Sin-la period when Buddhism was closely associated with the monarchy, and secondly, for the concrete formalisation of the carefully-composed courtyard-centred temples of the later periods.

The layouts of Korean 'mountain temples' can hardly be confused with those of Chinese courtyard-centred temples because the Korean temple buildings are almost never built side by side, nor are they usually connected by walls. The shape and construction method of the stone pagodas of Unified Sin-la are not paralleled in China or Japan. These peculiarities indicate that the Korean 'mountain temples' and



the 'miniature' stone pagodas are Korean developments which happened in parallel to certain Chinese developments. The direct precursor of the Korean 'mountain temples' has to be found in certain developments of early Buddhist architecture in Korea such as the multiple image halls and the transformation of lateral galleries into dormitories, and not in later Chinese courtyard-centred temples with which they nevertheless share similar objectives and origins.

The Korean 'mountain temples' layout and the 'miniature' stone pagodas belong (together with some later construction details and decorations) to the most important characteristics of Korean Buddhist architecture which distinguishes it from those of China and Japan. It is thus in these elements that the particular Korean aesthetic preferences for Buddhist architecture must be contained. These elements have in my opinion two basic principles. Firstly, they display a preference for small and simple architectural solutions which are however well articulated and carefully executed. Complicated interconnected buildings with heavy decoration are avoided. At the other extreme, Korean Buddhist architecture has a certain naturally rough character with lively colours which contrasts with sharp, neat, undecorated buildings. Secondly, Korean Buddhist architecture is always trying to find a balance between the needs of the 'human sphere' which includes monks and visiting laymen, and respect of the natural environment. This respect, however, is not based on ecological considerations in the modern sense but on the conviction that a certain living space is only beneficial and healthy for humans if the 'forces of nature' are not contradicted or obstructed. The Korean landscape seems to have favoured the combination of these two principles because neither its mountains nor its valleys, plains or islands are large enough to invite huge constructions.

In response to the sixth and last hypothesis, it can thus be concluded that the development from the early Buddhist temples which were described in this study to the extant 'mountain temples' can be explained by the combination of numerous factors among which the aesthetic principles of Korean Buddhist architecture are responsible for the final formalisation while Buddhism, Chinese civilisation and the historical circumstances in Korea formed the necessary conditions.

## 5.6. CONCLUSION

This study provides detailed information on the material and historical remains of the earliest period of Buddhist architecture in Korea. Its time scale is that of the Korean Three Kingdoms, namely Ko-gu-ryŏ, Bæk-che and Ancient Sin-la, which includes the period since the introduction of Buddhism in the late fourth century AD until the downfall of two of the three kingdoms in the middle of the sixth century AD. The Sin-la kingdom continued to exist for another three centuries after the collapse of Bæk-che and Ko-gu-ryŏ, but the date of the 'unification' of the Korean peninsula is a crucial event in the political and cultural history of Korea. Much of the later cultural achievements of Korea are based on the premises established during the Three Kingdoms period. This is particularly true for Buddhist architecture which experienced an impressive development in this period. I hope that this study will serve as the foundation upon which future studies on Korean Buddhist architecture can be built.

The present study also has implications for related fields of research, namely the history of Korean Buddhism and the history of Buddhist architecture in China and Japan. The study recreates the physical setting of the introduction and first developments of Korean Buddhism which are thus set into perspective. As the historical sources on this period are particularly scarce, the knowledge of its architectural setting provides a more complete understanding of the actual conditions of early Korean Buddhism. The large number and high level of accomplishment of the temples of the Three Kingdoms period indicate that Buddhism was already well established and flourishing during this period. This statement contradicts the opinion according to which early Korean Buddhism is seen as still primitive and which doubts that the population or even the monks understood Buddhism correctly. While it is doubtful that there is a 'correct' way of understanding Buddhism, that of the Three Kingdoms period does not seem to be primitive at all. Deep and frequent relations between the Buddhist communities of Korea and China show that by the fifth and sixth centuries AD at least, Korean Buddhism has reached the same level of development as that of contemporaneous China.

The interpretation of the material remains of Korean Buddhist architecture also contributes to the understanding of the early Buddhist architecture of its neighbours. The majority of the early remains of Buddhist architecture found on the Korean peninsula are approximately contemporaneous with those of China and Japan, dating to the sixth and seventh centuries AD. Certain Ko-gu-ryŏ temple remains, however, are probably the oldest excavated Buddhist temples in the whole

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of East Asia as they may date back to the fifth century AD. It is thus possible to balance the long-accepted habit of tracing architectural development from Japan back to China; it cannot be taken for granted any longer that the early temple architecture of Japan was identical to that of China. Only future discoveries in China itself will be able to establish the precise characteristics of its early Buddhist architecture but Korean evidence can provide a hypothesis which will be helpful in this process.

Knowledge of Korean Buddhist architecture in the West is still very fragmentary at best. This study tries to fill this lack by presenting most of the known evidence of Korean Buddhist architecture of the relevant period and by adding so far unpublished information. Thus, new hypotheses regarding the creation and development of Buddhist architecture of Korea were then formulated on this basis.

The study makes clear that the Buddhist architecture of the Korean Three Kingdoms is a crucial link in the history of East Asian Buddhist architecture and deserves to be treated on an equal footing with those of China and Japan. This opens the prospect of increased general interest in Korean architecture and culture.



# **MAPS**



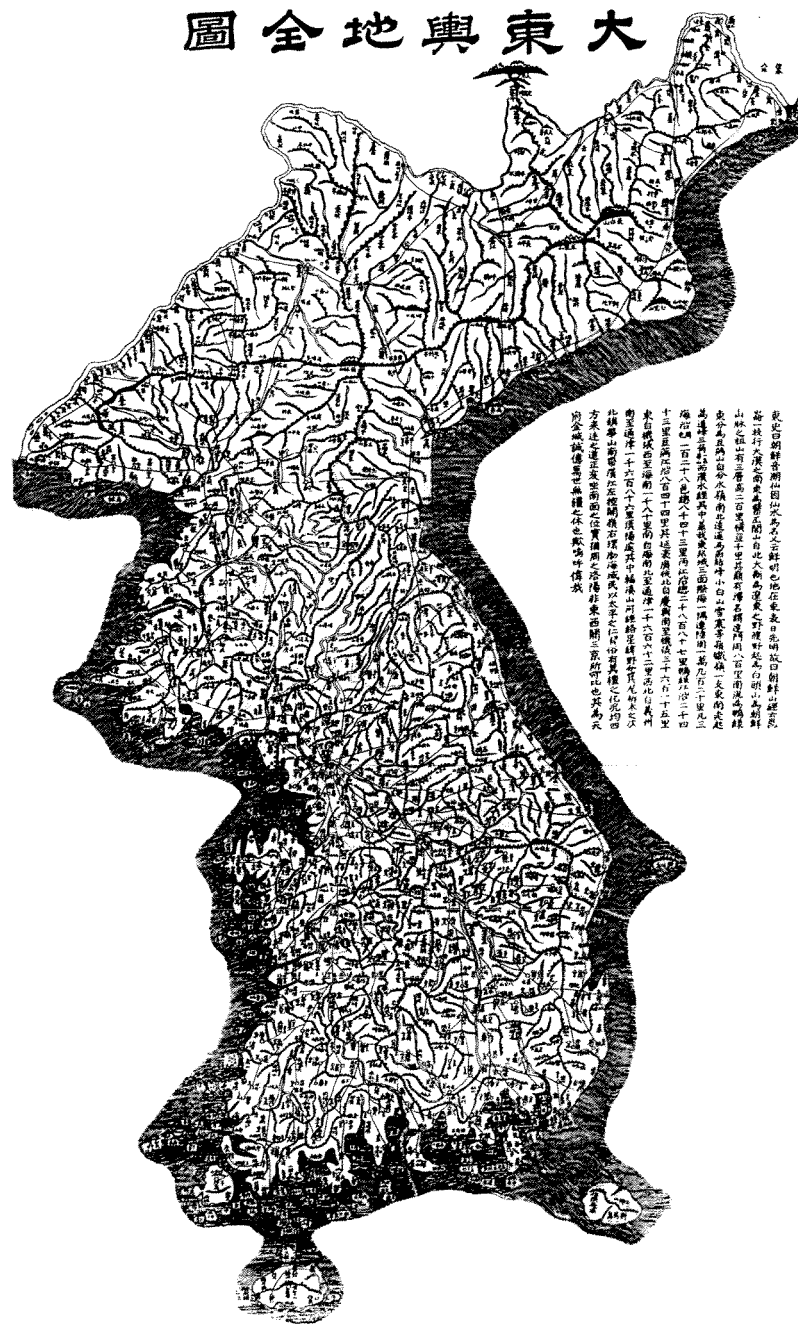


Fig. 683: *Dae-dong-yŏ-chi-chŏn-do* (Map of the Entire Great Land of the East)  
 「大東輿地全圖 대동여지전도」 by KIM Chŏng-ho 金正浩 김정호 (? - 1864 AD)  
 (1860 AD, 77.4cm by 115.2cm, original scale: 1 : 920,000) (after CACD)

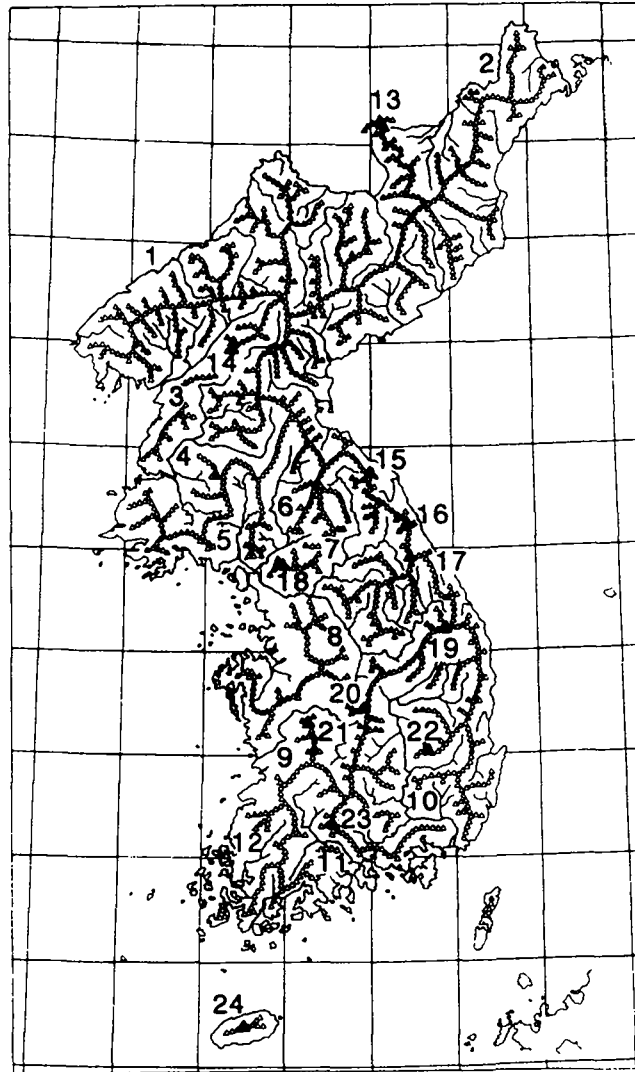


Fig. 684: Transposition of the *Dong-guk-yŏ-chi-chŏn-do* 「東國輿地全圖 동국여지전도」 with indications of the main rivers (-kang) and mountains (-san) (drawing by the author)

- |           |                         |    |                       |
|-----------|-------------------------|----|-----------------------|
| Legend: 1 | Ab-lok-kang 靑綠江 압록강     | 13 | Bæk-du-san 白頭山 백두산    |
| 2         | Du-man-kang 豆滿江 두만강     | 14 | Myo-hyang-san 妙香山 묘향산 |
| 3         | Chŏng-chŏn-kang 淸川江 청천강 | 15 | Gŭm-gang-san 金剛山 금강산  |
| 4         | Dæ-dong-kang 大同江 대동강    | 16 | Sŏr-ak-san 雪嶽山 설악산    |
| 5         | Ye-sŏng-kang 禮成江 예성강    | 17 | O-dæ-san 五臺山 오대산      |
| 6         | Im-chin-kang 臨津江 임진강    | 18 | Buk-han-san 北漢山 북한산   |
| 7         | Buk-han-kang 北漢江 북한강    | 19 | Tæ-bæk-san 太白山 태백산    |
| 8         | Nam-han-kang 南漢江 남한강    | 20 | Sok-ri-san 俗離山 속리산    |
| 9         | Gŭm-kang 錦江 금강          | 21 | Kye-ryong-san 鷄籠山 계룡산 |
| 10        | Nak-dong-kang 洛東江 낙동강   | 22 | Pal-kong-san 八公山 팔공산  |
| 11        | Sŏm-chin-kang 淸津江 섬진강   | 23 | Chi-ri-san 智異山 지리산    |
| 12        | Yŏng-san-kang 榮山江 영산강   | 24 | Han-la-san 漢拏山 한라산    |



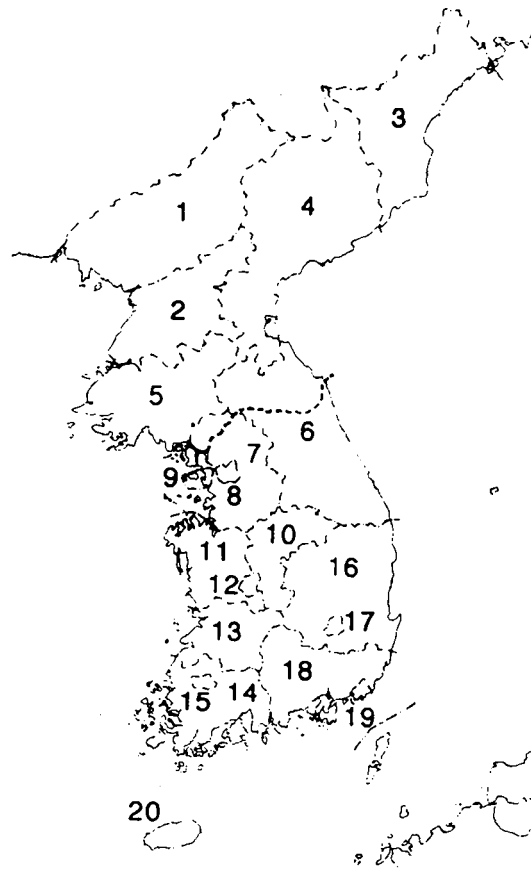


Fig. 685: Provinces and metropolis of Korea according to the administration of South Korea, (in brackets the numbers of the temple list (appendix 3)) (drawing by the author)

Legend:	1	Pyŏng-an North Province	平安北道 평안북도	(No. 10)
	2	Pyŏng-an South Province	平安南道 평안남도	(No. 10)
	3	Ham-kyŏng North Province	咸鏡北道 함경북도	(No. 10)
	4	Ham-kyŏng South Province	咸鏡南道 함경남도	(No. 10)
	5	Hwang-hæ Province	黃海道 황해도	(No. 10)
	6	Kang-wŏn Province	江原道 강원도	(No. 2)
	7	Kyŏng-gi Province	京畿道 경기도	(No. 1)
	8	Sŏ-ul (Seoul) Special City	서울特別市 서울특별시	(No. 1)
	9	In-čhŏn Metropolis	仁川廣域市 인천광역시	(No. 1)
	10	Čhung-čhŏng North Province	忠清北道 충청북도	(No. 3)
	11	Čhung-čhŏng South Province	忠清南道 충청남도	(No. 4)
	12	Dæ-čhŏn Metropolis	大田廣域市 대전광역시	(No. 4)
	13	Čhŏn-la North Province	全羅北道 전라북도	(No. 5)
	14	Čhŏn-la South Province	全羅南道 전라남도	(No. 6)
	15	Kwang-chu Metropolis	光州廣域市 광주광역시	(No. 6)
	16	Kyŏng-sang North Province	慶尙北道 경상북도	(No. 7)
	17	Dæ-gu Metropolis	大邱廣域市 대구광역시	(No. 7)
	18	Kyŏng-sang South Province	慶尙南道 경상남도	(No. 8)
	19	Bu-san Metropolis	釜山廣域市 부산광역시	(No. 8)
	20	Če-chu Province	濟州道 제주도	(No. 9)

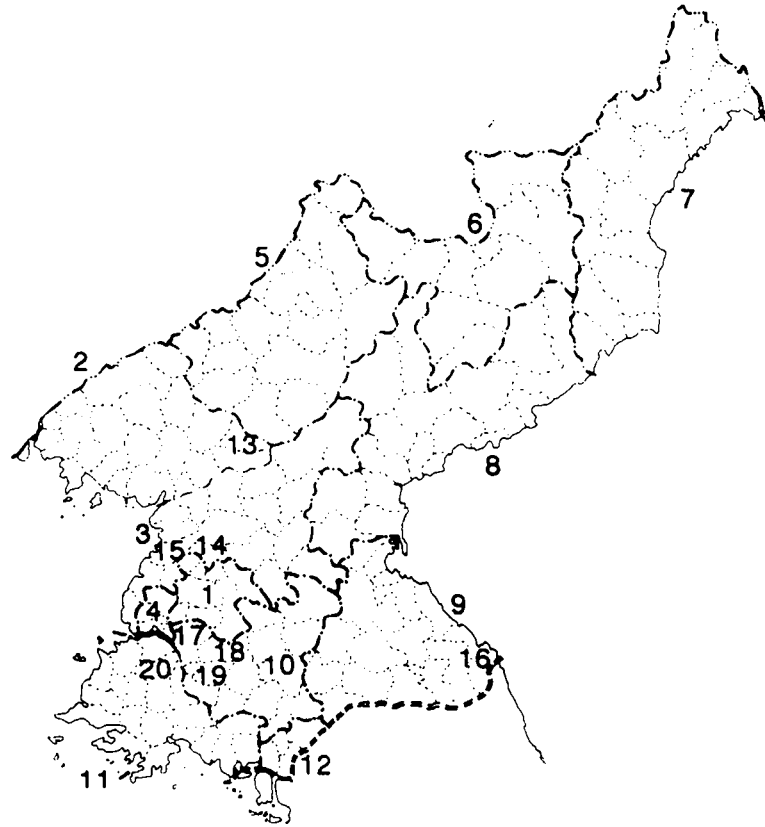


Fig. 686: Provinces, major cities and a selection of counties of North Korea according to the borders established in 1988 by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (in brackets the numbers of the temple list (appendix 3)) (drawing by the author)

Legend:	1	Pyŏng-yang Special City	平壤特別市 평양특별시	(No. 10.1.)
	2	Pyŏng-an North Province	平安北道 평안북도	(No. 10.2.)
	3	Pyŏng-an South Province	平安南道 평안남도	(No. 10.3.)
	4	Nam-po Major City	南浦直轄市 남포직할시	(No. 10.4.)
	5	Cha-kang Province	慈江道 자강도	(No. 10.5.)
	6	Ryang-kang Province	平安南道 평안남도	(No. 10.6.)
	7	Ham-kyŏng North Province	咸鏡北道 함경북도	(No. 10.7.)
	8	Ham-kyŏng South Province	咸鏡南道 함경남도	(No. 10.8.)
	9	Kang-wŏn Province	江原道 강원도	(No. 10.9.)
	10	Hwang-hæ North Province	黃海北道 황해북도	(No. 10.10.)
	11	Hwang-hæ South Province	黃海南道 황해남도	(No. 10.11.)
	12	Kæ-sŏng Major City	開城直轄市 개성직할시	(No. 10.12.)
	13	Hyang-san County	香山郡 향산군	(No. 10.2.1. - 3.)
	14	Pyŏng-sŏng City	平城市 평성시	(No. 10.3.1.)
	15	Pyŏng-wŏn County	平原郡 평원군	(No. 10.3.2. / 3.)
	16	Ko-sŏng County	高城郡 고성군	(No. 10.9.4. - 6.)
	17	Hwang-chu County	黃州郡 황주군	(No. 10.10.1.)
	18	Yŏn-tan County	燕灘郡 연탄군	(No. 10.10.2.)
	19	Bong-san County	鳳山郡 봉산군	(No. 10.10.3.)
	20	An-ak County	安岳郡 안악군	(No. 10.11.1. - 3.)

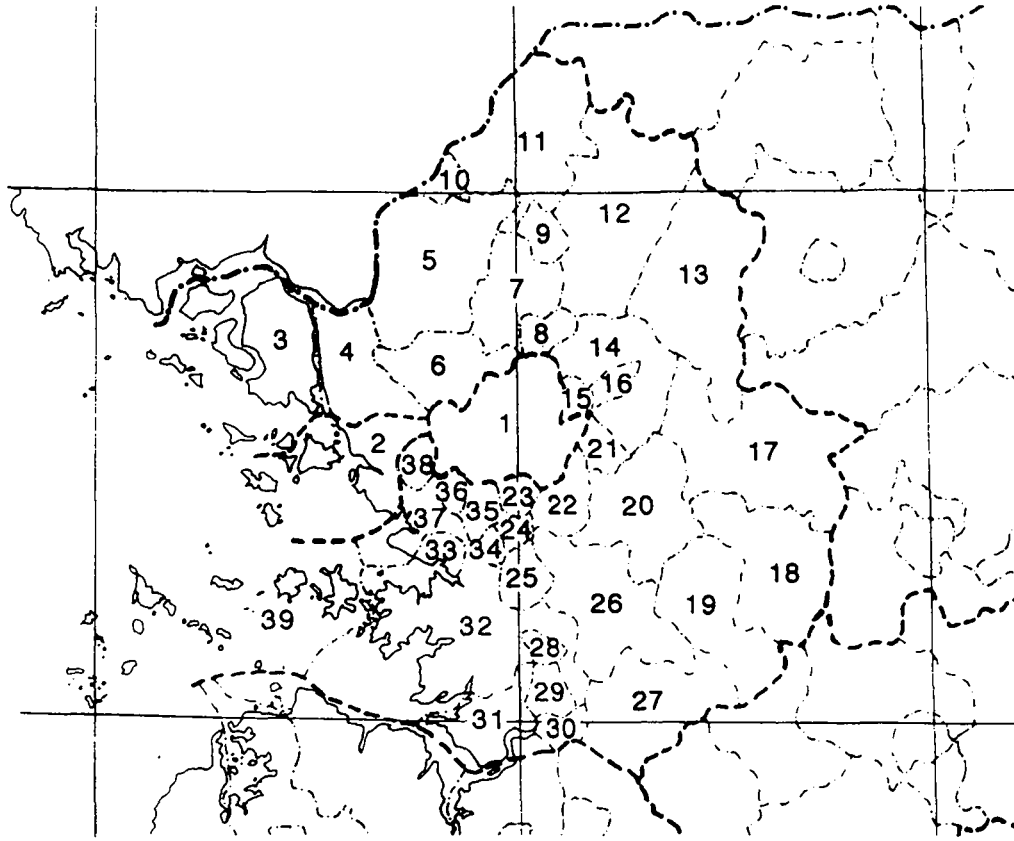


Fig. 687: Sŏ-ul (Seoul) Special City 서울特別市서울특별시, In-čhŏn Metropolis仁川廣域市 인천광역시, counties and cities of Kyŏng-gi Province京畿道 (the numbers correspond to the temple list (appendix 3, No. 1.)) (drawing by the author)

- |         |                                 |                           |
|---------|---------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Legend: | 1 Sŏ-ul Special City 서울特別市서울특별시 | 21 Ha-nam City河南市하남시      |
|         | 2 In-čhŏn Metropolis仁川廣域市인천광역시  | 22 Sŏng-nam City城南市성남시    |
|         | 3 Kang-hwa County江華郡강화군         | 23 Kwa-čhŏn City果川市과천시    |
|         | 4 Kim-po County金浦郡김포군           | 24 Ŭi-wang City鐵旺市의왕시     |
|         | 5 Pa-chu County坡州郡파주군           | 25 Su-wŏn City水原市수원시      |
|         | 6 Ko-yang City高陽市고양시            | 26 Yong-in County龍仁郡용인군   |
|         | 7 Yang-chu County楊州郡양주군         | 27 An-sŏng County安城郡안성군   |
|         | 8 Ŭi-čhŏng-bu City議政府市의정부시      | 28 O-san City烏山市오산시       |
|         | 9 Dong-bu-čhŏn City東豆川市동두천시     | 29 Song-tan City松炭市송탄시    |
|         | 10 Chang-dan County長湍郡장단군       | 30 Pyŏng-tæk City平澤市평택시   |
|         | 11 Yŏn-čhŏn County漣川郡연천군        | 31 Pyŏng-tæk County平澤郡평택군 |
|         | 12 Po-čhŏn County抱川郡포천군         | 32 Hwa-sŏng County華城郡화성군  |
|         | 13 Ka-pyŏng County加平郡가평군        | 33 An-san City安山市안산시      |
|         | 14 Nam-yang-chu City南楊州市남양주시    | 34 Gun-po City軍浦市군포시      |
|         | 15 Ku-ri City九里市구리시             | 35 An-yang City安養市안양시     |
|         | 16 Mi-gŭm City漢金市미금시            | 36 Kwang-myŏng City光明市광명시 |
|         | 17 Yang-pyŏng County楊平郡양평군      | 37 Si-hŭng City始興市시흥시     |
|         | 18 Yŏ-chu County驪州郡여주군          | 38 Bu-čhŏn City富川市부천시     |
|         | 19 I-čhŏn County利川郡이천군          | 39 Ong-chin County靈津郡응진군  |
|         | 20 Kwang-chu County廣州郡광주군       |                           |

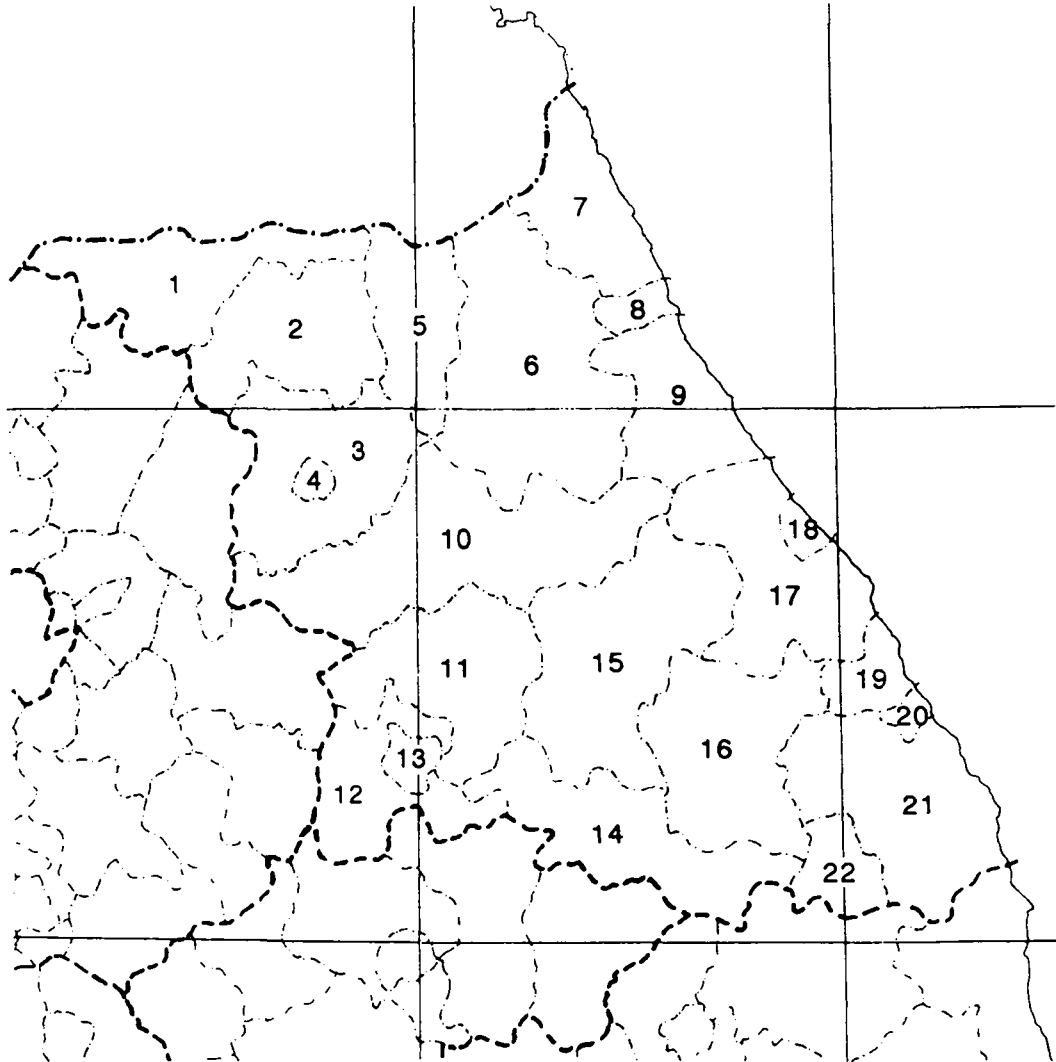


Fig. 688: Counties and cities of Kang-wŏn Province 江原道 강원도  
(the numbers correspond to the temple list (appendix 3, No. 2.)) (drawing by the author)

- |         |                              |                              |
|---------|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Legend: | 1 Čhŏl-wŏn County 鐵原郡 철원군    | 12 Wŏn-chu County 原州郡 원주군    |
|         | 2 Hwa-čhŏn County 華川郡 화천군    | 13 Wŏn-chu City 原州市 원주시      |
|         | 3 Čhun-čhŏn County 春川郡 춘천군   | 14 Yŏng-wŏl County 寧越郡 영월군   |
|         | 4 Čhun-čhŏn City 春천시 춘천시     | 15 Pyŏng-čang County 平昌郡 평창군 |
|         | 5 Yang-gu County 楊口郡 양구군     | 16 Čhŏng-sŏn County 旌善郡 정선군  |
|         | 6 In-che County 麟蹄郡 인제군      | 17 Myŏng-chu County 溟州郡 명주군  |
|         | 7 Ko-sŏng County 高城郡 고성군     | 18 Kang-rŭng City 江陵市 강릉시    |
|         | 8 Sok-čo City 束草市 속초시        | 19 Dong-hæ City 東海市 동해시      |
|         | 9 Yang-yang County 襄陽郡 양양군   | 20 Sam-čhŏk City 三陟市 삼척시     |
|         | 10 Hong-čhŏn County 洪川郡 홍천군  | 21 Sam-čhŏk County 三陟郡 삼척군   |
|         | 11 Hwæng-sŏng County 橫城郡 횡성군 | 22 Tæ-bæk City 太白市 태백시       |

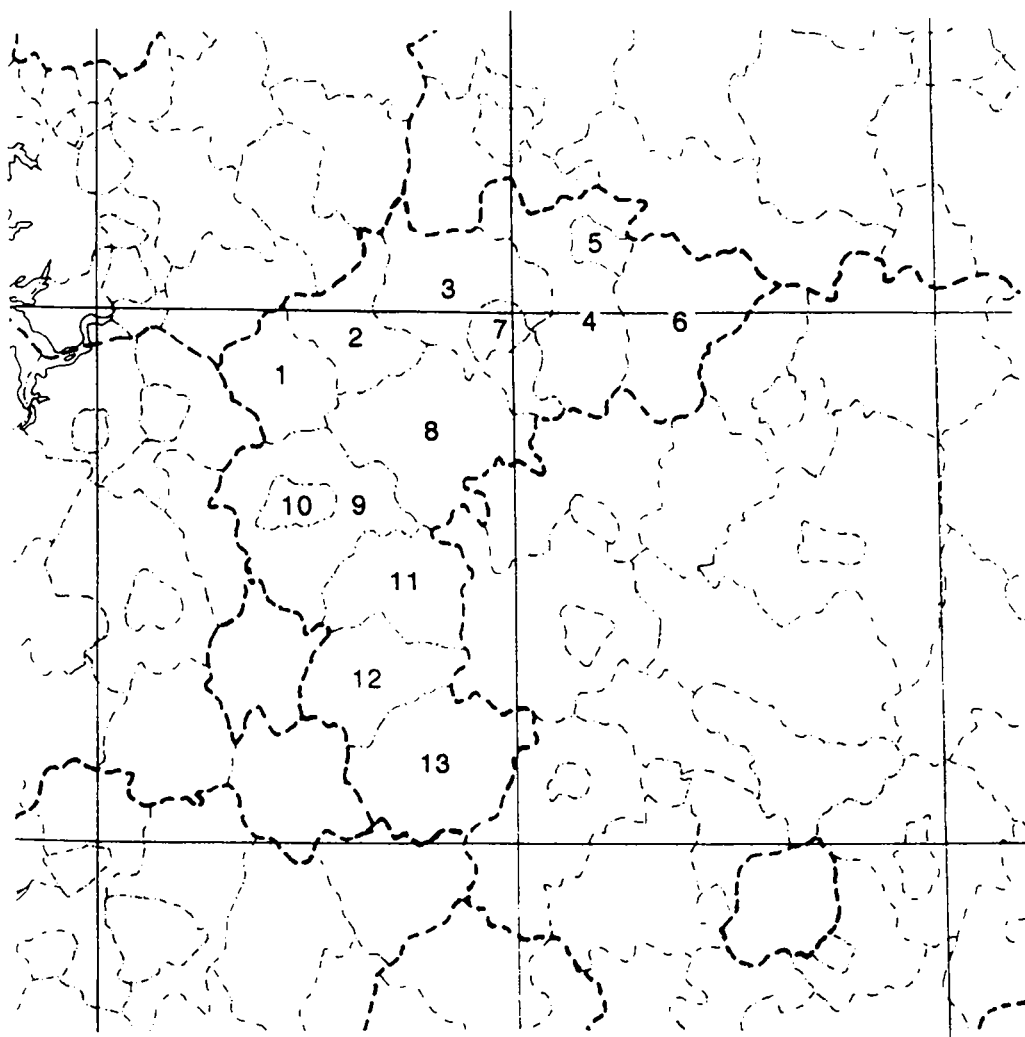


Fig. 689: Counties and cities of Chung-ch'ong North Province 忠清北道 충청북도  
(the numbers correspond to the temple list (appendix 3, No. 3.)) (drawing by the author)

- Legend:
- 1 Chin-ch'ŏn County 鎮川郡 진천군
  - 2 Ŭm-s'ŏng County 陰城郡 음성군
  - 3 Chung-w'ŏn County 中原郡 중원군
  - 4 Che-ch'ŏn County 堤川郡 계천군
  - 5 Che-ch'ŏn City 堤川市 계천시
  - 6 Dan-yang County 丹陽郡 단양군
  - 7 Chung-chu City 忠州市 충주시
  - 8 Kwae-san County 槐山郡 괴산군
  - 9 Ch'ŏng-w'ŏn County 淸原郡 청원군
  - 10 Ch'ŏng-chu City 淸州市 청주시
  - 11 Bo-ŭn County 報恩郡 보은군
  - 12 Ok-ch'ŏn County 沃川郡 옥천군
  - 13 Y'ŏng-dong County 永同郡 영동군

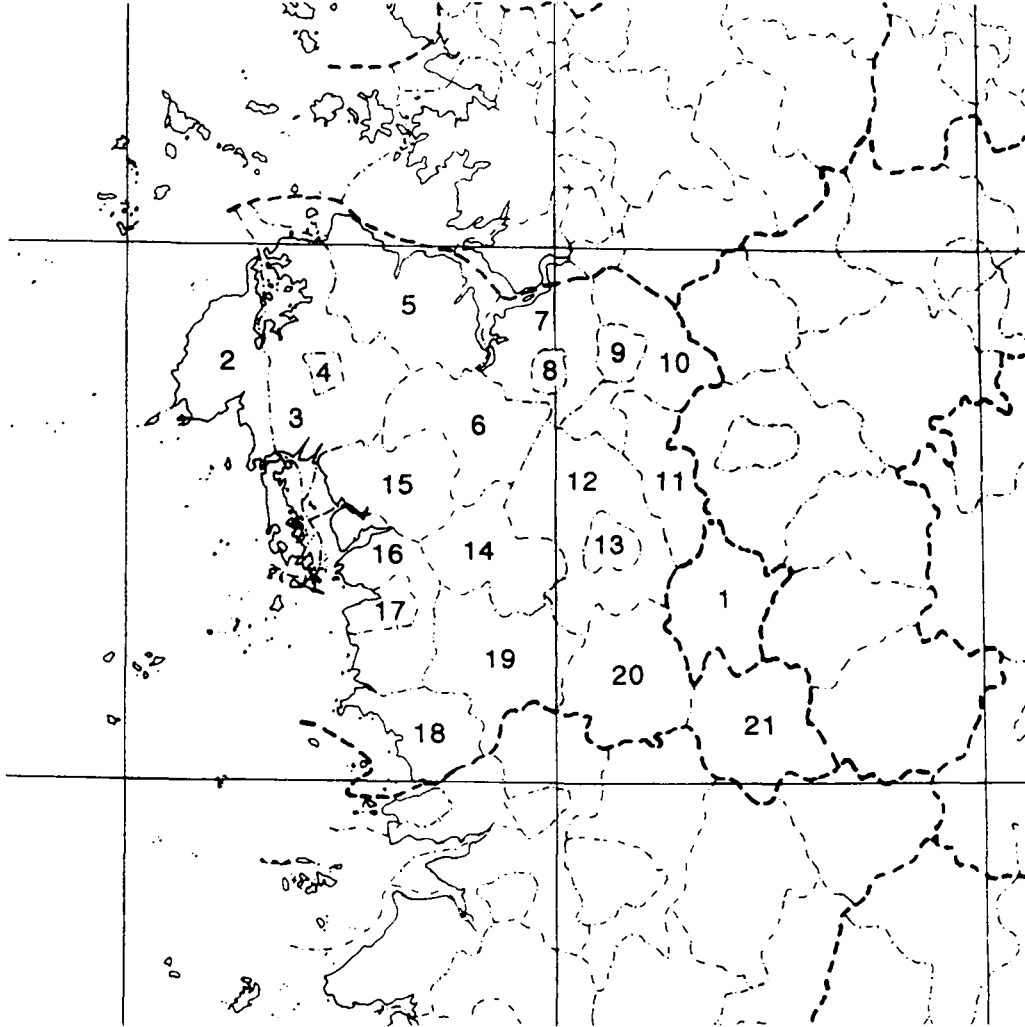


Fig. 690: Dæ-ch'ôn Metropolis 大田廣域市대전광역시, counties and cities of Chung-ch'ông South Province 忠清南道 충청남도 (the numbers correspond to the temple list (appendix 3, No. 4.)) (drawing by the author)

- |           |                                |    |                            |
|-----------|--------------------------------|----|----------------------------|
| Legend: 1 | Dæ-ch'ôn Metropolis 大田廣域市대전광역시 | 12 | Kong-chu County 公州郡 공주군    |
| 2         | Tæ-an County 泰安郡 태안군           | 13 | Kong-chu City 公州市 공주시      |
| 3         | Sō-san County 瑞山郡 서산군          | 14 | Ch'ông-yang County 青陽郡 청양군 |
| 4         | Sō-san City 瑞山市 서산시            | 15 | Hông-s'ông County 洪城郡 홍성군  |
| 5         | Dang-chin County 唐津郡 당진군       | 16 | Bo-ry'ông County 保寧郡 보령군   |
| 6         | Ye-san County 禮山郡 예산군          | 17 | Dæ-ch'ôn City 大川市 대천시      |
| 7         | A-san City 牙山市 아산시             | 18 | Sō-ch'ôn County 舒川郡 서천군    |
| 8         | On-yang City 溫陽市 온양시           | 19 | Bu-y'ô County 扶餘郡 부여군      |
| 9         | Ch'ôn-an City 天安市 천안시          | 20 | Non-san County 論山郡 논산군     |
| 10        | Ch'ôn-an County 天安郡 천안군        | 21 | Gũm-san County 鎭山郡 금산군     |
| 11        | Y'ôn-gi County 燕岐郡 연기군         |    |                            |

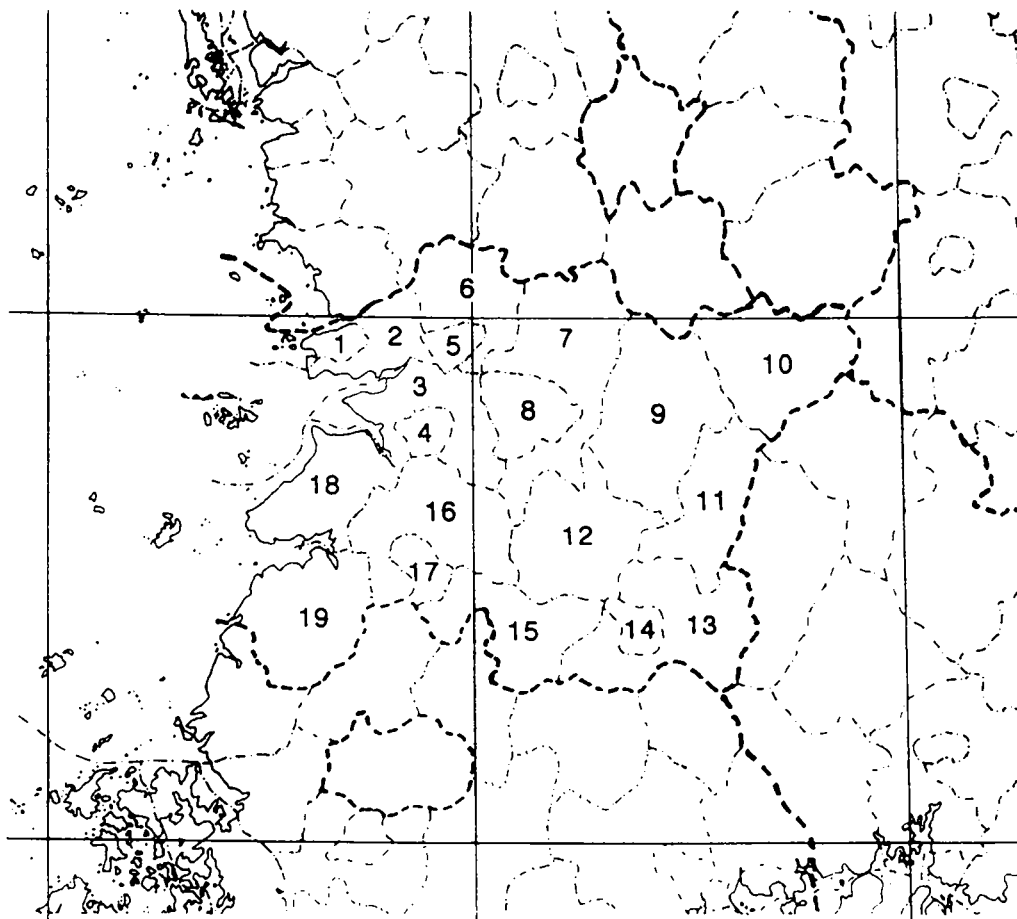


Fig. 691: Counties and cities of Chŏn-la North Province 全羅北道 전라북도  
(the numbers correspond to the temple list (appendix 3, No. 5.)) (drawing by the author)

- |         |    |                        |    |                          |
|---------|----|------------------------|----|--------------------------|
| Legend: | 1  | Kun-san City 群山市 군산시   | 11 | Chang-su County 長水郡 장수군  |
|         | 2  | Ok-ku County 沃溝郡 옥구군   | 12 | Im-sil County 任實郡 임실군    |
|         | 3  | Kim-che County 金堤郡 김제군 | 13 | Nam-wŏn County 南原郡 남원군   |
|         | 4  | Kim-che City 金堤市 김제시   | 14 | Nam-wŏn City 南原市 남원시     |
|         | 5  | I-ri City 裡里市 이리시      | 15 | Sun-chang County 淳昌郡 순창군 |
|         | 6  | Ik-san County 益山郡 익산군  | 16 | Chŏng-ŭb County 井邑郡 정읍군  |
|         | 7  | Wan-chu County 完州郡 완주군 | 17 | Chŏng-chu City 井州市 정주시   |
|         | 8  | Chŏn-chu City 全州市 전주시  | 18 | Bu-an County 扶安郡 부안군     |
|         | 9  | Chin-an County 鎭安郡 진안군 | 19 | Ko-chang County 高敞郡 고창군  |
|         | 10 | Mu-chu County 茂朱郡 무주군  |    |                          |

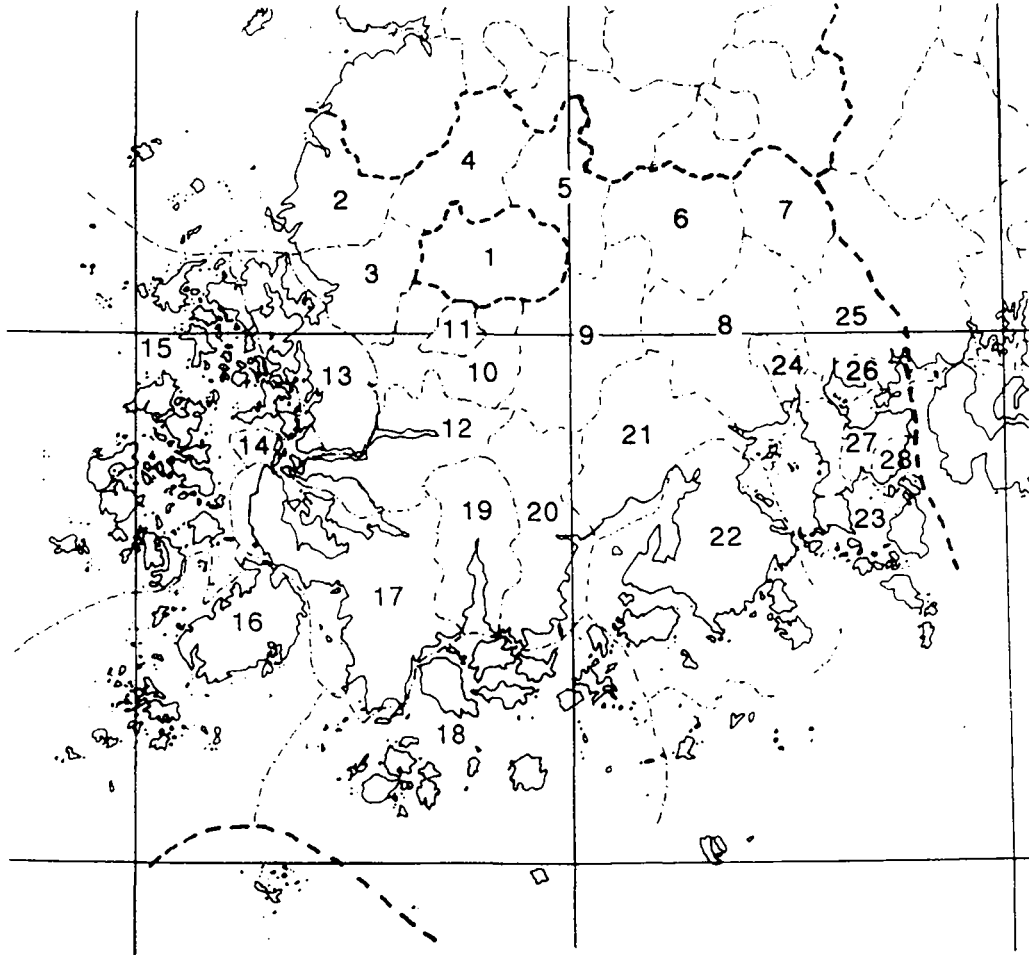


Fig. 692: Kwang-chu Metropolis 光州廣域市 광주광역시, counties and cities of Chŏn-la South Province 全羅南道 전라남도 (the numbers correspond to the temple list (appendix 3, No. 6.)) (drawing by the author)

- |  |                                   |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| Legend: 1 Kwang-chu Metropolis 光州廣域市 광주광역시 | 16 Chin-do County 珍島郡 진도군         |
| 2 Yŏng-kwang County 靈光郡 영광군                | 17 Hæ-nam County 海南郡 해남군          |
| 3 Ham-pyŏng County 咸平郡 함평군                 | 18 Wan-do County 莞島郡 완도군          |
| 4 Chang-sŏng County 長成郡 장성군                | 19 Kang-chin County 康津郡 강진군       |
| 5 Dam-yang County 潭陽郡 담양군                  | 20 Chang-hŭng County 長興郡 장흥군      |
| 6 Gok-sŏng County 谷城郡 곡성군                  | 21 Bo-sŏng County 寶城郡 보성군         |
| 7 Ku-rye County 求禮郡 구례군                    | 22 Ko-hŭng County 高興郡 고흥군         |
| 8 Sŭng-chu County 昇州郡 승주군                  | 23 Yŏ-chŏn County 麗川郡 여천군         |
| 9 Hwa-sun County 和順郡 화순군                   | 24 Sun-ŏhn City 順天市 순천시           |
| 10 Na-chu County 羅州郡 나주군                   | 25 Kwang-yang County 光陽郡 광양군      |
| 11 Na-chu City 羅州市 나주시                     | 26 Dong-kwang-yang City 東光陽市 동광양시 |
| 12 Yŏng-am County 靈巖郡 영암군                  | 27 Yŏ-chŏn City 麗川市 여천시           |
| 13 Mu-an County 務安郡 무안군                    | 28 Yŏ-su City 麗水市 여수시             |
| 14 Mok-po City 木浦市 목포시                     |                                   |
| 15 Sin-an County 新安郡 신안군                   |                                   |



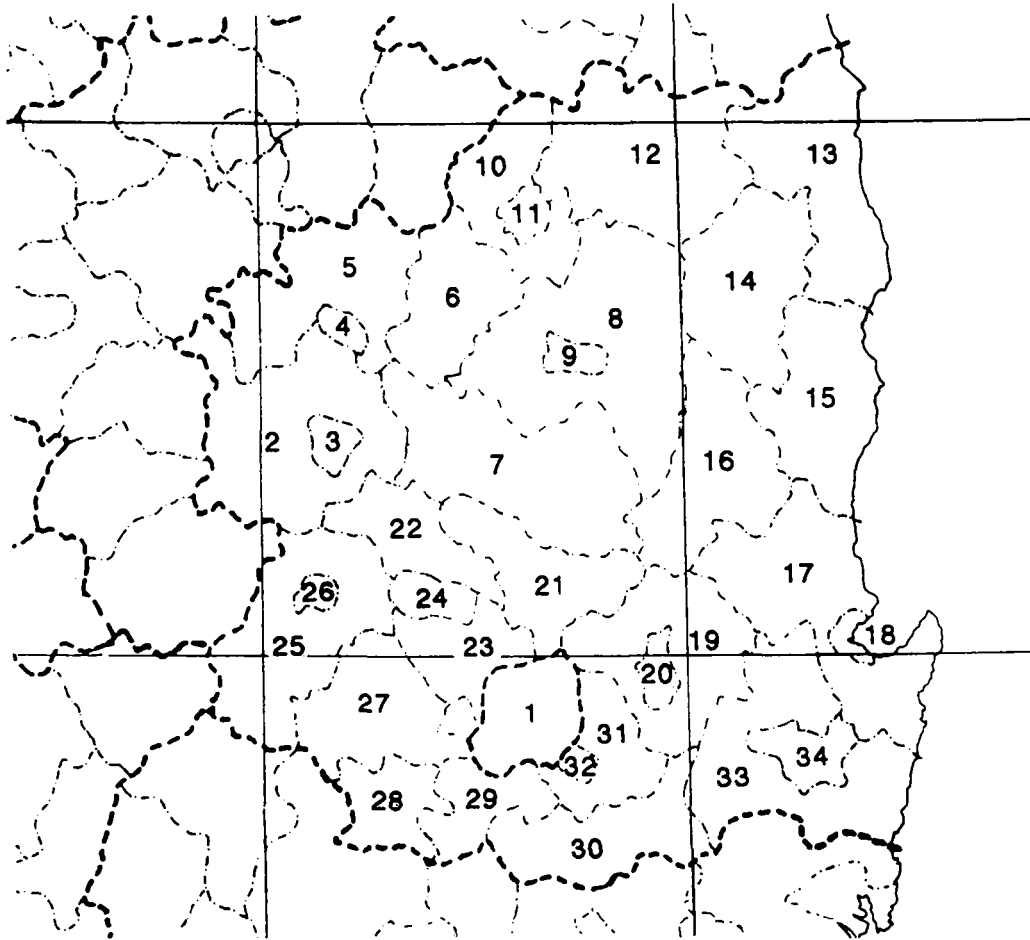


Fig. 693: Dæ-gu Metropolis 大邱廣域市 대구광역시, counties and cities of Kyōng-sang North Province 慶尙北道 경상북도 (the numbers correspond to the temple list (appendix 3, No. 7.)) (drawing by the author)

- |         |                                |                             |
|---------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Legend: | 1 Dæ-gu Metropolis 大邱廣域市 대구광역시 | 18 Po-hang City 浦項市 포항시     |
|         | 2 Sang-chu County 尙州郡 상주시      | 19 Yōng-chōn County 永川郡 영천시 |
|         | 3 Sang-chu City 尙州市 상주시        | 20 Yōng-chōn City 永川市 영천시   |
|         | 4 Chōm-chon County 店村郡 침촌군     | 21 Kun-wi County 軍威郡 군위군    |
|         | 5 Mun-kyōng County 聞慶郡 문경군     | 22 Sōn-san County 善山郡 선산군   |
|         | 6 Ye-chōn County 醴泉郡 예천군       | 23 Ch'il-gok County 漆谷郡 칠곡군 |
|         | 7 Ŭi-sōng County 義城郡 의성군       | 24 Ku-mi City 龜尾市 구미시       |
|         | 8 An-dong County 安東郡 안동군       | 25 Gŭm-rŭng County 金陵郡 금릉군  |
|         | 9 An-dong City 安東市 안동시         | 26 Kim-chōn City 金泉市 김천시    |
|         | 10 Yōng-pung County 榮豊郡 영풍군    | 27 Sōng-chu County 星州郡 성주군  |
|         | 11 Yōng-chu City 榮州市 영주시       | 28 Ko-ryōng County 高靈郡 고령군  |
|         | 12 Bong-hwa County 奉化郡 봉화군     | 29 Dal-sōng County 達城郡 달성군  |
|         | 13 Ul-chin County 蔚珍郡 울진군      | 30 Chōng-do County 淸道郡 청도군  |
|         | 14 Yōng-yang County 英陽郡 영양군    | 31 Kyōng-san County 慶山郡 경산군 |
|         | 15 Yōng-dōk County 盈德郡 영덕군     | 32 Kyōng-san City 慶山市 경산시   |
|         | 16 Chōng-song County 靑松郡 청송군   | 33 Kyōng-chu County 慶州郡 경주군 |
|         | 17 Yōng-il County 迎日郡 영일군      | 34 Kyōng-chu City 慶州市 경주시   |

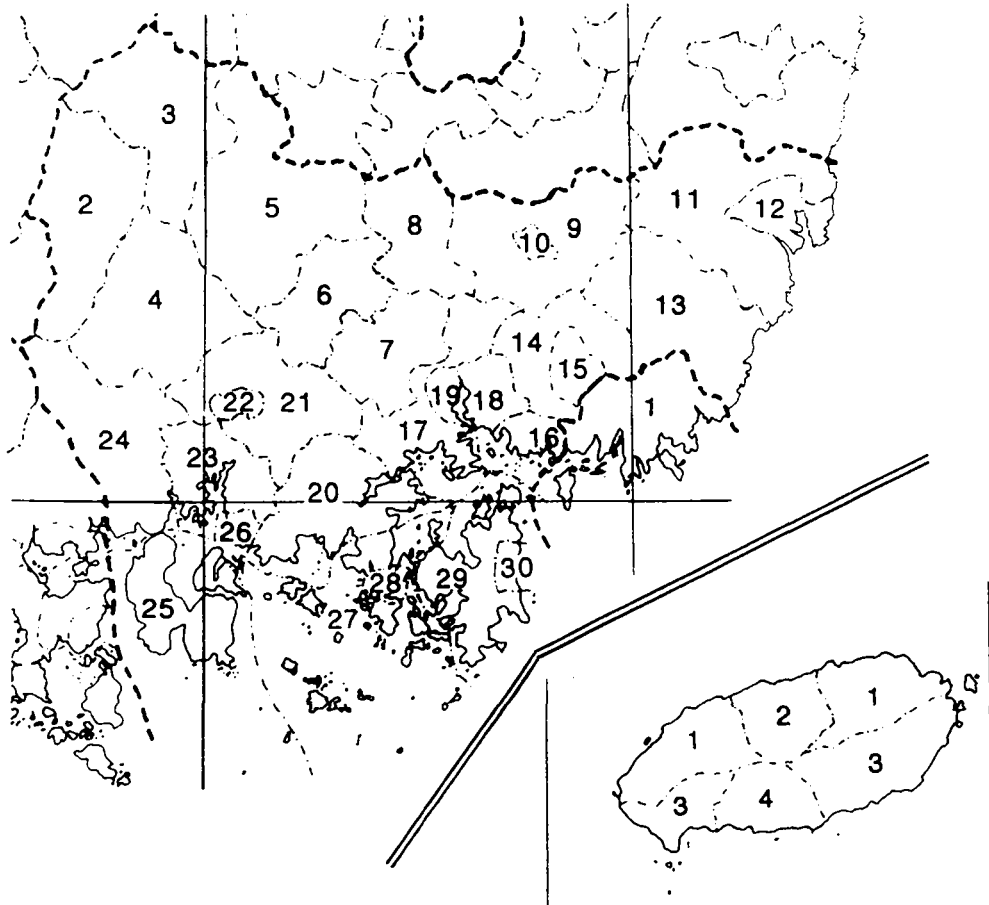


Fig. 694: Bu-san Metropolis 釜山廣域市 부산광역시, counties and cities of Kyong-sang South Province 慶尙南道 경상남도 and Che-chu Province 濟州道 제주도 (the numbers correspond to the temple list (appendix 3, No. 8 and 9.)) (drawing by the author):

- |   |                                 |
|---|---------------------------------|
| Legend: 1 Bu-san Metropolis 釜山廣域市 부산광역시 | 16 Chin-hæ City 鎭海市 진해시         |
| 2 Ham-yang County 咸陽郡 함양군               | 17 Chang-wŏn County 昌原郡 창원군     |
| 3 Kŏ-chang County 居昌郡 거창군               | 18 Chang-wŏn City 昌原市 창원시       |
| 4 San-chŏng County 山淸郡 산청군              | 19 Ma-san City 馬山市 마산시          |
| 5 Hab-chŏn County 陝川郡 함천군               | 20 Ko-sŏng County 固城郡 고성군       |
| 6 Ŭi-ryŏng County 宜寧郡 의령군               | 21 Chin-yang County 晉陽郡 진양군     |
| 7 Ham-an County 咸安郡 함안군                 | 22 Chin-chu City 晋州市 진주시        |
| 8 Chang-nyŏng County 昌寧郡 창녕군            | 23 Sa-chŏn County 泗川郡 사천군       |
| 9 Mil-yang County 密陽郡 밀양군               | 24 Ha-dong County 河東郡 하동군       |
| 10 Mil-yang City 密陽市 밀양시                | 25 Nam-hæ County 南海郡 남해군        |
| 11 Ul-san County 蔚山郡 울산군                | 26 Sam-chŏn-po City 三千浦市 삼천포시   |
| 12 Ul-san City 蔚山市 울산시                  | 27 Tong-yŏng County 統營郡 통영군     |
| 13 Yang-san County 梁山郡 양산군              | 28 Chung-mu City 忠武市 충무시        |
| 14 Kim-hæ County 金海郡 김해군                | 29 Kŏ-che County 巨濟郡 거제군        |
| 15 Kim-hæ City 金海市 김해시                  | 30 Chang-sŭng-po City 長承浦市 장승포시 |
| Che-chu Province 濟州道 제주도:               |                                 |
| 1 Buk-che-chu County 北濟州郡 북제주군          | 3 Nam-che-chu County 南濟州郡 남제주군  |
| 2 Che-chu City 濟州市 제주시                  | 4 Sŏ-kwi-po City 慶州市 경주시        |

**APPENDIX 1:**

**CHRONOLOGY OF THE  
KOREAN DYNASTIES**

	CHINA 中國 중국	MANCHURIA 滿洲地域 만주지역	NORTH-WESTERN KOREA 西北韓半島 서북한반도		
	1,000,000-10,000 PALEOLITHIC	500,000 -10,000	PALEOLITHIC	500,000 -10,000	PALEOLITHIC
10,000	10,000 - 5,000 MESOLITHIC	10,000 - 5,000	MESOLITHIC	?	(no evidence of MESOLITHIC)
5,000	5,000 - 2,000 NEOLITHIC	5,000 - 1,000	NEOLITHIC	5,000 - 1,000	NEOLITHIC
3,000	2852 - 2205 FIVE RULERS				
	2697 - 2597 Yellow Emperor ? 皇帝 황제				
		2333 - 1122	DAN-GUN CHO-SŌN ? 檀君朝鮮 단군조선		
2,000	2205 - 1766 XIA ? 夏 하	2333 - ?	1. Dan-gun ? 檀君 단군		
	2,000 - 400 BRONZE AGE				
	1766 - 1122 SHANG ? 商 상				
1,000	1122 - 771 WESTERN ZHOU 西周 서주	1122 - 195	KI-CHA CHO-SŌN ? 箕子朝鮮 기자조선	1,000 - 100	BRONZE AGE
		1122 - ?	1. Ki-cha ? 箕子 기자		
	770 - 249 EASTERN ZHOU 東周 동주				
	722 - 481 SPRING & AUTUMN DYN. 春秋 춘추	~ 700	var. arrival of Ki-cha ? 箕子 기자		
500		~ 500	YE-MÆK ? 濊貊 예맥		
400	403 - 221 WARRING STATES 戰國 전국				
	~ 400 beginning IRON AGE	~ 400	beginning of IRON AGE		
300					
	249 - 206 QIN 秦 진			?	SO-NO 消奴 소노
200	206 BC - 8 AD WESTERN HAN 前漢전한	194- 108	WI-MAN CHO-SŌN 衛滿朝鮮 위만조선	?	KYE-RU 桂婁 거루
		194- ?	1. Wi-man 衛滿 위만	?	CHŌL-NO 絶奴 갈노
				?	SUN-NO 順奴 순노
	141 - 87 BC 6. (7.) Wu di 武帝 무제	? - 108	3. ? U-gō 右渠 우거	?	KWAN-NO 灌奴 관노
		108 BC 494 AD	BU-YŌ ? 夫餘 부여	108 BC 314 AD	NAK-RANG (Ch: LELANG) 樂浪 낙랑 (Chinese)
100		107 ?	HYŌN-DO (Ch: XUANTU) 玄菟 현도 (Chinese)	108 BC 82 BC	CHIN-BŌN (Ch: ZHENFAN) 真番 진번 (Chinese)
		~100	full establishment of IRON AGE		

NORTH-EASTERN KOREA 東北韓半島 동북한반도		SOUTHERN KOREA 南韓半島 남한반도		JAPAN 日本にっぽん 일본	
500,000 -10,000	PALEOLITHIC	500,000 -10,000	PALEOLITHIC		BC
					10,000
5,000 - 1,000	NEOLITHIC	5,000 - 1,000	NEOLITHIC	JŌMON CULTURE 縄文じょうもん 승문	5,000
					3,000
					2,000
1,000 - 100	BRONZE AGE	1,000 - 100	BRONZE AGE		1,000
		~ 500	MA-HAN ? 馬韓 마한		
~ 500	OK-CHŎ ? 沃沮 옥저	~ 500	BYŎN-HAN ? 弁韓 변한		500
~ 500	DONG-YE ? 東萊 동예	~ 500	CHIN-HAN ? 辰韓 진한		400
~ 400	beginning of IRON AGE	~ 400	beginning of IRON AGE		300
					200
108 BC 75 BC	IM-DUN (Ch: LINTUN) 臨屯 임둔 (Chinese)			YAYOI CULTURE 彌生 やよい 弥生	100

	CHINA 中國 중국	MANCHURIA, NORTH. KOREA 滿洲北韓地域 만주북한지역	SOUTH-WESTERN KOREA 西南韓半島 서남한반도
50 BC		37 BC 668 AD	KO-GU-YŎ 高句麗 고구려
	33 BC - 7 BC 11. Cheng di 成帝 성제	18 BC	1. Dong-myōng Wang 東明王 동명왕
0	1 BC - 5 AD 13. Ping di 平帝 평제	19 BC	2. Yu-ri Wang 琉璃王 유리왕
		17 AD	
	25 AD - 220 EASTERN HAN 後漢 후한	18	3. Dæ-mu-sin Wang 大武神王 대무신왕
	25 - 57 1. Guangwu di 光武帝 광무제	43	
		44 47	4. Min-chung Wang 閔中王 민중왕
50		48 52	5. Mo-bon Wang 慕本王 모본왕
	57 - 75 2. Ming di 明帝 명제	53	6. Tæ-cho Wang 太祖王 태조왕
	75 - 88 3. Zhang di 章帝 장제		
	88 - 105 4. He di 和帝 화제		
100			
	106 - 125 6. An di 安帝 안제		
	125 - 144 8. Shun di 順帝 순제	146	
		146	7. Cha-dæ Wang 次大王 차대왕
150	146 - 167 11. Huan di 桓帝 환제	164	
	168 - 189 12. Ling di 靈帝 영제	165	
	189 - 220 14. Xian di 獻帝 현제	166	5. Cho-go Wang 肖古王 초고왕
	220 - 265 WEI 魏 위	178	
	221 - 263 SHU 蜀 속	179	8. Sin-dæ Wang 新大王 신대왕
200	229 - 280 WU 吳 오	196	9. Ko-guk-chōn Wang 故國川王 고국천왕
	220 - 226 1. Wen di (WEI) 文帝 문제	197	10. San-sang Wang 山上王 산상왕
	221 - 223 t. Zhaolie di (SHU) 昭烈帝 소열제	226	
	229 - 252 1. Dai di (WU) 大帝 대제	227	11. Dong-chōn Wang 東川王 동천왕
		247	
			18 BC 660 AD
			18 BC 660 AD
			18 BC
			27 AD
			28
			76
			77
			127
			128
			165
			213
			214
			233
			(234)
			234 (285)

CENTRAL SOUTH KOREA 中南韓半島 중남한반도		SOUTH-EASTERN KOREA 東南韓半島 동남한반도		JAPAN 日本につぼん 일본	
		57 BC 935 AD	SIN-LA (SA-RO) 新羅 신라 (斯盧 사르)		50 BC
		57 BC	1. Hyök-kō-se Kō-sō-gan 赫居世居西千 혁거세거서간 (SA-RO)		
		3 AD			0
		4	2. Nam-hæ Čha-čha-ung 南解次次雄 남해차차웅		
		23			
42 AD 562	KA-RAK, DÆ-KA-YA 駕洛 가락 大伽倻 대가야	24	3. Yu-ri Ni-sa-gŭm 儒理尼師今 유리니사금		
42 198 ?	1. Su-ro Wang 首露王 수로왕 (KA-RAK)				
42 - ?	1. I-chin-a-ko Wang 伊珍阿鼓王 이진아고왕 (DÆ-KA-YA)	56			50
		57	4. Tal-hæ Ni-sa-gŭm 脫解尼師今 탈해니사금		
		79			
		80 111	5. Pa-sa Ni-sa-gŭm 婆娑尼師今 파사니사금		100
		112	6. Čhi-ma Ni-sa-gŭm 祇摩尼師今 지마니사금		
		133			
		134	7. Il-sōng Ni-sa-gŭm 逸聖尼師今 일성니사금		
		153			150
		154	8. A-dal-la Ni-sa-gŭm 阿達羅尼師今 아달라니사금		
		183		180 - 240 ? Himiko 卑彌呼 ひみこ 비미호 (YAMATAI)	
198	(Su-ro Wang)	184 194	9. Bōi-hyu Ni-sa-gŭm 伐休尼師今 벌휴니사금		
199	2. Kō-dŭng Wang 居登王 거등왕 (KA-RAK)	195	10. Næ-hæ Ni-sa-gŭm 奈解尼師今 내해니사금		200
		229			
		230	11. Čho-bun Ni-sa-gŭm 助賁尼師今 조분니사금		
(258)		246			

	CHINA 中國 중국	KO-GU-RYŎ 高句麗 고구려	BÆK-CHE 百濟 백제
		248	12. Chung-čhôn Wang 中川王 중천왕
250			(234) (8. Ko-i Wang) (古爾王 고이왕)
	266 - 317 WESTERN JIN 西晉 서진	269	
	265 - 290 1. Wu di 武帝 무제	270	13. Sô-čhôn Wang 西川王 서천왕
		291	285
		292	286 9. Chæk-kye Wang 責稽王 혁계왕
300	304 - (386) 439 SIXTEEN KINGDOMS 十六國 십육국	299	298 14. Bong-sang Wang 烽上王 봉상왕
	317 - 420 EASTERN JIN 東晉 동진	300	303 10. Bun-sô Wang 汾西王 분서왕
		300	304 11. Bi-ryu Wang 比流王 비류왕
		330	
	325 - 342 7. Cheng di (JIN) 成帝 성제	331	16. Ko-guk-wôn Wang 故國原王 고국원왕
	334 - 349 3. Wu di (ZHAO 後趙 후조) 武帝 무제		343
350	357 - 385 3. Xuanzhao di (QIN 前秦 전진) 宣昭帝 선소제	370	344 12. Kye Wang 契王 계왕
	372 - 396 13. Xiaowu di (JIN) 孝武帝 효무제	371	345 13. Gŭn-čho-go Wang 近肖古王 근초고왕
		383	374
	386 (439)-534 NORTHERN WEI 北魏 북위	384	375 14. Gŭn-gu-su Wang 近仇首王 근구수왕
	386 - 409 1. Taizu Daowu di (WEI) 太祖道武帝 태조도무제	390	383
400		391	384 15. Chim-ryu Wang 枕流王 침류왕
		412	385 16. Chin-sa Wang 辰斯王 진사왕
	420 - 479 SONG (South) 宋 송	413	391 17. A-sin Wang 阿莘王 아신왕
	423 - 452 3. Taiwu di (WEI) 太武帝 태무제		404 18. Chôn-chi Wang 贖支王 전지왕
450	424 - 453 3. Wen di (SONG) 文帝 문제		405
			419
	479 - 502 QI (South) 齊 제		420 19. Ku-i-sin Wang 久爾辛王 구이신왕
		491	426 20. Bi-yu Wang 毗有王 비(자) 유왕
			427 21. Kæ-ro Wang 蓋婁王 개로왕
			454 22. Mun-chu Wang 文周王 문주왕
			474 23. Sam-gŭm Wang 三斤王 삼근왕
			475 24. Dong-sŏng Wang 東城王 동성왕
		492	477
500	502 - 557 LIANG (South) 梁 양	(518)	478
			479
			500



KA-RAK, DÆ-KA-YA 駕洛 가락 大伽 鄒 대가야		SIN-LA (SA-RO) 新羅 신라 (斯盧 사로)		JAPAN 日本 にっぽん 일본	
(199) 258	(2. Kō-dŭng Wang) 居登王 거등왕 (KA-RAK)	247	12. Chōm-hæ Ni-sa-gŭm 沾解尼師今 청해 이사금		250
259	3. Ma-pum Wang 麻品王 마품왕 (KA-RAK)	261	13. Mi-čhu Ni-sa-gŭm 味都尼師今 미추 이사금	3rd C. - 552 YAMATO WA 大倭 やまと 대외	
290		284	14. Yu-rye Ni-sa-gŭm 儒禮尼師今 유례 이사금		
291	4. Kō-chil-mi Wang 居叱彌王 거질미왕 (KA-RAK)	298	15. Ki-rim Ni-sa-gŭm 基臨尼師今 기림 이사금		300
345		309			
346 406	5. I-si-pum Wang (KA-RAK) 伊尸品王 이시품왕	310	16. Hŭi-hæ Ni-sa-gŭm 訖解尼師今 울해 이사금		
4th C.	9. I-nwæ Wang 異國王 이녀왕 (DÆ-KA-YA)	355		mid 4th C. 14. Chūai ? 仲哀 ちゅうあい 중애	350
406	(I-si-pum Wang)	356	17. Næ-mul Ma-nib-kan 奈勿麻立干 내물마립간	370 - 380 15. Ōjin ? 應(死)神 오우じん 응신 ? 16. Nintoku 仁徳 にんとく 인덕	
407	6. Chwa-chi Wang 坐知王 좌지왕 (KA-RAK)	401		? 17. Richū 履中 りちゅう 이충	400
420		402	18. Sil-sōng Ma-nib-kan 實聖麻立干 실성마립간		
421	7. Chwi-hi Wang 吹希王 취희왕 (KA-RAK)	416	19. Nul-chi Ma-nib-kan 訥祗麻立干 눌지마립간	438 - 443 18. Hanzei ? 反正 はんぜい 반정	
450		417		443 - 462 19. Ingyō ? 允恭 いんぎょう 윤공	450
451	8. Chil-chi Wang 絳知王 길지왕 (KA-RAK)	457	20. Cha-bi Ma-nib-kan 慈悲麻立干 차비마립간	462 - 478 20. Ankō ? 安康 あんこう 안강	
491		478			
492	9. Kyōm-chi Wang 鉞知王 검지왕 (KA-RAK)	479	21. So-chi Ma-nib-kan 炤知麻立干 소지마립간 (SA-RO)		
(520)		499		499 - 506 25. Muretsu ? 武烈 むれつ 무렬	
		500	22. Chi-chŭng Wang 智證王 지증왕 (SIN-LA)	506 - 527 26. Keitai ? 繼體(總體) けいたい 계체	500
		513			

	CHINA 中國 중국	KO-GU-RYŎ 高句麗 고구려	BÆK-CHE 百濟 백제
	502 - 549 1. Wu di (LIANG) 武帝 무제	(492) 21. Mun-cha Wang (文咨王 분자왕)	501 25. Mu-ryŏng Wang 武寧王 무녕왕
		518	
		519	522
	534 - 550 EASTERN WEI 東魏 동위	22. An-chang Wang 安藏王 안장왕	523 26. Sŏng Wang 聖王 성왕
		530	
	535 - 556 WESTERN WEI 西魏 서위	23. An-wŏn Wang 安原王 안원왕	
		531	
		544	
	550 - 581 NORTHERN QI & ZHOU 北齊·周 북제·주	24. Yang-wŏn Wang 陽原王 양원왕	553
550		545	
	557 - 589 CHEN (South) 陳 진	25. Pyŏng-wŏn Wang 平原王 평원왕	554 27. Wi-dŏk Wang 威德王 위덕왕
		559	
	559 - 566 2. Wen di (CHEN) 文帝 문제		
	560 - 578 3. Wu di (ZHOU) 武帝 무제		
	568 - 582 4. Xuan di (CHEN) 宣帝 선제	589	597
	581 - 619 SUI 隋 수	590	598 28. Hye Wang 暉王 혁왕
	581 - 604 1. Wen di (SUI) 文帝 문제		599 29. Bŏb Wang 法王 법왕
600			
	604 - 618 2. Yang di (SUI) 煬帝 양제	617	600 30. Mu Wang 武王 무왕
	618 - 907 TANG 唐 당	618	
		641	640
	626 - 649 2. Taizong Shimin 太宗世民 태종세민	642	641 31. Ui-cha Wang 義慈王 의자왕
650			
	649 - 683 3. Gaozong 高宗 고종		660 32. Pung Wang (663) (豊王 풍왕)
		668	(BÆK-CHE conquered by SIN-LA)
		(KO-GU-RYŎ partially conquered by SIN-LA)	
	683 - 684 4. Zhongzong 中宗 중종		
	684 - 690 5. Ruizong 睿宗 예종		
	690 - 705 (6.) Zetian 則天 칙전 (Empress Wu)	699 BAR-HÆ 926 渤海 발해	
		699 1. Ko Wang (Dæ Cho-yŏng) 高王 고왕 (大祚榮 대조영)	
700			
	712 - 756 6. Xuanzong 玄宗 현종	718	
		719 2. Mu Wang 736 武王 무왕	

KA-RAK, DÆ-KA-YA 駕洛 가락 大伽 鄒 대가야		SIN-LA 新羅 신라		JAPAN 日本 にっぽん 일본	
(492)	9. Kyōm-chi Wang 鉅知王 경지왕 (KA-RAK)	514	23. Bōb-hūng Wang 法興王 법흥왕		
521	10. Gu-hyōng Wang 仇衡王 구형왕 (KA-RAK)			? 27. Ankan 安閑 あんかん 안한	
532	(KA-RAK conquered by SIN-LA)	539		540 - 571 29. Kinmei 欽明 きんめい 금명	
6th C.	16. Do-sōi-chi Wang of 道說智王 도설지왕 (DÆ-KA-YA)	540	24. Chin-hūng Wang 眞興王 진흥왕	552 - 645 ASUKA 飛鳥 あすか 비조	550
562	(DÆ-KA-YA conquered by SIN-LA)	575			
		576	25. Chin-chi Wang 眞知王 진지왕	571 - 585 30. Bidatsu 敏達 びだつ 민달	
		578		585 - 587 31. Yōmei 用明 ようめい 용명	
		579	26. Chin-pyōng Wang 眞平王 진평왕	587 - 592 32. Shushun 崇峻 そうしゆん 승준	
				592 - 628 33. Suiko 推古 すいこ 추고 (empress of the Soga clan)	600
		631		628 - 641 34. Jomei 舒明 じよめい 서명	
		632	27. Sōn-dōk Yō-wang 善德女王 선덕여왕	642-645 35. Kōgyoku 皇極 こうきやく 황극	
		646			
		647	28. Chin-dōk Yō-wang 眞德女王 진덕여왕	645 - 709 HAKUHŌ 白鳳 はくほう 백봉	
		653		645-654 36. Kōtoku 孝徳 こうとく 효덕	650
		654	29. Mu-yōi Wang 武烈王 무열왕		
		660			
		661	30. Mun-mu Wang 文武王 문무왕	655-661 37. Saimei 齊明 さいめい 세명	
		680		668-671 38. Tenchi (WA) 天智 てんち 천지 (倭 왜)	
668	UNIFIED SIN-LA			671 39. Kōbun (WA) 弘文 こうぶん 흥문 (倭 왜)	
935	統一新羅 통일신라			672 - 686 40. Tenmu (NIPPON) 天武 てんむ 천무 (日本 일본)	
		681	31. Sin-mun Wang 神文王 신문왕		
		691			
		692	32. Hyo-so Wang 孝昭王 효소왕	686 - 697 41. Jitō 持統 じとう 지통	
		701		697 - 707 42. Monmu 文武 もんむ 문무	700
		702	33. Sōng-dōk Wang 聖德王 성덕왕	708 - 715 43. Genmei 元明 げんめ이 원명	
		736		710 - 781 NARA 奈良 なら 나라	

CHINA 中國 중국		BAR-HÆ 渤海 발해	
		737	3. Mun Wang 文王 문왕
750	756 - 762 7. Suzong 肅宗 숙종		
	762 - 779 8. Daizong 代宗 대종		
	779 - 805 9. Dejong 德宗 덕종	793	
		794	4. Wang Wōn-lū 王元義 왕원의
		(795)	5. Sōng Wang 成王 성왕
800	805 - 820 11. Xianzong 憲宗 현종	795 808	6. Kang Wang 康王 강왕
		809	7. Chōng Wang 定王 정왕
		812	
		813 817	8. Hí Wang 僖王 희왕
		(818)	9. Kan Wang 簡王 간왕
	820 - 824 12. Muzong 穆宗 목종	818 829	10. Sōn Wang 宣王 선왕
	824 - 826 13. Jingzong 敬宗 경종	830	11. Wang I-chin 王璽 왕이진
	826 - 840 14. Wenzong 文宗 문종		
	840 - 846 15. Wuzong 武宗 무종		
	846 - 859 16. Xuanzong 宣宗 선종	857	
850	859 - 873 17. Yizong 懿宗 의종	858	12. Wang Kōn-hwang 王虔晃 왕건황
		869	
	873 - 888 18. Xizong 僖宗 희종	870	13. Kyōng Wang 景王 경왕
	888 - 904 19. Zhaozong 昭宗 소종	900	
900	904 - 907 20. Aizong 哀宗 애종	901	14. ㄸ Wang 哀王 애왕
	907 - 960 5 DYNASTIES 五代 오대		
		901 918	HU-KO-GU-RYŎ 後高句麗 후고구려
		901 (918)	1. Kung-ye 弓裔 궁예

UNIFIED SIN-LA 統一新羅 통일신라			JAPAN 日本につぼん 일본	
	737	34. Hyo-sōng Wang 孝成王 효성왕	715 - 724 44. Genshō 元正げんしょう 원정	
	741			
	742	35. Kyōng-dōk Wang 景德王 경덕왕	724 - 749 45. Shōmu 聖武しょうむ 성무	750
	764			
	765	36. Hye-gong Wang 惠恭王 혜공왕	749 - 58, 764 - 70 48. Shōtoku 稱徳しょうとく 칭덕	
	779			
	780	37. Sōn-dōk Wang 宣德王 선덕왕	781 - 897 EARLY HEIAN 平安初期へいあんしよき	
	784			
	785	38. Wōn-sōng Wang 元聖王 원성왕	781 - 806 50. Kanmu 桓武かむ 환무	
	798			
	799	39. So-sōng Wang 昭聖王 소성왕		800
	800	40. E-chang Wang 哀莊王 애장왕	806 - 809 51. Heijō 平城へいじょう 평성	
	808			
	809	41. Hōn-dōk Wang 憲德王 현덕왕	809 - 823 52. Saga 嵯峨さが 차아	
	825			
	826	42. Hūng-dōk Wang 興德王 흥덕왕	825 - 833 53. Zuna 淳和じゆんわ 순화	
	835			
	836	43. Hī-gang Wang 僖康王 희강왕	833 - 850 54. Ninmyō 仁明にんみょう 인명	
	837			
	838	44. Min-æ Wang 閔哀王 민애왕		
	(839)	45. Sin-mu Wang 神武王 신무왕		
	839	46. Mun-sōng Wang 文聖王 문성왕	850 - 858 55. Montoku 文徳もんたく 문덕	850
	856			
	857	47. Hōn-an Wang 憲安王 현안왕	859 - 876 56. Seiwa 清和せいわ 청화	
	860			
	861	48. Kyōng-mun Wang 景文王 경문왕		
	874			
	875	49. Hōn-gang Wang 憲康王 현강왕	877 - 884 57. Yōzei 陽成ようせい 양성	
	885			
	886	50. Chōng-gang Wang 定康王 정강왕	887 - 897 59. Uda 宇多うだ 우다	
892		51. Chin-sōng Yō-wang 眞聖女王 진성여왕	897 - 1068 MIDDLE HEIAN 平安中期へいあんちゆうき	
936	HU-BÆK-CHE 後百濟 후백제	896		
892	1. Chin-hwōn Wang 甄萱王 진원왕	897	52. Hyo-gong Wang 孝恭王 효공왕	900
		911	醍醐だいにご 계호	
		912		
(935)		53. Sin-dōk Wang 神德王 신덕왕		
	916			

	CHINA 中國 중국	BAR-HÆ 渤海 남해	HU-KO-GU-RYŎ 後高句麗 후고구려
	907 - 979 TEN KINGDOMS 十國 십국	(901) (14. Æ Wang) (哀王 애왕)	(901) 1. Kung-ye 918 弓裔 궁예
	908 - 920 3. Mo di 末帝 말계 (HOU-LIANG 後梁)		918 KO-RYŎ 1392 高麗 고려
	911 - 942 3. Gaozu 高祖 고조 (WU 吳 오)		918 1. Tæ-cho (Wang Kŏn) 太祖 태조 (王健 왕건)
	913 - 923 2. Gaozu 高祖 고조 (NANHAN 南漢)	926	
	926 - 933 2. Mingzong 明宗 명종 (HOUTANG 後唐)	(BAR-HÆ conquered by CHINA and KO-RYŎ)	
	936 - 942 1. Gaozu 高祖 고조 (HOU JIN 後晉)	943 - 961 2. Yuanzong 元宗 원종 (NANTANG 南唐 남당)	
	916 - 1125 LIAO 遼 요		943
			944 2. Hye-chong 945 惠宗 혜종
			946 3. Chŏng-chong 949 定宗 정종
950	960 - 1127 NORTHERN SONG 北宋 북송		950 4. Kwang-chong 975 光宗 광종
	960 - 976 1. Taizu 太祖 태조		976 5. Kyŏng-chong 981 景宗 경종
	976 - 997 2. Taizong 太宗 태종		982 6. Sŏng-chong 997 成宗 성종
	997 - 1022 3. Zhenzong 眞宗 진종		998 7. Mok-chong 1009 穆宗 목종
1000			1010 8. Hyŏn-chong 1031 顯宗 현종
	1022 - 1063 4. Renzong 仁宗 인종		1032 9. Dŏk-chong 1034 德宗 덕종
			1035 10. Chŏng-chong 1046 鎭宗 정종
			1047 11. Mun-chong 1083 文宗 문종
1050			(1083) 12. Sun-chong 順宗 순종
	1067 - 1085 6. Shenzong 神宗 신종		1084 13. Sŏn-chong 1094 宣宗 선종
	1085 - 1100 7. Zhezong 哲宗 철종		1095 14. Hŏn-chong 獻宗 현종
	1100-1125 8. Huizong 徽宗 휘종		1096 15. Suk-chong 1105 肅宗 숙종
1100			1106 16. Ye-chong 1122 睿宗 예종
	1115 - 1234 JIN 金 금		1123 17. In-chong 1146 仁宗 인종
	1127 - 1279 SOUTHERN SONG 南宋 남송		1147 18. Ŭi-chong 1170 毅宗 의종
1150	1127 - 1162 1. Gaozong 高宗 고종 (SONG)		1171 19. Myŏng-chong 1197 明宗 명종
	1162 - 1189 2. Xiaozong 孝宗 효종 (SONG)		

HU-BÆK-CHE 後百濟 후백제		SIN-LA 新羅 신라		JAPAN 日本につぼん 일본	
(892)   935	(1. Chin-hwŏn Wang) (甄萱王 진원왕)	917	54. Kyŏng-myŏng Wang 景明王 경명왕		
		923			
		924	55. Kyŏng-æ Wang 景哀王 경애왕		
		926			
		927	56. Kyŏng-sun Wang 敬順王 경순왕		
935 936	2. Sin-kŏm Wang 神劍王 신검왕  (HU-BÆK-CHE conquered by KO-RYŎ)	(SIN-LA conquered by KO-RYŎ)		930 - 946 61. Suzaku 朱雀 しゅじやく 朱雀	
				946 - 967 62. Murakami 村上むらかみ 村山	
				969 - 984 64. Enyū 圓融 えんゆう 원융	950
				984 - 996 65. Kazan 花山 かざん 화산	
				997 - 1011 66. Ichijō 一條 いちじょう 일조	1000
				1016 - 1036 68. Goichijō 後一條 ごいちじょう 후일조	
				1036 - 1045 69. Goshujaku 後朱雀 ごしゅじやく 후주작	
				1045 - 1068 70. Goreizei 後冷泉 ごれいぜい 후냉천	1050
				1068 - 1185 LATE HEIAN 平安後期 へいあんごき	
				1072 - 1086 72. Shirakawa 白河 しらかわ 백하	
				1086 - 1107 73. Horikawa 堀河 ほりかわ 궁하	1100
				1107 - 1123 74. Toba 鳥羽 とば 츠포우	
				1123 - 1141 75. Sutoku 崇徳 すとく 승덕	
				1168 - 1180 80. Takakura 高倉 たかくら 고창	1150
				1180 - 1185 81. Antoku 安徳 あんとく 안덕	

	CHINA 中國 중국	KO-RYŎ 高麗 고려
1200	1194 - 1224 4. Ningzong 寧宗 영종 (SONG)	1198 20. Sin-chong 神宗 신종
		1204 21. Hi-chong 熙宗 희종
		1205 21. Hi-chong 熙宗 희종
		1211 21. Hi-chong 熙宗 희종
		1212 22. Kang-chong 康宗 강종
		1213 22. Kang-chong 康宗 강종
1250	1224 - 1264 5. Lizong 理宗 이종 (SONG)	1214 23. Ko-chong 高宗 고종
	1260 - 1368 YUAN 元 원	1259 23. Ko-chong 高宗 고종
1300	1260 - 1294 1. Shizu 世祖 세조	1260 24. Wŏn-chong 元宗 원종
	1294 - 1307 2. Chengzong 成宗 성종	1274 24. Wŏn-chong 元宗 원종
	1311 - 1320 4. Renzong 仁宗 인종	1275 25. Chung-yŏl Wang 忠烈王 충열왕
	1323 - 1328 6. Taiding-di 泰定帝 태정제	1308 25. Chung-yŏl Wang 忠烈王 충열왕
1350	1333 - 1370 11. Shun-di 順帝 순계	1309 26. Chung-sŏn Wang 忠宣王 충선왕
		1313 26. Chung-sŏn Wang 忠宣王 충선왕
		1314 27. Chung-suk Wang 忠肅王 충숙왕
		1330 27. Chung-suk Wang 忠肅王 충숙왕
		1331 28. Chung-hye Wang 忠憲王 충혜왕
		1332 29. Chung-suk Wang 忠肅王 충숙왕
		1339 29. Chung-suk Wang 忠肅王 충숙왕 (restored)
		1340 30. Chung-hye Wang 忠憲王 충혜왕
		1344 30. Chung-hye Wang 忠憲王 충혜왕 (restored)
		1345 31. Chung-mok Wang 忠穆王 충목왕
		1348 31. Chung-mok Wang 忠穆王 충목왕
	1368 - 1644 MING 明 명	1349 32. Chung-chŏng Wang 忠定王 충정왕
	1368 - 1398 1. Taizu 太祖 태조	1351 32. Chung-chŏng Wang 忠定王 충정왕
		1352 33. Kong-min Wang 恭愍王 공민왕
		1374 33. Kong-min Wang 恭愍王 공민왕
		1375 34. Sin-u (usurper) 辛禡 신우
		1388 34. Sin-u (usurper) 辛禡 신우
		(1389) 35. Sin-chang (usurper) 辛昌 신창
		1389 36. Kong-yang Wang 恭讓王 공양왕
		1392 36. Kong-yang Wang 恭讓王 공양왕
1400	1398 - 1402 2. Huidi 惠帝 혜계	
	1402 - 1424 3. Chengzu 成祖 성조	
1450	1425 - 1435 5. Xuanzong 宣宗 선종	
	1435 - 1449 6. Yingzong 英宗 영종	
	1449 - 1457 7. Jing-di 景宗 경종	



		JAPAN 日本につぼん 일본	
		1185 - 1338 KAMAKURA 鎌倉 かまくら 景長	1200
		1185 - 1198 82. Gotoba 後鳥羽 ごとば 후조우	
1231, 1232, 1235, 1238, 1247, 1254 MONGOL INVASIONS		1222 - 1232 86. Gohorikawa 後堀河 ごほりかわ 후굴하	1250
		1259 - 1274 90. Kameyama 龜山 かめやま 구산	
		1274 - 1287 91. Gouda 後宇多 ごうだ 후우다	1300
		1309 - 1318 95. Hanazono 花園 はなぞの 화원	
		1319 - 1338 96. Godaigo 後醍醐 ごだいご 후제호	
		1336 - 92 NANBOKUCHŌ 南北朝 なんぼくちょう 남북조	
		1339 - 1368 97. Gomurakami 後村上 ごむらかみ 후촌상	
			1350
		1368 - 1383 98. Chōkei 長慶 ちょうけい 장경	
		1383 - 1392 99. Kokameyama 後龜山 ごかめやま 후구산	
1392	YI-CHO CHO-SŌN	1392 - 1572 MUROMACHI	
1910	李朝 朝鮮 이조 조선	室町 むろまち 실경	
1392	1. Tæ-cho (Yi Sōng-kye)	1392 - 1412 100. Kokomasu	
1398	太祖 태조 (李成桂 이성계)	後小松 ごこまつ 후소승	
1399	2. Chōng-chong		1400
1400	定宗 정종		
1401	3. Tæ-chong	1412 - 1428 101. Shōkō	
1418	太宗 태종	稱光 しょうこう 칭광	
1419	4. Se-chong	1428 - 1468 102. Gohanazono	1450
1450	世宗 세종	後花園 ごはなぞ의 후화원	
1451	5. Mun-chong		
1452	文宗 문종		
1453	6. Dan-chong		
1454	端宗 단종		

CHINA 中國 중국	
	1464 - 1487 9. Xianzong 憲宗 현종
1500	1487 - 1505 10. Xiaozong 孝宗 효종
	1505 - 1521 11. Wuzong 武宗 무종
	1521 - 1566 12. Shizong 世宗 세종
1550	
	1566 - 1572 13. Muzong 穆宗 목종
	1572 - 1620 14. Shenzong 神宗 신종
1600	
	1627 - 1644 17. Yizong 毅宗 의종
	1644 - 1912 QING 淸 淸
1650	
	1643 - 1661 3. Shizu 世祖 세조
	1661 - 1722 4. Shengzu 聖祖 성조
1700	
	1722 - 1735 5. Shizong 世宗 세종
	1735 - 1795 6. Gaozong 高宗 고종
1750	
	1796 - 1820 7. Renzong 仁宗 인종
1800	
	1820 - 1850 8. Xuanzong 宣宗 선종
	1850 - 1861 9. Wenzong 文宗 문종
	1861-1874 10. Muzong 穆宗 목종
1850	
	1874-1908 11. Dezong 德宗 덕종
1900	
	1908 - 1912 12. Xuantong di Pu yi 宣統帝溥儀 선통계 부의
	1912 - 1949 REPUBLIC OF CHINA 中華民國 중화민국

YI-CHO CHO-SŌN 李朝鮮 이조 조선		JAPAN 日本 にっぽん 일본	
1455	7. Se-cho		
1468	世祖 세조		
1469	8. Ye-chong	1468 - 1500	
1470	睿宗 예종	103. Gotsuchimikado	
1470	9. Sŏng-chong	後土御門 ごつちみかど	
1494	成宗 성종	후토어분	
1495	10. Yŏn-san Gun		
1506	燕山君 연산군		1500
1506	11. Chung-chong	1500 - 25 104. Gogashiwabara	
1544	中宗 중종	後柏原 ごかしわばら	
1545	12. In-chong	1526 - 1557 105. Gonara	
1546	仁宗 인종	後奈良 ごなら 후나랑	
1546	13. Myŏng-chong	1557 - 1586 106. Ogimachi	
1567	明宗 명종	正親町 おぎまち 정친정	1550
1568	14. Sŏn-cho	1573 - 1600 AZUCHI-	
	宣祖 선조	MOMOYAMA 安土桃山	
	1592 - 1598 JAPANESE INVASIONS	あずち ももやま 안토도산	
1608	壬辰倭亂 임진왜란	1586 - 1611 107. Goyōzei	1600
1609	15. Kwang-hæ Gun	後陽成 ごようぜい 후양성	
1622	光海君 광해군	1603 - 1867 EDO	
1623	16. In-cho	江戸 えど 강호	
1649	仁祖 인조	1643 - 1654 110. Gokōmyō	
1650	17. Hyo-chong	後光明 ごこうみょう 후광명	1650
1659	孝宗 효종		
1660	18. Hyŏn-chong		
1674	顯宗 현종	1663 - 1687 112. Reigen	
1675	19. Suk-chong	靈元 れいげん 영원	
1720	肅宗 숙종	1709 - 1735 114. Nakamikado	1700
1721	20. Kyŏng-chong	中御門 なかみかど 중어분	
1724	景宗 경종	1735 - 1747 115. Sakuramachi	
1725	21. Yŏng-cho	櫻町 さくらまち 영정	
1776	英祖 영조		1750
1777	22. Chŏng-cho	1747 - 1762 116. Momozono	
1800	正祖 정조	桃園 ももぞの 도원	1800
1801	23. Sun-cho	1780 - 1817 119. Kōkaku	
1834	純祖 순조	光格 こうかく 광격	
1835	24. Hŏn-chong	1817 - 1846 120. Ninkō	
1849	憲宗 현종	仁孝 にんこう 인효	
1850	25. Chŏl-chong	1847 - 1866 121. Kōmei	1850
1863	哲宗 철종	孝明 こうめい 효명	
1864	26. Ko-chong	1868 - 1945 NIPPON	
1906	高宗 고종	日本 にっぽん 일본	1900
1907	27. Sun-chong	1868 - 1912 122. Meiji	
1910	純宗 순종	明治 めいじ 명치	
1910	JAPANESE OCCUPATION		
1945	日帝時代 일제시대		

CHINA 中國 중국			
1913 - 1916 YUAN Shi-kai 袁世凱 원세개			
1921 - 1925 SUN Yat-sen 孫傳芳 손전방			
1925 - 1949 JIANG Jie-shi 蔣介石 장개석			
1939 - 1945 JAPANESE INVASION			
1945 - 1949 CIVIL WAR	1945 1948	KOREAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC (KPR) (NORTH KOREA) 조선인민공화국 朝鮮人民共和國 SOVIET ARMY OCUPATION	
1949 - today PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA 中華人民共和國	1948 today	DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA (DPRK) 조선민주주의인민공화국 朝鮮民主主義人民共和國	
1950 중화인민공화국	1950 1953	KOREAN WAR 六·二五事變 육·이오사변	
(REPUBLIC OF CHINA ON TAIWAN 臺灣대만)	1948 1957	KIM Du-bong 金日晳 김두봉	
1949 - 1976 MAO Zetong 毛澤東 모택동	1957	CHE Yong-kón 崔鍾健 최용건	
1949 - 1975 JIANG Jie-shi 蔣介石 장개석 (TAIWAN)	1972		
1976 - 1997 DENG Xiaoping 鄧小平 등소평	1972 (1948)	KIM Il-sung 金日成 김일성	
1975 - 1988 JIANG Jing-guo 蔣經國 장경국 (TAIWAN)			
1988 - today LEE Teng-hui 李登輝 이등휘 (TAIWAN)	1994		
	1994 today	KIM Jong-il 金正日 김정일	
1997 - today JIANG Zemin 江澤民 강택민			

JAPANESE OCCUPATION 日帝時代 일제시대		JAPAN 日本につぼん 일본	
1910	TERAUCHI Masatake	1912 - 1926 123. Taishō 大正たいしょう 대정	
1916	寺内正毅 てらうち まさたけ		
1916	HASEGAWA Yoshimichi		
1919	長谷川好道 やせがわ よしみち		
1919	SAITŌ Makoto	1926 - 1989 124. Shōwa 昭和しょうわ 쇼화	
1927	齋藤實 さいとう まこと 재등실		
1927	UGAKI Kazushige		
	宇垣一成 うがき かずしげ 우원일성		
1927	YAMANASHI Hanzō		
1929	山梨半造 やまなしはんぞう 산리반조		
1929	SAITŌ Makoto		
1931	齋藤實 さいとう まこと 재등실		
1931	UGAKI Kazushige		
1936	宇垣一成 うがき かずしげ 우원일성		
1936	MINAMI Jirō		
1942	南次郎 みなみじろう 남차랑		
1942	KOISO Kuniaki		
1944	小磯國昭 こいそくにゃき 소기국쇼		
1944	ABE Nobuyuki	1945 - 1951 U.S.A. OCCUPATION	
1945	阿部信行 あべのぶゆき 아부신행		
1945	UNITED STATES ARMY MILITARY GOVERNMENT IN KOREA (USAMGIK)		
1948	REPUBLIC OF KOREA (ROK, SOUTH KOREA) 大韓民國 대한민국		
1950	KOREAN WAR	1951 - today NIPPON 日本につぼん 일본	1950
1953	六·二五事變 육·이오사변		
1948	RHEE Syngman		
1960	李承晩 이승만		
1960	HŌ Chōng		
	許政 허정		
1960	YUN Bo-sŏn		
1961	尹潽善 윤보선		
1961	PARK Chung-hee		
1979	朴正熙 박정희		
1979	CHŬE Kyu-ha		
1980	崔圭夏 최규하		
1980	CHUN Doo Hwan	1989 - today 125. Heisei 平成へいせい 평성	
1988	全斗煥 전두환		
1988	ROH Tae Woo		
1993	盧泰愚 노태우		
1993	KIM Young Sam		
1998	金泳三 김영삼		
1998	KIM Dae-jung		
today	金大中 김대중		



## **APPENDIX 2:**

### **IMPORTANT EVENTS ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA 300 - 700 AD**

	CHINA 中國 중국	KO-GU-RYŎ (K) 高句麗 고구려	BÆK-CHE (B) 百濟 백제
300	304 - (386) 439 SIXTEEN KINGDOMS 十六國 십육국 317 - 420 EASTERN JIN 東晉 동진	313 K conquers NAK-RANG (LELANG) 樂浪 낙랑	
350	386 (439)- 534 NORTHERN WEI 北魏 북위	372.6. Sun-do 順道 순도 introduces Buddhism, establishment of an academy 太學 태학 374 arrival of A-do 阿道 아도 375 founding of Cho-mun-sa 肖門寺 초문사 & I-bul-ran-sa 伊佛蘭寺 이불란사 393 founding of 9 temples in Pyŏng-yang 平壤 평양 396 K's navy defeats an army of B, seige of B's capital	375.11. Ko-hŭng 高興 고흥 compiles national history 384.9. Ma-ra-nan-ta 摩羅難陀 마라난타 introduces Buddhism 395.8. B invades K, B is defeated at Pæ-su 涖水 패수
400	420 - 479 SOUTHERN SONG 南宋 남송	409 construction of tomb at Dŏk-hŭng-ri 德興里 덕흥리 410 K defeats DONG-BU-YŎ 東夫餘 동부여 and absorbs its territory and population 414 erection of the Kwang-kæ-to-wang-bi 廣開土王碑 공개토왕비 427 capital moved to Pyŏng-yang 平壤 평양, construction of An-hak-kung 安鶴宮 안학궁	447.7. famine forces a part of B's population to flee to S
450		475.9. K captures B's capital Han-sŏng 漢城 한성 and kills King Kæ-ro 蓋鹵王 개로왕 484 K invades S, K is defeated by S and B at Mo-san-sŏng 毋山城 모산성 494.1. BU-YŎ 夫餘 부여 capitulates to K 498 founding of Gŭm-gang-sa 金剛寺 금강사 at Pyŏng-yang 平壤 평양	475.10. capital moved to Ung-chin 熊津 웅진 491.7. ~ 600 families flee to S because of famine 493.3. King of B marries a noble princess of S 498.8. TAM-RA 耽羅 탐라 (CHE-CHU 濟州 제주) is forced to pay tribute to B 499 famine forces ~ 2000 families to flee to K
500	502 - 557 LIANG 梁 양  534 - 550 EASTERN WEI 東魏 동위 535 - 556 WESTERN WEI 西魏 서위	539 date on gilt-bronze Buddhist triad	525 construction of Mu-ryŏng-wang-rŭng 武寧王陵 무녕왕릉 526 - 530 Kyŏm-ik 謙益 겸익 travels to INDIA 527 / founding of Dæ-tong-sa 大通寺 대통사 529 capital moved to Sa-bi 泗水 사비 538 B asks LIANG 梁 양 for <i>staras</i> and artisans 541



APPENDIX 2.: IMPORTANT EVENTS ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA 300 - 700 AD 1053

KA-RAK / DÆ-KA-YA 駕洛 가락 / 大伽倻 대가야		SA-RO / SIN-LA (S) 斯盧 사로 / 新羅 신라		JAPAN (J) 日本 にっぽん 일본	
				3rd. C. - 552 YAMATO WA 大倭 やまと 대왜	300
					350
5th C.	introduction of Buddhism ?	5th C.	first contact with Buddhism ? (Muk-ho-cha 墨胡子 목호자, A-do 阿道 아도)		400
452	founding of Wang-hu-sa 王后寺 왕후사?				450
532	conquest of KA-RAK by S	503.10. 514.11. 527 528 545.7. 549	SIN-LA becomes official name of the kingdom King Bōb-hūng 法興王 법흥왕 supports Buddhism martyrdom of I-cha-don 異次頓 이차돈, adoption of Buddhism founding of Hūng-ryun-sa 興輪寺 흥륜사 and Cha-čhu-sa 刺楸寺 자추사 Kō-čhil-bu 居柒夫 거칠부 compiles national history Gak-dōk 覺德 각덕 brings śāstra from LIANG 梁 양	538: introduction of Buddhism by B ?	500

	CHINA 中國 중국	KO-GU-RYŎ (K) 高句麗 고구려	BÆK-CHE (B) 百濟 백제
550	550 - 577: NORTHERN QI 北齊 북제 557 - 589: CHEN 陳 진 557 - 581: NORTHERN ZHOU 北周 북주  581 - 619: SUI 隋 수	586 capital moved to Chang-an-sŏng 長安城 장안성 (Pyŏng-yang 平壤 평양?) 598 SUI invasion (repelled)	566 founding of Nŭng-sa 陵寺 능사
600	618 - 907: TANG 唐 당	600 Yi Mun-chin 李文眞 이문진 compiles 5 volumes of national history 612.2. SUI invasion 612.7. K's Ŭi-chi-mun-dŏk 乙支文德 을지문덕 exterminates SUI army at Sal-su 薩水 살수 613.4. SUI invasion 624 introduction of Taoism 631.2. beginning of construction of K's 'great wall' (it takes 16 years to complete) 645 TANG invasion 647.2. TANG invasion 648 TANG invasion by sea	600 founding of Wang-hŭng-sa 王興寺 왕흥사 and Čhil-ak-sa 湊岳寺 칠악사 ~ 600 - 640 founding of Mi-rŭk-sa 彌勒寺 미륵사 634.2. founding of Wang-hŭng-sa 王興寺 왕흥사? 642 B and K capture numerous fortresses of S 649 B seizes several fortresses of S
650		655.5. K defeats a TANG army at Kwi-dan-su 貴潭水 귀담수 659.11. K defeats a TANG army 661.7. TANG besieges Pyŏng-yang-sŏng 平壤城 평양성 662 K defeats a TANG army 666 K's Yŏn-chŏng (chæng)-to 淵淨土 연정토 surrenders to S 667.8. S attacks K's capital 667.9. TANG seizes several fortresses of K 668.9. S and TANG capture Pyŏng-yang-sŏng 平壤城 평양성, collapse of K	653.8. alliance between B and J 660.7. conquest of Sa-bi 泗水 사비 by S and TANG, end of B 663.9. the forces of B and J are defeated at Bæk-kang 白江 백강, last resistance of B is broken
700		698 - 926 BAR-HÆ 渤海 발해	

APPENDIX 2.: IMPORTANT EVENTS ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA 300 - 700 AD 1055

D/Æ-KA-YA 大加鄰대가야	SIN-LA (S) 新羅신라	JAPAN (J) 日本にっぽん 일본	
562.9. end of D/Æ-KA-YA (conquered by S)	553.2. new palace is changed into Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 왕릉사	552: Sō-bu Dal-sol 西部達率 서부달설 and No-ri-sa-ŭchi-kye 怒彌斯致契 노리사치계 of B propagate Buddhism	550
	553.7. S captures region around modern Sō-ul (Seoul) 서울	552 - 645: ASUKA 飛鳥 あすか 비조	
	555.10. erection of the Chin-hŭng-wang-sun-su-bi 眞興王巡狩碑 진흥왕순수비 on Buk-han-san 北漢山 북한산 (Sō-ul 서울)	577: 6 Buddhist masters of B go to JAPAN	
	565 founding of Song-rim-sa 松林寺 승림사?	588: B artisans build Asuka-dera 飛鳥寺 비조사.	
	574.3. casting of the statues of Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 왕릉사	Hye-ŭng 慧聰 혜충 brings <i>śarīra</i> from B	
	584 new image halls of Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 왕릉사	595: Hye-cha 慧慈 혜자 of K becomes <i>dharma</i> master of S	
	late 6th C.	wōl-do 風月道 풍월도	Shōtoku 聖德太子 성덕태자
	608-86 Cha-chang 慈藏律師 자장율사	608: K's Dam-ching 曇徴 담징 and Bōb-chōng 法定 법정 execute the murals of the image hall of Hōryū-ji 法隆寺 ほうりゅうじ 법륭사	600
	611 Sin-sōn-sa 神仙寺 신선사		
	617-86 Wōn-hyo 元曉大師 원효대사		
	625- 702 Ŭi-sang 義湘大師 의상대사		
	634.1. founding of Bun-hwang-sa 芬皇寺 분황사		
	636-43 Cha-chang goes to TANG		
	638.11. S annihilates an army of K at Čhil-chung-sōng 七重城 칠중성	645: Taika 大化 たいか. 대화 reforms	
	645.3. construction of the pagoda of Hwang-ryong-sa 皇龍寺 왕릉사	645 - 709: HAKUHŌ 百鳳 かくほう 백봉	
	~ 647 - 653 construction of Čhōm-sōng-dæ 瞿曇窟 첨성대		
	649 S adopts TANG dresses, Kim Yu-sin 金庾信 김유신 defeats an army of B at Do-sal-sōng 道薩城 도살성		
	650 S adopts TANG reign titles		650
	660.6. S attacks B. B surrenders at Ung-chin-sōng 熊津城 웅진성		
	661 Ŭi-sang 義湘大師 의상대사 writes <i>Hwa-ōm-il-siŭng-bōb-kye-do</i> 「華嚴一乘法界圖 화엄일승법계도」		
	662.2. TAM-RA 耽羅탐라 surrenders to S		
	668 - 935 UNIFIED SIN-LA 統一新羅 통일신라		
	674 S controls the territory south of Dæ-dong River 大同江 대동강		700



**APPENDIX 3:**

**SELECTIVE LIST OF  
EXTANT & RUINED  
BUDDHIST TEMPLES OF KOREA**

metropolis, province 특별시, 광역시, 道	No. 번호	-gu, county, city 區, 郡, 市	-dong, -myŏn, -ŏp 洞, 面, 邑	village 里
Sŏ-ul Special City 서울 特別市 서울특별시	1. 1.	Ūn-pyŏng-gu 恩平區 은평구	Chin-kwan-wŏe-dong 1 津寬外洞 1 진관외동 1	Chæ-mal 재말
		Sŏ-dæ-mun-gu 西大門區 서대문구	Bong-wŏn-dong 奉元洞 봉원동	Gŭm-hwa Tunnel 金華터널 금화터널
			Buk-ka-chwa-dong 北加佐洞 북가좌동	(-)
		Chong-ro-gu 鍾路區 중로구	Ku-si-dong 2 仇視洞 구시동 2	Dæ-nam-mun 大南門 대남문
			Ku-ki-dong 舊基洞 구기동	San 1 산 1
			Hong-chi-dong 弘智洞 홍지동	Hong-chi-mun 弘智門 홍지문
			Sin-yŏng-dong 218-2 新營洞 신영동 218-2	Cha-ha-mun 紫霞門 자하문
			Su-song-dong 壽松洞 수송동	44 bŏn-chi 44 번지
				82 bŏn-chi 82 번지
		Chong-ro 2 Ga 鍾路二街 중로이가	Pagoda Park 파고다公園 파고다공원	
		Sŏng-buk-gu 城北區 성북구	Chŏng-rŭng-dong 貞陵洞 정릉동	east of Chŏng-rŭng 貞陵東쪽에 정릉동쪽에
				(-)
				Son-ga-chang 753 슨가장 753
		Do-bong-gu 道峰區 도봉구	Su-yu-dong 水踰洞 수유동	Su-yu Girls' Middle School 水踰女中校 수유여중교
			Do-bong-dong 道峰洞 도봉동	(-)
		Dong-dæ-mun-gu 東大門區 동대문구	Bo-mun-dong 普門洞 보문동	Han-sŏng University 漢城大學校 한성대학교
			An-am-dong 安岩洞 안암동	Ko-ryŏ University 高麗大學校 고려대학교
		Sŏng-dong-gu 城東區 성동구	Kwang-chang-dong 廣壯洞 광장동	Chang-han-sŏng 長漢城 장한성
		Kang-nam-gu 江南區 강남구	Sam-sŏng-dong 三成洞 삼성동	Korea Exhibition Center 한국종합전시장

mountain name 山名	No. 번호	temple name 寺刹사찰	date of visit by author level above sea	map 1 : 50,000 (map 1 : 5,000)
Bi-bong 碑峰 비봉	1.1.1.	Chin-kwan-sa 津寬寺 진관사	95m	NJ 52-9-11 서울 (048 / 049)
An-hyŏn-san 鞍峴山 안현산	1.1.2.	Bong-wŏn-sa 奉元寺 봉원사	94. 3. 7. 70m	NJ 52-9-11 서울 (078 / 079) unavailable
Bæk-ryŏn-san 白蓮山 백련산	1.1.3.	Bæk-ryŏn-sa 白蓮寺 백련사	~120m	NJ 52-9-11 서울 (068) unavailable
Buk-han-san 北漢山 북한산	1.1.4.	Mun-su-sa 文殊寺 문수사	~ 630m	NJ 52-9-11 서울 (049 / 050)
Buk-han-san 北漢山 북한산	1.1.5.	Sŭng-ga-sa 僧伽寺 승가사	~450m	NJ 52-9-11 서울 (059) unavailable
Bi-bong 碑峰 비봉	1.1.6.	So-rim-sa 少林寺 소림사	~ 90m	NJ 52-9-11 서울 (069 / 070) unavailable
Buk-ak-san 北岳山 북악산	1.1.7.	Chang-ŭi-sa-chi 藏義寺址 강의사지	~120m	NJ 52-9-11 서울 (069 / 070) unavailable
(-)	1.1.8.	Cho-kye-sa 曹溪寺 조계사	92. 12. ~ 30m	NJ 52-9-11 서울 (070) unavailable
(-)	1.1.9.	Gak-hwang-sa-chi 覺皇寺址 각황사지	~ 30m	NJ 52-9-11, 서울 (070) unavailable
(-)	1.1.10.	Wŏn-gak-sa-chi 圓覺寺址 원각사지	93.3. ~ 30m	NJ 52-9-11 서울 (080) unavailable
Buk-han-san 北漢山 북한산	1.1.11.	Hŭng-chŏn-sa 興天寺 흥천사	~ 70m	NJ 52-9-12 城東 성동 (051) unavailable
Buk-han-san 北漢山 북한산	1.1.12.	Bong-guk-sa 奉國寺 봉국사	~ 110m	NJ 52-9-12 城東 성동 (051) unavailable
Buk-han-san 北漢山 북한산	1.1.13.	Kyŏng-guk-sa 慶國寺 경국사	~ 90m	NJ 52-9-12 城東 성동 (051) unavailable
Buk-han-san 北漢山 북한산	1.1.14.	Hwa-kye-sa 華溪寺 화계사	~ 120m	NJ 52-9-12 城東 성동 (041)
Buk-han-san 北漢山 북한산	1.1.15.	Do-sŏn-sa 道諫寺 도선사	315m	NJ 52-9-11 서울 (040)
Do-bong-san 道峰山 도봉산	1.1.16.	Chŏn-chuk-sa 天竺寺 천축사	360m	NJ 52-9-12 城東 성동 (021)
(-)	1.1.17.	Bo-mun-sa 普門寺 보문사	93.3. ~ 40m	NJ 52-9-12 城東 성동 (061) unavailable
Mi-a-ri-ko-ræ 彌阿里고래 미아리고래	1.1.18.	Kæ-un-sa 開雲寺 개운사	~ 60m	NJ 52-9-12 城東 성동 (062)
A-chŏn-san 峨川山 아천산	1.1.19.	Yŏng-hwa-sa 永華寺 영화사	~ 70m	NJ 52-9-12 城東 성동 (075)
(-)	1.1.20.	Bong-ŭm-sa 奉恩寺 봉은사	93.3. ~ 30m	NJ 52-9-12 城東 성동 (093)

Sŏ-ul Special City 서울特別市 서울특별시	1.1.	Kwan-ak-gu 冠岳區 관악구	Sin-rim-dong 新林洞 신림동	Sŏ-ul National University 서울大學校 서울대학교
In-čhŏn Metropolis 仁川廣域市 인천광역시	1.2.			
Kyŏng-gi-do 京畿道 경기도	1.3.	Kang-hwa County 江華郡 강화군	Sam-san-myŏn 三山面 삼산면	Mæ-ŭm-ri 煤音里 매음리
			Hwa-do-myŏn 華道面 화도면	Sa-gi-ri 467-3 沙器里 사기리 467-3
			Kil-sang-myŏn 吉祥面 길상면	On-su-ri 635 溫水里 은수리 635
			Sŏn-wŏn-myŏn 仙源面 선원면	Chi-san-ri 智山里 지산리
			Ha-chŏm-myŏn 河帖面 하정면	Bu-gŭn-ri 231 富近里 부근리 231
			Kang-hwa-myŏn 江華面 강화면	Guk-hwa-ri 菊花里 국화리
			Næ-ga-myŏn 內可面 내가면	Ko-čhŏn-ri 古川里 고천리
	1.4.	Kim-po County 金浦郡 김포군		
	1.5.	Pa-chu County 坡州郡 파주군	Kwang-tan-myŏn 廣灘面 광탄면	Dæ-ko-ryŏng 대고령
			Tan-hyŏn-myŏn 炭縣面 탄현면	Sŏng-dong-ri 城洞里 성동리
1.6.	Ko-yang City 高陽市 고양시	Chi-čhuk-dong 紙楸洞 지숙동	Chŏl-kol 걸골	
		Buk-han-dong 北漢洞 북한동	(-)	
			Buk-han-ri 15 北漢里 북한리 15	
1.7.	Yang-chu County 楊州郡 양주군	Hwæ-čhŏn-ŭb 檜泉邑 회천읍	Hwæ-an-ri 8 檜巖里 회암리 8	
		Chu-næ-myŏn 州內面 주내면	Yu-yang-ri 維楊里 유양리	
1.8.	Ŭi-čhŏng-bu City 議政府市 의정부시	Ho-wŏn-dong 虎院洞 호원동	Chŏng-su-wŏn 정수원	
1.9.	Dong-du-čhŏn City 東豆川市 동두천시	So-yo-dong 逍遙洞 소요동		
1.10.	Chang-dan County 長湍郡 장단군			



Sam-sŏng-san 三聖山 삼성산	1.1.21.	Kwan-ŭm-sa 觀音寺 관음사	~ 240m	NJ 52-9-18 安養 안양 (018)
Sang-bong-san 上峰山 상봉산	1.3.1.	Bo-mun-sa 普門寺 보문사	93. 6. 8. ~ 130m	NJ 52-9-09 江華 강화 (023 / 024) unavailable
Ma-ni-san 摩尼山 마니산	1.3.2.	Chŏng-su-sa 淨水寺 정수사	93. 6. 9. ~ 200m	NJ 52-9-09 江華 강화 (058) unavailable
Chŏng-chok-san 鼎足山 정족산	1.3.3.	Chŏn-dŭng-sa 傳燈寺 전등사	93. 6. 9. ~ 110m	NJ 52-9-09 江華 강화 (050) unavailable
(-)	1.3.4.	Sŏn-wŏn-sa-chi 禪源寺址 선원사지	93. 6. 10. ~ 20m	NJ 52-9-10 金浦 김포 (011) unavailable
Ko-ryŏ-san 高麗山 고려산	1.3.5.	Bæk-ryŏn-sa 白蓮寺 백련사	~ 270m	NJ 52-9-09 江華 강화 (008) unavailable
Ko-ryŏ-san 高麗山 고려산	1.3.6.	Chŏng-ryŏn-sa 育蓮寺 청련사	~ 160m	NJ 52-9-09 江華 강화 (007) unavailable
Nak-cho-bong 落照峰 낙조봉	1.3.7.	Chŏk-sŏk-sa 積石寺 적석사	~ 300m	NJ 52-9-09 江華 강화 (009) unavailable
Æng-mu-bong 鶯鷄峰 양부봉	1.5.1.	Bo-kwang-sa 普光寺 보광사	94.9.14. 157m	NJ 52-9-04 汶山 문산 (097 / 098) unavailable
O-u-san 鰲頭山 오두산	1.5.2.	Kŏm-dan-sa 黔丹寺 검단사	~ 70m	NJ 52-9-03 開城 개성 (098) unavailable
No-go-san 老姑山 노고산	1.6.1.	Hŭng-guk-sa 興國寺 흥국사	94.9.14. 85m	NJ 52-9-11 서울 (038)
Buk-han-san 北漢山 북한산	1.6.2.	Chung-hŭng-sa-chi 重興寺址 중흥사지	~ 350m	NJ 52-9-11 서울 (049 / 050)
Buk-han-san 北漢山 북한산	1.6.3.	Tæ-go-sa (-chi) 太古寺(址)태고사(지)	~ 350m	NJ 52-9-11 서울 (050)
Dæ-cha-san 大慈山 대자산	1.6.4.	Dæ-cha-am 大慈庵 대자암	(?)	precise location unclear
Chil-bong-san 七峰山 칠봉산	1.7.1.	Hwæ-am-sa-chi 檜巖寺址 회암사지	93. 9.16. 120m	NJ 52-9-05 抱川 포천 (065)
Bul-guk-san 佛國山 불국산	1.7.2.	Bæk-hwa-am 白華庵 백화암	~ 230m	NJ 52-9-05 抱川 포천 (082) unavailable
Do-bong-san 道峯山 도봉산	1.8.1.	Mang-wŏl-sa 望月寺 망월사	~ 480m	NJ 52-9-12 城東 성동 (011)
So-yo-san 逍遙山 소요산	1.9.1.	Cha-cha-am 自在庵 자재암	~ 300m	NJ 52-9-05 抱川 포천 (024)

Kyōng-gi-do 京畿道 경기도	1.11.	Yōn-čhōn County 漣川郡 연천군		
	1.12.	Po-čhōn County 抱川郡 포천군		
	1.13.	Ka-pyōng County 加平郡 가평군	Ha-myōn 下面 하면	Ha-pan-ri 下板里 하판리
	1.14.	Nam-yang-chu City 南楊州市 남양주시	Byōi-næ-myōn 別內面 별내면	Dōk-song-ri 331 德松里 덕성리 331
				Hwa-čhōb-ri 797 花鏡里 화경리 797
			Chin-čhōb-ūb 槓接邑 진접읍	Næ-gak-ri 內閣里 내각리
				Bu-pyōng-ri 225 富坪里 부평리 225
			Cho-an-myōn 鳥安面 조안면	Song-čhon-ri 松村里 승촌리
			Chin-kōn-myōn 眞乾面 진건면	Song-rūng-ri 松陵里 승릉리
			Song-rūng-ri 宋(松)陵里 승릉리	
		Wa-bu-ūb 瓦阜邑 와부읍	Wōi-mun-ri 月文里 월문리	
	1.15.	Ku-ri City 九里市 구리시	A-čhōn-dong 綾川洞 아천동	U-mi-næ 우미내
	1.16.	Mi-gūm City 溟金市 미금시		
1.17.	Yang-pyōng County 楊平郡 양평군	Yong-mun-myōn 龍門面 용문면	Sin-čhōm-ri 625 新店里 신정리 625	
			Yōn-su-ri 延壽里 연수리	
		Ok-čhōn-myōn 玉泉面 옥천면	Yong-čhōn-ri 304 龍川里 304	
1.18.	Yō-chu County 驪州郡 여주군	Buk-næ-myōn 北內面 북내면	Sang-kyo-ri 411-1 上橋里 상교리 411-1	
			Chung-am-ri 中岩里 중암리	
			Čhōn-song-ri 282 川松里 천송리 282	
1.19.	l-čhōn County 利川郡 이천군			
1.20.	Kwang-chu County 廣州郡 광주군	Chung-bu-myōn 中部面 중부면	San-sōng-ri 山城里 산성리	

Un-ak-san 雲岳山운악산	1.13.1.	Hyŏn-dŭng-sa 懸燈寺현등사	93. 9. 16. ~ 600m	NJ 52-5-06 一東 입동 (054) unavailable
Su-rak-san 水落山수락산	1.14.1.	Hŭng-guk-sa 興國寺흥국사	~ 160m	NJ 52-9-12 城東 성동 (024 / 025)
Bul-am-san 佛岩山불암산	1.14.2.	Bul-am-sa 佛巖寺불암사	~ 350m	NJ 52-9-12 城東 성동 (034 / 035)
Su-ri-bong 수리봉	1.14.3.	Bong-yŏng-sa 奉永寺봉영사	93.9. 15. 80m	NJ 52-9-12 城東 성동 (017)
Un-ak-san 雲岳山운악산	1.14.4.	Bong-sŏn-sa 奉先寺봉선사	93.9. 15. 100m	NJ 52-9-12 城東 성동 (008)
Un-kil-san 雲吉山운길산	1.14.5.	Su-chong-sa 水鍾寺수종사	375m	NJ 52-9-13 兩水 양수 (073)
Chŏn-ma-san 天摩山천마산	1.14.6.	Bong-in-sa-chi 奉印寺봉인사	~ 170m	NJ 52-9-12 城東 성동 (039 / 040)
Chŏn-ma-san 天摩山천마산	1.14.7.	Kyŏn-sŏng-am 見聖庵견성암	~ 280m	NJ 52-9-12 城東 성동 (029 / 030 / 039 / 040)
Myo-chŏk-san 妙寂山묘적산	1.14.8.	Myo-chŏk-sa 妙寂寺묘적사	~ 160m	NJ 52-9-13 兩水 양수 (051)
A-cha-san 峨嵋山아차산	1.15.1.	Dae-sŏng-am 大聖庵대성암	~ 200m	NJ 52-9-12 城東 성동 (075)
Yong-mun-san 龍門山용문산	1.17.1.	Yong-mun-sa 龍門寺용문사	94.9.13. 290m	NJ 52-9-14 龍頭 응두 (073 / 074 / 083 / 084)
Yong-mun-san 龍門山용문산	1.17.2.	Bo-ri-sa-chi 菩提寺址보리사지		exact location unclear
Yong-mun-san 龍門山용문산	1.17.3.	Sa-na-sa 舍那寺사나사	~ 210m	NJ 52-9-14 龍頭 응두 (081)
U-du-san 牛頭山우두산	1.18.1.	Ko-dal-sa-chi 高達寺址고달사지	93.4.14 125m	NJ 52-9-21 驪州 여주 (047)
(-)	1.18.2.	Hŭng-wang-sa 興旺寺흥왕사	93.4.14 257m	NJ 52-9-21 驪州 여주 (069)
(-)	1.18.3.	Sin-rŭk-sa 神勒寺신록사	93.4.14, 94.9.13. 45m	NJ 52-9-21 驪州 여주 (087)
Chŏng-ryang-san 淸涼山정량산	1.20.1.	Chang-kyŏng-sa 長慶寺장경사	~ 400m	NJ 52-9-19 水原 수원 (008)

Kyōng-gi-do 京畿道 경기도	1.20.	Kwang-chu County 廣州郡 광주군	Chung-bu-myōn 中部面 중부면	San-sōng-ri 山城里 산성리
			(?)	Chun-kung-ri 春宮里 손궁리
	1.21.	Ha-nam City 河南市 하남시		
	1.22.	Sōng-nam City 城南市 성남시		
	1.23.	Kwa-chōn City 果川市 과천시		
	1.24.	Ūi-wang City 龜旺市 의왕시	Chōng-kye-dong 清溪洞 청계동	Sang-chōng-kye 上清溪 상청계
			Wang-gok-dong 旺谷洞 왕곡동	Wang-rim 왕림
			O-chōn-dong 五全洞 오전동	O-mæ-gi 오매기
	1.25.	Su-wōn City 水原市 수원시	Sang-kwang-kyo-dong 上光教洞 상광교동	Widh-mal (?) 윗말
			Yōn-mu-dong 練武洞 연무동	U-man-dong (?) 우만동
	1.26.	Yong-in County 龍仁郡 용인군	Su-chi-myōn 水枝面 수지면	Sin-bong-ri 新鳳里 신봉리
			Ki-hūng-ūb 器興邑 기흥읍	Korean Folk Village 韓國民俗村 한국민속촌
	1.27.	An-sōng County 安城郡 안성군	I-chuk-myōn 二竹面 이죽면	Chil-chang-ri 七長里 칠장리
			Gūm-kwang-myōn 金光面 금광면	Sang-chung-ri 508 上中里 상중리 508
			Sō-un-myōn 瑞雲面 서운면	Chōng-ryong-ri 28 育龍里 청룡리 28
Wōn-gok-myōn 元谷面 원곡면			Sōng-ūn-ri 聖恩里 성은리	
Ko-sam-myōn 古三面 고삼면			Sin-chang-ri 新倉里 신창리	
1.28.	O-san City 烏山市 오산시			
1.29.	Song-tan City 松炭市 송탄시			
1.30.	Pyōng-tæk City 平澤市 평택시	Hyōn-dōk-myōn 玄德面 현덕면	Dōk-mok-ri 德目里 덕목리	
1.31.	Pyōng-tæk County 平澤郡 평택군			

Chông-ryang-san 清凉山 청량산	1.20.2.	Mang-wôl-sa 望月寺 망월사	~ 400m	NJ 52-9-19 水原수원 (008)
(?)	1.20.3.	Dong-sa-chi 桐寺址 동사지	(?)	precise location unclear
Yông-chang-san 영장산	1.22.1.	Bong-guk-sa 奉國寺 봉국사	~ 110m	NJ 52-9-19 水原수원 (016 / 026)
Chông-kye-san 清溪山 청계산	1.24.1.	Chông-kye-sa 清溪寺 청계사	~ 260m	NJ 52-9-19 水原수원 (032)
Bæk-un-san 白雲山 백운산	1.24.2.	Bæk-un-sa 白雲寺 백운사	207m	NJ 52-9-19 水原수원 (061)
Mo-rak-san 帽洛山 모락산	1.24.3.	Kyông-il-am 擘日庵 경일암	~ 160m	NJ 52-9-18 安養안양 (060)
Kwang-kyo-san 光教山 광교산	1.25.1.	Chang-sông-sa-chi 彰聖寺址 창성사지	~ 160m (?)	NJ 52-9-19 水原수원 (061 / 062)
Dwædh-ko-ræ 뫼고래	1.25.2.	Bong-nyông-sa 奉寧寺 봉녕사	~ 110m	NJ 52-9-19 水原수원 (082)
Kwang-kyo-san 光教山 광교산	1.26.1.	Sô-bong-sa-chi 瑞峰寺址 서봉사지	~ 100m (?)	NJ 52-9-19 水原수원 (062)
(-)	1.26.2.	Gim-ryôn-sa 金蓮寺 금련사	85m	NJ 52-9-19 水原수원 (095 / 096)
Chil-hyôn-san 七賢山 칠현산	1.27.1.	Chil-chang-sa 七長寺 칠장사	93.4.13 253m	NJ 52-9-27 安城안성 (086 / 087 / 096 / 097)
Sô-un-san 瑞雲山 서운산	1.27.2.	Sôk-nam-sa 石南寺 석남사	93.4.13. 222m	NJ 52-13-06 鎭川진천 (023)
Sô-un-san 瑞雲山 서운산	1.27.3.	Chông-ryong-sa 齊龍寺 청룡사	93.4.12 ~ 160m	NJ 52-13-06 鎭川진천 (032)
Chôn-dôk-san 天德山 천덕산	1.27.4.	Chông-wôn-sa 清源寺 청원사	~ 150m	NJ 52-9-26 龍仁용인 (077 / 078)
(-)	1.27.5.	3-storied stone pagoda 三層石塔 삼층석탑	(?)	NJ 52-9-26 龍仁용인 (?)
Kwang-dôk-san 廣德山 광덕산	1.30.1.	Sim-bok-sa 深福寺 심복사	~ 30m	NJ 52-13-04 牙山아산 (029)

Kyōng-gi-do 京畿道 경기도	1.32.	Hwa-sōng County 華城郡 화성군	Tæ-an-ūb 台安邑 태안읍	Song-san-ri 188 松山里 송산리 188
			Dong-tan-myōn 東灘面 등탄면	Chung-ri 中里 중리
			Nam-yang-myōn 南陽面 남양면	Buk-yang-ri 642 北陽里 북양리 642
	1.33.	An-san City 安山市 안산시		
	1.34.	Gun-po City 軍浦市 군포시		
	1.35.	An-yang City 安養市 안양시	Sōk-su-dong 石水洞 석수동	Sam-mak 三幕 삼막
			Sōk-su-dong 212-1 石水洞 석수동 212-1	Yu-yu Incorporation 유유산업부지
			Sōk-su-dong 石水洞 석수동	Sam-mak 三幕 삼막
				Sam-mak 三幕 삼막
	Kwan-yang-dong 冠陽洞 관양동	(-)		
1.36.	Kwang-myōng City 光明市 광명시			
1.37.	Si-hūng City 始興市 시흥시			
1.38.	Bu-čhōn City 富川市 부천시			
1.39.	Ong-chin County 襄津郡 용진군			
Kang-wōn-do 江原道 강원도	2.1.	Čhōl-wōn County 鐵原郡 철원군	Dong-song-ūb 東松邑 동송읍	Kwan-u-ri 450 觀雨里 관우리 450
				O-chi-ri 梧地리 오지리
	2.2.	Hwa-čhōn County 華川郡 화천군		
	2.3.	Čhun-čhōn County 春川郡 춘천군	Buk-san-myōn 北山面 북산면	Čhōng-pyōng-ri 675 淸平里 청평리 675
			Sō-myōn 西面 서면	Sō-sang-ri 西上里 서상리
	2.4.	Čhun-čhōn City 春川市 춘천시	So-yang-dong 昭陽洞 소양동	So-yang-ro 1-ga 昭陽路 二街 소양로이가
2.5.	Yang-gu County 楊口郡 양구군	Dong-myōn 東面 동면	Pal-rang-ri 八郎里 팔랑리	

Sōng-hwang-san 城隍山 성황산	1.32.1.	Yong-chu-sa 龍珠寺 용주사	94.10.20. 45m	NJ 52-9-26 龍仁 용인 (011)
A-hūn-a-hūb-ko-kæ 아흔아홉고개	1.32.2.	Man-ūi-sa 萬義寺 만의사	~ 170m	NJ 52-9-26 龍仁 용인 (017)
Mu-bong-san 舞鳳山 무봉산	1.32.3.	Bong-rim-sa 鳳林寺 봉림사	94.10.20. ~ 100m	NJ 52-9-25 南陽 남양 (014 / 015 / 024 / 025)
Sam-sōng-san 三聖(星)山 삼성산	1.35.1.	Sam-mak-sa 三幕寺 삼막사	97.5.23. 367m	NJ 52-9-18 安養 안양 (028)
Sam-sōng-san 三聖(星)山 삼성산	1.35.2.	Chung-cho-sa-chi 中初寺址 증초사지	97.5.23. ~ 80m	NJ 52-9-18 安養 안양 (038)
Sam-sōng-san 三聖(星)山 삼성산	1.35.3.	Mang-wōl-am 望月庵 망월암	330m	NJ 52-9-18 安養 안양 (028)
(-)	1.35.4.	Mang-hæ-am 望海庵 망해암	~ 240m	NJ 52-9-18 安養 안양 (038)
Kwan-ak-san 冠岳山 관악산	1.35.5.	Bul-sōng-sa 佛性(聖成)寺 불성사	430m	NJ 52-9-18 安養 안양 (029)
(-)	2.1.1.	Do-pi-an-sa 到彼岸寺 도피안사	~ 250m (?)	NJ 52-5-19 乃文 내본 (099 / 100) (?) unavailable
(-)	2.1.2.	Sim-wōn-sa 深源寺 심원사	~170m (?)	NJ 52-5-26 鐵原 철원 (030) (?) unavailable
O-bong-san 五峰山 오봉산	2.3.1.	Chōng-pyōng-sa 濟平寺 청평사	95.5.4. ~ 290m	NJ 52-10-01 內坪 내평 (003) unavailable
(?)	2.3.2.	3-storied stone pagoda 三層石塔 삼층석탑	~ 100m	NJ 52-9-07 春川 춘천 (?)
(-)	2.4.1.	7-storied stone pagoda 三層石塔 삼층석탑	~ 100m	NJ 52-9-07 春川 춘천 (?)
Du-sol-san 兜率山 두솔산	2.5.1.	Sim-gok-sa 深谷寺 심곡사	~ 600m	NJ 52-6-23 麟蹄 인제 (004 / 014) unavailable

Kang-wŏn-do 江原道 강원도	2.6.	In-che County 麟蹄郡 인계군	Buk-myŏn 北面 북면	Yong-dæ-ri 龍岱里 응대리
				Han-kye-ri 寒溪里 한계리
	2.7.	Ko-sŏng County 高城郡 고성군	Kŏ-chin-lŭb 巨津邑 거진읍	No-ru-mok 노루복
				To-sŏng-myŏn 土城面 토성면
	2.8.	Sok-cho City 束草市 속초시	Sŏr-ak-dong 170 靈巖洞 설악동 170	(-)
				Sŏr-ak-dong 靈巖洞 설악동
	2.9.	Yang-yang County 襄陽郡 양양군	Kang-hyŏn-myŏn 降峴面 강현면	Chŏn-chin-ri 55 前津里 전진리 55
				Dun-chŏn-ri 100 屯田里 둔전리 100
			Yang-yang-lŭb 襄陽郡 양양군	Hwa-il-ri 禾日里 화일리
			Hyŏn-buk-myŏn 縣北面 현북면	Ŏ-sŏng-chŏn-ri 德城田里 어성전리
			Sŏ-myŏn 西面 서면	Hwang-i-ri 424 黃耳里 황이리 424
	2.10.	Hong-chŏn County 洪川郡 홍천군	Næ-choŏn-myŏn 乃村面 내촌면	Mul-kŏl-ri 物槩里 물걸리
			Dong-myŏn 東面 동면	Dŏk-ŏi-ri 9 德峙里 덕치리 9
				Dŏk-ŏi-ri 德峙里 덕치리
			Hong-chŏn-lŭb 洪川邑 홍천읍	Hŭ-mang-ri 希望里 희망리
Du-choŏn-myŏn 斗村面 두천면			Kwæ-sŏk-ri 掛石里 괴석리	
Nam-myŏn 南面 남면	Yang-dŏk-wŏn Il-ri 陽德院 一里 양덕원일리			
2.11.	Hwæng-sŏng County 橫城郡 횡성군	Chŏng-il-myŏn 晴日面 청일면	Sin-dæ-ri 新岱里 신대리	



Sŏr-ak-san 雪嶽山 설악산	2.6.1.	Bæk-dam-sa 百潭寺 백담사	93. 5. 11. ~ 580m	NJ 52-6-24 雪嶽 설악 (035 / 036) unavailable
Sŏr-ak-san 雪嶽山 설악산	2.6.2.	O-se-am 五歲庵 오세암	~ 820m	NJ 52-6-24 雪嶽 설악 (048) unavailable
Sŏr-ak-san 雪嶽山 설악산	2.6.3.	Bong-chŏng-am 鳳頂庵 봉정암	~ 1490m (var. 1224m)	NJ 52-6-24 雪嶽 설악 (059) unavailable
Sŏr-ak-san 雪嶽山 설악산	2.6.4.	Han-kye-sa-chi 寒溪寺址 한계사지	(?)	NJ 52-6-24 雪嶽 설악 (054) unavailable
Kŏn-bong-san 乾鳳山 건봉산	2.7.1.	Kŏn-bong-sa 乾鳳寺 건봉사	93. 5. 11 ~ 170m	NJ 52-6-17 杆城 간성 (036 / 046) unavailable
Sin-sŏn-bong 神仙峰 선선봉	2.7.2.	Hwa-am-sa 禾岩寺 화암사	~ 340m	NJ 52-6-24 雪嶽 설악 (009 / 019) unavailable
Sŏr-ak-san 雪嶽山 설악산	2.8.1.	Sin-hŭng-sa 神興寺 신흥사	93. 5. 12; 10. 25. ~ 260m	NJ 52-6-24 雪嶽 설악 (040) unavailable
Sŏr-ak-san 雪嶽山 설악산	2.8.2.	Næ-wŏn-am 內院庵 내원암	93. 5. 12 ~ 350m	NJ 52-6-24 雪嶽 설악 (030) unavailable
Sŏr-ak-san 雪嶽山 설악산	2.8.3.	Kye-cho-am 繼福庵 계조암	~ 580m	NJ 52-6-24 雪嶽 설악 (029) unavailable
Nak-san 洛山 낙산	2.9.1.	Nak-san-sa 洛山寺 낙산사	93. 5. 11; 13; 10. 25 60m	NJ 52-6-25 東草 속초 (056)
Sŏr-ak-san 雪嶽山 설악산	2.9.2.	Chin-chŏn-sa-chi 陳田寺址 진전사지	97. 5. 29. ~ 210m	NJ 52-6-25 東草 속초 (052) unavailable
Kwan-mo-san 冠帽山 관모산	2.9.3.	Yŏng-hyŏl-sa 靈穴寺 영혈사	~ 310m	NJ 52-6-25 東草 속초 (053) unavailable
Man-wŏl-san 楸月山 만월산	2.9.4.	Myŏng-chu-sa 明珠寺 명주사	~ 250m	NJ 52-10-04 連谷 연곡 (028) unavailable
Cho-bong 福峰 조봉	2.9.5.	Sŏn-rim-wŏn-chi 禪林院址 선림원지	97. 5. 29. ~ 270m	NJ 52-10-04 連谷 연곡 (021) unavailable
Ŭng-bong-san 鷹峰山 응봉산	2.10.1.	Dæ-sŭng-sa 大僧寺 대승사	95. 5. 4. ~ 260m	NJ 52-10-02 於論 어론 (086 / 087) unavailable
Kong-chak-san 孔雀山 공작산	2.10.2.	Su-ta-sa 壽陀寺 수타사	95. 5. 4. 190m	NJ 52-10-08 洪川 홍천 (029)
Kong-chak-san 孔雀山 공작산	2.10.3.	Ok-su-am 玉水庵 옥수암	~ 180 (?)	NJ 52-10-08 洪川 홍천 (019) (?)
(-)	2.10.4.	4 lions stone pagoda 四獅子石塔 사사자석탑	~ 140m	NJ 52-10-08 洪川 홍천 (?)
So-bbul-san 소불산	2.10.5.	3-storied stone pagoda 三層石塔 삼층석탑	~ 560m	NJ 52-10-08 洪川 홍천 (?)
(-)	2.10.6.	3-storied stone pagoda 三層石塔 삼층석탑	~ 240m	NJ 52-10-08 洪川 홍천 (?)
Bong-bok-san 鳳腹山 봉복산	2.11.1.	Bong-bok-sa 鳳腹寺 봉복사	~ 380m	NJ 52-10-09 晴日 청일 (070)

Kang-wŏn-do 江原道 강원도	2.11.	Hwŏng-sŏng County 橫城郡 횡성군	Chŏng-il-myŏn 晴日面 청일면	Sin-dæ-ri 新岱里 신대리
			Kab-chŏn-myŏn 甲川面 갑천면	Chung-gŭm-ri 中金里 중금리
			Kong-gŭm-myŏn 公根面 공근면	Sang-dong-ri 上洞里 상동리
			Hwŏng-sŏng-ŭb 橫城邑 횡성읍	Ŭb-ha-ri 邑下里 읍하리
	2.12.	Wŏn-chu County 原州郡 원주군	So-cho-myŏn 所草面 소초면	Hak-gok-ri 鶴谷里 학곡리
				Hŭng-yang-ri 興陽里 학곡리
			Chi-chŏng-myŏn 地正面 지정면	An-čhang-ri 517-2 安昌里 안창리 517-2
			Bu-non-myŏn 富論面 부논면	Bŏb-čhŏn-ri 法泉里 법천리
				Chŏng-san-ri 189 鼎山里 정산리 189
			Sin-rim-myŏn 神林面 신태면	Sŏng-nam-ri 城南里 성남리
		Ho-čhŏ-myŏn 好緒面 호저면	Yong-gok-ri 龍谷里 용곡리	
	2.13.	Wŏn-chu City 原州市 원주시	Il-san-dong 一山洞 일산동	(-)
	2.14.	Yŏng-wŏi County 寧越郡 영월군	Su-chu-myŏn 水周面 수주면	Bŏb-hŭng-ri 法興里 법흥리
			Yŏng-wŏi-ŭb 寧越邑 영월읍	Yŏng-hŭng-ri 永興里 영흥리
				Yŏng-hŭng-ri 永興里 영흥리
	2.15.	Pyŏng-čhang County 平昌郡 평창군	Chin-bu-myŏn 珍富面 진부면	Dong-san-ri 63 東山里 동산리 63
				Dong-san-ri 東山里 동산리
Su-hang-ri 水項里 수향리				
2.16.	Chŏng-sŏn County 旌善郡 정선군	Ko-han-ŭb 古汗邑 고향읍	Ko-han-ri 15 古汗里 고향리 15	
2.17.	Myŏng-chu County 溟州郡 명주군	Gu-chŏng-myŏn 邱井面 구정면	Hak-san-ri 713 鶴山里 학산리 713	
		Sŏng-san-myŏn 城山面 성산면	Bo-kwang-ri 544 普光리 보광리 544	

Bong-bok-san 鳳巖山 봉복산	2.11.2.	3-storied stone pagoda 三層石塔 삼층석탑	~ 360m	NJ 52-10-09 晴日청일 (070)
Kō-mun-mæ 거문매	2.11.3.	twin 3-storied pagodas 雙三層石塔 쌍삼층석탑	~ 160m	NJ 52-10-09 晴日청일 (?)
Ŭng-bong-san 응봉산	2.11.4.	stone pagoda & Buddha 石塔 및 石佛 석탑 및 석불	~ 200m	NJ 52-10-08 洪川홍천(?) NJ 52-10-09 晴日청일(?)
(-)	2.11.5.	stone pagoda & Buddha 石塔 및 石佛 석탑 및 석불	~ 120m	NJ 52-10-15 原州원주 (010)
Chi-ak-san 雉岳山 치악산	2.12.1.	Ku-ryong-sa 龜龍寺 구룡사	95.5.3. 360m	NJ 52-10-16 安興안흥 (032 / 033 / 042 / 043)
Chi-ak-san 雉岳山 치악산	2.12.2.	Ib-sōk-sa 立石寺 입석사	~ 750m	NJ 52-10-16 安興안흥 (052)
(-)	2.12.3.	Hŭng-bōb-sa-chi 興法寺址 흥법사지	~ 75m	NJ 52-10-15 原州원주 (063)
Hyōn-kye-san 玄溪山 현계산	2.12.4.	Bōb-čhōn-sa-chi 法泉寺址 법천사지	95.5.3. ~ 190m	NJ 52-10-22 嚴政엄정 (011)
Hyōn-kye-san 玄溪山 현계산	2.12.5.	Kō-don-sa-chi 居頓寺址 거둔사지	95.5.3. ~ 100m	NJ 52-10-22 嚴政엄정 (022)
Chi-ak-san 雉岳山 치악산	2.12.6.	Sang-wōn-sa 上院寺 상원사	~ 1000m	NJ 52-10-16 安興안흥 (?)
Gŭn-ko-kæ 근고개	2.12.7.	Yong-un-sa-chi 龍雲寺址 용운사지	~ 200m	NJ 52-10-15 原州원주 (?)
(-)	2.13.1.	5-storied stone pagoda 五層石塔 오층석탑	~ 150m	NJ 52-10-15 原州원주 (?)
Sa-cha-san 獅子山 사자산	2.14.1.	Bōb-hŭng-sa 法興寺 법흥사	97.5.27. ~ 500m	NJ 52-10-17 平昌평창 (041 / 051)
Bai-san 鉢山 발산	2.14.2.	Bo-dōk-sa 報德寺 보덕사	~ 240m	NJ 52-10-24 寧越영월 (029)
	2.14.3.	Gŭm-mōng-am 禁夢庵 금몽암	~ 280m	NJ 52-10-24 寧越영월 (019)
O-dæ-san 五臺山 오대산	2.15.1.	Wōi-čhōng-sa 月精寺 월정사	93.10.26; 97.5.28. 655m	NJ 52-10-11 道巖도암 (004)
	2.15.2.	Sang-wōn-sa 上院寺 상원사	93.10.26; 97.5.28. 906m	NJ 52-10-04 漣谷연곡 (083)
Bak-chi-san 博芝山 박지산	2.15.3.	Su-da-sa-chi 水多寺址 수다사지	~ 500m	NJ 52-10-11 道巖도암 (073) unavailable
Ham-bæk-san 咸白山 함백산	2.16.1.	Chōng-am-sa 淨岩寺 정암사	850m	NJ 52-10-26 太白태백 (026)
Čhil-bong-san 七峰山 칠봉산	2.17.1.	Kul-san-sa-chi 掘山寺址 굴산사지	97.5.28.-29. ~ 100m	NJ 52-10-12 邱井구정 (027)
Kon-sin-bong 坤申峰 곤신봉	2.17.2.	Bo-hyōn-sa 普賢寺 보현사	97.5.28. ~ 440m	NJ 52-10-12 邱井구정 (001) unavailable

Kang-wŏn-do 江原道 강원도	2.17.	Myŏng-chu County 溟州郡 명주군	Ok-kye-myŏn 玉溪面 옥계면	San-kye-ri 1232 山溪里 산계리 1232
	2.18.	Kang-rŭng City 江陵市 강릉시	Næ-gok-dong 403 內谷洞 내곡동 403	Sin-bok 神福 신복
			Nam-hang-chin-dong 南項津洞 남향진동	(-)
	2.19.	Dong-hæ City 東海市 동해시	Sam-hwa-dong 三和洞 삼화동	Sam-hwa 三和 삼화
	2.20.	Sam-çhŏk City 三陟市 삼척시		
	2.21.	Sam-çhŏk County 三陟郡 삼척군	Kŏm-dŏk-myŏn 近德面 근덕면	Kŏm-çhon-ri 金村里 금촌리
	2.22.	Tæ-bæk City 太白市 태백시		
Çhung-çhŏng-buk-do 忠清北道 충청북도	3.1.	Çhin-çhŏn County 鎭川郡 진천군	Çhin-çhŏn-ŭb 鎭川邑 진천읍	Yŏn-gok-ri 蓮谷里 연곡리
	3.2.	Ŭm-sŏng County 陰城郡 음성군	Ŭm-sŏng-ŭb 陰城邑 음성읍	Yong-san-ri 龍山里 용산리
	3.3.	Çhung-wŏn County 中原郡 중원군	So-tæ-myŏn 蘇台面 소태면	O-ryang-ri 33 五良里 오량리 33
			Ŭm-çhŏng-myŏn 嚴政面 엄정면	Kwæ-dong-ri 360 槐東里 괴동리 360
			Dong-ryang-myŏn 東良面 동양면	Ha-çhŏn-ri 177-2 荷川里 하천리 177-2
			Sang-mo-myŏn 上毛面 상모면	Mi-rŭk-ri 彌勒里 미륵리
			Ka-gŭm-myŏn 可金面 가금면	Tab-pyŏng-ri 塔坪里 탑평리
	3.4.	Çhe-çhŏn County 埭川郡 계천군	Han-su-myŏn 寒水面 한수면	Song-kye-ri 1002 松界里 승계리 1002
				Song-kye-ri 松界里 승계리
				Song-kye-ri 1-1 松界里 승계리 1-1
			Gŭm-sŏng-myŏn 錦城面 금성면	Song-næ-ri 城內里 성내리
			Dŏk-san-myŏn 德山面 덕산면	Wŏl-ak-ri 月岳里 월악리
			Çhŏng-pung-myŏn 淸風面 청풍면	Kyo-ri 校里 교리
	3.5.	Çhe-çhŏn City 埭川市 계천시	Çhang-rak-dong 長樂洞 장락동	(-)

Sök-byōng-san 石屏山 석병산	2.17.3.	San-kye-sa-chi 山溪寺址 산계사지	(?)	NJ 52-10-12 邱井구정 (?)
(-)	2.18.1.	Sin-bok-sa-chi 神福寺址 신복사지	97.5.28. ~ 40m	NJ 52-10-12 邱井구정 (006)
(-)	2.18.2.	Han-song-sa 寒松寺 한송사	97.5.30. ~ 10m	NJ 52-10-05 江陵강능 (099)
Du-ta-san 頭陀山 두타산	2.19.1.	Sam-hwa-sa 三和寺 삼화사	~170m	NJ 52-10-20 三陟삼척 (011)
(-)	2.21.1.	Yōng-ūn-sa 靈隱寺 영은사	100m	NJ 52-10-21 樺隱매원 (081)
Man-rwæ(-gūm)-san 萬賴山 만뢰산 (만근산)	3.1.1.	Bo-tab-sa 寶塔寺 보탑사	95.4.12.; 97.5.27. ~ 300m	NJ 52-13-06 鎮川진천 (064 / 065)
Ka-sōb-san 迦葉山 가섭산	3.2.1.	Ka-sōb-sa 迦葉寺 가섭사	~ 600m	NJ 52-13-07 陰城음성 (019)
Chōng-kye-bong 清溪峰 정계봉	3.3.1.	Chōng-ryong-sa 淸龍寺 청룡사	95.5.3. ~ 280m	NJ 52-10-22 嚴政엄정 (044)
Bil-mi-san 빌미산	3.3.2.	Ŏk-chōng-sa-chi 億政寺址 억정사지	~ 100m	NJ 52-10-22 嚴政엄정 (058)
Bu-san 婦山부산	3.3.3.	Chōng-to-sa-chi 淸土寺址 정토사지	~ 180m	NJ 52-10-23 堤川계천 (083)
Chu-hū-san 主屹山 주읍산	3.3.4.	ruined temple site 寺址 사지	94.11.10. 370m	NJ 52-14-02 德山덕산 (074 / 075)
(-)	3.3.5.	7-storied stone pagoda 七層石塔 칠층석탑	94.11.10. ~ 100m	NJ 52-10-22 嚴政엄정 (095) (?)
Wōi-ak-san 月岳山 월악산	3.4.1.	Sa-cha-sa-chi 獅子寺址 사자사지	~ 230m	NJ 52-14-02 德山덕산 (054)
Wōi-ak-san 月岳山 월악산	3.4.2.	Wōi-kwang-sa-chi 月光寺址 월광사지	(?)	NJ 52-14-02 德山덕산 (054) (?)
Wōi-ak-san 月岳山 월악산	3.4.3.	Dōk-chu-sa 德周寺 덕주사	(?)	NJ 52-14-02 德山덕산 (055)
Dong-san 東山동산	3.4.4.	Mu-am-sa 霧巖寺 무암사	~ 380m	NJ 52-10-23 堤川계천 (089)
Wōi-ak-san 月岳山 월악산	3.4.5.	Sin-rūk-sa 神勸寺 신록사	~ 280m	NJ 52-14-02 德山덕산 (046 / 056)
(?)	3.4.6.	brick-like stone pagoda 模磚石塔 모전석탑	(?)	NJ 52-10-23 堤川계천 (?) NJ 52-14-02 德山덕산 (?)
(-)	3.5.1.	brick-like stone pagoda 模磚石塔 모전석탑	~ 280m	NJ 52-10-23 堤川계천 (?)

Chung-chông-buk-do 忠清北道 충청북도	3.6.	Dan-yang County 丹陽郡 단양군	Yông-chun-myôn 永春面 영주면	Bæk-cha-ri 栢子里 백자리
			Ka-gok-myôn 佳谷面 가곡면	Hyang-san-ri 401 香山里 백자리 401
	3.7.	Chung-chu City 忠州市 충주시		
	3.8.	Kwae-san County 槐山郡 괴산군	Chang-yôn-myôn 長延面 장연면	Tæ-sông-ri 38 台城里 태성리 38
	3.9.	Chông-wôn County 淸原郡 청원군	Nam-i-myôn 南二面 남이면	Sa-dong-ri 271 寺洞里 사동리 271
			Mun-û-myôn 文義面 문의면	Mun-dôk-ri 文德里 문덕리
			Buk-sam-myôn (?) 北三面 북삼면	Yông-ha-ri (?) 靈下里 영하리
	3.10.	Chông-chu City 淸州市 청주시	Un-chôn-dong 雲泉洞 은천동	Un-chôn Park 雲泉公園 은천공원
			Sa-chik-dong 216-1 社稷洞 사직동 216-1	(-)
			Sô-mun-dong 西門洞 서문동	Chung-ang Park 中央公園 중앙공원
			Yong-am-dong 龍岩洞 용암동	(-)
	3.11.	Bo-ûn County 報恩郡 보은군	Næ-sok-ri-myôn 內俗離面 내속리면	Sa-næ-ri 209 舍乃里 사내리 209
				Sa-næ-ri 舍乃里 사내리
3.12.	Ok-chôn County 沃川郡 옥천군	Ok-chôn-ûb 沃川군 옥천읍	Sam-chông-ri 三靑里 삼청리	
3.13.	Yông-dong County 永同郡 영동군	Hwang-kan-myôn 黃澗面 황간면	U-mæ-ri 友梅里 우매리	
		Yang-san-myôn 陽山面 양산면	Nu-kyo-ri 139-1 樓橋里 누교리 139-1	
		Yông-dong-ûb 永同郡 영동읍	Hwa-sin-ri 花新里 화신리	
Dæ-chôn Metropolis 大田廣城市 대전광역시	4.1.	Dong-gu 東區 동구	Dæ-sông-dong 大城洞 대성동	(-)
Chung-chông-nam-do 忠清南道 충청남도	4.2.	Tæ-an County 泰安郡 태안군	Tæ-an-ûb 泰安郡 태안읍	Sang-ok-ri San 1154 上玉里山 상옥리산 1154
				Dong-mun-ri 817-2 東門里 동문리 817-2
	4.3.	Sô-san County 瑞山郡 서산군	Un-san-myôn 雲山面 운산면	Sin-chang-ri 1 新昌里 신창리 1

Sin-sŏn-bong 神仙峰 신선봉	3.6.1.	Ku-in-sa 救仁寺 구인사	~ 450m	NJ 52-10-24 寧越 영월 (090)
(-)	3.6.2.	ruined temple site 寺址 사지	~ 200m	NJ 52-10-24 寧越 영월 (?)
Dŏk-ka-san 德加山 덕가산	3.8.1.	Gak-yŏn-sa 覺淵寺 각연사	94.11.10. 315m	NJ 52-14-01 忠州 충주 (098) NJ 52-14-08 俗離 속리 (008)
(-)	3.9.1.	An-sim-sa 安心寺 안심사	93.4.19; 94.5.18. 95m	NJ 52-13-13 淸州 청주 (087)
(-)	3.9.2.	Wŏl-li-sa 月裡寺 안심사	~ 180m	NJ 52-13-21 報恩 보은 (012)
(?)	3.9.3.	5-storied stone pagoda 五層石塔 오층석탑	(?)	exact location unclear
Chang-ki-bong 장기봉	3.10.1.	Hŭng-dŏk-sa-chi 興德寺址 흥덕사지	95.4.12. ~ 50m	NJ 52-13-13 淸州 청주 (049 / 050)
(-)	3.10.2.	Yong-hwa-sa 龍華寺 용화사	~ 40m	NJ 52-13-13 淸州 청주 (050)
(-)	3.10.3.	Yong-du-sa-chi 龍頭寺址 용두사지	95.4.12. ~ 45m	NJ 52-13-13 淸州 청주 (050)
Sŏn-do-san 先到山 선도산	3.10.4.	Bo-sal-sa 菩薩寺 보살사	~150m	NJ 52-13-13 米院 미원 (042 / 052)
Sok-ri-san 俗離山 속리산	3.11.1.	Bŏb-chu-sa 法住寺 법주사	90; 93.8; 94.10.6. 350m	NJ 52-14-08 俗離 속리 (084)
	3.11.2.	Bok-ŏhŏn-am 福泉庵 북천암	505m	NJ 52-14-08 俗離 속리 (075 / 085)
Sa-mok-kæ 사목개	3.12.1.	Yong-am-sa 龍巖寺 영암사	~ 260m	NJ 52-13-21 報恩 보은 (093)
Po-sŏng-san 捕城山 포성산	3.13.1.	Ban-ya-sa 般若寺 반야사	~ 200m	NJ 52-14-15 官基 권기 (087)
Chŏn-tæ-san 天泰山 천태산	3.13.2.	Yŏng-guk-sa 寧國寺 영국사	93.11.9 ~310m	NJ 52-13-28 伊院 이원 (035)
(-)	3.13.3.	Chung-hwa-sa 重華寺 중화사	~300m	NJ 52-14-22 永同 영동 (044)
Sik-chang-san 食藏山 식장산	4.1.1.	Ko-san-sa 高山寺 고산사	~250m	NJ 52-13-20 大田 대전 (079 / 080 / 089 / 090)
Bæk-hwa-san 白華山 백화산	4.2.1.	Hŭng-chu-sa 興住寺 흥주사	~ 150m	NJ 52-13-02 瑞山 서산 (082 / 083 / 092 / 093) (?)
Bæk-hwa-san 白華山 백화산	4.2.2.	Tæ-ŭl-am 太乙庵 태음암	94.4.21. ~ 200m	NJ 52-13-02 瑞山 서산 (082 / 083 / 092 / 093) (?)
Ka-ya-bong 伽椰峰 가야봉	4.3.1.	Kæ-sim-sa 開心寺 개심사	89; 94.4.21. 108m	NJ 52-13-10 洪城 홍성 (004)

Chung-chông-nam-do 忠清南道 충청남도	4.3.	Sô-san County 瑞山郡 서산군	Un-san-myôn 雲山面 온산면	Yong-hyôn-ri 150 龍賢里 용현리 150 Tæ-bong-ri 胎封里 태봉리
	4.4.	Sô-san City 瑞山市 서산시		
	4.5.	Dang-chin County 唐津郡 당진군	Chông-mi-myôn 貞美面 장미면	Su-dang-ri 102 壽堂里 수당리 102
			Myôn-chôn-myôn 洵川面 면천면	Sông-ha-ri 560 城下里 성하리 560
			Ko-dæ-myôn 高大面 고대면	Chin-kwan-ri 眞館里 진관리
	4.6.	Ye-san County 醴山郡 예산군	Dök-san-myôn 德山面 덕산면	Sa-chôn-ri 20 斜川里 사천리 20 Sa-chôn-ri 斜川里 사천리
			Kwang-si-myôn 光時面 광시면	Dong-san-ri 東山里 동산리
			Ye-san-üb 醴山邑 예산읍	Hyang-chôn-ri 香泉里 향천리
			Bong-san-myôn 鳳山面 봉산면	Hwa-chôn-ri 花田里 화천리
	4.7.	A-san City 牙山市 아산시	Song-ak-myôn 松岳面 승악면	Yu-gok-ri 595 楡谷里 유곡리 595
	4.8.	On-yang City 溫陽市 온양시		
	4.9.	Chôn-an City 天安市 천안시	Sin-an-dong 新安洞 신안동	Yu-ryang-il-tong 留糧一統 유량일통
	4.10.	Chôn-an County 天安郡 천안군	Sông-kô-üb 聖居邑 성거읍	Chôn-hüng-ri 234 (190) 天興里 천흥리 234 (190)
			Sông-hwan-üb 成歡邑 성환읍	Dæ-hong-ri 320 大弘里 대홍리 320
			Kwang-dök-myôn 廣德面 광덕면	Kwang-dök-ri 640 廣德里 광덕리 640
	4.11.	Yôn-gi County 燕岐郡 연기군	Sô-myôn 西面 서면	Wôl-ha-ri 月河里 월하리
Chôn-üi-myôn 全義面 전의면			Da-bang-ri 多方里 다방리	
4.12.	Kong-chu County 公州郡 공주군	Sa-gok-myôn 寺谷面 사곡면	Un-am-ri 567 雲岩里 온암리 567	
		Ban-po-myôn 反浦面 반포면	Hak-bong-ri 鶴峰里 학봉리	



Ka-ya-bong 伽椰峰 가야봉	4.3.2.	Bo-wŏn-sa-chi 普願寺址 보원사지	~ 130m	NJ 52-13-03 唐津 당진 (094 / 095)
Sang-wang-san 象王山 상왕산	4.3.3.	Mun-su-sa 文殊寺 문수사	~100m	NJ 52-13-03 唐津 당진 (084 / 094)
Bong-hwa-san 烽火山 봉화산	4.5.1.	An-guk-sa-chi 安國寺址 안국사지	~ 90m	NJ 52-13-03 唐津 당진 (063)
Kwang-ung-san 廣雄山 광웅산	4.5.2.	Yŏng-tab-sa 靈塔寺 영탑사	~ 90m	NJ 52-13-03 唐津 당진 (077)
(-)	4.5.3.	Yŏng-rang-sa 影浪寺 영랑사	94.4.21. ~ 40m	NJ 52-13-03 唐津 당진 (034 / 035)
Su-dŏk-san 修德山 수덕산	4.6.1.	Su-dŏk-sa 修德寺 수덕사	93.4.1; 94.6.17. 155m	NJ 52-13-10 洪城 홍성 (035 / 036)
Su-dŏk-san 修德山 수덕산	4.6.2.	Chŏng-hye-sa 定慧寺 정혜사	337m	NJ 52-13-10 洪城 홍성 (035)
Bong-su-san 鳳首山 봉수산	4.6.3.	Dae-ryŏn-sa 大蓮寺 대연사	~ 160m	NJ 52-13-11 禮山 예산 (062)
Kwan-mo-san 冠帽山 관모산	4.6.4.	Hyang-chŏn-sa 香泉寺 향천사	93.4.1. ~ 100m	NJ 52-13-11 禮山 예산 (025)
Bong-myŏng-san 봉명산	4.6.5	ruined temple site 寺址 사지	~ 120m	NJ 52-13-03 唐津 당진 (?) NJ 52-13-10 洪城 홍성 (?)
Bong-su-san 鳳首山 봉수산	4.7.1.	Bong-gok-sa 鳳谷寺 봉곡사	~ 200m	NJ 52-13-11 禮山 예산 (019 / 020 / 029 / 030) (?)
Tæ-cho-san 太廟山 태조산	4.9.1.	Sŏng-bul-sa 成佛寺 성불사	93.4.12 ~ 210m	NJ 52-13-05 平澤 평택 (078 / 079) (?)
Chŏn-hŭng-kwang-san 天興嶺山 천흥광산	4.10.1.	Chŏn-hŭng-sa (-chi) 天興寺(址) 천흥사(지)	80m	NJ 52-13-05 平澤 평택 (059)
(-)	4.10.2.	Hong-kyŏng-sa-chi 弘慶寺址 홍경사지	~ 10m	NJ 52-13-05 平澤 평택 (026)
Kwang-dŏk-san 廣德山 광덕산	4.10.3.	Kwang-dŏk-sa 廣德寺 광덕사	~ 180m	NJ 52-13-12 全義 전의 (022 / 032)
(-)	4.11.1.	Yŏn-hwa-sa 蓮花寺 연화사	95.4.12. ~ 40m	NJ 52-13-13 淸州 청주 (062)
Un-chu-san (?) 雲住山 운주산	4.11.2.	Bi-am-sa 碑岩寺 비암사	~ 230m	NJ 52-13-12 全義 전의 (058)
Tæ-hwa-san 泰華山 태화산	4.12.1.	Ma-gok-sa 麻谷寺 마곡사	89; 94.5.12; 6.17. 110m	NJ 52-13-12 全義 전의 (071)
Kye-ryong-san 鷄籠山 계룡산	4.12.2.	Dong-hak-sa 東鶴寺 동학사	95.1.12. ~ 240m	NJ 52-13-19 公州 공주 (059 / 060 / 069 / 070)

Chung-chông-nam-do 忠清南道 충청남도	4.12.	Kong-chu County 公州郡 공주군	Ban-po-myôn 反浦面 반포면	Hak-bong-ri 鶴峰里 학봉리
				Sang-sin-ri 上莘里 상신리
			Kye-ryong-myôn 鷄籠面 계룡면	Chung-chang-ri 52 中壯里 중장리 52
				Yang-hwa-ri 陽化里 양화리
			Sin-pung-myôn 新豊面 신豊면	Dong-wôn-ri 東院里 동원리
			Tan-chôn-myôn 灘川面 단천면	Ka-chôk-ri 5 加尺里 가척리 5
	4.13.	Kong-chu City 公州市 공주시	Ban-chuk-dong 斑竹洞 반죽동	(-)
			Gŭm-hak-dong 88 金鶴洞 금학동 88	(-)
			Ung-chin-dong 207-3 熊津洞 웅진동 207-3	(-)
			Ok-ryong-dong 111-2 玉龍洞 옥룡동 111-2	(-)
			Ŭi-dang-myôn 儀堂面 의당면	Wôl-gok-ri 月谷里 월곡리
	4.14.	Chông-yang County 青陽郡 청양군	Dæ-chi-myôn 大峙面 대치면	Chang-gok-ri 15 長谷里 장곡리 15
			Chông-yang-ŭb 青陽邑 청양읍	Ŭb-næ-ri San 4-2 邑內里 산 4-2
	4.15.	Hong-sông County 洪城郡 홍성군	Kyôl-sông-myôn 結城面 결성면	Mu-ryang-ri 30-36 無量里 무량리 30-36
			Hong-sông-ŭb 洪城邑 홍성읍	O-kwan-ri 297-1 五管里 오관리 297-1
	4.16.	Bo-ryông County 保寧郡 보령군	Sông-chu-myôn 聖住面 성주면	Sông-chu-ri 80-2 聖住里 성주리 80-2
	4.17.	Dæ-chôn City 大川市 대천시		
	4.18.	Sô-chôn County 舒川郡 서천군		
	4.19.	Bu-yô County 扶餘郡 부여군	Bu-yô-ŭb 扶餘邑 부여읍	Dong-nam-ri 255 東南里 동남리 255
Dong-nam-ri 34-1,2 東南里 동남리 34-1,2				
Dong-nam-ri 東南里 동남리				

Kye-ryong-san 鷄龍山계룡산	4.12.3.	Nam-mæ-tab (pagodas) 男妹塔 남매탑	89.8. 615m	NJ 52-13-19 公州공주 (059)
Kye-ryong-san 鷄龍山계룡산	4.12.4.	Ku-ryong-sa-chi 九龍寺址 구룡사지	~ 160m	NJ 52-13-19 公州공주 (049) (?)
Kye-ryong-san 鷄龍山계룡산	4.12.5.	Kab-sa 甲寺 갑사	89; 93.3. 180m	NJ 52-13-19 公州공주 (058)
Kye-ryong-san 鷄龍山계룡산	4.12.6.	Sin-wôn-sa 新元寺 신원사	93.5.31. 110m	NJ 52-13-19 公州공주 (068)
(-)	4.12.7.	stone pagoda 石塔 석탑	(?)	NJ 52-13-11 禮山예산 (?)
(-)	4.12.8.	3-storied stone pagoda 三層石塔 삼층석탑	~ 50m (?)	NJ 52-13-19 公州공주 (?) NJ 52-13-18 靑陽청양 (?)
(-)	4.13.1.	Dæ-tong-sa-chi 大通寺址 대통사지	94.5.12. ~30m	NJ 52-13-19 公州공주 (015 / 016 / 025 / 026)
Nam-san 南山 남산	4.13.2.	Nam-hyôl-sa-chi 南穴寺址 남혈사지	~ 140m	NJ 52-13-19 公州공주 (026)
Mang-wôl-san 望月山 망월산	4.13.3.	Sô-hyôl-sa-chi 西穴寺址 서혈사지	(?)	NJ 52-13-19 公州공주 exact location unclear
Wôl-sông-san 月城山 월성산	4.13.4.	Su-wôn-sa-chi 水源寺址 수원사지	~ 80m	NJ 52-13-19 公州공주 (026)
Chôn-tæ-san 天台산 천태산	4.13.5.	Dong-hyôl-sa-chi 東穴寺址 동혈사지	~ 300m	NJ 52-13-12 全義전의 (077 / 078 / 087 / 088)
Chil-kab-san 七甲산 칠갑산	4.14.1.	Chang-gok-sa 長谷寺 장곡사	89; 94.5.12. 143m	NJ 52-13-18 靑陽청양 (035)
(?)	4.14.2.	stone Buddha triad 三尊佛 삼존불	(?)	NJ 52-13-18 靑陽청양 exact location unclear
Chông-ryong-san 靑龍山靑룡산	4.15.1.	Ko-san-sa 高山寺 고산사	93.3.31 137m	NJ 52-13-10 洪城홍성 (082)
(-)	4.15.2.	stone flagpole supports 幢竿支柱 당간지주	(?)	NJ 52-13-10 洪城홍성 (?)
Sông-chu-san 聖住山 성주산	4.16.1.	Sông-chu-sa-chi 聖住寺址 성주사지	93.3.31; 94.6.17. 155m	NJ 52-13-17 大川대천 (067)
(-)	4.19.1.	Chông-rim-sa-chi 定林寺址 정림사지	93; 94.6.17.; 97.6.3. ~ 10m	NJ 52-13-18 靑陽청양 (087 / 097)
Gim-sông-san 錦城山금성산	4.19.2.	Chôn-wang-sa-chi 天王寺址 천왕사지	33m	NJ 52-13-18 靑陽청양 (087 / 097)
(-)	4.19.3.	ruined building site 建物址 건물지	93.6; 97.6.3. ~ 10m	NJ 52-13-18 靑陽청양 (097)

Chung-chông-nam-do 忠清南道 충청남도	4.19.	Bu-yô County 扶餘郡 부여군	Bu-yô-üb 扶餘郡 부여읍	Ssang-buk-ri 雙北里 쌍북리
				Ssang-buk-ri 雙北里 쌍북리
				Gun-su-ri 軍守里 군수리
				Nüng-san-ri 陵山里 능산리
				Yong-chông-ri 151 龍井里 용정리 151
			Chang-am-myôn 場岩面 장암면	Chang-ha-ri 長蝦里 장하리
			Kyu-am-myôn 窺岩面 규암면	Sin-ri 新里 신리
				Wæ-ri 外里 외리
			Ūn-san-myôn 恩山面 은산면	Güm-kong-ri 琴公里 금공리
			Im-ehôn-myôn 林川面 임천면	Ka-sin-ri 加神里 가신리
	Ku-kyo-ri 761 舊校里 구교리 761			
	Wæ-san-myôn 外山面 외산면	Man-su-ri 116 萬壽里 만수리 116		
	4.20.	Non-san County 論山郡 논산군	Yôn-san-myôn 連山面 연산면	Chôn-bo-ri 108 天蓬里 천호리 108
Non-san-üb 論山郡 논산읍				Kwan-chok-ri 254 灌婦里 관속리 254
Yang-ehon-myôn 陽村面 양촌면				Chung-san-ri 2-2 中山里 중산리 2-2
Böl-gok-myôn 伐谷面 발곡면				Su-rak-ri 水落里 수락리
4.21.	Güm-san County 鎭山郡 금산군	Nam-i-myôn 南二面 남이면	Sök-dong-ri 石洞里 석동리	
		Che-wôn-myôn 濟原面 계원면	Sin-an-ri 身安里 신안리	
Chôn-la-buk-do 全羅北道 전라북도	5.1.	Kun-san City 群山市 군산시	So-ryong-dong 小龍洞 소룡동	So-ryong-guk-kyo 小龍國敎 소룡국교
			Sô-su-myôn 瑞穗面 서수면	Chwi-dong-ri 544 鷺東里 취동리 544
				Chwi-dong-ri 鷺東里 취동리

Bu-so-san 扶蘇山부소산	4.19.4.	Sŏ-bok-sa-chi 西陂寺址 서북사지	93.6 ~ 60m	NJ 52-13-18 齊陽 청양 (087)
Bu-so-san 扶蘇山부소산	4.19.5.	Ko-ran-sa 庫蘭寺고란사	~ 50m	NJ 52-13-18 齊陽 청양 (087)
(-)	4.19.6.	ruined temple site 寺址 사지	93.6 ~ 10m	NJ 52-13-18 齊陽 청양 (097)
(-)	4.19.7.	Nŭng-sa-chi 陵寺址 능사지	97.6.3 ~ 15m	NJ 52-13-18 齊陽 청양 (088 / 098)
(-)	4.19.8.	ruined temple site 寺址 사지	~ 20m	NJ 52-13-18 齊陽 청양(088) exact location unclear
(-)	4.19.9.	3-storied stone pagoda 三層石塔 삼층석탑	~ 20m	NJ 52-13-25 韓山 한산 exact location unclear
Dŏ-mu-che 드무계	4.19.10.	Wang-hŭng-sa-chi 王興寺址 왕흥사지	93.6 ~ 20m	NJ 52-13-18 齊陽 청양 (087)
(-)	4.19.11.	ruined temple site 寺址 사지	~ 20m	NJ 52-13-18 齊陽 청양(096) exact location unclear
(-)	4.19.12.	Gŭm-gang-sa-chi 金剛寺址 금강사지	93.6 ~ 20m	NJ 52-13-18 齊陽 청양 (065)
Mu-che-san 武帝山무계산	4.19.13.	Bo-kwang-sa (-chi) 普光寺(址) 보광사(지)	77m	NJ 52-13-25 韓山 한산 (034 / 035)
Sŏng-hŭng-san 聖興山성흥산	4.19.14.	Dæ-cho-sa 大鳥寺대조사	93.6 90m	NJ 52-13-25 韓山 한산 (026 / 027)
Man-su-san 萬壽山만수산	4.19.15.	Mu-ryang-sa 無量寺무량사	94.5.13; 94.6.17. 155m	NJ 52-13-17 大川 대천 (078)
Chŏn-ho-bong 天隱峰천호봉	4.20.1.	Kæ-tæ-sa (-chi) 開泰寺(址) 개태사(지)	93.3 60m (80m)	NJ 52-13-26 論山 논산 (010)
Ban-ya-san 般若山반야산	4.20.2.	Kwan-čhok-sa 灌燭寺관촉사	89.7; 94.5.13. 42m	NJ 52-13-26 論山 논산 (025)
Chak-bong-san 鶻峰山작봉산	4.20.3.	Ssang-kye-sa 雙溪寺쌍계사	93.6.16 140m	NJ 52-13-26 論山 논산 (059 / 069)
Dæ-dun-san 大菴山대둔산	4.20.4.	(Sin-) Ko-un-sa (新)孤雲寺(신) 고운사	~ 270m	NJ 52-13-27 錦山 금산 (043)
Chin-ak-san 進樂山진악산	4.21.1.	Bo-sŏk-sa 寶石寺보석사	94.5.24. 237m	NJ 52-13-27 錦山 금산 (079 / 080 / 089 / 090)
Chŏn-tæ-san 天泰산천태산	4.21.2.	Sin-an-sa 身安寺신안사	94.5.24. ~ 280m	NJ 52-13-28 伊院 이원 (034)
(-)	5.1.1.	Ŭn-čhŏk-sa 隱寂寺은격사	25m	NI 52-1-03 群山 군산 (008 / 018)
Chwi-sŏng-san 鷲城山취성산	5.1.2.	Sang-chu-sa 上住寺상주사	77m	NI 52-1-04 裡里 이리 (005)
Chwi-sŏng-san 鷲城山취성산	5.1.3.	Bo-čhŏn-sa 寶泉寺보천사	75m	NJ 52-13-25 韓山 한산 (095)

Chŏn-la-buk-do 全羅北道 전라북도	5.1.	Kun-san City 群山市 군산시	Na-po-myŏn 羅補面 나포면	Chang-sang-ri 838 將相里 장상리 838
	5.2.	Ok-ku County 沃溝郡 옥구군	Ka-chŏng-myŏn 開井面 개정면	Bal-san-ri 115-ŭi 1 鉢山里 밥산리 115의 1
			Dae-ya-myŏn 大野面 대야면	Chuk-san-ri 竹山里 죽산리
	5.3.	Kim-che County 金堤郡 김계군	Chin-bong-myŏn 進鳳面 진봉면	Sim-po-ri 深補里 심포리
			Gŭm-san-myŏn 金山面 금산면	Gŭm-san-ri 39 金山里 금산리 39
				Chŏng-do-ri 淸道里 청도리
	5.4.	Kim-che City 金堤市 김계시	Hwang-san-dong 鳳山洞 황산동	(-)
	5.5.	I-ri City 裡里市 이리시		
	5.6.	Ik-san County 益山郡 익산군	Ung-po-myŏn 熊補面 응포면	Song-chŏn-ri 5 松川里 송천리 5
			Gŭm-ma-myŏn 金馬面 금마면	Ki-yang-ri 97 箕陽里 기양리 97
			Wang-kung-myŏn 王宮面 왕궁면	Wang-kung-ri 王宮里 왕궁리
				Wang-kung-ri 王宮里 왕궁리
			Sam-ki-myŏn 三箕面 삼기면	Yŏn-dong-ri 蓮洞里 연동리
				Yŏn-dong-ri 2202 蓮洞里 연동리 2202
	Yŏ-san-myŏn 礪山面 여산면	Ho-san-ri 69 壺山里 호산리 69		
	5.7.	Wan-chu County 完州郡 완주군	Kyŏng-chŏn-myŏn 庚川面 경천면	Ka-chŏn-ri 1078 佳川리 가천리 1078
			So-yang-myŏn 所陽面 소양면	Dae-hŭng-ri 21 大興里 대흥리 21
				Song-kwang-ri 松廣里 송광리
Ku-i-myŏn 九耳面 구이면			Wŏn-ki-ri 元基里 원기리	
Un-chu-myŏn 雲洲面 운주면			Wan-chang-ri 26 完昌里 완창리 26	
5.8.	Chŏn-chu City 完州市 완주시	Wan-san-gu 完山區 완산구	Dong-sŏ-hak-dong 東穢鶴洞 동서학동	

Mang-hæ-san 望海山 망해산	5.1.4.	Bul-chi-sa 佛智寺 불지사	110m	NJ 52-13-25 韓山한산 (094 / 095)
(-)	5.2.1.	5-storied stone pagoda 五層石塔 오층석탑	~ 20 (?)	NI 52-1-04 裡里이리 (?)
(-)	5.2.2.	3-storied stone pagoda 三層石塔 삼층석탑	~ 20 (?)	NI 52-1-04 裡里이리 (?)
Chin-bong-san 進鳳山 진봉산	5.3.1.	Mang-hæ-sa 望海寺 망해사	94.11.2. 17m	NI 52-1-03 群山군산 (059)
Mo-ak-san 母岳山 모악산	5.3.2.	Gim-san-sa 金山寺 금산사	92.12.22; 94.9.29. ~ 140m	NI 52-1-12 葛潭갈담 (003 / 013)
Ku-sǒng-san 九城山 구성산	5.3.3.	Guk-sin-sa 國信寺 국신사	94.11.2. ~ 140m	NI 52-1-12 葛潭갈담 (002 / 003)
Hwang-san 鳳山 황산	5.4.1.	Mun-su-sa 文殊寺 문수사	~ 10m	NI 52-1-04 裡里이리 (088)
Il-chi-bong 一時峰 일치봉	5.6.1.	Sung-rim-sa 崇林寺 승림사	93.5.19. 57m	NJ 52-13-25 韓山한산 (067)
Mi-rŭk-san 彌勒山 미륵산	5.6.2.	Mi-rŭk-sa-chi 彌勒寺址 미륵사지	93.5.19.; 93.6. 49m	NJ 52-13-26 論山논산 (092)
(-)	5.6.3.	Kwan-kung-sa-chi 官宮寺址 관궁사지	93.5.19.; 93.6. 20m	NI 52-1-05 全州전주 (013)
(-)	5.6.4.	Che-sŏk-sa-chi 帝釋寺址 계석사지	~ 20m	NI 52-1-05 全州전주 (013)
Tæ-bong-san (?) 胎峰山 태봉산	5.6.5.	Tæ-bong-sa 胎峰寺 태봉사	~ 20m	NJ 52-13-26 論山논산 (081)
(-)	5.6.6.	Sŏk-bul-sa 石佛寺 석불사	~ 20m	NJ 52-13-26 論山논산 (081 / 091)
Chŏn-ho-san 天臺山 천호산	5.6.7.	Mun-su-sa 文殊寺 문수사	~ 200m	NJ 52-13-27 錦山금산 (085)
Si-ru-bong 시루봉	5.7.1.	Hwa-am-sa 花嚴寺 화암사	93.4.21 260m	NJ 52-13-27 錦山금산 (072)
Wi-bong-san 威鳳山 위봉산	5.7.2.	Wi-bong-sa 威鳳寺 위봉사	94.6.21. 323m	NI 52-1-06 颯安진안 (031)
Chong-nam-san 宗南山 증남산	5.7.3.	Song-kwang-sa 松廣寺 승광사	94.6.21. 100m	NI 52-1-05 全州전주 (050)
Mo-ak-san 母岳山 모악산	5.7.4.	Dæ-wŏn-sa 大院寺 대원사	~ 280m	NI 52-1-12 葛潭갈담 (004 / 005)
Dæ-dun-san 大菴山 대둔산	5.7.5.	An-sim-sa 安心寺 안심사	~ 160m	NJ 52-13-27 錦山금산 (052 / 053)
Nam-go-san 南圃山 남고산	5.8.1.	Nam-go-sa 南圃寺 남고사	~ 210m	NI 52-1-05 全州전주 (087)

Chôn-la-buk-do 全羅北道 전라북도	5.9.	Chin-an County 鎮安郡 진안군	Ma-yông-myôn 馬靈面 마영면	Dong-chon-ri 東村里 동촌리
			Chông-ghôn-myôn 程川面 정천면	Kal-ryong-ri 葛籠里 갈룡리
	5.10.	Mu-chu County 茂朱郡 무주군	Chôk-sang-myôn 赤裳面 적상면	Buk-êhang-ri 北倉里 북창리
			Sôi-êhôn-myôn 雷川面 설천면	Sam-kong-ri 107 三公里 삼공리 107
	5.11.	Chang-su County 長水郡 장수군	Chôn-êhôn-myôn 天川面 천천면	Wa-ryong-ri 16 臥龍里 와룡리 16
	5.12.	Im-sil County 任實郡 임실군	Kwan-êhon-myôn 鎭村面 관촌면	Sang-wôi-ri 上月里 상월리
	5.13.	Nam-wôn County 南原郡 남원군	San-næ-myôn 山内面 산내면	Dæ-chông-ri 大井里 대정리
				Ib-sôk-ri 50 立石里 입석리 50
			San-dong-myôn 山東面 산동면	Dæ-sang-ri 大上里 대상리
	5.14.	Nam-wôn City 南原市 남원시	San-gok-dong 山谷洞 산곡동	San-sông-êhon 山城村 산성촌
				Sông-wôn-ko-kyo 성원교교
				Wang-chông-dong 481 王亨洞 왕정동 481
			Do-tong-dong 392-1 道通洞 도통동 392-1	
	5.15.	Sun-êhang County 淳昌郡 순창군	Pal-dôk-myôn 八德面 팔덕면	Chông-kye-ri 淸溪里 청계리
			Sun-êhang-myôn 淳昌面 순창면	Sun-hwa-ri 淳化里 순화리
	5.16.	Chông-úb County 井邑郡 정읍군	So-sông-myôn 所聲面 소성면	Bo-hwa-ri 110 普化里 보화리 110
			Yông-wôn-myôn 永元面 영원면	Ûn-sôn-ri 隱仙里 은선리
			Ko-bu-myôn 古阜面 고부면	Chang-mun-ri 長文里 장문리
5.17.	Chông-chu City 井州市 정주시	Næ-chang-dong 內藏洞 내장동	(-)	
		Mang-che-dong San 10 望帝洞山 망계동 산 10	(-)	
5.18.	Bu-an County 扶安郡 부안군	Sang-sô-myôn 上西面 상서면	Kam-kyo-ri 714 甘橋里 감교리 714	



Ma-i-san 馬耳山 마이산	5.9.1.	Gŭm-dang-sa 金塘寺 금당사	94.6.21. ~ 340m	NI 52-1-06 鎮安 진안 (096 / 097)
Ku-bong-san 九峰山 구봉산	5.9.2.	Chŏn-hwang-sa 天皇寺 천황사	~ 350m	NI 52-1-06 鎮安 진안 (038)
Chŏk-sang-san 赤裳山 적상산	5.10.1.	An-guk-sa 安國寺 안국사	827m	NI 52-1-07 茂朱 무주 (018 / 028)
Dŏk-yu-san 德裕山 덕유산	5.10.2.	Bæk-ryŏn-sa 白蓮寺 백련사	~ 1100m	NI 52-2-01 茂豊 부豊 (051 / 052 / 061 / 062) (?)
Sŏng-su-san 聖壽山 성수산	5.11.1.	Sin-kwang-sa 新光寺 신광사	~ 500m	NI 52-1-13 任實 임실 (030) NI 52-1-14 威陽 함양 (021)
Sa-cha-san 獅子山 사자산	5.12.1.	Sin-hŭng-sa 新興寺 신흥사	~ 450m	NI 52-1-06 鎮安 진안 (091) NI 52-1-13 任實 임실 (001)
Sam-bong-san 三峰山 삼봉산	5.13.1.	Bæk-chang-am 百丈庵 백장암	94.10.25. 570m	NI 52-1-21 雲峰 운봉 (025)
Sam-chŏng-san 삼정산	5.13.2.	Sil-sang-sa 實相寺 실상사	94.10.25. 315m	NI 52-1-21 雲峰 운봉 (036)
Chŏn-hwang-san 天皇寺 천황사	5.13.3.	Kwi-chŏng-sa 歸政寺 귀정사	~ 380m	NI 52-1-13 任實 임실 (099)
Kyo-ryong-san 蛟龍山 교룡산	5.14.1.	Sŏn-guk-sa 善國寺 선국사	295m	NI 52-1-20 南原 남원 (025 / 035)
(-)	5.14.2.	Dæ-bok-sa 大福寺 대복사	~ 130m	NI 52-1-20 南原 남원 (035)
(-)	5.14.3.	Man-bok-sa-chi 萬福寺址 만복사지	93.12.8. ~ 100m	NI 52-1-20 南原 남원 (035)
Man-hæng-san (?) 만형산	5.14.4.	Sŏn-wŏn-sa 禪院寺 선원사		exact location unclear
Kang-chŏn-san 剛泉山 강천산	5.15.1.	Kang-chŏn-sa 剛泉寺 강천사	93.12.8. ~ 200m	NI 52-1-19 淳昌 순창 (043)
(-)	5.15.2.	3-storied pagoda 三層石塔 삼층석탑	~ 110m	NI 52-1-19 淳昌 순창 (?)
(-)	5.16.1.	stone Buddha images 石佛立像 석불입상	~ 20m	NI 52-1-11 井邑 정읍 (072) (?)
Chŏn-tæ-san 天台山 천태산	5.16.2.	3-storied pagoda 三層石塔 삼층석탑	~ 140m	NI 52-1-11 井邑 정읍 (?)
(-)	5.16.3.	5-storied pagoda 五層石塔 오층석탑	~ 40m	NI 52-1-11 井邑 정읍 (?)
Næ-chang-san 內藏寺 내장사	5.17.1.	Næ-chang-sa 內藏寺 내장사	88.10; 94.11.2. 205m	NI 52-1-18 潭陽 담양 (007)
Dong-so-san 東所山 동소산	5.17.2.	Chŏn-gok-sa-chi 泉谷寺址 천곡사지	~ 40m	NI 52-1-11 井邑 정읍 (?)
(-)	5.18.1.	Kæ-am-sa 開岩寺 개암사	92.12.13; 94.11.2; 95.4.23. / 80m	NI 52-1-10 扶安 부안 (036 / 037)

Chŏn-la-buk-do 全羅北道 전라북도	5.18.	Bu-an County 扶安郡 부안군	Chin-sŏ-myŏn 鎭西面 진서면	Sŏk-po-ri 268 石浦里 석포리 268
	5.19.	Ko-chang County 高敞郡 고창군	A-san-myŏn 雅山面 아산면	Sam-in-ri 500 三仁里 삼인리 500
			Ko-su-myŏn 古水面 고수면	Ūn-sa-ri 隱士里 은사리
Kwang-chu Metropolis 光州廣城市 광주광역시	6.1.	Dong-gu 東區 동구	Un-rim-dong 56 雲林洞 은림동 56	Sin-rim 신림
			Chung-hyo-dong 忠孝洞 충효동	(-)
Chŏn-la-nam-do 全羅南道 전라남도	6.2.	Yŏng-kwang County 靈光郡 영광군	Bul-kab-myŏn 佛甲面 불갑면	Mo-ak-ri 8 母岳里 모악리 8
	6.3.	Ham-pyŏng County 咸平郡 함평군		
	6.4.	Chang-sŏng County 長城郡 장성군	Buk-ha-myŏn 北下面 북하면	Yak-su-ri 26 藥水里 약수리 26
			Sam-kye-myŏn 森溪面 삼계면	Nŏ-kye-ri 51 內溪里 내계리 51
	6.5.	Dam-yang County 潭陽郡 담양군	Nam-myŏn 南面 남면	Hak-sŏn-ri 593 鶴仙里 학선리 593
			Dam-yang-lŭb 潭陽邑 담양읍	Ūb-nŏ-ri 邑內里 읍내리
			Gŭm-sŏng-myŏn 金城面 금성면	Gŭm-sŏng-san-sŏng 金城山城 금성산성
	6.6.	Gok-sŏng County 谷城郡 곡성군	O-san-myŏn 梧山面 오산면	Sŏn-se-ri 善世里 선세리
				Ka-gok-ri 柯谷里 가곡리
			Gok-sŏng-lŭb 谷城邑 곡성읍	Wŏl-bong-ri 月峰里 월봉리
Chuk-gok-myŏn 竹谷面 죽곡면			Wŏn-dal-ri 20 元達里 원달리 20	
6.7.	Ku-rye County 求禮郡 구례군	Ma-san-myŏn 馬山面 마산면	Hwang-chŏn-ri 12 黃田里 황전리 12	
			Hwang-chŏn-ri 黃田里 황전리	
		Kwang-lŭ-myŏn 光義面 광의면	Bang-kwang-ri 放光里 방광리	

Se-bong 細峰 세봉	5.18.2.	Næ-so-sa 來蘇寺 내소사	92.12.13; 94.11.1; 95.4.23. / 52m	NI 52-1-10 扶安 부안 (054)
Kyōng-su-san 鏡水山 경수산	5.19.1.	Sōn-un-sa 禪雲寺 선운사	92.12.13; 94.11.1. 25m	NI 52-1-17 高敞 고창 (004)
Kæ-i-bbal-san 개이발산	5.19.2.	Ĉham-dang-am 愷堂庵 참당암	94.11.1. ~ 135m	NI 52-1-17 高敞 고창 (003)
Mun-su-san 文殊山 문수사	5.19.3.	Mun-su-sa 文殊寺 문수사	335m	NI 52-1-17 高敞 고창 (050)
Chang-gun-bong 將軍峰 장군봉	6.1.1.	Chūng-sim-sa 證心寺 증심사	242m	NI 52-1-25 光州 광주 (049 / 050 / 059 / 060)
(-)	6.1.2.	Wōn-hyo-sa 元曉寺 원효사	~ 380m	NI 52-1-25 光州 광주 (050)
Bul-kab-san 佛甲山 불갑산	6.2.1.	Bul-kab-sa 佛甲寺 불갑사	94.3.3. 82m	NI 52-1-24 羅州 나주 (012 / 013 / 022 / 023)
Bæk-hak-bong 白鶴山 백학산	6.4.1.	Bæk-yang-sa 白羊寺 백양사	93.12.8; 94.11.2. 150m	NI 52-1-18 潭陽 담양 (026)
(-)	6.4.2.	5-storied stone pagoda 五層石塔 오층석탑	~ 70m	NI 52-1-18 潭陽 담양 (?) NI 52-1-19 淳昌 순창 (?)
Dōk-bong-san 德峰山 덕봉산	6.5.1.	Kæ-sōn-sa-chi 開仙寺址 개선사지	~ 100m	NI 52-1-25 光州 광주 (030)
(-)	6.5.2.	5-storied stone pagoda 五層石塔 오층석탑	~ 80m	NI 52-1-17 高敞 고창 (?) NI 52-1-24 羅州 나주 (?)
San-sōng-san 山城山 산성산	6.5.3.	Yōn-dong-sa-chi 櫻洞寺址 연동사지	~ 400m (?)	NI 52-1-19 淳昌 순창 (?)
Kōm-chang-san 劔藏山 검장산	6.6.1.	Kwan-ūm-sa 觀音寺 관음사	93.12.7; 94.9.27. 253m	NI 52-1-26 彌山 득산 (017)
O-chi-bong 梧枝峰 오지봉	6.6.2.	5-storied stone pagoda 五層石塔 오층석탑	(?)	NI 52-1-19 淳昌 순창 (?) NI 52-1-26 彌山 득산 (?)
Hyōng-che-bong 兄弟峰 형제봉	6.6.3.	Do-rim-sa 道林寺 도림사	93.12.8. 290m	NI 52-1-20 南原 남원 (091)
Bong-du-san 鳳頭山 봉두산	6.6.4.	Tæ-an-sa 泰安寺 태안사	93.12.7. 272m	NI 52-1-27 求禮 구례 (046)
No-ko-dan 老姑壇 노고단	6.7.1.	Hwa-ōm-sa 華嚴寺 화엄사	89.8; 94.4.13. 255m	NI 52-1-21 雲峰 운봉 (091) NI 52-1-20 南原 남원 (100) NI 52-1-27 求禮 구례 (010) NI 52-1-28 河東 하동 (001)
No-ko-dan 老姑壇 노고단	6.7.2.	Ku-čhūng-am 九層庵 구층암	94.4.13. 295m	NI 52-1-21 雲峰 운봉 (091) NI 52-1-20 南原 남원 (100)
Yang-mi-bong 良美峰 양미봉	6.7.3.	Čhōn-ūn-sa 泉隱寺 천은사	94.4.13. 210m	NI 52-1-20 南原 남원 (100)

Chŏn-la-nam-do 全羅南道 전라남도	6.7.	Ku-rye County 求禮郡 구례군	To-chi-myŏn 土旨面 토지면	Næ-dong-ri 1072 內東里 내동리 1072
	6.8.	Sŭng-chu County 昇州郡 승주군	Song-kwang-myŏn 松光面 승광면	Sin-pyŏng-ri 12 新坪里 신평리 12
			Sŭng-chu-ŭb 昇州郡 승주군	Chuk-hak-ri 竹鶴里 죽학리
			Sŏ-myŏn 西面 서면	Chŏng-so-ri 淸所里 청소리
			Byŏl-yang-myŏn 別良面 별양면	Dæ-ryong-ri 282 大龍里 대룡리 282
	6.9.	Hwa-sun County 和順郡 화순군	Nam-myŏn 南面 남면	Yu-ma-ri 維摩里 유마리
			l-yang-myŏn 梨陽面 이양면	Chŭng-ri 741 鍾里 증리 741
			Do-am-myŏn 道岩面 도암면	Dæ-cho-ri 20 大草里 대초리 20
			Chun-yang-myŏn 春陽面 춘양면	Ka-dong-ri 可東리 가동리
	6.10.	Na-chu County 羅州郡 나주군	Da-do-myŏn 茶道면 다도면	Ma-san-ri 999 馬山里 마산리 999
			(?)	(?)
			Se-chi-myŏn 細枝面 세지면	Song-che-ri 松提里 승계리
	6.11.	Na-chu City 羅州市 나주시	Kyŏng-hyŏn-dong 景賢洞 경현동	Chin-dong 진동
	6.12.	Yŏng-am County 靈巖郡 영암군	Gun-sŏ-myŏn 郡西面 군서면	Do-kab-ri San 8 道岬里 산도감리 산 8
			Yŏng-am-ŭb 靈巖郡 영암읍	Yong-hŭng-ri 533-1 龍興里 용흥리 533-1
	6.13.	Mu-an County 務安郡 무안군	Mong-tan-myŏn 夢灘面 봉탄면	Dal-san-ri 達山里 달산리
6.14.	Mok-po City 木浦市 목포시			
6.15.	Sin-an County 新安郡 신안군			
6.16.	Chin-do County 珍島郡 진도군	Ŭi-sin-myŏn 義新面 의신면	Sa-chŏn-ri 斜川里 사천리	
		Gun-næ-myŏn 郡內面 군내면	Dun-chŏn-ri 94-1 屯田里 둔전리 94-1	

Tong-gkok-bong 통곡봉	6.7.4.	Yŏn-gok-sa (-chi) 鶯谷寺(址) 연곡사(지)	94.4.13. 295m	NI 52-1-28 河東하동 (004) NI 52-1-21 雲峰운봉 (094)
Cho-kye-san 曹溪山조계산	6.8.1.	Song-kwang-sa 松廣寺승광사	89.8; 93.2.10; 94.10.25.- 26. 215m	NI 52-6-02 順天순천 (001 / 002) NI 52-1-27 求禮구례 (091 / 092)
Cho-kye-san 曹溪山조계산	6.8.2.	Sŏn-am-sa 仙巖寺선암사	94.10.26. 237m	NI 52-6-02 順天순천 (004)
Kye-chok-san 鷄足山계족산	6.8.3.	Chŏng-hye-sa 定慧寺정혜사	~ 310m	NI 52-1-28 河東하동 (071)
Che-sŏk-san 帝釋山계석산	6.8.4.	Dong-hwa-sa 桐華寺동화사	197m	NI 52-6-02 順天순천 (056)
Mo-hu-san 母后山모후산	6.9.1.	Yu-ma-sa (-chi) 維摩寺(址)유마사(지)	~ 300m	NI 52-1-26 彌山독산 (097 / 098)
(-)	6.9.2.	Ssang-bong-sa 雙峰寺쌍봉사	94.3.2; 94.9.27. 178m	NI 52-6-01 福內복내 (043)
(-)	6.9.3.	Un-chu-sa-chi 雲住寺址운주사지	94.3.2. 90m	NI 52-5-08 淸豊淸豊 (036)
Kæ-čhŏn-san 開天山개천산	6.9.4.	Kæ-čhŏn-sa 開天寺개천사	~ 200m	NI 52-5-08 淸豊淸豊 (037)
(-)	6.10.1.	Bul-hwæ-sa 佛會寺불회사	94.3.2. 153m	NI 52-5-08 淸豊淸豊 (033 / 034)
Ssang-kye-san (?) 雙溪山쌍계산	6.10.2.	Ssang-kye-sa-chi 雙溪寺址쌍계사지	(?)	exact location unclear
(-)	6.10.3.	5-storied stone pagoda 五層石塔오층석탑	~ 20m (?)	NI 52-5-07 靈巖영암 (?) NI 52-5-08 淸豊淸豊 (?)
Gŭm-sŏng-san 錦城山금성산	6.11.1.	Da-bo-sa 多寶寺다보사	94.3.3. 180m	NI 52-1-24 羅州나주 (088 / 089)
Do-kab-san 道岬山도감산	6.12.1.	Do-kab-sa 道岬寺도감사	94.9.29. ~ 100m	NI 52-5-07 靈巖영암(097) NI 52-5-15 海南해남(007)
Wŏl-čhui-san 月出山월출산	6.12.2.	Sŏng-pung-sa-chi 聖風寺址성풍사지	(?)	NI 52-5-07 靈巖영암 (?) NI 52-5-15 海南해남 (?)
Sŏng-dal-san 僧達山승달산	6.13.1.	Bŏb-čhŏn-sa 法泉寺법천사	~ 200m	NI 52-5-06 木浦목포 (039)
Chŏm-čhal-san 尖峯山첨찰산	6.16.1.	Ssang-kye-sa 雙溪寺쌍계사	~ 100m (?)	NI 52-5-22 珍島진도 (013)
Gŭm-kol-san 金骨山금골산	6.16.2.	5-storied stone pagoda 五層石塔오층석탑	~ 80m (?)	NI 52-5-14 花原화원 (?)

Chŏn-la-nam-do 全羅南道 전라남도	6.17.	Hæ-nam County 海南郡 해남군	Sam-san-myŏn 三山面 삼산면	Ku-rim-ri 799 九林里 구림리 799
			Song-chi-myŏn 松旨面 승지면	Sŏ-chŏng-ri 247 西亭里 서정리 247
			Ma-san-myŏn 馬山面 마산면	Chang-ŕhon-ri 45 長村里 장촌리 45
	6.18.	Wan-do County 莞島郡 완도군		
	6.19.	Kang-chin County 康津郡 강진군	Sŏng-chŏn-myŏn 城田面 성전면	Wŏl-ha-ri 1174 月下里 월하리 1174
				Wŏl-nam-ri 854 月南里 월남리 854
			Gun-dong-myŏn 郡東面 군동면	Pa-san-ri 143-1 陂山里 파산리 143-1
			Do-am-myŏn 道岩面 도암면	Man-dŏk-ri 萬德里 만덕리
			Dæ-gu-myŏn 大口面 대구면	Yong-un-ri 龍雲里 용운리
	6.20.	Chang-hŭng County 長興郡 장흥군	Yu-ŕhi-myŏn 有治面 유치면	Bong-dŏk-ri 45 鳳德里 봉덕리 45
			Chang-dong-myŏn 長東面 장동면	Buk-kyo-ri San 43 北橋里山 북교리 산 43
			Kwan-san-ŭb 冠山邑 관산읍	Nong-an-ri 農安里 농안리
	6.21.	Bo-sŏng County 寶城郡 보성군	Mun-dŏk-myŏn 文德面 문덕면	Chuk-san-ri 竹山里 죽산리
			Cho-sŏng-myŏn 鳥城面 조성면	U-ŕhŏn-ri 牛川里 우천리
			Bok-næ-myŏn 福內面 복내면	Kye-san-ri 桂山里 계산리
				Bong-ŕhŏn-ri 鳳川里 봉천리
			No-dong-myŏn 蘆洞面 노동면	Ok-ma-ri 玉馬里 옥마리
	6.22.	Ko-hŭng County 高興郡 고흥군	Po-ŕu-myŏn 浦頭面 포두면	Bong-rim-ri 鳳林里 봉림리
			Du-wŏn-myŏn 豆原面 두원면	Un-dæ-ri San 47 雲岱里山 온대리 산 47
			Do-am-myŏn 道岩面 도암면	Man-dŏk-ri 萬德里 만덕리
	6.23.	Yŏ-ŕhŏn County 麗川郡 여천군	Dol-san-ŭb 突山邑 돌산읍	Gun-næ-ri 4 郡內里 군내리 4

Du-ryun-san 頭輪山 두륜산	6.17.1.	Dæ-hŭng-sa 大興寺 대흥사	94.9.28. 125m	NI 52-5-23 莞島 완도 (005 / 015)
Dal-ma-san 達馬山 달마산	6.17.2.	Mi-hwang-sa 美黃寺 미황사	94.9.28. 203m	NI 52-5-23 莞島 완도 (044)
Gŭm-gang-san 金剛山 금강산	6.17.3.	Ŭn-chŏk-sa 隱跡寺 은적사	~ 180m	NI 52-5-15 海南 해남 (065)
Do-kab-san 道岬山 도갑산	6.19.1.	Mu-wi-sa 無爲寺 무위사	94.9.29. 150m	NI 52-5-15 海南 해남 (008)
Wŏl-chui-san 月出山 월출산	6.19.2.	Wŏl-nam-sa-chi 月南寺址 월남사지	94.9.29. ~130m	NI 52-5-15 海南 해남 (009)
San-tæ-bong 山泰峰 산태봉	6.19.3.	Gŭm-gok-sa 金谷寺 금곡사	150m	NI 52-5-16 長興 장흥 (032)
Man-dŏk-san 萬德山 만덕산	6.19.4.	Bæk-ryŏn-sa 白蓮寺 백련사	94.9.28. 142m	NI 52-5-15 海南 해남 (070) NI 52-5-16 長興 장흥 (061)
Chŏn-tæ-san 天台山 천태산	6.19.5.	Chŏng-su-sa 淨水寺 정수사	~100m	NI 52-5-16 長興 장흥 (084)
Ka-chi-san 迦智山 가지산	6.20.1.	Bo-rim-sa 寶林寺 보림사	94.9.27. ~ 100m	NI 52-5-08 淸豐 청풍 (076 / 077)
(?)	6.20.2.	Yong-hwa-sa 龍華寺 응화사	(?)	NI 52-6-01 福內 북내 (091) (?)
Chŏn-kwan-san 天冠山 천관산	6.20.3.	Chŏn-kwan-sa 天冠寺 천관사	~ 220m	NI 52-5-16 長興 장흥 (087)
Gka-chi-bong 가치봉	6.21.1.	Dæ-wŏn-sa 大原寺 대원사	~ 240m	NI 52-6-01 福內 북내 (016)
Chu-wŏl-san 舟越山 주월산	6.21.2.	3-storied stone pagoda 三層石塔 삼층석탑	~ 20m	NI 52-6-01 福內 북내 (090) (?)
(?)	6.21.3.	3-storied stone pagoda 三層石塔 삼층석탑	(?)	NI 52-6-01 福內 북내 (?)
(?)	6.21.4.	5-storied stone pagoda 五層石塔 오층석탑	(?)	NI 52-6-01 福內 북내 (?)
(?)	6.21.5.	5-storied stone pagoda 五層石塔 오층석탑	(?)	NI 52-6-01 福內 북내 (?)
Chŏn-dŭng-san 天童山 천등산	6.22.1.	Gŭm-tab-sa 金塔寺 금탑사	227m	NI 52-6-09 高興 고흥 (082)
Un-nam-san 雲嵐山 운남산	6.22.2.	Su-do-am 修道庵 수도암	~ 23m	NI 52-6-09 高興 고흥 (054)
Pal-yŏng-san 八影山 팔영산	6.22.3.	Nŭng-ga-sa 楞伽寺 능가사	~ 50m	NI 52-6-09 高興 고흥 (047)
Chŏn-wang-san 天王山 천왕산	6.23.1.	Ŭn-chŏk-am 隱寂庵 은적암	~ 80m	NI 52-6-10 麗水 여수 (060) (?)

Chôn-la-nam-do 全羅南道 전라남도	6.24.	Sun-ehôn City 順天市 순천시	Sôk-hyôn-dong 石峴洞 석현동	Sam-san-dong 230 三山洞 삼산동 230
	6.25.	Kwang-yang County 光陽郡 광양군		
	6.26.	Dong-kwang-yang City 東光陽市 동광양시		
	6.27.	Yô-ehôn City 麗天市 여천시	Chung-hông-dong 17 中興洞 중흥동 17	(-)
	6.28.	Yô-su City 麗水市 여수시		
Dæ-gu Metropolis 大邱廣域市 대구광역시	7.1.	Dong-gu 東區 동구	Kong-san-il-dong 公山一洞 공산일동	Sin-ryong-dong 新龍洞 신룡동
				Do-hak-dong 35 道鶴洞 도학동 35
				Sin-mu-dong 新武洞 신무동
				Do-hak-dong 620 道鶴洞 도학동 620
		Do-dong 道洞 도동	(-)	
Kyông-sang-buk-do 慶尙北道 경상북도	7.2.	Sang-chu County 尙州郡 상주군	Næ-sô-myôn 內西面 내서면	Buk-chang-ri San 35 北長里山 북장리 산 35
			Ūn-ehôk-myôn 銀尺面 은척면	Hwang-ryông-ri 38 黃嶺里 황령리 38
			Ham-ehang-üb 咸昌邑 함창읍	Chûng-ehon-ri 258-2 曾村里 중촌리 258-2
				O-dong 550 梧桐오동 550
			Hwa-sô-myôn 化西面 화서면	Ha-song-ri 310-2 下松里 하승리 310-2
			Mo-sô-myôn 牟西面 모서면	Hwa-hyôn-ri San 63-1 花峴里山 화현리 산 63-1
		Wæ-nam-myôn 外南面 외남면	Sang-byông-ri 上丙里 상병리	
	7.3.	Sang-chu City 尙州市 상주시	Nam-chang-dong 502 南長洞 남장동 502	Chæ-sil-ddüm 재신읍
			Chi-ehôn-dong San 5 智川洞山 지천동 산 5	Chil-gu-næ 질구내
			Hwa-kæ-dong 花開洞 화개동	Sô-gok-dong 227-3 壽谷洞 서곡동 227-3
			Chi-ehôn-dong 713 智川洞 지천동 713	(-)



Bi-bong-san 飛鳳山비봉산	6.24.1.	Hyang-rim-sa 香林寺향림사	~ 40m (?)	NI 52-6-02 順天순천 (020) (?)
Yŏng-ŏhwi-san 靈鷲山영취산	6.27.1.	Hŭng-guk-sa 興國寺흥국사	95.5.16. 57m	NI 52-6-03 光陽광양 (078 / 079)
Pa-kyŏ-chæ 파거재	7.1.1.	Pa-kye-sa 把溪寺파계사	94.3.29. 488m	NI 52-2-04 大邱대구 (006) NJ 52-14-25 軍威군위 (096)
Pal-kong-san 八公山팔공산	7.1.2.	Dong-hwa-sa 桐華寺동화사	94.3.29. 495m	NI 52-2-04 大邱대구 (009)
Pal-kong-san 八公山팔공산	7.1.3.	Bu-in-sa 符仁寺부인사	447m	NI 52-2-04 大邱대구 (007 / 008)
No-chok-san 老足峰노족봉	7.1.4.	Buk-chi-chang-sa 北地藏寺북지장사	94.3.29. 400m	NI 52-2-04 大邱대구 (009 / 019)
Yong-am-san 龍岩山용암산	7.1.5.	Kwan-lm-am 觀音庵관음암	~ 90m	NI 52-2-04 大邱대구 (037 / 038)
No-lm-san 露陰山노음산	7.2.1.	Buk-chang-sa 北長寺북장사	208m	NJ 52-14-16 尙州상주 (024)
Ĉhil-bong-san 七峰山칠봉산	7.2.2.	Hwang-ryŏng-sa 黃嶺寺황령사	~ 100m (?)	NJ 52-14-09 店村정촌 (082 / 083) (?)
(-)	7.2.3.	Yong-hwa-sa 龍華寺용화사	~ 70m	NJ 52-14-09 店村정촌 (077 / 078) (?)
(-)	7.2.4.	Kwan-lm-sa 觀音寺관음사	~ 100m (?)	NJ 52-14-09 店村정촌 (?)
(?)	7.2.5.	Ĉhŏng-kye-sa 淸溪寺청계사	~ 320m	NJ 52-14-15 官基관기 (009 / 010) (?)
Pal-lm-san 八音山팔음산	7.2.6.	Ĉŭk-rak-am 極樂寺극락사	~ 440m (?)	NJ 52-14-15 官基관기 (?)
(?)	7.2.7.	brick-like stone pagoda 模磚石塔 모전석탑	(?)	NJ 52-14-16 尙州상주 precise location unclear
No-lm-san 露陰山노음산	7.3.1.	Nam-chang-sa 南長寺남장사	94.11.9. 187m	NJ 52-14-16 尙州상주 (025)
Kab-chang-san 甲帳山갑장산	7.3.2.	Kab-chang-sa 甲帳寺갑장사	~ 690m	NJ 52-14-16 尙州상주 (068)
(-)	7.3.3.	Dong-hæ-sa 東海寺동해사	~ 320m	NJ 52-14-16 尙州상주 (038)
Kab-chang-san 甲帳山갑장산	7.3.4.	Yong-hŭng-sa 龍興寺용흥사	~ 260m	NJ 52-14-16 尙州상주 (067 / 068)

Kyōng-sang-buk-do 慶尙北道 경상북도	7.3.	Sang-chu City 尙州市 상주시	Sō-sōng-dong 63 西城洞 서성동 63	(-)
	7.4.	Chōm-chon City 店村市 경춘시	Bul-chōng-dong 佛井洞 불정동	An-bul-chōng 안불정
	7.5.	Mun-kyōng County 聞慶郡 문경군	Ka-īm-ūb 加恩邑 가은읍	Wōn-buk-ri 485 院北里 원북리 485
			San-buk-myōn 山北面 산북면	Chōn-du-ri 8 田頭里 전두리 8
				Kim-ryōng-ri 金龍里 김룡리
				Kim-ryōng-ri 金龍里 김룡리
			Nong-am-myōn 籠岩面 능암면	Nā-so-ri 內西里 내서리
			Nā-so-ri 內西里 내서리	
			Mun-kyōng-ūb 聞慶郡 문경읍	Sang-cho-ri 上草里 상초리
	7.6.	Ye-chōn County 醴泉郡 예천군	Sang-ri-myōn 上里面 상리면	Myōng-bong-ri 鳴鳳里 명봉리
			Yong-mun-myōn 龍門面 용문면	Nā-chi-ri 391 內地里 내지리 391
			Ye-chōn-ūb 醴泉郡 예천읍	Nam-bon-ri 南本里 남본리
				Dā-sim-dong San 13 大心洞山 대심동 산 13
				Dong-bon-dong 東本洞 동본동
			Bo-mun-myōn 普門面 보문면	Su-kye-ri 158 首溪里 수계리 158
			Kam-chōn-myōn 甘泉面 감천면	Chūng-kō-dong 184 增巨洞 증거동 184
	Yong-kung-myōn 龍宮面 용궁면	Hyang-sōk-ri San 54 鄉石里山 향석리 산 54		
	7.7.	Ūi-sōng County 義城郡 의성군	Da-in-myōn 多仁面 다인면	Bong-chōng-ri 鳳井里 봉정리
			Dan-chon-myōn 丹村面 단촌면	Ku-kye-ri 116 龜溪里 구계리 116
				Kwan-dōk-dong 觀德洞 관덕동
		Chun-san-myōn 春山面 춘산면	Bing-kye-ri 氷溪里 빙계리	

(-)	7.3.5.	Sang-chu-po-kyo-dang 尙州布教堂 상주포교당	~ 70m	NJ 52-14-16 尙州 상주 precise location unclear
Su-chông-bong 水晶峰 수정봉	7.4.1.	Un-am-sa 雲巖寺 운암사	~ 300m	NJ 52-14-09 店村 정촌 (056)
Hí-yang-san 驪陽山 희양산	7.5.1.	Bong-am-sa 鳳巖寺 봉암사	94.11.10. 263m	NJ 52-14-09 店村 정촌 (011 / 021)
Kong-dök-san 功德山 공덕산	7.5.2.	Dæ-süng-sa 大乘寺 대승사	94.11.9. 535m	NJ 52-14-10 醴泉 예천 (001 / 002)
Un-dal-san 雲達山 운달산	7.5.3.	Kim-ryong-sa 金龍寺 김룡사	94.11.9. 301m	NJ 52-14-09 店村 정촌 (009 / 010)
Un-dal-san 雲達山 운달산	7.5.4.	Güm-sôn-dæ 金仙臺 금선대	720m	NJ 52-14-09 店村 정촌 (009)
Chông-hwa-san 靑華山 청화산	7.5.5.	Wôn-chök-sa 圓寂寺 원적사	~ 650m	NJ 52-14-08 俗離 숙리 (068)
Do-chang-san 道藏山 도장산	7.5.6.	Sim-wôn-sa 深源寺 심원사	~ 400m	NJ 52-14-08 俗離 숙리 (079) (?)
Chu-hül-san 主屹山 주흠산	7.5.7.	Hye-guk-sa 惠國寺 혜국사	~ 500m	NJ 52-14-02 德山 덕산 (084 / 094)
(-)	7.6.1.	Myông-bong-sa 鳴鳳寺 명봉사	~490m	NJ 52-14-03 丹陽 단양 (085 / 095)
Mæ-bong 매봉	7.6.2.	Yong-mun-sa 龍門寺 용문사	93.10.5 387m	NJ 52-14-10 醴泉 예천 (005 / 006 / 015 / 016)
(-)	7.6.3.	Kæ-sim-sa-chi 開心寺址 개심사지	93.10.5 83m	NJ 52-14-10 醴泉 예천 (049)
Bæk-ma-san 白馬山 백마산	7.6.4.	Sö-ak-sa 西岳寺 서악사	~ 280m (?)	NJ 52-14-10 醴泉 예천 (038) (?)
(-)	7.6.5.	3-storied stone pagoda 三層石塔 삼층석탑	~ 80m	NJ 52-14-10 醴泉 예천 (049 / 050)
Bo-mun-san 普門山 보문산	7.6.6.	Bo-mun-sa 普門寺 보문사	~300m	NJ 52-14-11 安東 안동 (033)
Chu-ma-san 走馬山 주마산	7.6.7.	Han-chôn-sa 寒天寺 한천사	~ 200m	NJ 52-14-11 安東 안동 (001) (?)
(-)	7.6.8.	Chang-an-sa 長安寺 장안사	~ 160m (?)	NJ 52-14-10 醴泉 예천 (?)
Bi-bong-san 飛鳳山 비봉산	7.7.1.	Dæ-gok-sa 大谷寺 대곡사	117m	NJ 52-14-17 安溪 안계 (006)
(-)	7.7.2.	Ko-un-sa 孤雲寺 고운사	95.5.12. 249m	NJ 52-14-18 義城 의성 (020) NJ 52-14-19 吉安 길안 (011)
(-)	7.7.3.	3-storied stone pagoda 三層石塔 삼층석탑	95.5.12. ~ 200m (?)	NJ 52-14-18 義城 의성 (029) (?)
(Buk-du-san) (北斗山 북두산)	7.7.4.	Bing-san-sa-chi 氷山寺址 빙산사지	~150m	NJ 52-14-26 華北 화북 (001)

Kyông-sang-buk-do 慶尙北道 경상북도	7.7.	Ŭi-sông County 義城郡의성군	Gŭm-sông-myôn 金城面금성면	Tab-ri-ri 塔里里 탑리리
	7.8.	An-dong County 安東郡안동군	Sŏ-hu-myôn 西後面서후면	Tæ-chang-ri 901 台庄里태장리 901
				Tæ-chang-ri 台庄里태장리
			Il-chik-myôn 一直面일직면	Cho-tab-ri 造塔里조탑리
			Pung-čhôn-myôn 豊川面풍천면	Gŭm-kye-dong 錦溪洞금계동
			Buk-hu-myôn 北後面북후면	Chang-ki-dong 場基洞장기동
			Kil-an-myôn 吉安面김안면	Dæ-sa-dong 大寺洞대사동
			Gŭm-gok-ri 83 金谷里금곡리 83	
	7.9.	An-dong City 安東市안동시	Tæ-hwa-dong 太華洞태화동	(-)
			Sin-se-dong 新世洞신세동	Bŏb-hŭng-dong 法興洞법흥동
			Dong-bu-dong 東部洞동부동	(-)
			Ok-dong 玉洞옥동	Pyông-hwa-dong (?) 平和洞평화동
	7.10.	Yông-pung County 榮興郡영흥군	Pung-gi-ŭb 豊基邑풍기읍	Su-čhŏl-ri 水鏡里수철리
				Sam-ga-ri 391 三街里삼가리 391
			Bu-sŏk-myôn 浮石面부석면	Buk-chi-ri 148 北枝里북지리 148
Sun-hŭng-myôn 順興面순흥면			Dŏk-hyôn-ri 277 德峴里덕현리 277	
		Næ-chuk-ri 內竹里내죽리		
7.11.	Yông-chu City 榮州市영주시			
7.12.	Bong-hwa County 奉化郡봉화군	Čhun-yang-myôn 春陽面춘양면	Sŏk-hyôn-ri 石峴里석현리	
		Bong-hwa-ŭb 奉化邑봉화읍	Sam-kye-ri 三溪里삼계리	
		Myông-ho-myôn 明湖面명호면	Buk-gok-ri 北谷里북곡리	

Gŭm-sŏng-san 金城山 금성산	7.7.5.	5-storied stone pagoda 五層石塔 오층석탑	95.5.12. ~ 120m (?)	NJ 52-14-18 義城 의성 (099) (?)
Chŏn-dŭng-san 天燈山 천등산	7.8.1.	Bong-chŏng-sa 鳳停寺 봉정사	93.10.7 292m	NJ 52-14-11 安東 안동 (037 / 047)
Chŏn-dŭng-san 天燈山 천등산	7.8.2.	Kæ-mok-sa 開目寺 개목사	93.10.7 425m	NJ 52-14-11 安東 안동 (037)
(-)	7.8.3.	5-storied brick pagoda 五層磚塔 오층전탑	95.5.12. ~ 100m	NJ 52-14-18 義城 의성 (004) (?)
(?)	7.8.4.	Hwa-in-sa-chi 化人寺址 화인사지	~ 120m (?)	NJ 52-14-11 安東 안동 precise location unclear
(?)	7.8.5.	brick pagoda 磚塔 전탑	~ 320m (?)	NJ 52-14-11 安東 안동 precise location unclear
Hwa-bu-san 花釜山 화부산	7.8.6.	brick-like stone pagoda 模磚石塔 모전석탑	~ 200m (?)	NJ 52-14-19 吉安 길안 (?)
Im-bong-san 임봉산	7.8.7.	Yong-dam-sa 龍潭寺 용담사	~ 210m (?)	NJ 52-14-19 吉安 길안 (?)
Sŏ-ak-san 西岳山 서악산	7.9.1.	Un-dæ-sa 雲臺寺 운대사	~ 120m	NJ 52-14-11 安東 안동 (079)
(-)	7.9.2.	Bŏb-hŭng-sa-chi 法興寺址 법흥사지	95.5.11. ~ 90m	NJ 52-14-11 安東 안동 (080) NJ 52-14-12 醴安 예안 (071)
(-)	7.9.3.	Bŏb-rim-sa-chi 法林寺址 법림사지	~ 100m	NJ 52-14-11 安東 안동 (080) (?)
(-)	7.9.4.	3-storied stone pagoda 三層石塔 삼층석탑	~ 100m	NJ 52-14-11 安東 안동 (?)
Yŏn-hwa-bong 蓮花峰 연화봉	7.10.1.	Hŭi-bang-sa 喜方寺 희방사	760m	NJ 52-14-03 丹陽 단양 (039)
So-bæk-san 小白山 소백산	7.10.2.	Bi-ro-sa 毘盧寺 비로사	~ 635m	NJ 52-14-04 榮州 영주 (021) NJ 52-14-03 丹陽 단양 (030)
Bong-hwang-san 鳳凰山 봉황산	7.10.3.	Bu-sŏk-sa 浮石寺 부석사	93.10.6 484m	NJ 52-10-25 醴安 예미 (098) NJ 52-14-04 榮州 영주 (008)
So-bæk-san 小白山 소백산	7.10.4.	Sŏng-hyŏl-sa 聖穴寺 성혈사	~ 600m	NJ 52-14-04 榮州 영주 (012 / 013 / 022 / 023)
(-)	7.10.5.	Suk-su-sa-chi 宿水寺址 숙수사지	~ 240m (?)	NJ 52-14-04 榮州 영주 (?)
Gak-hwa-san 覺華山 각화산	7.12.1.	Gak-hwa-sa 覺華寺 각화사	~ 660m	NJ 52-14-05 春陽 춘양 (007)
Ok-chŏk-bong 玉笛峰 옥적봉	7.12.2.	Chung-dæ-sa 中臺寺 중대사	~ 200m	NJ 52-14-04 榮州 영주 (050)
Chŏng-ryang-san 淸涼山 청량산	7.12.3.	Chŏng-ryang-sa 淸涼寺 청량사	~ 480m	NJ 52-14-05 春陽 춘양 (087) not yet published

Kyōng-sang-buk-do 慶尙北道 경상북도	7.12.	Bong-hwa County 奉化郡 봉화군	So-čhōn-myōn 小川面 소천면	Ko-sōn-ri 古善里 고선리
			Mul-ya-myōn 物野面 물야면	Kæ-dan-ri 峯丹里 개단리
	7.13.	Ul-chin County 蔚珍郡 울진군	Sō-myōn 西面 서면	Ha-wōn-ri 120 下院里 하원리 120
	7.14.	Yōng-yang County 英陽郡 영양군	Ib-am-myōn 立岩面 입암면	San-hæ-dong 391-2 山海洞 산해동 391-2
			Yōng-yang-ŭb 英陽邑 영양읍	Hyōn-i-dong 縣二洞 현이동
				Sam-chi-dong 三池洞 삼지동
	7.15.	Yōng-dōk County 盈德郡 영덕군	Čhang-su-myōn 蒼水面 창수면	Kal-čhōn-ri 葛川里 갈천리
			Byōng-gok-myōn 柄谷面 병곡면	Gūm-gok-ri 815 金谷里 금곡리 815
	7.16.	Čhōng-song County 青松郡 청송군	Bu-dong-myōn 府東面 부동면	Sang-ŭ-ri 上宜里 상의리
			Čhōng-song-ŭb 青松邑 청송읍	Dōk-dong 德洞 덕동
			Ūb-čhōn-myōn 邑川面 읍천면	Song-kang-ri 松江里 송강리
	7.17.	Yōng-il County 迎日郡 영일군	Song-ra-myōn 松羅面 송라면	Čhung-san-ri 622 中山里 중산리 622
			Sin-kwang-myōn 神光面 신광면	Sang-ŭ-ri 上邑里 상읍리
			O-čhōn-ŭb 烏川邑 오천읍	Mun-čhung-ri 文忠里 문충리
	7.18.	Po-hang City 浦項市 포항시		
	7.19.	Yōng-čhōn County 永川郡 영천군	Hwa-buk-myōn 華北面 화북면	Čha-čhōn-ri 慈川里 자천리
			Dæ-čhang-myōn 大昌面 대창면	Yong-ho-ri 14 龍湖里 용호리 14
			Čhōng-tong-myōn 濟通面 청통면	Čhi-il-ri 479 治日里 치일리 479
			Čhi-il-ri 治日里 치일리	
			Čhi-il-ri 治日里 치일리	

Bi-ryong-san 飛龍山 비룡산	7.12.4.	Hong-che-am 洪濟庵 홍제암	~ 520m	NJ 52-14-06 小川 소천 (001 / 002)
Mun-su-san 文殊山 문수산	7.12.5.	Čhwi-sō-sa 驚樓寺 취서사	~ 600m	NJ 52-14-05 春陽 춘양 (002) (?)
Čhōn-čhuk-san 天竺山 천축산	7.13.1.	Bul-yōng-sa 佛影寺 불영사	95.5.11. 194m	NJ 52-14-07 蔚珍 울진 (021 / 022)
(-)	7.14.1.	brick-like stone pagoda 模埽石塔 모전석탑	~ 240m	NJ 52-14-13 英陽 영양 (?)
(?)	7.14.2.	brick-like stone pagoda 模埽石塔 모전석탑	(?)	NJ 52-14-13 英陽 영양 precise location unclear
(?)	7.14.3.	brick-like stone pagoda 模埽石塔 모전석탑	(?)	NJ 52-14-13 英陽 영양 precise location unclear
Un-sō-san 雲樓山 운서산	7.15.1.	Chang-rŭng-sa 莊陵寺 장릉사	~ 150m	NJ 52-14-14 柄谷 병곡 (063)
Čhil-bo-san 七寶山 칠보산	7.15.2.	Yu-gŭm-sa 有金寺 유금사	~ 300m	NJ 52-14-14 柄谷 병곡 (045)
Chu-wang-san 周王산 주왕산	7.16.1.	Dæ-čhōn-sa 大典寺 대전사	260m	NJ 52-14-20 靑松 청송 (046 / 047)
(-)	7.16.2.	Bo-kwang-sa 普光寺 보광사	~ 275m	NJ 52-14-20 靑松 청송 (032)
Bi-bong-san 飛鳳山 비봉산	7.16.3.	Su-čhōng-sa 水晶(淨)寺 수경사	~ 280m	NJ 52-14-13 英陽 영양 (093) NJ 52-14-20 靑松 청송 (003)
Næ-yōn-san 內延山 내연산	7.17.1.	Bo-kyōng-sa 寶鏡寺 보경사	95.5.10.-11. 100m	NJ 52-14-21 盈德 영덕 (093) NJ 52-14-28 浦項 포항 (003)
Bi-hak-san 飛鶴山 비학산	7.17.2.	Bōb-kwang-sa 法光(廣)寺 법광사	95.5.10; 97.5.17. ~ 220m	NJ 52-14-27 杞溪 기계 (050)
Myo-bong-san (?) 묘봉산	7.17.3.	Yōng-čhwi-sa-čhi 靈鷲寺址 영주사지	(?)	exact location unclear
Un-che-san 雲梯山 운계산	7.17.4.	Ō-ō-sa 吞魚寺 오어사	~ 110m	NI 52-2-07 佛國寺 불국사 (035)
Bong-rim-san 鳳林山 봉림산	7.19.1.	Bong-rim-sa 鳳林寺 봉림사	260m	NJ 52-14-26 華北 화북 (046 / 047 / 056 / 057)
Ku-ryong-san 九龍山 구룡산	7.19.2.	Yōng-čhi-sa 靈芝寺 영지사	~ 200m	NI 52-2-05 永川 영천 (069)
Pal-kong-san 八公山 팔공산	7.19.3.	Ūn-hæ-sa 銀海寺 은해사	94.3.30. 155m	NI 52-2-05 永川 영천 (002)
Pal-kong-san 八公山 팔공산	7.19.4.	Bæk-hŭng-am 百興庵 백흥암	94.3.30. ~ 350m	NI 52-2-05 永川 영천 (001)
Pal-kong-san 八公山 팔공산	7.19.5.	Myo-bong-am 妙峰庵 묘봉암	~ 600m	NI 52-2-05 永川 영천 (001)

Kyōng-sang-buk-do 慶尙北道 경상북도	7.19.	Yōng-ehōn County 永川郡 영천군	Chōng-tong-myōn 淸通面 청통면	Chi-il-ri 治日里 치일리
				Chi-il-ri 治日里 치일리
				Sin-wōn-ri 新源里 신원리
			Cha-yang-myōn 柴陽面 자양면	Yong-hwa-ri 龍化里 용화리
				Bo-hyōn-ri 普賢里 보현리
			Gūm-ho-tūb 琴湖邑 금호읍	Sin-wōl-ri 205-1 新月里 신월리 205-1
	7.20.	Yōng-ehōn City 永川市 영천시		
	7.21.	Gun-wi County 軍威郡 군위군	Ko-ro-myōn 古老面 고로면	Hwa-buk-dong 華北洞 화북동
			Bu-kye-myōn 缶溪面 부계면	Nam-san-ri 南山里 남산리
				Dae-yul-dong 大栗洞 대울동
			Gun-wi-tūb 軍威邑 군위읍	Sang-gok-ri 上谷里 상곡리
	7.22.	Sōn-san County 善山郡 선산군	Hae-pyōng-myōn 海平面 해평면	Song-gok-ri 403 松谷里 송곡리 403
				Hae-pyōng-dong 525-1 海平洞 해평동 525-1
			Mu-ū-myōn 舞乙面 무읍면	Sang-song-ri 上松里 상송리
			Ok-sōng-myōn 玉城面 옥성면	Ok-kwan-dong 894 玉冠洞 옥관동 894
Sōn-san-tūb 善山邑 선산읍			Chuk-chang-ri 502-2 竹杖里 죽장리 502-2	
			No-san-dong 159 路山洞 노산동 159	
Do-kæ-myōn 桃開面 도개면			Sin-gok-dong 68 新谷洞 신곡동 68	
San-dong-myōn 山東面 산동면			Bæk-hyōn-dong San 150 柏峴洞 산백현동 산 150	
	In-dōk-ri San 5 仁德里 산인덕리 산 5			
Ko-a-myōn 高牙面 고아면	Bong-han-ri San 188 鳳漢里 산봉한리 산 188			



Pal-kong-san 八公山 팔공산	7.19.6.	Un-bu-am 雲浮庵 운부암	405m	NJ 52-14-26 華北 화북 (091) NI 52-2-05 永川 영천 (001)
Pal-kong-san 八公山 팔공산	7.19.7.	Ki-ki-am 窸窸庵 기기암	~ 450m	NI 52-2-05 永川 영천 (001)
Pal-kong-san 八公山 팔공산	7.19.8.	Kō-cho-am 居祖庵 거조암	94.3.30. 248m	NJ 52-14-26 華北 화북 (091)
Ki-ryong-san 騎龍山 기룡산	7.19.9.	Myo-gak-sa 妙覺寺 묘각사	~ 60m	NJ 52-14-27 杞溪 기계 (051)
Bo-hyōn-san 普賢山 보현산	7.19.10.	Kō-dong-sa 巨洞寺 거동사	~ 360m	NJ 52-14-27 杞溪 기계 (042)
(-)	7.19.11.	Sin-hūng-sa 新興寺 신흥사	~ 50m	NI 52-2-05 永川 영천 (027) (?)
Hwa-san 華山 화산	7.21.1.	In-gak-sa 麟角寺 인각사	~ 160m	NJ 52-14-26 華北 화북 (042 / 052)
Pal-kong-san 八公山 팔공산	7.21.2.	Sam-chon-sōk-kul-sa 三尊石窟寺 삼존석굴사	95.5.12. ~ 300m	NJ 52-14-25 軍威 군위 (086) (?)
(?)	7.21.3.	Dae-yul-sa 大栗寺 대율사	(?)	NJ 52-14-25 軍威 군위 (086) (?)
Sōn-bang-san 船放山 선방산	7.21.4.	Chi-bo-sa 持寶寺 지보사	~ 200m	NJ 52-14-25 軍威 군위 (004) (?)
Nang-san 冷山 냉산	7.22.1.	Do-ri-sa 桃李寺 도리사	95.4.27. ~ 480m	NJ 52-14-17 安溪 안계 (096 / 097)
Mi-sōk-san 彌石山 미석산	7.22.2.	Bo-chōn-sa 寶泉寺 보천사	~ 100m	NJ 52-14-24 善山 선산 (?)
Ki-yang-san 岐陽山 기양산	7.22.3.	Su-da-sa 水多寺 수다사	~ 245m	NJ 52-14-16 尙州 상주 (087)
Bok-u-san 伏牛山 복우산	7.22.4.	Dae-dun-sa 大萇寺 대둔사	~ 210m	NJ 52-14-16 尙州 상주 (070)
Hyōng-che-bong 兄弟峰 형제봉	7.22.5.	Chuk-chang-sa 竹杖寺 죽장사	95.4.27. ~ 100m	NJ 52-14-24 善山 선산 (002 / 003) (?)
Hyōng-che-bong 兄弟峰 형제봉	7.22.6.	Wōn-gak-sa 圓覺寺 원각사	(?)	NJ 52-14-24 善山 선산 precise location unclear
Chang-cha-bong 莊子峰 장자봉	7.22.7.	Mun-su-sa 文殊寺 문수사	~ 200m	NJ 52-14-24 善山 선산 (?)
(-)	7.22.8.	Dong-hyōn-sa 東峴寺 동현사	~ 200m	NJ 52-14-24 善山 선산 (?)
(-)	7.22.9.	Mun-su-sa 文殊寺 문수사	~ 120m	NJ 52-14-24 善山 선산 (?)
(?)	7.22.10.	Chuk-rim-sa 竹林寺 죽림사	(?)	NJ 52-14-24 善山 선산 precise location unclear

Kyōng-sang-buk-do 慶尙北道 경상북도	7.23.	Chil-gok County 漆谷郡 칠곡군	Dong-myōng-myōn 東明面 동명면	Ku-dōk-ri 91-6 九德里 구덕리 91-6
			Ka-san-myōn 架山面 가산면	Gūm-hwa-ri 금화리 Ka-san-ri 架山里 가산리
	7.24.	Ku-mi City 龜尾市 구미시	Nam-tong-dong 94 南通洞 남동동 94	(-)
			Nam-tong-dong San 33-1 南通洞山 남동동 산 33-1	(-)
			Wōn-nam-dong 1008-25 元南洞 원남동 1008-25	(-)
			O-tæ-dong San 47 吳太洞山 오테동 산 47	(-)
			Kwang-pyōng-dong San 26 廣坪洞山 광평동 산 26	(-)
	7.25.	Gūm-rīng County 金陵郡 금릉군	Nam-myōn 兩面 남면	O-bong-ri 梧鳳里 오봉리
			Dæ-hang-myōn 代項面 대항면	Un-su-ri 216 雲水里 운수리 216
			Chūng-san-myōn 鍾山面 중산면	Pyōng-čhon-ri 688 坪村里 평촌리 688 Su-dō-ri 修道里 수도리
			Kæ-ryōng-myōn 開寧面 개령면	Dong-bu-ri 東部里 동부리
			Nong-so-myōn 農所面 농소면	Bong-gok-ri 鳳谷里 봉곡리 Bong-gok-il-ri 鳳谷一里 봉곡일리
			Dæ-dōk-myōn 大德面 대덕면	Cho-ryong-i-ri 882 釣龍二里 조룡이리 882
			Nam-myōn 兩面 남면	Bu-sang-dong 640 扶桑洞 부상동 640
			Bong-san-myōn 鳳山面 봉산면	Dōk-čhōn-ri 502-2 德泉里 덕천리 502-2
			7.26.	Kim-čhōn City 金泉市 김천시
	Hwang-gūm-dong 68-42 黃金洞 황금동 68-42	(-)		
	Nam-san-dong San 12-1 南山洞 산 남산동 산 12-1	(-)		

Kŏn-ryōng-san 建靈山건령산	7.23.1.	Song-rim-sa 松林寺승림사	95.4.27. 105m	NJ 52-2-04 大邱 대구 (004 / 014)
(-)	7.23.2.	Gŭm-gok-sa 金谷寺금곡사	~ 340m	NJ 52-14-25 軍威군위 (073)
(-)	7.23.3.	Dae-dun-sa 大宅寺대촌사	~400m	NJ 52-14-25 軍威군위 (074)
Gŭm-o-san 金烏山금오산	7.24.1.	Hae-un-sa 海雲寺해운사	~ 400m	NJ 52-14-24 善山선산 (052 / 053 / 062 / 063) (?)
Gŭm-o-san 金烏山금오산	7.24.2.	Yak-sa-am 藥師庵약사암	~ 940m	NJ 52-14-24 善山선산 (062 / 063) (?)
Gŭm-o-san 金烏山금오산	7.24.3.	Gŭm-gang-sa 金剛寺금강사	(?)	NJ 52-14-24 善山선산 precise location unclear
(?)	7.24.4.	Nam-hwa-sa 南華寺남화사	(?)	NJ 52-14-24 善山선산 precise location unclear
Gŭm-o-san (?) 金烏山금오산	7.24.5.	Bong-chuk-sa 鳳竹寺봉죽사	(?)	NJ 52-14-24 善山선산 precise location unclear
Gŭm-o-san 金烏山금오산	7.25.1.	Kal-hang-sa-chi 葛項寺址갈항사지	~220m	NJ 52-14-24 善山선산 (061 / 062)
Hwang-hak-san 黃鶴山황학산	7.25.2.	Chik-chi-sa 直指寺직지사	89. 93.11.9 205m	NJ 52-14-23 金泉김천 (051)
Su-do-san 修道山수도산	7.25.3.	Chŏng-am-sa 靑岩寺청암사	94.10.13. 460m	NI 52-2-02 伽椰가야 (041)
Su-do-san 修道山수도산	7.25.4.	Su-do-am 修道庵수도암	950m	NI 52-2-01 茂豊무풍 (060) NI 52-2-02 伽椰가야 (051)
Chwi-chŏk-bong 吹笛山취적산	7.25.5.	Kye-rim-sa 雞林寺계림사	~110m	NJ 52-14-23 金泉김천 (038)
Bæk-ma-san 白馬山백마산	7.25.6.	Ko-bang-sa 高方寺고방사	~500m	NJ 52-14-23 金泉김천 (088)
Bæk-ma-san 白馬山백마산	7.25.7.	Sin-hŭng-sa 新興寺신흥사	~300m	NJ 52-14-23 金泉김천 (088) (?)
Bi-bong-san 飛鳳山비봉산	7.25.8.	Bong-gok-sa 鳳谷寺봉곡사	~ 350m	NI 52-2-01 茂豊무풍 (018) (?)
(-)	7.25.9.	Bæk-un-sa 白雲寺백운사	~ 300m (?)	NJ 52-14-23 金泉김천 (?) NJ 52-14-24 善山선산 (?)
(-)	7.25.10.	Yong-hwa-sa 龍華寺용화사	~ 120 m	NJ 52-14-23 金泉김천 (?)
Ko-sŏng-san 高城山高성산	7.26.1.	Kae-un-sa 開雲寺개운사	~ 100m	NJ 52-14-23 金泉김천 (?)
Ko-sŏng-san 高城山高성산	7.26.2.	Kwan-ŭm-sa 觀音寺관음사	~ 70m	NJ 52-14-23 金泉김천 (?)
Ko-sŏng-san 高城山高성산	7.26.3.	Chŏng-sim-sa 淨心寺정심사	~ 180m	NJ 52-14-23 金泉김천 (?)

Kyōng-sang-buk-do 慶尙北道 경상북도	7.26.	Kim-čhōn City 金泉市 김천시	Kyo-dong San 2 校洞山교동 산 2	(-)
			Bu-gok-dong 250-3 富谷洞 부곡동 250-3	(-)
	7.27.	Sōng-chu County 星州郡 성주군	Wōi-hang-myōn 月恒面 월항면	Dæ-san-dong 大山里 대산리
				In-čhon-ri 217 仁村里 인촌리 217
			Su-ryun-myōn 修倫面 수륜면	Bæk-un-dong 56-1 白雲洞 백운동 56-1
				Bæk-un-dong 白雲洞 백운동
	Ka-čhōn-myōn 伽泉面 가천면	Gūm-bong-ri 金鳳里 금봉리		
	7.28.	Ko-ryōng County 高靈郡 고령군		
	7.29.	Dal-sōng County 達城郡 달성군	Ok-po-myōn 玉浦面 옥포면	Ban-song-ri 865 盤松里 반송리 865
				Yu-ga-myōn 瓊伽面 유가면
			Ka-čhang-myōn 嘉昌面 가창면	U-rok-ri 友鹿里 우록리
				O-ri 梧里 오리
			(?)	(?)
	7.30.	Čhōng-do County 淸道郡 청도군	Gak-buk-myōn 角北面 각북면	O-san-dong 梧山里 오산리
			Hwa-yang-ūb 華陽邑 화양읍	Song-gūm-ri 223 松金里 승금리 223
				Song-čhon-ri 松村里 승촌리
			Čhōng-do-ūb 淸道邑 청도읍	Wōn-ri 院里 원리
			Un-mun-myōn 雲門面 운문면	Sin-wōn-ri 新院里 신원리
			Gūm-čhōn-myōn 錦川面 금천면	Bak-gok-ri 柏谷里 박곡리
Gak-nam-myōn 角南面 각남면			Ok-san-ri 玉山里 옥산리	

Mun-am-bong 門岩峰 문암봉	7.26.4.	Ku-hwa-sa 九華寺 구화사	~ 200m	NJ 52-14-23 金泉 김천 (?)
Ko-sŏng-san 高城山 고성산	7.26.5.	Čhong-chi-sa 總持寺 총지사	(?)	NJ 52-14-23 金泉 김천 (?)
Yŏng-čhwi-san 靈鷲山 영취산	7.27.1.	Kam-ŭng-sa 感應寺 감응사	~ 200m	NI 52-2-03 倭館 왜관 (024)
Nu-chin-san 樓巒山 누진산	7.27.2.	Sŏn-sŏk-sa 禪石寺 선석사	~ 250m	NJ 52-14-24 善山 선산 (092 / 093)
Ka-ya-san 伽椰山 가야산	7.27.3.	Sim-wŏn-sa-chi 深源寺址 심원사지	(?)	NI 52-2-02 伽椰 가야 (076 / 086) (?)
Ka-ya-san 伽椰山 가야산	7.27.4.	Bŏb-su-sa-chi 法水寺址 법수사지	(?)	NI 52-2-02 伽椰 가야 (076 / 086) (?)
Dok-yong-san 禿用山 독용산	7.27.5.	stone Buddha image 石佛 석불	(?)	NI 52-2-02 伽椰 가야 (?)
Bi-sŭl-san 毘瑟山 비슬산	7.29.1.	Yong-yŏn-sa 龍淵寺 용연사	95.4.28. 280m	NI 52-2-11 淸道 청도 (001 / 002)
Bi-sŭl-san 毘瑟山 비슬산	7.29.2.	Yu-ga-sa 瑜伽寺 유가사	95.4.28. 413m	NI 52-2-11 淸道 청도 (011)
Bi-sŭl-san 毘瑟山 비슬산	7.29.3.	So-chŏe-sa 消災寺 소재사	95.4.28. ~ 440m	NI 52-2-11 淸道 청도 (021)
Čhe-čhŏng-san 最頂山 최정산	7.29.4.	Nam-chi-chang-sa 南地藏寺 남지장사	~ 440m	NI 52-2-11 淸道 청도 (006)
Čhe-čhŏng-san 最頂山 최정산	7.29.5.	Un-hŭng-sa 雲興寺 운흥사	~ 290m	NI 52-2-04 大邱 대구 (085 / 095)
Pal-kong-san (?) 八公山 팔공산	7.29.6.	Mi-ri-sa-chi 美理寺址 미리사지	(?)	exact location unclear, might belong to 7.1 or 7.19.
Bi-sŭl-san 毘瑟山 비슬산	7.30.1.	Yong-čhŏn-sa 湧泉寺 용천사	~ 390m	NI 52-2-11 淸道 청도 (013)
Dong-hak-san 洞鶴山 동학산	7.30.2.	Dæ-čhŏk-sa 大寂寺 대적사	~ 200m	NI 52-2-11 淸道 청도 (019 / 020)
Nam-san 南山 남산	7.30.3.	Sin-dun-sa 薪芑寺 신둔사	~ 420m	NI 52-2-11 淸道 청도 (059)
Nam-san 南山 남산	7.30.4.	Čhŏk-čhŏn-sa 積川寺 적천사	354m	NI 52-2-11 淸道 청도 (060)
Un-mun-san 雲門山 운문산	7.30.5.	Un-mun-sa 雲門寺 운문사	95.5.31. 212m	NI 52-2-12 東谷 동곡 (039)
Ŏk-san 億山 억산	7.30.6.	Dæ-bi-sa 大悲寺 대비사	95.5.31. ~ 195m	NI 52-2-12 東谷 동곡 (038)
Čhŏn-wang-san 天王山 천왕산	7.30.7.	Dæ-san-sa 臺山寺 대산사	~ 220m	NI 52-2-11 淸道 청도 (065)

Kyōng-sang-buk-do 慶尙北道 경상북도	7.30.	Chōng-do County 淸道郡 청도군	Mæ-chōn-myōn 梅田面 배전면	Yong-san-dong 龍山洞 용산동
	7.31.	Kyōng-san County 慶山郡 경산군	Wa-ehon-myōn 瓦村面 와촌면	Kang-hak-ri 江鶴里 강학리
				Dæ-han-ri 大閑里 대한리
				Dæ-han-ri San 35 大閑里山 대한리산 35
			Ha-yang-ŭb 河陽邑 하양읍	Sa-ki-dong 150 沙器洞 사기동 150
			Nam-chōn-myōn 南川面 남천면	San-chōn-ri 806 山田里 산천리 806
		Cha-in-myōn 慈仁面 자인면	(?)	
	7.32.	Kyōng-san City 慶山市 경산시		
	7.33.	Kyōng-chu County 慶州郡 경주군	An-gang-ŭb 安康邑 안강읍	Ok-san-ri 1654 玉山里 옥산리 1654
			Hyōn-gok-myōn 見谷面 현곡면	Na-wōn-ri 羅原里 나원리
				Nam-sa-ri 南沙里 남사리
			Kōn-chōn-ŭb 乾川邑 건천읍	Song-sōn-ri San 8 松仙里 산승선리 산 8
			San-næ-myōn 山內面 산내면	U-la-ri 牛羅里 우라리
			Sō-myōn 西面 서면	Chōn-ehon-ri 泉村里 천촌리
				Myōng-chang-ri 明莊里 명장리
			Yang-buk-myōn 陽北面 양북면	Ho-am-ri 419 虎岩里 호암리 419
An-dong-ri 安洞里 안동리				
Yong-dang-ri 55-1 龍堂里 용당리 55-1				
Chang-hang-ri 1081 獐項里 장항리 1081				
Næ-nam-myōn 內南面 내남면	Yong-chang-ri San 1 葦長里 용장리 산 1			
	Yong-chang-ri 葦長里 용장리			

(-)	7.30.8.	Bul-yōng-sa 佛靈寺 불영사	~ 300m	NI 52-2-12 東谷 동곡 (?)
Mu-hak-san 舞鶴山 무학산	7.31.1.	Bul-kul-sa 佛掘寺 불굴사	363m	NI 52-2-05 永川 영천 (022)
In-bong 印峰 인봉	7.31.2.	Sōn-bon-am 禪本庵 선본암	~ 640m	NI 52-2-04 大邱 대구 (010)
Kwan-bong 冠峰 관봉	7.31.3.	seated stone Buddha 如來坐像 여래좌상	~ 800m	NI 52-2-04 大邱 대구 (010)
Hwan-sōng-san 環城山 환성산	7.31.4.	Hwan-sōng-sa 環城寺 환성사	94.3.30. 373m	NI 52-2-05 永川 영천 (021)
Dong-bak-san 動鶴山 동학산	7.31.5.	Kyōng-hūng-sa 慶興寺 경흥사	~ 180m	NI 52-2-04 大邱 대구 (099)
(?)	7.31.6.	Cho-kæ-sa-chi 初開寺址 초개사지	(?)	exact location unclear
Cha-ok-san 柴玉山 자옥산	7.33.1.	Chōng-hye-sa-chi 淨惠寺址 정혜사지	95.5.10. ~100m	NJ 52-14-27 杞溪 기계 (097)
An-tæ-bong 安胎峰 안태봉	7.33.2.	Na-wōn-sa 羅原寺 나원사	97.5.16. ~ 60m	NI 52-2-06 慶州 경주 (059) (?)
Ku-mi-san 龜尾山 구미산	7.33.3.	3-storied stone pagoda 三層石塔 삼층석탑	~ 100m	NI 52-2-06 慶州 경주 (036) (?)
Dan-sōk-san 斷石山 단석산	7.33.4.	Sin-sōn-sa 神仙寺 신선사	97.5.17. 480m	NI 52-2-06 慶州 경주 (084)
(-)	7.33.5.	Gūm-gang-am 金剛庵 금강암	~ 540m	NI 52-2-06 慶州 경주 (062)
Sa-ryong-san 四龍山 사룡산	7.33.6.	Gūm-chōng-sa 金井寺 금정사	~ 400m	NI 52-2-06 慶州 경주 (051 / 052 / 061 / 062)
(?)	7.33.7.	3-storied stone pagoda 三層石塔 삼층석탑	(?)	exact location unclear
Sōng-hwang-chæ 城隍峴 성황현 (재)	7.33.8.	Ki-rim-sa 祇林寺 기림사	94.5.31. 130m	NI 52-2-07 佛國寺 불국사 (067)
Bæk-du-san 白頭山 백두산	7.33.9.	Koi-kul-am 骨窟庵 골굴암	175m	NI 52-2-07 佛國寺 불국사 (076 / 077) (?)
Yōn-tæ-san 蓮台山 연태산	7.33.10.	Kam-Im-sa-chi 感恩寺址 감은사지	94.5.31. 10m	NI 52-2-14 蔚山 울산 (010)
To-ham-san 吐含山 토함산	7.33.11.	Chang-hang-sa-chi 獐項寺址 장항사지	~ 200m	NI 52-2-07 佛國寺 불국사 (085 / 086 / 095 / 096) (?)
Nam-san 南山 남산	7.33.12.	Yong-chang-sa-chi 茸長寺址 응장사지	~ 300m	NI 52-2-06 慶州 경주 (090)
Nam-san 南山 남산	7.33.13.	Chōn-ryōng-sa 天龍寺 천룡사	348m	NI 52-2-06 慶州 경주 (100)

Kyōng-sang-buk-do 慶尙北道 경상북도	7.33.	Kyōng-chu County 慶州郡 경주군	Næ-nam-myōn 內南面 내남면	Yong-chang-ri 葦長里 응장리
			Wæ-dong-tŭb 外東郡 외동읍	Kwæ-rŭng-ri 掛陵里 괴릉리
				Mal-bang-ri 末方里 말방리
				Mo-hwa-ri 毛火里 모화리
				Ib-sil-ri 入室里 입실리
	Čhŏn-buk-myōn 川北面 천북면	O-ya-ri 吾也里 오야리		
	7.34.	Kyōng-chu City 慶州市 경주시	Ku-hwang-dong 九黃洞 구황동	No. 634 634番地 언지
				(-)
				(-)
				(-)
				(-)
			Bo-mun-dong 普門洞 보문동	(-)
			Bæ-ban-dong 排盤洞 배반동	(-)
				(-)
(-)				
(-)				
Tab-gok 塔谷 탑곡				
Guk-sa-gok 國社谷 국사곡				
Nam-san-dong 南山洞 남산동	Nam-san-ri 南山里 남산리			
	(-)			
	Sŭng-so-gok 僧燒谷 승소곡			



Nam-san 南山 남산	7.33.14.	Bi-pa-kye Sa-chi 毘鉢溪寺址 비파계사지	~ 200m	NI 52-2-06 慶州경주 (090)
To-ham-san 吐含山 토함산	7.33.15.	Kam-san-sa 甘山寺 감산사	97.5.16. ~ 200m (?)	NI 52-2-07 佛國寺 불국사 (094)
To-ham-san 吐含山 토함산	7.33.16.	Sung-bok-sa-chi 崇福寺址 승복사지	97.5.16. 150m	NI 52-2-14 蔚山울산 (004)
Sam-tæ-bong 三台峰 삼태봉	7.33.17.	Wŏn-wŏn-sa 遠願寺 원원사	97.5.16. ~ 250m	NI 52-2-14 蔚山울산 (014 / 015) (?)
(?)	7.33.18.	5-storied stone pagoda (?) 五層石塔 오층석탑	(?)	NI 52-2-14 蔚山울산 exact location unclear
(?)	7.33.19.	3-storied stone pagoda 三層石塔 삼층석탑	(?)	NI 52-2-06 慶州경주 exact location unclear
(-)	7.34.1.	Bun-hwang-sa 芬皇寺 본황사	89.8; 94.5.31.; 97.5.17. / 60m	NI 52-2-06 慶州경주 (070)
(-)	7.34.2.	Hwang-ryong-sa-chi 皇龍寺址 황룡사지	89.8; 94.5.31.; 97.5.17. / 55m	NI 52-2-06 慶州경주 (070)
(-)	7.34.3.	ruined temple site 寺址 사지	94.5.31. 55m	NI 52-2-06 慶州경주 (070)
(-)	7.34.4.	Mi-tan-sa-chi 味呑寺址 미탄사지	97.5.18 55m	NI 52-2-06 慶州경주 (070)
(-)	7.34.5.	Hwang-bok-sa-chi 黃福寺址 황복사지	97.5.13. 67m	NI 52-2-06 慶州경주 (070)
(-)	7.34.6.	Bo-mun-sa-chi 普門寺址 보문사지	97.5.14. 60m	NI 52-2-07 佛國寺 불국사 (071)
(-)	7.34.7.	Sa-čhŏn-wang-sa-chi 四天王寺址 사천왕사지	97.5.13. / 15. 55m	NI 52-2-06 慶州경주 (080)
(-)	7.34.8.	Mang-dŏk-sa-chi 望德寺址 망덕사지	97.5.13. 50m	NI 52-2-06 慶州경주 (080)
Nam-san 南山 남산	7.34.9.	Ok-ryong-am 玉龍庵 옥룡암	97.5.15. 60m	NI 52-2-06 慶州경주 (080)
Nam-san 南山 남산	7.34.10.	Bo-ri-sa 菩提寺 보리사	97.5.15. 105m	NI 52-2-06 慶州경주 (080)
Nam-san 南山 남산	7.34.11.	temple site No. 12 寺址 사지 계 12호	(?)	NI 52-2-06 慶州경주 (080) (?)
Nam-san 南山 남산	7.34.12.	ruined temple site 寺址 사지	(?)	NI 52-2-06 慶州경주 (080) (?)
Nam-san 南山 남산	7.34.13.	ruined temple site 寺址 사지	97.5.15. ~ 50m	NI 52-2-06 慶州경주 (100) (?)
Nam-san 南山 남산	7.34.14.	temple site No. 34 寺址 사지 계 34호	~ 50m	NI 52-2-06 慶州경주 (100) (?)
Nam-san 南山 남산	7.34.15.	ruined temple site 寺址 사지	(?)	NI 52-2-06 慶州경주 (100) (?)

Kyông-sang-buk-do 慶尙北道 경상북도	7.34.	Kyông-chu City 慶州市 경주시	Nam-san-dong 南山洞 남산동	(-)
			Dong-čhôn-dong 東川里 동천리	No. 406 406番地 번지
				No. 4 4番地 번지
			Sông-kôn-dong 城乾洞 성건동	No. 425 425番地 번지
			Sa-chông-dong 沙正洞 사장동	(-)
			In-wang-dong 仁旺洞 인왕동	(-)
				Sa-gok 寺谷 사곡
				Ok-chông-gok 玉井谷 옥정곡
			Tab-chông-dong 塔正洞 탑정동	(-)
				No. 858-6 858-6番地 번지
				(-)
				Chang-čang-gok 長倉谷 장창곡
				Yun-íl-gok 潤乙谷 윤을곡
			Bæ-dong 拜洞 배동	Ki-am-gok 基嚴谷 기암곡
				Po-sôk-kye 鮑石溪 포석계
			Sô-ak-dong 西岳洞 서악동	(-)
Hyo-hyôn-dong 孝峴洞 효현동	(-)			
Chin-hyôn-dong 進峴洞 진현동	Bul-guk-dong 15 佛國洞 불국동 15			
	Bul-guk-dong 752 佛國洞 불국동 752			
	Chang-su-gok 長壽谷 장수곡			
Čhôn-gun-dong 千軍洞 천군동	(-)			

Nam-san 南山 남산	7.34.16.	Čhil-bul-am 七佛庵 칠불암	97.5.15. ~ 450m	NI 52-2-06 慶州 경주 (100) (?)
So-gŭm-gang-san 小金剛山 소금강산	7.34.17.	Bæk-ryul-sa 栢(百)栗寺 백물사	97.5.16. 125m	NI 52-2-06 慶州 경주 (060)
So-gŭm-gang-san 小金剛山 소금강산	7.34.18.	Kul-bul-sa-chi 掘佛寺址 굴불사지	97.5.16. 72m	NI 52-2-06 慶州 경주 (060)
(-)	7.34.19.	Sam-rang-sa-chi 三郎寺址 삼랑사지	97.5.13. 35m	NI 52-2-06 慶州 경주 (069)
(-)	7.34.20.	Hŭng-ryun-sa-chi 興輪寺址 흥륜사지	97.5.12.-13. 35m	NI 52-2-06 慶州 경주 (069 / 079)
Nam-san 南山 남산	7.34.21.	temple site No. 161 寺址 사지 제 161 호	(?)	NI 52-2-06 慶州 경주 (079 / 080) (?)
Nam-san 南山 남산	7.34.22.	temple site No. 6 寺址 사지 제 6 호	(?)	NI 52-2-06 慶州 경주 (079 / 080) (?)
Nam-san 南山 남산	7.34.23.	ruined temple site 寺址 사지	(?)	NI 52-2-06 慶州 경주 (079 / 080) (?)
(-)	7.34.24.	Dam-ŏm-sa-chi 曇嚴寺址 담엄사지	97.5.13. 36m	NI 52-2-06 慶州 경주 (079)
Nam-san 南山 남산	7.34.25.	Nam-kan-sa-chi 南欄寺址 남간사지	97.5.16. 55m	NI 52-2-06 慶州 경주 (079)
Nam-san 南山 남산	7.34.26.	Čhang-rim-sa-chi 昌林寺址 창림사지	97.5.16. 70m	NI 52-2-06 慶州 경주 (079)
Nam-san 南山 남산	7.34.27.	Gŭm-kwang-sa-chi 金光寺址 금강사지	~ 220m	NI 52-2-06 慶州 경주 (079 / 080 / 089 / 090) (?)
Nam-san 南山 남산	7.34.28.	ruined temple site 寺址 사지	(?)	NI 52-2-06 慶州 경주 (079 / 080 / 089 / 090) (?)
Nam-san 南山 남산	7.34.29.	ruined temple site 寺址 사지	(?)	NI 52-2-06 慶州 경주 (089 / 090) (?)
Nam-san 南山 남산	7.34.30.	ruined temple site 寺址 사지	(?)	NI 52-2-06 慶州 경주 (089 / 090) (?)
Sŏn-do-san 仙桃山 선도산	7.34.31.	Yŏng-kyŏng-sa 永敬寺 영경사	97.5.17. ~ 70m	NI 52-2-06 慶州 경주 (068) (?)
Sŏn-do-san 仙桃山 선도산	7.34.32.	Æ-kong-sa-chi 哀公寺址 애공사지	97.5.17. ~ 60m	NI 52-2-06 慶州 경주 (068) (?)
To-ham-san 吐含山 토함산	7.34.33.	Bul-guk-sa 佛國寺 불국사	88; 89. 8; 94.6.1. 238m	NI 52-2-07 佛國寺 불국사 (084)
To-ham-san 吐含山 토함산	7.34.34.	Sŏk-kul-am 石窟庵 석굴암	88; 89. 8; 94.6.1. 580m	NI 52-2-07 佛國寺 불국사 (084 / 085)
To-ham-san 吐含山 토함산	7.34.35.	Čhang-su-sa-chi 長壽寺址 장수사지	~ 200m	NI 52-2-07 佛國寺 불국사 (084) (?)
(-)	7.34.36.	ruined temple site 寺址 사지	94.5.31; 97.5.18. 104m	NI 52-2-07 佛國寺 불국사 (062)

Kyōng-sang-buk-do 慶尙北道 경상북도	7.34.	Kyōng-chu City 慶州市 경주시	Bo-dōk-dong 普德洞 보덕동	(-)
			Hwang-ryong-dong 黃龍洞 황룡동	(-)
			Am-gok-dong 暗谷洞 암곡동	San 1 山산 1
			Sōng-chin-ri (?) 성진리	Kang-ga 강가
			Hwang-nam-ri (?) 황남리	
			Kyo-ri-cha (?) 교리차	Ōm-chang-dong 엄장동
			Kōn-sōng-dong (?) 건성동	
	7.35.	Ul-lŭng County 鬱陵郡 울릉군		
Bu-san Metropolis 釜山廣域市 부산광역시	8.1.	Gūm-chōng-gu 金井區 금정구	Čhōng-ryong-dong 546 齊龍洞 청룡동 546	Sang-ma-bu-rak 상마부락
		Bu-san-chin-gu 釜山鎭區 부산진구	Bu-am-sam-dong 釜岩三洞 부암삼동	Yong-sa-čhon 용사촌
		Kang-sō-gu 江西區 강서구	Chi-sa-dong 智士洞 지사동	Myōng-dong 명동
Kyōng-sang-nam-do 慶尙南道 경상남도	8.2.	Ham-yang County 咸陽郡 함양군	An-ū-myōn 安義面 안의면	Sang-wōn-ri 上源里 상원리
			Ma-čhōn-myōn 馬川面 마천면	Čhu-sōng-ri 259 楸城里 수성리 259 Dōk-čhōn-ri 768-ū 6 德田里 덕전리 768의 6
	8.3.	Kō-čhang County 居昌郡 거창군		
	8.4.	San-čhōng County 山淸郡 산청군	Si-čhōn-myōn 矢川面 시천면	Chung-san-ri 中山里 중산리
			Sam-čhang-myōn 三壯面 삼장면	Dæ-po-ri 538 大浦里 유평리 538
				Yu-pyōng-ri 油坪里 유평리
				Sōk-nam-ri 石南里 석남리
			Dan-sōng-myōn 丹城面 단성면	Un-ri 333 雲里 운리 333
	Sin-dŭng-myōn 新等面 신등면	Yul-hyōn-ri 1030 栗峴里 율현리 1030		

(-)	7.34.37.	Ko-sŏn-sa-chi 高仙寺址 고선사지	~200m	NI 52-2-07 佛國寺 불국사 (063) submerged in reservoir
(-)	7.34.38.	Hwang-ryong-sa-chi 黃龍寺址 황룡사지	~ 300m	NI 52-2-07 佛國寺 불국사 (065) (?)
(-)	7.34.39.	Mu-chang-sa-chi 鑿藏寺址 무장사지	~550m	NI 52-2-07 佛國寺 불국사 (055)
(?)	7.34.40.	Yŏng-myo-sa-chi 靈妙寺址 영묘사지	(?)	exact location unclear
(?)	7.34.41.	Yŏng-hŭng-sa-chi 永興寺址 영흥사지	(?)	exact location unclear
(?)	7.34.42.	Ŏm-chang-sa-chi 嚴藏寺址 엄장사지	(?)	exact location unclear
(?)	7.34.43.	Bŏb-ryu-sa-chi 法流寺址 법류사지	(?)	exact location unclear
Gŭm-chŏng-san 金井山 금정산	8.1.1.	Bŏm-ŏ-sa 梵魚寺 범어사	89. 8.; 95.6.1. 338m	NI 52-2-20 梁山 양산 (083)
Bæk-yang-san 白陽山 백양산	8.1.2.	Sŏn-am-sa 仙巖寺 선암사	237m	NI 52-2-27 釜山 부산 (022 / 032)
Bo-bæ-san 보배산	8.1.3.	Hŭng-guk-sa 興國寺 흥국사	~ 60m	NI 52-2-26 金海 김해 (044)
Gŭm-wŏn-san 金猿山 금원산	8.2.1.	Yong-chu-sa 龍湫寺 용추사	~ 500m	NI 52-2-08 居昌 거창 (021)
Chi-ri-san 智異山 지리산	8.2.2.	Byŏk-song-sa 碧松寺 벽송사	535m	NI 52-1-21 雲峰 운봉 (049)
Sam-chŏng-san 삼정산	8.2.3.	Buddha relief 磨崖佛像 마애불상	~ 400m	NI 52-1-21 雲峰 운봉 (?)
Chi-ri-san 智異山 지리산	8.4.1.	Bŏb-kye-sa 法界寺 법계사	1377m	NI 52-1-21 雲峰 운봉 (070 / 080)
Chi-ri-san 智異山 지리산	8.4.2.	Næ-wŏn-sa 內院寺 내원사	~ 230m	NI 52-2-15 山淸 산청 (073) (?)
Chi-ri-san 智異山 지리산	8.4.3.	Dæ-wŏn-sa 大源寺 대원사	351m	NI 52-2-15 山淸 산청 (053 / 063)
Chi-ri-san 智異山 지리산	8.4.4.	Sam-chang-sa-chi 三壯寺址 삼장사지	~ 210m	NI 52-2-15 山淸 산청 (063)
Ung-sŏk-bong 熊石峰 응석봉	8.4.5.	Dan-sok-sa-chi 斷俗寺址 단속사지	97.5.19. ~ 200m	NI 52-2-15 山淸 산청 (076 / 077)
Chŏng-su-san 淨水山 정수산	8.4.6.	Yul-gok-sa 栗谷寺 율곡사	94.4.12. 385m	NI 52-2-15 山淸 산청 (039)

Kyōng-sang-nam-do 慶尙南道 경상남도	8.5.	Hab-čhōn County 陝川郡 함천군	Ka-ya-myōn 伽耶面 가야면	Čhi-in-ri 10 緇仁里 치인리 10
				Gu-wōn-ri 舊源里 구원리
			Čhi-ro-myōn 治爐面 치로면	Wōl-kwang-ri 月光里 월광리
			Ka-hwae-myōn 佳會面 가회면	Dun-næ-ri 1659 屯內里 둔내리 1659
			Dæ-yang-myōn 大陽面 대양면	Bæk-am-ri 102 伯峯里 백암리 102
	8.6.	Ūi-ryōng County 宜寧郡 의령군	Ūi-ryōng-ŭb 宜寧邑 의령읍	Ha-ri 下里 하리
	8.7.	Ham-an County 咸安郡 함안군	Gun-buk-myōn 郡北面 군북면	Sa-čhon-ri 舍村里 사촌리
			Čhil-buk-myōn 漆北面 칠북면	Yōng-dong-ri 榮東里 영동리
	8.8.	Čhang-nyōng County 昌寧郡 창녕군	Čhang-nyōng-ŭb 昌寧邑 창녕읍	Ok-čhōn-ri 292 玉泉里 옥천리 292
				Sul-čhōng-ri 120 述亭里 술정리 120
			Yōng-san-myōn 靈山面 영산면	Ku-kye-ri 九溪里 구계리
				Ku-kye-ri 九溪里 구계리
			Do-čhōn-myōn 都泉面 도천면	Song-čhin-ri 松津里 승진리
	8.9.	Mil-yang County 密陽郡 밀양군	Dan-chang-myōn 丹場面 단장면	Ku-čhōn-ri San 23 九川里山 구천리 산 23
Ku-čhōn-ri San 九川里山 구천리 산				
Sam-rang-čhin-ŭb 三浪津邑 삼랑진읍			Yong-čhōn-ri San 4 龍田里山 용천리 산 4	
San-næ-myōn 山內面 산내면			Wōn-sō-ri 院西里 원서리	
8.10.	Mil-yang City 密陽市 밀양시	Næ-il-dong 內一洞 매일동	(-)	
8.11.	Ul-san County 蔚山郡 울산군	Sang-buk-myōn 上北面 상북면	Dōk-hyōn-ri 1064 德峴里 덕현리 1064	
			Dŭng-ōk-ri 登億里 등억리	
		Čhōng-ryang-myōn 靑良面 청량면	Yul-ri San 16 栗里산 율리 산 16	

Ka-ya-san 伽椰山 가야산	8.5.1.	Hæ-in-sa 海印寺 해인사	88; 89. 8; 94.10.14 640m	NI 52-2-02 伽椰가야 (074 / 075 / 084 / 085)
Nam-san-che-il-bong 남산제일봉	8.5.2.	Chông-ryang-sa 淸涼寺 청량사	602m	NI 52-2-02 伽椰가야 (095)
Nam-san-bong 南山峰 남산봉	8.5.3.	Wôi-kwang-sa-chi 月光寺址 월광사지	94.10.13. 140m	NI 52-2-09 陝川합천 (007)
Hwang-mæ-san 黃梅山 황매산	8.5.4.	Yông-am-sa-chi 靈岩寺址 영암사지	97.5.19. ~ 380m	NI 52-2-16 三嘉삼가 (011)
(-)	8.5.5.	Bæk-am-sa-chi (?) 伯岩寺址 벽암사지	~ 160m	NI 52-2-09 陝川합천 (088)
Byök-hwa-san 碧華山 벽화산	8.6.1.	Bo-čhôn-sa-chi 寶泉寺址 보천사지	~ 300m	NI 52-2-16 三嘉삼가 (080) (?)
Yô-hang-san 餘航山 여항산	8.7.1.	Wôn-hyo-am 元曉庵 원효암	(?)	NI 52-2-24 咸安함안(016) exact location unclear
Mu-rûng-san 武陵山 무릉산	8.7.2.	Chang-čhun-sa 長春寺 장춘사	~ 300m	NI 52-2-18 昌原창원 (063) (?)
Kwan-yong-san 觀龍山 관용산	8.8.1.	Kwan-ryong-sa 觀龍寺 관룡사	95.5.30. 374m	NI 52-2-11 淸道청도 (083)
Hwa-wang-san 火旺山 화왕산	8.8.2.	Sa-chi 寺址 사지	95.5.30. ~ 80m	NI 52-2-11 淸道청도 (081) (?)
Yông-čhwi-san 靈鷲山 영취산	8.8.3.	Bo-rim-sa-chi 寶林寺址 보림사지	(?)	exact location unclear
Yông-čhwi-san 靈鷲山 영취산	8.8.4.	Bôb-hwa-am 法華庵 법화암	~ 400m	NI 52-2-18 昌原창원 (012 / 013)
(-)	8.8.5.	Kwan-üm-sa 觀音寺 관음사	~ 80m	NI 52-2-18 昌原창원 (041) (?)
Čhôn-hwang-san 天皇山 천황산	8.9.1.	Pyo-čhung-sa 表忠寺 표충사	95.5.30. 194m	NI 52-2-12 東谷동곡 (089)
Čhôn-hwang-san 天皇山 천황산	8.9.2.	Sô-sang-am 西上庵 서상암	605m	NI 52-2-12 東谷동곡 (089)
Man-ô-san 萬魚山 만어산	8.9.3.	Man-ô-sa 萬魚寺 만어사	~ 520m	NI 52-2-19 密陽밀양 (014 / 015)
Un-mun-san 雲門山 운문산	8.9.4.	Sôk-kol-sa 石骨寺 석골사	~ 280m	NI 52-2-12 東谷동곡 (058)
(-)	8.10.1.	Mu-bong-sa 舞鳳寺 무봉사	~ 40m	NI 52-2-19 密陽밀양 (001)
Ka-chi-san 加智山 가지산	8.11.1.	Sôk-nam-sa 石南寺 석남사	94.6.2. 315m	NI 52-2-13 彦陽연양 (052)
Kan-wôi-san 肝月山 간월산	8.11.2.	Kan-wôi-sa 澗月寺 간월사	97.5.14. ~ 220m	NI 52-2-13 彦陽연양 (073)
Yông-čhwi-san 靈鷲山 영취산	8.11.3.	Mang-hæ-sa-chi 望海寺址 망해사지	~ 130m	NI 52-2-13 彦陽연양 (090)

Kyōng-sang-nam-do 慶尙南道 경상남도	8.11.	Ul-san County 蔚山郡 울산군	Kang-dong-myōn 江東面 강동면	Dae-an-ri 大安里 대안리
				Ō-mul-ri 於勿里 어물리
	8.12.	Ul-san City 蔚山市 울산시	Chung-gu 中區 중구	Sōng-an-dong 聖安洞 성안동
				Hak-sōng-dong 67 鶴城洞 학성동 67
			Dong-gu 東區 동구	Dong-bu-dong 東部洞 동부동
				Hwa-chōng-dong 華亭洞 화정동
	8.13.	Yang-san County 梁山郡 양산군	Ha-buk-myōn 下北面 하북면	Chi-san-ri 583 芝山里 지산리 583
				Chi-san-ri 芝山里 지산리
				Chi-san-ri 芝山里 지산리
				Yong-yōn-ri 龍淵里 용연리
				Yong-yōn-ri 龍淵里 용연리
				Yong-yōn-ri 龍淵里 용연리
			Chang-an-ŭb 長安邑 장안읍	Chang-an-ri 長安里 장안리
				Chang-an-ri 長安里 장안리
			Ung-sang-ŭb 淸上邑 응상읍	So-chu-ri 171 召周里 소주리 171
Chu-nam-ri 周南里 주남리				
Sang-buk-myōn 上北面 상북면			Dae-sōk-ri 大石里 대석리	
Mul-gŭm-myōn 勿禁面 불금면			Mul-gŭm-ri 勿禁里 불금리	
Wōn-dong-myōn 院洞面 원동면	Yōng-po-ri 268 泳浦里 영포리 268			
8.14.	Kim-hae County 金海郡 김해군	Chang-yu-myōn 長有面 장유면	Dae-chōng-ri 大淸里 대창리	
8.15.	Kim-hae City 金海市 김해시	Sam-bang-dong 三芳洞 삼방동	(-)	



(-)	8.11.4.	Sin-hŭng-sa 新興寺 신흥사	~ 260m	NI 52-2-14蔚山울산 (036)
(-)	8.11.5.	Buddha relief 磨崖佛像 마애불상	~ 50m (?)	NI 52-2-14蔚山울산 (?)
Ham-wŏl-san 함월산	8.12.1.	Bæk-yang-sa 白楊寺 백양사	~ 155m	NI 52-2-14蔚山울산 (073)
(-)	8.12.2.	Tæ-hwa-sa-chi 太和寺址 태화사지	< 20m	NI 52-2-14蔚山울산 (074 / 084)
(-)	8.12.3.	Dong-čhuk-sa 東竺寺 동축사	~ 200m	NI 52-2-14蔚山울산 (087)
(-)	8.12.4.	Wŏl-bong-sa 月峰寺 월봉사	~ 60m	NI 52-2-21方魚津방어진 (007)
Čhwi-sŏ-san 鷲樓山 취서산	8.13.1.	Tong-do-sa 通度寺 봉도사	89; 94.6.2; 95.5.31 97.5.14. / 161m	NI 52-2-20梁山양산 (003)
Čhwi-sŏ-san 鷲樓山 취서산	8.13.2.	Bæk-un-am 白雲庵 백운암	~ 850m	NI 52-2-13彦陽연양 (092)
Čhwi-sŏ-san 鷲樓山 취서산	8.13.3.	An-yang-am 安養庵 안양암	215m	NI 52-2-13彦陽연양 (003)
Čhŏn-sŏng-san 千聖山 천성산	8.13.4.	Næ-wŏn-sa 內院寺 내원사	94.6.2. 226m	NI 52-2-20梁山양산 (035)
Čhŏng-čhok-san 鼎足山 정족산	8.13.5.	Gŭm-bong-am 金鳳庵 금봉암	~ 350m	NI 52-2-20梁山양산 (025)
Čhŏng-čhok-san 鼎足山 정족산	8.13.6.	No-čhŏn-am 露田庵 노견암	~ 160m	NI 52-2-20梁山양산 (025)
(-)	8.13.7.	Chang-an-sa 長安寺 장안사	101m	NI 52-2-20梁山양산 (060)
(-)	8.13.8.	Čhŏk-pan-am 擲板庵 처판암	174m	NI 52-2-20梁山양산 (060)
Čhŏn-sŏng-san 千聖山 천성산	8.13.9.	Mi-ta-am 彌陀庵 미타암	~ 550m	NI 52-2-20梁山양산 (036)
Čhŏn-sŏng-san 千聖山 천성산	8.13.10	An-čhŏk-am 安家庵 안적암	~ 400m (?)	NI 52-2-20梁山양산 (026) (?)
Wŏn-hyo-san 元曉山 원효산	8.13.11	Wŏn-hyo-am 元曉庵 원효암	~ 700m	NI 52-2-20梁山양산 (045)
O-bong-san 五峰山 오봉산	8.13.12.	Yong-hwa-sa 龍華寺 응화사	~ 80m	NI 52-2-19密陽밀양 (080) (?)
Yŏng-čhwi-san 靈鷲山 영취산	8.13.13.	Sin-hŭng-sa 新興寺 신흥사	~150m	NI 52-2-19密陽밀양 (029 / 039)
Yong-čhi-bong 龍池峰 응지봉	8.14.1.	Chang-yu-am 長有(遊)庵 장유암	97.5.18. ~560m	NI 52-2-26金海김해 (021)
Sin-ŏ-san 神魚山 신어산	8.15.1.	Ŭn-ha-sa 銀河寺 은하사	97.5.18. ~310m	NI 52-2-19密陽밀양 (097)

Kyōng-sang-nam-do 慶尙南道 경상남도	8. 15.	Kim-hæ City 金海市 김해시	Sam-bang-dong 三芳洞 삼방동	(-)
	8. 16.	Chin-hæ City 鎭海市 진해시	Dæ-chang-dong 大肚洞 대장동	(-)
	8. 17.	Čhang-wŏn County 昌原郡 창원군	Chin-buk-myŏn 鎭北面 진북면	In-gok-ri 仁谷里 인곡리
	8. 18.	Čhang-wŏn City 昌原市 창원시	Sŏng-chu-dong 聖住洞 성주동	(-)
			Dæ-bang-dong 聖住洞 성주동	No. 1036-1 1036-1 番地 번지
			Bong-rim-dong 鳳林洞 봉림동	(-)
	8. 19.	Ma-san City 馬山市 마산시		
	8. 20.	Ko-sŏng County 固城郡 고성군	Kæ-čhŏn-myŏn 介川面 개천면	Buk-pyŏng-ri 408 北坪里 북평리 408
			Sang-ri-myŏn 上里面 상리면	Mu-sŏn-ri 武仙里 무선리
			Kŏ-ryu-myŏn 巨流面 거류면	Sin-ryong-ri 新龍里 신흥리
			Ha-i-myŏn 下二面 하이면	Wa-ryong-ri 臥龍里 와룡리
	8. 21.	Chin-yang County 淸陽郡 진양군	Gŭm-san-myŏn 琴山面 금산면	Kal-čhŏn-ri 葛田里 갈전리
			Chib-hyŏn-myŏn 集賢面 집현면	Chŏng-pyŏng-ri 存坪里 정평리
	8. 22.	Chin-chu City 淸州市 진주시		
8. 23.	Sa-čhŏn County 泗川郡 사천군	Kon-myŏng-myŏn 昆明面 근명면	Yong-san-ri 龍山里 용산리	
8. 24.	Ha-dong County 河東郡 하동군	Hwa-kæ-myŏn 花開面 화개면	Bŏm-wang-ri 凡旺里 범왕리	
			Un-su-ri 208 雲樹里 운수리 208	
8. 25.	Nam-hæ County 南海郡 남해군	Ko-hyŏn-myŏn 古縣面 고현면	Dæ-gok-ri 大谷里 대곡리	
		I-dong-myŏn 二東面 이동면	Yong-so-ri 龍沼里 용소리	
		Sang-chu-myŏn 尙州面 상주면	Yang-a-ri 良阿里 양아리	
8. 26.	Sam-čhŏn-po City 三千浦市 삼천포시			

Sin-ô-san 神魚山 신어산	8.15.2.	Yöng-gu-am 靈龜庵 영구암	~550m	NI 52-2-19 靈陽 밀양 (097 / 098)
Kul-am-san 屈岩山 굴암산	8.16.1.	Söng-hümg-sa 聖興寺 성흥사	~130m	NI 52-2-26 金海 김해 (042)
In-söng-san 仁星山 인성산	8.17.1.	Ūi-rim-sa 義林寺 의림사	~120m	NI 52-2-24 咸安 함안 (048 / 049) (?)
Bul-mo-san 佛母山 불모산	8.18.1.	Söng-chu-sa 聖住寺 성주사	97.5.18. 145m	NI 52-2-25 馬山 마산 (029 / 039)
(-)	8.18.2.	Bul-gok-sa 佛谷寺 불곡사	~80m	NI 52-2-25 馬山 마산 (028) (?)
Bong-rim-san 鳳林山 봉림산	8.18.3.	Bong-rim-sa-chi 鳳林寺址 봉림사지	97.5.18. ~180m	NI 52-2-18 昌原 창원 (097) (?)
Yön-hwa-bong 蓮花峰 연화봉	8.20.1.	Ok-čhön-sa 玉泉寺 옥천사	94.4.14. 195m	NI 52-2-24 咸安 함안 (061 / 071)
Mu-i-san 武夷山 루이산	8.20.2.	Mun-su-am 文殊庵 문수암	~450m	NI 52-6-05 三千浦 삼천포 (009 / 019)
Kô-ryu-san 巨流山 거류산	8.20.3.	Chang-tü-am 藏義庵 장의암	~225m	NI 52-6-06 忠武 충무 (006)
Hyang-ro-bong 香爐峰 향로봉	8.20.4.	Un-hümg-sa 雲興寺 운흥사	~140m	NI 52-6-05 三千浦 삼천포 (017)
Chang-gun-dæ-san 將軍臺山 장군대산	8.21.1.	Čhông-gok-sa 齊谷寺 청곡사	94.4.14. 122m	NI 52-2-23 晉州 진주 (028)
Chib-hyön-san 集賢山 집현산	8.21.2.	Ūng-sök-sa 凝石寺 응석사	~160m	NI 52-2-16 三高 산가 (083) (?)
Mi-san 味山 미산	8.23.1.	Da-sol-sa 多塞寺 다솔사	94.4.14. 147m	NI 52-2-22 昆陽 곤양 (067)
To-gki-bong 토끼봉	8.24.1.	Čhil-bul-sa 七佛寺 칠불사	94.4.13. 656m	NI 52-1-21 雲峰 운봉 (085)
Sam-sin-bong 三神峰 삼신봉	8.24.2.	Ssang-kye-sa 雙溪寺 쌍계사	94.4.13. 170m	NI 52-1-28 河東 하동 (007)
Mang-un-san 望雲山 망운산	8.25.1.	Hwa-bang-sa 花芳寺 화방사	252m	NI 52-6-04 南海 남해 (055)
Song-düm-g-san 松登山 송등산	8.25.2.	Yong-mun-sa 龍門寺 용문사	185m	NI 52-6-04 南海 남해 (087 / 088)
Güm-san 錦山 금산	8.25.3.	Bo-ri-am 菩提庵 보리암	97.5.6. 615m	NI 52-6-11 突山 돌산 (010) NI 52-6-04 南海 남해 (100)

Kyōng-sang-nam-do 慶尙南道 경상남도	8.27.	Tong-yōng County 統營郡 통영군	Kwang-do-myōn 光道面 광도면	An-chōng-ri 1888 安井里 안정리 1888
				An-chōng-ri 安井里 안정리
			Do-san-myōn 道山面 도산면	Wōn-san-ri 元山里 원산리
	8.28.	Chung-mu City 忠武市 충무시	Bong-pyōng-dong 鳳坪洞 봉평동	(-)
	8.29.	Kō-che County 巨濟郡 거제군		
8.30.	Chang-sūng-po City 長承浦市 강승포시			
Che-chu-do 濟州道 제주도	9.1.	Buk-che-chu County 北濟州郡 북제주군		
	9.2.	Che-chu City 濟州市 제주시	A-ra-dōng 我羅洞 아라동	(-)
	9.3.	Nam-che-chu County 南濟州郡 남제주군	An-dōk-myōn 安德面 안덕면	Hwa-sun-ri 和曠里 화순리
	9.4.	Sō-kwi-po City 西歸浦市 서귀포시		
Pyōng-yang Special City 平壤特別市 평양특별시	10.1.	Dae-sōng-gu-yōk 大城區域 대성구역	Chōng-am-ri 清岩里 청암리	(-)
			Sang-o-ri 上五里 상오리	(-)
		Ryōk-po-gu-yōk 力浦區域 력포구역	Mu-chin-ri 戊辰里 무진리	Dong-myōng-wang-rūng 東明王陵 동명왕릉
		Mo-ran-bong-gu-yōk 牡丹峯區域 모란봉구역	Kyōng-sang-ri 慶上里 경상리	(-)
			In-hūng-il-dōng 仁興一洞 인흥일동	(-)
	Pyōng-chōn-gu-yōk 平川區域 평천구역	Pyōng-chōn-na-ru 평천나무	(-)	
Pyōng-an-buk-do 平安北道 평안북도	10.2.	Hyang-san County 香山郡 향산군	Buk-sin-hyōn-myōn 北薪峴面 북신현면	Hyang-am-ri 香岩里 향암리
				Hyang-am-ri 香岩里 향암리
				Hyang-am-ri 香岩里 향암리
		Bak-chōn County 博川郡 박천군	Dong-myōn 東面 동면	Bong-hūng-ri 鳳興里 봉흥리

Byŏk-bang-san 碧芳山 벽방산	8.27.1.	An-chŏng-sa 安靜寺 안정사	145m	NI 52-6-06 忠武충무 (026)
Byŏk-bang-san 碧芳山 벽방산	8.27.2.	Ka-sŏb-am 迦葉庵 가섭암	242m	NI 52-6-06 忠武충무 (026)
Chŏn-kæ-san 天關山 천개산	8.27.3.	Ŭn-bong-am 隱鳳庵 은봉암	391m	NI 52-6-06 忠武충무 (026)
Chŏn-kæ-san 天關山 천개산	8.27.4.	Ŭi-sang-am 義湘庵 의상암	173m	NI 52-6-06 忠武충무 (026)
Yong-hwa-san 龍華山 용화산	8.28.1.	Yong-hwa-sa 龍華寺 용화사	110m	NI 52-6-06 忠武충무 (077)
Han-ja-san 漢羅山 한라산	9.2.1.	Kwan-lm-sa 觀音寺 관음사	582m	NI 52-9-17 濟州제주 (093)
San-bang-san 山房山 산방산	9.3.1.	San-bang-kul-sa 山房窟寺 산방굴사	63m	NI 52-9-23 撲瑟補모슬포 (066 / 067)
(-)	10.1.1.	Gim-gang-sa-chi 金剛寺址 금강사지	~ 20m	(-)
(-)	10.1.2.	ruined temple site 寺址사지	~ 20m	(-)
(-)	10.1.3.	Chŏng-rŭng-sa-chi 定陵寺址 정릉사지	~ 50m	(-)
Mo-ran-bong 牡丹峯 모란봉	10.1.4.	Yŏng-myŏng-sa 永明寺 영명사	~ 30m	(-)
(-)	10.1.5.	Chung-hŭng-sa-chi 重興寺址 중흥사지	(?)	(-)
(?)	10.1.6.	Hong-bok-sa-chi 弘福寺址 홍복사지	(?)	(-)
Myo-hyang-san 妙香山 묘향산	10.2.1.	Bo-hyŏn-sa 普賢寺 보현사	~ 180m	(-)
Myo-hyang-san 妙香山 묘향산	10.2.2.	An-sim-sa-chi 安心寺址 안심사지	(?)	(-)
Myo-hyang-san 妙香山 묘향산	10.2.3.	Sang-wŏn-sa 上院寺 상원사	(?)	(-)
Bong-rin-san 鳳巖山 봉린산	10.2.4.	Sim-wŏn-sa 深源寺 심원사	~ 100m (?)	(-)

Pyông-an-buk-do 平安北道 평안북도	10.2.	Nyông-byôn County 寧邊郡 녕변군	Nyông-byôn-sông 寧邊城 녕변성	(?)
				(?)
Pyông-an-nam-do 平安南道 평안남도	10.3.	Pyông-sông City 平城市 평성시	Bong-hak-dong (?) 鳳鶴洞 봉학동	An-guk-ri 安國里 안국리
		Pyông-wôn County 平原郡 평원군	Dök-san-myôn 德山面 덕산면	Wôn-o-ri 元五里 원오리
			Kong-dök-myôn 公德面 공덕면	Bôb-hûng-ri 法興里 법흥리
		An-chu City (?) 安州市 안주시	(?)	(?)
Sông-čhôn County 成川郡 성천군	(?)	(?)		
Nam-po Major City 南浦直轄市 남포직할시	10.4.			
Cha-kang-do 慈江道 자강도	10.5.			
Ryang-kang-do 兩江道 량강도	10.6.			
Ham-kyông-buk-do 咸鏡北道 함경북도	10.7.	Myông-čhôn County 明川郡 명천군	Sang-ko-myôn 上古面 상고면	Kæ-sim-dong 開心洞 개심동
Ham-kyông-nam-do 咸鏡南道 함경남도	10.8.	Ham-chu County 咸州郡 함주군	Dong-čhôn-myôn 東川面 동천면	Kyông-hûng-dong 慶興洞 경흥동
		Yông-kwang County 榮光郡 영광군	Čhôn-bul-dong 千佛洞 천불동	Sin-sông-ri 新成里 신성리
		Ko-wôn County 高原郡 고원군	(?)	Yong-čhôn-ri 龍泉里 용천리
Kang-wôn-do 江原道 강원도	10.9.	Ko-san County 高山郡 고산군	Sôk-wang-sa-myôn 釋王寺面 석왕사면	Sôl-bong-ri 雷峰里 설봉리
		An-byôn County 安邊郡 안변군	(-)	Sin-kon-ri 新坤里 신곤리
		Tong-čhôn County 通川郡 통천군	Byök-yang-myôn 碧峯面 벽양면	Byök-am-ri 碧岩里 벽암리
		Ko-sông County 高城郡 고성군	Wæ-gûm-gang-myôn 外金剛面 외금강면	Čhang-dæ-ri 倉岱里 창대리
				On-čhông-ri 溫井里 온정리
			Sô-myôn 西面 서면	(-)
Gûm-gang County 金剛郡 금강군	Gûm-gang-myôn 金剛面 금강면	Čhang-yôn-ri 長淵里 장연리		

Yak-san 藥山약산	10.2.5.	Čhŏn-chu-sa 天柱寺 천주사	(?)	(-)
Yak-san 藥山약산	10.2.6.	Sŏ-un-sa 樓(樓)雲寺 서운사	(?)	(-)
Bong-rin-san 鳳麟山 봉린산	10.3.1.	An-guk-sa 安國寺 안국사	~ 100m (?)	(-)
Man-dŏk-san 萬德山 만덕산	10.3.2.	ruined temple site 寺址 사지	(?)	(-)
Bŏb-hŭng-san 法興山 법흥산	10.3.3.	Bŏb-hŭng-sa 法興寺 법흥사	~ 200m (?)	(-)
Čhil-bul-san 七佛山 칠불산	10.3.4.	Čhil-bul-sa-chi 七佛寺址 칠불사지	(?)	(-)
Hyang-pung-san 香楓山 향풍산	10.3.5.	Hyang-pung-sa-chi 香楓寺址 향풍사지	(?)	(-)
Čhil-bo-san 七寶山 칠보산	10.7.1.	Kæ-sim-sa 開心寺 개심사	~ 300m (?)	(-)
Sŏl-bong-san 雪峰山 설봉산	10.8.1.	Kwi-chu-sa 歸州寺 귀주사	(?)	(-)
Čhŏn-bul-san 千佛山 천불산	10.8.2.	Kæ-sim-sa 開心寺 개심사	~ 400m (?)	(-)
Ban-ryong-san 반룡산	10.8.3.	Yang-čhŏn-sa 梁泉寺 양천사	(?)	(-)
Sŏl-bong-san 雪峰山 설봉산	10.9.1.	Sŏk-wang-sa 釋王寺 석왕사	(?)	(-)
Hwang-ryong-san 黃龍山 황룡산	10.9.2.	Bo-hyŏn-sa 普賢寺 보현사	~ 500m (?)	(-)
Ko-i-san 古伊산 고이산	10.9.3.	Kwan-lŏm-sa 觀音寺 관음사	~ 500m (?)	(-)
Wæ-gŏm-gang-san 外金剛山 외금강산	10.9.4.	Bal-yŏn-sa 鉢淵寺 발연사	(?)	(-)
Gŏm-gang-san 金剛山 금강산	10.9.5.	Sin-kye-sa-chi 神溪寺址 신계사지	~ 120m	(-)
Gŏm-gang-san 金剛山 금강산	10.9.6.	Yu-čhŏm-sa-chi 楡岾寺址 유점사지	~ 470m	(-)
Gŏm-gang-san 金剛山 금강산	10.9.7.	Chang-an-sa-chi 長安寺址 장안사지	~ 340m	(-)

Kang-wŏn-do 江原道 강원도	10.9.	Gŭm-gang County 金剛郡 금강군	Gŭm-gang-myŏn 金剛面 금강면	Chŏng-yang-dong-ri 正陽洞里 정양동리
				Chŏng-yang-dong-ri 正陽洞里 정양동리
				(?)
				Næ-gang-ri 內剛里 내강리
Hwang-hæ-buk-do 黃海北道 황해북도	10.10.	Hwang-chu County 黃州郡 황주군	Chu-nam-myŏn 州南面 주남면	Chŏng-bang-ri 正方里 정방리
		Yŏn-tan County 燕灘郡 연탄군	Ku-rak-myŏn 龜洛面 구락면	(?)
		Bong-san County 鳳山郡 봉산군	To-sŏng-myŏn 土城面 토성면	To-sŏng-ri 土城里 토성리
Hwang-hæ-nam-do 黃海南道 황해남도	10.11.	An-ak County 安岳郡 안악군	Yong-chin-myŏn 用珍面 용진면	Pæ-yŏb-ri 貝葉里 배엽리
			Wŏl-chŏng-ri 月精里 월정리	
		An-ak-myŏn 安岳面 안악면	(?)	
		Hæ-chu City 海州市 해주시	Sŏ-sŏk-myŏn 西席面 서석면	Sin-kwang-ri 神光里 신광리
			Gŭm-san-myŏn 錦山面 금산면	Næng-chŏng-ni (?) 녕정리
Kæ-sŏng Major City 開城直轄市 개성직할시	10.12.	(?)	Dong-kyo 東郊 동교	(?)
		(?)	(?)	(?)
		(?)	Cha-ha-dong 紫霞洞 자하동	(-)
		(?)	Ko-dŏk-ri 고덕리	(?)
		(?)	Dŏk-am-ri 덕암리	Tan-hyŏn-mun 炭峴門 탄현문
		(?)	Kwang-dŏk-myŏn 광덕면	(?)
		(?)	Chung-sŏ-myŏn 중서면	Yŏ-rŭng-ri 여릉리
		(?)	(?)	east of Yŏn-kyŏng-kung 延慶宮 연경궁
		(?)	(?)	(?)



Gŭm-gang-san 金剛山금강산	10.9.8.	Pyo-hun-sa 表訓寺표훈사	~ 440m	(-)
Gŭm-gang-san 金剛山금강산	10.9.9.	Chŏng-yang-sa 正陽寺정양사	~ 620m	(-)
Gŭm-gang-san 金剛山금강산	10.9.10.	Bo-dŏk-am 普德庵보덕암	(?)	(-)
Næ-gŭm-gang-san 內金剛山내금강산	10.9.11.	Gŭm-chang-am 金藏庵금장암	(?)	(-)
Chŏng-bang-san 正方山정방산	10.10.1.	Sŏng-bul-sa 成佛寺성불사	(?)	(-)
(?)	10.10.2.	Sim-wŏn-sa 心源寺심원사	(?)	(-)
(?)	10.10.3.	ruined temple site 寺址사지	~ 50m (?)	(-)
Ku-wŏl-san 九月山구월산	10.11.1.	Pæ-yŏb-sa 貝葉寺패엽사	(?)	(-)
Ku-wŏl-san 九月山구월산	10.11.2.	Wŏl-chŏng-sa 月精寺월정사	(?)	(-)
(?)	10.11.3.	Yŏn-dŭng-sa 燃燈寺연등사	(?)	(-)
Su-yang-san 首陽山수양산	10.11.4.	Sin-kwang-sa 神光寺신광사	~ 200m (?)	(-)
Su-mi-san 須彌山수미산	10.11.5.	Kwang-cho-sa-chi 廣照寺址광조사지	(?)	(-)
(?)	10.12.1.	Bul-il-sa-chi 佛日寺址불일사지	(?)	(-)
Dŏk-chŏk-san 德積山덕적산	10.12.2.	Hŭng-wang-sa-chi 興王寺址흥왕사지	(?)	(-)
Song-ak-san 松岳山송악산	10.12.3.	An-hwa-sa 安和寺안화사	(?)	(-)
Chŏn-ma-san 천마산	10.12.4.	Kwan-ŭm-sa 觀音寺(殿)관음사(殿)	(?)	(-)
(-)	10.12.5.	Kæ-guk-sa-chi 開國寺址개국사지	(?)	(-)
Bu-so-san 부소산	10.12.6.	Kyŏng-chŏn-sa-chi 敬天寺址경천사지	(?)	(-)
(?)	10.12.7.	Guk-chŏng-sa-chi 國淸寺址국청사지	(?)	(-)
(?)	10.12.8.	Bŏb-wang-sa-chi 法王寺址법왕사지	(?)	(-)
(-)	10.12.9.	(Dæ-) Bong-ŭm-sa-chi (大)奉恩寺址(대)봉은사지	(?)	(-)

Kæ-sǒng Major City 開城直轄市 개성직할시	10.12.	(?)	(?)	(?)
		Pan-mun-gun 板門郡 판문군	Sang-do-myǒn 上道面 상도면	Pung-čhǒn-ri 楓川里 풍천리
		(?)	Yǒn-bok-dong 연북동	(?)
		(?)	Ko-ryǒ-dong 高麗洞 고려동	Chuk-sǒn-dæ 竹仙臺 죽선대
		(?)	(?)	(?)
		(?)	Man-wǒl-dong 滿月洞 만월동	south of Byǒng-bu-kyo 兵部橋 병부교
		Chang-dan-gun 장단군	Chin-sǒ-myǒn 진서면	(?)
		(?)	Yǒng-nam-myǒn 영남면	Hyǒn-hwa-ri 현화리
		(?)	(?)	(?)
		(?)	(?)	(?)
		(?)	Chin-bong-myǒn 진봉면	Tan-dong-ri 탄동리
CHINA: Jilin-xing 吉林省길림	11.1.	Changbai Chaoxianzu Zizhixian 長白朝鮮族自治縣 장백조선족자치현		north of Changbaizhen 長白鎮 장백진
		Helung County 和龍縣 화룡현	former Sǒ-ko-sǒng 西古城 서고성	Dehuaxiang 德化鄉 덕화향
		Hunchun County 琿春縣 혼춘현	former Dong-kyǒng Yong-wǒn-bu 東京龍原府 동경용원부	
Heilongjiang-xing 黑龍江省 흑룡강성	11.2.	Ning-an County 寧安縣 영안현	former Sang-kyǒng Yong-čhǒn-bu 上京龍泉府 상경용천부	
RUSSIA: Maritime Provinces	12.1.	(?)	Abrikosov (?)	(?)

(?)	10.12.10.	Ssang-bong-sa-chi 雙峯寺址 쌍봉사지	(?)	(-)
Bu-so-san 扶蘇山부소산	10.12.11.	Yŏn-kyŏng-sa 衍慶寺 연경사	(?)	(-)
(?)	10.12.12.	Yŏn-bok-sa-chi 演福寺址 연복사지	(?)	(-)
Song-ak-san 松岳山송악산	10.12.13.	Wang-ryun-sa-chi 王輪寺址 왕륜사지	(?)	(-)
(?)	10.12.14.	Ho-guk-in-wang-sa-chi 護國人王寺 호국인왕사	(?)	(-)
(-)	10.12.15.	Hŭng-guk-sa-chi 興國寺址 흥국사지	(?)	(-)
Bo-bong-san 보봉산	10.12.16.	Hwa-chang-sa-chi 華藏寺址 화장사지	(?)	(-)
(?)	10.12.17.	Hyŏn-hwa-sa-chi 玄華寺址 현화사지	(?)	(-)
(?)	10.12.18.	Yŏng-tong-sa-chi 靈通寺址 영통사지	(?)	(-)
(?)	10.12.19.	Dae-hŭng-sa 大興寺 대흥사	(?)	(-)
Chin-bong-san 진봉산	10.12.20.	Do-sŏn-am 道詵庵 도선암	(?)	(-)
Tashan 塔山 탑산	11.1.1.	ruined temple site 寺址 사지	(?)	(-)
(?)	11.1.2.	Gaochan temple site 高產寺刹址 고산사찰지	(?)	(-)
(?)	11.1.3.	ruined temple site No. 1 寺址 사지 제 1 호	(?)	(-)
(-)	11.2.1. - 11.2.9.	temple sites No. 1 - 9 寺址 사지 제 1 - 9 호	(?)	(-)
(?)	12.1.1.	Abrikosov temple site	(?)	(-)

(The underlined numbers of maps are in possession of Sŏ-ul (Seoul) City University 서울市立大學校 서울시립대학교.)



**ABBREVIATIONS &  
BIBLIOGRAPHY**



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**ABBREVIATIONS**


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AA	<i>Artibus Asiae</i> <sup>1</sup>
AAAs	<i>Arts Asiaticques</i> <sup>1</sup>
AB	<i>Art Bulletin</i> <sup>1</sup>
abbr.	abbreviation
<i>ActaA</i> 47 / 66	<i>Acta Asiatica</i> <sup>1</sup>
AD	Anno Domini (= in the year of Our Lord)
BB	<i>Buddhica Britannica</i> <sup>1</sup>
BC	Before Christ
<i>BCMh</i> 1 - 20	<i>Bæk-che Mun-hwa</i> <sup>1</sup>
<i>BGinCd</i> (No. 101-1 to 301-25)	<i>Bi'h-gkal-idd-nŭn Chæk-dŭl</i> <sup>1</sup>
BKSC	<i>Bul-kyo-sa-chŏn</i> <sup>1</sup>
C.	century, centuries
CACD	Chung-ang-chi-do 中央地圖 중앙지도 (Ed.), Sŏ-ul (Seoul) 서울, refers to the topographical maps
Ch:	Chinese
cm	centimetre
CPS 1 - 11	<i>Cultural Properties Survey</i> <sup>1</sup>
CSSKF	Chōsen sŏtokufu <sup>1</sup>
CSYCYMDK 3 - 11	<i>Cho-sŏn-yu-chŏk-yu-mul-do-kam</i> <sup>1</sup>
DHKCHHMC	<i>Dæ-han-kŏn-čhuk-hak-hwæ Non-mun-chib</i> <sup>1</sup>
dm <sup>3</sup>	cube decimetre = litre
Ed.	edition company
ed.	editor
eds.	editors
e.g.	exempli gratia (= for example)
EPFL	École Polytechnique Fédérale de Lausanne, the abbr. concerning illustrations refers to studies made under the direction of Frédéric Aubry (not published)
et al.	et alii (= and others)
etc.	et cetera (= and so on)
f.	and the following
ff.	and the followings

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<sup>1</sup> See: Bibliography.

fig.	figure
figs.	figures
fl.	flourished
g	gram
h:	height
<i>HBGR</i> I - VII	<i>Hōbōgin</i> <sup>1</sup>
<i>HDKSC</i>	<i>Hæ-dong-ko-sŭng-chŏn</i> <sup>1</sup>
<i>HGBKCDHŬH</i>	<i>Han-guk-bul-kyo-chong-dan-hyŏb-ŭi-hwæ</i> <sup>1</sup>
<i>HGKĀDK</i> I - VII	<i>Han-guk-kŏn-ĉhuk-dæ-kye</i> <sup>1</sup>
<i>HGKĀC</i>	<i>Han-guk-kŏn-ĉhuk-sa</i> <sup>1</sup>
<i>HGMHSCSC</i> I - II	<i>Han-guk-mun-hwa-sang-ching-sa-chŏn</i> <sup>1</sup>
<i>HGMSDK</i> 4	<i>Han-guk-min-sok-dæ-kwan</i> <sup>1</sup>
<i>HGSĀCS</i> I - II	<i>Han-guk-sa-ĉhal-chŏn-sŏ</i> <sup>1</sup>
<i>HGŭKKĀC</i>	<i>Han-guk-ŭi Ko-kŏn-ĉhuk</i> <sup>1</sup>
<i>HGŭM</i> 1 - 24	<i>Han-guk-ŭi Mi</i> <sup>1</sup>
<i>HGŭSĀC</i>	<i>Han-guk-ŭi Sa-ĉhal</i> <sup>1</sup>
<i>HJAS</i> 42-1	<i>Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies</i> <sup>1</sup>
<i>HKgCK</i> 93-6	<i>Hwan-kyŏng-gwa Cho-kyŏng</i> <sup>1</sup>
i.e.	id est (= that is to say)
incl.	including
J:	Japanese
<i>JAH</i>	<i>Journal of Architectural History</i> <sup>1</sup>
K:	Korean
<i>KĀgHK</i>	<i>Kŏn-ĉhuk-gwa Hwan-kyŏng</i> <sup>1</sup>
<i>KĀS</i> 89-07	<i>Kŏn-ĉhuk-sa</i> <sup>1</sup>
<i>KCZS</i>	<i>Kenchiku Zasshi</i> <sup>1</sup>
<i>KG</i>	<i>Kaogu</i> <sup>1</sup>
kg	kilogram
<i>KGMS</i>	<i>Ko-go-mi-sul</i> <sup>1</sup>
km	kilometre
<i>KRS</i> 1 - 11	<i>Ko-ryŏ-sa</i> <sup>1</sup>
m	metre
m <sup>2</sup>	square metre
m <sup>3</sup>	cube metre
<i>MHCKLG</i>	<i>Mun-hwa-chæ-kwan-li-guk</i> <sup>1</sup>
<i>MHCSRBS</i> 86 - 94	<i>Mun-hwa-chæ-su-ri-bo-go-sŏ</i> <sup>1</sup>
<i>MS</i>	<i>Monumenta Serica</i> <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See: Bibliography.



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<i>MSDSC</i> 1 - 2	<i>Min-sok-dæ-sa-chŏn</i> <sup>1</sup>
<i>MSKĆ</i> I - IV	<i>Myŏng-san-ko-čhal</i> <sup>1</sup>
n.	footnote
<i>NB</i> 1 - 6	<i>Nyŏn-bo</i> <sup>1</sup>
n.d.	no dates
<i>NHnBJ</i>	<i>Nihon no Bijutsu</i> <sup>1</sup>
<i>NHSK</i>	<i>Nihonshoki</i> , the abbr. refers to the English translation by ASTON <sup>1</sup>
No.	number
<i>OA</i>	<i>Oriental Art</i> <sup>1</sup>
p.	page
pl.	plate
pp.	pages
r.	reign, reigned
<i>SCDGYCSR</i>	<i>Sin-chŭng-dong-guk-yŏ-chi-sŭng-ram</i> <sup>1</sup>
<i>SCSC</i>	<i>Sa-čhal-sa-chŏn</i> <sup>1</sup>
<i>SGSG</i>	<i>Sam-guk-sa-gi</i> <sup>1</sup>
<i>SGSSC</i>	<i>Se-guk-sa-sa-chŏn</i> <sup>1</sup>
<i>SGSZ</i>	<i>Song gao seng zhuan</i> <sup>1</sup>
<i>SGYS</i>	<i>Sam-guk-yu-sa</i> <sup>1</sup> (page numbers in brackets refer to the English translation by HA Tæ-hung & MINTZ <sup>1</sup> )
<i>SKBJZS</i> 1 - 6	<i>Sekai bijutsu zenshū</i> <sup>1</sup>
Skr:	Sanskrit
<i>SLMH</i> 1 - 8	<i>Sin-la-mun-hwa</i> <sup>1</sup>
<i>T</i>	<i>Taishō</i> <sup>1</sup>
t	ton
<i>TP</i>	<i>T'oung Pao</i> <sup>1</sup>
transl.	translated by
<i>TrKB</i>	<i>Transactions of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</i> <sup>1</sup>
var.	variant
vol.	volume
vols.	volumes
<i>WW</i>	<i>Wenwu</i> <sup>1</sup>
<i>ZGJZS</i>	<i>Zhong guo jian zhu shi</i> <sup>1</sup>
<i>ZYWW</i>	<i>Zhong yuan wen wu</i> <sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See: Bibliography.

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Vol. 3: Japan 3 日本につぼん 일본 3: Nara 奈良なら 나랑

Vol. 4: Japan 4 日本につぼん 일본 4: Heian I 平安I へいあん I 평안I

Vol. 5: Japan 5 日本につぼん 일본 5: Heian II 平安II へいあん II 평안II

Vol. 6: Japan 6 日本につぼん 일본 6: Kamakura 鎌倉 かまくら 겸창

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