



Programa de Doctorado en ARTE Y PATRIMONIO

TRACING THE ORIGIN AND CHANGING TRENDS
OF ANCIENT BUDDHIST TEMPLES
IN EAST ASIA TROUGH THE STUDY OF THE
EARLY SHRINES OF KOREA

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TRACING THE ORIGIN AND CHANGING TRENDS OF
ANCIENT BUDDHIST TEMPLES IN EAST ASIA
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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 STUDY BACKGROUND AND TREND

1.2 OBJECTIVE OF STUDY

1.3 STUDY METHOD AND SCOPE

1.1 STUDY BACKGROUND AND TREND

Buddhism is one of the religions that formed a basis for the cultural formation of the ancient East Asia. Since its emergence in India, Buddhism was introduced to China, and then to Korea and Japan. Not only did Buddhism become the basis of the common culture in East Asia, but it also had a great influence on politics, economy and the overall society, as well as on religions and ideas. Under such category, the role of Buddhist architecture in the architectural history of East Asia in the ancient times is unquestionable.

After Buddhism entered Korea in the second-half of the 4th Century, which was relatively early compared to other countries of East Asia, it was recognized as a state religion for over 1,000 years under the protection of the state. Despite the official policy of suppression during the Joseon Dynasty, many Buddhist temples(Garama)¹ have been preserved to this date owing to the great royal support and the successful settlement of Buddhism as a popular belief for a long time. In addition, various resources and data are being provided through excavation to confirm the

1 In Sanskrit, a Buddhist temple or Garama is called "Saṃghārāma" that is a compound word of Saṃgha meaning the gathering of Buddhist monks, and Arāma meaning residence. It also refers to the structure or the area where monks and devotees stay and conduct Buddhism practice and teach Buddhist doctrines by enshrining the Statue of the Buddha or the stupa(Stūpa=pagoda), etc. In other words, it refers to a Buddhist temple.

characteristics of Korean ancient Buddhist temple arrangements, and some of them are already identified through previous excavations.

As the main subject of this study, the ancient Buddhist temples of Korea are relatively early remains of Buddhist temples in all of East Asia. Thus, it is considered an important historic lead that clarifies the changes and the development process of East Asian Buddhist temples.

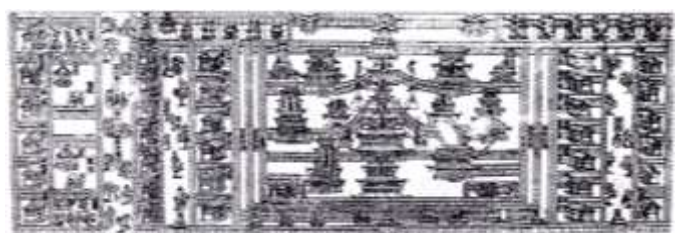
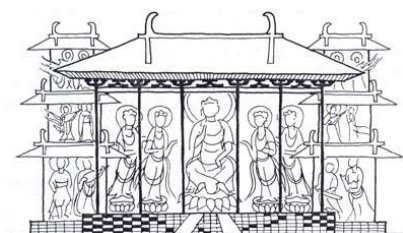


[Figure 1] Restoration of Mireuksa Temple Arrangement, Buyeo, South Korea. Source: Juhyung Lee



[Figure 2] Restoration of Hwangnyongsa Temple Arrangement, Gyeong-ju, South Korea. Source: Juhyung Lee

Unfortunately, it's hard to find any prototype Buddhist remains in China that comes close to the ones in Korea due to the damage and destruction of Buddhist remains and the change in the arrangement of Buddhist temples caused by the replacement of various ethnic groups and dynasties, though China played a significant role in leading the development of Buddhism and its history in Eastern Asia.



[Figure 3] Left – Temple Arrangement Shown in the 423rd Cave of Dunhuang (End of 6th Century Beginning of 7th Century). Source: Xi, Huanpi; Wang, Zedong: *The Underground Buddhist Caves of Dunhuang*. p.88. Right – Image of ideal temples portrayed by a Chinese pilot (End of 7th Century). Source: Xi Huanpi and Wang Zedong: *The Underground Buddhist Caves of Dunhuang*, p.97.

As the geographical features of Japan give easy clues, the argument that Buddhism came through Korea to Japan is recognized as an established theory in the academia of the both countries, and evidence for these historical facts has been provided through many historical records.

If it is difficult to find leads to the beginning and the changes of East Asian Buddhist architecture in China, which was the first country in East Asia to accept and spread Buddhism, the conclusion that Buddhist remains of Korea should be recognized as a subject of analysis by priority based on the fact that Korea accepted Buddhism before Japan, and that the Korean ancient temples are top leads to analogizing the origin and changes of the temple arrangements in East Asia shall be deferred provisionally.

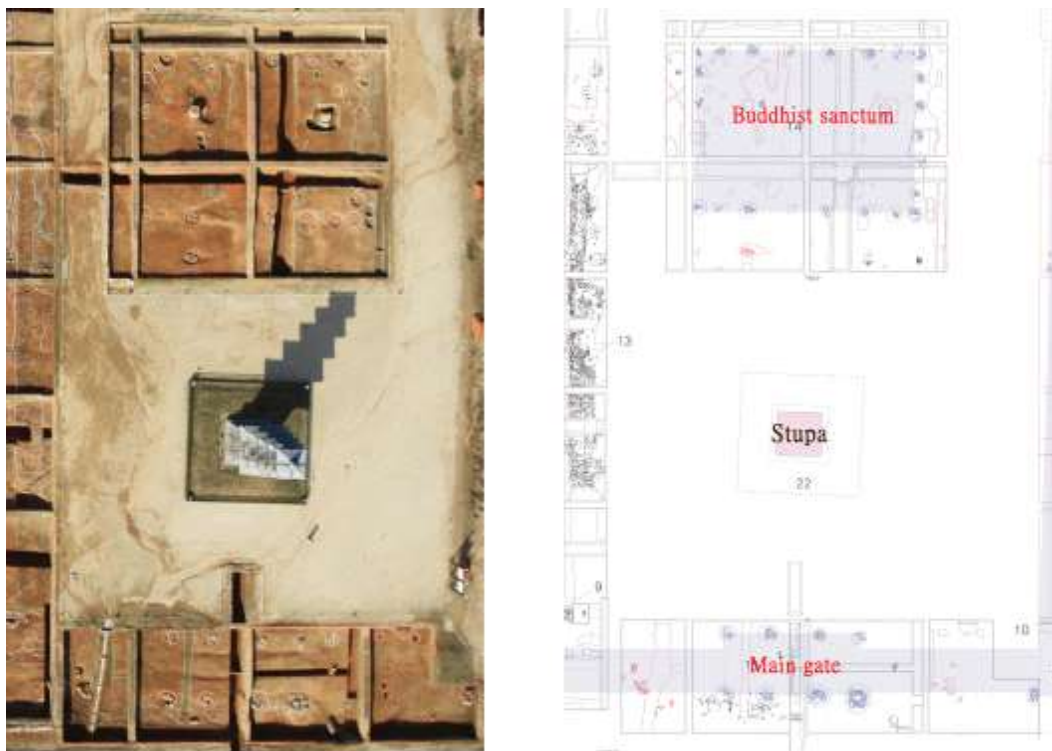
This means that the study results of the ancient Buddhist temples of Korea are significant leads to finding out the origin and the changes of the Buddhist architecture in East Asia.



[Figure 4] The Korean Peninsula in the 4th Century. Source:

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Three_Kingdoms_of_Korea#/media/File:History_of_Korea-476.PNG

The arrangement of ancient Buddhist temples in Korea from the late 4th Century to the late 6th Century is largely distinguished by two forms of Goguryeo and Baekje. The first form is the 'three halls-one stupa', where the hall(金堂=Buddhist Sanctuary)² is situated at the back and on both sides with a stupa³ in the center, same as that of Cheongamrisa Temple(清岩里寺址)⁴ of Goguryeo. The second form is the one hall-one stupa style where one hall is situated at the back with a stupa in the center as that of Jeongnimsa Temple(定林寺址)⁵ of Baekje.



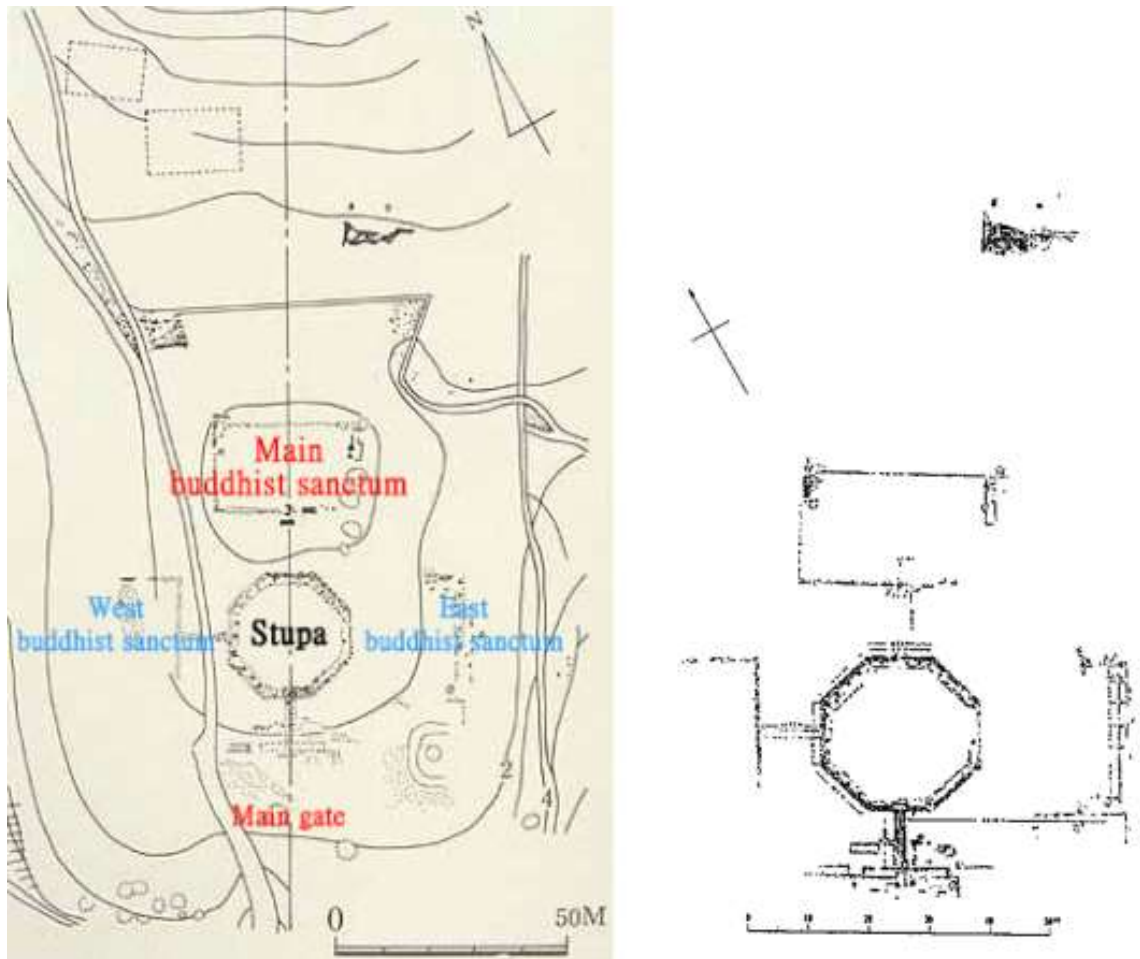
[Figure 5] Arrangement of Jeongnimsa Temple Site of Baekje (one hall-one stupa). Source: picture and sketch by Juhjung Lee.

2 Originally, this refers to the central structure in a temple that enshrines the Svadeva (The Main Buddha of Worship), that is to say Sakyamuni Buddha. It is also used to refer to the structure that enshrines the statue of the Buddha. Here, the latter meaning was used. According to theories, the term 'Main Buddhist Sanctum' originated from the gold color used to paint the inside of the Buddhist temples, and from the enshrinement of the gold-colored Buddha of Worship inside the temple.

3 The stupa originally functions as an object of worship in Buddhism or to dedicate the tomb of cremation in India.

4 Located in Pyeongyang, Pyeongannam-do, North Korea

5 Located in Buyeo, Chungcheongnam-do, South Korea

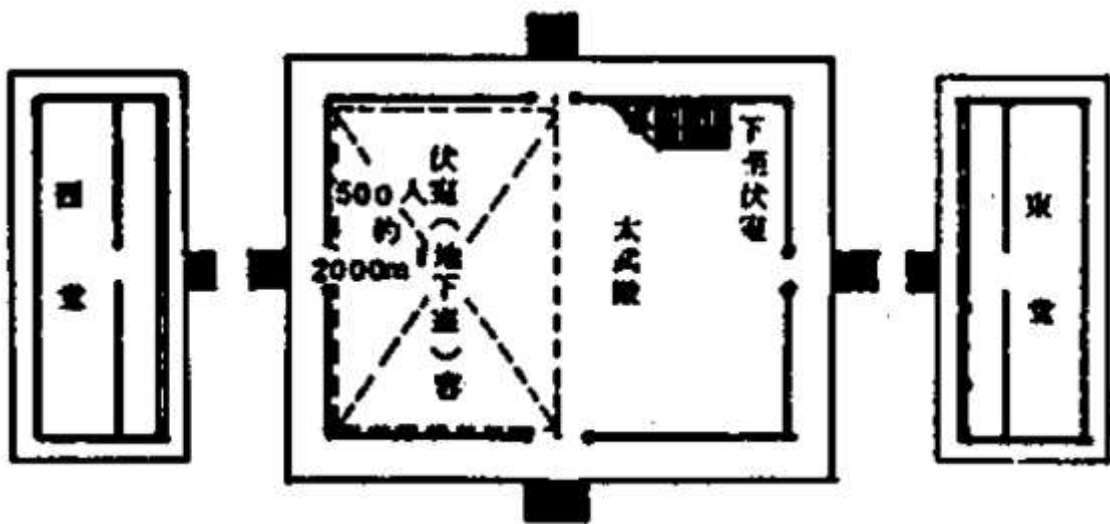


[Figure 6] Arrangement of Cheongamrisa Temple Site of Goguryeo (Three halls-one pagod). Sketches by the author.

Several studies have been conducted to point out the historic flow of the Buddhist architecture in Korea with these two types of Buddhist temple arrangements. As a result, it has been verified that the change in the Buddhist temple arrangement has been derived from the development in the antagonistic and complementary relation between the main hall and the stupa. Thus, the phenomenal characteristics of the stupa and the hall were able to be classified and understood.

Many have contended that the ancient Buddhist temple arrangement of Korea should be traced back to its origin. This contention was made based on a Chinese literature about Goguryeo, given that the 齊勝忠 arrangement form of 'three halls-one stupa' has not been found in China yet. Furthermore, the form of royals structures of Goguryeo since the ancient times is assumed to have been applied to Buddhist

architecture and to the structures on both sides of the octagonal stupa in Cheongamrisa Temple based on the records⁶ that a large house(大屋) was built on both sides of the palace to enshrine ghosts stated in Stories of Goguryeo(高句麗傳) described in the History of Wei (魏志) in “The Records of the Three Kingdoms(三國志)”.



[Figure 7] Impression of the restored palace structure in the Later Han. Sketch by the author

Seong-Woo Kim assumed in his paper⁷ that this type of structure is defined as a two hall-one stupa style and that the royal structures were the original form of Buddhist structures from the historical sources which state that Emperor of Wei (文帝, A.D. 227~233), Emperor of Liang (武帝, A.D. 502~550) and Emperor of Qin (武帝, A.D.

6 “好治宮室，於所居之左右立大屋，祭鬼神” 三國志，魏書，卷 30 東夷傳，高句麗, *The Korean History Database System of NIKH*, http://db.history.go.kr/item/level.do?sessionId=CF8B7736FF5A7417BA88216605F2798C?levelId=jo_004_0010_0030_0010 [retrieved 03/07/2020]

7 Seong-Woo Kim, "The Origin of the Three Buddhist Sanctums", *Architectural Institute of Korea, AIK Journals* Vol. 4 No. 1 (Serial No.15) 1988. P. 23.

557~560) constructed a structure on both sides of the royal palace(大殿), Taeguk Palace (太極殿), and handled state affairs (政務).

There is an argument that is still recognized as a predominant outline for the fundamentals of temple arrangement of ancient Korea within the academic world of Korean architecture. The argument is described in most historic records of Korean architecture and is recognized as an established theory, but the fact is that the argument was contended by a single scholar named 米田美代治 during the period of Japanese colonialism.

His assertion, based on the “Influence of Astronomical Ideas on Ancient Structures of Joseon and Buddhist Temple Arrangement”⁸ and “Supplementing⁹ based on the influence of astronomical ideas on Ancient Structures of Joseon and Buddhist Temple Arrangement” in “A Study on Ancient Structures of Joseon(朝鮮上代建築の研究)¹⁰” which he published in 1944, states that the temple site in Cheongam-ri was arranged by the influence of the astronomical concept.

In other words, the astronomical concept during the Han (漢代, B.C. 206~A.D. 220) Dynasty of China was applied to the principle of the temple arrangement of Goguryeo. Assuming that the Buddhist architectural plan was influenced by the royal structures(宮室建築), the arrangement of the 5 constellation(五星座) which is described in the astronomical part “Tianguan Shu(天官書)” of “Sagi(史記)¹¹” is the same as the

8 Published in the *Architectural Institute of Japan Journals* No. 21(1942. Apr.)

9 Published in the *Architectural Institute of Japan Journals* No. 23(1942. Dec.)

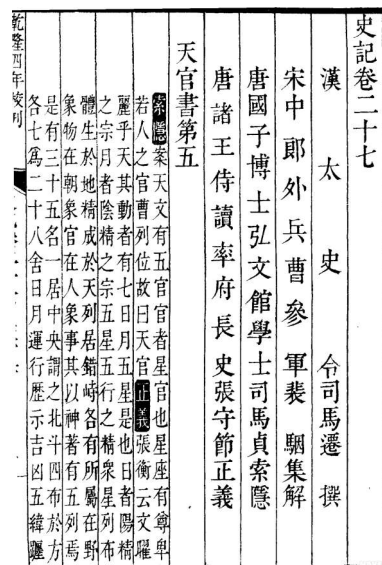
10 This book was translated in 1976 by Young-Hoon Shin and published in our country.

11 History(通史) that recorded 3000 years from the emperor(黃帝) of the ancient Chinese times to the period of Taoism(漢武帝) during which Sima Qian lived.

arrangement of Cheongamrisa Temple. He asserted that it is in the same context as the 5-constellation arrangement of the royal palaces in China, and he therefore presumed that the 5-constellation arrangement form of China influenced the arrangement of Buddhist temples of Goguryeo.

Buddhism gradually developed and the influence of astronomical ideas weakened when the status was elevated by the social settlement of Buddhist ideas. Thus, it is assumed that the form equal to the temple arrangement (one hall-one stupa) of Baekje derived from the 5-constellation arrangement of Goguryeo.

In his paper, "The origin of the 3 Buddhist Sanctums¹²", Seong-Woo Kim agreed that astronomy affected the architecture of Chinese cultural areas in East Asia and also the ancient civilization all over the world, and that the astronomical symbolism may have been applied to the hierarchy in the architectural culture of East Asia which exerted effort into contributing symbolism to the horizontal arrangement plan for the ground(地面), but he criticizes the logical jumps and errors of the contention made by 米田美代治 as the following.



[Figure 8] "Cheongwansseo" Original Contents. Source: *Sagi* Volume 27. Park Chaonbul. 1978

12 Seong-Woo Kim, "The Origin of the Three Buddhist Sanctums", *Architectural Institute of Korea*. P. 352.

Firstly, he investigated the original contents of the 5-constellation arrangement which became the basis of 米田美代治 :

中宮 天極星

The North Star(天極星)¹³ is in the center of the celestial sphere(天球),

其一明者, 太一常居也

and there is a bright star in the center where Taeil(太一)¹⁴ stays.

旁三星三公, 或曰子屬

The three stars next to it are the three excellencies(三公)¹⁵. Some also call them Sons of God(天帝).

後句四星, 末大星正妃, 餘三星後宮之屬也

Behind Taeil lies four stars in the shape of a curve, and the biggest star at the very end is called Jeongbi(正妃), and the rest are royal concubines.

環之匡衛十二星, 藩臣

The twelve stars surrounding it are the feudal lords who guard the border.

13 It is also called the North Star(北極星) but it is different from the North Star of today.

14 A term referring to God(天帝)

15 Originated from the Chinese(周) Government(官制), this term was used to refer to the 3 men in the highest position of ministership(大臣) in the East Asian countries such as China, Korea and Japan before the modern times.

皆曰紫宮

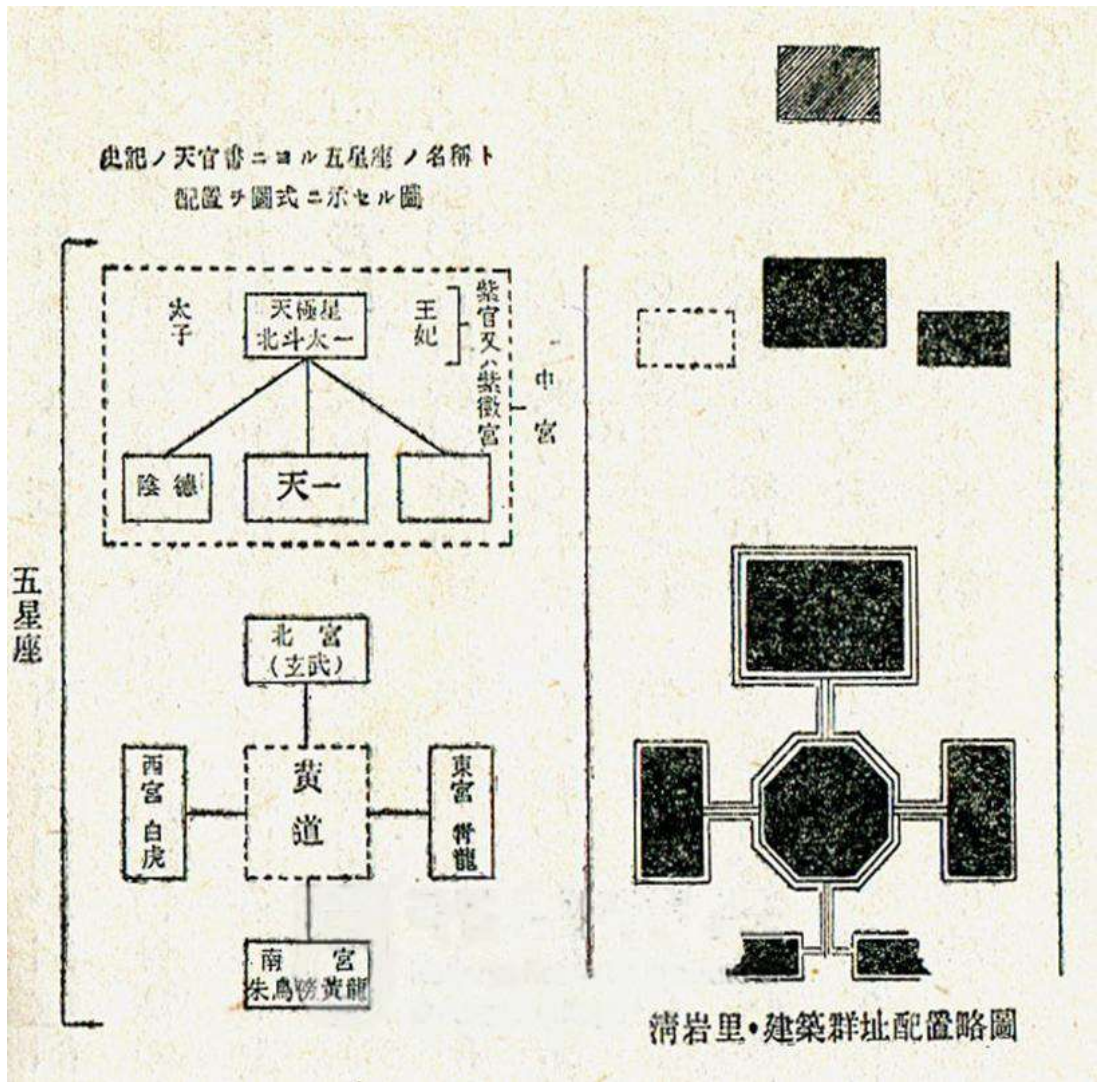
These are called 紫微垣¹⁶.

前列直斗□ 三星, 隨北端兌, 若見若不, 曰陰德, 或曰天一

The three stars situated near the entrance of the North Star(北斗星) facing the front of 'Jagung' form a triangular shape which stretches out to the north, and this is called 'Eumdeok(陰德)' or 'Cheonil(天一)'.

According to 米田美代治, the 5 constellation of Cheongwanseo surrounds the east palace(東宮), west palace(西宮), south palace(南宮) and north palace(北宮) with the Huangdao in the center, and it corresponds with the buildings near the stupa at Cheongamrisa Temple. The 3 building sites in the north and another building site were said to accord with the constellations such as Taeil, Eumdeok, Cheonil of the Queen (中宮) which are also called the Queen. Then, the relation of the constellation was displayed in a diagram to show the congruousness with the arrangement of Cheongamri Temple.

16 Refers to the constellation(星座) in the northern direction of the North Star, and it is also called the 'Three Enclosures(三垣)', the constellation of East Asia : Meaning 'three fences', it is one of the constellations of the East Asia constellation. This is the second enclosure out of the three, and it includes the North Pole of the celestial sphere. Also, a part of the Great Bear of the Western constellation including the Small Bear and the Dragon fall under this constellation.

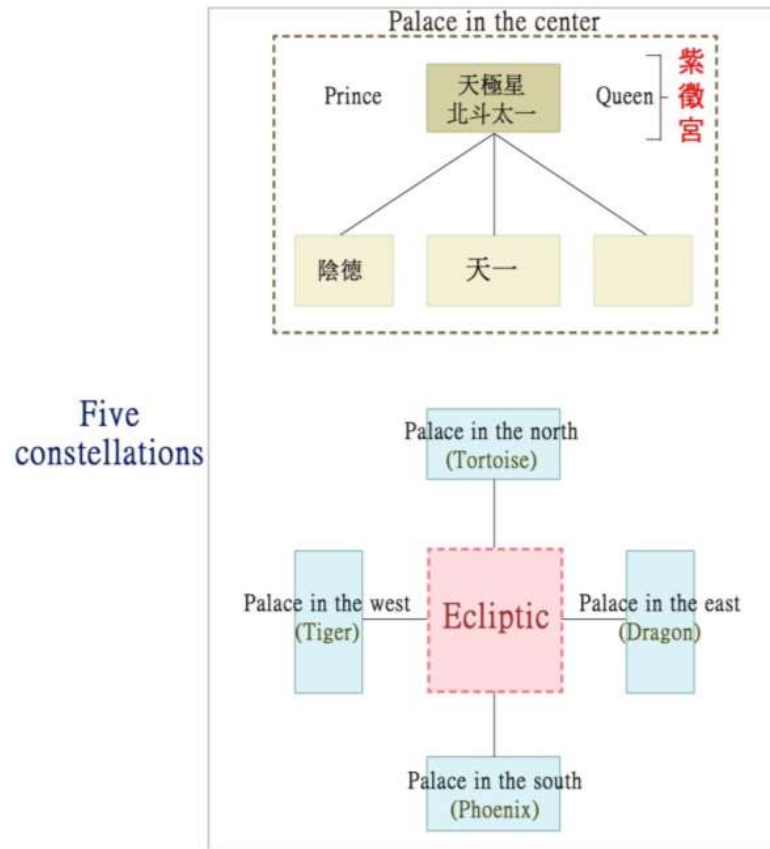


[Figure 9]

Original copy of the palace arrangement based on the 5-constellation arrangement of 米田美代治.

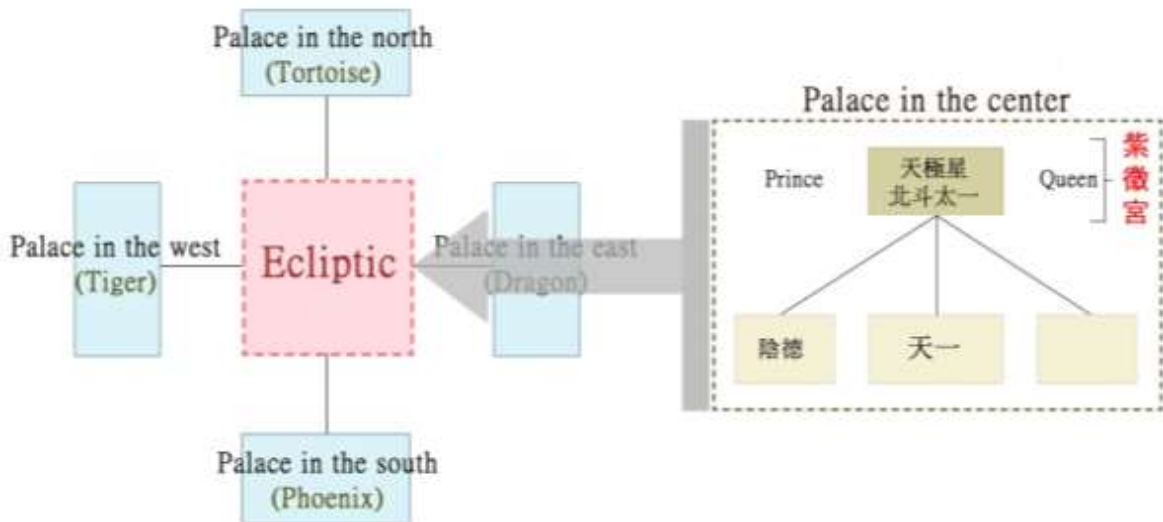
Source: Miyoji Yoneda (米田美代治著), 朝鮮上代建築の研究 / Chōsen jōdai kenchiku no kenkyū / A research on ancient Korean Architecture. P. 93

In “Cheongwanso” of “Sagi”, however, the above figure is not included. Also, the overall details of Cheongwanso describe constellations(星座) and stars(恒星) by dividing the sky up into 4 palaces(四宮): east, west, south and north, and the Queen. In this concept, the Queen, shown in the upper part of [Figure 9], should be situated in the center of the 4 palaces where the ecliptic is(黃道).



[Figure 10] Diagram of the palace arrangement based on the 5-constellation arrangement of 米田美代治.

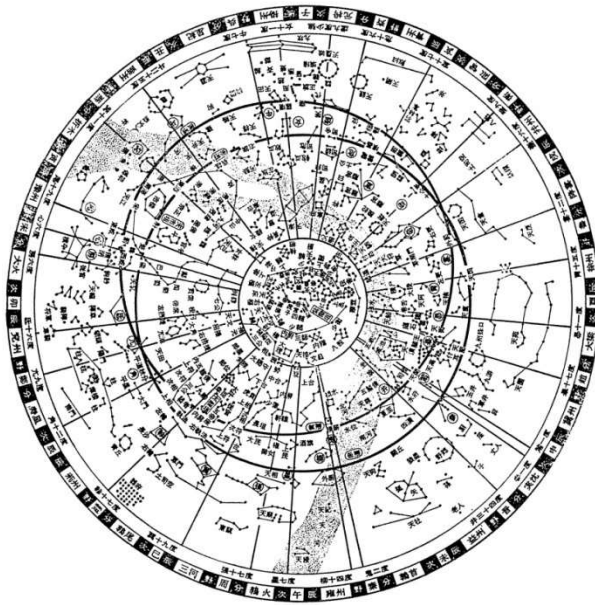
Source: Juhyung Lee



[Figure 11] Reinterpretation of the Palace Arrangement based on the 5 Constellation Arrangement. Source:

Juhyung Lee

The Queen(紫微宮) is positioned in the center in the old astronomical chart.



[Figure 12] Chonsang Yol-cha Bunya-ji-do, from Beijing

National Museum. Source:

<https://taeulju.tistory.com/125>



[Figure 13] Square Stone of Chonsang Yol-cha Bunya-ji-do, from Beijing National Museum.

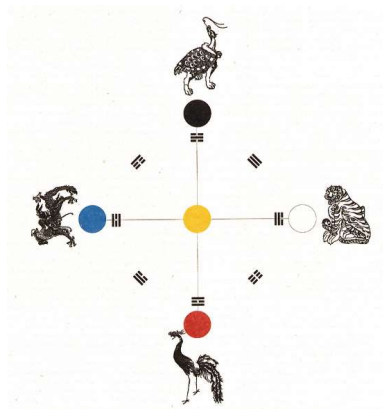
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[Figure 14] Center of the Celestial Sphere(天球), Chonsang Yol-cha, from a brochure from Beijing National Museum.

In the end, the four palaces and the Queen's five palaces do not refer to a specific star sign. The stars in the sky are grouped and systematized in such a way that the direction ideas of ancient China were used in astronomy. If the palace is not referring to a specific star or constellation, the view that the arrangement of Cheongamrisa Temple is in accordance with it is not much different from the view that the idea of Five Elements(五行思想) agrees with the arrangement of Cheongamrisa Temple.



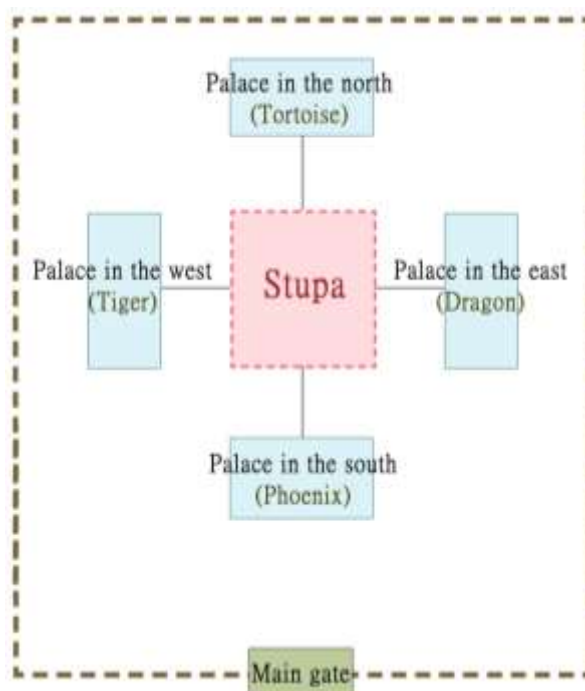
[Figure 15] Concept Map of Five Elements: Source: Juhyung Lee.

The details of "Sagi", Cheongwanseo, are not only highly abstract and ideological, but there is no connection between the location of the constellation and the diagram of 米田美代治. This signifies the difficulty of acquiring logical validity through the diagram of 米田美代治 based on the details of Cheongwanseo.

Furthermore, no architectural data on the royal chamber system or the detailed architectural relationship of influence between Buddhist structures and palace structures has been proposed in 米田美代治's argument.

Moreover, according to 米田美代治, the 5-constellation arrangement refers to the formation of the 4 palaces in east, west, south and north surrounding the Huangdao which is in the center. When compared to Cheongamrisa Temple, the Buddhist sanctum in the north, east and west of the stupa and the central gates are situated in the south.

The concept of the 5-constellation arrangement of the palace structure drawn up by 米田美代治 has 4 palaces with similar or equal semantic or symbolic weight with Huangdao in the center to form balance, unlike the site of Cheongamrisa Temple which has 3 Buddhist sanctums where the statue of the Buddha is enshrined in the east, west and south direction with the stupa in the center. Also, the gates are situated in the north to form the 5-constellation arrangement.



[Figure 16] Resetting the Arrangement of Cheongamrisa Temple Site. Source: Juhjung Lee.

The two types of structural arrangement may be said to agree phenomenally but the door on the north side breaks the whole balance in the aspect of symbolism and meaning. To follow the inherent meaning of the 5-constellation arrangement, another Buddhist sanctum shall be installed in between the central gates and the stupa.

To conclude, the assertion made by 米田美代治 shall be deemed an impractical reasoning that only tried to link Cheongamrisa Temple with the 5-constellation arrangement of Cheongwanso, which lacks in objective validity.

Regarding this, 米田美代治 admitted that he directly used Jegung(諸宮) of the 5-constellation in Cheongwanso as a structure name at the end of “Supplementing based on the influence of astronomical ideas on Ancient Structures of Joseon and Buddhist Temple Arrangement” of “A Study on Ancient Structures of Joseon”. Also, there was a problem with the location of the Queen which was not explained well, and the conclusion that the location of the 5-constellation and the arrangement of Cheongamrisa Temple completely agree was also short of explanation.

His attempt to interpret ancient architecture with astronomy shall not be looked down on, as astronomy did affect all ancient societies in East Asia and other parts of the world. Due to the lack of practical evidence showing the correlation between Cheongwanso and the royal structures of ancient China, absence of a case where royal structures were constructed by the 5-constellation arrangement of Cheongwanso, and the shortage of proof and basis to verify the influence of royal structures on Buddhist structures, his assertion could only remain as one of many other hypotheses. Then again, there was one common factor that showed in other assertions including the one made by 米田美代治. All are hoping to find the origin of the ancient Buddhist temples in East Asia within the frame of ancient Chinese architecture, and therefore all the logical development shall be based on the culture of ancient China.

As stated earlier, the ancient Buddhist temples of Korea are important leads in tracing the features of the ancient Buddhist temple arrangements in Middle East Asia owing to the fact that no early ancient Buddhist temple has been found in China. With no early ancient Buddhist temples in China, there is a need to raise a question if it is reasonable to establish a logical approach by finding a correlation between the ancient temples of Korea and the royal palace of China or other types of structures similar to the structures used for religious ceremonies, without proposing any historical evidence.

1.2 OBJECTIVE OF STUDY

Another common thing in the assertions mentioned earlier is the evasion of foundation and investigation of the fundamental and essential correlation regarding the influence of Buddhism, which must precede the correlation between the royal structures and the temples of ancient China instead of seeking it, on Buddhist structures.

In order for these assertions to be persuasive, the investigation for context in royal structures and Buddhist structures must be preceded in the primitive view, but no relationship between such structure types is stated clearly in any of the ancient history records.

The fact that ancient Korean temples influenced the ancient temples of China, suggests a geographical, historical and cultural relationship between Korea and China. The question of whether it can be concluded that China independently created the primitive form of the temple arrangement in East Asia is therefore worth consideration.

The dissemination trend of any new culture or idea could be said to be general in its completion of magnetization for the understanding background while the level of understanding increases after thorough interpretation and reflection on the essence through the unconditional step of following.

Provided that ancient Buddhist temples of Korea obviously followed or imitated ancient Buddhist temples of China, it is more than assumable that China also went through a similar process that ancient Korea went through after accepting the new culture called 'Buddhism'. Before the 7th century, China was immersed in scripture interpretation by foreign missionaries or Buddhist Pilgrims who went to India or Western China, and it was after the 7th century that Chinese Buddhism was advanced by the reinterpretation of Indian or Western Chinese Buddhism. Thus, it is difficult to presume that Buddhist architecture was self-interpreted before the 7th Century, after which the idea of Buddha nature developed.

The empirical data to presume the origin and changing patterns of the current Buddhist temples in East Asia is established by the remains of ancient temples of Korea by priority, and the question about the differences shown in the temple arrangement of Goguryeo and Baekje that accepted Buddhism around the same time may be raised.

A certain type of architecture is the outcome of a constructional act that fits into the idea and philosophy of the subjects. It is appropriate to set this prerequisite as the top priority in conducting the precedent study of Buddhist architecture, but we were absorbed in comparing and contrasting phenomenal and superficial factors such as the structure, form and arrangement of buildings that differed to the example buildings of China in the study of Buddhist architecture.

There is no doubt that China accepted Buddhism and Buddhist structures, used materials in the development, and realized localization and naturalization in its construction method. It should be deemed that Chinese form and elements were

added to the essential order and principles of Buddhism before China began to take the path down to magnetization with independent skills for interpreting Buddhism regarding the structures or the arrangement that realizes religious goals and doctrines.

Based on these questions, areas of Buddhist origin and fundamentals need to be reviewed in detail. It is appropriate, for the sequential properties of the study, to examine the correlation between Buddhism and Buddhist temples while conducting studies on the background of such temple arrangement shown in Buddhism by extending views on the phenomenal and superficial factors.

The ancient Buddhist temples of Korea have already been confirmed by its arrangement form by period and country from the period of the Three Kingdoms of Korea until the Unified Silla times by continuous excavation after the Japanese colonial era.

There was a significant difference between the arrangement form of the two countries that officially accepted Buddhism in A.D. 372(Goguryeo), A.D. 384(Baekje). At that time, Goguryeo, Baekje and Silla each occupied a territory of the Korean peninsula, and it was the time¹⁷ when Goguryeo and Baekje were competing fiercely for the occupation of the Han River.

17 At that time, Goguryeo and Baekje were trying to develop into a centralized state which required the official recognition of Buddhism, and thus Buddhism became the state religion. However, Silla failed to break out of the allied-Kingdom phase and experienced difficulty in trading with China due to their geographical position. Thus, they officially recognized Buddhism much later than other countries, in A.D. 528. Furthermore, the occupation of the Han River became a very important foothold to directly trade with China.

Here, there is a need to point out that the two countries that officially recognized Buddhism almost in the same era have different forms of Buddhist temple arrangement. Looking into the diplomatic relationship of these two countries at that time, China establishes Jin(晋) by unifying Wei(魏), Shu(蜀) and Wu(吳). Jin(晋) moves south by the invasion of the northern nomadic tribe. In this period, Jin is called Eastern Jin(東晋); in the former period it was called Western Jin(西晋).



[Figure 17] Baekje-occupied Han River (4th Century). Source: Juhyung Lee



[Figure 18] Goguryeo-occupied Han River (5th Century). Source: Juhyung Lee



[Figure 19] Silla-occupied Han River (7th Century). Source: Juhyung Lee



[Figure 20] Territorial Change of the Jin Dynasty (Around 4th Century). Source: Ian Kiu- self-made, drawn after “The Sixteen States and the Empire of the Eastern Tsin Dynasty, 317-420 AD”, in Albert Hermann (1935): *History and Commercial Atlas of China*. Harvard University Press. Image :前秦 東晋.PNG https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/d/d7/Eastern_Jin_Dynasty_376_CE.png

Consequently, the northern part of China was covered by the State of Former Jin (前秦) which was established by the Zhou Dynasty (氏族) and the southern part was conquered by the Eastern Jin Dynasty. Goguryeo established a diplomatic relationship with the former Jin and received Buddhism through a Jin monk, and Baekje had a diplomatic tie with the Eastern Jin and was given Buddhism by an Indian monk who was staying in Eastern Jin.

Buddhism is commonly classified into Southern Buddhism¹⁸ and Northern Buddhism¹⁹ or Hinayana and Mahayana. Southern Buddhism refers to Hinayana²⁰, and Northern Buddhism refers to Mahayana²¹. Early Buddhism in China is widely-known to have been handed down throughout the countries bordering on Western China(西域)²², or what is now central Asia. In other words, the early Buddhism that spread by the Silk Road was Northern Buddhism.

18 South Asian countries including Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Thai, Cambodia, Laos, etc.

19 East Asian countries including Korea, China, Japan, etc.

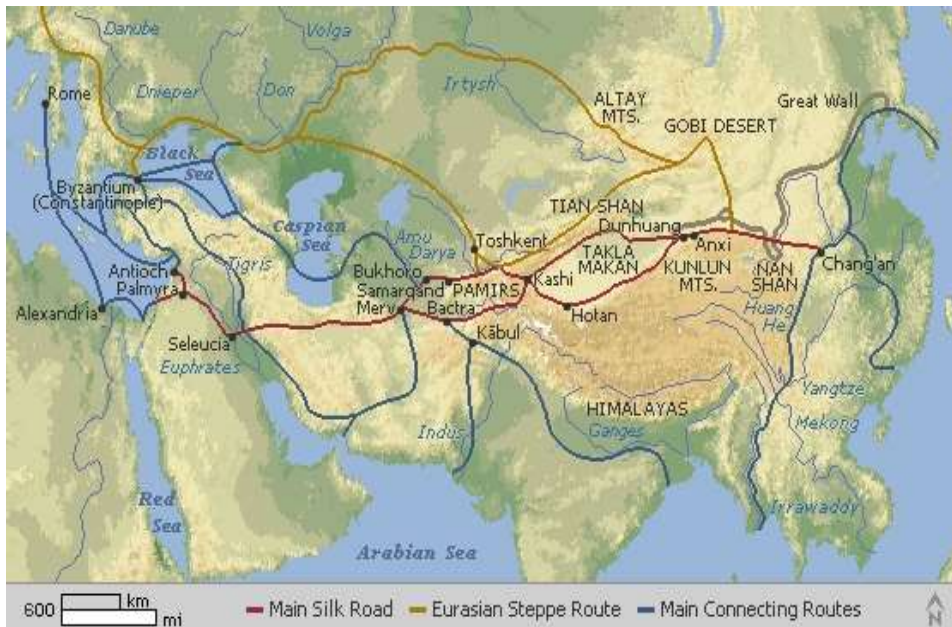
20 Translation of Hinayana in Sanskrit, meaning 'A vehicle too small and worthless for all the people(衆生) to become Buddha.' A saying disparaged by Mahayana Buddhists. Compared to the newly-risen movement of religion 'Mahayana', Hinayana Buddhism is traditional and conservative. With more than 20 schools historically, Hinayana Buddhism is also called 'Early Buddhist Schools(部派佛教)'.

21 Mahayana means 'Great Vehicle' in Sanskrit. During the movement of Mahayana Buddhism, Mahayana Buddhists referred to themselves as 'great vehicles' and called Buddhists of Early Buddhist schools 'lesser vehicles'. The word 'Mahayana' originated from this.

22 The generic term used by the Chinese to refer to the western region. Narrowly, it refers to the areas surrounding Taklamakan Desert and the Pamirs. Extensively, it includes the areas forementioned, and regions of India, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran.



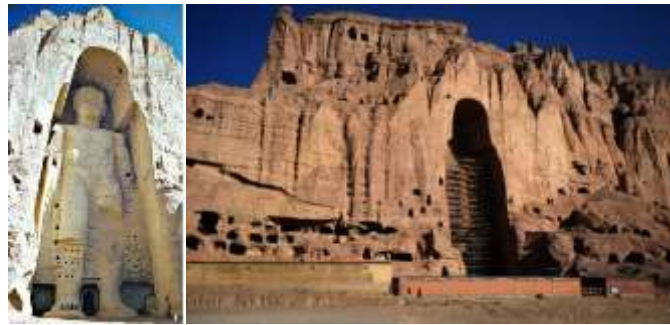
[Figure 21] Cultural Areas of Hinayana Buddhism (Southern Buddhism) and Mahayana Buddhism (Northern Buddhism). Territorial Change of the Jin Dynasty (Around 4th Century). Source: Juhjung Lee.



[Figure 22] Resetting the Arrangement of Cheongamrisa Temple Site. Source:

<https://img.kaikai.ch/img/72403/18>

When Buddhism first spread into the countries bordering Western China, it was pure Indian Buddhism. Gradually, as Buddhism spread east, different cultures were introduced and added to it. Through more partial changes, it eventually formed into Western Chinese Buddhism, or Mahayana Buddhism. This spread to China, Korean and Japan, and the culture of North Buddhism was formed based on Mahayana.



[Figure 23] Left: Afghanistan Bamiyan Stone Buddha. Source: <https://www.pinterest.es/pin/301319031302223039/> . Right: A Great Cave Temple after the Taliban destroyed them. Bamiyan province. Source: <http://www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20161201000306> (AFP-Yonhap).



[Figure 24] Dunhuang Cave(Dunhuang, China).
Source: Juhyung Lee.



[Figure 25] Interior of the 45th Cave, Dunhuang.,
4th Century. Source: Hogan. Michael, *Silk Road, North China*. P. 124



[Figure 26] Kucha Cave(Kucha, China). Source:
Juhyung Lee.



[Figure 27] Mural Inside Kucha Cave. Source:
Juhyung Lee.

This Silk Road played the greatest role in trading and exchanging cultures of the East and the West with a guarantee for its continuity. However, after this route was

suspended by the Northern nomadic countries when the Jin Dynasty unified the Chinese continent in the 3rd century, the Jin Dynasty actively developed the seaborne trade with Southeast Asian empires such as India.

Meanwhile, the Eastern Jin dynasty actively traded with East Asian countries such as India, Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Thai, Cambodia, Laos, etc. It was during this period that they came across the pure Buddhism of India and naturally accepted Hinayana Buddhism.



[Figure 28] Map of the Ancient Continent and International Sea Trade Route. Source:

<https://antiochsilkroad.weebly.com/trade-routes-and-prominence.html>

A number of presumptive hypotheses can be established based on these probabilities. First, it can be foreseen that Goguryeo accepted Hinayana Buddhism through Qianjin and Baekje accepted Mahayana through an Indian monk who was staying in Dongjin. On the one hand, another hypothesis suggests that the definite difference in the Buddha-kaya of Hinayana and Mahayana may influence the arrangement of the temple.

To conclude, it is possible to assume that temple arrangements differ between Goguryeo and Baekje due to the different characteristics of Buddhism accepted by the

two countries and the different Buddha-kaya accordingly. It is not likely that both countries continuously adhered to Buddhism of a single characteristic but it is presumed that Buddhist acts were performed under the influence of Mahayana or Hinayana Buddhism for a specific period after the recognition of Buddhism.

This study aims to conduct investigations based on this hypothesis.

1.3 STUDY METHOD AND SCOPE

Buddhism has experienced great internal change since its birth.

Ideologically, in the aspects of architecture and art history, Stupa and Buddha statues settled down in temples after Mahayana and Vajrayana were spawned.

The Buddhism that most people are familiar with began as one of the philosophical practices of atheism which was widely-known in India at that time. With the emergence of Mahayana Buddhism after the death of Buddha, Sakyamuni was deified and Buddha-kaya transformed into polytheism by regional and social influences. Though Buddhism was one of many philosophies that existed in the ancient society of India, it eventually developed into polytheism, a religion that serves multiple gods.

For all religions, the act of worshipping for all religions is a bare essential without which a religion cannot be sustained. After the death of Buddha, his tomb 'stupa' that was created around the same time Mahayana Buddhism emerged became the object of worship and a significant component in Buddhist temples.

Considering all the factors, after Sakyamuni achieved parinirvana, Buddhism faced changes in its ideas and religious views and divided into Mahayana Buddhism, which spread through land, and Hinayana Buddhism, which spread by sea. During this period, many other elements, including the reformation of Buddhism, the changes in the

definition of the stupa, and the creation of the Statue of Buddha were involved and transfigured simultaneously.

The assumption that the Buddhist temple, which is the outcome of its ideology, philosophy, and doctrines, engraves the aspects of transition, is a universal generality and therefore can be concluded. That the ancient Buddhist temples which verify such procedure is preserved in the former territory of Goguryeo and Baekje, the Korean Peninsula, is considered as an example based on which ancient temples of East Asia can be estimated, and therefore the main hypothesis of this study can be established.

To secure the validity of the proposed hypothesis, this study will primarily consider the history of Buddhism from the background and propagation of Buddhism to the transition of ideological and religious/Buddhist views based on its regional assentation.

Additionally, this study will investigate the changes in the symbolic meaning of the "stupa", which is an important element of temples that resulted from such internal change, and the background of the Buddha statue, and thoroughly trace the mutual sequences of confrontation and supplementation for the two symbolic objects of worship.

Moreover, the analysis of Buddhism and the changing patterns of its formative history, the inflow route and process of Buddhism in ancient Korea, and the difference features of Buddhism accepted by each country will be studied and compared with the proposed hypothesis.

2 CONSIDERATION OF BUDDHIST HISTORY

2.1 BEGINNING OF BUDDHISM AND ITS BACKGROUND

2.2 THE FORMATION BUDDHIST ORDERS AND SCHISMS

2.2.1 EARLY BUDDHISM

2.2.2 EARLY BUDDHIST SCHOOL

2.2.3 MAHAYANA BUDDHISM

2.2.4 VAJRAYANA

2.3 BUDDHISM BECOMING A RELIGION WITH THE ADVENT OF MAHAYANA BUDDHISM

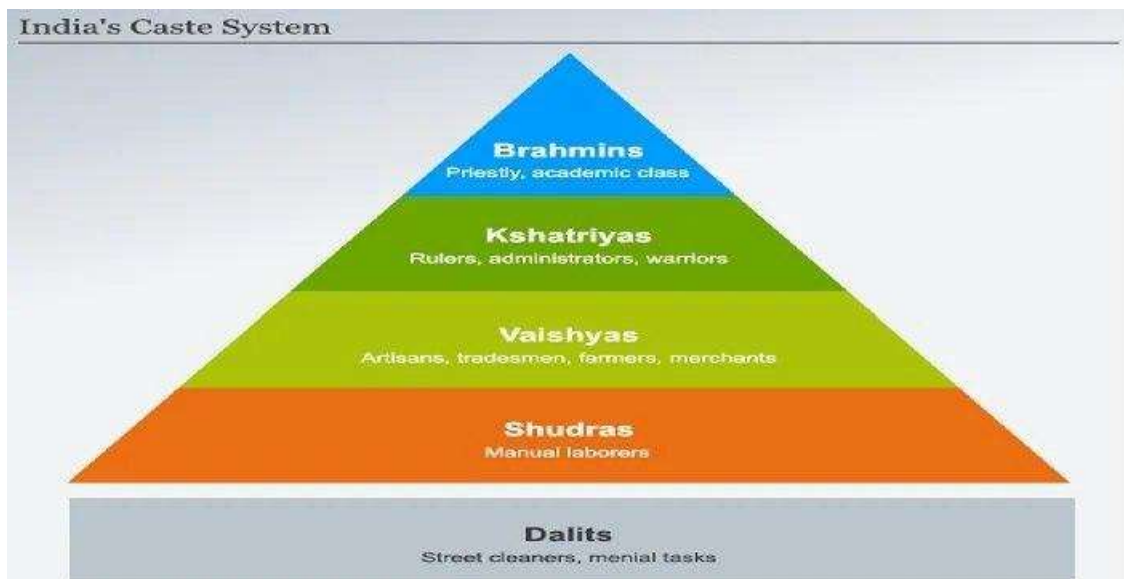
2.3.1 BACKGROUND OF MAHAYANA BUDDHISM

CONSIDERATION OF BUDDHIST HISTORY

BEGINNING OF BUDDHISM AND ITS BACKGROUND

Before considering the creation and changing patterns of Buddhist structures, background of Buddhism's origins will be briefly investigated to provide an overall understanding on Buddhism.

In the 6th century B.C when Buddhism was spawned, a great change occurred in an existing religion, Brāhmanism, in what was then India. From around the 15th century B.C, the Aryan invaded the northwest region of India, governed the natives and established a social order based on the 4 Varna System.



[Figure 29] The 4 Varna System(Caste) Passed Down to this Date. Source: "Caste System in India An essay on the caste system in India, outlining its history, practices, legal provisions and acts, and its impact on society", *Cultural India*. Volume 17. 2016. New Delhi. Also in <https://learn.culturalindia.net/caste-system-in-india.html>

As a religious, ethical, and cultural tradition of Brahmana regarding who were in the highest ranking of the 4 varnas, Brahmanism was a religion that served multiple gods

in a sanctuary called Veda²³. High value was set on the religious ceremonies performed at the veda which emphasized²⁴ the duties of each varna.



[Figure 30] Highest Gods of Brahmanism and Hinduism: Visnu(Left) and Siva(Right). Source: Juhjung Lee. Statues photographed from Historical Museum of Kyoto.

Brahmanism was mainly established in the north-western parts of India, and it began to spread throughout the central and eastern parts of north India when the population drifted downstream and along the central stream of the Ganges. Meanwhile, cities were established based on the ample agricultural production in this new land and there was a development in commerce and industry. Also, powerful monarchies such as Kosala and Magadha emerged instead of the existing tribal states.

23 Used to refer to the sacnturay of Brahmanism, this is a literature containing religious knowledge and ritual formalities of ancient India. The main parts were drawn up during the 12th~5th century B.C, and the orally-transmitted literature is assumed to have been compiled between the 2nd~1st century B.C in Sanskrit. It reflects the religion, philosophy, concept of the universe and social aspects.

24 Written by 平川彰, translated by Ho-Geun Lee, "History of Indian Buddhism - Advanced"(Minjoksa, 1989), p.27

These commercial powers and monarchies anticipated the rise of an ideology of innovation that was a contrast to the ideology of conservatism. The mundane atmosphere of the city called for a new type of religion that was more reasonable, and there was criticism²⁵ about the complication in the existing religious ceremonies with a doubt in the idea about the everlasting happiness and comfort in heaven after death as a result for holding ancestral rites. Such changes in ideas already existed in the last part of the Veda, Upanishad, which emphasized that humans cannot obtain an everlasting world with 'Karma'²⁶ and they will only experience a repetition of life and death in the world of samsara(輪廻)²⁷, and highlighted the Vimoksa(解脫)²⁸ that can be achieved through mysterious knowledge(Jñāna) which knows of the ultimate existence of human ego and the universe.

Liberal ideas, which refused to accept the power of Brahman and the act of ancestral rites and afterlife, were formed and new religious movements began.

Those who led such movements were called Sramana, Buddhist monks(出家者)²⁹ who proposed various solutions to life issues through asceticism and meditation in a forest while supporting themselves by begging. Followers who listened to their teachings gathered, and a single monk community formed. There were materialists, fatalists and ethical negativists and also the founder of Jainism, Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta or Mahāvīra,

25 Wan-Soo Choi, *The Origin of Statues of Buddha in Korea* (Daewonsa, 2002), p14~15

26 The influence of past acts on the future based on an Indian philosophy. In other words, this is an idea that believes life in this world is affected by the acts conducted in the past life.

27 An idea of ancient India that believes life will repeat itself after death. The Aryan created the Caste System and fixed social status in order to justify their domination over the natives, Dravidians. The idea argues that it is right for the highest priestly class, Brahman, to govern the lower class. The Dravidian people set out the doctrine of samsara to assert that all ranks and classes are not determined from the beginning and that the social rank of a person will depend on their actions and behaviors.

28 Originated from Brahmanism of India, this word means to obtain freedom without restraint from the world of karma and samsara.

29 Person who left the mundane world to practice asceticism of a saint(聖者).

and the founder of Buddhism, Sakyamuni³⁰, within the community to propose new ways of reaching nirvana and settle life problems.



[Figure 31] Trainee of Jainism, India. Source: Juhyung Lee.



[Figure 32] Indian Trainee. Source: Juhyung Lee.



[Figure 33] Founder of Jainism, Mahavira. Pakbirra Museum. Source:

https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/9/94/36_Statue_of_Mahavira.jpg



[Figure 34] Chaturmukha, The white marble Jain temple, inside view. Source: Juhyung Lee

30 His original name is Siddhartha(悉達多) and his surname is Gautama(瞿曇). He is called Sakyamuni(釋迦牟尼) as he was called the saint from Sakya(釋迦).

Buddhism, which was created from the social background by Sakyamuni, a prince of the Sakya tribe in Lumbini, northwest of India, in the 6th century B.C.³¹, suddenly rose in Nepal and the Magadha Kingdom in the northeast of India.

The Sakya tribe comprised a small nation based on Kapilavastu(迦毘羅城) at the foot of Mount Himalaya near the borders of Southern Nepal and India. Sakyamuni was born between King Śuddhodāna(淨飯王) and Queen Māyā(摩耶).



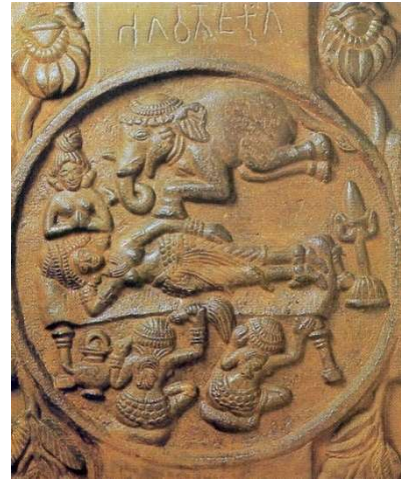
[Figure 35] The 4 Great Places of Pilgrimage. Source: Juhjung Lee. Map modified from source: https://www.blog.is/users/d8/sigurdurmar/img/map-india.png?img_id=1213191

31 The year when Sakyamuni died is not clear. Old Indians did not put great value in the historical records and thus it is difficult to find recordings that can confirm Sakyamuni's birth and death year but it has been recorded that King Ashoka ascended to throne in the Maurya Empire 100 years after Sakyamuni's death, and thus the year of Sakyamuni's death can be estimated.

However, South Buddhism records King Ashoka ascended to throne 218 years after the death of Sakyamuni, and this record is based on the era of Alexander the Great when he invaded India. Based on the record, Sri Lanka celebrated 2500th anniversary of Sakyamuni's death in 1956 and the 1st Vesak was held. Most Buddhist countries have accepted these dates which are celebrated up to this date.



[Figure 36] Birth of Sakyamuni, Gandhara Excavation in 2nd Century, Peshawar Museum. Source: Juhjung Lee



[Figure 37] Maya's Dream about Sakyamuni during pregnancy, Bharhut Stupa Pillar, B.C 2, Indian Museum. Source: Juhjung Lee

When Queen Maya was close to giving birth she decided to follow the custom and go to her hometown, but on the way she gave birth to Sakyamuni in Lumbini Hill.



[Figure 38] Kapilavastu, Nepal. Source: Juhjung Lee. [Figure 39] Lumbini Hill, Nepal. Source: Juhjung Lee.

Sakyamuni learned the necessary academics and handicraft for royal refinement during his childhood years. He married Yaśodhara(耶輸陀羅) when he was 16 years old and had a son named Rāhula(羅喉羅).

His happy and luxurious life came to an end when he discovered that there was much suffering in the world. He suddenly recognized the farmers who had to work to survive, the great misery in the human society, the insects being eaten by birds, the old men

and the ill-born that had to fight for life or death. He concluded that life was meaningless.

When he turned 29, Sakyamuni decided to seek ways to end the suffering of the world by leaving his family and royal life. He traveled south, crossed the Ganges, and went to Rājagha (王舍城) of Magadha.

From then on, he concentrated on fasting and asceticism according to the custom of the Buddhist monks, and his physical body became skeleton-like but he could not reach the state of nirvana. Once he realized that asceticism did not help him reach nirvana, he stopped asceticism for 6 years. He then devoted himself to his deep thoughts under a Bodhi-tree, Aśvattha(菩提樹), and finally succeeded in attaining supreme enlightenment when he turned 35.



[Figure 40] Bodhi-tree. Source: Juhjung Lee.



[Figure 41] Statue of Sakyamuni Penance, excavated in Gandhara, 3rd Century, Lahore Museum.

Source:

http://www.sejonsa.co.kr/insiter.php?design_file=1693.php&article_number=59&OTSKIN=layout_ptr.php&SI_F_serial_num=desc&PB_1455267915=6&ckattempt=3

After he reached enlightenment, Sakyamuni relished this state and committed himself to sharing this happiness to others. Thus, in order to guide the five ascetics he trained with, he went to Sarnāth(鹿野園) which was located near the city of Benares. Although the ascetics despised Sakyamuni who stopped performing asceticism, they were swayed by his Buddhist sermon.

This was the first ever Buddhist sermon given by Sakyamuni after he obtained enlightenment, and this is called Dharmacakra-pravartana(初轉法輪). The act of turning the Dharma Wheel or delivering Dharma cakra(法輪)³² is to expose the truth and exert effort into realizing it. All must realize the truth in order to become Sakyamuni's disciple³³. Here, the first Buddhist order (Saṃgha, 僧伽) was founded.



[Figure 42] Buddhist Remains, Sarnath, India.

Source: Juhjung Lee.



[Figure 43] Dharmacakra-pravartana, excavated in Gandhara, 2nd Century, Lahore Museum.

Photo by Juhjung Lee.

32 Originally, cakra(輪) refers to a throw weapon (chakram , chacra , chakar) of ancient India. Rulers of ancient India went out to conquer the world using wheels made of gold, silver and bronze. On the other hand, Buddha believed that the world should be controlled by the Dharma Wheel with which fantasies and superstitions that deceived humans could be destroyed. Thus, dharma shaped up as a Dharma instrument in the form of a wheel that represents the doctrines of Buddhism.

33 A disciple refers to a Buddhist monk. All Buddhist monks are disciples of Sakyamuni.

In this way, Buddhism became widely known throughout the world through the teachings of Sakyamuni(Buddha). He continued with his teachings, and the journey of reformation even influenced the vast areas of the Ganges. The number of disciples increased gradually, and Buddhist orders were organized in various places.

In intense heat, Sakyamuni continued with his teachings over many areas for 45 years in central India until he reached 80. In Fazilnager, he received his last meal as an offering(供養) from a blacksmith named Cunda and then fell violently ill. Knowing his deadly state, Sakyamuni washed for the last time and went into the forest of Sala (沙羅樹). He put his head in the northern direction and lay on his right with his feet overlapped. Then, he delivered his last sermon to his disciples to whom he said, before he quietly passed away, to continue their practice of asceticism without rest. Sakyamuni passed away in Kuśinagara.



[Figure 44] *Sala Tree*. Source: Juhyung Lee.



[Figure 45] *Nirvana, Sri Lanka Polonnaruwa, 12th Century*. Source: J.M. Cabeza.

After Sakyamuni's death, his physical body was cremated and his Śarīra(舍利)³⁴ was said to have been divided into eight portions and enshrined in eight stupas³⁵ of eight tribes in central India. The stupa became a significant religious monument of worship

34 Sarira refers to marble-shaped remains that form within the body through faithful practice of asceticism.

35 Stupa is used to seal sarira.

and developed into an independent religious belief³⁶ not long after Sakyamuni's death.

The ultimate aim of Buddhist practice is to reach enlightenment. In other words, reaching the state of moksha is equal to reaching the state of Nirvana³⁷ which allows one to perceive Buddhahood(佛性)³⁸.

THE FORMATION BUDDHIST ORDERS AND SCHISMS

EARLY BUDDHISM

Buddhism is classified into three areas of culture. As previously stated, this includes Hinayana Buddhism of Southeast Asian countries such as Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Thai, Cambodia, Laos, etc. Mahayana Buddhism of East Asian countries including Korea, China, Japan, etc. and Tibet Buddhism(Lamaism) believed in Mongolia, Bhutan, Tibet, etc. Tibet Buddhism falls under Vajrayana, and is considered as another form of Mahayana Buddhism. Thus, largely, it is classified into Mahayana Buddhism of the north and Hinayana Buddhism of the south.

These two Buddhist cultural areas were founded by Sakyamuni, the founder of Buddhism, but they contrast considerably regarding their different religious goals, and

36 Sakya description in *Doosan Encyclopedia*, available in <http://100.naver.com/100.nhn?docid=90049> (from <http://www.doopedia.co.kr/>)

37 Originated from Nirvāṇa, Nir(out)+√*ṇā* (to blow), the word literally means 'blown out', as in a candle or a blazing flame that is blown out by the wind. Thus, it indicates the extinguishing state of agony or troubles destroyed by the wisdom. Modernly, it refers to everlasting or complete peace.

38 Means 'the Awakened One' based on the Sanskrit word meaning 'swell'. This word originally referred to Sakyamuni but became a common noun when the idea that anyone who achieves the state of nirvana can become Buddha was created.

there is a slight difference in the Buddha-kaya too. The beginning and the development of each area will be examined.

The historical development of Buddhism in India is mainly classified into four phases of Early Buddhism or Pre-sectarian Buddhism, Early Buddhist Schools, Rise of Mahayana Buddhism(大乘) and Vajrayana. In terms of time, the early Buddhism phase began from the birth of Sakyamuni and ended when Asoka(阿育)³⁹ was overseer and before the first Great Schism of Buddhism occurred where Buddhist orders split into two separate schools 100 to 200 years after his death. During this phase, there was no schism in the orders and lively memories of Sakyamuni remained to a certain degree. This period is also distinguished by Early Buddhism and, in a narrow sense, Pre-sectarian Buddhism.

Here, early Buddhism refers to the Buddhism of disciples who received direct teachings from Sakyamuni himself. Buddhism after this is termed Pre-sectarian Buddhism⁴⁰ in a narrow sense and the common term Early Buddhism includes both terms.

The Buddhist orders during this period did not split, and the most important happening in this period has to be the formation of the Discourse(Sutta Pitaka) and

39 The reign of the 3rd King of the Maurya Dynasty of ancient India, 269~232 century B.C. or 272~232 century B.C.

40 Some Japanese scholars, who were affected by the superiority of Chinese Buddhism and Mahayana Buddhism, used the term Pre-sectarian Buddhism to refer to early Buddhism. The expression implied that Buddhism was uncivilized in its primitive form without a proper system, but the meaning did not indicate that Buddhism was substandard. This word refers to Buddhism that preserved the true intentions of Sakyamuni in the purest form, and thus it is of high value having a significant meaning.

the Discipline(Vinaya Pitaka) of the Tripitaka(三藏)⁴¹ which constitute the frame for Buddha's teachings.

EARLY BUDDHIST SCHOOLS

After Sakyamuni passed away, Buddhism acquired popularity from the public. Disciples who exerted efforts into practicing the pure will of Sakyamuni under discipline played a critical part in the rapid development of Buddhism. However, as the number of followers increased unexpectedly, there were times when rules of the Buddhist order had to be broken.

Furthermore, the effort to stand faithful to Sakyamuni's original intention caused a divergence of opinion in the process of interpreting and organizing the teachings of Sakyamuni.

After Sakyamuni reached parinirvana, the 1st Council(Saṅgīti)⁴² was convened by his disciple, Mahākāśyapa(摩訶迦葉). In the 2nd Council, which was opened about 100 years later, opposing opinions surfaced for the first time. The cause of this major

41 There are three baskets in the Buddhist scriptures. 'Sutras(經)' refers to the teachings of Sakyamuni, 'Vinaya(律)' refers to the rules and regulations of monastic life and 'Abhidharma(論)' refers to the philosophical system that logically explains the teachings of Sakyamuni. The Tripitaka is the generic term used to call the collection of the three.

42 With fear that teachings and truths of Sakyamuni could be perverted through arbitrary interpretations, he hurriedly proposed the compilation of scriptures to the elders after realizing the need of organizing, preserving and passing down teachings of Sakyamuni. One year after Sakyamuni reached parinirvana, scriptures were compiled at the capital of Magadha, Rajgir, by 500 monks during the rain retreat(安居).

controversy related to the usage of a number of religious precepts(戒律)⁴³ under the question of whether they had to adhere by past rules despite the unexpected circumstances.



[Figure 46] The Stupas on top of Borobudur Temple. Source: J. M. Cabeza.

Regarding this matter, the order divided into two parties. The conservative party believed that past rules must be strictly followed within the order, and the progressive party believed the rules should be positively accepted with flexibility. This division is called 'The Main Schism(根本分裂)'

With the former party insisting on adhering to the tradition and the latter party having more heads in the group, the order began to split into Theravada(上座部)⁴⁴ and Mahāsaṅghika(大衆部)⁴⁵. As an example, a number of issues raised during the council was whether a monk in practice is permitted to accept a believer's meal offer after

43 Meaning the standards a Buddhist(佛者) must follow, this word was derived from Sila(戒) and Vinaya(律). Religious precepts are composed of Sila and Vinaya. Sila is vowing to follow pure and fine habits, and Vinaya is the rules of the Buddhist order.

44 Meaning "Doctrine of Elders(長老)", the party was called Theravada because it had many elders.

45 Meaning "Great Order of Monks" in Sanskrit(Saṃskṛtā), their scriptures were written in Prakrit(Praktā), an informal term symmetrical with Sanskrit meaning complete and pure language.

begging for alms(托鉢)⁴⁶, or whether it is fine to receive gold or silver as Buddhist alms(布施)⁴⁷ or not, all of which, of course, were forbidden.



[Figure 47] Laos Monks asking for Alms. Laos.
Source: Juhjung Lee.



[Figure 48] Practice of giving food to Buddhist Monks.
Source: Juhjung Lee.

After 'The Main Schism', each denomination split again and again. The Theravāda split into 11 sects and the Mahāsaṅghika split into 9 sects over 200-300 years. This is called 'Further Schisms(枝末分裂)'. The period of Early Buddhist Schools ends before the Mahayana Buddhism is spawned before or after the 1st Century and this Buddhism period includes 'The Main Schism' and 'The Further Schisms'. Scholars show different opinions but generally, Early Buddhist School and Hinayana Buddhism are used synonymously owing to the fact that the Mahayana Buddhism denounced 'Hinayana Buddhism' by saying all sects of Buddhism up to this period fall under Hinayana.

46 The act of monks going out on the streets with alms bowls(monk's bowls) to beg for food.

47 'Dana' means to have mercy, that is to say an act of unconditional kindness to others.

MAHAYANA BUDDHISM

Near the 1st Century, Shakyamuni's teachings became more open and innovative in terms of interpretation. Those who attempted to use the new ways distinguished themselves from the doctrinaire conservative party and began calling them Hinayanas, in a crooked way, and called themselves the Mahayanas.

With financial support, the Buddhist order during this period mainly gathered disciples (Buddhist monk) who worked way at conducting doctrine studies away from the general believers(Buddhist). Believers who were not in reach of the monks' salvation could only gather at the Stupa, where Buddha's remains were kept, and sit at Buddha's salvation power.

It is true that doctrines need to be researched in Buddhism, but the advancement of such study did not mean that the religion itself advanced. Moreover, ascetics focused on becoming an Arahat(阿羅漢)⁴⁸, 'the Awakened One', instead of focusing on saving the mankind(利他行) through merciful acts. Disgusted by this and as a result of religious remorse, Mahayana Buddhist movement was started. It taught that salvation is brought through the grace of Bodhisattvas(菩薩)⁴⁹ and thus it is contended that the one who has reached enlightenment should defer Nirvana to help the others.

48 An ascetic of Hinayana Buddhism who has attained the highest stage; a saint who is respected by other for his practice of good deeds, renouncement of worldly desires and understanding of the ways of the world.

49 'Bodhisattva' refers to a person who seeks enlightenment, a person who practices asceticism to become Buddha, or a great person who has achieved Buddhahood by performing good karma over many lives but, in Buddhism of Early Buddhist Schools, it referred to Sakyamuni before he achieved enlightenment as a seeker of truth.

The ultimate goal of Mahayana and Hinayana differs in the aspect of Buddhists. Disciples have preserved the order based on the teachings of Buddha and limited Sakyamuni as a historical being who taught them of the truth. On the other hand, those who worshipped the stupa focused more on longing for Buddha than on his teachings. Gradually, Sakyamuni was deified and regulated as an incarnate of Buddha⁵⁰ and it was asserted that there could be multiple Buddhas who rise above this world.

In the end, what once was a philosophical practice began to change into a religion after the emergence of Mahayana Buddhism.

VAJRAYANA

Within the historical and doctrinal transition while Mahayana Buddhism settled, the esoteric flow within the huge religious current of India started to form slowly around the 7th century. Esoteric Buddhism, which emerged in the final phase of Indian Buddhism, had completely different characteristics to that of former Hinayana or Mahayana Buddhism. Vajrayana Buddhists⁵¹ closed themselves in within a private order, keeping doctrines and ceremonies among masters and disciples in secret, and accomplishing religious or secular purposes through symbolic asceticism and ceremony while showing mystic tendency⁵².

Esoteric Buddhism is widely-known as the final phase of Mahayana Buddhism, and Indians believe that it was spawned at the request of the public as Mahayana

50 Means 'Awakened One' in Sanskrit. Generally, this is not an absolute title that is limited to Sakyamuni,

51 This is also called 'Esoteric Buddhism', and the Tripitaka is called 'Tantra'. Thus, Vajrayana is also known as 'Tantra Buddhism'.

52 田前惠學, Tamae E., *Summarized Explanation of Buddhism* P. 86

Buddhism became lifeless. Contrary to Esoteric Buddhism, Exoteric Buddhism(顯教) is a religion that expresses the method of reaching the religious ideal or viewing the world in a clear language, as teachings open to the public. To simplify, Buddhism that we are familiar with today is Exoteric Buddhism.

It is assumed that esoteric elements were embedded before Esoteric Buddhism was defined as an independent flow of Buddhism regarding its actual religious form. Thus, Esoteric Buddhism is the development of the elements into highly-systemized theory and practice based on the finding of a theoretical basis from the Mahayana scriptures.



[Figure 49] Daxingshan Temple, a Vajrayana Temple in Xian of China. Source: Juhyung Lee.



[Figure 50] Drepung Monastery(LBras-spuñs), Lhasa of Tibet. Source: Juhyung Lee.

The philosophy and the ritual system of Vajrayana may be complex, but a folksy belief form of India is within its root. In other words, the elements of folk religion, which aim to achieve secular goals such as ancestral rite ceremonies of ancient India, are considered to have formed the ideological base for Vajrayana. The key element is the section on mantra(呪文法) and formula in the Indian scripture "Atharvaveda."

It is difficult to define Esoteric Buddhism, which came into existence by consuming these complex elements, in a simple way, but it has two characteristics. One is the systemization of shamanistic rituals and the other is mysticism. Shamanism is the intention or method of fulfilling one's wish by applying the mystical means to a subject

such as god, fate or natural phenomenon that greatly influences our happiness and misfortune.

Next, mysticism is the consciousness obtained by perceiving the internal bonding between the beings called the center of universe of the Absolute Being, God, and one's own self. In reality, all religions are composed of these mystical and shamanistic elements. In Buddhism, traces of these two elements have been found in the early scriptures and its existence gradually rose to the surface as time passed. Pre-sectarian Buddhism is a rational religion and Buddha's enlightenment had nothing to do with such incantation; he strongly rejected such superstition and incantations. However, as Buddhism began to be accepted by the public over a long period of time, it was blended with the elements. There is no doubt that Mahayana Buddhism played a large role in the foundation of Esoteric Buddhism. Not only were there many esoteric elements in the Mahayana scriptures, but the ideological tendency of Mahayana showed remarkable generosity towards other religions as applied to the social background of that time.



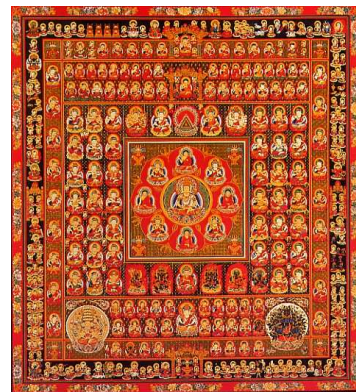
[Figure 51] Vajradhātu-mandala, a type of mandala⁵³. Source: Mason S Penelope.

History of Japanese Art. Pg. 44.

Also available in:

<https://archive.kaskus.co.id/thread/14846363/>

www.borobudur.tv



[Figure 52] Garbhadhātu-tu-Mandala.

Mason S Penelope. *History of Japanese Art*. Pg. 44.

Also available in:

<https://namu.wiki/w/%ED%8C%8C%EC%9D%BC:external/www>

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53 A picture representing the symbol that developed from Esoteric Buddhism. It expresses the truth of the universe through a picture of Buddha and Bodhisattvas positioned in a holy sanctuary

Dharani(Dhāranī)⁵⁴ is the root or origin of Esoteric Buddhism within Mahayana Buddhism. Even in the recitation, "Maha Pranja Paramita⁵⁵", that is recited habitually when Buddhists start their ceremony, there is the spell " Gate Gate Paragate Parasamgate Bodhi Svaha⁵⁶" that ends with Dharani. Esoteric Buddhism strongly believes that such Dharani has shamanistic powers.

Along with this, during the Kushan Dynasty Mahayana Buddhism developed in northern India, a region where diverse emigrants mix and blend, and therefore, the shamanistic religion of emigrants seemed to have blended with Mahayana Buddhism. Additionally, the advent of Hinduism had a huge impact on Buddhism. Before Buddhism was born, Brahmanism prevailed in India but its influences fell with the appearance of Buddhism and Jainism in central India.

During the period, Brahmanism fused with the religion of native Indians, Dravidans, and transformed into Hinduism. From the 2nd Century B.C., Hinduism spread extensively and received great support, especially among farmers. As Hinduism gradually gained influence, Buddhism was affected.

Consequently, many gods of Hindu were introduced into Mahayana which was served with prayers or ceremonies for such gods. Furthermore, the Gupta Dynasty ascended in 320 during which Brahmanism became the state religion and the revival of Brahman literature was fully supported.

54 As the key point of Buddha's teaching, it is the spell that is believed to have mystical powers.

55 Achieve the state of nirvana through great wisdom.

56 Gone gone, gone beyond, gone altogether beyond, O what an awakening, all hail!

This led Buddhism, which flourished under the Gupta Dynasty, to be influenced by Brahmanism, and Buddhism was influenced⁵⁷ by the powerful Brahmanism and Hinduism.



[Figure 53] Hindu God, Mahishasura Mardini, Aihole .Durgā Temple. Source: Juhyung Lee.



[Figure 54] Durgā, 9th Century, Borobudur of Indonesia. Source: J. M. Cabeza.



[Figure 55] Sahasrabhuja(Buddhism). Source: J.M. Cabeza.



[Figure 56] Sahasrabhuja, National Museum of Korea, Korea. Source: Juhyung Lee.

⁵⁷平川彰, Hirakawa S. *History of Indian Buddhism - Beginners* p.270-271.

As Buddhism accepted Hindu elements, the religious color of Buddhism gradually faded and Hindus began considering Buddhism as a sect of Hindu. In the 8th to 9th century, the distinction between Hindu and Buddhism disappeared.

When the Muslim invaded the entire area of India toward the 13th Century, Buddhism in India came to an end⁵⁸.

BUDDHISM BECOMING A RELIGION WITH THE ADVENT OF MAHAYANA BUDDHISM

BACKGROUND OF MAHAYANA BUDDHISM

Nobody knows exactly when Mahayana Buddhism emerged but scholars interpret that there are three origins to be traced.

First, scholars advanced a theory that Mahayana Buddhism developed from early Buddhist schools, when it was divided into Sthaviravada and Mahasamgika. They believe that the progressive party 'Mahasamgika', which insisted that precepts should be practiced with flexibility, developed into Mahayana Buddhism, though Mahasamgika is an order composed of Buddhist monks and thus it is difficult⁵⁹ to affirm that it became the matrix of Mahayana.

Next, scholars contended that the propagation of Buddhist literature⁶⁰ became the foundation of the beginning of Mahayana Buddhism. Buddhist literature came into existence and was passed down in early Buddhist schools but, concurrently, it is

58 Kenneth Chen, *Chinese Buddhism* p.435-436

59平川彰, Hirakawa S. *History of Indian Buddhism - Beginners*, p.280.

60 Buddhist literature refers to the literatures and scriptures written about religious concepts and philosophy of Sakyamuni.

believed to have generated a new idea in Mahayana Buddhism and the role of Buddhist literature was affected.

They also believe that Buddhist philosophy was hard to be understood by devotees and the public, and that it could only be learned through Buddhist monks. Therefore, they argued that Mahayana Buddhism was born when narratives and literature that praise Buddha were written based on Buddhist views on the world and life, using metaphoric literature and various literature genres and topics that were popular in India at that time.

It can be presumed that authors of such Buddhist literature played a role in the rise of Mahayana Buddhism, but there is nothing in the literature that shall identify their identities. Thus, it is difficult⁶¹ to ascertain that Buddhist literature originated from Mahayana Buddhism.

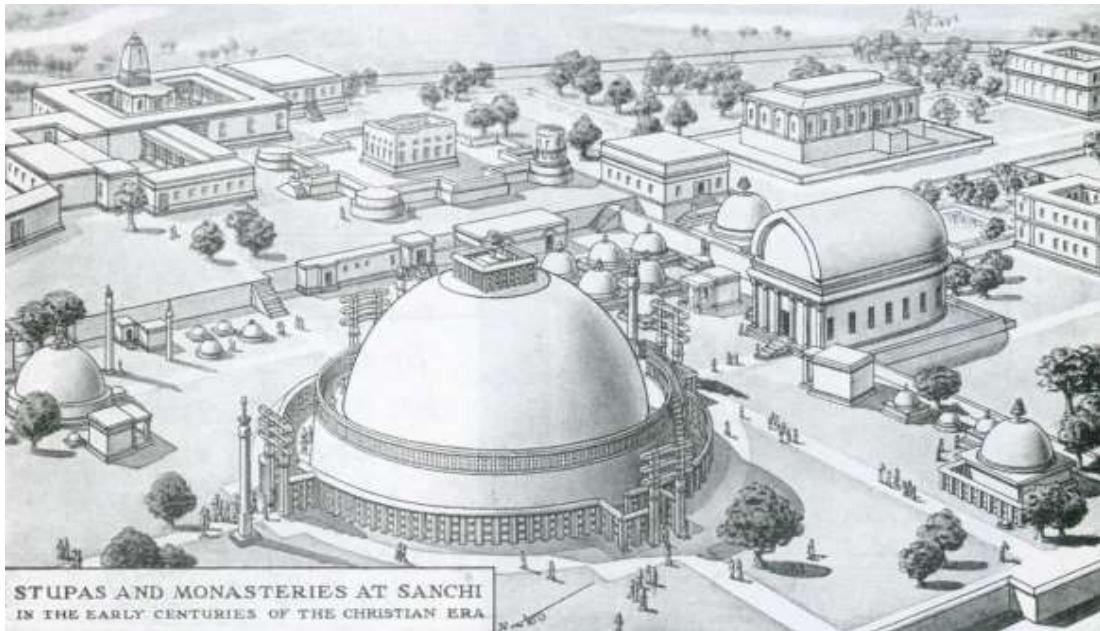
Furthermore, Mahayana Buddhism originates from stupa worshipping or belief. The former theory was a predominant view that the mainstream of Mahayana Buddhism was formed by Mahasanghika. However, the theory which contends that Mahayana Buddhism was born by a religious group based on stupa is more convincing⁶².

Meaning 'a monumental pile of earth', the stupa was originally a type of tomb in India and was related to the cremation ceremony. According to Maha parinirvana Sutra (The Nirvana Sutra, 大般涅槃經)⁶³, Sakyamuni forbade his disciples from holding his funeral and willed, "You all must try to attain summum bonum(Sadattha)." His disciples truly did not participate in the discussion of Sakyamuni's funeral and it was the disciples who cremated his physical body, divided his remains or sarira into eight portions, and raised the eight stupas.

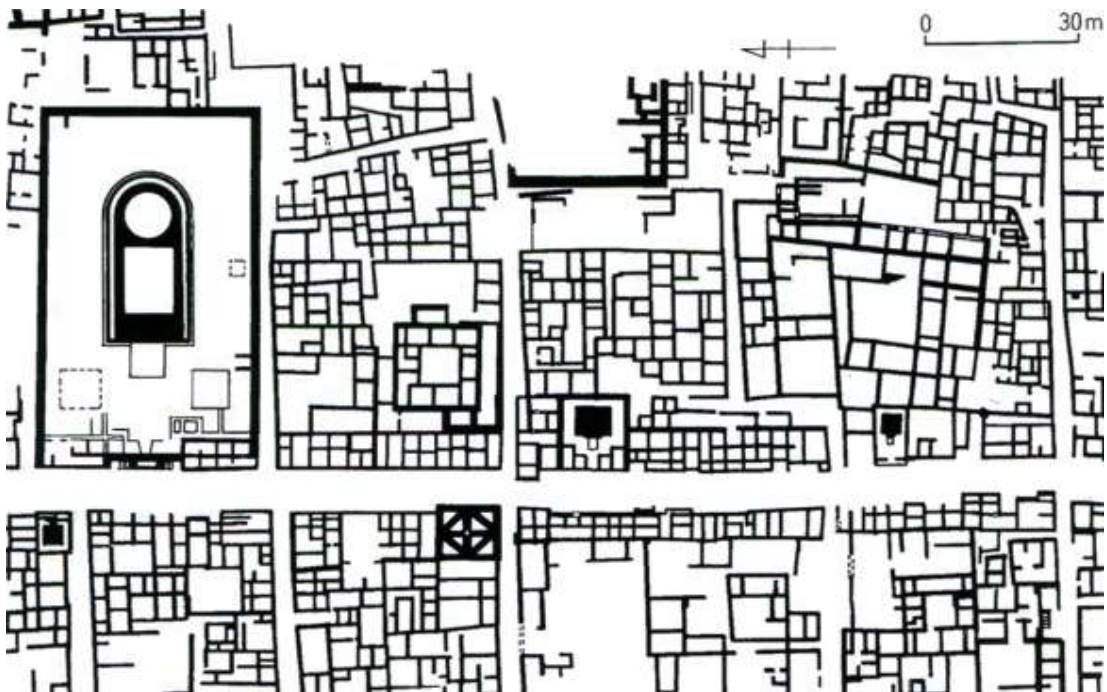
61塚本 啓祥, Tsukamoto K., "Mahayana Order", in *Introduction to Mahayana Buddhism*, p.263.

62田前惠學, Tamae E., "Introduction to Mahayana Buddhism" in *Summarized Explanation of Buddhism* p.62

63 Scripture compiled to deeply understand the nirvana of Sakyamuni in the aspects of religion and philosophy.



[Figure 57] Restoration of Stupas and Monasteries at Sanchi, India. Source: Ramaswamy, Sumathi: *The Early Stupas on India*. Mumbai Foreign Press. 1975. P. 67.



[Figure 58] Sirkap Remains in Taxila, India (B.C. 2~A.D 2). Sketch by Juhyung Lee.

The stupas were not raised in the residential area of the disciples but in a place where many people could gather based on the preaching, 'Erect Sakyamuni's stupa in

Cātumahāpatha where 4 roads pass through'. These stupas were frequently managed and maintained⁶⁴ by the disciples.

Sakyamuni's disciples did not take part in his funeral arrangements according to his will, and for a specific period they did not engage in the management and creation of the stupa in the monastery. It is assumed that they did not hope for the prevalence of the stupa religion.

Unlike his disciples who protected the order based on the teachings of Sakyamuni, that is to say, the truth of his will⁶⁵, those who preserved the stupa focused on longing for Sakyamuni instead of on his teachings⁶⁶.

According to the doctrines of early Buddhist schools, Sakyamuni left his physical body by reaching parinirvana and attained greatest happiness. The doctrines tended⁶⁷ to understand Sakyamuni as a pioneer based on his human form and emphasized that Sakyamuni was a historical being who recognized limits as an invisible form that could not be understood.

Thus, Sakyamuni in early Buddhism is visualized as the 'Ascetic(導師) of Truth' and his explanations of 'truth' are considered important. There is no other explanation on methods of reaching the state of Nirvana except for practicing the 'truth' that Sakyamuni preached. Thus, Sakyamuni was not considered a savior Buddha in early

64 平川彰, Hirakawa S. *History of Indian Buddhism - Beginners* p131

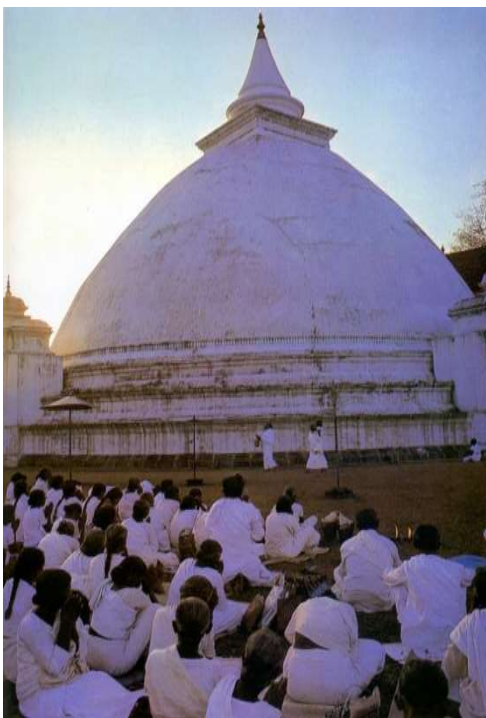
65 "Be a lamp unto yourself and depend on the lamp of truth"

66 佐々木教悟 . 高崎直道 . 井ノ口泰淳 . 塚木啓祥 共著, "印度佛教史", *History of Indian Buddhism* p.109.

67 町田甲一, <佛像の理念とその圖像の展開> "講座 佛教思想"第 7 巻, 理想社, Machida, Y. "Buddhist Sculptures and other images for meditation. Chapter 7". p. 220-222.

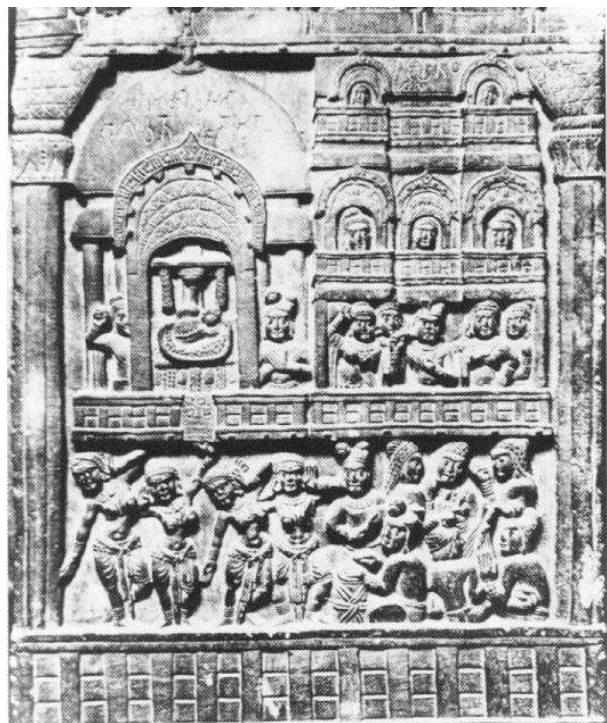
Buddhism and he was nothing more than an object of respect for completing a difficult practice. This is why there was no special object of worship in the early Buddhist order.

On the other hand, it was difficult for devotees to devote themselves in the strict and ethical lifestyle while exploring the truth and conducting practices in the ordinary life of faith like other disciples. Devotees needed 'a savior' Buddha with mercy and dignity. They needed a Buddha who could save mankind and fulfill their wishes. Therefore, the 'tomb of Sakyamuni' or 'stupa' where his remains were enshrined became the object of glorification and great stupas began to be erected⁶⁸ in various places.



[Figure 59] Devotees worshipping stupa.

Source: Juhyung Lee.



[Figure 60] Stupa Worshipping, Barhut Stupa, 2nd

Century BC, Calcutta Museum of India. Source: Juhyung Lee.

Consequently, some devotees worshipped and lived by the faith of the stupa. With the donation of land or money for the creation or maintenance of the stupa, communities of faith were organized. They began receiving dana while maintaining the Stupa, and

⁶⁸田前惠學, Tamae E., *Summarized Explanation of Buddhism* p.63.

preached other devotees. It is assumed that these were not monks or devotees but rather a third party. What is more, they traded ideas with early Buddhist schools to form their identity and system based on which Mahayana is believed to have emerged.

DEVELOPMENT OF BUDDHISM INTO A RELIGION AND THE APPEARANCE OF DEITIES

Some scholars contend that Buddhism is atheism and philosophy, but not a religion. This assertion is based on Sakyamuni's ideas and will:

"You must take yourself as a lamp, and depend on the lamp of truth.", "My preach of truth and Sila and Vinaya will become your master once I die."

"I have only walked down the path of order and truth. There is nothing more to be done by an ascetic."

Citing to these teachings, they argue that Buddhism is not a religion that aims for religious beliefs through an absolute being or with the powers of god, but a philosophy to escape the pain and agony of this world by aiming to achieve the goal of awakening through thorough practice and effort.

What the key concept of Buddhist doctrines such as the concept of emptiness(空)⁶⁹, theory of dependent origination(緣起)⁷⁰, the impermanence of all things(諸行無常)⁷¹, etc. argues is that no moral or abstract absolute can exist by the relativity of the existence of all beings and thus it is asserted that Buddhism is equivalent to atheism.

69 The concept of no-self in all existence, including oneself, and that oneself will occur by nidana. In other words, this concept refers to the emptiness(空) that is caused by the truth or the nature of Buddha(佛性) which transcends the all ranges and limits of human consciousness.

70 There will be no result if there is no condition or cause, as nothing in this world exists alone, and everything is interrelated.

71 All creation of this universe in which we reside is perpetual and ever-changing. Nothing will remain in a single form.

Whether the beginning of Buddhism was a philosophical system and Atheism widely-known in the Indian society at that time or not is unimportant. Buddhism developed into polytheism, a religion in which many gods exist, and it is presumed that there were two aspects in the act of Buddha⁷² worshipping after the death of Sakyamuni who was absolutely respected and trusted by his disciples and monks. One aspect was oriented on Buddha and the other was oriented on truth⁷³.

In the early Buddhist school, a number of Buddhist monks and devotees were not satisfied with the common Buddha-kaya views on Sakyamuni. They realized that the only master they had left was the truth achieved by Sakyamuni and thus they proceeded⁷⁴ with the truth-centric concept unlike the Buddha-centric concept which idealized Buddha as a superhuman being in early Buddhism.

The distrust of Buddhism during early Buddhist schools based on the two aspects aforementioned is resolved into two characteristics of Hinayana and Mahayana. Hinayana Buddhism respected the moral Buddha, Sakyamuni, but he was only viewed as a pioneer who preached about the 'truth' which was valued by Hinayana Buddhism. Thus, not much research has been done on Buddha as a preacher of truth. However, Mahayana Buddhism intended to emphasize⁷⁵ the powers of Buddha as a savior owing to the fact that a savior was demanded by Mahayana Buddhists.

Therefore, the theoretical basis on Buddha as a Ubermensch was to be researched for support. Based on this, Hinayana became the truth-oriented Buddhism and Mahayana became Buddha-oriented Buddhism⁷⁶.

72 Here, Buddha refers to Sakyamuni.

73 田前惠學, Tamae E., "Introduction to Mahayana Buddhism" in *Summarized Explanation of Buddhism* p.184

74 町田甲一, <佛像の理念とその圖像の展開> "講座 佛教思想" 第 7 巻, 理想社, Machida, Y. "Buddhist Sculptures and other images for meditation. Chapter 7". p.221-222

75 田前惠學, Tamae E., "Introduction to Mahayana Buddhism" in *Summarized Explanation of Buddhism* p.22

76 Hyo-Geol Lee, *Establishment Background and System of the Avatamska Sutra*, p.11

Mahayana Buddhism was established and formed by devotees and not by monks or stupa belief communities. That Mahayana Buddhism researched Buddha as a deity with power, Ubermensch, and an object of worship in the aspect of religion is unquestionable based on the view that Mahayana doctrines emphasize that one's practice is completed through the acts and edification conducted for others.

Such studies on Buddha create the thought of saving Buddha that replaces Sakyamuni and forms the concept of the past Buddha.



[Figure 61] The Seven Buddhas, Ellora Caves, India. Source:
<https://fr.dreamstime.com/photo-stock-images-bouddha-image5223180>

After Sakyamuni became a monk, he achieved enlightenment⁷⁷ but he did not believe he became Buddha. Sakyamuni was able to reach enlightenment through the practices during his life and also by doing good deeds and practices in his past lives.

Moreover, the spiritual enlightenment found by Sakyamuni was not a divine revelation sent by god. The enlightenment of truth was not created by Sakyamuni himself, but it was the discovery of the universal truth that existed since the ancient times. If this awakening was a discovery of the existing universal truth, the thought occurs⁷⁸ that

77 塚本 啓祥, Tsukamoto K., *Introduction to Mahayana Buddhism* p.185

78 中村 元, Nakamura Ken, *The World of Buddha*, p.424

another Buddha who achieved enlightenment as Sakyamuni did would have existed before him. Then, it is natural to think that Buddha of the past and the present will appear in the future. Consequently, the concept of the Buddhas of the Three Times of past present and future emerges.



[Figure 62] Statue of the Three Buddhas, 8th Century, Gyeongju of Korea. Source: Juhyung Lee.

Only one Buddha existed when Sakyamuni was alive, but more came into being after he died. The concept of the future Buddha within the past Buddha is based on multiple Buddhas that move on from a period to the next and thus it concludes that only one Buddha will ever exist in each period. However, with the rise of Mahayana Buddhism, this vertical concept of multiple Buddha is overwhelmed by the horizontal concept that more than one Buddha exists in the same period. The concept of 'Buddhas of Past, Present, and Future in Ten Directions' refers to the coexistence of Buddhas in the past, the present and the future in all four directions of north, east, south and west and the other four directions of southeast, southwest, northeast and northwest, and plus two directions of up and down. This means⁷⁹ that numerous Buddhas coexist in all times and space.

Meanwhile, a research on the existence of Buddha along with the essence of Buddha was conducted and as a result the concept of 'Buddha of Three Bodies' was produced.

79 中村 元, Nakamura Ken, *The World of Buddha*, p.424

If the thought of a specific savior Buddha that replaces Sakyamuni due to his death is considered to be an aspect of Buddha worshipping, there was also a different thought that attempted to investigate the everlasting essence of Buddha through Sakyamuni.

The truth of imperishability found by Sakyamuni is his nature, and Sakyamuni became Buddha when truth and he became one. Thus, Buddha shall be found where the eternal truth lies.

This essence of Sakyamuni, the imperishable and universal truth, deduced the concept of 'Dharma-kaya(法身)' which regards the truth itself as the body of Buddha. Sakyamuni, as a historical being, was considered a Buddha, a Nirmana-kaya(化身), born in human form to meet the demands of those to be edified and save the mankind. The concept of 'Buddha of the Two Bodies' which has a deity of truth as the essence of Buddha and an incarnate as Sakyamuni emerged first. It is assumable that this aspect developed from the truth-oriented thinking in early Buddhism.

The idea of Saṃbhoga-kāya played a major part in developing the concept of 'Buddha of the Two Bodies' into 'Buddha of the Three Bodies'. With the establishment of 'deity of truth' that represents the universal eternity of Buddha and 'Nirmana-kaya' that reflects the detailed reality, problems on the harmonious relationship between the two concepts rise to the surface. Thus, the 3rd body, that is to say the Saṃbhoga-kāya(報身)⁸⁰ that is able to meet the eternal nature of the deity of truth and the concreteness of the Nirmana-kaya which appears in human form was taken into

80 An ideal world of religion above the phenomenal world and pure territory in which Buddha lives, as indicated by Buddhism that is to say Mahayana Buddhism. Refers to Buddha Land(佛國土) purified as a Utopia constructed by the Bodhisattva of Mahayana who fulfills desires to relieve the mankind.

consideration⁸¹. To summarize the mid-phase of the process, in which the truth of eternity the Nirmana-kaya that uses the human body becomes materialized, it should be understood as a divine being in between the untouchable, unseeable truth and the human that was produced by it.

This Sambhoga-kaya, though, is not to be considered without the philosophy of Bodhisattva from Mahayana Buddhism. A 'Bodhisattva' is a word used in early Buddhist schools that is limited to Sakyamuni in the stage before he achieves enlightenment.



[Figure 63] Sakyamuni before becoming Buddha by reaching Enlightenment, excavated in Gandhara, 2nd-3rd Century, National Museum of Korea, Korea. Source: Juhyung Lee.

Bodhisattva was not limited to Sakyamuni from the beginning of Mahayana, which started with the idea that all ascetics seeking enlightenment of Buddha are Bodhisattvas.

Moreover, it was emphasized that a Buddhist Budhisattva of Mahayana Buddhism shall make a pledge as a seeker of truth. Buddhists required a Bodhisattva who would

81 Kwon-Yong Noh, Development and Meaning of 三身佛說(Association of Korean Buddhism, No.32, 2002), p.58

make an altruistic(利他) pledge that he will save mankind and all objects that were not saved before while practicing to reach self-enlightenment.



[Figure 64] Statue of Maitreya, 2nd Century, Excavated in Sanxi, Kyoto of Japan, Yurinkan Museum. Source: J. M. Cabeza.



[Figure 65] Wooden Statue of Avalokitesvara, 11th Century, Nelson Atkins Museum of Art, China. Source: J.M. Cabeza.

Another characteristic of Mahayana Bodhisattva is that every truth-seeker is regarded as a Bodhisattva. This includes the emergence of the so-called Bodhisattva of the ordinary being(凡夫) along with the Maha Bodhisattvas such as Maitreya(彌勒), Samantabhadra(普賢), Manjuśri(文殊), and Avalokiteśvara(觀音). As Bodhisattvas who are currently edifying the mankind, they are Bodhisattvas who completed their practice in a certain point of view. They differ from the Bodhisattvas of the ordinary being, and have a different character than that of Sakyamuni Bodhisattva in the aspect⁸² of they are always present to care for others.

82 The fact that Sakyamuni decided to stay in this world by reserving his rights of becoming Buddha as he reached enlightenment

The concept of Bodhisattva that edifies the mankind became a significant subject⁸³ with the establishment of the 'Concept of the Three Bodies.'

To summarize, Buddhism, which was one of the many philosophical systems of performance that prevailed in the Indian society with the rise of Mahayana Buddhism after the death of Sakyamuni, began to gradually develop into a religious form. The background of such phenomenon was predicated on the advent of the Buddha-worshipping concept which shows that Buddhism developed from an atheistic philosophy to a theistic religion, and this Buddha-kaya is changed again in the aspect of polytheism by various influences⁸⁴.

83 Refer to Introduction to Mahayana Buddhism, p.193~196.

84 Hinduism significantly influenced the creation of Buddhist concepts including 'Buddha of the Three Bodies' and 'Buddhas of the Three Ages' along with the concept of multiple deities. Before Buddhism was born in India, Brahmanism prevailed but its influences fell with the advent of Buddhism and Jainism in central India. During this period, Brahmanism fused with the religion of native Indians, Dravidans, and transformed into Hinduism. From the 2nd century B.C, Hinduism spread extensively and received great support especially from farmers. As Hinduism gradually gained influence, Buddhism was affected. Then, many Hindu deities were introduced into Mahayana Buddhism and settled in the Buddhist culture with various roles. Prayers or rituals were conducted for such deities. For example, Kannon, the Buddhist God of Mercy is based on Hindu deities such as Indra, Visnu, Siva and Hayagriva, and many other Hindu deities were introduced to Buddhism.

3 GENERAL CONSIDERATION ON TEMPLES AND TEMPLE ELEMENTS

3.1 ORIGIN OF TEMPLES

3.2 ORIGIN OF STUPA AND RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE

3.2.1 THE ORIGIN OF STUPA

3.2.2 CHARACTERISTIC CHANGES AND RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUPA

3.2.3 ORIGIN OF BUDDHA STATUE AND RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE

ORIGIN OF TEMPLES

Temples were not in existence until early Buddhism. Buddha's first disciples⁸⁵ adhered to the idea of non-possessiveness and slept under trees or in forests and caves. Living without possessions, they were wandering monks who only concentrated on seeking the truth.

The life of monks in India was often restricted by the harsh climate and the swarms of insects that appeared during the 3-month rainy period after the dry season. Based on the 1st Buddhist precept details, it was not possible for monks to exterminate insects for the dissemination of Buddhism.

Sakyamuni mandated that all monks stop wandering for mendacity and deliverance of sentient beings during the three month rainy season. The Vassa, which obliged monks to stay in a place as a meditation retreat, was also instituted. Until this time, monks had visited relatives or friends to obtain room and board as Buddhist temples did not

⁸⁵ Original scriptures describe these ascetics as 'homeless' or 'people who reside in the woods'.

exist. They practiced asceticism in nearby forests which were used as their temporary residence, Avasa.

With the establishment of such policies, monks began to hope to meet with Sakyamuni in a place and devote themselves to meditation, and wealthy merchants or influential royal families provided food and donated groves(園林) to the Buddhist order to have monks reside there.

King Bimbisara of Magadha donated the first Buddhist grove, 'Bamboo-grove(竹林園)', for a group of ascetics. Initially, the monks resided under trees or in natural caves within this grove and later sixty huts were constructed and donated for monks to take shelter in inclement weather. This is how the first Buddhist temple 'Bamboo Temple (竹林精舍)' was formed.



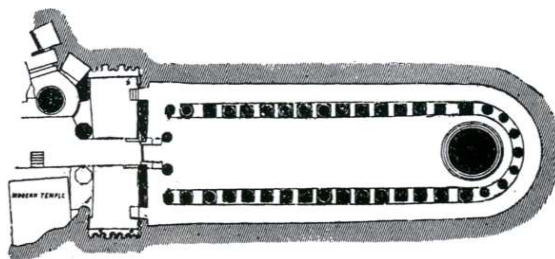
[Figure 66] Jukrimjeongsa-1. Source: Juhjung Lee [Figure 67] Jukrimjeongsa-2. Source: Juhjung Lee

Buddhist temples gradually developed and expanded into residential structures, and the other temples erected afterwards changed into Sangharama(temples) that was equipped with many structures required for Buddhist practice and living.

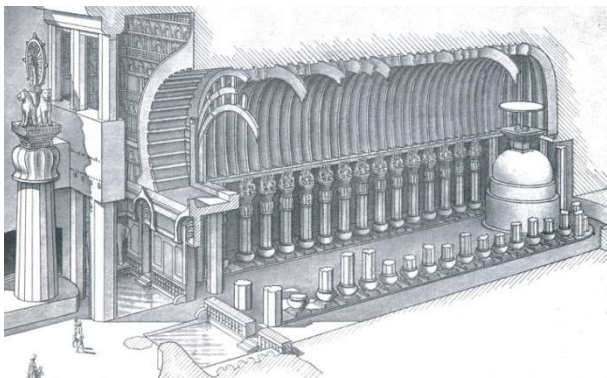
Based on the construction the Sangharama, temples became the common residential area for monks practicing Buddhism for religious purification. However, problems arose within the temple as monks did not leave after the three months retreat. They stayed in the temple eating food that the devotees cooked, they did not go about

asking for alms and they did not devote themselves to the practices of asceticism and abstinence. Thus, the temples eventually became permanent residences called 'Arāma'.

Temples of this period were not used for worshipping purposes but were used by Buddhist monks to conduct Buddhism practices. As temples evolved and Buddhism became widely known as a religion, the residence of monks and stupa areas were unified and developed into the temples⁸⁶ of today.



[Figure 68] Floor Plan of Caitya-grha (Karli Cave of India) that has a Stupa, Mumbai of India. From a sketch by Juhjung Lee.



[Figure 69] 3-d picture of Caitya-grha Cave(Karli Cave of India) and a Stupa, Mumbai of India. Source: Takeo Kamiya. *Architectural Guide to India* (in Japanese). P. 92.



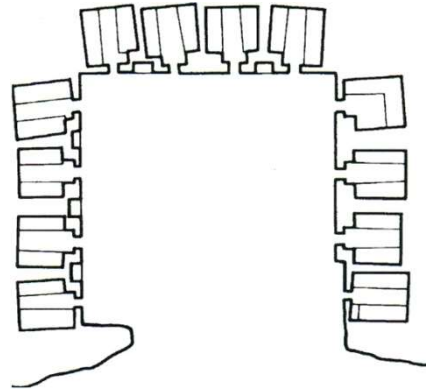
[Figure 70] Karli Cave. Source: <https://www.theosofie.net/sunrise/sunrise2006/novdec2006/illustraties/ellora.html#karli>

li

86 Buddhist cave temples in India include the Caitya-grha in which a stupa is enshrined, and Vihāra where monks stay. The form of early temples is found in these cave temples.



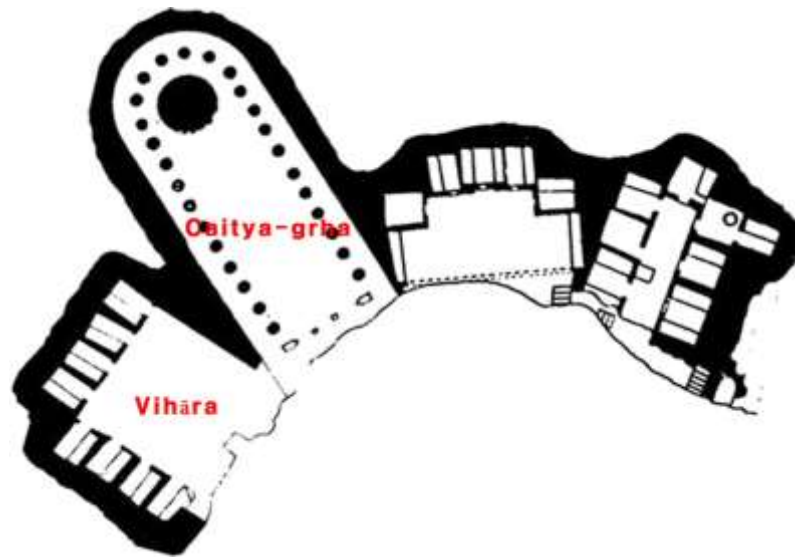
[Figure 71] Vihāra Cave in which Buddhist monks conducted practice (12th Ajanta Cave of India), Maharashtra region of India. Source: J.M. Cabeza



[Figure 72] Floor Plan of the 12th Ajanta Cave of India, Maharashtra region of India. Sketch by Juhjung Lee.



[Figure 73] Bājā Cave, Mumbai of India. Source: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/7/78/Panorama_Bhaja_Caves.jpg



[Figure 74] Floor Plan of Bājā Cave, Mumbai of India. Source: Kamiya, Takeo. *Architectural Guide to India* (in Japanese).P. 115

1.4 ORIGIN OF STUPA AND RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE

1.4.1 THE ORIGIN OF STUPA

Generally, the term 'tower' refers to a high structure with diverse purposes of use. In Buddhism, this tower is specifically called 'Stupa'⁸⁷, and it is now called 'stupa'⁸⁸ in Myanmar.

Stupa is regarded as one of the holiest places in Buddhism. It is a Buddhist structure⁸⁹ erected in front of the main temple building and used as a worshipping object.

Stupa was initially created in India, the cradle of Buddhism. It was traditionally passed down⁹⁰ as a burial mound since the Veda period before Buddhism originated, and it was erected⁹¹ in Sakyamuni's birthplace and wherever he conducted acts of miracles before his death.

Thus, the Stupa was not a Buddhist structure from the beginning. A stupa erected to celebrate a specific event is called 'Caitya(地埵)' which refers to a divine place or remains. The Indian stupa was created based on this concept. Buddhist stupas were

87 Called 'stupa' in Saṃskṛtā and 'thupa' in Paali.

88 Originated from a Portuguese word 'Pagode', by record, this name was given by the Portuguese when they advanced into south-east Asia in around the 15th Century and saw the stupas.

89 Gyeong-Shik Park, *Stone stupas of Korea* p.10.

90 Deuk-Yeom Cheon, "Semantic Interpretation of Original Stupas of India: Comparative Study on the Introduction and Form of Stupa Architecture I " p.89-90

91 These facts, materials, forms of stupa and other details are described in various Buddhist scriptures(佛經) such as "四分律", "摩訶僧祈律", "根本說一切有部苾芻尼毘奈耶"

not only erected in historical and commemorative places while Sakyamuni was alive, but were constructed at his tomb after his death.

The stupa was given its religious meaning of a holy Buddhist place after Sakyamuni's death when his disciples cremated his physical body and sealed his remains (sarira) in the stupa.

His sarira was divided and distributed to eight stupas called 分舍利 or 舍利八分 in India. Three more stupas were added to the Eight Great Deeds(根本八塔) Stupas by a Braaman(Brāhmana, 婆羅門)⁹² named Drona. The first stupa was erected with the vessel that contained the sarira, the second stupa was erected by the Mora tribe(華鉢村人) with the cremated ashes after the distribution, and the third⁹³ stupa(瓜髮塔) of Sudata⁹⁴ was erected while Sakyamuni was alive.



[Figure 75] Dividing Sakyamuni's Sarira into 8, excavated in Gandhara, Lahore Museum of Pakistan. Source: Juhjung Lee.

Afterwards, during the reign of King Asoka (272~232 B.C.), the act of worshipping the remains and relics of Sakyamuni and his disciples came into vogue, and a stupa was

92 The highest priestly class in the Indian caste system

93 Devotees cremated the body of Sakyamuni, divided his sarira and erected the stupas. The stupas were not built in temples where monks lived, but was erected in plazas where many people could gather, based on the saying (Digha Nikaya, Vo. II, p.142) "Erect stupas at crossroads(Catumahapatha)". Thus stupas were erected accordingly, and managed and protected(護持) by the devotees. 田前惠學, "Beginner's Book of Buddhism", in *Summarized Explanation of Buddhism* p.131

94 A name referring to a shelter for Sakyamuni, that is to say the temple of today

erected in each place where the remains were buried. Additionally, King Asoka sent propagators to various regions in order to disseminate Buddhism all over India and at the same time opened the eight stupas, divided the sarira and constructed 84,000⁹⁵ stupas throughout India.

During the reign of Asoka Buddhism spread all over India and to surrounding countries, and stupas were erected. From then, with its function as a tomb until the statue of the Buddha came into existence, the stupa became a holy object that held the remains of Sakyamuni. It served as a symbol of Sakyamuni and became an essential Buddhist element in all geographical locations that Buddhism spread in to.

CHARACTERISTIC CHANGES AND RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUPA

In principle, the stupa is worshipped to commemorate Sakyamuni. Stupas were erected during Sakyamuni's lifetime and it is described in Buddhist scriptures that stupas were also erected for other saints.

This was an expression of respect towards religious saints, and such an act has been passed down for a long period of time since the ancient times throughout the history of modern Hinayana Buddhism. However, in Mahayana, the symbol of everlasting Sakyamuni began to change into Stupa worshipping based on changes in the Buddha-kaya.

All religions have their own way of worshipping. Religious belief cannot be created without ceremonies. In the early Buddhist order, there was no specific object of worship as the monks had their ceremonies and ways of asceticism in order to achieve

⁹⁵ This is not an actual figure but is to express that many stupas were constructed. Thus, it is unquestionable that King Asoka constructed a great number of stupas.

enlightenment. Like the teaching of Sakyamuni, 'Attadpa and Dhammadpa'⁹⁶ which taught one to use one's effort while moving toward the truth, Buddhism was originally an atheistic philosophy.

For devotees, the fact that they did not have an object of worship was a big problem which jeopardized the continuity of one's religious belief. Devotees needed 'a savior', a Buddha with mercy and dignity, a Buddha with the power to save the mankind, and a Buddha who had the power to grant one's wishes.

In such circumstances, it was quite natural for devotees to worship Sakyamuni through the Stupa. Before the statue of the Buddha was created, devotees worshipped and presented offerings to the 'Tomb of Sakyamuni', Stupa, where his sarira were stored and great stupas began to be erected in various areas.

Stupa worshipping became generalized as time went by. Not only did Hinayana recognize this, but Buddhist monks also eventually began to become involved in Stupa worshipping, as stated in Maha Parinirvana. As a result, Stupa worshipping emerged as an important Buddhist ceremony regardless of worshippers and it gradually began⁹⁷ to be erected in close proximity to Buddhist temples where disciples practiced asceticism.

Above all, the religious significance of the stupa became the religious center of devotees and the base of the coming Mahayana Buddhism.

96 "Be a lamp unto yourself and depend on the lamp of truth"

97 中村 元, Nakamura Ken, *The World of Buddha*, p.356-358

ORIGIN OF THE BUDDHA STATUE AND RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE

Sakyamuni was the superior being who achieved absolute nirvana, and it was impracticable in principle to establish a statue that could display the true nature of Sakyamuni. It was impossible to visually create this being, who overtook human perspectives, and bring him down to this world of phenomena and repeating cycle of life and death, Samsara.

Limiting the holy figure of unlimited truth, Sakyamuni, inside a tangible statue was not only an unpardonable act but the creation of the statue of the Buddha was forbidden for a long time. It did not appear in Buddhist art due to Sakyamuni who willed⁹⁸ that he did not wish to be deified or idolized.

Thus, the first Buddhist art of India expressed Sakyamuni as a symbol and not as a human until Mahayana Buddhism that is to say, around the 1st century, which had its basis on the doctrines of Hinayana before Mahayana was introduced. Interestingly, he practiced this custom before he became Buddha.



[Figure 76] Railing of the 2nd Stupa, Sanchi. Source: César de Prado.

98 "Be a lamp unto yourself and depend on the lamp of truth"

The exclusion of the statue in human form was not forbidden like it was in Judaism during the Old Testament era and Islam, and it was not new in India. In fact, the custom of Brahmanism during the Vedas period, which was to worship a symbolized object and not a god in human form, was passed down⁹⁹.

During this period, Buddhist art in reliefs decorated the back and front of stupa railings and doors at Barhut or Sanchi based on the past and current life of Sakyamuni. The reliefs commonly expressed images of Bodhi Trees, Dharma Wheel, footprints or stupas instead of Sakyamuni.



[Figure 77] Symbolizing Sakyamuni (Relief on Stupa at Amaravati), 2nd Century, Museum of Archaeology of Amaravati. Source: César de Prado

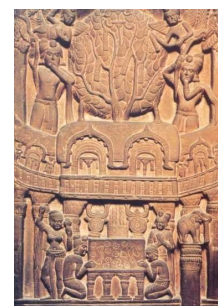


[Figure 78] Symbolizing with Stupa.

Source: César de Prado.



[Figure 79] Symbolizing with Dharma Cakra. Source: César de Prado.



[Figure 80] Symbolizing with the Bodhi Tree. Source: César de Prado.

99 中村 元, Nakamura Ken, *The World of Buddha*, p.186



[Figure 81] Buddha's Footprint, excavated in Amaravati of India in the 1st Century, stored in the British Museum of the UK. Source: J. M. Cabeza.

Such symbols do not only represent Sakyamuni but relate to significant events of his life. For example, Sakyamuni reached enlightenment under the bodhi tree, his first sermon was about the wheel of truth and the Stupa represents nirvana. Thus, these symbols function historically, biographically and narratively, and they allude to Sakyamuni's presence by appearing in the illustrative scenes of his life or past life. Expressing Sakyamuni as the only symbol, compared to other objects in the same scene expressed in human form, is to¹⁰⁰ emphasize his purity, spirituality and superiority through such symbolic hints. However, these types of art were not created as an object of worship but to understand and deliver the Stupa decorations, or the teachings or important events of Sakyamuni.



[Figure 82] Buddha and the Brahmins, excavated in Swat, 1st-3rd Century, Swat Museum. Source: Juhyung Lee.



[Figure 83] The Great Nirvana, excavation unknown, 2nd-4th Century, Peshawar Museum. Source: Juhyung Lee.

100 中村 元, Nakamura Ken, *The World of Buddha*, p.187



[Figure 84] Buddha's Tomb and Mourning Disciples, excavation site unknown, 2nd-3rd Century, Karachi Museum. Source: Juhjung Lee



[Figure 85] Cremation, excavated in Malakand, 3rd-4th Century, National Museum of Karachi. Source: Juhjung Lee



[Figure 86] Transfer of Sarira, excavation unknown, 1st-3rd Century, Islamabad Museum. Source: Juhjung Lee.



[Figure 87] Worshipping the stupa, excavated in Malakand, 2nd-4th Century, Swat Museum. Source: Juhjung Lee.



[Figure 88] Birth, excavation site unknown, 2nd-3rd Century, Karachi Museum. Source: Juhjung Lee.



[Figure 89] Birth and Bathing, excavated in Taxila in 2nd-3rd Century, Taxila Museum. Source: Juhjung Lee.



[Figure 90] The crown prince practising martial arts, excavation site unknown, 2nd-4th Century, Karachi Museum. Source: Juhyung Lee.



[Figure 91] The Great Nirvana, excavation site unknown, 2nd-4th Century, Peshawar Museum. Source: Juhyung Lee.

The statue of the Buddha began to be constructed in about the 1st century, and the place where the first statue of the Buddha appeared is assumed to be in the north-west region of Gandhara.

In general, the statue of the Buddha is examined to have appeared in two ways. The whole area of Gandhara was dominated by the Greco-Bactrian Kingdom¹⁰¹ in 255~139 B.C., and the Kushan Empire was established in a part of this region. The Kushan was exposed to the Greek culture of Hellenism through which the art of Gandhara flourished.



[Figure 92] Bactria Hermeios(front) and Zeus(Back), 1st Century B.C.. Source: Gómez de Liaño, I. *El círculo de la sabiduría* I. P. 314.

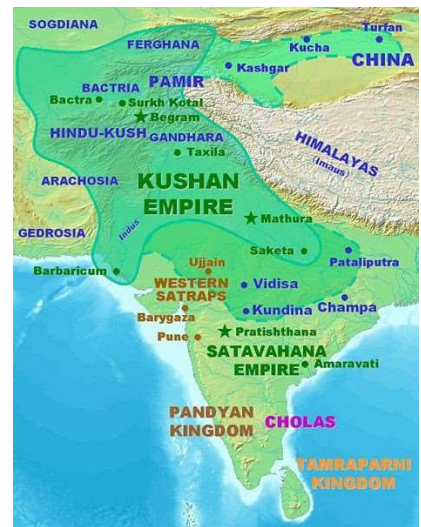
101 This country was succeeded to one of Alexander's admirals, Seleuko, after he died a few years later he conquered this region by defeating Darius III of the Persian Empire.



[Figure 93] Kanishka(Front) of the Kushan Dynasty and Buddha(Back), 2nd Century, The British Museum. Source: Gómez de Liaño, I. *El círculo de la sabiduría I..* P.315.



[Figure 94] Territory of the Greco-Bactrian Kingdom (B.C. 246~B.C. 138). Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greco-Bactrian_Kingdom#/media/File:Greco-BactrianKingdomMap.jpg



[Figure 95] Territory of the Kushan Empire(AD 78~AD 226). Source: https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Empire_kouchan#/media/Fichier:KushanEmpire Map.jpg

During the Bactrian period, it is established¹⁰² that the Greek culture came close in contact with the Buddhist culture. The Greek had plenty of experience in constructing statues of gods and thus they would not have been ideologically repelled.

102 Pali. Milinda-paainha in which King Menandros (or Milinda in Pali.) of Bactria and monk Nagasena discusses Buddhist doctrines in a dialogue form



[Figure 96] Greek Buddhist Art of Gandhara, end of 1st Century, excavated in Peshawar of Pakistan, Peshawar Museum of Pakistan.

Source: Juhjung Lee.



[Figure 97] A western Gandhara statue of the Buddha, in the early 3rd Century, excavated from Peshawar region of Pakistan, Lahore Museum of Pakistan. Source: <https://historyofarchitecture.weebly.com/buddhist.html>



[Figure 98] A Mathura statue of the Buddha, different to the Buddha statue of Gandhara, in the early 3rd Century, excavated from Mathura of India, Mathura Museum of India. Source: Montgomery, Daniel. *Fire in the Lotus*. P. 32

This ideology influenced the Gupta Empire during which the changing patterns in Mahayana and Buddha-kaya were assumed to have promoted the appearance of the statue of the Buddha.

The statue of the Buddha gradually became the object of worship, and similar to the Stupa, the simple expression of respect to the Buddha developed into a ceremonial act for the transcendental being. A symbol became a statue(像), the ascetic abstinence that depended on abstraction became a sensuous reappearance in human form, and the respect towards an ideal human changed into worshipping the power of superhuman mercy.

These new emotions were moved by the deep devotion, and the ceremonies were a way of expressing hope for a miracle.

Moreover, a new myth naturally developed with the new Buddha-kaya such as the idea of the Three Kayas and multiple Buddha bodies based on the appearance of Mahayana. The basis of such ideas reflected Buddha as a merciful savior who longed for everything like all the other gods in the traditional myths before Buddhism. Presenting an offering to Buddha, mentally or physically, is a great act of conducting a good deed and it was deemed essential to the accumulation of good deeds.

In this aspect of public belief, the act of creating a statue of the Buddha had powers of persuasion and the historical statue was linked to Sakyamuni to vindicate the human form of Buddha.

With the creation of these statues, faith in Buddhism advanced significantly. Compared to the statue of the Buddha which materialized the form of Sakyamuni as a practical object of religious belief, the Stupa was related to the worship of sarira which was a symbolic object of belief. Thus, the main agent of worship and service gradually moved on from the Stupa to the statue of the Buddha.

The stupa, as a limited element¹⁰³, fails to avoid being encroached of its influences by the unlimited elements of the Buddha statue. Furthermore, the concept of multiple

103 In order to erect a new Stupa, the existing Stupa must be taken down to redistribute the sarira in it, but the number of Sakyamuni's sarira is inevitably limited and the religious issue is raised by the act of

deities(多佛思想) in different cultural backgrounds within the vast region of India contributes greatly¹⁰⁴ to the development of the Buddha statue.

With the formation of Mahayana, Buddhism became a religion and, as expected, it played a part in supporting the statue of the Buddha to obtain more power. In particular, Buddhism as a religion played a very positive role in spreading the statue of the Buddha as it essentially promotes religious ceremonies.

disassembling the stupa. Thus, ashes(灰土) of his cremated body including his hair, nail, teeth and clothes from the place of cremation at the time he reached nirvana replaced the sarira, and the scriptures were sealed. The meaning of the stupa which symbolized Sakyamuni cancelled. At the point of establishment of sect Buddhism in China, progenitor monks who founded sects or Zen monks who accomplished great results were revered and praised. Accordingly, stupas were erected. Surely, such stupa was called Buddha(浮屠).

104 Joong-Sep Yeom, "A Consideration on Origin of Temple Building Arrangement and Chinese Spreading Pattern", p.52

4 CHANGES IN THE FORM AND MEANING OF TEMPLE COMPONENTS

4.1 CHANGES IN THE FORM AND MEANING OF STUPA

4.2 FORMATION AND SEMANTIC CHANGES OF THE STATUE OF THE BUDDHA

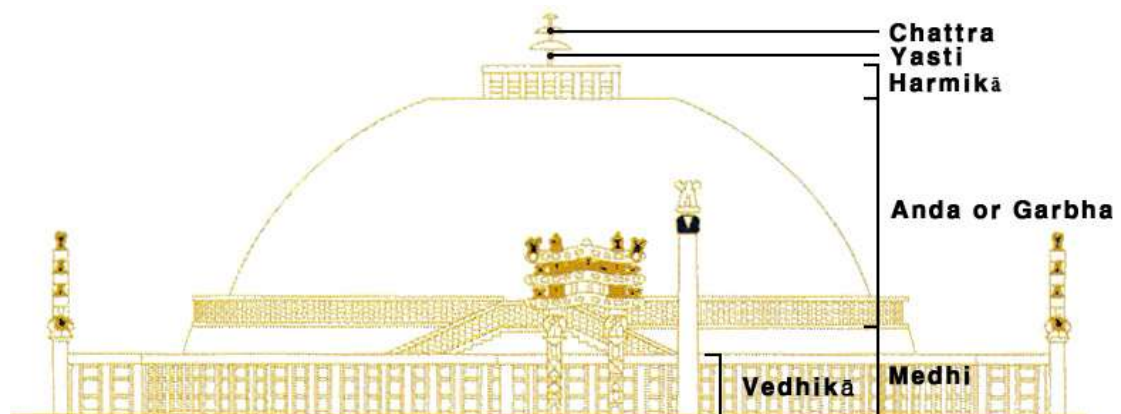
4.3 STUPA IN BUDDHIST TEMPLES AND SEMANTIC CHANGES OF THE BUDDHA STATUE

CHANGES IN THE FORM AND MEANING OF TEMPLE COMPONENTS

CHANGES IN THE FORM AND MEANING OF STUPA

Most early stupas of India have disappeared, but there are three stupas¹⁰⁵ in Sanchi, dating back to the 3rd century ~ 1st century B.C. These are the oldest stupas in existence. These stupas have been decorated but the original form has been preserved. This study will investigate the structure of Stupa No. 1(The Great Stupa).

Regarding the Great Stupa of Sanchi, a small railing called the Vedhika surrounds the whole stupa and stands in the area that is separated from the exterior. There is a massive hemispheric dome¹⁰⁶ called Anda or Garbha which is placed on a raised base called Medhi in one or two stages. The upper part of the dome is flat and it is enclosed with 'Harmika', a stone fence or railing that encloses a square area. At the top of Anda inside the Harmika stands a Yasti or a mast in the center crowned with royal parasols, chattras.



[Figure 99] Name of Stupa Components. Source: Desimaru, Taisen. *Questions to A Zen Master*. P. 43

105 It is presumed that this great stupa was erected during the Sunga Dynasty (2nd-1st Century B.C) by heaping up stones based on small stupas of the former period,

106 In Indian, this dome was called 'Anda' meaning 'Egg' or 'Garbha' meaning 'Womb'.

In general, stupas of ancient India generally functioned as a vessel to seal Sakyamuni's sarira. Thus, the background of the stupa form has a great significance that emphasizes the holy entity sealed within the stupa.



[Figure 100]. The Great Stupa at Sanchi,
Eastern Gateway. Source:

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sanchi#/media/File:East_Gateway_-_Stupa_1_-_Sanchi_Hill_2013-02-21_4398.JPG



[Figure 101] The Great Stupa (Stupa No.1) of Sanchi. Source:
<http://m.jogyesa.kr/news/articleView.html?idxno=5122>

The single-story base, the body of the stupa in a dome structure like a bucket facing down, and the upper part found in relief sculptures in stupas at Sanchi or Bharhut¹⁰⁷ began to change in the layer and form around the Kushan Dynasty(105-250).

Changes of the stupa's form are similar to the appearance of Buddha statues in its ways. The first phase of such development is found in cave temples of western India such as Gandhara and the surrounding regions of Amaravati, Bedsa and Kali.

The cylindrical shaped stereobate became longer as it went higher to the upper part of the stereobate, creating multiple stepped-levels in various angles. As a result, the

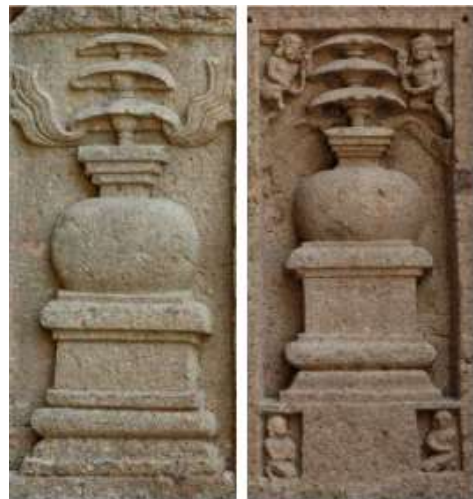
107 Presumed to date back to the Sunga Dynasty

semi-hemispheric dome became smaller in size compared to the stereobate on the upper part. Moreover, during this period, Buddha statues already existed and Buddhist art had already developed. Thus, alters were created on the stepped-levels and inside the Buddha statue was enshrined or narrative reliefs about Sakyamuni were carved.¹⁰⁸

Worshippers circled the stupa to serve Buddha or its statue through ceremonies. For one thing, the upper part of the dome was smaller in width and longer with more chattras, eventually forming a cone shape as the dome became thinner at the top. Not long after the original form changed into a square base, this base formed multiple layers and expanded so that the perimeter of the dome could be reached through stairs that were placed on all sides.



[Figure 102] Relief on Outer Wass, Ajanta Cave No. 9. Source: Hee-Bong Lee, "Formative Interpretations of the Original Stupas of India", *Studies on the Architectural History*, p.112.



[Figure 103] Relief on Outer Wall, Kanheri Chaitya. Source: Hee-Bong Lee, "Formative Interpretations of the Original Stupas of India", *Studies on the Architectural History*, p.112.

As the final outcome, the structure of the stupa was higher, slender and more complex. The main part of the stupa, the hemispheric dome, gradually lost its significance and its secondary parts began to be emphasized.¹⁰⁹

108 Dietrich Seckel, *Buddhist Art of East Asia* p. 143-144.

109 Dietrich Seckel, *Buddhist Art of East Asia* p.144.



[Figure 104] Stupa in Mha Moradu. Source: <https://mapio.net/pic/p-10082951/>



[Figure 105] Stupa of Bodhgaya. Source: Juhyung Lee.



[Figure 106] Upper part of Silsangsa Temple, Namwon, Korea. Source: Juhyung Lee.

The stupa of India transformed completely into a different form when it was introduced into Eastern China or China. Externally, vertical characteristics of the stupa were emphasized and the number of layers in the lower structure increased. Layers gradually began to look like the floors of a building. On the other hand, the semi-hemispheric dome is reduced in size, keeping its basic form, and its function changes to supporting the yasti shaft topped with umbrella-shaped chattras.

In addition, the materials used to construct the stupa in India and China differ significantly. In contrast to the Indian stupas which were built with stone and bricks, Chinese stupas were erected¹¹⁰ with wood since the early Buddhist years.

110 Professor Lothar Ledderose asserted that multi-layered wooden stupas of China originated from tall watch towers_(望樓) of China. Bases for such logical reasoning are investigated in the tower-type potteries, discovered through archaeological excavations in the late 20th century, used for burial during the Han Dynasty. Due to the external similarities between the multi-layered wooden stupas and the watch towers of the Han Dynasty, the theory of Ledderose made a great appeal to the academia and now it is almost recognized as an established theory. (In-Chang Kim, "Origin of Middle Layered Stupas",p.179).

However, it is believed that the contention made by Profess Seckel that multi-layer wooden stupas of East Asia originated from Indian Stupas procures formative homogeneity in the former phase of the multi-layered wooden

The initial form and style of Chinese stupas are displayed as reliefs in stupas of Ungang and Yongmoon Cave of the Northern Wei Dynasty. These stupas are all¹¹¹ multi-layered wooden towers, and the overall form is presented by a dome stupa atop the multi-layered wooden structure.



[Figure 107] Relief of Middle Layer Type Stupa, Late 5th Century, Wongang Cave of China. Source: <http://blog.daum.net/notie1/7929398>



[Figure 108] Relief of Wooden Stupa, Ungang Cave No. 6. Source: Hogan, Michael, *Silk Road, North China*.

P. 72.

stupas of China based on the fact the formation of early Indian stupas increased in stylobate layers and height to emphasize the verticality.

111 Gyeong-Shik Park, *Stone stupas of Korea*, p.35.

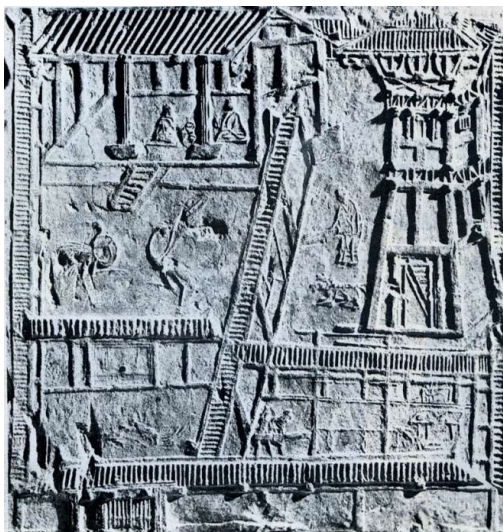


[Figure 109] Stupa of Ungang Cave No. 39.
Source: Hogan, Michael, *Silk Road, North China*. P. 74.



[Figure 110] Seokgatap of Bulgungsa(佛宮寺 釋迦塔) established in 1065, China.
Source: Juhjung Lee.

Due to this difference between the stupa of India and that of China, many theories on the beginning of multiple-layered wooden stupa of China are raised. Opinions are sharply divided into two main camps. Dietrich Seckel believes that the middle-story stupa originated from the development of Indian stupas, and Lothar Ledderose asserts that middle-story stupas were derived from tall watch towers of China. However, no clear answers have been found and no conclusion on the period of its creation has been established.



[Figure 111] Anterior wall displaying watch-tower of the Han Dynasty(漢代, B.C. 206~A.D. 220). Source: Hogan, Michael, *Silk Road, North China*.P.75.



[Figure 112] Pottery of watch-tower of the Han Dynasty(漢代, B.C. 206~A.D. 220). Source: Hogan, Michael, *Silk Road, North China*.P.140.

It is considered that theories such as the above stem from the separatist view in the comparison between both parties as a result of only focusing on the differences of forms in stupas of India and China.

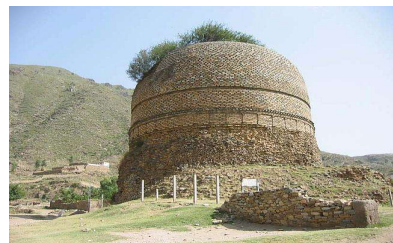
Prior to studying the changes in the stupa form, there is a need to analogize by linking to the changes in Buddhist history such as the semantic changes shown in Buddhism along with the changes of Buddha-kaya and object of worship based on the background that caused the changes in form and meaning. Thus, there is a need to investigate the context by considering the changes in the Chinese stupas as an extension of Indian stupas.

Based on the above supposition, formative changes shown from the early Indian stupas to the wooden stupas in China include the following details. As displayed in [Figure #], early stupas had the semi-spheric Anda on top of the 1 or 2 layered Medhi inside the Vehika, and a square-shaped Harmika surrounds the upper part and umbrella-shaped chattras are in a yasti that stands inside it, forming the stupa in its simplest form.

These stupas are in their earliest forms during the period which no Buddha statues were displayed. Sakyamuni was shown through drawings¹¹² of his life_(Jātaka)¹¹³ in the forms of the stupa, Bodhi tree and Buddhist marks as decorations in relief on the stupa railings and doors of Vehika.



[Figure 113] Stupa No. 2 at Sanchi. Source: Takeo Kamiya. *Architectural Guide to India* (in Japanese). P. 134.



[Figure 114] Shingerdar, 2nd-3rd Century, Swat of Pakistan. Source: Takeo Kamiya. *Architectural Guide to India* (in Japanese). P. 201.

112 A painting or relief displaying many achievements of Sakyamuni during his life

113 A story of Sakyamuni's past life.

Afterwards, an independent statue of the Buddha for worship did not appear even though the statue of the Buddha could have been displayed. The form of Sakyamuni was presented directly but reliefs on his life were mainly produced¹¹⁴ to decorate the stupa, as it was in the former period.

It is important to note that Sakyamuni was displayed as a part of the temples and not as an independent statue. He was displayed on the base of the stupa instead of on stupa railings or doors of Vedhika as in the former period. This suggests that his form integrated with the stupa and thus it should be considered that the stupa was more than just a tomb of Sakyamuni and that it functioned as a medium¹¹⁵ that delivered narrative messages of Sakyamuni.



[Figure 115] Stupa excavated in Sikri, Lahore Museum. Source: Juhjung Lee.



[Figure 116] Stupa excavated in Taxila, 1st-3rd Century. Source: Juhjung Lee.

It is difficult to ascertain exactly what caused the number of layers in the stereobate to increase, but the number may have increased by the demand of more messages or expressions of Sakyamuni.

114 平川彰, Hirakawa S. *History of Indian Buddhism - Beginners*, p.250.

115 Disciples who entered Buddhism were able to obtain various knowledge and information through scriptures but devotees had difficulty in understanding the scriptures and they did not know Sanskrit or Pali. Therefore, Buddhist art began to develop to deliver Buddhism to those who needed an easier understanding.

These changes caused the stupa to change in its form again. The reliefs of groups in the former phase displaying narrative details changed into a large statue of Sakyamuni inside an area composed of two pillars and an arch-shaped roof on the lower part of the upper dome structure in stupas discovered in Ajanta Caves, Ellora Buddhist Caves and Vaisali¹¹⁶. This indicates¹¹⁷ that the stylobate of the dome stupa has not become higher but that a new area has been added on the lower part of the existing stupa to enshrine the Buddha statue.



[Figure 117] Stupa in Ajanta Cave No.26, 4th-5th Century, India. Kamiya, Takeo. *Architectural Guide to India* (in Japanese). P. 67



[Figure 118] Stupa in Ajanta Cave No.19, 4th-5th Century, India. Kamiya, Takeo. *Architectural Guide to India* (in Japanese).

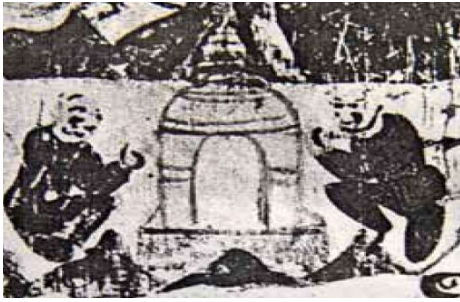
P. 69

In a similar way, a tabernacle was created specially on the exterior of the stupa to enshrine or carve a statue of the Buddha.

A similar case is found in murals in Dunhuang of China. A figure of Buddha is expressed inside the wooden structure on top of a high stereobate, and a small but clear dome structure is found on the tiled roof.

116 An ancient city in India, located approximately 431km northeast of Patna, Bihar of East India.

117 In-Chang Kim, "The Origin of Middle Layered Stupas", p.184.



[Figure 119] Paintings of the Dome Stupa, 5th-6th Century, Dunhuang Cave of China. Source: Hogan, Michael, *Silk Road, North China*. P. 63.



[Figure 120] Mural showing a stupa with a smaller dome, 5th-6th Century, Dunhuang Cave of China. Source: Hogan, Michael, *Silk Road, North China*. P. 116.

These are similar in that the dome structure in the upper part only functions as a symbolic form, not as a vessel. The lower part is only distinguished by its architecture and, having the same function, it gives off a structure that seals the statue of the Buddha.

Changes in the form of the stupa are intensified, and small-scale stupas excavated in Peshawar as discussed earlier in the study certainly has a different form from stupas. Its dome structure in the upper part is reduced more, and the lower part has three layers. The lower structure of this stupa is no longer interpreted as a base and it is more reasonable to view it as a multiple-layered stupa.

It is certain that stupas of India and China are stupas but the statue of the Buddha is embossed giving an impression of a cart put before the horse. Also, with the stupas not functioning as a tomb, they are characterized as being the enshrinement of the Buddha statue.



[Figure 121] Small Stupa, 2nd-3rd Century,
Peshawar Museum of India. Source:
Juhjung Lee.



[Figure 122] Small Stupa, 2nd-3rd Century,
Peshawar Museum of India. Source:
Juhjung Lee.

Meanwhile, traces of a wooden stupa were discovered in Dunhuang and Wongang Cave during a similar period. This is a more advanced form of the multiple layered stupa of India, and the rectangular terrace is developed into a Chinese tiled-roof form and a statue of the Buddha is enshrined inside each of the layer.

Even if the wooden stupas of China are regarded to have been derived from the watch towers of the Han Dynasty, the two shall be considered to be in a similar context regarding the construction method, as the building material of the stupa was simply changed from stone to wood, the upper dome structure was reduced in scale, the lower structure had multiple layers and each layer was expressed with the statue of the Buddha.

Based on the details referenced, the assertion made by Dietrich Seckel that multi-layered stupas were derived from Indian stupas is weightier than the argument of Lothar Ledderose that multi-layered stupas were derived from many-storied buildings¹¹⁸ of China.

118 A tall house with no door and walls built to see in all direction.

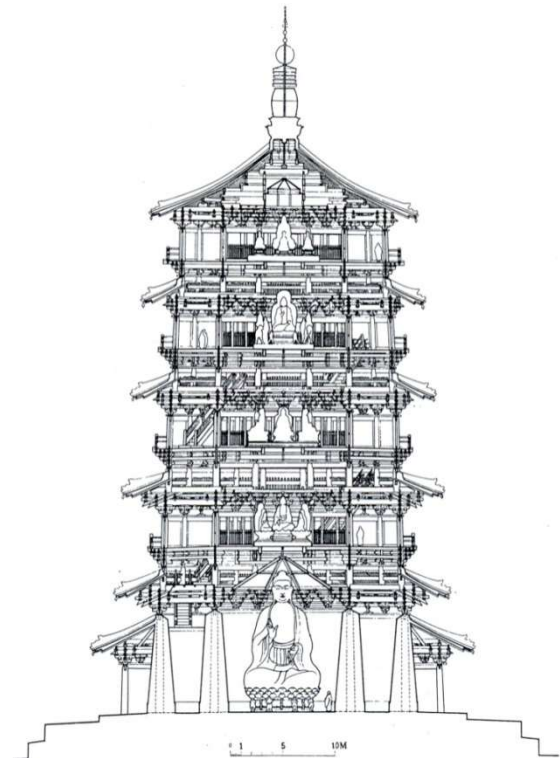
Nevertheless, this study aims to consider the background of changes in stupa forms and the changes of the meanings. It does not look into the origin of multiple layered stupas.

The identity of the stupa that seals the sarira diluted while the dome structure gradually became smaller. With only the symbolic form left in the upper part of the stupa, the lower part developed in the same form as the multi-layered structure.

Moreover, it was possible to form an area inside the wooden stupa of China, and so the role of the hall that the stupa played was more intensified than the stupas in India based on the fact that the statue of the Buddha was enshrined inside the stupa.



[Figure 123] Wooden Stupa, Bulgunsa Temple (1056, Shanxi of China). Source: Juhung Lee.



[Figure 124] Cross section of the wooden stupa in Bulgunsa Temple, 1056 年, Shanxi of China. Drawing by Namjeung Park. Source: Liu, *Zhongguo gudai jianzhu shi*. P. 218. Also available in : [https://www--jstor--org.us.debiblio.com/stable/pdf/3250078.pdf](https://www-jstor-org.us.debiblio.com/stable/pdf/3250078.pdf)

If it is regarded reasonable to view the origin of wooden stupas in China as an extension of the development of the stupas in India, the background of such a phenomenon will be assumed as a transitional phenomenon that occurred when Buddhism rapidly developed into a religion with the emergence of Mahayana. Furthermore, the symbolism of the stupa weakened and the limited factor of the formation was overwhelmed by the authenticity of the Buddha statue and by the unlimited factors of the structure.

1.5 FORMATION AND SEMANTIC CHANGES OF THE STATUE OF THE BUDDHA

While it was possible to present Buddha statues along with the emergence of Mahayana Buddhism, the statues began to be naturally displayed as the main feature of temples. The statues decorated the stupa or were carved as narrative reliefs instead of functioning as an object of worship for a certain amount of time.



[Figure 125] Small Stupa decorated with Buddhist Art, Excavated in Sikri, Lahore Museum.

Source: Juhjung Lee.

However, the emergence of the Buddha statue brought forth a great advancement in the religious form of Buddhism. Until the statue of the Buddha was created, the ethical lifestyle based on the spiritual enlightenment of the Tripitaka was not the only

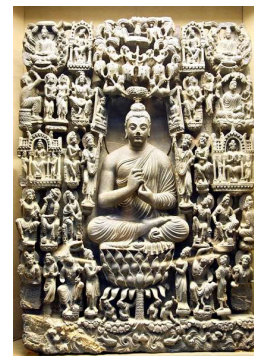
religious form for Buddhists. Their religion was associated with many other folk religions and they prayed to the stupa or the statue¹¹⁹ of the Yaksa(藥叉 or 夜叉) for their own interest in this world. Then, just in time, an appropriate object of worship, the Statue of the Buddha, emerged¹²⁰.

Unlike the statue of the Buddha which was a practical object to worship as a statue that implemented the appearances of Sakyamuni, the stupa was a symbolic object of belief created to worship the sarira. Gradually, the statue of the Buddha became the main object of worship and service.



[Figure 126] Relief of Buddha Statue on Stone Board decorated in Stupa, Stored in Peshawar Museum. Source:

Juhyung Lee



[Figure 127] Relief of Buddha Statue on Stupa, Lahore Museum.

Source: Juhyung Lee



[Figure 128] Detailed Relief on Door of Stupa No. 1 at Sanchi. Source: Juhyung Lee

119 Also called Yaksi or Yaksini, she is a divine being from “Vedas” and lives in forests or trees. She is an invisible goddess with supernatural powers and mercy, but she is also a ferocious deity who spreads deadly plagues to those who do not present offerings.

120 Seung-Seok Jeong, *Understanding Buddhism*, p. 348.

As Mahayana Buddhism flourished, the statue of the Buddha replaced the stupa; it became the main object of worship and it began to develop as an independent statue of worship.

Signs of change appeared in the formation of the statue, and based on Gandhara, many sculptures with numerous Buddhas and Bodhisattvas along with the independent Buddha statue were produced. These statues, representing figures in a group, varied¹²¹ from a simple triad form that is composed of a seated Buddha and two flanking Bodhisattvas to a complex form of numerous Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and offerers(供養者)¹²² around the seated Buddha in the center.



[Figure 129] Dissemination of Buddhism, 2nd-3rd Century. Museum of Peshawar. Source: Juhjung Lee



[Figure 130] Group Statue of Sakyamuni, 3rd-4th Century, Excavated in Sahri-Bahlol, Peshawar Museum. Source: Juhjung Lee

121 Jeong-Sook Kim, *The Iconic Origin of the Buddha Triad* p.5.

122 Devotees who offer food and goods

Produced in different types, the narrative panels have a common format of the Buddha positioned in the center with flanking Bodhisattvas, displaying a basic Buddhist triad formation.



[Figure 131] Buddhist Triad, 2nd Century, Gandhara. Source: Juhyung Lee



[Figure 132] Sarira Vessel of King Kaniska, Peshawar. Source: Juhyung Lee

The primitive form of the Buddhist triad traces back to the time before Mahayana Buddhism was born, when the Buddha statues were forbidden. Usually, the stupa or Dharma-cakra was in the center with two flanking figures with their hands(合掌)¹²³ flat together as if in a prayer. The two figures were believed to be Indian deities(天部)¹²⁴ who lived in the celestial world for a long period of time before Buddhism was born, and naturally introduced and served as Dharmapāla(善神), Protectors of Buddhist Laws.

123 Both hands gathered together to express one's consistent attitude or a similar form.

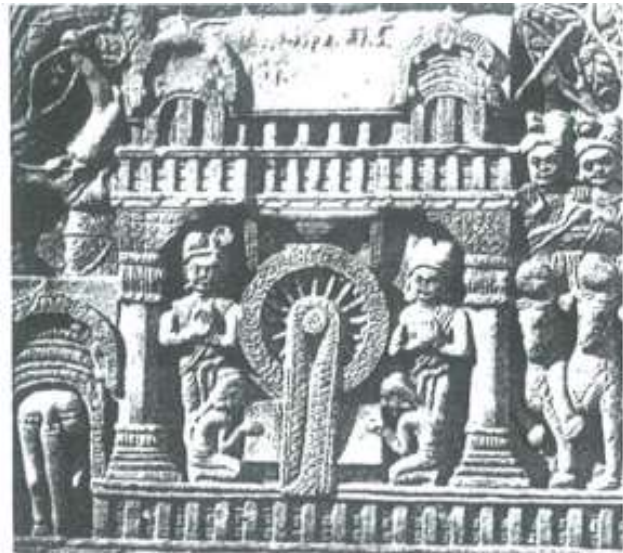
124 They were recognized as the highest deities as Brahma_(梵天) and Indra_(帝釋天) before Buddhism was born, along with Siva. They also appear in Veda of Brahmanism.



[Figure 133] Buddhist Triad based on Dharma-cakra, 2nd Century B.C, Museum of India. Source: J.M.Cabeza.



[Figure 134] Buddhist Triad of Mathura, 2nd Century, Excavated in Katra, Mathura Museum of India. J.M. Cabeza.



[Figure 135] Relief on Stupa at Barhut. Source: Jang-Seop Yoon, *Architecture of India*. P. 84.

The two deities form a Buddhist triad flanking Sakyamuni in order to carry out their mission of protecting the laws. Brahma and Sakra protect the Buddhist laws preached by Sakyamuni and are positioned next to the stupa or Dharma-cakra that symbolizes Sakyamuni giving his first teaching. By definition, they are known to protect Buddhist

laws while forming the solidarity of the triad format; that is to say, the one Buddha, two flanking Bodhisattvas in the view of law-oriented Buddhism.

The form of the triad was passed down to the period of Mahayana Buddhism, and a significant difference is shown in the meaning when compared with that of the former period. The greatest dogmatic difference between Mahayana Buddhism and Buddhism of the former period is in the development of Buddhism into a religion, the appearance of multiple deities, and the emergence of the Bodhisattva concept.

The Buddhist triad during the Mahayana period had other Buddhas or Bodhisattvas flanking the main Buddha. This presented a different meaning from the sculptures of flanking Bodhisattvas in early Buddhism. As investigated earlier in this study, the sculpture of the flanking Bodhisattvas in early Buddhist schools was nothing more than an expression to protect and emphasize Buddhist laws, and the flanking Bodhisattvas were not used as a religious object or a tool to gain status. On the other hand, the triad formation of Mahayana had Buddhas or flanking Bodhisattvas.

The Three Buddhas were created based on different Buddha-kaya, such as the Three Buddhas of the Three Times in the notion of time (Dipamkara, Sakyamuni, Maitreya), and the three Buddha statues in the notion of space and Buddhas based on Buddha-kaya change (Dharmakaya Buddha: Vairocana; Nirmanakaya: Sakyamuni; Sambhogakaya: Amitabha).

Despite further diversification in the formation of the Three Buddhas, the semantic common point of its formation is that the characteristics of the flanking Buddhas are contrary to one another but they both have complementary functions and represent the power of the Great Buddha.



[Figure 136] Ungang Cave No. 26, Main Buddha Statue of Maitreya. . Source:

Hogan, Michael, *Silk Road, North China*. P. 119.



[Figure 137] Standing Stone Statue of the Three Buddhas. Source: Juhyung Lee



[Figure 138] Standing Gold Statue of the Buddha Triad, 563, Korea, Gansong Art Museum. Source:

<http://simjeon.kr/xe/35307?ckattempt=3>

[Table 1] Various Meanings of the Formation of the Buddhist Triad

Type	Bodhisattva		Meaning	Remarks
Buddha Triad before Mahayana Buddhism	Indra (帝釋天)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Naturally introduced Indian deities that existed for a long time before Buddhism was born 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Two flanking Bodhisattvas flanking Sakyamuni Buddha
	Brahmā (梵天)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Has responsibility of protecting(護法) the Buddhist Laws 	
Buddha Triad by Semantic Concept	Nirvana & Reality	Maitreya (彌勒)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Symbolizes the ideal world of Nirvana as the seeker of truth 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Two flanking Bodhisattvas flanking Sakyamuni Buddha
		Avalokiteśvara (觀世音)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Symbolizes a liberator of reality as the King of the common world 	
	Wisdom & Practice	Manjusri (文殊菩)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Symbol of wisdom 	

		Samantabhadra (普賢)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Symbol of practice 	
	Practice & Knowledge	Mahākāśyapa (摩訶迦葉)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> One of Sakyamuni's disciples, who performed strict ascetic practices 	
		Ananda (阿難陀)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> One of Sakyamuni's disciples, who compiled Buddhist scriptures after listening to Sakyamuni's teachings the most 	
The Trikaya (Buddha-kaya)		Vairocana (毘盧遮那)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ultimate truth with no color or form 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dharmakaya
		Amitāyus (阿彌陀)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Achieved enlightenment through practice after vowing to help and benefit sentient beings 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sambhogakaya
		Śakyamuni (釋迦牟尼)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Appeared in this world in human form to save mankind 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nirmanakaya
Buddhas of the Three Times		Prabhutaratna (多寶)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Buddha of the Past 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Past Buddha
		Śakyamuni (釋迦牟尼)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Buddha of the Present 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Present Buddha
		Maitreya (彌勒)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Buddha of the Future 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Future Buddha

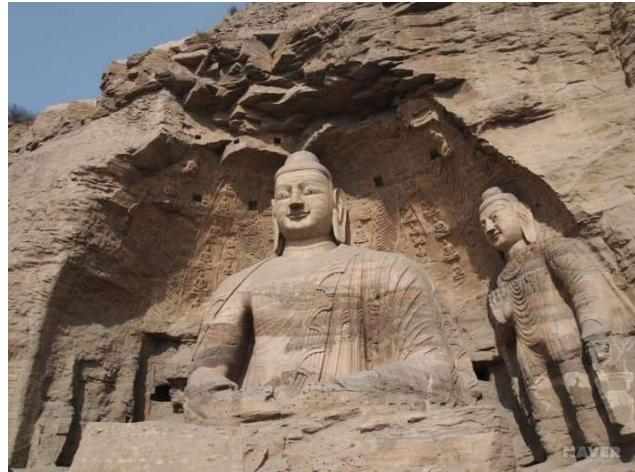
It is possible to view the formation of the Three Buddhas of the Three Times as a specific illustration that displays, by implication, the ideal world Buddhism pursues. Afterwards, not only did the main Buddha and Bodhisattvas change by period, region and sect but the formation itself developed and displayed diverse arrangements with many Buddhas and Bodhisattvas flanking the central Buddha. However, it is important to note¹²⁵ that the common type of arrangement was the triad form with the main Buddha and two flanking Bodhisattva.

125 Jeong-Sook Kim, *The Iconic Origin of the Buddha Triad* p.5.



[Figure 139] Independent
Statue of Buddha,
Gandhara, 1st-2nd Century
B.C. Source: Montgomery,
Daniel. *Fire in the Lotus*.P.

36



[Figure 140] Buddha Triad, Ungang Cave, 5th Century.
Source: Hogan. Michael, *Silk Road, North China*. P. 130



[Figure 141] 5 Buddhas, Yongmun Cave, 6th Century. Source: Hogan. Michael, *Silk Road, North China*. P. 132.



[Figure 142] 7 Buddhas, Inside Dunhuang Cave No.45, 4th Century. Source: Hogan.
Michael, *Silk Road, North China*. P. 124.

STUPA IN BUDDHIST TEMPLES AND SEMANTIC CHANGES OF THE BUDDHA STATUE

As investigated earlier, Buddhist temples that formed a fixed arrangement based on the stupa and the hall were not created in the early years of Buddhism. Thus, there is no doubt that the question on the background of temples having one or three halls-one based on Korean stupas of today should be raised. This study analogizes the origin of such arrangement styles based on the details of this section.

Details described earlier in this study shall be summarized and listed in order, prior to the establishment of a hypothesis.

- ① The function of early temples was solely as a place for practice by Buddhist monks and were isolated from devotees.
- ② After the death of Sakyamuni, stupas were erected in public places rather than as residential areas of monks.
- ③ Mahayana Buddhism ascended as the religious group of Buddhism, and the Buddhist order¹²⁶ was organized.
- ④ The period of the Buddha statue began as Mahayana emerged.

126 With the formation of the order, Mahayana Buddhism developed into Pabbajja-centric Buddhism of today.

- ⑤ The Buddha statue and the stupa, which played collaborative roles, became independent objects of worship and service.
- ⑥ Among the ancient temples discovered in Korea, a temple with its stupa and hall in a different arrangement has been verified.

Regardless the type of Buddhism, whether it may be Mahayana or Hinayana, stupas and Buddha statues are currently housed in all Buddhist temples as key objects of worship. This indicates the need for an investigation on what the attitude was like towards the stupa during the time of Hinayana Buddhism. It has been confirmed that disciples of Hinayana presented offerings to Buddha, and stupa worshipping became prevalent in Hinayana after the Buddhist monastic order(僧團)¹²⁷ was established and stupas were introduced into Buddhist temples.

Historic resources state that offerings for the stupa were not appreciated at the beginning, but Buddhist devotees were compelled to worship the stupa in the Buddhist order of Hinayana owing to the fact that continued Buddhist activities were essentially dependant on the financial support from devotees. Furthermore, Hinayana Buddhism focused on remaining faithful to the teachings of Sakyamuni and intended to view him as nothing more than a historical figure. This did not mean that Sakyamuni was not respected.

Based on historical¹²⁸ resources or remains excavated to date, it is certain that stupas were established in the Buddhist temples of Hinayana as well as Mahayana. During

127 Refers to a group of monks. A group organized by Buddhist monks who go forth from home to the homeless life of a monk.

128 Similarly mentioned in the inscription on the gravestone of Amaravati "Not much is gained through stupa worshipping" and in books Abhidharmakośā-śāstra and Abhidharma-mahāvibhāsā-śāstra.

this period, however, the hall was not arranged within the area of the stupa which independently took up an area inside the temple. Similar cases are often found in many ancient Buddhist remains of India and the traces were recently verified and fortunately discovered in the Younyeongsa¹²⁹ temple, Luoyang of China.



[Figure 143] Wooden stupa site, Youngnyeongsa Temple, Luoyang of China. Source: Hogan. Michael, *Silk Road, North China*. P. 131

However, the stupa-based temple arrangement was modified significantly in its function as the object of worship with the introduction of the statue of Buddha, and this development affected the temple arrangement.

As a structure that sealed the sarira of Sakyamuni, the stupa is an entity that symbolizes Sakyamuni. That the stupa became universal as the main object of worship before the statue of Buddha did is indisputable. Thus, the statue of Buddha was expressed as a part of the stupa before it emerged as an independent object of worship. However, this phenomenon gradually reversed by a number of factors.

First, the stupa that symbolized Sakyamuni was progressively cut off by the finitude¹³⁰ of Sakyamuni's sarira(眞身舍利).

129 Established in 516-518 after transferring the capital of the North Wei, Nanyang. This was excavated in 1979-1981.

130 In order to erect a new Stupa, the existing Stupa must be taken down to redistribute the sarira in it, but the number of Sakyamuni's sarira is inevitably limited and the religious issue is raised by the act of disassembling the stupa. Thus, ashes(灰土) of his cremated body including his hair, nail, teeth and clothes from

Next, the statue of Buddha in the form of Sakyamuni was considered more realistic than the stupa which, unlike the statue, had limits in terms of construction.

Lastly, religious rites were essentially created when Buddhism developed into a religion based on the emergence of Mahayana Buddhism and various concepts of multiple Buddhas.

The stupa and the statue of Buddha form an antagonistic and complementary relationship based on such background. In short, the stupa is not viewed purely as a stupa, but rather as a structure which functions as a stupa as well as a hall. Consequently, the Buddha statue went through a period of transition and its simplicity gradually elevated its position as an object of worship, overshadowing the function of symbolism of the stupa; the statue ultimately became independent of the stupa.

A reasonable arrangement order of the stupa and the statue of the Buddha would have been required inside the Buddhist temple when the stupa and the Buddha statue were separated. At any rate, it is generally understood that a certain amount of time would have been required for the authenticity of the Buddha statue to replace the symbolism of the stupa and its vested rights and, therefore, it is fairly natural for the hall to be arranged behind the stupa. According to the above, the temple arrangement of Baekje, having a form of a one hall stupa where the stupa stands in front of the Buddhist sanctum, is easy to be explained.

Even in Hinayana Buddhism that are philosophical grounds for law; it was inevitable that Buddhism would develop. Hinayana and Mahayana are distinguished by the difference in the Buddha-kaya, and the deification of Sakyamuni as the creator of Buddhism, pioneer and teacher who taught laws is an acceptable logic. However, the acceptance of another god other than Sakyamuni would not have been pardoned at that time.

the place of cremation at the time he reached nirvana replaced the sarira, and the scriptures were sealed. The meaning of the stupa which symbolized Sakyamuni cancelled.

Nonetheless, Mahayana attempted to achieve Buddhist completion by using gods of other religions in the process of popularizing Buddhism, and these concepts were realized in Buddhist art. A classic example of this is the Buddha Triad of which the meaning was investigated earlier in this study.

Architecture is often referred to as synthetic art. In this context, there is no doubt that a Buddhist temple functions as a bowl that holds all Buddhist doctrines, orders and forms.

Specifically, a Buddhist temple is a bowl that holds all Buddhist doctrines, orders and forms, and there is no doubt of the proposal of the different views, even if the Buddha Triad method continues to exist within Buddhist architecture.

The arrangement of positioning the statue of the Buddha on each side of the stupa precisely agrees with the formation of the Buddhist Triad in the aspects of iconology and semantics, and the arrangement of the statue of the main Buddha is similar to the temple arrangement style of two halls-one stupa before the statue of the Buddha was separated from the stupa.

5 CONSIDERATION OF CHINESE BUDDHISM

5.1 DISSEMINATION OF BUDDHISM

5.2 BEGINNING OF CHINESE BUDDHISM

5.3 CHARACTERISTIC OF CHINESE BUDDHISM

CONSIDERATION OF CHINESE BUDDHISM

DISSEMINATION OF BUDDHISM

For two centuries after Buddhism came into existence, Buddhism was only limited to the Ganges Basin. Since the middle of the 3rd century B.C, Buddhism began to spread¹³¹ in all directions flowing south through the sea routes into Ceylon¹³² and to the north-western areas of India into Gandhara and Kashmir.

Dissemination of Buddhism was a regional spread in the overall history of Buddhism dissemination, and it began when the 3rd King of Maurya, India, King Asoka dispatched a Buddhist missionary. After King Asoka was converted¹³³, Buddhism was selected as an ideology of unification for the Maurya Kingdom. Then, King Asoka officially dispatched Buddhist missionaries out to three African continents and Eurasia which includes Ceylon, Syria, Egypt, Macedonia, Greece and North Africa, and Buddhism was elevated in status from a regional (North India) religion to a world religion. In particular, King Asoka unified the entire Indian continent except for the Tamir region in the southernmost area of India, and he sent Prince Mahendra(or younger brother) and his younger sister Sanghamitra to Ceylon twice and successfully propagated Buddhism.



[Figure 144] Stone Pillar of King Asoka, 3rd Century B.C, Bodh Gaya of India: Source: Takeo Kamiya.

Architectural Guide to India (in Japanese). P. 97.

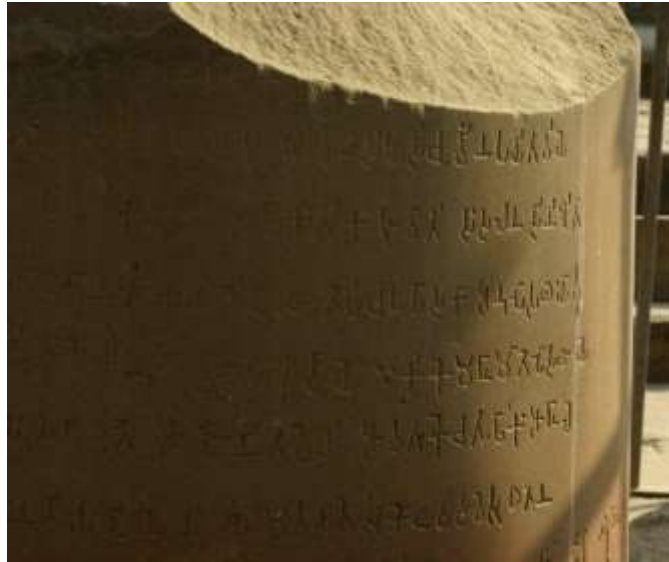
131 Kenneth Chen, *Chinese Buddhism* p.29.

132 What is now Sri Lanka.

133 Except for South India, the region of India was unified by King Asoka who reigned during the 3rd Century B.C and promoted the policy of territory expansion, but the war caused hundreds of thousands of casualties and the King withdrew the policy of armed conquest and resolved to exercise politics based on the Dharma.



[Figure 145] Stone Head of King Asoka, 3rd Century B.C., Sarnath Museum. Source: Juhjung Lee.



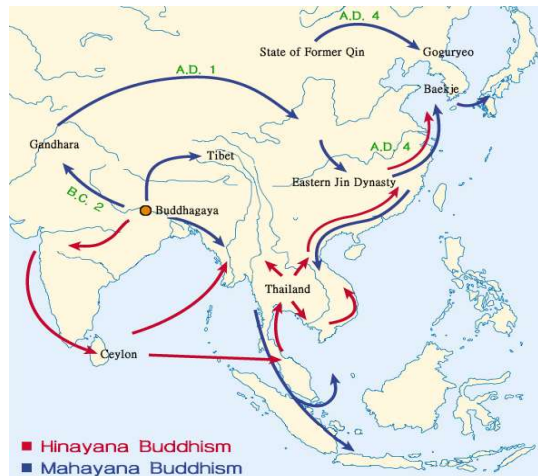
[Figure 146] Sanskrit inscribed on the Stone Pillar of King Asoka, 3rd Century B.C., Sarnath Museum. Source: Juhjung Lee.

As the first ever country into which Buddhism was introduced, Ceylon became the hub of the South Buddhism culture by the dissemination of Hinayana Buddhism.



[Figure 147] Map of Asia during the 2nd century B.C. Source:

https://fa.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D9%BE%D8%B1%D9%88%D9%86%D8%AF%D9%87:Asia_200bc.jpg



[Figure 148] Dissemination of Hinayana Buddhism and Mahayana Buddhism.

Source: Juhung Lee.

Since the propagation in Ceylon in the 3rd century BC, Buddhism has covered most of the Asian region except for West Asia, and it expanded into a Pan-Asian religion worthy of its name. The dissemination of Buddhism over 1,000 years in this study shall be divided largely into four periods to consider the propagation details and region.

The first period is the early dissemination phase. In this period, King Asoka officially dispatched missionaries to Ceylon and to other countries in Europe and Africa. The dissemination in Ceylon was successful. Not only did Early Buddhist Schools settle, but propagation in West Asia was successful and Buddhism remained in this region until Islamic took over.



[Figure 149] Main Routes and Cities of the Silk Road. Design by Juhung Lee

after a Wikipedia map. Source:

<https://ku.wikipedia.org/wiki/W%C3%AAne:SeidenstrasseGMT.JPG>

In the second period, Buddhism expanded throughout countries bordering on Western China and into Northeast Asia from around the 1st century B.C. With the advent of Mahayana, Buddhism mainly spread through land and was established in an entire area in the west based on Pamir Plat. From there, it turned and spread into China, Korea and Japan, infiltrating Buddhism into the culture of Northeast Asia.

The third period was the dissemination of Buddhism into Southeast Asia in A.D. 7th to 8th century. In Southeast Asian countries regionally close to Ceylon, Myanmar firstly accepted Hinayana Buddhism of Ceylon from about the 5th century and this enabled Buddhism to spread to Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, the Malay Peninsula, and even to the Java Islands.

The fourth period began after the 9th century. During this period, Buddhism spread to the Himalayan outback of Tibet and Nepal that was used as a testing¹³⁴ site for Esoteric Buddhism to reinforce Indian Buddhism that was in decline.

There is no doubt that Chinese Buddhism originated in India, but there is a need to attend to the fact that Indian Buddhism was not introduced into China as it stood. There were not many monks from India during the early Chinese Buddhism period, and the Sutra was passed on by most of the people who resided in the western region, that is to say, Central Asia.

As a result of the numerous investigations conducted on the countries bordering on western Asia at the end of the 19th Century, splendid traces of their culture were discovered and Buddhism of Western China became a part in Buddhism. Thus, Indian Buddhism could not be introduced as it was, because Buddhism of Western China had already settled in the western region and the culture of the western region fused with Indian Buddhism. With continuous development and change, Buddhism of Western China thrived.

134 Soo-Il Jeong, *Trade History of Ancient Civilizations*, p.468-470 .

Scriptures were translated into the languages of the countries bordering on Western China when Indian Buddhism was introduced there. Buddhism of Western China reached China where it developed¹³⁵ into Chinese Buddhism.

The Kushan empire, Kusana(大月氏), established a great empire that bordered on India and Central Asia and promoted Buddhism to the western regions of Central Asia. This energized Mahayana and provoked Hinayana Buddhism, causing Mahayana Buddhism to clash with Hinayana Buddhism. Both Sanghas argued over international propagation, and this instigated the dissemination of Buddhism into China.

During the Eastern Jin Dynasty(東晉)¹³⁶ period that Indian Buddhism began to trade directly with China. Kumārajīva(鳩摩羅什), whose father was from India, was born in Kucha¹³⁷. Kumarajiva went to Changan(長安) in 401, and Faxian(法顯) left Changan for India in 399. The period began at around¹³⁸ this point. In other words, it began after monks arrived from India or after many monks from China went to India to save the Buddhist laws. It is assumed that China frequently traded with India by sea, as the Silk Road or the land route could not be used for trade due to the foundation of the former Jin and nomadic tribes of the northern region.

135 道端良秀, Dohei S., *Fact and Fantasy of the Buddha* . p.12-13

136 After the collapse of the Jin Dynasty in 316, Sima Rui(司馬睿) declared the southern land of Yangtze River as his land. In 317, the Jin Dynasty was reestablished and named Eastern Jin but it fell in 419.

137 Written as 庫車 in Chinese characters, this city is located in Uighur, Xijiang of China and almost in the center of the Tarim Basin of Tian Shan Mountains. An independent country was established by a tribe of Aria, with ancient Kuci (龜茲國, 屈支國).

138 田前惠學, Tamae E., *Summarized Explanation of Buddhism* p.93.

BEGINNING OF CHINESE BUDDHISM

The key point in the dissemination of Buddhism into Eastern Asia is that there are many views and absurd theories on the question of how and when Buddhism was introduced into China, but there is no clear theory established to explain it.

The theory¹³⁹ that Mingdi (明帝, reigned between 58~78) of Later Han(後漢) accepted Buddhism in the year 67 is widely known, but recent studies have suggested that this legend is too questionable to be accepted.

This was based on records that stated Buddhism had already been introduced before Mingdi had his dream. Mingdi's half-brother, King Ying(英) of Chu is described to have respected Buddhism in "Book of Later Han(後漢書)" which is presumed to be the first record to contain accurate information on Buddhist belief. As a result, the fact that there was a monk to present offerings to means¹⁴⁰ that a monk from India or the western region already existed in this period. This indicates that Buddhism had spread into Eastern Asia before the year 65¹⁴¹.

139 One night, Mingdi had a dream where a golden person flew to the front of the palace, and he asked his servants for the identity of the person on the second day. One of his servants replied that there is a person named Buddha who achieved enlightenment in India. According to rumors, Buddha could fly and his whole body shone in gold. Once Mingdi heard this story, he dispatched an envoy to find out more about this saint and his teachings. On the way to India, the envoy met two men Kasayapa-Matanga(迦葉摩騰) Zhu Falan(竺法蘭) who were transporting Buddhist scriptures and the statue of Buddha on a white horse. Together, they returned to the capital of the Later Han, Luoyang, and the emperor was very please. The emperor built Baekmasa outside the gates of Luoyang and had them live there. It has been conveyed that the "42 Pages of Scriptures" There, they translated the scriptures known as "42 Pages of Scriptures(四十二章經)" of today.

140 Soo-Il Jeong, *Trade History of Ancient Civilizations*, p.494-495.

141 Record that states King Young of the Zhou Dynasty served a Buddhist figure and presented offerings to Buddhist monks and devotees.

In this connection, the theory that is considered most valid to this date among the traditional stories of Buddhist China is based on "Weilui(魏略)¹⁴²" written by Yuhuan(魚豢) of Wei(魏) in Yuan Shou(元壽) of Maya(哀帝), Former Han(前漢) for a year(2nd Century B.C) that Jing Lu(景盧) heard lectures on Buddhism from Yicun(伊存), an envoy of the Kushan Empire.

This is only a literary source and thus it cannot not be definitively established that Buddhism was originally introduced into Eastern Asia during this period. As cultures are passed down naturally, it is impossible to limit cultural expansion to a marked period and much time will have passed when an item is at the point of literal recording. Therefore, it is considered¹⁴³ that Buddhism was introduced by merchants and the traffic of other men before the Aidi of Former Han when Buddhism was introduced into China.

CHARACTERISTICS OF CHINESE BUDDHISM

This chapter aims to investigate the characteristics of Chinese Buddhism and to distinguish its changing patterns by period. First, the comparison and verification of the Buddhist trends in China at the time Goguryeo and Baekje accepted Buddhism could be stated as the most important objective, but as Korea was in the same context as China in the historic changes of Chinese Buddhism, the color of Buddhism and the arrangement and the correlation of Buddhist temples formed at the time during the

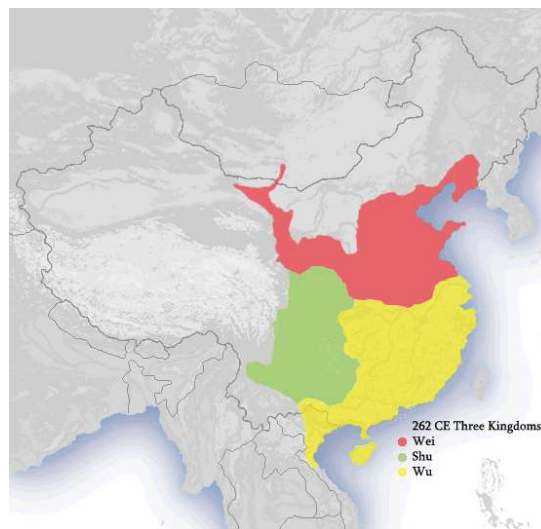
142 This book does not exist, but the details of Weirak are cited extensively in "Xirong Zhuan 西戎傳, The Tradition of the West Barbarians" of Wei Zhi(魏志)in "Samgukji(三國志)".

143 Kenneth Chen, *Chinese Buddhism*, p.18.

unified Silla period after the Three Kingdoms during the time when Goguryeo, Baekje and Silla were jumbled up together, there is also an aim to explain additional details that the techniques of temple arrangement changes by the change in the Buddhist history.

It is convenient to consider the characteristics and changing patterns of Chinese Buddhism into five phases. The first phase begins from the time when Buddhism was first introduced into China and ends when Kumarajiva comes into Changan during the period of the Three Kingdoms¹⁴⁴. In this period, Chinese Buddhism falls under the 'Preparatory Phase' during which the translation of the Sanskrit sutra into Chinese characters was its main business.

Regarding Buddhist trends in countries bordering on Western China, Hinayana Buddhism of Kashmir attained prosperity in Kucha. Kucha was on the northern route of Tien Shan within the northern countries bordering on Western China. Mahayana Buddhism flourished¹⁴⁵ in the southern regions bordering on Western China on the southern route of Tien Shan, as well as in Khotan which was closely related to China.



[Figure 150] The Three Kingdoms of China (3rd Century). Source:

<http://simg.donga.com/ugc/MLBPARK/Board/15/90/01/73/1590017385992.png>

144 The period when the 3 countries Wei(魏), Wu(吳), Shu Han(蜀漢) were established, after the collapse of Later Han(後漢).

145 田前惠學, Tamae E., *Summarized Explanation of Buddhism* P. 93-94.

It is highly probable that Buddhism of the western region was not classified into Mahayana and Hinayana when it was introduced into China. This possibility¹⁴⁶ is based on the fact that scriptures of Hinayana and Mahayana were translated almost simultaneously by Lokaksema(支婁迦讖) of Tokhara(吐火羅國)¹⁴⁷ and An Shigao(安世高) from Partia(安息國)¹⁴⁸.

During this period, the business of translating the sutra was monopolized by a foreign monk. Educationally, early Buddhism was considered similar¹⁴⁹ to Taoist ideas and the concept of traditional Chinese ideas such as Confucian ideas(儒教思想) and, in particular, Taoist ideas(老莊思想) were applied to compare¹⁵⁰ and understand doctrines and ideas described in the scriptures translated into Chinese characters for easy understanding.



[Figure 151] Kushan Empire in the 2nd Century, and Surrounding Countries. Source: Montgomery, Daniel.

Fire in the Lotus.P. 50.

146 Joong-Sep Yeom, "A Consideration on Origin of Temple Building Arrangement and Chinese Spreading Pattern", p.55.

147 Ancient country in today's Afghanistan region.

148 Country located in the northern-east of today's Iran region, from the 238th to the 226th century B.C.

149 Understood and believed Buddha, that is to say, Sakyamuni as the Emperor of China

150 The attempt of interpreting the Buddhist idea of 'emptiness(空)' compared to the Taoist concept of 'nothingness(無)'

The second period, 'Research Phase', began when Kumarajiva(鳩摩羅什) arrived in Changan (長安) from the western region in the early 5th century and ended at the beginning of the Wei-Jin and South-North Dynasty(魏晉南北朝)¹⁵¹.

Kumarajiva superbly translated many Mahayana scriptures and educated 3000 disciples. With Chinese Buddhism in its new era, he was able to study Buddhist doctrines and understand ideas where the scriptures were only translated in Chinese. Excellent translated versions of Buddhist sutras were written by Buddhist monks from India and western regions such as Buddhahadra(佛馱跋陀羅), Dharmarakṣa(曇無讖), Paramārtha(真諦), and many schools were organized as their studies on scriptures advanced. A book that translated the Buddhist scriptures was organized and various resources for a reliable history of Buddhism such as records on scriptures and biographies were written. In this period of continuous chaos, Buddhism entered into the public and fused with the customs of the Han. Later, Buddhist-related services prevailed and Buddhism was revived immediately despite the suppression of the dynasty.



[Figure 152] The period of Wei-Jin and South-North Dynasty, China(4th Century). Source: Ian Kiu- self-made, drawn after “The Sixteen States and the Empire of the Eastern Tsin Dynasty, 317-420 AD”, in Albert Hermann (1935): *History and Commercial Atlas of China*. Harvard University Press. Image : 前秦 東晉.PNG https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/d/d7/Eastern_Jin_Dynasty_376_CE.png

151 From one year after the collapse of Later Han(後漢) until Emperor Wen(文帝) of Sui(隋) brought down (221-589) the Jin Dynasty(陳), China was divided into south and north and many dynasties saw their ups and downs.

The third period is also known as the 'Independent Phase'. After almost 300 years of division, China finally unified and the kingdoms of Sui(隋) and Tang(唐) not only continued with their politics but developed a cultural unification and generalization. In this culture, a unique criticism was made on Chinese Buddhism regarding the translation, studies, and also the scriptures and treatise.

Although all Buddhist teachings were from a single man, 'Sakayamuni', an understanding of the teachings was required to be classified and integrated into a single organic idea as the details were too diverse and contradictory when too many scriptures were translated. This was called the Classification of Buddha's Teachings(教相判釋), and Chinese Buddhism formed¹⁵² an independent concept system unlike Indian Buddhism.



[Figure 153] Sui Dynasty, China (7th Century).
Source: <https://ameblo.jp/hagure1945/image-12484336758-14474362500.html>



[Figure 154] Tang Dynasty, China (8th Century).
Source: <https://principlesofknowledge.kr/archives/35659>

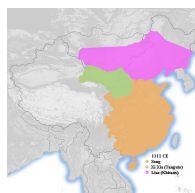
152 田前惠學, Tamae E., *Summarized Explanation of Buddhism* P. 97.

On the other hand, the first-ever Buddhist sect was created in this period. In this period, Chinese Buddhism was born within the Chinese culture. Sect establishment means that the system of Indian ideas introduced into China was not the same and rather refers to the establishment of a pure Chinese Buddhism.

At the beginning of the Classification of Buddha's Teachings of China, however, the initial goal was to systematically understand Buddhist teachings. However, each Buddhist sect intended on enhancing scriptures or doctrines, and thus the Classification of Buddha's Teachings became ¹⁵³ an essential factor to the establishment of a sect.

Hence, Buddhas¹⁵⁴ other than Sakyamuni were able to become the main Buddha of each sect as the main object of worship according to the belief of each sect.

The fourth period, the 'Practice Phase' which runs to the Northern Song(北宋) era, that is to say, before the Song(宋). Many scriptures were incinerated and sects were cut off due to the suppression of Buddhism. The Zen sect and the Pure Land sect that committed to practice, and Esoteric Buddhism which was adapted to folk religions flourished. The Pure Land sect thoroughly developed in Chinese Buddhism and outstanding monks were produced. As their teachings were passed on, their analects were modified.



[Figure 155] The Song Dynasty, China (12th Century).

<https://librewiki.net/wiki/%ED%8C%8C%EC%9D%BC:Songliaoixia.png>

153 Stirrup description in *Doosan Encyclopedia*, available in <http://100.naver.com/100.nhn?docid=19647> (from <http://www.doopedia.co.kr/>)

154 For instance, Maitreya is mainly worshipped in the East Asian Yogacara(法相宗), Vairocana(毘盧遮那佛) in Huayan School, and Amita-yus(阿彌陀佛) in the Pure Land(淨土宗).

In the 5th period, 'Succession Phase', Song was pressured by the north nomadic tribe to move southward. As Zen became increasingly popular, associations were formed in the Pure Land and the act of reciting spread through Buddhist devotees. As Yuan, which began in Mongolia, was introduced with Tibet Buddhism from Tibet, its politics and religion adhered and caused various problems. During the Ming(明) Dynasty, Buddhism was controlled strictly by the state and thus Buddhist orders were under centralist control. Thus, Buddhism was scarcely active in all places and the fusion of the three religions of Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism was actively discussed. In the Qing(清) Dynasty, Tibet religion revived temporarily but there was no vitality in Buddhism that settled under the control of the state. In general, it is possible to surmise that Buddhism of this period was declining, and Buddhism was almost nowhere to be found in the continent of China after the Second World War. Recently, it has revived.



[Figure 156] The Song Dynasty, China (13th Century). Source: https://morninglands.files.wordpress.com/2015/05/sung_dynasty_1141.png

Among the five phases of Chinese Buddhism explained above, the phase that needs to be focused on, in particular, is in between Phases 1 and 2, during which Buddhism began to spread into Korea. A thorough investigation is required for the characteristics of Chinese Buddhism during the period.

Like India, scriptures of Mahayana and Hinayana developed in historical sequence and were translated and studied¹⁵⁵ respectively without any order or system after they were introduced into China. In the Sui-Tang era, Buddhist sects were created, resulting with the Classification of Buddha's Teachings. Thus, not only did Chinese Buddhism have no power to distinguish Mahayana from Hinayana but during this time Buddhism was accepted unconditionally.

During the middle and the end of the 4th century, Geyi was cast by monks of Dao An (道安), which created the foundation of understanding Buddhist philosophy.

In particular, Indian Buddhism began to directly interact with China near the Eastern Jin period. During this time, Buddhist monks from India¹⁵⁶ directly crossed over and many Buddhist monks from China went to China to find Buddhist laws. During this period a large quantity of religious precept scriptures were introduced and translated in East Jin.

In addition, during this period, Buddhism during this period developed¹⁵⁷ in the extraneous environment as the interethnic countries of the northern region conflicted with southern countries of the Han(漢). There are plenty of persuasive arguments that there were differences between the Buddhism of the Southern Dynasty and the

155 田前惠學, Tamae E., *Summarized Explanation of Buddhism* p.112. 田前惠學, Tamae E., *Summarized Explanation of Buddhism* P. 86

156 道端良秀, Dohei S., *Fact and Fantasy of the Buddha* . p.13

157 田前惠學, Tamae E., *Summarized Explanation of Buddhism* P. 109

Northern Dynasty. There is a high probability that Hinayana had the upper hand in the Buddhism of Eastern Jin¹⁵⁸ which directly traded Indian Buddhism through the land route unlike the northern Buddhism, which was based on Mahayana, which traded by the sea route according to the trends of Indian Buddhism of that time.

In conclusion, similar to the Chinese trend whereby many countries were jumbled up together and experienced turmoil, the Buddhism failed to clarify its identity. Moreover, the fact that Eastern Jin directly traded Indian Buddhism¹⁵⁹ in which Hinayana was the main trend is the point that helps assume the color of Baekje Buddhism which was passed down by an Indian monk who came from Eastern Jin.

158 道端良秀, Dohei S., *Fact and Fantasy of the Buddha* . p.13

159 平川彰, Hirakawa S. *History of Indian Buddhism - Beginners* p.263-280. In reference to the "Records of the Buddhist Kingdoms(Foguoji 佛國記)" of Faxian(法顯), there were three types of Buddhist temples in India of Hinayana, Mahayana, a combination of the two. In Nanhaijiguineifa Zhuan(南海寄歸內法傳) written by a learned priest named Yijing(義淨), it is stated that he lived by the religious precepts of Vinaya Pitaka without distinguishing Hinayana and Mahayana Buddhism though he was restricted to Nalanda Temple(那爛陀). In particular, it states that Mahayana is 'the one who worships a Bodhisattva and reads Mahayana Sutras', and those who don't are known to fall under Hinayana.

According to Zu-Hyung Lee, Dong-Shin Nam, Tae-Seung Lee, Hee-Jeong Kang, Gyeong-Mi Joo, Hye-Won Kim, Young-Jong Lee, Jeong-Min Ha, "Buddhist Pilgrims of Eastern Asia and Buddhist Remains of India" (Social Criticism Co. Ltd., 2009), p.91-93, Xuan Zhang wrote "Great Tang Records on the Western Regions(大唐西域記)" after he returned from India. In the records, he classified details by the Buddhist characteristics of India and countries in the western region to which he travelled. He wrote that there were 28 countries following Hinayana Buddhism, 9 countries following Mahayana Buddhism, and 16 countries following a combination of the both. Thus, it is considered that the influence of Hinayana Buddhism at that time overshadowed that of Mahayana Buddhism in India and the western region.

6 A STUDY ON KOREAN BUDDHISM

6.1 BEGINNING OF KOREAN BUDDHISM

6.2 CHARACTERISTIC OF KOREAN BUDDHISM

1.6 BEGINNING OF KOREAN BUDDHISM

Buddhism was officially introduced into Korea when a diplomatic emissary from Former Jin(前秦), a nomadic country located in north of China, introduced the statue of the Buddha and the Tripitaka to a Buddhist monk named Sundo during the 2nd (372) year of King Sosurim(小獸林王) of Goguryeo. Two years later, a Buddhist monk named Ado revisited Goguryeo and King Sosurim erected Chomunsa(肖門寺) Temple for Sundo and Ibullansa(伊弗蘭寺) Temple for Ado(阿道) to stay at¹⁶⁰.

An Indian monk named Malananta(摩羅難陀)¹⁶¹, who was staying in East Jin of China during the 1st year(384) of reign of King Chimnyu(枕流王), came to Baekje and marked the beginning of Buddhism. This was 12 years after Buddhism was introduced to Goguryeo, and it is assumed¹⁶² that Buddhism reached Baekje through the sea route as Baekje was accessible to China by sea.

160 King Sosurim(小獸林王)' of Goguryeo -Bongi(高句麗本紀), in *Samguksagi. (Chronicles of the three kingdoms)*, Vol. 18 No. 6

161 "海東高僧傳" Vo.(卷)1 'Marananta' Clause(條), "Samguk Sagi(三國史記)" Vol. 24 Baekjae-Bongi(百濟本紀) No.2 'King Chimnyu'

162 In this period, Baekje dominated the Han River Basin and Baekje was able to trade directly with China through the sea route during that time.

Silla, which was less conveniently located for trade with China, was introduced to Buddhism by a Buddhist monk named Wonpyo(元表) from the Siliang Dynasty during the 8th (521) year of the reign of King Beopheung (法興王). However, it was rejected by the nobles, and Buddhism was not officially recognized as the state religion until the 14th (527) year of the reign of King Beopheung(法興王) through the martyrdom of Yi Cha-don(異次頓), who found favor with the King.

Many historical sources, ruins, and stories confirm¹⁶³ that Buddhism was introduced into the three kingdoms of Korea before the revolution; however, only when a country officially recognizes Buddhism can there be the background for a great history, much like the foundation of a temple. Therefore, the history of Buddhism in Korea prior to the revolution will be omitted.

CHARACTERISTICS OF KOREAN BUDDHISM

Ancient Korea generally relied on China when Buddhism was accepted and it is assumed that Korea walked the same path as China in the introduction of Buddhism. However, it is believed Buddhism was not classified into Hinayana and Mahayana, like Chinese Buddhism, at the time of its introduction.

¹⁶³ China and Korea frequently traded and shared their use of Chinese characters. It is assumable that the people of China already knew what Buddhism was, due to the fact that royal families officially traded it about 400 years after it was disseminated into China. By assumption, Marananta was an ordinary, foreign monk who visited Baekje and introduced Buddhism. The King himself went out to the outskirts to greet the foreign monk and permitted him to live in the palace. This indicates to the probability that the people of Baekje already had an understanding of Buddhism. By records, Ado(阿道和尚) of Goguryeo sneaked into Silla during the reign of King Nulji (417-458) and introduced Buddhism.

By records Goguryeo was not dominated by the Samnon School (Three Treatise School, 三論宗), a Buddhism sect of Mahayana. However, it is clear that this sect¹⁶⁴ was the first to introduce Buddhism to Goguryeo, and Sunglang(僧朗)¹⁶⁵ of Goguryeo motivated¹⁶⁶ the establishment of the new Samnon School by integrating the studies of Madhyamaka in China.

Moreover, records state that Hyegwan(慧灌)¹⁶⁷ of Goguryeo went to Japan in 625 to present a lecture on the study of Samnon to the Japanese public, and Hyeja(惠慈)¹⁶⁸ lectured about Samnon as the teacher of Japan's crown prince, Shotoku(しょうとくたいし, 聖德太子), in 595. In addition, it is assumed that the Samnon School(三論宗) of Mahayana became a popular trend after being introduced through the northern land route.

164 Doopedia, http://www.doopedia.co.kr/doopedia/master/master.do?_method=view&MAS_IDX=101013000700409 [retrieved:04/07/2020]

165 *Encyclopedia of Korean Culture*, <http://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/Contents/Index> : When he turned 30, he went to China and studied the Three Treatise of Sengzhao(僧肇) and then went to Tunhuang(燉煌) to study from a Dharma master, Tan-ching(曇慶) [retrieved:04/07/2020]

166 *Encyclopedia of Korean Culture*, <http://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/Contents/Index> [retrieved:04/07/2020]

167 *Encyclopedia of Korean Culture* <http://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/Contents/Index> : At a young age, he went to Sui(隋) and studied under Master Jizang(吉藏). He went to Japan with an envoy from Goguryeo in 625(8th year of reign, King Youngryu), and the Japanese King had him stay at Genkosa Temple(元興寺). Here, he was able to spread the Three Treatise School, and the Three Treatise Schools of Japan were remodeled. It has been told that the tomb(碑) of Hyegwan is situated in a large house(觀殿) at Nemotoji Temple(根本寺) but it does not exist anymore.

168 *Encyclopedia of Korean Culture*, <http://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/Contents/Index> [retrieved:04/07/2020] : Hyeja went to Japan in 595(6th year of reign, King Yeongyang) and became the master of the eldest son of Emperor Yomei(用明王), Prince Shotoku(聖德太子). In the same year, Hyechong(惠聰) of Baekje also came to Japan. The two monks stayed in Hokosa Temple(法興寺) and taught the crown prince for 20 years.

Unlike Goguryeo, Satyasiddhi(成實宗), Risshu(律宗) and Vinaya(戒律宗) developed in Baekje. Because the concept of Satyasiddhi, 'emptiness(空)', was different to that of Mahayana Buddhism, treatise masters criticized¹⁶⁹ the concept by concluding that it belonged to Hinayana Buddhism. Thus, it is considered that this sect is closely related with Hinayana Buddhism.

It is difficult to categorize Risshu(律宗) as a form of Buddhism that originated from Hinayana, but it has the natural characteristics of Hinayana Buddhism as it aims to study and disseminate the Dharma.

Vinaya is an extensive set of rules for monks who live in groups. In Hinayana Buddhism, Buddha's Dharma was strictly followed based on Pabbajja while doctrines and practices were organized. Thus, Hinayana Buddhism had all three Pitikas of Sutra(經), Vinaya(律), and Abhidharma(論), but Mahayana Buddhism only¹⁷⁰ had Sutra and Abhidharma for they denied the dominant position of the practice of Pabbajja. It follows that the Vinaya Pitaka is closely related to Hinayana Buddhism since it studies the scriptures of precepts formed mostly during the Early Buddhist Schools.

The Buddhist monk who introduced Buddhism to Baekje passed through Eastern Jin on his way from India. A Baekje monk named Gyeomik(謙益) established the Vinaya School in 529, which was about a century earlier than Xuanzang who studied in India during the 7th century. When Xuanzang returned to China, he wrote "Great Tang Records on the Western Regions(大唐西域記)," which argued that Hinayana was the superior¹⁷¹ form of Buddhism in India and countries bordering on Western China at

169 *Encyclopedia of Korean Culture*, <http://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/Contents/Index> [retrieved: 04/07/2020]: When Sunglang was staying in China, "Abhidharma(阿毘達磨)" prevailed in the north and "Satyasiddhi-śāstra(成實論)" prevailed in the south(江南). Thus, Sunglang criticized the School of Satyasiddhi.

170 <http://terms.naver.com/entry.nhn?docId=726828> [retrieved: 04/07/2020]

171 28 Countries were under the title of Hinayana, 9 countries of Mahayana and 16 countries of both.

that time. Based on this, it is predicted that the Buddhism learned by Gyeomik in India may have been that of Hinayana origin.

Considering the characteristics and the dissemination of Buddhism in China and Korea, it is assumed that Mahayana Buddhist schools such as Samnon prevailed in the society of Goguryeo through the influence of northern Buddhism which was introduced through the northern land route. Eastern Jin frequently traded with India by sea, and thus Hinayana Buddhism was in the mainstream after the introduction of Buddhism into Eastern Jin by India. In addition, Baekje accepted Buddhism from an Indian monk who was visiting East Jin and forms of Hinayana Buddhism such as Satyasiddhi, Risshu became very popular in Baekje. Thus, Hinayana Buddhism formed the mainstream of Buddhism in Baekje.

7 CONSIDERATION OF CHANGING IN ANCIENT BUDDHIST TEMPLES OF KOREA

7.1 A VIEW THE ARRANGEMENT FORMS OF 'ONE HALL-ONE STUPA' AND 'THREE HALLS-ONE STUPA'

7.2 CHANGES IN THE ARRANGEMENT FORMS OF THREE HALLS-ONE STUPA

A VIEW ON THE ARRANGEMENT FORMS OF 'ONE HALL-ONE STUPA' AND 'THREE HALLS-ONE STUPA'

Previously, the study investigated the origins and development of Buddhism, the stupa and the statue of Buddha. Before entering into the main analysis, there is a need to summarize the key points and theories previously mentioned.

① Mahayana Buddhism originated from the home ground of stupas that were erected at the crossing of four main roads or in plazas, and not in the residential areas of Buddhist monks. Unlike Mahayana Buddhism, Hinayana Buddhism did not consider Sakyamuni as a deity from the beginning; rather, he was recognized as a savior by religious properties of Hinayana Buddhism that were based on public support.

② Despite this, the greatest difference between these two forms of Buddhism is that Hinayana set Sakyamuni as their only god while Mahayana transformed into a religion that believed in multiple deities.

③ The demand for an object of worship was inevitable as Buddhism developed from a philosophy into a religion. Sakyamuni's symbol, the stupa, became the initial object of worship. When a more practical object of worship emerged, the statue of Buddha, the two Buddhist structures were adopted naturally as objects of worship in Mahayana and Hinayana.

④ The statue of Buddha was originally created to support and decorate the stupa, but its relationship with the stupa in the temple became more antagonistic as time passed. As a result, the statue became an independent object of worship.

⑤ The rise of the statue of Buddha, which is more realistic as an object of worship, accelerated the depreciation of the stupa symbol based on the finitude of Buddha's sarira, and affected the change of temple arrangement.

⑥ Hinayana Buddhism and Mahayana Buddhism are presumed to have changed their temple arrangement because of the reevaluation of the stupa and the Buddha statue, and it is assumed that both developed their own arrangement form based on the different gods each Buddhism served.

⑦ The Buddhist triad may also play a role in temple arrangements. It is possible to interpret the fact that there are other deities flanking the main Buddha in Mahayana theories, and this is very similar to the arrangement of two or three halls-one stupa.



[Figure 157] Stupa Buddhist Triad, Excavated in Amaravati, 2nd-3rd Century.

Source: Takeo Kamiya. *Architectural Guide to India* (in Japanese). P. 68

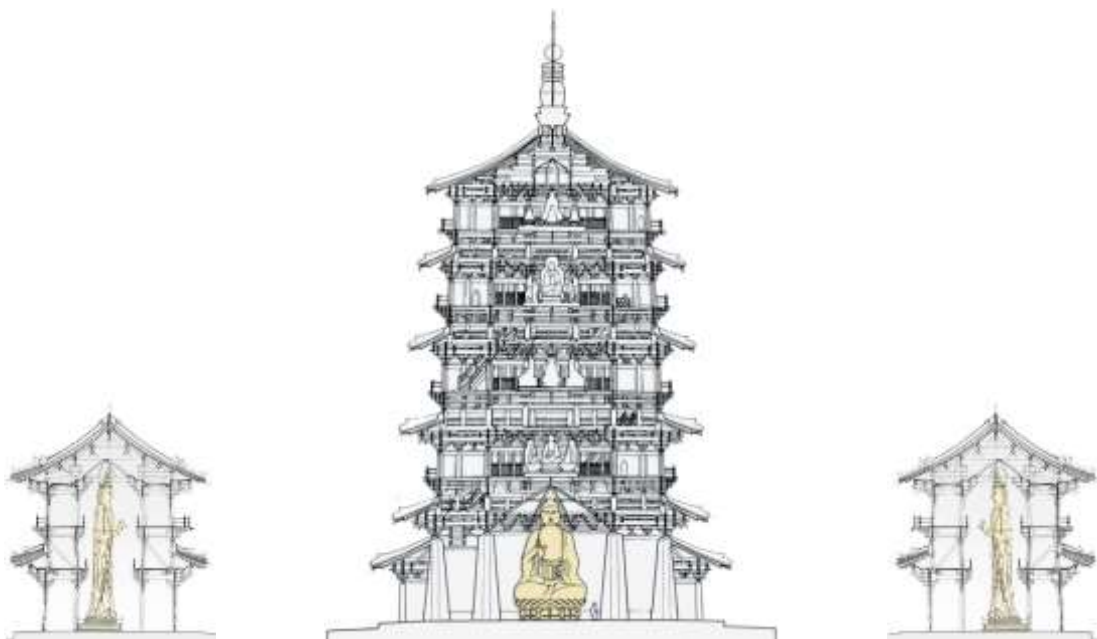




[Figure 158] Sakyamuni Buddhist Triad, Gandhara, 3rd-4th Century. Source: Takeo Kamiya. *Architectural Guide to India* (in Japanese). P. 69.

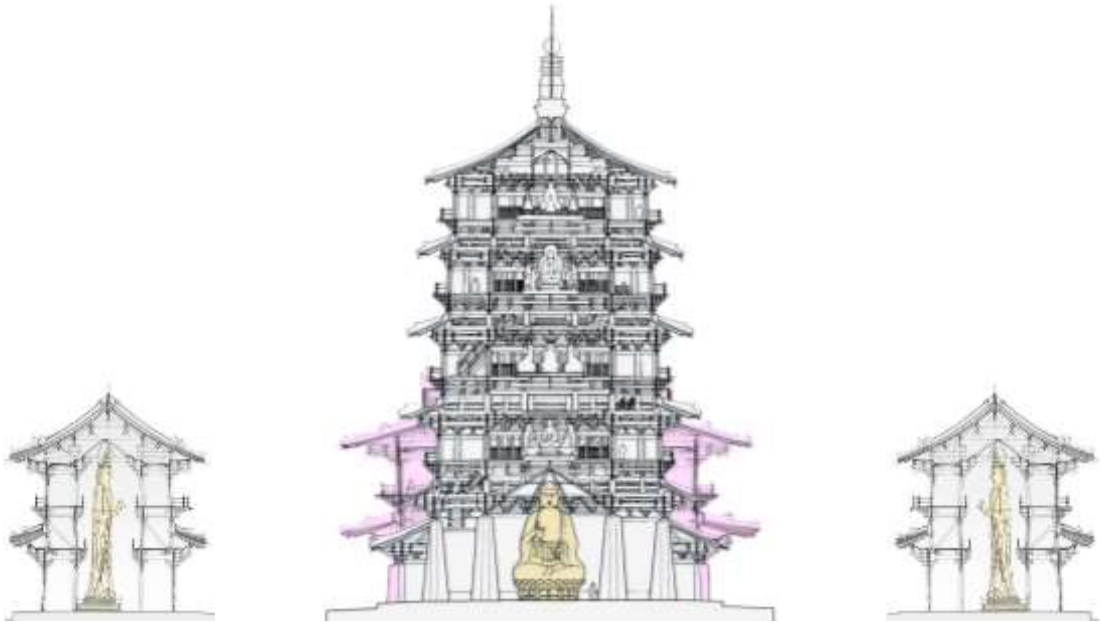


[Figure 159] Sakyamuni Buddhist Triad enshrining the Buddha Statue by creating and decorating an altar for each statue, Mogao Caves of Tunhuang No.285. Source: Hogan. Michael, *Silk Road, North China*. P. 80.



[Figure 160] Restoration Drawing of Two Halls-One Stupa Form of Goguryeo. Drawings by Juhjung Lee.





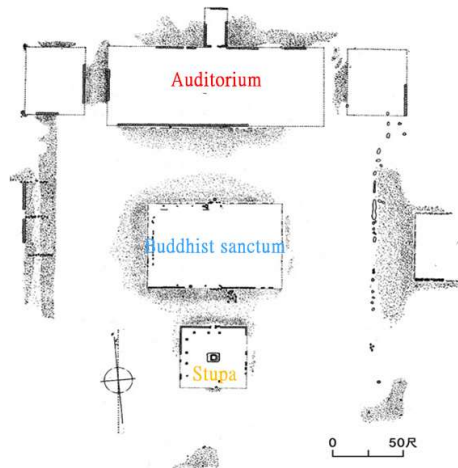
[Figure 161] Restoration of three halls-one Stupa, Goguryeo. Drawings by Juhyung Lee.

⑧ During the period Buddhism was introduced into Korea, invasions by northern nomadic tribes caused difficulty in using the northern trade route. As a result, countries used the sea route to trade directly with India and surrounding countries, and Hinayana actively traded with mainstream Indian Buddhism.

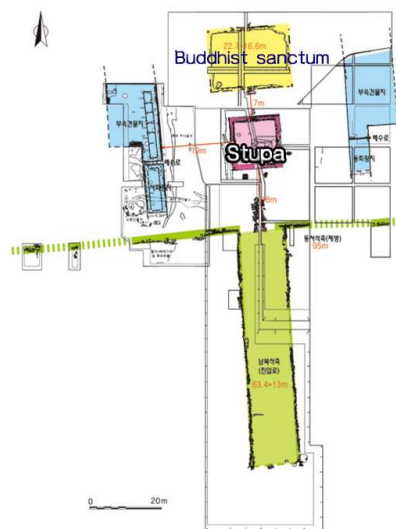
⑨ Goguryeo accepted Buddhism from Former Jin, established by the northern nomadic tribe of China, and Baekje was introduced to Buddhism by an Indian monk who was staying in Eastern Jin. The Samnon School of Mahayana Buddhism developed in Goguryeo, and Risshu, which had Hinayana elements, developed in Baekje.

The temple arrangement forms of Goguryeo, Baekje and Silla currently in existence or confirmed through excavation are as follows:

All temples having a form of one hall-one stupa including Jeongrimsa(定林寺址), Gunsurisa(軍守里寺址), Dongnamrisa(東南里寺址), Geumgangsasa(金剛寺址), Neungsanrisa(陵山里寺址), Wangheungsa(王興寺址), Busosansa(扶蘇山寺址), Jaeseoksa(扶蘇山寺址), are from the Baekje Period.



[Figure 162] Layout of Gunsurisa Temple Site. Sketch by Juhjung Lee

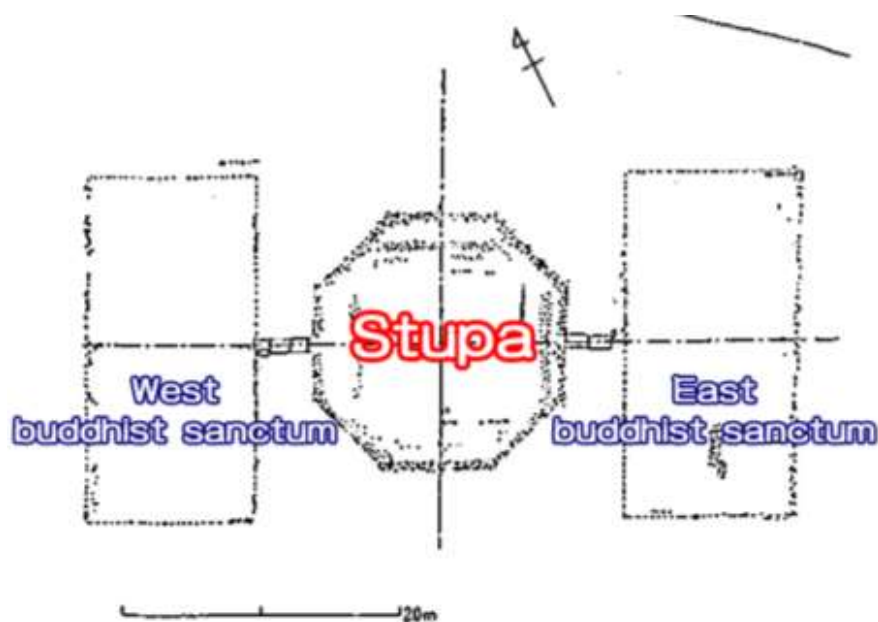


[Figure 163] Layout of Wangheungsa Temple Site. . Sketch by Juhjung Lee.

Temples of Cheongamrisa, Sangorisa, Toseongrisa, Jeongreungsa and Hwangryongsa(皇龍寺址) of Silla and Mireuksa Temple(彌勒寺址) of Baekje are arranged in the form of three halls-one stupa. As confirmed through excavation of temples dating back to the Baekje era excepting Mireuksa, there is no question about the typical one hall-one

stupa form where the hall is arranged at the back with the stupa in the center. However, much has been said about the form with three halls as various arrangement styles were found.

Temples of Goguryeo, which include Cheongamrisa, Wonorisa, Sangorisa and Jeonreungsa, have had their remains at the back and on the left and right sides of the stupa clearly confirmed, but the remains in temple sites of Wonorisa and Sangorisa were heavily damaged and excavation work was conducted partially based on the conditions. Thus, only the building sites on the left and right of the stupa have been verified.

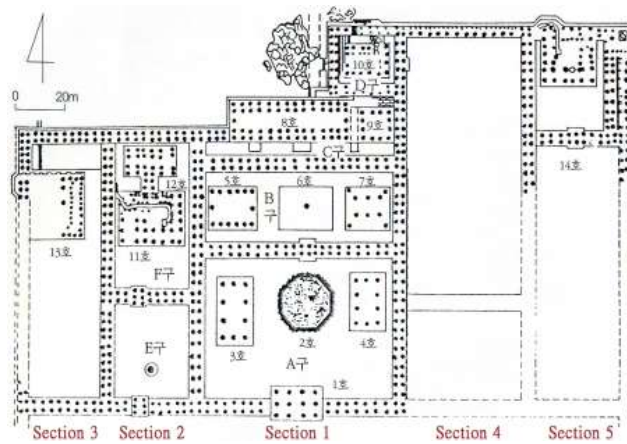


[Figure 164] Layout of Sangorisa Temple Site. Sketch by Juhyung Lee.

The temple site of Jeongreungsa was excavated by an archaeological institution of North Korea in 1974~1975. It was classified as a three halls-one stupa form, based on which a number of guesses were made.

The temple site of Jeongreungsa is divided into five sections. Section 1 is divided by a corridor into two areas. The section that holds the octagonal stupa and the east and west halls is situated in the center by the central gates. To the north from there,

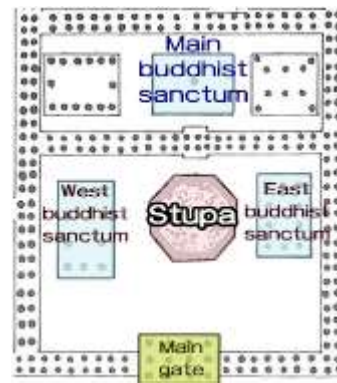
another section is found holding three building sites that are lined up from left to right. This section is distinguished by a corridor at the front. Out of the three building sites, some scholars view the central site in the northern section as a hall and consider the arrangement the same to that of Cheongamrisa temple site which has a three halls-one stupa form.



[Figure 165] Arrangement of Jeongreungsa Temple Site. Drawing by Juhjung Lee.



[Figure 166] Jeongreungsa Temple Site. Source: Juhjung Lee.



[Figure 167] Site Plan of Jeongreungsa Temple. Sketch by Juhjung Lee.

However, these impractical interpretations were made by classification and formalization to establish the concept.

First of all, there is a need to examine the features of the building sites that are organized like the main Buddhist sanctum in Jeongreungsa Temple based on these assertions. Similar to other Baekje temples, such as Cheongamrisa Temple (though not

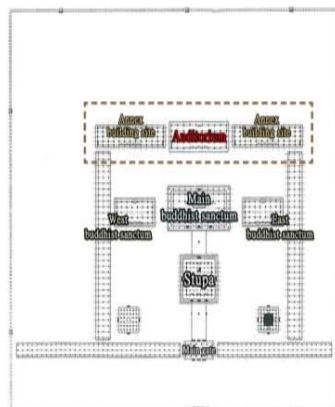
Jeongreungsa Temple), structures sites are verified at the back of the sanctum, at the rear of the stupa.



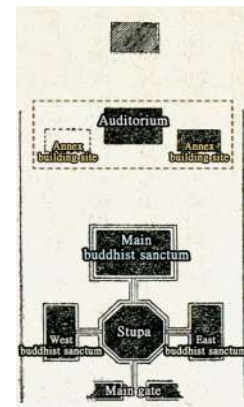
[Figure 168] Corridor in Bulguksa Temple. Source: <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/a/a0/Korea-Gyeongju-Bulguksa-14.jpg>

These three sites are reasonably defined as the hall and ancillary buildings. In fact, the arrangement of the main hall in an area separated by a corridor is logically unacceptable, as the main hall forms a mutual relationship with the flanking halls with the stupa in the center.

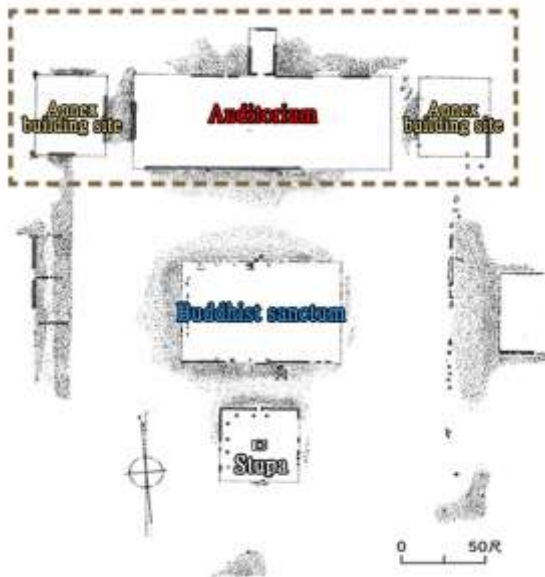
It is reasonable to view the center area as the hall and each structure on both sides as ancillary structures of the hall.



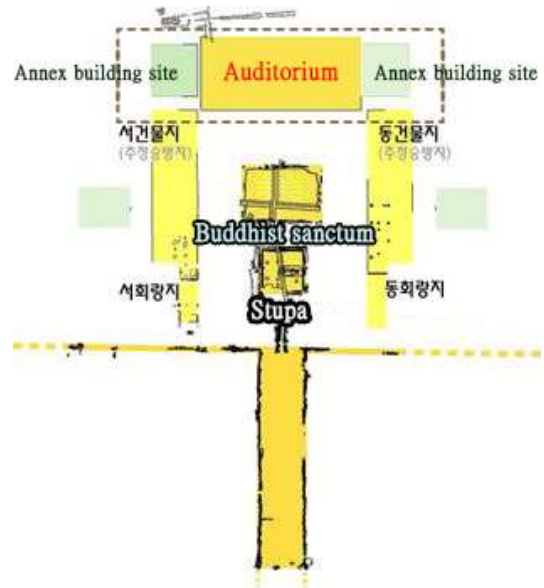
[Figure 169] Final Arrangement of Hwanryongsa Temple, Silla.
Sketch by Juhjung Lee.



[Figure 170] Arrangement of Cheongamrisa Temple, Goguryeo.
Sketch by Juhjung Lee.

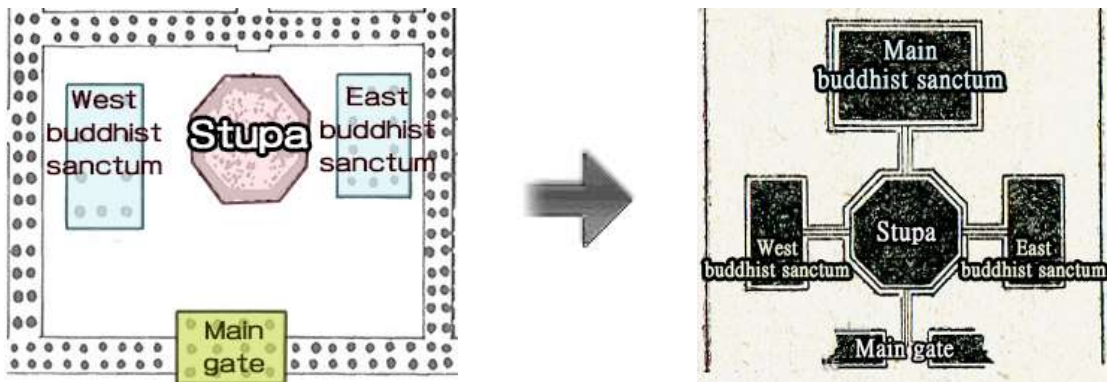


[Figure 171] Arrangement of Gunsurisa Temple, Baekje. Sketch by Juhyung Lee.



[Figure 172] Arrangement of Wangheungsa Temple, Baekje. Reconstruction by Juhyung Lee.

Then the question ‘What happened to the central Buddhist sanctum?’ arises. It is possible to presume that the stupa of Jeongreungsa Temple functioned as it did before the stupa and the hall were separated. Thus, this would be the former arrangement of the three halls-one stupa form.



[Figure 173] Two Halls-One stupa and Three Halls-One stupa .Jeongreungsa Temple and Cheongamrisa Temple of Goguryeo. Source: Juhyung Lee.

As studied earlier, Seong-Woo Kim interpreted the arrangement of the Jeongreungsa Temple in another way but the term “two halls-one stupa style” may be used, as he named it.

On the one hand, the foundation period of Cheongamrisa Temple or Geumgangs Temple and Jeongreungsa Temple is presumed to be during the 7th year(498) of the reign of King Munja(文咨王), and finding of an old tomb¹⁷² just about 120m away from Jeongreungsa Temple indicate that the Cheongamrisa Temple was built when the tomb of King Tongmyong was from North Korea. According to <Samguk Sagi>, the tomb of King Tongmyong is situated in Longshan(龍山), and King Munja went out hunting in Longshan and returned in five days, in 505. According to <Samguk Sagi>, the Tomb of King Tongmyong is situated in Longshan, and King Munja went out hunting in Longshan and returned in five days, in 505. Moreover, Samguk Sagi clearly indicates¹⁷³ that King Munja used the dwelling site of Jeongreungsa Temple, when he went hunting.

If this assertion is valid, it is to be assumed that the establishment year of Jeongreungsa Temple was before 505. It is possible to presume that Jeongreungsa Temple was established before, or around the same time as, Cheongamrisa Temple.

However, the investigation on the time order of the establishment period is regarded a matter of no great importance, even if it is assumed that the two temples were established around the same time. This is based on the cultural overlap. In other words, this is the consequence for accepting Buddhism in Goguryeo in an unplanned, disorderly way.

172 Samguk Sagi(三國史記)" 13 Progenitor of Goguryeo-bongi King Dongmyeong in his 19th year of reign, Vol. 19 15th year of reign of King Munja.

173 Jin-Wook Park, "Medieval Goguryeo", "Archaeological Collection of Joseon", in *Science Encyclopedia*, p.147-150.

An important point is that flanking Buddhas were placed where halls flanked the stupa on both sides. The fact that other Buddhist deities were enshrined, instead of the Buddha that is symbolized by the stupa, was a concept not accepted by Hinayana Buddhism. Thus, Mahayana Buddhism would have been able to regulate the temple forms of two halls-one stupa and three halls-one stupa.

Thus, it is reasonable to classify Jeongreungsa Temple as a Mahayana temple having a form of two halls-one stupa before the three halls-one stupa form emerged.

This study investigated the characteristics of Buddhism in Goguryeo and Baekje during the early years of the acceptance of Buddhism, and the differences shown in temple arrangements accordingly. A provisional conclusion may be made that the development of Mahayana as the main religion in Goguryeo caused its temples to be arranged in the form of two halls-one stupa or three halls-one stupa, and the development of Hinayana as the main religion in Baekje caused temples in Baekje to be arranged in the form of one hall-one stupa.

Meanwhile, the temple arrangement during the early years of Buddhism after its introduction could be defined to have been in the forms of two halls-one stupa or three halls-one stupa in Goguryeo, and the form of one hall-one stupa style in Baekje. After about 200 years later, a different form of three halls-one stupa emerged, different to the form of three halls-one stupa of Huangryongsa¹⁷⁴ Temple and the unique form of three stupas of Mireuksa¹⁷⁵ Temple.

174 Established in the 14th year of the reign of King Jinheung of Silla. The final completion of temple was in the 14th (645) year of reign of Queen Seondeok.

175 It is said to have been established in the 2nd year of reign of King Mu, Baekje

CHANGES IN THE ARRANGEMENT OF THREE HALLS-ONE STUPA

This study examined the background of the one hall-one stupa and three halls-one stupa temple arrangement forms. Based on the historical circumstances at that time, the argument that the temples of Baekje are derived from temples of Goguryeo ignores the historical context, as it is highly probable that the two countries would have not made official trades with one another due to their antagonistic relationship.

There is a need to thoroughly investigate the background of Hwangryongsa Temple of Silla and Mireuksa Temple of Baekje, that is to say the heteromorphic form of three halls-one stupa, even if 米田美代治's argument about the correlation between the three halls-one stupa form of Goguryeo and the one hall-one stupa style of Baekje is regarded as a logical error.

Hwangryongsa temple began construction under the reign of King Jinheung in 553, and its date of completion is recorded as 565 in 'Samguk Sagi (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms)' and 569 in Samguk Yusa. "Samguk Sagi" has been interpreted¹⁷⁶ as describing the completion of central areas and "Samguk Yusa" described the completion of the corridors and walls around the central areas.

癸酉二月，將築紫宮於龍宮南，有黃龍現其

地，乃改置爲佛寺，號黃龍寺 - ("三國遺事"卷第三 塔像第四 皇龍寺文六: 553)

176 Gi-Baek Lee, *Study on Silla Concepts* p.64-65.

“In February, Guiyou will build the Purple Palace in the south of the Dragon Palace, and there will be a yellow dragon. The place was changed to a Buddhist temple, Huanglong Temple” (“The Remains of the Three Kingdoms” volume third pagoda statue fourth Huanglong Temple Zhang Liu: 553)

十四年春三月，王命所司，築新宮於月城東，黃龍見基地，王疑之，改爲佛寺，賜号曰皇龍 - (“三國史記”卷第四 新羅本紀 第四 眞興王十四年: 553)

“In the spring and March of the 14th year, Wang Mingsuo, built a new palace on the east of the moon city, Huanglong saw the base, Wang Suzhi, changed to a Buddhist temple, and gave the name of the dragon” (“The History of the Three Kingdoms” volume fourth Sinuoluan fourth fourth King Xing Xing Year: 553)

Moreover, both “samguk Yusa” and “Samguk Sagi” both state¹⁷⁷ that the 16-foot Buddha(拓)¹⁷⁸ was cast in March of 574 (35th year of reign, King Jinheung). Also, “Samguk Yusa” states that the 16-foot Buddha was enshrined in the central golden hall(中金堂) and flanking halls(east and west) which were created in 584(6th year of reign, King Jinpyeong).

177 Generally, the statue of Buddha is constructed in multiples of 8 cheok (traditional Korean unit of length; 尺(30.3cm)). 8 cheok equals to 1 jang, the height of an average man. In other words, the Buddha statue is usually created in the scale of 1 jang 6 cheok and it is therefore called a 16-foot Buddha. The details in Samguk Yusa points out the misunderstanding that the 16-foot Buddha during the era of Jinpyeong was completed. It is considered that the golden hall was created 10 years after the completion of the Buddha statue, and the 16-foot Buddha statue was created in the later years after the era of Jinheung.

178 National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage, Gyeongju, No. 6 of the Hwangryongsa Research Series ‘Research on the Restoration of Hwangryongsa Temple, 2010), p.309-330.

三十五年春三月 鑄成皇龍寺丈六像 - ("三國史記"卷第四 新羅本紀 第四 眞興王三十五年: 574 年)

時記云 眞平五年甲辰 金堂造成 - ("三國遺事"卷第三 塔像 第四 皇龍寺丈六: 584 年)

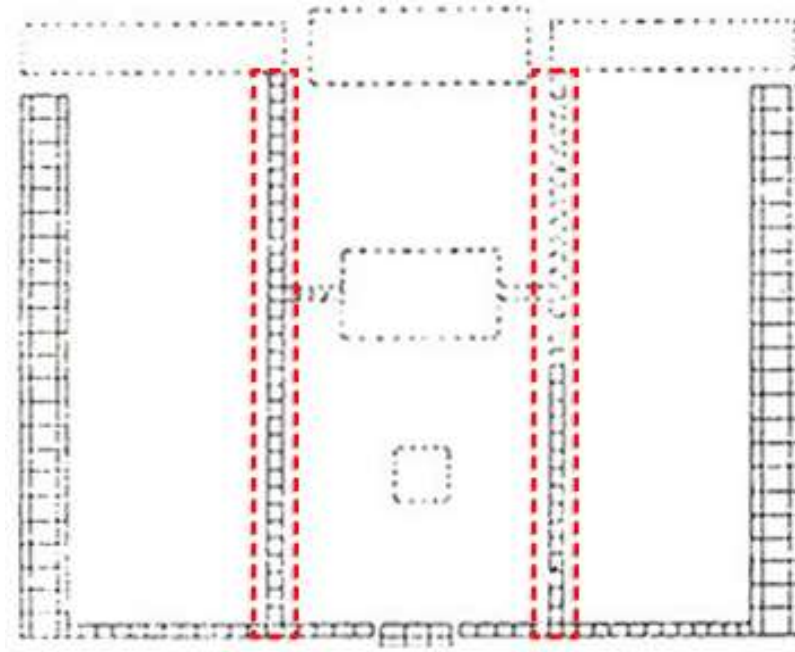
"Thirty-five years of spring and March, cast as a statue of the Emperor Dragon Temple". ("Historical Records of the Three Kingdoms" volume fourth Silla Kingdom fourth fourth King Xuxing thirty-five years: 574) Shi Jiyun Sui Ping five years Jiachen Jintang created-("The Three Kingdoms" volume third tower statue fourth Huanglong Temple Zhang Liu: 584 years)

Most scholars believe that the temple, which was founded in 566~569 based on the records of "Samguk Yusa" and "Samguk Sagi", was reconstructed in the year 584. Many conclusions have been drawn about the temple's form due to the existence of the east and west corridors that divide the central section into 3 areas, based on many remains of temples of the same type. Such conclusions include the belief¹⁷⁹ that the form of one hall-one stupa at the foundation stage changed into a three halls-one stupa form during the construction stage, the assumption¹⁸⁰ that the founded temple of Hwanryongsa is arranged in the form of three halls-one stupa, and the contention¹⁸¹ that the form of three halls-three stupas is similar to the temple arrangement of Mireuksa Temple of Baekje.

179 Chang-Ho Kim, "About the Temples of Hwangryongsa", *Historical Studies on Gyeongju*, Vol. 19, p.67-81.

180 Jeong-Gi Kim, Dong-Hyeon Kim, "Ideas of Yu-Jeon Cho", Jeong-Gi Kim, "Report on the Excavation of Remains in Hwangryongsa Temple Site" (National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage, 1984), p.371-379 ; Dong-Hyeon Kim, "Comparative Review of Bibliographic Data and Synonymous Contents on Hwangryongsa Temple Site in Gyeongju", "Buddhist Art" (Museum of Dongguk University, 1991), p.94-135 ; Yu-Jeon Cho, "Research on the Temples of Hwangryongsa Temple of Silla", Donga University, Doctoral Thesis, 1987

181 eong-Seok Yang, "Construction and Meaning of Hwangryongsa in Medieval Period of the Silla Dynasty", Korea University, Doctoral Thesis, 2001, p.180-181



[Figure 174] Traces of left, right corridor in the center of Hwangryongsa Temple. Sketch by Juhyung Lee.

More than 9 years after its foundation, the Sakyamuni Buddha Triad (釋迦三尊佛) or 16-foot Buddha was made and the Buddhist sanctums were created 10 years later. This alludes to the relation between the 16-foot Buddha statue and the three golden halls. When considering that the statue of the Buddha was included in the process of introducing Buddhism to the Korean peninsula or Silla, one can assume¹⁸² that the possibility of a Buddha statue not enshrined within the founded temple is low.

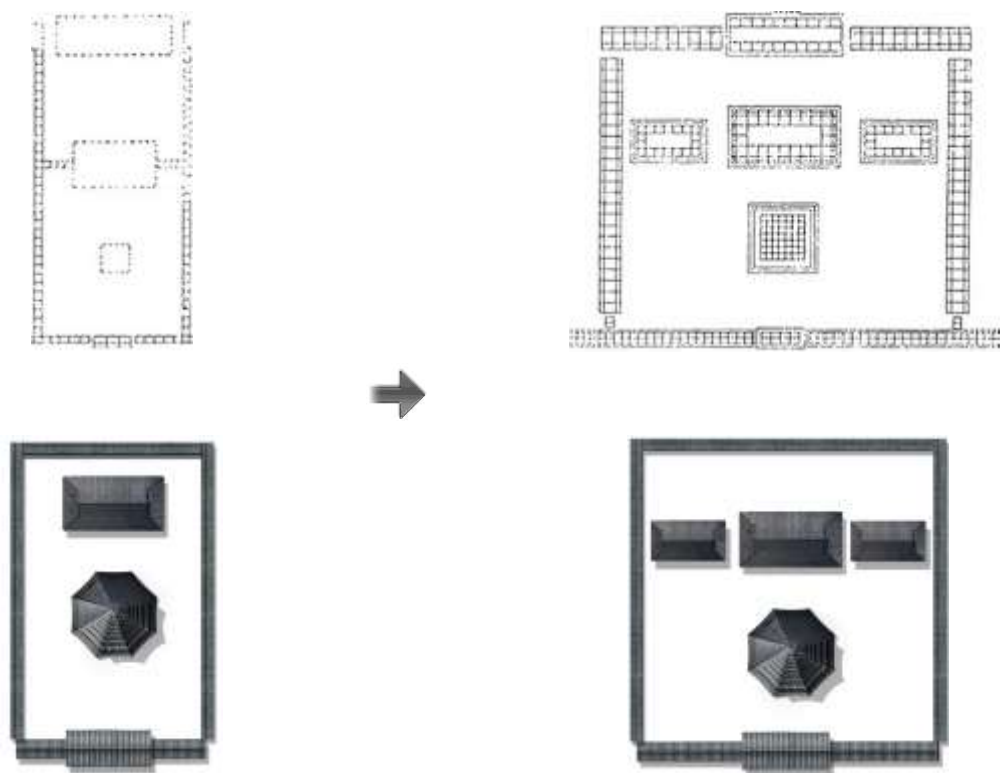
After all, it is reasonable that another Buddha was enshrined in the main hall that was established at the time of foundation, until the 16-foot Buddha was cast. Also, it is likely¹⁸³ that the 16-foot Buddha was created based on specific contextual

182 Hyo-Sik Choi, Wang-Gi Lee, "Characteristics of the Ancient Temple Arrangement", *Hwangryongsa Research Series* n.6, p.315

183 Details of reconstruction in 584 are not recorded clearly in "Samguk Sagi" and "Samguk Yusa" but it is recorded that the central golden hall was created in the 6th year of King Jinpyeong. There is a bare chance that no hall was there to enshrine the statue of the Buddha when establishing the founded temple in 566, and this means that the records of 584 shall be considered as the reconstruction records of east and west halls. There is no way of verifying that the central hall was reconstructed together at that time.

background such as the promotion of King Jinheung's regal power or Buddhist state of affairs and the influx of new Buddha-kaya, and additional halls on the left and right were reconstructed accordingly.

This study agrees that the arrangement form of one hall-one stupa used in the foundation stage developed into a three halls-one stupa form in the reconstruction stage. A number of historical events will be investigated to determine the grounds for this conclusion.



[Figure 175] Assumption of Changes in Hwangryongsa Temple Arrangement. Sketches by Juhyung Lee.

As stated in the previous sections, the revolution of Buddhism around Silla is believed to have occurred under the guidance¹⁸⁴ of Baekje after it escaped the traditional foreign route and entered into diplomatic relations with Liang¹⁸⁵ (the northern

184 http://people.aks.ac.kr/front/tabCon/ppl/pplView.aks?pplId=PPL_2SNR_A9999_1_0005131 [retrieved: 04/07/2020]

185 During this period, many countries of the nomad in the north, North Dynasty, and the Han in the south, South Dynasty were established and destroyed in China as the Eastern Jin Dynasty emerged. Southern countries had trouble trading with the western region by land as the northern countries blocked their trade-path. Thus,

dynasty that followed Eastern Jin), instead of the northern dynasty during the period of Wei, Jin, South-North Dynasties. Afterwards, Silla officially approved of Buddhism that was passed down by a monk named 'Wonpyo' from Liang. In addition, Silla that had a close alliance with Baekje until 553 to fight against the South-Advancement Policy of Goguryeo. The fact that Silla accepted southern Buddhism as a state religion, like Baekje did, indicates that Silla would have adopted a similar form of Buddhism (Hinayana Buddhism) to that of Baekje during that period.



[Figure 176] Map of Foreign Trade Routes of Silla after conquering Han River.

Interpretation by Juhyung Lee.

As a result of the alliance between Baekje and Silla, there were efforts to recover the territory in the upper, lower reaches of the Han river from Goguryeo, but Silla turned its army around and conquered Baekje's reclaimed area, the lower reaches of the Han river, during the 14th year of reign (553), King Jinheung. The alliance between Baekje and Silla broke off and as Silla took hold of the Han River territory, it was able to conduct trade directly with China without having to pass through Baekje.

they traded directly with nearby countries by sea. In the order of Eastern Jin-Song-Jie, countries of the South Dynasty were replaced.

When Silla conquered Baekje and Goguryeo in 660, Silla unified its dynasty but required social unification to realize a chain of policies such as unification or territorial expansion. Silla would also have needed the introduction of a form of Buddhism that could blend in with the noble colors of Buddhism. Furthermore, the stories¹⁸⁶ of the origin of the 16-foot Buddha symbolized the passing of existing orders and the introduction of new concepts, and emphasized the stature of King Jinheung.

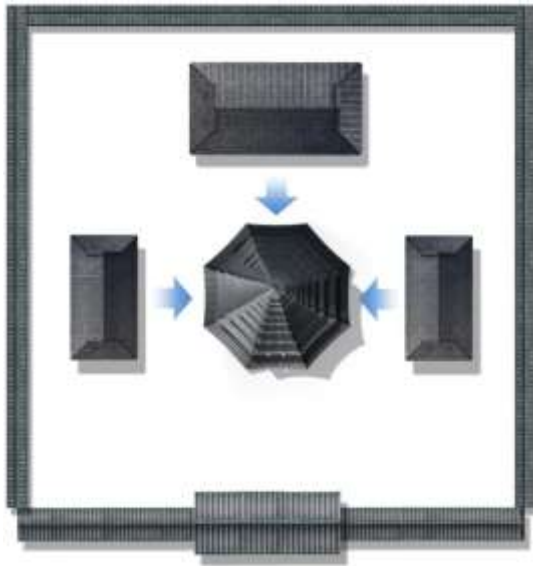
Considering the changes in the temple arrangement of Hwangryongsa Temple against this background, it is assumed that some remains of the founded temples were limited to the central area with the east and west corridors that divide the area into three, and thus such temples are categorized as having the one hall-one stupa form. Mahayana Buddhism was accepted as a new means of social integration through the possibility of direct cultural trade with other civilizations based the demand for existing orders that measured up to the unification and territorial expansion of Silla, and new alternative ideas, and the domination over the Han River basin.

Thus, it is likely that the arrangement form of the halls flanking the central hall were influenced by the acceptance of Mahayana Buddhism, in accordance with the rise of the 16-foot Buddha that is to say the Sakyamuni Buddha Triad(釋迦三尊佛) based on

186 Details of "Samguk Yusa" Vol. 3, Stupa No. 4, Hwangryongsa Temple, Book of the 16-foot Buddha are interpreted as : "A large ship in the southern sea arrived. Inside was a letter describing how King Asoka of India failed to cast a Sakyamuni Buddha Triad with 34200kg of bronze, 2400kg of gold which was onboard the ship. The letter indicated that he is sending the ship to fulfill his wish of forming the 16-foot Buddha, along with a Buddhist triad, 2 Bodhisattvas flanking a Buddha. When a government official of the country sent a document to the King, Dongchuksa Temple was constructed to enshrine the triad and the gold and bronze were transferred to Suzhou. The 16-foot Buddha was created at first attempt. It was made with 612kg of gold, and it weighed 21004kg. For the two Bodhisattvas, 7800kg of steel and 608kg of gold were used. The triad was enshrined in Hwangryongsa Temple."

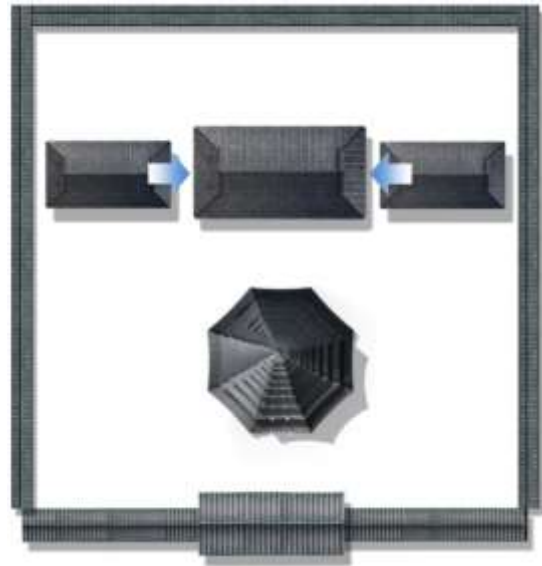
It is considered that the story signifies the emperor, King Asoka of India who unified India and is also known as Cakravartin, on the same level of Sakyamuni as a global being who realizes an ideal country by ruling based on Buddhist ideologies. The story aims to express that King Jinheung achieved more for he completed what King Asoka could not. Therefore, the introduction of the 16-foot Buddha is viewed to symbolically mean the introduction of a new Buddhist culture.

the multi-deity concept, as examined in the previous sections. Significantly, the east and west halls were not erected based on the stupa but on the central hall, unlike the existing arrangement form used in Goguryeo.



[Figure177] Arrangement of the central golden hall, the east hall and the west hall based on the stupa.

Sketch by the author.



[Figure 178] Arrangement of hall on the east and west of the central golden hall. Sketch by the author.

author.

Regardless of time and place, the ways of expressing significance include increasing height and size, and emphasizing the front and the center. Compared to Goguryeo's 'two halls-one stupa' or 'three halls-one stupa' form in which the east and west halls were arranged with the stupa in the center, the east and west halls of Hwangryongsa Temple of Silla were created 200 years later with the golden hall in the center where the main Buddha was enshrined. This signifies the weakening of the stupa symbolism as an object of worship and the fact that the authenticity and concreteness of the Buddha statue overwhelm the symbolism of the stupa.

Afterwards, the east hall and the west hall disappeared, and the two stupas, each greatly reduced in scale, were placed next to the main Buddhist sanctum. Subsequently, the stupa inside the temple vanished.



[Figure 179] A large stupa(Hwangryongsa Temple) situated in the center of the temple. Source: Juhyung Lee.



[Figure 180] Small Twin Stupas flanking the single Golden Hall without the east and west halls, Gameunsa Temple. Source: Juhyung Lee.



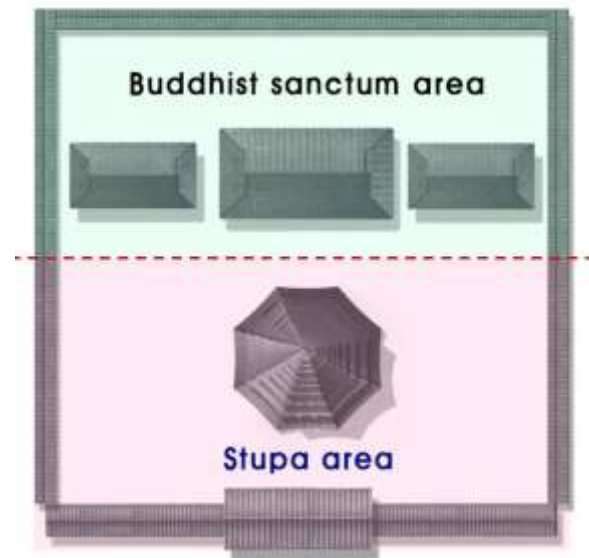
[Figure 181] Buseoksa Temple with a Stone Lantern in the Center of the Buddhist Sanctum with no Stupa. Source: Juhyung Lee.

To summarize, it is assumed that Hwangryongsa Temple founded temples arranged in a one hall-one stupa format based on the Hinayana Buddhism of Baekje. Once Mahayana Buddhism was introduced as one of the new ideas of social integration based on the internal and external changes within Silla society, the symbolism of the stupa was no longer the imitation of the three halls-one stupa style of Goguryeo but the authenticity and embodiment of the statue of the Buddha. Then, the decentering of the hall from the stupa was intensified and it could be argued that the transitional phenomenon of the stupa-centric arrangement gradually developing into a Buddha

statue-centric arrangement rose to the surface of the temple arrangement of Hwangryongsa.



[Figure 182] Stupa-centric arrangement. Sketch by Juhyung Lee.



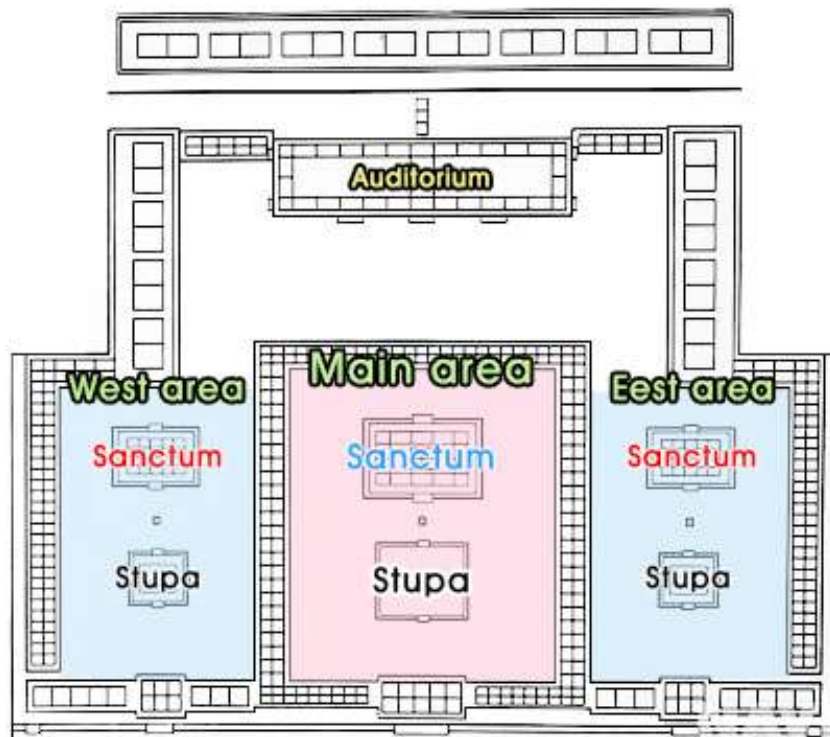
[Figure 183] Separation of Stupa and Buddhist Sanctum Areas. Sketch by Juhyung Lee.

The arrangement of Buddhist temples intensified more at the end of the Baekje era. The early Mireuksa temple was completed in the 2nd(601) year of reign of King Mu(武王) of Baekje, and the current temple arrangement was completed during the unified Silla era¹⁸⁷.

Unlike existing temples that are based on Buddha-kaya of Sakyamuni, Mireuksa temple follows the belief of Matireya signifying the appearance of other Buddhas or Bodhisattvas as the main objects of worship. As discussed earlier, this is considered to be an influence of Buddhist sects¹⁸⁸ in China that emerged in the Sui and Tang periods, sects that mainly worshipped Buddhas other than Sakyamuni.

187 Silla conquered Goguryeo and Baekje, and formed a unified country.

188 The tradition of this Buddhism sect is still passed on to the general history of Korean Buddhism.



[Figure 184] Floor Plan of Mireuksa Temple(Three stupas). Sketch by Juhyung Lee.

Mireuksa temple was recognized as a symbolic structure based on Maitreya faith¹⁸⁹, but the west side was confirmed as Sakyamuni's area with the recent excavation of 'Sakyamuni's Sarira Enrichment' in the west stupa. If the west side belonged to Sakyamuni and the center belonged to Maitreya, the east side is the past Buddha's area. The visual order¹⁹⁰ is in the sequence of past-present-future according to the east-west standards based on the universal standard of the Three Buddhas of the Three Times. The arrangement is subject to change if Maitreya is put as the main Buddha.

189 As the future Buddha and faith in Maitreya that proposes an ideal society, greatest meaning is laid on the Mahayana concept that Maitreya comes to the world of mankind to save the world.

190 Gyeong-Hwa Lee, "Mireuksa Temple of Baekje through the Three Buddhas of the Three Times", Korean Concept and Culture, Vol. 49, 2009, p. 196.



[Figure 185] Restored Model of Mireuksa Temple Site. Source: Juhyung Lee.

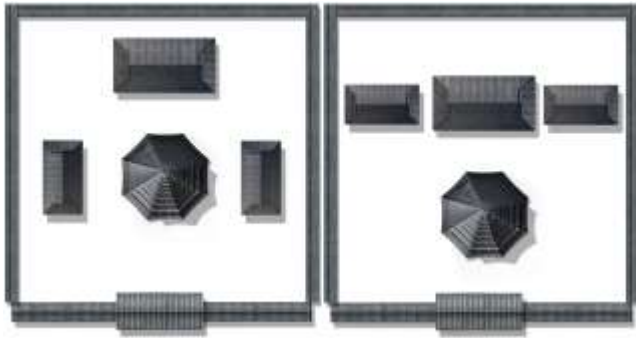
The temple arrangement of Mireuksa is known to be in the 'three halls-one stupa' or 'three stupas' which is regarded more appropriate than the 'three halls-one stupa' arrangement. This is also an influence of Buddhism sect from the Sui and Tang periods.

With the appearance of Buddhist sects, the worship of Sakyamuni declined and the Buddhist deities Maitreya, Amitabha, and Avalokitesvara emerged as gods of other sects. Furthermore, unlike Hinayana Buddhism that only accepted Sakyamuni as Buddha, the new sects promoted the idea that many Buddhas exist in the world in all ten directions¹⁹¹ and that Buddha and Bodhisattva live on Buddha's Land(佛國土) to save mankind.

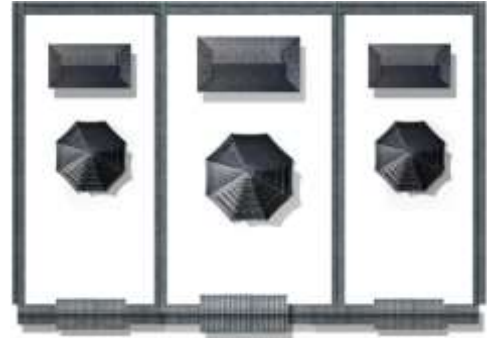
The temple arrangement of Mireuksa proceeds from these concepts, as each area of the temple was distinguished by a corridor, unlike existing temples of Goguryeo or

191 The Land of Happiness of Amitabha, Mount Potalaka(補陀落迦山) of Avalokitesvara, Mount Wutai(五臺山) of Manjusri, Mount Geumgang(金剛山) of Hoki Bosatsu(法起菩薩) are examples of Buddha's Lands.

such as Hwangryongsa Temple where the main Buddha 'Sakyamuni' was situated along with Bodhisattva and other entities.



[Figure 186] The Main Buddha and flanking Bodhisattvas in the same area(Cheongamrisa Temple, Hwangryongsa Temple). Sketch by Juhjung Lee.

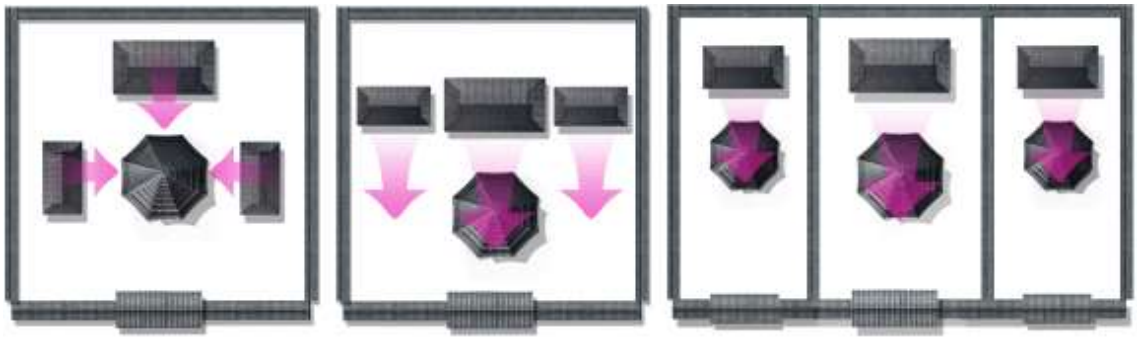


[Figure 187] The main Buddha and flanking Bodhisattvas in separate areas(Mireuksa Temple). Sketch by Juhjung Lee.

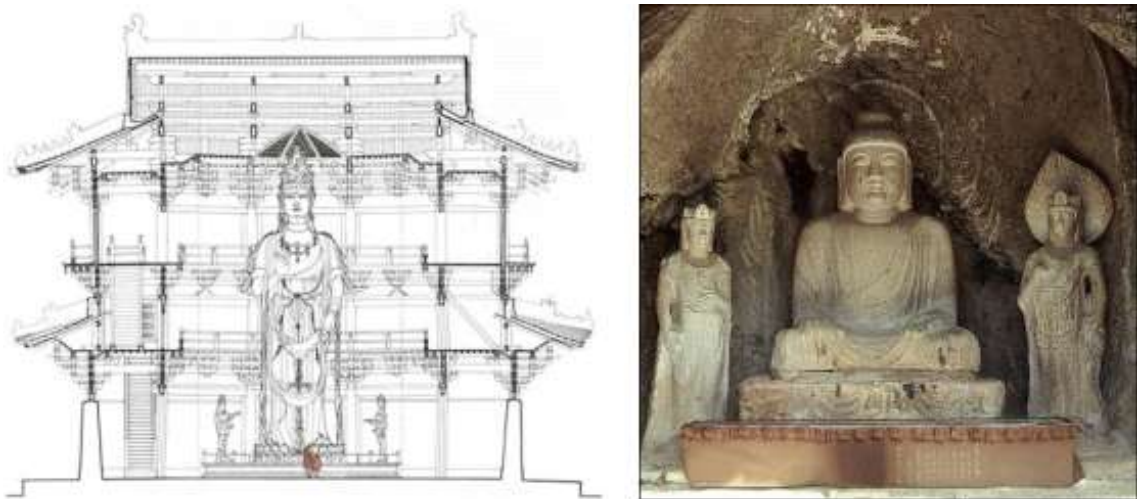
This is an architectural representation that symbolically expresses multiple Buddhas who each independently control their areas on Buddha's Land and create a Buddhist world, while breaking away from the Hinayana sense based on Sakyamuni. Thus, this arrangement shall be considered a development of Mahayana Buddhist architecture.

Buddhist deities that used to sit on the east and west side of the main Buddha now exist as independent entities that constitute Buddha's land and not as complementary beings, that is to say, Bodhisattvas. Thus, Hwangryongsa Temple began to show signs of the formative representation in the previous arrangement form of three stupas.

Other Goguryeo temples with the arrangement form of 'three halls-one stupa' such as Cheongamrisa Temple have the east and west halls facing the stupa, but Hwangryongsa temple broke from the convention of arranging the stupa in the center by having each hall face the front and not the main hall, though the halls were positioned on the east and west of the main hall. This should be regarded as the precursor phase regarding the decentralized representation of Sakyamuni or the Main Buddha.



[Figure 188] Transition in the Direction of Hall. Sketch by Juhyung Lee.



[Figure 189] The change in the direction of each Buddha statue from facing the Main Buddha to facing the front in the Buddhist Triad. Sketch and picture by Juhyung Lee.

In Mireuksa Temple, these ideas were intensified and expressed architecturally by arranging the stupa in the free space at the front of the east and west halls. Thus, the stupa originally functioned as a symbol of Sakymuni and as a type of tomb to seal the sarira of Sakyamuni but stupas were erected in front of all halls during this time. This indicates that the stupa no longer symbolized Sakyamuni. In other words, it had developed into a formative material of an architectural act that exists in the world of other Buddhist gods.

Recall that Mahayanian temples in Baekje used to adhere to the Hinayana arrangement of 'one hall-one stupa'. The sudden change may have resulted from social backgrounds similar to that of King Jinheung of Silla.

Before King Mu was crowned to the throne, King Beop and King Hye (惠王, 598-599) each died after reigning for two years. These Kings died young mainly due to the contest for power inside the Baekje palace. At that time, the nobles with the eight surnames that were created after transferring the capital of Buyeo took the lead politically, and the high nobles who eliminated King Beop crowned a collapsed royal blood of Iksan, King Mu¹⁹².

Unlike the former kings who were manipulated by the nobles in authority, King Mu was a king of great skill. Even in "Samguk Sagi", King Mu is described as "A man of fine appearance with a gallant spirit and will". King Mu raised the authority of the royal family and requested permission from King Jinpyeong(眞平王, reigned during 579~632) of Silla to marry Princess Seonhwa for political reasons; King Jinpyeong consented to the marriage request to relieve the tension in between Silla and Baekje. This marriage reinforced King Mu's royal authority by marrying Princess Seonhwa.

After ascending to the throne, King Mu left Buyeo due to its weak political foundation and headed off to establish a new capital in the center of former Mahan¹⁹³ and his hometown, Iksan. Meanwhile, the king showed a great interest in attacking Silla. Silla was attacked twelve times by King Mu, giving him a strong foothold on Iksan¹⁹⁴. At the Mireuksa Temple site, King Mu promoted the revival of Baekje based on Iksan and set his goal_(Bong-Ryeol Kim, Buddhist Architecture) to take a big step forward and unify the Three Kingdoms.

Similarly to King Jinheung of Silla, King Mu selected Mahayana Buddhism as an alternative when new ideas and ideologies was demanded to phase out the

192 <http://terms.naver.com/entry.nhn?docId=1632216&categoryId=42668&cid=42665>

193 One of the three countries dispersed in the south-central region of the Korean Peninsula before the Era of the Three Kingdoms.

194 The place where Mireuksa Temple is situated.

conservative features and achieve the great work of reinforcing and stabilizing the royal authority, and expanding King Mu's territory.

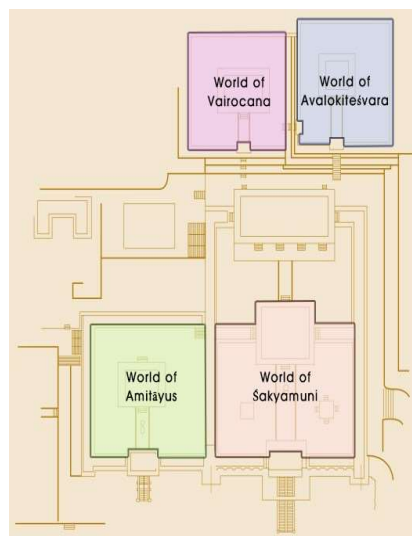
The following study is on Bulguksa(佛國寺) which was established when the Three Kingdoms were stabilized by unification and all cultures were in development. In this study, two different records of the establishment of Bulguksa shall be examined.

The first record is <Architectural History of the Bulguksa Temple¹⁹⁵ (Bulguksa-gogumchanggi, 佛國寺古今創記)> which states that King Beopheung(528) of Silla founded Bulguksa to grant his mother's desire. In 574, King Jinheung's mother cast and enshrined Virocana and Amitabha while reconstructing Bulguksa on a grand scale. Lectures on Flower Garland Sutra(華嚴經) were given in the lecturing hall(無說殿)(Moosoljong) that was built in 670(King Munmu, 10). In 751(King Gyeongdeok, 10), stupas and stone bridges were produced by Dae-Seong Kim(金大城) who conducted extensive repair works.

The <Historical Recordings of Bulguksa> state that the picture of Ado was created before the period described beforehand, during the King Nulji period, and repaired three times by the premier of that time, Dae-Seong Kim. Bulguksa was established on a small scale at the beginning as it only began as an idea, and Bulguksa Temple was expanded extensively by Dae-Seong Kim during the reign of King Gyeongdeok. It is appropriate to assume that the temple was established part by part until the Japanese Invasion of Korea in 1592.

195 Records of Bulguksa written by a writer named Dongeun from Daeam(大庵) in 1740 and proofread by his disciple named Manyeon(萬淵). It followed records of "Samguk Yusa". Stories of establishment describe the confusion of eras, with an uneven handwriting in size and shape, and it is guessed to have been added in the later generations. Its historical value is not considered high but it is an integrated recording of Bulguksa that mentions the structure of great temples(大伽藍) and remains of Bulguksa in great detail.

Bulguksa Temple is composed of four areas. Each area is the projection of an ideal world of nirvana, Buddha's Land. The four areas of the World of Saha(娑婆)¹⁹⁶ that is based on Lotus Sutra, the Land of Happiness 'Sukhavati'¹⁹⁷ of Amitabha based on 《無量壽經》 or 《阿彌陀經》, the Lotus World¹⁹⁸ of Viroccana based on 《華嚴經》, and the best-known areas in which Avolokitesvara lives to do acts of charity for humans who demand a savior.



[Figure 190] Interior of Bulguksa Temple. Sketch by Juhyung Lee.



[Figure 191] Generic View of Bulguksa Temple. Source: Juhyung Lee.

196 Means the world in which we live in, originating from the Sanskrit word 'Saha' meaning 'to suppress' or 'to stand'. In overall, this means the world of mankind in which humans must suppress and stand all sorts of pain.

197 The land of Pure Land Buddhism based on Amitabha belief. This is an ideal Buddha's Land in which Amitabha lives.

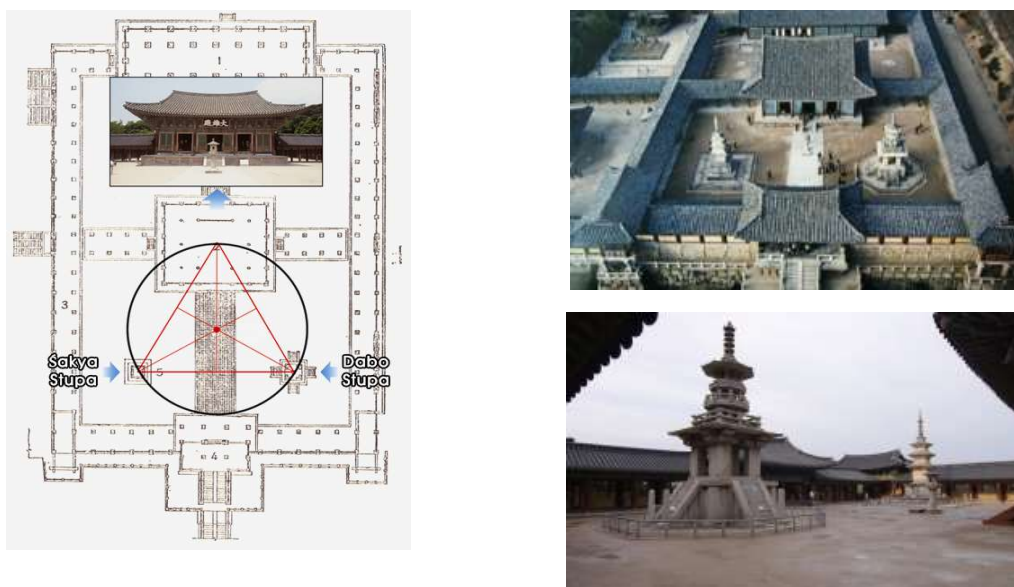
198 Born in the world of lotus, this is the ideal world in which Viroccana, believed to be in the center of the universe, is set as the object of worship.

The structures of Mireuksa were arranged based on the concept of Buddha's Land, and the arrangement was developed in Bulguksa. The arrangement of symmetrically composing the existing stupa or the main hall in the center developed by having each structure form a more free and independent section, unaffected by the regular system in order to create Buddha's Land.

Other Buddhist deities were also provided with stupas in Mireuksa instead of all of them having a single stupa in the entire temple to serve Sakyamuni. Also, two stupas were erected on the east and west side of the hall that enshrined Sakyamuni Buddha within the 'Main Hall'.

The left stupa is called Sakyamuni and the right stupa is called Prabhūtaratna, or east and west stupa. This shows that both stupas have not been officially named owing to their characteristics which have not been identified. The argument regarding the naming of the two stupas is ongoing.

It is certain that Bulguksa composed the Main Hall in the center, and the impression that these two stupas flanked or supported the main hall like that of the Buddha triad is obvious.

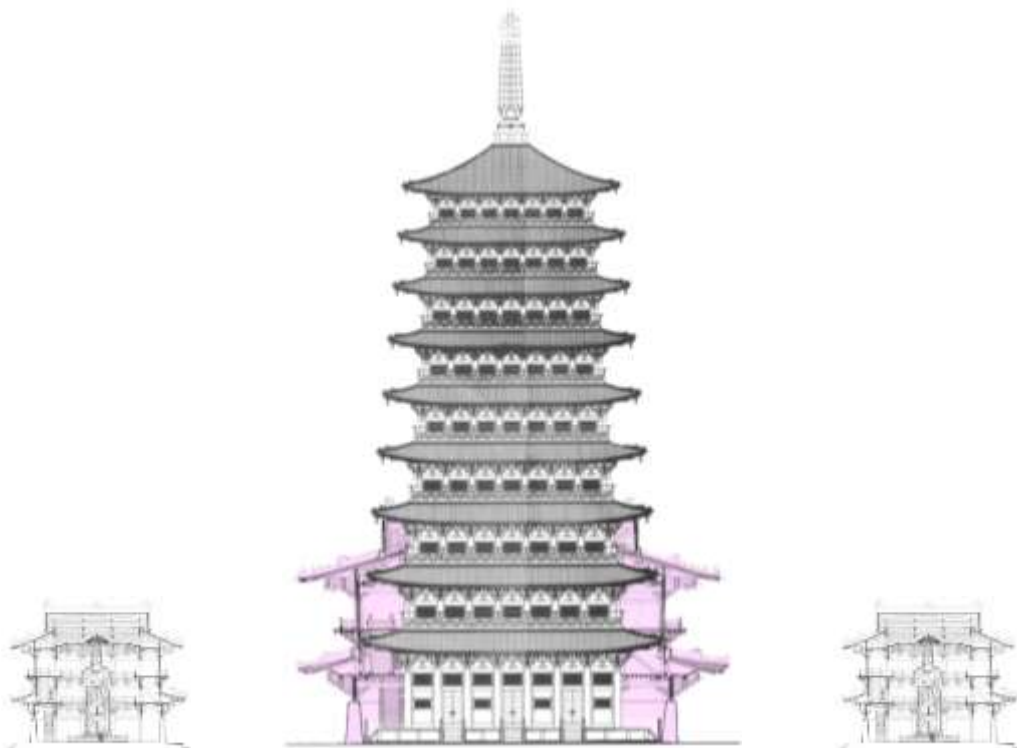


[Figure 192] Dabo Stupa and Sakya Stupa of Bulguksa, sketch and views by Juhjung Lee.

Along with the precursor phenomenon of Mireuksa Temple, the stupa and the hall were not arranged in a line within Bulguksa Temple. The two were positioned on the left and right side out of line with the hall and were divided into two and became twin stupas. The fact that the scale of the stupa was greatly reduced indicates that the stupa is no longer viewed as a symbolic figure of Sakyamuni.

Yu-Seop Ko states:

“The drastic change of Buddhist architecture in the Unified Silla Era occurred by the depreciation of the stupa, and thus the temple arrangement changed. The stupa-centric arrangement in the former period changed greatly into a hall-centric form. The hall became the main entity with two flanking stupas.”¹⁹⁹

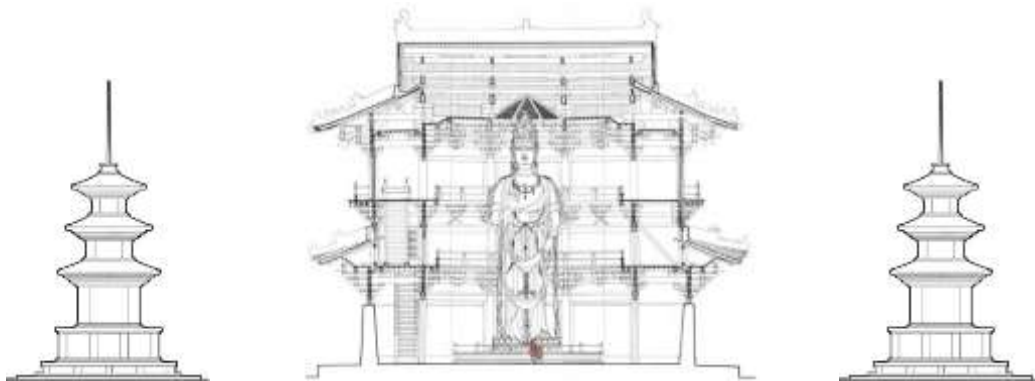


[Figure 193] Halls (Buddha statue) flanking both sides of the Stupa, which is comparatively greater in size than the stupas. Source: Ko Yu-Seop *A Draft of Korean Architectural Art History*. P..83.

199 Yu-Seop, *A Draft of Korean Architectural Art History* p.79-80.



[Figure 194] Recovery Model of Hwangryongsa Temple. Source: Juhyung Lee.



[Figure 195] Stupas flanking the east and west of the hall, with its scale greatly reduced to a size smaller than the hall. Source: Ko Yu-Seop *A Draft of Korean Architectural Art History*. P..83.



[Figure 196] Front view of Gameunsa Temple and Restoration Mode. Source: Juhyung Lee.

At the beginning of this period, many twin stupas emerged in temple sites such as Sacheonwangsa, Mangdeoksa and Gameunsa. The depreciation of the stupa accelerated and the scale greatly reduced as Seonjong(禪宗)²⁰⁰ became more influential near the end of the Unified Silla period. Afterwards, stupas have not been erected in some temples up to now.

To conclude, the rise of Mahayana Buddhism in Korea and East Asia influenced the temple arrangements up to this date, including the advent of the Buddha triad following the enshrinement of three Buddha statues within each structure of the stupa in the form of three halls and the expansion of the spatial concept which was limited to each structure. Thus, it is possible to argue that such architectural developments constituted the process of placing each section within the free arrangement form of China by symmetrically dividing the areas into three.

200 A Buddhism sect that focuses on achieving enlightenment through Zen meditation without depending on messages, the scriptures or formalities.

8 CONCLUSION

8.1 CONSIDERATION OF BUDDHIST HISTORY

8.2 CONSIDERATION OF TEMPLES AND TEMPLE ELEMENTS

CONCLUSIONS

This study aimed to seek the fundamental cause to the differences found in the temple arrangements of Goguryeo and Baekje through which the Korean peninsula was able to create temples and accept Buddhism.

The study traced the origin background of the one hall-one stupa of Baekje and the three halls-one stupa of Goguryeo, and it escaped from the superficial explorations of the logical finitude and phenomena of the assertions that were considered established hypotheses of the existing academia. Based on the primitive views or the universal logic of the correlation between architecture and concept, the temple was the origin from which all Buddhist concepts, doctrines and orders were expressed. As a result of considering the mutual relationship between Buddhist concepts and temples, results as the following were derived.

CONSIDERATION OF BUDDHIST HISTORY

Indian Buddhism was one of the philosophical asceticism systems of atheism which was widely known in the Indian society at that time, and Mahayana Buddhism suddenly rose among those with advanced views of spreading Buddhism to the public, that is to say a public relief compared to the existing disciple-oriented Buddhism that ultimately aimed to study doctrines and individually reach nirvana after the death of Sakyamuni.

With the advent of Mahayana concept, Buddhism went through a transition in the aspect of concept and doctrine. What is more, Sakyamuni who was once viewed as an ordinary human pioneer was deified and such Buddha-kaya began to change into a religion that believed multiple Buddhas existed in all time and space in forms of the Three Bodies and the Three Buddhas of the Three Times. In the end, Buddhism that was once a philosophy in the ancient society of India developed into a theistic religion in which multiple deities existed.

CONSIDERATION OF TEMPLES AND TEMPLE ELEMENTS

Wandering ascetics of early Buddhism focused on seeking the truth but they were hampered by practical factors which restricted them in their journeys. As a measure, monks were recommended to decide upon a place of stay for a certain amount time for effective purification. Afterwards, monks began to live in communities which developed into their permanent residence of today, temples.

Meanwhile, Mahayana Buddhism was born and followed mainly by worshippers or devotees who maintained the stupa, and Buddhism rapidly spread. As the popularization of a religion inevitably brings forth religious rites, ceremonies held to worship the stupa that is to say the symbol or tomb of Sakyamuni developed based on the order of Mahayana Buddhism.

In Gandhara and Mathura of northern India, Sakyamuni used to be expressed in forms of the stupa, the Bodhi Tree, or footprints. Around the period Mahayana Buddhism came into existence, he began to be directly expressed. After the creation of Buddha statues, a great change burst forth the main object of worship.

The changing phenomenon of such object did not occur suddenly but in a sequence over a fixed period of time. Compared to the Buddha statue, the stupa had been the universal object of worship representing Sakyamuni in Buddhism for some time. Though the right time had come to express the Buddha statue, it was found as decorations such as Buddhist drawings or narrative reliefs on the stupa instead of being represented as the object of worship.

The statue of Buddha quickly became the object of worship as the stupa gradually lost its symbolism as Sakyamuni owing to the finitude of his sarira or remains. Moreover, the Buddha statue was more detailed and realistic in its form representing Sakyamuni and there were no restrictions to the construction of the statue unlike the stupa which had various restrictions.

In such process, the transition is shown in the external change of the stupa. In other words, the stupa was expressed as a structure that enshrines the Buddha statue and that functions both as a stupa and a hall. Afterwards, the Buddha statue was completely separated from the stupa and settled in as the main object of worship in a separate area.

In the early phase of Sakyamuni belief, whether it was through the stupa or the statue, Hinayana and Mahayana had different views. Hinayana Buddhism devoted to the original Buddhism that aimed to achieve the state of nirvana through self-practice and efforts based on the concepts and testaments preached by Sakyamuni, and not a Buddhist being, in the philosophical viewpoint before Buddhism officially became a religion. In Mahayana Buddhism, Buddha who had the powers to fulfill wishes and save the world was demanded for the devotees and those who managed the stupa which acted as the main agent in the creation of Mahayana Buddhism. Therefore, the fact that statue worshipping followed stupa worshipping was quite natural. However, the

worshipping of the stupa or the Buddha statue became generalized in both Buddhisms as time passed and such worshipping developed into significant worship rituals.

Though Hinayana Buddhism logically accepted the deification of Sakyamuni as their master and pioneer who founded Buddhism and achieved Buddhist laws, they did not accept the concept of believing in other gods. Thus, the concept of multiple gods in Mahayana Buddhism as an impractical change that was unacceptable in the means of maintaining the pureness of Buddhism.

The concept of multiple deities was expressed through various forms of Buddhist art, and the Buddha Triad is one of the main forms. The birth of the Buddha statue accomplished visualizing the limited symbol of Sakyamuni, but the representation and formation developed in other ways.

The original aim of the Buddha Triad that has two opposing Bodhisattvas flanking the main Buddha(Sakyamuni) was to mutually supplement and represent the powers and authority of the main Buddha. In Hinayana Buddhism, embodying gods and folk deities, besides Sakyamuni, introduced during the development of Mahayana Buddhism was an impossible idea that was unacceptable.

These changes in the history and art history of Buddhism affected the temple arrangements and led the two forms of Buddhism to create their temple according to their religious views.

At the beginning, only the stupa was arranged in the temple and in the next developmental phase the Buddha statue was arranged to decorate and supplement the stupa. Afterwards, the statue sat in the same level as the stupa functioning as a hall and a statue. In the last phase, the stupa and the Buddha statue were separated

from one another. It is likely that a reasonable arrangement order would have been demanded for the stupa and the statue. Until the authenticity of the statue overwhelmed the vested rights and the symbolism the stupa had, the hall was arranged behind the stupa.

Such change in the arrangement of the temples was shown in both Hinayana and Mahayana Buddhism. The opposing Buddha-kaya of the two forms led each Buddhism to display different temple arrangement. It is guessed that the Buddha Triad was an exclusive property which belonged to Mahayana Buddhism from a point of view that the Buddha was created with another god instead of Sakyamuni. In this change, the formation of the Buddha Triad had the stupa represent the main Buddha or the main Buddha enshrined in the stupa, or it was in the same formation as the two halls-one stupa which had the hall enshrining two flanking Bodhisattvas with the stupa in the center.

As a result, the form of one hall-one stupa belonged to Hinayana Buddhism and the form of two or three halls-one stupa belonged to Mahayana Buddhism.

Many common points are found in the process regarding the acceptance of Buddhism in Goguryeo that displayed the form of two or three halls-one stupa, and in Baekje that displayed the form of one hall-one stupa.

Buddhism in Goguryeo developed into Mahayana Buddhism after they accepted Buddhism through a monk from former Jin that was founded by a nomadic tribe situated on the dissemination route of the northern Buddhism. Baekje advanced south after they were invaded by countries founded by the nomadic tribe of the north, and this blocked them from trading through the Silk Road. Thus, they accepted Buddhism through an Indian monk who was staying in Eastern Jin. At that time, Hinayana Buddhism was in the mainstream of India. In Baekje, Risshu developed greatly based on Hinayana elements. Thus, it is analogized that the fact that Goguryeo accepted Mahayana Buddhism and that Baekje accepted Hinayana Buddhism caused the two countries to arrange their temples in different ways.

The two arrangement forms of one hall-one stupa and three halls-one stupa of Goguryeo and Baekje respectively developed into different forms of arrangement over the centuries. This was influenced by the Buddhist sects of Chinese Buddhism in the Sui and Tang dynasties which served Buddhist gods other than Sakyamuni according to their belief, and when the authenticity of the Buddha statue overshadowed the symbolism of the stupa.

Therefore, the main hall that used to flank the left and right side of the stupa, as shown in Hwangryongsa Temple, flanked both sides of the central hall. The Buddha statues that used to be enshrined inside a separate structure were developed into main halls in separate areas with the main Buddha in the center. Furthermore, the stupa that is to say the tomb of Sakyamuni was changed in its arrangement and it was put in areas of other forms of Buddha.

In the end, temples such as Bulguksa and Gameunsa were not influenced by the existing formation that had the stupa or the main hall in the center. Each temple created an independent area and formed Buddha's Land, and twin stupas were arranged on both sides of the main hall or the main temple in which Sakyamuni Buddha was enshrined. The stupa therefore lost its function of symbolizing Sakyamuni and flanked the Buddha statue.

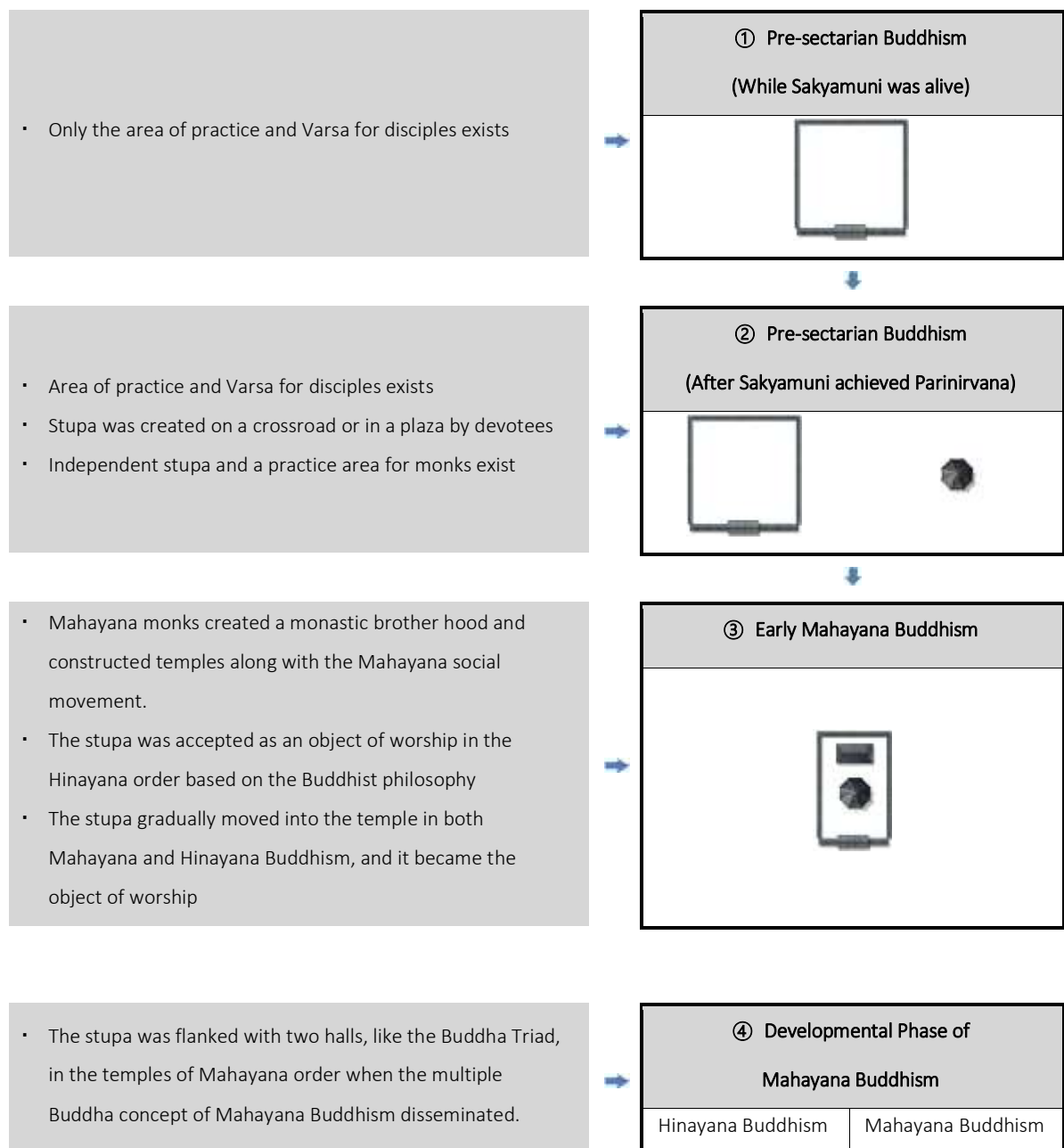
The study examined the changing patterns of temples in Eastern Asia with remains of ancient temples in Korea. The study did not limit itself within the architecture of ancient China to examine the origin of ancient temples of East Asia unlike the previous studies that focused on superficial elements with a lack of evidence due to the logical jumps.

Based on the proposition and principle that architecture functions as a bowl for holding culture, philosophy and era, the different temple arrangement forms of Goguryeo and Baekje are presumed to have been caused by the inner change within Buddhism. As a result of considering the overall history of Buddhism including the acceptance of Mahayana Buddhism in Goguryeo and Hinayana Buddhism in Baekje, the competition between the stupa and the Buddha statue inside the temples to rise

as the main object of worship caused the temple arrangement forms to differ in Goguryeo, Baekje and Silla.

In conclusion, it is considered that the changing patterns of Buddhist temples in East Asia are able to be analogized. Moreover, the meaning of the temple remains of Korea is regarded significant as historical records.

[Table 2] Presumption of the Changing Pattern in Temple Arrangement

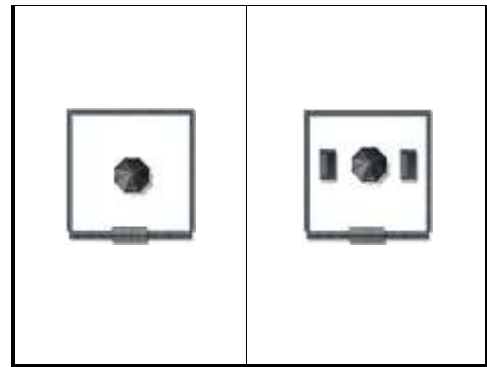


- Hinayana logically accepted the deification of Sakyamuni as the founder, pioneer and master of Buddhism, but they did not accept other forms of Buddha and Bodhisattva. Therefore, the temple arrangement of the former period were preserved.
- The Buddha statue, which used to decorate the stupa, combined with the stupa and the stupa functioned as a stupa and a hall.

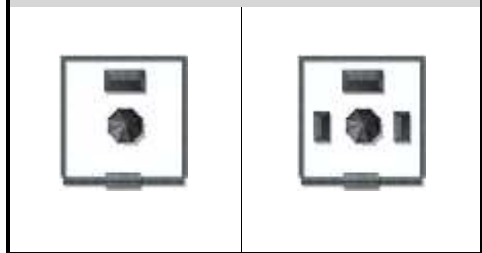
- The stupa, which used to function as Sakyamuni's tomb and symbolize him, began to rise as the object of worship with its simple construction methods, authenticity and concreteness, and it overwhelmed the stupa.
- The Buddha statue was separated from the stupa and enshrined in an independent hall.
- Inside the temple, the stupa was situated in front of the hall as the object of worship.

- The existing form that had the halls flanking both sides of the stupa were arranged to flank the main hall at the back.
- With the halls flanking the central hall, an implicit boundary is formed between the stupa and the hall
- Areas for different forms of Buddha and Bodhisattvas were created, and the stupas were arranged in an independent area by the influence of sect Buddhism and pure land belief.

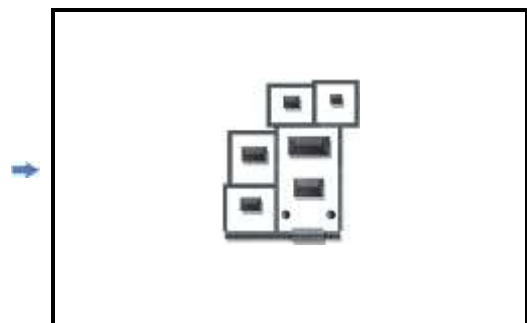
- The belief of multiple Buddhas and pure land developed, and each area of a Bodhisattva that used to be arranged symmetrically with the main hall in the center formed Buddha's Land by being arranged freely with the main hall in the center.
- When stupas lost their symbolic function, stupas flanked the front of the main hall



④ Developmental Phase of Mahayana Buddhism



⑤ Mahayana Buddhism in the Mainstream



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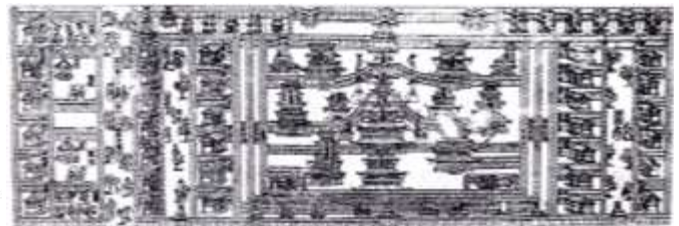
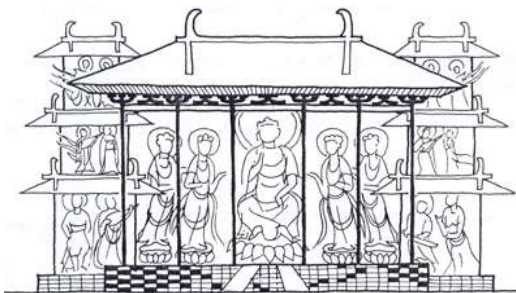
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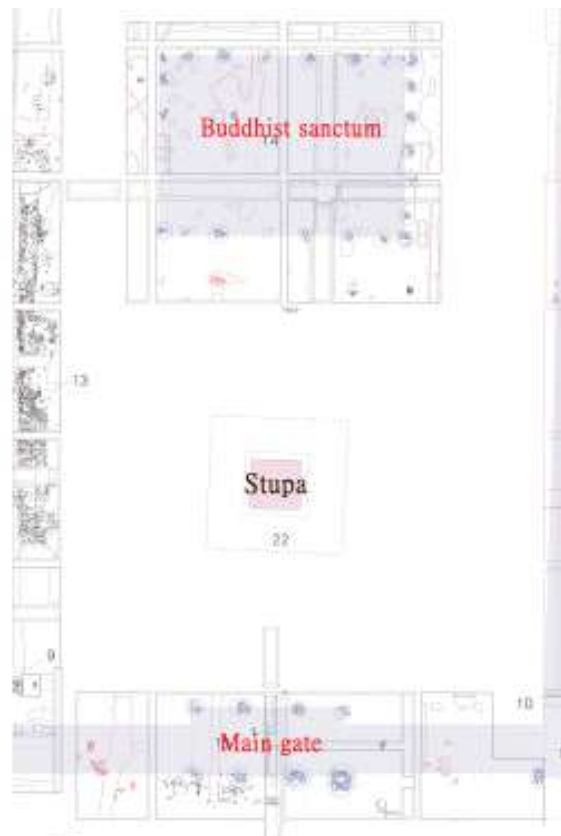


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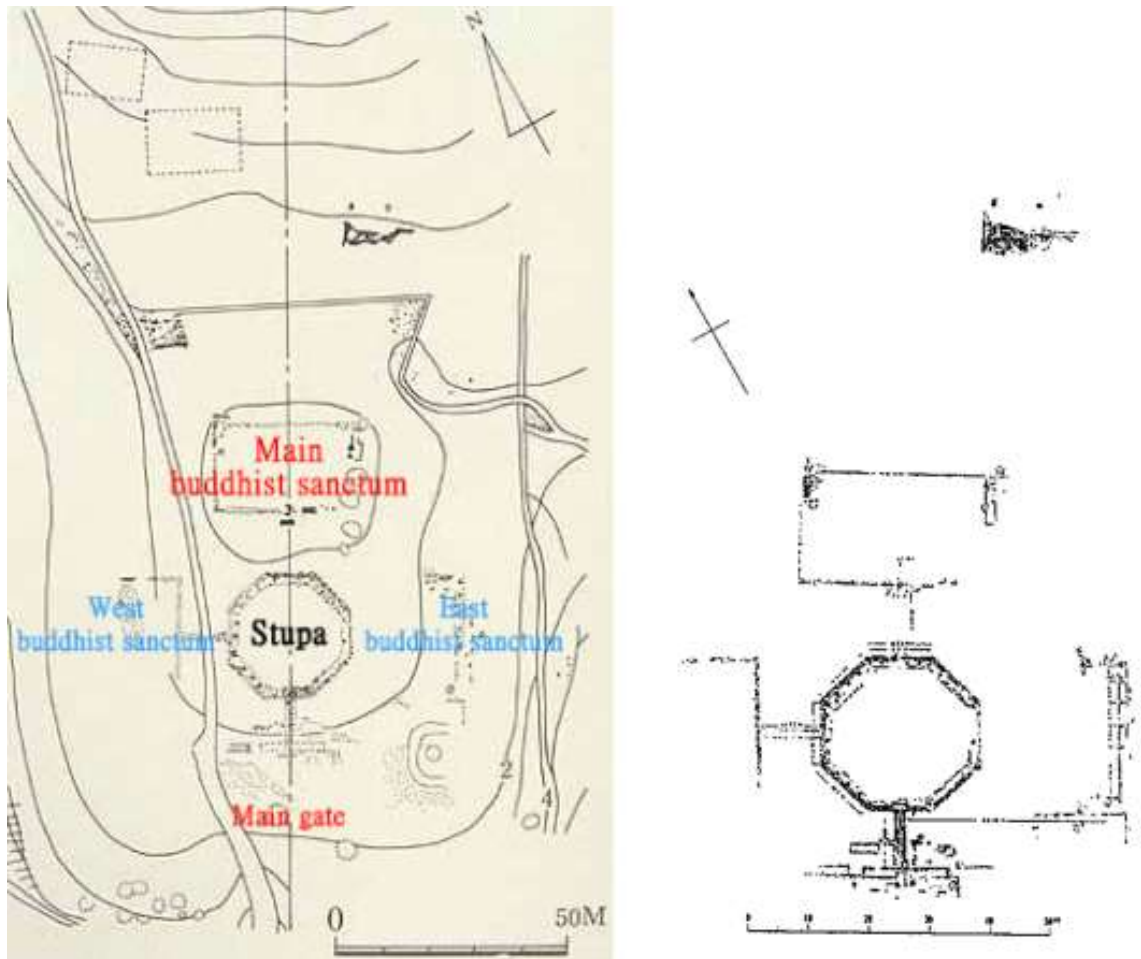


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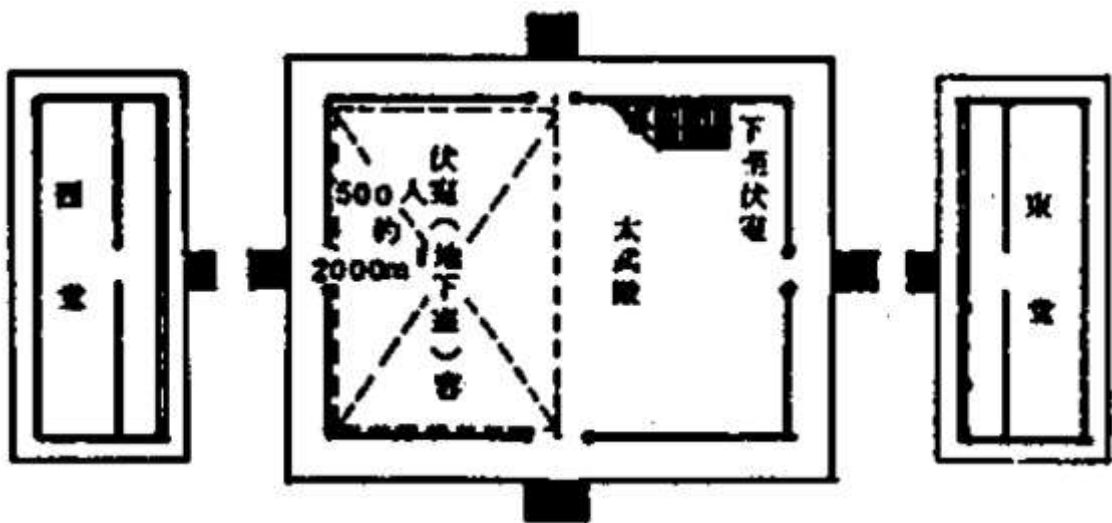
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史記卷二十七

漢 太 史 令司馬遷 撰

宋中 郎外 兵曹 參 軍裴 駟集解

唐國子博士弘文館學士司馬貞索隱

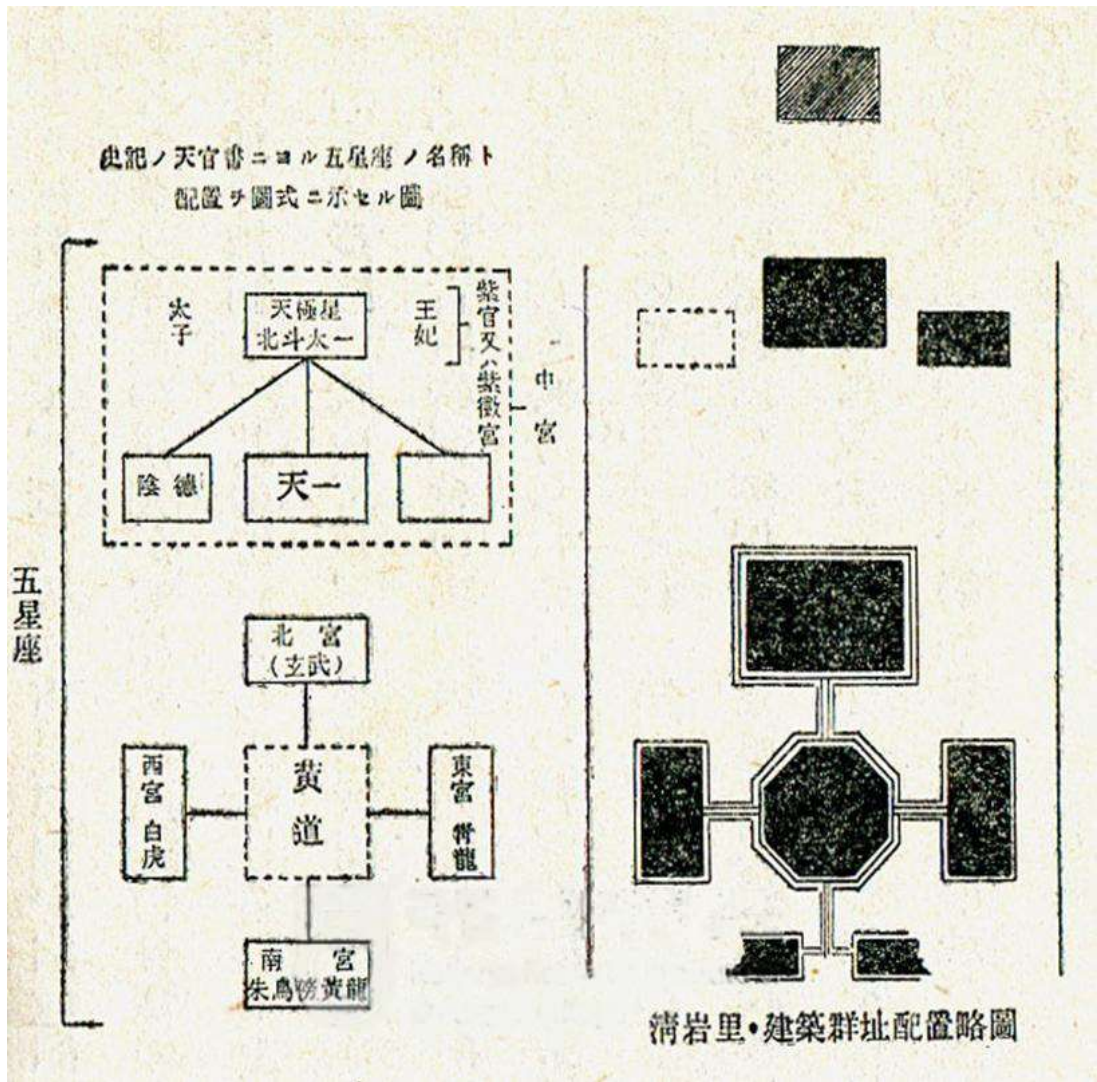
唐諸王侍讀率府長 史張守節正義

天官書第五

索隱案天文有五官官者星官也星座有尊卑若人之官曹列位故曰天官**正義**張衡云文曜麗乎天其動者有七日月五星是也日者陽精之宗月者陰精之宗五星五行之精眾星列布體生於地精成於天列居錯峙各有所屬在野象物在朝象官在人象事其以神著有五列焉是有三十五名一居中央謂之北斗四布於方各七為二十八舍日月運行歷示吉凶五緯躔

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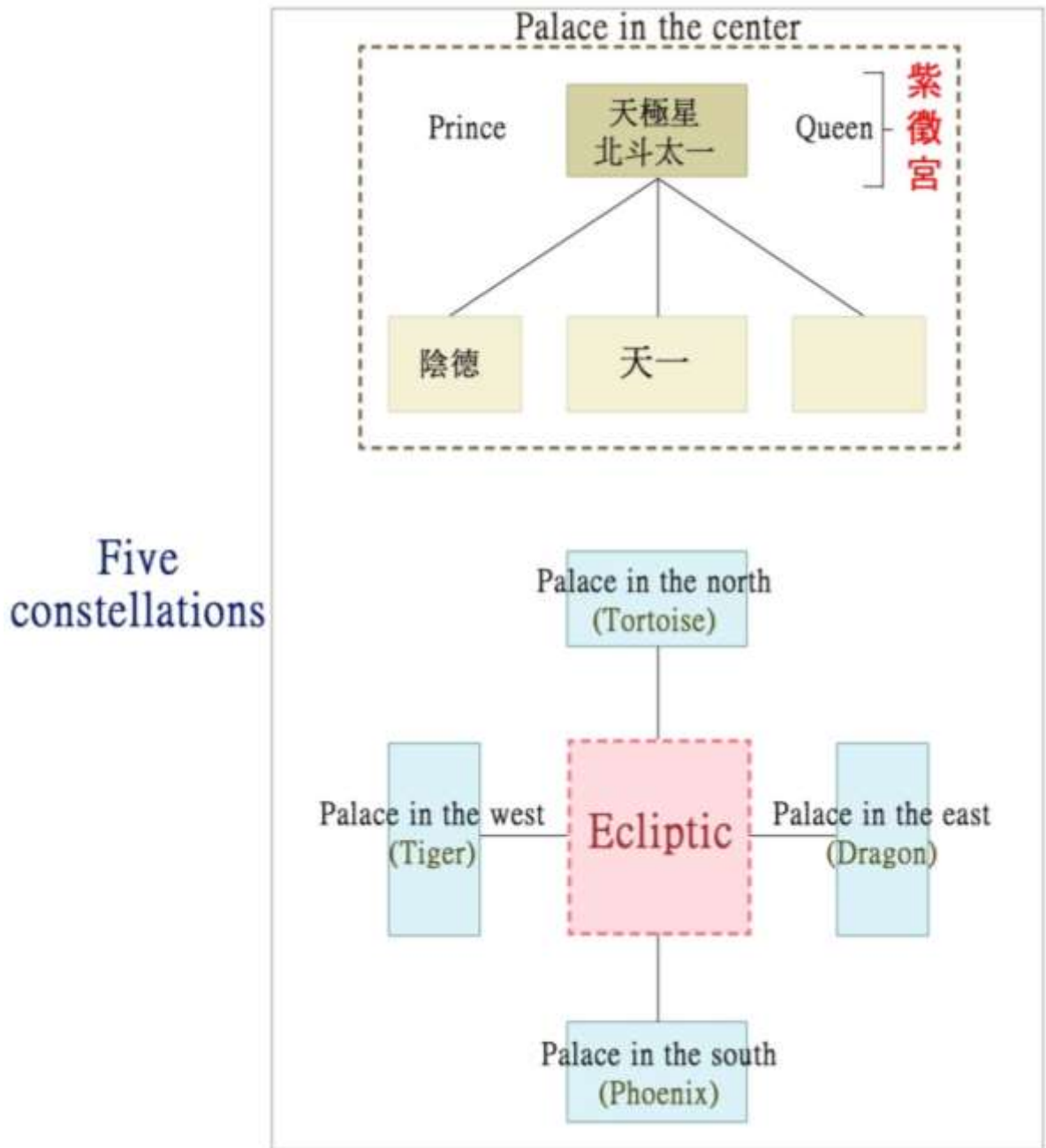
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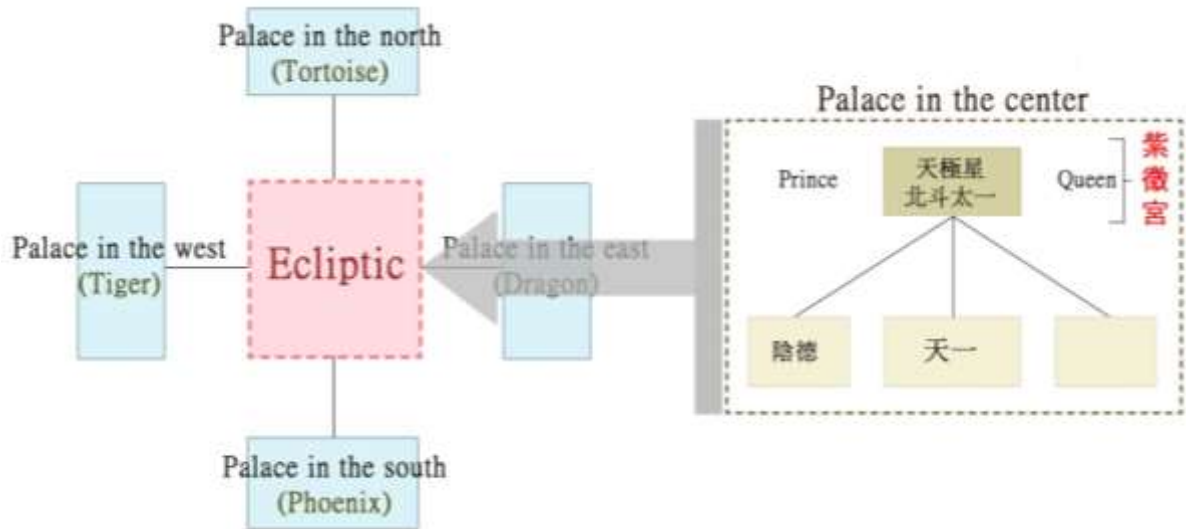
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Source: Miyoji Yoneda (米田美代治著), 朝鮮上代建築の研究 / Chōsen jōdai kenchiku no kenkyū / A research on ancient Korean Architecture. P. 93



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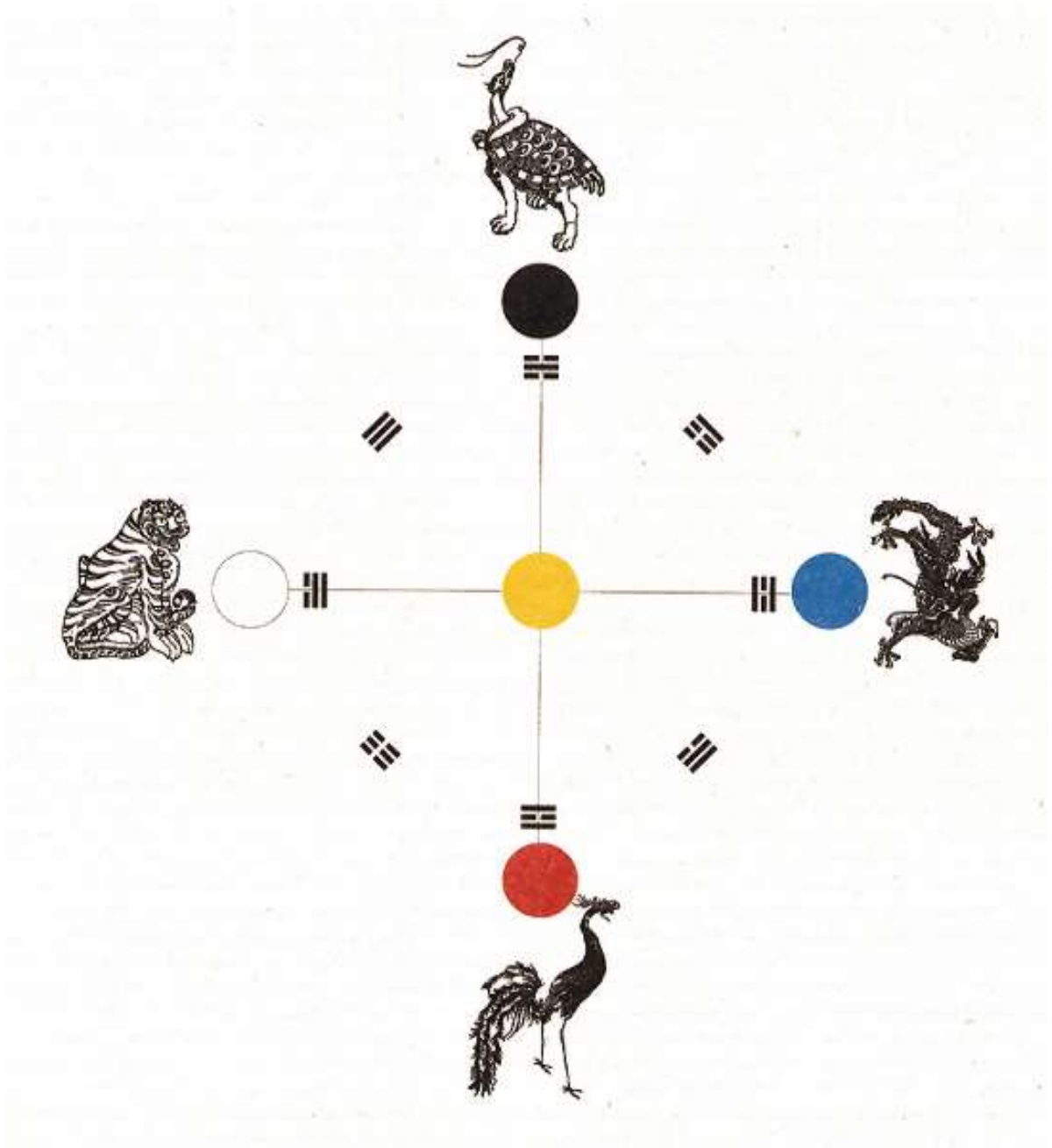
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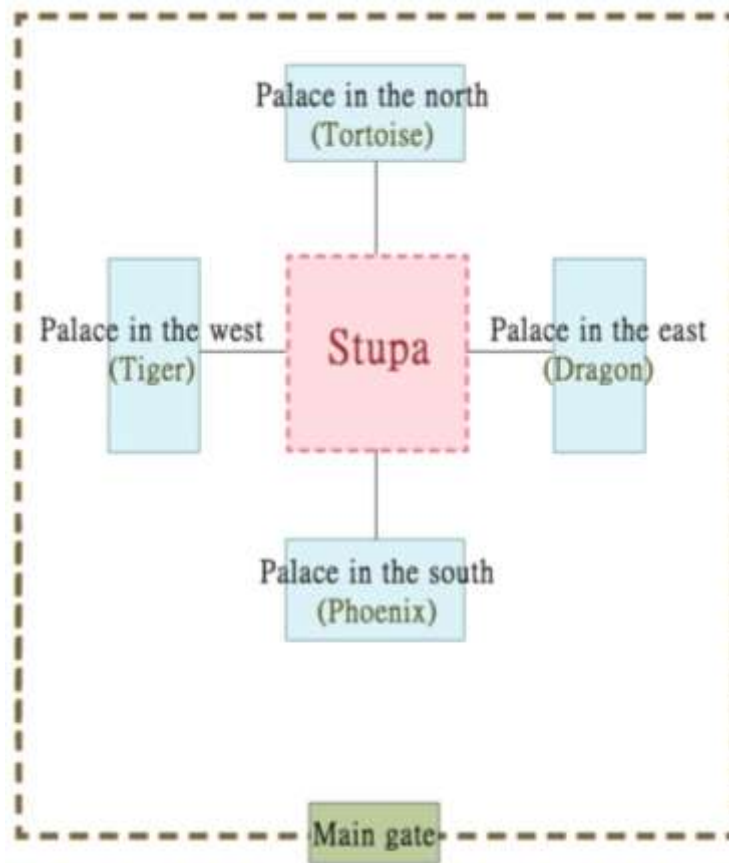
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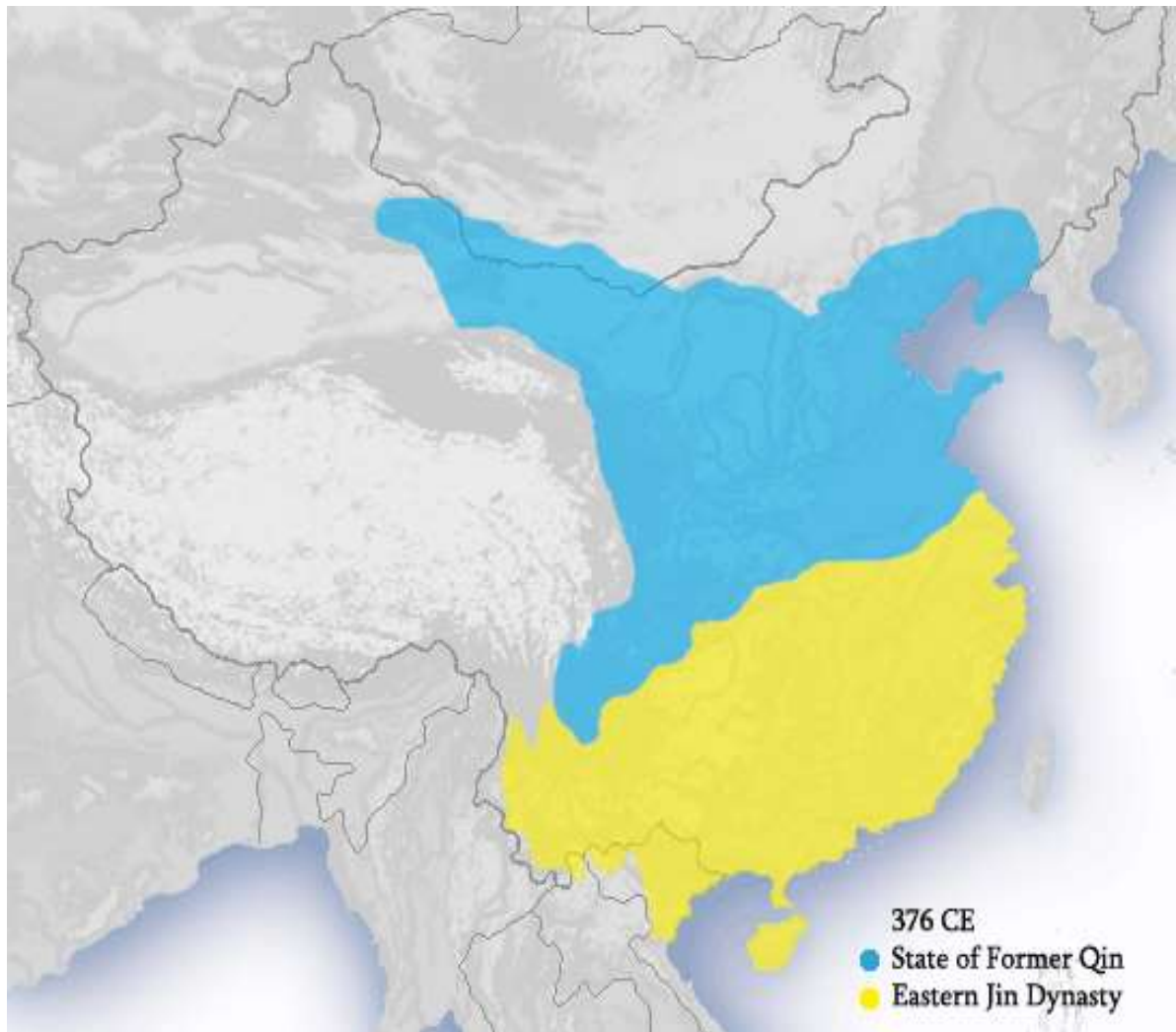
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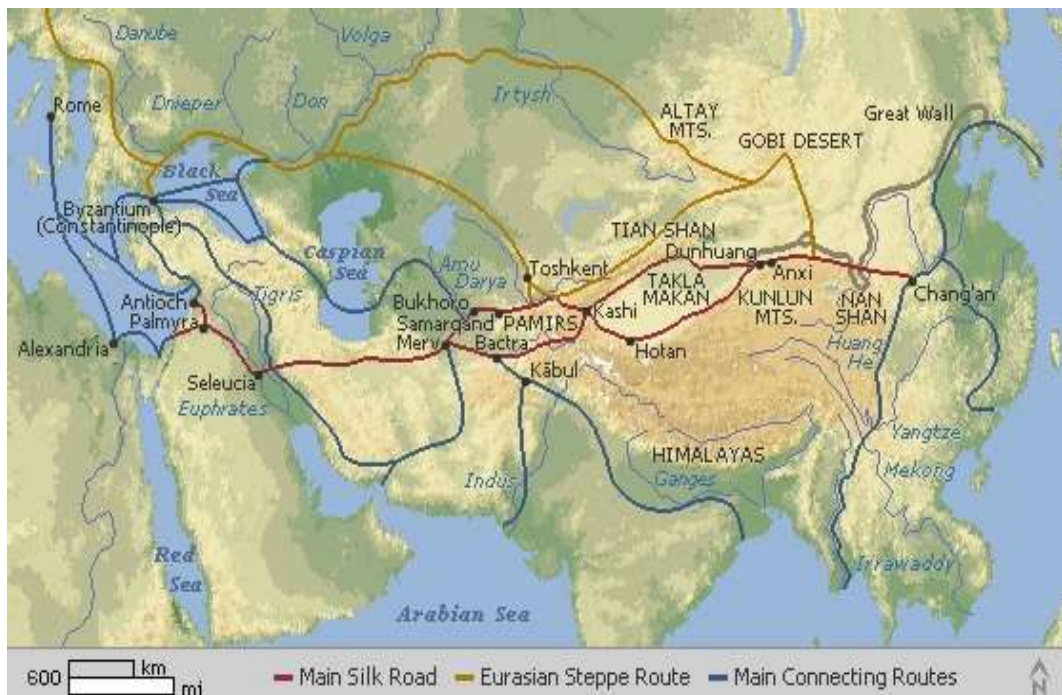
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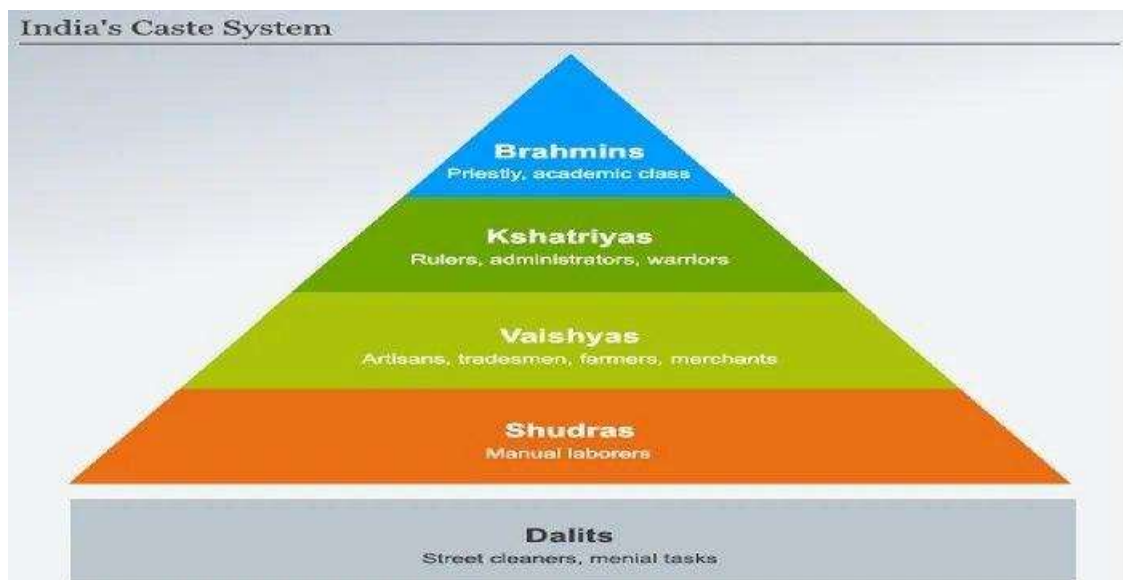
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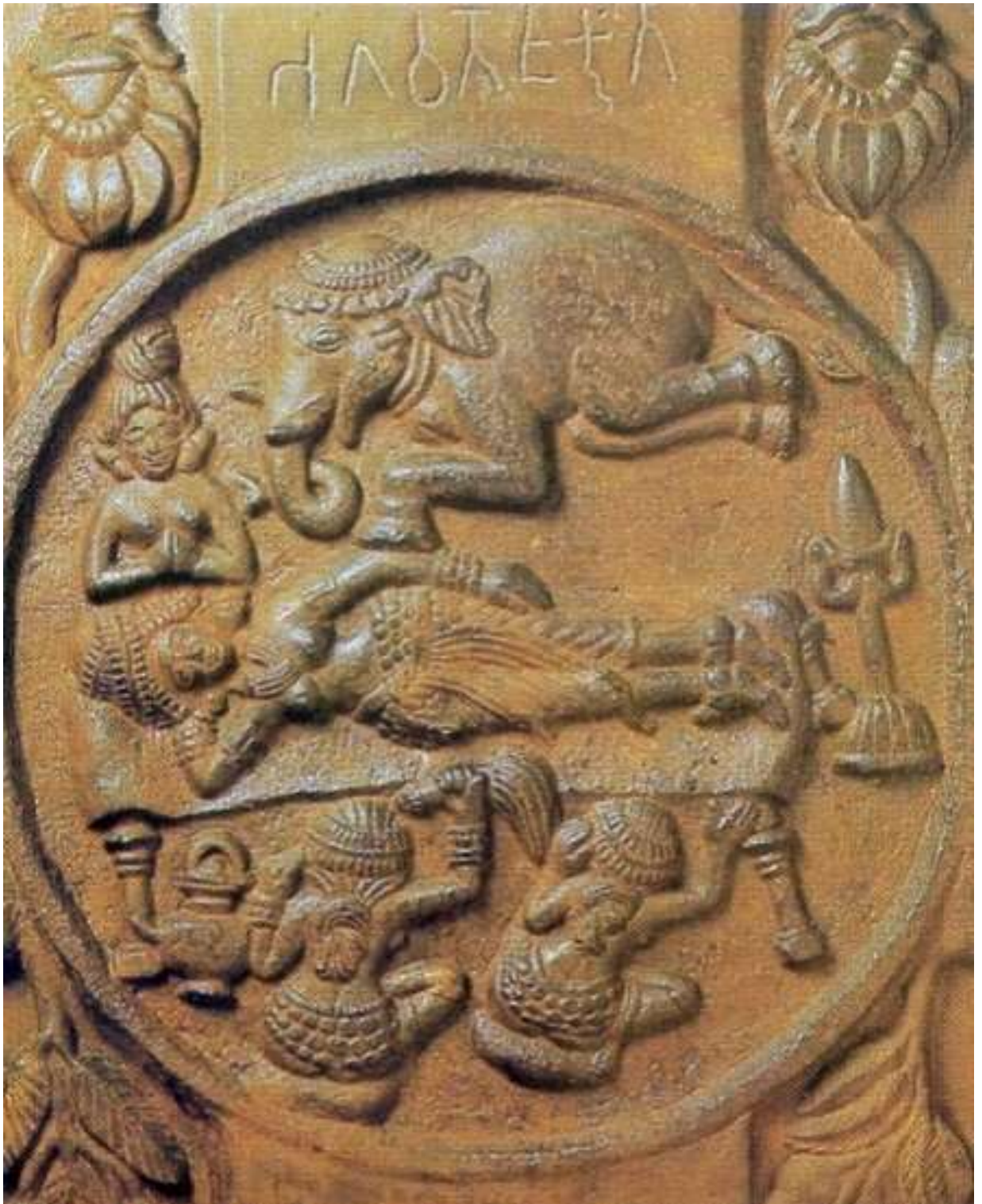
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[Figure 35] The 4 Great Places of Pilgrimage. Source: Juhyung Lee. Map modified from source: https://www.blog.is/users/d8/sigurdurmar/img/map-india.png?img_id=1213191



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Source: see list of images



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[Figure 51] Vajradhātu-mandala, a type of mandala. Source: Mason S Penelope. *History of Japanese Art*. Pg. 44.

Also available in: <https://archive.kaskus.co.id/thread/14846363/www.borobudur.tv>



[Figure 52] Garbhadhā-tu-Mandala.

Mason S Penelope. *History of Japanese Art*. Pg. 44.

Also available in: <https://namu.wiki/w/%ED%8C%8C%EC%9D%BC:external/www.bukon.idv.tw/a27c.jpg>



[Figure 53] Hindu God, Mahishasura Mardini,
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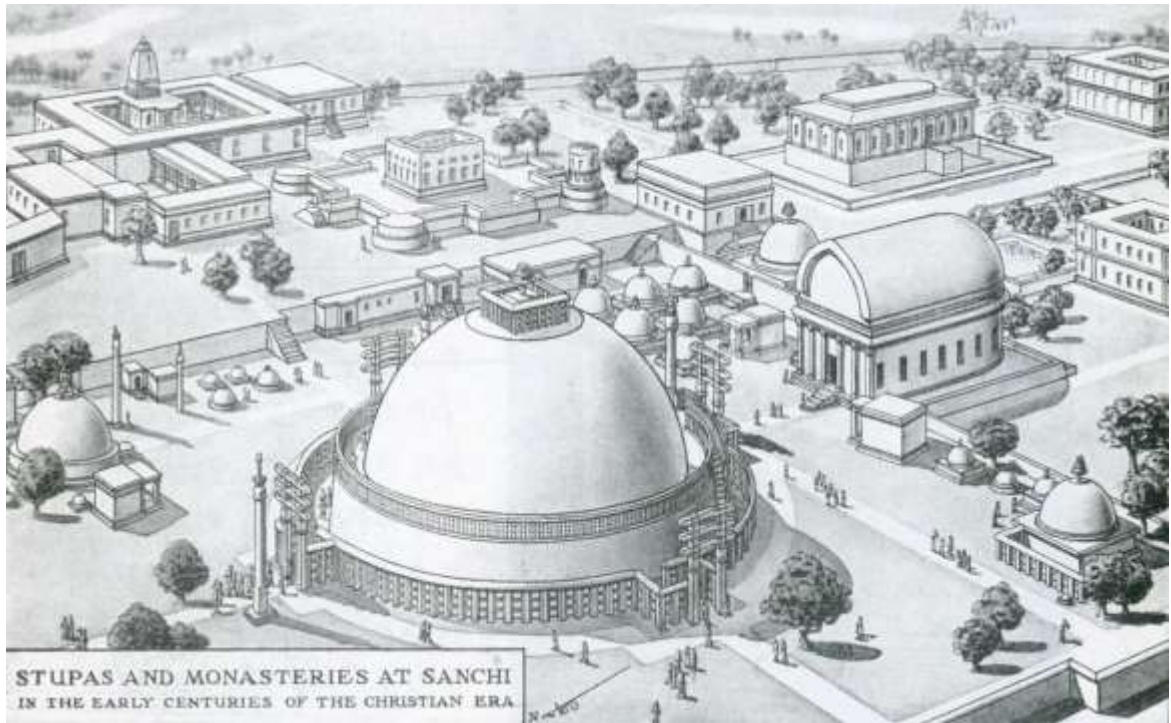
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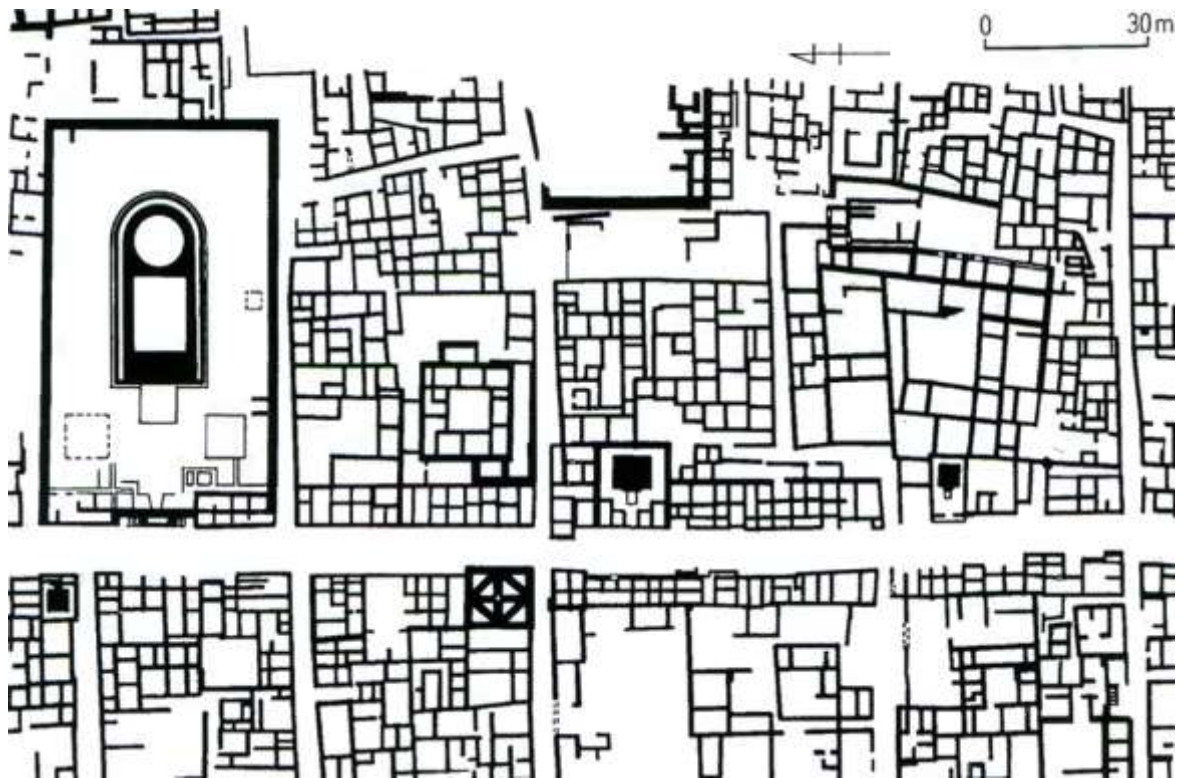
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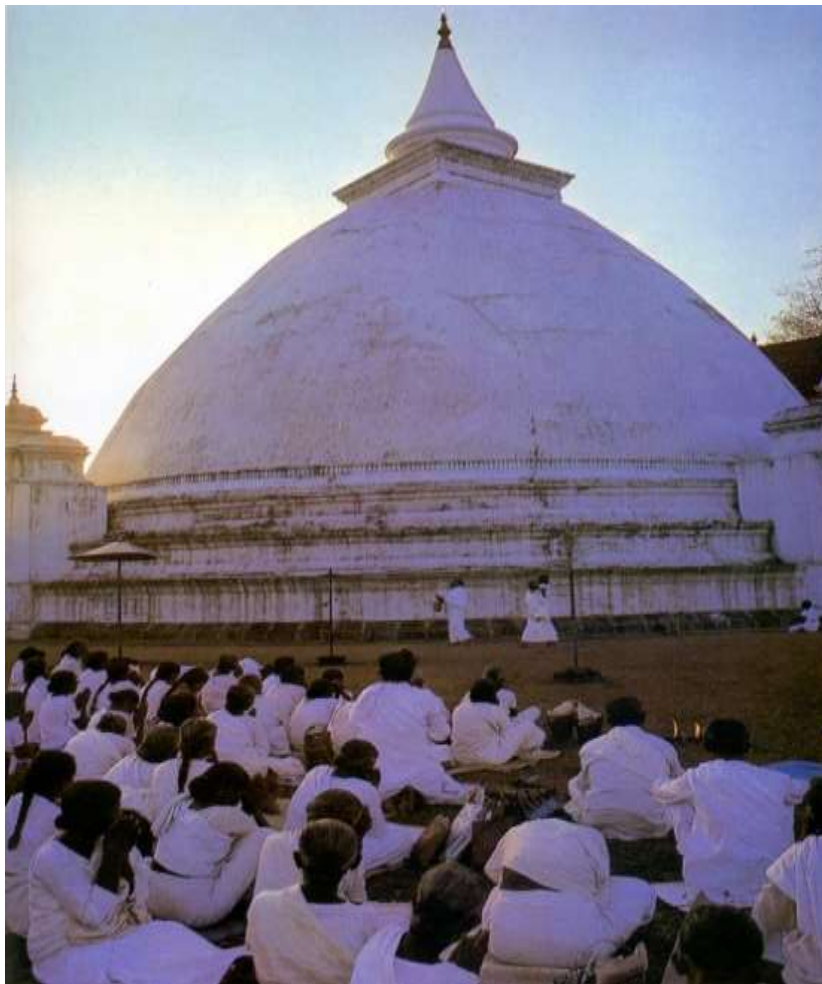
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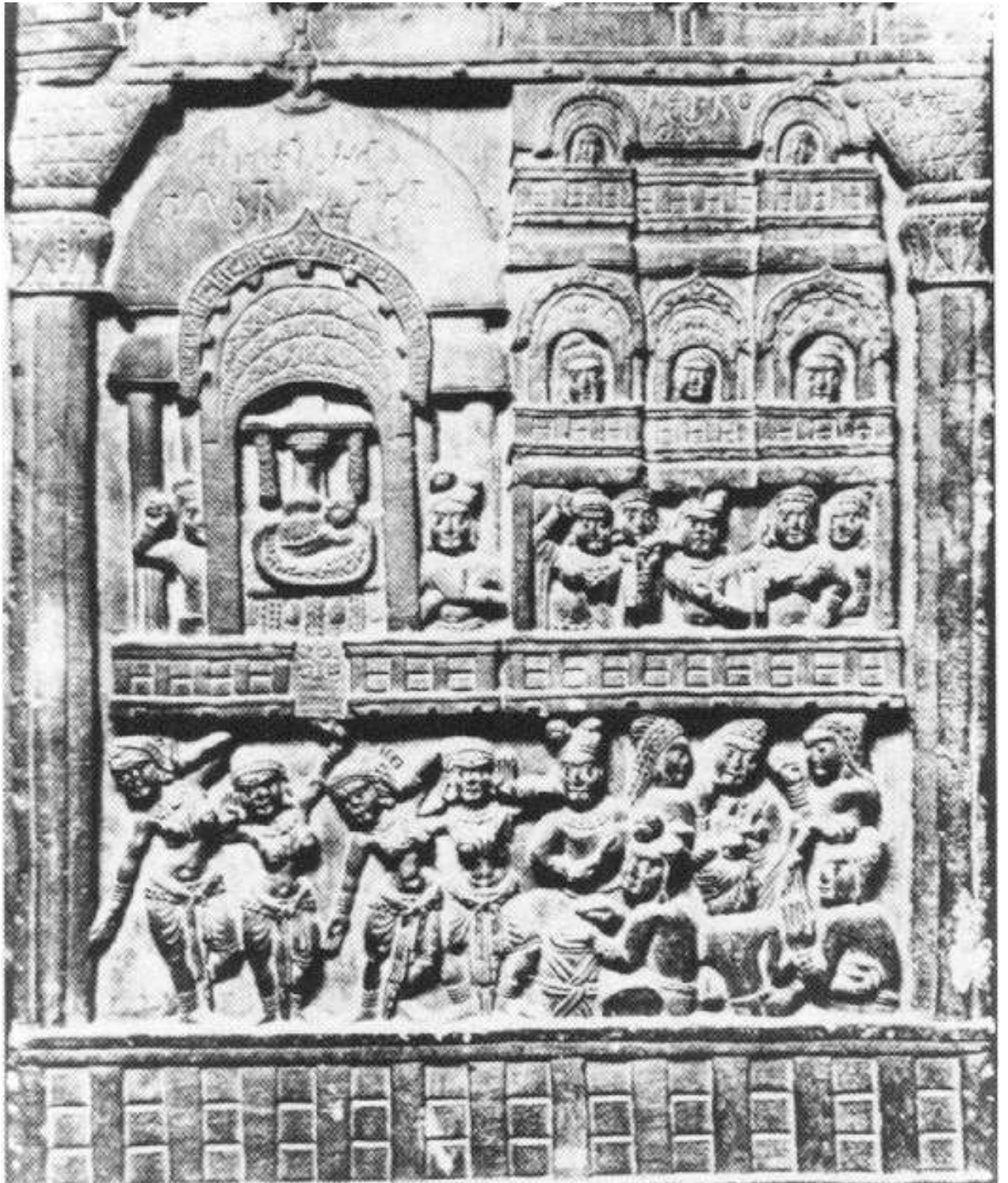
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[Figure 59] Devotees worshipping stupa. Source: Juhyung Lee



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[Figure 64] Statue of Maitreya, 2nd Century, Excavated in Sanxi, Kyoto of Japan, Yurinkan Museum.

Source: J. M. Cabeza.

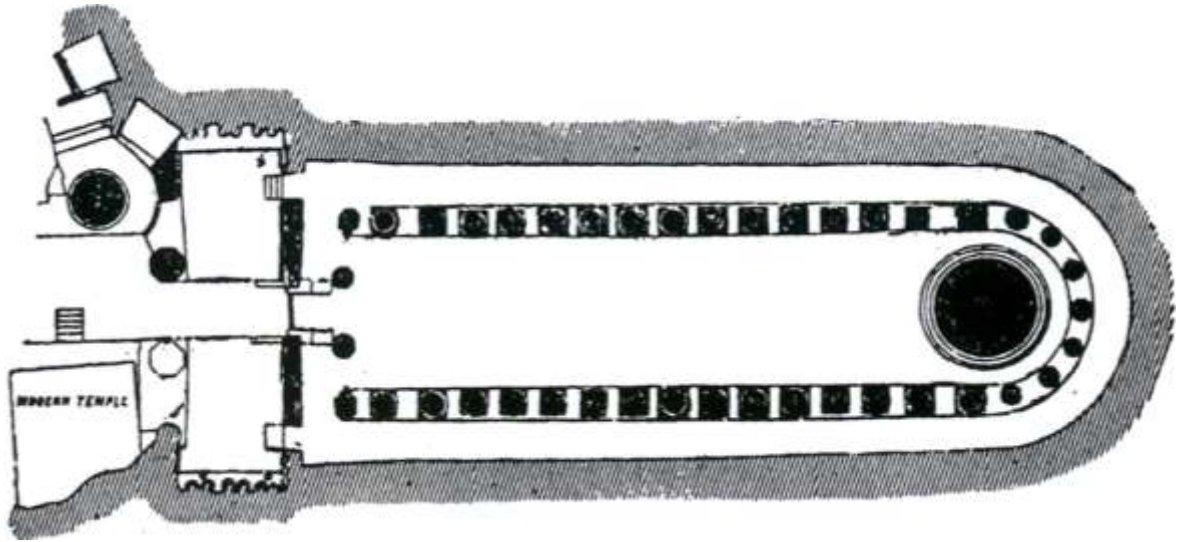


[Figure 65] Wooden Statue of Avalokitesvara, 11th Century, Nelson Atkins Museum of Art, China. Source: J.M. Cabeza.

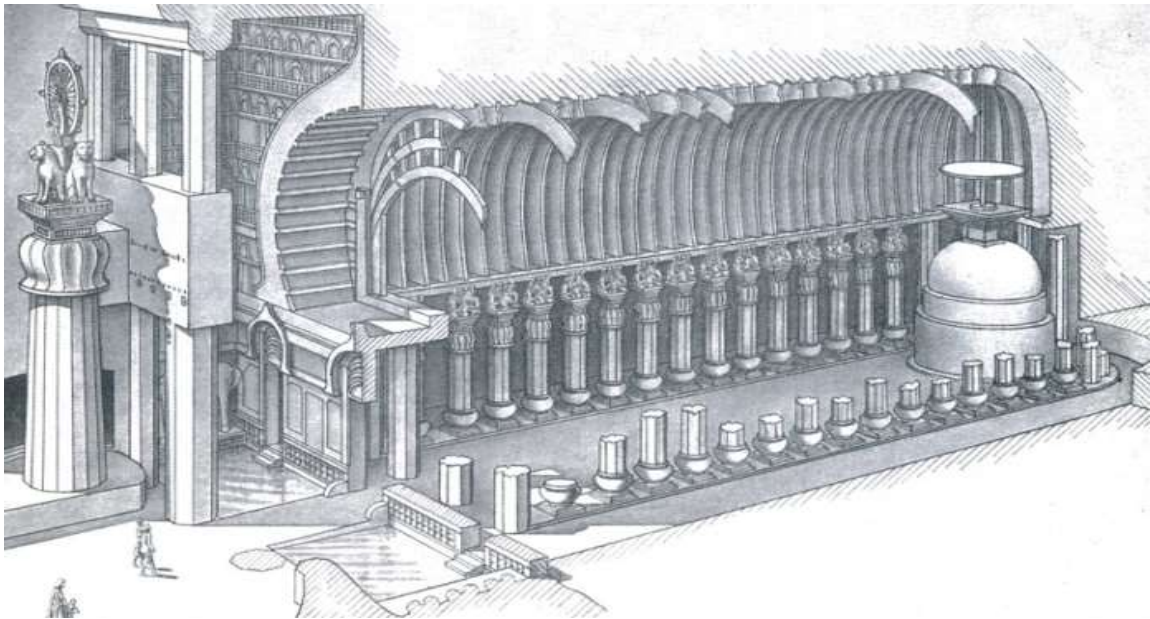


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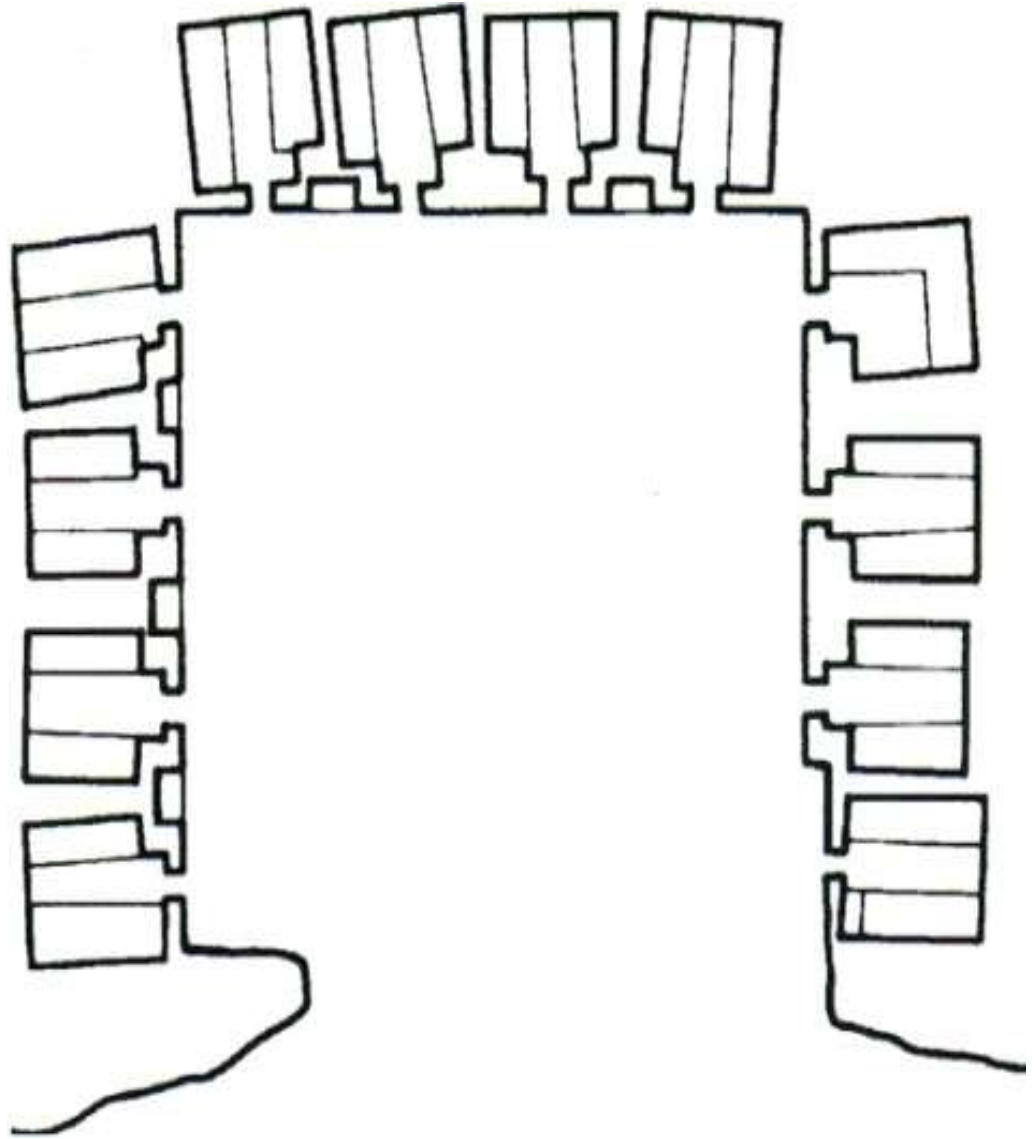


[Figure 70] Karli Cave. Source:

<https://www.theosofie.net/sunrise/sunrise2006/novdec2006/illustraties/ellora.html#karli>



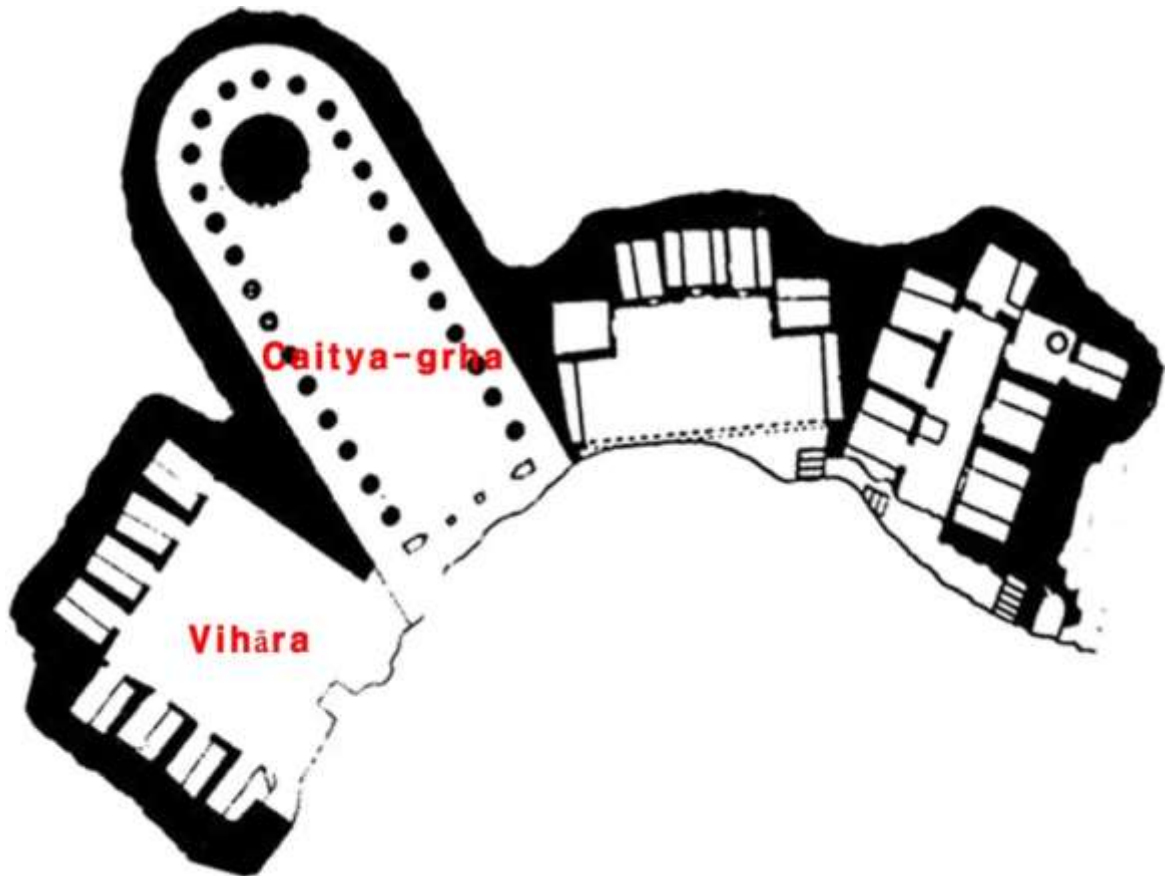
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[Figure 74] Floor Plan of Bājā Cave, Mumbai of India. Source: Kamiya, Takeo. *Architectural Guide to India* (in Japanese).P. 115



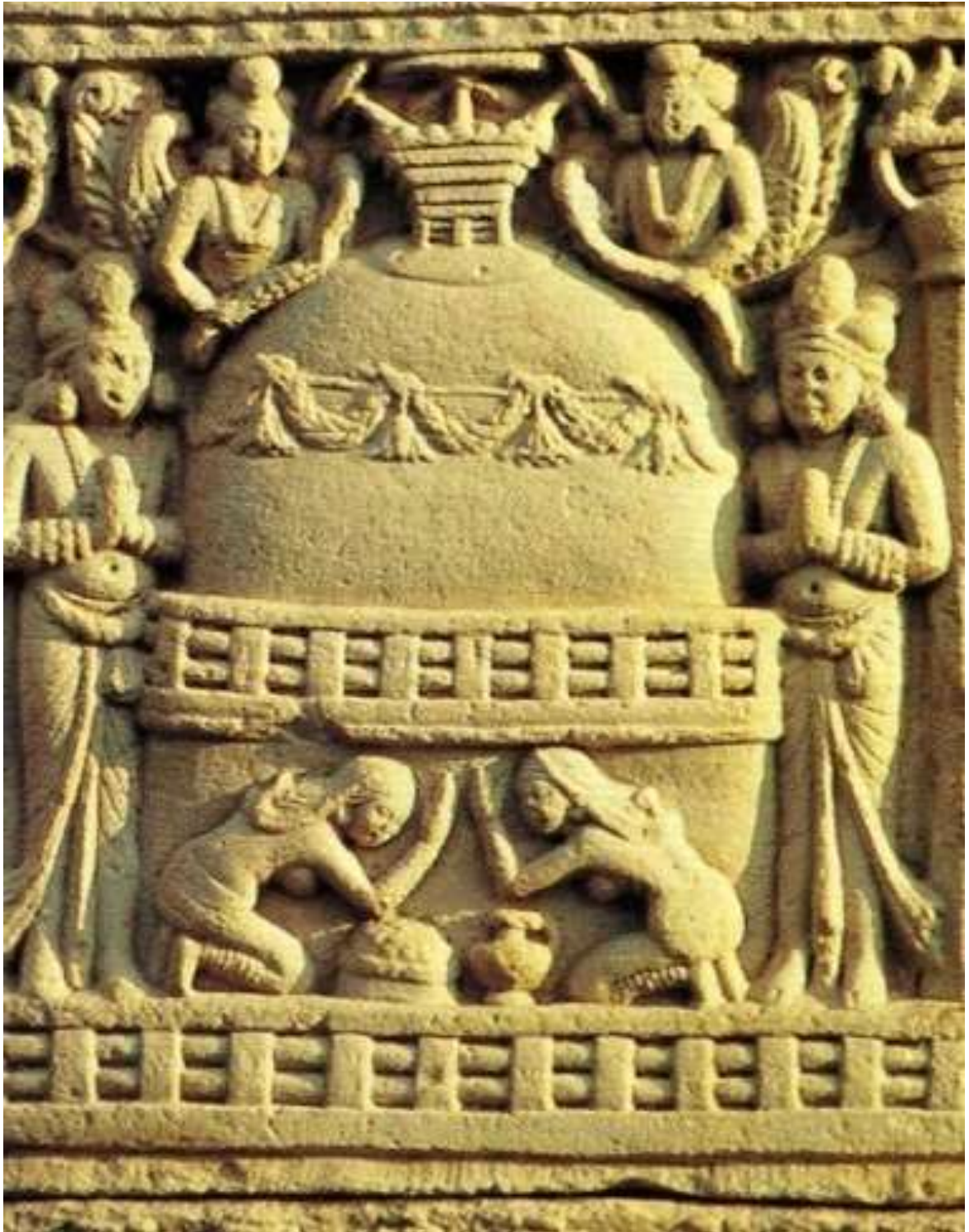
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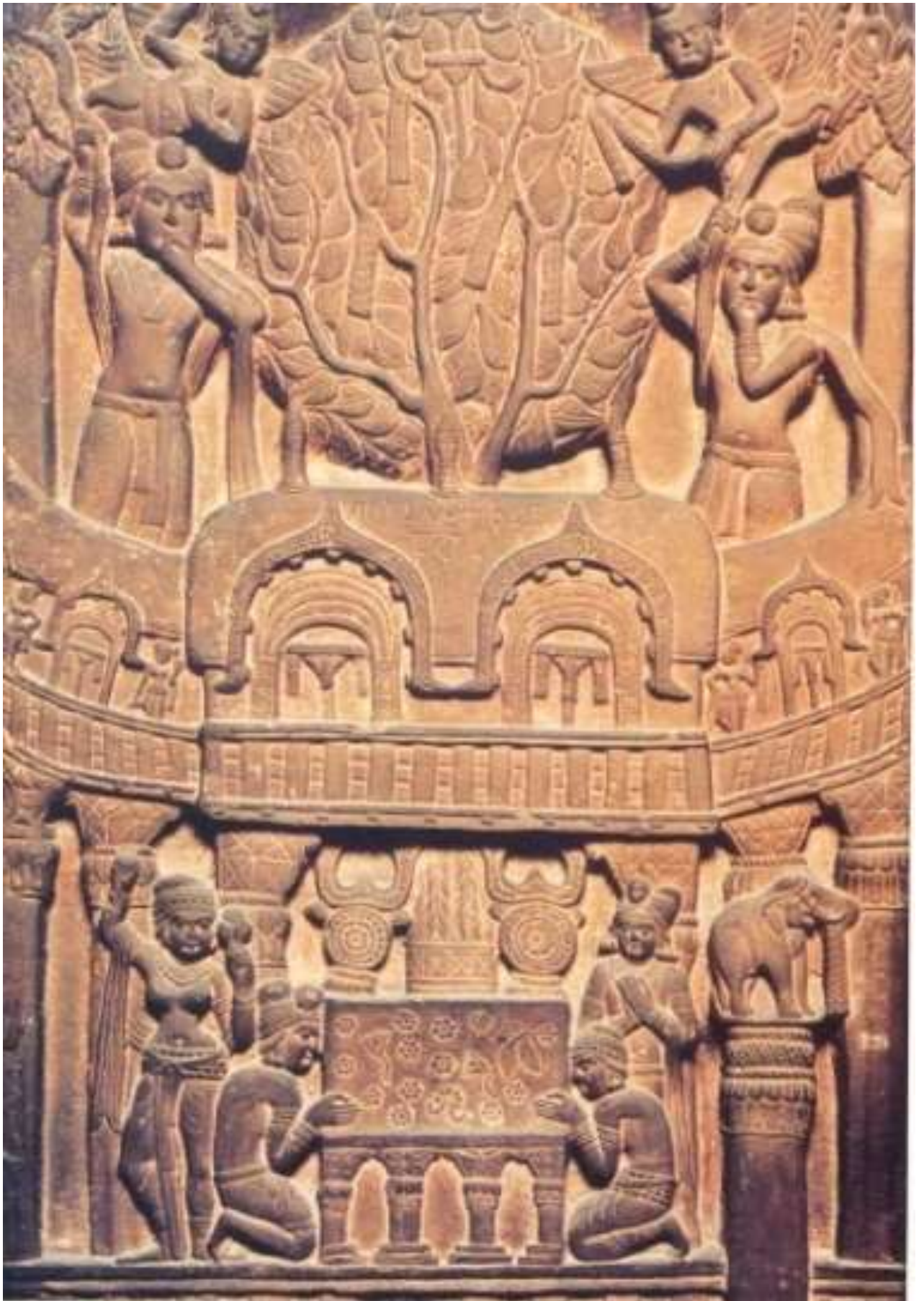
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[Figure 92] Bactria Hermeios(front) and Zeus(Back), 1st Century B.C.. Source: Gómez de Liaño, I. *El círculo de la sabiduría I*. P. 314.



[Figure 93] Kanishka(Front) of the Kushan Dynasty and Buddha(Back), 2nd Century, The British Museum.

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[Figure 94] Territory of the Greco-Bactrian Kingdom

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[Figure 96] Greek Buddhist Art of Gandhara, end of 1st Century, excavated in Peshawar of Pakistan, Peshawar Museum of Pakistan. Source: Juhjung Lee.

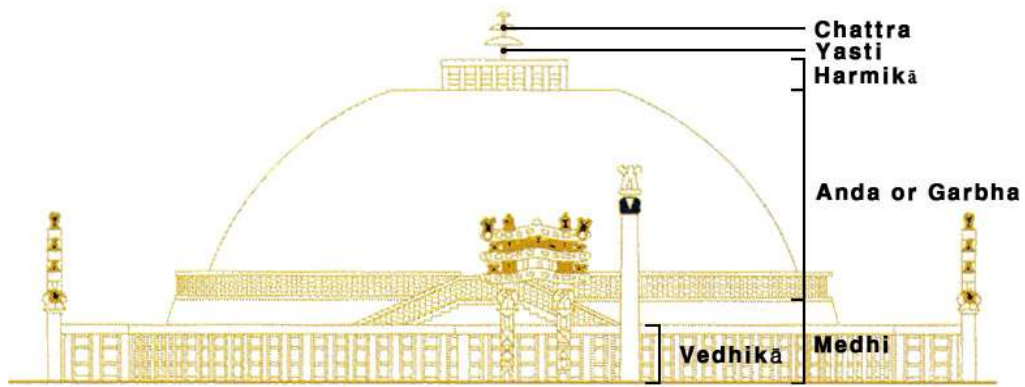


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[Figure 98] A Mathura statue of the Buddha, different to the Buddha statue of Gandhara, in the early 3rd Century, excavated from Mathura of India, Mathura Museum of India. Source:

Montgomery, Daniel. *Fire in the Lotus*.P. 32



[Figure 99] Name of Stupa Components. Source: Desimaru, Taisen. *Questions to A Zen Master*. P. 43



[Figure 100]. The Great Stupa at Sanchi, Eastern Gateway. Source:

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sanchi#/media/File:East_Gateway_-_Stupa_1_-_Sanchi_Hill_2013-02-21_4398.JPG



[Figure 101] The Great Stupa (Stupa No.1) of Sanchi. Source:
<http://m.jogyesa.kr/news/articleView.html?idxno=5122>



[Figure 102] Relief on Outer Wassa, Ajanta Cave No. 9, (Hee-Bong Lee, *Formative Interpretations of the Original Stupas of India, Studies on the Architectural History*, 2009, p.112)



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[Figure 106] Upper part of Silsangsa Temple, Namwon, Korea. Source: Juhyung Lee.



[Figure 107] Relief of Middle Layer Type Stupa, Late 5th Century, Wongang Cave of China. Source: <http://blog.daum.net/notie1/7929398>



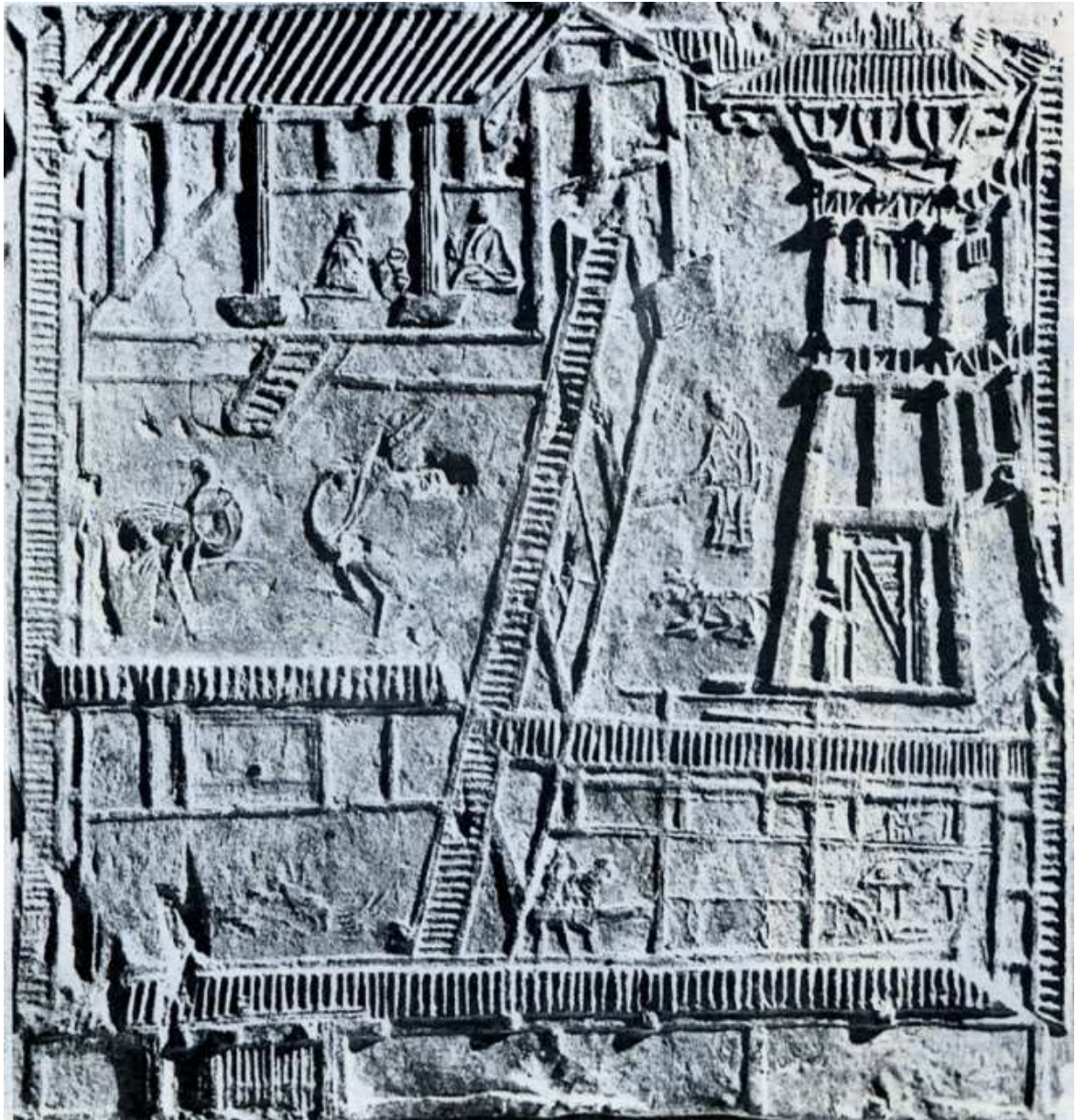
[Figure 108] Relief of Wooden Stupa, Ungang Cave No. 6. Source: Hogan, Michael, *Silk Road, North China*. P. 72.



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[Figure 110] Seokgatap of Bulgungsa(佛宮寺 釋迦塔) established in 1065, China. Source: Juhjung Lee.



[Figure 111] Anterior wall displaying watch-tower of the Han Dynasty(漢代, B.C. 206~A.D. 220). Source: Hogan, Michael, *Silk Road, North China*.P.75.



[Figure 112] Pottery of watch-tower of the Han Dynasty(漢代, B.C. 206~A.D. 220).

Source: Hogan, Michael, *Silk Road, North China*.P.140.



[Figure 113] Stupa No. 2 at Sanchi. Source: Takeo Kamiya. *Architectural Guide to India* (in Japanese). P. 134.



[Figure 114] Shingerdar, 2nd-3rd Century, Swat of Pakistan. Source: Takeo Kamiya. *Architectural Guide to India* (in Japanese). P. 201.



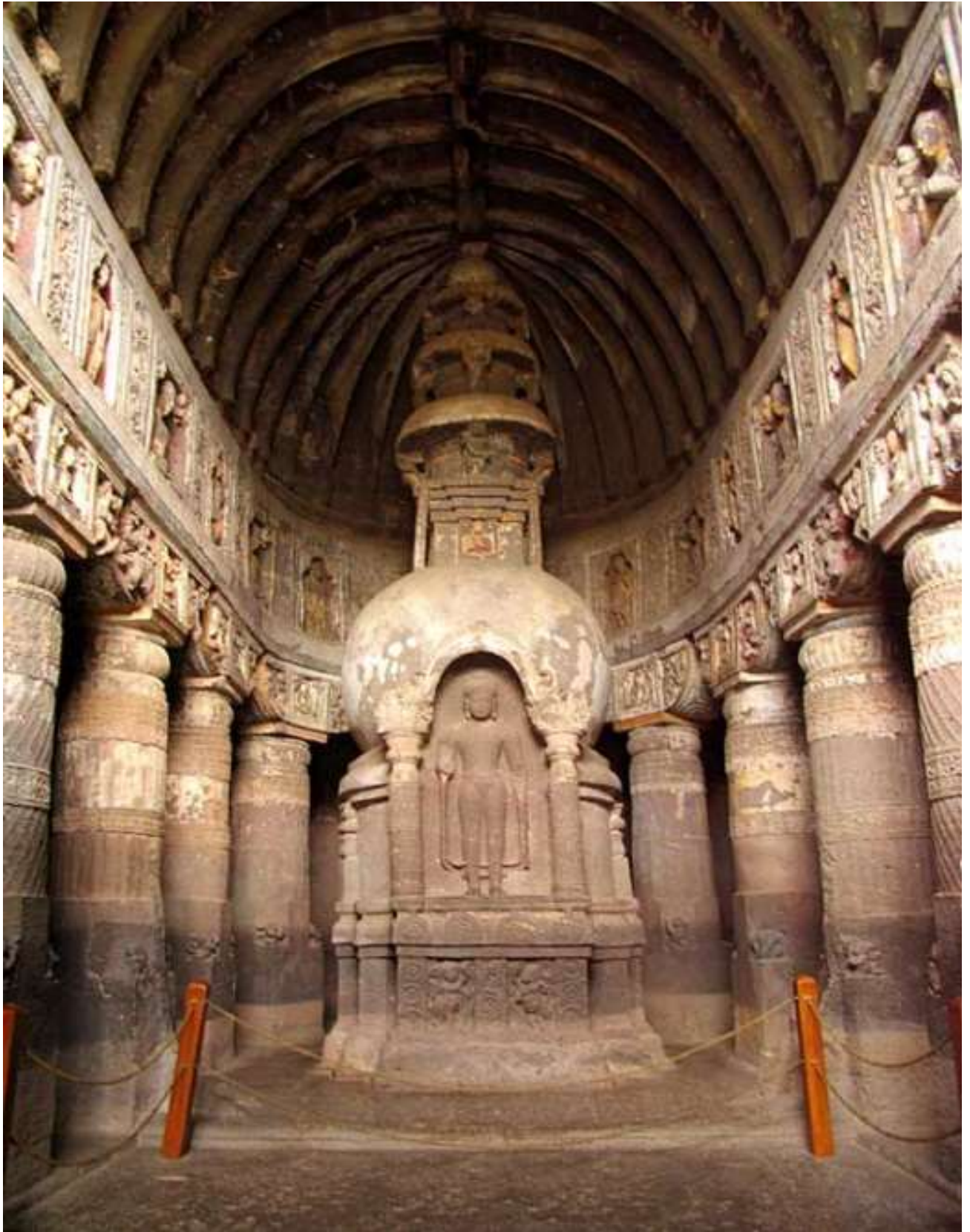
[Figure 115] Stupa excavated in Sikri, Lahore Museum. Source: Juhyung Lee.



[Figure 116] Stupa excavated in Taxila, 1st-3rd Century. Source: Juhyung Lee.



[Figure 117] Stupa in Ajanta Cave No.26, 4th-5th Century, India. Source:
Kamiya, Takeo. *Architectural Guide to India* (in Japanese). P. 67



[Figure 118] Stupa in Ajanta Cave No.19, 4th-5th Century, India. Source: Kamiya, Takeo. *Architectural Guide to India* (in Japanese). P. 69



[Figure 119] Paintings of the Dome Stupa, 5th-6th Century, Dunhuang Cave of China. . Source: Hogan, Michael, *Silk Road, North China*. P. 63.



[Figure 120] Mural showing a stupa with a smaller dome, 5th-6th Century, Dunhuang Cave of China. Source: Hogan, Michael, *Silk Road, North China*. P. 116.



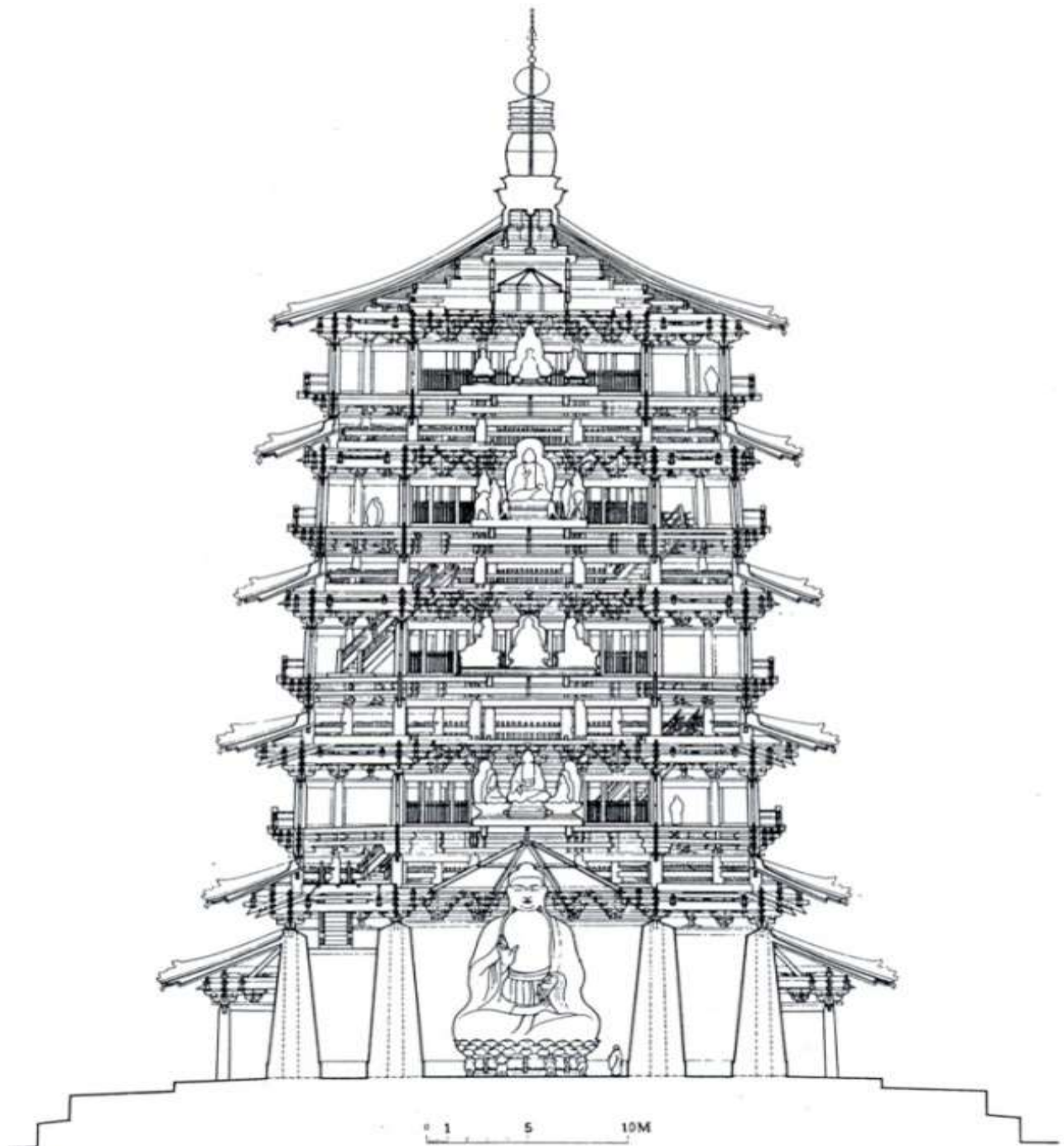
[Figure 121] Small Stupa, 2nd-3rd Century, Peshawar Museum of India. Source: Juhyung Lee



[Figure 122] Small Stupa, 2nd-3rd Century, Peshawar Museum of India. Source: Juhung Lee.



[Figure 123] Wooden Stupa, Bulguksa Temple (1056, Shanxi of China). Source: Juhjung Lee.



[Figure 124] Cross section of the wooden stupa in Bulguksa Temple, 1056 年, Shanxi of China. Drawing by Namjeung Park. Source: Liu, *Zhongguo gudai jianzhu shi*.P. 218. Also available in : <https://www--jstor--org.us.debiblio.com/stable/pdf/3250078.pdf>



[Figure 125] Small Stupa decorated with Buddhist Art, Excavated in Sikri, Lahore Museum. Source: Juhung Lee.



[Figure 126] Relief of Buddha Statue on Stone Board decorated in Stupa, Stored in Peshawar Museum.

Source: Juhyung Lee



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[Figure 128] Detailed Relief on Door of Stupa No. 1 at Sanchi. Source: Juhyung Lee



[Figure 129] Dissemination of Buddhism, 2nd-3rd Century. Source: Juhjung Lee



[Figure 130] Group Statue of Sakyamuni, 3rd-4th Century, Excavated in Sahri-Bahlol, Peshawar Museum Source: Juhung Lee



[Figure 131] Buddhist Triad, 2nd Century, Gandhara. Source: Juhung Lee



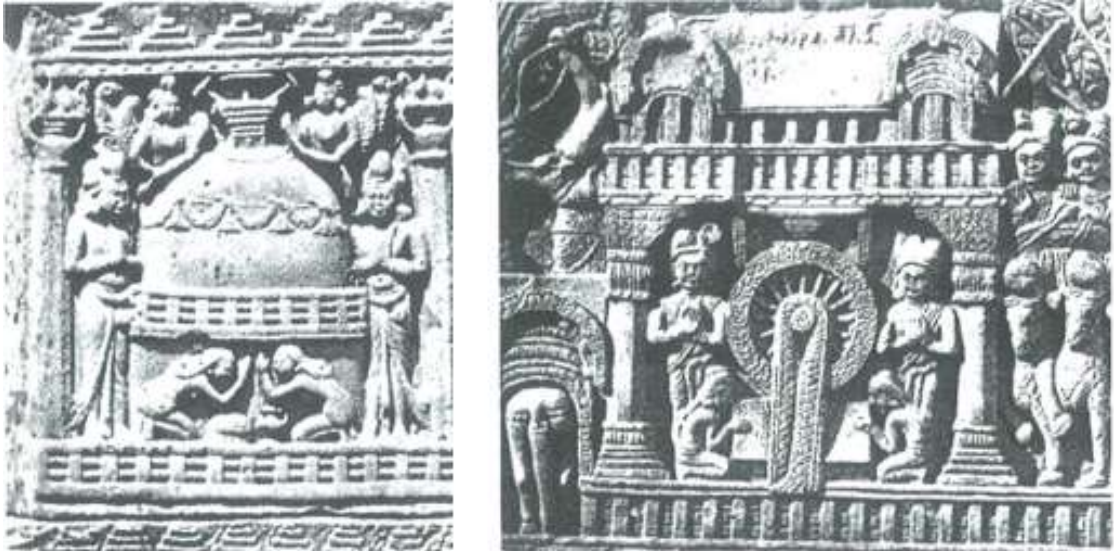
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[Figure 133] Buddhist Triad based on Dharma-cakra, 2nd Century B.C, Museum of India. Source: J.M.Cabeza.



[Figure 134] Buddhist Triad of Mathura, 2nd Century, Excavated in Katra, Mathura Museum of India. Source: J.M.Cabeza.



[Figure 135] Relief on Stupa at Barhut, (Source: Jang-Seop Yoon, *Architecture of India*. P. 84.



[Figure 136] Ungang Cave No. 26, Main Buddha Statue of Maitreya. Source: Hogan, Michael, *Silk Road, North China*. P. 119.



[Figure 137] Standing Stone Statue of the Three Buddhas. Source: Juhjung Lee



[Figure 138] Standing Gold Statue of the Buddha Triad, 563, Korea, Gansong Art Museum. Source: <http://simjeon.kr/xs/35307?ckattempt=3>



[Figure 139] Independent Statue of Buddha, Gandhara, 1st-2nd Century B.C. Source: Montgomery, Daniel.

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[Figure 140] Buddha Triad, Ungang Cave, 5th Century. Source: Hogan. Michael, *Silk Road, North China*. P. 130



[Figure 141] 5 Buddhas, Yongmun Cave, 6th Century. Source: Hogan. Michael, *Silk Road, North China*. P.

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[Figure 142] 7 Buddhas, Inside Dunhuang Cave No.45, 4th Century. Source: Hogan. Michael, *Silk Road, North China*. P. 124.



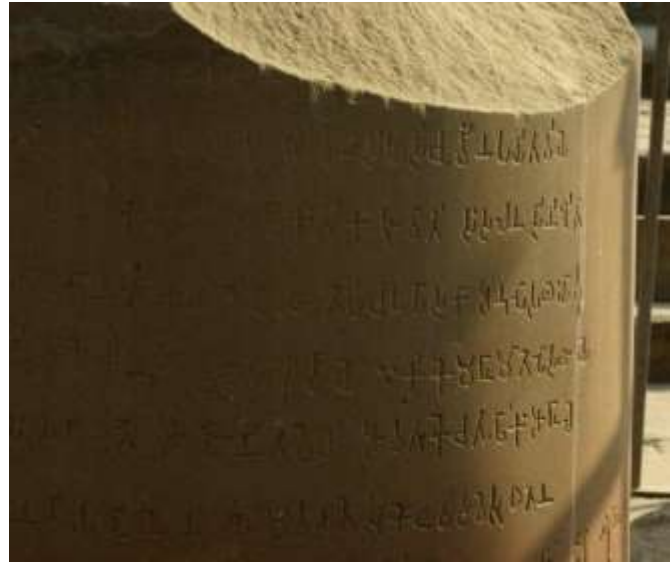
[Figure 143] Wooden stupa site, Youngnyeongsa Temple, Luoyang of China. Source: Hogan. Michael, *Silk Road, North China*. P. 131



[Figure 144] Stone Pillar of King Asoka, 3rd Century B.C, Bodh Gaya of India. Source: Takeo Kamiya.
Architectural Guide to India (in Japanese). P. 97.



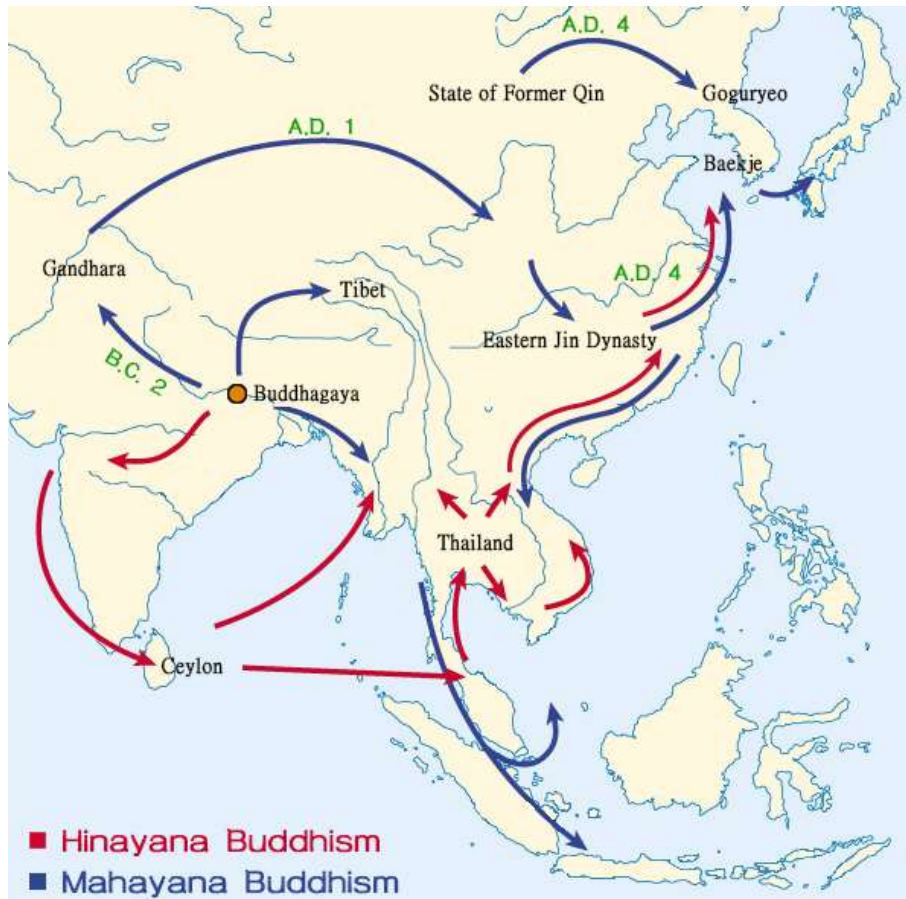
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[Figure 146] Sanskrit inscribed on the Stone Pillar of King Asoka, 3rd Century B.C, Sarnath Museum. Source: Juhyung Lee

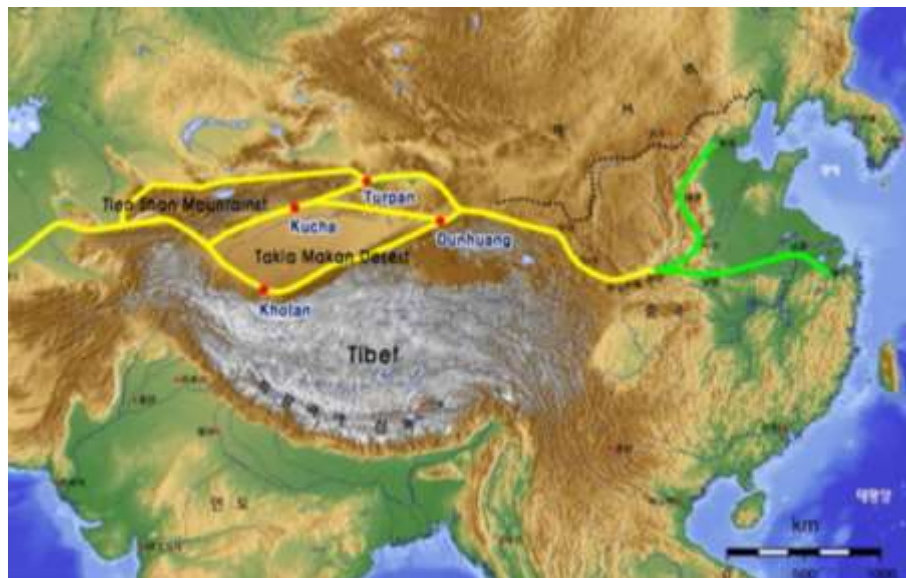


[Figure 147] Map of Asia during the 2nd century B.C. Source: https://fa.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D9%BE%D8%B1%D9%88%D9%86%D8%AF%D9%87:Asia_200bc.jpg



[Figure148] Dissemination of Hinayana Buddhism and Mahayana Buddhism.

Source: Juhung Lee.



[Figure 149] Main Routes and Cities of the Silk Road. Source:

<https://ku.wikipedia.org/wiki/W%C3%A4ne:SeidenstrasseGMT.JPG>



[Figure 152] The period of Wei-Jin and South-North Dynasty, China (4th Century). Source: Ian Kiu- self-made, drawn after “The Sixteen States and the Empire of the Eastern Tsin Dynasty, 317-420 AD”, in Albert Hermann (1935): *History and Commercial Atlas of China*.

Harvard University Press. Image :前秦 東晉.PNG

https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/d/d7/Eastern_Jin_Dynasty_376_CE.png



[Figure 153] Sui Dynasty, China(7th Century. Source: <https://ameblo.jp/hagure1945/image-12484336758-14474362500.html>)



[Figure 154] Tang Dynasty, China(8th Century). Source: <https://principlesofknowledge.kr/archives/35659>



[Figure 155] The Song Dynasty, China(12th Century). Source:
<https://librewiki.net/wiki/%ED%8C%8C%EC%9D%BC:Songliaoixia.png>



[Figure 156] The Song Dynasty, China(13th Century). Source:
https://morninglands.files.wordpress.com/2015/05/sung_dynasty_1141.png



[Figure 157] Stupa Buddhist Triad, Excavated in Amaravati, 2nd-3rd Century. Source: Takeo Kamiya.

Architectural Guide to India (in Japanese). P. 68



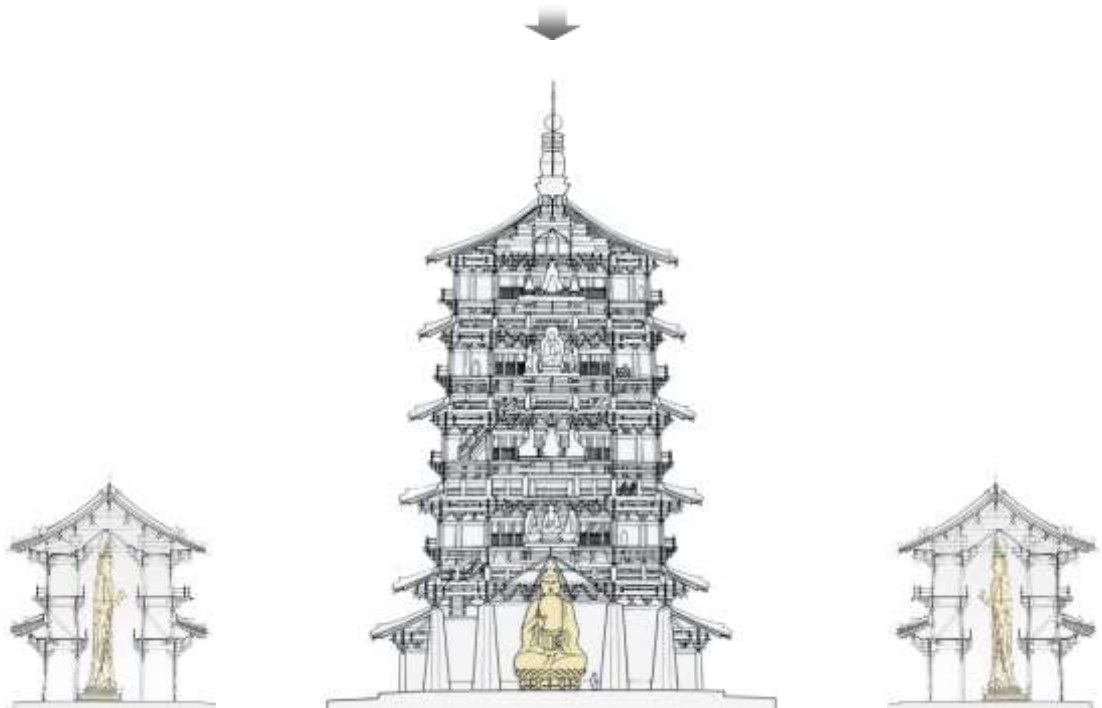
[Figure 158] Sakyamuni Buddhist Triad, Gandhara, 3rd-4th Century. . Source: Takeo Kamiya.

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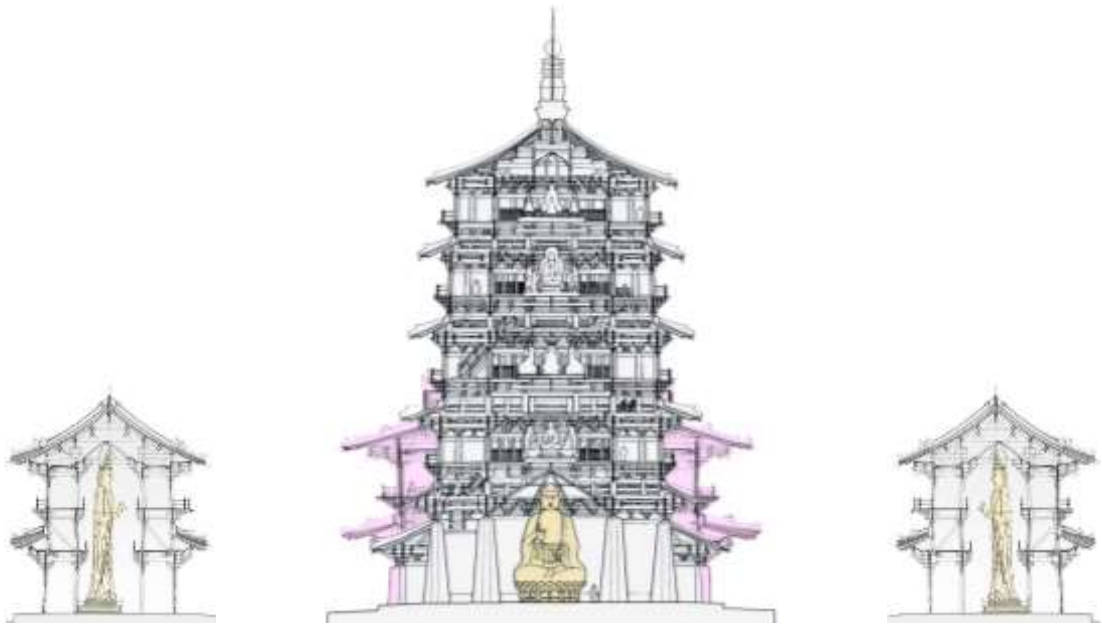




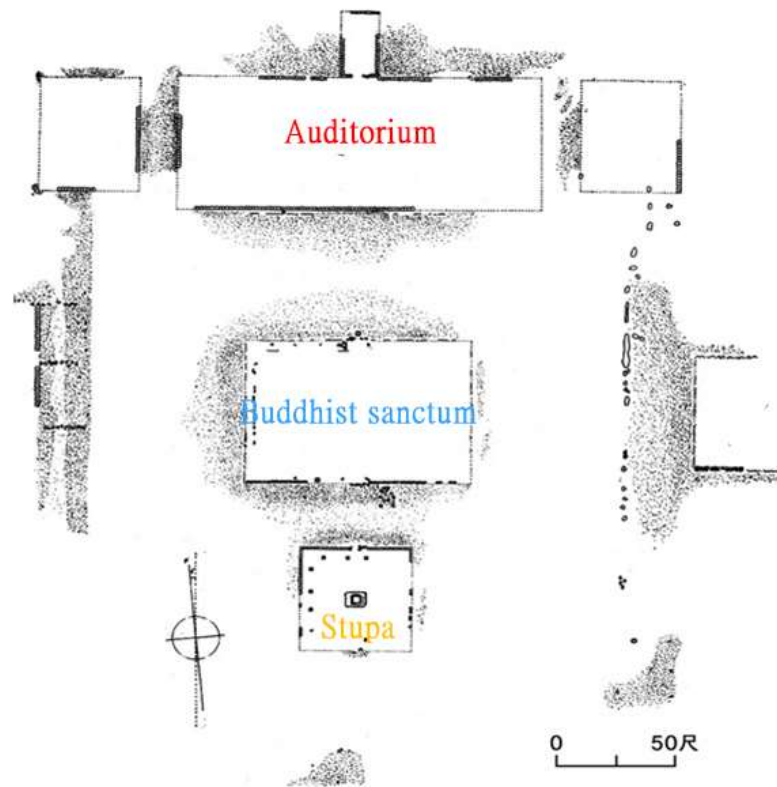
[Figure 159] Sakyamuni Buddhist Triad enshrining the Buddha Statue by creating and decorating an altar for each statue, Mogao Caves of Tunhuang No.285. Source: Hogan. Michael, *Silk Road, North China*. P. 80.



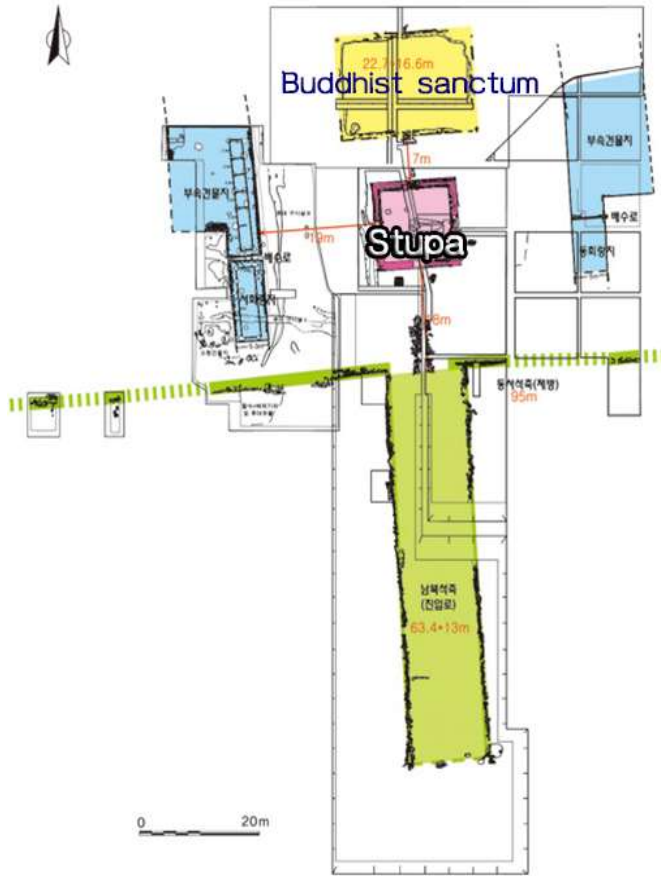
[Figure 160] Restoration Drawing of Two Halls-One stupa Form of Goguryeo. Drawings by Juhung Lee.



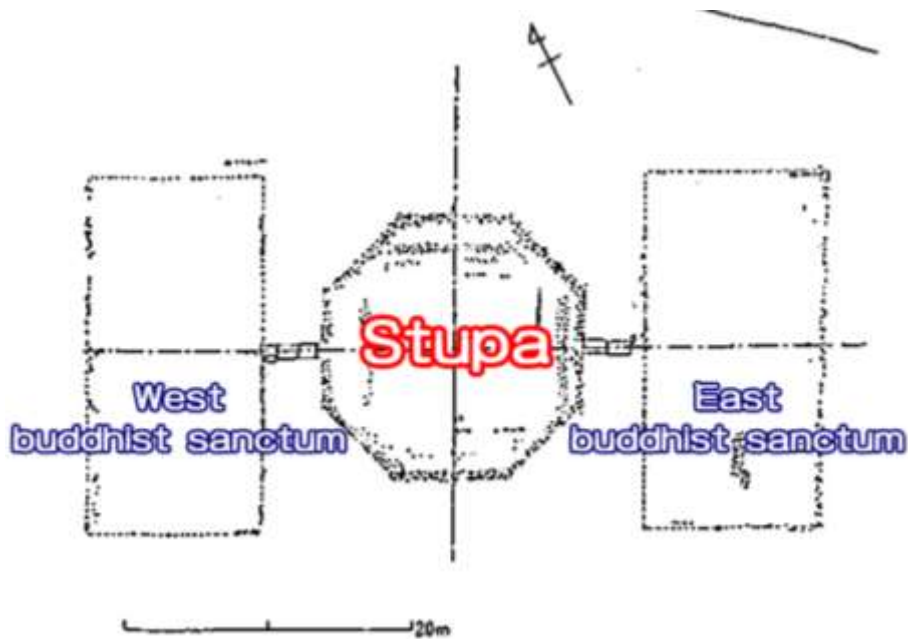
[Figure 161] Restoration of three halls-one stupa, Goguryeo. Drawings by Juhjung Lee.



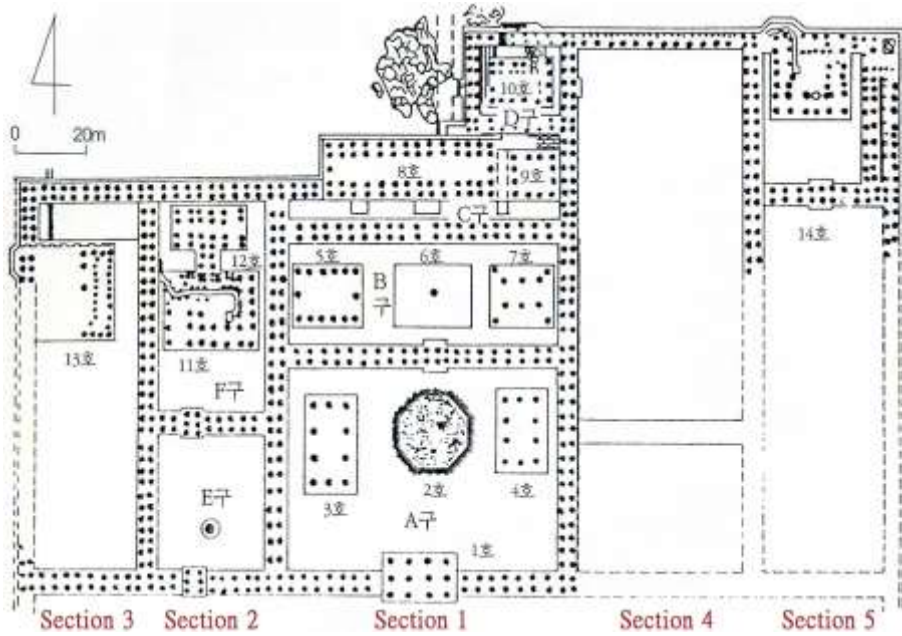
[Figure 162] Layout of Gunsurisa Temple Site. Sketch by Juhjung Lee



[Figure 163] Layout of Wangheungsa Temple Site. Sketch by Juhyung Lee



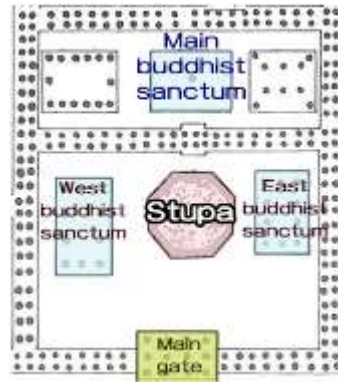
[Figure 164] Layout of Sangorisa Temple Site. Sketch by Juhyung Lee



[Figure 165] Arrangement of Jeongreungsa Temple Site. Drawing by Juhjung Lee.



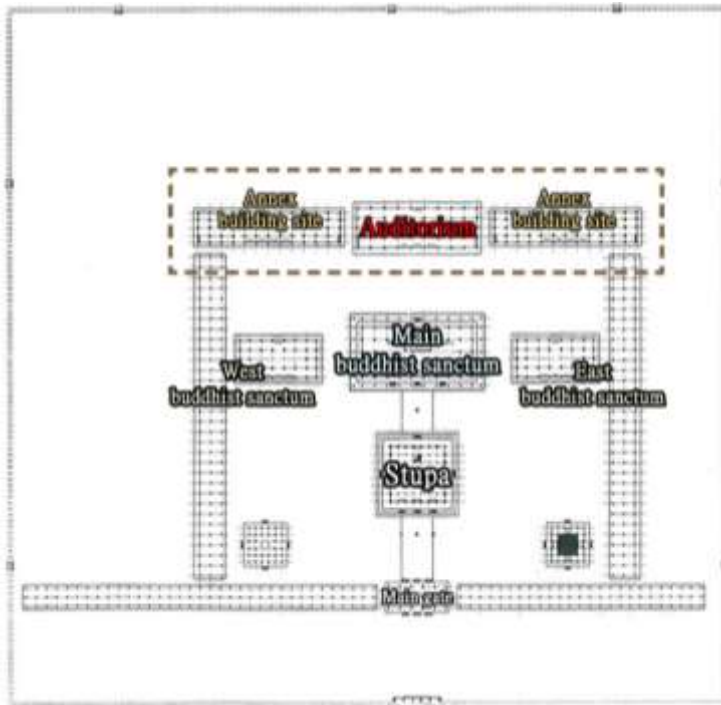
[Figure 166] Jeongreungsa Temple Site. Source: Juhjung Lee.



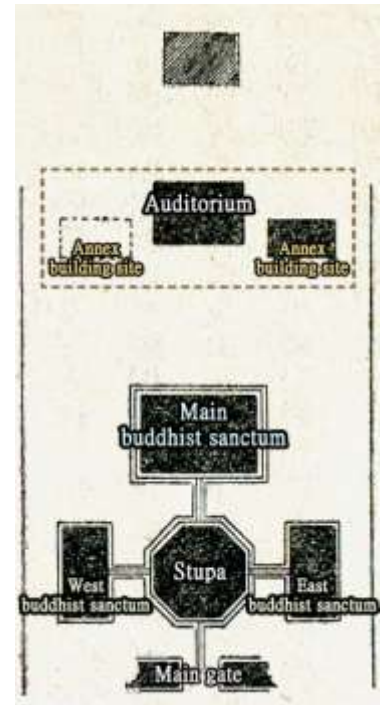
[Figure 167] Site Plan of Jeongreungsa Temple. Sketch by Juhjung Lee.



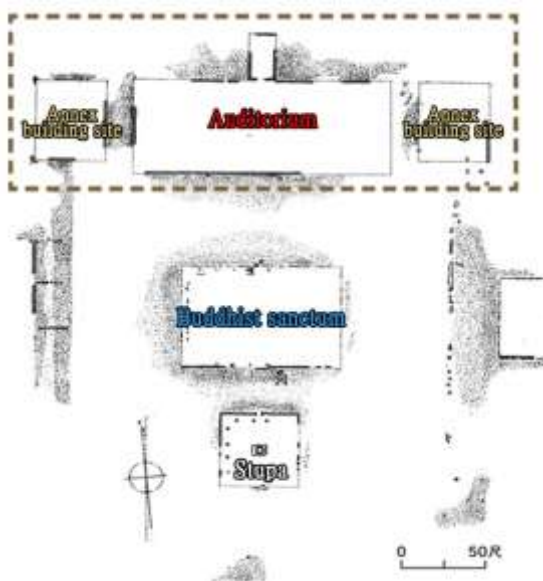
[Figure 168] Corridor in Bulguksa Temple. Source: <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/a/a0/Korea-Gyeongju-Bulguksa-14.jpg>



[Figure 169] Final Arrangement of Hwanryongsa Temple, Silla.
Sketch by Juhung Lee.



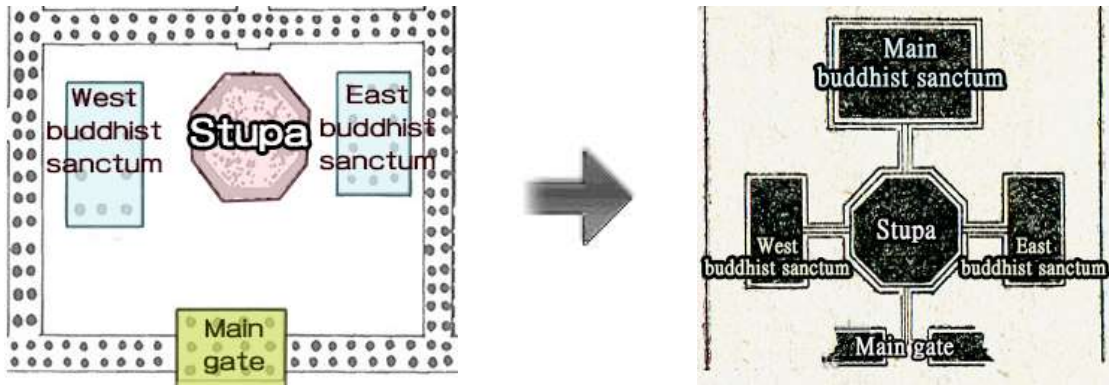
[Figure 170] Arrangement of Cheongamrisa Temple, Goguryeo.
Sketch by Juhung Lee.



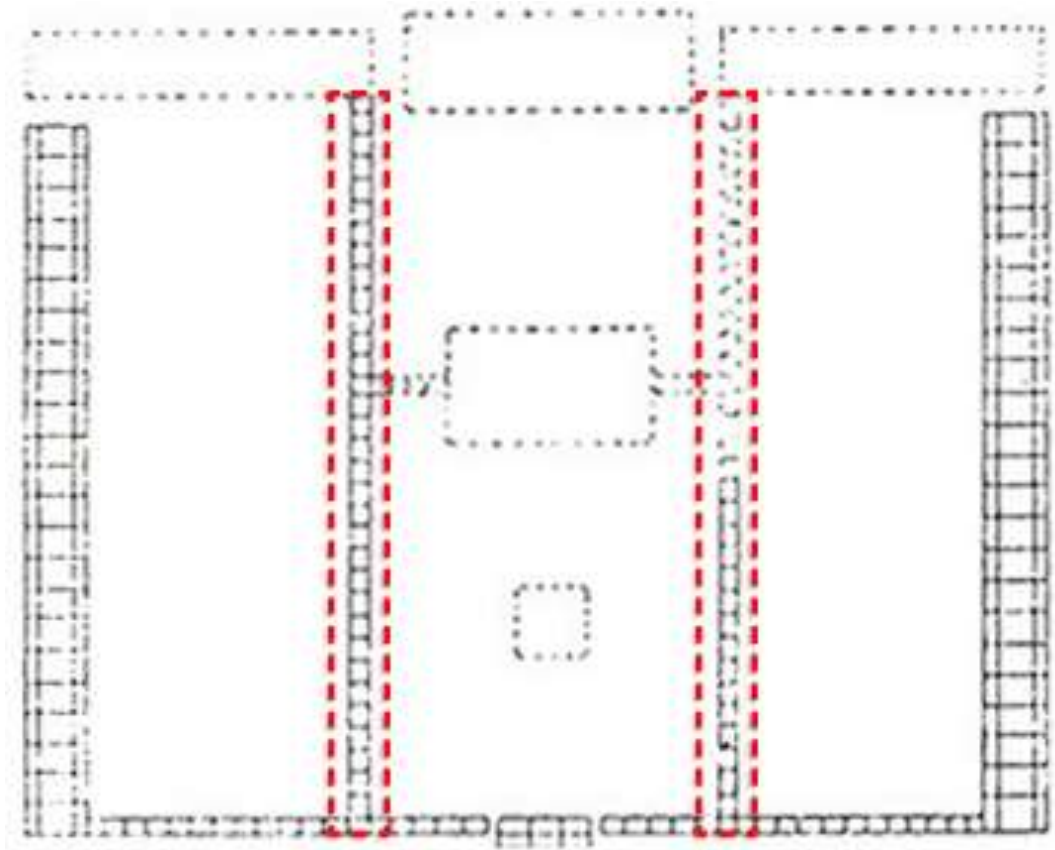
[Figure 171] Arrangement of Gunsurisa Temple, Baekje. Sketch by Juhung Lee.



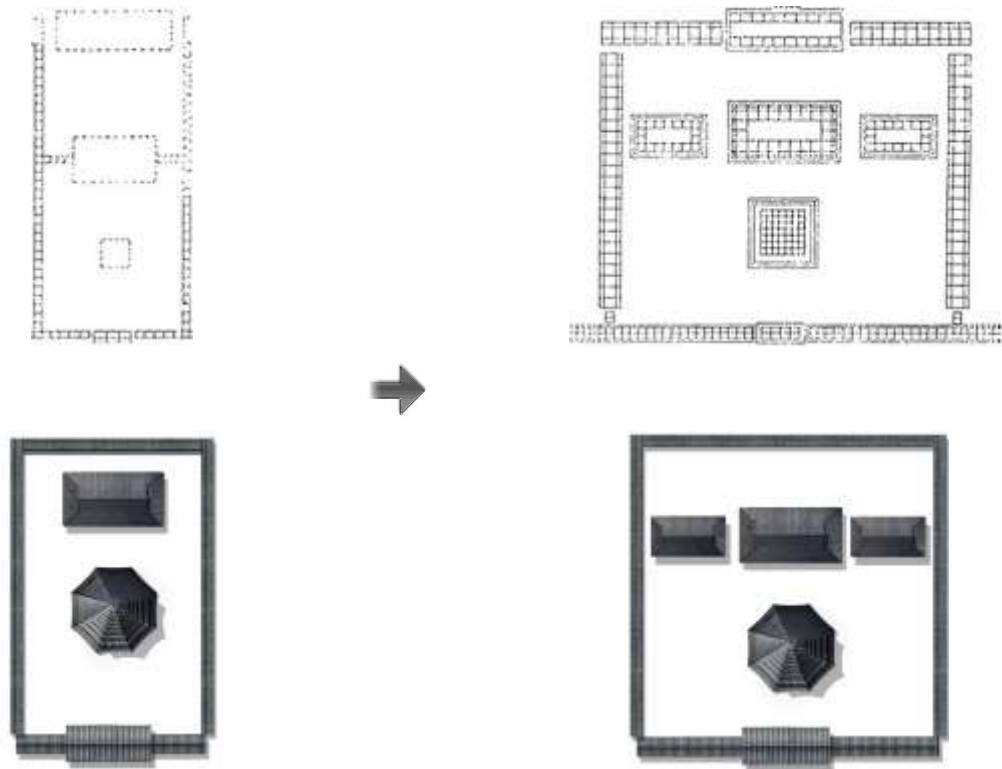
[Figure 172] Arrangement of Wangheungsa Temple, Baekje. Reconstruction by Juhung Lee



[Figure 173] Two Halls-One stupa and Three Halls-One stupa(Jeongreungsa Temple and Cheongamrisa Temple of Goguryeo. Source: Juhjung Lee.



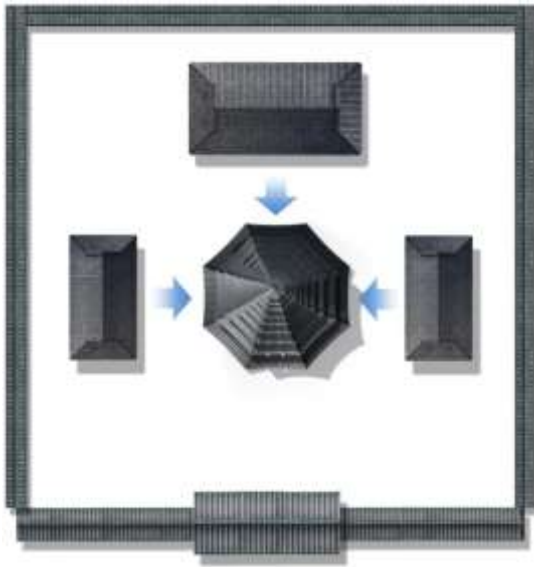
[Figure 174] Traces of left. right corridor in the center of Hwangryongsa Temple. Sketch by Juhjung Lee.



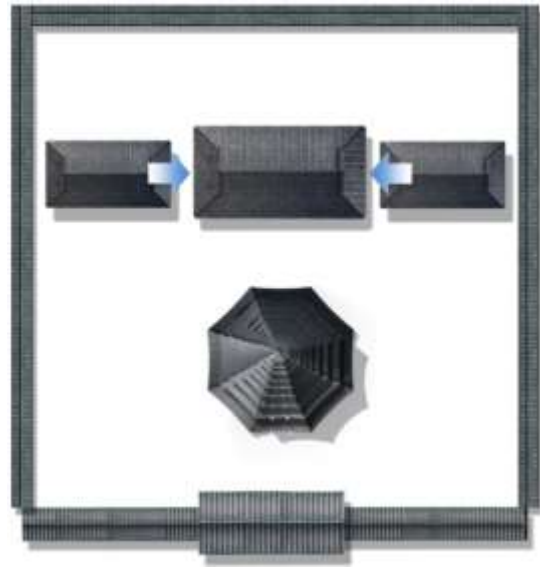
[Figure 175] Assumption of Changes in Hwangryongsa Temple Arrangement. Sketches by Juhyung Lee.



[Figure 176] Map of Foreign Trade Routes of Silla after conquering Han River.
Interpretation by Juhyung Lee.



[Figure177] Arrangement of the central golden hall, the east hall and the west hall based on the stupa. Sketch by the author.



[Figure 178] Arrangement of hall on the east and west of the central golden hall. Sketch by the author.



[Figure 179] A large stupa(Hwangryongsa Temple) situated in the center of the temple. Source: Juhung Lee.



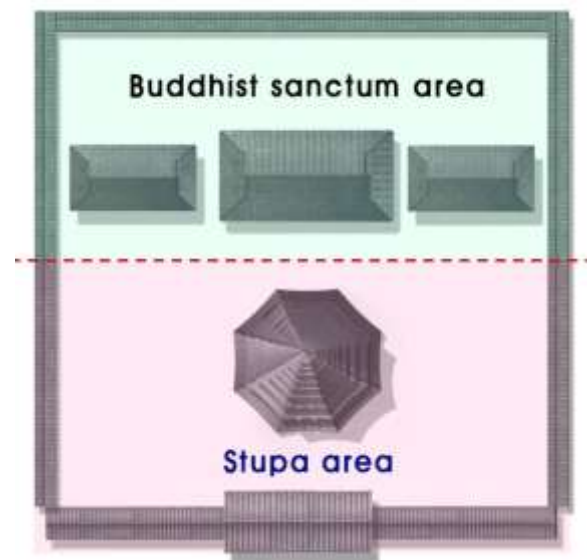
[Figure 180] Small Twin Stupas flanking the single Golden Hall without the east and west halls, Gameunsa Temple. Source: Juhung Lee.



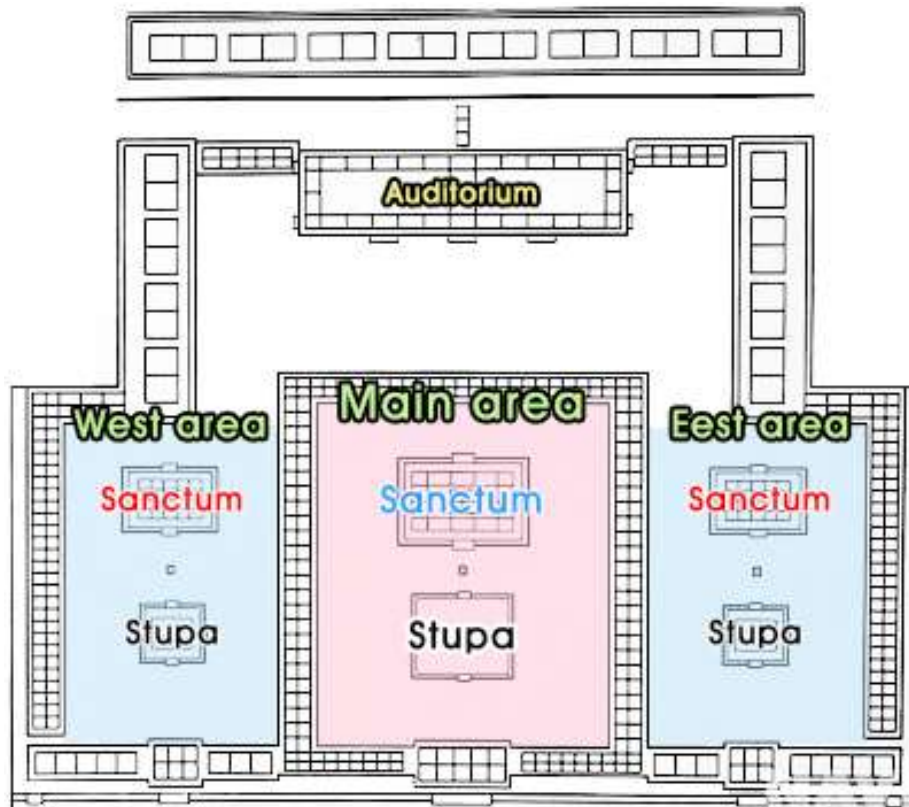
[Figure 181] Buseoksa Temple with a Stone Lantern in the Center of the Buddhist Sanctum with no Stupa.
Source: Juhyung Lee.



[Figure 182] Stupa-centric arrangement. Sketch by Juhyung Lee.



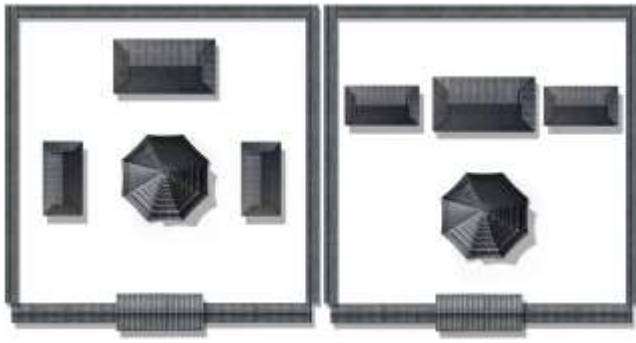
[Figure 183] Separation of Stupa and Buddhist Sanctum Areas. Sketch by Juhyung Lee.



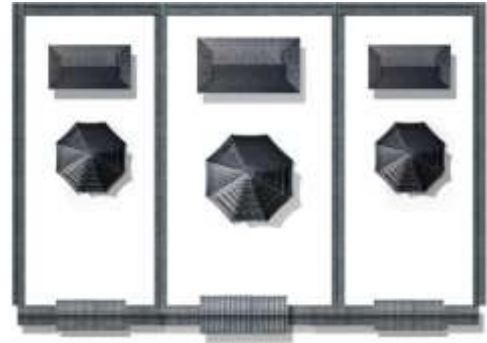
[Figure 185] Floor Plan of Mireuksa Temple(Three stupas). Sketch by Juhyung Lee.



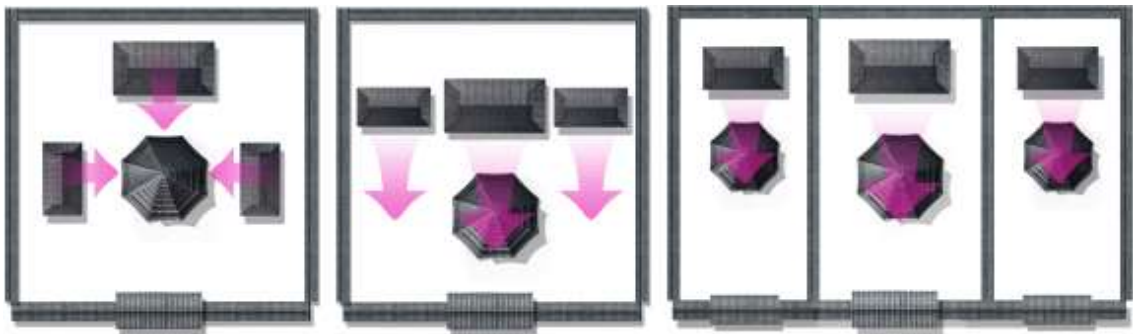
[Figure 185] Restored Model of Mireuksa Temple Site. Source: Juhyung Lee.



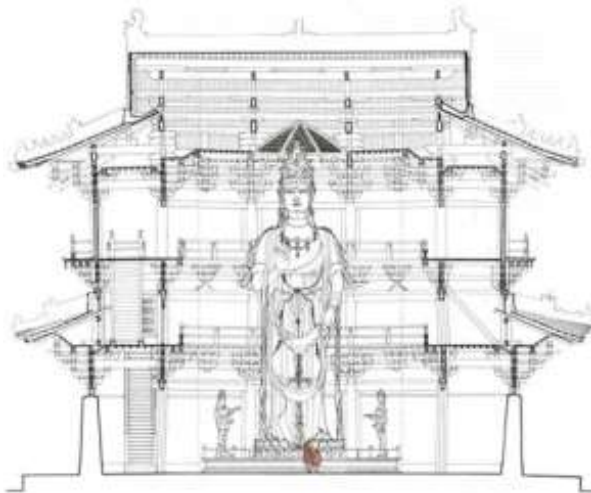
[Figure 186] The Main Buddha and flanking Bodhisattvas in the same area(Cheongamrisa Temple, Hwangryongsa Temple). Sketch by Juhyung Lee.



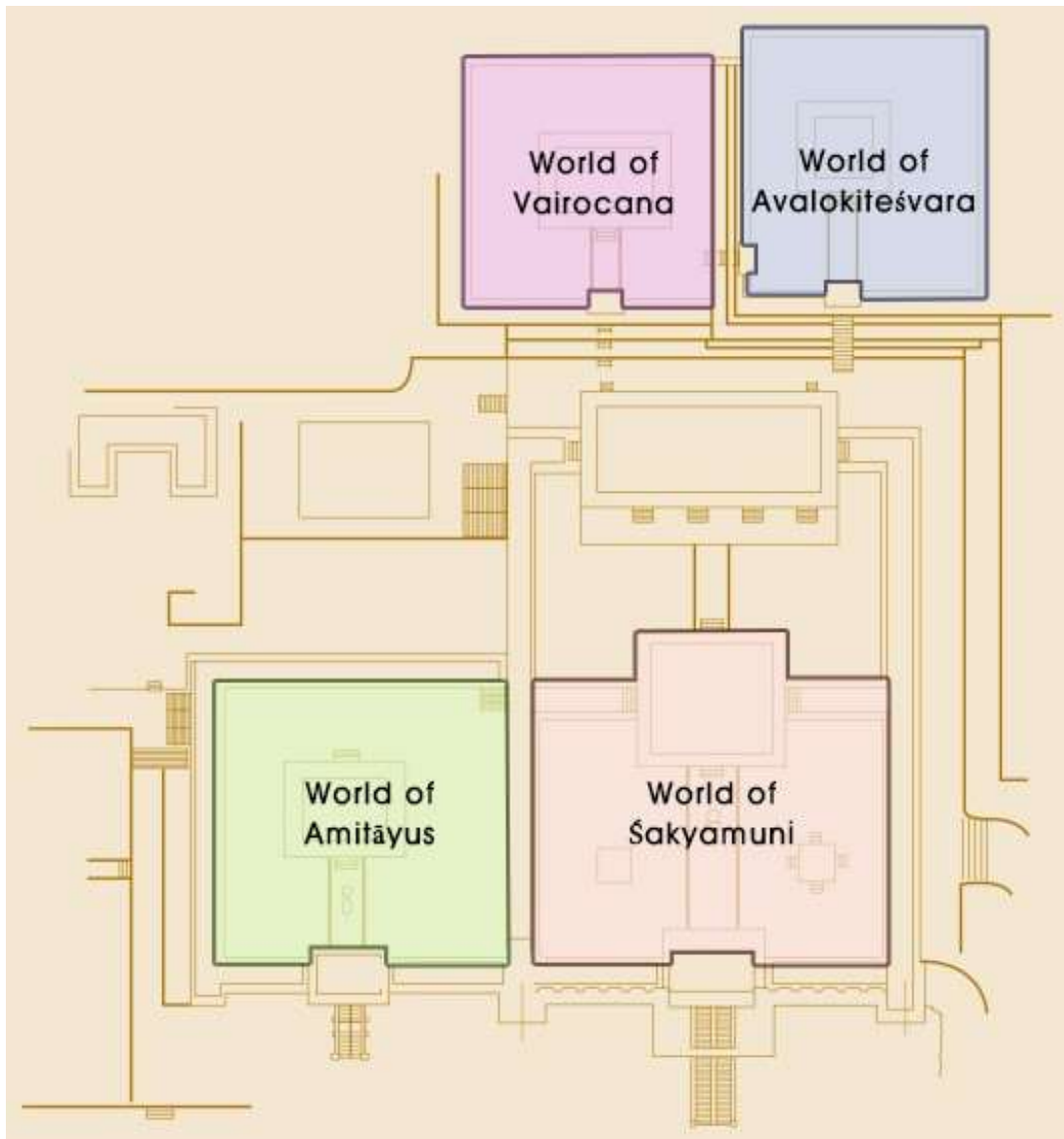
[Figure 187] The main Buddha and flanking Bodhisattvas in separate areas(Mireuksa Temple) Sketch by Juhyung Lee.



[Figure 188] Transition in the Direction of Hall. Sketch by Juhyung Lee.



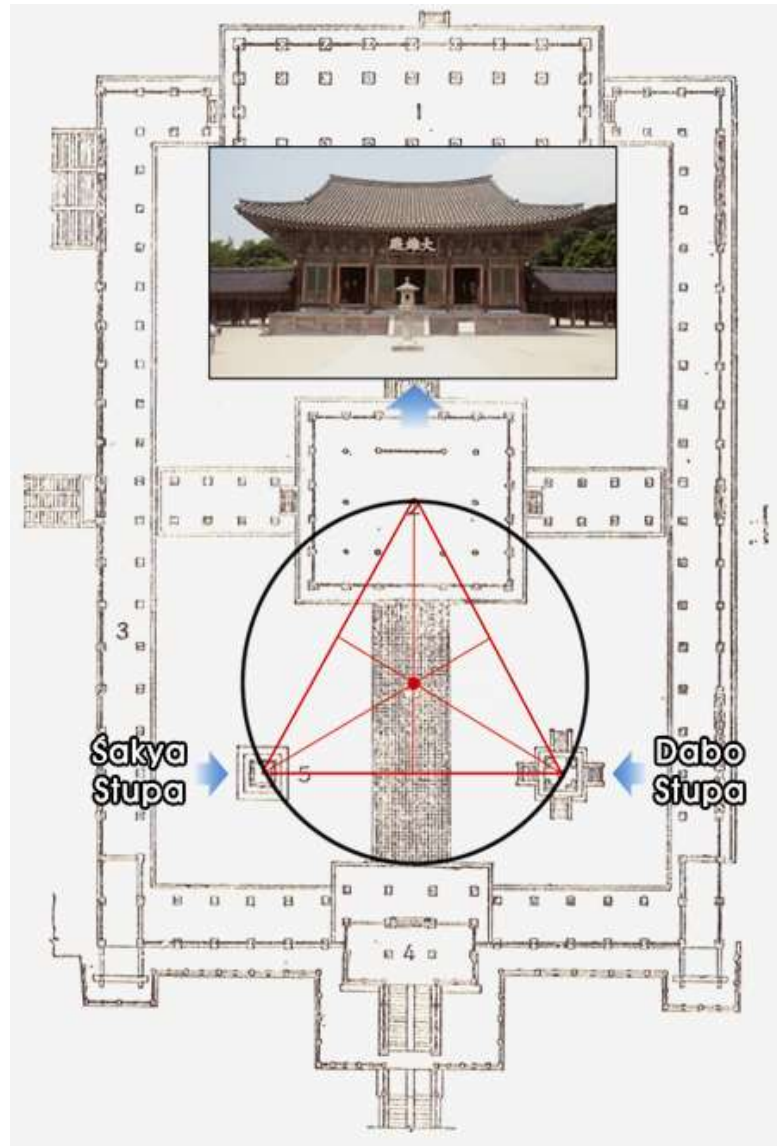
[Figure 189] The change in the direction of each Buddha statue from facing the Main Buddha to facing the front in the Buddhist Triad. Sketch and picture by Juhyung Lee.



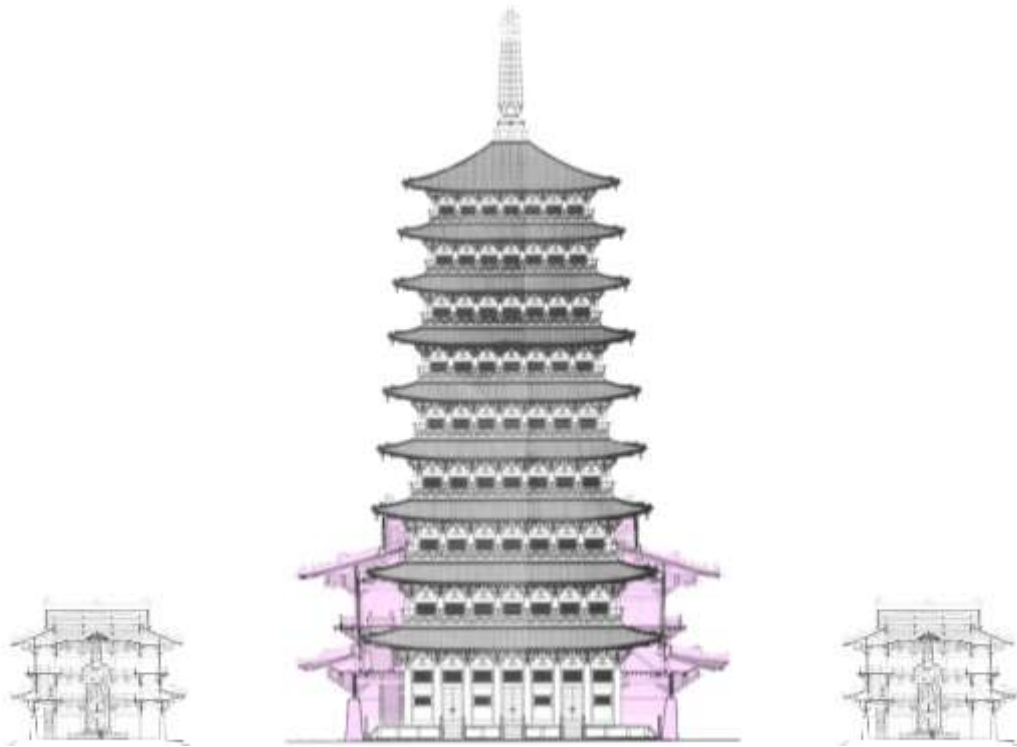
[Figure 190] Interior of Bulguksa Temple. Sketch by Juhyung Lee



[Figure 191] Generic View of Bulguksa Temple. Source: Juhyung Lee.



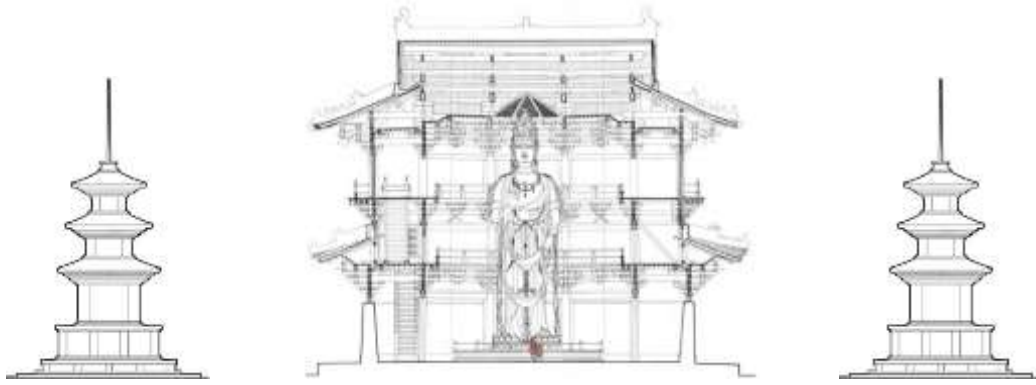
[Figure 192] Dabo Stupa and Sakya Stupa of Bulguksa. Sketch and views by Juhjung Lee.



[Figure 193] Halls(Buddha statue) flanking both sides of the Stupa, which is comparatively greater in size than the stupas. Source: Ko Yu-Seop *A Draft of Korean Architectural Art History*. P..83.



[Figure194] Recovery Model of Hwangryongsa Temple. Source: Juhyung Lee



[Figure 195] Stupas flanking the east and west of the hall, with its scale greatly reduced to a size smaller than the hall. Source: Ko Yu-Seop *A Draft of Korean Architectural Art History*. P.83.



[Figure 196] Front view of Gameunsa Temple and Restoration Mode. Source: Juhjung Lee.