

**The Diamond Ordination Platform of Tongdosa  
Buddhist Spaces and Imagery in 18<sup>th</sup>-century Korea**

By

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Ghichul Jung

Submitted to the graduate degree program in Art History and the Graduate Faculty of the University of Kansas in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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The Diamond Ordination Platform of Tongdosa  
Buddhist Spaces and Imagery in 18<sup>th</sup>-century Korea

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Date approved: 05/09/2016

## ABSTRACT

The Diamond Ordination Platform at Tongdosa is a stone structure reportedly constructed in the early seventh century by the eminent Silla monk Jajang 慈藏 (fl. 636-645). It was intended to enshrine the true-body relics of Śākyamuni Buddha that Jajang had allegedly procured from Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva on Mt. Wutai in China. The history of the Diamond Ordination Platform and the rarity of the true-body relics enshrined there are the core reasons why Tongdosa was granted the prestigious status of “the Buddha Jewel Monastery” in Korea. Of particular interest is the manner in which the title and visual form of the Diamond Ordination Platform have come to be perceived in Korean Buddhism today. Indeed, not only do the name and form of the Diamond Ordination Platform combine to evoke an awareness of the true-body relics being housed within it, but its architectural form is also perceived as validating the authenticity of these relics.

The question of how this phenomenon developed has not been raised thus far by modern scholars. Scholarly neglect of this critical component in the history of the Diamond Ordination Platform can be attributed to the widely accepted assumption that the prestigious status and absolute authority of the Diamond Ordination Platform today are natural outcomes of its original founding by Jajang in the seventh century.

This dissertation reconsiders historical accounts of the cultic ascendancy of the true-body relics brought to Silla by the monk Jajang as well as the construction of the Diamond Ordination Platform at Tongdosa. It argues that, in the face of challenges to the authenticity of their relics and in competition with other monasteries, the late-Joseon Tongdosa monks successfully conferred absolute authority to their Diamond Ordination Platform while maintaining active interaction with the platform to visualize its supposed, invisible power. This dissertation asserts

that the popular perception that the title and architectural form of the Diamond Ordination Platform function together to validate the enshrined objects as true-body relics and also lends sacred authority to them was a logical result of a shift in emphasis. That shift, which acknowledged that such sanctity was granted not merely by the presence of the true-body relics themselves but was also conferred by the Diamond Ordination Platform's status as a specially demarcated place through the ritual spaces and images consecrated in various ceremonies over the centuries.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I remember the day when I consulted Professor Marsha Haufler, my PhD adviser, regarding possible topics for my dissertation. Responding to my thought of King Jeongjo as a paragon of Confucian literatus-monarch, she pointed out that there must be a more complicated and even dark side behind his seemingly pure intellectual character. I still recall certain indefinable thoughts her comment brought to my mind at that time. My pursuits at the University of Kansas, in this sense, formed my life journey from a minimalist to a populist who aspires to understand differences and respect minorities. The intellectual energy that fueled such a change was sparked, of course, by Professor Haufler.

In “Directed Reading” with Professor Haufler, I was fascinated by the idea of plural Chinas, and I came to turn my eyes to the dark side hidden by the grand narrative centering on Tang and Song China. Her passing comment about a memorial inscription of State Preceptor Wonyung at Buseoksa gave me a moment in which I came to realize how unstable a seemingly stable literary source could be. The extent to which her groundbreaking study on Ming-Qing Buddhist art influenced my PhD project is simply proved by the fact that the late Joseon Tongdosa became a subject of my dissertation.

In the painstaking course of preparing and drafting my manuscript, I would have been utterly exhausted without her unfailing support and encouragement. At the final stage of editing my dissertation into a style that readers can readily access, I was most indebted to her superb editorial suggestions. Any problems that remain, nonetheless, are my own. I would like to express my deepest gratitude to her for all the support and hospitality that I received while pursuing my second career at the University of Kansas.

My perspective that frames Buddhist monasteries in terms of rituals was primarily formed during my independent studies with Professor Daniel Stevenson. It is a pleasant memory to have studied Chinese Buddhism under his guidance. He frequently pulled Buddhist texts off his shelf to introduce intriguing Buddhist concepts to me. Among them was Daoxuan's diagram of *jiechang*, which turned out to be an inspirational source of my dissertation. With his good humor and encouragement, I have read many inscriptions of Buddhist monasteries in the Song period and enjoyed discussion of their historical meanings. A stack of handwritten notes Dr. Stevenson handed to me after my defense—that I am still struggling to decipher—remain as proof that intellectual inspiration from him will last in my mind for a long time.

Professor Maya Stiller, who was appointed to the University of Kansas after I left Lawrence, joined my PhD project as a primary reader, for which I am thankful. The many e-mail discussions I have had with her I will recall as among the most pleasant experiences of my dissertation journey. Without her sound scholarship of Buddhism, my translations of original Buddhist terms including *śarīra* could not have been improved. Despite her stinging admonition, I have a logical, realistic, and academic reason that I chose the RR system for the romanization of Korean. I will keep her advice in mind, however, that a manner of romanization can affect the evaluation of scholarship related to Korean studies.

Professor Amy McNair offered me a chance to broaden and deepen my knowledge of Chinese art history during my stay at the University of Kansas. When I studied the painting of Zhao Mengfu, she always listened to my odd inquiries and encouraged me to proceed with my *dilettante* approach to Chinese painting. When I had a family emergency and had to return to California, Professor McNair read my presentation in class on my behalf. I would like to express my special thanks for her generosity. The questions that Professor Sherry Fowler raised to my

project were as sharp and penetrating as a Japanese sword. Any academic rigor in my approach to Japanese references is indebted to her teaching me through these questions. I am also grateful to her for allowing me to present my study on Buseoksa in her undergraduate class. I do not think that my presentation went smoothly, but I am quite sure that it became an important moment in directing my attention to a study of Korean Buddhist monasteries. I would also like to offer an overdue note of appreciation to Professor Burglind Jungmann of UCLA who gave me warm encouragement in my comprehensive examination.

A number of colleagues and teachers have supported me at every step of the way. When I stayed at UC Berkeley as a visiting scholar, Dr. Jaeyong Chang, librarian of the Korean Collection at the C.V. Starr East Asian Library, was especially helpful throughout my research and writing. Professor Clare You, then chair of the Center for Korean Studies, generously assisted me at various stages of my work. Professor Sungrim Kim of Dartmouth College, who was my neighbor in Berkeley and remains a good colleague, has shared her ideas and offered advice whenever needed. Emeritus Professor Sang-hae Lee of Sungkyunkwan University has been a great mentor and supporter for a long time, since the completion of my first PhD dissertation. During my research trip to Tongdosa, Professor Lee helped me to obtain cooperation from the Tongdosa Museum. I also want to offer a special note of appreciation to the late Beomha Seunim of Tongdosa, who kindly allowed me access to the museum. Dr. Yongcheol Sin of the Tongdosa Museum helped me to view and photograph a number of inscription plaques. Dr. Byeonghwa Hong, senior researcher of the Jogye Order, has willingly sent many research materials at my request. Discussions I had with Professor Bonghee Jeon of Seoul National University provided me opportunities to extend my premodern mind into the issues of modernity.

I am deeply grateful to them all. My special thanks are reserved for my classmate, the late Professor Sanghyeon Yang, who taught me what is a poetic mind full of humor.

An art history travel fund from the University of Kansas allowed me to do field research at Tongdosa. I am grateful for the excellent interlibrary loan services provided by libraries of the University of Kansas, UC Berkeley, and San Jose State University.

I owe a special debt of gratitude to my families who have cared about me over the long course of my work. My mother-in-law, Hyeonsuk Choe, and my eldest sister, Hyosuk Jung, have supported and trusted me at every stage of my life with great patience. I hope that my parents in heaven are partially relieved at their son's overdue completion. During my PhD journey, my son, Youngjin, grew from an eight-year-old boy to a young man. In this passage of time, my wife, Kyunghwa, has always trusted and sustained me. I dedicate this work to my wife for all she has done over the years, whether they were rocky or joyful.



# CONTENTS

<b>ABSTRACT</b> .....	iii
<b>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS</b> .....	v
<b>LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES</b> .....	xii
<b>ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS</b> .....	xvi
<b>CHRONOLOGY</b> .....	xxi
<b>INTRODUCTION</b> .....	1
Introduction to Tongdosa .....	5
The Diamond Ordination Platform Today .....	10
The Diamond Ordination Platform and the True-Body Relics.....	13
Strategies of Tongdosa .....	22
Ritual Space, Visibility and the Buddhist Monastery .....	26
Myth of the Three <i>Rojeon</i> System.....	29
Monographs of Tongdosa.....	40
Chapter Outlines.....	46
<b>CHAPTER ONE:</b>	
<b>THE CULT OF THE TRUE-BODY RELICS AND TONGDOSA</b> .....	52
1.1 The <i>Śarīra</i> in the Eyes of Contemporaries .....	52
1.1.1 <i>Śarīra</i> for the Protecting Dharma: Daoxuan.....	53
1.1.2 <i>Śarīra</i> interred in the Nine-Story Pagoda: Hwangnyongsa .....	58
1.2 The Establishment of the <i>Śarīra</i> Narrative.....	72
1.2.1 <i>Śarīra</i> Procured from Mt. Wutai: Iryeon .....	72
1.2.2 <i>Śarīra</i> and the Final Dharma: Tongdosa.....	77
1.3 The Surfacing of the Tongdosa Relics in the Early Goryeo Period .....	83
1.3.1 Four Treasures of Tongdosa .....	83
1.3.2 The Cult of the True-Body <i>Śarīra</i> and Buddhist Miracles in 1021 and 1022 .....	90
1.4 Architectural Evidence for Tongdosa's Rising Importance .....	98
1.4.1 The Yeongsan-jeon Precinct and its Spatial Features.....	98
1.4.2 Tongdosa in 1085 .....	107

**CHAPTER TWO:**

**THE BIRTH OF THE DIAMOND ORDINATION PLATFORM** ..... 114

2.1 Changes in the *Śarīra* Cult and the Rising Fame of the Tongdosa *Śarīra* ..... 114

    2.1.1 Prevailing Dead and Critical Awareness of the Final Dharma ..... 114

    2.1.2 The Ascendancy of the Tongdosa Relics in the Late Goreyo Period ..... 119

2.2 Daoxuan's Vision of the Diamond Ordination Platform ..... 128

    2.2.1 Daoxuan's Concept of the Ordination Platform ..... 129

    2.2.2 Daoxuan's Eschatological Vision: the Robe and Bowl of the Buddha ..... 133

2.3 The Birth of the Diamond Ordination Platform at Tongdosa..... 142

    2.3.1 The Tongdosa monk's Acceptance of Daoxuan's Eschatological Theme..... 142

    2.3.2 Architectural Realization of Daoxuan's Vision in Tongdosa..... 146

2.4 Cultic Dimension and Spatial Impact of the Diamond Ordination Platform..... 154

**CHAPTER THREE:**

**TRANSFER OF THE TONGDOSA RELICS AND THE CONCEPT OF THE PLACE OF ORIGIN** ..... 160

3.1 The Fluctuating Fortunes of the Tongdosa Relics..... 160

    3.1.1 From Tongdosa Toward Sovereignty ..... 160

    3.2.2 The Whereabouts of the Tongdosa *Śarīra* in the Joseon Period..... 163

3.2 Establishment of the Concept of the Place of Origin in Tongdosa ..... 175

    3.2.1 The Construction of the *Śarīra* Hall and the Concept of the Place of Origin ..... 175

    3.2.2 King Sejo and the Relics of Tongdosa..... 186

3.3 Permanent Return of the Relics to Tongdosa ..... 191

**CHAPTER FOUR:**

**THE LATE-JOSEON WATER-LAND RITE AND PRINCIPAL RITUAL SPACES IN TONGDOSA**..... 199

4.1 Circumstances Faced by the Late-Joseon Tongdosa Monks ..... 199

4.2 The Water-Land Rite of the Late-Joseon Buddhism ..... 206

    4.2.1 The Rise of the Water-Land Rite in the Late Joseon Period..... 207

    4.2.2 The Ritual Visualization of the Yeongsan Assembly ..... 213

    4.2.3 From the Yeongsan Assembly to the Hwaem Assembly..... 223

    4.2.4 The Ritual Space of the Late-Joseon Water-Land Rite ..... 227

4.3 The Yeongsan-jeon and the Diamond Ordination Platform..... 232

4.4 The Reconstruction History of the Diamond Ordination Platform ..... 240

**CHAPTER FIVE:**

**THE 1705 RECONSTRUCTION OF THE DIAMOND ORDINATION PLATFORM..... 249**

- 5.1 The Scale of the 1705 Reconstruction..... 249
- 5.2 Physical Reconfiguration of the Diamond Ordination Platform ..... 259
  - 5.2.1 Elaboration of the Platform’s Identity as a Mausoleum of Śākyamuni Buddha..... 260
  - 5.2.2 Rebuilding of Relic Depositories..... 266
  - 5.2.3 The Elimination of the Third Level ..... 268
- 5.3 Iconographic Reconfiguration of the Diamond Ordination Platform..... 275
  - 5.3.1 Guardian Deities and Preceding Iconography ..... 275
  - 5.3.2 The Seven Stars of the Great Dipper and New Iconography..... 279
- 5.4 A Vision to the Diamond Ordination Platform ..... 286
- 5.5 Summation of the Significance of the 1705 Reconstruction ..... 294
- 5.6 Identification of the Buddha’s Relics and Diamond Ordination Platform ..... 298

**CHAPTER SIX:**

**TRANSFORMATION OF THE RITUAL SPACE AND IMAGERY OF TONGDOSA ... 306**

- 6.1 The Diamond Ordination Platform as the Source of Physical Order and Sanctity ..... 306
  - 6.1.1 Visualization of the Yeongsan Assembly..... 308
  - 6.1.2 Visualization of the Buddha at the Diamond Ordination Platform..... 318
- 6.2 The Increasing Sanctity of the Diamond Ordination Platform and its Visualization ..... 327
  - 6.2.1 Redefinition of the Three Precincts of Buddha Halls ..... 327
  - 6.2.2 Visualization of the Hwaeom Assembly ..... 334
- 6.3 The Diamond Ordination Platform and the Dharma Body..... 342
- 6.4 The Multiple Dimensions of the Diamond Ordination Platform..... 360

**CONCLUSION ..... 366**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY ..... 379**

**TABLES AND FIGURES ..... 401**

## LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 1- 1	The list of the relics Jajang brought from China according to primary sources	402
Table 1- 2	The list of the Tongdosa relics since the 14th century	402
Table 4- 1	The change of the envisioning way of assemblies in the Yeongsan-jakbeop	403
Table 4- 2	The history of reconstruction (including repair) of the Diamond Ordination Platform	404
Table 5- 1	The donation amount of the 1705 reconstruction of the Diamond Ordination Platform	405
Table 5- 2	The names of the Seven Stars Bodhisattvas in the eastern face of the Diamond Ordination Platform	406
Table 6- 1	Five Wheels Seed Syllables and True Mind Seed Syllables	407
Table 6- 2	Comparison of seed syllables used in the Joseon Period	407
Fig.1	The Diamond Ordination Platform at Tongdosa. A view from the south	408
Fig. 2	The <i>Geumgang gyedan</i> at SSanggyesa	408
Fig. 3	The Jeokmyeol bogung, Wongaksa, New York	409
Fig. 4	The Jeokmyeol bogung, Geonbongsa	409
Fig. 5	The Jeokmyeol bogung, Samcheonsa	409
Fig. 6	The funeral stūpa of Seongcheol	409
Fig. 7	Location of Yangsan and Tongdosa on the Korean Peninsula	410
Fig. 8	Hermitages (Amja) of Tongdosa	411
Fig. 9	Access to Tongdosa	411
Fig. 10	<i>The Panorama Painting of Tongdosa</i>	412
Fig. 11	Mt. Yeongchuk and Tongdosa	412
Fig. 12	A Bird's-eye view of Tongdosa	413
Fig. 13	The main axis of the monastery and the minor axes of the three precincts of Buddha halls	413
Fig. 14	The Three precincts of Buddha halls in Tongdosa	414
Fig. 15	Elevation of the Diamond Ordination Platform	416
Fig. 16	Views of the Diamond Ordination Platform	417
Fig. 17	The Diamond Ordination Platform in 1902	418
Fig. 18	A view of the Diamond Ordination Platform from the same angle as Fig.17	418
Fig. 19	The three-gabled roof of the Daeung Hall and the spatial flow from the Buri Gate to the Daeung Hall	419

Fig. 20	Making Kimchi in the precinct of the Yeongsan-jeon	420
Fig. 21	Individual Residences in Tongdosa, the mid-19 <sup>th</sup> century	420
Fig. 1- 1	A stele commemorating the martyrdom of Yichadon	421
Fig. 1- 2	The base stone of the center pillar and the cavity for the reliquary (a) the <i>Hwangnyongsa chalju bongi</i> (b), the Nine-Story Pagoda of Hwangnyongsa	422
Fig. 1- 3	Two types of <i>dharma śarīras</i> in Silla	422
Fig. 1- 4	Topographical analysis of the three main precincts	423
Fig. 1- 5	The three-story stone pagoda of the Yeongsan-jeon precinct.	424
Fig. 1- 6	Remains of the pagoda at the Sajamok and its restoration in 1991	425
Fig. 1- 7	The method of constructing the foundation stone and the reliquary, the remains of the pagoda on the Sajamok	425
Fig. 1- 8	The five-story Śākyamuni- <i>śarīra</i> pagoda at Bongjeong-am on Mt. Seorak	426
Fig. 1- 9	The seven-story Sumano pagoda at Jeongamsa	427
Fig. 1- 10	The three-story stone pagoda at Beopgyesa on Mt. Jiri	427
Fig. 1- 11	A guideboard of the five “Jeweled Palaces of Nirvāṇa” in Korea	428
Fig. 1- 12	Two Extant State Longevity Poles of Tongdosa	428
Fig. 1- 13	The Offering Stone, Tongdosa Museum	429
Fig. 1- 14	The offering stone of the western five-story stone pagoda, 9 <sup>th</sup> century, Hwaeomsa, Gurye	430
Fig. 2- 1	Crystal reliquaries of the 14 <sup>th</sup> and 15 <sup>th</sup> centuries in the Goryeo-Joseon Transition	430
Fig. 2- 2	The <i>Honored Begging Bowl</i> Stūpa, Tongdosa	431
Fig. 2- 3	The stone lantern of the Avalokitēśvara Hall, Tongdosa	431
Fig. 2- 4	The orientation of the <i>Honored Begging Bowl</i> Stūpa	432
Fig. 2- 5	Tentative reconstruction of the precinct around the Diamond Ordination Platform in the 14 <sup>th</sup> century	433
Fig. 2- 6	Stone pillars in Tang and Goryeo	433
Fig. 2- 7	Śākyamuni’s silk robe housed in Tongdosa	434
Fig. 2- 8	Bronze wind chimes, 14.6cm in height, 1436. Tongdosa Museum	434
Fig. 3- 1	The Jeokmyeol bogung, Jungdae, Mt. Odae	435
Fig. 3- 2	Plan and interior space of the Jeokmyeol bogung, Jungdae	435
Fig. 3- 3	The Jeokmyeol bogung, Jeongamsa, Mt. Taebak, Jeongseon	435
Fig. 3- 4	Plan of the Daeung-jeon [Dharma Hall; Śarīra Pavilion]	436

Fig. 3- 5	T-shaped pavilion before the royal tomb, Geonwon-reung, Mausoleum of Joseon Taejo, 1408	436
Fig. 4- 1	The <i>Naesosa gwaebul</i>	437
Fig. 4- 2	The ritual space of Water-Land rite and the Hwaecom-jakbeop based on the Zikui text	439
Fig. 4- 3	The ritual space of Water-Land rite based on Zhipan texts. Dorimsa edition (1739)	440
Fig. 4- 4	The Gwaebul (1767) in front of the Yeonsan hall, Tongdosa, 1917	441
Fig. 4- 5	The bracket complex and old techniques of timber structure of the Eungjin-jeon	441
Fig. 5- 1	Price fluctuation in the Gyeongju region from 1701 to 1909	442
Fig. 5- 2	The center area of the Diamond Ordination Platform	442
Fig. 5- 3	A comparison of the plan and elevation of ordination platforms	443
Fig. 5- 4	Funeral Stūpa of Samyeong Yujeong at Hongje-am, around 1612	443
Fig. 5- 5	The stone bell and its pedestal of the Geumsansa ordination platform	444
Fig. 5- 6	The stone bell and its pedestal of the Yongyeonsa ordination platform	444
Fig. 5- 7	Funeral Stūpa of Hoejin Uisim, 1655	444
Fig. 5- 8	Four guardian warriors of the Diamond Ordination Platform	445
Fig. 5- 9	Layout of the Buddha (3 <sup>rd</sup> fl.), the Four Heavenly Kings (2 <sup>nd</sup> fl.), and Ten Vajra Warriors (1 <sup>st</sup> fl.)	445
Fig. 5- 10	Guardian deities of the ordination platforms at Burilsa and Yongyeonsa	446
Fig. 5- 11	<i>The Seven Stars Painting</i> , Daeseungsa, late Joseon	446
Fig. 5- 12	The Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions	447
Fig. 5- 13	<i>The Seven Stars Painting</i> , Biro-am, the 20 <sup>th</sup> century	447
Fig. 5- 14	Seven Stars Bodhisattva images of the Diamond Ordination Platform	448
Fig. 5- 15	<i>The Seven Star Painting</i> , Jikjisa, 1911	448
Fig. 5- 16	The ordination platform of Ansimsa, Wanju, Korea	449
Fig. 6- 1	Western view, plan and section of the Yeongsan Hall	449
Fig. 6- 2	A view of the eastern end	450
Fig. 6- 3	<i>The Yeongsan hoesangtang</i> , 1734	450
Fig. 6- 4	A view of the western end and the <i>Jeweled Stūpa Painting</i>	450
Fig. 6- 5	Interior space of the Yeongsan Hall	450
Fig. 6- 6	A spatial relationship between the Śākyamuni image (Yeongsan Hall) and the Śākyamuni relics (Diamond Ordination Platform)	451

Fig. 6- 7	Four halls burnt in the fire in 1756	451
Fig. 6- 8	The <i>Buddha Trikāya Painting</i> , altar paintings of the Daegwangmyeong-jeon	452
Fig. 6- 9	Rocana Buddha of the early <i>Buddha Trikāya Painting</i>	453
Fig. 6- 10	The <i>Buddha Trikāya Painting</i> , Unmunsa	453
Fig. 6- 11	The <i>Gwaebul</i> , 1767	454
Fig. 6- 12	The <i>Gwaebul</i> , 1792	454
Fig. 6- 13	Two <i>Guardian Deities Paintings</i> (originally enshrined in the Great Dharma Hall), 1804	455
Fig. 6- 14	The layout of various halls around the Diamond Ordination Platform and its spatial dynamics in the early 19 <sup>th</sup> century	456
Fig. 6- 15	Architecture of the Yonghwa-jeon [Maitreya Hall]	456
Fig. 6- 16	The tiny image of Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva above the Maitreya Buddha Statue	457
Fig. 6- 17	The mural of the eastern side wall: the scene of performing the Water-Land rite from the <i>Xiyouji</i> .	457
Fig. 6- 18	The installation venues of two Gwaebuls in Tongdosa	457
Fig. 6- 19	The <i>Three Stores Bodhisattvas Painting</i> , Tongdosa Museum, 1792	458
Fig. 6- 20	The layout of the Bogwang Hall in the vicinity of the Diamond Ordination Platform	458
Fig. 6- 21	A comparison of the <i>Hwaeom chilcheoguhedo</i>	459
Fig. 6- 22	Analysis of <i>Paintings of Seven Locations and Nine Assemblies</i> in Dunhuang, Songgwangsa and Tongdosa	460
Fig. 6- 23	Analysis of seed syllables in the Diamond Ordination Platform	463

## ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

Ch.	Chinese
DKC	<i>Hanguk gojeon jonghap</i> [DB of Korean Classics; <a href="http://db.itkc.or.kr/">http://db.itkc.or.kr/</a> ]
GSM	<i>Hanguk geumseokmun jonghap yeongsang jeongbo system</i> [Information System of Korean Epigraphs Collection; <a href="http://gsm.nricp.go.kr/">http://gsm.nricp.go.kr/</a> ]
DKH	<i>Hanguksa database</i> [Database of Korean History; <a href="http://db.history.go.kr/">http://db.history.go.kr/</a> ]
HBJ	<i>Hanguk bulgyo jeonseo</i> [Complete Works of Korean Buddhism]
HMC	<i>Hanguk munjib chonggan</i> [Complete Works of Korean Literary Collections]
HSM	<i>Hangukui sachal munhwajae</i> [Cultural Heritages of Korean Monasteries] HSM I-S: <i>Daegu, North Gyeongsang Province I</i> , source collection HSM II-2: <i>Busan, Ulsan and South Gyeongsang Province II</i> , 2 HSM II-S: <i>Busan, Ulsan and South Gyeongsang Province II</i> , source collection HSM III-1: <i>South Gyeongsang Province: Tongdosa Museum III</i> , 1 HSM III-2: <i>South Gyeongsang Province: Tongdosa Museum III</i> , 2 HSM III-S: <i>South Gyeongsang Province: Tongdosa Museum III</i> , source collection HSM JB-S: <i>North Jeolla Province</i> , source collection
HUC	<i>Hanguk bulgyo uirye jaryo chongseo</i> [Complete Works of Ritual Materials of Korean Buddhism]
Jp.	Japanese
JWSR	<i>Joseon wangjo silrok</i> [Veritable Records of Joseon Dynasty]
Kr.	Korean
K	<i>Tripitaka Koreana, Goryeo Daejanggyeong</i>
NLK	National Library of Korea
SJWIG	<i>Seungjeongwon ilgi</i> [Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat]
Sk.	Sanskrit
T	<i>Taishō shinshū dai zōkyō</i> [Taishō edition of the Buddhist Canon]
TDSB	<i>Tongdosa: Daeungjeon mit Saritab silcheuk josa bogoseo</i> [Survey Report of the Daeung-jeon and Saritap of Tongdosa]
TGJ	<i>Tongdosa garam baechi silcheuk josa</i> [Survey Report on Tongdosa]
TJ	<i>Tongdosaji</i> [Tongdosa Gazetteer]
Yusa	<i>Samguk yusa</i> [Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms]
X	<i>Xuzangjing</i> [The Kyoto Supplement to the Canon]



I have followed the Pinyin system for the romanization of Chinese and the modified Hepburn system for Japanese with macrons. I have used the Revised Romanization system for Korean, with some exceptions. Some Korean surnames follow the established forms; for instance, 김 is transcribed as *Kim*, 강 as *Kang* and 이 as *Yi*. For Sanskrit terms, I have used diacritical marks. In referring to the plural form, I use the term without converting it to the English or the Sanskrit plural form, except for those terms that have entered into English usage. For East Asian terms and names, their original Chinese characters are provided on the first occasion of use if relevant. East Asian personal names follow the East Asian convention, providing the family name first.

For the English translations of Korean official titles and historical terms, I have followed Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea*, trans. Edward W. Wagner with Edward J. Shultz (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984) with the consultation of Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), and Endymion Wilkinson, *Chinese History: A New Manual*, 3rd rev. printing ed. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Asia Center, 2013). For the translation of Buddhist terms and titles of Buddhist scriptures, I have consulted Robert E. Buswell Jr. and Donald S. Lopez Jr., *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), and *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, <http://buddhism-dict.net/>. For the translation of architectural terms in Korean pre-modern architecture, I have consulted Alexander Soper, "Part Two: Architecture," in *The Art and Architecture of Japan* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt and others, eds., *Chinese Traditional Architecture* (New York City: China Institute in America, China House Gallery, 1984), and Donald F. McCallum, *The Four Great Temples: Buddhist Archaeology, Architecture, and Icons of Seventh-Century Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009).

The names of Buddhist monasteries and buildings in Korea are identified by their suffixes. The suffix *sa*, which means, “Buddhist monastery,” is added without hyphens. The suffix *am*, which means, “hermitage,” is hyphenated in order to avoid phonetic confusion; one example is “Geukrak-am.” Other suffixes used to identify Buddhist buildings are hyphenated; translations are provided in parentheses at the time of their first use and capitalized; they include *jeon* (hall), *mun* (gate), *gak* (pavilion), *ru* (pavilion), *dang* (hall), *ryo* (monastic residence), *bang* (monastic residence); e.g., Daeung-jeon (Daeung Hall), Gamro-bang (Gamro Residence) and Manse-ru (Manse Pavilion).

All English translations are mine and have been translated from the Classical Chinese-Korean unless otherwise indicated in the relevant footnote. Punctuation of inscription and monographic materials relating to Tongdosa, which are primarily quoted from the *HSM*, is all my own.

Texts in the Chinese Buddhist canon are cited based on the *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* edition as follows: title followed by Chinese title on the first use; Taishō serial number and Taishō volume number; page number, register (a, b, c) and line number(s); e.g., *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林, T 2122-53. 779: c9.

Inscription materials from the *HSM* are cited as follows: title with Chinese-Korean title on the first use; the execution date in parentheses on the first use; author with Chinese-Korean name on the first use, if relevant; material type (P: plaque; I: inscription; D: document; S: stele) and material number; HSM volume number and type; e.g., *Geumgang gyedan jungsugi* 金剛戒壇重修記 (1823), Gye-o 戒悟 (1773-1849), P-99, HSM 3-S: 99.

Citations of historical works including *Goryeosa* (*History of Goryeo*), *Joseon wangjo silrok* (*Veritable Records of Joseon Dynasty*; abbreviated as *JWSR*) and the *Seungjeongwon Ilgi*

(*Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat*; abbreviated as *SJWIG*) are based on the *Korean History Database* ([http:// db.history.go.kr/](http://db.history.go.kr/)) provided by the National Institute of Korean History and listed as follows: king; year of reign and Western calendar year in parentheses; the lunar month and day; entry order in brackets; abbreviated title of reference; for instance: Sejo 13(1467).11.13[3], *JWSR*.

Citations of inscription materials are based on the *Information System of Korean Epigraphs Collection* ([http:// gsm.nricp.go.kr](http://gsm.nricp.go.kr)) provided by the National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage and are listed as follows: title with Chinese-Korean title on the first use; the execution date in parentheses; author with Chinese-Korean name on the first use, if relevant; GSM address; e.g., “Hwangnyongsa chalju bongi” 皇龍寺刹柱本記 (872), Bak Geomul 朴居勿, GSM, <http://gsm.nricp.go.kr>.

Citations of literary works are based on the *Hanguk bulgyo jeonso* (*Complete works of Korean Buddhism*; abbreviated as *HBJ*), the *Hanguk bulgyo uirye jaryo chongseo* (*Complete Works of Ritual Materials of Korean Buddhism*; abbreviated as *HUC*), the *DB of Korean Classics* (<http://db.itkc.or.kr>; abbreviated as *DKC*) provided by the Institute of the Translation of Korean Classics, and the *DB* (<http://www.nl.go.kr/>; abbreviated as *NLK*) provided by the National Library of Korea. They are listed as follows: title with Chinese-Korean title on the first use; the compilation date in parenthesis; title of literary work with Chinese-Korean title on the first use; author with Chinese-Korean name on the first use; collection or DB name; page number, register, if relevant; e.g., “Wichukgi Tongdosa” 爲祝記 通度寺 (1894), Jeunggokjip 曾谷集, Haedam Chi-ik 海曇致益 (1862-1942), HBJ 12: 798a.

When Korean translations of historical and ritual works including the *Samguk yusa* (*Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms*) and the *Cheonji myeongyang suryukjaeui beomeum*

*sanbojip* (*Edited Collection of Sanskrit Sounds for the Ceremony of the Heaven and Earth, Dark and Bright, Water and Land Feast*; abbreviated as *Sanbojip*) are available, citations from them are listed as follows: title with Chinese-Korean title on the first use; the abbreviated book title with title of the translated work on the first use; publication year; page number(s); e.g., “Wonjong heungbeop yeomchok myeolsin” 原宗興法猷鬻滅身, *Samguk yusa* 교감 역주 삼국유사 (2003), 343-51.

# CHRONOLOGY

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<b>Three Kingdoms</b>	57 BCE—668
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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ 646: Foundation of Tongdosa</li></ul>
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<b>Unified Silla</b>	668—935
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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ 751-774: Bulguksa and Seokguram</li><li>▪ 872: Reconstruction of the Nine-Story Pagoda of Hwangnyongsa</li><li>▪ 888: Record of Full Ordination at Tongdosa</li><li>▪ 901-936: Later Three Kingdoms</li></ul>
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<b>Goryeo</b>	918—1392
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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ 993, 1010, 1018: Goryeo-Khitans War</li><li>▪ 1011-1029: First Edition of <i>Goryeo Daejanggyeong (Tripiṭaka Koreana)</i></li><li>▪ 1085: State Longevity Poles of Tongdosa</li><li>▪ 1170: Military Coup</li><li>▪ 1231-1270: Mongol Invasions</li><li>▪ 1236-1251: <i>Palman Daejanggyeong</i></li><li>▪ 1379: Transfer of the Tongdosa Relics to Gaegyeong</li></ul>
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<b>Joseon</b>	1392—1910
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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ 1399: Enshrinement of the Tongdosa Relics at the Heungcheonsa Pagoda</li><li>▪ 1406, 1424: Merger of Buddhist Monasteries</li><li>▪ 1460s: Japanese Boom of Sending Envoys to Joseon</li><li>▪ 1592-1598: Imjin War</li><li>▪ 1627, 1636: Manchu Invasions</li><li>▪ 1674-1800: Reigns of Sukjong, Yeongjo and Jeongjo (Cultural Apogee)</li><li>▪ 1705: General Rebuilding of the Diamond Ordination Platform</li><li>▪ 1775-1823: Florescence of the Late Joseon Tongdosa</li><li>▪ 1865-1872: Reconstruction of Gyeongbok Palace</li><li>▪ 1910: Japan-Korea Annexation Treaty</li><li>▪ 1911: Promulgation of the <i>Sachalryeong</i> (Decree on Buddhist monasteries)</li><li>▪ 1911: Last Premodern Reconstruction of the Diamond Ordination Platform</li></ul>
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## Introduction

On the twentieth of the seventh lunar month of 1988, Śākyamuni Buddha, accompanied by bodhisattvas Mañjuśrī and Maitreya, manifested himself before Gosan, a monk of the lineage of Ordination through Auspicious Sign (Kr. *Seosang sugye* 瑞相受戒), in the Daeung-jeon 大雄殿 [Great Hero Hall] at Ssanggyesa 雙磎寺 in Korea. In 2007, for the purpose of commemorating this mysterious incident and establishing their monastery as a founding site of *Seosang sugye*, the monks of Ssanggyesa constructed a stone ordination platform at the rear of the Daeung-jeon.<sup>1</sup> The manner by which the monks of Ssanggyesa chose to bestow upon the newly constructed ordination platform both authority and sanctity is particularly relevant to this study. The platform was given the name, “*Geumgang gyedan*,” and its form and structure were almost identical to those of the *Geumgan gyedan* 金剛戒壇 (hereafter, the Diamond Ordination Platform) at Tongdosa 通度寺. (fig.1), (fig.2). In 2010, at Wongaksa in New York, the *Sari-tap* (Relic Stūpa) was created to house a single grain of the Tongdosa relics, generally called the *jinsin sari* 眞身舍利 (hereafter, true-body relics).<sup>2</sup> This Relic Stūpa was constructed in miniature, at a quarter of the original size of the Diamond Ordination Platform at Tongdosa; it was given the

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<sup>1</sup> Ssanggyesa, “Doryang annae,” [http://ssanggyesa.net/home/bbs/board.php?bo\\_table=02\\_11&wr\\_id=22&page=0](http://ssanggyesa.net/home/bbs/board.php?bo_table=02_11&wr_id=22&page=0). The *Seosang sugye* is said to be a kind of self-vow ordination based on the *Fanwangjing*. It is recognized as one of two traditions of monastic ordination in Korean Buddhism today. The acceptance as a major tradition of such an uncommon manner of ordination is closely related to the official interdiction of monastic ordination in the late Joseon period. The tradition of the *Seosang sugye* originates from Dae-eun Nang-o, who took ordination in response to an auspicious sign in 1826. Another tradition of monastic ordination may be traced back to Manha Seungrim, who took the *santandajie* [Threefold Ordination] at Fayuansi in Beijing in 1892. The two traditions both claim the Threefold Ordination. Gosan is appraised as a representative monk who inherited the tradition of Dae-eun Nang-o. For more information on this issue, see Yi Jarang 이자랑, “Jogyejongdan gyedan ui yeoksa mit seonggyeok” 조계종단 계단(戒壇)의 역사 및 성격, *Bulgyo yeongu* 佛教研究 42 (2015): 322-27.

<sup>2</sup> When the relics in discussion are the ones like mustard seeds, I use the word “grain” to count their number. I borrow this expression from Huili and Yancong, *A Biography of the Tripitaka Master of the Great Cien Monastery of the Great Tang Dynasty*, trans. Jung-hsi Li (Berkeley, Calif.: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 1995), 343. Quoted in John Kieschnick, *The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Material Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 33.

name Jeokmyeol bogung 寂滅寶宮 [Jeweled Palace of Nirvāṇa] after the Jeokmyeol bogung of Tongdosa.<sup>3</sup> (fig.3). In order to make clear that that the enshrined relic was one of the Tongdosa true-body relics, the name Jeokmyeol bogung and the scale-model's visual form was given the same form as that of the Diamond Ordination Platform of Tongdosa.

Both of the above examples demonstrate that the name “Diamond Ordination Platform” and the structure's physical form are not specific solely to the ordination platform of Tongdosa; rather, the name is indicative of an established designation, which in combination with the particular visual style of the structure, operates in accordance with current common conceptions of Korean Buddhism. In particular, when the reputation of the relics enshrined in a monastery is not well established, the name and form of the Diamond Ordination Platform at Tongdosa are mobilized as a strategic means to lend authority and authenticity to the relics in question. For instance, in June 1986, the twelve teeth relics of Śākyamuni Buddha were stolen from Geonbongsa 乾鳳寺 in Goseong Korea. Repeated apparitions of the Buddha in their dreams terrified the tomb robbers, prompting them to flee, leaving behind eight teeth. Three of the eight teeth that were retrieved were eventually enshrined in the separately demarcated precinct of Geonbongsa titled “Jeokmyeol bogung” which was constructed in 1994 and modeled after the Diamond Ordination Platform and *Jeokmyeol bogung* of Tongdosa.<sup>4</sup> (fig.4). This architectural configuration works as a signifier indicating that the enshrined teeth relics are not only of the same provenance but they also have the same status as that of the true-body relics of Tongdosa.

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<sup>3</sup> Buddha World, “Dotting the Pupils for a Bronze Buddha and Relic Stūpa at Wongaksa in New York,” *Wolgan Buddha*, October, 2010, [http://www.buddhaworld.org/mbuddha/index.asp?pk\\_idx=588&b\\_year=2010&b\\_month=10](http://www.buddhaworld.org/mbuddha/index.asp?pk_idx=588&b_year=2010&b_month=10).

<sup>4</sup> "Geonbongsa Seokgachisang iptapbi" 乾鳳寺釋迦齒相立塔碑 (1726), Ssangsik 雙式, GSM, <http://gsm.nricp.go.kr>. Concerning the story theft and retrieval of the teeth, see Geonbongsa, “Jinsin chia sari,” <http://www.geonbongsa.org/5>.



In 1988, the abbot Seong-un of Samcheonsa 三千寺 on Mt. Bukhan constructed a relic stūpa to house three relics of the Buddha that he had procured from Myanmar (Burma). The stūpa was given the name “Jeokmyeol bogung.”<sup>5</sup> (fig.5). However, its shape resembles Na-ong’s funeral stūpa at Sinreuksa, which is regarded as a simplified form of the Diamond Ordination Platform. Furthermore, there was no construction of a Jeokmyeol bogung in front of the newly built stūpa. Nevertheless, the prestige of the relics, which had come from a Buddhist sacred place, is emphasized with the name, “Jeokmyeol bogung”.

Possibly, it is the funeral stūpa of Toeong Seongcheol 退翁 性徹 (1912-1993) that reveals most compellingly a common perception concerning the Diamond Ordination Platform of Tongdosa shared by Korean Buddhists today. The Venerable Seongcheol, who has been held in high esteem as the most eminent Seon monk representing late twentieth-century Korean Buddhism, left as many as a hundred relics behind with his cremation. After years of controversy, his funeral stūpa was finally constructed in front of Haeinsa 海印寺 on the fifth anniversary of his death in November 1998. His stūpa, created by an installation artist, is unconventional in shape: a perfect sphere is placed atop two hemispheres standing back-to-back and which are in turn installed on a three-level platform. (fig.6). According to a grave marker installed in front of the stūpa by lay followers, the design of the stūpa was inspired by an interpretation of the Jeokmyeol bogung of Tongdosa in keeping with visual language of the present day.<sup>6</sup> To put it differently, for a lay follower, Seongcheol’s funeral stūpa does not differ much at all from the Diamond Ordination Platform of Tongdosa in which the true-body relics of Śākyamuni Buddha

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<sup>5</sup> Yi Yeonjeong, “The Jeokmyeol bogung on Mt. Samgak, Samcheonsa,” *Bulkwang*, June, 1989, [http://www.bulkwang.co.kr/bbs/board.php?bo\\_table=new\\_2\\_08&wr\\_id=11548](http://www.bulkwang.co.kr/bbs/board.php?bo_table=new_2_08&wr_id=11548).

<sup>6</sup> Baekryeon Bulgyomunhwa jaedan, “Saritap,” [http://sungchol.org/home/bbs/board.php?bo\\_table=01\\_6](http://sungchol.org/home/bbs/board.php?bo_table=01_6). See also, “Inauguration of the funeral stūpa of Seongcheol seunim,” *Yonhap News Agency*, October 22, 1998, <http://news.naver.com/main/read.nhn?mode=LSD&mid=sec&sid1=103&oid=001&aid=0004342155>.

are housed. In this regard, Seongcheol is recognized as a modern incarnation of Śākyamuni Buddha and, in this sense, also as the awakened one who ascends to the status of the great nirvāṇa, “*jeokmyeol*.”

Whether one is referring to the stone ordination platform of Ssanggyesa, the Relic Stūpa of Wongaksa in New York, the Jeokmyeol bogung of Geonbongsa and Samcheonsa, or the funeral stūpa of Seongcheol, all are joined by one common thread, the designation “Diamond Ordination Platform.” Under this rubric, all of these structures claim the name of and adhere to the architectural configuration of the Diamond Ordination Platform of Tongdosa.<sup>7</sup> This suggests that the Diamond Ordination Platform of Tongdosa functions as a touchstone that not only validates the enshrined relics as being true-body relics but also lends sacred authority to miraculous occurrences such as the one that occurred in 1988 at Ssanggyesa. At the very least, the Diamond Ordination Platform of Tongdosa is not so much a memorial object of the bygone past as a significant symbol that has lasting impact on Buddhism today. This development prompts the following questions: How did the name and physical form of the Diamond Ordination Platform of Tongdosa come to serve as a source of authority that can potentially inspire faith in the relics in question in Buddhists of contemporary Korea? How was the ceremonial space for ordination ceremonies transformed into a devotional space signifying the cult of the true-body relics? What were the doctrinal grounds of such a transformation? Finally, what historical significance does the emergence of the Diamond Ordination Platform at Tongdosa have in the context of East

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<sup>7</sup> Strictly speaking, the term, “Jeokmyeol bogung,” is indicative only of the offering hall installed in front of the site, the stūpa, earthen mound or ordination platform on which the Buddha’s relics are enshrined. Distinctively, the hall houses no Buddha statues within it because the true-body of the Buddha is supposedly present at the front of the hall. Precisely because of this, the presence of the Jeokmyeol bogung basically assumes the existence of the Buddha’s relics. Thus, the title of the Jeokmyeol bogung can be used not only as a specific term indicating the hall itself but also as a generic name embracing the stūpa, mound or ordination platform where the relics are housed. For instance, in the case of Wongaksa in New York, there is only the stūpa but it is referred to as the “Jeokmyeol bogung.”

Asian Buddhism? These are the central questions of this dissertation. A brief introduction to the monastery will set the stage.

## **Introduction to Tongdosa**

Tongdosa is known as one of the "Three Jewel" monasteries (*Sambo sachal* 三寶寺刹) of Korea. This prestigious designation likens three major monasteries to the three jewels of Buddhism: the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṃgha. As Tongdosa enshrines true-body relics of Śākyamuni Buddha, it is referred to as the "Buddha Jewel Monastery" (*Bulbo sachal* 佛寶寺刹); as Haeinsa 海印寺 houses the xylographs of the *Goryeo Daejanggyeong*, or *Tripitaka Koreana*, the monastery is called the "Dharma Jewel Monastery" (*Beopbo sachal* 法寶寺刹); as Songgwangsa 松廣寺 produced the sixteen "state preceptors" in the Goryeo period, it is designated as the "Saṃgha Jewel Monastery" (*Seungbo sachal* 僧寶寺刹).<sup>8</sup>

Tongdosa is located at the southeastern tip of the Korean Peninsula. In terms of its administrative address, the monastery belongs to the city of Yangsan in the South Gyeongsang Province.<sup>9</sup> (fig. 7). As the fifteenth district monastery in the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, Tongdosa is today a large monastery that has jurisdiction over more than 170 Buddhist

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<sup>8</sup> From the perspective of the literary evidence, the concept of "Sambo sachal" appeared separately in the early nineteenth century and increased in popularity in the latter half of the nineteenth century. For the formation issue of "sambo sachal," Kim Yongtae 김용태, "Joseon hugi bulgyo ui Imje beoptong gwa gyohak jeontong" 조선 후기 불교의 임제법통과 교학전통 (PhD diss., Seoul National University, 2008), 56-57. For a brief explanation of sambo sachal, see *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, s.v. "Sambo sach'al."

<sup>9</sup> Yangsan is located at 128.51-129.31 degrees east longitude and 35.17-35.32 degrees north latitude. Climatological statistics in the twentieth century shows that Yangsan has four, clear seasons and its climate is milder than that of the other regions of the Peninsula. However, the annual precipitation rate amounts to 1,796mm. Thus, the rainfall is higher there than in other regions. As there are only around five snowy days per year, Yangsan is the area with the lowest average snowfall. Gisangcheong 기상청, *Hanguk gihudo 1981-2010* 한국기후도 1981-2010 (Korea: National government publication, 2012), 1; 20.

monasteries located in the South Gyeongsang Province.<sup>10</sup> The monastery, alternatively named *Yeongchuk Chongrim* 靈鷲叢林 (Ecumenical Monastery on Mt. Yeongchuk) is designated as one of eight ecumenical monasteries in which the halls for scriptural studies, disciplinary studies and Seon meditation—that is, the full range of Buddhist practices—are expected to be provided.<sup>11</sup> Hermitages (Kr. am 庵) such as Geurak-am, Baekryeon-am, Jajang-am, Anyang-am, Chwiun-am and the like, which are all dispersed on the mountains surrounding Tongdosa, form the outermost boundary of the Tongdosa community. (fig.8). As of November 2010, more than four hundred monks were making the winter retreat in Tongdosa, thousands of lay believers were gathering in the Seolbeop-jeon 說法殿 (Preaching Dharma Hall) to participate in the Hwaeom Assembly 華嚴法會, and reportedly, an average of 7,000 people were visiting the monastery each day. Indeed, Tongdosa is a large monastery and living religious community full of vitality.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> The name “Tongdosa,” which is written as “通度寺” in the Sinitic logograph, has three meanings. First, the word “Tongdosa” means that the shape of the mountain on which Tongdosa is located “corresponds to” (=tong 通) Vulture Peak in “India” (=do 度). Second, “Tongdosa” means that any person who wants to be a monk must “be ordained” (=do 度) “through” (=tong 通) this ordination platform. Third, “Tongdosa” means that one “harmonizes” (=tong 通) all dharma and “liberates” (=do 度) sentient beings. See, Hanguk Bulgyo Yeonguwon 韓國佛教研究院, *Tongdosa* 通度寺, Hanguk ui sachal 韓國의寺刹 4 (Seoul: Iljisa, 1974), 26. Although it is not clear when these interpretations of the name Tongdosa were established and circulated, the first and third interpretations are found in the *Tongdosa sajeok*. This suggests that the second interpretation is very likely a later formation that was not established until 1912 when the *Tongdosa sajeok* was published. I would argue that the explanations of the name of Tongdosa were most likely fabricated to support and validate the nineteenth-century identification of Tongdosa as “the Buddhist ancestral monastery.” Following the development of the first interpretation, which focused on “the shape” of the site itself, the third interpretation relating far more to the actual “meaning” of the word was likely established. In *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, the name of Tongdosa is somewhat literally interpreted as “‘Breakthrough Monastery’ (lit. ‘Penetrating Crossing-Over Monastery’).” However, no references to this interpretation have been presented. At the least, this interpretation is quite different from the popular understanding of the name of Tongdosa since the twentieth century. *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, s.v. “T’ongdosa.”

<sup>11</sup> *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, s.v. “T’ongdosa.”

<sup>12</sup> For the basic information of Tongdosa, see, Yeongchuk chongrim Tongdosa, <http://www.tongdosa.or.kr/>. For the Hwaeom Assembly in 2010, Tongdosa, *Wolgan Bogung*, February, 2011, <http://oncatalog.com/tongdosa/release/bogung201102/>. For the winter retreat in 2010, Tongdosa, *Wolgan Bogung*, December, 2010, <http://oncatalog.com/tongdosa/release/bogung201012/>. For the Seolbeop-jeon, Tongdosa, *Wolgan Bogung*, June, 2011, <http://oncatalog.com/tongdosa/release/bogung201106/>.

Tongdosa is set in a valley where three tributary streams at the upper region of the Yangsan Stream are confluent.<sup>13</sup> From the Donggu (village entrance) where the Mupung bridge is placed, visitors walking westward with a stream called the Cheongryu-dong on their left, arrive at the Ilju-mun 一柱門 (One Pillar Gate) in about twenty-five to thirty minutes while having passed by the Seungtapwon 僧塔院 (Cloister of Funeral Stūpas of Monks) and the Tongdosa Museum, both of which were constructed recently. A plaque bearing the name, “*Yeongchuksan Tongdosa*” (Tongdosa on Mt. Yeongchuk), is hung on the Ilju Gate, the entry point of the main Tongdosa compound. (fig.9). The site gently rises toward the west but the skillful layout of terraces and gates with steps makes the site level overall. The entire area of the monastery measures 360m from east to west and 120 to 160m from north to south. It is a long, narrow site flanked by a stream to the south and hills to the north. The main, central axis of the monastery proceeds from the east to west. (fig.10; fig.11).

Along the central axis of Tongdosa stand the Ilju-mun, the Cheongwang-mun 天王門 (Heavenly Kings Gate) and the Buri-mun 不二門 (Non-Duality Gate) in that sequence.<sup>14</sup> This arrangement of three gates along the central axis is in keeping with the typical layout found in large Buddhist monasteries in the Joseon period. However, the layout of the Buddha halls is a peculiar one not found elsewhere in Korea. The Buddha halls are not laid out along the central axis. Instead, they are arranged along the three north-south axes (A, B, C) perpendicular to the central axis.<sup>15</sup> (fig.12; fig.13).

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<sup>13</sup> University of Ulsan 울산대학교 건축대학, *Tongdosa garam baechi silcheuk josa bogoseo* 통도사 가람 배치 실측 조사 보고서 [A Survey on Tong Do Sa Temple] (Ulsan: Yemunsa, 2007[1980]), 13.

<sup>14</sup> The size of the site of Tongdosa is estimated by referencing the Survey Map, which was produced by a team from the University of Ulsan. See, *ibid.*, 83.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 7. An Yeongbae 안영배, "Tongdosa garam baechi e gwanhan yeongu" 통도사 가람배치에 관한 연구, *JAIK 대한건축학회지* 25, no. 1 (1981): 3-8.

Passing through the second gate, the Cheongwang-mun, which is the official main entrance, one encounters the first precinct of Buddha halls. At the northernmost end of the first north-south axis (C) stands the first principal hall of worship, Yeongsan-jeon 靈山殿 (Vulture Peak Hall). Along with this hall at the north, the Yaksa-jeon 藥師殿 (Medicine Buddha Hall) at the west, and the Geurak-jeon 極樂殿 (Paradise [of Amitâbha] Hall) at the east loosely surround the courtyard. Within the courtyard is set a three-story stone pagoda, which was originally located off-center and to the side of the Geukrak-jeon; a rectangular stone plate called the Baeryeseok 拜禮石 (offering stone) lies on the ground at the south of the pagoda. The southernmost side of the courtyard is occupied by the Manse-ru 萬歲樓 (Ten-thousand Years Pavilion) and a two-story bell tower, Beomjong-ru 梵鍾樓 (Buddhist Bell Tower). The main entry route passing through the south of the courtyard disrupts the sense of enclosure in the courtyard. This first precinct of Buddha halls is traditionally called Ha-rojeon 下爐殿 (Lower Incense Burner Hall). I will refer to it as the Yeongsan-jeon precinct.<sup>16</sup>

After ascending a staircase and passing through the Buri-mun, one arrives at the second precinct of Buddha halls. Along the second north-south axis (B) stand the three major Buddha halls. At the northernmost end of the axis rises the second principal hall of worship, Daegwangmyeong-jeon 大光明殿 (Vairocana Hall). At the center of the axis is the Yonghwa-jeon 龍華殿 (Maitreya Hall), and at the southernmost end is the Gwaneum-jeon 觀音殿 (Avalokitêsvara Hall). A stone structure called Bongbal-tap 奉鉢塔 (Honored Begging Bowl Stûpa) is laid out in front of the Yonghwa-jeon, while a stone lantern rises before the Gwaneum-

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<sup>16</sup> The “rojeon” is a monastic officer responsible for cleaning the Buddha halls and maintaining the incense within them. Presumably, it seems ramified from the dianzhu 殿主 or zhidian 知殿 in the monastic bureaucracy of Chan monasteries who is “responsible for maintaining the Sumeru altar in the buddha hall.” It is translated as “hall prefect.” See, *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, “知殿” (article by Griffith Foulk).

jeon. The second precinct of Buddha halls is traditionally referred to as the Jung-rojeon 中爐殿 (Middle Incense Burner Hall). I will refer to it the Daegwangmyeong-jeon precinct.

In the western vicinity of the second precinct of Buddha halls, buildings such as the Sejonbi-gak” 世尊碑閣 (Honored One’s Stone Tablet Pavilion), the Gaesanjo-dang 開山祖堂 (Founder’s Hall), and the Janggyeong-gak 藏經閣 (Tripiṭaka Pavilion) are freely arranged along the eastern wall of the precinct of the Diamond Ordination Platform.

Beyond this area is situated the third and final precinct of Buddha halls. The Diamond Ordination Platform (Kr. Geumgang gyedan) is located at the northernmost end of the third north-south axis (A); it is followed along the same axis by the Daeung-jeon 大雄殿 (Great Hero Hall), alternatively called Jeokmyeol bogung 寂滅寶宮 (Jeweled Palace of Nirvana) or Daebeop-dang 大法堂 (Great Dharma Hall). Across the large, open courtyard from the Daeung-jeon, the Seolbeop-jeon, the most recently constructed and largest lecture hall, demarcates the southern boundary of the third precinct. At the east of the courtyard lies the Myeongbu-jeon 冥府殿 (Purgatory Hall or Kṣitigarbha Hall). On the opposite side of the Myeongbu-jeon, the Eungjin-jeon 應真殿 (Arhats Hall) defines the western boundary of this precinct. A small pond called Guryong-ji 九龍池 (Nine Dragons Pond) is located between the Eungjin-jeon and Daeung-jeon. To the north of the pond, small halls such as the Samseong-gak 三聖閣 (Three Saints Pavilion) and the Sansin-gak 山神閣 (Mountain Deity Pavilion) form the northwestern boundary of the precinct. This third precinct of Buddha halls is traditionally called the Sang-rojeon 上爐殿 (Upper Incense Burner Hall). I will refer to it as the precinct of the Diamond Ordination Platform or the Daeung-jeon precinct. (fig.14).

## The Diamond Ordination Platform Today

Again, the precinct of the Diamond Ordination Platform is located at the northwestern end of the Tongdosa compound.<sup>17</sup> The site is about 2m higher than the eastern ground level of the Daeung-jeon precinct and approximately 1m higher than the level of the ground to the west. The shape of the site as a whole is close to that of a rectangle, measuring about 41.5m in the east-west direction and a bit less (37m) on the northern-southern edge. At the center of the site is a square ground stone, or Jidaeseok (地臺石), measuring around 14m long set directly on the earthen ground, although it is not currently visible. The ordination platform rests on the ground stone at around 70cm to the north of its central point. The ordination platform is a two-story stone structure consisting of lower and upper square platforms; a stone, bell-shaped reliquary is placed at the center of the upper level. The lower platform averages around 9.6m wide and 0.97m high and the upper platform averages about 7m wide and 0.41m high. The combined height of the two platforms is 1.38m, which is slightly less than the eye-level of an average male (1.63m). The stone, bell-shaped reliquary rests on a double-layered lotus pedestal. The combined height of the bell and the pedestal is 1.76m, which is close to the height of an average male. The total height of the Diamond Ordination Platform is about 3.142m. In other words, the distinctly human scale of the structure does not overwhelm beholders.

The most compelling visual component of the ordination platform is the stone, bell-shaped reliquary. Again, it is composed of a double-layered lotus pedestal, the bell and its finial. The pedestal comprises an upright, eight-petal lotus superimposed on an inverted, eight-petal lotus. A

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<sup>17</sup> With regard to the architectural information and the sculptural features of the Diamond Ordination Platform, I refer primarily to the following three studies: Jang Chungsik 張忠植, "Hanguk seokjo gyeodango" 韓國 石造戒壇考, *Bulgyomisul* 佛教美術, no. 4 (1979): 115-23; footnote 67. Mun Myeongdae 문명대, "Tongdosa seokjo Geumgang gyedan ui yeongu" 通度寺 石造金剛戒壇의 研究, in *TDSB*, ed. Geonchuksa samuso Uri 건축사사무소 우리 (Seoul: Tongdosa, 1997), 141-63. Yim Chungsin 임충신, "Tongdosa Geumgang gyedan ui yeongjo cheokdo gochal" 통도사 금강계단의 영조척도 고찰, *Bulgyo munhwa yeongu* 佛教文化研究 2 (1991): 94-95; 100-3.



scroll pattern is engraved on the sound ring of the bell. Four images are incised in the four quarters of its waist. On the south quarter is an incense burner; the flying celestials are depicted on the east and west sides; on the north is a shape resembling a spirit tablet. A single flower is incised at the points of the intermediate directions. The shoulder of the bell is covered by a band of inverted, eight-petal lotus flowers. At the crown of the bell, a five-petal lotus bud rests on a drum-shaped upright lotus. Overall, the stone bell is an example of fine stonework in terms of sculptural expression and technique and quite distinguished in this regard from other sculptural works on the Diamond Ordination Platform.

At each of the four corners of the Diamond Ordination Platform stand the four statues of guardian warriors. The height of each statue, including the pedestal, averages 1.16m. They are all represented wearing armor and holding swords or other weapons. Traditionally, the guardian warriors are identified as the Four Heavenly Kings but there are no objects or iconographic characteristics to confirm such an identification here.

Various images are engraved in high relief on the facing stones (Kr. *myeonseok* 面石) on all four sides of the upper and lower platforms. There are total thirty-three images on the lower platform; eight images each are engraved on the eastern, western and northern faces and nine images are engraved on the southern face.<sup>18</sup> The figures in these reliefs are all seated and can be divided into two types in terms of iconography, Buddhas and bodhisattvas. The former are represented with either halos or mandorla and the seed syllables of *Siddham* script inscribed on both sides of their heads. There are five such images: a single Buddha at the center of the eastern, western, and northern faces and two Buddhas laid out symmetrically on either side of the

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<sup>18</sup> The “myeonseok” is a component of the stone foundation/platform corresponding to the structure’s waist. It usually consists of an upright stone slab, on which various images and patterns are engraved in relief.

southern face. The bodhisattvas with flying scarves descend from heaven on clouds. They display a variety of hand gestures and sit in various poses. There are twenty-eight such figures, seven on each side of the lower platform.

On the four sides of the upper platform, images of seated figures are engraved as well, but the number and layout of these images vary on each face. Today seven images appear on each of the eastern and northern faces, six images on the western face and five on the southern one. However, considering the damage and the indications of replacements evident on the west and south faces, it is likely that all four sides of the upper platform originally contained seven images each. As there are many portions of the imagery that are worn out or chipped off, it is not easy to discern details. On the whole, these figures, which have been identified as celestial beings with flying sleeves perched on cloud pedestals, are similar in iconography to the bodhisattva images in the lower platform. (fig.15; fig.16)

A photograph of a scene witnessed by Sekino Tadashi at Tongdosa in 1902 captures the appearance of the Diamond Ordination Platform at that time, when none of the modern interventions had yet occurred. The photograph shows the Diamond Ordination Platform from a vantage point to the southwest of the structure. (fig.17) The one-stepped stone base on which the monks of Tongdosa are standing with their shoes off is the original ground stone, which is invisible today. Below we see the earthen ground. To the right of the photographer the rear roof of the then Yeongja-jeon 影子殿 (Portrait Hall; presently Janggyeong-gak) and the gable of the Daegwangmyeong-jeon beyond it come into view. On the left is a rectangular stone slab with some engraved images that stands at the southwestern corner of the ground stone. Another such stone slab stands at the southeastern corner. These two stone slabs remained on the site until the

1980s, at which time they were moved to the Tongdosa Museum.<sup>19</sup> Here we also see the original position of the stone offering table on the southern side of the ground stone. There was then sufficient space to accommodate the line of five monks who posed between the offering table and Diamond Ordination Platform. Particularly interesting is that the stone lantern now on the eastern side does not appear in the photograph. A comparison with a later photograph suggests that there was only a single stone lantern on the south side in 1902. (fig.18)

### **The Diamond Ordination Platform and the True-Body Relics**

The Diamond Ordination Platform, at Tongdosa has been popularly known to enshrine true-body relics of Śākyamuni Buddha, thus allowing Tongdosa to hold the extremely prestigious status of “the Buddha Jewel Monastery” in Korea. According to the *Samguk yusa* (hereafter, *Yusa*) 三國遺事 [*Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms*] compiled between the late thirteenth century and the early fourteenth centuries, true-body relics were brought to Korea by the Silla monk Jajang 慈藏 (fl. 636-645).<sup>20</sup> Jajang had received a kind of Ordination through Auspicious Sign, or *Seosang sugye*, from Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva on Mt. Wutai in China and procured true-body relics of Śākyamuni Buddha together with the Buddha’s robe and bowl from the bodhisattva. Upon his return to Silla, Jajang selected three sites in which to enshrine the objects he had procured: the

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<sup>19</sup> Two rectangular stone slabs are pictured in a book of Tongdosa published in 1987, but when I visited Tongdosa in 1993, they had already been moved to the Tongdosa Museum. See, Tongdosa Museum, *Hanguk ui myeongchal Tongdosa* 韓國의 名刹 通度寺 (Seoul: Samseong chulpan, 1987), 24.

<sup>20</sup> A number of studies of the life of Jajang have been made in Korea and Japan. Among the foundational studies are Sin Jongwon 辛鍾遠, "Jajang gwa junggosidae sahoe ui sasangeok gwaje" 慈藏과 中古時代 社會의 思想的 課題, in *Silla chogi bulgyosa yeongu* 新羅初期佛教史研究 (Seoul: Minjoksa, 1992), 250-86; Nam Dongsin 南東信, "Jajangui bulgyo sasanggwa bulgyo chigukchaek" 慈藏의 佛教思想과 佛教治國策, *Hanguksa yeongu* 韓國史研究 76 (1992): 1-45; Kamata Shigeo 鎌田茂雄, "Jajang no katsuyaku" 慈藏の活躍, in *Shiragi Bukkyō shi josetsu* 新羅佛教史序說 (Tōkyō: Daizō Shuppan, 1988), 134-98. For the studies of Jajang in English, Jong Myung Kim, "Chajang (fl. 636-650) and "Buddhism as National Protector" in Korea: A Reconsideration" (paper presented at the Religions in Traditional Korea, Copenhagen, 1995), 23-55. Richard D. McBride II, "The Vision-Quest Motif in Narrative Literature on the Buddhist Traditions of Silla," *Korean Studies* 27 (2003): 27-35.

Nine-Story Pagoda of Hwangnyongsa 皇龍寺, Taehwasa 太和寺, and Tongdosa.<sup>21</sup> Thus, Jajang reportedly founded the Diamond Ordination Platform at Tongdosa in the early seventh century to enshrine the true-body relics and to create a place in Silla where the correct precepts could be practiced. The Diamond Ordination Platform of Tongdosa became a key symbol of the monastery's founding by Jajang in the seventh century, of the monastic tradition represented by this eminent Silla monk, and of the prestigious true-body relics. As a result of the authority granted to the name and form of the Diamond Ordination Platform, its date, traditions, and singularity have seldom been questioned.

Since the early twentieth century, however, Japanese scholars have challenged the received wisdom concerning the founding date of the Diamond Ordination Platform. They argue: if the authoritative design source for the Diamond Ordination Platform is the *Guanzhong chuangli Jietantujing* 關中創立戒壇圖經 (hereafter, *Jietantujing*) composed by Daoxuan 道宣 (596-667) in 667, as is evidenced in the installation of an inverted, cauldron-shaped reliquary, then an early seventh-century date for its founding is at the least anachronistic.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, Korean scholars have questioned the traditional assumption that Tongdosa has been an important monastery since its foundation in the Silla period, claiming that it did not attain significant status until the late eleventh century in the Goryeo period.<sup>23</sup> These discussions have not been

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<sup>21</sup> “Jajang jeongryul” 慈藏定律; “Daesan omanjinsin” 臺山五萬眞身; “Hwangnyongsa gucheungtap” 皇龍寺九層塔; *Samguk yusa* 高麗史 卷之四十五 (2003), 535; 460-61; 385.

<sup>22</sup> For critical discussions of the date of the Tongdosa ordination platform by Japanese scholars, see Ōchō Enichi 横超慧日, “Kaidan ni tsuite (chu)” 戒壇について(中), *Shina Bukkyo shigaku* 支那佛教史學 5, no. 2 (1941): 56. Murata Jirō 村田治郎, “Kaidan shoko” 戒壇小考, *Bukkyo geijutsu* 50 (1961): 10-11. For responses to this controversy by Korean scholars, Chae Inhwan 蔡印幻, “Jajangui gyeyulgwa gyedan changseol” 慈藏의 戒律과 戒壇創設 [Ja-jang's Vinaya and Foundation of Platform], *Dongguk sasang* 東國思想 15 (1982): 32-5. Jang, “Hanguk seokjo gyeodango,” 105-114.

<sup>23</sup> Chae Sangsik 蔡尙植, “Goryeo junggi Tongdosa ui sagyeok gwa yeoksajeok uimi” 高麗중기 通度寺의 寺格과 역사적 의미, *Hanguk munhwa yeongu* 韓國文化研究 3 (1990): 61; 64-65; 68-69.

sufficiently developed to pose a serious threat to the widely established understanding of the Diamond Ordination Platform mentioned above. Nevertheless, they open up new perspectives on the history of Tongdosa and prompt reconsideration of the traditional understanding of the Diamond Ordination Platform.

The most puzzling aspect of the well-established authority of the Diamond Ordination Platform, however, is the matter of the authenticity of the true-body relics enshrined there. The issue has not been subjected to a thorough, critical discussion thus far. Despite the popular belief in their authenticity today, the provenance of the Tongdosa relics is very obscure in the historical record. As recorded in the *Yusa*, only four grains of the true-body relics were housed in the ordination platform at Tongdosa in the mid-thirteenth century. By the late fourteenth century, these four relics had been transferred from Tongdosa to the capital of Gaegyeong, and then were subsequently enshrined in the five-story pagoda of Heungcheonsa 興天寺 in the newly founded Joseon capital, Hanyang (presently, Seoul). Officially, however, the four true-body relics of Tongdosa were sent to the Ming dynasty in 1419 at the request of the Ming Yongle emperor (r. 1403-1424). Even if those particular true-body relics actually remained hidden in the Joseon palace, thereby evading the attention of the Ming envoys, and were later enshrined once again in the Heungcheonsa pagoda, they would not have escaped the fire that struck the pagoda in 1510. Nevertheless, Master Samyeong Yujeong (1544-1610) reported that the four relics were still enshrined at the Diamond Ordination Platform when the Japanese army plundered them just after the outbreak of the Imjin War (1592-1598). Subsequently, the four plundered relics, which may have been arguably those magically multiplied from the original four but not the originals, were secured once again by Yujeong. He sent all of them to his master, Cheongheo Hyujeong (1520-1604), on Mt. Geumgang, who then returned two of them to his disciple and enshrined the

remaining two grains in the newly constructed relic pagoda at Naewon-am 內院菴 on Mt. Myohyang. Of the two grains Hyujeong sent back to Yujeong, the disciples of Yujeong housed one grain in the ordination platform at Yongyeonsa 龍淵寺 in Daegu. Thus, only the remaining, single grain was enshrined once again in the Diamond Ordination Platform at Tongdosa in 1614. Despite the upheaval to which the four relics of Tongdosa were evidently subjected over the course of several centuries, by the early eighteenth century they were all reported as having been enshrined securely within the Diamond Ordination Platform and regarded as no less than the true-body relics Jajang had brought to Silla.<sup>24</sup>

Under these circumstances, then, it is unlikely that the monks of other monasteries, in particular those with competing interests, would have trusted the Tongdosa relics and not raised doubts about them. Indeed, according to a record written by a Tongdosa monk in 1705, there was widespread speculation among monks in the late seventeenth century that the true-body relics brought by Jajang to Silla were not those at Tongdosa but rather those of Jungdae 中臺 on Mt. Odae.<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, given that it was a well-known fact in the early Joseon period that the four relics of Tongdosa were transferred to the five-story pagoda of Heungcheonsa, it is apparent that there must have been doubt surrounding the authenticity of the relics enshrined in the Diamond Ordination Platform in the early Joseon as well.

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<sup>24</sup> The transfer of the Tongdosa relics will be discussed in Chapter Three. For a brief summary of their transfer, see *Buljongchalyaksa* 佛宗刹略史 (1911/1934), TJ: 154-56. *Sabagyaju gyedan wonryu gangyorok* 娑婆教主戒壇源流綱要錄 (1705), compiled by Min-o 敏悟, TJ: 87-88; 97-98.

<sup>25</sup> *Gyedan wonryu*, TJ: 94.

With regard to this issue, the responses of Confucian *yangban-literati* on their travels to Tongdosa are worthy of attention.<sup>26</sup> When Jeong Sihon 丁時翰 (1625-1707) and Kim Changheup 金昌翕 (1653-1722) visited Tongdosa in 1688 and 1708, the monks of Tongdosa guided them to the Manse Pavilion (Jeong) or the Buddhist Bell Tower (Kim) in order to provide them with an introduction to the monastery. It seems that the Diamond Ordination Platform was not a major part of their tour. Although Jeong was led to the Diamond Ordination Platform, he did not mention its special prestige. What both figures did comment specifically on was the scenery in the vicinity of the Mupung Bridge beyond the premises of the monastery. Jeong referred to the monastery as “Tongdosa on Mt. Chukseo” 鶯栖山通度寺, just following the naming convention of Buddhist monasteries. Kim appreciated that the Buddhist halls of Tongdosa were the biggest and most splendid of all the monasteries he had visited, but he did not refer to the monastery by using a special title.<sup>27</sup> In short, these two eminent Confucian visitors left no record that specifically identified Tongdosa as a monastery with a special distinction. There seem to have been no special endeavors on the part of the Tongdosa monks to suggest that the monastery had special status.

When Yun Gi 尹愷 (1741-1826) visited Tongdosa in 1802, he was informed by the monks that, because Śākyamuni’s skull bones were enshrined in the Diamond Ordination Platform, the monastery “became the ancestor of Seon” [爲禪(之)宗].<sup>28</sup> The Confucian *yangban*-scholar, Song

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<sup>26</sup> *Yangban* is understood as the members of the two ranks of officials, civil and military; they comprised the elite of Joseon Korea and a hereditary aristocracy. On this matter, see Martina Deuchler, *The Confucian Transformation of Korea: A Study of Society and Ideology* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992), 12; note 22.

<sup>27</sup> "Sanjung ilgi" 山中日記 (1686-1688), Udam seonsaeng munjib 愚潭先生文集 11, Jeong Sihon 丁時翰, Yonsei daehakgyo inmungwahak yeonguso (1968): 65. "Yeongnam ilgi" 嶺南日記 (1708), Samyeonjip seupyu 三淵集拾遺 28, Kim Changheup 金昌翕, DKC: 167-201ab.

<sup>28</sup> In the case of Yun Gi, the phrase “爲禪宗” is translated literally as, “Tongdosa becomes the Seon Buddhism.” As most monasteries in the late Joseon period claimed to stand for the Seon Buddhism, however, such a literal translation becomes devoid of meaning. Considering that the presence of Śākyamuni’s cranial bones is emphasized,

Dalsu 宋達洙 (1808-1858), visited Tongdosa in 1857. The monks of the monastery led Song to the Dharma Hall (presently Daeung Hall), which was located in front of the Diamond Ordination Platform, and showed him the robes of Śākyamuni Buddha and Jajang. He did not believe in the authenticity of the two robes but referred to the monastery as “the ancestral home of monks of the East Country (=Korea)” 東國僧家所宗.<sup>29</sup> This shows that by the early nineteenth century the importance of the Diamond Ordination Platform was clearly recognized and promoted by monastery monks. In order to support the privileged title claimed for their monastery, they apparently made considerable effort to inform the visitors of the presence of Śākyamuni’s skull bones and robes in their monastery.

While Confucian literati such as Song Dalsu referred to Tongdosa as “the ancestor of Buddhist monasteries,” the nineteenth-century monks of Tongdosa preferred to use expressions like “the *Wonjong*” 源宗 (Fountainhead School) or “*Bulmun jongchal*” 佛門宗刹 to designate their monastery.<sup>30</sup> In 1865 a Tongdosa monk wrote: “this monastery is the *Wonjong* of various mountains (=monasteries)” [茲寺 諸山之源宗], the word “*Wonjong*” can be translated as “the origin/source/root of Buddhist monasteries” and, in this sense, as “the Ancestral Monastery of

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it should be understood as “爲禪之宗.” That is, “Tongdosa becomes the ancestor of Seon Buddhism.” “Tongdosa” 通度寺 (1801), Mumyeongja sijipgo 無名子集詩稿 4, Yun Gi 尹愷, DKC: 256-88b.

<sup>29</sup> “*Namyu ilgi*” 南遊日記 (1857), Sujongjaejip 守宗齋集 8, Song Dalsu 宋達洙, DKC: 313-100ab.

<sup>30</sup> The term “*Wonjong*” appears for the first time in a record composed by Geumpa Yimchu in 1800 when the Geukrak-jeon was reconstructed. Thereafter, the term frequently appears in various records of Tongdosa produced between 1855 and 1865. For example, it appears in the *Yeongjwa Yangsangunbuk Chukseosan Tongdosa Geukrakjeon jungsu sanryangmun* 嶺左梁山郡北鷲棲山通度寺極樂殿重修上樑文 (1800), Geumpa Imchu 金波任秋, D-1606, HSM III-S: 252. *Chwiun-am jungsu sangryangmun* 翠雲庵重修上樑文 (1857), Houn Doeon 灑雲道彦, D-700, HSM 2-S: 322. *Tongdosa Bogwangjeon dancheonggi* 通度寺普光殿丹青記 (1865), Yuseong 有惺, P-38, HSM III-S: 86. The expression related to “*jongchal*” 宗刹 appears variously from the early nineteenth century to the early twentieth century; for example, “*Bulmun jongchal*” in *Tongdosa Daebeopdang Jungsugi* 通度寺大法堂重修記 (1809), Yi Yuha 李游夏, P-29, HSM 3-S: 84. “*Ilgukji jongchal*” 一國之宗刹 in *Je Ilbongdang yugong sipan* 題日逢堂有功詩板 (around 1801), P-205, HSM III-S: 114. “*Jeil jongchal*” 第一宗刹 in *Buldan* 佛壇 (1858), Houn Doeon 灑雲道彦, I-324, HSM II-S: 304. “*Bulji jongchal*” 佛之宗刹 in *Tongdosa sajeok* 通度寺事蹟 (1912), Seo Haedam 徐海曇, NLK: 6.



[Joseon] Buddhism.”<sup>31</sup> This interpretation corresponds to “Bulmun jongchal,” which can be translated as “Buddhist Ancestral Monastery.” Into the mid-nineteenth century, therefore, Tongdosa was recognized by insiders such as the monks as well as by outsiders like the Confucian *literati* as a monastery with a very exalted status. In other words, by the mid-nineteenth century, the widespread doubt that had been raised concerning the authenticity of the Tongdosa relics in the late seventeenth century had been resolved and the monastery had been elevated to the supreme status that could be granted only through the established authority of the relics.

Of particular interest in the context of relic cult in the late Joseon period is an anecdote from 1857 describing how the monks of Donghwasa 桐華寺 in Daegu showed a Buddha’s tooth to Song Dalsu when he stopped at the monastery a month prior to his visit to Tongdosa in 1857.<sup>32</sup> Donghwasa was a famous cultic site of the miraculously appearing relics, the finger bones of Maitreya, and thus received a great deal of attention from the royalty and nobility of thirteenth-century Goryeo period.<sup>33</sup> By the late Joseon period, the cult objects were no longer the finger bones but rather a Buddha’s tooth, yet the monks of the monastery remained proud of their status as an important site of the relic cult. Moreover, the monks constructed the Diamond Ordination Platform in Donghwasa in the early twentieth century, following the example of Tongdosa.<sup>34</sup> Despite these efforts, it cannot be said that Donghwasa has enjoyed a level of

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<sup>31</sup> *Tongdosa Bogwangjeon dancheonggi*, HSM III-S: 86.

<sup>32</sup> "Namyu ilgi," *Sujongjaejip* 8, DKC: 313-97ab.

<sup>33</sup> Nam Dongsin 남동신, "Samguk yusa ui saseo roseoui teukseong" 三國遺事의 史書로서의 特性 *Bulgyohak yeongu* 불교학연구 16 (2007): 63-65.

<sup>34</sup> The eastern stone pagoda of the Geumdang hermitage 金堂庵, located on the southeastern hill outside of the main Buddha hall area of Donghwasa, was repaired in 1901-1902. In this repair, the “Diamond Ordination Platform” facing the pagoda was built and enclosed by walls. However, the platform is not extant and little is known of the fate

prestige comparable to that of Tongdosa. Naewon-am and Yongyeonsa also enshrined relics from the “same” group of true-body relics as those at Tongdosa. However, neither of the two monasteries has been widely recognized as cultic sites at which true-body relics are enshrined. That being the case, one must ask why Tongdosa alone enjoys the status of preeminent site of the cult of the Buddha’s relic or, to put it differently, why were other monasteries such as Donghwasa and Yongyeonsa completely overshadowed by Tongdosa in terms of the relics cult?

I make these comparisons to draw attention to an important issue that has received little attention from scholars: the competition for legitimacy between Korean monasteries possessing the Buddha relics. In my view, the ascendancy of Tongdosa to a position of greater prestige can be regarded as the result of the competition between various monasteries over the predominance of the relics they enshrined. In this competition, the monks of Tongdosa deployed a special strategy: they utilized the “diamond ordination platform” to transform their monastery into a site that enjoyed special protection thanks to the true-body relics of Śākyamuni Buddha. Currently, the title, “Diamond Ordination Platform,” is used to designate sites that function either as reliquaries or ordination spaces. However, the term “diamond ordination platform” was developed and deployed at Tongdosa. This was the first instance of such usage in Korea.

The term “diamond,” referring to the Sanskrit word “*vajra*” meaning “adamantine” or “indestructible,” has particular historical as well as doctrinal meaning in relation to the ordination platform. The conception underlying the notion of the diamond ordination platform is found in the writing of the Tang-dynasty monk, Daoxuan, an erudite Buddhist historian and a great commentator on the Vinaya. He did not use the term “diamond ordination platform,” but

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of this platform. "Palgongsan Donghwasa jungsu Seokgayeorae saritap bimyeong" 八公山桐華寺重修釋迦如來舍利塔碑銘, Bangsan seonsaeng munjip 舫山先生文集 19, Heo Hun 許薰, DKC: 328-146d.

considered the ordination platform diamond-like in its indestructibility in the face of cosmic extinction. He also understood it as the site where the diamond-like precepts would be bestowed upon the ordainees.<sup>35</sup> What merits special attention is that Daoxuan regarded Buddha's bones as an adamant source of the power. At the least, we can find a possibility in Daoxuan's thought that the ordination platform might be combined with the cult of relics through the concept of "diamond."

According to the monastery gazetteers of Tongdosa, it was not until the early fourteenth century that the monks of Tongdosa began to develop the symbolism of the stone ordination platform in order to align it with the concept of "diamond." Quite notably, the ordination platform at Tongdosa is not designated as the "Diamond Ordination Platform" in the *Yusa*. Indeed, when Min Ji 閔漬 (1248-1326) compiled a gazetteer of Woljeongsa 月精寺 on Mt. Odae in 1307, he simply referred to the "*Tongdosa gyedangi*" 通度寺戒壇記, or "Record of the Ordination Platform at Tongdosa," which does not use the designation "diamond."<sup>36</sup> The earliest mention of a diamond ordination platform [*geumgang gyedan*] appears in a record of a visit to Tongdosa by an Indian monk named Śūnyādiya (Kr. Jigong 指空); the record itself was probably composed in 1328 by a Tongdosa monk.<sup>37</sup> This record coincided both with an era of chaos and with Tongdosa's ascendancy to the status of nationwide cultic center for the Buddha's relics; the relics housed in its ordination platform attracted an enormous number of pilgrims from throughout the country. Under such circumstances, the monks of Tongdosa seem to have employed Daoxuan's concept of the "diamond" in their effort to transform the ordination

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<sup>35</sup> *Guanzhong chuangli jietantujing* 關中創立戒壇圖經, T 1892-45. 810: b14-b18.

<sup>36</sup> *Odaesan woljeongsa sajeok* 五臺山月精寺事蹟 (1307), Min Ji 閔漬, Bulgyo jinheunghoe wolbo 1-8 (1916): 48.

<sup>37</sup> "Seocheon Jigonghwasang wisarigasa gyedan byeophoeigi" 西天指空和尚爲舍利袈裟戒壇法會記 (1328), Tongdosa sajeok yakrok (1642), Seokho 釋瑚, TJ: 40.

platform into a space of salvation impervious to evil and calamity where people could pray for and await the arrival of the future Buddha. Thus, the concept of the Diamond Ordination Platform was established by the late-Goryeo monks of Tongdosa, who also defined their monastery as a site protected during the final age of the Dharma and a starting point of the new age of the True Dharma. It was based on this concept of the Diamond Ordination Platform that the late Joseon monks of Tongdosa successfully quelled the widespread doubts surrounding the authenticity of the monastery's true-body relics and established the prestigious status of Tongdosa as "the Buddhist Ancestral Monastery."

### **Strategies of Tongdosa**

First in the early Joseon and then in the late Joseon, the monks of Tongdosa mobilized two crucial strategies in order to cope with the widespread doubt about the authenticity and provenance of the true-body relics of the Diamond Ordination Platform. With the first strategy, the Diamond Ordination Platform was conceived of as "the place of origin" 本處 (Kr. *boncheo*) where the Buddhist law was protected and renewed; this understanding of the platform's central role in the preservation of Buddhist law became an essential component of the early-Joseon Tongdosa monks' response to the removal of the true-body relics from the monastery. The concept of "the place of origin" appears in the *Gasa huigi* 袈裟稀奇 (*Rare Wonder of the Robe*), which was probably compiled by the monks of Tongdosa in the early fifteenth-century Joseon period. It recounts an anecdote concerning the Goryeo king, Gwangjong (r.949-975), who ordered that the Buddha's robe enshrined at Tongdosa be brought to the palace so that he could see it for himself. However, the king found nothing when he opened the case ostensibly containing the robe. Finally, in the king's dream, an Indian monk informed him that the robe

“did not leave the place of origin” [不離本處] – that is, Tongdosa.<sup>38</sup> The impact of the place of origin is direct and simple: if the robe were removed from Tongdosa, it would instantly vanish and only when it was returned to the place of origin – Tongdosa – would it become visible again. By extension, the true-body relics could become real in substance and restored as the true-body relics only when they were returned to and enshrined in the Diamond Ordination Platform at Tongdosa. With this strategy, the emphasis shifted from the origins of the monastery’s relics to the generative power of the place itself – or, to borrow a word extended by Christian Norberg-Schulz, the *genius loci* of the Diamond Ordination Platform, which would grant materiality to the true-body relics.<sup>39</sup>

As to the second strategy for coping with doubts concerning the authenticity of the true-body relics, beginning in the late seventeenth century the monks of Tongdosa devised a means for visualizing “the concept of the place of origin” or the *genius loci* of the Diamond Ordination Platform. This strategy was predicated ultimately on visually manifesting the Buddha enshrined at the Diamond Ordination Platform as the living supernatural presence in a ritual setting, thereby consecrating the place of the Diamond Ordination Platform. Thus, the Water-Land rite (Kr. *Suryuk-jae* 水陸齋) became an important framework for the implementation of the monks’ strategy. It provided the ideal ritual setting in which “an eternal Buddha” of the *Lotūs Sūtra* or “a cosmic Buddha” of the *Avatamsaka Sūtra* was visualized in the form of an assembly 會上 (Kr. *hoesang*).<sup>40</sup> This proved to be very effective because the focus was no longer on the issue of

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<sup>38</sup> "Gasa-huigi" 袈裟稀奇, Tongdosa sajeok yakrok (1642), TJ: 22-23.

<sup>39</sup> Christian Norberg-Schulz elaborates the term “*genius loci*” as follows: “This spirit gives life to people and places, accompanies them from birth to death, and determines their character or essence. [...] The *genius* thus denotes what a thing *is*, or what it ‘wants to be’, to use a word of Louis Kahn.” Christian Norberg-Schulz, *Genius Loci: Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture* (New York: Rizzoli, 1980), 18.

<sup>40</sup> Paul Williams, *Mahayana Buddhism: The Doctrinal Foundations*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2009). 157.

whether or not the true-body relics enshrined at the Diamond Ordination Platform were genuine. Rather, to the extent that the Diamond Ordination Platform of Tongdosa could be proved to be the only site in which the extremely powerful Buddha resided continuously, thereby providing substance to the true-body relics, the monastery would occupy an unrivaled position that other monasteries housing individual true-body relics would be incapable of challenging. In this regard, the history of Tongdosa from the eighteenth century onward was punctuated by the endeavors of the Tongdosa monks to visually and ritually prove that the Diamond Ordination Platform was the site at which an eternal Buddha or a cosmic Buddha resided. In particular, the reconstruction of the Diamond Ordination Platform conducted in 1705, a large-scale general rebuilding in which the monks invested considerable energy, was an important turning point for Tongdosa. From that point forward, the Buddha enshrined at the Diamond Ordination Platform was visualized as a presence in full radiance, thereby successfully launching the monks' campaign to visualize the concept of the place of origin and framing the subsequent direction of their task.

The campaign for establishing and visualizing the *genius loci* of the Diamond Ordination Platform reached the apogee in the early nineteenth century. The eminent monk Gye-o 戒悟 (1773-1849) maintained that the best work that a heavenly power could possibly create was Jungdae on Mt. Odae, while the highest perfection that human work could achieve was the Diamond Ordination Platform of Tongdosa.<sup>41</sup> This is indicative of how the monks of his time regarded the sanctity that had been imparted to the Diamond Ordination Platform by their predecessors in the previous century. The absolute sanctification of the Diamond Ordination Platform had tremendous impact on popular perceptions of Tongdosa, on the lives of the monastery's monks, and on the faith of lay believers. In particular, the declaration of the early

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<sup>41</sup> "Tongdosa seokjonggi" 通度寺石鐘記, Gasango 伽山藥 4, Gye-o 戒悟, HBJ 10: 785a.

nineteenth-century monks of Tongdosa that the monastery was the *Wonjong*—the Ancestral Monastery of [Joseon] Buddhism in the sense that the Diamond Ordination Platform was the fountainhead from which all of Buddhist monks and schools had sprung and would continue to spring, can be understood as an ideological expression of the absolute authority of the Diamond Ordination Platform. The notion of *Wonjong* functioned as an ideology that united the monks when Tongdosa faced a serious financial crisis in the mid-nineteenth century; it also functioned as impetus for self-examination, which prompted the monks of Tongdosa to reflect on the extent to which each of them served the common interests of Tongdosa, thereby contributing significantly to the survival and development of the monastery in that period.

From a historical perspective, Tongdosa prevailed in the face of challenges by other monasteries, thereby ascending to its singular status as the Buddha Jewel Monastery. This particular result had been facilitated by the Tongdosa monks' reconfiguration of the Diamond Ordination Platform. By conferring the status of "diamond" on the stone ordination platform in which the true-body relics were housed, they sanctified the concept of the place of origin and effectively provided materiality to an otherwise invisible entity. Based on the visualized presence, they also successfully created the popular perception of Tongdosa as "*Wonjong*." Thus, the unique status of Tongdosa was an accomplishment that the monks of late-Joseon Tongdosa achieved in the face of a particularly stark reality: the substantive absence of the true-body relics and contestation of the authenticity of the enshrined relics by rival monasteries. The popular belief that the name and form of the Diamond Ordination Platform functions as the authoritative warranty for the true-body relics is indicative of how forcible and successful the accomplishment of the Tongdosa monks actually was.

Focusing on the Diamond Ordination Platform at Tongdosa, this dissertation explores how the name and form of platform came to signify a site housing the true-body relics, and how Tongdosa attained its status as the *Wonjong* in the late Joseon period. I examine the sanctification of the Diamond Ordination Platform, the accompanying transformation of the ritual space, the prominence of Tongdosa over the eighteenth century, and the formation of a popular perception of Tongdosa in the early nineteenth century. While looking back to formative developments of the cult of relics in Tongdosa in the Unified Silla, Goryeo and Joseon periods, this research primarily focuses on Tongdosa in the later Joseon period between the mid-seventeenth century and the early nineteenth century.

### **Ritual Space, Visibility and the Buddhist Monastery**

Korean scholars have extensively examined Tongdosa in the contexts of Buddhist studies, history, and art and architectural history.<sup>42</sup> Despite their remarkable accomplishments, the authors of these studies emphasize nearly exclusively the early history of Tongdosa. This temporal narrowing is problematic given the paucity of primary sources for this period. In contrast, while we have a plethora of primary sources on Tongdosa from the late-Joseon, study of the history of monastery in this period remains in its early stages and popular understanding of the monastery at that time is extremely limited.<sup>43</sup> This problematic situation is directly associated with the trend in Buddhist studies to view the Tang period in China and the Unified Silla-Goryeo period in Korea as golden ages of Buddhism and to regard later times of as periods of doctrinal

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<sup>42</sup> The preceding studies of Tongdosa are too many to enumerate one by one. In my discussion to follow, I place the titles of representative studies in relevant footnotes.

<sup>43</sup> For the most extensive catalogue of primary sources on Tongdosa, see HSM II-2, HSM II-S; HSM III-1, HSM III-2, HSM III-S.



degeneration.<sup>44</sup> The focus on original works from the perspective of art and architectural history has facilitated the entrenchment of this tendency. The initial form of a given work of art or architecture and the original creative intention of the makers are of primary concern. Changes caused by later developments are viewed as degenerate.<sup>45</sup> Thus it is not surprising that the majority of the studies of Tongdosa are concerned with the original form of the ordination platform and the doctrinal and historical underpinnings of Jajang's decision to construct it.

These approaches have been criticized, and some scholars of Chinese Buddhism now contend that the perception of the Tang period as the apogee of Buddhism was a historical construct of the Song period; furthermore, the syncretic character of later Chinese Buddhism cannot be viewed simply as doctrinal and philosophical degeneration.<sup>46</sup> By the same token, scholars of Korean Buddhism find great synthesis and achievement in the late-Joseon Buddhism, which was once dismissed as "Buddhism for women" aimed entirely at addressing worldly affairs.<sup>47</sup> Scholars of art and architectural history also claim that the tacit presumption that the

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<sup>44</sup> Marsha Smith Weidner, "Introduction," in *Latter Days of the Law : Images of Chinese Buddhism, 850-1850*, ed. Marsha Smith Weidner (Lawrence, KS; Honolulu, Hawaii: Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas; University of Hawaii Press, 1994), 37-39. Kim, "Joseon hugi bulgyo ui Imje beoptong," 4; 11-12.

<sup>45</sup> Lindsay Jones, *The Hermeneutics of Sacred Architecture : Experience, Interpretation, Comparison*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 193.

<sup>46</sup> T. Griffith Foulk, "Myth, Ritual, and Monastic Practice in Sung Ch'an Buddhism," in *Religion and society in Tang and Sung China*, ed. Patricia Buckley Ebrey and Peter N. Gregory (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993), 149-50; Robert H. Sharf, "Prolegomenon to the Study of Medieval Chinese Buddhist Literature," in *Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism: A Reading of the Treasure Store Treatise* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 7-8; 25; Peter N. Gregory, "The Vitality of Buddhism in the Sung," in *Buddhism in the Sung*, ed. Peter N. Gregory and Daniel Aaron Getz (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 2-5; Weidner, "Introduction," 42-47.

<sup>47</sup> Kim Yongtae 김용태, *Joseon hugi bulgyosa yeongu: Imje beoptong gwa gyohak jeontong* 조선 후기 불교사 연구 : 임제 법통과 교학 전통 (Gyeonggi Seongnam: Singu Munhwasa, 2010), 27-30; 59-60; 91-103. Robert E. Buswell, "Buddhism under Confucian Domination: The Synthetic Vision of Sōsan Hyujōng," in *Culture and the State in Late Choson Korea*, ed. JaHyun Kim Haboush and Martina Deuchler (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 1999), 158-59; Henrik H. Sørensen, "Esoteric Buddhism Under the Choson," in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, ed. Charles D. Orzech and Henrik Hjort Payne Richard Karl Sorensen (Leiden: Boston, 2011), 616; 619; Boudewijn Walraven, "A Re-Examination of the Social Basis of Buddhism in Late Choson Korea," *Seoul Journal of Korean Studies* 20, no. 1 (2007): 4-11. Jeong Byeongsam 정병삼, "Jingyeong sidae bulgyo ui jinheung

original intentions of the artist or architect constitute the most legitimate meaning of a given work of art or architecture prevents us from viewing art or architecture as part of a “dynamic, open-ended, interactive process” involving users/participants.<sup>48</sup> In this respect, later users who make changes in original works of art should be regarded as agents of meaning in their own right. The meaning of a given work of art or architecture is never fixed but is rather transient, plural and inexhaustible. It is constituted in ceremonial situations—what Lindsay Jones terms “ritual-architectural events”—in which both works of art or architecture and participants/beholders are brought into “active interaction.”<sup>49</sup> In other words, the meaning conveyed by a work of art or architecture “must always be a meaning for some specific one at some specific time in some specific place.”<sup>50</sup>

Following from this line of thought, this dissertation explores the vitality and accomplishments of late-Joseon Buddhism as realized in the art and architecture of Tongdosa. Instead of addressing issues of style, influence, or replication, this study examines the Buddhist images and buildings of Tongdosa within specific ritual contexts, emphasizing the ritual space in which structures, icons, and the physical movements of participants were organized in keeping with a specific ritual procedure. It also looks closely at the visibility of the ritual space from the perspectives of monks and lay believers. Therefore, as an analytic framework, this dissertation takes the Buddhist monastery as a stage upon which ritual space and its visibility are developed and displayed in the course of ritual performance. The word “ritual” is used here primarily to

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gwa bulgyo munhwa ui baljeon" 진경시대 불교의 진흥과 불교문화의 발전, in *Uri munhwa ui hwanggeumgi Jingyeong sidae* 우리문화의 황금기 진경시대 1 (Seoul: Dolbegae, 1998), 155-87.

<sup>48</sup> Jones, *The Hermeneutics of Sacred Architecture*, 1: 28; 45; 193.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, xxviii.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 41.

indicate a fixed set of ceremonies, that is to say, a liturgy. Further, borrowing from Jonathan Z. Smith, ritual is understood to make something or someone sacred and “the *sacra*” should be comprehended as “sacred solely because they are used in a sacred place.” In this sense, “place” is defined as “a fundamental component of ritual.”<sup>51</sup> Recognizing the dynamic and power of the ritually demarcated place as constituting the sacred is instrumental to understanding the Tongdosa monks’ attempts to establish the sanctity of the true-body relics by making the genius loci of the Diamond Ordination Platform visible. Thus, this dissertation examines the transformation of Tongdosa from physical “place” into a ritual space via ritual at a specific moment and considers how a set of specific visual cues connected to ritual space increased monks and lay believers' sense of the sanctity of the monastery.

### **Myth of the Three *Rojeon* System**

The layout of Tongdosa is generally understood as a system of the *Sam-rojeon* 三爐殿 (Three Incense Burner Halls) – the Ha-rojeon, the Jung-rojeon and the Sang-rojeon – the three precincts of the Buddha halls. Despite their seeming independence, these three Buddha hall precincts are not isolated but rather are integrated into a coherent spatial hierarchy. The manner of spatial integration is interesting. Even though it has been variously and frequently mentioned in the preceding studies, the special manner in which the space is organized still merits further discussion.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Jonathan Z. Smith, *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 103-4; 106.

<sup>52</sup> For the representative studies concerning this issue, see An, "Tongdosa garam baechi," 3-5; Kim Gwanghyun 김광현, "Tongdosa ui jungcheungjeok jeongae e gwanhan hyeongtae bunseok" 통도사의 중층적 전개에 관한 형태분석, *JAIK 대한건축학회지* 29, no. 1 (1985): 11-14; Kim Bongryeol 김봉렬, "Bulgyojeok geonchuk iron Tongdosa" 불교적 건축이론 통도사, in *Yi ttang e saegyeojin jeongsin* 이 땅에 새겨진 정신 (Paju: Dolbegae, 2006[1999]), 181-85; 190-91.

First and foremost, the key to spatial integration is the special shape of the roof of the Daeung-jeon. The hall has a combined plan featuring two orientations: a south-oriented plan that measures three bays wide and two deep is adjoined with another east-oriented plan three bays wide by three deep. This peculiar plan gives rise to the very special shape of the roof: two hip-and-gable roofs intersect to form a three-gabled roof or T-shaped roof. Given that gables typically appear on the ends of buildings in classical Korean architecture, the three-gabled roof with gables on the eastern, southern and western sides elicits visual confusion about the orientation of the building and its main entrance. This sense of ambiguity has an immediate impact on the viewer's movement; he or she often walks around the hall to locate its façade. This movement, triggered by uniquely shaped roof of the Daeung Hall, contributes to integrating the separated spaces of the three precincts into a single, unified space. Moreover, when visitors/viewers enter the Buri Gate from the Yeongsan-jeon precinct, the opening in the gate functions like a picture frame, thereby creating a very compelling visual effect that focuses their attention on the special roof shape of the Daeung-jeon. As a result, the eastern face of the Daeung-jeon is simultaneously recognized as both the façade and one side of the hall. This sense of ambiguity encourages visitors to proceed toward the east and walk around the hall. (fig.19) Therefore, the spatial gravity of Tongdosa, in turn, directs the viewer's/visitor's line of sight and movement toward the Sang-rojeon, the precinct of the Diamond Ordination Platform. As a result, every route following the north-south axes of the three precincts of Buddha halls is subordinate to the main, central axis in the east-west direction, creating a hierarchical spatial relationship between the Sang-rojeon and the other two precincts.

The spatial integration of the three Buddha hall precincts through the main east-west axis has led modern observers to speculate that the layout of Tongdosa was organized coherently

based on some sort of holistic idea or program. This speculation encourages the presumption that that Jajang established the main east-west axis of Tongdosa, which directs all routes of visitors/viewers toward the Daeung-jeon and the Diamond Ordination Platform, when he founded Tongdosa.<sup>53</sup> Following from this notion, some scholars regard the spatial organization of “Sam-rojeon” as a harmonized, organic whole. The spatial organization of the three “rojeon” is either interpreted as having been modeled on the concept of the “Three bodies of the Buddha” (Buddha *Trikāya*) – the transformation body, the reward body, and the dharma body – or it is explained as a spatial expression of the past, present and future. Even, among the three “rojeon,” the eight Buddha halls with the exception the Daeung-jeon and the Diamond Ordination Platform are regarded as physical realization of the “mandalas of the eight bodhisattvas.”<sup>54</sup> Seen in this way, any changes to or deviations from the three “rojeon” organizational scheme are detrimental to the harmonized, organic whole dating back to the foundation of Tongdosa.

Reviewing various records related to the Buddhist projects of Tongdosa, however, quite another picture emerges. First and foremost, the three-gabled roof of the Daeung-jeon was the result of the reconstruction in 1645 that imposed a new, east-oriented plan measuring three bays wide by three deep to the existing, south-oriented plan that measured three bays wide by two

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<sup>53</sup> An, "Tongdosa garam baechi," 3; Yim, "Tongdosa Geumgang gyedan," 103-4.

<sup>54</sup> For the interpretation based on Buddha trikāya, Hong Younsik 홍윤식, "Tongdosa ui garam gujo wa ge seonggyeok" 通度寺의 가람구조와 그 성격, *Bulgyo misul* 불교미술 14 (1997): 68-69. Han Dongsu and Yi Haeseong 한동수, 이해성, "Tongdosa yeongyeok ui hyeongseong gwajeong gwa gujobunseok e gwanhan yeongu" 통도사 영역의 형식과정과 구조분석에 관한 연구, *JAİK 대한건축학회논문집* 2, no. 2 (1986): 18. Concerning an understanding based on past, present and future, Yi Gyuseong 이규성, "Jeongyeon han geonchuk chegye roseoui Tongdosa geonchuk" 정연한 건축체계로서의 통도사 건축, *JAİK 대한건축학회논문집* 1, no. 2 (1985): 62; 67. For the comparison with maṇḍala, see Thomas Barrie, *The Sacred In-Between: The Mediating Roles of Architecture* (Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon: New York, 2010), 125-26. Thomas Barrie's study of the architectural layout and configuration of Tongdosa is likely the first serious study of the architecture of Tongdosa written in English. Despite his interesting approach from the perspective of “sacred architecture,” there are regrettably many factual errors and arbitrary translations of Buddhist terms. In particular, he describes the Diamond Ordination Platform merely as one word: “stupa.”

deep. As will be discussed in Chapter 3, the “Sari-jeon” 舍利殿 [Relics Hall], which was constructed in 1436 and had existed in front of the Diamond Ordination Platform prior to the 1645 reconstruction, was a south-oriented offering hall measuring three bays wide by two deep. The construction of the offering hall reflects a historical change in which the Diamond Ordination Platform surfaced as the cultic center of the true-body relics in the period of the Goryeo-Joseon Transition. The question of how the precinct of the Diamond Ordination Platform functioned within the compound of Tongdosa before the erection of the Sari-jeon should be considered in conjunction with the principles of the *Vinaya* to which the ordination platform was required to adhere.

According to the principles of the *Vinaya*, the ordination platform must be spatially separated from the main abode where monks and nuns reside.<sup>55</sup> When monks gather at the ordination platform to conduct an ordination ceremony, they form an independent monastic community called a *saṃgha*, which is established on the occasions in which more than four monks/nuns gather. If the ordination platform is not separated spatially from the main abode of monks and nuns in which the main monastic community is already established, two monastic communities then overlap spatially. This overlap causes a serious transgression, which is referred to as a “separate congregation” (Sk. *vyagra saṃgha*; Ch. *biezhong* 別衆), generally translated as “a divided order” in English).<sup>56</sup> Indeed, the ordination platforms constructed in China, Japan and Korea are primarily located on sites that are removed from the main compound of the

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<sup>55</sup> Hirakawa Akira 平川彰, *Genshi Bukkyō no kenkyū : kyōdan soshiki no genkei* 原始仏教の研究: 教団組織の原型 (Tōkyō: Shunjūsha, 1964), 382.

<sup>56</sup> For the separate congregation, *ibid.*, 295-99. For the *vyagra saṃgha*, Ann Heirman, *Rules for Nuns According to the Dharmaguptakavinaya: Translation* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 2002), 327; note P.290.

monasteries.<sup>57</sup> Furthermore, as is demonstrated in the cases of the early ordination platform of Tōdai-ji 東大寺 and the ordination platform of Longchangsi 隆昌寺, any access to the precinct of the ordination platform was prohibited except on the occasions of ordination ceremonies. Even on the occasion of a ceremony, all but the postulants and monks in charge were excluded from the precinct of the ordination platform.<sup>58</sup> In short, the ordination platform was the precinct that was spatially separated from the main compound of the monastery and access to it was restricted strictly. In particular, it functioned solely as a priestly space to which lay believers were not allowed to admit. In this regard, the Diamond Ordination Platform of Tongdosa of present day is an exceptional case as it is in itself the most central site of worship at which all routes of lay believers and monks converge.

With regard to the function and character of the Diamond Ordination Platform, some scholars claim that at the time of the foundation of Tongdosa, the main, central axis was not oriented in the east-west direction as it is today but rather in the north-south direction draws

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<sup>57</sup> Reviewing the cases of ordination platforms constructed in China, Japan and Korea, we find that a considerable number of ordination platforms were built on either the east or west sides of monasteries. For instances, the ordination platforms of Jietaisi and Tanzhesi are laid out at corners removed from the central precincts of the monasteries. Those of Tōdaiji, Kanzeonji and Tōshōdaiji are placed beyond the walls of the main compounds of the monasteries. The Geumsansa ordination platform is laid out atop a hilly terrace, thereby spatially separating the central precinct of the monastery.

<sup>58</sup> According to the *Vinaya*, indeed, no one may inhabit the ordination platform. Only the tree and the Buddha hall are allowed to coexist with it. Daoxuan emphatically underscores this point as follows: “[The ordination platform] is the abode of the dharma, not the residence in which people live” [是法住之處。非人所宅]. *Jietantujing*, T 1892-45. 814: a25. The Tōdaiji ordination platform was defined and managed as an independent single monastery, but it was not a place where monks could normally reside. see Kano Katsushige 狩野勝重, "Gishiki kūkan toshite no kodai kaidan'in no tokushusei" 儀式空間としての古代戒壇院の特殊性, *Gakujutsu kōen kōgaishū keikakukei* 學術講演梗概集 計画系 57 (1982): 2399. For the access restriction to the Longchangsi ordination platform, Johannes Prip-Møller, *Chinese Buddhist Monasteries: Their Plan and Its Function as a Setting for Buddhist Monastic Life* (Copenhagen: G.E.C. Gad; London, Oxford University Press, 1937), 245. The restriction of access to the Longchangsi ordination platform is not only secured by architectural means, but it is also maintained by administrative means: all but the ordinands are not permitted to access the ordination platform and all but the ten masters are forbidden to ascend the ordination platform. When there is no ceremony underway, wooden fences are installed and the gate of the ordination hall is closed. *Chuanjiezhengfan* 傳戒正範, X 1128-60. 662: c13-16.

attention.<sup>59</sup> Supposing that the main axis of Tongdosa ran from north to south, the location of the ordination platform of Tongdosa can be interpreted as a concerted result in accordance with the principles of the *Vinaya*; its location at the northwestern corner was chosen to separate spatially the ordination platform from the main compound of the monastery, thereby preventing the overlapping of boundaries between the ordination platform and the other precincts of the monastery. Considering the topographical features of the site of Tongdosa, the principal hall of worship was most likely located in the Ha-rojeon, which is the precinct of Yeongsan-jeon. At the least, therefore, we can conjecture that, at the time of the foundation of Tongdosa, the ordination platform was not a principal place of worship and thus was separated spatially from the other precincts.

It is not clear when the present organization of the three “rojeon” was established. Focusing on changes to the organization of the “jijeon” 持殿 (Hall Prefect) in Tongdosa, which in all likelihood played the same role as the “rojeon,” the three “jijeon” did not appear until the latter part of the eighteenth century. Starting with the project of the *Gwaebul Painting* in 1767, the organization of three “jijeon” was gradually established as common practice.<sup>60</sup> With regard to the establishment of three “jijeon,” a very interesting phenomenon occurred around the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in which various Buddha halls were relocated so that they were in close proximity to the Diamond Ordination Platform.

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<sup>59</sup> Kim Jaeyeong 김재영, "Tongdosa gonggan guseong ui byeonhwa e gwanhan yeongu" 통도사 공간구성의 변화에 관한 연구: 7세기~14세기의 변화과정을 중심으로 (master's thesis, University of Ulsan, 2004), 29-33.

<sup>60</sup> By the first half of the eighteenth century, it was on only one occasion that “three” jijeon appeared in the Buddhist projects of Tongdosa; three monks’ names were recorded under the title of “jijeon” in the reconstruction of the Diamond Ordination Platform in 1705. Further, there is no apparent instance of three jijeon. Despite their similar characters as Buddhist projects, the production of the *Buddha Trikāya Painting* installed at the Daegwangmyeong-jeon in 1759 was supported by two jijeon, while the *Gwaebul Painting* [the large banner painting of the Buddha] in 1767 was supported by three jijeon.



Following a massive fire in 1756, the Jung-rojeon, the precinct of Daegwangmyeong-jeon, was extensively reconstructed. Unlike the present layout, however, the Gwaneum-jeon (Avalokitêśvara Hall), the Myeongbu-jeon (Kṣitigarbha Hall) and the Daegwangmyeong-jeon (Vairocana Hall) stood in sequence along a north-south axis whereas the Munsu-jeon 文殊殿 (Mañjuśrī Hall) and the Yeongja-jeon 影子殿 (Portrait Hall) were laid out between the Diamond Ordination Platform and the Daegwangmyeong-jeon precinct. Thus, the layout in which the Avalokitêśvara, the Kṣitigarbha, and Mañjuśrī Halls were placed below the Daegwangmyeong-jeon is quite different from the present layout of the Jung-rojeon. Furthermore, into the turn of the nineteenth century, the Myeongbu-jeon was moved, presumably in 1798, to its present location to the southeast of the Daeung-jeon. The Sejonbi-gak was constructed in 1792 at the southeastern outside corner of the Diamond Ordination Platform and the Bogwangjeon was founded in 1807 and located to the southwest of the Diamond Ordination Platform. (fig.6-14). The meaning of this architectural reorganization in the precinct of the Daeung-jeon is revealed in the contemporary perception of the location of the Gwaneum-jeon. When it was reconstructed in 1780, the monks of Tongdosa perceived that the Gwaneum-jeon was a spatial element not belonged to the Jung-rojeon as is perceived today but connected to the Sang-rojeon, the precinct of the Diamond Ordination Platform. This perception suggests that the sanctity and ritual gravity of the Diamond Ordination Platform had grown to the extent that new Buddha halls were moved to and constructed in the precinct of the Daeung-jeon and Diamond Ordination Platform as a means of reorganizing the precinct as a principal place of worship. In this regard, the establishment of the three “jijeon” in this period signals that the precinct of the Daeung-jeon was being transformed as a principal place of worship in Tongdosa.

Thus, the organization of the three “rojeon” cannot be regarded as constituting a concerted whole concurrently designed by the same hands. With the rising importance of the true-body relics at Tongdosa in the fourteenth century, the restricted ordination site of the Diamond Ordination Platform was transformed into an offering place to Śākyamuni Buddha with the erection of the Sari-jeon. In response to the absence of the true-body relics and the growing doubts concerning their authenticity in the seventeenth century, the offering place of the Sari-jeon was converted into an open, accessible courtyard featuring the three-gabled roofed Daeung-jeon. With the increasing sanctity and gravity of the Diamond Ordination Platform over the eighteenth century, the precinct of the Daeung-jeon was eventually reorganized into a principal site of worship in which the new Buddha halls were constructed. In this respect, the establishment of three “rojeon” provides ideological testimony to the fact that the ordination platform of Tongdosa was transformed from a marginal, restricted place to a principal, crowded site of worship. At the same time, however, the conception of three “rojeon” is also a distorted belief that obscures the actual status of the preceding principal places of worship, which were largely overshadowed by the rising significance of the Diamond Ordination Platform. Indeed, whoever visits Tongdosa today realizes that the Yeongsan-jeon precinct (Ha-rojeon) is used rarely as a ritual space except in the context of facilitating the intermittent offerings of individual lay believers. When I visited Tongdosa in November 23, 2010, I found that several monks were in the midst of making *kimchi* (Korean fermented cabbage) in the courtyard of the Yeongsan-jeon. According to the newsletter of Tongdosa, more than two hundreds monks participated in that work, and 20,000 cabbages’ worth of kimchi were prepared; generally speaking, twenty cabbages’ worth of kimchi are prepared for a family of four for a year.<sup>61</sup> Given that this sort of

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<sup>61</sup> Tongdosa, *Wolgan Bogung*, December, 2010, <http://oncatalog.com/tongdosa/release/bogung201012/>. For the

work related to food could not possibly take place in front of the Daeung-jeon and the Diamond Ordination Platform, we can conclude that the Ha-rojeon has declined significantly in hierarchy and status despite having once been a principal precinct of worship at Tongdosa. (fig.20).

In short, the present organization of the precincts of the Buddha halls of Tongdosa is a consequence of the centuries-long dynamic of architectural responses and adjustments that took place in the existing precincts of the Buddha halls in response to the increasing sanctity of the Diamond Ordination Platform. Instead of perceiving the present spatial organization as one of static equilibrium, we should regard it as the active, dynamic process that it was and remains to present day.<sup>62</sup>

The configuration of space used specifically by the monks of Tongdosa also merits further attention. As one of eight ecumenical monasteries, Tongdosa has the cloister of Seon meditation (Kr. seonwon 禪院) and the cloister of scriptural studies (Kr. gangwon 講院) within the compound. The Seon cloister is installed in the Bogwang-jeon, which is located on the western side of Tongdosa, and thus it stands in close proximity to the Diamond Ordination Platform. Within the Seon cloister one finds the quarters of the most honorable presence Bangjang 方丈 (The head monk of Tongdosa who represents the Seon tradition of the monastery. This post is different from that of the abbot, who takes charge in daily management of the monastery). The

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kimchi preparation for a family of four for a year, see Kim Suhyeon, "Ol sain gajok gimjang biyong 30 manwon," *The Hankyoreh*, October 9, 2012, [http://www.hani.co.kr/arti/economy/economy\\_general/554940.html](http://www.hani.co.kr/arti/economy/economy_general/554940.html).

<sup>62</sup> For instance, the Manse-ru, which forms the southern boundary of the Yeongsan-jeon precinct, was an important pavilion with completely open front and rear façades where the lower altar of the Water-Land rite was installed and the *Gamrotaeng* was hung. However, this function became obsolete and the pavilion was converted into a gift shop enclosed by windows. According to the architectural layout of Tongdosa illustrated by Sekino Tadashi in 1902, the area between the Diamond Ordination Platform and the precinct of the Daegwangmyeong-jeon where the Sejonbi-gak, the Janggyeong-gak and Yeongja-jeon were located was enclosed by the walls. This suggests that the area of the Sejonbi-gak formed an independent precinct in the early twentieth century, unlike the present layout. In front of the Daeung-jeon, the Seolbeop-jeon, reportedly the largest lecture hall in Korea, was recently constructed to accommodate as many as three thousand lay believers. This large-scale architectural intervention in the precinct of the Daeung-jeon will certainly cause another subsequent change in the architectural configuration of Tongdosa.

Lecture cloister for scriptural studies is placed in the Hwanghwa-gak 皇華閣 (Hwanghwa Pavilion), which is located to the east of the Daegwangmyeong-jeon. The monastic dormitories are scattered along the northernmost and southernmost boundaries of the monastery compound. Among the dormitories are the Gamro-bang 甘露房 (Gamro Residence) and the Wontong-bang 圓通房 (Wontong Residence) which are laid out to the southeast of the Daeung-jeon. These dormitories are self-sufficient residences, which are classified as “Daebang” 大房 (Big Residence) in modern studies; each includes a kitchen, dining and ceremonial halls, monks’ cells, a head monk’s room and so forth.<sup>63</sup> (fig.21).

The dormitories of contemporary Tongdosa and, particularly, the late-Joseon functions of the buildings for monks, were quite different from one another. In fact, the Bogwang-jeon was not constructed as a space reserved exclusively for the practice of Seon meditation. The hall was founded not only for a somewhat ecumenical purpose that would facilitate the practice of mindfulness of the Buddha and provide the lecture hall for preaching the *Avatamsaka Sūtra*, but it was also intended to function as the head hermitage for the Hoam monastic lineage in Tongdosa. Additionally, the monastic residences such as the Gamro-bang and the Wontong-bang were intended to function as self-sufficient structures to accommodate autonomous monastic organization in which the monks from a specific monastic lineage resided as a group, while maintaining a rule of independent management in terms of finance and ceremonies. The monks of Tongdosa called such a monastic organization a “*Gakbang*” 各房 (Individual Residences) and, by extension, the hermitages belonged to a specific monastic lineage of Tongdosa, the “*Gak-am*” 各庵 (Individual Hermitages). In the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, there were twelve *Gakbang* and nine *Gak-am* in Tongdosa. Into the early twentieth century, six *Gakbang* and thirteen *Gak-am* existed there.

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<sup>63</sup> Kim Seongdo 김성도, *Sachal daebang geonchuk* 사찰대방건축 (Seoul: Goryeo, 2007), 17-18.

This monastic organization of the Gakbang and Gak-am was once described by Takahashi Tōru with the term “*Byeolbang-je*” 別房制 (Separate Residence Organization) and the late-Joseon monastic organization which is also found in the large monasteries such as Songgwangsa 松廣寺 and Seon-amsa 仙巖寺.<sup>64</sup> Given that late-Joseon Tongdosa was operated by monks within the organizational frameworks of the Gakbang and Gak-am, the spatial configuration of Tongdosa can be analyzed from a different perspective. The late-Joseon monks of Tongdosa recognized the Diamond Ordination Platform as the shrine of the apical ancestor (Kr. Sijomyo 始祖廟). Thus, the spatial organization of Tongdosa can be understood as accommodating of the head residences of the monks from various monastic lineages, which were concentrated around the shrine of Śākyamuni Buddha as the apical ancestor of monks. This particular spatial configuration shares similar spatial features with the lineage villages of the *yangban-literati*, which flourished within the late Joseon society.

Therefore, the spatial organization of Tongdosa was not simply that of a Buddhist space that was reflective of the increasing sanctity of the Diamond Ordination Platform and the consequent transformation of the precincts of the Buddha halls, but it was also a social space in which the management principles and strategies of the monastic organization of the late-Joseon monks of Tongdosa, who regarded the Diamond Ordination Platform as the shrine of the apical ancestor, was mapped out distinctively. In a word, the centrality of the Diamond Ordination Platform was fundamental to every aspect of life at late-Joseon Tongdosa.

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<sup>64</sup> Takahashi Tōru 高橋享, *Richō bukkūō* 李朝佛教, Chōsen shisōshi taikai 朝鮮思想史大系 1 (Tōkyō: Hōbunkan, 1929; repr., Seoul: Minsogwon, 2002), 1033-35. Yang Boin 양보인, "Seungju Seonamsa eseoui saenghwal gwa gonggan: yukbang salrim ui gonggan sayong gwa geu byeoncheon" 昇州 仙巖寺에서의 生活과 空間: 六房 살림의 空間 使用과 그 變遷 (master's thesis, Yonsei University, 1996), 43; 52-55. Kim, *Sachal daebang geonchuk*: 26-27; footnote 81.

## Monographs of Tongdosa

Records from the *Yusa* are generally regarded as the primary sources of information concerning the history of the foundation of Tongdosa. However, the records from the *Yusa* related to Tongdosa are actually quite fragmentary in nature because the majority of them are recounted only in the context of a biography of Jajang. In contrast, the literary sources that contribute most extensively to the present-day understanding of the foundation of Tongdosa are a variety of monographs concerning the monastery compiled by the monks of Tongdosa since the seventeenth century. Thus, in order to critically examine the history of Tongdosa, we need to discuss relevant characteristics of these monographs.

There are four monographs on Tongdosa, all of which were published before or in the early twentieth century. They are as follows, from the earliest to the most recent: (1) The *Tongdosa sajeok yakrok* 通度寺事蹟略錄 (*Synopsis of the Traces of the Affairs of Tongdosa*) published in 1642 and supplemented in 1670; (2) The *Sabagyaju gyedan wonryu gangyorok* (hereafter, *Gyedan wonryu*) 娑婆教主戒壇源流綱要錄 (*Outline of Origin of the Ordination Platform of the Lord of the Sāha World*) published in 1705; (3) The *Tongdosa sajeok* 通度寺事蹟 (*Traces of the Affairs of Tongdosa*) published in 1912; (4) The *Buljongchal yaksa* 佛宗刹略史 (*Abridged History of the Buddhist Ancestral Monastery*), which was edited in 1934.<sup>65</sup> All but the third, the *Tongdosa sajeok*, are included in the *Tongdosaji* (hereafter, *TJ*) 通度寺誌 (*Gazetteer of Tongdosa*), which was published (facsimile edition) in 1978. The *Tongdosa*

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<sup>65</sup> Apart from these monographs concerning Tongdosa, there is the *Tongdosa yakji* 通度寺略誌 published in 1958. This monograph includes important information regarding Buddhist buildings constructed in the Goryeo period, which is not found in the preceding, other monographs of Tongdosa. However, it is doubtful that such information from the Goryeo period may be found only in a book published in much later period. Inevitably, this problem underlies my reservations concerning this monograph. My critical review of this tract will be discussed in Chapter Three.

*sajeok* is housed in both the Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies and the National Library of Korea.

In 1911, the *Tongdosa sajeok* was published in order to gain approval of Tongdosa as one of the thirty district monasteries in accordance with the *Sachalryeong* (Decree on Buddhist monasteries) promulgated by the Japanese colonial administration, The Government General of Chōsen.<sup>66</sup> The text was composed by a representative monk-scholar of Tongdosa Haedam Chi-ik 海曇致益 (1862-1942) and was the first “official” monograph of Tongdosa published in the early twentieth century. It is a 20-page tract in which several important topics, such as the story of the foundation of the monastery and the subject of geomancy as it relates to Tongdosa, are briefly yet clearly discussed. Interestingly, the various topics included in the *Tongdosa sajeok* have come to comprise the basic framework by which the history of Tongdosa has been described. Thus, the tract contributes significantly to the present scholarly and popular understandings of “Tongdosa lore.” The *Buljongchal yaksa*, the fourth text mentioned above, was most likely a manuscript of primary sources collected for the writing of the *Tongdosa sajeok*.

The foundational story of Tongdosa and the record of the Diamond Ordination Platform included in the *Tongdosa sajeok* are both based largely on the second text, the *Gyedan wonryu*, and the first text mentioned above, the *Tongdosa sajeok yakrok*. The *Gyedan wonryu*, a brief report compiled by the Tongdosa monk, Min-o 敏悟 (fl.1705), is essentially a text documenting the 1705 reconstruction project of the Diamond Ordination Platform, and it provides a summary of the history of the reconstruction of the Diamond Ordination Platform following the Imjin War.

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<sup>66</sup> Seo Namhyeon 徐南賢, ed., *Yeongchuk chongrim Tongdosa geunhyeondae bulgyosa (sang)* 靈鷲叢林通度寺近現代佛教史(上) (Yongsan Tongdosa: Seonyeon, 2010), 40-48; 105-22. Han Dongmin 韓東民, "Yilje ganjeomgi saji pyeonchan gwa Han Yong-un ui Geonbongsa sajeok" 일제강점기 寺誌편찬과 한용운의 乾鳳寺事蹟, *Jeongtohak yeongu* 淨土學研究 14 (2010): 330.

In the *Gyedan wonryu* Min-o estimated the founding date of Tongdosa for the first time. The *Tongdosa sajeok yakrok* is the earliest extant monograph on the monastery. Despite the fact that it was published in the early seventeenth century, the *Tongdosa sajeok yakrok* is of tremendous importance because it includes a historical account of Tongdosa in the Goryeo period.

The *Tongdosa sajeok yakrok*, which was published in 1642, is composed of six parts; (a) *Tongdosa sarigasa sajeok yakrok* (hereafter, *Yakrok*) 通度寺舍利袈裟事蹟略錄 (*Synopsis of the Traces of the Affairs of the Buddha's Relics and Robe of Tongdosa*); (b) *Sari yeongi* 舍利靈異 (*Numinous Wonder of Relics*); (c) *Gasa huigi* 袈裟稀奇 (*Rare Wonder of the Robe*); (d) *Saji sabang sancheon bibo* (hereafter, *Bibo*) 寺之四方山川裨補 (*Remedy of Mountains and Streams in the Four Directions of the Monastery*); (e) *Seocheon Jigonghwasang wisarigasa gyedan byeophoege* (hereafter, *Jigonggi*) 西天指空和尚爲舍利袈裟戒壇法會記 (*Record of the Indian Monk Jigong (Dhyānabhadra)'s Dharma Gathering at the Ordination Platform for the Buddha's Relics and Robe*); (f) *Bal* 跋 (Postscript). The *Bibo* (d) has been the subject of a great deal of study by Japanese and Korean scholars since the early twentieth century because it includes information concerning the landholding of Tongdosa and its management in the Goryeo period. It was also partially translated into English.<sup>67</sup> However, because the remaining records were regarded as folklore or at best as literary materials that do not very significantly differ from the related records in the *Yusa*, they have been of little interest to modern scholars except for the simple purpose of introduction to the monograph. In particular, the unresolved issues concerning the date and authenticity of the other records included in the *Tongdosa sajeok*

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<sup>67</sup> A brief review of the preceding studies of the *Bibo* will be discussed in Chapter Two. For a partial translation of the text, see "Landholdings of Tongdo Monastery," in *Sources of Korean Tradition: From Early Times Through the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Peter H. Lee, et al., trans. Hugh H. W. Kang and Edward J. Shultz (New York ; Chichester: Columbia University Press, 1997), 223.



*yakrok* very likely played a major role in the scholarly reluctance to refer to them in a substantial way.

As to the identity of the person who compiled the *Tongdosa sajeok yakrok* and its date of compilation, at the end of the *Jigonggi* one finds recorded the name of a monk, Seokho 釋瑚, and the date 1328. However, the text appears to have been transcribed on three occasions before the year 1642 when the *Tongdosa sajeok yakrok* was published. These three occasions, including the specific year in which the transcriptions were made, are provided along with brief notes reading: “wrote out the transmitted text” 傳書 in 1406; “transferred and written out” 移書 in 1508; “written out and kept” 書鎖 in 1605.<sup>68</sup> It is difficult to discern what each two-character phrase means exactly, but at the very least, the three notes, which are all related to the transcription, suggest that new content was probably not added on those three occasions to the original record, which was composed in 1328. Most studies agree that all of the records included in the *Tongdosa sajeok yakrok* were collected or composed by Seokho in 1328.<sup>69</sup> However, Hatada Takashi argues that the *Tongdosa sajeok yakrok* consists of three independent parts composed by different hands: (i) the *Yakrok*, *Sari yeongi*, and *Gasa huigi*, (ii) the *Bibo*, and (iii) the *Jigonggi*, all of which were bound into one fascicle by an unidentified hand at unspecified date.<sup>70</sup> I basically agree with Hatada’s contention. However, I argue that, when the unidentified

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<sup>68</sup> *Tongdosa sajeok yakrok* 通度寺事蹟略錄 (printed in 1642), TJ: 47-48. For the translation of three notes, I follow Jang Chungsik’s interpretation. Hangukhak munheon yeonguso 韓國學文獻研究所, ed., *Tongdosaji* 通度寺誌, Hanguk saji chongseo 韓國寺誌叢書 5 (Seoul: Asea Munhwasa, 1979), v.

<sup>69</sup> Yi Injae 이인재, “Tongdosaji Sajisabangsancheonbibopyeon ui bunseok” 통도사지(通度寺誌) 사지사방산천비보편의 분석, *Yeoksa wa Hyeonsil* 역사와 현실 8 (1992): 274-75; Takeda Yukio 武田幸南, “kōrai jidai niokeru Tsūdōtera no jiryō shihai” 高麗時代における通度寺の寺領支配, *Tōyō shi kenkyū* 東洋史研究 25, no. 1 (1966): 73; Choe Gilseong 최길성, “1328 nyeon Tongdosa ui nongjang gyeongyeong hyeongtae” 1328년 通度寺의 농장경영 형태, *Ryeoksa gwahak* 역사과학 4 (1961): 20; footnote 4.

<sup>70</sup> Hatada Takashi 旗田 巍, “Tongdosa no Jiseki ki nitsuite” 通度寺の「事蹟記」について, *Chōsen Gakuhō* 朝鮮學報 61 (1971): 282-84.

compiler published the combined monograph of Tongdosa, he drafted the first part (i), compiled the second part (ii) drawing on a collection of literary materials from the Goryeo period, and finally, included the *Jigonggi* (iii), which was written by Seokho. If this is the case, it is unlikely that the date of its compilation was after 1460, the date of the first transcription. The monograph of Tongdosa was most likely compiled by the monks of Tongdosa in 1406 to serve as a petition to the Joseon court in response to the monastery's exclusion from the list of monasteries acknowledged officially by the government. The Tongdosa monograph was very likely preserved and passed down because of the critical role it played in restoring Tongdosa's status and inclusion once again in 1407 in the Joseon government's list of officially recognized monasteries.<sup>71</sup>

Another important issue is the authenticity of the *Jigonggi*, which documents a dharma assembly held in Tongdosa when an Indian monk named Jigong made a visit to the monastery in 1328. Since Nukariya Kaiten raised this issue in the early twentieth century, the matter has remained unresolved; for instance, Heo Heungsik regards the *Jigonggi* as an authentic record, while Nam Dongsin considers the record to be spurious.<sup>72</sup> As there are no extant records concerning Jigong's visit to Tongdosa, it is not easy to determine whether the *Jigonggi* is authentic or not. Examination of the *Jigonggi* together with the circumstances of Tongdosa in the early fourteenth century, however, suggests that the *Jigonggi* was likely composed in 1328. For the sake of economy of discussion, I present only two forms of evidence to support the date.

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<sup>71</sup> I have drafted an article concerning various issues relating to the *Tongdosa sajeok yakrok*, but await another opportunity in which to present it.

<sup>72</sup> Nukariya Kaiten 忽滑谷快天, *Chōsen zenkyō shi* 朝鮮禪教史 (Tōkyō: Shunjūsha, 1930), 252; 253-54. Heo Heungsik 許興植, *Goryeoro omgin Indo ui deungbul* 高麗로 옮긴 印度의 등불 (Seoul: Iljogak, 1997), 51-53. Nam Dongsin 南東信, "Yeomal seonchogi Naong hyeonchang undong" 여말선초기 懶翁 현창 운동, *Hanguksa yeongu* 한국사연구 139 (2007): 175; footnote 36.

According to the *Jigonggi*, a Vinaya Master of the Namsan School and a high-ranking monk administrator of the Hwaeom School supervised the preparations for Jigong’s visit to Tongdosa. The official rank of the monk administrator is recorded as “*Jwaga Doseungdong*” 左街都僧統 (Chief Buddhist Controller for the Left Avenue of the Capital). In terms of the organization of Monk Administrator in the Goryeo period, however, this title is very likely the result of an error in the transcription of the title, “*Yangga Doseungdong*” 兩街都僧統 (Chief Buddhist Controller for Both Avenues of the Capital).<sup>73</sup> The title “*Yangga Doseungdong*” did not come into use until sometime between 1308 and 1338 in the late Goryeo period.<sup>74</sup> Thus, the appearance of this title in the *Jigonggi* supports a 1328 date for the text.

The *Jigonggi* also mentions that the two aforementioned monks launched an project to repair “damages and leaks” [缺漏之處] in the buildings of Tongdosa. Given the specific reference to “leaks,” the project must surely have included the reconstruction of roofs, such as the replacement of rotting timber and broken roof tiles. As Jigong visited Tongdosa in the second lunar month of 1328, in all likelihood, this architectural project came to an end before the winter had begun in 1327. In this regard, a roof tile, which is housed in the Tongdosa Museum, merits attention. The tile bears the inscription “*Taiding Sa nyeon Yuljong Tongdo*” 泰定四年 律宗通度

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<sup>73</sup> “Doseungdong” (Chief Buddhist Controller) was the highest-ranking monk administrator in the Goryeo period. Thus, the post oversaw both Left and Right Avenues. The post, serving either the Left or Right Avenue, was “*Doseungrok*” 都僧錄 [Chief Buddhist Registry], which was of lower rank than “Doseungdong.” In this regard, the designation of “Chief Buddhist Controller for Left Avenue” that appeared in the *Jigonggi* is an inaccurate combination of incompatible titles. It should be either “Chief Buddhist Registry for Left Avenue,” or “Chief Buddhist Controller for Both Avenues.” Considering that the high reverence Jigong received from Goryeo Buddhists at that time and the honorable title given to the monk administrator, it is most likely that the rank of the monk administrator was “Chief Buddhist Controller,” who controlled the monasteries along both Avenues: that is to say, “*Yangga Doseungdong*”—Chief Buddhist Controller for Both Avenues. For the posts and ranks of monk administrators, see Heo Heungsik 許興植, *Goryeo bulgyosa yeongu* 高麗 佛教史 研究 (Seoul: Iljogak, 1986), 326; 342-47. For the translation of *Doseungdong* and *Doseungrok*, I consult Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1985), 405; 526.

<sup>74</sup> Yi Jeonghun 李貞薰, "Goryeo hugi seungwan ui guseong gwa yeokhal" 고려 후기 僧官의 구성과 역할, *Hanguksa hakbo* 한국사학보 49 (2012): 217-23; Heo, *Goryeo bulgyosa yeongu*: 346.

(the fourth year of the Taiding era, the Vinaya school Tongdosa).<sup>75</sup> Since the fourth year of the Taiding era corresponds to the year 1327, it is apparent that the replacement of roof tiles proceeded in that year. I would offer this roof tile as the evidence that this repair project was conducted prior to Jigong's visit to Tongdosa as described in the *Jigonggi*, further supporting the authenticity of the text.

Given the information discussed above, I contend that the *Jigonggi* was composed by Seokho in 1328 when Jigong visited Tongdosa. Thus I regard the *Jigonggi* and the *Yakrok* (a), the latter arguably composed in the early fifteenth century, as important texts reflecting the perception of the Diamond Ordination Platform by Tongdosa monks of those times.

## **Chapter Outlines**

Chapter One revisits the popular recognition of the Diamond Ordination Platform as the cultic center of the true-body relics, which were allegedly brought by Jajang from China to Silla in the seventh century. It commences by exploring four primary textual accounts concerning the relics associated with Jajang, which date from the seventh-century Tang period, the mid-nineteenth-century Unified Silla period, the late thirteenth-century Goryeo period, and the fourteenth-century Goryeo-Joseon Transition period. It considers how, after the tenth century, they were identified as the “true-body relics.” It explains how the alleged true-body relics attracted the attention of the royalty and nobility of Goryeo and how, over the course of the eleventh century and in keeping with the rise of the cult of the true-body relics, Tongdosa appeared in history as a site in which true-body relics were housed. Following this discussion, I argue that a five-story stone pagoda erected at the top of Saja-mok, a hill located in front of the Yeongsan Hall precinct,

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<sup>75</sup> HSM III-1, 438: photo (#315); HSM III-S, 132: Inscription (#315).

provides architectural evidence of the effort by the monks of Tongdosa to secure the status of the monastery as a site at which the true-body relics were enshrined. I also contend that the state longevity poles and the offering stone, both installed in 1085, are demonstrative of the rise of Tongdosa to an officially designated monastery, suggesting that the Buddha's skull bones and robe, which were originally housed at Tongdosa, were returned to the monastery from the palace at Gaegyeong.

In Chapter Two, I begin to analyze the historical circumstances in which Tongdosa assumed its status as the nationwide cultic center of the Buddha's relics as the result of major changes in the cult itself over the course of the thirteenth century. The chapter goes on to explore the strategies the monks of Tongdosa employed to capitalize on this ascendancy and transform their monastery into a site believed to be protected, free of "all kinds of evils," and a place from which Buddhist law would spring. As a consequence of these developments, the concept of the diamond ordination platform was established at Tongdosa, identifying the existing stone platform as a "the place of origin" in doctrinal and soteriological terms.

In Chapter Three, I turn to the subsequent history the true-body relics and their transfer from Tongdosa via Gaegyeong to the new capital Hanyang of the recently founded dynasty Joseon dynasty, and their eventual disappearance from the country. In response to the loss of the original true-body relics, the monks of early-Joseon Tongdosa devised the concept of the place of origin, which was indeed an ideological elaboration of the power of the Diamond Ordination Platform. Chapter Three thus argues that, regardless of the substantive absence of the true-body relics, the Diamond Ordination Platform at Tongdosa was established as a sanctified site capable of imparting the quality of "true-body" to ordinary and unidentified relics.

Chapter Four explores the circumstances under which the monks of late seventeenth-century Tongdosa launched an enterprise to visualize the concept of the place of origin and the conditions under which this campaign was framed. I explain that at that time the monks of Tongdosa were faced not only with increasing, widespread doubts concerning the authenticity of the monastery's true-body relics but they were also required to submit to the extremely brutal *corvée* labor imposed on Buddhist monks by the state. In order to cope with these challenges and with the monastery's survival at stake, the monks of Tongdosa attempted to confirm the authenticity of their true-body relics by using both historical facts and a doctrinal explanation based on the *Avatamsaka Sūtra*. I also assert that two conditions framed their enterprise. First, the large-scale outdoor Water-Land rite, which flourished in the seventeenth century, provided a basic ritual and visual framework for the Tongdosa monks' task. Second, the centrality of the Diamond Ordination Platform needed to be redefined ritually and spatially in accordance with the already established ritual space in Tongdosa. Chapter Four thus explores the ways in which the Water-Land rite was reorganized and developed in the late Joseon period and how the ritual space of Tongdosa was established before the Tongdosa monks launched their campaign to visualize the *genius loci* of the Diamond Ordination Platform. In this discussion, I conclude that the 1705 reconstruction of the Diamond Ordination Platform signaled a decisive turning point at which the platform was completely reconfigured as a new ritual focus.

Chapter Five focuses on the reconstruction of the Diamond Ordination Platform undertaken in 1705 and the late-Joseon Tongdosa monks efforts to create a visual expression of the concept of the place of origin. The 1705 project was not only a large-scale general rebuilding in terms of the number of workers, administrators, and donations, but it also marked a turning point in the history of the Diamond Ordination Platform in terms of the reconfiguration of its

structure, iconography, and consecration ceremony. In this chapter, I contend that the Diamond Ordination Platform was physically reconfigured as a mausoleum of Śākyamuni Buddha equivalent to royal mausoleums in terms of size modifications based on the *jucheok* rule, a unit of measure that was used to construct royal tombs. Moreover, its form was conceived as identical to that of the T-shaped pavilion and royal tomb. Furthermore, I assert that, with the introduction of the sculptural iconography of the Seven Stars of the Great Dipper, the Diamond Ordination Platform was envisioned as a site where Buddha resides as an invisible presence in full radiance. I also maintain that the success of the 1705 reconstruction project at Tongdosa contributed significantly to the complete resolution of doubts about the authenticity of the true-body relics enshrined at the Diamond Ordination Platform. This was also a decisive occasion upon which the name and visual form of the Diamond Ordination Platform functioned as a solid guarantee of the authenticity and authority of the true-body relics in question.

Chapter Six examines the spatial transformation of and visual adjustments to the compound of Tongdosa that precipitated by the growing sanctity of the Diamond Ordination Platform in the course of the eighteenth century. I argue that, in the first half of the century, the existing, main devotional space of Tongdosa, the Yeongsan Hall precinct, was reconfigured as the ritual space of the Yeongsan Assembly 靈山會上 as envisioned in the Introduction of the *Lotus sūtra* and in keeping with the growing ritual efficacy of the Diamond Ordination Platform, which had not been the central precinct of the monastery prior to that time. In particular, the Yeongsan Hall was completely transformed into an image hall in which the *Eight Episodes Painting* and various murals relevant to the life of Śākyamuni Buddha were installed to enhance the visual effect of the hall as the ritual space of the Yeongsan Assembly. In the second half of the eighteenth century, the precinct of the Diamond Ordination Platform itself was transformed

into the ritual space of the Hwaeom Assembly 華嚴會上 as it was described in the first chapter of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*. In the description, numerous bodhisattvas at the tenth stage and countless guardian deities gather around the newly awakened and transformed Śākyamuni in the form of the reward body, Rocana Buddha, in full radiance. In the nineteenth century in an effort to communicate the twofold formulation of the ritual space of Tongdosa to monks and lay believers, two sets of central ritual icons, one set for the upper altar and one set for the middle altar, both of which were used in the Water-Land rite – were manufactured. At the same time, the hall for the Hwaeom Assembly was constructed in close proximity to the Diamond Ordination Platform, and a painting representing the Hwaeom Assembly was installed within the hall in order to visually emphasize the status of the ritual space as that of the Hwaeom Assembly. I also contend that, into the early nineteenth century, the Diamond Ordination Platform was given material form as a site of the highest sanctity at which the three bodies of the Buddha and the four directional Buddhas of the Diamond World Maṇḍala were integrated in the Five-Clan Tathāgata, the primordial source from which everything, all buddhas, and all physical things of the phenomenal world, spring forth. Finally, I conclude that the ideological expression of the supreme sanctity of the Diamond Ordination Platform of Tongdosa was encapsulated in its status as “the Wonjong” – the Ancestral Monastery of Buddhism. Consequently, the monks’ organization system of *Gakbang Gak-am* was developed in nineteenth-century Tongdosa.

In the conclusion I will provide an overview of the central, original contribution of this dissertation and will summarize my discussions in different chapters based on the three central arguments. First, the monks of fourteenth-century Tongdosa converted a stone ordination platform into the Diamond Ordination Platform. Thus, a ceremonial space for ordination was transformed into a devotional space for the cult of relics. Second, the monks of early-Joseon



period Tongdosa developed the concept of the place of origin based on the soteriological symbolism of the Diamond Ordination Platform. Thus, the authenticity of the true-body relics became a characteristic that was determined not by their substance but instead by the place in which they were enshrined. Third, the monks of late-Joseon period Tongdosa visualized the *genius loci* of the Diamond Ordination Platform as the site in which an eternal or cosmic Buddha was presiding over either the Yeongsan or the Hwaeom Assembly along with countless bodhisattvas and guardian deities. As a result of these endeavors, the Diamond Ordination Platform came to be popularly perceived as possessing of an absolute authority signifying the presence of the true-body relics of Śākyamuni Buddha, and Tongdosa rose to the prestigious status of the Buddha Jewel Monastery.

## Chapter One: The Cult of the True-Body Relics and Tongdosa

### 1.1 The *Śarīra* in the Eyes of Contemporaries

Jajang's acquisition of the Buddha's relics (Sk. *śarīra*) must have marked a momentous turning point in his career.<sup>1</sup> The majority of literary sources dealing with his life unfailingly recount this episode, thereby emphasizing its importance. However, these accounts vary in details and even in the larger narrative. Thus it is not easy to derive a consistent picture of the momentous episode from them. In the interest of clarity, I will consider these sources in chronological order and distinguish two different perspectives, those of insiders, such as the monks of Tongdosa who had a direct stake in the situation, and those of outsiders, such as the Chinese Buddhist historian Daoxuan and the Goryeo Buddhist monk and author of *Yusa*, Iryeon 一然 (1206–1289) who had their own agendas in writing about the relics. Taking this approach, however, requires awareness that, while sources contemporaneous with Jajang are likely to be the most accurate, their silence about certain events in his life does not necessarily mean that these events did not occur. At the same time, literary sources, contemporaneous or not, are to an extent bound by their own specific agendas, and none claim to provide an exhaustive record of Jajang's life. In this respect, even

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<sup>1</sup> The two Sanskrit words that are usually translated as the English word "relic" are *śarīra* and *dhātu*. Etymologically, however, the three words have rather different connotations. The word "relic," derived from Latin *relinquere*, is understood as "something left behind." The Sanskrit word *śarīra* implies "some of the senses of the English word relic," when it is used "in the plural." In this respect, "death – and usually cremation – produces not remains of a body but a plurality of bodies." The other Sanskrit word *dhātu* means "constituent element or essential ingredient." In this regard, death and cremation reduce the body to its "essential ingredient," *dhātu*. Thus, Buddhist relics are not seen as the remnants [of the deceased] but are regarded instead as multiplied essences. For this topic, see Gregory Schopen, "Relic," in *Critical Terms for Religious Studies*, ed. Mark C. Taylor (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 256-57; John Strong, *Relics of the Buddha* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2004), xvi. Going forward, I will alternatively use the Sanskrit term *śarīra* together with relic. However, I will use the term *śarīra* to refer to the plural form without converting the word either to the English form or the Sanskrit plural *śarīrāni*. I am grateful to Prof. Maya Stiller who called my attention to Schopen's discussion of relic and *śarīra*.

those sources contemporaneous with Jajang should not necessarily be regarded as the final authority.<sup>2</sup>

### 1.1.1 Śarīra for the Protecting Dharma: Daoxuan

Of the literary sources, the earliest is a hagiography of Jajang of the *Xugaosengzhuan* (hereafter *XGSZ*) 續高僧傳 (Continued Lives of Eminent Monks), initially composed in 645 and subsequently redacted by Daoxuan. Despite the fact that it was not easy for him in China to collect the information about Jajang who was active in Silla, Daoxuan related some of the more important activities of Jajang's career. Among them is the episode in which Jajang came to acquire the Buddha's relics. Daoxuan recounts;

He [Jajang] also founded monasteries and pagodas at over ten sites. Whenever they were erected, the whole state would pay reverence to them. Jajang would thereupon make the wish, "If there is a spiritual being at the site of construction, may wondrous signs manifest!" In resonance with his wish, relics appeared in the monks' towels and alms bowls. The congregation grieved [at the reminder of the Buddha's absence] but rejoiced [at the appearance of the Buddha's corporeal remains]. Their donations were piled up like mountains and they soon received the precepts. Consequently, the practice of good deeds flourished.

又別造寺塔十有餘所。每一興建合國俱崇。藏乃發願曰。若所造有靈。希現異相。便感舍利在諸巾鉢。大眾悲慶。積施如山。便為受戒。行善遂廣。<sup>3</sup>

This must have been a surprising story to later Koreans, such as Iryeon, who firmly believed that Jajang brought the Buddha's relics from Mount Wutai of China. The extent to which Iryeon was puzzled by Daoxuan's pronouncement is demonstrated by his assumption that Jajang concealed information about his pilgrimage to Mount Wutai from his Chinese colleagues, so Daoxuan

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<sup>2</sup> For this argument, see McBride II, "The Vision-Quest," 30.

<sup>3</sup> Tang Silla guo Daisengtong Shi Jajang zhuan 唐新羅國大僧統釋慈藏傳 [Biography of Supreme Buddhist Overseer Shi Jajang of Tang Silla]. *Xugaoseungzhuan* 續高僧傳, T 2060-50. 639a08-640a08.

could not record the fact in the *XGSZ*. For some modern scholars, however, Iryeon's predication is far from convincing. For example, Kim Yeongsu argues that Jajang procured the Buddha's relics in Silla but his followers claimed the provenance of the relics as Mount Wutai of China in order to convey a unique status on them. Although other modern scholars do not overtly share Kim's view, Daoxuan's report provides them with grounds sufficient to dismiss the story of Jajang's pilgrimage to Mt. Wutai as probably apocryphal.<sup>4</sup>

It is really striking, however, that Daoxuan follows a general pattern commonly seen in stories of the miraculous appearance of *śarīra* in connection with the foundation of Buddhist monasteries and pagodas. This pattern can be summarized as follows: *śarīra* were miraculously given to a person, either a lay believer or a monk, who vowed to build a Buddhist monastery or pagoda; the resulting site is consecrated and the *śarīra* attract a crowd of devotees. We can find stories that follow this pattern in tales of Buddhist miracles originating in China, particularly in the *Ji shenzhou sanbao gantong lu* (hereafter *JSGL*) 集神州三寶感通錄 (*Record of Miraculous Responses to the Three Jewels in China*) compiled by Daoxuan in 664. This source tells, for instance, of an early fourth-century Chinese Buddhist monk named Faheng 法恒 (n.d.) who pleaded, “‘If [you] let me build a Buddhist monastery, even more will we see awe-inspiring gods.’ Again, radiance [the *śarīra*] appeared before him. Thereupon, he built a monastery and a pagoda. In the Qian scores of people entered the Dharma [became Buddhists] every day.” [若使

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<sup>4</sup> Kim Yeongsu not only traced the provenance of the Buddha's relics of Tongdosa but also clarified their history – their translation and whereabouts – from Goryeo times to eighteenth-century Joseon. He wrote this article as early as 1936. To my knowledge, it is the earliest modern attempt to regard the relics in a somewhat disenchanting way. He also dismissed the Buddha's robe of the monastery as an imperial gift Jajang received from the Tang emperor when he returned to Silla. Aside from some of factual errors, his basic analysis seems sound. In the following sections, I will review and supplement his argument. See Kim Yeongsu 金映遂, "Tongdosau sariwa gasa" 通度寺의 舍利와 袈裟, in *Hanguk bulgyo sasang nongu* 韓國佛教思想論攷, ed. Pogwang Kim Yeongsu baksa jeonjip ganhaenghoe 包光金映遂博士全集刊行會 (1984[1936]), 560-61.

恒興立寺宇. 更見威神. 又耀于前. 於即恒建寺塔. 於潛入法者. 日以十數焉].<sup>5</sup> The similar stories that follow this pattern fill the pages of the *JSGL*, culminating in the story of the large-scale dissemination of *śarīra* and the accompanying construction of pagodas by Sui Wendi in the Renshou 仁壽 era (601-604).

The story formula in which miraculously revealed *śarīra* promote Buddhist conversion and devotion and consequently lead to the foundation of the church buildings seems to have developed in the early period of the introduction of Buddhism to China. A well-known case from this early period is that of Kang Senghui (d. 280), who was asked by the ruler Sun Quan 孫權 (r. 229-252) to prove the supernatural power of Buddhism. Upon the miraculous appearance of *śarīra* in a vase and several tests on them afterwards, the ruler was deeply moved and allowed the first Buddhist monastery of the region to be constructed. This anecdote, whether authentic or not, demonstrates that the miraculous power of *śarīra* played a more critical role than the doctrinal understanding during the initial stage of Buddhism in China.<sup>6</sup> What merits particular attention here, however, is the way that this story served as a model for foundation tales of Buddhist monasteries and pagodas in the regions where Buddhism was first introduced or met with strong opposition. For example, an anecdote thought to have originated in Japan in 584 and traditionally regarded as the beginning of Buddhism there, shows how the story of Kang Senghui was followed by the Japanese and used to legitimize acceptance of the foreign faith. It was through the miraculous appearance of *śarīra* in a bowl and several harsh tests performed on them

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<sup>5</sup> *Ji shenzhou sanbao gantong lu* 集神州三寶感通錄, T 2106-52. 410: c21-23.

<sup>6</sup> Tiziana Lippiello, *Auspicious omens and miracles in ancient China : Han, three kingdoms, and six dynasties*, Monumenta serica monograph series 39 (Sankt Augustin, Germany: Monumenta Serica Institute, 2001), 163-65.

that Soga no Umako 蘇我馬子 (d. 626), a leader of the powerful Soga clan, was converted to Buddhism and built the first Buddhist pagoda in Japan.<sup>7</sup>

By the time Jajang returned to Silla from Tang in 643, Buddhism had been established in Silla for nearly a hundred years. According to traditional accounts, the official acceptance of Buddhism by the Silla ruling class was triggered by a Buddhist miracle, as were the cases discussed above, but by a horrific event rather than miraculous *śarīra*. In 527, when milky white blood spurted from the beheaded neck of the martyr Yichadon 異次頓 who had proclaimed the power of Buddhism prior to his execution, the nobles of the court who had opposed the pro-Buddhism stance of King Beopheung 法興王 (r. 514-540) were utterly shocked and compelled to accept the foreign religion. For the people of Silla, the impact and memory of this miracle was so strong and haunting that the scene of the martyrdom was vividly carved on a stone stele nearly 300 years later. (fig. 1-1). It was because of this miraculous death that the first state Buddhist monastery, Heungryunsa 興輪寺, was built in 544 with the support of the royalty and nobility.

The official record of *śarīra* in Silla appeared for the first time five years after the completion of Heungryunsa, when in the front of the monastery King Jingheung 眞興王 (r. 540-576) welcomed an emissary from Liang China bearing grains of *śarīra*, possibly those requested from the Liang ruler, for the consecration of the monastery.<sup>8</sup> Hence, there was no wondrous story about the first appearance of *śarīra* in Silla. More interestingly, no foundational tales concerning monasteries and pagodas in Silla are connected with miraculous appearances of *śarīra*. Silla versions of miraculous Buddhist tales compiled in the *Yusa* do not involve any stories associated with the supernatural power of *śarīra* at all. Against this blank page of Silla Buddhism, it is hard

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<sup>7</sup> Brian Douglas Ruppert, *Jewel in the Ashes : Buddha Relics and Power in Early Medieval Japan* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000), 59.

<sup>8</sup> “Wonjong heungbeop yeomchok myeolsin” 原宗興法獸鬪滅身; *Yusa* (2003), 343-51.

to avoid concluding that Daoxuan's statement regarding Jajang and *śarīra* simply follows the pattern of Buddhist miracle tales established in China.

The effect of incorporating Jajang into the established tradition of Buddhist miracle tales is evident. While Jajang's miracle of *śarīra* immediately earns him special status, it also becomes one of countless miraculous occurrences in the history of Buddhism. In this dialectic, not only does Jajang's story become a hagiography of a special monk, but Buddhism, which facilitated such miraculous occurrences, is also recognized as a powerful religion. The focus, therefore, is not on the miraculous appearances of *śarīra*, but instead on Jajang's endeavors to protect and propagate Buddhism in Silla. Here, *śarīra* served to make Jajang's life special. It should be taken into consideration in this regard that Daoxuan arranged the biography of Jajang under the rubric of "protecting the dharma" 護法 in the *XGSZ*.

Based on the above analysis, it seems clear that we cannot accept Daoxuan's statement concerning Jajang and *śarīra* as evidence either for the provenance of the relics of Tongdosa or against Jajang's putative pilgrimage to Mount Wutai. That said, it is still useful in providing a contemporary Chinese view of Jajang's character, particularly concerning his role as a miracle worker. In other Chinese sources, in fact, Jajang has different personae. On the one hand, he was known as a "Prince of Silla" 新羅王子 in Chang'an, even though he was not actually a prince; on the other hand, Daoshi 道世 (d. 683) writes of Jajang performing miraculous feats like "letting the blind see the way, and the ill cured" [盲者見道. 病者得愈].<sup>9</sup> It must have been a refreshing experience for Chinese monks in Chang'an to observe that a person of the eminent status of a prince became a Buddhist monk, traveled abroad to study Buddhism, and performed wondrous miracles for the public's benefit. Apparently this eccentric mix of character traits made such a

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<sup>9</sup> *XGSZ*, T 2060-50. 541: a14. *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林, T 2122-53. 779: c9.

strong impression on monk-scholars like Daoxuan and Daoshi that they felt compelled to comment on him.

### 1.1.2 Śarīra interred in the Nine-Story Pagoda: Hwangnyongsa

What then was the response of the people of Silla to Jajang and his association with the Buddha's relics? The earliest answer comes from late ninth-century Silla. In 871, King Gyeongmun 景文王 (r. 861-875) decided to reconstruct the nine-story wooden pagoda of Hwangnyongsa, which had been tilted to the northeast for more than thirty years and had suffered a lightning strike three years earlier. With the completion of the reconstruction one year later, an inscription was engraved on the surface of the inner reliquary of gilt bronze, which was placed in the cavity hollowed out in the center of the upper surface of the huge foundation stone (fig.1-2-a). The inscription is generally called the *Hwangnyongsa chalju bongi* (hereafter *Chaljugi*) 皇龍寺刹柱本記 [*Record of the Center Pole of Hwangnyong Monastery*]. (fig.1-2-b). According to the account, a younger brother of the king took charge of the entire project and the abbot of the monastery who was previously State Overseer supervised the reconstruction. A number of court officials and monks of Hwangnyongsa joined the effort as well.<sup>10</sup> This mobilization of human resources indicates that this rebuilding project proceeded with the full support of the royalty and the active participation of the monks of the monastery. Hence the inscription reflects not only the interest of the Silla ruler, but it also reveals the attitude of the monks of Hwangnyongsa to the reconstruction, and moreover, toward Jajang, who was responsible for the foundation of the Nine-Story Pagoda.

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<sup>10</sup> "Hwangnyongsa chalju bongi" 皇龍寺刹柱本記 (872), Bak Geomul 朴居勿, GSM, <http://gsm.nricp.go.kr>.



The inscription first briefly provides a biography of Jajang, explaining how and why he persisted and led the construction of the pagoda to completion.<sup>11</sup> Next, it relates the background of the reconstruction project, the king's deep concern for it, the ranks and responsibilities of participating individuals, and the construction schedule. It then continues by discussing the relics with which we are concerned:

During [the reconstruction], in accordance with the *Wugou Jingguang* (the Great Dhāraṇī Sūtra of Undefined Pure Light), ninety-nine miniature stone pagodas containing a grain of *śarīra* and four kinds of *dhāraṇī* texts each inside, and a roll of *sūtra* holding a grain of *śarīra* on it were [all] placed on the iron [square] tray [of the pagoda's finial]. In the seventh lunar month of the next year (872.7), the nine-story [pagoda] was completed. However, since the central pillar was not moved, the lord became concerned with the condition of the *śarīra* [originally housed under the pillar] and enjoined a court official, Seungji, with the rank of Yigan to go there with his entourage on the sixth day of the eleventh month of the Imjin year (872.11.6). They had the pillar lifted up and inspected what was there. Within the hole of the foundation stone was a high platform of gold and silver. Upon the platform lay a glass flask containing the *śarīra*. Its execution was a great wonder. Yet there was no record at all of its date and background. On the twenty-fifth day (11.25), it was replaced as it was, and one hundred pellets of *śarīra* and two kinds of *dharmā-śarīra* were additionally enshrined.

其中更依無垢淨經。置小石塔九十九軀。每軀納舍利一枚。陀羅尼四種。經一卷。卷上安舍利一具。於鐵盤之上。明年(872)七月。九層畢功。雖然刹柱不動。上慮柱本舍利如何。令臣伊干承旨。取壬辰年(872)十一月六日。率群僚而往。專令舉柱觀之。礎白之中。有金銀高座。於其上。安舍利琉璃瓶。其爲物也。不可思議。唯無年月事由記。廿五日。還依舊置。又加安舍利一百枚。法舍利二種。<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> With this explanation, three important points of divergence from later sources such as the *Yusa* are addressed: Jajang's motivation for leaving the householder's life (his repentance at hunting pheasants), year of entry into Tang (AD 638), and the identity of the adviser who recommended Jajang to build the pagoda (a Chan master Yuanxiang 圓香 of Mout Zhongnan 終南山). In particular, some scholars accept the second and third points as strong evidence against Jajang's pilgrimage to Mount Wutai.

<sup>12</sup> "Chaljugi," GSM, <http://gsm.nricp.go.kr>. "Cheolban" 鐵盤, translated here as an iron tray, is alternatively called "noban" 露盤, a component forming the base of a pagoda's finial. For a brief definition of this part, see Mary Neighbour Parent, *The Roof in Japanese Buddhist Architecture* (New York; Tokyo: Weatherhill; Kajima, 1983), 320-21.

This passage reflects two distinctive approaches to the veneration of relics practiced in the Silla period. The *śarīra* previously housed in the pagoda with which King Gyeongmun was concerned was found in the reliquary placed in the stone base of the pagoda's central pillar. This practice is of the early period fashioned in seventh-century pagodas of Baekje 百濟 like Jeseoksa 帝釋寺 and, by extension, in those of Asuka Japan such as Hōryūji 法隆寺 and Sūfukuji 崇福寺 of Shiga 滋賀 Prefecture. It was primarily in the center-pillar base stone of pagoda 心礎石 that the reliquary of *śarīra* was deposited.<sup>13</sup> The ninth-century Silla court officials of King Gyeongmun, however, chose a different location for their reliquary – the square tray of the pagoda's finial, that is, the top of the pagoda.

The two practices are not merely different in terms of the location of relics in the overall structure of the pagoda. It was the Buddha's body *śarīra* that was unveiled in the center-pillar base stone of the pagoda.<sup>14</sup> But the relics that ninth-century Silla officials and monks were enshrined in the pagoda were of special type of ninety-nine miniature stone pagodas containing not only body *śarīra* but also *dhāraṇī* (*mantras*) identified with *dharma śarīra* 法舍利 (Ch. fasheli, Kr. beopsari). This specific kind of relic cult in the late ninth-century Silla is known to have been based on the *Wugou jingguang datuoluonijing* (hereafter *WJTJ*) 無垢淨光大陀羅尼經

<sup>13</sup> For the practice of *śarīra* deposition in Baekje and Silla, see Kang Woobang 강우방, "Bulsari jangeomron" 佛舍利莊嚴論, in *Bulsari jangeom* 佛舍利莊嚴, ed. Kang Woobang, Oh Juseok, and Kim Yeonsu (Seoul: Gukrip Jungang bakmulgwan 國立中央博物館, 1991), 189-91; Ju Gyeongmi 주경미, "Hanguk godae bulsari jangeome michin junggukui yeonghyang" 한국 고대 불사리장엄에 미친 중국의 영향, *Misul sahak yeongu* 미술사학연구(국고미술) 235 (2002): 40-42. For the cases of seventh-century Japan, J. Edward Kidder Jr, "Busshari and Fukuzō: Buddhist Relics and Hidden Repositories of Hōryū-ji," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 19, no. 2/3 (1992): 219-23; Kawada Sadamu 河田貞, *Busshari to kyō no sōgon* 仏舍利と經の莊嚴, *Nihon no bijutsu* 日本美術 280 (Tōkyō: Shibundō, 1989), 29-33; Naitō Sakae 内藤栄, "Busshari to hōju ten gaisetsu" 仏舍利と宝珠展概説, in *Busshari to hōju : Shaka o shitau kokoro* 仏舍利と宝珠 : 釈迦を慕う心, ed. Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 奈良国立博物館 (Nara: Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 2001), 176-77.

<sup>14</sup> According to Daoshi, corporeal relics are usually divided into three categories: bone relics 骨舍利, hair relics 髮舍利, and flesh relics 肉舍利. *Fayuan*, T 2122-53. 598: c11-13. For the English translation, see Ruppert, *Jewel in the Ashes*: 291-92. I understand the flesh relics to be "transmogrified somatic substances that could be as small as mustard-seeds and appear as jewel-like beads." Strong, *Relics of the Buddha*: 10.

(Skt. *Raśmivimalaviśuddhaprabhā-dhāraṇī*) [the *Great Dhāraṇī Sūtra of Undeiled Pure Light*], which was translated in 704 together by a Tokharina monk Mitraśānta or Mitrasena (Ch. Mitoushan 彌陀山) with Fazang (643-712) 法藏 the third Huayan patriarch.<sup>15</sup> What is striking is that it was not in Chang'an but in Gyeongju that the sūtra was enthusiastically welcomed. In 706, less than two years after the translation was completed, the Silla ruler swiftly realized the potential of this sūtra and believed it had the capacity to produce immeasurable benefits. This sūtra then became a new source of inspiration for relic veneration. Through the eighth and ninth centuries, Silla royalty actively promoted this approach to relic veneration in many pagodas. Well known instances in this respect are the Śākyamuni Pagoda 釋迦塔 (Kr. Seokgatap) of Bulguksa, erected in 751, and the Nine-Story Pagoda of Hwangnyongsa, restored in 872, about which we read in the *Chuljugi*.<sup>16</sup> Jan Fontein recognized this eighth-century practice of relic veneration found in Silla as “[a new development] of the cult of spiritual relics” having several distinctive features from the previously long-standing cult of relics focusing on the Buddha’s physical remains.<sup>17</sup> Here I concentrate solely on some issues relevant to the current discussion.

What is interesting in the course of the pagoda restoration is a flurry surrounding the *śarīra* that had been previously enshrined in the pagoda. There is no doubt that when the pagoda was

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<sup>15</sup> Regarding the translation of the *WJTJ*, I refer to T. H. Barrett, "Stūpa, sūtra, and śarīra in China, c. 656-706 CE," *Buddhist Studies Review* 18, no. 1 (2001): 51-2; Jinhua Chen, "Śarīra and Scepter: Empress Wu's Political Use of Buddhist Relics," *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 25, no. 1-2 (2002): 111-12.

<sup>16</sup> Kang, "Bulsari jangeomron," 146; Ju Gyeongmi 주경미, "Hanguk bulsari jangeom e isseoseo Mugujeonggwangdaedaranigyeong ui uiui" 韓國佛舍利莊嚴에 있어서 『無垢淨光大陀羅尼經』의 意義, *Bulgyomisulshak 불교미술사학* 2 (2004): 168-173. The woodblock-printed version of the *WJTJ* found in the Seokgatap is known as the earliest xylographical evidence in world history. The controversy surrounding whether this version was actually printed in Silla or was a consequence of the large dissemination associated with Empress Wu is literally a charged, ongoing discussion among Chinese and Korean scholars, sometimes extending to western scholars.

<sup>17</sup> J. Fontein, "Relics and reliquaries, texts and artefacts," in *Function and meaning in Buddhist art : proceedings of a seminar held at Leiden university, 21-24 October 1991*, ed. Karel Rijk van Kooij and Hendrik van der Veere, *Gonda indological studies* (Groningen: E. Forsten, 1995), 26.

first constructed, the Buddha's *śarīra* were enshrined in it to consecrate it. Because Jajang oversaw the first construction of the pagoda as both the abbot of Hwangnyongsa and Supreme State Overseer, the enshrined *śarīra* were certainly associated with him. According to Iryeon, Jajang divided 100 grains of the *śarīra* into three parts and enshrined one part on “the inside of the pillar” [於柱中] of the Nine-Story Pagoda of Hwangnyongsa.<sup>18</sup> It is not clear, however, that this was common knowledge among the people of ninth-century Silla, or even among the monks of the time at Hwangnyongsa.

What concerns us here is the way in which the investigation of the previously housed *śarīra* was conducted. Court officials had the central pillar lifted again just three months after completion of the reconstruction. Given that the pillar was not moved in the course of the reconstruction and other structural components were seemingly not affected by its raising, the central pillar of the Hwangnyongsa Nine-Story Pagoda seems to have been tenuously joined to the surrounding parts of the structure. This was the case with the central pillar of the Hōryūji five-story pagoda, which is now suspended in the air above ground with little structural connection to the surrounding parts. Such a central pillar, which in essence functions like a tall “pin” penetrating the core, serves the structural role of resisting lateral forces resulting from wind or earthquakes.<sup>19</sup> This important characteristic of the central pillar probably contributed to

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<sup>18</sup> “Hwangnyongsa gucheungtap” 皇龍寺九層塔; *Yusa* (2003), 385.

<sup>19</sup> Being aware of the case of Hōryūji, Gwon Jongnam claims that the central pillar of the Nine-Story Pagoda of Hwangnyongsa was probably suspended in the air to resist against lateral forces. He also points out that, because it is nearly impossible to lift the central pillar while dismantling the surrounding structure within such a short period, the central pillar was presumed to be a component that did not bear vertical loads and consisted of several short columns. Gwon Jongnam 권종남, *Hwangnyongsa Gucheungtap: Hanguk godae moktap ui gujo wa uijang* 皇龍寺九層塔 : 한국 고대 목탑의 구조와 의장 (Seoul: Misul Munhwa, 2006), 193-94; 258-59. As for a structural nature and role of the central pillar in the Hōryūji five-story pagoda, I consult Eric M. Field, “The Central Core Structural System: A Three-Dimensional Analysis of the Five-Story Pagoda of Hōryūji,” in *Hōryūji Reconsidered*, ed. Dorothy C. Wong (Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), 41-46. The expression “pin” is borrowed from Field’s study.

the monarch's decision. However, it seems undeniable that King Gyeongmun's order to investigate the enshrined *śarīra* was accidental and not a planned component of the reconstruction. Whatever the reason, the ruler became suddenly curious concerning the previously enshrined *śarīra* and decided to send his entourage to investigate what was under the central pillar.

What is more striking is the response of court officials and monks to what lay beneath the central pillar following its unearthing. What they saw there was, of course, a reliquary containing the *śarīra*, but for them it was quite unexpected and they marveled at the wondrous work of the reliquary as they had no familiarity with it. Any information at all concerning by whom, when and why the *śarīra* had originally been enshrined was unavailable. Considering the passionate concern for the relics associated with Jajang shown in later times, the simple wonder and relative ignorance of the people of ninth-century Silla seems odd. Although they would have been expected to respond with tremendous excitement upon seeing the authentic Buddha's *śarīra* that Jajang had brought, their response seems surprisingly subdued. What does this response imply?

Above all else, this response suggests that the veneration of the *śarīra* enshrined in the Nine-Story Pagoda was not a common practice in late ninth-century Silla and that neither the laity nor the clergy associated the *śarīra* from the central pillar with Jajang. As will be explored below, the Nine-Story Pagoda of Hwangnyongsa was an important apparatus for disseminating the Buddha-land propaganda among the people of Silla. The fact that the pagoda was one of three *regalia* 三寶 (Kr. *sambo*) of Silla royalty clearly attests to the symbolic weight of the Nine-Story Pagoda.<sup>20</sup> It is therefore difficult to imagine that some nondescript *śarīra* would have been

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<sup>20</sup> Three *regalia* or three treasures of Silla consisted of the nine-story wooden *pagoda*, the image of the Buddha cast in King Asoka's gold and iron, and the jade belt conferred by heaven. What is noteworthy here is that two of the three treasures were Buddhist symbols and both belonged to Hwangnyongsa. This indicates that not only Buddhism

chosen for the consecration of a monument of such importance. The wondrous quality of the reliquary mentioned in the *Chuljugi* also indicates that the *śarīra* were held in tremendously high regard and were the object of extraordinary devotion.

Given that the first enshrined *śarīra* were recognized as very special to the people of seventh-century Silla, there are two possible explanations of the ninth-century response discussed above. On the one hand, Hwangnyongsa might have been at some point in decline to the extent that the sources and information concerning the first enshrined *śarīra* could not be passed down to ninth-century monks of the monastery. On the other hand, the cult of relics in Silla might have unfolded in such a way that the highly esteemed *śarīra* had nevertheless been buried in oblivion.

Regarding the vicissitudes of Hwangnyongsa in the Silla period, we have two competing arguments. The first insists that the monastery held the status of the state monastery 國刹 (Kr. *gukchal*) for the whole of the Silla period. The second argues that the monastery lost this important status in the mid-eighth century and only recovered it during of the reign of King Gyeongmun in the ninth century.<sup>21</sup> As shown in the *Chuljugi*, the fact that the pagoda was left tilting precariously for over thirty years, seems more indicative of a period of decline. Whatever

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but also Hwangnyongsa played a prominent role in the establishment of the legitimacy of the Silla kingship. Regarding the jade belt, some scholars regard it as a Buddhist symbol. For a detailed discussion of three treasures of Silla, see Shin Jongweon (2007) and Kim Sangheyon 김상현, "Silla samboeu seongripgwa gui uiui" 신라 삼보의 성립과 그 의의, *Dongguk sahak* 동국사학 14 (1980).

<sup>21</sup> For studies concerning the former position, Yi Gibaek 이기백, "Hwangnyongsa wa geu changgeon" 황룡사와 그 창건, in *Silla sasangsa yeongu* 신라사상사연구 (Seoul: Iljogak, 1986). Gwak Seunghun 곽승훈, "Silla Hwangnyongsa seungryeo deului hwaldong" 新羅 皇龍寺 僧侶들의 活動, *Silla munhwaje haksulbalpyo nonmunjip* 신라문화재학술발표논문집 22 (2001). For studies in regard to the latter position, Chae Sangsik 채상식, "Silla tongilgi ui seongjeon sawon ui gujo wa gineung" 新羅統一기의 成典寺院의 구조와 기능, *Busan sahak*釜山史學 8 (1984): 28-35; Chae Sangsik 채상식, "Sillasa e isseoseo Hwangnyongsa ui wisang gwa geu chuwi" 新羅史에 있어서 皇龍寺의 位相과 그 推移, *Silla munhwaje haksulbalpyo nonmunjip* 신라문화재학술발표논문집 22 (2001). As for a revisionist stance that acknowledges a decline of the monastery for some period but does not accept a possibility of it losing primary status, Jo Beomhwan 조범환, "Silla sidae Hwangnyongsa ui wisang" 新羅時代 皇龍寺의 位相, *Gyeongju munhwa yeongu* 慶州文化研究 4 (2001): 18.

the reason, whether it was political turmoil or the withdrawal of court patronage, it seems apparent that Hwangnyongsa did not command the full support of the Silla court until around the mid-ninth century. That said, this lack of support does not necessarily mean that Hwangnyongsa lost its status as the state monastery. Moreover, monks of Hwangnyongsa were active in the period during which the monastery is assumed to have lost its superior status. The Hwangnyongsa monk Yeongi 緣起 (n.d.), for instance, went to old Baekje area and led a large-scale copying of the eighty-roll version of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* between 754 and 755. There is also epigraphic evidence that Hwangnyongsa monks continued to be appointed to official monastic positions during the period in question.<sup>22</sup> This suggests that the monastery not only continued to produce monks who were active in local regions but that it also retained official responsibility for overseeing the *saṃgha* of Silla. Undeniably, there was a certain period during which the monastery did not receive the patronage of Silla court, and thereby fell into decline to an extent. However, there is no evidence available to suggest that this decline evolved into dilapidation to such an extent that the life of the monastery was suspended for a considerable period. It is therefore quite unlikely that the response of ninth-century court officials to the *śarīra* under the central mast of the Nine-Story Pagoda was the result of a marked decline of Hwangnyongsa. Thus, we need to address this response in the historical context of the cult of relics in Silla.

As stated above, the relics that ninth-century Silla officials and monks were enshrined in the Nine-Story Pagoda were *dharma śarīra*. What was called “*dharma śarīra*” consists of scripts written on bamboo slips, clay tablets, or paper. Two types of *dharma śarīra* were used to consecrate pagodas in Silla. The first is the so-called the Buddhist Creed, that is, the verse of the

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<sup>22</sup> Gwak, "Silla Hwangnyongsa seungryeo," 152; 161.

Chain of Causation 緣起法頌 (Sk. *Pratītyasamutpāda-gāthā*), which was generally translated in four-line verse in Chinese.<sup>23</sup> The second is a set of *dhāraṇī* expounded in the *WJTJ*. The former case is very limited in quantity and date: a total of three instances are known so far; two of them can be dated; the first dates around the early eighth century and the second from the tenth century. The majority of cases from eighth- and ninth-century Silla thus belong to the latter.<sup>24</sup> (fig.1-3). What merits the most attention, however, is that the *dharma śarīra* alone was never used in Silla without the Buddha's body *śarīra*. The spiritual *śarīra* always accompanied the physical *śarīra*. This fact suggests that the *dharma* relics were thought by the people of Silla to supplement and strengthen the efficacy of the body relics. As a matter of fact, the enshrinement of the *dhāraṇī* as the *dharma śarīra* in pagodas has an extraordinary effect in the multiplication of the body *śarīra*. According to the *WJTJ*, for instance, "if one inscribes this *dhāraṇī* in ninety-nine copies and places them the around pagoda's filial, [...] [it is as though] you have enshrined 99,000 relics of the Buddha, too" [書寫此呪九十九本 於相輪櫟四周安置 ... 亦為安置九萬九千佛舍利已].<sup>25</sup> One copy of the *dharma śarīra* in this rite amounts to 1,000 body *śarīra*. This count escalates virtually to infinity if one enshrines all four *dhāraṇī* at one time: "nine billion, nine hundred million, one hundred thousand *nayuta*, as numerous as the sands of

<sup>23</sup> For the verse of the Chain of the Causation and its relationship to the cult of relics in India, see Daniel Boucher, "The Pratītyasamutpādagāthā and Its Role in the Medieval Cult of the Relics," *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 14, no. 1 (1991). The English translation of the verse can be referred to in Bucher's excellent translation of the *Sūtra on the Merit of Building a Stūpa Spoken by the Buddha* 佛說造塔功德經. Ibid., 9.

<sup>24</sup> As for a basic source of this statistic, I consult Kang Woobang, Oh Juseok, and Kim Yeonsu, ed., *Bulsari jangeom* 佛舍利莊嚴 (Seoul: Gukrip Jungang bakmulgwan, 1991), 224-37. Regarding a study of these two types of *dharma śarīras* in Silla, Ju, "Hanguk bulsari jangeom," 167-73; 187-90. Among three extant cases of the verse of the Chain of Causation are a brick of Gyeongju Seokjangsa-ji, silver plates attributed to Hwangnyongsa and a reliquary of Boweonsa-ji. The case attributed to Hwangnyongsa dates either the seventh century or the ninth century. While the case of Seokjangsa-ji is generally known to date from the seventh century, I follow a recent study that claims that the brick is very likely to have been executed in the early eighth century. Kim Jihyeon 김지현, "Gyeongju Seokjangsa-ji jeonbul yeongu" 慶州 錫杖寺址 塼佛 研究, *Misul sahak yeongu* 미술사학연구(구 고고미술) 266 (2010): 50-52. A study of the case of Boweonsa-ji, see Fontein, "Relics and reliquaries," 27-28.

<sup>25</sup> *Wugou jingguang datuoluonijing* 無垢淨光大陀羅尼經, T 1024-19. 719: a17-20.



the Ganges of buddhas would come here, empower the pagoda and enshrine the buddha's *śarīra*" [有九十九億百千那由他恒河沙諸佛. 皆至此處. 加持彼塔. 安佛舍利].<sup>26</sup> Thus these incalculable numbers of *śarīra* and, by extension, the presence of buddhas can produce literally limitless rewards such as the removal of all karmic hindrance, the rebirth in a heaven, the prolongation of life and finally the supreme correct enlightenment without retrogression.

No doubt that this introduction of the *dharma* relics significantly affected the cult of relics in Silla. Two issues can be considered in this regard. First, it seems to have had tremendous influence on the supply and demand of body relics during Silla period. From around the seventh century onward, China saw appearance and circulation of numerous body *śarīra* among the devout. It seems that in this explosion of the supply of *śarīra* that Japanese monks were able to bring a fair number of grains of *śarīra* – often running to two or three thousand, and, if exceptional, up to ten thousand – to their islands through the mid-eighth and the early ninth centuries, thereby resulting in a radical change in the cult of relics in Japan.<sup>27</sup> Against this extraordinary enthusiasm for body *śarīra* prevalent on the continent and in the archipelago in the seventh and eighth centuries, some frugality toward them in the recently unified peninsula seems quite striking. There is no evidence to prove that the new rulers of the peninsular Silla were engaged in directing their energies toward procuring a large number of *śarīra* and dispensing them to newly subjugated lands. This does not mean, of course, that the Silla sovereigns did not take advantage of Buddhist symbolism to strengthen their political power and authority. On the contrary, both the royalty and the nobility of Silla actively promoted a politically charged agenda that Silla was a past Buddha-land and a Buddhist country karmically connected with the Indian

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 720: c13-15.

<sup>27</sup> For the rapid increase of *śarīra* in seventh-century China, see Ju Gyeongmi 주경미, *Jungguk godae bulsari jangeom yeongu* 중국 고대 불사리장엄 연구 (Seoul: Iljisa, 2003), 221-22. For the importation of *śarīra* by Japanese monks from China, Ruppert, *Jewel in the Ashes*: 61-2; Kawada, *Busshari to kyō no sōgon*: 34.

king Aśoka.<sup>28</sup> In the formation of this Buddhist ideology, however, they did not rely on the large distribution of *śarīra* as did Emperor Sui Wendi after the Aśokan model. Instead, the Gandharan model was followed, substantializing the Buddha-land idea. As scholars such as Kuwayama and Shinohara have pointed out, in this model, the tales of previous Buddhas and previous lives of the Buddha, on the one hand, and the very special relics of the Buddha such as the teeth, the skull bone, the eyeballs, the begging bowl etc., on the other hand, played a determinant role in transforming Gandhara from a Buddhist border area into a flourishing Buddhist sacred center.<sup>29</sup> A stone seat in the capital Gyeongju was declared the place where the former Buddha Kāśyapa had resided, on the one hand; a large amount of gold and iron, allegedly sent by the Indian King Aśoka to an unknown Buddha-land, was found in Silla and cast into the colossal, golden image of Śākyamuni, on the other hand. This orchestration of the Gandharan model culminated in the erection of the Nine-Story Pagoda of Hwangnyongsa led by Jajang. Hwangnyongsa was not only founded at the site of the Kāśyapa Buddha's stone seat but also the image of Śākyamuni associated with King Aśoka was enshrined there. Thus, the monastery became a central stage where the Buddha-land ideology was being implementing. Under such circumstances, the dazzling, tall architecture of which people of all social strata in the capital could easily catch sight, served as a visual embodiment of that which was literally towering over their heads. Without question, *śarīra* must surely have been used to consecrate the pagoda. What would have mattered, however, was not the *śarīra* but the omnipresence of the stately, towering architecture proclaiming the site as Buddha-land. Therefore, the Buddha's body *śarīra* played a small part in

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<sup>28</sup> For a brief introduction of the Buddha-land ideology of Silla, Richard D. McBride II, *Domesticating the Dharma : Buddhist cults and the Hwaom synthesis in Silla Korea* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 22-27.

<sup>29</sup> Shoshin Kuwayama, *Across the Hindukush of the First Millennium : A Collection of the Papers* (Kyoto: Institute for Research in Humanities, Kyoto University, 2002), 33-35. Koichi Shinohara, "The Story of the Buddha's Begging Bowl: Imaging a Biography and Sacred Places," in *Pilgrims, Patrons, and Place Localizing Sanctity in Asian Religions*, ed. P. E. Granoff and Shinohara Koichi (Vancouver, B.C. : UBC Press, 2003), 90-92.

the political mobilization of a Buddha-land ideology in Silla. This situation, which unfolded in the late seventh century, explains why Silla royalty took such an exceptionally modest attitude toward the Buddha's body *śarīra*. Furthermore, it was the active utilization of *dharma śarīra* by Silla royalty from the eighth century onward that made this attitude more entrenched. The body *śarīra* were never abandoned in the relic veneration of Silla, but it is apparent that the *dharma śarīra* made unnecessary the demand to acquire body *śarīra* in large quantities. Possibly, this change seems to contribute to the situation that the cult of the Buddha's body *śarīra* flourished far less in Silla than it did in China and Japan.

Second, the promotion of the *dharma śarīra* seems to have entailed a change in the ritual of the cult of relics in Silla. The locations in which that the relics were enshrined in the pagodas of Silla vary according to a type of a pagoda and its building date. In the early wooden pagodas, relics were interred within or beneath the stone base of the central pillar, whereas with stone pagodas built after the late seventh century, the relics were placed in the first or second tier above the ground level.<sup>30</sup> Both approaches, however, have something in common: once enshrined, it was not easy to bring the relics outside. This method of enshrinement persisted throughout the Silla period. This persistent conservatism contrasts somewhat with changes in China and Japan in which the Buddha's relics enshrined in pagodas were on occasion removed for public offerings held in a regular base. If there had been religious fervor for seeing the bone relics in person as in the cult of the finger-bone and the teeth of the Buddha in Tang Chang'an, or a large-scale importation of the body relics leading Nara Japan to move the cultic place from the pagoda to the Buddha hall, Silla people would have witnessed a change in the way of the enshrinement of relics: the relics could have been accessed through special architectural structure

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<sup>30</sup> Kang, "Bulsari jangeomron," 175-77. Kang Woobang and Sin Yongcheol, *Tap* 탑 (Seoul: Sol, 1990), 70.

such as the digong (subterranean palace) 地宮 in Famensi; they could have been enshrined in an independent hall reserved for them as in the Shariden (Relics Hall) 舍利殿 of Tōshōdaiji.<sup>31</sup> Instead of facilitating such as centrifugal shift, people were attracted to the Silla pagodas themselves; indeed, they gathered around and circumambulated pagodas in a very ritually codified manner. Generally called Tapdori 탑돌이 (circumambulating a pagoda), the late eighth-century Silla gathering named Bokhoe 福會 (Fortune Assembly) was the very popular ritual associated with relic offerings. According to the *Yusa*, for instance, men and women in the capital were rushing to circumambulate the hall and pagoda of Heungryunsa and have Fortune Assemblies annually from the 8<sup>th</sup> to the 15<sup>th</sup> day of the 2<sup>nd</sup> month.<sup>32</sup> Apparently, it was the prevalence of the cult of dharma relics after the *WJTJ* that inspired this approach to relic offering in Silla. The sūtra not only encourages the ritual of circumambulations with the recitation of *dhāraṇī*, but it also prescribes the ritual to be observed on the 8<sup>th</sup>, the 13<sup>th</sup>, the 14<sup>th</sup> and the 15<sup>th</sup> day. Although it was annually held every 2<sup>nd</sup> month and a bit varied in ritual schedule, the Bokhoe of Silla was unquestionably modeled after the *WJTJ*.<sup>33</sup> Furthermore, merely catching a glimpse of the pagoda containing four versions of *dhāraṇī* is efficacious enough to accumulate huge merits, says the sūtra. Even patrons who could not afford to build or repair pagodas were given an opportunity to serve the *dharma* relics on the square altar installed in front of the pagoda. Any offerings for the pagoda unfailingly guaranteed immense rewards. In other words,

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<sup>31</sup> Regarding the historical meaning of the *digong* in the cult of *śarīra* of China, Wen wu chu ban she 文物出版社, ed., *Fomen mibao Datang yizhen : Shanxi Fufeng Famensi digong* 佛門祕寶大唐遺珍：陝西扶風法門寺地宮 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe : Guangfushuju, 1994), 125-26. As for the structure of the *digong*, Han Sheng 韓生, *Famensi wenwu tushi* 法門寺文物圖飾 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2009), 104-129. For the Shariden of Tōshōdaiji, Nakamura Kazumoto 中村一基, "Nippon busshari shinkō shi" 日本<仏舍利>信仰史, *Gandai gobun* 岩大語文 11 (2006): 5.

<sup>32</sup> "Gimhyeon gamho" 金現感虎, *Yusa* (2003), 627-28.

<sup>33</sup> Sin Yongcheol 辛용철, "Silla bultap e isseo Mugujeonggwang daedarani ui yeonghyang" 신라 불탑에 있어 無垢淨光大陀羅尼經의 영향, *Bulgyohak yeongu* 불교학연구 23 (2009): 360-62.

people during the Silla did not necessarily need to take the body relics out of pagodas as far as the fulfillment of wishes, the accumulation of merits, the prayer for rebirth in a heaven and the like were concerned. Possibly, the promotion of this manner of making relic offerings contributed to the persistence of the conservative practice of relic enshrinement in Silla. The relics were not only securely kept in a way that made it extremely difficult to remove them from the pagoda once interred, but there was also little ritual necessity in Silla that such relic assemblies as those that flourished in China and Japan would be developed.

Seen from this development of the cult of relics in Silla, the rebuilding of the Nine-Story Pagoda of Hwangnyongsa by King Gyeongmun was not a mere construction project. Considering that the longstanding, bloody struggle for the throne was subdued during this ruler's reign, it was a well-engineered political campaign for providing a sense of the restoration and redemption of the state and the royalty for the populace of Silla through the revival of the Buddha-land ideology centering on the Nine-Story Pagoda.<sup>34</sup> Particularly interesting is that the relics chosen to implement the power of the pagoda were the dharma *śarīra* based on the instruction of the *WJTJ*. On the part of the ruler, the consecration of the dharma *śarīra* after the *WJTJ* that transformed the pagoda into a miraculous object capable of bestowing unlimited benefits upon the people of Silla was surely effective propaganda. Thus, this practice tells us that the ninth-century power elites of Silla were still fascinated with dharma *śarīra* since their introduction in the eighth century, and that the Buddha's body *śarīra* did not play a decisive role in terms of ritual necessity. If the original *śarīra* enshrined in the Nine-Story Pagoda had enjoyed highly esteemed status in ninth-century Silla like true-body *śarīra* in the later period, they should

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<sup>34</sup> For a political background of the reconstruction of the nine-story pagoda in the reign of Gyeongmun, see Jo Beomhwan 조범환, "Silla hadae Gyeongmunwang ui bulgyo jeongchaek" 新羅 下代 景文王의 佛教政策, *Silla munhwa* 신라문화 16 (1999): 34-36.

not have been missed in such an important campaign for maximizing power of the Nine-Story Pagoda of Hwangnyongsa. King Gyeongmun's accidental decision to see the original *śarīra* and the subdued responses from officials and monks to them are, after all, testimonies that the original *śarīra* were not even established as a cultic object and in this sense never reached a sanctified status in the late ninth-century Silla period.

This observation, therefore, leads us to a conclusion that the *śarīra* closely associated with Jajang seem not to have been as widely popular in Silla as they were in the later period. If that is the case, then the contemporary response toward the *śarīra* housed in Tongdosa by Jajang was likely similar. Ultimately, several centuries would pass before the ascendancy of the *śarīra* housed in Tongdosa to prominence in the wake of the fall of the Nine-Story Pagoda of Hwangnyongsa. At the same time, however, such an aloof attitude should not be understood to indicate that the *śarīra* of the Nine-Story Pagoda were neither associated with Jajang nor of a special provenance. Indeed, people of Goryeo really wanted to believe in and regard as sacred the story surrounding Jajang's acquisition of *śarīra*.

## 1.2 The Establishment of the *Śarīra* Narrative

### 1.2.1 *Śarīra* Procured from Mt. Wutai: Iryeon

The account of how Jajang procured the Buddha's relics from the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī is found in two sections of the *Yusa*. The first section, titled "Jajang establishes the Monastic Precepts" 慈藏定律 (Kr. *Jajang jeongryul*), tells of his acquisition as follows:

On the mountain [Mt. Qingliang] there was a clay form [statue] of the Great Saint Mañjuśrī. The traditions of that country say that the Lord Śakra, king of the gods, had artisans fashion it. [Ja]jang prayed before the image for resonance from the unseen world. In a dream, the image touched his head and conferred on him a Sanskrit *gāthā*. When he awoke, he did not yet understand [what it meant]. When morning came, a strange monk came and explained it.

(This has already been mentioned in the section on the pagoda of Hwangryong [Monastery]). Furthermore, he said, “Even if you study myriad teachings, nothing will ever exceed this [*gāthā*].” Moreover, entrusting him with a *kaṣāya* [monk’s robes] and *śarīra* [relics], he vanished. (The Lord [Ja]jang initially concealed this; hence, it is not recorded in the *Biographies of [Eminent] Monks [compiled in the] Tang*). [Ja]jang knew that he had received a prophecy of sagehood.

山有曼殊大聖塑相。彼國相傳云。帝釋天將工來彫也。藏於像前禱祈冥感。夢像摩頂授梵偈。覺而未解。及旦有異僧來釋云。(已出皇龍塔篇。)又曰。雖學萬教。未有過此。又以袈裟舍利等付之而滅。(藏公初匿之。故唐僧傳不載。)藏知己蒙聖蒞。<sup>35</sup>

In his prayer for meeting the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī in Mt. Qingliang (i.e., Mt. Wutai of China), Jajang received a *kaṣāya* and *śarīra* from a strange monk who helped him understand a Sanskrit verse that given to him by the image of the bodhisattva in his dream-like trance. However, the account says nothing at all concerning the subject of the verse, the identity of the strange monk, or the reason why he gave the relics and a robe of unspecified attribution to Jajang.

The second section under the heading of “Fifty Thousand Dharma Bodies on Mount Odae” 臺山五萬真身 (Kr. *Daesan omanjinsin*) of the *Yusa* fills this lacuna. The outline of the narrative is basically the same as the first one, but this account abounds with interesting details. First, the

<sup>35</sup> “Jajang jeongryul” 慈藏定律; *Yusa* (2003), 530-31. The words in parentheses refer to the compiler Iryeon’s interlinear notes. To this account composed in Sino-Korean, I follow the English translation of Richard D. McBride II with a change of his Korean romanization into the way of “Revised Romanization of Korean.” See McBride II, “The Vision-Quest,” 28. To his translation of “*kaṣāya*,” however, I reserve my consent. He put his note “monk’s robes” behind it but this rendering might be misleading. Although the original word is simply given as *kaśāya* without any attribution, it should not be rendered to cause an impression of general monk’s robes. Another translation by Robert Buswell renders it as “the Buddha’s robe.” The fact that this robe was understood as the Buddha’s robe becomes evident in the section titled “The Buddha’s Relics Enshrined So Far” of the *Yusa*: the *kaṣāya* is described as “a red-striped, gold-embroidered robe which the Buddha had worn.” (佛所著緋羅金點袈裟). For this translation, Iryeon, *Samguk Yusa: Legends and History of the Three Kingdoms of Ancient Korea*, trans. Tae Hung Ha and Grafton K. Mintz (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1972), 225. In another version of the anecdote in question titled “Fifty Thousand Dharma Bodies on Mount Odae” of the *Yusa*, McBride also translates this *kaṣāya* (緋羅金點袈裟) as what the strange monk had worn: “a strange monk suddenly [appeared wearing] a *kaṣāya* [monk’s robe] of dark red silken gauze speckled with gold.” Thus, in this rendering, the *kaṣāya* the strange monk gave to Jajang is understood to have been “his own *kaṣāya*.” This misreading seems to be the result of his overlooking of the word “jiang 將,” which should be interpreted not as an adverb but a verb implying “carry.” See McBride II, “The Vision-Quest,” 33. With the exception of this point, I follow his translation. For an alternative translation of “Jajang establishes the Monastic Precepts,” see “Chajang Establishes the Monk’s Discipline,” in *Sourcebook of Korean Civilization: From early times to the sixteenth century*, ed. Peter H. Lee, et al., trans. Robert E. Buswell (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).

Sanskrit verse Jajang received from the image of Mañjuśrī is narrated in detail. Second, when the strange monk who helped decipher the verse appeared before Jajang, what he carried is identified as “a gold-embroidered robe with red stripes, the Buddha’s begging bowl, and a piece of the Buddha’s skull bone” [緋羅金點袈裟一領, 佛鉢一具, 佛頭骨一片]. Entrusting these objects to Jajang, he told him: “These were the religious implements of our teacher, the Lord Śākyamuni; Protect them well” [此是本師釋迦尊之道具也, 汝善護持]. Last, when Jajang passed by Lake Taihe 太和池 of Mt. Wutai, the dragon of the lake appeared before him and revealed the identity of the monk who gave the verse to him. The dragon said that he was “the real Mañjuśrī” [真文殊也].<sup>36</sup> To combine this detail with the storyline above, an intriguing picture emerges: Jajang received a prophecy of sagehood, that is, a message of his future enlightenment from Mañjuśrī at the earthly abode of the bodhisattva, Mount Wutai. As tokens of this promise, significant things were given to him, a Sanskrit *gāthā* and Śākyamuni’s relics, as symbols of legitimate transmission of the teachings.

Accounts of monks and sometimes lay devotees receiving sacred messages from bodhisattvas are commonly found in Korean Buddhism as well as Chinese and Japanese Buddhism from early times on. What should be noted, however, is that this late thirteenth-century narrative is recounted with a strong linkage to the cults of Mt. Wutai and Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva. It is clearly demonstrated by the fact that Jajang’s narrative concerning the relics is explicated in the *Daesan oman jinsin*, which deals with the cult of Mt. Odae 五臺山 (the Korean namesake of Mount Wutai), rather than in the *Jajang jeongryul*, his biography. At the same time, what attracts attention is the disparity between people of late thirteenth-century Goryeo and those of late ninth century Silla in their response to the *śarīra* Jajang had brought to Silla. By the end

<sup>36</sup> “Daesan omanjinsin” 臺山五萬真身; *Yusa* (2003), 460-61.



of the thirteenth century, the story of Jajang's relics was in circulation. This raises the question of why narrative of Jajang's relics features an encounter with Mañjuśrī of Mt. Wutai.

The belief that the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī resides on Mt. Wutai in China goes back as early as the Northern Wei period (386-534), but it was in the seventh century that the number of pilgrims who made their way to the mountain grew large enough to warrant a title of the worship of Mañjuśrī.<sup>37</sup> By the late seventh century, the faith had spread internationally, as evidenced by the growing number of monks from India who climbed Mt. Wutai hoping to come across Mañjuśrī. Śākyamitra, whom Daoxuan mentions in the *Jietantujing*, visited Mt. Wutai from Uḍḍiyāna in 667 and Buddhapālita, who is well known for bringing the *Foding zunsheng tuoluonijing* 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼經 (Skt. *Uṣṇīṣa vijaya dhāraṇī*) [*Honored and Victorious Dhāraṇī of Buddha's Uṣṇīṣa*] from India, also visited Mt. Wutai and reportedly saw Mañjuśrī on two occasions: in 676 and 683.<sup>38</sup>

The doctrinal ground for locating the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī in Mt. Wutai was established when his abode was fixed from Mt. Qingliang to Mt. Wutai of China in the “*pusa zhuchupin*” 菩薩住處品 [the Abodes of the Bodhisattvas] of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra in sixty rolls*. But, it is not merely the doctrinal ground that fueled the spread of the cult of Mañjuśrī. It can be attributed to various factors including Empress Wu's political agenda, among which we cannot overlook the effect of a sense of the Final Dharma – being aware of living in the age of the Final Dharma. The conviction that only Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva can deliver the true dharma to save them in the age of the Final Dharma must have been a powerful motivation for the countless pilgrims

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<sup>37</sup> Hibino Takeo and Ono Katsutoshi 日比野丈夫, 小野勝年, *Godaisan* 五台山 (Tōkyō: Heibonsha, 1995), 72-73.

<sup>38</sup> Chen, "Śarīra and Scepter," 106-111; Tansen Sen, *Buddhism, Diplomacy, and Trade: The Realignment of Sino-Indian Relations, 600-1400* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003), 79-81.

visiting Mt. Wutai in the hope of encountering Mañjuśrī. After examining the background for the cult of Mañjuśrī in Mt. Wutai, Birnbaum summarizes it as follows:

[...] it seems that the view arose among many Buddhist pilgrims that – in those benighted times – there was only one place on earth where truth may fully manifest itself (in the form of the Bodhisattva); there was only one place on earth where one could have direct contact with an enlightened being and gain answers of genuine validity to heartfelt questions. That place was Wu-t'ai shan.<sup>39</sup>

The cult of Mañjuśrī of Mt. Wutai, colored by the awareness of the Final Dharma, was further elaborated in a broader eschatological theme by mid seventh-century Chinese monks such as Daoxuan and Daoshi. As will be discussed in Chapter Two, the Buddha's begging bowl and robes, and the ordination platform became the integral elements of the cult of Mañjuśrī as they envisioned it. The scriptures from early Buddhism recount that Śākyamuni's begging bowl and robes are to be preserved by Kāśyapa, who is meditating at Mt. Kukkuṭapāda, until the advent of the future Buddha Maitreya.<sup>40</sup> This narrative was altered in Gandhara region where the cult of the begging bowl flourished. As Buddhism in Gandhara declined, the begging bowl as a token of true dharma disappeared there. The *Lianhuamian jing* 蓮華面經 (*Lotūs Face Sūtra*) describes the bowl's subsequent whereabouts as follows: it itinerated throughout various places, like the heavens of celestials and the dragon palace, to eventually reach the indestructible "Diamond Limit" located eighty thousand *yojanas* under the ground, where it waits for the future Buddha.<sup>41</sup> The Gandharan narrative gains a more dramatic edge in Daoxuan's rendition. Here Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva, rather than Kāśyapa, receives Śākyamuni's begging bowl and robes to protect until

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<sup>39</sup> Raoul Birnbaum, *Studies on the Mysteries of Mañjuśrī: A Group of East Asian Maṇḍalas and Their Traditional Symbolism* (Boulder, Colo.: Society for the Study of Chinese Religions, 1983), 13.

<sup>40</sup> Strong, *Relics of the Buddha*: 219. Kim Hyewan 김혜완, "Namal yeocho seonsabimun e natanan Gaseop biyu" 나말려초 선사비문에 나타난 가섭(迦葉)비유, *Hanguk sasangshak* 한국사상사학 29 (2007).

<sup>41</sup> For an excellent introduction to the *Lianhua mianjing*, see Kuwayama, *Across the Hindukush of the First Millennium : A Collection of the Papers*: 35-37.

the advent of the future Buddha at the north side of the Jetavana ordination platform identified with the “diamond.”

In light of Daoxuan's account, the narrative of Jajang meeting Mañjuśrī and receiving the bowl and robe from the bodhisattva is not just a formulaic expression to bolster the mystery of Jajang's acquirement of the relics or to embroider the genesis of the cult of Mt. Odae. It means that the place where Jajang enshrined the Buddha's begging bowl and robes was transformed into a place of salvation where people could await the future Buddha during the dark days of the Final Dharma. In other words, the Diamond Ordination Platform constructed on the spot Jajang identified became an eternally indestructible place where no calamities could reach, as well as a place of salvation where Mañjuśrī waits for the future Buddha while protecting the begging bowl and robes.

In the passage from the *Yusa* above, this significance is veiled in the agenda of the outsider. The whole picture is unveiled in the insider's position, namely, the records compiled by the Tongdosa monks.

### 1.2.2 Śarīra and the Final Dharma: Tongdosa

In 1328, a Tongdosa monk named Seokho composed the *Jigonggi* to commemorate a dharma assembly led by an Indian Monk Jigong (Dhyānabhadra) in Tongdosa at that year.<sup>42</sup> In the *Jigonggi*, the meeting of Jajang and the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī at Mt. Wutai is recounted as follows:

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<sup>42</sup> His official dharma name is Dhyānabhadra, which is transliterated as 提納薄陀. Jigong (Sk. Śūnyādiya) is his sobriquet accorded from his master Samanta Prandhāsa 普明尊者. For a study of the life of Jigong, Heo, *indoui deungbul*: 15-20.

Taking up the two inexhaustible objects [the *śarīra* and robes], [Śākyamuni] covertly asked Great Sage Mañjuśrī to transmit them during the age of the Final Dharma, saying, “If somebody says that I have passed to nirvāṇa, he is not my disciple. If somebody says that I have not passed to nirvāṇa, he is not my disciple, either.” It was for nearly one thousand years that the Great Sage Mañjuśrī entered the Clear-and-Cool Jeweled Realm of Mt. Wutai and awaited one whom he could entrust with the relics and who could take and employ them. [...]

用不盡的兩般物 密囑大智文殊 傳於末季云. 若謂吾滅度 非吾弟子, 若謂吾不滅度 亦非吾弟子. 而大智文殊 持入五臺山清涼寶界 留待可傳授可受用者 僅一千餘年.<sup>43</sup>

[The Great Sage Mañjuśrī] immediately transmitted a gold-embroidered robe with red stripes, five slips of a vermilion pattra-leaf sūtra, a hundred grains of the whole body relic, the Buddha’s skull bones, and the Buddha’s finger bone to the *Vinaya* Master [Jajang]. Bowing down until his head touched the ground, the Master received them. The Indian monk said, “All of these are objects that our teacher Śākyamuni cherished when he was alive. Vigilantly keep them secure.” Then, he took out a diagram of the Diamond Ordination Platform and said, “If you go back to your own country and find a karmically-connected and scenic land, open up an ordination platform and enshrine these objects. If you transmit them without lapsing, it would be of great benefit. I shall see you at the place of Galban at Mt. Taebaek [of Silla].” Upon finishing these words, he immediately vanished. [...]

卽以緋羅金點袈裟一領, 珠貝金葉經五帖, 全身舍利百枚, 佛頭骨, 佛指節骨等 傳授於師. 師頂禮受之. 梵僧曰 並是 本師釋迦如來 所信之物也. 可慎護持. 復出金剛戒壇圖云, 卿還本國 得高勝有緣地 開峙戒壇 邀安此物 傳不泯滅則 其大利益乎. 吾見卿於太白山葛盤之處. 言訖卽滅.<sup>44</sup>

About a hundred *li* to the south [of the capital Gyeongju], he [Jajang] procured the site for Tongdosa. Surrounded by ravines and mountains, the site was located amongst magnificent scenery replete with water and boulders. As Mañjuśrī instructed, it was a place where the three calamities could not reach and ten thousand generations would endure without extinction. As the master [Jajang] and other monks aspired together and joined forces, the great monastery was quickly built. At the center, a Jeweled Hall was erected to enshrine Śākyamuni’s robe, and to the west, a divine pond was filled in and the Diamond Ordination Platform was built above to enshrine Śākyamuni’s *śarīra*.

<sup>43</sup> "Jigonggi," Tongdosa sajeok yakrok (1642) TJ: 33-34.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 37-38.

All was in strict accordance with the plan laid out by Mañjuśrī. Every novice received full precepts there.

南去域一百里許 得通度寺基 溪山縈迴 水石奇勝 乃文殊所指 三災不到 萬代不滅之所也. 大師與師 共願僉謀 咄嗟創大寺. 中立寶殿 安本師袈裟. 西填神池 築金剛戒壇 安本師舍利. 一依文殊指畫. 凡新戒沙彌 例皆於此受具.<sup>45</sup>

Here, the narrative of Jajang’s encounter with Mañjuśrī comprises three parts. (1) For sentient beings in the age of the Final Dharma, in which the true dharma expires, Śākyamuni transmits his robe, begging bowl, and *śarīra* to Mañjuśrī. (2) The bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, who waits for a thousand years in Mt. Wutai for the right person who is enlightened in the principle of birth and death, hands them down to Jajang. (3) Following Mañjuśrī’s instruction, Jajang erects the Diamond Ordination Platform on a karmically-connected land, and enshrines the robe, begging bowl, and *śarīra* within. If the *Yusa* primarily revolved around the second anecdote, we find here the cause and effect of this anecdote. Namely, the robe, begging bowl and *śarīra* are none other than Śākyamuni’s teaching, which would be bestowed upon those who strictly adhere to the Buddha-Dharma in the age of the Final Dharma. As a consequence, the Diamond Ordination Platform is needed to protect these sacred relics from all kinds of disasters. The Diamond Ordination Platform of Tongdosa, therefore, represents the eternally indestructible place where no calamities can ever reach, and in this sense is the most secure place of ordination where one can safely enter the Buddha-Dharma in the age of the Final Dharma.

A change in this narrative surfaces in the *Yakrok* compiled by the monks of Tongdosa in the early fifteenth century, two to three generations after the *Jigonggi* was written:

[Mañjuśrī said to Jajang,] “This is the robe that our master Śākyamuni used to wear. The true-body *śarīra* and Buddha’s skull bones are things left behind by the Buddha. You [Jajang] are a precept-abiding monk in the age of the Final

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 39-40.

Dharma. I [Mañjuśrī] now pass them down to you. May you reverently uphold them. There is a mountain called Chukseo at the south of the border of your country Silla. Beneath the mountain is a mystical pond where poisonous dragons reside. The dragons harbor malicious intent, causing sudden wind and rain to spoil the rice and crops. They torment and harm the people. If you command those dragons to build the Diamond platform above the pond and enshrine the Buddha's *śarīra* and robe within, it will become a place that the three calamities cannot reach, enduring for ten thousands generations without extinction, [a place] where the Buddha-Dharma will long abide, and that is protected by celestial dragons who never depart. Why is it that you demarcate the *sīmā* (=boundary) upon which the Diamond Platform will be built based on [the confines of] the monastery? [The Diamond Platform] is that platform on which the Buddha sat and preached. Even if it passed through the three great *kalpa*-ending calamities of wind, water, and fire, this demarcated *sīmā* [of the] Diamond Platform would still survive and not perish. As it reaches the Diamond Limit below and the Akaniṣṭha Heaven above, it would not be destroyed even if the three times [the past, present and future] were exhausted. This place is worthy of housing the robe and *śarīra*." Thereupon, the master was elated, placed them on his head and reverently upheld them.

此是本師釋迦如來 親着袈裟 眞身舍利 佛頭骨等 佛之遺物也。汝爲末世持律沙門 吾今持此付囑於汝 汝可奉持 汝本國新羅境南 有山曰鷲栖 山下有神池 是毒龍所止處也。龍懷毒害 暴作風雨 耗損禾穀 困毒人民 汝請彼龍池 築金剛壇 安佛舍利 袈裟 則此乃三災不到 萬代不滅 佛法久住 天龍不離 擁護之處也。何以故 尔依梵刹 結界所築金剛壇者。佛坐其上 講演之壇 雖經風水火 三大災劫滅時 此結界 金剛壇 尚存不滅 下至金剛際 上至阿迦尼吒天 盡三世不滅也。於此可安袈裟舍利矣。師乃慶喜頂戴奉持。<sup>46</sup>

The early fourteenth-century Tongdosa monks believed that the Diamond Ordination Platform was constructed on “a karmically-connected and scenic land.” For later generations of Tongdosa monks, however, the location of Tongdosa is not simply acquired from nature. It was upon the numinous pond where evil dragons resided that the Diamond Platform was constructed, transforming a source of harm into a place where no harm could reach. As the venom spurted out by the dragons symbolizes the evils or chaos of the Final Dharma, the eschatological theme inherent in the location of Tongdosa is further reinforced.

<sup>46</sup> "Tongdosa sari gasa sajeok yakrok" 通度寺舍利袈裟事蹟略錄, Tongdosa sajeok yakrok (1642), TJ: 7-9.

Next, the ground that makes such transformation possible is clearly addressed. In this respect, it should be noted that the “Diamond Ordination Platform” is referred to as the “Diamond Platform.” Namely, the ordination platform is simply called the platform; the place for ordination is switched to the place above which the Buddha preached on the precepts. Furthermore, the platform where the Buddha preached stretches down to the Diamond Limit at its bottom and up to the Akaniṣṭha Heaven at its top, thus the Diamond Platform functions as a cosmic axis that does not budge in the face of destructive forces from the past, presence, and future. Here, Śākyamuni’s robe and *śarīra* are metonyms for body of the Buddha that make the platform a place where the Buddha was, is, and always will be present, in effect the Buddha himself.

The different ways two groups of Tongdosa monks separated by 80 years understood Jajang's meeting with Mañjuśrī on Mt. Wutai shows how late seventh-century cult of Mt. Wutai from China was received and transformed through Jajang’s narrative in the late Goryeo period. As will be discussed in Chapter Two, in the narrative envisioned by Daoxuan in late seventh century, Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva enshrines the Buddha’s robe and begging bowl in the ordination platform after the Buddha enters nirvāṇa. Twelve years later, the robe and bowl traveled through various places, such as Mt. Sumeru and the dragon palace, escorted not only by Mañjuśrī but also by such guardian deities as the Four Heavenly Kings and Indra. In the story of Jajang embraced by late-Goryeo Tongdosa monks, the Diamond Ordination Platform looms larger than does its Chinese counterpart. Their narrative revolves around the Diamond Ordination Platform. This centrality of the Diamond Ordination Platform suggests that they accepted the cult of Mt. Wutai as a practical strategy to achieve particular ends.

From this perspective, what seems even more illuminating is a shift in the understanding of the Diamond Ordination Platform among Tongdosa monks. At least in the early fourteenth century, the Diamond Ordination Platform was perceived to be the venue of ordination ceremonies as well as the site of enshrinement of the Buddha's relics. Eighty years later, it came to be regarded as the Diamond Platform where the Buddha is present, and thereby as the place eternally beyond all evils of the Final Dharma such as poisonous dragons. In this way, Tongdosa does not appear as the place of ordination any longer. It is presented as a place of salvation that affords protection from all disasters in the age of the Final Dharma. This understanding confirms that a major change in identity and function that exclusively emphasizes the presence of Buddha on the Diamond Ordination Platform took place over the fourteenth century.

As far as the understanding of late-Goryeo Tongdosa monks is concerned, the narrative of Jajang's acquisition of the Buddha's relics is not a mere anecdote of a hagiography employed to mystify the origin of the relics, as it appears to be in the *Yusa*. The relics Jajang procured are understood not simply as the authentic *śarīra* that Mañjuśrī of Mt. Wutai transmitted to Jajang, but also as a foundational motif of salvation that grants Tongdosa the status of a place eternally free from all disasters.

Recalling the lack of awareness of the late ninth-century Silla concerning the relics acquired by Jajang, this late-Goryeo attitude toward them is quite striking. No doubt that the relics of Jajang rose to distinction through the Goryeo period, from the tenth century to the fourteenth century. In this respect, a popular legend circulated in thirteenth-century Goryeo merits attention: it says that a burn mark appeared on the surface of the stone cauldron of the Diamond Ordination Platform in Tongdosa at the same time that the Nine-Story Pagoda of Hwangnyongsa burned. Certainly, this popular belief reflects the historical course of the rise in



importance of the Tongdosa relics in the wake of the ascendancy of the relics of Jajang. Specifically, as far as the relics of Jajang are concerned, Tongdosa, ascended from a marginal status to a position equal to Hwangnyongsa and eventually appropriated its primary status. The acceptance of Jajang's narrative by fourteenth-century Tongdosa monks thus can be understood as an effort to capture and secure a moment of the rise of the Tongdosa relics.

In following sections, I trace a historical course in which the status of Tongdosa rose as popular interest in the relics associated with Jajang increased. I have to admit, however, that, due to the paucity of evidence in the early history of Tongdosa, my discussion to follow will be inescapably speculative. I will keep in mind a risk of treating a hypothesis as if it is a fact. Nonetheless, similarly to Donald McCallum when faced with a similar problem in his last work, I believe that a tentative argument would be more instrumental in illuminating the early history of Tongdosa rather than a list of fragments of information.<sup>47</sup>

### **1.3 The Surfacing of the Tongdosa Relics in the Early Goryeo Period**

#### 1.3.1 Four Treasures of Tongdosa

The Tongdosa *śarīra* appear in authoritative historical records for the first time in the early thirteenth century. According to the *Yusa*, in 1235, two court officials of King Gojong 高宗 (r.1213-1259) are reported to have opened the stone cauldron of the ordination platform and found four grains of *śarīra* laid within. More interesting, however, is a poem composed by Mueuja Hyesim 無衣子 慧諶 (1178-1234) after his visit to the ordination platform of Tongdosa in 1222, a bit earlier than the episode above. It reads:

The *śarīra* of Śākyamuni are enshrined with dignity above the high platform

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<sup>47</sup> Donald F. McCallum, *The Four Great Temples : Buddhist Archaeology, Architecture, and Icons of Seventh-Century Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009), xv.

There is a burn mark on the middle of the inverted cauldron  
I hear, on the day the Hwangnyongsa pagoda burnt  
This surface burnt as if connected, showing that there is no gap between the  
two.

釋尊舍利鎮高壇  
覆釜腰邊有火瘢  
聞道黃龍災塔日  
連燒一面示無間<sup>48</sup>

This seven-syllable quatrain shows that the popular belief that the Nine-Story Pagoda at Hwangnyongsa and the ordination platform at Tongdosa were a single entity was widely disseminated in early thirteenth century. This implies that the *śarīra* enshrined in both places were believed to be not only identical but authentic as well. Thus, it is apparent that public recognition of the relics enshrined in the ordination platform of Tongdosa was established at least prior to the thirteenth century.

As stated earlier, the *Yusa* from the late thirteenth century reports that Jajang brought the Buddha's tooth, Buddha's skull bones, a hundred grains of *śarīra*, the robe, a begging bowl, and pattra-leaf sūtra with him. Particularly intriguing here is that four grains of *śarīra* only were enshrined in the ordination platform in early thirteenth-century Tongdosa. If that was the case, then what was the source of this inconsistency? Was it purely a fabrication? Were the once-hundred grains substantially reduced to only four? Or, were the rest of them housed somewhere other than the ordination platform of Tongdosa?

In fact, the lists of objects Jajang reportedly received from Mañjuśrī vary depending on the source (Table 1-1). While all include the Buddha's skull bones, a hundred grains of *śarīra*, and the robe, the Buddha tooth and *Tripitaka* only appear in the *Yusa*, and the Buddha's finger bones and vermilion pattra-leaf sūtra are mentioned only in both the *Tongdosa sajeok yakrok* and the

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<sup>48</sup> "Je Tongdosa gyedan" 題通度寺戒壇 (1222), Jogye jingak guksa eorok 曹溪眞覺國師語錄, Hyesim 慧諶, HBJ 5.

*Odaesan woljeongsa sajeok* (hereafter, *OWS*) 五臺山月精寺事蹟 (*Illustrious Traces of Woljeong Monastery on Mount Odae*). This difference cannot be dismissed simply as an error in the records. It has a more fundamental reason and reflects historical context.

The *OWS* coincides with the *Tongdosa sajeok yakrok* in many details, which tells us that the two references are based on common sources and in this sense follow the same tradition. In particular, “A Biography of Jajang” 慈藏本傳 (Kr. *Jajang bonjeon*), attributed to Wonhyo, stands out as a shared source. This attitude to Wonhyo is quite different from Iryeon’s critical approach that dismissed the biography as a local lore. Thus, this aspect can be seen as a testimony that the late thirteenth-century monks of Woljeongsa on Mt. Odae and of Tongdosa were closely connected and both of them were seeking monastic affiliation in the tradition of Jajang and Wonhyo.

Records of actual observations of the relics housed at Tongdosa began to appear in the fourteenth century. (Table 1-2). Throughout the fourteenth- and fifteenth centuries, the period of Goryeo-Joseon Transition, the relics that Jajang housed at Tongdosa are consistently documented as the Buddha’s skull bones, four grains of *śarīra*, a gold-embroidered robe with red stripes, and pattra-leaf sūtra. The list of the objects enshrined in 1705 when the ordination platform was extensively reconstructed is of special interest because it includes all of the objects mentioned in both the *Tongdosa sajeok yakrok* and the *Yusa*, including the Buddha’s tooth and finger bones. The list provided in the *Tongdosa sajeok*, compiled in 1912 mirrors the list of objects enshrined in 1705. But the *Tongdosa sajeok* of 1912 refers to the “Four Treasures” 四寶 (Kr. *Sabo*), which represent the monastery, namely the “*śarīra*, skull bones, the robe, and the pattra-leaf sūtra.”<sup>49</sup> In other words, although the Buddha’s tooth and finger bones were additionally enshrined, the

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<sup>49</sup> *Tongdosa sajeok*, NLK: 寺蹟序, 2.

relics on which the Tongdosa monks placed the most emphasis until the early twentieth century were the Buddha's skull bones, *śarīra* (four grains), the gold-embroidered robe with red stripes, and the pattra-leaf sūtras.

Then, in all probability, would these “Four Treasures” not be the relics that Jajang brought to and enshrined in Tongdosa? However, when the two court officials opened the ordination platform in 1235, they found only the four grains of *śarīra*. Though it is more than possible that the remaining treasures were enshrined somewhere besides the ordination platform, it is not certain whether all four of the treasures were housed at Tongdosa in the early thirteenth century, or whether all of them were also perceived to be from Jajang at that time. Despite this uncertainty, we cannot easily dismiss the fact that these four items were consistently listed in all records from the late thirteenth century onward. In this respect, we should consider the following account from the 14<sup>th</sup> day of the 5<sup>th</sup> month of 1021 – the second year under the reign of King Hyeonjong 顯宗 (r. 1009-1031):

On the day of Muja, Assistant Director of the Left in the Department of State Affairs Yi Gado (?-1034) was given an edict to go to Gyeongju to bring back the gold embroidered robe and the Buddha's skull bones from Goseonsa and the Buddha's tooth from Changrimsa, and house them in the palace.

戊子 命尙書左丞 李可道 往取慶州 高僊寺金羅袈裟·佛頂骨, 昌林寺佛牙, 並置內殿.<sup>50</sup>

The Buddha's tooth of Changrimsa is most likely to be the one Wonhong 元弘 brought from Tang in 851, the 13<sup>th</sup> year of Silla King Munseong's reign. Considering that the three-story stone pagoda was built at the monastery four years later by virtue of a vow of King Munseong, the

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<sup>50</sup> Hyeonjong 12(1021).5. Sega 4, *GRS* 4.

Buddha's tooth brought by Wonhong is also likely to have been enshrined in Changgrimsa. The whereabouts of this particular tooth was unknown by the time of Iryeon.

Goseonsa (alternatively, 高仙寺) in Gyeongju was closely tied to Wonhyo as is evident from an official commemorative stele was erected for him there. One generation later than Jajang, Wonhyo evidently had a close relationship with such monasteries as Bunhwangsa and Hwangnyongsa, where Jajang took up residence as an abbot.<sup>51</sup> Furthermore, considering that Wonhyo was known as the author of a biography of Jajang, which Iryeon called the *Hyangjeon* 鄉傳 (Local Lore), we can surmise that Jajang and Wonhyo had been grouped into a closely associated monastic tradition from earlier on. In this sense, Goseonsa in Gyeongju and Tongdosa in Yangsan are highly likely to have formed close ties as monasteries affiliated with the monastic tradition of Jajang and Wonhyo. In addition, the gold-embroidered robe and the Buddha's skull bones enshrined in Goseonsa in 1021 coincide exactly with two of the "Four Treasures" consistently listed as the relics enshrined in Tongdosa since the fourteenth century. Since the gold-embroidered robe and the Buddha's skull bones are far from common objects, such a concurrence cannot be simply regarded as a coincidence. In fact we might ask if the Goseonsa relics were originally the property of Tongdosa, and if so how did they come to be housed in Goseonsa?

The *Tongdosa sajeok yakrok*, composed in the early fifteenth century, includes a fascinating anecdote regarding the robe housed in Tongdosa. The entry titled the *Gasa huigi* tells the story of the powerful monarch King Gwangjong's 光宗 (r. 949-975) connection to the robe at Tongdosa. The story may be summarized as follows: Upon learning that the Buddha's robe was

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<sup>51</sup> Nam Dongsin 남동신, "Wonhyo wa Bunhwangsa gwangye ui sajeok chui" 元曉와 芬皇寺 關係의 史的 推移, *Silla munhwaje haksul balpyo nonmunjip* 신라문화재학술발표논문집 20 (1999): 83-93; 97. Nam Dongsin 남동신, *Wonhyo* 원효 (Seoul: Saenuri, 1999), 257; 262.

enshrined at Tongdosa, King Gwangjong ordered it to be delivered to the palace so he could see it himself. However, when he opened the case containing the robe, he found nothing. Thereupon, he prayed with piety for seven days and opened it again to find a swarm of bees; after another seven days, he found a snake. Following an additional seven days of devotion, he dreamt of an Indian monk who admonished him for removing the robe from Tongdosa, its “place of origin” 本處 (Kr. *boncheo*). Repenting his attempt to remove the robe from Tongdosa, the ruler returned the case.<sup>52</sup>

Another source transmitted at Tongdosa goes so far as to report that King Gwangjong actually paid a visit to Tongdosa.<sup>53</sup> However, no other historical source including the *Goryeosa* 高麗史 (*History of Goryeo*), connects King Gwangjong with Tongdosa. Additionally, some figures like the Edict Transmitter of the Right Chae Gyeongjong 右丞宣 蔡景宗 and the Edict Transmitter of the Left Bak Gam 左丞宣 朴瑊 who appear in the *Gasa huigi* are nowhere to be found in the *Goryeosa*. However, Edict Transmitters of the Left and the Right 左右丞宣 (Kr. *jwau-seungseon*) are official titles that did not exist during King Gwangjong’s reign but rather were newly installed or renamed under King Hyeonjong in 1023.<sup>54</sup> It might be recalled that it was Hyeonjong who in 1021 sent an official to bring the gold embroidered robe and the Buddha’s skull bones to him from Goseonsa. The *Gasa huigi* is likely to have been a story later composed by the Tongdosa monks based on the King Hyeonjong episode but changed to feature Gwangjong. It is possible that such a powerful ruler as Gwangjong was required to emphasize

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<sup>52</sup> "Gasa-huigi," Tongdosa sajeok yakrok (1642) TJ: 17-23.

<sup>53</sup> *Tongdosa changchang yuseo* 通度寺創冊由緒, Joseon sachal saryo 朝鮮寺刹史料 (1): 534.

<sup>54</sup> Hatada, "Tongdosa no Jiseki ki nitsuite," note 14. For the “Edict Transmitters of the Left and the Right,” see *Encyclopedia of Korean Culture*, s.v. "Jungchuwon 중추원." Additionally, the office’s title named the “Eosadae” appears in the *Gasa huigi* but this title was also fixed in 1023 after being renamed several times.

that no one can take the robe away from Tongdosa and that Tongdosa is the sole, legitimate place of refuge for the robe.

Based on *Gasa huigi* account we can surmise that the gold embroidered robe and the Buddha's skull bones that Hyeonjong had brought from Goseonsa to the palace in 1021 were originally located in Tongdosa. The relocation of the Tongdosa relics to Goseonsa might have transpired during the chaos of the Silla-Goryeo Transition. Indeed, magistrates from the central government could not have been dispatched to Yangsan until 1018 (the ninth year of Hyeonjong's reign), and there were no direct routes connecting Yangsan to the new capital Gaegyeong that did not pass through Gyeongju. Thus, for security reasons in the Transition period and also to forge a connection with a rising Buddhist center, the relics of Tongdosa were likely to be transmitted to Goseonsa in Gyeongju, which was affiliated with the monastic tradition of Jajang and Wonhyo. In 1021 they were moved again to the palace in the new capital, and then later they were returned to their place of origin, Tongdosa, rather than being sent back to Goseonsa. At the least, the *Gasa huigi* is suggestive of this probability.

If the foregoing account is correct, then the robe and the Buddha's skull bones that were at Goseonsa in 1021 can be regarded as Tongdosa relics and this is the earliest evidence of them. It shows that the relics brought to Tongdosa by Jajang, albeit known through relics of Goseonsa, were special enough to attract the sovereign's attention in the early eleventh century. Of course, this is not necessarily indicative of the popular recognition of the Tongdosa relics or the rise of Tongdosa itself. Rather, this is indicative of the awareness that the relics connected to Jajang carried a special significance; the focus lies on the relics of Jajang rather than on the monasteries where they were enshrined. Why then did the relics of Jajang receive royal attention in the early eleventh century? What was the special gravity imparted to the relics of Jajang at the time?

These questions suggest that the episode of *śarīra*-seeking by Hyeonjong in 1021 was far from a simple instance of piety. In fact, the striking Buddhist miracles took place in 1020 and 1021, just prior to Hyeonjong's *śarīra*-seeking, and they mark the epoch-making episodes in the history of the Korean cult of Buddha relics. Not only did they reflect various aspects of the cult of relics from previous periods, they impacted the evolution of the cult in later periods. The relics obtained by Jajang played an important part in these dramatic Buddhist miracles.

### 1.3.2 The Cult of the True-Body *Śarīra* and Buddhist Miracles in 1021 and 1022

King Hyeonjong's father and mother led tragic lives. His father was an uncle of his mother's husband, King Gyeongjong 景宗 (r. 975-981). After Gyeongjong's death, they had an affair that resulted in the birth of King Hyeonjong. Due to this infidelity, his father was exiled to Saju 泗州 (present-day Sacheon in South Gyeongsang Province) where he died, and his mother passed away soon after giving birth to Hyeonjong. As Hyeonjong was next in line for the throne, he was forced to become a monk, and suffered through a wretched and anxiety-ridden childhood that included numerous death threats. After his life took many twists and turns, he ascended to the throne, cleared his parents' names politically and exonerated them through religion. He began this process of honoring his father by bestowing upon him the posthumous title of Anjong 安宗 and enshrining him in the Royal ancestral shrine, thereby restoring him politically. As soon as the five-year war with the Khitan ended, Hyeonjong began the construction of his parents' votive temple Hyeonhwasa 玄化寺 at Mt. Yeongchi 靈鷲 [Vulture Peak] near the capital Gaegyeong. It was during this process that the mysterious appearance of the *śarīra* took place.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Choe Byeongheon 崔柄憲, "Goryeo junggi Hyeonhwasa changgeon gwa beopsangjong ui yungseong" 高麗中期玄化寺의 創建과 法相宗의 隆盛, in *Goryeo junghugi bulgyo saron* 高麗中後期 佛教史論 [한우근박사 정년기념사학논총], ed. Bulgyo sahakhoe 佛教史學會 (Seoul: Minjoksa, 1986[1981]), 101-11.



In the tenth month of 1020 and well into the construction of Hyeonhwasa, some “true-body *śarīra*” 眞身舍利 (Kr. *jinsin sari*) miraculously appeared, emitting light in the air in the hometown of Hyeonjong’s mother in Hwangju 黃州 (present-day Hwangju in Hwaghae Province of North Korea). Likewise, the “numinous tooth” 靈牙 appeared in a monastery near the tomb of his father. Hyeonjong left the palace to welcome the *śarīra* and Buddha’s tooth himself and subsequently erected a seven-story stone pagoda within Hyeonhwasa to enshrine the tooth and the fifty grains of the *śarīra*. In the fourth month of 1021, as the construction of Hyeonhwasa was nearing its completion, another Buddhist miracle occurred. In the Sangju 尙州 region of the Northern Gyeongsang Province, five hundred grains of *śarīra* appeared and emitted light while floating in the air. Following this miraculous event, Hyeonjong left the palace once again and took possession of the *śarīra*. Fifty of them were enshrined at the heart of the main Buddha statue in Hyeonhwasa and the rest in a Buddhist sanctuary within the palace.<sup>56</sup>

That the miraculous appearance of the *śarīra* occurred on the eve of the consecration of the seven-story stone pagoda and the main Buddha statue of the Golden Hall could not have been mere coincidence. Obviously, such a concurrence conveys a message that Buddhist law sanctioned the construction of Hyeonhwasa. Moreover, given that Hyeonhwasa was built as a votive temple for Hyeonjong’s parents, the manifestation of the *śarīra* implies that his parents’ sins were either expunged or forgiven. In other words, not only were they exonerated religiously, but now they were also ethically vindicated. Having demonstrated his filial piety, the ruler was glorified as the sole successor of the Sage Kings Yao and Shun 堯舜.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> "Goryeoguk Yeongchuksan Daejaeun Hyeonhwasa bieumgi" 高麗國靈鷲山大慈恩玄化寺碑陰記 (1021), Chae Chungsun 蔡忠順, GSM, <http://gsm.nricp.go.kr>.

<sup>57</sup> "Yeongchwisan Daejaeun Hyeonhwasaji bimyeong" 靈鷲山大慈恩玄化寺之碑銘 (1021), Ju Jeo 周佇, GSM, <http://gsm.nricp.go.kr>.

This mysterious appearance of the Buddha relics and their political mobilization must have caused a considerable stir in Goryeo society. Most exciting would have been the rumors surrounding the appearance of mystical *śarīra* themselves and, subsequently, an indelible impression would have been created by the magnificent procession of *śarīra*, transported from the northern and southern tips of the Korean peninsula to the center Gaegyeong, as it caught eyes and captured the attention of the people. The memory of this procession was so unforgettable that it echoed in the records of later generations. It proved to be very vivid for the Tongdosa monks as well. Their recollection can be found in the following passage of the *Gasa huigi*:

[The King says,] “Upon arriving at the monastery (Tongdosa), show reverence with a bow [to the robe] and then place [the robe] in a box. During the procession, burn incense and pay offering with rituals and music in proper attire at every intersection in the prefectures and districts. Observe this instruction well. Treating it with care, come back.” [...] In observance of the king’s edict, the robe was met with ritual music and bows at every road and district it passed. As it drew closer to the palace, the king was himself ecstatic with great joy. He gave an edict to install beautiful fine silks, Indian incense, and marching musicians at the intersection and entrance of roads. The king and all court officials respectfully dressed in their proper attire and received [the robe] at the Gang-an Hall. Three hundred-odd eminent monks of exalted virtue and knowledge were summoned. They performed the ceremony earnestly and with dedication.

詣寺 親瞻頂禮後封函 於行次 州州郡郡 四衢街巷 各燃香禮樂 衣冠禮拜 迎送如是 貴奉陪還 [...] 路往各郡 一依上教 禮樂拜迎 漸近王城 王聞近境 顛倒喜躍 勅令 四衢道頭 設綺羅梵香動樂 君臣上下 盡禮衣冠 迎入於康安殿 招集龍象碩德 三百許指 精勤作法。<sup>58</sup>

The *Gasa huigi* seems to have been composed far later than the eleventh century and is an anecdote related to the robe than the *śarīra*. As reviewed earlier, however, the *Gasa huigi* very likely mirrors the real experience of the Tongdosa monks with respect to the transporting of the relics of Goseonsa that occurred just after the Buddhist miracle in the fourth month of 1021. It is

<sup>58</sup> "Gasa-huigi," Tongdosa sajeok yakrok (1642) TJ: 20-21.

not hard to imagine that a series of rumors and the first-hand witness of the *śarīra* procession left an indelible mark on their composition of the *Gasa huigi*.

The *śarīra* miracles and the magnificent procession across the country did not merely make a lasting impression on the people, of course. Stone pagodas, manifestations of a longing to beseech the *śarīra* for the stability of the state and local regions, were spotted all over the country. In the Goryeo period, the building of stone pagodas was concentrated in the eleventh century.<sup>59</sup> Apparently, social anxiety resulting from the war against the Khitan drove eleventh-century Goryeo people to engage in the construction of stone pagodas, but this is not a sufficient explanation for the building boom. To be sure, people living in the twelfth century would have felt no less social anxiety than people of the eleventh century, for the later century seriously suffered from consecutive instances of abnormal weather and a growing population of drifters.<sup>60</sup> At the least, as far as the building boom of the stone pagoda over the eleventh century is concerned, the *śarīra* miracles that occurred during Hyeonjong's reign must have influenced the motivation behind it.

In relation to the growing fascination with the *śarīra* over the course of the eleventh century, the increase in the quantity of the body relics deserves to be noted. In the case of the *śarīra* miracle that occurred in 1021, the number of the miraculously appearing *śarīra* amounts to five hundred grains, which marks the largest quantity in official records up to that time. The body relics enshrined in the pagoda of Hyeonhwasa also amounted to fifty grains. Even in the

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<sup>59</sup> One study estimates the number of stone pagodas that were constructed during the Goryeo period. Confining the estimate to the datable pagodas, 16 stone pagodas were constructed in the tenth century; 34 pagodas were built in the 11<sup>th</sup> century; 16 pagodas were erected in the 12<sup>th</sup> century; and 6 pagodas were in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In particular, among the 34 pagodas constructed in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, 20 were built after 1021. See Hong Daehan 洪大韓, "Goreyo seoktap yeongu" 高麗 石塔 研究 (PhD diss., Danguk University, 2011), Table 32, 35, 36, 37.

<sup>60</sup> Chae Ungseok 채웅석, "Goryeo sahoe ui byeonhwa wa Goryeo junggiron" 고려사회의 변화와 고려중기론, *Yeoksa wa hyeonsil* 역사와 현실 32 (1996): 141-54.

stone pagodas built in the eleventh century by local headmen and monks, a fair number of *śarīra* were enshrined within. Seventeen grains of the *śarīra* were housed in the five-story stone pagoda of Jeongdosa 淨兜寺 built in 1022. Forty-two grains were enshrined in the stone pagoda of Baekeomsa 伯嚴寺 built in 1065. In comparison to the earlier cult of relics in which one to three grains of *śarīra* sufficed, such an increase to forty, fifty, or even five-hundred grains of *śarīra* in the eleventh century implies a shift in the cult itself.<sup>61</sup>

A provocative study by Sem Vermeersch identifies the nature of this shift as a change in attitudes toward *śarīra*: *śarīra* were no longer regarded as subjects – that is, as sacred, living entities – but rather as reproducible objects – that is, as commodities. The *śarīra* miracles of 1020 and 1021 are regarded as marking a momentous turning point in this shift.<sup>62</sup> Apparently, this study is inspired by Bernard Faure’s understanding of the cult of relics in Kamakura Japan.<sup>63</sup> It is very doubtful, however, that the *śarīra* in the eleventh-century Goryeo period were circulated widely enough to be acquired with an ease on the level of everyday commodities. It was around the Goryeo-Joseon Transition period that individuals who possessed some hundreds grains of *śarīra* and transparent reliquaries made of crystal began to appear, thereby rendering *śarīra* as equivalent to commodities. That said, I still find strong evidence of “*śarīra* as subjects” in the cult of relics, like the tooth and the finger bone, among Goryeo royalty and nobility in the

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<sup>61</sup> For the enshrinement of *śarīra* at Jeongdosa, Bak Bangryong 박방룡, "Chilgok Jeongdosaji Ocheung seoktap myeongmun gwa hyeongjigi" 漆谷 淨兜寺址五層石塔 銘文과 形止記, *Ingan gwa munhwa yeongu* 인간과 문화 연구 18 (2011): 79; 84.

<sup>62</sup> Sem Vermeersch, "The Development of the Buddhist Relic Cult from Unified Silla to Early Koryo," *Jonggyo wa munhwa* 18 (2010): 131.

<sup>63</sup> Drawing on Geary, Faure makes a distinction between “relics as ‘subjects,’ that is, as a living presence, and relics as ‘objects’ or commodities,” and finds a shift of the relic to “a cheap commodity” in the case of Shōgen (d. 1311); after Shōgen’s cremation, one of his disciples argued that “*śarīra* were no longer respected – particularly when found only in a small number.” Faure regards the disciple’s skepticism as being “symptomatic of a growing tendency to treat *śarīra* no longer as subjects but as mere objects. At any rate, it reflects the tendency to require an increasing volume of production.” See Bernard Faure, *The Rhetoric of Immediacy: A Cultural Critique of Chan/Zen Buddhism* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991), 133; 143.

twelfth- and thirteenth centuries. The argument that the beginning of this shift can be traced to the *śarīra* miracles in 1020 and 1021 under the reign of Hyeonjong has yet to be supported by substantial evidence. Instead, I would like to consider further what a shift in the cult of relics over the eleventh century was really like in the context of political attempts to strengthen and legitimize authority. This requires more attention to the rise of the cult of the true-body *śarīra* in eleventh-century Goryeo.

A remarkable change found in the *śarīra* miracles in Hyeonjong's reign and other cults of relics over the eleventh century is the effort to emphasize that the miraculously appeared or the enshrined *śarīra* were "of true-body." The *śarīra* that manifested themselves in the hometown of Hyeonjong's mother in 1020 were called "true-body *śarīra*" 眞身舍利. The *śarīra* enshrined in the five-story stone pagoda of Gaeshimsa 開心寺 in Yecheon 醴泉, built by local headmen with the large-scale mobilization of village men, were described as "legitimate bones" 正骨. In the case of the Baekeomsa stone pagoda, built by local monks in 1065, the *śarīra* were specified to be "the Buddha's true-body *śarīra*" 眞身佛舍利. Possibly, the precedent of these cases was the five-story stone pagoda of Geumsansa built in 982, in which the enshrined *śarīra* were identified as those of Śākyamuni and Dīpaṃkara Tathāgata 定光如來.<sup>64</sup> However, no other records prior to Hyeonjong's reign make the distinction: "true-body." Rather, the relics are simply referred to as "*śarīra*," "the Buddha's *śarīra*," or "the Buddha's bone" without any modifiers. Not only did it matter how many *śarīra* were enshrined *śarīra* in a given site, but also the way in which they were identified was of tremendous import in terms of the major shift in the cult of relics over the eleventh century.

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<sup>64</sup> "Hyeonhwasa bieumgi," GSM, <http://gsm.nricp.go.kr>. "Gaesimsaji ocheung seoktap myeongmun" 開心寺址五層石塔銘文 (1011), GSM, <http://gsm.nricp.go.kr>. Hwang Suyeong 黃壽永, "Geumsansa Ocheung seoktap jungchanggi" 金山寺五層石塔 重創記, *Misul sahak yeongu* 美術史學研究 129·130 (1976): 126.

Focusing on the stances of sponsors, the benefit from an emphasis on the true-body as well as the quantity of *śarīra* is evident: the quantity of *śarīra* they could afford was a direct measure of their power, and the fact that the enshrined *śarīra* were true-body demonstrated that a patron's power and authority were sanctioned by Buddhist law. In this respect, it should not be overlooked that the appellation "true-body" *śarīra* was heard for the first time in the *śarīra* miracles of Hyeonjong's reign, when the ruler felt vulnerable due to his parents' affair. By the same token, it should be noted that, besides traditional patrons like royalty and nobility, the sponsors of the cult of relics in the eleventh century were also local elites such as gentry and headmen, village chiefs and other local functionaries who were looking for ways to legitimize their authority and control over their communities. A growing demand for a great number of true-body *śarīra* over eleventh-century Goryeo can be thus understood as efforts of ruling elites on multiple social and political strata to reinforce their tenuous legitimacy by mobilizing not only "as many [*śarīra*] as possible" but also "legitimate" ones. In this respect, we can understand more clearly why Hyeonjong ordered the transfer of the "special" *śarīra* from monasteries in the former capital Gyeongju to the palace in the new capital Gaegyeong.

In the fifth month of 1021, a month after the emergence of 500 grains of *śarīra* in Sangju, the Buddha's tooth in Changrimsa and the Buddha's skull bones and robe in Goseonsa were brought to the palace in response to Hyeonjong's edict. In the same year the nine-year-long court-supported reconstruction of the Nine-Story Pagoda of Hwangnyongsa came to an end.<sup>65</sup> Given that the *śarīra* brought by Jajang were enshrined in the Nine-Story Pagoda of Hwangnyongsa, all of these events indicate that Hyeonjong made a tremendous effort to secure *śarīra* that had authoritative provenances, like those of Jajang or the Buddha's tooth of Wonhong.

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<sup>65</sup> "Hwangnyongsa gucheungtap" 皇龍寺九層塔, *Yusa* (2003), 388.

In the case of the *śarīra* miracles of Hyeonjong's reign, it was no secret that the provenance of the *śarīra* was very obscure, although they had allegedly appeared miraculously or were produced by miracles. Additional evidence to prove the authenticity of the *śarīra* was wanting. As the cases of Sun Quan and Soga no Umako reviewed earlier, an investigation of whether or not the *śarīra* was of the "true-body" was conducted through harsh tests like fire and strikes from a hammer. Yet it cannot be said that there existed no other methods besides these extreme tests; a sensible alternative for testing the authenticity of certain *śarīra* could be in juxtaposing one in doubt with a *śarīra* already recognized as true-body or legitimate. Regardless of whether the recognized *śarīra* were genuine or not, there is no substantial way to visually distinguish them from dubious relics. In other words, as nobody knows what the true-body *śarīra* really look like, such a comparison could potentially lend legitimacy to the ones in doubt. Therefore, the reason that Hyeonjong was so concerned about the authenticated *śarīra* housed in the historic monasteries in the old capital becomes clear: he expected those *śarīra* to have the capacity to impart legitimacy as "being true-body" to miraculously appearing *śarīra* when they were juxtaposed with one another. After all, the *śarīra* of Jajang appeared as a hallmark of sanctity by which other *śarīra* could be sanctified. Perhaps, therefore, the argument that the relics of Goseonsa and Changrimsa were brought to the palace because the miraculously appearing *śarīra* had no efficacy is not entirely wrong.<sup>66</sup>

The eleventh-century attitude toward the *śarīra* brought by Jajang was totally different from the ninth-century Silla response to the same *śarīra* enshrined in the Nine-Story Pagoda of Hwangnyongsa. Over the tenth century the *śarīra* of Jajang were greatly mystified in conjunction

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<sup>66</sup> Vermeersch, "The Development of the Buddhist Relic Cult," 130.

with the cult of Mañjuśrī and Mt. Odae.<sup>67</sup> Following this mystification, the *śarīra* miracles of Hyeonjong's reign and the transfer of the Goseonsa relics to the palace represented a momentous turning point, a time the *śarīra* of Jajang emerged as a central cult object of the true-body *śarīra* in eleventh-century Goryeo. The spread of the appellation "true-body *śarīra*" in local relic cults was nothing if not a clear marker of the rise in importance of the *śarīra* of Jajang. Undeniably, this distinction positively affected the ascendancy of Tongdosa.

The recognition of the *śarīra* of Jajang as "true-body" relics in this period left a clear impression on the physical space of Tongdosa. We will now turn to examine this spatial impression in the precinct of the current Yeongsan Hall.

## 1.4 Architectural Evidence for Tongdosa's Rising Importance

### 1.4.1 The Yeongsan-jeon Precinct and its Spatial Features

The precinct of the current Yeongsan-jeon has some very distinctive topographical traits. The line of central longitudinal axis of the hall runs south to the top of the front hill Sajamok 獅子目, on which the five-story stone pagoda is located, and north to the rear mountain peak. (A in fig. 1-4). This manner of an axial alignment between the main building and the surrounding mountains is a prominent feature commonly found in the layout of most of the main architectural precincts in pre-modern Korea.<sup>68</sup> It is uncertain when this type of arrangement was established in Korea.

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<sup>67</sup> There are many studies on the genesis and development of the cult of Mañjuśrī and Mt Odae in the Silla period. I mainly consult the following studies: Kim Boksun 金福順, *Silla hwaeomjong yeongu* 新羅華嚴宗研究 (Seoul: Minjoksa, 1990), 121-23; Kim Boksun 金福順, *Hanguk godae bulgyosa yeongu* 韓國古代佛教史研究 (Seoul: Minjoksa, 2002), 203-5. Bak Miseon 박미선, "Silla Odaesan sinang ui seongrip sigi" 新羅五臺山信仰의 成立時期, *Hanguk sasang sahak* 韓國思想史學 28 (2007): 155-56. Chae Sangsik 채상식, *Goryeo hugi bulgyosa yeogu* 高麗後期佛教史研究 (Seoul: Iljogak, 1991), 149-53. For an introduction on the cult of Mt. Odae in English, McBride II, *Domesticating the Dharma*: 110-16.

<sup>68</sup> For a classic study of this topic, see Yi Wongyo 이원교, "Jeontong geonchuk ui baechi e daehan jirichegyejeok haeseok e gwanhan yeongu" 傳統建築의 配置에 對한 地理體系의 解釋에 關한 研究 (PhD diss., Seoul National University, 1993).



Although this geographical concern is closely associated with geomancy 風水 (Ch. *Fengshui*; Kr. *Pungsu*), that does not necessarily mean that this arrangement was not in use until the ninth or tenth century when *fengshui* became widespread in Korea as a result of its dissemination by Master Doseon 道誥 (827-898). Whether this arrangement is the result of an interest in geomancy or, to put it more generally, simply a topographical accommodation, it can be said with certainty that the site of the Yeongsan Hall precinct was selected in such a way that the main central axis of the precinct in the east-west direction would correspond to the peaks of the front and rear mountains. This feature suggests that the precinct of the Yeongsan Hall was certainly not constructed by chance.

In the early twentieth century, the landform of the Tongdosa site was seen as resembling a reclining ox 臥牛 (Kr. *wau*), with the Diamond Ordination Platform, understood to be the “geomancy cave” 穴 (Kr. *hyeol*; Ch. *xue*), located at the abdomen of the ox.<sup>69</sup> However, there are no mountains nor any geographical prominence that can be identified as the “resting part” 案對 (Kr. *andae*), which means the peak straight ahead of a viewer standing at the geomancy cave and whose line of sight naturally rests on it, to the front side of the Diamond Ordination Platform. This is also the case with the Daegwangmyeong Hall (B, C in fig.1-4). In this regard, the precinct of Yeongsan Hall should be distinguished from the precincts of both the Diamond Ordination Platform and the Daewangmyeong Hall. The recognition of Tongdosa as an auspicious site resembling a reclining ox is a recent construct that was developed over the nineteenth century and established in the early twentieth century. A record composed by a Confucian man of letters

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<sup>69</sup> A full description of the geomantic landform of Tongdosa as a reclining ox is found in the *Tongdosa sajeok* printed in 1912. See *Tongdosa sajeok*, NLK: 16-18. For the geomantic principles and terms including the “geomancy Cave,” Hong-key Yoon, *The Culture of Fengshui in Korea: An Exploration of East Asian Geomancy* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2006), 76; 79-81.

in 1792 explains that the mountains and rocks surrounding Tongdosa had few numinous or special features.<sup>70</sup> Interestingly, however, the custom of “*burial ad sanctos*” began to emerge around the site of the Diamond Ordination Platform in the last decades of the eighteenth century.<sup>71</sup> The emerging practice of burying the dead near the Diamond Ordination Platform reflects that the platform was increasingly sanctified during the eighteenth century. Possibly, this circumstance made it ideologically necessary to revisit the notion of the topographical commonness of the Tongdosa site, thereby providing a validation of its increased sanctity. As evidenced in a record of the Bosang Hermitage 寶相庵 composed in 1868, it was only in the latter half of the nineteenth century that the image of an “ox” began to be associated with the Tongdosa site.<sup>72</sup> Setting aside the current geomantic explanation of Tongdosa as a later construct and focusing on geographical traits of the three main precincts of Tongdosa, we find that those of the Yeongsan Hall area most likely led to its selection as the principal space of worship where the main Buddha hall was located.

Given that a specific site was selected as the main precinct with a careful consideration of the surrounding geography, such a decision was far from something that could be done after the completion of the first architectural construction. Needless to say, such a project has to be planned before the construction begins. In other words, I would argue that the precinct of

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<sup>70</sup> A Confucian official, Seong Jong-in, described the landscape of Tongdosa as follows: “Trying to examine the landscape of mountains and streams and the shape of rocks and caves, there are no extraordinary mystery and special beauty. Thus, it is truly questionable if the Buddha’s true-body is really enshrined here.” [試觀其山川之勢巖洞之形 無靈異特秀 則必於是而栖佛之真者 誠可疑] See *Sejon bigakgi* 世尊碑閣記 (1792), Seong Jong-in 成種仁, P-64, HSM III-S: 91.

<sup>71</sup> As for “*burial ad sanctos*” in Indian Buddhism, see Gregory Schopen, “Burial *Ad Sanctos* and the Physical Presence of the Buddha in Early Indian Buddhism: A Study in the Archaeology of Religions,” in *Bones, Stones, and Buddhist Monks : Collected Papers on the Archaeology, Epigraphy, and Texts of Monastic Buddhism in India* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1997), 122-23; 135. The *Buljongchalyaksa* documented three attempts of *burial ad sanctos* in Tongdosa; those occurred in 1783, 1788 and 1873. *Buljongchalyaksa*, TJ: 202-3; 209.

<sup>72</sup> *Tongdosa Bosang-am singeongi* 通度寺寶相庵新建記 (1868), Gubong Jihwa 九鳳志和, P-77, HSM III-S: 94.

Yeongsan Hall had to have been selected as the site of the main Buddha hall at the time Jajang launched the first construction of Tongdosa. This reasoning becomes even clearer when we consider a principle of laying out the ordination platform, namely that the precinct of the ordination platform itself has to be separated with some distance from other precincts to avoid overlapping with the main precinct of the monastery, and, hence, could not possibly become the central space of the monastery. Taking these factors into account, the precinct of Daegwangmyeong Hall is likely to have been constructed originally as a Vinaya cloister. Thus the precinct of the main Buddha hall had to be clearly removed from the areas of both the ordination platform and the Vinaya cloister. Again, considering the location of the Yeongsan Hall on the entire layout and the axial relationship between the hall and the front hill Sajamok, the location of the present Yeongsan Hall is most likely to have been the site of the main Buddha hall at the time of the monastery was founded.

Other information concerning the Yeongsan Hall precinct can be surmised in relation to the three-story stone pagoda that stands in the courtyard. This pagoda was originally located off-center and to the side of the Geukrak Hall. When it was dismantled and repaired in 1987, the pagoda was relocated to the present spot at the intersection of the central axes of the Yeongsan and Geukrak Halls. It is not especially large (3.9m high by 1.8 wide at the base). The first story is far taller than those above it; the lower base has no carved pillar stones but instead engraved eye-shaped, concave 眼象 (Kr. *ansang*) forms. These characteristics suggest that the stone pagoda was very likely built during the late Silla or early Goryeo period. (fig.1-5). It has been dated variously by scholars between the early ninth century (Go Yuseop) during King Heungdeok's reign (826-836) to the early Goryeo (Amanuma; Sugiyama). In 2006, this three-

story pagoda was designated as a National Treasure (no.1471). At that time it was determined that it was most likely to have been built in the late ninth century.<sup>73</sup>

If the three-story stone pagoda was first built in the late ninth century, then its origin has an intriguing historical context. In 872 the Silla court officially reconstructed the Nine-Story Pagoda of Hwangnyongsa. As observed earlier, this reconstruction was not merely undertaken in order to repair the pagoda, but was also a decisive turning point in that Hwangnyongsa was reinstated as the state monastery. With the revival of Hwangnyongsa, other monasteries closely affiliated with the monastic tradition of Jajang and Wonhyo probably also received support and benefits from the Silla court. The three-story stone pagoda may have been a consequence of such support reaching Tongdosa.

Despite the high probability that late ninth-century Tongdosa enjoyed the support of the Silla court, the small scale and off-center position of the pagoda do not suggest that the *śarīra* associated with the pagoda were of great interest to the royalty and the nobles in the capital. Moreover, given its stylistic features, it seems instead that the stone pagoda faithfully followed the local style that was prevalent in the ninth century.<sup>74</sup> Even if a cult of the *śarīra* was embodied in the three-story stone pagoda in late-ninth century Tongdosa, it was in no way influential enough to inspire the almost meteoric rise to prominence of the monastery.

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<sup>73</sup> For the stylistic characteristics of stone pagodas constructed in the ninth century, Bak Gyeongsik 박경식, "8·9 segi Silla seoktap ui bigyo yeongu" 8·9 세기 신라석탑의 비교 연구, *Dongyanghak* 東洋學 27 (1997): 140. For the date of the stone pagoda, Go Yuseop 高裕燮, *Joseon tappa ui yeongu (ha)* 朝鮮塔婆의 研究 下, Uhyeon Go Yuseop jeonjip 又玄 高裕燮 全集 4 (Paju: Youlhwadang, 2010), 293. Amanuma Shun'ichi 天沼俊一, "Zokuzoku Chōsen kikō (ge): Tyūsōsan Tong-Do-Sa (ge)" 續朝鮮紀行(下) 鷲栖山通度寺(下), *Tōyō bijutsu* 東洋美術 20 (1934): 115. Sugiyama Nobuzō 杉山信三, *Chōsen no sekitō* 朝鮮の石塔 (Tōkyō: Shōkokusha, 1944), 181-82. Regarding the report of when the pagoda was designated as a National Treasure, see <http://blog.daum.net/munhwajaecheong/3338991> (accessed July 7, 2014).

<sup>74</sup> Bak, "8·9 segi Silla seoktap ui bigyo yeongu," 146-53.

That is not to say that there is no trace of a special *śarīra* cult in the precinct of Yeongsan Hall that could distinguish Tongdosa from other monasteries. In particular, it should be noted that the central axis of the precinct of Yeongsan Hall meets with the stone pagoda erected at the top of Sajamok. When the Japanese architectural historian Amanuma Shun'ichi visited Tongdosa in the early twentieth century, this stone pagoda was already dilapidated. Upon observing the remains, he concluded that it would have been a pagoda of considerable size, consisting of seven to nine stories.<sup>75</sup> (fig.1-6). Furthermore, when the author of the book *Tongdosa*, written in 1970, inspected the central pillar's stone base, which was exposed at the time, he reported that there was a square cavity (20x18cm) hollowed out of the center of the stone base, and along the four sides of the base the quarters of the foundation stone were seamlessly connected to one another by S-shaped iron fasteners.<sup>76</sup> (fig.1-7). The pagoda's location atop the mountain in front of the main Buddha hall and alignment with the hall's central axis, the considerable scale of the pagoda, and the securely protected cavity for its relics suggest that significant financial and human resources were mobilized for its construction. This raises the question of its purpose.

The stone pagoda on Sajamok was reconstructed as a five-story pagoda in the early Goryeo-style based on the fragmentary stones found during the excavation in 1991. Two out of the seven grains of *śarīra* collected from the remains of the Nine-Story Pagoda of Hwangnyongsa were enshrined there. Concerning why the pagoda was built on a hill like the Sajamok, Jang Chungsik claims that there was a practice in the Goryeo period to erect five-story pagodas in front of ordination platforms, and he cites as the corroborating evidence, the five-story stone pagoda installed in front of the ordination platform at Geumsansa. In the case of

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<sup>75</sup> Amanuma, "Zokuzoku Chōsen kikō (ge)," 101; 116-17.

<sup>76</sup> Hanguk Bulgyo Yeonguwon, *Tongdosa*: 100-101.

Tongdosa, according to Jang, the scenic hill called Sajamok to the southeast of the Diamond Ordination Platform was selected for the location of the five-story pagoda because the front of the ordination platform was already occupied by a hall similar to the Daeung-jeon.<sup>77</sup> Jang's claim that both five-story pagodas of the Sajamok and the Geumsansa ordination platforms can be viewed as part of the same tradition is certainly insightful. As the inverted, cauldron-shaped reliquary houses the Buddha's *śarīra*, however, the ordination platform itself could be considered a Buddha pagoda. In other words, the placement of the five-story pagoda in front of the ordination platform is no more than the redundancy of pagodas. Although Jang's notion goes beyond stereotypical geomantic explanations of the practice of constructing pagodas atop mountains, it remains questionable whether or not such a practice was actually established in the Goryeo period, and, if it was, why it developed.

Attempts to erect stone pagodas on topographically distinctive sites such as elevated ground or oddly shaped rocks increased markedly in the early Goryeo period. Preceding studies have claimed that the practice of placing pagodas outside of the monastery grounds in keeping with Doseon's geomantic considerations was prevalent during the Silla-Goryeo Transition and was largely aimed at the "aid and remedy of mountains and streams" 山川裨補.<sup>78</sup> It would be quite a stretch, however, to maintain that such practices were primarily prompted by geomantic concerns. We need to focus on a simple fact: the potential geomantic benefit is one of the

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<sup>77</sup> Jang Chungsik 장충식, "Hanguk bulsari sinang gwa geu jameom" 한국 佛舍利信仰과 그 莊嚴, *Bulgyo misul sahak* 불교미술사학 1 (2003): 15-16; footnotes 26, 48. Additionally, Jang points out that a stone pagoda was constructed in front of the Burilsa ordination platform. With the available documents relating to Burilsa, however, no such evidence showing that a stone pagoda existed before the ordination platform has been found.

<sup>78</sup> Jin Hongseop 秦弘燮, "Ihyeong seoktap ui il gidan hyeongsik ui gochal" 異型石塔의 一基壇形式의 考察, *Misul sahak yeongu* 미술사학연구(구 고고미술) 138·139 (1978): 109. Jin Hongseop 秦弘燮, "Ihyeong seoktap ui il gidan hyeongsik ui gochal bo" 異型石塔의 一基壇形式의 考察 補, *Misul sahak yeongu* 미술사학연구(구 고고미술) 146·147 (1980): 30. Hong, "Goreyo seoktap yeongu," 76-77.

efficacies that can be facilitated by the installation of a pagoda but is certainly not its ultimate *raison d'être*. The pagoda is, after all, the reliquary housing *śarīra* of the Buddha. Indeed, we do find cases in which topologically distinctive locations were chosen as an effective means to emphasize the unparalleled quality of the enshrined *śarīra*. For instance, the five-story Śākyamuni-*śarīra* pagoda at Bongjeong-am 鳳頂庵 on Mt. Seorak was built amidst precipitous mountains. (fig.1-8). The seven-story Sumano pagoda at Jeongamsa 淨巖寺 was built in a very special stone called *Sumano* 水瑪瑙 atop a vertical cliff. (fig.1-9). These pagodas are of the famous five “Jeokmyeol bogung” of Korea that are known to house true-body *śarīra* associated with Jajang. Although their construction dates cannot be established definitively, these two stone pagodas are widely regarded as Goryeo-period structures.<sup>79</sup> Likewise, the three-story stone pagoda at Beopgyesa 法界寺 on Mt. Jiri, built around the early Goryeo period, was erected on a high cliff located at about 1,400m above sea level. Recently, it has been argued that the pagoda of Beopgyesa is another Jeokmyeol bogung housing true-body *śarīra* from a different source than Jajang.<sup>80</sup> (fig.1-10). Although it is a somewhat modern fabrication, here is an example of a popular notion: that is, the higher and more precipitous the location of the pagoda, the more distinctive and prestigious is the enshrined *śarīra*. An interesting illustration of how such a long-held notion still functions today can be found in a contemporary guide board installed in front of the Jungdae of Mt. Odae: by illustrating each altitude of the five Jeokmyeol bogung, it implies the most elevated prestige of the true-body *śarīra* enshrined at Jungdae which is the highest among the five. (fig.1-11). These cases are evidence that geomantic consideration was not the

<sup>79</sup> For an extensive study of the Jeongamsa pagoda, see Bak Gyeongsik 박경식, "Jeongamsa Sumano tap e gwanhan gochal" 정암사 수마노탑에 관한 고찰, *Sahakji* 史學志 44 (2012): 165-87. The Jeongamsa pagoda was thought to have been constructed from Sumano (=quartz) but is actually made of dolomite, a type of limestone. Ibid, 185. For the date of these pagodas, Hong, "Goreyo seoktap yeongu," 313-14.

<sup>80</sup> For the Beopgyesa pagoda, Jin, "Ihyeong seoktap ui il gidan hyeongsik ui gochal," 98.

sole motivation for the new practice of pagoda construction in the early Goryeo, and in that sense, successful examples that underscored importance of the enshrined *śarīra* through their selection of topologically distinctive locations.

Why then did the early Goryeo monasteries try to make their pagodas special by virtue of a topologically centered method? Why did they seek to distinguish their *śarīra* from the others? This early Goryeo practice seems to be related to the emergence of the cult of special relics such as the “true-body” or the “legitimate” *śarīra*. As reviewed in the preceding section, the early Goryeo cult of relics was experiencing a shift in the attitudes of patrons with regard to the construction of the pagoda. As most patrons were emerging local elites, or sometimes vulnerable sovereigns of questionable legitimacy, we can surmise that the enshrinement of the “true-body” or “legitimate” *śarīra* in towering stone pagodas located on high terrain to attract maximum attention was an efficient means of augmenting social or political position.

Regardless of who sponsored its construction, the stone pagoda built atop Sajamok can be understood in this historical context: the existence of Sajamok pagoda was an architectural declaration that the enshrined *śarīra* were of special provenance associated with Jajang and Tongdosa had the elevated status required to house them. Considering that the cult of true-body *śarīra* was largely motivated by the *śarīra* miracles during Hyeonjong’s reign and in early eleventh-century Tongdosa was overshadowed by Goseonsa in Gyeongju, the date of construction of the Sajamok pagoda cannot have been prior to the early eleventh century. A clue as to the date is found in the strong sense of security toward the enshrined *śarīra*. This is demonstrated in part by the specific approach to construction in which a repository for the reliquary was hollowed out at the base of the central pillar and then protected by the four quarters of a foundation stone, which were seamlessly assembled by s-shaped iron fasteners.



(fig.1-7). Additionally, that fact that the Hwangnyongsa Nine-Story Pagoda had remained in disrepair until 1064 after having been struck by lightning in 1035 may have contributed to the raising of awareness of the precarious security of the *śarīra* of Jajang.<sup>81</sup> Based on such historical and circumstantial evidence, therefore, the Sajamok pagoda is likely to date to around the middle of the eleventh century. In other words, the construction of the Sajamok pagoda suggests that, from the mid-eleventh century onward, Tongdosa was recognized as one of the places where the true-body *śarīra* brought by Jajang were enshrined. At the very least, the monastery began to emerge from beneath the shadow cast by Goseonsa. However, such an emergence was not likely to command the attention of the state government. Tongdosa had to wait until 1085 to witness the full impact of its elevated status.

#### 1.4.2 Tongdosa in 1085

Within the previous jurisdiction of Tongdosa remain two state longevity poles 國長生標 erected in 1085 (the 2<sup>nd</sup> year of King Seonjong's reign). Longevity poles are stone posts that marked the boundaries of the land belonging to a monastery. A state longevity pole was installed with the authorization of the state government. (fig.1-12). According to the inscriptions on poles that remain in Tongdosa today, an unspecified change occurred with regard to the ownership of the land Tongdosa occupied; following an evaluation, sanction, and confirmation by the state court, the earlier state longevity poles were modified and reinstalled. The decision from the Ministry of Revenue 戶部 reached Tongdosa in the 5<sup>th</sup> month of 1085, and the modified state longevity poles were installed in 12<sup>th</sup> month of the same year. This particular reinstallation authorized by the state court indicates that the taxes for the land owned by the monastery were exempted. This was

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<sup>81</sup> “Hwangnyongsa gucheungtap”, *Yusa* (2003), 388.

of tremendous importance as it confirmed that the state court officially accredited the monastery, whether it was for the first or the second time is unclear.<sup>82</sup> Thus, the establishment of state longevity poles must have been a turning point of great moment in the history of Tongdosa.

Another piece of physical evidence related to the year 1085 at Tongdosa is the offering stone 拜禮石 (Kr. *baeryeseok*), a rectangular stone plate (185x87cm) with lotus and cloud patterns are engraved on its surface. The offering stone lies on the ground to the south of the three-story stone pagoda in the courtyard of the present Yeongsan Hall. The present offering stone is a replica installed after the original was moved to the Tongdosa Museum. Its current location is also not original. Because the stone pagoda previously stood close near the Geukrak Hall, the offering stone was accordingly placed to the southeast of the courtyard. It is laid out in such a way that its long side parallels the east-west direction, that is, parallel to the façade of the Yeongsan Hall. (fig.1-5; fig.1-13).

The Tongdosa offering stone is also known as “the stone where rulers bow” [國王拜禮之石]. There is an inscription engraved on the surface of the stone and one of the characters resembles the Sinitic logograph “王” (king). The interpretation of this particular character as such led to a fabricated speculation of Goryeo Gwangjong’s visit to Tongdosa and to the circulation of a folktale that the offering stone was the spot where Silla sovereigns used to pay respect to the Diamond Ordination Platform. Jang Chungsik conducted a thorough

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<sup>82</sup> Of the three known state longevity poles, the one situated at Muan-li, Milyang was destroyed during the Japanese occupation period and two poles located at Yangsan are extant. Hanguk Bulgyo Yeonguwon, *Tongdosa*: 106-7. Most scholars agree that the state longevity poles of Tongdosa functioned not so much to demarcate the boundaries of the land Tongdosa owned as to proclaim its ownership of the land in which they were erected. There is also an interesting claim that the Longevity Poles were “connected to an institution that lent money or land.” For more on this, see Sem Vermeersch, *The Power of the Buddhas : The Politics of Buddhism During the Koryo Dynasty (918-1392)* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center : Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2008), 285-86. Concerning the background and historical meaning of the state longevity poles of Tongdosa erected in 1085, Takeda, "kōrai jidai niokeru Tsūdotera no jiryō shihai," 75-77. Yi, "Tongdosaji Sajisabangsancheonbibopyeon ui bunseok," 271-73. Kim Yungon 김윤곤, *Hanguk jungse yeongnam bulgyo ui ihae* 한국 중세 영남불교의 이해 (Gyeongsan: Yeongnam University Press, 2001), 231-32.

inspection of the characters inscribed on the offering stone, which had split into three separate pieces. After consulting the gazetteers composed in the Joseon period, Jang concluded that the character previously recognized as “王” was in fact the character “十,” and thus the inscription was stating that the offering stone was “constructed in the 2<sup>nd</sup> month of the 11<sup>th</sup> year of the Taikang era” [太康十一年乙丑二月日造] or 1085. He also found out that the middle piece was a later addition.<sup>83</sup> Whether it as a result of functional necessity or in the interest of visual appeal, the later expansion of the offering stone via the insertion of a 40cm-long middle portion suggests that Tongdosa monks attached considerable significance to it. (fig.1-13).

The general function of the offering stone is not clear. As the appellation itself suggests, we can surmise that it is a ritual platform upon which one can prostrate oneself when making an offering. In terms of its scale and orientation, however, this interpretation does not match actual cases. As Jang Chungsik points out, a considerable number of offering stones are found in the Silla monasteries. Generally, they are placed at a distance in front of either stone pagodas or golden halls; they are raised from the ground and are rectangular in shape with the long side facing the stone pagodas or golden halls. If they functioned as ritual platforms on which one could make offerings to the Buddha enshrined in the stone pagodas or golden halls, it would have made more sense if the short sides of the offering stones faced the pagodas or golden halls with being less raised off the ground. (fig.1-14). Another possibility is that the offering stones functioned as ritual altars on which various ritual vessels were placed on the occasion of outdoor ceremonies, but further evidence is needed to support this theory. Jang Chungsik leans toward another explanation: the offering stones served a symbolic rather than practical function. In other

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<sup>83</sup> Jang Chungsik 장충식, "Taegang sip-il nyeon myeong Tongdosa baeryeseok go" 太康十一年銘 通度寺 拜禮石考, in *Hanguk bulgyo misul yeongu* 한국 불교미술 연구 (Seoul: Sigongsa, 2004), 352-56.

words, that the offering stone was a symbolic ritual platform on which not only temporal sovereigns but also all sentient beings could pay homage to the Buddha.<sup>84</sup> If Jang's explanation is correct, then the presence of the offering stone at Tongdosa implies that a ritual event of exceptional magnitude that would require offerings from all sentient beings must have occurred in the precinct of the Yeongsan Hall in 1085.

1085 was clearly a year of significance for Tongdosa: the offering stone was installed in the 2<sup>nd</sup> month, the Ministry of Revenue authorized the land ownership of the monastery in the 5<sup>th</sup> month, and the state longevity poles were revised and reinstalled in the 12<sup>th</sup> month. I think it is very likely that a specific event set this series of activities in motion, an event that would have required participants to kneel down and prostrate themselves in worship and would have to have been significant enough to elicit the support of the state court. What then was that specific event? What information do the state longevity poles and offering stone installed at Tongdosa in 1085 provide in regard to it?

Some historians of the Goryeo period also paid attention to Tongdosa in 1085. They claim that the reinstallation of state longevity poles and intensive production of several artifacts, including an offering stone at Tongdosa in 1085, were closely related to the agenda of King Seonjong 宣宗 (r.1083-1094) who attempted to stabilize and strengthen his rule.<sup>85</sup> According to these scholars, since there was an issue surrounding Seonjong's accession to the throne, the state

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<sup>84</sup> Ibid., 350-52. For a claim that the offering stone functioned as ritual altars based on the *WJTJ*, Sin, "Silla bultap," 356-57.

<sup>85</sup> With reference to the artifacts which were likely executed around 1085, a silver inlay bronze incense burner designated as a Treasure (no.334), a stone lantern standing in front of the Avalokitêśvara Hall, and the Honored Begging Bowl Stūpa in front of the Maitreya Hall can be considered, even though the stone lantern and the bowl stūpa are dated variously by scholars between the mid-Goryeo to the late-Goryeo. For more on the incense burner, see HSM 3-1, 216. For the stone lantern, Hongseon 홍선, *Seokdeung* 석등 (Seoul: Nulwa, 2011), 324. Chae Sangsik claims that the incense burner and bowl stūpa were produced in the mid-Goryeo period. Chae, "Goryeo junggi Tongdosa," 67.

sought support from Buddhist monks to diminish the uncertainty of the kingship. Under those political circumstances, Tongdosa was endorsed by the ruler. As the monastery was founded by Jajang, who was known to have been a strong guardian of the Silla kingship and was famous as a cultic center of the true-body *śarīra* as well as a longheld precept tradition, Tongdosa was deemed an appropriate monastery for the implementation of the sovereign's agenda.<sup>86</sup>

As the reinstallation of state longevity poles was the state's affair, the explanation that connects Tongdosa in 1085 to the political agenda of the ruler seems plausible to some degree. However, why an offering stone was installed that year has yet to be explained. In this regard, we need to recall that the protagonist of the *Gasa huigi*, which relates the return of Śākyamuni's robe from the palace to Tongdosa, is King Gwangjong. Intriguingly, as stated above, the Tongdosa offering stone had been long recognized as having been installed in order to commemorate Gwangjong's visit to Tongdosa. This link suggests that the Tongdosa offering stone installed in 1085 was closely related to Śākyamuni's robe, which had been transferred to the palace through Goseonsa in 1021 together with the Buddha's skull bones. Thus, I would argue that the Tongdosa offering stone, as a symbol of all sentient beings paying homage to the Buddha, was installed to commemorate the return of Śākyamuni's robe and his skull bones to Tongdosa from the palace in Gaegyeong.

The question of why a local monastery, far removed from the capital Gaegyeong, attracted the state's attention can be explained from various viewpoints. However, I doubt that Jajang would have been recognized as a guardian of the kingship as early as late-eleventh century Goryeo. It is not apparent how a monastery affiliated with the precept tradition—if that was

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<sup>86</sup> Kim Yungon 김윤곤, "Yeodae ui sawonjeon gwa geu gyeongjak nongmin" 麗代の寺院田과 그耕作農民, *Minjok munhwa nonchong* 民族文化論叢 2•3 (1982): 155-56; Kim, *Hanguk jungse yeongnam bulgyo*: 229-31. Chae, "Goryeo junggi Tongdosa," 61; 64-65; 68-69.

indeed the case—might contribute to the agenda of strengthening the kingship. But we cannot dismiss the historical circumstance that Tongdosa rose to the status of cultic center of true-body *śarīra* associated with Jajang during the eleventh century. The reason that a local monastery like Tongdosa was selected for the political agenda of the kingship was most likely related to this status that Tongdosa had reached in the late eleventh century. On the part of the ruler who suffered from tenuous legitimacy, a political mobilization of true-body *śarīra* was surely an efficient means to strengthen the kingship. Therefore, I would tentatively conclude that the state granted a land tax exemption to Tongdosa in order to get support from the monastery. By the same token, the ruler decided to return Śākyamuni's robe and his skull bones, since they, at least, were required so that the monastery could be considered a cultic center of true-body *śarīra*. The former is represented by state longevity poles, while the latter is symbolized as the Tongdosa offering stone.

At the very least, these artifacts produced at Tongdosa in 1085 can be understood as evidence showing that Tongdosa rose to the status of a cultic center of true-body *śarīra* associated with Jajang in the late eleventh century. However, Tongdosa monks did not necessarily enjoy this ascendancy immediately. Indeed, into the twelfth century the cult of the Buddha's tooth of Daoxuan and Maitreya Bodhisattva's finger bones of Jinpyo 眞表 (fl. eighth century) commanded zealous devotion from the royalty and nobility, and thereby overshadowed the existence of the Tongdosa *śarīra*. For the Tongdosa *śarīra* to clear away this shadow and stand in the center of the cult of Buddha's *śarīra*, two more centuries would have to pass.

From the late twelfth century onward, Goryeo experienced substantial political turmoil, including a series of rebellions, which resulted in the collapse of the overall social system established in the previous period and overwhelming terror, chaos, and loss of life. The

ordination system administered by the government was dismantled during that tumultuous period, and ordination platforms lost their significance as facilities for ordination. In the whirlwind that could be described as the Final Dharma and given the circumstances in which its ordination platform no longer functioned as such, Tongdosa underwent a fundamental change, resulting in a dramatic emphasis of the presence of the Buddha's *śarīra* enshrined in the ordination platform. It was during this period that the concept of "diamond" was attached to the ordination platform of Tongdosa, and this shift necessitated a fundamental spatial reorganization of the monastery.

## Chapter Two: The Birth of the Diamond Ordination Platform

### 2.1 Changes in the *Śarīra* Cult and the Rising Fame of the Tongdosa *Śarīra*

#### 2.1.1 Prevailing Dead and Critical Awareness of the Final Dharma

Composed by State Preceptor Bojo Jinul 普照知訥 (1158-1210), the *Gwonsu jeonghye gyeolsamun* 勸修定慧結社文 (Encouragement to Practice: The Compact of the *Samādhi* and *Prajñā* Society) is a text that had tremendous influence on the history of Korean Buddhism.<sup>1</sup> In it, there is a passage that mentions other monks' responses to Jinul's advocacy that the Chan meditation, even in the age of the Final Dharma, is still the only valid practice. The monks said:

Now is the degenerate age of the dharma (malboṅp 末法); the right path is concealed and hidden away. How can we devote ourselves to the practice of samādhi and prajñā? It is better for us to diligently recollect Amitābha [Buddha's name] and cultivate Pure Land activities.

時當末法, 正道沉隱, 何能以定慧爲務? 不如勤念彌陀, 修淨土之業也。<sup>2</sup>

Certainly, the reason Jinul paid attention to this response was to repudiate the situation at the time in which Buddhists were engaged only in practicing the “mindfulness of the Buddha.” Following this observation, he admonishes Buddhists that “there is no need to discuss the differences between periods of degenerate dharma and right dharma; there is no need to worry about whether our minds are benighted or radiant.”<sup>3</sup> Instead, he encourages them to resolutely awaken a mind of faith and to persistently cultivate that mind. Herein lies the heroic attitude that all sentient beings can achieve the innate Buddha mind despite any challenges they may face. In

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<sup>1</sup> Robert E. Buswell, ed. *Chinul: Selected Works*, vol. 2, Collected Works of Korean Buddhism (Seoul: Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, 2012), 115.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 119.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 124.



other words, Buddhists are to cultivate themselves more assiduously rather than blame obstacles. Aside from how persuasive or influential Jinul's instructions were, the response he observed reveals that awareness of the Final Dharma was quite pervasive at the time.

Whether the year of entering the age of the Final Dharma was understood to be A.D. 522 or A.D. 1052, it is undeniable that, after the twelfth century, the people of the Goryeo era believed that they had entered the period of the Final Dharma.<sup>4</sup> Although an awareness of the Final Dharma had already emerged in the late eleventh-century in Uicheon's writings, it would be more accurate to view that awareness as a backdrop intended to admonish students to put more effort into their practice. However, starting from Jinul's time in the late twelfth century and into the thirteenth century, the recognition of being in the age of the Final Dharma was no longer simply an issue of Buddhist practice, but rather a problem with implications in the secular world. The notion that practicing mindfulness of the Buddha was the only solution in the face of the degeneration of the Buddha Dharma was indeed derived from the anxiety and fear pervading life overall at the time.

The period from the twelfth century to the early thirteenth century is marked by social upheaval and popular uprisings.<sup>5</sup> By the early twelfth century, "the trend toward peasants abandoning the land for a life of wandering" had appeared all across the country and these

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<sup>4</sup> For timetables of the decline of the Buddhist dharma in Mahāyāna traditions, see Jan Nattier, *Once Upon a Future Time: Studies in a Buddhist Prophecy of Decline* (Berkeley, Calif.: Asian Humanities Press, 1991), 46-49. Kiritani Seiichi 桐谷征一, "Chūgoku bukkyō niokeru mappō shisō no keisei to tenkai (jō)" 中国仏教における末法思想の形成と展開 (上) in *Bukkyōgaku bukkyō shi ronshū: Sasaki kōken hakushi koki kinen ronshū* 仏教学仏教史論集: 佐々木孝憲博士古稀記念論集 (Tōkyō: Sankibō Busshorin, 2002), 26-29.

<sup>5</sup> Chae, "Goryeo sahoe ui byeonhwa wa Goryeo junggiron," 157-58; Chae Ungseok 채웅석, "12, 13segi hyangchon sahoe ui byeondong gwa 'min'ui daeeung" 12, 13세기 향촌사회의 변동과 '민'의 대응, *Yeoksa wa hyeonsil* 역사와 현실 3 (1990): 58-65.

rootless people were becoming a serious social problem.<sup>6</sup> The twelfth century was also marred by conflicts between ruling powers and numerous rebellions. By the late twelfth century, social unrest and political strife exploded on both ends of the class spectrum. Below, peasants and other members of the lowborn classes frequently rose up in rebellions; above, the fiery clashes between the elites of the ruling class led to the bloody and brutal military officers' revolt. From the late twelfth century onwards, daily life in Goryeo was characterized by agitation, violence, horror, and far too many deaths.

In 1194 (Myeongjong 24), the largest rebellion of the period consisted of the united forces of two rebel bands, Kim Sami (at Unmun; modern Cheongdo) and Hyoshim (at Chojeon; modern Ulsan), fighting a battle against the government troops at Milseong (present-day Milyang). More than seven thousand rebels were killed there. In 1200, a disturbance arose in Jinju in which a group of slaves killed a number of lower officials. In response, another lower official gathered the slaves together and brutally murdered approximately 6,400 of those against whom he held personal grudges. In 1202 (Shinjong 5), the people of Gyeongju revolted with the battle cry of the revival of Silla. More than a thousand died in the battle against the government forces in 1203. Manjeok's plot for a revolt to liberate the slaves had leaked and therefor failed. Consequently, more than a hundred rebels including Manjeok were thrown into the river.<sup>7</sup>

In the eighth month of 1170, the military officials who had slaughtered many civil officials and took control staged repeated coups among themselves until Choe Chungheun (1149-1219) seized power in 1196. During this tumultuous period, the monasteries of Gyojong 教宗

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<sup>6</sup> Ki-baek Lee, *A New History of Korea*, trans. Edward W. Wagner with Edward J. Shultz (Cambridge, Mass.: Published for the Harvard-Yenching Institute by Harvard University Press, 1984), 142.

<sup>7</sup> For the quoted incidents here I refer to Bak Yong-un 朴龍雲, *Goryeo sidaesa (ha)* 高麗時代史(下) (Seoul: Iljisa, 1987), 468-76. In the case of a disturbance that occurred in Jinju in 1200, Bak points out that the number of murdered slaves estimated at 6,400 could be an exaggeration.

(Doctrinal Schools) mobilized the armed monks to resist the military rule. In the first month of 1174, two thousand or so armed monks from various monasteries assembled at the east gate of the palace and collided with the military forces in their attempt to kill Yi Uibang, the military ruler at the time. About a hundred monks were executed and the monasteries involved were destroyed. In 1217, an even more savage slaughter occurred. Armed monks headed by the Heungwangsa monks revolted in order to eliminate the ruler at the time, Choe Chungheun. Choe countered with a ruthless massacre.<sup>8</sup>

On their [the monks'] way to the house of Choe Chungheun, [...] they engaged in combat [...] The leader of the monks fell after being hit by an arrow, and the rest escaped [...] and scattered. The army of Choe Chungheun chased after them and killed more than three hundred monks. [...] The next day, Choe Chungheun locked the gates of the capital city and launched an extensive search for the monks that escaped, and killed them all. With the rain pouring down, their blood flowed like a stream. Approximately eight hundred monks were killed, including the three hundred who were killed near the Namgye Stream, and the corpses were stacked in a heap like a mountain. People could not approach the vicinity for months.

向忠獻家 [...] 與戰 [...] 僧魁中流矢仆 其徒奔 [...] 遂皆散走 忠獻軍追斬三百餘僧 [...] 明日 忠獻閉城門 大索僧之逃者 皆殺之 會大雨 流血成川 又斬僧三百餘人 於南溪川邊 前後所斬 幾八百餘 積屍如山 人不得過者數月。<sup>9</sup>

This terror was exacerbated by the wars against the Mongols that began in 1231. Up until 1259, over the course of 29 years, the Mongols invaded Goryeo six times. However, the military regime fled to Ganghwa Island in the sixth and seventh months of 1232 and locked themselves away from the Mongol army, exploiting the fact that their enemies were weak in terms of naval warfare. This decision left the general populace defenseless and exposed to the acts of slaughter

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<sup>8</sup> For an overview of the monks' resistance against the military rule, see Hwang Byeongseong 황병성, "Goryeo muin jeonggwongi sawon seryeok ui donghyang" 고려 무인정권기 사원세력의 동향, *Hanguk sasang sahak* 韓國思想史學 4-5, no. 1 (1993): 105.

<sup>9</sup> "Choe Chungheon" 崔忠獻, Yeoljeon 42, *GRS* 129.

by the Mongol forces. During their third attack (1235-1239), the Mongols did not bother with Ganghwa Island at all and trampled the rest of the country senselessly. The original set of woodblocks for the *Tripitaka* that was preserved at Buinsa in Daegu was destroyed by fire during this time, as was the Hwangnyongsa nine-story wooden pagoda of Gyeongju in 1238. The most damaging attack resulted from the sixth invasion that occurred from 1254 to 1259. The record of 1254 (Gojong 41) in the *Goryeosa* tells that “the number of men and women taken as captives by the Mongols this year reached 206,800; those who were killed cannot be counted; and the entire region the Mongols passed burnt down to ashes. This was the worst, incomparable to any other cases of the Mongol invasion.”<sup>10</sup>

In this horrible reality riddled with so many deaths, it would be natural to yearn for rebirth in the Pure Land through mindfulness of the Buddha. It is salient that most extant Buddhist paintings in this period are of Amitābha Buddha and Avalokitēśvara Bodhisattva. The thirteenth-century Goryeo Buddhists could not help being captivated by various devotions and practices such as those of the cults of the *Lotūs Sūtra*, Amitābha Buddha, the Guardian Deities of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva, Avalokitēśvara Bodhisattva, and esoteric Buddhism.<sup>11</sup>

Along with the growing tendency toward what has been referred to as a “revival of mysterious elements,” there was a shift of the center of gravity of Buddhism from the capital Gaegyeong to local regions features thirteenth-century Goryeo Buddhism. In particular, the

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<sup>10</sup> Gojong 41(1254).12, Sega 24, *GRS* 24. As for an overview of the Mongol invasion and the related citation above, Bak, *Goryeo sidaesa (ha)*: 477-95.

<sup>11</sup> Kim Changhyeon 김창현, "Goryeomal bulgyo ui gyeonghyang gwa munsusinang ui daedu" 고려말 불교의 경향과 문수신앙의 대두, *Hanguk sasang sahak* 韓國思想史學 23 (2004): 285-93. Kim Rina and others 김리나 외, *Hanguk bulgyo misulsa* 한국불교미술사 (Seoul: Mijinsa, 2011), 175-76. According to one study, about 140 Buddhist paintings executed in the Goryeo period still survive. Of these extant paintings, those occupying the majority, which amounts to 50 pieces, are the Amitābha paintings. The second most numerous are the Water-Moon Avalokitēśvara paintings, of which there are about 35. Thus, the paintings of Amitābha Buddha and Avalokitēśvara Bodhisattva constitute more than half of the extant works. For more on this subject, see Jeong Byeongsam 鄭炳三, "Goryeo hugi gwaneum sinang" 高麗 後期 觀音信仰, *Danho munhwa yeongu* 丹豪文化研究 1 (1996): 88.

monasteries in the southern regions of the Peninsula developed into new local centers of Buddhism.<sup>12</sup> These two changes in Buddhism had a significant impact on Tongdosa, which is located in the Yangsan region on the southeastern tip of the Peninsula. The region was an area that was directly influenced by two large-scale uprisings that broke out at Milyang and Gyeongju. In this sense, it cannot be seen as a coincidence that the account of the Buddha's *śarīra* enshrined in the Tongdosa ordination platform began to appear from this period – that is, the early thirteenth century. The horrendous realities that unfolded from the late twelfth century also caused a momentous shift in the cult of the *śarīra*. Tongdosa was positioned at the center of this change.

### 2.1.2 The Ascendancy of the Tongdosa Relics in the Late Goryeo Period

After the year 1085, when the state longevity poles and the offering stone were installed in Tongdosa, the monastery is not mentioned in the historical sources of the twelfth century. No references are found to the Buddha's skull bones or robe, not to mention the crystalline bead-like relics, which were known to be the true-body *śarīra* over the eleventh century. What occupied a central position in the cult of *śarīra* over the twelfth century was the Buddha's tooth at the palace and the two pieces of finger bones called “Maitreya Sticks” 彌勒簡子 (Kr. *Mireuk ganja*) that the Silla monk Jinpyo supposedly received from Maitreya Bodhisattva.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> The “revival of mysterious elements” is the term used by Heo Heungsik. See Heo Heungsik 許興植, “13 segi Goryeo bulgyogyae ui saeroun gyeonghyang” 13 세기 高麗佛教界의 새로운 傾向, in *Goryeo junghugi bulgyo saron* 高麗中後期 佛教史論 (Seoul: Minjoksa, 1986[1981]), 91-93; 97. Choe Byeongheon 崔柄憲, “Goryeo sidae hwaeom jongdan ui jeongae gwajeong gwa geu yeoksajeok seonggyeok” 高麗時代 華嚴宗團의 展開過程과 그 歷史的 性格, in *Hanguk saron* 韓國史論 (Seoul: Minjok munhwasa, 1990), 210.

<sup>13</sup> “Jinpyo jeongan” 眞表傳簡; “Gwandong Pungak Balyeonsu seokgi” 關東楓岳鉢淵藪石記, *Yusa* (2003), 556-57.

Besides the two teeth of the Buddha from Changrimsa and Hyeonhwasa in the eleventh century, the Goryeo royal house procured by some fortuity the renowned Buddha's tooth of Daoxuan in 1120 (Yejong 15), which Emperor Huizong of Song is said to have placed on a boat and sent out to sea.<sup>14</sup> Thereafter, the mysterious Buddha's tooth was enshrined in a tiny hall at the left side of the Sipwon-jeon 十員殿 in the palace and worshipped by the royal house. However, the holy treasure went missing in the chaotic state of the relocation of the capital to Ganghwa Island in 1232. Not until 1236 was the disappearance of the tooth discovered; following a big stir and search, the Buddha's tooth was recovered and enshrined again at the

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<sup>14</sup> It is known that four Buddha's teeth were present in ninth-century Tang China. Among them were a celestial tooth Daoxuan received from the god Skanda (Naḍa), a Buddha's tooth Faxian 法獻 had brought from Gandhara in the 5<sup>th</sup> century, a Buddha's tooth Wukong 悟空 (法界) had brought from Gandhara in 790, and a Buddha's tooth that was said to have been brought from Tibet. It was these four Buddha's teeth that Ennin saw in ninth-century Chang'an. In the eleventh-century Northern Song period, however, the number of the Buddha's tooth increased. According to the *Zuojie daxiangguosi shijia folingyaxu* 左街大相國寺釋迦佛靈牙序 composed in 1065, five Buddha's teeth were transported to China; three of them were in Luoyang and two were in Bianliang (presently, Kaifeng), the capital of Northern Song. Of the two Buddha's teeth in Bianliang, one was Daoxuan's celestial tooth that was enshrined in Xiangguosi; the other one with an unidentified provenance was housed in Qishengchanyuan 啓聖禪院. The provenances of the three Buddha teeth in Luoyang were also unidentified. In the late eleventh century, another Buddha's tooth arrived in Bianliang. A Buddha's tooth Wukong had brought to China was observed by Shen Kuo 沈括 (1031-1095) in 1072, then circulated among the ranking literati including Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021-1086), and finally housed in the western pagoda at Xiangguosi by Emperor Shenzong (r. 1068-1084) of Song. This tooth was transferred again around 1112 and was finally enshrined in the Taizilingzong pagoda 太子靈踪塔 at Baoxiangsi 寶相寺 (Wenshang, Shandong) before it was discovered in 1994. Given the preceding information, it seems there were at least three Buddha's teeth in Bianling in the late eleventh century. Aside from these three Buddha's teeth, however, a Buddha's tooth, which is believed to be the one Faxian had brought to China and is currently enshrined in the Buddha's Tooth Relic Pagoda of Lingguangsi in Beijing, was present in Khitan Empire (Liao) in 1071. Recent excavation also reveals that another two Buddha's teeth were enshrined in a pagoda at Dengzhou of Henan province in 1032 and in a pagoda at Shanghai between 1068 and 1094. Additionally, when Yuanzhao supervised the construction of an ordination platform at Guangxiaosi in 1090, the existence of two Buddha's teeth was recorded. Further, Yunkan is said to have been given a Buddha's tooth in his dream in 1042 and the Buddha teeth were enshrined in the dhāraṇī pillars reconstructed around this period. Therefore, in late eleventh-century China alone, the confirmable number of the Buddha's teeth amounts to at least eight – three in Bianling, one in Liao, two in Dengzhou and Shanghai, and two in Guangxiaosi. Into the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Buddha's teeth appeared in Goryeo as well as in Japan beyond China. At least three Buddha's teeth were found in Goryeo (Changrimsa, Hyeonhwasa, and Daoxuan's Buddha's tooth), four in Japan (Seiryōji, Sennyū-ji, Hōon-ji (originally Jōjū-ji; Daoxuan's Buddha's tooth), and Engaku-ji (Daoxuan's Buddha's tooth)). In this regard, the cult of the Buddha tooth facilitated by Song emperors extended to the twelfth-century royal house of Goryeo and to the thirteenth-century Shoguns and emperors in Japan, thereby forming a specific tradition of the cult of the Buddha's tooth under the East Asian rulers' initiative. For this reconstruction of the propagation of the cult of the Buddha's tooth, I consult the following references: John S. Strong and Sarah M. Strong (1995); Alexander C. Soper (1948); Ōtsuka Norihiro (2011); Wang Haibo (2007); Ling Haicheng (2001); *Yusa*; *GRS*.

Ganghwa palace. This time, however, it was kept at the Bula-jeon 佛牙殿 (Buddha's Tooth Hall) built specifically within the courtyard of Sipwon-jeon. Upon the commemorative ceremony for its retrieval, countless grains of *śarīra* multiplied from the Buddha's tooth; the sovereign burst into tears and many of the courtiers in attendance, in a trance state, burned their foreheads and forearms. In 1270, just before leaving Ganghwa Island for the previous capital Gaegyeong, a large ceremony by eminent monks was held, praying for the multiplication of *śarīra* from the Buddha's tooth, yet not a single grain of the *śarīra* was acquired. In 1284, Daoxuan's Buddha's tooth was eventually housed in the golden pagoda of Gukcheungsa 國淸寺 after the completion of repairs to the structure. Towards the end of the section of the *Yusa*, "Jeonhu sojang sari," Mugeuk, 無極 a disciple of Iryeon, records that he attended this event and observed the Buddha's tooth himself.<sup>15</sup> After the late thirteenth century, however, the royal cult of the Buddha's tooth is nowhere to be found.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> For the acquisition of Daoxuan's Buddha tooth and its whereabouts afterwards in Goryeo, "Jeonhu sojang sari" 前後所藏舍利, *Yusa* (2003), 413-17; 422-23. Oddly enough, the anecdote that described how countless grains of *śarīra* multiplied from the Buddha's tooth at the commemorative ceremony for its retrieval has not been given adequate attention in modern studies. Around the Northern Song times, the special power of the Buddha's tooth seems to have been recognized as the miraculous multiplication of *śarīra*. In 1031, Emperor Renzong (r. 1022–1063) of Song witnessed the miraculous appearance of a grain of *śarīra* from Daoxuan's Buddha's tooth; in 1104, Emperor Huizong (r. 1100–1125) of Song experienced a miracle in which countless grains of *śarīra* appeared as if it had rained when he made an offering to Daoxuan's Buddha's tooth. For more on this, see Ōtsuka Norihiro 大塚紀弘, "Nichisō kōryū to futsu kiba shinkō: Godaisan kara kita futsu kiba shari no yukue" 日宋交流と仏牙信仰—五台山から来た仏牙舎利の行方, *Nippon rekishi* 日本歴史 758 (2011): 22. A Confucian scientist and statesman, Shen Kuo, also testified, "the tooth suddenly produced *śarīra* [i.e., pellets] like a man perspiring. They wafted away in countless numbers, some flying up into the air and others falling to the ground." Quoted in Kieschnick, *The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Material Culture*: 51. In light of these records, the anecdote of the miraculous appearance of *śarīra* from the Buddha's tooth recorded in the *Yusa* reveals how the special power of the Buddha's tooth was recognized in thirteenth-century Goryeo and how this established recognition was mobilized to verify the authenticity of the once-lost Buddha's tooth.

<sup>16</sup> Besides the two teeth of the Buddha from Changrimsa and Hyeonhwasa in the eleventh century and a celestial tooth of Daoxuan procured in early twelfth-century Goryeo, there appear to have been two more Buddha's teeth in Goryeo since the twelfth century. In 1137, Goryeo Injong (r. 1122–1146) is recorded as having sent a golden pagoda and the Buddha's tooth to Sujeongsa on Mt. Jiri. "Jirisan Sujeongsagi" 智異山水精社記, Dongmunseon 東文選 64, Gwon Jeok 權適, DKC. Another tooth was found in the late fourteenth century. In 1381, twelve grains of *śarīra* and a Buddha's tooth were enshrined in the recently repaired, seven-story brick pagoda of Anyangsa at Geumju. Given the surrounding circumstances, it is likely that King U (r. 1374–1388) sent these *śarīra* and a Buddha's tooth by way of a eunuch. "Geumju Anyangsatap jungsingi" 衿州安養寺塔重新記, Doeun seonsaeng munjip 陶隱先生文集 4, Yi

The finger bones of Maitreya Bodhisattva transmitted to Jinpyo appear to have been housed at Geumsansa until around the late tenth century. They were moved to Balyeonsa 鉢淵寺 on Mt. Geumgang 金剛山, and relocated at Gilsangsa 吉祥寺 (present-day Beopjusa) on Mt. Sokri 俗離山 by the mid-twelfth century. It is certain that they were housed at Gilsangsa when the record of Balyeonsa was composed in 1199. However, in the latter part of the thirteenth century, they were found in Donghwasa, which Iryeon affirmed.<sup>17</sup> These rare finger bones were mobilized to authorize the occult practice of the Divination Assembly 占察法會 (Kr. *Jeomchal beophoe*).<sup>18</sup> For instance, around 1146, King Injong (r. 1122-1146) sent his courtier to Sokrisa 俗離寺 (=Gilsangsa) to hold a Divination Assembly to pray for recovery from his illness. This suggests that the sovereign had considerable faith in the authenticity of the finger bones, which were enshrined at Sokrisa, and aspired to receive special benefits from the Divination Assembly guaranteed by those finger bones.<sup>19</sup> In short, while travelling around major monasteries of the Beopsang tradition 法相宗 throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Maitreya's finger bones attracted much devotion from the royalty and nobility.

By the late thirteenth century, however, there seems to have been a change in the reputation of the Maitreya's finger bones. This view is emphasized in the *Hyeonhaeng seobang gyeong* 現行西方經 (*Sūtra on Manifestations of the West*), a Korean apocryphon composed in

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Sung-in 李崇仁, DKC. However, the provenance of these two Buddha's teeth was very obscure. Very likely, their emergence can be understood in the context of the growing number of the Buddha's teeth appearing here and there in East Asia since the twelfth century.

<sup>17</sup> For an account of the transferal of the Maitreya Bodhisattva's finger bones, see Nam, "Samguk yusa ui saseo," 63-65.

<sup>18</sup> For the Divination Assembly, Whalen Lai, "The Chan-cha' ching: Religion and Magic in Medieval China," in *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*, ed. Robert E. Buswell (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990), 179-82; 184-86.

<sup>19</sup> "Sokrisa jeomchalhoeso" 俗離寺占察會疏, Dongmunseon 東文選 110, Kim Busik 金富軾, DKC. Kim Namyun 金南允, "Goryeo junggi bulgyo wa beopsangjong" 고려중기 불교와 法相宗, *Hanguk saron* 韓國史論 28 (1992): 143-44; Nam, "Samguk yusa ui saseo," 63-64. Besides the assembly at Sokrisa, there remain two more records of the Divination assemblies held in the twelfth century; the assembly at Sujeongsa and the one at Dosolwon.



1298. It claims that many people had fallen into evil destinies by having been deceived by the finger bones of Maitreya Buddha at Donghwasa.<sup>20</sup> This indicates that, toward the end of the thirteenth century, the Maitreya's finger bones that had been revered by the ruling class over the twelfth century, were regarded with serious doubt in terms of either their authenticity or efficacy. Such discredit may have stemmed from the following anecdote: when King Yejong (r. 1105-1122) brought these rare finger bones into the palace for worship, one of them (known as the ninth stick) was lost and replaced with an ivory replica before they were returned. Iryeon's effort to prove that these finger bones were really transmitted to Jinpyo by Maitreya also suggests growing suspicion toward the finger bones in the late thirteenth century.<sup>21</sup>

By the 1270s, when the Buddha's tooth was no longer preserved within the palace and doubts regarding the Maitreya's finger bones began to emerge, popular interest in the Tongdosa *śarīra* was increasing markedly. Iryeon records that, from the first year of the Zhiyuan era (1264), envoys from Yuan China competitively made pilgrimages to worship them and itinerant monks congregated from all over the country to pay respects. During this time, the following miracle of the *śarīra* was witnessed.

Aside from four grains of the true-body *śarīra*, the multiplied *śarīra* that were crushed to sand appeared outside the stone cauldron [of the ordination platform], and a wondrous perfume hung in the air and lasted for many days. This happened frequently.

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<sup>20</sup> *Hyeonhaeng seobang gyeong* 現行西方經 (1298), Woncham 元崑, HBJ 6: 863c., quoted in Nam Dongsin 남동신, "Yeomal seoncho ui wigyeong yeongu" 麗末鮮初の偽經研究, *Hanguk sasang sahak* 한국사상사학 24 (2005): 64. For an overview of this Korean apocryphon, Ibid., 229-59. Also, see Yamanaka Yukio 山中行雄, "Kōrai no gikei Hyeonhaeng seobang gyeong ni tsuite" 高麗の偽經 現行西方經について, *Bukkyō Daigaku Sōgō Kenkyūjo kiyō* 佛教大学総合研究所紀要 16 (2009).

<sup>21</sup> As for the anecdote of Yejong, "Simji gyejo" 心地繼祖, *Yusa* (2003), 575. Regarding Iryeon's understanding of the finger bones, "Jinpyo jeongan," *ibid.*, 561.

眞身四枚外 變身舍利 碎如砂礫 現於鑊外 而異香郁烈 彌日不歇者 比比有之.<sup>22</sup>

The multiplication of the sand-like *śarīra* from four grains of the true-body *śarīra* seems to have been understood as a distinctive mark of the body relics enshrined in the Tongdosa ordination platform at the time. For instance, Hyeyeong 惠永 (1228-1294), an eminent monk of the Beopsang tradition, upon whom the title of State Respected 國尊 was conferred and who took over the abbacy at Donghwasa in his later years, witnessed this miracle as well. He visited Tongdosa in 1276 to acquire *śarīra*; upon his prayer, he received a few grains of the true-body *śarīra* and kept them at his side. It is recorded that these *śarīra* multiplied on several occasions. Hyeyeong made stops at distinguished monasteries affiliated with the Beopsang tradition, such as Beopjusa and Bulguksa, but it was at Tongdosa that he sought and finally procured the *śarīra*. It is important to note that the *śarīra* that he obtained from Tongdosa were not reduced in number, despite his imparting the *śarīra* to whoever sought them.<sup>23</sup> As Iryeon describes, this implies that this capacity for multiplying was widely recognized as a distinctive mark of the Tongdosa *śarīra*. While the Buddha's tooth and the Maitreya's finger bones had attracted royal attention with their rarity over the twelfth century, the body relics at Tongdosa began to grow in popularity because of their capacity to multiply. Here we find a fundamental shift in the cult of the Buddha's *śarīra*.

The ascendancy of the Tongdosa *śarīra* after 1270s can be connected with two historical circumstances. First, the Hwangnyongsa nine-story wooden pagoda, which was believed to be of the same pedigree as the Tongdosa *śarīra*, was completely demolished in 1238 by the Mongols.

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<sup>22</sup> "Jeonhu sojang sari," *ibid.*, 410. Ha and Mintz's translation mistakenly rendered this part as follows: "It was found that only the four genuine *sari* had survived, while the counterfeit ones had been crushed to powder and were scattered outside the urn, spreading a wonderful perfume to the four winds." Iryeon, *Samguk Yusa: Legends and History of the Three Kingdoms of Ancient Korea*: 200.

<sup>23</sup> "Donghwasa Hongjin gukjonbi" 桐華寺弘眞國尊碑 (1298), Kim Hwon 金暉, GSM, <http://gsm.nricp.go.kr>.

Since the pagoda was the tallest and the most enduring architecture, having stood for six hundred years since its construction in Silla, it would have been quite a shock to the people of Goryeo to see the colossal monument burned to the ground. In terms of the cult of the true-body *śarīra*, the collapse of the pagoda seems to have naturally led to the concentration of popular interest in Tongdosa and Mt. Odae, the two remaining sites where Jajang had supposedly housed the holy treasure.<sup>24</sup> Second, the Goryeo government was intensively involved in preparing for the Yuan dynasty military campaign against Japan from the 1270s onward. This circumstance facilitated the development of traffic routes that were directly connected to the capital Gaegyeong, which were formerly minor ones. In particular, the waterway of the Nakdong River that connected the capital Gaegyeong and the southeastern regions of the Peninsula including Gimhae and Yangsan, was more crowded than ever. It was based on this development that a trunk road, which ran through the center to the southeastern tip of the Peninsula and would be called “Yeongnam daero” 嶺南大路 (Great Yeongnam Road) during the Joseon dynasty, began to be established.<sup>25</sup> Consequently, Iryeon documented that, starting in the year 1264, envoys from Yuan China competed in making pilgrimages to Tongdosa. The physical link between the Buddhism of the capital and Tongdosa paved the way for the rising fever for pilgrimage in the late thirteenth century. Therefore, the extinction of the Hwangnyongsa pagoda and the development of traffic routes from the Gaegyeong region to Tongdosa contributed to the circumstances under which the true-body *śarīra* of Tongdosa gained nationwide attention beginning in the 1270s.

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<sup>24</sup> The fact that a monastery monograph of Woljeongsa on Mt. Odae was translated in literary Sino-Korean from local writing known as Silla *hyangeon* and newly edited by an eminent statesman, Min Ji in this period (1307) merits attention. For a discussion of Min Ji's involvement in the monograph work, see *OWS*, Bulgyo jinheunghoe wolbo 1-8 (1916): 48-49. However, the fact that Min Ji quoted a document titled the “*Tongdosa gvedangi*” [A Record of the Tongdosa ordination platform] suggests that a monastery monograph of Tongdosa was likely organized earlier than that of Woljeongsa.

<sup>25</sup> Choe Yeongju 최영준, *Hanguk ui yetgil Yeongnam Daero* 한국의 옛길 嶺南大路, 2nd ed. (Seoul: Goryeo daehakgyo minjokmunhwa yeonguwon, 2004[1990]), 108; 122-23.

These historical circumstances, however, do not completely explain the ascendancy of the Tongdosa *śarīra* in late thirteenth-century Goryeo. At that time, there was a fundamental change in the cult of Buddha relics that resulted in a shift of cultic objects from bone relics like the Buddha's tooth and the Maitreya's finger bones to body relics like the four grains of *śarīra* of Tongdosa. The people of Goryeo were confronted with the persistent, horrible reality of violence and death from the late twelfth to the mid-thirteenth centuries. In such a period, the people's urge to protect themselves by carrying powerful amulets could only become more compelling. Possession of the *śarīra* as a token of the Buddha's presence might have been the most powerful answer to this need. Thus, the capacity to satisfy such a demand was no longer provided by the bone relics as their rarity was the essential condition of their cult. The multiplying ability of *śarīra*, the capacity that could produce as many *śarīra* as possible to distribute them to as many people as possible, constituted the condition of sanctity with the cult of the Buddha's *śarīra*. This is why the body relics that were generally characterized as capable of multiplying came to be preferred over the bone relics whose very rarity determined their sanctity in the thirteenth century. For instance, a monk named Hyoga was prosecuted in 1313 because he manufactured *śarīra* in the form of beads or mustard seeds from honey water and powered rice and then distributed the counterfeits to people.<sup>26</sup> This occurrence demonstrates that people's desire to have *śarīra* within their reach was so compelling that grain-shaped relics were manufactured and circulated. In 1407, the founder of the Joseon dynasty Yi Seonggye 李成桂 (1335-1408; r. 1392-1398), the retired king at the time, sent his collection of *śarīra* to a Chinese envoy on the request of the Yongle emperor; the amount of those sent reached 303 grains of *śarīra*.<sup>27</sup> Although it was

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<sup>26</sup> Chungseonwang 5(1313).2. Sega 34, *GRS* 34.

<sup>27</sup> Taejong 7(1407).5.20.[1], *JWSR*.

a case of a powerful ruler, at the least, this example demonstrates that the number of body relics collected by the ruling class in the Goryeo-Joseon transition was considerable. This shift in the cult of the Buddha's *śarīra* is likely related to the fact that the transparent crystal reliquary for the enshrinement of *śarīra* was introduced at this time.<sup>28</sup> This was very likely to be an effect from the growing demand to worship the *śarīra* in close proximity. (fig.2-1).

Amidst this shift in the cult of Buddha's *śarīra* caused by horrific, real-life circumstances, the four grains of the true-body relics housed in the Tongdosa ordination platform, which were thought to possess the miraculous ability to produce countless grains of *śarīra*, rose in value and attracted more attention. By the early fourteenth century, references to the Tongdosa *śarīra* began to appear in various historical sources more frequently. In 1316, a Lady Heo of a noble family from Gyeonggi province acquired twelve grains of *śarīra* from Tongdosa.<sup>29</sup> This suggests that the Tongdosa monks were forging a close connection with an influential family in the capital area through the medium of the *śarīra*. In 1328, Jigong, an eminent Indian monk from Yuan-dynasty China, paid a visit to Tongdosa to see the *śarīra* and robe enshrined at the monastery. This reveals that the Tongdosa *śarīra* were recognized as the representative ones in the realm of Goryeo Buddhism at the time. The ascendancy of the Tongdosa *śarīra* is also clearly reflected in the response to them of the royalty of that period. When King Gongmin (r. 1351-1374) returned home safely after being held hostage by the Yuan dynasty from 1341-1351, and ascended the throne, he sent Yi Deukbun 李得芬 (n.d.), a eunuch from his retinue, to famous mountains all over the country to express his gratitude for his safe return. Tongdosa was included among the

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<sup>28</sup> These extant cases of the transparent crystal reliquaries were those excavated from the pagodas. Given the growing trend of personal possession of *śarīra*, however, the appearance of transparent crystal reliquaries in this period was very likely associated with the increasing demand for personal reliquaries for privately owned *śarīra*.

<sup>29</sup> Kim Gaemul 金開物, "Kim Byeon cheo Heo ssi myojimyeong" 金聃妻許氏墓誌銘, in *Goryeo myojimyeong jipseong* 高麗墓誌銘集成, ed. Kim Yongseon 金龍善 (Chuncheon: Hanlim University, 1993 [1324]), 446: 28-29.

eunuch's stops. At Tongdosa Yi Deukbun paid his respects and acquired six grains of *śarīra*. This suggests that the reputation of Tongdosa had grown enough to be worthy of Gongmin's worship. When he was forced to flee from the Red Turban Rebel's attack to the south in 1362, Gongmin ordered that the Buddha's bones, *śarīra*, and robe of Tongdosa be brought to Mt. Sokri, specifically to Beopjusa, where Maitreya Bodhisattva's finger bones were once enshrined, so that he might see them for himself. The four grains of the true-body *śarīra* had risen in prominence enough to win the ruler's request to view them in person.<sup>30</sup>

It was in the context of this ascendancy of the Tongdosa *śarīra* that the Tongdosa monks began to apply the concept of “*vajra*” (= diamond) to the ordination platform. Through the integration of the cult of Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva and the concept of the ordination platform as diamond, they also endeavored to establish the monastery's status of being the one and only sanctuary in the age of the Final Dharma.

## 2.2 Daoxuan's Vision of the Diamond Ordination Platform

According to the *Jigonggi*, upon the visit of the Indian monk Jigong to Tongdosa in 1328, the Tongdosa monks carried out an extensive renovation of the buildings and then invited monks from various monasteries and lay devotees to his dharma assembly.<sup>31</sup> In that assembly, Jigong ascended to the ordination platform, carrying the robe and *śarīra* above his head, and made the following declaration to the congregation:

Of the lands I have passed through from India in the West to China in the East,  
only here are Śākyamuni's body and Śākyamuni's robe enshrined on the  
ordination platform.

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<sup>30</sup> "Yangju Tongdosa Seokgayeorae sarijigi" 梁州通度寺釋迦如來舍利之記 (1380), Mok-eun mungo 牧隱文藁 3, Yi Saek 李穡, HMC, DKC. Regarding Gongmin's witness to the Tongdosa relics at Mt. Sokri, Gongminwang 11(1362).8.15., Sega 40, *GRS* 40.

<sup>31</sup> "Jigonggi," Tongdosa sajeok yakrok (1642) TJ: 43.

本師之身 本師之衣 安邀于戒壇上者 自西竺東至震旦 吾所過來地 唯此而已。<sup>32</sup>

Against the extraordinary ambience of the ordination platform within the renewed architectural settings, an Indian monk who is considered to be a living Buddha stood holding invaluable relics on his head before the silent gaze of audience densely packing the monastery. In terms of this spectacle, the message is remarkably simple: Tongdosa is the only place where Śākyamuni's *śarīra* and robe are enshrined together on the ordination platform.

The Tongdosa monks' intention to emphasize the "uniqueness" of Tongdosa is clearly demonstrated by this scene. Given that Śākyamuni's *śarīra* and robe were removed from the enshrined location in advance, and the necessary explanation was provided to Jigong beforehand, this performance must have been deliberately directed by Tongdosa monks. Despite their assertion of singularity, it cannot be said that there was no source of inspiration for the Tongdosa monks' vision of the integration of the Buddha's *śarīra* and robe with the ordination platform. Such a peculiar vision seems to have to do with an eschatological theme of the age of the Final Dharma envisioned by monks of Ximingsi, such as Daoxuan and Daoshi, in Tang Chang'an. In order to understand this theme, we need to examine a specific quality that Daoxuan imparted onto the ordination platform and then discuss his mysterious exchange with Buddhist deities.

### 2.2.1 Daoxuan's Concept of the Ordination Platform

The ordination platform's power and symbolism as explained by Daoxuan can be encapsulated in the term "*vajra*" [diamond]. Although this term can be used as an adjective, as in the "*Vajra* (Diamond) Ordination Platform" of Tongdosa, with reference to the ordination platform "*vajra*" is indeed not merely a modifier. Rather, it is synonymous with the ordination platform. The

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 44.

analogy of the ordination platform to the “*vajra*” is made in the *Jietantujing* when the placement of the *Vajra* Warriors on the first level of the ordination platform is explained. There, the argument is that the first level of the ordination platform should be identified with the *vajra*.<sup>33</sup> Following this logic, the ordination platform can be deemed to be standing on the indestructible and unshakable *vajra* throne. I further argue that the nature of the *vajra* is not limited only to the first level. Indeed, the entire ordination platform becomes the *vajra*. In order to secure its status as such, Daoxuan employed two measures: first, the Buddha’s forearm was accepted as a standard of measure to determine the size of the ordination platform; second, the Buddha’s relic was enshrined within the ordination platform.<sup>34</sup> Thus the very bone of the Buddha ensures that the whole ordination platform becomes the *vajra*. The question arises, why did the Buddha’s bone matter? Daoxuan explains as follows:

The reason for setting the Buddha’s forearm as the unit of measurement is that all of the buddha’s forearm bones are precisely the *vajra*. Upon cremation, the Buddha’s forearm bone does not turn to ashes but remains firm. Wherever the relic is present, Buddhist conversion occurs. Therefore, the dimensions of the platform’s body are determined based on the Buddha’s forearm, with the intent that *bhikṣu* firmly observe the precepts so that they remain indestructible like the *vajra*. The ordination platform is also thus. Therefore, despite experiencing [many] *kalpas* of destruction, the ordination will always be preserved.

所以取佛肘量者。以諸佛肘骨並是金剛。闍維之時。肘骨不灰全堅。舍利所在流化。故壇身量取佛肘以定之。欲令比丘持戒堅固。如金剛而不壞也。戒壇亦爾。雖經劫壞。而常存故。<sup>35</sup>

The Buddha’s bone *is* the *vajra*, which is indestructible in any circumstance. Furthermore, wherever the Buddha’s bone is present, conversion occurs. Therefore, the “ordination platform” that bases its dimensions on the Buddha’s forearm and enshrines the Buddha’s relic becomes the

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<sup>33</sup> *Jietantujing*, T 1892-45. 809: b18-19.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 807: b14; 809: b7-8.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 810: b14-b18.



*vajra*. This manner of identification has a clear effect. Thanks to the power of the ordination platform as the *vajra*, those who receive the precepts there go through transformation so that they will be able to observe their precepts in any situation. Thus, the enshrinement of the Buddha's bone is not simply carried out to assure the presence of the Buddha or to ascertain that the lineage of ordination is rooted in the Buddha.<sup>36</sup> It is also a substantial medium that allows the ordination platform to become the *vajra*, thereby investing ordinands with the power to observe precepts as indestructibly as the *vajra*.

The power of the ordination platform is not only applied to observance of the precepts, however. The ordination platform extends to the place full of sacred power that governs good and evil. Clarifying the sequence in the *sīmā* demarcation 結界 (Ch. *jiejie*) of the large boundary 大界 (Sk. *mahāsīmā*; Ch. *dajie*) and the ordination field 戒場 (Ch. *jiechang*), Daoxuan explains as follows: regardless of whether the large boundary is demarcated or not, given that the ordination field is already demarcated, the existence of precepts within it is absolutely guaranteed.<sup>37</sup> Thus, the ordination ceremony within this field is always valid. In other words, at the moment that a place is demarcated as an "ordination field," it is transformed into a site where the precepts automatically arise and stay, or, to put it differently, the site of hierophany where the sacred manifests itself.<sup>38</sup> Just as the precepts are the basis of all good deeds, therefore, "the

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<sup>36</sup> John R. McRae, "Daoxuan's Vision of Jetavana: The Ordination Platform Movement in Medieval Chinese Buddhism," in *Going forth : Visions of Buddhist Vinaya : Essays Presented in Honor of Professor Stanley Weinstein*, ed. William M. Bodiford (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), 90.

<sup>37</sup> *Jietantujing*, T 1892-45. 814: c5. The demarcation of *sīmā*, or *monastic space*, refers to the demarcation of the boundaries for *samgha* assemblies, by which Buddhist monks distinguish themselves from other communities and establish a religious and residential community called "the large boundary" in which to conduct religious activities and to share responsibilities for the necessities of daily life such as clothing and food. On this matter, Hirakawa Akira, *Genshi Bukkyō no kenkyū*: 296-97; 381.

<sup>38</sup> Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane : The Nature of Religion* (San Diego; London: A Harvest book, 1987), 11.

ordination field becomes the basis of all boundaries” [戒場爲諸界之本也].<sup>39</sup> Here we arrive at an understanding that the ordination field becomes the source of all places filled with good will, that is, the most primary unit of all sanctuaries. In this respect, the ordination field can never be limited to the sole function as the site for ordination. Rather, it is the primordial place upon which any place is transformed into the sacred place.

For Daoxuan, however, the power of the ordination platform extends beyond its role as a generative apparatus of the sacred place. As the above quotation emphasizes, the ordination platform is something indestructible that is always preserved despite the unlimited creation and destruction of the cosmos, in which the extinction and generation of time and space is infinitely repeated. It “will never crumble” [終焉莫毀] even though it undergoes every destruction in the world, the destruction turning the earth into air and water by the three calamities, and the cosmic extinction that has occurred through multiple *kalpas*. This is because the ordination field established by the *sīmā demarcation* “reaches below the wheel of the *vajra*” [下至金剛之輪].<sup>40</sup>

Daoxuan wrote:

Suppose those two realms of form and desire were to all become the void. When the [two realms] come into existence later, [the ordination field] is established where it was placed before. [...] Therefore, the *sīmā demarcation* remains firm. There is absolutely no damage at all.

如彼色欲二界. 咸化爲空. 後成立時. 如前置立. [...] 故結界堅住. 必無所損.<sup>41</sup>

Thus the ordination field is presented as the “*vajra*,” which transcends all cosmic changes and is never destroyed. The ordination field has existed, exists, and will continue to exist.

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<sup>39</sup> Jietantujing, T 1892-45. 814: c15.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 817: a17-18.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 817: b1-4.

The sanctity and eternity that Daoxuan – somewhat obsessively – imparts to the ordination field, and by extension the ordination platform, can be understood more mundanely in conjunction with his critical sense of the Buddhist persecutions. While witnessing the oppression of Buddhism by powerful emperors, Daoxuan endeavored to find a fundamental measure that could defend Buddhism. In the *Jietantujing*, he mentions three Buddhist persecutions that had occurred in the past in China. Interestingly, he assumes that the extent of the suppression of Buddhism depends on the presence of ordination platforms in the regions affected. While Buddhism thrived in Southern China without any persecution, Northern China experienced three Buddhist persecutions. Daoxuan reasons that this difference between the two regions resulted from the existence of almost three hundred ordination platforms in Southern China at the time.<sup>42</sup>

Thus, the ordination platform not only exists in perpetuity in the face of cosmic extinction and creation, but it also serves as the foundation for protecting Buddhist law from any threats from the real world. This concept of the ordination platform played a very important role in Daoxuan's eschatological vision of the Buddha's robe and bowl.

### 2.2.2 Daoxuan's Eschatological Vision: the Robe and Bowl of the Buddha

Over the course of the 2<sup>nd</sup> to the 6<sup>th</sup> months of 667 before his death, Daoxuan reportedly received visits from three deities: two children of Virūḍhaka, the southern one of the Four Heavenly Kings, and his admiral. From these deities, Daoxuan learned of the time when Śākyamuni was alive, about which he had always wondered. This divine exchange was recounted under the title like the “Records of Spiritual Resonance” 感通錄 (Ch. *Gantonglu*), which has been attributed to Daoxuan, but many of its contents seem to have been lost. Fortunately, we find some parts of this

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 814: a8-21.

exchange in the *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 composed by Daoshi, a junior colleague who studied under the same master with Daoxuan. According to Daoshi's explanation, the majority of its contents were primarily concerned with relating various sermons and events prior to and following Śākyamuni's nirvāṇa. The main topics include how his teachings were preserved and to whom his relics, such as *śarīra*, robes, begging bowls, and other belongings, were handed down before his demise.<sup>43</sup>

For the most part, the basic format in Śākyamuni's sermons for relics follows the same narrative: (1) before he enters nirvāṇa, Śākyamuni summons an audience to the ordination platform at Jetavana monastery; (2) he begins his sermon with an anecdote concerning a deity he encountered when he first left his palace. Having recognized that the crown prince was to be the next Buddha, the deity entrusted the prince with a specific object that was handed down to him from past buddhas, such as Krakucchanda Buddha and Kāśyapa Buddha; (3) Śākyamuni preserved it with care after Awakening and, now facing his *nirvāṇa*, decides to hand it down to the chosen one; (4) Śākyamuni instructs the trustee that when the True Dharma gradually degenerates, he must protect the True Dharma and rescue the people of the age of the Final Dharma by peregrinating around the world with the object; (5) he concludes his sermon by

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<sup>43</sup> For Daoshi's explanation of Daoxuan's spiritual resonance with Buddhist deities, *Fayuan*, T 2122-53. 353c22-354b19. Koichi Shinohara translated this part in English. He also investigated and analyzed comprehensively the passages related to Daoxuan's spiritual resonance included in the *Fayuan zhulin*. For my discussion, I primarily refer to the seven passages he extracted from the *Fayuan zhulin*. To quote his analysis and the relevant pages in the Taishō canon, the seven passages are presented as follows: Passage A (353c-355b), Passage B (362b-363c), Passage C (367c-368b), Passage D (376a-378a), Passage E (560a-563b), Passage F (589b-591a), and Passage G (1008a-1009a). Here I focus on Passage E and Passage G. For this, see Koichi Shinohara, "The Kasaya Robe of the Past Buddha Kasyapa in the Miraculous Instruction Given to the Vinaya Master Daoxuan (596-667)," *Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal* 13 (2000): 301-2; Appendix 341-48.

affirming that, upon the arrival of the future Buddha, the object would be handed over to its new owner.<sup>44</sup>

This narrative has clearly brought to the fore the reference to the robe and begging bowl in the sermon. Koichi Shinohara has conducted very comprehensive studies on these two topics. On the one hand, he examined the eschatological aspect and a symbolism of “Transmission of the Flame” in Daoxuan’s visionary narrative of the robe. On the other hand, he concentrated on how the Buddha’s belongings such as the begging bowl, contributed to the formation of a sacred place.<sup>45</sup> In this discussion, however, I would like to focus on another perspective: the peculiarity of Daoxuan’s visionary narrative in relation to the traditional understanding of Śākyamuni’s robe and begging bowl as well as its practical application in the context of East Asian Buddhism. More specifically, I ask why and how this narrative inspired an enduring and complex architectural vision that later captured the imaginations of late-Goryeo Tongdosa monks.

As John S. Strong clearly points out, the begging bowl that appears in Daoxuan’s vision is a clay bowl 瓦鉢 (Ch. *wabo*) bestowed by a mountain deity. The bowl is also the one that Rāhula broke into five pieces while washing, after which Śākyamuni soldered the pieces together with molten lead. It is not the stone bowl made from four begging bowls pressed into one, which were imparted by the four heavenly kings. Likewise, the robes in Daoxuan’s visionary narrative are not the same as the ones that appeared in the traditional account of Śākyamuni’s robes.<sup>46</sup> The robes to which Daoxuan referred are the coarse robe and silk robe that Kāśyapa Buddha had

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<sup>44</sup> Shinohara also analyzed a “basic formula of the Buddha’s sermons” repeated from passage to passage. Ibid., 304-7.

<sup>45</sup> Shinohara, "The Kasaya Robe." And regarding the bowl, Shinohara, "The Story of the Buddha's Begging Bowl."

<sup>46</sup> Strong, *Relics of the Buddha*: 214-17. Strong translates the *wabo* as a “clay bowl.” Regarding the stone bowl made from four begging bowls, see Kuwayama, *Across the Hindukush of the First Millennium : A Collection of the Papers*: 27-30.

worn, and the hempen robe that the gods Brahmā and Indra presented to Śākyamuni after his Awakening.<sup>47</sup> They are all the great robes 大衣 (Ch. *dayi*) called *saṃghāṭī*, the largest of three types of *kaṣāya*. In Daoxuan's visionary narrative, two *saṃghāṭī* robes of Kāśyapa Buddha are transmitted to Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva in a cave on Mt. Qingliang in China. These details emphasize that Daoxuan's vision diverges from traditional narratives concerning the robe and begging bowl. The growing cult of Mt. Wutai and Daoxuan's understanding of Mañjuśrī on Mt. Wutai surely impacted his narrative. Also noteworthy is that his vision is presented in such a way as to foster architectural inspiration; for instance, the ordination platform takes a central position in the narrative; the robe and begging bowl occupy specific places through their enshrinement within stūpa. This feature demonstrates Daoxuan's typical way of thinking that usually binds his narratives to specific places.

The transmission of two *saṃghāṭī* robes of Kāśyapa Buddha was made during two separate sermons. The preacher was Śākyamuni Buddha who was on the verge of passing to *nirvāṇa*. The venue of the sermons was the ordination platform at Jetavana monastery and the trustee was the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī who came from a cave on Mt. Qingliang in China at Śākyamuni's summons. Giving the robes to Mañjuśrī, the Lord instructed him to keep them in the ordination platform and, upon the coming of the age of the Final Dharma, to peregrinate into the world with them, thereby protecting the True Dharma.<sup>48</sup> There are some differences in detail between the

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<sup>47</sup> The three kinds of robes given to Śākyamuni are described as follows: when Śākyamuni sat underneath the Bodhi-tree just following the Awakening, Indra put a silk robe of Kāśyapa Buddha on him and then added a coarse robe of Kāśyapa Buddha to that. Thereafter, the gods Brahmā and Indra presented a hempen robe to Śākyamuni. Thus, the just enlightened Buddha was dressed in the triple robes. However, as the earth could not endure [the weight of] the Buddha with these triple robes, the Lord only chose to wear the hempen robe. *Fayuan*, T 2122-53. 561: b13-21. Of these three robes, Shinohara discussed only the coarse robe that Kāśyapa Buddha had worn, but he mistakenly interpreted this robe as being "made of deer skin." With reference to the original phrase "麁布僧伽梨," translated as "the coarse *saṃghāṭī* robe, he must have confused the script "麁" meaning "coarse" with the script "鹿" meaning "deer." For the original text, *ibid.*, 560: b29. Shinohara, "The Kasaya Robe," 310.

<sup>48</sup> For this transfer of two *saṃghāṭī* robes, *Fayuan*, T 2122-53. 560a24-562a20.

transmission narratives concerning the coarse robe and the silk robe, but the overarching theme between them is basically identical. Here I concentrate on the transmission of the silk robe, as the related narrative is much more comprehensive than that of the coarse robe.

The sermon of the transmission of the silk robe begins with Śākyamuni's request for Mañjuśrī to bring with him a tiny jade box 0.33 feet in length, which contains the silk robe of Kāśyapa Buddha and the entire Buddhist canon (*tripiṭaka*), from the Western Jeweled Pavilion of the Middle Hall at Jetavana monastery. When Mañjuśrī questions how all of the items could fit into such a tiny box, Śākyamuni opens it and shows how vast and boundless its interior space is. Then the Lord instructs Mañjuśrī:

“You, return to Jetavana monastery with this stūpa [housing the jade box] and securely place it on the northern terrace of the ordination platform. Wait for my passing to nirvāṇa, then the transmission will spontaneously occur.” Thereupon, Mañjuśrī asked again, “After the Blessed One's nirvāṇa, to whom should this jade-box stūpa be given and where should it be placed?” The Blessed One addressed the audience, “Today, I entrust it to Mañjuśrī to place it on the ordination platform. After three years have passed, relocate it to the southeastern corner [of the ordination platform]. Let it stay there for thirty years. After this period is over, move it to the south of the Bright Light Pond on top of Mt. Viṃvaraḥ in West India. [...] By 1700 years [after the death of Buddha], towards the end of the age of the Semblance Dharma, there will be a lot of evil monks in our Jambudvīpa and the four continents of the world. They will build monasteries but not practice meditation and wisdom, nor read scriptures. They will not even know the script. Learned ones, if any, will be merely one or two out of a thousand. Upon reaching that evil age, [you], Mañjuśrī, take the jade-box stūpa housing the robe, peregrinate around many realms, and teach the common people. Build robe-stūpa and distribute them into the great *chiliocosms* by means of supernormal power. Cause those evil monks to rectify mistakes and cultivate goodness, and peruse the Buddhist canon, thereby causing the Dharma to stay for a long time. Once what is to be accomplished is done, bring the robe-stūpa and enshrine it at the place of origin. When Maitreya descends, [you], Mañjuśrī, take the stūpa and give it to Maitreya Buddha. This is the place to securely house it. Thereupon, the mutual transmission is complete.”

汝將此塔 還至祇桓戒壇 北臺內安置 待我涅槃時 自當有付囑 因此文殊重問 世尊涅槃後 此函塔等 當付何人何處 世尊對諸大眾 今付文殊 置戒壇上 經三年已 移置東南角 經三十年住 過是年已後 移西印度頻伽羅山頂光明池南住 [...] 至像法末

時一千七百年 我此閻浮提及諸四天下 多惡比丘 起造伽藍 不修禪慧 亦不讀經 不識文字 縱有識者千有一二 至彼惡世 令文殊師利 擎持衣函塔等 遍歷諸國 教化人民 令造衣塔 以神通力 普被大千 令彼惡比丘等 改惡修善 習讀三藏 令法久住 所作既已 還將衣塔置于本處 至彌勒下時 令文殊師利 將塔付彌勒佛 是為安置處 所以相付囑也。<sup>49</sup>

This narrative can be separated into the four phases: (1) Kāśyapa Buddha's silk *samghāṭī* robe is initially housed at the northern terrace and southeast of the Jetavana ordination platform for a certain period of time, and is then moved to West India, possibly to the Gandhara region where Buddhism flourishes; (2) Upon entering into the age of the Final Dharma, Mañjuśrī travels around many worlds carrying this robe, which is securely enshrined in the jade-box stūpa and thereby rescues many people from the evil world; (3) Once his task is complete, or once the Dharma completely disappears, Mañjuśrī returns and enshrines the robe in its place of origin; (4) As the age of the True Dharma resumes with the advent of Maitreya Buddha, Mañjuśrī eventually transmits the robe to the future Buddha.

Given that Daoxuan's vision is understood in this way, it would definitely be a Chinese variation on the traditional narrative of the robe, in which Mahākāśyapa, in possession of Śākyamuni's robe, waits in a meditative trance for the advent of Maitreya Buddha at Mt. Kukkuṭapāda to transmit it to the future Buddha.<sup>50</sup> As the place of enshrinement of the robe, Mt. Kukkuṭapāda is comparable to the Jetavana ordination platform. Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva, who resided on Mt. Qingliang in China, replaces Mahākāśyapa as the trustee. Also, a significant theme is added: Mañjuśrī from Mt. Qingliang in China rescues a lot of people in the age of the

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<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 561c24- 562a20.

<sup>50</sup> For a traditional narrative of Mahākāśyapa and the Buddha's robe, see Nyanaponika Thera and Hellmuth Hecker, *Great Disciples of the Buddha : Their Lives, Their Works, Their Legacy* (Boston: Wisdom Publications in collaboration with the Buddhist Publication Society of Kandy, Sri Lanka, 2003), 132-33; Strong, *Relics of the Buddha*: 219. For a comprehensive account of the narrative of Mahākāśyapa and the Buddha's robe and the Seon (Chan) monks' acceptance of it in the Sill-Goryeo Transition, Kim, "Namal yeocho seonsabimun e natanan Gaseop biyu," 143-45; 157-68.



Final Dharma by peregrinating all over the world with the robe-stūpa as well as building robe-stūpa. In short, we find in this vision that the Chinese cult of Mañjuśrī on Mt. Wutai and Daoxuan's interest in the ordination platform were integrated under a strong awareness of the Final Dharma.

The transmission of Śākyamuni's begging bowl is not much different from the case of his robe save a few details. The ordination platform at Jetavana monastery is still the central stage on which the bowl is initially enshrined. However, the trustee is not Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva. There are, instead, multiple trustees such as the god Indra, the Four Heavenly Kings, Māra King, and Nāga King. Śākyamuni gave his bowl to them and they initially erect a bowl-stūpa in the "south side of the ordination platform," and preserve it for twelve years. Afterwards, the begging bowl is transported many places but is finally placed at the south of the Golden Sand Pond in the Nandana garden of Indra, which is at the summit of Mt. Sumeru. Then, Indra and the Four Heavenly Kings are instructed to build a five-pieced, bowl made of yellow sandstone from the Diamond Cave on Mt. Sumeru and, upon the completion of the stūpa construction of King Aśoka, to build the bowl-stūpa, two for each area ten thousand *li* long and wide throughout the world.<sup>51</sup>

This circulation and distribution of the bowl-stūpa is basically identical to the soteriological theme of Mañjuśrī's peregrination across the world with the robe-stūpa and the erection of robe-stūpa to protect the True Dharma. However, the process of specifying the material and shape of the bowl-stūpa and its distribution method is more concrete than is the case of the robe-stūpa. Moreover, it is suggested that the building and distribution of bowl-stūpa parallels Aśoka's erection of 84,000 stūpa across the world to disseminate the Buddha's *śarīra*.

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<sup>51</sup> For the transmission of Śākyamuni's begging bowl, *Fayuan*, T 2122-53. 1008a16-1009a09. Regarding the related passages translated in English, see Shinohara, "The Story of the Buddha's Begging Bowl," 74-75.

Given that some of the stūpa built by Aśoka remain here and there on “this land” to this day, it also implies that a belief that the stone bowl-stūpa erected by Indra and the Four Heavenly Kings might remain here and there is not impossible.

There is no clear indication of whether the begging bowl is transmitted to the future Buddha, as is the robe. However, it is significant that the *Lianhua mianjing* is quoted right before Daoxuan’s vision of the bowl is presented in the *Fayuan zhulin*. According to the passages from the *Lianhua mianjing*, the bowl, after various stops, is preserved together with the Buddha’s *śarīra* at the “Diamond Limit” 金剛際 (Sk. *vajrakoṭi*) eighty thousand *yojahas* away from the earth and when Maitreya Buddha appears, they emerge above the ground and pass on to the future Buddha.<sup>52</sup> Hence, given that the begging bowl and Buddha’s *śarīra* reside at the Diamond Limit until the advent of the future Buddha, it is likely that the “place of origin” to which the robe finally returns after its travels is also connected to the Diamond Limit. This view has significant implications because Daoxuan understands the ordination platform, accomplished by the *sīmā demarcation*, to be connected to the “Wheel of the Diamond” [金剛之輪], in other words, the Diamond Limit. In this sense, we can see that, despite their various stops, the begging bowl and the robe together with the Buddha’s *śarīra* are finally enshrined in the ordination platform until the future Buddha arrives.

Based on the observations so far, therefore, we find that Daoxuan’s vision of the transmission of the robe and begging bowl revolves around at least two fundamental axes: the first is the ordination platform; centering on the ordination platform, the initial enshrinement of

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<sup>52</sup> *Fayuan*, T 2122-53. 1007b05-1008a15. Regarding the English translation of 金剛際, Shinohara renders it as the “diamond limit,” while the term is translated as “diamond state” in the Digital Dictionary of Buddhism. Given that 風輪際 is abbreviated as 風際, the term 金剛際 seems to be shortened from 金剛輪際. Thus, 金剛際 can be understood as the bottom part of the diamond wheel 金剛輪, which is considered to be “the bottommost of the circles beneath the earth.” *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, “金剛際; 風輪際; 風際; 金剛輪” (articles by Charles Muller). With this meaning in mind, I follow Shinohara’s rendition. Shinohara, “The Story of the Buddha’s Begging Bowl,” 85.

the robe and begging bowl transpires. However, the ordination platform is not simply selected as the place of enshrinement of the Buddha's robe and bowl "to emphasize the importance of the precepts and the location where they are received by the followers of the Buddha's teaching," as Shinohara claims.<sup>53</sup> It should be considered that the Buddha's *śarīra* were enshrined at the ordination platform of the Jetavana monastery Daoxuan envisioned. As observed above, due to the Buddha's *śarīra* being enshrined within it, the ordination platform becomes the eternally indestructible space like the diamond and, in that sense, the base on which all sanctuaries could be built. In Daoxuan's vision, therefore, the robe and begging bowl are enshrined with the Buddha's *śarīra*, in the eternally indestructible space and, at the same time, at the point of origin from which all Buddha Dharma begins.

This feature of the ordination platform as the diamond leads to the second axis of Daoxuan's vision, the awareness of the Final Dharma. The notion of the eternally indestructible space and the vision of the circulation of the relics in the evil world to protect the Buddha Dharma must be explained by the anxiety and fear of the True Dharma disappearing. In other words, at the basis of this vision lies the faith that relics like the robe, the begging bowl, and *śarīra* of Śākyamuni Buddha, can protect people in the age of the Final Dharma from degeneration of the True Dharma. As long as the robe and bowl remain there, the ordination platform becomes the space of salvation in Jambudvīpa where no evil or calamities of the degenerating Dharma can reach; it is also the space of hope, where people can expect and pray for the advent of the future Buddha. In short, it is defined as the protected place from the Final Dharma and the starting point of the new True Dharma.

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<sup>53</sup> Shinohara, "The Kasaya Robe," 350.

Jigong's declaration that Tongdosa is the "only place" where the Buddha's *śarīra* and robe are enshrined at the ordination platform is not completely unrelated to Daoxuan's vision. The scene in which Jigong carries the *śarīra* and robe on top of his head, ascends to the ordination platform of Tongdosa, and bows three times before audience is very reminiscent of the ones presented in Daoxuan's vision that Śākyamuni carries the robe or begging bowl, ascends to the ordination platform of Jetavana monastery and performs Buddhist miracles. In light of this, I ask if there is any evidence, direct or circumstantial, that Tongdosa monks brought Daoxuan's vision into the real practice.

## 2.3 The Birth of the Diamond Ordination Platform at Tongdosa

### 2.3.1 The Tongdosa monk's Acceptance of Daoxuan's Eschatological Theme

It is uncertain how Daoxuan's vision, as revealed in the *Fayuan zhulin*, was interpreted and accepted in the Tang and Northern Song dynasties. *Fayuan zhulin* is not listed in such bibliographies of the Buddhist canon as the *Kaiyuan shijiaolu* 開元釋教錄 and the *Zhenyuan xukaiyuan shijiaolu* 貞元續開元釋教錄. Furthermore, judging from Uicheon's inclusion of the *Fayuan zhulin* in the *Sinpyeon jejong gyojang chongrok* (hereafter, *Gyojang*) 新編諸宗教藏總錄 (*Comprehensive Catalogue of the Doctrinal Repository of All the Schools*), it is highly probable that the *tripiṭakas* brought to Goryeo from the Northern Song and Liao did not contain the *Fayuan zhulin*.<sup>54</sup> In Goryeo, on the other hand, based on Uicheon's *Gyojang*, the *Fayuan zhulin* was likely to have been published around 1096. In the reprinted edition executed in the mid-thirteenth century after the first edition of *Tripitaka Koreana* was lost, the *Fayuan zhulin* was included as well. In other words, at least from the last decade of the eleventh century

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<sup>54</sup> For a brief introduction and translation of the *Gyojang*, *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, s.v. "Uich'on."

when the commentaries listed in the *Gyojang* were published, the *Fayuan zhulin* was available for circulation in Goryeo.<sup>55</sup>

There was every reason for Tongdosa monks to be attracted by Daoxuan's vision as recounted in the *Fayuan zhulin* since the late twelfth century that Goryeo society was suffering from overwhelming tragedies. First, as documented in the *Jigonggi*, the late-Goryeo Tongdosa monks claimed to represent the Namsan School 南山宗 (Ch. *Nanshanzong*; Kr. *Namsanjong*) named after the mountain Zhongnan 終南山 where the founding patriarch Daoxuan resided. Second, as is documented in the *Yusa*, Tongdosa had a stone ordination platform with an inverted, cauldron-shaped reliquary, which was in all likelihood built on the basis of the *Jietantujing*.<sup>56</sup> Third, not only were Śākyamuni's true-body *śarīra* enshrined in Tongdosa but also a robe that had allegedly belonged to him was placed there. Fourth, from the mid-thirteenth century onward, the Tongdosa ordination platform became an important cultic center of the true-body *śarīra*. These elements combined to create a favorable climate for the Tongdosa monks' promotion of the monastery. They likely perceived Daoxuan's vision as a practicable one that could be applied to their ordination platform.

The *Jigonggi* of 1328 and the *Yakrok* compiled in the early fifteenth century demonstrate how the monks of Tongdosa substantially adapted Daoxuan's vision into their realities. First, the one who received the *śarīra*, robe, and begging bowl from Śākyamuni was "the Great Sage Mañjuśrī" who resided at the "Clear-and-Cool Jeweled Realm of Mt. Wutai." The bodhisattva subsequently transmitted the relics to Jajang, who then enshrined them at Tongdosa. Second, following Mañjuśrī's directions, Jajang chose "a place where the three calamities could not reach

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<sup>55</sup> In fact, the *Fayuan zhulin* is only found in the *Tripitaka Koreana* and the *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* is also based on this Korean version.

<sup>56</sup> "Jeonhu sojang sari," *Yusa* (2003), 408.

and ten thousand generations would endure” and erected the “Diamond Ordination Platform.”<sup>57</sup> Further, this place was originally the “Diamond Platform” “on which the Buddha sat and preached.” “As it reaches the Diamond Limit below and the Akaniṣṭha Heaven above, it would not be destroyed even if the three times [of the past, present and future] were exhausted.” Third, Śākyamuni’s robe and *śarīra* were enshrined there. Therefore, Tongdosa is proclaimed to be the place in which “the Buddha-Dharma will long abide, and that is protected by celestials and dragons who never depart.”<sup>58</sup>

According to Daoxuan’s *Jietantujing*, the ordination platform is established within the boundary where the *sīmā demarcation* is accomplished. The demarcated boundary “reaches below the wheel of the diamond” and “despite experiencing [many] *kalpas* of destruction,” it “will never crumble.” Therefore, “if the boundary is demarcated, it cannot perish,” and “remains firm.” For instance, “when subjected to the three calamities,” the demarcated place may be extinct or turn into a void or water, but “when a cosmos is created [again] afterwards, it is re-established at the original location.”<sup>59</sup> No doubt that the Tongdosa monks’ understanding of the Diamond Ordination Platform described in the *Jigongi* and *Yakrok*, which are quoted above, relied on Daoxuan’s conception of the ordination platform. However, we cannot simply assume that the terms they use such as the “Diamond Ordination Platform” or “Diamond Platform” are directly quoted from the *Jietantujing* even though the terms are a logical consequence from Daoxuan’s definition of the ordination platform.

Based on a search of the SAT Daizōkyō Text Database, the term “Diamond Platform” is only found in the *Daoxuan lüshi ganying ji* 道宣律師感應記 (*Record of Vinaya Master*

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<sup>57</sup> "Jigonggi," Tongdosa sajeok yakrok (1642) TJ: 39-40.

<sup>58</sup> "Yakrok," Tongdosa sajeok yakrok (1642) TJ: 8-9.

<sup>59</sup> *Jietantujing*, T 1892-45. 817: a17-18; 817: a23; 817: a27-29.

*Daoxuan's Sympathetic Resonance*) quoted in the *Fayuan zhulin*, with the exception being the cases found in the scriptures of Esoteric Buddhism. The term appears in the scene where Mahābrahma and the earth deity Jianlao 堅牢 build a large “Diamond Platform” to the south of the Bodhi Tree at the moment Śākyamuni achieves enlightenment and they let Śākyamuni ascend the platform to receive the status of Dharma King.<sup>60</sup> The Diamond Platform functions as the ordination platform. According to another scene from the *Daoxuan lüshi ganying ji* quoted in the *Fayuan zhulin*, when Buddha attained enlightenment, he “ordered the earth deity Jianlao to build the Diamond Terrace 金剛臺 from the Diamond Limit. It was seven thousand *yojanas* in height. Have Tathāgata seated above.”<sup>61</sup> These phrases reveal that the term “Diamond Platform” is also interchangeable with the term “Diamond Terrace” and it is connected to the Diamond Limit. Thus, as the “Diamond Platform” in the *Fayuan zhulin* is related to the Diamond Limit and appears only in the *Daoxuan lüshi ganying ji*, we can see that the term is very closely involved in Daoxuan’s understanding of the ordination platform. However, Daoxuan does not specify the ordination platform as the “Diamond Platform” or “Diamond Ordination Platform,” even though he recognizes it to reach the wheel of the diamond. In other words, the usage of the term “Diamond Platform,” which is connected to a concept of the Diamond Limit and the ordination platform, is only found in the *Fayuan zhulin*.

From this observation we can see that Daoxuan’s vision transmitted in the *Fayuan zhulin* was the foundation of the fourteenth-century Tongdosa monks’ claim that the Diamond Ordination Platform could be called “the Diamond Platform that reaches the Diamond Limit and atop which Śākyamuni preached.” That is, Daoxuan’s vision in the *Fayuan zhulin* undoubtedly

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<sup>60</sup> *Fayuan*, T 2122-53. 354: c06-15; 368: b02-03.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 362: c18-19.

served as a source of compelling inspiration for the Tongdosa monks who would venture to doctrinally accommodate the changed status of Tongdosa since the late thirteenth century. The monks of Tongdosa did not stop with doctrinal justification, however. I argue that this ideological venture further developed into an attempt to implement Daoxuan's vision within the space of Tongdosa. In this sense, Tongdosa can be understood to have been redefined in a manner that would visually and spatially highlight an eschatological theme centered on the ordination platform as the indestructible diamond, namely that Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva and such guardian deities as the Four Heavenly Kings, Celestials and Nāga are protecting the true-body *śarīra* and robe while awaiting the advent of the future Buddha. Even within the spatial configuration of Tongdosa today, despite several layers of change added by subsequent generations, traces of the ways in which the fourteenth-century Tongdosa monks tried to implement Daoxuan's vision can be still found.

### 2.3.2 Architectural Realization of Daoxuan's Vision in Tongdosa

First, at the front of the Yonghwa-jeon (Maitreya Hall) stands a stone structure called either the Stone Begging Bowl 石造鉢盂 or the Honored Begging Bowl Stūpa 奉鉢塔, which is designated as a National Treasure (no.471).<sup>62</sup> (fig.2-2). A stone pillar rises from an inverted lotus pedestal on a square base. Upon the pillar is another lotus pedestal that bears in turn the stone begging bowl. The begging bowl has a high foot with concave molding and its body has a smoothly rendered full-moon-type shape. The bowl cover has a rabbeted rim to tightly interlock with the

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<sup>62</sup> There is a claim that, because this stone structure cannot be viewed as a stūpa, the appellation of the “Honored Begging Bowl Stūpa” cannot be used. Hanguk Bulgyo Yeonguwon, *Tongdosa*: 65-66. Of late, it is just referred the Stone Begging Bowl. However, the begging bowl is one of the Buddha's relics categorized as “contact relics.” Daoxuan also uses the expression, “bowl-stūpa.” In this sense, the appellation of the “Honored Begging Bowl Stūpa” is not problematic at all but, rather, is indicative of its role as a repository of the Buddha's relics.



mouth of the bowl and its surface has several circular moldings carved in relief on the top and middle. The overall height is approximately 2.5m. The stone pillar is beveled on its four corners, thus forming an octagonal plan. At the middle of the stone pillar is a set of bamboo joint-shaped moldings, which is considered a unique feature of the early Tongdosa stonework; the same pattern of moldings is also found on a stone lantern to the south of the Avalokiteśvara Hall, which dates from the late eleventh century to the twelfth century.<sup>63</sup> (fig.2-3). Judging from the stonework style, therefore, the Honored Begging Bowl Stūpa was presumably executed around the late Goryeo period.

The Honored Begging Bowl Stūpa was allegedly constructed based on a famous Buddhist legend that Mahākāśyapa waits in cessation *samādhi* at Mt. Kukkuṭapāda to transmit Śākyamuni's robe and begging bowl to Maitreya Buddha.<sup>64</sup> In 1933, Amanuma asked the Tongdosa monks about this stūpa. He was unable to determine the name for the stonework but heard of a local story that Śākyamuni's robe and begging bowl were placed within the structure for "perfect protection" until the advent of Maitreya Buddha.<sup>65</sup> This suggests that the term "Honored Begging Bowl Stūpa" was not in circulation at least around 1933. However, it does reveal that the monks of Tongdosa in the early twentieth century also addressed the stone structure in the context of an eschatological theme of the transmission of the relics between Śākyamuni and Maitreya Buddha.

What is interesting in this regard is the orientation of the Honored Begging Bowl Stūpa's base. Unlike the general practices established in architectural tradition, the square base is not parallel with the façade of the Yonghwa-jeon, which stands behind the Honored Begging Bowl

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<sup>63</sup> Hongseon, *Seokdeung*: 324.

<sup>64</sup> Hanguk Bulgyo Yeonguwon, *Tongdosa*: 65-66.

<sup>65</sup> Amanuma, "Zokuzoku Chōsen kikō (ge)," 101.

Stūpa. Instead, it is rotated slightly clockwise. Therefore, by extending the axis of the lengthwise direction of the base to the west, we find that it reaches the northern side of the Diamond Ordination Platform (fig.2-4). The orientation of the base is determined at the time of its construction, and hence, very difficult to change unless the structure above is completely dismantled or moved. Regardless of when the Yonghwa-jeon was constructed, this factor suggests that the Honored Begging Bowl Stūpa was built not so much in one-to-one relation to the Yonghwa-jeon but, rather, in a complex relationship to the Diamond Ordination Platform or its surrounding buildings. In this respect, we need to consider how the surroundings of the Honored Begging Bowl Stūpa were spatially organized in late-Goryeo Tongdosa. The following passage from the *Jigonggi* provides us with a clue:

At the center, a Jeweled Hall was erected to enshrine Śākyamuni's robe, and to the west, a divine pond was filled in and the Diamond Ordination Platform was built above to enshrine Śākyamuni's *śarīra*. All was in strict accordance with the plan laid out by Mañjuśrī.

中立寶殿 安本師袈裟 西填神池 築金剛戒壇 安本師舍利 一依文殊指畫.<sup>66</sup>

While this passage is a fabricated depiction of the first construction by Jajang, I would like to consider the possibility that it reflects the situation in the early fourteenth century, the time the *Jigonggi* was composed, when Śākyamuni's robe was enshrined in the Jeweled Hall, located at the "center" of the Tongdosa precinct. If this was indeed the case, the mention of "west" and "center" is understood to indicate a spatial configuration of three cloisters composed of the eastern, central and western precincts. Potentially, at the "east," which was not mentioned in the *Jigonggi*, was the precinct of the main Buddha hall, as mentioned earlier, which was located at the present-day Yeongsan-jeon area. At the west was the Diamond Ordination Platform.

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<sup>66</sup> "Jigonggi," Tongdosa sajeok yakrok (1642) TJ: 39-40.

Therefore, “center” most likely indicated what is now the precinct of the Daegwangmyeong-jeon. Although it is not easy to precisely point out its location, the “Jeweled Hall” may have been a building constructed around where the Daegwangmyeong-jeon or the Yonghwa-jeon stands today.

The current Gaesanjo-dang was reconstructed from the Jungji-jeon 中持殿 [Middle Incense Burner Hall], which was responsible for maintaining the incense for offerings within the precinct of the Daegwangmyeong-jeon. According to the *Buljongchalyaksa*, the first compendium of pre-modern literary sources compiled in the early twentieth century, the Jungji-jeon was also converted from the Munsu-jeon [Mañjuśrī Hall] in the Gwangmu 光武 era (1897-1906).<sup>67</sup> A record of the reconstruction of the Munsu-jeon in 1757 provides the location of the Munsu-jeon as follows:

To the right of this hall, the stone-bell ordination platform rises up beyond the clouds. To the left, the Vairocana Jeweled Hall soars up as though it is spreading its wings. The hall is located in between.

此堂之右 則石鍾戒壇 聳出雲外 左則毘盧寶殿 翼然凌虛 堂在其間。<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Today Jajang’s portrait is housed in the Gaesanjo-dang 開山祖堂 (Founder’s Hall), and the hall is known to be first built in 1727. But what this information is based on is uncertain. According to the reconstruction record of the Jeonhyang-gak 篆香閣 (Incense Hall) composed in 1939, the Gaesanjo-dang has a different history. The building was previously the Jungji-jeon, which was renovated to enshrine the royal calligraphy in 1894 and its plaque title was changed to the Chukseong-gak 祝聖閣 (Votive Pavilion). Possibly, the Three-gate building 三門 was first added in front of the building at this reconstruction. Upon shelving a part of Tripitaka in 1899, the plaque title was changed again to the Janggyeong-gak 藏經閣 (Tripitaka Pavilion). Afterward, upon the enshrinement of Jajang’s portrait, the title was once more changed to the Gaesanjo-dang. Namely, the building started to be called such name from sometime between 1899 and 1939. What is interesting is a previous identity of the Jungji-jeon. According to the *Buljongchalyaksa*, the Munsu-jeon [Mañjuśrī Hall] was converted to the Jungji-jeon between 1897 and 1906. (Munsu-jeon was still extant in 1881; *Ilsejip-ryak*). Despite that some confusion in chronology between a record of the Jeonhyang-gak and the *Buljongchalyaksa*, it is at least certain that the Jungji-jeon was originally the Munsu-jeon. To sum up, the Munsu-jeon was changed to the Jungji-jeon, then to the Chukseong-gak, to the Janggyeong-gak, and finally to the Gaesanjo-dang. Thus, the Gaesanjo-dang was far from a building first built in 1727. In addition, the Jeonhyang-gak is thought to have first been constructed in 1757. But the currently cited record of the Jeonhyang-gak shows that the building was first built in 1939. See *Jeonhyang-gak junggeongi* 篆香閣重建記 (1939), Guha Cheonbo 九河天輔, P-59, HSM 3-S: 90-91; *Buljongchalyaksa*, TJ: 187. As for the existing understanding of these buildings, Hanguk Bulgyo Yeonguwon, *Tongdosa*: 58; 70.

<sup>68</sup> *Yangsan Tongdosa Munsu-jeon jungchanggi* 梁山通度寺文殊殿重創記 (1757), Unpa Yukhwan 雲坡六幻, P-53, HSM 3-S: 89. For another source of the same text, TJ: 353.

Here, “the hall” refers to the Munsu-jeon. The description of the hall matches the location of the current Gaesanjo-dang. Although it is known that a Buddhist chanting monk named Sunho 順胡 was responsible for the first construction of the hall, his period of activity is unknown. In the late Joseon period, it seems that the monk-liturgists specializing in Buddhist chants 梵音 (Kr. beom-eum) took residence in this hall and formed a separate organization so-called *Gakbang*. The reason why the Munsu-jeon became the residence for the monk-liturgists dedicated to Buddhist chants is not clear. However, there is a historical clue that may shed light on this matter: from 1365 to 1371, King Gongmin is said to have held the extravagant ceremony called the Munsuhoe 文殊會 [Mañjuśrī Assembly] at the palace and monasteries in Gaegyeong at the recommendation of an obscure monk and Prime Minister Plenipotentiary Sin Don 辛屯 (1322-1371). In this ritual of the Mañjuśrī Assembly, the monks specializing in Buddhist chants played a crucial role. According to the *Goryeosa*, a model of Mt. Sumeru was erected at the center of the courtyard and then three hundred Buddhist chanting monks circumambulated around the simulated mountain to perform the ceremony. During this ritual procedure, it is said that the sound of the Buddhist musical instruments shook the earth and the sky. These Mañjuśrī Assemblies were held in the hopes of bringing a son to the sovereign and were popular among Buddhist devotees in Gaegyeong to the extent that the number of participants reached eight thousand.<sup>69</sup> This demonstrates that, at the time, Mañjuśrī, the protagonist of the assembly, was worshipped more as a deity that could resolve worldly concerns than as a symbol of lofty wisdom.<sup>70</sup> Considering the popularity of the Mañjuśrī Assembly since the late fourteenth century, it seems likely that the

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<sup>69</sup> “Sin Don,” Banyeok, Yeoljeon 45, *GRS* 132.

<sup>70</sup> Apart from those held several times by Gongmin, the *Munsuhoe* was held twice (in 1377, 1388) with the aim to dispel enemy forces against Goryeo in the reign of Wu. See, Kim, “Goryeomal bulgyo ui gyeonghyang gwa munsusinang,” 311-16. The *Munsuhoe* continued to flourish after Joseon was founded. For instance, Taejo 2 (1393).3.28.[1], *JWSR*.

Buddhist chant-monks of Tongdosa, who served as the liturgists of the Mañjuśrī Assembly, appropriated the Munsu-jeon and gradually took up residence there. In light of this, it seems plausible that at least around the 1360s to the 1370s the Munsu-jeon may have already existed or was newly built to the east of the ordination platform in Tongdosa.

In addition to the Jeweled Hall and the Mañjuśrī Hall, there are several buildings in the current precinct of the Daegwangmyeong-jeon; the pavilions built in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries such as the Sejonbi-gak and the Janggyeong-gak; the Gwaneum-jeon known to be first built in the early eighteenth century; the Hwanghwa-gak known to be first constructed in 1317, and the Yonghwa-jeon known to be first erected in 1369. Apart from the buildings founded in the late Joseon period, the Hwanghwa-gak and the Yonghwa-jeon were all first constructed in the fourteenth-century Goryeo period. The reliability of the monastery lore dating these two buildings is, however, doubtful. At the least, the dates do not appear in any pre-modern literary sources or in the *Buljongchalyaksa*. Instead, the dates of the two buildings come from a modern and somewhat dubious compilation, the *Tongdosayakji* 通度寺略誌 printed in 1958.<sup>71</sup> Further corroborating evidence for the dates of two building is wanting. In this section, I focus only on the ordination platform, the Honored Begging Bowl Stūpa, the Jeweled Hall and the

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<sup>71</sup> Around the late 1950s just after the Korean War (1950-1953) ended, the Tongdosa monks seemed to launch a recovery project of Tongdosa. What first attracts attention is that the scattered portraits of the Tongdosa monks were collected and enshrined in a newly reconstructed Portrait Hall in 1954, which was once the hall titled “Gwanhyeon-dang.” For this, *Geun chapansang-un* 謹次板上韻 (1719), Hwanseong Jian, P-191, HSM 3-S: 113. This gathering of monks’ portraits of various lineages suggests that the Tongdosa monks were necessary to band together to overcome the ordeal after the war. Possibly, a monograph of the monastery—the *Tongdosayakji*, printed in 1958, was composed in a continuation of this recovery project. Thus, the fact that the representative *Gakbang* of the Tongdosa monks like the Myeolwol-ryo (1316), the Hwanghwa-gak(1317), the Gamro-bang(1340), the Wontong-bang(1341) and the Hwaeom-jeon(1368) are listed as the earliest buildings of Tongdosa cannot be a coincidence. By claiming the long history of their *gakbang* architecture, the monks of various lineages, which came to gather at Tongdosa, had a necessity to emphasize the high prestige of their own lineage. In this regard, the dates of buildings listed in the *Tongdosayakji* should be critically reviewed in this context.

Mañjuśrī Hall in order to reconstruct the way in which Daoxuan's vision was implemented in the space of Tongdosa in the fourteenth century.

Upon the elevated ground stood the stone ordination platform, which was modeled after the *Jietantujing*. An inverted, cauldron-shaped reliquary housing the true-body *śarīra* was placed at the center. The Four Heavenly Kings guarded the ordination platform. To the northeast of the ordination platform, the Jeweled Hall housing the robe was located facing south. Between the ordination platform and the Jeweled Hall, the Mañjuśrī Hall rose up facing south. Within this spatial configuration stood the Honored Begging Bowl Stūpa. It was oriented toward the northern side of the ordination platform. (fig.2-5).

Seen in relation to Daoxuan's vision, the Honored Begging Bowl Stūpa, located to the southeast of the ordination platform, corresponds to the "bowl-stūpa." The bowl-stūpa enshrines the clay bowl that was broken into five pieces. It is located to the south of the ordination platform and guarded by the Four Heavenly Kings at the time of initial transmission. What is interesting is that the clay bowl housed in the bowl-stūpa was no longer the broken one. Before Śākyamuni bequeathed the clay bowl of five pieces, he magically transformed the fragmented bowl into a shape like the "*Zhutian jinchiang*" 諸天金幢 (Golden Pillar in Heaven) at the ordination platform.<sup>72</sup> Although the "*zhutian jinchiang*" is not clearly defined, the Sinitic logograph "chiang" provides us with a hint of what it looks like. The character "*chiang*" usually means a banner but sometimes indicates a free-standing pillar as in the usage of the *shichuang* 石幢 (stone pillar) or the *jingchiang* 經幢 (dhāraṇī pillar) (fig.2-6). Thus, the "*zhutian jinchiang*" can be understood to be a "golden pillar in heaven." It basically takes on

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<sup>72</sup> *Fayuan*, T 2122-53. 1008: c04.

the form of a freestanding pillar.<sup>73</sup> In this sense, as the Tongdosa Honored Begging Bowl Stūpa is also characterized as a freestanding pillar, it is not far-fetched to imagine that the Tongdosa version was a result of the architectural imagination of the *zhutian jinchuang*. Quite possibly, the absence of the five-piece marks on the stone bowl might also be symbolic of the monks of Tongdosa envisioning it as the magically transformed/repaid bowl.

The Jeweled Hall enshrining the robe was located on the northeast side of the ordination platform. The robe supposedly brought by Jajang was a “gold-embroidered robe with red stripes,” that is, a lavish *saṃghāṭī* robe made of silk. (fig.2-7). According to the *Gasa-huigi*, the robe was made by a celestial artisan upon Indra’s request.<sup>74</sup> In Daoxuan’s vision, there are three kinds of robes of Kāśyapa Buddha; the robe made of silk is the very one that Brahmā and the earth deity presented to Kāśyapa Buddha. This silk robe is enshrined in the jade-box stūpa, which is sometimes alternatively referred to as the “robe-stūpa.” The stūpa is initially erected on the northern platform of the ordination platform, moved to southeast side, and then, after various stops around the world, returns to the place of origin – the Diamond Limit, in principal, and by extension, the ordination platform. In the jade-box stūpa are housed not only Kāśyapa Buddha’s silk robe but also the *tripiṭaka*. Jajang is thought to have obtained the *tripiṭaka* as well as patra-leaf sūtra from Tang Taizong. As a symbol of the *tripiṭka*, the vermilion patra-leaf sūtra was also likely to be enshrined in the Jeweled Hall where the robe was housed. In this respect, the Jeweled Hall was perhaps an attempt to simulate after the jade-box stūpa from Daoxuan’s vision. The spatial symbolism of a box holding garments and books was also something that could be easily translated into a building like the Jeweled Hall.

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<sup>73</sup> Shinohara translates the *zhutian jinchuang* as the “golden umbrella in heaven.” Shinohara, "The Story of the Buddha's Begging Bowl," 73.

<sup>74</sup> "Gasa-huigi," Tongdosa sajeok yakrok (1642) TJ: 18.

Daoxuan's vision was spatially implemented in the following manner in Tongdosa: centering on the ordination platform, a free standing pillar-shaped Honored Begging Bowl Stūpa representing the bowl-stūpa was built to the south and a Jeweled Hall perhaps representative of the jade-box stūpa was built to the northeast. The presence of the Four Heavenly Kings, who would protect and attend the bowl-stūpa, was embodied in the statues of the Four Heavenly Kings of the ordination platform placed on the elevated ground to be exposed to view from below. The presence of Mañjuśrī, who would protect the jade-box stūpa, was realized through the Mañjuśrī hall laid out to the east of the ordination platform thereby forming a spatial bridge between the Jeweled Hall, the Honored-bowl Stūpa, and the ordination platform. This form of layout can be interpreted as an architectural expression that reflects the complex role of Mañjuśrī, who protects the robe at the northern platform of the ordination platform and transmits it to the future Buddha.

To sum up, Daoxuan's vision was architecturally and visually implemented within the space of Tongdosa centering on the ordination platform. The monks of Tongdosa were now able to declare that the ordination platform was the sanctuary that the three calamities never reached and was eternally indestructible until the past, present, and future came to an end. They were also able to assert that it was where Śākyamuni's true-body *śarīra* and silk robe were enshrined and the bowl-stūpa for his clay bowl was erected. Thus, Tongdosa became the place of origin, where the Buddha Dharma was protected and renewed in the age of the Final Dharma and a site of salvation in which the advent of the future Buddha was prayed and hoped for, and the ordination platform of Tongdosa became the "Diamond" Ordination Platform.

#### **2.4 Cultic Dimension and Spatial Impact of the Diamond Ordination Platform**



From the late thirteenth century, as the Buddha's *śarīra* enshrined at the ordination platform rose in fame, Tongdosa was promoted nationwide as a cultic center of the Buddha's *śarīra*. As an efficient strategy to reflect such an elevated status both visually and spatially, Daoxuan's vision, recounted in the *Fayuan zhulin*, captured the attention of the monks of Tongdosa. Upon Jigong's visit in the early fourteenth century, the Tongdosa monks seem to have launched a project to introduce Daoxuan's vision into the space of Tongdosa. Considering the difference between the phrase "Diamond Ordination Platform" used in the *Jigonggi* and "Diamond Platform" in the *Yakrok*, however, it seems unlikely that the project had matured by the time Jigong made his visit to Tongdosa. I surmise that, the project was initiated no earlier than the composition of the *Jigonggi* in 1328 but no later than the appearance of the term "Diamond Platform" in the *Yakrok*, arguably composed in the early fifteenth century.

However, the Tongdosa monks' apparent attempt to manifest Daoxuan's vision in Tongdosa cannot be viewed simply as an ideological venture that aimed at gaining prestige for Tongdosa on a symbolic level. We need to take into account the devotional landscape in which the different two types of Mañjuśrī cult became increasingly prevalent among the ruling class: one was the "*Munsu choesangseung musaenggye*" (hereafter, *Musaenggye* [Non-arising Precepts]) 文殊最上乘無生戒 (Mañjuśrī's Precepts of Non-arising of the Supreme Vehicle) initiated by Jigong, and the other was the Munsuhoe (Mañjuśrī Assembly), which, as stated above, was popular in the capital, Gaegyeong. Thus, the venture of Tongdosa monks concerning Daoxuan's vision can be considered an effort to incorporate the prevailing cult of the day into the space of Tongdosa.

The Non-arising Precepts initiated by Jigong were welcomed for the most part among the ruling class, including Buddhist clerics, in the late Goryeo period. According to the precept, any

person who received the Non-arising Precepts of Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva, whether monk or laity, rich or poor, or great or small, could become Śākyamuni Buddha. In his previous lifetime, Śākyamuni also received the Non-arising Precepts from Mañjuśrī.<sup>75</sup> Considered from this perspective, the Diamond Ordination Platform, as redefined by Daoxuan's vision, can be understood to have been the best place to receive the Non-arising Precepts. That is, an aspiration to become the future Buddha by taking the Non-arising Precepts from Mañjuśrī could not be more palpably envisioned than in the Diamond Ordination Platform where Mañjuśrī was believed to be awaiting the future Buddha to transmit the robe, which was itself a token of ordination and, by extension, the epitome of the Non-arising Precepts.

The Mañjuśrī Assembly, which flourished among the ruling class in the capital Gaegyeong since the latter part of the fourteenth century, was the devotional practice that focused on worldly concerns such as having children or defeating enemies. In the Mañjuśrī Assembly, Buddhist monks, circumambulating as a group around the simulated Mt. Sumeru, performed Buddhist chants. The ordination platform itself is no less than Mt. Sumeru where the Four Heavenly Kings reside. Furthermore, the Diamond Ordination Platform of Tongdosa reaches below the Diamond Limit and above the Akaniṣṭha Heaven. It is an indestructible place that the three calamities cannot reach and from which the Four Heavenly Kings and Mañjuśrī rescue people of the age of the Final Dharma. For those mourning cruel deaths and yearning to ameliorate worldly concerns,

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<sup>75</sup> The Non-arising Precepts are different from the traditional bodhisattva precepts based on either the *Fanwangjing* or the *Bodhisattvabhūmi-sūtra*. Like a prohibition of the memorial service, there appears a critical awareness against the popular practices that prevailed in Yuan China and Goryeo. This indicates that the Non-arising Precepts was likely compiled in a close relation to the popular practices of Yuan and Goryeo based on the precepts Jigong himself received in India. Jigong composed the *Musaenggye* in three fascicles and it was eventually printed in Goryeo in 1386 with a colophon by Yi Saek. The only extant copy, which was accidentally acquired by a Tongdosa abbot in the twentieth century, is now housed in the Tongdosa Museum. There are four extant certificates of the Non-arising Precepts, which were conferred in the late Goryeo period. A brief introduction of the scripture, the certificates and its full text is included in Heo, *indoui deungbul*: 77-89; 331-48.

a vision of the place of salvation could not be more substantially represented than in the Mañjuśrī Assembly on the Diamond Ordination Platform where escape from the various evils and tragedies of the age of the Final Dharma and the advent of the future Buddha could be hoped and prayed for.

The fourteenth-century Tongdosa monks incorporated Daoxuan's vision into Tongdosa, not only to make it the unrivaled cultic center of *śarīra* but also to develop the Diamond Ordination Platform into the ritual place with the most powerful efficacy, as exemplified in the performance of the Non-arising Precepts and the Mañjuśrī Assembly. This reorganization based on Daoxuan's vision subsequently impacted the existing spatial organization of Tongdosa. First and foremost, the area between the Yeongsan Hall precinct and the Diamond Ordination Platform was reconfigured as a devotional space; that is, like the precinct of Buddha halls where the Jeweled Hall housing the robe, the Mañjuśrī hall, and the Honored Begging Bowl Stūpa were clustered together. Next, in addition to the primary north-south axis of entrance to the main Buddha hall area, which had been established at the time of the foundation, the secondary east-west axis of entrance to this devotional space, which was accessed through the gate located at the boundary (presently the Buri-mun) between the Jeweled Hall and the Yeongsan Hall precinct, was newly formed during this period. Visible from the gate in this spatial configuration, the Honored Begging Bowl Stūpa played an important role as the central focal point attracting the eyes of the visitors and marking the point of access to the Jeweled Hall and the Mañjuśrī hall. This is presumably one of the reasons that the Honored Begging Bowl Stūpa was oriented toward the northern side of the ordination platform. (fig.2-5).

It is uncertain, however, whether or not the precinct of the stone ordination platform was directly open to lay devotees' routes, as is the case with the current precinct of the Daeung Hall.

This issue is related to the question of when the current east-to-west axis of access from the Cheonwang Gate through the Buri Gate to the Daeoung Hall was established. Based on the *Tongdosa yakji*, some scholars claim that when Master Chwiam first built the Cheonwang Gate in 1337, the original north-south axis of entrance to the monastery was changed into the current east-west axis of entrance.<sup>76</sup> However, it is doubtful that Master Chwiam was really a monk active in the late Goryeo period. I suspect that Master Chwiam is Chwiam Nangchong 翠岩朗聰, who was a disciple of U-un Jinhui 友雲眞熙 (fl. 1641-1674) and supervised the erection of the stele of Muyeong Chukhwan 無影竺環 in the early eighteenth century. He was affiliated with the Soyo branch in the late Joseon period and appears to have been an active figure at Tongdosa from the early eighteenth century.<sup>77</sup> Therefore, it is difficult to regard the record of the Cheonwang Gate in the *Tongdosa yakji* as reliable. Rather, it is more likely that the current east-to-west axis of access was established from the late seventeenth century to the early eighteenth century, when the Śarīra Hall in front of the Diamond Ordination Platform was expanded extensively in concert with the introduction of the three-gabled roof and, arguably, when the Cheonwang Gate was newly constructed at its present location.

It is still questionable whether or not a building like the Śarīra Hall, which had a specific function beyond serving as a simple gate, was constructed in front of the Diamond Ordination Platform in the late Goryeo period. In the Tongdosa museum, there remains a pair of the Pungtak 風鐸 (Buddhist wind chimes suspended beneath the four corners of the roof), one of which bears

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<sup>76</sup> Kim Bongryeol 김봉렬, "Tongdosa geonchuk ui joyeongsa wa garam guseong" 通度寺 建築의 造營史와 伽藍構成, in *TDSB*, ed. Geonchuksa samuso Uri 건축사사무소 우리 (Seoul: Tongdosa, 1997), 88.

<sup>77</sup> The name "Chwiam Namgchong" first appeared on the stele titled *Sabagyoyu seokga yeorae yeonggol sari budobi*, which was erected in 1706. He supervised the erection of a stele dedicated to his teacher Muyeong Chukhwan in 1713 and participated in the reconstructions of the Myeongwol-ryo in 1713 and the Garam-jeon in 1714. The Tongdosa project, to which his name was last connected was the gilt-work of Avalokitêśvara Bodhisattva in 1738.

the inscription of “sarijeon” 舍利殿 (Śarīra Hall) with the executed date 1436. (fig.2-8). Judging from the date of execution of the Pungtak, the Śarīra Hall was presumably first built at that time. This fact suggests that it was not until the mid-fifteenth century that an offering building called “the Śarīra Hall” existed in front of the Diamond Ordination Platform.

Given that the Śarīra Hall is understood to have an architectural function like the offering building in front of the royal mausoleum, its construction suggests that the Diamond Ordination Platform was redefined as something like the Śākyamuni’s tomb. In other words, there occurred an important shift from the fourteenth-century Diamond Ordination Platform to the fifteenth-century recognition of the Diamond Ordination Platform as a tomb of Śākyamuni. This shift seems to have been facilitated in the course of a wholly unforeseen change. As soon as the ordination platform was redefined after Daoxuan’s vision, Tongdosa was subjected to the raids of Japanese marauders (*Waegu*), raids that extended over a long period of time leaving behind untold material loss and extensive casualties in Goryeo society. A fear of extinction seized the Diamond Ordination Platform where the three calamities never could reach. The Tongdosa monks took advantage of this crisis, regarding it as an opportunity.

## Chapter Three:

### Transfer of the Tongdosa Relics and the Concept of the Place of Origin

#### 3.1 The Fluctuating Fortunes of the Tongdosa Relics

##### 3.1.1 From Tongdosa Toward Sovereignty

Rampant pillaging of Goryeo by pirates known as *Waegu* 倭寇 (Ch. *Wokou*; Jp. *Wakō*) reportedly began in 1350 (Chungjeong 2). From that time to the end of the Goryeo dynasty in 1392 not a single year passed without raiding. On average, there were twelve raids a year. 82% of the prefectures and counties of Goryeo, save the two Border Regions [兩界], suffered damage from the attacks. Due to its proximity to the marauders' base on Tsushima Island, Gyeongsang province was devastated in all but one prefecture (13 out of 14 prefectures). In particular, during King U's reign (1374-1388), the attacks increased enormously, reaching as many as 375 incidents. The *Waegu* primarily targeted coastal regions and ports along the western and southern coasts where grain used to pay tribute taxes was kept in storehouses. In 1376 the Goryeo court took a number of measures to bring to an end to the *Waegu* raids, including shutting down the marine transportation of grain and instead moving supplies by land. This policy prompted the marauders to expand their attacks to inland areas and, consequently, traffic hubs along land and sea routes connecting to the inland deteriorated. In 1377, the *Waegu* raids peaked. Such strategic hubs as Milseong (present-day Milyang), Geumju (present-day Gimhae) and Yangju (present-day Yangsan) were subjected to extensive destruction by the raiders during this period. In particular, Yangsan, where Tongdosa is located, was so devastated by the *Waegu* attacks in 1381 that all residents had to move to Gimhae, where they set up temporary abodes,

and then to Dongpyeon county, where they built a walled settlement; many remained there for quite some time, only returning to Yangsan in the early Joseon, presumably by 1405.<sup>1</sup>

In the spring of 1377 Tongdosa was raided by *Waegu*. After two incidents of pillaging across Yangsan region in the winter of 1376, *Waegu* attacked Ulju (Ulsan), Yangju and Milju (Milyang) regions again in the 4<sup>th</sup> month of 1377, plundering and burning most of the cities. The *Yangju tongdosa seokgayeorae sarijigi* (hereafter, *YTSS*) 梁州通度寺釋迦如來舍利之記 (*Record of the Śarīra of Śākyamuni Tathāgata in Tongdosa*) composed by Yi Saek 李穡 (1328-1396), documents two attempts by *Waegu* to steal the Tongdosa *śarīra* during the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> months of 1377. Thanks to wits of Wolsong 月松 (n.d.), the abbot of Tongdosa at the time, the *śarīra* were secure. However, it is evident that the theft attempted by *Waegu* presented the monks of Tongdosa with a serious challenge to the security of their treasures.

Two years after the *śarīra* theft attempts and just prior to the collapse of Yangsan, the monks of Tongdosa came to the conclusion that they could no longer keep the Buddha *śarīra* safe in the Yangsan region. On the 24<sup>th</sup> day of the 8<sup>th</sup> month in 1379, the abbot Wolsong headed to the capital Gaegyeong with the four treasures of Tongdosa: “one piece of Śākyamuni’s skull bones, four grains of *śarīra*, a gold-embroidered robe with red stripes, and a few Buddhist scriptures written on pattra leaves.” He called on the eunuch, Yi Deukbun, one of influential

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<sup>1</sup> There are many studies about the *Waegu* in the late Goryeo period. I refer to the following studies: Bak Jonggi 朴宗基, "Goryeo mal Waegu wa jibang sahoe" 고려 말 왜구와 지방사회, *Hanguk jungsesa yeongu* 한국중세사연구 24 (2008): 177; 179; 184-87; Gu San-u 구산우, "Ilbon wonjeong, Waegu chimryak gwa Gyeongsangdo jiyeok ui donghyang" 일본 원정, 왜구 침략과 경상도 지역의 동향, *Hanguk jungsesa yeongu* 한국중세사연구 22 (2007): 223-25. For Yangsan’s move to Gimhae during this period, see Yun Gyeongjin 윤경진, "Goryeomal Joseoncho gyogun ui seolchi wa jaepyeon" 고려말 조선초 僑郡의 설치와 재편, *Hanguk munhwa* 韓國文化 40 (2007): 204-7. For the theft of Buddhist paintings and Buddhist statues by the *Waegu*, see Jeong Eun-u 정은우, *Goryeo hugi bulgyo jogak yeongu* 高麗後期 佛教彫刻 研究 (Seoul: Munye chulpansa, 2007), 217-27. Regarding a study of the *Waegu* from the perspective of Japan, see Murai Shōsuke 村井章介, *Dongasia sok ui jungse Hanguk gwa Ilbon* 동아시아 속의 중세한국과 일본, trans. Son Seungcheol and Kim Gangil (Seoul: Gyeongin munhwasa, 2008), 115-30.

courtiers of the period, explained the situation, and asked him to take the Tongdosa treasures under his protection.<sup>2</sup>

Yi Deukbun had already had previous involvement with Tongdosa. As noted above, he had at one point obtained six grains of *śarīra* from Tongdosa. It is probably based on this connection that Abbot Wolsong entrusted the four treasures of Tongdosa to him. Moreover, Yi Deukbun was a great patron of Buddhism and, in particular, a devout worshiper of Buddha *śarīra*. His name is listed together with those of the royal families and high officials in the memorial project of Naong Hyegeun 懶翁 惠勤 (1320-1376) that shook the entire Buddhist realm of the late Goryeo period.<sup>3</sup> Hence, as the relics passed into the possession of the eunuch Yi Deukbun, the Tongdosa *śarīra* immediately commanded the attention of the influential Buddhists and power elites in Gaegyeong. The entry of the Tongdosa *śarīra* into the capital was reported to King U. The queen dowager and the queen expressed their interest by sending gifts. Under the queen dowager's order, the Tongdosa *śarīra* were enshrined in the Gaegyeong monastery Songrimsa 松林寺 patronized by Yi Deukbun.<sup>4</sup>

Once it became known that Yi Deukbun was in charge of the Tongdosa *śarīra*, a commotion broke out; many prominent Buddhist patrons rushed to Yi's house to take Tongdosa *śarīra*. The royal families, high-ranking officials, including Yi Deukbun himself, and monks of Gaegyeong acquired multiplied *śarīra*. According to Yi Saek's account, at least 56 grains of *śarīra* were multiplied from four grains of the Tongdosa *śarīra*. Interestingly enough, however,

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<sup>2</sup> "YTSS," Mok-eun mungo 3, HMC, DKC.

<sup>3</sup> The name of Yi Deukbun appears in two records documented on steles. The first is the *Hoeamsa jigong seonsa budobi* 檜巖寺指空禪師浮屠碑, erected in 1378 and supplemented in 1394 (For the text, Heo, *indoui deungbul*: 357. For an explanation of this stele, *ibid.*, 112-30.); second is the *Sinreuksa bojejonja seokjongbi* 神勒寺普濟尊者石鐘碑 erected in 1379 (For the text, <http://gsm.nricp.go.kr>, GSM).

<sup>4</sup> "YTSS," Mok-eun mungo 3, HMC, DKC.



this distribution transpired without the consent of Abbot Wolsong.<sup>5</sup> This incident confirms that the unique quality of Tongdosa *śarīra* lay in their ability to multiply and also clearly demonstrates that powerful men of Gaegyeong had access to them. Those who acquired multiplied *śarīra* were great sponsors who exercised tremendous influence over Goryeo Buddhism and the eminent patrons whose names were listed along with Yi Deukbun's in the memorial project for Naong.

Starting with the royal families, the ruling class and Buddhist elites at the time had caught the “*śarīra*” fever triggered by the miraculous multiplication of *śarīra* over the four months between Naong Hyegeun's sudden death in the 5<sup>th</sup> month and the erection of his funeral stūpa in Hoeamsa in the 9<sup>th</sup> month in 1376.<sup>6</sup> It was after this frenzy of the *śarīra* cult that the Tongdosa *śarīra* were transferred to Gaegyeong and their multiplied *śarīra* were distributed in the circles of ruling elites. Thus, the reputation of the Tongdosa *śarīra* rose even higher and, as a result, their value rose to the extent that they began to attract the attention of the highest authority. Upon the foundation of the Joseon dynasty, the Tongdosa *śarīra* reached the royal family once again. In the period proclaiming Neo-Confucian doctrine as the new reigning policy, the Tongdosa *śarīra* could not help but undergo a radical change of fortune.

### 3.2.2 The Whereabouts of the Tongdosa *Śarīra* in the Joseon Period

On the second day of the second month in 1396, four years after the foundation of the Joseon dynasty (on the 17<sup>th</sup> day of the seventh month) in 1392, the four grains of *śarīra*, Buddha's skull bones, robe, and patra-leaf sūtra then housed in Songrimsa were taken to the founder Taejo Yi

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> For the memorial project of Naong Hyegeun and the miraculous appearance of his *śarīra*, Heo, *indoui deungbul*: 160-161; 173; Nam, "Yeomal seonchogi Naong hyeonchang undong," 164-65; 170-98.

Seonggye.<sup>7</sup> They were then enshrined in the Sarīra Pagoda 舍利塔 (Kr. *Saritap*) of Heungcheonsa 興天寺 in Hanyang 漢陽 (present-day Seoul) after the pagoda was completed in the tenth month of 1399. Heungcheonsa is a votive temple built beside the tomb of Queen Sindeok 神德王后 (d.1396), the second wife of Taejo, founded in 1397 under his full supervision and support. Immediately after its completion, it was designated as the head monastery of Jogye Order 曹溪宗, the most dominant school at the time. Yi Deukbun seems to have been deeply involved in the enshrinement of the Tongdosa *śarīra* in the Śarīra Pagoda, which was built to appease the soul of Yi Seonggye's beloved consort. After the founding of the new dynasty, Yi Deukbun became the Director of the Palace Domestic Service 內侍府, and was especially trusted by Queen Sindeok. The Queen, a scion of a noble family, was at least twenty years younger than Taejo. She proved herself to be resourceful enough to become a political advisor to Taejo, and contributed a great deal to his foundation of Joseon.<sup>8</sup> Following the foundation of Joseon, she was appointed queen over Taejo's first wife, Queen Sin-ui 神懿王后 (1337-1391) and Queen Sindeok's second son was designated as the heir to the throne. However, she fell ill in the second month of 1393, two years after the foundation of Joseon, and relapsed in the seventh month of 1395. After the relapse of her illness, she revealed herself as a devout Buddhist by inviting monks into the inner palace to pray to the Buddha for her recovery. On the ninth day of the eighth month of 1396, her condition became critical and surprisingly, she was moved to the

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<sup>7</sup> Taejo 5(1396).2.22.[2]; Sejong 1(1419).9.1.[5], *JWSR*.

<sup>8</sup> "Jeongreung wondang Jogyejong bonsa Heungcheonsa joseonggi" 貞陵顯堂曹溪宗本社興天寺造成記, Dongmunseon 東文選 78, Gwon Geun 權近, DKC.

house of Yi Deukbun, the Chief Eunuch. Four days later, she passed away before Yi Seunggye, who had remained by her side through the previous night.<sup>9</sup>

There is no explanation for why Queen Sindeok was moved to Yi Deukbun's house when she was in such a critical state. However, it might have had to do with the Tongdosa *śarīra*, which were brought to Taejo during the second month of that year (1396) from Songrimsa, and with which Yi Deukbun was closely connected. Perhaps Yi Deukbun had the Tongdosa *śarīra* transferred from Songrimsa to his house in the hope that the true-body *śarīra* of Tongdosa would either relieve the queen of her fatal illness or lead to her rebirth to the Pure Land. Upon the queen's death, Taejo sobbed and suffered enormous grief to the point of ceasing all court and market activities for ten days. He immediately ordered the erection of Heungcheonsa to serve as her votive temple (1397). He also began the construction of the Śarīra Pagoda on the first day of the fifth month in 1398; it was completed within a year and hosted a Water-Land rite.<sup>10</sup> The Tongdosa *śarīra* were likely enshrined during this event. These measures were without a doubt taken in order to ensure Queen Sindeok's deliverance to a better life. During the construction project, the "First Strife of the Princes" transpired, resulting in the tragic murders of Queen Sindeok's sons, including the heir apparent and son-in-law by the fifth son of Queen Sin-ui, who later became King Taejong (Yi Bangwon; 1367-1422). Given the circumstances, we can imagine that Taejo was in desperate need of religious authority to further console the spirit of Queen Sindeok and assure her rebirth to the Pure Land. This might explain the construction of the Śarīra

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<sup>9</sup> For the relevant records of Queen Sindeok's illness and death in the *JWSR*, see Taejo 2(1393).2.1.[1]; Taejo 4(1395).7.12.[1]; Taejo 5(1396).6.26.[1]; Taejo 5(1396).7.1.[1]; Taejo 5(1396).7.7.[2]; Taejo 5(1396).8.9[1]; Taejo 5(1396).8.12.[2]; Taejo 5(1396).8.13.[1]; Taejo 5(1396).8.16.[2], *JWSR*.

<sup>10</sup> Taejo 7(1398).5.1.[1]; Jeongjong 1(1399).10.19.[9], *JWSR*.

Hall as the highest building in the capital, with five stories and an unprecedented octagonal plan in which an inner stone stūpa was installed for housing the Tongdosa *śarīra*.<sup>11</sup>

Although the Śarīra Pagoda of Heungcheonsa was built with Taejo's unreserved support, this does not necessarily mean that the Tongdosa *śarīra* enshrined within received support or attention from his successors. When Yi Bangwon emerged as the most powerful political force with his assassination of his half-brothers and, Taejo abdicated, Heungcheonsa was placed in a very precarious position. When after a battle against his full brother, Yi Bangwon finally ascended the throne in the 11<sup>th</sup> month of 1400 (Taejong; r. 1400-1418), the monks of Heungcheonsa saw their future suddenly change. On the 22<sup>nd</sup> day of the first month of 1403, Taejong made severe cuts to the financial support of Heungcheonsa and on the seventh day of the fourth month of 1406, he dramatically reduced the precinct of Queen Sindeok's tomb. On the 23<sup>rd</sup> day of the second month of 1409 he demonstrated his resolve to not acknowledge her status as the official consort by relocating her royal tomb outside of the capital.<sup>12</sup> As a result, Heungcheonsa lost its status as the royal votive temple, and this may in turn have affected the status of Tongdosa as the source of its *śarīra*.

On the 27<sup>th</sup> day of the third month in 1406, Taejong ordered to disestablish all but 242 monasteries affiliated with the two Seon Schools and the five Gyo Schools. "Some 2,000 others were disbanded or merged into one of the remaining schools." To those that survived, only a

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<sup>11</sup> For a record illustrating Taejo's distress at the time, see Taejong 6(1406).5.2, *JWSR*. The number of stories of the Śarīra pagoda of Heungcheonsa is variously recorded as three, four, and five in the *JWSR*. This confusion as to the number of stories seems to have been caused by the structural necessity of the high-rise pagoda, in which the roof was doubly installed to cover the space between stories that was formed to secure the structural stability of the pagoda. In this regard, as the first and second stories both had the superimposed double roofs and the third story had a single roof, the five total roofs could lend the *pagoda* the appearance of a five-story building. A description of the unprecedented architecture with an octagonal plan may be found in Sejong 17(1435).5.20.[2], *JWSR*. For a modern study of the Śarīra pagoda, see Kang Byeonghui 康炳喜, "Heungcheonsa Sarijeon gwa Seoktap e gwanhan yeongu" 興天寺 舍利殿과 石塔에 관한 연구, *Gangjwa misulsa* 강좌미술사 19 (2002): 242-45; 257.

<sup>12</sup> Taejong 3(1403).1.22.[5]; Taejong 6(1406).4.7.[1]; Taejong 9(1409).2.23.[1], *JWSR*.

restricted amount of monastic lands and slaves were permitted.<sup>13</sup> Tongdosa was not among the survivors, despite the fact that the Tongdosa *śarīra* were enshrined in the Śarīra Pagoda of Heungcheonsa, a monastery inextricably connected to Taejo and the head monastery of Jogye Order. Its association with Queen Sindeok is likely to have had some influence in this decision. However, the fortunes of Tongdosa soon improved. On the second day of the 12<sup>th</sup> month of 1407, a revised list of selected monasteries was released and Tongdosa was on it. It was rescued as one of the “great monasteries that had existed since the Three Kingdoms period,” although it was no longer recognized as a Vinaya school monastery but was rather affiliated with the Seon School (Jogye Order).<sup>14</sup> The monks of Tongdosa must have put great effort into influencing the end result. The *Tongdosa sajeok yakrok*, the earliest monograph of Tongdosa, seems to have been composed during this period and submitted as an official document to show that Tongdosa's ancient pedigree.

The reprieve granted to Tongdosa may have been related to the value the court attached to the monastery's *śarīra*. This value is suggested by the history of the court's response to the Ming Yongle emperor's requests for *śarīra*. On the 18<sup>th</sup> day of the fifth month in 1407, prior to the revision of the merger of monasteries, the Ming eunuch-envoy Huang Yan 黃儼 arrived in Joseon with an imperial letter. Ming Emperor Yongle (r. 1403-1424) wrote that he had heard of the *śarīra* that had been in the possession of Taejong's father, Yi Seunggye, and were by then preserved in Hoeamsa 檜巖寺, and requested that the *śarīra* be sent to him. Taejong sent out his court officials to appropriate the *śarīra* enshrined in monasteries all across the country on the

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<sup>13</sup> Taejong 6(1406).3.27.[1], *JWSR*. For a brief account for the wholesale suppression of Buddhism by Taejong and the quoted passage, Buswell, "Buddhism under Confucian Domination: The Synthetic Vision of Sōsan Hyujōng," 138-39.

<sup>14</sup> Taejong 7(1407).12.2.[2], *JWSR*.

14<sup>th</sup> day, a few days before the envoy arrived from Ming, showing that Joseon was already aware of the Yongle emperor's request. On the sixth day of the sixth month, the selected eight hundred grains of *śarīra* – 300 grains from Yi Seonggye's possession, 100 grains from Taejong himself, and 400 grains from various monasteries – were sent to the Ming emperor.<sup>15</sup> There must have been a national frenzy during the fifth month of 1407 to appropriate *śarīra* from monasteries all across the country. Apparently the Tongdosa *śarīra* enshrined in the Śarīra Pagoda of Heungcheonsa were not among them. When the Yongle emperor asked for *śarīra* again in 1419, whether or not to send the Tongdosa *śarīra* became an issue within the court, indicating that they had not been among those surrendered in 1407. Perhaps the court's recognition of the Tongdosa *śarīra* played a role in its selection of Tongdosa in the 12<sup>th</sup> month of that year.

Around this time references to the Tongdosa *śarīra* enshrined in the Śarīra Pagoda of Heungcheonsa began to appear in the *Veritable Records of the Joseon Dynasty (JWSR)*. It is recorded that, on the fifth day of the intercalary seventh month of 1406, a monk named Jang Weonsim prayed to the Śarīra Pagoda of Heungcheonsa for rain, and it rained that night. Upon hearing this, Taejong awarded him with a prize. Also recorded are court-sponsored rain rituals took place on the Śarīra Pavilion of Heungcheonsa on three occasions throughout the later years of Taejong's reign; in 1411, 7<sup>th</sup> month, 11<sup>th</sup> day; in 1413, 7<sup>th</sup> month, 5<sup>th</sup> day; in 1416, 6<sup>th</sup> month, 4<sup>th</sup> day. Moreover, on the 23<sup>rd</sup> day of the 7<sup>th</sup> month in 1415, in order to test the Buddha's presence, Taejong assembled a hundred monks at the Śarīra Pagoda of Heungcheonsa and let them prove the multiplication of the enshrined *śarīra*. During the test, three auspicious signs and

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<sup>15</sup> Taejong 7(1407).5.14.[3]; Taejong 7(1407).5.18.[1]; Taejong 7(1407).5.20.[1]; Taejong 7(1407).6.6.[1], *JWSR*. The exchanges of Buddhist relics between Ming and Joseon at that time is briefly explained in the *Dictionary of Ming Biography 1368-1644*, s.v. "Yi Pang-won." (article by Peter Lee). Quoted in Marsha Smith Weidner, "Imperial Engagements with Buddhist Art and Architecture: Ming Variations on an Old Theme," in *Cultural Intersections in Later Chinese Buddhism*, ed. Marsha Smith Weidner (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), 140 (note 6). However, Peter Lee does not mention of the second request of *śarīra* made by the Yongle Emperor in 1419.

a single grain of *śarīra* reportedly manifested but the latter turned out to be a fraud, as it disintegrated into powder in a eunuch's hands. In holding rituals for rain and testing the multiplying abilities of the *śarīra*, Taejong retained a Confucian viewpoint and displayed a generally negative and critical attitude toward Buddhism. However, this series of recorded episodes reflects a sustained engagement with the Tongdosa *śarīra* as efficacious in rain rituals and possibly possessing the miraculous ability to multiply.<sup>16</sup>

Taejong's change of heart regarding the Śarīra Pagoda of Heungcheonsa is shown in his ordering its repair on the 14<sup>th</sup> day of the 5<sup>th</sup> month of 1410. By then he had completely eliminated any traces of the votive temple of Queen Sindeok by moving her tomb outside of the city walls and obliterating any physical signs of her from the monastery site in 1409. On the 30<sup>th</sup> day of the third month of 1411 he again gave an order to have the Śarīra Hall of Heungcheonsa reconstructed and he dispatched the Eunuch Supervisor 提舉內官 to establish a system for control of it. By the sixteenth year of his reign, Taejong had relocated the annual memorial services for his mother from Jangeuisa 藏義寺 to Heungcheonsa and Heungboksa 興福寺, thereby designating Heungcheonsa as one of his mother's votive temples.<sup>17</sup> Heungcheonsa, the

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<sup>16</sup> Taejong 6(1406).7(intercalary).7.6.[4]; Taejong 11(1411).7.11.[1]; Taejong 13(1413).7.5.[1]; Taejong 16(1416).6.4.[4]; Taejong 15(1415).7.23.[2], *JWSR*. There is another earlier record of the miraculous multiplication of the Tongdosa *śarīra* in the *JWSR*: when the abdicated king Yi Seonggye made offerings at the Śarīra Pavilion of Heungcheonsa for seven days, the *śarīra* miraculously appeared from the four grains of the Tongdosa *śarīra*. See, Jeongjong 2(1400).4.18.[5], *JWSR*. On the occasion when the rain ritual was held at the Śarīra Pavilion of Heungcheonsa, about ten nine-headed straw dragons were made and used to increase the efficacy of the ritual. See Taejong 16(1416).6.4.[4], *JWSR*. Interestingly, this combination of the Buddha's relics and straw dragons in the rain ritual occurs in the rainmaking ceremony on Mt. Murō in 10<sup>th</sup>-century Japan, in which the Buddha's relics that Kūkai allegedly buried on Mt. Murō played a central role along with a dragon made out of miscanthus reeds. For the rain ritual and the Buddha's relics on Mt. Murō, see Sherry Dianne Fowler, *Murōji: Rearranging Art and History at a Japanese Buddhist Temple* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), 23-25; 40; Bernard Faure, "Buddhist Relics and Japanese Regalia," in *Embodying the Dharma: Buddhist Relic Veneration in Asia*, ed. David Germano and Kevin Trainor (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 2004), 95. The representative Buddha's relic in China that had been known for having efficacy in the rain ritual is Daoxuan's celestial tooth in Northern Song. "Zuojie Daxiangguosi shijia folingyaxu" 左街大相國寺釋迦佛靈牙序 (1065), Huayangji 華陽集 46, Wang Gui 王珪, SKQS.

<sup>17</sup> Taejong 10(1410).5.14.[5]; Taejong 11(1411).3.30.[2]; Taejong 16(1416).7.22.[1], *JWSR*.

most prestigious monastery in the capital city and the site housing the Tongdosa *śarīra*, was once again the votive temple of one of Yi Seonggye's Consorts, but this time, it was for his first instead of his second wife.

During the reign of King Sejong the Great (r.1418-1450), who succeeded Taejong, Heungcheonsa appears to have been elevated to the central Buddhist monastery within the capital city. Holding rain rituals at the Śarīra Pagoda of Heungcheonsa became a regular practice, and a security plan for the Śarīra Pagoda was established.<sup>18</sup> Heungcheonsa and its Śarīra Pagoda seemed to have gained international popularity and many envoys from Ming and Japan paid visits, and Japanese monks resided there to study Buddhism.<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, it had many followers among upper-class women in the capital city, to the extent that women were forbidden from strolling in Heungcheonsa with their lanterns.<sup>20</sup> On the fifth day of the fourth month in 1424, seven Buddhist schools that had survived from Taejong's time were merged again into either the Seon Buddhism or Gyo Buddhism, and all but 36 monasteries (18 monasteries for each school) were disestablished. Heungcheonsa was appointed as the head monastery of Seon Buddhism and the number of monks was limited to 120.<sup>21</sup> In the ninth month of 1438, all of the monks who were residing at Heungcheonsa were ejected, and a new policy of annually changing abbots was implemented. This measure was intended to prevent certain monks from overstaying

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<sup>18</sup> For the regularization of the rain ritual, Sejong 31(1449).6.5.[3], *JWSR*. For the security policy, see Sejong 29(1447).5.3.[1], *JWSR*.

<sup>19</sup> Sejong 1(1419).6.1.[4]; Sejong 5(1423).4.18.[2]; Sejong 11(1429).2.3.[6]; sejong 22(1440).5.20.[2]; Yeonsan 8(1502).7.24.[4], *JWSR*.

<sup>20</sup> Sejong 10(1428).4.22.[2], *JWSR*.

<sup>21</sup> Sejong 6(1424).4.5.[2], *JWSR*. As for a brief account of this measure, see Buswell, "Buddhism under Confucian Domination: The Synthetic Vision of Sōsan Hyujōng," 139.



and forming cliques to influence affairs to their benefit.<sup>22</sup> This suggests that considerable power was concentrated on the abbot of Heungcheonsa.

The next occasion on which the Tongdosa *śarīra* were brought up in a court discussion between the monarch and the officials occurred in the eighth month of 1419, a year after Sejong ascended to the throne. The Yongle emperor sent an imperial letter regarding Taejong's abdication and requested again more *śarīra* from Joseon. According to the *Veritable Records*, the Yongle emperor requested that "all" of the *śarīra* enshrined in the Buddhist pagodas in Joseon, regardless of their number, as well as the *śarīra* that were kept within monasteries, be sent to Ming.<sup>23</sup> The envoy Huang Yan arrived in Joseon on the 17<sup>th</sup> day in the eighth month of 1419 to deliver this message, and on the 22<sup>nd</sup> day of the same month, he urged the expediting of the collection of *śarīra*. A *Veritable Records*' entry from the following day reports: on the night of the 23<sup>rd</sup> day [upon the order of the court], a eunuch moved the Four Treasures of Tongdosa from the Śarīra Pagoda of Heungcheonsa to the Inner Sanctuary 內佛堂 within the palace and placed four grains of *śarīra* multiplied from the Buddha's skull bones in their stead.<sup>24</sup> This was done to avoid handing over the Four Treasures of Tongdosa to Ming. However, Sejong and the retired king Taejo objected to this attempt at deception. They argued that there was no need to hide the truth and deceive with false actions. When the officials referenced the monks in saying that the original four grains of *śarīra* of Tongdosa were mysterious relics, the young Sejong

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<sup>22</sup> Sejong 20(1438).9.8.[2], *JWSR*.

<sup>23</sup> Sejong 1(1419).9.18.[1], *JWSR*. In the *Ming shilu*, however, there are no records of the Yongle emperor's request to Joseon for *śarīra* in 1407 and 1419. An examination of the circumstances surrounding attempts by the Yongle emperor to acquire the *śarīra* in Joseon and the whereabouts of the acquired *śarīra* in Ming is simply beyond the scope of this project. However, I look forward to reading another study dealing specifically with the topic.

<sup>24</sup> Sejong 1(1419).8.22.[4]; Sejong 1(1419).8.23.[6], *JWSR*.

assured them that sending those *śarīra* would not result in disasters or supernatural events.<sup>25</sup>

Most of the court officials were opposed. They presented a modified proposal to the rulers: arguing that these were relics that Taejo had worshipped, they insisted on sending a mixture of true and false *śarīra*, two original grains and two replacements, along with the original skull bones. As for the pattra-leaf sūtra and the robe, they pointed out that there was no necessity for sending them to Ming.<sup>26</sup>

In the meantime, Huang Yan, the Ming envoy, saw the Tongdosa *śarīra* at the Śarīra Pagoda of Heungcheonsa himself and learned of their history. The account quoted popular sayings and mentioned Jajang, the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, and Tongdosa. Interestingly enough, however, it relates a different story of their origins. By this account, the four grains of the Buddha *śarīra* were brought from Mañjuśrī in “Central Asia,” meaning India, and they had miraculously manifested from Śākyamuni’s teeth when he was alive.<sup>27</sup> Different from the *Yusa* of the late thirteenth century and Yi Saek’s the late fourteenth century account, in this telling the source of the *śarīra* is Central Asia or India, and the most notable relics, the Buddha’s teeth, are recognized as their origin. At this point exclusive emphasis was being placed on the four grains of *śarīra* and the *śarīra* were already beginning to be wrapped in legend.

Once Taejong discovered that Huang Yan had viewed the Śarīra Pagoda of Heungcheonsa, he decided that the court did not need to conceal the truth that the Tongdosa *śarīra* had already been removed from Heungcheonsa. He informed Huang Yan that the *śarīra* he had seen at Heungcheonsa were not original because, after the death of Taejo, the original four grains of *śarīra* were moved from Heungcheonsa to the Inner Sanctuary within the palace. As none of the

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<sup>25</sup> Sejong 1(1419).8.30.[2]; Sejong 1(1419).9.1.[7]; Sejong 1(1419).9.6.[2], *JWSR*.

<sup>26</sup> Sejong 1(1419).9.1.[7], *JWSR*.

<sup>27</sup> Sejong 1(1419).9.1.[5], *JWSR*.

court officials knew this, they had not been able to tell Huang Yan the truth. Huang Yan then demanded all of the *śarīra*, those housed in both the Inner Sanctuary and the Śarīra Pagoda of Heungcheonsa.<sup>28</sup> At that moment, however, unbeknownst to Huang Yan, Wang Xian 王賢, another envoy from Ming who had been in conflict with Huang Yan, gave four grains of *śarīra* to the Joseon court officials.<sup>29</sup> Wang Xian seems to have asked for the Joseon officials to switch the original four grains of *śarīra* from Heungcheonsa with the other four grains of *śarīra* that he gave them. Though there is no documentation of this transaction, this may have been an attempt the Ming envoys' attempt to implicate one another in this very delicate situation.

In the end Huang Yan obtained both the four grains of *śarīra* from the Śarīra Pagoda of Heungcheonsa and the four from the Inner Sanctuary, whatever the truth of their origins may have been. Huang Yan returned to Ming on the 18<sup>th</sup> day of the ninth month with 558 grains of *śarīra* in total, including 550 grains from various buddhas, bodhisattvas and eminent monks that were collected throughout the country.<sup>30</sup> Based solely on official records, therefore, it appears that the Tongdosa *śarīra* enshrined in the Śarīra Pagoda of Heungcheonsa were sent to the Ming Emperor Yongle. Twenty-eight years later, however, an entry in the *Veritable Records* dated the 24<sup>th</sup> day of the ninth month of 1447, recounts that Sejong sent Grand Prince Anpyeong to return the “Buddha bones” [佛骨] enshrined in the palace to the Śarīra Pavilion 舍利閣 (= Śarīra Pagoda) of Heungcheonsa. This entry further explains: “the Buddha bones were originally enshrined in this pavilion [the Śarīra Pavilion of Heungcheonsa], but were at one time brought in to the palace. Outside people had no knowledge of this [transfer]. Not until this time were they returned” [佛骨

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<sup>28</sup> Sejong 1(1419).9.2.[2], *JWSR*.

<sup>29</sup> Sejong 1(1419).9.2.[3], *JWSR*.

<sup>30</sup> Sejong 1(1419).9.18.[1], *JWSR*.

本在此閣, 嘗取入禁中, 外人莫之知, 至是還之].<sup>31</sup> This re-enshrinement may have been connected with the celebration assembly for the reconstruction of the Śārīra Pagoda, long delayed by fierce opposition from court officials, that was finally held in on the 24<sup>th</sup> day of the third month of 1442. Once the celebration ceremony for the newly reconstructed Śārīra Pagoda was over and officials' critical voices quieted, the original "Buddha bones" were returned to consecrate the pagoda. That outside people were unaware this transfer suggests that the *śārīra* of the Inner Sanctuary given to Huang Yan in 1419 were not the originals.

Even though the original Tongdosa *śārīra* were once again enshrined in the Śārīra Pagoda of Heungcheonsa in 1442, their journey was not yet complete. The Śārīra Pagoda of Heungcheonsa became the focus of increasingly aggressive criticism from Confucian literati and subject to frequent attacks and raids by Confucian students. On the 28<sup>th</sup> day of the third month in 1510, the colossal Śārīra Pagoda, which stood alone within Heungcheosa, was burned to the ground in an act of arson and the Tongdosa *śārīra* vanished into ashes as well.<sup>32</sup>

To recap, after the Tongdosa *śārīra* were passed on to Yi Seonggye, they were enshrined in the Śārīra Pagoda of Heungcheonsa, Queen Sindeok's votive temple, and received a great deal of attention, positive and negative, from the royal family of Joseon. They were assumed to possess the mysterious ability to multiply and a special efficacy in rain rituals. As demonstrated in the anecdote of the Yongle emperor's second request for *śārīra*, among the Four Treasures of Tongdosa, a strong emphasis was placed on the four grains of relics due to their ability to multiply. The multiplying abilities of these relics attracted a great deal of attention as demonstrated in the *śārīra* miracle of Naong. Through the transfer in the early Joseon period, the

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<sup>31</sup> Sejong 29(1447).9.24.[2], *JWSR*.

<sup>32</sup> Jungjong 5(1510).3.28.[3], *JWSR*. "Bigo" 備考, *Sinjeung dongguk yeoji seungram* 新增東國輿地勝覽 3, DKC.

Tongdosa *śarīra* were highly mystified to the extent that they were regarded to be those from the Buddha's teeth that Jajang had received from Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva in Central Asia. The Śarīra Pagoda of Heungcheonsa seems to have been an especially popular place of devotion for women. It was so popular that, on the occasion of the five-day celebration for the completion of the reconstruction of the Śarīra Pagoda in 1442, "women lined up outside the walls night and day and fought with each other to witness it first."<sup>33</sup>

It is important to keep in mind that the Tongdosa *śarīra* were missing from the Śarīra Pagoda of Heungcheonsa for some time. After the Yongle emperor's demand of the *śarīra* in 1419, they were hidden away in the palace and only in 1447 were they restored to the Śarīra Pagoda of Heungcheonsa. This suggests that, regardless of their actual presence, the name "Tongdosa *śarīra*," or the belief that it was the Tongdosa *śarīra* that were enshrined within the pagoda sufficed to attract the devotees. The architectural distinction of the octagonal five-story Śarīra Pagoda that enshrined the Tongdosa *śarīra* had a powerful influence on devotees. Therefore, whether the Tongdosa *śarīra* were preserved in the palace, sent to the Yongle emperor, or burned to a handful of ashes, the cult of the Tongdosa *śarīra* reached a level that was not contingent upon the actual presence of the *śarīra*. It was their name itself and their constructed visibility through architecture that was significant. By the fifteenth century, the Tongdosa *śarīra* had transcended the physical space of earth, thereafter occupying the space of faith within the minds of the devotees.

### **3.2 Establishment of the Concept of the Place of Origin in Tongdosa**

#### 3.2.1 The Construction of the Śarīra Hall and the Concept of the Place of Origin

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<sup>33</sup> Sejong 24(1442).3.24.[3], *JWSR*.

There are no record of either the original or multiplied *śarīra* of Tongdosa being returned to Tongdosa after they were transferred to Gaegyeong and Hanyang. Considering the complete destruction of the Śarīra Pagoda of Heungcheonsa by fire, the possibility that the original *śarīra* survived to be returned to Tongdosa is slim. With this in mind, I ask how the monks of Tongdosa responded to the absence of the “original” true-body *śarīra* in the Joseon period, when the monastery's status was also significantly diminished by its failure to survive the second merger of the monasteries in 1424. While it was not forcibly shut down, it no longer received tax-exempt land or slaves from the state. The Tongdosa monks now had to support themselves. Moreover administratively they were placed under the jurisdiction of Heungcheonsa, which was designated as the head monastery of Seon Buddhism.<sup>34</sup>

Two bronze wind chimes dated 1436 and preserved in the Tongdosa Museum suggest an architectural connection between Heungcheonsa and Tongdosa. One of these chimes, which look like small bells (14.6cm high and 12.4 cm in diameter at the mouth), bears an inscription that can be translated: “In the first year, *byeongjin*, of the Zhengtong era (1436), 6<sup>th</sup> month-day, Buddhist wind chimes of the Sari-jeon [Śarīra Hall] were executed; fundraiser [unidentified name] and donor Yi Songmun” [正統元年丙辰 六月日 舍利殿風鐸造 化主□□ 施主 李令公 宋文].<sup>35</sup> (fig.2-8). Such wind chimes, which were suspended below the four corners of the eaves of Buddhist buildings, were produced and installed only on the occasion of either a new construction or a large-scale reconstruction of a roof. Thus, either a building named the Śarīra Hall was newly constructed or the roof of the Śarīra Hall was extensively reconstructed in 1436. In terms of

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<sup>34</sup> Daehan Bulgyo Jogyejong 대한불교조계종 교육원, ed., *Jogyejongsa gojungse pyeon* 조계종사 고종세편 (Seoul: Jogyejong chulpansa, 2004), 271-81.

<sup>35</sup> For a photographic image of the two Buddhist wind chimes, see HSM 3-1: 215. For the inscription, see HSM 3-S: 64; Han Jeongho 韓政鎬, "Tongdosa Daeung-jeon ui jemunje e daehan gochal" 通度寺 大雄殿의 諸問題에 대한 考察, *Bulgyo gogohak* 佛教考古學 3 (2003): 92.

historical circumstances, it is most likely that the wind chimes came from a building titled the Śārīra Hall that was first built at Tongdosa at this time. According to the *Veritable Records*, however, the term “Sari-jeon” was exclusively applied to the Śārīra Pagoda of Heungcheonsa, which was variously referred to as the “Sari-jeon”, “Sari-gak” 舍利閣 (Śārīra Pavilion), or “Sari-tapjeon” 舍利塔殿 (Śārīra Pagoda-Hall). The term “Sari-tapjeon” seems to describe the combination of a stone pagoda (= tap) and a wooden hall (= jeon). It suggests that stone pagoda was installed within a wooden building. Moreover, considering that the enshrined śarīra were removed so that visitors like Huang Yan could view them, the stone pagoda within is likely to have an unconventional form that was easy to open and close. Given that the enshrined śarīra were none other than those of Tongdosa, I think it is likely that the stone pagoda was modeled on the Diamond Ordination Platform in Tongdosa and thus had a three-level platform with a bell-shaped reliquary on the top tier.<sup>36</sup> Certainly, this structure would have allowed much greater access to the enshrined relics than traditional stone pagodas would have. It would also have imposed a heavy burden on the structure of the wooden pagoda because the central pillar was very likely to have been eliminated in order to provide sufficient room for interior stone structure. Such a structural weakness would explain why the pagoda was tilting within only ten years of its construction.

The reconstruction of the Śārīra Pagoda of Heungcheonsa was brought up for discussion again in 1435 (Sejong 17) primarily because of the structural weakness of the Śārīra Pagoda. Craftsmen at the time reported to the monarch Sejong that, even if the pagoda was repaired, it would fall into a hazardous state again. Thereupon, Sejong suggested converting the three-storied

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<sup>36</sup> Kang Byeonghui also speculates that a stone pagoda was installed within the interior of the Śārīra Pagoda of Heungcheonsa but Kang assumes that the stone pagoda was built after the Tibetan mortuary stūpa and reliquaries. Kang, "Heungcheonsa Sarijeon gwa Seoktap e gwanhan yeongu," 242; 257.

Śarīra Pagoda into a single-story building and to separate it from the stone pagoda. Based on this suggestion, the Seon Buddhist monks, probably from Heungcheonsa, submitted a proposal to demolish the Śarīra Pagoda and build an independent hall consisting of five or six bays in front of the stone pagoda. However, according to a record of the celebration ceremony for the completion of the reconstruction held in the 24<sup>th</sup> day of the third month in 1442, the proposal of a single-story hall was not implemented.<sup>37</sup> Nevertheless, the plan to build it may have influenced the construction of a similar hall with this name at Tongdosa.

Again, the monks of Heungcheonsa proposed converting the original Śarīra Pagoda into a single-story building and removing the stone pagoda from inside of it. The Buddhist wind chime inscribed with “śarīra-jeon” and dated 1436 is very likely to have had a close relation to the reconstruction proposal the Heungcheonsa monks made in the previous year, 1435. In other words, I take the inscription on the bronze wind chime as evidence that the Tongdosa monks built “a single-story building” titled the “sari-jeon” in front of the Diamond Ordination Platform at Tongdosa following the configuration proposed for Heungcheonsa by the monks of that monastery. The advantage of building identical architectural configurations named “sari-jeon” at Tongdosa and Heungcheonsa, or at least sharing this building title between the two monasteries, offered a common ground of mutual reference to the Tongdosa *śarīra*.

Indeed, the process of mutual reference was not simply a symbolic mechanism but rather a substantially implemented one. The early fifteenth century marked the beginning of an active diplomatic age, highlighted by exchange of envoys between Joseon and Japan.<sup>38</sup> A Japanese

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<sup>37</sup> For the first discussion of the reconstruction method, see Sejong 17(1435).5.12.[1]; For a final proposal of the monks of the Seon Buddhism, see Sejong 17(1435).5.21.[9]; For the celebration ceremony, also see Sejong 24(1442).3.24.[3], *JWSR*.

<sup>38</sup> Due to various measures taken against the *Waegu* by the Joseon government, the marauders, rampant in the late Goryeo period, almost disappeared in the early fifteenth century. Furthermore, after Joseon’s successful expedition



scholar pointed out that there were countless Japanese people who visited Hanyang (Seoul) during the Moromachi period.<sup>39</sup> From around the early fifteenth century and prior to the outbreak of the Imjin War in 1592, Japan sent envoys to Joseon on 71 occasions and Joseon to Japan on 19 occasions (including ones that stopped midway).<sup>40</sup> Yangsan, where Tongdosa is located, was the gateway to or from – depending on the direction – the sea for envoys from both countries. Song Huigyeong 宋希璟, an envoy dispatched to Japan in 1420, passed through Yangsan on his departure to Japan. Later in 1539, when Sonkai 尊海 visited Joseon to demand the *Goryeo Tripitaka*, he arrived at Hanyang via Yangsan and Gyeongju.<sup>41</sup> Therefore, the existence of the identical *śarīra* hall housing the true-body *śarīra* originating from an identical source at two monasteries located at two destination stops on the envoys' route had implications not only on the symbolic but also on the material level. Furthermore, it should be noted that the majority of the Japanese envoys were Zen monks, most of whom requested the *Goryeo Tripitaka* from the Joseon court and they made pilgrimages to Heungcheonsa in Hanyang.

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to the marauders' base, Tsushima Island, in 1419, the policy toward the Japanese changed to a more conciliatory stance and began to allow the Japanese to engage in limited trading with Joseon. For this change, see Han Munjong 한문종, "Joseon jeongi Han Il gwangye wa 1407 nyeon ui uimi" 조선전기 한일관계와 1407년의 의미, *Jiyeok gwa yeoksa* 지역과 역사 22 (2008): 8-10; Murai, *Dongasia sok ui jungse Hanguk gwa Ilbon*: 127-30. Additionally, as Ashikaga Yoshimitsu 足利義滿 (1358-1408) was appointed "King of Japan" 日本國王 in 1402 by Ming and sent an ambassador under the title of "King of Japan" to Joseon in 1404, an official diplomatic relationship between Joseon and the Muromachi bakufu was established and an era of official trade between two countries was initiated. Son Seungcheol 손승철, "Oegyojeok gwanjeom eseo bon Joseon tongsinsa, geu girok ui heo wa sil" 외교적 관점에서 본 조선통신사, 그 기록의 허와 실, *Hanguk munhak gwa yesul* 한국문학과 예술 2 (2008): 113; Murai, *Dongasia sok ui jungse Hanguk gwa Ilbon*: 126; 157.

<sup>39</sup> Murai, *Dongasia sok ui jungse Hanguk gwa Ilbon*: 218.

<sup>40</sup> Son Seungcheol 손승철, "Joseon sidae tongsinsa yeongu ui hoego wa jeonmang" 조선시대 通信史研究의 회고와 전망, *Hanil gwangyesa yeongu* 한일관계사연구 16 (2002): 42-43. For a bit updated data, Son, "Oegyojeok gwanjeom eseo bon Joseon tongsinsa," 115-16.

<sup>41</sup> For the case of Sonkai, Murai, *Dongasia sok ui jungse Hanguk gwa Ilbon*: 237-38. For the case of Song Huigyeong, Han Taemun 한태문, "Joseon sidae daeil sahaeng gwa Yangsan" 조선시대 對日 使行과 梁山, *Hanguk minjok munhwa* 한국민족문화 41 (2011): 3-6.

The construction of the Śarīra Hall in front of the Diamond Ordination Platform also met the need of the monks of Tongdosa to address the loss of their original relics. Since their transfer of the Four Treasures, including the true-body *śarīra* to Gaegyeong, the early fifteenth-century Tongdosa monks appear to have been captivated by the concept of the “place of origin” (*boncheo*). As observed earlier, the *Gasa-huigi* of the *Tongdosa sajeok yakrok*, which was arguably compiled and presented to the court upon the “merger of monasteries” in 1406, is a document that clearly declares that the robe cannot leave its “place of origin,” and Tongdosa is precisely the “place of origin.” The story ends as follows with an admonition to King Gwangjong by an Indian monk:

“This is not where it resides. Therefore [the robe] did not leave the place of origin.” The king was startled and repented, [...] and sent Bak Gam to quickly return it to our monastery. Thereupon, [Bak] Gam arrived at the monastery and opened the case to make an offering himself. The case was packed with the robe as it had been.

此非所住 故不離本處 王驚覺而懺悔 [...] 朴瑊遣送本寺 以速還 瑊乃到寺 開函親敬 袈裟依舊 充然滿盛。<sup>42</sup>

The impact of the place of origin is direct and simple: if the robe were removed from Tongdosa, it would instantly vanish and only when it was returned to the place of origin, i.e. Tongdosa, would it become visible again. By extension, this concept of the “place of origin” has a fascinating implication. What is important here is not the individual substance, the material existence of the robe. Rather, it is the agent that grants materiality to the robe is the place where it resides, namely, the *genius loci*. The materiality of the robe is confined to Tongdosa. The moment it leaves Tongdosa, the robe no longer exists in substance. The significance of this concept of the place of origin to the absence of the Buddha *śarīra* is clear: even if the original

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<sup>42</sup> "Gasa-huigi," *Tongdosa sajeok yakrok* (1642) TJ: 22-23.

four grains of the *śarīra* were removed from the Diamond Ordination Platform at Tongdosa, once removed, they were no longer real. Only when they are returned to and enshrined in the Diamond Ordination Platform at Tongdosa, can they become real in substance, restored as the true-body *śarīra*. Thus, according to the concept of the place of origin as it was understood by the early fifteenth-century Tongdosa monks, the place constituted the true reality of an individual substance and, in this regard, visual and spatial distinctions to make the site special were essential.

I argue that the Śarīra Hall was newly installed in front of the Diamond Ordination Platform at Tongdosa in 1436 as a visual and spatial means to embody the concept of the “place of origin.” If this is so, then how did this work? How did the Śarīra Hall at Tongdosa embody the concept of the place of origin?

To answer this question, we will turn to related developments at the Jungdae at Mt. Odae, where the Heungcheonsa monks’ proposal of the single-story *śarīra* hall seems to have been applied. The Jungdae at Mt. Odae has also been acknowledged as the home of true-body *śarīra* procured by Jajang from Mañjuśrī. The inner structure of the present-day Buddha hall *Jeokmyeol bogung* (Jeweled Palace of Nirvāṇa), which is located in front of a rocky mound where the true-body *śarīra* are supposedly enshrined, is presumed to have first been constructed in the mid-fifteenth century. (fig.3-1). In terms of date, location, identity and function, the Buddha hall at the Jungdae offers an architectural glimpse of the Śarīra Hall proposed for Heungcheonsa in 1435.

The current Buddha hall at the Jungdae has a peculiar architectural plan. It is a two-part structure composed of an inner building that is three bays wide and two bays deep, and an outer building of three-by-two. (fig.3-2-a). Given that the style of the bracketing installed on both the

inner and outer buildings is different and the columns of both buildings do not align with each other, the outer building seems to have been constructed later than the inner building. The bracketing style and literary accounts support a later date for the construction of the outer building. Presumably, the later building was added to shelter the original building from the rough weather of mountainous area. One study estimates that the inner building was constructed between 1465 and 1466.<sup>43</sup> Based on this information, it is thought that the inner building of the three-by-two bay configuration was first built at the Jungdae of Mt. Odae and modeled after the Heungcheonsa monks' proposal for the Śarīra Hall.

A plaque reading “*Jeokmyeolbogung*” hung below the eaves of the building at the Jungdae was already observed in the mid-seventeenth century (1664). In an early eighteenth-century record, the building was called the “*sari-gak*” (śarīra pavilion).<sup>44</sup> A travel journal composed by Yun Seongeo 尹宣舉 (1610-1669), who made a tour in the Jungdae at Mt. Odae in 1664 provides some interesting information concerning the Śarīra pavilion. According to his firsthand observation, the Śarīra pavilion stood in front of the place known to house the true-body śarīra; iron tiles were used to cover the roof and there were double walls; on the interior, there were no Buddha images present but the “buryeong” 佛影 (lit. Buddha's shadow; understood as a kind of

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<sup>43</sup> Yi Ganggeun 이강근, "Odaesan jungdae Jeokmyeolbogung geonchuk e daehan yeongu" 오대산 中臺 寂滅寶宮 건축에 대한 연구, in *Odaesan Jeokmyeolbogung ui jonghapjeok geomto* 오대산 적멸보궁의 종합적 검토, ed. Weoljeongsa Museum 月精寺聖寶博物館 (Pyeongchang: Weoljeongsa Museum, 2002), 91; 103. I basically follow his analysis with the exception his view of the outer building of the *Jeokmyeol-bogung* as a later addition made in the late nineteenth century. Given that a travel log written in 1664 tells that there were the double walls [重壁] in the hall, the outer building dates much earlier than the late nineteenth century and was likely added no later than the late seventeenth century. "Padong gihaeng" 巴東紀行 (1664), Noseo seonsaeng yugo sok 魯西先生遺稿續 3, Yun Seongeo 尹宣舉, DKC.

<sup>44</sup> Yi Ganggeun assumes that it was in 1814 that the title of “*Jeokmyeolbogung*” first appeared in the official document. Yi, "Odaesan jungdae Jeokmyeolbogung geonchuk," 91; note 22. However, when Yun Seongeo visited the Jungdae in 1664, he saw the plaque reading “*Jeokmyeolbogung*.” "Padong gihaeng," Noseo seonsaeng yugo sok 3, DKC. In 1718, Kim Changheup called the hall “*sari-gak*.” "Odaesangi" 五臺山記 (1718), Samyeonjip 三淵集 24, Kim Changheup 金昌翕, DKC.

altar wall) on which a variety of colorful paper flowers were arranged in disarray, was installed.<sup>45</sup> Upon seeing the Jungdae in 1727, Kang Jaehang 姜再恒 (1689-1756) also observed that paper flowers were densely arranged within the hall. In 1718, Kim Changheup 金昌翕 (1653-1722) described the building without Buddha images with the single word, “*gongsil*” 空室 (empty room).<sup>46</sup> (fig.3-2-b; fig.3-3-b). These features offer a concrete picture of how the proposed single story building of five or six bays was presented. At the least, four principles of the Śarīra Hall plan can be identified here: first, the Śarīra Hall stands in the front of the place housing the true-body *śarīra*; second, the hall has a single-story plan three bays wide by two bays deep; third, iron tiles are used on the roof; fourth, an altar without Buddha images is present. Special elements such as double walls seen in the Śarīra Pavilion at the Jungdae should be understood as reflecting local styles developed in response to the rough weather of Mt. Odae.

The plan of the Śarīra Hall built at Tongdosa in 1436 probably incorporated these principles. The current Daeung-jeon of Tongdosa was usually called “Sari-gak” (Śarīra Pavilion) in the late Joseon period. As described earlier, it is characterized by an intriguing combination of two plans: a south-oriented plan of three by two bays (A part) connected to an east-oriented plan of three by three bays (B part). (fig.3-4). This plan is basically the outcome of the reconstruction led by U-un Jinhui in 1645. The *Buljongchalyaksa* describes the effect of the reconstruction as

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<sup>45</sup> "Padong gihaeng," Noseo seonsaeng yugo sok 3, DKC. Upon the interior altar of the present *Jeokmyeolbogung* at the Jungdae there is a sitting mat but no buddha statue. At the rear wall of the altar, a gilt board without any images is hung replacing the altar painting. An altar installed in this manner is also found in the *Jeokmyeolbogung* at Jeongamsa, one of the five *Jeokmyeolbogung* in Korea and neighboring Mt. Odae. In contrast to this manner [of installation], the present *Jeokmyeolbogung* of Tongdosa, Beopheungsa and Yongyeonsa have the rear walls open to make visible the places where the true-body *śarīra* are enshrined. Yi Ganggeun claims that the rear wall was originally open in the *Jeokmyeolbogung* of the Jungdae but closed later. Yi, "Odaesan jungdae Jeokmyeolbogung geonchuk," 86; 94-97. However, as far as the travel logs composed by Confucian literati are concerned, there is no hint that the rear wall was left open.

<sup>46</sup> "Odaesangi" 五臺山記 (1727), Ipjae seonsaeng yugo 立齋先生遺稿 12, Kang Jaehang 姜再恒, DKC. "Odaesangi," Samyeonjip 24, DKC.

follows: the Dharma Hall (Daeung-jeon) became “more spacious and beautiful than ever.” [宏麗倍舊].<sup>47</sup> Given that the Śārīra Hall plan was supposed to consist of three-by-two bays, part A can be identified as the original, the previous building before the reconstruction in 1645. Based this identification, we can conclude the Śārīra Hall first built in 1436 at Tongdosa was a single-story, southward-oriented hall consisting of three-by-two bays; it was located in front of the Diamond Ordination Platform, covered by iron roof tiles, and had only the altar without Buddha images. However, concerning the north wall of the Śārīra Hall, we can refer to an account recorded in 1881. It reads: “It is said that, on the occasion of ritual offerings made to the Buddha, the rear doors of the Dharma Hall are kept open to make a path leading to the stone pagoda [Diamond Ordination Platform].” [若供佛時 則輒開法堂後門 以通石塔之路云矣].<sup>48</sup> This account, despite being a later source, suggests that, unlike the Śārīra Pavilion at Mt. Odae, in 1436, the Tongdosa Śārīra Hall was provided with easily detachable windows and doors in the north wall through which the devotees could see the Diamond Ordination Platform.

This architectural configuration of the Śārīra Hall has at least two implications: on the one hand, while a separate Śārīra Hall was installed before the Diamond Ordination Platform, public access to it was limited, thereby increasing the physical and psychological distance between the platform and the devotees. This placed tremendous emphasis on the sanctity of the place where the Diamond Ordination Platform was situated. On the other hand, the existence of the Śārīra Hall granted a new identity to the Diamond Ordination Platform. The Śārīra Hall was intended to function as an offering building within which ritual foods, vessels, candles, incenses, and so forth were laid out on the altar devoid of Buddha images. The T-shaped pavilion 丁字閣 (Kr. *Jeongja-*

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<sup>47</sup> *Buljongchalyaksa*, TJ: 156.

<sup>48</sup> "Yun chilwol cho palil musul" 閏七月初八日戊戌 (1881), *Ilsajipryak* 日槎集略 Ji, Yi Heonyeong 李(金+憲)永, HMC, DKC.

*gak*) before the royal tomb and the feast pavilion 齋閣 (Kr. *Jae-gak*; alternatively, *Jaesil* 齋室, *Jaesa* 齋舍) before the apical ancestor 始祖 (Kr. *sijo*) can be considered a precedent for this form of architecture.<sup>49</sup> (fig.3-5). It is quite possible that Sejong proposed the installation of a single-story Śārīra Hall in front the stone pagoda with T-shaped pavilions at royal tombs in mind. Given that the feast pavilion is the site of ancestral services where common descendants “derived from” an apical ancestor gather and present offerings to him, the relationship between the Diamond Ordination Platform and the Śārīra Hall becomes apparent. While the Śārīra Hall is the ritual place where Buddhists “derived from” the apical ancestor Śākyamuni gather and make offerings to him, the Diamond Ordination Platform becomes the tomb of the apical ancestor Śākyamuni, who is regarded as the point of origin.

Thus, the introduction of the Śārīra Hall increased sanctity of the place where the Diamond Ordination Platform was situated and converted the Diamond Ordination Platform into Śākyamuni’s tomb, thereby bringing the primordial nature of Śākyamuni Buddha to the fore. In this respect, I understand the Śārīra Hall to have been a visual and spatial expression of the early fifteenth-century Tongdosa monks’ conception of the place of origin. In fact, the “place of origin” appears in the Daoxuan’s vision as the space of salvation and hope where all calamities from the Final Dharma cannot reach and the advent of the True Dharma is promised. The monks of Tongdosa adopted this notion of “place of origin” in the early fifteenth-century to deal with the reality that the true-body *śarīra* were no longer substantively present in the Diamond Ordination Platform. As an alternative, they developed the place of origin into an ideological consciousness that the place, Tongdosa, constitutes the "true reality" of an individual substance. Furthermore,

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<sup>49</sup> For the T-shaped pavilion, Yi Yeong 李英, "Jeongjagak geonchuk yuhyeong e gwanhan bigyo yeongu" 丁字閣建築類型에 관한 比較研究, *Asia munhwa yeongu* 아시아문화연구 2 (1997). For the Feast pavilion, Kim Bongryeol 金奉烈, "Andong jiyek jaesa geonchuk josa yeongu" 安東地域 齋舍建築 調査研究, *Munhwajae* 문화재 29 (1996).

through the introduction of the Śarīra Hall, they transformed the site of the Diamond Ordination Platform into a tomb for Śākyamuni, the ancestor of all Buddhists. Consequently, the Diamond Ordination Platform of Tongdosa was transformed from the place that lost the original true-body *śarīra* to one where the *genius loci could bestow the status* of "true-body *śarīra*" on other *śarīra*. In other words, regardless of whether or not the true-body *śarīra* were present in Tongdosa, any *śarīra* belonging to the Diamond Ordination Platform and, by extension, to the monastery itself, were recognized as true-body *śarīra*. The discriminative dichotomy inherent in an original and a copy came to be meaningless in the Diamond Ordination Platform as the generative place. The place of the “diamond” where the three calamities cannot reach was transformed into the place of origin where everything can be bestowed its materiality.

The authority of the Diamond Ordination Platform of Tongdosa was affirmed by history. In particular, there is a concentration of records of Tongdosa from King Sejo’s reign (1455-1468). In 1458, Tongdosa received a copy of the *Tripitaka* from the royal court. In 1460, the *Tongdosa sajeok yakrok* was transcribed. In 1463, Tongdosa presented multiplied *śarīra* to the court.<sup>50</sup> These records tell us that during this period, Tongdosa had a close relationship with the court and particularly with the ruler to the extent that the *Tripitaka* was granted by the ruler and the monks laid the multiplied *śarīra* at his feet, while making an effort to polish the monastery's history and reputation, including its identity a Buddhist place of origin.

### 3.2.2 King Sejo and the Relics of Tongdosa

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<sup>50</sup> "Haeinsa janggyeong" 海印寺藏經, Cheongjanggwan jeonso 靑莊館全書 55, Yi Deokmu 李德懋, DKC. *Tongdosa sajeok yakrok*, TJ: 47. Sejo 9(1463).6.15.[4], *JWSR*.



King Sejo (r. 1455-1468) was an ambitious and charismatic figure who usurped the throne from his young nephew King Danjong (r. 1452-1455). He actively advocated for Buddhism, even declaring himself “a sovereign who takes delight in Buddhism” [好佛之主].<sup>51</sup> Throughout the later years of his reign, from 1462 to 1468, there was an upsurge of mysterious Buddhist occurrences, such as manifestations of Avalokitêśvara and Buddha, miraculous multiplication of *śarīra*, the appearance of auspicious clouds, rains of flowers, sweet dew, and so forth.<sup>52</sup> According to a letter Sejo sent to a “King of Japan” [日本國王] at the time, Ashikaga Yoshimasa 足利義政 (1436-1490), the number of multiplied *śarīra* procured during this period reached 7,817 grains, and Sejo witnessed the manifestation of Dharmôdgata bodhisattva himself.<sup>53</sup> The majority of these mysterious occurrences were accompanied by political acts such as the granting of amnesties. The mysterious Buddhist occurrences were explained as “the auspicious signs that buddhas responded to our holy lord (Sejo) because our holy lord has the virtues of various buddhas.” [豈以我聖上有諸佛之德. 故諸佛應聖上之瑞].<sup>54</sup> At times, Sejo was exalted as the holy lord who turns the great dharma wheel, a wheel-turning sage king. Ryūkyū envoys even referred to him as a living Buddha. Sejo himself believed in the account of the Buddha-Land that identifies Mt. Geumgang 金剛山 as the permanent abode of Dharmôdgata and the karmically

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<sup>51</sup> Sejo 5(1459).2.8.[2], *JWSR*.

<sup>52</sup> For the mysterious Buddhist occurrences during the reign of Sejo, see Gwon Yeonung 權延雄, "Sejodae ui bulgyo jeongchaek" 世祖代の 佛教政策, *Jindan hakbo* 진단학보 75 (1993): 207-10; Yi Jeongju 이정주, "Sejodae hubangi ui bulgyojeok sangseo wa eunjeon" 世祖代 후반기의 불교적 祥瑞와 恩典, *Minjok munhwa yeongu* 民族文化研究 44 (2006): 247-61; Bak Seyeon 박세연, "Joseon chogi Sejodae bulgyojeok sangseo ui jeongchijeok uimi" 朝鮮初期 世祖代 佛教의 祥瑞의 政治的 意味, *Sachong* 사총 74 (2011): 37-58.

<sup>53</sup> Sejo 12(1466).3(intercalary).28.[3], *JWSR*. Yoshimasa’s reply to Sejo’s letter was not sent until 1470 due to the Ōnin War (1467-1477) breaking out. The reply arrived at the Joseon court only after Sejo was already dead. Seongjong 1(1470).8.25.[3], *JWSR*.

<sup>54</sup> "Yeoraehyeonsanggi" 如來現相記 (1464?), *Sik-ujip* 拭瘡集 2, Kim Suon 金守溫, DKC.

connected land to which Mañjuśrī sent 53 statues of buddhas.<sup>55</sup> In short, we find that Sejo mobilized Buddhist miracles to secure his status as a living Buddha turning the great dharma wheel in the Buddha-Land. Possibly, this is an exceptional episode in Korean history, given how Buddhist miracles were employed on such a large scale to promote the legitimacy and power of the sovereign authority.

The association between King Sejo and the Tongdosa *śarīra* goes back to when he was Grand Prince Suyang 首陽大君. On the fifth day of the sixth month in 1449, near the end of Sejong's reign and two years after the Tongdosa *śarīra* were re-enshrined at Heungcheonsa, the prince followed his father's command and led censors from the Office of the Inspector-General 司憲府 臺監 to the Śarīra Hall in Heungcheonsa to hold a rain ritual. The Grand Prince circumambulated the Śarīra Pagoda himself and apparently pressured even Confucian court officials of the Censorate to follow his example.<sup>56</sup> A month later, on the 19<sup>th</sup> day of the seventh month, he supervised along with other grand princes the erection of the Inner Sanctuary on the north side of the palace. This was the most controversial issue of Sejong's later years and provoked a number of strongly worded memorials of opposition from court officials. On the night of the completion ceremony on the sixth day of the 12<sup>th</sup> month and the morning after, the Grand Prince witnessed miracles of *śarīra* multiplication himself.<sup>57</sup> Amid strained relations between Sejong and the officials over the ruler's devotion to Buddhism, this *śarīra*-related

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<sup>55</sup> For a comparison of Sejo to the wheel-turning sage king, see "Inseong daejanggyeong bal" 印成大藏經跋. Quoted in "Haeinsa janggyeong," Cheongjangwan jeonse 55, DKC. Regarding Ryūkyū envoys' reference, Sejo 14(1468).6.22.[1], *JWSR*. Concerning the legend of the 53 statues of buddhas at Yujeomsa, see Kim Mingu 김민구, "Min Ji wa Yujeomsa osipsambul ui seongrip" 閔漬와 楡岾寺 五十三佛의 成立, *Bulgyo hakbo* 佛教學報 55 (2010): 570-71; 577-80.

<sup>56</sup> Sejong 31(1449).6.5.[3], *JWSR*.

<sup>57</sup> "Sari yeong-eunggi" 舍利靈應記 (1449?), Sik-ujip 拭疣集 2, Kim Suon 金守溫, DKC.

experience must have left an indelible mark on Sejo's faith. Given his devotion to the cult of the *śarīra*, he must have regarded the Tongdosa *śarīra* as a "national treasure."

Tongdosa was honored as a recipient of one of fifty copies of the *Goryeo Tripiṭaka* printed in 1458 (Sejo 4) in what is considered the largest-scale printing project in the history of Korea. Heungcheonsa in Hanyang also received a copy. Sejo launched the project after his 20-year-old heir apparent died in 1457, in the hope of winning his son's rebirth in the Pure Land. There was also a shortage of copies of the *Goryeo Tripiṭaka* due to frequent requests for them from Japan.<sup>58</sup> Tongdosa may have received a copy as a reward for the participation of its monks in the printing process. Another factor in the decision might have been Tongdosa's location on the route taken by Japanese envoys. Under Sejo's reign, a policy restricting the Japanese from entering Joseon was eased, leading to the Japanese "boom of sending envoys to Joseon" of 1460s.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> "Tap-in jeolmok" 撮印節目. Quoted in "Haeinsa janggyeong," Cheongjangwan jeonseo 55, DKC. Sejo 3(1457).6.20.[3]; Sejo 3(1457).6.26.[3/4], *JWSR*. Requests for the *Tripiṭaka* from Japan during the Muromachi period, including ones from the Ashikaga shogunate, were astonishingly frequent. Some scholars estimate that the copies of the *Tripiṭaka* sent to Japan from 1388 to 1539 to be more than 50 while others estimate it as up to 200. For this, Murai, *Dongasia sok ui jungse Hanguk gwa Ilbon*: 159; note 4. For more on this statistic, refer to Kenneth R. Robinson, "Treated as Treasures: The Circulation of Sutras in Maritime Northeast Asia from 1388 to the Mid-Sixteenth Century," *East Asian History* 21 (2001): 33. It seems that the copies of the *Goryeo Tripiṭaka* did not necessarily include a complete set. For instance, only a copy of the *Lotus Sūtra* was bestowed upon an individual Japanese petitioner. Sejo 13(1467).11.13[3], *JWSR*. However, a noted trader such as Sō Kin 宗金 received 3,800 fascicles of the *Tripiṭaka* even though it was not a full set (6,815 fascicles). Munjong 0(1450).12.13.[6], *JWSR*. Additionally, the Ashikaga shuguns requested for the printing blocks (81,258 blocks) of the *Goryeo Tripiṭaka* on three occasions. Upon the refusal of the Joseon court, Yoshimochi's envoys staged a hunger strike at the Joseon court. For more on this intriguing incident, see Robinson, "Treated as Treasures," 41-42. Such high demand from Japan and the generous bestowal of Joseon indicate that the *Goryeo Tripiṭaka* was selected by Joseon as an item well-suited to demonstrate – to borrow Murai's expression – the "Dignity of the Great Nation." See, Murai, *Dongasia sok ui jungse Hanguk gwa Ilbon*: 158. Considering that more copies of the *Tripiṭaka* published in 1458 are found in Japan than in Korea, the publication in Sejo's reign is also regarded as having been conducted for the sake of displaying the "Dignity of the Great Nation" or rather, as demonstrating Sejo's virtues to the ruler of Japan. In 1459 (Sejo 5), a year just after the publication, Ashikaga Yoshimasa's urgent request of the *Tripiṭaka* is a case in point. Needless to say, Sejo responded to it by sending an envoy to Japan to bestow a copy. This system of request and bestowal between the two rulers clearly exemplifies how Sejo exploited the Buddhist scriptures to display his magnanimity as the ruler of a great nation. See, Sejo 5(1459).8.23.[4], *JWSR*. Oh Yongseop 吳龍燮, "Tap-in jeolmok uirobon Sejo yeongan daejanggyeong inchul" 撮印節目으로 본 世祖年間 大藏經 印出, *Seojihak yeongu* 서지학연구 30 (2005).

<sup>59</sup> Murai, *Dongasia sok ui jungse Hanguk gwa Ilbon*: 151-52, note 1.

Thirty-two of the estimated seventy-two Japanese envoys in 1467-1468 came to celebrate Buddhist miracles.<sup>60</sup> Tongdosa and Heungcheonsa, which housed both the true-body *śarīra* and the *Tripitaka*, served as key points to display the Buddhist virtue of the Joseon sovereign to the Japanese envoys. It might be recalled that Song Taizong's did some similar in China centuries earlier when he gathered the Buddha's tooth of Daoxuan and the *Kaibao Canon* in his capital, which was visited by envoys from Goryeo and Japan seeking copies of the *Tripitaka*. Tongdosa thus participated in Sejo's program to create an image of his country as a Buddha Land and of himself as a great wheel-turning sage king for the benefit of Japanese envoys who were mostly Zen monks.<sup>61</sup>

The multiplied *śarīra* from Tongdosa were featured in the first of the series of miraculous Buddhist occurrences in Sejo's reign. On the 15<sup>th</sup> day of the sixth month in 1463, Deokgwan, the abbot of Tongdosa, presented the multiplied *śarīra* to Sejo. The king declared a general amnesty to commemorate this event, and numerous miraculous multiplications of the *śarīra* ensued.<sup>62</sup> The source of the *śarīra* miracles was Śākyamuni and, by extension, the Diamond Ordination Platform of Tongdosa recognized as his tomb. In this sense, the Diamond Ordination Platform functioned as the place of origin that constituted the truth of all *śarīra* manifested everywhere. Tongdosa thus had the power to authorize miraculous multiplications of the *śarīra*, giving them

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<sup>60</sup> Yi, "Sejodae hubangi ui bulgyojeok sangseo," 253-58.

<sup>61</sup> Focusing on the release of Buddhist sūtra, Kenneth Robinson understands Sejo's action as revealing "his interest in moving Choson (=Joseon) from a China-centered Confucian cosmopolitanism to a Buddhist one emanating from Choson and supporting the religion in Japan and Ryukyu." Robinson, "Treated as Treasures," 54. However, in the view of Murai, to which I subscribe, Sejo's enterprise can be understood instead as a political attempt at building a Confucian tributary relationship of center and periphery by mobilizing Buddhist symbolism. Murai, *Dongasia sok ui jungse Hanguk gwa Ilbon*: 180-83; 221-23.

<sup>62</sup> Sejo 9(1463).6.15.[4], *JWSR*.

the same status as the true-body *śarīra*, and in this instance, validating in turn the Buddhist stature of the great ruler.

On the 13<sup>th</sup> day of the fourth month in 1592, Toyotomi Hideyoshi's army of two hundred thousand landed on the Korean peninsula, drawing the Ming, Joseon, and Japan into what is known in Korea as the Imjin War. In the resulting chaos, the *śarīra* enshrined at Tongdosa were once again targets of plunder. At that time the concept of the place of origin, which claimed that *śarīra* acquired materiality only through Tongdosa, proved its real worth.

### **3.3 Permanent Return of the Relics to Tongdosa**

The Imjin War caused ruinous damage to Tongdosa. According to the *Buljongchalyaksa*: “the pagoda [Diamond Ordination Platform] collapsed and all of the buildings were burned down [...] smoke from chimneys ceased and only vines covered the mountains.”<sup>63</sup> The war ended in 1598, and in 1601 the three gates and Daeung-jeon (present-day Yeongsan-jeon) were restored. The restoration project was directed by Master Samyeong Yujeong (1544-1610), the legitimate disciple of Master Cheongheo Hyujeong (1520-1604), who was the premier Buddhist leader at the time. Yujeong was famous as well for having led armed monks and making major contributions during the war. Afterwards, he was sent to Japan as an envoy, successfully reached a truce agreement, and returned with approximately 3,500 captives. He subsequently led his disciple monks in traveling to repair Buddhist monasteries all across the country. In 1603, with the support of the Governor of Gyeongsang province, who received an order from King Seonjo, Yujeong and his disciples restored the Śarīra Pagoda, that is, the Diamond Ordination Platform

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<sup>63</sup> *Buljongchalyaksa*, TJ: 154.

of Tongdosa.<sup>64</sup> Eleven years later, in 1614, the Tongdosa *śarīra* were finally enshrined at the monastery once again.

The Tongdosa *śarīra* were plundered by the Japanese army almost immediately after the war broke out. According to a document written by Yujeong in 1603, in 1593, a year after the war began, the “stone bell” was taken by the Japanese army. However, a devotee named Okbaek 玉白 from Dongrae, who had been held in the enemy camp as a captive, returned safely with the *śarīra*.<sup>65</sup> There is no way of knowing who Okbaek was, how he came to possess the Tongdosa *śarīra*, and whether or not they were the real Tongdosa *śarīra*. Concerned for the security of the Tongdosa *śarīra*, Yujeong packed them in two caskets and sent them to his teacher, Hyujeong, who resided at Mt. Geumgang. However, Hyujeong deemed that Mt. Geumgang was not completely safe and gave an order to send one of the caskets back to Yujeong to be enshrined in Tongdosa, judging that “rather, it is no better than repairing the old site [=Tongdosa] and housing them there.” [不可寧修古基而安焉].<sup>66</sup> In 1603, it appears that they were both working towards the same goal. In order to enshrine the *śarīra* contained in their respective caskets, Hyujeong erected a new stone bell at Naewon hermitage 內院菴 on Mt. Myohyang 妙香山 and Yujeong repaired the Śarīra Pagoda of Tongdosa.<sup>67</sup> However, the Tongdosa *śarīra* were not

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<sup>64</sup> “Wanli gyemyo jungsugi” 萬曆癸卯重修記, *Gyedan wonryu*, TJ: 88.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> “Sabagyoju seokgasejon geumgolsari budobi” 娑婆教主釋迦世尊金骨舍利浮圖碑. Quoted in Yi Neunghwa 李能和, *Joseon bulgyo tongsa* 朝鮮佛教通史, trans. Joseon bulgyo tongsa yeokju pyeonchan wiwonhoe, 7 vols. (Seoul: Dongguk University Press, 2010[1918]), Vol.6: 470.

<sup>67</sup> The stone bell Hyujeong erected at Naewon-am was pulled down by the flood in 1915 and reconstructed at the relocated site, Mt. Yongju, around 1930. It has been accordingly called the True-body śarīra pagoda on Mt. Yongju. It was built in a five-story octagonal plan. Intriguingly, since a stone-bell shaped reliquary is placed on the fifth tier, the resultant shape of the pagoda looks like a combination of the stone bell of the Diamond Ordination Platform of Tongdosa and the octagonal Nine-Story Pagoda of Woljeongsa. For more information on this pagoda, see Kang Byeonghui 강병희, “Myohyangsan Yongjubong ui Jinsinsari tap eul tonghae bon guhyeong budo wa sarigu” 묘향산 용주봉의 진신사리 탑을 통해 본 球形 浮屠와 사리구, *Bulgyo misul sahak* 불교미술사학 15 (2013): 128; fig.1.

actually enshrined even though the restoration of the Diamond Ordination Platform was completed in 1603. It is not clear why the enshrinement did not take place, but it probably had to do with the fact that Yujeong had been sent to Japan as an envoy to handle the post-war negotiations. Again, it was only in 1614 and after Yujeong's death that the Tongdosa *śarīra* kept in one of the two caskets sent to Mt. Geumgang were re-enshrined at Tongdosa.<sup>68</sup>

According to the *Buljongchalyaksa*, on the 13<sup>th</sup> day of the first month of 1614, one of the two caskets that Hyujeong had sent to Yujeong left Mt. Taebaek 太白山, i.e. Mt. Myohyang, and arrived at the Office of Commandant-in-Chief 都摠攝所 on Mt. Ga of Chilgok 漆谷架山 in Northern Gyeongsang province. From there, the casket passed through ten monasteries, including Yongyeonsa, via palanquin and arrived at Tongdosa on the 18<sup>th</sup> day of the first 1<sup>st</sup> month.<sup>69</sup> The enshrinement of the *śarīra* is likely to have taken place directly afterwards. The casket contained two grains of *śarīra*. A single grain was enshrined in Yongyeonsa, and the remaining single grain was enshrined in Tongdosa. Considering that the Tongdosa *śarīra* were always maintained as a set of four grains, it is probable that the two caskets sent to Hyujeong had two grains of *śarīra* each. Thus, out of the four grains of the Tongdosa *śarīra*, we can assume that two grains were enshrined in the stone bell at Naeweonam on Mt. Myohyang, a single grain in Yongyeonsa, and the remaining grain in the Śarīra Pagoda (Diamond Ordination Platform) of Tongdosa.

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<sup>68</sup> Concerning the matter in which the Tongdosa *śarīra* were not enshrined in 1603 and eventually housed at two monasteries—Yongyeonsa and Tongdosa in 1614, see "Yongyeonsa seokga yeorae budobi" 龍淵寺釋伽如來浮屠碑 (1676), Gwon Hae 權楷, GSM, <http://gsm.nricp.go.kr>.

<sup>69</sup> *Buljongchalyaksa*, TJ: 155-56. The transport of the Tongdosa *śarīra* seems to have been supervised by the disciples of Yujeong. Since the robes, rosary and literary works of Yujeong were housed in Yongyeonsa and his disciples took up residence there, a single grain of the two Tongdosa *śarīra* was likely enshrined at the monastery. See, "Yongyeonsa seokga yeorae budobi," GSM, <http://gsm.nricp.go.kr>. For the disciples of Yujeong at Yongyeonsa, Kim, *Joseon hugi bulgyosa yeongu*: 122, note 33.

In 1705 the Diamond Ordination Platform was extensively reconstructed. In the *Kangxi eulyu jungsugi* 康熙乙酉重修記 (*Reconstruction Record in the Year of Euryu of the Kangxi Era*),

Min-o thoroughly documented the items enshrined in the Diamond Ordination Platform.

In [a central pit of the ordination platform] was put a stone reliquary, within which a stone table was placed. Atop (the table), a nesting set of three containers was placed in order. In one container, the four grains of three-colored *śarīra* were enshrined, the third tiny grain of which was one of the two grains that Master Song-un [Yujeong] had kept himself; [interlinear annotation: one other grain was enshrined in Yongyeonsa of Daegu]. In another container, a Buddha's tooth, sized approximately 2 *chon*, was enshrined. In the other container, dozens of pieces of skull bones and finger bones, 3 *chon* or 2 in length and width, were housed. In between were the gold-embroidered robe with red stripes and the pattra-leaf sūtra, which were discolored. And, it was topped with a stone lid.

其中以石函置之. 其內以石床安之. 其上以三種內外函 列次奉安. 一函則三色舍利 四枚安之. 而第三小枚 松雲大師 親奉二數之一也. [壹枚安大丘龍淵寺]. 一函則佛牙二寸許一枚安之. 一函則頂骨指節 長廣或三寸 或二寸許 數十片安之. 其中以緋羅金點袈裟及貝葉經文置之. 而其色變灰也. 又以蓋石覆之.<sup>70</sup>

To review, three box-within-box-style containers were enshrined within a stone reliquary. The first container held four grains of three-colored and mustard-seed-shaped relics. The second container housed a Buddha's tooth. The third contained the skull bones and finger bones as well as the robe and pattra-leaf sūtras. When the Tongdosa *śarīra* were transported to Gaegyeong in 1379, they consisted of the Four Treasures: four grains of *śarīra*, skull bones, robe, and pattra-leaf sūtra. In the early eighteenth century, the Buddha's finger bones and a tooth were included. The Buddha's tooth only appears in the *Yusa* as a part of Jajang's acquisition and the Buddha's finger bones only appear in the *OWS* or the *Jigonggi*. (Table 1-1). Therefore, the list of six enshrined relics from the early eighteenth century includes the entirety of Jajang's acquisition, with the exception of the begging bowl. This all-inclusive enshrinement is basically a strategy

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<sup>70</sup> *Gyedon wonryu*, TJ: 97-98.



engineered to promote Tongdosa's position as the authoritative site housing all of Jajang's acquisitions, but it also reveals that the relics enshrined in Tongdosa had become invested within a sense of historical consciousness.

It is unclear when the set of six items was enshrined, before the Imjin War, at the time of *śarīra* enshrinement in 1614, or during the reconstruction in 1705. We must recall, however, the provenance and history of these *śarīra*. First of all, the robe and pattra-leaf sūtra were enshrined in the Śarīra Pagoda of Heungcheonsa, and there is no record suggesting that they were ever returned to Tongdosa. Upon the second request for *śarīra* by the Yongle emperor, the skull bones enshrined in Heungcheonsa were likely to have been sent out to Ming. However, the four grains of *śarīra*, which court officials were so reluctant to send out, presumably remained in the palace and only three decades later were once again enshrined in the Śarīra Pagoda of Heungcheonsa. The Buddha's tooth and finger bones were relics that were not mentioned when the Tongdosa *śarīra* were transferred to Gaegyeong in the late fourteenth century. In this sense, only the "third tiny grain" of the four grains of *śarīra* in the first container seems to have historical substance. Nevertheless, we must remember that the four grains of *śarīra* enshrined in the Śarīra Pagoda of Heungcheonsa also disappeared when the pagoda burned.

At this point, we find ourselves faced with a very disconcerting result. We are forced to admit that none of the Tongdosa *śarīra* enshrined in the early eighteenth century could be regarded as "originals," or at least that was the case with the four items that had been moved to Gaegyeong. To make matters more delicate, while the monks of Tongdosa clearly admitted that only a single grain was enshrined out of the four grains of *śarīra* surviving from the Imjin War, they remained quiet regarding the provenance of the remaining enshrined relics. Rather, the three stone containers that Min-o documented in 1705 appear pretty much the same in the

reconstruction record of the Diamond Ordination Platform in 1911. The contents are the identical with the exception of the robe.<sup>71</sup> The only deviation is that the four grains of *śarīra* were characterized as “three-colored” in 1705 and “five-colored” in the early twentieth century. What should be noted, however, is that there was no effort to clarify which one was the single grain out of the four associated with Yujeong. This implies that, by the early twentieth century, all of the enshrined contents were accepted as a complete set of the Tongdosa *śarīra* to the extent that questioning them or attempting to distinguish one from the other became pointless.

It is further noteworthy that from the seventeenth century onward there is no mention of *śarīra* multiplication, once recognized as a special ability of the Tongdosa *śarīra*, in the records of Tongdosa. The *śarīra* were associated with other miracles, however. In the eighteenth century, the emission of light from the Śarīra Pagoda bright enough to be mistaken as a fire from afar was considered a miraculous occurrence caused by the Tongdosa *śarīra*.<sup>72</sup> The *Tongdosa sajeok* (TSJ) 通度寺事蹟 from the early twentieth century tells of various miraculous abilities of the enshrined *śarīra*, such as disappearing and reappearing, emitting light, and changing in sizes, but the emphasis was no longer placed on *śarīra* multiplication.<sup>73</sup>

The early eighteenth-century Tongdosa monks’ were silent about the provenance of the enshrined relics, aside from the single grain of *śarīra* while they were asserting their possession of all of the items reportedly acquired by Jajang. This suggests that another change had taken place in the perception of the Tongdosa *śarīra*, the intervention of a new historical consciousness. Due to the “concept of the place of origin” established in the fifteenth century, by the eighteenth

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<sup>71</sup> Given that the robe was already observed as being discolored in the 1705 reconstruction, it is very likely that the robe was enshrined at other place than the Diamond Ordination Platform in the early twentieth century.

<sup>72</sup> *Sejon bigakgi*, HSM III-S: 91.

<sup>73</sup> *Tongdosa sajeok*, NLK: 8.

century whether the enshrined *śarīra* were true or original or not was no longer problematic. In so far as they were enshrined in the Diamond Ordination Platform of Tongdosa, they all were recognized to be true-body *śarīra*. However, by using historical records to confirm the enshrined relics, they sought to transform them into historical facts that were impossible for posterity to alter. In the end, the *śarīra* enshrined in Tongdosa, were not only granted true-body status by the power of the Diamond Ordination Platform, but were also authorized by history.

Combining the “concept of the place of origin” and the historical consciousness made place-specific miracles like the emission of light the most appropriate mysterious occurrences to affirm the sanctity of the enshrined *śarīra*. It was now historicity rather than *śarīra* multiplication that provided authority to the Tongdosa *śarīra*, and Buddhist miracles like the emission of light added a sacred dimension to the placeness of Tongdosa. The multiplication of *śarīra* is not bound to a particular place, but can take place at monasteries or at private residences. In fact, the multiplication could happen in the mouth of the faithful or on the tip of a brush.<sup>74</sup> On the other hand, the emission of light is bound to a specific location and time. To be more specific, incidents of the emission of light were only witnessed at the Diamond Ordination Platform at night. The visual shock coming from a blinding flash of light in the middle of night must have intensified its sanctity.

To sum up, it was not until the early Goryeo period that the nondescript *śarīra* of Tongdosa putatively brought by Jajang gained the status of the true-body *śarīra*. By the late Goryeo period, the true-body *śarīra* of Tongdosa were credited with the ability to multiply, rose to national distinction as the center of the *śarīra* cult, and became a source of power that

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<sup>74</sup> For instance, the *śarīra* miraculously appeared from a flower, from a meal, and out of a mouth. See *JSGL*, T 2106-52. 411: a15-16; 411: a25-26; 411: b13-14. Kieschnick, *The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Material Culture*: 50.

underpinned a vision of the Diamond Ordination Platform as a place where calamities could not reach. In the Goryeo-Joseon transition period, however, these special *śarīra* left Tongdosa, were transferred via various routes and eventually reached a destination at which only the name of the Tongdosa *śarīra* would suffice to captivate the minds of the devotees. The true substance of the *śarīra*, which had been so decisive in the multiplication and the vision of “Diamond” in late Goryeo, was no longer meaningful. Once the materiality of the *śarīra* lost its significance, the Tongdosa monks turned their attention to the generative power inherent in the Diamond Ordination Platform as a place. The true-body *śarīra*, which was once the agent-subject in self-sufficiency, was transformed into the dependent-object, invested with the quality of the true-body *śarīra* only when it was bound to the Diamond Ordination Platform. In this new development, “history” was mobilized to impart authority to the *śarīra*, which was restored as a true-body *śarīra* from the Diamond Ordination Platform. In the long run, starting with nondescript *śarīra*, the Tongdosa relics were transformed into the true-body *śarīra* and then converted from real substance into an incorporeal source of the *genius loci* of the Diamond Ordination Platform. Thus, late-Joseon Tongdosa monks sought to visualize this incorporeal source in a concrete way. However, this enterprise had to be dealt with in the period when the monks of Tongdosa were totally deprived of the privileges as a votive temple and the authenticity of the Tongdosa relics was much contested.

## Chapter Four:

### The Late-Joseon Water-Land Rite and Principal Ritual Spaces in Tongdosa

#### 4.1 Circumstances Faced by the Late-Joseon Tongdosa Monks

The postscript the Tongdosa monks appended when they republished the *Tongdosa sajeok yakrok* in 1642 demands attention in two respects. First, at that time, Tongdosa was selected as a votive temple 願刹 (Kr. *wonchal*) and as a result the monks were enjoying the privileges of a corvée exemption. Second, after all of the historical documents of Tongdosa had either been dispersed or lost due to the Imjin War, an Indian monk suddenly appeared one day, handed a roll of the monastic gazetteer to the Tongdosa monks, and then disappeared just as quickly. The roll the mysterious monk delivered is alleged to have been the *Tongdosa sajeok yakrok*.

As to the first matter, the claim that Tongdosa was a monastery in which a royal votive shrine was installed was recorded as follows:

At the time, there was Master Pyeongdeung. He skillfully handled [those both] greater and lesser, and firmly protected the gate of the monastery. He [eventually] reached the nine-fold palace. [The royal house] granted [permission] to install a separate royal votive hall, sent incense and candles every year, and thereby made it a place to pray for the royalty in perpetuity. Furthermore, jade scrolls and golden boxes were there, and everything received from the palace was kept there. Our monastery was recognized as the temple of aid and remedy for the state. Hence, although there was an order pressing Buddhist monks within the country into corvée labor, the monks of this monastery alone were not mobilized. Consequently, his contribution cannot be regarded as insignificant.

時有平等大師 權行上下 力護院門 達于九重 別出願堂 歲送香燭 永爲祝釐之所。至有玉軸金函 出自紫宸藏之 本寺以爲國家之裨補。故雖有海內僧徒之動役 唯此寺僧使不赴役。然則其功不爲不大也。<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Tongdosa sajeok yakrok*, TJ: 49-50.

In the context of the postscript, “at the time” [時有] most likely refers to the period when Song-un Yujeong repaired the Diamond Ordination Platform after the Imjin War had ended. This implies that, since the early seventeenth century, Tongdosa had already been designated as a votive temple, enjoying the privilege of a certain amount of tax exemptions.

With respect to the second matter, the background story behind the acquisition of the *Tongdosa sajeok yakrok* is described as follows:

One day, a big bird with a height of one *zhang* flew in from nowhere and came to the side of the ordination platform; turning round and round, it would not leave, and finally flew into the Gamro-bang. In the morning of the next day, it suddenly flew into the air, soared upward, and vanished into the sky. Three days later, an Indian monk came carrying a yellow roll in his sleeves. He gave it to a monk of Tongdosa and left. This was the *Tongdosa Sajeok*. Such an acquisition is a rare wonder.

有日大鳥 高丈餘 自無何有之鄉 來於戒壇之側 俛仰踟躕而不去 遂入甘露房. 明旦忽然飛空 還歸於廣莫之界. 過後三日 有一梵僧 袖持黃卷一件來 授寺僧而去. 此是通度寺事蹟. 更得之一奇事.<sup>2</sup>

Considering that the *Tongdosa sajeok yakrok* explains the establishment of the Diamond Ordination Platform and the enshrinement of the true-body *śarīra*, which was thought to have been commissioned by the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, we may surmise that the reference to “one Indian monk” in fact alludes to the manifestation of Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva. This account clearly reveals an effort to invest the Diamond Ordination Platform and the enshrined true-body *śarīra* with mysteriousness or holiness.

The two points above appear to be different matters at a first glance. However, they are actually closely related to one another. In fact, in the late Joseon period, corvée labor imposed on Buddhist monks was very brutal. Thus, the issue of whether or not monks could receive corvée

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 51-52.

exemptions was essential to the survival of both monasteries and monks. The first half of the seventeenth century was the period when Buddhist monks came to be mobilized to perform onerous labor such as the constructions of mountain fortresses and postwar repair projects. The fact that Tongdosa was designated as a votive temple at this particular period serves as a proof that the royal family or the *gungbang* 宮房 (royal chambers) acknowledged its value or religious efficacy. This recognition was probably related to the distinguished status Tongdosa enjoyed as the site where the true-body *śarīra* of Śākyamuni was enshrined. In other words, in order to win the qualifications for corvée exemptions—with the monastery’s survival at stake—the Tongdosa monks had an urgent need to conceive of ways to mystify and consecrate the Diamond Ordination Platform and the enshrined true-body *śarīra*.

Tongdosa’s fortune as a votive temple, however, does not seem to have lasted past the mid-seventeenth century. Indeed, in 1663, the government implemented policies that severely suppressed Buddhist temples. With the exception of the Myeongrye-gung 明禮宮 alone, royal votive temples under the patronage of the *gungbang* were abolished and most of the tax-exempted lands and slaves that belonged to them were confiscated.<sup>3</sup> Additionally, after the late seventeenth century, monks at Buddhist monasteries were forced to produce paper and supply it to the government. Even the monks of Tongdosa were unable to avoid the papermaking corvée; the impact of this arduous form of forced labor was such that, by the early eighteenth century, the revenue of the monastery and the dispersal of the monks had become a serious problem at Tongdosa. Given these circumstances, regardless of whether or not the monastery’s status as a

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<sup>3</sup> Kim Gapju 김갑주, *Joseon sidae sawon gyeongjesa yeongu* 조선시대 사원경제사 연구 (Seoul: Gyeongin munhwasa, 2007), 151-52.

votive temple was retained, the monks at Tongdosa could not free themselves of the burden of undertaking a considerable amount of heavy labor.

On the other hand, when the Diamond Ordination Platform was being rebuilt, Hae-un Min-o wrote in the *Gyedon wonryu*:

Alas, the people of this age do not know of the old documents and honorable achievements of Master Jajang, and only point to Mt. Odae as the place where the Buddha's bone was enshrined; as the sprouts of doubtful thoughts arise like a swarm of bees, how can we not suppress them?

噫! 世人不識 古籍及藏師之咏蹟 以佛骨安處 偏指五臺云 疑芽蜂起 豈不遮斷乎?<sup>4</sup>

Surprisingly, Min-o's commentary points out that, contrary to modern expectations, the Tongdosa relic enshrined in the Diamond Ordination Platform did not necessarily gain universal acceptance as the true-body *śarīra*. In fact, the relic enshrined in Jungdae at Mt. Odae was widely recognized as more authentic than that of Tongdosa. This suggests that frequent transfer and theft attempts to which the Tongdosa relic was subjected garnered doubt among the monks as to its authenticity.

Consequently, this change in attitude with respect to the relic's authenticity demonstrates that Tongdosa's status as a votive temple and the monks' claim concerning the holiness of the relic had diminished significantly by the late seventeenth century. Further, it follows that the basis upon which Tongdosa's status and the claim of the authenticity of the relic enshrined at the Diamond Ordination Platform—as shown in the 1642 postscript—were by no means solid. Moreover, during the mid and the latter half of the seventeenth century, when a series of unprecedented natural calamities hit Joseon and killed many of its people; the country was falling into a dark age of morbid hopelessness. It was during this bleak period that U-un Jinhui

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<sup>4</sup> *Gyedon wonryu*, TJ: 94.



came onto the scene in the mid-late seventeenth century. The true-body *śarīra*'s authenticity needed to be supported by firmer proofs and the means by which to attract a greater number of patrons had to be created based on the re-established status of the true-body *śarīra* even if it meant that the corvée exemption could no longer be expected.

U-un Jinhui turned to historical authority as a means to prove the authenticity of the true-body *śarīra*. He began by adding to the end of the *Tongdosa sajeok yakrok*, republished in 1642, a portion of a biography of Jajang from the *Yusa*—the history reference with considerable authority already by then. He also supplemented the *Tongdosa sajeok yakrok* with Yi saek's record on the transfer of the Tongdosa relic to Gaegyeong and its marvelous multiplication in the late Goryeo. U-un Jinhui had this appended edition published in 1670. His effort constituted far more than the simple addition of scattered sources; rather, it demonstrates a rational attempt to justify the history of Tongdosa through historically verifiable sources, supplanting the mysticism adopted by the author of the 1642 postscript. U-un Jinhui's compilation of an illustrated edition of Xuanzang's *Xiyouji* (*Journey to the West*) also seems to be a part of his effort to prove that the relic Jajang acquired did not originate from Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva on Mt. Wutai but rather was brought directly from India by Xuanzang.<sup>5</sup> He sought to end the dispute on the authenticity of the true-body *śarīra* by rooting out evidence amid the historical figures and facts.

Upon the completion of U-un Jinhui's supplemental work, the monks of Tongdosa no longer accepted as reliable explanations predicated on mysticism such as the sudden visitation of a mysterious monk. Nevertheless, the narrative focusing on Xuanzang did not completely replace the account that Mañjuśrī Bodhisattava of Mt. Wutai had bestowed the relic. The *Gyedan*

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<sup>5</sup> This illustrated edition of Xuanzang's *Xiyouji*, titled the "*Samjang beopsa seoyurobigi*" 三藏法師西遊路秘記, a handscroll 32 cm high by 627 cm wide, is now housed in the collection of the Tongdosa Museum. For brief information, see HSM III-2, 202; HSM III-S, 233; Gomunseo-1272. Jinhui is written here as "Sinhui" 信熙.

*Wonryu* by Hae-un Min-o reflects the ongoing debate over this issue. According to Min-o, the following question was at the center of the controversy:

It is clear that [the relics] were received from China and reached the Eastern Land (Korea). Yet, there is no written record that they reached China from the Western Land (India). Even if Jajang directly received them at Mt. Qingliang of the Central Plain where Mañjuśrī resides, Mt. Qingliang and the Western Land are separated by a distance of a hundred thousand *li*. How could they have been obtained easily?

自中華受至東土 明若秉燭. 而自西域至中華 未之有文. 雖云藏師親受 中原清涼山 文殊之處. 清涼去 西域 十萬餘里之外. 何可易得乎?<sup>6</sup>

It appears that several different answers to this question were provided. One explanation posited that Xuanzang had the relic transported from the western land to China; another claimed that Daoxuan received it from Skanda. Min-o accepted neither explanation, however, and argued that Xuanzang brought only Buddhist scriptures and Daoxuan only received a Buddha tooth. He instead revisits the traditional or mystical explanation, which asserts that Mañjuśrī gave the relic to Jajang on Mt. Wutai. Interestingly, as the important supporting evidence for his claim, Min-o used a passage from Chengguan's *Dafangguangfo huayanjingshu yanyichao* (hereafter, *Yanyichao*) 大方廣佛華嚴經疏演義鈔 printed in the late seventeenth-century Joseon by Baek-am Seongchong 栢巖性聰 (1631-1700). The *Yanyichao* was a text that was impossible to procure in Joseon, for it had already been scattered and lost in the early Joseon period. It was found in 1681 among numerous Buddhist scriptures when a Chinese ship wrecked; the ship washed ashore at Imja-do in Jeolla-do and the *Yanyichao* was recovered. Upon this fortuitous discovery, the scripture was printed with the enthusiastic support of Baek-am Seongchong. Upon its publication, the *Yanyichao* made a great contribution to the late Joseon Buddhist monk's understanding of the

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<sup>6</sup> *Gyedon wonryu*, TJ: 95.

Hwaeom 華嚴 (Ch. Huayan) teachings.<sup>7</sup> It was precisely the authority of this newly published scripture that Min-o appropriated when he validated the mysterious encounter of Jajang and Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva on Mt. Wutai as doctrinally acceptable.<sup>8</sup>

Rather contrary to their original intentions, Jinhui's narrative on Xuanzang and Min-o's revisited account are not necessarily incompatible. These two different explanations neatly converge in the *Saejon bimyeong hurok* 世尊碑銘后錄 composed in 1706 by Gyepa Seongneung. According to Gyepa's account, the *śarīra* Xuanzang carried with him from the west were enshrined in Famensi and Yunjisi; when Jajang was studying at Tang, Mañjuśrī presented those relics to him. If we take into consideration the trend at the time – understanding of the *Avatamsaka Sūtra* had reached great depth – then it is surely unavoidable that the Mañjuśrī narrative eventually gained more currency. Nevertheless, the murals describing the scenes from the *Xiyouji* painted on the walls of the Yonghwa-jeon [Maitreya hall] and Myeongbu-jeon [Purgatory hall] suggest that the Xuanzang narrative persisted in the memories of the Tongdosa monks.

Despite the differences in their approaches – one using historical sources and another relying on scripture – the two views championed by Jinhui and Min-o share a commonality. Both clearly differ from explanations relying on mystical tropes such as the sudden appearance and disappearance of a mysterious Indian monk. By way of their accounts, the twofold claim that the existence of Diamond Ordination Platform as well as that of the true-body *śarīra* was grounded

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<sup>7</sup> Kim, *Joseon hugi bulgyosa yeongu*: 257-64. Yi Jongsu 이종수, "Sukjong 7 nyeon Jungguk seonbak ui pyochak gwa Baekam Seongchong ui bulseo ganhaeng" 속종 7년 중국선박의 표착과 백암성총의 불서간행, *Bulgyohak yeongu* 불교학연구 21 (2008): 262-89.

<sup>8</sup> *Gyedon wonryu*, TJ: 96-97. As for the passage of the *Yanyichao* Min-o cited, *Dafangguangfo huayanjing suishuyanyichao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔 T 1736-36, 14: a23-26.

in history while at the same time, both were mysterious and efficacious religious objects associated with Mañjuśrī gained considerable traction. Of course, we should remember that at the root of this kind of ideological justification was not simply the much-contested authenticity of the relic, but also a practical concern for survival: a pragmatic interest in attracting more donors and securing sufficient revenue. In light of these very real concerns, the monks had little choice to concentrate their efforts on maximizing the authority of the Diamond Ordination Platform or, to put it differently, devising a means of embodying a concept of the place of origin as much as possible in both the spatial and visual sense. In this process, however, the monks of Tongdosa had to take into account to important considerations. First, they had to address their enterprise in the context of late-Joseon ritual conditions in which various Buddhist devotions were incorporated into the large-scale outdoor Water-Land rite. Second, they also had to confront the fact that, from a spatial perspective, the Diamond Ordination Platform was not the primary ritual venue for the Water-Land rite.

#### **4.2 The Water-Land Rite of the Late-Joseon Buddhism**

A wide variety of Buddhist cultic devotions thrived in the late Joseon period. Besides the veneration of Śākyamuni, Amitābha and Maitreya, which had traditionally prevailed in Korean Buddhism, the cult of Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings, who were associated with deliverance of the deceased, the veneration of Avalokitêśvara and the Healing Buddha as powerful saviors from present predicaments and illnesses, and the worship of the Seven Stars of the Great Dipper, which aimed at the prolongation of life and wealth, all flourished in the late Joseon period. Additionally, devotions such as the Solitary Realizer 獨聖, the Mountain Deity 山神, and the [Universally] Manifesting King 現王 are worth mentioning in their incorporation of popular

objects of veneration.<sup>9</sup> These Buddhist cults attracted many devotees to the extent that independent halls within the walls of late-Joseon monasteries were constructed and dedicated to them. Despite their seemingly self-contained characters, however, representations of the cultic figures – kings, deities, and so forth – were arranged in the independent halls in the form of assemblies like the Amitâbha Assembly or the Dark Realm Assembly 冥府會上 and were then integrated into or at least in one way or another interacted with the larger, doctrinally important assemblies such as the Yeongsan and Hwaecom,<sup>10</sup> which were often ritually visualized in the large-scale outdoor Water-Land rite. In this regard, the Water-Land rite not only functioned as the overarching ritual framework into which various Buddhist venerations were incorporated in the form of assemblies, but it also provided the ritual venue in which the late-Joseon monks' doctrinal emphasis on the *Lotus Sūtra* and the *Avatamsaka Sūtra* was ritually implemented.

Thus, transformation of the ritual space and images that occurred at Tongdosa over the eighteenth century needs to be addressed within the framework of the Water-Land rite. To this end, it is crucial to first explore how the Water-Land rite was redefined in relation to the specific imagery of assemblies inspired by the doctrinal orientation of late-Joseon Seon Buddhism; subsequently, an examination of the ways in which the visual representations of the assemblies were developed from the Yeongsan Assembly to the Hwaecom Assembly is in order.

#### 4.2.1 The Rise of the Water-Land Rite in the Late Joseon Period

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<sup>9</sup> Kim, *Joseon hugi bulgyosa yeongu*: 98. For an introduction to Buddhist devotions in Korean Buddhism, see Guksapyeonchan wiwonhoe 國史編纂委員會, ed., *Sinang gwa sasang uiro bon Bulgyo jeontong ui heureum* 신앙과 사상으로 본 불교 전통의 흐름 (Seoul: Dusan Donga, 2007).

<sup>10</sup> The late Joseon monks defined the Yeongsan Assembly as the dharma gathering held on Vulture Peak that was described in *Xupin* of the *Lotus sūtra*, while they understood the Hwaecom Assembly to be the Bodhi-site of Quiescent Extinction, which was recounted in Book One *Shizhumiaoyanpin* of the *Avatamsaka sūtra*.

Late-Joseon Buddhism is generally considered to have been more concerned with Buddhist rituals than with Buddhist doctrine. As the rituals were usually performed with the aim of producing worldly benefits, late-Joseon Buddhism has been given the rather pejorative appellation, “Buddhism for women and the populace.”<sup>11</sup> A considerable number of Buddhist ritual texts and manuals, which were compiled in the late Joseon period, are extant.<sup>12</sup> What is interesting is that the Buddhist mortuary rites, which aim to enable the deceased to escape hell for rebirth in the Pure Land or at least as a human among the six realms of *samsāra*, occupy a considerable proportion of the majority of Buddhist ritual texts. On the one hand, this pronounced concern for mortuary rituals is reflective of the particular circumstances of the late Joseon period under which everyday life was governed by Confucian norms. In the realm of the emotional, including religion, Confucianism could not provide adequate consolation for those believers coping with death and mourning; rather, the latter was the domain of Buddhism. On the other hand, the special emphasis on Buddhist rituals demonstrates that the late-Joseon monks – albeit, within the larger context of the wholesale suppression of Buddhism – made considerable effort to attract more believers and donors while actively responding to the religious demands of the period.

Patronage with regard to late Joseon Buddhism had changed radically since the early Joseon period. While a few members of royal families and high-ranking officials had played major roles in that respect during the early Joseon period, social minorities ranging from women

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<sup>11</sup> This negative evaluation of late Joseon Buddhism has been made largely by Japanese scholars in the early twentieth century. For more on this subject, see Kim, *Joseon hugi bulgyosa yeongu*: 15-18.

<sup>12</sup> Regarding studies for the publication of Buddhist ritual texts in the late Joseon period, see Nam Huisuk 남희숙, "Joseon hugi bulseo ganhaeng yeongu" 朝鮮後期 佛書刊行 研究 (PhD diss., Seoul National University, 2004); Son Seongpil 손성필, "16 segi Joseon ui bulseo ganhaeng" 16世紀 朝鮮의 佛書 刊行 (master's thesis, Dongguk University, 2007). Also, see Henrik H. Sørensen, "A Bibliographical Survey of Buddhist Ritual Texts from Korea," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* (1991).

and slaves to monks, nuns, and commoners came to the fore as patrons in the era of late Joseon Buddhism. In short, patronage shifted from a few, large donors to a much broader base of small donors. Therefore the monks were concerned not only with soliciting as many donors as possible but also with conceiving of ways in which to reward them for the patronage.<sup>13</sup> In this respect, the fact that the large-scale Buddhist mortuary ritual, the Water-Land rite, was increasingly more prevalent in the seventeenth-century Joseon, is significant. Scholars have typically identified the popularity of this particular rite as a response to the widespread suffering caused by calamitous weather that occurred throughout the century as well as the difficult aftermath of the Imjin War.<sup>14</sup> While that may well have been the case, it should not be overlooked that, from a practical perspective, the Water-Land rite provided an occasion to attract a large number of potential donors and it offered an ideal opportunity to accumulate considerable merits both to casual followers and regular participants.

The Water-Land rite is the Buddhist ceremony that is conducted for “the wholesale deliverance of inhabitants of water and land.” In particular, the rite focuses chiefly on those solitary souls 孤魂 (Kr. gohon) and hungry ghosts 餓鬼 (Kr. agui) who persist in wandering on land and water.<sup>15</sup> Strictly speaking, since the rite is intended for both unspecified and unlimited

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<sup>13</sup> My understanding of changes in patronage is indebted to Song Eunseok 송은석, *Joseon hugi bulgyo jogaksa* 조선 후기 불교조각사 (Seoul: Saehoe pyeongron, 2012), 58.

<sup>14</sup> Nam, "Joseon hugi bulgyo ganhaeng yeongu," 114-16; Yi Wook 이욱, *Josen sidae jaenan gwa gukga uirye* 조선시대 재난과 국가의례 (Seoul: Changbi, 2009), 352-54. For a groundbreaking study of the phenomenon of unusual weather and its impact on late-Joseon society, see Yi Taejin 이태진, "Sobinggi (1500-1750) cheonbyeon jaeyi yeongu wa Joseon wangjo silrok" 小氷期(1500-1750) 천변재이 연구와 朝鮮王朝實錄, *Yeoksa hakbo* 歷史學報 149 (1996).

<sup>15</sup> Daniel B. Stevenson, "Text, Image, and Transformation in the History of the *Shuilu fahui*, the Buddhist Rite for Deliverance of Creatures of Water and Land," in *Cultural Intersections in Later Chinese Buddhism*, ed. Marsha Smith Weidner (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), 32. For a succinct explanation of the Water-Land rite in China, see Daniel B. Stevenson and Marsha Smith Weidner, "The Water-Land Ritual," in *Latter Days of The Law: Images of Chinese Buddhism, 850-1850*, ed. Marsha Smith Weidner (Lawrence, KS; Honolulu, Hawaii: Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas; University of Hawaii Press, 1994), 280-82.

souls, it is fundamentally different from Buddhist memorial services such as the *chilchil-jae* 七七齋 (the deliverance rite conducted on every seventh day for seven times) or the *gisin-jae* 忌晨齋 (the anniversary memorial service) in which the soul intended for deliverance is specified. In fact, the Water-Land rite absorbed the Buddhist memorial service and was accordingly transformed into the ceremony that encompassed the deliverance of a specific, deceased individual as well as numerous, unspecified souls; this transformation is the result of a significant historical change in the early Joseon period: the prohibition of the Buddhist “dharma seat” 法席.<sup>16</sup> During the Goryeo-Joseon Transition, the Buddhist memorial service or deliverance rite for royal and noble followers and high-ranking officials was generally conducted in the form of the Buddhist “dharma seat” based on the repentance ritual. Among such rites were the Lotus Samādhi Repentance, the Avatamsaka Samādhi Repentance, the Compassion Sanctuary Repentance 慈悲道場懺法, and the Amitābha Repentance. During the procedure of the repentance ritual, such scriptures as the *Lotus Sūtra*, the *Avatamsaka Sūtra*, the *Perfect Enlightenment Sūtra* 圓覺經 and *Śūraṅgama Sūtra* 楞嚴經 were recited according to the type of repentance.<sup>17</sup> What is most compelling in this respect is the major change caused by the merging of the deliverance rite and the Water-Land rite: the Water-Land rite became the kind of all-inclusive deliverance rite for specific souls *as well as* for those souls still destined to wander. More importantly, the Water-Land rite functioned like dharma seats in which specific scriptures

<sup>16</sup> The royal edict, which ultimately incorporated the dharma seat into the Water-Land rite, was ordered by the retired king, Taejong. For more on this subject, see, Sejong 2 (1420).8.22.[2], *JWSR*. Subsequently, the ritual rule for the incorporated dharma seat was enacted. Sejong 2 (1420).9.22.[2]. Two days later, a discussion of whether to eliminate the chanting of the sūtra took place in court and its abolition was agreed upon. On this, see Sejong 2 (1420).9.24.[7]. Since that time, it was proclaimed once again that Buddhist memorial services for deceased kings and queens be performed in the Water-Land rite. Sejong 2 (1420).10.1.[2].

<sup>17</sup> The record relating to the memorial service for the royal family, which was conducted in the form of the repentance ritual may be located in the *JWSR*. For instance, when King Taejo died in Taejong 8 (1408).5.24, “the *chilchil-jae*,” which is the deliverance rite for forty-nine days, was conducted in a series of dharma seats. For these events, see each entry in Taejong 8 (1408).5.24; 5.25; 6.2; 6.9; 6.16; 6.23; 7.1; 7.8; 7.13, *JWSR*.



were recited, and accordingly, the assemblies of the Yeongsan, Hwaeom, Amitâbha, Maitreya and so forth were ritually visualized.

The advantage of converting the Water-Land rite to this particular combination is obvious: on the patron's part, since the rite was held for the limitless, unspecified souls as well as for his or her deceased relatives, it had the potential to produce enormous merits in comparison to a rite dedicated to the deliverance of a single soul and, accordingly, transfer those tremendously increased merits to the deceased. Further, for participants, such rites were devoted not only to deliverance but also to the procurement of a dharma seat – and, by extension, attendance at an assembly associated with the recitation of a specific scripture; indeed, the rite offered participants an occasion to remove karmic defilements through the confession of sin, which in turn enabled them to accumulate considerable merits. In this process that drew its initiative from both patrons and participants, the role of Buddhist monks was quite remarkable: it is by way of the certificate signed by Buddhist monks that the accumulated merits are substantially transferred to participants as well as patrons. According to a ritual text of the Water-Land rite widely circulated over the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the Joseon period, a certificate called the “*Sira samgwi ogye cheop*” 尸羅三歸五戒牒 (*Śīla Certificate of Three Refuges and Five Precepts*) was issued to the spirit of the deceased in the liminal state (Kr. *manggwa* 亡過) after the completion of the rite. However, the distribution of the certificate seems not to have been limited to solely to the “the deceased” to whom it was granted as an assurance for rebirth in good realms. Rather, a passage from the *Brahmā's Net Sūtra*, implies that the possession of the certificate could convey a powerful efficacy to the extent that the poor could acquire treasure, the sick could recover, and the captive could be liberated. Strictly speaking, the certificates were issued to the living and the power they bestowed was “directed to a variety of this-worldly

ends.”<sup>18</sup> In this regard, the certificate was very likely executed not for symbolic ritual usage but for a substantial bestowal. With an actual signature of the Ordination Monk 得戒沙門, the certificate might be issued to any participants who wanted to receive it.<sup>19</sup> Thus it seems that the Water-Land rite was presented as the assembly itself in which the precept certification was granted to participants as well as to departed souls; at the same time, in this interplay of three parts, it is apparent that the Water-Land rite offered incentive to motivate the agents to the extent that it earned the support of wealthy patrons, appealed to numerous participants, and was willingly and frequently hosted by Buddhist monks as a large-scale rite.

It is not surprising in this respect that the late-Joseon Buddhist monks found in the Water-Land rite a solution for more stable and steady financial resource. In particular, the *Yeongsan-jakbeop* 靈山作法 (Vulture Peak Rite) was established in an effort to redefine the existing Water-Land rite in accordance with the demands of late-Joseon Buddhism and, in that sense, from the perspective of Seon Buddhism of the late Joseon monks. The Yeongsan-jakbeop is generally regarded as a particular historical construct of the late Joseon period that was conceived of around the middle of the seventeenth century; its ritual features were distinct from those of the early-Joseon Water-Land rite and continued to be developed through the eighteenth- and nineteenth centuries, culminating in the creation of rituals such as the present-day Yeongsan-jae 靈山齋 (Vulture Peak Feast; Important Intangible Cultural Property 50 of Korea).<sup>20</sup> In this sense,

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<sup>18</sup> Stevenson, "Text, Image, and Transformation," 32.

<sup>19</sup> The cited ritual text is the *Cheonji myeongyang suryuk japmun* 天地冥陽水陸雜文, which was compiled in 1303 by Jianyan Wuwai of Yuan China. It is alternatively referred to as "*Baebimun*." The text was printed in Joseon several times. The first Joseon edition was printed in 1464 under the auspices of King Sejo. I refer to three editions printed in 1531(Songgwangsa: HUC1); 1635(Kyujanggak); 1655(NLK). See, *Cheonji myeongyang suryuk japmun* (alt. *Baebimun*) 天地冥陽水陸雜文 (排備文) (prefaced in 1303; printed in Joseon in 1464; 1496; 1531; 1576; 1635; 1655), compiled by Jianyan Wuwai 薦嚴 無外, HUC 1 (1531).

<sup>20</sup> Regarding a study to examine the emergence of the Yeongsan-jakbeop in the early Joseon period, see Sim Hyoseop 심효섭, "Joseon jeongi Yeongsanjae ui jeongrip gwa gui yangsang" 조선전기 영산재의 성립과 그 양상,

the Yeongsan-jakbeop provides us with a lens through which to view those features distinctive to late-Joseon Buddhist rituals and to consider how Buddhist viewpoints of the rituals transformed through time.

#### 4.2.2 The Ritual Visualization of the Yeongsan Assembly

The text of the ritual procedure of late-Joseon Yeongsan-jakbeop first appears in the *Yeongsan daehoe jakbeop jeolcha* (hereafter, *YDJC*) 靈山大會作法節次 (*Procedure of the Rite of the Vulture Peak Great Assembly*) printed in 1634. However, the standard form of the Yeongsan-jakbeop that prevailed in the late Joseon period appears in the *Ojong beomeumjib* (hereafter, *OBJ*) 五種梵音集 (*Collection of Five Kinds of Sanskrit Sounds*) first printed in 1661, roughly one generation after the emergence of the *YDJC*. While both sources use the same term, “Yeongsan,” there are two distinct differences between them, differences that demonstrates precisely how the Yeongsan-jakbeop diverges from the Water-Land rites of previous periods and why the Yeongsan-jakbeop is characteristic of late-Joseon Buddhist rituals. The first difference is related to the types and number of assemblies incorporated in the Yeongsan-jakbeop. The second is the inclusion of the ritual procedure called the *Seolseon-ui* 說禪儀 (*Rite of Seon Lecture*).

##### (1) *An Emphasis on the Yeongsan Assembly*

In terms of assemblies, as is demonstrated in Table 4-1, five distinct types of assemblies featured in the *YDJC* were replaced by a single one in the *OBJ* – the Yeongsan Assembly.<sup>21</sup> The five

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*Bojo sasang* 보조사상 24 (2005): 261-65. For more information on the contemporary Yeongsan Feast of Bongwonsa, see Sim Sanghyeon 심상현, *Yeongsan jae: Jungyo muhyeong munhwajae je 50 ho* 영산재: 중요무형문화재 제 50 호 (Seoul: Gukrip munhwajae yeonguso; Yemaek, 2003).

<sup>21</sup> Jeong Myeonghui identifies this difference between the *YDJC* and the *OBJ* in her master thesis and subsequent studies. She also mentions that the Yeongsan-jakbeop is characteristic of an introductory ritual performed before other rituals commence. However, she defines this feature as somewhat subordinate rather than as independent. She

assemblies listed in the *YDJC*, in fact, followed the prevailing procedures of early Joseon Buddhist rituals.<sup>22</sup> As discussed above, simultaneous performances of combined, multiple assemblies reflects the historical situation in which deliverance rites in the form of “dharma seat” were absorbed into the Water-Land rite; the result was an integration of multiple assemblies based on various repentance rituals into the Water-Land rite. As the incorporated assemblies amounted to five and the number of invited buddhas and bodhisattvas were numerous, the performance of the newly integrated Water-land rite must certainly have entailed a long-term ritual period and considerable expenditure. As a consequence, only wealthy patrons such as royalty and noble families could afford to finance the newly configured rite. Indeed, this sort of large-scale ritual was never feasible in the late Joseon period in which disadvantaged groups of society including commoners emerged as the new, central patrons of Buddhist rituals.

Jiseon 智禪 (n.d.), a compiler of the *OBJ*, exhibited a critical attitude toward the preceding—especially, the early Joseon—large-scale ritual in two regards. On the one hand, he pointed out that a ritual in which various types of assemblies were mobilized and five or seven days and nights were reserved for its completion was only feasible with the financial support of the state or when conducted in the large monasteries and financed by numerous patrons. He concluded, “If people today witnessed such a lengthy and verbose ritual, they would laugh out loud at it.” Jiseon thus decided to retain in the *OBJ* only the Yeongsan Assembly from the five incorporated assemblies and proposed as a reliable ritual period of three days and nights based

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does not take into account that the elements of Seon Buddhism and the Lotus repentance ritual constitute a core of the Yeongsan-jakbeop. Jeong Myeonghui 정명희, "Joseon hugi gwaebultaeng ui yeongu" 朝鮮後期 掛佛幀畫의 研究 (master's thesis, Hongik University, 2000), 46-47; Jeong Myeonghui 정명희, "Uisikjib uil tonghae bon gwaebul ui dosang jeok beonyong" 儀式集을 통해 본 掛佛의 圖像의 變용, *Bulgyo misulsa hak* 불교미술사학 2 (2004): 11-12.

<sup>22</sup> The *Jineon-gwongong* 眞言勸供 [Mantra for Offerings], printed in 1496 under the auspices of the Grand Queen Insu 仁粹大王大妃 (1437-1504), corroborates the list of the five assemblies of the *YDJC*; indeed, the lists in the *YDJC* and the *Jineon-gwongong* are identical. See, *Jineon gwongong / Samdan sisikmun eonhae* 역주 진언권공 • 삼단시식문 언해 (2008), 56-58; *Yeongsan daehoe jakbeop jeolcha* 靈山大會作法節次 (printed in 1634), HUC 2: 133.

on the ritual texts by Siming Zhipan 四明志磐 (fl. South Song).<sup>23</sup> On the other hand, he criticized the contemporary practice in which Maitreya Buddha was invited into the Yeongsan Assembly. Insisting that the congregation of the Yeongsan Assembly should refer to the “Introduction” 序品 (Kr. *Seopum*; Ch. *Xupin*) of the *Lotus Sūtra*, it was wrong, he declared, that the Yeongsan Assembly had been held in the Maitreya Buddha hall, as had been the case in Beopjusa 法住寺 and Geumsansa.<sup>24</sup>

As a result, the Yeongsan Assembly described in the Yeongsan-jakbeop was enacted as follows: an invitation is extended to the main hosts of the assembly – Śākyamuni Buddha, Many Jewels Buddha and Amitābha Buddha; the buddhas are accompanied by the great bodhisattvas such as Mañjuśrī, Samantabhadra, Avalokitêśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta; subsequently, the countless buddhas and bodhisattvas who had once attended the Yeongsan Assembly are summoned as foils for the completion of the assembly. This particular form of congregation of the Yeongsan Assembly was usually depicted on a large banner painting called a *gwaebul* 掛佛, which was installed at the ritual venue—typically a courtyard of the monastery—where the Yeongsan-jakbeop was performed. Among such works, the *Gwaebul* of Naesosa 來蘇寺, executed in 1700, stands as eloquent evidence of how the congregation of the Yeongsan Assembly specified in the *OBJ* was depicted visually.<sup>25</sup> (fig.4-1).

## (2) *The Seolseon-ui and a Vision of Seon Buddhism*

The particular characteristic that makes the Yeongsan-jakbeop a specifically late-Joseon Buddhist ritual is the integration of the elements of Seon Buddhism into the ritual. According to

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<sup>23</sup> *Ojong beomeumjib* 五種梵音集 (first printed in 1661), compiled by Jiseon 智禪, HBJ 12: 173b; 168c-173a.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 157c.

<sup>25</sup> For the relationship between the *OBJ* and the *Gwaebul* of Naesosa, Jeong, "Joseon hugi gwaebultaeng," 47-49.

the *OBJ*, the ritual procedure of the Yeongsan-jakbeop was comprised of three main steps: (1) the buddhas and bodhisattvas, including Śākyamuni Buddha, were invited into the ritual venue; (2) the Seon master ascended to a dharma throne and recited a portion of the *Lotus Sūtra* before the audience; (3) Upon the accumulation of merits through the recitation and the offerings, the rebirth to the Pure Land was besought for the deceased and for the ancestors of the sponsoring family.<sup>26</sup>

The most compelling aspect of this ritual formation is its distinct difference from the Water-Land rite. The main targets of the Water-Land rite were the wandering spirits such as the solitary souls and hungry ghosts, and the means to salvation was provided in the ordination of five precepts and the teachings of basic doctrines such as the “twelve links of dependent arising” and “six perfections.” In contrast, the focus in the Yeongsan-jakbeop is directed at the deceased and the ancestors of the sponsoring family. Rebirth to the Pure Land for solitary souls is mentioned only in passing. The process of delivering the souls is remarkably simple: salvation is provided in the recitation by the Seon master of the *Lotus Sūtra*, through which the departed soul realizes *a priori* Buddhahood, thereby arousing the aspiration to attain it (Sk. *bodhicitta*). Thus, the recitation of the *Lotus Sūtra* plays an important and critical role in the Yeongsan-jakbeop.

Given that the recitation of the *Lotus Sūtra* gives the form of dharma assembly to the Yeongsan-jakbeop, the manner in which the Yeongsan-jakbeop is associated with the Water-Land rite is quite intriguing. The Yeongsan-jakbeop is conducted as though it were an introductory procedure to be followed by the Water-Land rite. That is, the Yeongsan-jakbeop is performed during the day seemingly as a precursor to the nighttime performance of the Water-Land rite. However, it is difficult to conclude that the Yeongsan-jakbeop is integrated with or in

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<sup>26</sup> *OBJ*, HBJ 12: 157-62.

some way subordinate to the Water-Land rite, which it precedes. Rather, it appears to have been an independent ritual based on the *OBJ* and the *Cheonji myeongyang suryukjaeui beomeum sanbojip* (hereafter, *Sanbojip*) 天地冥陽水陸齋儀梵音刪補集 (*The Edited Collection of Sanskrit Sounds for the Ceremony of the Heaven and Earth, Dark and Bright, Water and Land Feast*); the ceremony is performed as a self-contained ritual with little formal relation to the ritual that follows it. For instance, although the buddhas, including Śākyamuni, are already summoned in the preceding Yeongsan-jakbeop, they do not play a role in the subsequent ceremony, the Water-Land rite. At the outset of the Water-Land rite, three buddhas – Vairocana, Rocana and Śākyamuni – are invited to constitute the upper altar, and the middle and lower altars are consecutively installed. Thus, either the preceding Yeongsan-jakbeop or the following Water-Land rite operates as if each would be a separate, self-contained ceremony. In its relation to the protracted Water-Land rite, the ritual role of the Yeongsan-jakbeop may be more clearly understood. The *OBJ* and the *Sanbojip* specify the ritual procedure of the Water-Land rite performed for seven days and nights.<sup>27</sup> According to the two texts, the rite always begins with the Yeongsan-jakbeop from the first to the seventh day. Since the *Lotus Sūtra* is supposed to be recited in the Yeongsan-jakbeop, one roll of the sūtra is selected each day for recitation. As a consequence, the “*Lotus Sūtra* assembly” in which the Seon master recites and participants repeat each roll of the sūtra from the first to the seventh rolls, last for seven days. That being the case, it seems clear that one of important ritual roles of the Yeongsan-jakbeop is to function as a dharma assembly for the recitation of the *Lotus Sūtra* led by the Seon master.

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<sup>27</sup> *Cheonji myeongyang suryukjaeui beomeum sanbojip* 천지명양수륙재의범음산보집 (2012), 594-96; *OBJ*, HBJ 12: 173ab.

The recitation of the *Lotus Sūtra* prior to the performance of the Water-Land rite has various implications. According to the *Sanbojip*, the Yeongsan Assembly is an incredibly rare, an opportunity which is “hard to be encountered for thousand million eons” [百千萬劫 難遭遇].<sup>28</sup> The power of the recitation performed in such an assembly is characterized as extremely efficacious in terms of doctrines and rituals. The *Sanbojip* maintains that “before the title of the Sūtra is spoken,” “before a word in the Sūtra is uttered,” all kinds of hells are destroyed and that if we keep the Sūtra in mind, “the defilement from thousand births dissolves.” The impact of the recitation is further emphasized and the assurance that participants can thus attain the rebirth to the Pure Land “with a pure body without any sins and impediment” is provided. According to the *Jakbeop gwigam* (hereafter, *JBGG*) 作法龜鑑 (Speculum of Ritual Procedures), which was compiled in the early nineteenth century, the *Lotus Sūtra* as the “perfect teaching of one vehicle” [一乘圓教] was thought to deliver the deceased locked in the darkness into the bright light, thus illuminating his or her original face (= inherent mind). It was also capable of assisting all sentient beings in attendance at the assembly in acquiring the “Lotus Samādhi.”<sup>29</sup>

It would be inaccurate, however, to argue that the ritual role of the Yeongsan-jakbeop was confined merely to facilitating the recitation of the *Lotus Sūtra* and activating the powerful capacity of the latter. Indeed, it also functioned as the rite of enthronement in which a Chan/Seon master was transformed into a living Buddha. With the Yeongsan-jakbeop, the role of an instructor who recites the *Lotus Sūtra* was assigned officially to the head monk of the monastery called the *Bangjang* 方丈 (Ch. fangzhang; Jp. hōjō). In order to preside over the ritual, the head monk would undergo a rite of passage called “*Seolju yiu*” 說主移運 (Rite of Transporting a

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<sup>28</sup> *Sanbojip* (2012), 101.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 101-3; *Jakbeop gwigam* 作法龜鑑 (2010), 229-31.



Preacher); in accordance with the rite, the head monk was guided to come out of his room [Bangjang-sil] and ascend a dharma throne in the dharma hall. What is striking is that this particular rite was designed to simulate the life of Śākyamuni Buddha – in particular, the patterns typified as the Eight Episodes. The ritual would proceed as follows: (1) The Bangjang (= the head master) would close the door to his quarters and sit quiescent in his room. This scene recreates that of the Buddha pondering the Buddha-Dharma “in the body of magnificent merits in subtle form” – that is, the body of Rocana Buddha, which is invisible to sentient beings. (2) A rector 維那 (Kr. Yuna) would first knock and then open the door at which time the Bangjang would leave his quarters, take seven steps in all four directions and then return to his quarters. Needless to say, this action duplicates the birth of the Buddha who was born from his mother’s side and then took seven steps in all four directions. (3) Once the Bangjang returned to his quarters, his room was closed again as it had been in the previous stage. This action recreates the scene in which the bodhisattva retreated into the snowy mountain, practiced austerity for six years, and then attained the Awakening during a dawn when the morning star was shining. (4) Upon the repeated request for salvation of sentient beings from a rector, the Bangjang would eventually move to the dharma hall and ascend a dharma throne. This turning, of course, is a simulation of the episode in which, upon imploring the god Brahmā, the Buddha left the snowy mountains for the world and preached the teachings of three vehicles in a *rūpakāya*, a body magically created for the sake of sentient beings.<sup>30</sup> To put it simply, the Bangjang, who is intended to deliver the *Lotus Sūtra* in the Yeongsan-jakbeop, ascends a lion throne not as a monk but as a buddha, a magically-created body that is incarnated through a ritual simulation of the patterns of the Eight Episodes. It is not surprising in this respect that the verse recited in

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<sup>30</sup> *OBJ*, HBJ 12: 157c-158b.

transporting the Bangjang to the dharma hall is named the “Gāthā of Moving Buddha” 動佛偈 (Kr. Dongbul-ge). Thus, the Yeongsan-jakbeop not only performs the role of a preceding ritual to grant ritual efficacy to the Water-Land rite to follow, but it also creates an image of the Yeongsan Assembly in which the Seon master as a living buddha arouses the *bodhicitta* inherently immanent in every sentient being. In this regard, the Yeongsan-jakbeop should be regarded as a Joseon version of a rite known as, “Ascending the Seat in the Dharma Hall” 上堂 (Ch. *shangtang*), which appears in the *Chanyuan qinggui* 禪苑清規 (Rules of Purity for Chan monasteries).<sup>31</sup>

This Seon-Chan construction merged with the Yeongsan-jakbeop is a ritual component that is not found in the ritual texts prior to the *OBJ*. Additionally, it is a ritual feature that must be sharply distinguished from the previous Water-Land rite. On the whole, this construction is undeniably based on the established tradition of Seon-Chan Buddhism since the Song and Goryeo periods. However, its direct reference is located in the *Seolseon-ui* composed by Cheongheo Hyujeong. The *Seolseon-ui* describes a ritual procedure in which the “Blessed One” 世尊 (Kr. Sejon) ascends to a dharma seat and preaches the sweet, dew-like dharma before the “Hwaeom bodhisattvas” 華嚴菩薩 (Kr. *Hwaeom bosal*). What is intriguing in this regard is the identity of “Blessed One.” According to the text, “a deacon” 堂司 enters the “the Bangjang’s quarters” in order to retrieve the “Blessed One” at which time the “Blessed One” comes out of “the door” to preach the dharma; upon completion, he returns to “the Bangjang’s quarters.”<sup>32</sup> In other words, it is the Seon master who resides in the Bangjang’s quarters that is referred to as

<sup>31</sup> Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China: An Annotated Translation and Study of the Chanyuan Qinggui* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002), 135-36. Foulk, "Myth, Ritual, and Monastic Practice in Sung Ch'an Buddhism," 177-79.

<sup>32</sup> *Seolseon-ui* 說禪儀 (printed in 1607 with the *Woonsudan*; printed in 1634), composed by Cheongheo Hyujeong 清虛休靜, HUC 2: 31-35.

“Blessed One.” Thus, it is apparent that the Yeongsan-jakbeop was designed in relation to a specific visual construction of late-Joseon Seon Buddhism, which was conceived of by Hyujeong.

In this regard, we need to recall a famous Chan transmission story in which Śākyamuni holds up a lotus flower with a smile in the Yeongsan Assembly. This story fascinated the late-Joseon Seon monks to the extent that it was represented pictorially with great frequency and was also elaborated doctrinally in an intriguing association of the “Three Locations of Mind to Mind Transmission 三處傳心 (Kr. *Samcheo Jeonsim*)” and the “Linji’s Three Statements 臨濟三句 (Kr. *Imje Samgu*).” The “Samcheo Jeonsim” indicates three Chan transmission stories in which Śākyamuni Buddha transmitted his mind—the gist of Chan/Seon—“directly and without any speech” to Mahākāśyapa, who is considered the first patriarch in the Chan tradition.<sup>33</sup> The representative story of the Samcheo Jeonsim is the episode “holding up a [lotus] flower and smiling subtly” [拈華微笑].<sup>34</sup> The “Imje Samgu” indicate three statements mentioned by Linji Yixuan 臨濟義玄 (d.867) during his exchange with a disciple, but they are the kind of Chan Public Cases 公案 [Kr. Gong-an; Jp. Kōan; Ch. Gong’an] in which the meanings are not delivered through everyday logic. Since the “Imje Samgu” have been highly prized in that they were conceived to encapsulate the fundamental crux of Chan/Seon Buddhism, a variety of interpretations and annotations have been provided by numerous Chan/Zen/Seon monks in China, Japan and Korea. Suffice to say here that such statements are essentially enigmas, which frequently crossed the boundary of speech so always resistant to unpacking.<sup>35</sup> Of particular interest to us here is that a special construction of the Cheongheo Hyujeong was developed by

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<sup>33</sup> *Seonga gwigam* 禪家龜鑑 (Composed in 1564. Published in 1579), Cheongheo Hyujeong 清虛休靜, HBJ 7: 635b. I also refer to: *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, “三處傳心” (article by Charles Muller).

<sup>34</sup> *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, s.v. “nianhua weixiao.”

<sup>35</sup> For a brief introduction of the Imje Samgu, Yixuan, *The Record of Linji*, ed. Thomas Yuho Kirchner, trans. Ruth Fuller Sasaki (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2009), 144-48; 264-65.

combining the Samcheo Jeonsim with the Imje Samgu, which became gradually but firmly established in the consciousness of the late-Joseon monks. He assigns the Samcheo Jeonsim to the First Statement of the Imje Samgu, the Hwaem teaching to the Second Statement, and Śākyamuni's teaching for his lifetime to the Third Statement.<sup>36</sup>

In the context of the Hyujeong's association with Samcheo Jeonsim and the Imje Samgu, the recitation of the Sūtra of "the Lotus" by the Seon master as a living buddha in the Yeongsan Assembly is a recreation of Śākyamuni's holding up of a lotus flower on Vulture Peak and, at the same time, a thundering shout of Linji's First Statement. In this procedure, the Seon master not only simulates the life of Śākyamuni Buddha but he also reproduces Linji. This ritual dynamic of parallel-repetition succinctly explains why the Yeongsan-jakbeop fascinated late-Joseon monks and became associated with important rituals like the Water-Land rite. To the late Joseon monks, the Yeongsan-jakbeop was a metaphor for Seon Buddhism and an efficient means by which to promote the authority of the Seon master, thereby visualizing his powerful presence at the proceeding Water-Land rite.

In summary, the Yeongsan-jakbeop set forth in the *OBJ* is seemingly the deliverance ceremony, but it also has multiple functions in its actual performance. On the part of patrons and participants, it functioned as the Lotus Samādhi repentance; on the part of the Seon monks, it functioned as the ritual of Ascending the Seat in the Dharma Hall. Thus, the Yeongsan-jakbeop played a significant role in granting to the Water-Land rite to follow the powerful ritual efficacy that was produced in the Yeongsan Assembly led by the Seon monk as a living buddha. Indeed, these features are not found in the Water-Land rite conducted in Ming-Qing China. According to the *Shuilu dazhai yigui huiben* (hereafter, *SDYH*) 水陸大齋儀軌會本 (Composite text of Great

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<sup>36</sup> *Simbeop yocho* 心法要抄, Cheongheo Hyujeong 淸虛休靜, HBJ 7: 652b.

Feast of Water and Land), a popular manual in the Ming-Qing period, the recitation of scriptures known as the *Jingchan* 經懺 (Sūtra Repentance) was enacted as a ritual procedure of the Water-Land rite. However, the scriptures that were recited were not limited to the *Lotus Sūtra*; rather, 11 different scriptures including the *Diamond Sūtra* 金剛經, the *Medicine Master Sūtra* 藥師經, the *Brahmā's Net Sūtra* 梵網經 were included. The manner of deploying human and spatial resources was different as well. For example, the recitation was not performed in the context of a dharma assembly, an arrangement in which only a single Seon master would take responsibility. Instead, two sūtra-masters 經師 (Ch. Jingshi) recited the *Avatamsaka-sūtra* together and 24 monks took charge of the recitation of various other scriptures. The recitation was not held at the venue of the Water-Land rite but rather at the outer altar 外壇 (Ch. Waitan), which was usually installed in the Great Hall 大殿 (Ch. Dadian) or the Subsidiary Hall 偏殿 (Ch. Piandian).<sup>37</sup> Thus, the *Jingchan* was not a precursor to the Water-Land rite; instead, it was conducted according to a separate schedule at a site removed from the main venue for the entire duration of the Water-Land rite. Therefore, in terms of agent, place and procedure, the recitation of scriptures in the Ming-Qing Water-Land rite is clearly distinguished from the Yeongsan-jakbeop.

#### 4.2.3 From the Yeongsan Assembly to the Hwaeom Assembly

The Yeongsan-jakbeop was established as an introductory ritual so as to confer the Seon visualization of the Yeongsan Assembly on the subsequent Water-Land rite. This relationship between the two rituals seems to have undergone a fundamental transformation over the

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<sup>37</sup> *Shuilu dazhai yigui huiben* (SDYH) 水陸大齋儀軌會本 [Composite text of Great Feast of Water and Land], attributed to Baozhi (Liang); reworked by Zhipan (Southern Song); complemented by Zhuhong (1535-1615); enlarged by Yirun 儀潤 (Qing), Hathi Trust Digital Library. The consulted sections are *Tangsimen* 堂司門 1 and *Jingchanmen* 經懺門 2 of Roll 1. For a detailed explanation of the ritual procedure, Stevenson, "Text, Image, and Transformation," 49-50.

eighteenth century. In particular, the Water-Land rite itself was reorganized based on a conception of the Hwaecom Assembly around the turn of the nineteenth century. The initial phase of this transformation featured the emergence of the *Hwaecom-jakbeop* 華嚴作法 (lit. Flower Garland Rite), the ritual procedure that appears in the *Sanbojip*, which was printed in 1721; the *Hwaecom-jakbeop* provides a concrete if not detailed description of the procedure within a ritual schedule of five (or, alternatively, three) days and nights. This suggests that the ritual procedure was provided not as a basic reference but for a practical purpose. More interesting is that the layout of the ritual space for the *Hwaecom-jakbeop* was illustrated in the *Sanbojip* when it was reissued in 1739 at Dorimsa 道林寺. According to the illustration, the *Hwaecom-jakbeop* was supposed to be held in the open-air yard outside of the Outer monastery gate 外沙門 (Kr. Oesamun). To the left and right sides of the yard stand eight stations (位; Kr. wi; Ch. wei) for the lower altar like solitary souls, hungry ghosts, monks' souls, Confucians' souls, the sponsoring family and so on. An illustration of the Hwaecom Assembly is installed to the rear (north) of the lower altar. An illustration of the Amitâbha assembly and another of the Dharma Realm are placed in the north-south direction, to the front (south) of the lower altar.<sup>38</sup> (fig.4-2). According to that procedure, calling Buddha Trikâya, reciting the *Avatamsaka-sûtra*, inviting solitary souls and offering to them are in turn conducted.<sup>39</sup> Like the Yeongsan-jakbeop, the *Hwaecom-jakbeop*

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<sup>38</sup> *Sanbojip*, HUC3: 162b. Regarding this illustration, there is some variance between the Jungheungsa and Dorimsa editions. For more on this topic, see my brief explanation below Fig.4-2(a) and Fig.4-2(b). What merits attention, however, is the method for locating the venue for the *Hwaecom-jakbeop*. The venue is not created within the monastery proper but is instead added to the exterior of the monastery. This approach indicates that the *Hwaecom-jakbeop* was an additional, extraneous element but was also seen as a ritual important enough to be furnished with a separate ritual space. In this respect, the variance in illustrations between the editions suggests that the *Hwaecom-jakbeop* was an emergent rather than established ritual and still in the process of attaining its proper form.

<sup>39</sup> As for the procedure of the *Hwaecom-jakbeop*, see *Sanbojip* (2012), 489-91. There is a divergence between the *Sanbojip* editions in terms of what *sûtra* is to be recited in the *Hwaecom-jakbeop*. While the *Lotus-sûtra* is recited in the HBJ edition, the *Avatamsaka-sûtra* in the HUC edition. *Sabojib*, HBJ11: 508c; HUC3: 169a. Taking into account that this rite is titled, "the *Hwaecom-jakbeop*," it is in all likelihood that the *sûtra* is the *Avatamsaka-sûtra*.

was also performed in conjunction with the subsequent Water-Land rite. For instance, based on the procedure of the three-days-and-nights Water-Land rite described in the Zikui 仔夔 text, the Hwaecom-jakbeop was conducted on the third day just prior to the commencement of the main Water-Land rite; the Yeongsan-jakbeop was also held but only on the second day before the “Prior Service Feast” 豫修齋 (Kr. Yesu-jae) began.<sup>40</sup> The Hwaecom-jakbeop took on a central role as a ritual procedure preceding the main rite, which was otherwise accomplished by the Yeongsan-jakbeop. In this regard, it is obvious that around the early eighteenth century the Hwaecom-jakbeop was established as an independent ritual and a replacement for the Yeongsan-jakbeop.

While a fascination with the concept of the Hwaecom Assembly led to the formation of the Hwaecom-jakbeop as a parallel of the Yeongsan-jakbeop, the concept was integrated and eventually transformed into the Water-Land rite itself. In relation to this transformation, a very interesting case is found in the *JBGG* printed in 1827. In the Water-Land rite enacted in the *JBGG*, the invitation of the upper altar was treated under the rubric of “*Sambo tongcheong*” 三寶通請 (Whole Invitation of Three Jewels) and the invitation of the middle altar as “*Sinjung daerye*” 神衆大禮 (Great Ritual of Guardian Deities). The “*Sinjung daerye*” is a ceremony designed to call and invite to the middle altar 104 different guardian deities. While popular cultic gods are included in that number, the deities are primarily the thirty-nine deities that in Book One “Wonderful Adornments of the Leaders of the Worlds” 世主妙嚴品 (Ch. *shizhumiaoyanpin*)

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<sup>40</sup> *Sanbojip* (2012), 598; 603. In the *Sanbojip* there appear two types of ritual references for the Water-Land rite: the Zhipan and Zikui texts. The Hwaecom-jakbeop is enacted only in the Water-Land rite based on Zikui text. While the ritual schedule of the Water-Land rite based on Zhipan text is limited to three days and nights, the ritual term according to Zikui text extends for five to seven days and nights. The number of stations based on Zikui text is also much more than that of Zhipan text. Potentially, in this respect, the ritual of the Zikui text should be larger and longer – in this sense, ritually grander – than that of Zhipan text. Thus, it is tempting to conclude that the Hwaecom-jakbeop was enacted and mobilized in the Water-Land rite based on Zikui text in a search for ritual pomp.

of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* in eighty rolls.<sup>41</sup> As Vairocana Buddha, Rocana Buddha and Śākyamuni Buddha are invited through the “Sambo tongcheong,” a gathering of this nature involving 104 guardian deities comprises a ritual representation of the “Jeokmyeol doryang” 寂滅道場 (Bodhi-site of Quiescent Extinction) or the Hwaecom Assembly in which Rocana Buddha—the reward body of the enlightened Śākyamuni —preached the crux of Buddhism. Apparently, this manner of invitation cannot be regarded any longer as identical to that of the Water-Land rite specified in the *OBJ* or the *Sanbojip*. That is, the means of calling forth buddhas and guardian deities to the upper and middle altars in the *JBGG* reveals that a conception of the Hwaecom Assembly was integrated into and transformed the ritual structure of the Water-Land rite.

Judging from the overall trend of change, it would be quite premature to conclude that the Yeongsan-jakbeop established in the *OBJ* lost its ritual integrity and gravity in the nineteenth century. It seems obvious, however, that a conception of the Hwaecom Assembly played a considerable role in late-Joseon Water-Land rite and thereby significantly impacted its ritual structure and formation. In particular, the transformation of the middle altar – that is, the incorporation of guardian deities of the Hwaecom Assembly into the Water-Land rite – merits attention in this regard. With the emergence of the “Hwaecom guardian deities” 華嚴神衆 (Kr. *Hwaecom sinjung*), the Water-Land rite featured a specific ritual formation that was quite different from its Ming-Qing and early Joseon counterparts.

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<sup>41</sup> Thomas F. Cleary, *Entry into the Inconceivable: An Introduction to Hua-yen Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994), 171. *Jakbeop gwigam* (2010), 92-102; 106-112. For the cult of 104 guardian gods and its doctrinal background in the late Joseon period, see Kim Bohyeong 김보형, "Joseon hugi 104wi sinjungdo gochal" 朝鮮 後期 104 위 神衆圖 考察, *Dongak misulsahak* 東岳美術史學 7 (2006): 353-55; 358-62. For the cult of guardian deities of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* in Korean history, see Nam Dongsin 남동신, "Namal yeocho hwaecom jongdan ui dae-eung gwa hwaecom sinjunggyeong ui seongrib" 羅末麗初 華嚴宗團의 대응과 華嚴神衆經의 성립 *Oedae sahak* 外大史學 5 (1993).



#### 4.2.4 The Ritual Space of the Late-Joseon Water-Land Rite

According to a study of the Water-Land rite of the Ming-Qing, the ritual space of the Water-Land rite was composed of two loci: the outer altar where the repentance based on the sūtras (Jingchan) was held and the inner altar where the core procedure of the Water-Land rite was conducted. The inner altar was subdivided into an upper hall and a lower hall in terms of invited objects: while the Three Jewels of Buddha, Dharma and Saṃgha were invited at the upper hall, sentient beings bound to the six realms of *samsāra* from heaven to hell were assigned to the lower hall; both halls were installed within a single building.<sup>42</sup>

For the Water-Land rite of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Joseon, the ritual space was divided into three altars. To the upper altar – typically installed within the hall – the Three Jewels were invited. On the middle altar – placed either inside of the hall or in a front corner outside the hall – the Three Stores Bodhisattvas 三藏菩薩 (Kr. *Samjang bosal*) and their attendants were called upon. On the lower altar, which was located near the front gate, the souls of the sponsoring family as well as those solitary souls were summoned.<sup>43</sup> At first glimpse, the three altars of the Joseon rite appear to have resulted from simply dividing a lower hall of the inner altar of the Ming-Qing version into the middle and lower altars. Here lies a fundamental difference, however. With the Ming-Qing ritual, while all beings of the inner altar were regarded simply as unenlightened existences to be saved, they were divided into two groups in the Joseon

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<sup>42</sup> Stevenson, "Text, Image, and Transformation," 31; 49-52.

<sup>43</sup> Three Stores Bodhisattvas consists of Heavenly Store Bodhisattva 天藏菩薩 (Kr. Cheonjang bosal), Earth Sustainer Bodhisattva 地持菩薩 (Kr. Jiji bosal) and Earth Store Bodhisattva 地藏菩薩 (Kr. Jijang bosal). Each controls each dweller in heaven, earth and hell, respectively. For the detailed discussion, see Tak Hyeongyu 탁현규, *Joseon sidae samjang taenghwa yeongu* 조선시대 삼장탱화 연구 (Seongnam: Singu munhwasa, 2011), 41-45.

ritual: a group of guardian deities and assistants and a group of objects to be saved.<sup>44</sup> For instance, deities such as Brahma, Indra, the Ten Kings and the Dragon-King were unenlightened beings who had yet to escape from the chain of *samsāra*. Nonetheless, they accomplished their significant roles either in protecting the ritual place – and by extension, the Buddha-Dharma – or in administering the deliverance of souls to the Pure Land. They made an appearance not as objects to be saved but as agents to carry out the saving.

According to the *Sanbojip* of Dorimsa edition, the illustration of the ritual space of the Water-Land rite based on the Zhipan text depicts many stations surrounding the courtyard at the inside of the front gate of the monastery.<sup>45</sup> (fig.4-3). The uppermost section where the banners of Buddha Trikāya are displayed is the upper altar, which is usually installed within the hall. In the lowermost region, which is located outside of the front gate, stands the lower altar to which solitary souls are invited and fed. Between the two altars, eight stations are laid out thereby enclosing the inner courtyard. Beyond these inner stations, a total of ten stations are symmetrically placed on the outer left and right sides.<sup>46</sup> The inner stations consist of two kinds of figures: forceful warriors such as Ucchuṣma, the Luminous Kings, Brahma, Indra, the Eight Kinds of Beings, the Four (Heavenly) Kings, and genius loci such as the protective spirits of the local monastery and the local gods of the city walls. They are summoned in the inner courtyard

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<sup>44</sup> Daniel Stevenson points out that the division of the middle altar and the lower altar in Joseon is “simply a subdivision of the lower hall of Zhuhong and the early-Song sources.” Stevenson, “Text, Image, and Transformation,” 68: note 94. For an excellent review of the changed role of the middle altar in the Water-Land rite of Joseon, Tak, *Joseon sidae samjang taenghwa yeongu*: 37-41.

<sup>45</sup> *Cheonji myeongyang suryukjaeui beomeum sanbojip* 天地冥陽水陸齋儀梵音剛補集 (printed in 1739, Dorimsa), compiled by Jihwan 智還, HUC-3: 141c.

<sup>46</sup> Among the outer stations, the spirits of kings and queens of Joseon 宗室壇 (Kr. Jongsildan) and the spirits of ancestors of a sponsoring family 家親壇 (Kr. Gachindan) are apparently the beings served at the lower altar. The character of the station of the patriarchs of Seon Buddhism 諸山壇 (Kr. Jesandan) is somewhat difficult to define; the patriarchs are sometimes summoned between the upper and middle altars and at other times, between the middle and lower altars. At the least, what seems obvious here is that they are not viewed as the beings served at the lower altar but rather they are called to protect and support the ritual to be performed. See, *Sanbojip* (2012), 34.

in order to keep the territory secured and to protect the Dharma to be preached in the ritual. The outer stations function in a slightly different way. Messengers are dispatched to ten directions in order to inform all beings of the beginning of the Water-Land rite and the gods of the Five Roads who control the five cardinal directions are asked to open roads in every direction so that all beings can reach the ritual venue.<sup>47</sup> The Ten Kings and their attendants also help the souls of the lower altar to attain a better rebirth, particularly a rebirth to the Pure Land. In other words, as officials of purgatorial ministries, they all work as primary agents who lead the ritual in a substantial way. The remaining outer stations work as protectors or supporters as well, as exemplified by the spirits of patriarchs of Seon Buddhism who are summoned to lead the souls of the lower altar to realize Buddhahood in their minds.

The ritual roles of the inner and outer stations reveal clearly the actual procedure of the Water-Land rite. Despite some differences between them with respect to the sequence of the ritual, it should be noted that most of the inner and outer stations are called prior to the commencement of the main ceremony.<sup>48</sup> Starting with the god of wind and rain, the gods associated with securing the ritual territory are summoned followed by the warrior-gods protecting the Dharma. Afterwards, offering is made to messengers and the god of Five Roads in order to begin the main ceremony. Seongneung, a supervisor of the 1705 reconstruction project of the Diamond Ordination Platform, separated them from the middle altar and aptly designated them the “Protectors’ station” 擁護壇 (Kr. *Onghodan*), which epitomizes succinctly how these

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<sup>47</sup> For the roles of the messengers and the gods of the Five Roads, *ibid.*, 128-31.

<sup>48</sup> There are differences in the ritual sequence between the Jungheungsa and Dorimsa editions and also between the procedure of the Zhipan texts and that of the Zikui texts. I consult the Zhipan texts of Dorimsa edition. *Sanbojip*(1739), HUC-3: 102a; 141ab.

stations of guardian deities functioned in the late-Joseon Water-Land rite.<sup>49</sup> What is most important in this regard is that the stations consist primarily of the deities and spirits served at the middle altar; in other words, those deities and spirits that were controlled by the Three Stores Bodhisattvas who take charge of the middle altar in the Water-Land rite. Although the Three Stores Bodhisattvas and their various attendants were all invited and served at the middle altar during the main ceremony, the fact that special groups of protectors and supporters were intentionally selected, separately designated, independently laid out and feasted prior to the main ceremony is significant. This reveals for us what particular roles were required of the middle altar and how differently it functioned and was arranged spatially from its counterpart in the Ming-Qing Water-Land rite.

With this picture in mind, it is important to note that the ritual gravity accorded to the guardian gods and purgatorial functionaries of the middle altar was increasingly highlighted as time passed. This tendency is already observed between two editions of the *Sanbojip*. From the earlier to the later edition, the inner stations were relocated to the inner courtyard, the total number of inner and outer stations was increased, and their sequence in the context of the larger ritual was clarified. All of the changes in the later edition indicate that the stations of the middle altar laid out in the courtyard were transformed in a way to further reinforce their ritual gravity. (fig.4-3). The increasing significance of the protectors and supporters of the middle altar seems to have had the effect of overshadowing the Three Stores Bodhisattvas in the Water-Land rite. The ascendancy of a vision of the Hwaecom Assembly – particularly the cultic fever concerning the guardian gods of the Hwaecom Assembly around the turn of the nineteenth century – eventually struck a critical if not fatal blow to the already waning status of the three bodhisattvas.

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<sup>49</sup> *Jagimun jeolcha joryeol* 仔夔文節次條列 (1724), compiled by Gyepa Seongneung 桂坡性能, HUC-2: 694b.

Indeed, their prominent position on the middle altar was in a sense usurped by the guardian gods of the Hwaeom Assembly.<sup>50</sup> As stated above, this change is exemplified in the *JBGG* in the early nineteenth century. In the *JBGG*, a total of 108 guardian deities are summoned to the middle altar of the Water-Land rite and the Three Stores Bodhisattvas are no longer found there. The 108 gods were expanded based on the 39 gods of Hwaeom Assembly, but they were called “Holy Protectors” 擁護聖衆 (Kr. *Onghoseongjung*) or the “Protectors Assembly” 擁護會上 (Kr. *Onghohoesang*), in a continuation of the previous tradition in which they were referred to as “Protectors Station.”<sup>51</sup> However, the character of the “Holy Protectors” was already imbued with a vision of the Hwaeom Assembly. According to the *JBBG*, the “Holy Protectors” were seen not simply as protectors of the Buddha-Dharma but also as the transformation bodies of the *dharmakāya* [dharma body] manifested at the request of sentient beings.<sup>52</sup> In other words, the “Holy Protectors” were redefined in accordance with the Hwaeom doctrine. We find here that the ritual space of the late-Joseon Water-Land rite was primarily composed of independent, multiple altars to the “Holy Protectors of the Hwaeom Assembly,” thereby achieving a ritual simulacrum of the “Bodhi-site of Quiescent Extinction.”

Next, we turn our attention to the way in which the late-Joseon Water-Land rite and its transformation were implemented and expressed in the ritual space and images of late-Joseon Tongdosa in accordance with the increasing gravity of the Diamond Ordination Platform. To this

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<sup>50</sup> This change is demonstrated in the production trend of *Three Stores Bodhisattvas Painting*. There is only a single extant painting executed in the first half of the nineteenth century. From the second half of the nineteenth century, the production of paintings featuring the three bodhisattvas was resumed, although there were major changes in the iconography. A fair number of guardian gods were incorporated into paintings of the bodhisattvas. Thus, *Three Stores Bodhisattvas Painting* had little difference with the painting of guardian gods. This iconographical change leads Tak to conclude that “the original meaning of *Three Stores Bodhisattvas Painting* was faded.” But he does not address this change in the rise of a vision of the Hwaeom Assembly. Tak, *Joseon sidae samjang taenghwa yeongu*: 242; 274; 283.

<sup>51</sup> *Jakbeop gwigam* (2010), 46, 49.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 93-98.

end, we must explore the way in which the ritual space of Tongdosa had been created and how it functioned in the seventeenth century.

### 4.3 The Yeongsan-jeon and the Diamond Ordination Platform

In 1894, Haedam Chi-ik, concerned with allaying public anxiety caused by the frequent appearance of Japanese troops around the Yangsan region, held a prayer service for the country's stability on the Diamond Ordination Platform for seven days and nights from the 2<sup>nd</sup> to the 8<sup>th</sup> days of the 7<sup>th</sup> month. Regarding the prayer service, he is quoted as having said:

Monks from all of the monasteries gathered together and made an offering to the skull *śarīra* of Śākyamuni Buddha for peace in the country. At the left of the Diamond ordination stūpa, [the monks] separately installed an altar of the Seven Stars [of the Great Dipper] and [made preparations] with all their heart and soul. It lasted from the 2<sup>nd</sup> day of the 7<sup>th</sup> month to the 8<sup>th</sup> day.

渾寺諸僧 一齊聚會. 爲國安平之意 齊進于釋迦如來頂骨舍利. 金剛戒塔之左 別設七星壇 并用矢心. 自七月二日 至于八日.<sup>53</sup>

The Seven Stars was widely acknowledged to have special efficacy to prevent calamities and prolong life.<sup>54</sup> It is not surprising that an altar dedicated to the star deities was installed for a ritual service for the country's stability. Of particular note is that the altar was not situated in a detached, separate space but was instead placed in a temporarily demarcated location to the left of the Diamond Ordination Platform; it was in that particular site that a ritual service appealing to the Seven Stars was conducted. This suggests that, because of its close proximity to the altar, the Diamond Ordination Platform functioned as a source of authority and power.

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<sup>53</sup> "Wichukgi Tongdosa" 爲祝記 通度寺 (1894), Jeunggokjip 曾谷集, Haedam Chi-ik 海曇致益, HBJ 12: 798a.

<sup>54</sup> Henrik H Sørensen, "The Worship of the Great Dipper in Korean Buddhism" (paper presented at the Religions in Traditional Korea, Copenhagen, 1995), 97-99.

In 1917, Frederick Starr (1858-1933), a professor of anthropology at the University of Chicago, visited Tongdosa on Buddha's birthday and witnessed "one of the liveliest scenes" he ever saw in Korea. A photo taken at that time and published in his book captured a moment from that scene in detail: in front of the Yeongsan Hall stood a large, towering *Gwaebul* identified as the one executed in 1767; on the podium of the hall sat a number of lay faithful, seemingly mostly women. (fig.4-4). Professor Starr described the scene in his account:

We were at Tongdo-sa on Buddha's birthday. It is one of the great monasteries of the South. They knew we were coming and therefore we found a place to sleep. When we were within three or four miles of it we found ourselves in a crowd of persons going up to the celebration. [...] When we reached the monastery we found one of the liveliest scenes we ever witnessed in Korea. The head-priest told us that ten thousand people slept on the grounds of the temple that night. The majority of them were women. Of course, that would have been true if it had been a Presbyterian gathering. We were two nights there. On the full day that we spent with them a wonderful crowd of people was present; there were a few Japanese— a teacher and one or two officials— but apart from these the multitude was Korean. Probably fifteen thousand people were there that day. We found that one of the events of that evening was a moving-picture show in one of the monastery buildings. The life of Buddha was to be represented in moving pictures. All this does not look much like death! It is said that at the other head monasteries there were proportionately equal crowds.<sup>55</sup>

Considering that Starr wrote this text in order to refute Homer Hulbert's argument that "Buddhism in Korea is dead," it is reasonable to assume that his account was exaggerated to some degree. For instance, his estimate of "fifteen thousand people" seems excessive.<sup>56</sup> What does seem apparent here, however, is that the large-scale outdoor ceremony was held in the courtyard of the Yeongsan Hall.

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<sup>55</sup> Frederick Starr, *Korean Buddhism, History-Condition-Art: Three Lectures* (Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1918), 62-63.

<sup>56</sup> For a study of Frederick Starr in Korea and the quotation, see Robert Oppenheim, "'The West' and the Anthropology of Other People's Colonialism: Frederick Starr in Korea, 1911-1930," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 64, no. 3 (2005): 685-86.

There are various sources of evidence, which indicate that the precinct of the Yeongsan Hall had been the primary devotional and ritual space at the monastery for a very long while following the foundation of Tongdosa. Above all else, we should keep in mind that the precinct of the Diamond Ordination Platform was originally built as a detached, independent site in need of a Vinaya principle to prohibit overlap between the monastic samgha and the ordination platform, as explained earlier. At the same time, as discussed in Chapter One, it is important to note that the Yeongsan-jeon precinct had a special topographical feature commonly found in traditional main buildings of pre-modern Korea wherein the central axis of the main building was directed toward the top of the foremost mountain. Further, we must recall that the stone pagodas such as a three-tier stone pagoda in the courtyard of the Yeongsan Hall and a five-tier stone pagoda atop Sajamok built in the Silla and Goryeo periods were concentrated around the precinct of the Yeongsan Hall. This spatial and topographical evidence demonstrates that the precinct of the Yeongsan Hall had been used as the main devotional and ritual space in the Silla and Goryeo periods. It is also evident that the Yeongsan-jeon precinct was used for the main ritual space of the Water-Land rite in the early eighteenth century – an inscription on the *Eight Episodes Painting* executed in 1775 says as much, that the Yeongsan Hall was designated as the “Daeung-jeon,” a common appellation of the main devotional and ritual hall in the late Joseon period.<sup>57</sup> A final piece of evidence attesting to the function and centrality of the Yeongsan Hall is that, after the great fire in 1713, the hall was significantly reconfigured in relation to the Diamond Ordination Platform as the ritual place where the Yeongsan-jakbeop was to be performed with the *Gwaebul* of Śākyamuni Buddha. To summarize, all of the above evidence confirms that the precinct of the Yeongsan Hall had been used as the main ritual and devotional space from the

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<sup>57</sup> Han, "Tongdosa Daeung-jeon ui jemunje e daehan gochal," 88.



Silla to the late Joseon periods and that the scene Professor Starr witnessed was far from a one-off event or a temporary occurrence.

The question of when and how the Diamond Ordination Platform came to be used as the main ritual space in the late Joseon period is not a simple one. Apparently, in the Silla and Goryeo periods, the precinct of the Diamond Ordination Platform was removed from the main devotional and ritual space of Tongdosa. By the early Joseon period (AD 1436), a single-story building with 3x2 bays called the Śarīra Hall was installed in front of the Diamond Ordination Platform. However, it is not clear that the Śarīra Hall functioned as anything more than an offering hall for the enshrined śarīra. The circumstances in which the Diamond Ordination Platform was situated in the mid- and late seventeenth century are suggestive in this respect. We have two clues with which to clarify the circumstances: the first is the rebuilding of the Great Dharma Hall in 1647 and the second is a travel journal of a man of letters who visited Tongdosa in 1688.

With the 1647 rebuilding project, the existing Śarīra Hall was expanded extensively and accorded a new appellation – the Daebeop-dang 大法堂 (Great Dharma Hall).<sup>58</sup> Such an architectural expansion indicates that a new ritual function beyond the presentation of offerings to the śarīra was called for within the precinct of the Diamond Ordination Platform. However, it is not clear whether or not the ritual function of the expanded hall was to provide a location for the performance of the Water-Land rite. Tellingly, the expanded hall was newly entitled, “the Great Dharma Hall.” In the *OBJ* compiled by Jiseon and printed in 1661, an interesting appendix was added. Under an entry titled “Regulations for Building a Sanctuary” 道場建立規制 (Kr. Dojang geonrip gyuje), an explanation of the term “beopdang” (dharma hall) is provided. It reads:

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<sup>58</sup> *Buljongchalyaksa*, TJ: 156.

The place housing a buddha is not called the Buddha hall, but rather the Dharma hall. It is because every buddha was able to attain awakening only by hearing the dharma texts. Therefore, [the dharma hall] is so-named as a measure of respect for the dharma.

安佛所 不曰佛堂而云法堂者. 佛佛悉聞法文 能成正覺. 故以尊法爲名也.<sup>59</sup>

The attempt to distinguish between the Buddha hall and the dharma hall can be said to be a normative one infused with the specific color of Chan Buddhism, as found in the the *Baizhang*’ *Pure Rules* 百丈清規 (Ch. *Baizhang qinggui*).<sup>60</sup> Seen from this perspective, the rebuilding project of the Great Dharma Hall of Tongdosa in the mid-seventeenth century was not merely a simple expansion of scale. The project was related to the rise of Seon Buddhism, particularly with respect to the emergence of monks of the Cheongheo line who claimed to stand for the Linji school and called for a new ritual space for conducting their own ritual. Among the rituals specific to Seon Buddhism, we find at least two kinds of rites: the “Seolju yiu,” which was based on the *Seolseon-ui* composed by Cheongheo Hyujeong and came to be printed in 1643; and the “Seonmun josa yecham” (hereafter, Josa yecham) 禪門祖師禮懺 (Rite of Repentance to the Patriarchs of the Chan/Seon School). Both rites bear strong overtones of Seon Buddhism and are performed in the dharma hall. As stated previously, the “Seolju yiu” is a rite in which the Seon master ascends the dharma throne as the living Buddha and preaches the dharma to an audience. In the “Josa yecham,” participants make offerings and confession to Chan/Seon patriarchs of India, China and Korea. The ritual procedure of the Josa yecham proceeds as

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<sup>59</sup> *OBJ*, HBJ 12: 187b.

<sup>60</sup> Concerning an understanding of the dharma hall, there is a subtle difference between the *OBJ* of Joseon and the *Baizhang qinggui* of Tang China. The dharma hall in the latter has no images of the Buddha, while the dharma hall in the former not only has buddha images but also retains concern for the dharma literature. Of course, the dharma literature does not mean scriptural studies but “dharma talks” by a Seon master. Nevertheless, here lies an emphasis in which a Seon master’s talk should be based on scriptural studies. In other words, the Joseon understanding of the dharma hall, albeit its primary orientation toward Chan, reflects the reality of late-Joseon Buddhism in that every hall, regardless of its title, contained buddha images and “the parallel discussion of Seon and Gyo” was stressed.

follows: while all of doors and windows in the dharma hall are closed and draped with curtains, any portraits housed in the patriarch hall are moved to the dharma hall where the rite is performed. Both rites are conducted in close relation to the Yeongsan-jakbeop (Seolju yiun) and the Water-Land rite (Josa yecham).<sup>61</sup>

The current layout of the south and west sides of the Great Dharma Hall was established primarily from the late eighteenth century onward, yet the Eungjin-jeon 應眞殿 (Arhats Hall) seems to be an exception. According to a record in Tongdosa, the Arhats Hall was founded in 1677 on the initiative of Jiseom 智暹 of the Jeonggwan branch.<sup>62</sup> This date is supported by the style of the hall's bracket complexes. The Eungjin-jeon's bracketing is classified as a type of so-called the *Jusimpo* 柱心包 (bracket complexes installed only on the top of columns), which is rarely found in buildings executed after the eighteenth century. (fig.4-5). Judging from the features of the bracketing, one can surmise that the structure was built around the late seventeenth century. Likewise, considering that Jiseon, who learned Buddhist rituals under tutelage of Imseong Chung-eon of the Jeonggwan branch, emphasized the "Josa yecham" in his *OBJ*, the monks of the Jeonggwan branch seems deeply concerned with the "Josa yecham."<sup>63</sup> In this respect, I would argue that Jiseom, a Tongdosa monk of the Jeongghwan branch, constructed the Arhats Hall to provide the ritual space for the Josa yecham. Under these circumstances, the existing Śarīra Hall was greatly expanded and the Arhats Hall was constructed in front of just such a building with a spacious interior. This indicates that rites specific to Seon Buddhism as the Seolju yiun – and, by extension, the Seolseon-ui and the Josa yecham – were of tremendous

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<sup>61</sup> *OBJ*, HBJ 12: 157b; 157c-158b. *Sanbojip* (2012), 324; 363-67.

<sup>62</sup> *Tongdosa yakji*. Quoted in Kim, "Tongdosa geonchuk ui joyeongsa," 79.

<sup>63</sup> *OBJ*, HBJ 12: 187a.

concern for the Tongdosa monks and the large-scale ritual space called the “Great Dharma Hall” was provided so that they might perform those rites in late seventeenth-century Tongdosa.

However, it is not clear that the Water-Land rite was held in the courtyard of the Great Dharma Hall or around the Diamond Ordination Platform. One clue that may help to clarify this question is found in a travel journal of Jeong Sihon 丁時翰 (1625-1707), who visited Tongdosa in 1688. Upon his arrival on the 19<sup>th</sup> day of the 5<sup>th</sup> month, he first ascended the pavilion in order to access a wider view of the main buildings of the monastery. After receiving a meal, Jeong Sihon was guided to the Diamond Ordination Platform and witnessed the following scene:

In the rear of the Dharma hall, I saw the place where the Buddha’s bones were enshrined. The Venerable Buddha-Monk, Jogeun, and the Monk Superintendent, Tanbyeon, pointed to [a spot] surrounded by walls in which lay the three-tier [platform] of stacked stone. Upon it was placed an urn-shaped stone. Across the screen-like stones, buddha images were engraved. There were many parts, which were broken and collapsed. I asked them the reason [for this]. They said, “In the Imjin war, Japanese [forces] demolished it and took the enshrined bones out of it. In the course of their travels, they gave them to a layman of our country and sent him back. After the war, [the bones were] re-enshrined and [the platform was] reconstructed. Therefore, [the platform] isn’t as good as it used to be.”

見法堂後藏佛骨處。佛尊僧祖根 僧統坦卞 指示繞以周牆築砌爲三等。上覆甕形石。屏石皆刻佛像。而多有破碎處。問之則云壬辰倭亂時 倭人毀折出藏骨 持去中道 付我國居士還送。亂後改安改築。故不如前者云。<sup>64</sup>

The place at which Jeong Sihon first stopped was the Manse Pavilion, thus affording him a wider view of the main precinct of the monastery – more specifically, of the vicinity of the Yeongsan Hall. It was not until after receiving a meal, however, that he was guided to the Diamond Ordination Platform. When he finally arrived there, he found out that the Diamond Ordination

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<sup>64</sup> "Sanjung ilgi," Udam seonsaeng munjib 11, Yonsei daehakgyo inmungwahak yeonguso (1968): 430a.

Platform had not been properly restored following the damage caused it during the Imjin War; rather, it remained broken and in disrepair.

In terms of tour routes and reception practices, the Diamond Ordination Platform did not take a central position at Tongdosa. This situation differs radically from that in the nineteenth-century, when the Diamond Ordination Platform was the foremost attraction, confidently presented to literati tourists. Furthermore, it seems clear given the evidence cited above that the two reconstruction projects of the Diamond Ordination Platform that followed the Imjin War were far from thorough. Thus, it is questionable that a magnificent ceremony such as the Water-Land rite could have been staged near, much less within, a site so clearly in a poor state of repair. Perhaps, around the mid-late seventeenth century, the precincts of the Yeongsan Hall may have functioned as the main ritual space for the Water-Land rite or the Yeongsan-jakbeop, while the precincts of the Great Dharma Hall and the Diamond Ordination Platform may well have served as subsidiary ritual space for the ceremonies like the Seolju yiu and the Josa yecham, both quite subordinate to the Water-Land rite and the Yeongsan-jakbeop.

Under the circumstances, then, the enormity of late-Joseon Tongdosa monks' endeavor to visually and spatially emphasize the Diamond Ordination Platform was such that it could not have been resolved by a one-time intervention focused solely on technical maintenance. Above all, the nature of the Diamond Ordination Platform should be reconsidered in conjunction with its established identity as the mausoleum of Śākyamuni Buddha, while earning it the status of a ritual center equal in gravity at the least to the Yeongsan-jeon. In short, the late-Joseon Tongdosa monks' enterprise was a large-scale and long-term project, which would have tremendous impact on the entire ritual space of Tongdosa as well as the ensuing Buddhist projects. In order

to fully address this issue, however, we must first review the history of the reconstruction of the Diamond Ordination Platform following the Imjin War.

#### **4.4 The Reconstruction History of the Diamond Ordination Platform**

According to the related records, from the seventeenth century until the nineteenth century, the Diamond Ordination Platform was either reconstructed or repaired a total of seven times. (Table 4-2). However, it is unclear whether or not the reconstruction of 1838 was actually conducted.<sup>65</sup> Unless supported by reliable evidence, it is probably safe to say that actual reconstruction took place six times rather than seven in the late Joseon period. I will first explore these projects in reverse chronological order to determine which changes occurred in the Diamond Ordination Platform during each project. I will then examine the conditions that required a general rebuilding of the Diamond Ordination Platform, thereby determining which project occurred at a fundamental level in terms of scale and program. The 1872, 1823 and 1745 projects are discussed in order and then the 1603 and 1652 projects are reviewed to clarify the importance of the 1705 project.

The 1872 reconstruction project was led by Gubong Jihwa of the Ho-am branch.

According to Nul-am Jaesun's record, when walking around the ordination platform, Gubong

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<sup>65</sup> The *Buljongchalyaksa* makes note of the project of 1838, yet both the repair record from 1872 and the *Tongdosa sajeok* of 1911 remain silent with respect to the project. According to the *Buljongchalyaksa*, the supreme Buddhist administrative institutions of the time such as the Five Rectification Offices 五糾正所 and Pyochungwon 表忠院, issued an official document calling for donations from all corners of the country for this project. Intriguingly, there remains an undated record of the reconstruction project for the Diamond Ordination Platform, which documents the amount of donations provided by numerous monasteries across the country. Thus, it is possible that this record was executed during the 1838 project. In fact, as that time, Yong-am Hye-eon hosted King Sunjong's first and second annual memorial services at Tongdosa in 1836 and 1837, the impressive number of donations collected from monasteries from all over the country to provide support for the project can be justified to a certain extent. However, the absence of any mention of the 1838 reconstruction in later records indicates that the fundraising activity did not lead to actual construction work for an unknown cause. For this matter, *Buljongchalyaksa*, TJ: 175. *Saritap jungsu yeonhwagi* 舍利塔重修緣化記, P-103, HSM 3-S: 100. "Yong-am jeon" 龍岩傳, Eung-un Gongyeo Daesa Yumangrok 應雲空如大師遺忘錄, Eung-un Gongyeo 應雲空如, HBJ 10: 751b. *Buljongchalyaksa*, TJ: 226.

Jihwa noticed that so many parts of it were dislocated, slanted, or stained and therefore decided to undertake a repair project. Nul-am's record reads:

What was lacking was replaced and renewed; what was slanted was dug out and straightened; what was overturned was supported and made right; what was stained was ground down and made to shine.

缺者易而新之 頗者鑿而正之 傾者支而匡之 汚者切而光之.<sup>66</sup>

Given that the most recent reconstruction prior to 1872 was conducted in 1823, half a century had already passed since the ordination platform was last repaired. However, the second quarter of the nineteenth century was a period of crisis in which the majority of the Tongdosa monks had scattered and the monastery itself was on the verge of closure.<sup>67</sup> It was not merely the fifty bygone years that had left the ordination platform in such a poor state of repair, of “lacking, slanted, overturned and stained” appearance. Rather, the hardship that Tongdosa faced at the time made it difficult to maintain proper care of the ordination platform. Thus, the repair project of 1872 constituted not so much the structural rebuilding of the ordination platform as non-structural maintenance focused on preserving the existing structure. The description Nul-am provides does not convey specific details of the maintenance but it still should not be regarded as a formulaic expression. On the south and west faces of the upper level are the facing stones (Kr. *myeonseok*) that are devoid of reliefs (wu8, su2, su8) and have dividing lines between them and their neighboring stones, implying that these stones were newly replaced. Additionally, the facing stones on the east face (eu2, eu8) and the north face (nu4, nu7, nu8) have cracks

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<sup>66</sup> *Saritap jungsugi* 舍利塔重修記 (1872), Nul-am Jaesun 訥庵裁詢, P-101, HSM 3-S: 99.

<sup>67</sup> The number of monks, once as high as 500 or 600, had fallen drastically to twenty-odd monks (excepting the old and weak) by 1827; almost all of the land owned by the monastery passed into other hands in 1845. For the decrease in the number of monks, see the Tongdosa monks' petition to the Navy Commissioner in 1827, quoted in Jeong Gwangho 鄭珖鎬, "Yijo hugi sawon japyeokgo" 李朝後期 寺院雜役考, *Sahakronji* 史學論志 2, no. 1 (1974): 40. As for the land issue, *Sambeopdang bulryang heontogi* 三法堂佛糧獻土記 (1845), P-152, HSM 3-S: 109.

indicating that they once were slanted but subsequently reoriented to their appropriate positions. (fig.15). On the lower level of the platform, it seems that the facing stones were not replaced but the cap stones 甲石 (Kr. *gapseok*) were repaired and new stone pilasters 撐柱 (Kr. *taengju*; inserted in between the individual facing stones) were installed. In other words, the repair project of 1872 may be characterized as a comprehensive maintenance program that involved supplementing the facing stones on the upper level and repairing the cap stones and pilasters on the lower level of the ordination platform.

The reconstruction of 1823 was an important project by which the ordination platform underwent more fundamental structural changes and to which new icons were added. Of the 1832 reconstruction, Wolha Gye-o left two records. His records offer crucial information concerning the background and specific details of the 1832 project, thereby shedding light on issues surrounding the staircases and stone lanterns of the Diamond Ordination Platform, issues that have been the subject of vague assumptions or misunderstandings until now. The reconstruction project of 1823 was carried out under the direction of Hongmyeong Gwegwan 鴻溟軌觀 (fl.1797-1825), a leading monk of Tongdosa at the time. In contrast to previous reconstruction efforts, this time there was a concrete reason to justify Tongdosa's launching of the rebuilding project. In this regard, Wolha Gye-o wrote in the *Tongdosa seokjonggi*

通度寺石鐘記:

On all four sides around the stone platform were staircases. They were as complete as the staircases in the royal palace. The commissioners of the Yeongnam military camp and the ranking officials climbed up the stairs to the top without any reluctance. Even though a signboard prohibiting [this behavior] was installed, it could not be helped. All those with good will in the monastery had considered it a noxious practice for a long time. During the winter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> year, *im-o*, of the Daoguang era (1822), the great master Hongmyeong became quite indignant [about it]. Thereupon, his dharma-brothers Doam, Ugye and Guryong closely cooperated with such and such persons and



collected donations widely from the monasteries in Andong and Jinju of Gyeongsang, and the four border regions and six garrisons. In the spring of the 3<sup>rd</sup> year, *gyemi*, of the Daoguang era (1823), the construction commenced; they chiseled stones, eliminated the staircases, made height and width suitable, sealed the missing parts, installed a *deunglong*, and thereby completed the work that summer.

石壇下 前後左右面 有梯砌. 完如宮殿陞降處. 嶺之南 營棚之帥 有品長吏 無憚登封. 雖立禁牌 亡可奈何. 寺下 有志之人 皆病之久. 道光二年壬午冬 大禪師鴻溟公 奮然起. 于時宗伯度庵友溪九龍 與某 某子 景附響應 周募慶尙安晉 四界六鎮之寺刹. 三年癸未春 始役 鑄治石 捐其梯 逼宜橫豎 合其縫 缺 樹燈籠一座 徂夏竣功.<sup>68</sup>

Although the monastery forbade all visitors from ascending the Diamond Ordination Platform, there were still high officials indiscreetly treading on it. Such circumstances made it necessary for the Tongdosa monks to undertake a project in which they removed the staircases and filled in and sealed the emptied space. In this regard, the installation of a *deunglong* 燈籠 (tomb lantern) is of great import. The *deunglong*, which means the “Jangmyeongdeung” 長明燈 (lantern of lengthy illumination), is conventionally set up in front of the mausoleums of dignitaries and royalty.<sup>69</sup> Therefore, Wolha Gye-o’s use of “*deunglong*” rather than the more general term “*seokdeung*” 石燈 (stone lantern), was strategic, as the former was meant to serve as a symbolic reference to mausoleums; that is, in the physical sense, entrance to the ordination platform was prevented by the elimination of the staircases; in the symbolic sense, a *deunglong* was installed so that it could serve as a sign warning the Confucian officials that ascending the Diamond Ordination Platform would be a sacrilege equivalent to ascending the tombs of dignitaries or royalty.

<sup>68</sup> "Tongdosa seokjonggi," Gasango 4, HBJ 10: 785.

<sup>69</sup> Kim Yisun 김이순, "Joseon sidae neung gwa myo ui seokmul bigyo" 조선시대 능과 묘의 석물 비교, in *Gyeonggi myoje seokjo misul ui yeongu hyeonhwang gwa gwaje* 경기 묘제 석조미술의 연구현황과 과제, ed. Gyeonggi Provincial Museum 경기도박물관 (Suwon: Gyeonggi Provincial Museum, 2009), 108.

The removal of the staircases also had important ramifications with respect to the configuration of the icons that were laid out on the lower level of the ordination platform, for the spots where the staircases were formerly located had to be sealed afterwards. Of particular interest in relation to this issue are the four pairs of stone stair carriages within the precinct of the Diamond Ordination Platform and a pair of stone stair carriages now housed in the Tongdosa Museum.<sup>70</sup> On the triangular surfaces of these stair carriages are heavy reliefs depicting guardian warriors in various poses. The height of the stair carriages varies within the range of 67 to 72 centimeters, which matches to the height of the facing stones on the lower level of the Diamond Ordination Platform.<sup>71</sup> Therefore, we can regard them as components of the stairs that were not returned to their original places after the removal of the staircases in 1823. Seen from this perspective, it can be concluded that a total of five flights of staircases were eliminated. The points of elimination very likely corresponded to the areas where the five images of Tathāgatas are now engraved. Three staircases were probably located at the center of the east, west, and north faces (respectively) on the lower level of the ordination platform. The remaining two staircases were attached to the south face of the lower level: one on the east side and the other on the west side, as indicated in the case of the *Jietantujing*. Furthermore, there are obvious stylistic discrepancies between the Tathāgata and his flanking bodhisattva reliefs. Finally, it also appears that the former – the Tathāgata reliefs – were probably added later than the bodhisattva reliefs. These observations serve as evidence to prove that it was the five Tathāgata reliefs that replaced the displaced stairs. In this regard, another record by Wolha Gye-o is quite illuminating:

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<sup>70</sup> For the four pairs of stair carriages within the precinct of the Diamond Ordination Platform, HSM 3-1: 394 (fig.33). For a pair of stair carriages now housed in the Tongdosa Museum, HSM 2-2: 337 (fig.347).

<sup>71</sup> For the dimensions of the facing stone's height on the lower level, see Yim, "Tongdosa Geumgang gyedan," 100.

In summer, upon the completion of the construction, donations were also collected. 60 sets of robes, 60 Buddhist paintings, and six gilded Buddhist statues were all produced at the same time. So that they could all be finished auspiciously, a large-scale Water-Land rite for dotting the pupils was held to complete the work.

夏 竣工兼募. 袈裟六十領 佛幀十軸 全[金?]身六佛 同時設造. 俱得吉成. 大辦水陸  
點齋而落成之.<sup>72</sup>

The above passage informs us that when the Diamond Ordination Platform was reconstructed in 1823, Buddhist robes, paintings, and statues were also executed so that “a Water-Land rite for dotting the pupils” – that is, the Eye Opening Ceremony of Buddha Statues fused with the Water-Land rite – could be performed at the same time. The Eye Opening Ceremony of Buddha Statues of the late Joseon periods characteristically involved “the Ceremony of the Insertion of the Intestinal Depository” 佛腹藏儀式 (Sk. *nidhāna*), which included activities such as inscribing seed syllables onto the Buddha statues or paintings or enshrining symbolic objects. In particular, the Buddhas of the Diamond World 金剛界 were invited and the “Five Wheels Seed Syllables” 五輪種子 and “True Mind Seed Syllables” 真心種子 were inscribed on statues and images. This kind of ritual gained popularity to the extent that the late Joseon period saw the appearance of a scripture titled the *Josanggyeong* 造像經 (*Sūtra on Making Statues*), which essentially codified the ritual practice described above. Of particular interest is that the Five Wheels Seed Syllables and True Mind Seed Syllables are incised on the Tathāgata images, which were supplemented after the removal of the staircases on the Diamond Ordination Platform. Thus, the Water-Land rite held in 1823, which featured the Eye Opening Ceremony, was not performed only for the newly executed Buddha statues and paintings, but also for the five Tathāgata images that had been added to the Diamond Ordination Platform.

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<sup>72</sup> *Geumgang gyedan jungsugi* 金剛戒壇重修記 (1823), Gye-o 戒悟, P-99, HSM 3-S: 99.

As a result of the 1823 reconstruction, a stone lantern called the “deunglong” was installed on the Diamond Ordination Platform, the five staircases were eliminated and, in their stead, the images of five Buddhas of the Diamond World were added. There is no record explaining precisely where the deunglong was installed; however, as a photograph taken in 1902 shows a stone lamp only on the south face, the deunglong installed in 1823 must have been placed at front of the south side of the Diamond Ordination Platform, just as we see it today. (fig.17). Consequently, the Diamond Ordination Platform became the place where both entrance and ascension were prohibited physically and symbolically; more specifically, the mausoleum-like character was made more visible.

Reconstruction work that preceded the 1823 project began in 1745. The main focus of the 1745 project was the polychrome work of the Daeung-jeon. At the time of the project, work on the Diamond Ordination Platform did not extend beyond the level of maintenance.<sup>73</sup> As only forty years had passed following the large-scale reconstruction project of 1705, the ordination platform was probably in good condition and therefore not requiring of any urgent intervention. At present, it is difficult to determine the precise extent of the 1745 project. What seems apparent is that the Diamond Ordination Platform did not undergo any structural changes at that time. At the least, it retained its five staircases, which were not removed until the 1823 reconstruction. Thus, the images of bodhisattvas, which were divided into groups of three and four, were laid out on both flanks of the central staircases on the east, west and north faces of the lower level of the Diamond Ordination Platform. This specific configuration was, in fact, established with the 1705 reconstruction project. In order to evaluate the reasoning behind this particular configuration, it

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<sup>73</sup> "Tongdosa Daeung-jeon gaedanhwak gyeom Seokjong jungsugi" 通度寺大雄殿改丹牒兼石鐘重修記 (1748), Su-o seonsaeng munjip 睡聾先生文集 5, Seo Seokrin 徐錫麟, Ugyo net.

is necessary to examine what transpired in the preceding reconstruction projects of 1603 and 1652.

According to the Min-o's *Gyedan wonryu*, Samyeong Yujeong's disciple, Uiryeong and others were in charge of the 1603 reconstruction under the patronage of the Governor of Gyeongsang province. However, as it took place immediately following the Imjin War, explains the account, "there were no labor forces available and supplies were lacking, so the 'stones' couldn't be stacked perfectly" [人殘物稀 未完築石].<sup>74</sup> Not until 1652 were the parts, which had not been properly fitted in 1603, finally repaired. The reconstruction work of 1652 was led by a Tongdosa monk named Jeong-in 淨仁 from Yeongcheon. He is said to have secured 300 *bari* [駄] of "limes" 石灰 from nearby Chilgok and transported them to Tongdosa along the waterway of the Nakdong River.<sup>75</sup> This suggests that, in an effort to supplement the deficiencies of the 1603 project, Tongdosa concentrated much of its energy to the acquisition of building materials with the 1652 project. However, both the counting unit, "*bari*," and the specific wording of "lime" are cause for suspicion. The *bari* is a unit of weight indicating three full packages loaded onto the back of a horse or an ox, but it is difficult to calculate what exactly constitutes one *bari* of limes and, naturally, it is even more difficult to evaluate the implications of "300 *bari*." Ultimately, we can surmise only that a considerable amount of "lime" was secured. Likewise, the account is vague in terms of what the reference "lime" actually means. It cannot simply be pointing to "lime" alone; rather, I would argue that it likely referred to both "lime" and "stone"—possibly, granite. It could be understood as an indication that the Tongdosa monks not only needed new

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<sup>74</sup> *Gyedan wonryu*, TJ: 89.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*

stones to replace the old, but also needed lime with which to fill in the cracks on the Diamond Ordination Platform.

The aforementioned procurement of building stones indicates that the repair of the Diamond Ordination Platform, which had been badly damaged during the Imjin War, came to a conclusion at this time. There is no extant record that documented the exact details on the 1652 reconstruction, but the scene witnessed by Jeong Si-han, cited above, provides indirect yet valuable evidence concerning the outcome of the 1652 project. On the 19th of May in 1688, Jeong Si-han was looking at the Diamond Ordination Platform behind the Great Dharma Hall and, according to his observation, (1) walls surrounded the four sides of the Diamond Ordination Platform; (2) the Diamond Ordination Platform had three levels; (3) there was an urn-shaped stone placed on the very top of the platform; (4) buddha images were engraved on the screen-like facing stones; and (5) at the time, numerous portions of the Diamond Ordination Platform were broken and collapsed. This observation indicates that the 1652 project restored the Diamond Ordination Platform to some degree following the damage it suffered during the Imjin War. Nonetheless, around the last decade of the seventeenth century, the Diamond Ordination Platform fell again into a poor state of repair. This regrettable physical status of the Diamond Ordination Platform must have fueled the discontent of the Tongdosa monks of the 1690s with the preceding reconstruction. Thus, a new and more thorough reconstruction project was in order, eventually taking place in 1705. Beyond the physical state of the Diamond Ordination Platform – that of serious disrepair and decay – there was ideological cause for a complete reconstruction of the structure in accordance with the changed reality of the late Joseon period as well as an urgent, pragmatic need for the wholesale replacement of all of the broken parts. To put it more precisely, the next project had to be a large-scale one involving a general and fundamental rebuilding.

## Chapter Five:

### The 1705 Reconstruction of the Diamond Ordination Platform

#### 5.1 The Scale of the 1705 Reconstruction

The scale of the 1705 rebuilding of the Diamond Ordination Platform is obvious from the recorded size of the labor force, the number of participants, and the amount of funds raised. While the number of people who performed the manual labor of transporting the building stones reached ten thousand, 130 general managers, 15 managers-in-chief, 627 construction workers, 20 stonemasons, and 17 painters also participated in the reconstruction.<sup>1</sup> These numbers were exceptionally large for a single construction project. For comparison consider the reconstruction of the Gakhwang-jeon of Hwaeomsa, which began in 1699 and lasted until 1703; this two-story building measured seven bays across by five deep and was the largest building constructed or rebuilt during the late Joseon period. Furthermore, it was a royal project, with the Prince of Yeonying (future King Yeongjo) and his biological mother, Suk-bin Choe, as the most prominent donors, along with seventeen high-ranking officials, including the three State Councilors and the Minister of the Ministry of War. According to the reconstruction record, 3,015 soldiers were recruited to serve as the labor force for this project.<sup>2</sup> Thus, the labor force mobilized for the 1705 reconstruction of the Diamond Ordination Platform was far larger than that of even this huge project carried out under the sponsorship of the royal family and court officials. Of course, the transportation of heavy building stones for the Diamond Ordination

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<sup>1</sup> *Sejon bimyeong hurok* 世尊碑銘後錄 (1706), Seongneung 性能, S-415, HSM II-S: 308-9.

<sup>2</sup> Yi Ganggeun 李康根, "Hwaeomsa buljeon ui jaegeon gwa jangeom e gwanhan yeongu" 華嚴寺 佛殿의 再建과 莊嚴에 관한 研究 *Bulgyo misul* 佛教美術 14 (1997): 89; 94; 97.

Platform required a large number of people, but the sheer size of the labor forces is still a clear indicator demonstrating that it was a remarkably extensive project.

The amount of the donations received is also remarkable. Monasteries across the country sent 783 *nyang* (兩; tael) of coins and eight large donors provided 1,170 *nyang*, with both contributions making up the total donation 1,953 *nyang*.<sup>3</sup> (Table 5-1). The aggregate amounts to a considerable sum of money, which was, in truth, a rather excessive amount to be spent on the construction of a single structure. From the completion of the 1705 project and up until the early-mid nineteenth century, among all of the Buddhist projects carried out in Tongdosa, only three received equivalent donations. During the construction of Bogwang-jeon in 1807, there were donations of 1802.73 *nyang*; when the Great Dharma Hall was reconstructed in 1809, the main fundraisers of Tongdosa collected the large sum of 2,255 *nyang*; when the Diamond Ordination Platform and Mupung bridge were reconstructed in 1823 under the powerful leadership of Hongmyeong Gwegwan, the sum collected by several fundraisers amounted to 2,171.6 *nyang*.<sup>4</sup>

Compared to other projects at Tongdosa, the donation totaling around 2,000 *nyang* of coins seems even more exceptional. In 1767, Tongdosa commissioned a huge Buddhist painting

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<sup>3</sup> For the conversion to *nyang* of coin, I refer to Yi Heonchang 이헌창, ed., *Joseon hugi jaejeong gwa sijang* 조선 후기 재정과 시장 (Seoul: Seoul National University Press, 2010), 50: table 2-2. However, I do not adhere to the conventional understanding of *gwan* of coins. 1 *gwan* is conventionally reckoned as 10 *nyang*. According to Bak Hyesuk, however, 1 *gwan* was usually calculated as 1 *nyang* in many of the sources of the late Joseon period. If we calculate 1 *gwan* as 10 *nyang*, the total donations for the 1705 reconstruction amount to 12,843 *nyang*. This amount is too large for a single construction project. In terms of the price level and precedents of other construction projects or Buddhist projects, this is not considered a reliable number. Additionally, considering that *gwan* rather than *nyang* was consistently used as a monetary unit in the record with the 1705 reconstruction project, 1 *gwan* was most likely to be used as a basic monetary unit, which was equal to 1 *nyang*. For this issue, Bak Hyesuk 박혜숙, "18-19 segi munheon e boineun hwapye danwi beonyeok ui munje" 18~19 세기 문헌에 보이는 화폐단위 번역의 문제, *Minjok munhaksu yeongu* 민족문화사연구 38 (2008): 227-29.

<sup>4</sup> For the amount in donations collected in 1807, see *Bogwang-jeon geonrip siju myeonghamrok* 普光殿建立施主名啣錄 (1808), P-36, HSM 3-S: 86. As for the Great Dharma Hall in 1809, see *Jiaqing sipsa nyeon gisa pal wol il Sarigak jungsu gyeom dancheong dae sijujil* 嘉慶十四年己巳八月日舍利閣重修兼丹青大施主秩 (1809), P-66, HSM 3-S: 92-93. For the donation collected in 1823, see *Gyedan jungsu yeo Mupunggyo gaejohubal* 戒壇重修與舞楓橋改造後跋 (1823), P-100, HSM 3-S: 99.



measuring 4.9m wide and 12m high of the type known as *gwaebul*. The funding raised for the commission from eighty donors reached a total of 475.7 *nyang*. After the great fire of 1756 had destroyed several buildings at Tongdosa, money collected by chief fundraisers reached 1439.2 *nyang*. As a result of the successful fundraising, the polychrome work of the three, freshly reconstructed halls (Daegwangmyeong-jeon, Yeongja-jeon, Myeongbu-jeon) was accomplished, the Vairocana Buddha statue at the Daegwangmyeong-jeon and the Buddha statue at the Yeongsan-jeon were gilded, and the *Buddha Trikāya Painting* 三身佛圖 (Kr. *Samsinbuldo*) at the Daegwangmyeong-jeon was also executed in 1759.<sup>5</sup>

Of course, in order to accurately compare the sum of the donations gathered for these Buddhist projects, we should take into consideration price fluctuations. For example, according to a study that traced price fluctuation in the Gyeongju region from 1701 to 1909, in the years surrounding 1759 prices had dropped lower than those of 1705; in contrast, 1767 was the year in which prices rose to the level of the 1705 rates. While prices in the 1800s generally remained similar to those in 1705, price levels did rise in 1823. (fig.5-1). Given the price levels in 1705, funds raised in 1759 would have had more impact than they would have in 1705; in contrast, funds raised in 1823 would have had less impact. On the whole, however, prices may be estimated to have maintained similar levels from the early eighteenth century to the early nineteenth century, with a tendency toward slow and gradual increases.<sup>6</sup> Based on this trend,

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<sup>5</sup> Concerning the donations collected in 1767, see *Qianlong samsip yi nyeon jeonghae gu wol il gaeseong gwaebulgi sijumyeong* 乾隆三十二年丁亥九月日改成掛佛記施主名 (1767), Eung-am Huiyu 凝庵希有, P-95, HSM 3-S: 98-99. For the 1759 donation, *Gimyo-nyeon gaegyeum taenghwa danhwaksa sijugi* 己卯年改金幀畫丹腹事施主記 (1759), P-96, HSM 3-S: 99.

<sup>6</sup> Bak Giju 박기주, "Jaehwa gageok ui chui, 1701 ~ 1909" 재화가격의 추이, 1701 ~ 1909, in *Suryang gyeongjesa ro dasibon Joseon hugi* 수량경제사로 다시 본 조선후기, ed. Yi Yeonghun 이영훈 (Seoul: Seoul National University Press, 2004), 204-6; fig.18; table2; 209.

therefore, we can basically compare the 1705 donations to donations throughout the period in question without much reference to price fluctuations.

More specifically, it is useful to consider the value of one *nyang* of coin in the context of the operating budget of Tongdosa. According to a record composed in 1796, Tongdosa's joint operation funds for this year amounted to 505 *mal* (斗; peck) of rice. The limit to the expenditures that the Saim 寺任, the chief manager of the monastery, could use in his official duties was set at 292 *mal* of rice. The joint operation fund was required to be spent over the span of one year and the largest expense was related to the reception and provision of services to visitors. As of 1796 at Tongdosa, 1 *mal* of rice was worth 0.24 *nyang*, which makes 505 *mal* of rice equivalent of 121.1 *nyang* in currency. Therefore, the monthly operation fund for Tongdosa would have been around 10.1 *nyang* of coin. The expense of 292 *mal* of rice spent by the chief manager of the monastery in all official duties was equivalent to 70.08 *nyang* per year, which is reckoned as 5.84 *nyang* per month.<sup>7</sup> Exactly how much value did that amount of currency have? If we refer to the journals of Hwang Yunseok (1729-1792) and Yu Manju (1755-1788), we can arrive at an understanding of price levels of the period. In the eighteenth day of the second month of 1766, when Hwang set off from Seoul for Chuncheon, he was required to pay 1 *pun* 分 of coin for a one-night stay (per person) at an inn, 1 *pun* for a horse, and 3 to 5 *pun* for a meal (1 *nyang* [兩; tael] = 10 *jeon* [錢; mace] = 100 *pun* [分; candareen]). When he reached Seoul, he paid 5 to 7 *pun* of coin for a meal.<sup>8</sup> In 1778, Yu Manju, a doctor living in Seoul at the time along with his eight family members, spent a total of 56 *nyang* of coin for rice consumed in a single year,

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<sup>7</sup> *Tongdosa sunghunrokgi* 通度寺崇燠錄記 (1796), compiled by Nambong Gwonseong 南峯眷性, P-141, HSM 3-S: 107.

<sup>8</sup> Yi Heonchang 이현창, "18 segi Hwang yunseok ga ui gyeongje saenghwal" 18 세기 황윤석가의 경제생활, in *Yijae nango ro boneun Joseon jisikin ui saenghwalsa* 이재난고로 보는 조선 지식인의 생활사 (Seongnam: The Academy of Korean Studies, 2007), 381; 416.

which means a family of eight spent 4.7 *nyang* per month to purchase rice.<sup>9</sup> U Hayeong, who lived in the latter half of the eighteenth century, wrote that a laborer's daily income was about 25 *pun*, the amount of which was set by a common rule. In terms of the *royal protocols* 儀軌 (Kr. *uigwe*), the monthly wage for recruited workers, which had remained steady from the late seventeenth century up to the early nineteenth, was 25 *pun* per day in most cases.<sup>10</sup> A simple calculation yields 7.5 *nyang* per a month. The compensation that the chief manager of the monastery received—5.84 *nyang* per a month—was lower than the wage for ordinary workers but the concept was still fairly close to a monthly wage. Given that one meal would cost 3 to 5 *pun*, Tongdosa's joint operation fund—10.1 *nyang* per a month—was an amount sufficient to provide around 200 to 330 meals per a month for visitors – in particular, *yangban* travelers.

As for the cost of construction, housing prices can serve as a reference. Housing costs were estimated by the central government when it forced the residents of Suwon to settle in the new city of Hwaseong in 1789. The relevant records provide a variety of information of interest to us here. For instance, according to the data, the size of home Yangban and Jung-in [mid-level bureaucrats] owned was on average measured 11 to 15 bays, with the largest of such homes reaching as much as 27 bays. In contrast, the houses of commoners and slaves were typically composed of around 4 to 7 bays. Housing prices are difficult to generalize, but the most expensive home, featuring a tiled roof and measuring 24.5 bays total, would have cost about 400 *nyang*. In comparison, the most expensive thatched-roof house with 18 bays was worth 122

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<sup>9</sup> Kim Ho 김호, "Yakguk gwa uiwon" 약국과 의원, in *Joseon sidae saenghalsa* 조선시대 생활사 2, ed. Hanguk Gomunseo hakhoe 한국고문서학회 (Seoul: Yeoksa bipyeongsa, 2000), 278.

<sup>10</sup> Bak Yitaek 박이택, "Seoul ui sukryeon mit misukryeon nodongja ui imgeum, 1600~1909" 서울의 숙련 및 미숙련 노동자의 임금, 1600~1909, in *Suryang gyeongjesa ro dasibon Joseon hugi* 수량경제사로 다시 본 조선 후기, ed. Yi Yeonghun 이영훈 (Seoul: Seoul National University Press, 2004), 85.

*nyang*.<sup>11</sup> When Hwang Yunseok inquired as to the prices of houses in Seoul in 1769, he found that tiled-roof houses sold for 20 *nyang* per bay and thatched-roof houses cost 10 *nyang* per bay; thus, homes in Seoul were more expensive than those in Suwon.<sup>12</sup> Supposing that the sizes of the homes occupied by the yangban in Seoul were around 15 bays, then the average price for a house would be approximately 300 *nyang*; if they were around 25 bays, then the price would be about 500 *nyang*. According to a historical record, in 1816, a buyer paid 1,782 *nyang* for a residence complex called Gyeongsu palace 慶壽宮. Considering that 20 *nyang* per bay was a rough market price, the Gyeongsu palace was very likely a grand mansion for royal families approaching 90 bays.<sup>13</sup>

Given the value of currency and the cost of living during the mid-late eighteenth century, therefore, the total donation in the 1705 project to Tongdosa of approximately 2,000 *nyang* was indeed an impressive sum. In gauging the magnitude of the 1705 reconstruction, however, we also need to recognize that fundraising was more difficult at that time than it was in the early nineteenth century due to circumstances faced by Tongdosa in the early eighteenth century. A terrible famine struck in the year 1705 resulting in a short-term hike in the price of rice.<sup>14</sup> Lay believers rarely participated in fundraising activities; those who gathered and made donations were mostly Buddhist monks, particularly the affiliates of the monasteries in the Yeongnam region, most of which were sub-temples under the jurisdiction of Tongdosa. While the Honam and Yeongnam regions together comprised the center of Buddhism at the time, the donations

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<sup>11</sup> Im Hakseong 임학성, "Joseon sidae saramdeul ui jugeo saenghwal" 조선시대 사람들의 주거 생활, in *Joseon sidae saenghwalsa* 조선시대 생활사 3, ed. Hanguk Gomunseo hakhoe 한국고문서학회 (Seoul: Yeoksa bipyeong, 2006), 258-66.

<sup>12</sup> Yi, "18 segi Hwang yunseok," 366.

<sup>13</sup> Bak, "18-19 segi munheon," 226.

<sup>14</sup> Yi Jeongsu and Kim Huiho 이정수, 김희호, *Joseon hugi tojisoyu gyecheung gwa jiga byeondong* 조선 후기 토지소유계층과 지가 변동 (Seoul: Hyeon, 2011), 230-31, table1; 249, table1.

coming from Honam was significantly lower than were those offerings originating in Yeongnam.<sup>15</sup> This disparity suggests that Tongdosa's sphere of influence did not yet fully extend to the monasteries located in Honam region.

The early nineteenth century was not only the heyday of Tongdosa, but it was also the period when its donors changed dramatically from those from whom the monastery had received support in the early eighteenth century. By the early nineteenth century, although the monks still comprised a very important portion of donors, a diversity of donors – from court ladies of the royal palace to people from all across the country, including lay believers from the capital, Gyeongseong, and its neighboring Gyeonggi region – began appearing regularly. As for the participating monasteries, those from the Honam region such as Songgwangsa, Hwaeomsa, Cheoneunsa and Silsangsa, were also included in the list of donors.<sup>16</sup>

Considering the changing character of the donors from the eighteenth to the nineteenth centuries, as well as a short-term hike in prices in 1705, we can conjecture that, despite the similarity in the amount of donations collected between 1705 and the early nineteenth century, the fundraising effort in 1705 was more difficult and required more strategic consideration than did the campaign of the early nineteenth century. In the reconstruction of 1705, major provincial officials who had jurisdiction over Tongdosa, including the Gyeongsang Province and Concurrent Inspector, a Navy Commissioner, and the Yangsan Prefecture Magistrate, participated in the project. As for monastic officials, the Commandant-in-chief of the Eight Provinces, who had control over all of the monk-soldiers in the country, and the Commandant-in-chief in Yeongnam, who exerted control over monk-soldiers in Yeongnam region, also added

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<sup>15</sup> For Buddhism in the Honam region in the late Joseon period, Kim, *Joseon hugi bulgyosa yeongu*: 133-34.

<sup>16</sup> *Jiaqing sipsa nyeon Sarigak jungsu*, HSM 3-S: 92.

their names to the list of patrons. The mobilization of as many as 11,000 laborers needed to haul building stones and 600 conscripted soldier-laborers was made possible only by the full support of provincial officials as well as the collaboration of monastic officials. However, credit for the collection of donations must be given to Gyepa Seongneung 桂坡性能 (n.d.), an exceptional monk who led the rebuilding project at Tongdosa in 1705 as the Daegongdeokju 大功德主 (Great Fundraiser).

Gyepa Seongneung was from Yecheon in the Gyeongsang province and a monk from Mt. Hakga. According to Yi Ganggeun, the earliest record that appeared with his name is one concerning the production of wooden Buddha statues at Yongmunsa in 1684, when Baek-am Seongchong, the dharma successor of the Buhyu line, was the abbot of that monastery.<sup>17</sup> From that time onward until the mid-eighteenth century, Gyepa Seongneung demonstrated remarkable competence in various Buddhist projects, including the reconstruction of monasteries and the publication of Buddhist scriptures. Significantly, he served as fundraiser for two projects: one in relation to the *Avatamsaka Sūtra* and the other for the reconstruction of the Gakhwang-jeon at Hwaeomsa. Gyepa Seongneung distinguished himself by completing both of these undertakings successfully. His career reached its apogee when he finished reconstructing the mountain fortress

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<sup>17</sup> For a brief biography of Seongneung, see Yi, "Hwaeomsa buljeon," 98-99. Baek-am made considerable effort in his later years to print Chengguan's commentaries on the *Huayanjing*. When Baek-am supervised the printing of the *Huayanjing xuantanhui xuanji* 華嚴經懸談會玄記 in 1695, Seongneung also participated as the primary fundraiser. Given the close relation between the two figures, Seongneung was likely to have been a disciple of Baek-am. However, looking into the *Buljowonryu* 佛祖原流, Seongneung is recorded as neither a disciple of Baek-am nor a monk affiliated with the Buhyu line. Even his name itself is not found in the *Buljowonryu*. It seems very odd that such an active and renowned monk as Seongneung was not registered in the most comprehensive and representative book of monks' lineages in the late Joseon period. Considering that he was depicted as a heretic in a later record and accused as a fraudulent monk in 1731 due to an embezzlement charge during his tenure of the office of Commandant-in-chief of the Eight Provinces (Yeongjo 7(1731).9.21, *SJWIG*), it seems he suffered great misfortune in his later years. Such a dubious reputation as well as a charge of embezzlement most likely affected contemporary monks' evaluation of him. Yi Ganggeun claims that he died in the 11<sup>th</sup> month of 1745 but Seongneung is recorded as having retired in 1745 from the office of Commandant-in-chief of the Eight Provinces. Yeongjo 23(1747).10.15, *SJWIG*. Moreover, in 1751, King Yeongjo asked court officials whether or not Seongneung could assume the office of Commandant-in-chief of the Eight Provinces once more. Yeongjo 27(1751).7.17, *SJWIG*.

on Mt. Bukhan and also ascended to the position of commander of all of the monk-soldiers in the country. Records indicate that, for three decades from that point until 1745, when he resigned from Commandant-in-chief of the Eight Provinces, he was involved in a variety of different activities ranging from overseeing military intelligence, to feeding the hungry, and publishing Confucian classics and Buddhist ritual texts.<sup>18</sup> As he reconstructed monasteries seemingly wherever he went, Gyepa Seongneung gained a reputation as “the bodhisattva who adorns the buddha-land” (莊嚴佛國之開士). Major Buddhist projects he supervised include the reconstruction of the Gakhwang-jeon at Hwaeomsa, Gwanchoksa in Nonsan, and Sanggyesa in Eunjin, and the rebuilding of the Diamond Ordination Platform at Tongdosa.<sup>19</sup> Considering that he composed texts such as the *Jagimun jeolcha* 仔夔文節次 and the *Bukhanji* 北漢誌 and Kim Changheup 金昌翕 (1653-1722) evaluated his poems as worthy of discussion, Seongneung seems to have had a gift for writing. Indeed, his name appears not only in the official authoritative record *Seungjeongwon Ilgi* (hereafter, *SJWIG*, *Daily Record of the Grand Secretariat*), but also in the poems by literati-scholars and many different types of written records.<sup>20</sup> King Yeongjo

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<sup>18</sup> For his military intelligence activity at the time of Yi Injwa’s revolt, see Yeongjo 4(1728).9.30, *SJWIG*. For more on his feeding the hungry, Yeongjo 8(1732).12.21, *SJWIG*. For his printing of Confucian classics, Jeongjo 13(1789).4.2, *SJWIG*.

<sup>19</sup> Yi, "Hwaeomsa buljeon," 98, footnote 45; 99.

<sup>20</sup> The names of Oh Doil 吳道一 (1645-1703), Hong Setae 洪世泰 (1653-1725), Choe Seokhang 崔錫恒 (1654-1724), and Jo Tae-eok 趙泰億 (1675-1728) appear as Confucian official-literati who dedicated their poems to Seongneung. A great writer Chae Paeng-yun 蔡彭胤 maintained a close relationship with Seongneung. Upon the monk’s requests, Chae composed several records related to Buddhist monasteries. A scion of an eminent Confucian-scholar family, Kim Changheup (1653-1722), met Seongneung at Haeinsa in 1708 and evaluated him as follows: “There was a monk named Seongneung. As he was good at poetry, he was worthy to be cherished. He also had a talent for management. Of the great monasteries in the Yeongnam region, those over which he took charge of the construction were countless. My second eldest brother [Kim Changhyeop] brought him to Hanyang (Seoul) and entrusted him with the construction of a hermitage. Therefore, several letters from my second eldest brother were kept in his casket.” “Yeongnam ilgi,” *Samyeonjip seupyu* 28, DKC: On the 26th day of the third month.

evaluated him as a man of exceptional quality, “a man of ability hard to obtain” [爲人難矣].<sup>21</sup> His many activities and his exchanges with Confucian-literati testify to the wide range of connections and high reputation Seongneung enjoyed not only among the eminent monks, but also with the sovereign and high ranking officials.

At the behest of the monks of Tongdosa, Seongneung arrived at the monastery in 1704 in order to undertake the rebuilding project of the Diamond Ordination Platform. He arrived at Tongdosa immediately after having successfully concluded the largest building project of that time, namely, the reconstruction of the Gakhwang-jeon at Hwaeomsa (Jangryuk-jeon 丈六殿 at the time), which was begun in 1699 and was completed in 1702.<sup>22</sup> Due to his remarkable performance as the Daegongdeokju at Hwaeomsa, Seongneung received from the court the highly honorable title of “Honggak deunggye daeseonsa” 弘覺登階大禪師 (the Great Seon master who rose to the highest stage through broad enlightenment).” This was the same title that had been conferred on the founding patriarch of the Buhyu line, Buhyu Seonsu 浮休善修 (1543-1615) posthumously. The titled carried tremendous prestige as it demonstrated the great confidence of the court and the Buddhist community in his capabilities.<sup>23</sup> Indeed, it was not solely out of practical necessity that the monks of Tongdosa invited Seongneung to oversee the reconstruction of the Diamond Ordination Platform. It was also a timely choice based on the changing

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<sup>21</sup> Yeongjo32(1756).2.25, *SJWIG*. The peculiar expression “*wi in nan ui*” [爲人難矣] was used for a highly rated person, mainly by King Yeongjo. For instance, it was mentioned as praise for a person of propriety (Yeongjo 34(1758).3.16, *SJWIG*), for a discerning and intelligent person (Yeongjo 51(1775).5.26, *SJWIG*), for a person of integrity (Yeongjo 50(1774).12.2, *SJWIG*), and for a person of good administration (Yeongjo 51(1775).3.30, *SJWIG*). In the case of Seongneung, Yeongjo mentioned the expression when he was told that the author of the *Bukhanji* was Seongneung.

<sup>22</sup> *Sabagyaju Seokga yeorae yeonggol sari budobi* 娑婆教主釋迦如來靈骨舍利浮圖碑 (1706), Chae Paengyun 蔡彭胤, S-415, HSM II-S: 308.

<sup>23</sup> Yi, "Hwaeomsa buljeon," 98. Kim, *Joseon hugi bulgyosa yeongu*: 158.



landscape of power in the Buddhist realm at that time. The monks of Tongdosa were proven right in this choice.

Since the central role of the “Daegongdoekju was to lead both the fundraising and labor recruitment efforts, Seongneung’s collection of donations totaling 2,000 *nyang* and securing support from three major local officials and the top echelon of monk officials testify to his remarkable performance in this role. Likewise, due to his social connections, such eminent literati-officials as Chae Paeng-yun (1669-1731), one of the greatest writers of the time, Yi Jinhyu (1657-1710), a famous calligrapher, and Gwon Gyu (1648-1722), who excelled in writing seal script, participated in the production of a commemorative stele erected for the 1705 project.<sup>24</sup>

Again, thanks to the efforts of Gyepa Seongneung, the 1705 reconstruction project was carried out by an exceptionally large labor force and with an almost unprecedented amount of funding. It was far from a simple repair project. In fact, it was a fundamental rebuilding that redefined the identity of the Diamond Ordination Platform, transformed its structure, and reestablished its iconographic program.

## **5.2 Physical Reconfiguration of the Diamond Ordination Platform**

Two primary sources provide a considerable amount of information concerning the 1705 reconstruction of the Diamond Ordination Platform. The first source is an inscription for the commemoration stele composed by Chae Paeng-yun. The second is the *Gyedanwonryu* documented by Hae-un Min-o. The inscription was written after Chae Paeng-yun, a literati-official as well as a writer, listened to Seongneung’s account concerning the 1705 reconstruction.

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<sup>24</sup> *Sabagyaju seokga budobi*, HSM II-S: 308.

Min-o's report is that of an insider, a leading monk of Tongdosa, who situates the 1705 project in the context of the larger reconstruction history of the Diamond Ordination Platform since the seventeenth century. Chae's inscription and Min-o's *Gyedanwonryu* demonstrate the response of both an outsider and an insider toward the recognition of the Diamond Ordination Platform as a mausoleum of Śākyamuni Buddha. Min-o's report further documents three important changes: the creation of a large pit for relic depositories, the removal of the third level and the reestablishment of the iconographic program of the Diamond Ordination Platform. In the following pages, I will treat the topic of the physical elaboration of the Diamond Ordination Platform's identity, and then explore the three important changes in order. Subsequent to that analysis, I will turn to a discussion of the iconographic program of the Diamond Ordination Platform.

### 5.2.1 Elaboration of the Platform's Identity as a Mausoleum of Śākyamuni Buddha

Let us first examine Chae Paeng-yun's record of the 1705 reconstruction. In his description of the project, he writes,

The platform's length is 100 *myo*. Its width is equal to that. Its height is one-fifth of that. [The platform has] two stories. The [*Śarīra*] Pavilion has five pillars (=bays). It is roofed with copper-iron tiles.

壇縱百畝. 橫如之. 五分之. 以其一爲其崇者. 二層. 閣凡五楹. 銅鐵瓦.<sup>25</sup>

The commemoration stele, titled *Sabagyoju seokgayeorae yeonggolsari budobi* (hereafter, *Sabagyoju seokga budobi*) 娑婆教主釋迦如來靈骨舍利浮圖碑 (*Stūpa Tablet of the Sāha World's Lord Śākyamuni Tathāgata's Numinous Bones and Śarīra*), was erected in February

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

of 1706 after the reconstruction was completed in 1705. According to the *Buljongchalyaksa*, upon the fortuitous acquisition of a “beryl treasure” stone from the sea, the installation of a commemoration stele was scheduled and Chae Paeng-yun was commissioned to produce the eulogy.<sup>26</sup> It is unclear, however, whether or not Chae had actually seen the reconstructed Diamond Ordination Platform before he began composing the eulogy. According to the inscription on the stele, Seongneung provided Chae Paengyun with basic information from historical records concerning Tongdosa that were in his possession; those documents were very likely the *Tongdosa sajeok yakrok* and the *Yeonggol saribi* 靈骨舍利碑 (*Numinous Bones and Śarīra Tablet*), the latter of which had been composed by the eminent monk, Cheongheo Hyujeong.<sup>27</sup> Thus, the description cited above is probably the result of what Chae extrapolated via Seongneung’s account of the Diamond Ordination Platform. In this respect, it is doubtful that Chae’s description can be confidently regarded as the most reliable information concerning the reconstruction. Further, this passage has been translated inaccurately in a published Korean translation of the stele, causing much confusion and misunderstanding among scholars.<sup>28</sup> The most problematic part of Chae's description is the mention of 100 *myo* (Ch. *mu*) as the length and width of the Diamond Ordination Platform.

There is considerable disagreement concerning exactly how many *bo* 步 (Ch. *bu*) there are to 1 *myo*. In 1443, in the early Joseon period, when the Joseon court established the standard

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<sup>26</sup> *Buljongchalyaksa*, TJ: 158.

<sup>27</sup> *Sabagyoju seokga budobi*, HSM II-S: 308.

<sup>28</sup> A translation of *Sabagyoju seokga budobi* in Korean is published on the website of GSM (<http://gsm.nricp.go.kr>). According to the translation, the original texts in question were punctuated as follows: “五分之以其一. 爲其崇者. 二層閣. 凡五楹. 銅鐵瓦.” Thus, they are translated as “Five *Dan* is regarded as one; what is tall is a two-story hall, which is composed of five bays and covered by a copper and iron tiled roof.” Precisely what the Korean term “*Dan*” indicates and to what a “two-story hall” refers are both vague concepts. Thus, it becomes quite difficult to understand what the translation means.

land area measurement, 1 square *bo* was defined as 25 *cheok*, which is equivalent to the area of a square 5 *jucheok* (Ch. *zhouchi* 周尺) wide. 1 *myo* was defined as 240 square *bo*.<sup>29</sup> This land measurement system is basically identical to the one adopted by Chinese dynasties after the Qin unification in 221 BCE.<sup>30</sup> In theory, 1 *myo* of land in a rectangular shape could be a plot of land measuring 15 by 16 *bo*. In terms of *jucheok* (1 *bo* = 5 *jucheok*), 1 *myo* of land is reckoned as 75 by 80 *cheok*. Given that 1 *jucheok* measures about 20.6 cm, 1 *myo* is approximately equal to a plot of land measuring 15 by 16 m.<sup>31</sup> By extension, 100 *myo* corresponds to a plot measuring 150 by 160 *bo* or around 150 by 160m. The above dimensions, however, do not match those of the present day Diamond Ordination Platform. A more reasonable measurement of the Diamond Ordination Platform would be 1 *myo*, rather than 100 *myo*; in fact, 1 *myo* is very close to the size of the ground stone of the Diamond Ordination Platform, which is a square 14m wide. In particular, given the height of the ordination platform would be set as one-fifth of the platform's length, the ordination platform in 1 *myo* becomes 3 to 3.2 m high. This figure is also fairly close to 3.142 meters, the full height of the Diamond Ordination Platform today. Does this discrepancy indicate that Chae confused 1 *myo* with 100 *myo* in his writings?

As the stele probably went through a series of revisions, it is quite unlikely that the expression of 100 *myo* itself was an error. In fact, 100 *myo* is a term imbued with cultural significance. As is well known, 100 *myo* (100 *mu* in Chinese) corresponds to the size of one lot in the Zhou dynasty's well-field system 井田制, which divides a plot of land into nine equal square lots. To the Joseon *sadaebu* literati, who held the well-field system of Zhou dynasty in

<sup>29</sup> Sejong 25(1443).11.14.[2], *JWSR*.

<sup>30</sup> Endymion Wilkinson, *Chinese History: A New Manual*, 3rd, rev. printing. ed., Harvard-Yenching Institute monograph series (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Asia Center, 2013), 557.

<sup>31</sup> Regarding the size of one *jucheok* in the early Joseon period, see Yi Jongbong 李宗峯, *Hanguk jungse doryanghyeongje yeongu* 韓國中世度量衡制研究 (Seoul: Hyeon, 2001), 93-100.

high regard, 100 *myo* must have been a familiar idiom. The term 100 *myo* was also mentioned in discussions of the Joseon court with regard to the construction of royal mausoleums (山陵). More specifically, this term appears in mentions of the imperial mausoleums of the Han dynasty in which the size of the tomb precinct was set as 1 *gyeong* 頃 (Ch. *qing*), which is equivalent to 100 *myo*.<sup>32</sup> Of course, this guideline was never followed in actual practice. Rather, it was a kind of symbolic language; in other words, the expressions “100 *myo*” and “one-fifth,” were to be understood as symbolic allusions to the size of a sovereign’s mausoleum.<sup>33</sup> Seen from this perspective, in the passage in question, “100 *myo*” is neither an error nor does it reflect the actual size of the Diamond Ordination Platform. Rather, it can be understood as a literary device signifying that the Diamond Ordination Platform was regarded as a mausoleum, that of the Śākyamuni Buddha and thus no less magnificent than that of a sovereign.

Another point worthy of examination relates to Chae’s description of the Śarīra Pavilion as part of the Diamond Ordination Platform. It recalls Seongneung’s statement that the reconstruction project of the Śarīra Pavilion led a half a century earlier by Master U-un Jinhui had inspired him to participate in the 1705 reconstruction project of the Diamond Ordination Platform.<sup>34</sup> In both cases, the Śarīra Pavilion and the Diamond Ordination Platform are

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<sup>32</sup> Sejong 23(1441).8.20.[1]; Danjong (1452).7.13.[1], *JWSR*. In both entries of the *JWSR*, the passage in question is quoted from the *Wenxiantongkao* 文獻通考.

<sup>33</sup> According to a size regulation concerning the tombs of officials promulgated in the eighteenth year of Taejong’s reign (1418), the tomb size of royal relatives of the first rank (highest one) was restricted to a square of 100 *bo* by 100 (approx. 100m by 100); the tomb size of civil and military officials of the first rank (highest one) was confined to a square of 90 *bo* by 90 (approx. 90m by 90). The Heonreung 獻陵, the royal mausoleum for Taejong and his consort, which was established as a standard for royal mausoleums in the early Joseon period, measures approximately 188m long (a distance from the Hongsal-mun to the center of the tumulus) in the north-south direction, and was constructed on a hill about 22m higher than the entrance level. Given these circumstances, at the least, the expression of “100 *myo*” and “one-fifth” seems to provide a sense of the criteria by which the ruler and the subject were distinguished from one another. Regarding the size regulation, see Taejong 18(1418).5.21.[5], *JWSR*. For the Heonreung, Munhwajae Gwalliguk 文化財管理局, ed., *Heonreung haeche silcheuk bogu* 獻陵 解體實測 報告 (Seoul: Munhwajae Gwalliguk, 1989), 16.

<sup>34</sup> *Sabagyaju seokga budobi*, HSM II-S: 308.

discussed as inseparable entities or, at the least, that perfection could be achieved only when both structures were completed. To summarize, the understanding observed in Chae's eulogy, or, more precisely put, the impression that outside observers received from the Diamond Ordination Platform may be narrowed down to two points. First, the Diamond Ordination Platform was the mausoleum of Śākyamuni; and, second, the Diamond Ordination Platform and the *Śarīra* Pavilion were perceived as an architectural pair like a royal mausoleum and a T-shaped pavilion.

With reference to this recognition, Min-o's record of the size of the Diamond Ordination Platform provides a hint of how the Platform's identity as a mausoleum of Śākyamuni was physically elaborated in the 1705 project. Min-o presents a short but nuanced account:

The ordination platform's perimeter was *equally* 40 *cheok* on each of the four sides.

戒壇周回 四面皆四十尺.<sup>35</sup>

Above all else, this account describing the size of the ordination platform contributed significantly to Jang Chungsik's confusion. In his view, the sentence “周回四面皆四十尺” does not make it clear whether only one side of the platform was 10 *cheok* long or if *each* side was 40 *cheok* long.<sup>36</sup> In fact, the underlying problem in this regard is with the interpretation of the character “皆.” If it is interpreted as “each, equally” rather than as “in all,” then the sentence can be understood as indicating that each side of the ordination platform was 40 *cheok* long. However, the more challenging problem, which no one has explicitly pointed out, is that the measurement of 40 *cheok* is not compatible with the size of the Diamond Ordination Platform today. In keeping with the actual dimensions of the Diamond Ordination Platform, the ground

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<sup>35</sup> *Gyedan wonryu*, TJ: 97.

<sup>36</sup> Jang, "Hanguk seokjo gyeodango," 117.

stone *Jidaeseok* is a square about 14m long, the lower platform is 9.55m long, and the upper platform is 6.97 m long. As 1 *joseon yeongjocheok* 朝鮮營造尺 [the construction foot rule used in the Joseon period] measures about 31cm, none of those dimensions correspond to 40 *cheok*, which is equivalent to 12.4m. This raises the question: is this discrepancy the result of an undocumented change that occurred after 1705 or is it simply the result of an erroneous record?

Let us recall the description Chae Paengyun provided in which the Diamond Ordination Platform was framed as a conceptual equal to a royal mausoleum. In fact, the size of tombs in the early Joseon period was regulated in terms of *jucheok*. In the 4<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> years of Taejong's reign, official regulations concerning the size of tombs required that *bo*, the unit used specifically to measure the size of tombs, be measured according to *jucheok* rule as the standard. For instance, a high-ranking official's tomb constructed in the early years of Seongjong's reign includes a stele on the surface of which the length of 1 *jucheok* is engraved. This serves as evidence that the *jucheok* was used as a unit of measure in the construction of tombs in the early Joseon period. In the case of royal mausoleums, the *jucheok* and the *yeongjocheok* were both used in the early Joseon period. However, by the 14<sup>th</sup> year of Hyeonjong's reign (1673), the government implemented a policy that required that a *jucheok* rule should be retained on the premises of all mausoleums so that it could be used on occasions when maintenance and repair was in order.<sup>37</sup> Therefore, if the Diamond Ordination Platform was regarded as the equivalent of a royal mausoleum, it is possible that the unit of measurement of "40 *cheok*" was indeed the *jucheok* rather than the *yeongjocheok*. In that case, given that 1 *cheok* is defined as approximately 23.7-23.8cm, the length of the lower terrace (9.55m) would measure around 40

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<sup>37</sup> Hyeonjong 14(1673).5.2.[1], Hyeonjong gaesu silrok 27, *JWSR*.

*cheok* and the upper terrace (6.97m), 30 *cheok*. If so, might 1 *cheok* – equivalent to 23.7-23.8cm – have been the size of the *jucheok* used in the late Joseon period?

The *jucheok* used in the Joseon period is different from the 23cm-long *jucheok* that used in the Three Kingdoms and Unified Silla. The size of the *jucheok* was redefined in the early Joseon period, but it normally measures between 20cm to 21.78cm long, thus, on average, about 20.6cm.<sup>38</sup> The size of *jucheok* is also presented variously in the late-Joseon sadaebu-literati's commentaries on Zhu Xi's *Family Rituals*. Little is known of whether the *jucheok* measuring around 20.6cm in length was uniformly used in such remote areas as Yangsan. Thus, it is not easy to determine the range of actual values of the *jucheok* in use in the late Joseon period. That said, there is a case from the early Joseon period in which the length of 1 *jucheok* was set at around 23cm.<sup>39</sup> It is also possible that the agreed-upon, standard length of the *cheok* used in the capital region varied from its counterpart in border regions. At the very least, we cannot entirely dismiss the possibility that the 23cm-long *juchoek* was used in Yangsan region in the late Joseon period. This raises two points: first, the Diamond Ordination Platform was regarded as a royal mausoleum and, second, the *cheok* used to define the size of the mausoleum was most likely the *jucheok*. In this regard, the royal mausoleum-like character of the Diamond Ordination Platform was not just conceptual in nature. Rather, it was given substance as such through the use of the *jucheok*, the unit of measure reserved for royal mausoleums, to determine the size of the Diamond Ordination Platform.

### 5.2.2 Rebuilding of Relic Depositories

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<sup>38</sup> Yi, *Hanguk jungse doryanghyeongje*: 93-100.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 95-98.



Min-o also presents a detailed account of how the Tongdosa relics were deposited:

In [a central pit of the ordination platform] was inserted a stone reliquary, within which a stone table was placed. Atop (the table), a nesting set of three containers was placed in order. In one container, the four grains of three-colored *śarīra* were enshrined, the third tiny grain of which was one of the two grains that Master Song-un [Yujeong] had kept himself; [interlinear annotation: one other grain was enshrined in Yongyeonsa of Daegu]. In another container, a Buddha's tooth, sized approximately 2 *chon*, was enshrined. In the other container, dozens of pieces of skull bones and finger bones, 3 *chon* or 2 in length and width, were housed. In between were the gold-embroidered robe with red stripes and the *pattra*-leaf sūtra, which were discolored. And, it was topped with a stone lid.

其中以石函置之. 其內以石床安之. 其上以三種內外函 列次奉安. 一函則三色舍利 四枚安之. 而第三小枚 松雲大師 親奉二數之一也. [壹枚安大丘龍淵寺]. 一函則佛牙二寸許一枚安之. 一函則頂骨指節 長廣或三寸 或二寸許 數十片安之. 其中以緋羅金點袈裟及貝葉經文置之. 而其色變灰也. 又以蓋石覆之.<sup>40</sup>

Min-o's passage quoted above mentions three different kinds of depositories: a stone reliquary, a stone table, and a nesting set of three containers. The installation of these depositories very likely involved the excavation of the central portion of the upper level of the platform, the construction of a stone reliquary in the pit created by the excavation, and the subsequent placement of a stone table within the reliquary. The set of three, nesting containers likely took the form of the "box-within-a-box" style, which is a conventional type of reliquary. Various kinds of *śarīra*, the *pattra*-leaf sūtra, and the robe were then enshrined within these containers. The set of three nesting containers was placed on the stone table, which seems to have been installed in order to prevent humidity from reaching the enshrined objects. The entire assemblage was completed with the addition of a stone lid. As discussed earlier, the enshrined relics constituted a collection of all of the objects that are mentioned in the two distinct traditions of the *OWS* and *Yusa*. Relying on the tradition of Mt. Odae (the *OWS*), the *Tongdosa sajeok yakrok*, was composed in

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<sup>40</sup> *Gyedon wonryu*, TJ: 97-98.

1642, while the biography of Jajang, which was excerpted from the *Yusa*, was supplemented in 1675. As the Diamond Ordination Platform was not reconstructed between the 1652 and 1705 projects, in all likelihood, it was not until 1705 that it was determined that the variety of relics brought to Silla by Jajang should be enshrined in it. This possible scenario suggests that the relic depositories described above were not designed and produced until the time of the 1705 reconstruction. It also suggests that the central portion of the upper level of the platform had to be thoroughly rebuilt in order to provide space sufficient to accommodate the stone reliquary that housed not only the stone table but also the set of three nesting containers.

At present, the upper floor of the Diamond Ordination Platform is finished with rectangular stone slabs in varying sizes. Interestingly, in the center where the stone, bell-shaped reliquary rests, there are four elongated rectangular slabs measuring about 3m in length installed in the east-west direction. As a consequence, the center and the surrounding area can be clearly distinguished visually. (fig.5-2) Considering the installation method of the relic depositories described above, it is very likely that this center portion covered with four oblong stone slabs was hollowed out so that the stone reliquary could be installed within. After the relics were enshrined, the four stone slabs were probably laid in order to cover up the cavity. The center is roughly square with its length a bit shorter than its width of approximately 3m. It would be neither easy nor reliable to use a single slab of stone in order to cover an opening of that size, so quite naturally, four slabs were used to close the cavity. Consequently, the creation of such a sizeable cavity for housing the different objects demanded an extensive and major reconstruction of the upper level of the Diamond Ordination Platform.

### 5.2.3 The Elimination of the Third Level

With regard to the modification of the upper level, one should focus on how the number of levels comprising the Diamond Ordination Platform was recorded at the time. Min-o mentions the number of levels in the context of how the primary iconic images were laid out within the Diamond Ordination Platform.

Above and below the four sides were three levels. Seven Stars were evenly laid out. The Eight Kinds of Beings stood in a line on the four sides and four corners. Above, on top of a stone lotus, [the ordination platform] was crowned with a stone bell.

四面上下三級 七星分坐. 四方四隅 八部列立. 上方蓮華石上 以石鐘冠之耳.<sup>41</sup>

Min-o's words, "above and below the four sides are three levels" invite a closer analysis, as they provide us with two very important pieces of information: first, the statement explicitly specifies the number of levels comprising the Diamond Ordination Platform; second, it also identifies the locations of the primary iconic images. When he writes "above," as revealed in his another phrase, "above, on the top of a stone lotus," "above" refers to where a lotus pedestal and a stone bell are located. Therefore, we can infer that when he writes "below," Min-o is referring to the area underneath the stone pedestal, that is, *both* the first and second levels. Therefore, we can understand Min-o's words, "above and below the four sides are three levels" as follows: two levels "below" and one level "above" combining to produce a total of three levels. In this regard, two matters become clear. First, according to Min-o, the Tongdosa monks regarded the Diamond Ordination Platform as composed of three levels in total and, in that context, perceived the stone bell itself as a single, independent level of the overall platform. Second, the Seven Stars were located "below," that is, on the first and second levels and the Eight Kinds of Beings were laid out at the "four sides and four corners" of the area designated as "below." Setting aside the issue

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 98. *Gyedan wonryu*, TJ: 97-98.

of the primary iconic images' layout, let us examine the possibility of the removal of the third level.

The present stone bell-shaped reliquary is placed on the double-layered stone lotus pedestal, which consists of an upright lotus flower superimposed on an inverted lotus flower and lies on the second tier of the Diamond Ordination Platform. However, it is questionable as to whether the double-layered stone lotus pedestal is considered a single, independent level. The Geumsansa ordination platform has a third tier upon which a stone bell-shaped reliquary and its pedestal are placed in sequence. An excavation report of the Burilsa ordination platform documents that a stone pedestal for a stone bell was found on the third level of the ordination platform.<sup>42</sup> The ordination platform presented in the *Jietantujing*, after which the stone ordination platforms of Geumsansa, Burilsa and Tongdosa were modeled, also has a third tier, even though it is not tall enough to be regarded as another, single level. (fig.5-3). Judging from these cases, I would argue that the third tier of the Diamond Ordination Platform was removed at some point, and that the removal was made during the 1705 reconstruction project when the creation of a large pit for relic depositories caused an extensive reconstruction of the upper level. A funeral stūpa of Samyeong Yujeong built in Hongje-am of Haeinsa and a stone bell of the Yongyeonsa ordination platform provide important clues for the clarification of this issue. As is known well, Samyeong Yujeong was a prominent dharma heir of Cheongheo Hyujeong, the founding patriarch of late-Joseon Seon Buddhism, and played an important role in protecting the Tongdosa relics in the extreme turmoil caused by the Imjin War. The Yongyeonsa ordination platform is indeed a stūpa

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<sup>42</sup> Mizutani Masayoshi (trans. and ed.) 水谷昌義, "Goryeo Burilsa no chōsa-kenkyū: Kinnen no kyōwa koku no kenkyū hōkoku kara" 高麗仏日寺の調査・研究: 近年の共和国の研究報告から, *Chōsen gakuho* 朝鮮學報 113 (1984): 110. Jang, "Hanguk seokjo gyeodango," 132: fig.25.

of Śākyamuni Buddha, which was built when a single grain of the two Tongdosa *śarīra* was enshrined there.

The funeral stūpa of Samyeong Yujeong at Hongje-am was constructed around 1612, two years following his death. Scholars define this type of stūpa as the “ordination platform-shaped monk’s funeral stūpa.”<sup>43</sup> Compared to the funeral stūpa of Na-ong at Sinleuksa, the earliest example of a structure of this nature, the Yujeong funeral stūpa has an ordination platform built in a much simpler style. While both stūpas consist of three levels, the first and second levels of the Yujeong structure are not especially tall and their four sides are demarcated only by elongated stones.<sup>44</sup> (fig.5-4). The stone bell of Yujeong’s funeral stūpa rests on a circular pedestal, which in turn is situated on a square stone slab. The circular pedestal has lotus floral patterns carved on its surface. In terms of levels, the square stone slab corresponds to the third floor. This formal configuration is basically identical to the way in which the stone bell is installed on the pedestal of the Geumsansa ordination platform: the stone bell stands in the center of the third floor and lotus floral patterns are carved out on the floor around the bottom of the stone bell as if a circular lotus pedestal supports the bell. (fig.5-5). The lotus pedestal is more like a molding with shallow depth than a separate stone slab, but differs little tectonically from the circular pedestal with lotus floral patterns that is found on the Yujeong’s funeral stūpa. This particular configuration in which the stone bell is installed on the lotus pedestal or on molding on the third level is a common feature of the so-called “ordination platform-shaped monk’s funeral

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<sup>43</sup> For the “ordination platform-shaped monk’s funeral stūpa,” Yeo Yisuk 여이숙, "Goryeo sidae gyedanhyeong seungtap yeongu" 高麗時代 戒壇形 僧塔 研究 (master's thesis, Korea University, 2007), 82-87. Yi Sujeong 이수정, "Joseon jeongi budo ui teukjing yeongu" 朝鮮前期 浮屠의 特徵 研究, *Munhwa sahak* 文化史學 37 (2012): 84-86; Table3.

<sup>44</sup> Yeo, "Goryeo sidae gyedanhyeong seungtap," 91-92.

stūpa,” although there is some variation in details. For example, the pedestal may be octagonal or may not have the lotus patterns decoration.<sup>45</sup>

The Yongyeonsa ordination platform, located at the foot of Mt. Biseul in Dalseong, houses a single grain of Śākyamuni Buddha’s true-body relics. One of the two Tongdosa relics that Cheongheo Hyujeong sent back to Samyeong Yujeong was enshrined in Yongyeonsa in 1614, and this inspired the construction of a stūpa in which to house it. The stūpa of Śākyamuni Buddha, which was presumably built around 1614 and eventually installed on the stone ordination platform built in 1673, was possibly designed in keeping with the style of the funeral stūpa of Samyeong Yujeong at Hongje-am, which had been constructed two years earlier.<sup>46</sup> Ultimately, Yongyeonsa was the monastery where the disciples of Samyeong Yujeong formed the majority of monks. Their influence at that time is demonstrated clearly by the fact that Yeongyeonsa acquired one of the two Śākyamuni Buddha’s true-body relics, both of which were

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<sup>45</sup> In addition to the funeral stūpa of Na-ong and Yujeong, the following examples are considered the “ordination platform-shaped monk’s funeral stūpa”; Taego Bowu’s funeral stūpa at Sanasa (Yangpyeong, built 1383), Jigong’s at Hwajangsa (Gaeseong, presumably built in 1393), and Hyujeong’s at Bohyeonsa (Mt. Myohang, built in the early seventeenth century). *Ibid.*, 69-81; 91.

<sup>46</sup> According to the stele erected in 1676, one of the two Tongdosa relics was “housed at the hill to the north of Yongyeonsa,” and “the stūpa [in order to enshrine the relic] was completed on the fifth day of the fifth month of the year Gyechuk 癸丑.” Possibly, regarding this Gyechuk as 1613 not as 1673, the conventional account hastily concluded that the stone ordination platform was constructed in 1613. However, as it was the first month of 1614 that the Tongdosa relics arrived at Yongyeonsa, it is hard to accept that the stone ordination platform as we see it today was constructed almost seven months earlier than the arrival of the relics. Given the deteriorated situation after the Imjin War, the stūpa, if constructed in advance, must have been the one similar to the funeral stūpa of Samyeong Yujeong at Hongje-am. Rather, we should consider the 1676 reconstruction project. Starting with U-un Jinhui, a great Seon master of Tongdosa, several eminent monks were mobilized to support the project and a Confucian literatus was invited to compose the commemorative record of the project. Considering the fervent atmosphere of monks at that time, the 1676 project was likely extended beyond the simple maintenance of the pre-existing stūpa. I would argue that the primary structure of the stone ordination platform as we see it today was first introduced with the 1676 project, presumably, in the year Gyechuk 1673. Additionally, according to the reconstruction stele of Yongyeonsa erected in 1722, a separate project was organized and implemented to reconstruct the stone ordination platform in 1708. As a result of this project, the stone ordination platform was given a “more magnificent and solemn [appearance] than the previous platform.” Presumably, adornments such as the Eight Kinds of Beings and the Four Heavenly Kings were added or updated in order to make the stone ordination platform “more magnificent and solemn.” See, *Seokga yeoraebi* 釋迦如來碑 (1676), Gwon Hae 權階, S-139, HSM I-S: 147. *Biseulsan Yongyeonsa jungsubi* 毘瑟山龍淵寺重修碑 (1722), Im Suga 任守幹, S-138, HSM I-S: 146.

on their way to Tongdosa. Thus, if they had modeled Yujeong's funeral stūpa on the stone bell of the ordination platform as a means of elevating him to the status of Śākyamuni Buddha, there would have been no particular reason to design the stūpa intended to house the Śākyamuni Buddha's true-body relic differently. On the contrary, they had a very compelling motive for doing so, for the greater the similarity between the two, the clearer the implication that their master shared a status equal with Śākyamuni Buddha. In this regard, it should be noted that there is a close affinity between the funeral stūpa of Yujeong and the stone bell of the Yongyeonsa ordination platform. In both cases, the stone bell is installed on a heavy circular pedestal, which in turn rests on a square stone slab corresponding to the third level of the ordination platform. (fig.5-6).

By the 1610s, Tongdosa and Yongyeonsa enjoyed a close relationship partly because they were both affiliated with the disciples of Samyeong Yujeong but also because both Tongdosa and Yongyeonsa were sites in which the same true-body relics of Śākyamuni Buddha were retained. Therefore, it seems safe to assume that the disciples of Samyeong Yujeong used the Diamond Ordination Platform of Tongdosa as a direct source of reference when they produced the stone bells in which to enshrine their most cherished relics. If the Diamond Ordination Platform of Tongdosa served as a model, as I think was doubtless the case, we might ask why were both of the stone bells of Yujeong and Yongyeonsa sit on circular pedestals resting on square stone slabs rather than on double-layered lotus pedestals like that of the Diamond Ordination Platform? It is difficult to imagine that the stone bell, which was undoubtedly an essential component that functioned specifically to demonstrate the sameness of the enshrined relics, was intentionally constructed with a design that differed from that of the Diamond Ordination Platform. In all likelihood, the double-layered lotus pedestal present at Tongdosa

today was not yet a component of the Diamond Ordination Platform in early seventeenth-century; rather, at that time a stone bell with the circular pedestal – a structure that was almost identical to the configuration of the funeral stūpa of Yujeong – was installed on the third tier. Particularly interesting in this regard is that the funeral stūpa of Hoejin Uisim 會眞義心 – produced in the form of the double-layered lotus pedestal and the earliest example modeled after the stone bell of the Diamond Ordination Platform – was built in 1655.<sup>47</sup> (fig.5-7). This suggests that it was most likely prior to 1655 that the circular pedestal was removed and replaced by the double-layered lotus pedestal from the Diamond Ordination Platform. Presumably, the double-layered lotus pedestal was made in the 1652 reconstruction of the Diamond Ordination Platform. Furthermore, considering that a large pit for the enshrinement of the relics was dug out at the upper center of the ordination platform in the 1705 reconstruction, the square dais on which the double-layered pedestal was resting was perhaps removed in the course of that work. Therefore, it is not entirely inconceivable that Min-o’s reference to the stone bell resting upon a double-layered pedestal—to borrow his word, “above”—as the third level, was an attempt to claim that the Diamond Ordination Platform retained its three levels even though the original “third level,” the square dais, was gone.

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<sup>47</sup> The 1.77m-high funeral stūpa of Hoejin Uisim, which bears an inscription date of 1655, is supported by a square base on which rests the double-layered lotus pedestal, composed of upright lotus and inverted lotus flowers. Above the lotus pedestal rests a stone bell with scroll patterns on its lower rims. The lotus bud looks as though it is on the verge of blooming, thereby rising upward through three hoops banded around it; this can be regarded as a simplified version of the stone bud of the Diamond Ordination Platform. Its overall appearance suggests that this stūpa was modeled after the stone bell of the Diamond Ordination Platform. In fact, more than ten stūpas built in this style still exist in the Cloister of Monks’ Funeral Stūpa at Tongdosa. Among them are two stūpas, which were built in a relatively early period: one is the funeral stūpa of Dong-un Hyewon, constructed in 1704 (total height 2.21m), and the other was created for Muyeong Chukhwan (T.1686-1708), a monk who was active at Tongdosa and was a disciple of U-un Jinhui. The latter stūpa seems to have been built a little bit later than the former. Uisim’s funeral stūpa is now placed in the Cloister of Monks’ Funeral Stūpa but was originally located in Chwiun-am. There remains a photo taken by Amanuma Shun’ichi in Chwiun-am in 1932. Amanuma, "Zokuzoku Chōsen kikō (ge)," 130; photo 125. Regarding Uisim’s funeral stūpa, HSM II-2: 355 (no.445); HSM II-S: 309. For the funeral stūpa of Dongwon Hyeowon, HSM II-2: 355 (no.446); for the one of Muyeong Chukhwan, HSM II-2: 354 (no.441).



The 1705 reconstruction facilitated the overall structural redefinition of the Diamond Ordination Platform. Not only was the platform addressed ideologically as the mausoleum of Śākyamuni Buddha and thus equal to that of the sovereign, but it was also physically altered through the re-establishment of its size based on the *jucheok*, a unit of measurement for mausoleums, in order to provide it with such a prominent status. In accordance with the redefinition of the list of relics brought by Jajang to Tongdosa, the relic depositories were fundamentally redesigned, thereby leading to a general reconstruction of the upper level of the Diamond Ordination Platform. Consequently, the third level, which had been used as a square dais upon which the pedestal of the stone bell could rest, was eliminated. Together with this structural redefinition, the iconography of the Diamond Ordination Platform also underwent a significant reconfiguration in the course of the 1705 project.

### **5.3 Iconographic Reconfiguration of the Diamond Ordination Platform**

Primary iconic images, which were installed in the 1705 project, provide important visual clues through which we can determine how the early-eighteenth century Tongdosa monks visually represented the site of the Diamond Ordination Platform. Simply put, there appear to be two iconographic programs, one old and one new. While the Tongdosa monks accepted the enduring presence of iconic images such as guardian deities during the 1705 project, they also integrated new iconic images such as the Seven Stars into the Diamond Ordination Program. In order to explore how these two programs were organized in the 1705 project, we should return to Min-o's record, which is quoted above in a discussion on the elimination of the third level.

#### 5.3.1 Guardian Deities and Preceding Iconography

Min-o's description, which reads “四方四隅 八部列立,” confuses readers in two ways. First, the meaning of “四方四隅” is very ambiguous; It is not clear whether it is referring to the “four corners of four sides” or the “four corners and four sides.” Second, the identities of the Eight Kinds of Beings” [八部] are uncertain. Are they the eight attendants of the Four Heavenly Kings, the eight guardian deities of Tathāgata that gather to receive the Buddha's teachings, or some other set of the Eight Kinds of Beings?<sup>48</sup> Within the confines of the present Diamond Ordination Platform, however, the four statues of guardian warriors are laid out only at the four outside corners of the lower level; no other kinds of guardian warriors exist on either the lower or upper tiers. In this regard as well, it is unclear whether these four standing statues are related to the “Eight Kinds of Beings” Min-o describes or they are the Four Heavenly Kings as is widely accepted today. (fig.5-8).

To address these ambiguities I will turn to the images of guardian warriors that are engraved on the surfaces of the stair carriages, some of which are exhibited within the precinct of the Diamond Ordination Platform. Ten stair carriages survive to present day; four were components of the two flights of staircases that were installed on the south face of the Diamond Ordination Platform; the other six adorned the three flights of staircases installed on the east, west and north faces respectively. Interestingly, these guardian warriors on the stair carriages have been identified as Vajra Warriors due to their iconography; while the gestures made with their hands and feet vary slightly, all of the figures, each stripped to the waist, appear to be in the process of smashing something with their bare hands. These poses unfailingly conform to the

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<sup>48</sup> The Eight Kinds of Beings usually appear on the stone pagodas in Korea. For this topic, see Han Jaewon 韓載沅, "Tongil Silla seoktap bujo palbujung dosang gwa baechi yeongu" 統一新羅 石塔浮彫 八部衆 圖像과 配置 研究, *Misulsa yeongu* 미술사연구 20 (2006). Sin Yongcheol 申龍澈, "Tongil silla palbujungsang ui gochal" 統一新羅 八部衆像의 考察, *Silla munhwaje haksul balpyo nonmunjip* 신라문화제학술발표논문집 24 (2003). Jeon Jaejung 전재중, "Silla seoktap palbujungsang ui yangsik gwa byeoncheon" 新羅石塔 八部衆像의 樣式과 變遷, *Munhwa sahak* 文化史學 16 (2001).

typical images of Vajra Warriors. Given the presence of these ten images, we must revisit the placement of guardian deities on the ordination platform presented in the *Jietantujing*.

In the *Jietantujing*, images of Vajra Warriors and their attendants appear on the first level and the Four Heavenly Kings and their subordinates are represented on the second level of Daoxuan's ordination platform. The Heavenly King's sixteen subordinates are not easily correlated with the Eight Kinds of Beings. In the case of the Vajra Warriors, four major deities are situated at the four corners, while the ten minor deities, to whom Daoxuan refers as the "Ten Vajra Warriors," are relegated to the staircases of the first floor.<sup>49</sup> (See fig.5-9).

Looking at the layout of the staircases and images on the first level of the Diamond Ordination Platform at the point of the 1705 reconstruction, we find four warrior statues installed at the four corners and ten Vajra Warrior images engraved on the carriages of the five staircases, thus conforming precisely to the principles presented in the *Jietantujing*. This suggests that the initial configuration of the platform based on the instructions in the *Jietantujing* was preserved in part until much later. This layout of warriors confirms the translation of "四方四隅" as the "four corners and four sides." However, the matter of identifying the figures represented by the statues from the four corners becomes a bit more complicated. Are the figures actually meant to represent the four major deities of the Vajra Warriors as described in the *Jietantujing* rather than either the members of the Eight Kinds of Beings mentioned by Min-o or the Four Heavenly Kings as conventionally identified today?

According to the *Jietantujing*, the four major Vajra Warriors placed on the corners were: *Vajrapāṇi* at the southeast, *Balin* at the southwest, *Kimbila* at the northwest, and *Pañcika* at the

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<sup>49</sup> *Jietantujing*, T 1892-45. 809: b19-c24.

northeast.<sup>50</sup> It is not easy to discern their iconographic characteristics but focusing on their nature as Vajra Warriors, they may be understood as a pair each with open-mouthed and one close-mouthed Vajra Warriors; all are in aggressive poses as if preparing to smash something with their bare hands. Such figures are depicted, for instance, on the flanking walls of the entrances of Seokguram and the caves of Longmen Grottoes.<sup>51</sup> The four warrior statues on the corners of the present Diamond Ordination Platform, however, do not have this characteristic appearance. Unlike the Vajra Warriors, the warriors of the Tongdosa platform are all represented wearing armor and holding swords or other weapons. Additionally, the warriors of the four corners of the Tongdosa platform are not wearing jeweled helmets; instead, they feature either braided hair or heads wrapped with fabric resembling scarves. Ultimately, there are no objects or iconographic characteristics that readily identify these figures as either Vajra Warriors or the Four Heavenly Kings. In terms of their armor, poses, and weapons – each holds a sword or some other weapon with both hands – they bear a close resemblance to the guardian warriors discovered at the remains of the Burilsa ordination platform. However, it is difficult to venture a conclusion when relying solely on photographic sources. They are also different from the appearances of the Eight Kinds of Beings carved on the facing stones of the second level of the Yongyeonsa ordination platform. (fig.5-10).

While question of the identities of the guardian warriors at the four outside corners of the Tongdosa Diamond Ordination Platform must remain open at this point, we do know that, in accordance with the principles specified in the *Jietantujing*, that the Ten Vajra Warriors were placed on both sides of the five flights of staircases on the first floor of the Diamond Ordination

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 809: b21-24.

<sup>51</sup> Yim Yeongae 임영애, "Seokgulam Geumgang yeoksasang e gwanhan myeotgaji munje" 석굴암 금강역사상에 관한 몇 가지 문제, *Silla munhwa* 新羅文化 32 (2008): 204-8.

Platform and that this layout was preserved in the 1705 reconstruction. It suffices to point out here that the “Eight Kinds of Beings” Min-o mentioned should not be understood simply as the eight attendants of either the Buddha or the Four Heavenly Kings as claimed in the preceding studies. Indeed, the issue of the Eight Kinds of Beings is to some degree understood in conjunction with the preceding tradition of the Diamond Ordination Platform, while the placement of the Seven Stars has completely different implications as their representation is not only characteristic of late Joseon Buddhism but also indicative of the significance of the 1705 reconstruction project.

### 5.3.2 The Seven Stars of the Great Dipper and New Iconography

According to Min-o’s description, “the Seven Stars” were set out individually on the “lower” portion of the Diamond Ordination Platform, that is, on the first and second levels. In the late Joseon period, the “Seven Stars,” generally referred to the “Seven Stars of the Great Dipper.” However, it is not clear why the Seven Stars of the Great Dipper were represented on not only one but on both of the lower levels. It is also unclear whether the description “the Seven Stars” included other stellar deities.

Great Dipper worship in the late Joseon period was specific to the cult of the “destiny mansion” [本命星], which was aimed at extending the length of a devotee’s life. This cultic feature suggests that the cult of the “Seven Stars” also embraced the cultic concept of the Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions, which has been the basic system of the “destiny mansion” in China.<sup>52</sup> In fact, centered around the cult of stellar deities associated with the destiny mansion,

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<sup>52</sup> According to the *Qiyao rangzai jue* 七曜攘災訣 (Formulae for avoiding Calamities according to the Seven Luminaries), a foundational scripture of the cult of the destiny mansion, when the Sun, Moon and Five Planets enter into the lunar mansion under which a person is born and accordingly that person is predicted to experience

the cult includes a multitude of stars including Tejaprabhā Buddha 熾盛光佛, the deified North Star in Buddhist form, the Nine Luminaries 九曜 (the Sun, Moon, and the Five Planets 五星, Rāhu and Ketu), the Great Dipper, the Southern Dipper, the Six Stars of the Three Terraces 三台六星, Zodiac, and the Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions.<sup>53</sup> However, not all of these stars bore the same level of importance. In the development the cult of stellar deities in Korean Buddhism, the Nine Luminaries accompanying Tejaprabhā Buddha played a key role from the Goryeo to the early Joseon period. In the late Joseon period following the Imjin War, the Great Dipper supplanted the Nine Luminaries and emerged as the main object of worship in the star cult.<sup>54</sup> In other words, until the early Joseon period, the focus of stellar deities cult was the ability of the Nine Luminaries to influence the Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions responsible for each individual's destiny. In the late Joseon period, however, the Seven Stars of the Great Dipper, each of which was assigned to an individual and therefore responsible for that person for the duration of his or her life span, became a main object of worship. In the context of the late Joseon period, therefore, the term "the Seven Stars" does not simply refer to the Seven Stars of the Great Dipper, but also includes the other stellar deities prominent in the cult, such as the Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions and the presiding central figure, Tejaprabhā Buddha.

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calamities, the practitioner makes offerings to the planet deity in order to avert the impending disasters. In particular, an image of the specific planet is used for the offerings; the image is hung around the neck of that person until the planet has left the lunar mansion and then the image is burned. Concerning this practice and for the iconography of the relevant star deities, see Stephen Little and Shawn Eichman, *Taoism and the Arts of China* (Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, 2000), cat.12, cat.13; 132, 137. For the *Qiyao rangzai jue*, *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, "七曜攘災決" (article by Jeffrey Kotyk, Iain Sinclair).

<sup>53</sup> For studies of the cult of stellar deities in Buddhism, consult Sørensen, "The Worship of the Great Dipper," 72-82. Sørensen, "Astrology and the Worship of the Planets in Esoteric Buddhism of the Tang," 236-41. Kang Soyeon 강소연, "Joseon sidae chilseong taenghwa" 朝鮮時代の七星幀畫 (master's thesis, Seoul National University, 1998), 10-39. Kim Ilgwon 김일권, *Uri yeoksa ui haneul gwa byeojari* 우리 역사의 하늘과 별자리 (Seoul: Godswin, 2008), ch 6; ch 7.

<sup>54</sup> For an excellent account of this shift in the cult of stellar deities in Korea, see Kim, *Uri yeoksa ui haneul gwa byeojari*: 180-87.

One should also take into consideration the enduring legacy of the *Jietantujing* when understanding the iconographic program of the Diamond Ordination Platform. In the *Jietantujing*, Daoxuan left some degree of flexibility with respect to which guardian deities would be assigned to the niches on the four sides of the first level of the ordination platform. He also instructed that the “seven stars” be enshrined in the niches on the four sides of the second level. The “seven stars” in this context, however, are not the Seven Stars of the Great Dipper. Rather, Daoxuan was referring to the constellations of seven stars allocated to each of the four sides in keeping with the cardinal directions of the ordination platform, that is, to the Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions.<sup>55</sup> In composing the *Jietantujing*, he consulted the *Kongquewang zhoujing* 孔雀王呪經 (T 984-19), the scripture translated into Chinese by Saṃghabhara 僧伽婆羅 (460-?) in the Liang dynasty, in which the Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions are described as the guardian deities protecting each of the four cardinal directions and possessing the power to guarantee a hundred years of life.<sup>56</sup> A cult of star deities of this sort reflects an early stage of the Buddhist cult of star deities, before Tejaprabhā Buddha or the Seven Stars of the Great Dipper were incorporated into it.<sup>57</sup>

Taking into consideration the fact that late-Joseon Great Dipper worship included the Twenty-eight Lunar mansions, as well as Daoxuan’s instructions concerning the Twenty-eight Lunar mansions, it seems clear that the “seven stars” mentioned by Min-o during the 1705

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<sup>55</sup> *Jietantujing*, T 1892-45. 810: a5-18.

<sup>56</sup> As the *Kongquewang zhoujing* is a scripture based on Indian astronomy, which divides the heavens into Twenty-seven nakshatras (mansions), this constitutes a difference from the Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions established in China. For a brief introduction on the Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions of China, Peng Yoke Ho, *Chinese Mathematical Astrology: Reaching out to the Stars* (London; New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 144-48. For the difference of Chinese and Indian astronomies, Kim, *Uri yeoksa ui haneul gwa byeojari*: 282.

<sup>57</sup> Sørensen, "The Worship of the Great Dipper," 77-78. Jeong Jinhui 정진희, "Jungguk chiseonggwang yeorae dosang gochal" 中國 熾盛光如來 圖像 考察 1, *Wonkwang Journal of Humanities* 열린정신 인문학연구 13, no. 1 (2012): 226-34.

reconstruction referred to both the Seven Stars of Great Dipper and the Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions. Thus, it is likely that the Seven Stars of the Great Dipper were distributed on each of the four sides of the lower level of the Diamond Ordination Platform, while the Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions, accompanying the stars of Great Dipper, were laid out, seven stars each, on the four sides of the upper level. The following analysis of the 1705 reconstruction is based on this conjecture.

A visual representation of the Seven Stars of the Great Dipper can be divided into two parts, with three stars located on the handle and four stars on the bowl. On the first level of the Diamond Ordination Platform today, the star deities are separated into two groups of three and four, while an image of Tathāgata is placed between them. This distribution is clearly reflective of the form of the Great Dipper. In fact, this method of dividing the stars of the Great Dipper in such a way was a practice fairly common to Seven Stars paintings of the late Joseon period. (fig.5-11). Thus, the present layout of the star deities on the first level can be seen as the result of the arrangement of the Seven Stars of the Great Dipper with the 1705 reconstruction, except for the Tathāgata images, which were then located by the staircases. With this in mind, we can turn to the present layout of the images on the first level and begin to reconstruct the placement of the Great Dipper Min-o described in 1705.

On the eastern face of the platform's lower level, three star deities are located to the right (southward) of a Tathāgata image, which is at the center of the composition, with four star deities to its left (northward). The group of three represents the handle of the Great Dipper, while the latter four represent the bowl. Thus, the handle is pointing southward. The same configuration is repeated on the western and northern faces. The handle on the western face points southward, while the handle on the northern face points eastward. In case of the southern face, a different



configuration has been applied, for there are two Tathāgata images corresponding to two flights of stairs. Quite possibly, the architectural imperative of achieving symmetry may have outweighed the necessity of creating consistent iconography throughout the lower level. On the whole, it seems likely that the overall layout of each Great Dipper on the four sides of the first level aimed to represent the astrological phenomenon of the Great Dipper revolving around the North Star (once in a 24-hour period and counterclockwise). However, the directions in which the handles on the eastern and western sides are pointing are equally south and thus fail to form a counterclockwise movement. With the current available evidence, we cannot confirm whether their original location of the Seven Stars of the Great Dipper was inadvertently changed in a later period. Based on the *Scripture for Extending Destiny* 延命經, the names of each of the Seven Stars of the Great Dipper and the corresponding Tathāgata as well as their locations on the Diamond Ordination Platform can be determined. For instance, those of the eastern face can be identified as is demonstrated in Table 5-2.

On the upper level, a set of the seven stars is assigned to each of the four sides of the platform and, consequently, this configuration forms the Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions. The placement of seven stars on a given side is as follows: first, as seen on the northern face, the seven stars are divided into two clusters of three and four, thereby mirroring the positioning of the images on the lower level; second, as seen on the other three sides – the eastern, western and southern faces – the three stars positioned in the center are flanked by two stars on either side. This compositional method maintains the symmetry of the imagery. It is unclear, however, whether the layout on the north face is the original configuration or if the two approaches to composing the overall images were adopted at the same time. In terms of image size, the Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions on the upper level may be regarded as a retinue accompanying the

Seven Stars of Great Dipper on the lower level. As the Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions appear in the order of east, north, west, and south in the astronomical system of China, their layout on the four sides of the upper level can be understood as follows: on the eastern side, the seven mansions of the east are laid out in sequence from south to north; on the northern side, the seven mansions of the north are distributed in a westward-moving trajectory; on the western face, the seven mansions of the west proceed southward; and on the southern side, the seven mansions of the south are directed toward the east. For information concerning the names of each of the mansions and the order in which they are arranged, we can consult the 1569 edition of *the Scripture for Extending Destiny*. In this source, the names of each mansion and the order in which they are arranged do not follow the Indian system that begins from the mansion “Mane.” They follow the Chinese system that begins with the mansion “Horn.” (fig.5-12). A local source of information concerning the Tongdosa monks’ conception of the Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions is the *Seven Star Painting*, which was produced in the early twentieth century at Biroam under the jurisdiction of Tongdosa. In the painting, the Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions are laid out in a clockwise direction from the upper left side (the seven mansions of the east), the lower left (the seven mansions of the north), the lower right (the seven mansions of the west), and to the upper right (the seven mansions of the south) with the Tejaprabhā Buddha at the center. (fig.5-13).

The figures in the reliefs representing the Seven Stars of the Great Dipper are depicted as deities on cloud pedestals who are descending from Heaven to the earth. None of the figures are represented with either halos or mandorla. Given that the strands of hair are visible, some special method of ornamentation seems to have been used to render the hair. However, it is unclear whether or not the figures are wearing jeweled helmets. Some of the figures in the reliefs (NL2)

are depicted wearing necklaces. Given their characteristics and poses, on the whole, these figures should be regarded as bodhisattva rather than as Tathāgata. None of the figures hold attributes in their hands, however. The hand gestures, which appear to be the wheel-turning mudrā and teaching mudrā (EL1, WL6, NL2, SL9), are frequently found with the figures, and the general mudrā such as the meditation mudrā (EL2), fear-not mudrā (EL7, SL7), reverence mudrā (NL8), knowledge-fist mudrā (WL1, WL8), Amitābha-samādhi mudrā (SL9, NL5), and earth-touching mudrā (WL3, SL3) are all depicted in the imagery. Aside from the familiar mudrā, there are some that are difficult to identify. As for poses of the figures, directly apparent are the lotus posture, the half-lotus posture with only one foot showing, and the posture of royal ease with a knee raised high. Both the postures and the mudrā are conveyed in a casual manner rather than being constrained by formality. According to Jang Chungsik, much care was invested in these carved images.<sup>58</sup> (fig.15).

Considering the trend of the period of representing the Seven Stars of the Great Dipper with the image of Tathāgata, the depiction of the Seven Stars with the images of bodhisattva on the Diamond Ordination Platform seems quite unusual. Indeed, this may be the only such known instance in Korea. Such a choice could reflect an initial stage when the iconography of the Great Dipper was not yet established. It also seems possible that because of the femininity of the Seven Stars, which are regarded as goddesses in the Daoist tradition, they took the form of bodhisattvas as they entered the Buddhist tradition. Whatever the case, the representations of the assembled, twenty-eight bodhisattvas call to mind the image of the Hwaeom Assembly in which Rocana Buddha teaches the tenth-stage bodhisattva. The various kinds of mudrā and poses, unrestrained by formality, can also be understood as visual elements deliberately selected in order to

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<sup>58</sup> Jang, "Hanguk seokjo gyeodango," 120.

emphasize the tenth-stage bodhisattva's unlimited and unchanging potency. Considering that the bodhisattva who enters the tenth-stage is, in fact, regarded as the virtual Buddha, who has only one life-cycle remaining before attaining nirvāṇa, the appearance of the sculpted figures on the lower level of the Diamond Ordination Platform is notable: although their extremities, for instance, look unnatural, the overall impression they provide of composure and tranquility closes resembles the appearance of Buddha statues. (fig.5-14).

The degree of attention paid to the mudrā and poses and the serene beauty of the figures in the reliefs at the lower level, is demonstrative of the perception of the Tongdosa monks concerning the Seven Stars of the Great Dipper, which is quite distinct from the modern attitude that discredits the popular cult of the Seven Stars of the Great Dipper as a vulgar, unorthodox, and worldly form of worship. As we can discern from the reliefs on the first level of the Diamond Ordination Platform, the Seven Stars were clearly not regarded as lower deities; on the contrary, they seem to have been granted a significant role in the special context of the Diamond Ordination Platform, as will be discussed later. However, in the interest of comprehending the dynamics of this process, we must disconnect from the Protestant division between elite and popular religions and pure doctrine and worldly ritual. Alternatively, we must consider the matter in the context of the particular perceptions of the eighteenth century monks of Tongdosa.

#### **5.4 A Vision to the Diamond Ordination Platform**

As an example of ritual texts used in the ceremony of the Seven Stars, we can take the *Bukdutchilseong cheong-uimun* 北斗七星請儀文 (Ritual Text for Praying to the Seven Stars of

the Great Dipper), reprinted at Haeinsa in 1719.<sup>59</sup> Two characteristics of this ritual merit attention. First, what the supplicant seeks to attain lies on the life of “this shore” rather than on that of the “other shore.” They ask for the elimination of all calamities [消滅千災], the acquisition of all sorts of fortunes and virtues [成就萬德], and for longevity [延命長生]. It is not fundamentally the faith in the “other shore” focusing on the Pure Land or the Purgatory. Second, the ritual is structured dualistically through the use of two central cultic objects. Prayer is primarily directed to the Seven Stars of the Great Dipper, while Tejaprabhā Buddha, the deified North Star, is incorporated as the presiding cultic object. In other words, the Seven Stars of the Great Dipper are the central cultic focuses to which many forms of supplication are directed, but the central deity is the North Star. This twofold structure seems to be the consequence of the historical change in which the Nine Luminaires were replaced with the Seven Stars of the Great Dipper in the ceremony for the removal of calamities, which originally summoned Tejaprabhā Buddha as the presiding deity and the Nine Luminaries. In the ritual of the Seven Stars, therefore, we must consider the presence of Tejaprabhā Buddha, even though the Buddha’s name is not explicitly mentioned in the title of the ritual. The understanding of these two characteristics found in the ritual of the Seven Stars facilitates a clearer understanding as to why the Seven Stars were enshrined as bodhisattvas in the 1705 reconstruction of the Diamond Ordination Platform.

The significance the late-Joseon monks accorded the Seven Stars rite is well demonstrated in the way in which the *Unsudan* 雲水壇 (Clouds and Water Altar) authored by Cheongheo Hyujeong was compiled. Various editions of the *Unsudan* were published from the early

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<sup>59</sup> "Bukdutchilseong cheong-uimun" 北斗七星請儀文 (printed in 1719, Haeinsa), Jebanmun 諸般文, NLK. For a translation of this ritual text printed in 1651 at Haeinsa, see Sørensen, "The Worship of the Great Dipper," 97-100.

seventeenth century, immediately following the Imjin War, up to the mid-eighteenth century.<sup>60</sup>

The early seventeenth-century editions share an interesting common feature: the *Yeonghonsik*

迎魂式 (Rite of Receiving Souls), the *Seolseon-ui* 說禪儀 (Rite of Seon Lecture), and the

*Chilseong cheongmun* 七星請文 (Invocation Texts of the Seven Stars) are all appended at the

end of the *text*.<sup>61</sup> As the *Unsudan* is basically an abridged form of the Water-Land rite

performed to save solitary souls, it is addressed as a deliverance rite like the *Yeonghonsik*. The

*Seolseon-ui* is a ritual very characteristic of the late-Joseon period wherein the Seon master,

transformed into a living Buddha, preaches the essence of dharma. As discussed above, the

*Chilseong cheongmun* is a ceremony that seeks for the supplicant peace and comfort in the

present life. Thus, if we say that the *Unsudan* and the *Yeonghonsik* are the rituals performed for

the sake of the dead, the *Chilseong cheongmun* is one designed primarily for the living.

Differently put, on the one hand, the ritual to prevent the living from suffering all kinds of

calamities and to prolong their lives is presented. On the other hand, the ritual to guarantee the

dead deliverance to a better life after death is provided. Between the two lies the *Seolseon-ui*,

which pronounces that the master who takes charge of these two rituals is in effect a living

buddha. The *samsāra* of life and death and the *dharma* that enables people to escape the ocean of

suffering, the two most basic pillars of Buddhist ontology, were incorporated into the *Unsudan*

making it a singular guide for the most essential rituals.

This method of compiling the *Unsudan* shows the means adopted by late-Joseon Buddhist monks to cope with the widespread suffering and scars caused by the two successive wars, the

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<sup>60</sup> Sørensen, "A Bibliographical Survey," 195.

<sup>61</sup> The earliest edition of the *Unsudan* in which the *Seolseon-ui* was appended was printed in 1607 at Songgwangsa,. The second earliest edition in which the *Yeonghonsik*, the *Seolseon-ui*, and the *Chilseongcheongmun* were appended to the *Unsudan* was printed in 1627 at Banryongsa, For various editions of the *Unsudan*, see *Unsudan gasa* 雲水壇詞 (printed in 1627 at Banryongsa), Cheongheo Hyujeong 清虛休靜, HBJ 7: 743; 751.

Imjin War (1592-1598) and the Manchu Invasions in 1627 and 1636. According to a ritual compendium printed in 1574, a variety of rituals such as the Invocations of the Ten Kings, the Manifest King, Indra, Amitâbha, and Avalokitêśvara as well as the Water-Land rite, were popular and conducted frequently prior to the Imjin War.<sup>62</sup> After the war, however, only two ceremonies, the Water-Land rite and the Seven Stars rite, were included in the *Unsudan*. This suggests rather tellingly that, when Joseon society was devastated by the brutal wars, the most essential religious services Buddhism could provide was assurance to the living that the deceased could have a better rebirth in the next life and encouragement of the living that they could enjoy extended lives without suffering calamities or illness. In this sense, the early seventeenth-century *Unsudan*, which combined the Water-Land rite, the Seven Stars rite, and the *Seolseon-ui* into a single ritual text, was a solution the late Joseon monks provided in a response to social demands of the period.

After the early seventeenth century, however, the Seven Stars rite could not maintain its equal status with the Water-Land rite, and in its place, the Invocation of Amitâbha rose in importance. At times, it was treated as one ritual text among many. Nevertheless, whenever a series of calamities occurred or signs of a dynastic downfall took hold of the daily life of the people, the Seven Stars rite emerged with renewed energy. Therefore, the early seventeenth-century solution in which the deliverance rite and the Seven Stars rite were integrated on a basis of the ritual vision of Seon Buddhism, the *Sulseon-ui*, had a long-lasting and immense impact.

We see this impact in what is now regarded as the somewhat stereotypical spatial configuration in the late Joseon Buddhist monasteries, wherein the Purgatory Hall 冥府殿 (the venue of the deliverance rite) and the Seven Stars Pavilion 七星閣 (the venue of the Seven Stars

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<sup>62</sup> *Gwongong jebanmun* 勸供諸般文 (printed in 1574, Seokwangsa), NLK.

rite) are laid out around the Dharma Hall 法堂 (the venue of the *Seolseon-ui*) on the main axis of approach. This layout shows how early seventeenth-century ritual development discussed above became an integral part of late-Joseon Buddhist life. Seen from this perspective, it is misguided to dismiss the late-Joseon rite of the Seven Stars as simply a product of popularization, something that pandered to desires of the populace for fortune and longevity much less a downgrading of spirituality. Such a viewpoint has nothing to do with the contemporary perception of the ritual of the Seven Stars shared by the late Joseon monks nor does it do justice to the great challenges and accomplishments of the late-Joseon monks, who turned their gaze from the lofty heights occupied by the royalty and nobility to the sea of commoners.

I argue that the enshrinement of the Seven Stars Bodhisattvas on the Diamond Ordination Platform in 1705 was reflective of far more than simply the tradition of the cult of stellar deities since the Goryeo period and the rise of the cult of Seven Stars in the late Joseon period. Rather, in that act was encapsulated the entire conception that aimed to visually implement the early seventeenth-century ritual solution in the ritual space of Tongdosa. In other words, the *Seolseon-ui* impacted the spatial configuration of the Great Dharma Hall and its precinct, and the ritual visualization of the *Yeongsan-jakbeop* associated with the Water-Land rite provided a visual and spatial framework for the Yeongsan-jeon precinct. In this sense, it becomes clear that the ritual space of the Diamond Ordination Platform developed in a close association with the Seven Stars rite. In this development, a peculiar image of Tejaprabhā Buddha, the presiding deity in the ceremony of the Seven Stars, played a significant role.



Tejaprabhā Buddha 熾盛光佛 literally means “Effulgent Buddha.”<sup>63</sup> As the name indicates, the Buddha is characterized by blazing light emanating from every single pore of his body. It is this effulgence that crushes diabolical forces, such as various luminaries 諸曜 that cause natural calamities and human disasters. Tejaprabhā Buddha is also regarded as the deified North Star. Just as the North Star is the guide of all lesser stars, Tejaprabhā Buddha leads all sentient beings by illuminating the path to salvation with infinite rays of bright light.<sup>64</sup> Thus, the very source of Tejaprabhā Buddha’s potency is the infinite radiance issuing from every single pore, a radiance with which the Buddha not only edifies all sentient beings but also removes all kind of calamities. The late Joseon monks envisioned this powerful Tejaprabhā Buddha as a figure emitting blinding flames of light. A Seven Stars Painting of Jikjisa, executed in the early twentieth century, represents this vision; Tejaprabhā Buddha, seated in an ox-drawn cart following the typical iconography of this Buddha is depicted with five-colored rays of light emanating from his body and filling the sky. (fig.5-15). This particular vision of Tejaprabhā Buddha in full effulgence seems to held enormous appeal for the monks of Tongdosa.

As mentioned earlier, as a phenomenon specific to the Diamond Ordination Platform, the miraculous multiplication of *śarīra* was replaced by the emission of brilliant light in the late Joseon period. As for the sudden emanation of light that is said to have occurred on the Diamond Ordination Platform, Seong Jong-in 成種仁 (1751-?) provided an eyewitness account on behalf of the monks of Tongdosa in a record he composed in 1792:

There were mysterious occurrences in which a single ray of light emanated [from the Diamond Ordination Platform]. It often reached [nearby] villages. When the monks at the monastery, thinking that there was a fire, ran toward it,

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<sup>63</sup> *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, "Tejaprabhā Buddha" (article by Charles Muller, M. McCoy).

<sup>64</sup> Kang, "Joseon sidae chilseong taenghwa," 17-18. Kim, *Uri yeoksa ui haneul gwa byeojari*: 172-74.

[they discovered] that it was not a fire. Since then, lay people and monks, in a flurry, have believed and accepted it. Even those who did not belong to the community do not doubt it. Ah! There are no doubts at all.

有一道光怪 往々通亘於洞府 寺僧以爲火而赴之 則非火也 自是 衆闍黎譁然信服 而雖非其徒者 亦不惑焉 嗚呼 是足以無惑歟!<sup>65</sup>

This passage follows the anecdote associated with the rebuilding of the Diamond Ordination Platform by Seungneug in 1705, suggesting that witnesses began observing such miraculous incidents of light emission after the 1705 reconstruction when the Seven Star Bodhisattva was enshrined in the Diamond Ordination Platform. Of course, the matter of the veracity of such miracles is clearly debatable; logically, they were likely recounted in the interest of providing ideological validation of the spiritual efficacy of the Diamond Ordination Platform following the 1705 reconstruction. What concerns us here, however, is the way in which the monks of Tongdosa mobilized a deliberate campaign designed to validate the sanctity of the Diamond Ordination Platform – that is, a vision of Tejaprabhā Buddha in full effulgence. The approach they developed had historical significances in a twofold way. On the one hand, the miracle of the emanation of light is physically bound to the Diamond Ordination Platform. Undeniably it is an extremely effective way to underline the sanctity of the Diamond Ordination Platform. The justification for why the blazing light would be present is sought in the assembly of the Seven Stars Bodhisattvas, for this assembly warrants the presence of Effulgent Buddha. In this respect, I would argue that the late seventeenth-century Tongdosa monks had arrived at the ideal solution for defining the “placeness” of the Diamond Ordination Platform within the ritual space of Tongdosa; or differently put, their endeavor to the incorporeal genius loci of the Diamond Ordination Platform in a concrete way reached a solution here. On the other hand, it is also

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<sup>65</sup> *Sejon bigakgi*, HSM III-S: 91.

undeniable that the visibility of Tejaprabhā Buddha in the form of multi-colored radiance and the assembly of the Seven Stars in the shape of bodhisattvas had an immense impact on the way in which the Diamond Ordination Platform was perceived. Henceforward, the Diamond Ordination Platform was not merely the place where Śākyamuni’s true-body *śarīra* were enshrined; additionally, it emerged as the venue where the transformation bodies of Śākyamuni Buddha – that is, the Seven Stars Bodhisattvas – manifested themselves via a flash of blinding light in response to a myriad of demands from sentient beings. The “place of origin” that accorded the relic a true-body quality became the “root” from which a variety of the transformation bodies of the Buddha would spring. This perception of the Diamond Ordination Platform as the root of sanctity heralded the long-term transformation by which the Diamond Ordination Platform was established as the root of physical order and ritual efficacy of Tongdosa throughout the eighteenth century. First, the Diamond Ordination Platform was affirmed as the “Sanctuary of the Yeongsan Assembly” where, as the source of countless incarnated buddhas, the invisible “Buddha who truly attained in the distant past” was still preaching. This perception was conceptualized via Yong-am Gancho’s “essence-function” theory and ultimately realized in the process of the reconstruction of the Yeongsan Hall precinct following a devastating fire in 1713. Second, the Diamond Ordination Platform was envisioned as the “Bodhi-site of Quiescent Extinction” where, in great radiance, Rocana Buddha was preaching the Hwaeom teachings to the tenth-stage bodhisattva. This vision emerged during the execution of the 1767 *gwaebul* and as a consequence of Eung-am Huiyu’s definition of “Buddha *Trikāya*” and eventually reached its climax in the foundation of the Bogwang-jeon by Hongmyeong Gwyegwan in the early nineteenth century. Third, as a logical consequence of these visions, the Diamond Ordination Platform came to be identified with the dharma body. The 1823 reconstruction of the Diamond

Ordination Platform was a result of this perception. Thus, we can conclude that the 1705 reconstruction project was not only a solution to the challenge of the late seventeenth-century Tongdosa monks but also served as the decisive momentum that triggered a long-term and wholesale transformation of the ritual space in Tongdosa from the early eighteenth to the early nineteenth century.

### **5.5 Summation of the Significance of the 1705 Reconstruction**

The 1705 reconstruction of the Diamond Ordination Platform was a large-scale project that mobilized more than ten thousand laborers, and collected donations that amounted to 2,000 *nyang*. Its patrons included the high-ranking government officials, members of the upper echelons of the monastic community, who commanded the monk-soldiers of the entire country as well as Yeongnam region, and the most capable fundraiser of the time, Gyepa Seongneung, who supervised the vastly complex reconstruction. The massive scale of the construction project implies that the structure, iconography, and character of the Diamond Ordination Platform underwent significant alteration during the 1705 reconstruction. In short, the project involved far more than mere structural repair.

Indeed, the 1705 project involved reconceptualization and reconstruction on myriad levels. First, the length and width of the Diamond Ordination Platform were newly established. The size of the platform was specified as 40 *cheok* and this measurement unit, the “*cheok*,” was based on the *jucheok* rule, which was used for the construction of tombs for royalty and nobility in the Joseon period. This suggests that the 1705 reconstruction did not adhere to the existing dimensions of the Diamond Ordination Platform; rather, the entire size was newly established in keeping with the perception that the Diamond Ordination Platform was in fact a mausoleum of Śākyamuni Buddha.

Second, the reliquary on the Diamond Ordination Platform was thoroughly remodeled. All of the relics referenced in the *Yusa* and the *OWS*, traditionally considered having been brought to Tongdosa by Jajang, were assembled. This dramatic increase in the number and kinds of relics called for devising a new method for their enshrinement and the result was the construction of a stone chamber at the center of the third level of the Diamond Ordination Platform. A stone reliquary was installed in the new chamber. The reliquary housed a stone table on which rested a set of three nesting containers; this approach to the enshrinement differed significantly from conventional practices in both the size and nature of the reliquary; most often, relics were housed in a small cavity within the stone pagoda.

Third, the installation of a large reliquary resulted in the elimination of the third level of the Diamond Ordination Platform. Possibly, the stone slab corresponding to the third level, which had also functioned as a lid for the preexisting cavity for the reliquary, was too small to cover the large opening of the newly constructed stone chamber. As the four elongated stone slabs were placed on top of the stone chamber, the stone slab no longer had a clear purpose; moreover, the pedestal of the stone bell essentially rendered it obsolete or at least redundant. Nevertheless, the perception that the Diamond Ordination Platform was a three-tiered structure endured, most likely because the stone bell, including its pedestal, could be regarded as an independent tier.

Fourth, the adornment and iconography of the Diamond Ordination Platform demonstrate both an effort to preserve tradition and an impulse to incorporate new innovations. The number and locations of the staircases on the first level, the carved reliefs of Ten Vajra Warriors on the carriages of each staircase on the first level, and the Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions sculpted on the four sides of the second level are testimonies to the legacy of the *Jietantujing*, which endured

into the late Joseon period. Despite the persistence of this tradition, however, the monks of late-Joseon Tongdosa installed the images of the Seven Stars of the Great Dipper on each of the four sides of the first level. This can be regarded as evidence demonstrating that the monks of Tongdosa had clearly responded to the cult of the Great Dipper, which prevailed in late Joseon Buddhism. That said, the historical circumstance that compelled the monks of Tongdosa to select the Seven Stars of the Great Dipper as the central iconography of the Diamond Ordination Platform cannot be dismissed as a simple case of Buddhist assimilation of popular cults. Recalling the above discussion concerning the Tejaprabhā Buddha accompanied by the Great Dipper, I conclude that monks of late seventeenth-century Tongdosa mobilized the cult of the Great Dipper as a means of emphasizing the genius loci of the Diamond Ordination Platform.

Fifth, the nature of the Diamond Ordination Platform, which was defined as the mausoleum of Śākyamuni Buddha and the primary source of sanctity, acquired a new spatial and visual dimension in the 1705 reconstruction. On the one hand, the Diamond Ordination Platform, with its dimensions newly established in keeping with the tomb construction foot rule, *jucheok*, was recognized as a unified architectural configuration together with the Śarīra Pavilion. As the Śarīra Pavilion had the visual distinction of the T-shaped roof, the Diamond Ordination Platform was perceived not merely as the mausoleum of Śākyamuni Buddha but as the one equivalent to the royal mausoleum, which was typically composed of a tomb and a T-shaped pavilion. On the other hand, the visibility of the Seven Stars Bodhisattvas in full effulgence of Tejaprabhā Buddha lent material form to the perception that the Diamond Ordination Platform was the very source of sanctity. Criticism of the Tongdosa monks by literati-officials for their blasphemy in simulating royal mausoleums with the 1705 reconstruction is a testament to the fact that the unified architectural configuration of the Diamond Ordination Platform and the Śarīra Hall was

unfailingly recognized as resembling a royal mausoleum as it was intended to. The rays of light radiating from the Diamond Ordination Platform, which were witnessed occasionally starting in the early eighteenth century, demonstrate that the monks' mobilization of the symbolism of the Effulgent Buddha and the Seven Stars Bodhisattvas was successful enough to imprint the sanctity of the Diamond Ordination Platform on the people's minds.

Thus, the 1705 reconstruction can be viewed as a full-scale project in terms of the size of the construction, the funding, and the number of participants involved. It was also a decisively significant work that resulted in marked physical changes to the Diamond Ordination Platform itself, the introduction of new iconography, and the visual and spatial implementation of its twofold nature as the mausoleum of Śākyamuni and the source of Buddhist sanctity. The challenging task of the monks late seventeenth-century Tongdosa to lend both special and visual substance to the site as "the place of origin," a concept that had been developed in response to the substantive absence of the true-body *śarīra*, reached an important turning point in the 1705 reconstruction. However, this does not suggest that the completion of the reconstruction brought about the *denouement* of what had been single task as the 1705 project had a variety of ramifications and a significant impact not only on Tongdosa but well beyond its walls and, in a temporal sense, throughout the eighteenth and into the nineteenth centuries. Most importantly, the authenticity and authority of the Tongdosa relics had attained a level of stability that foreclosed further challenges. As will be discussed below, this radically altered status is confirmed in various responses to the Tongdosa relics from contemporaries. Moreover, the Diamond Ordination Platform served as the best available model to monasteries that sought adequately authoritative means to legitimate their own enshrined relics. Over the course of such appropriations, the term "Diamond Ordination Platform" was extended beyond the original

definition as a venue for ordination ceremonies or a site for the enshrinement of relics. Indeed, it had come to be identified directly with the true-body relics of the Buddha. In other words, the term “Diamond Ordination Platform,” regardless of whether or not such a structure was ultimately produced, became a signifier that could guarantee the status of “true-body” to the enshrined relics.

Finally, the 1705 project had an enormous impact on the unfolding direction of the ritual space in Tongdosa. On the one hand, it led to the establishment of the “Individual Residences and Individual Hermitages” system, which was the manifestation of its nature as the mausoleum of Śākyamuni. On the other hand, it contributed to the formation of the dualized ritual space in which visualizations of the two assemblies – the Yeongsan and the Hwaeom – were ritually implemented. This transformation of the ritual space in Tongdosa was primarily triggered by the increasing ritual gravity of the Diamond Ordination Platform. As a result of this complicated and multi-dimensional historical course, the sanctity of the Diamond Ordination Platform at Tongdosa reached its zenith in the early nineteenth century.

## **5.6 Identification of the Buddha’s Relics and Diamond Ordination Platform**

What became of the debate surrounding the authenticity of the true-body *śarīra* at Tongdosa referenced by Min-o following the 1705 reconstruction project? In a travel record of Geumsansa, the monastery that was once the center of cult of relics together with Tongdosa during the Goryeo period, we can find documentation concerning the contemporary reception of the Tongdosa relics. Yi Hagon 李夏坤 (1677-1724), who took a trip to Geumsansa in 1722, observed the ordination platform and left a record that provides a clue concerning contemporary perceptions of the sites where the true-body *śarīra* were enshrined.



The Tathāgata *śarīra* platform (=ordination platform) is located to the north of that [Maitreya Hall]. [It was] constructed with polished stones. It appears very square and neat. At the four corners stand four tiny deities that protect it. The execution is elaborate. On the top, a stūpa housing the *śarīra* is installed. In front of it rises a small pagoda. To the east and west, there are two juniper trees. They are also three to four hundred years old. It is said that there are three *śarīra* that came to the Eastern Land. One is enshrined at Mt. Odae, and another at Tongdosa in Yangsan; and with this [*śarīra* housed at Geumsansa], they constitute three. I don't know whether this [information] can be trusted or not.

如來舍利臺在其北。築以鍊石極方正。四隅立四小鬼擎之。制作精巧。上爲浮屠藏舍利。前立一小塔。東西有二檜。亦三四百年物也。世傳如來舍利來東國者三。一安五臺山。一安梁山通道寺。與此爲三也。未知其信否。<sup>66</sup>

This constitutes the first instance in which the *śarīra* enshrined at Geumsansa were recognized as the relics of Śākyamuni that Jajang had brought with him from China. As stated previously, the relics enshrined in the five-story stone pagoda in front of the Geumsansa ordination platform were identified as those of Śākyamuni and Dīpaṃkara Tathāgata. However, there are no known documents prior to Yi Hagon's account that address the provenance of the Geumsansa relics as having been associated with Jajang. Aside from its contended veracity, what is most interesting is that the monks of Geumsansa in the early eighteenth century relied on the authority of the true-body *śarīra* enshrined at Mt. Odae and Tongdosa in order to raise the status of the relics housed at Geumsansa. Seen from this perspective, it appears that Yi ha-gon was not dismissing the lore of the true-body relics as unreliable; rather, his doubts had more to do with whether or not the Geumsansa relics were the true-body relics handed down by Jajang, as with the relics of Mt. Odae and Tongdosa. Be that as it may, what is apparent is that at least by 1722, the relics of Tongdosa enjoyed an authority and status equivalent to those of Mt. Odae as the abode of the Śākyamuni's true-body relics transported to Silla by Jajang. The "sprouts of doubtful thoughts"

<sup>66</sup> "Namyurok" 南遊錄 1 (1722), Dutacho 頭陀草 17, Yi Hagon 李夏坤, HMC 191: 537b, DKC.

that arose “like a swarm of bees,” to borrow the phrases of Min-o, seem no longer to have sprung up.

In 1750, Sin Yuhan 申維翰 (1681-1752) composed a record for the stele commemorating the reconstruction of the stone pagoda at Beopgwangsa 法廣寺 on Mt. Bihak in Ulsan. He reports that on the 16<sup>th</sup> day of the 10<sup>th</sup> month in 1746, when the monks began pulling the damaged stone pagoda down for repair and reached its lowest level, they found 22 grains of *śarīra* enshrined in a silken sack along with a jade tablet that carried an inscription reading “the *śarīra* of Śākyamuni.” Once they had transported and enshrined the *śarīra* at Daeung-jeon, a miracle is said to have occurred: for five days from the night of the enshrinement, auspicious rays of light spread out to the sky. Terribly frightened in response, the monks hastily repaired the stone pagoda and once again enshrined the relics, an event that took place on the 24<sup>th</sup> day of the same month; subsequently, they completed the reconstruction of the stone pagoda on the 13<sup>rd</sup> of the 2<sup>nd</sup> month in 1747.<sup>67</sup> Another construction project that followed immediately after the repair project of the stone pagoda.

In the seventh month of the same year (1747), a Dharma Hall was built in front of the stone pagoda. A plaque was hung reading, “Diamond Ordination Platform.” Additionally, below [the Dharma Hall], an Incense Hall was separately erected, and these were considered the venues for making offerings to the Buddha. All of this imitates Tongdosa.

同年七月. 建法堂于塔前. 扁曰金剛戒壇. 又其下別起香爐殿. 以爲禮佛之所. 通度是倣.<sup>68</sup>

Today, only the stone pagoda and stele remain on the original site where Beopgwangsa once stood.<sup>69</sup> However, some stone bases as well as fragments of pedestals dating from the earlier

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<sup>67</sup> "Beopgwangsa Seokgabulsaritap jungsubi" 法廣寺釋迦佛舍利塔重修碑 (1750), Cheongcheonjip 青泉集 5, Sin Yuhan 申維翰, HMC 200: 336b-c, DKC.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 336c-d.

period remain, confirming that Beopgwangsa was once a monastery of considerable size. Given the size of the original Beopgwangsa, there would have been ample space to accommodate a set of buildings – a Dharma Hall and an Incense Hall – in front of the stone pagoda. However, the most remarkable point revealed in the passage above is that Beopgwangsa monks named the Dharma Hall and, by extension, the stone pagoda the “Diamond Ordination Platform” although, realistically, it could not have been defined as an ordination platform in a functional sense. Furthermore, the monks of Beopgwangsa also specified that they had modeled their Diamond Ordination Platform on the one at Tongdosa. In this respect, “Diamond Ordination Platform” became a term in its own right, directly symbolic of the site in which the true-body *śarīra* of Śākyamuni were enshrined. Their authority was guaranteed by the name of Tongdosa. One could argue further that the authenticity of the true-body *śarīra* was validated not so much by either provenance or their nature itself but rather presumed as a “given” in their direct association with the Diamond Ordination Platform of Tongdosa. In other words, no sooner is a site designated as the Diamond Ordination Platform than it is transformed into a sanctuary in which the true-body *śarīra* of the Buddha are housed.

In 1759, Ungoeng 運宏 and Hyechang 慧倡, the two monks of Ansimsa, which is located on Mt. Daedun in Wanju, erected a stele of the history of Ansimsa; the text engraved on the stele had been composed in the late seventeenth century by Kim Seokju. At the same time, they constructed a stūpa in which to enshrine a tooth relic of the “Blessed One Buddha” 佛世尊 (Kr. *bulsejon*), which had long been retained at the monastery.<sup>70</sup> In order to demonstrate the elevated

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<sup>69</sup> For an excavation report of Beopgwangsa, see Hwang Suyeong 黃壽永, "Silla Beopgwangsa seoktopgi" 新羅法光寺石塔記, *Baeksan hakbo* 白山學報 8 (1970): 117-36.

<sup>70</sup> *Daedunsan Ansimsa bi* 大菴山安心寺碑 (1759), Kim Seokju and Yu Takgi 金錫胄, 愈拓基, S-2034, HSM-JB-S: 165.

status of Ansimsa, which had enjoyed the privilege of corvée exemption during the reign of Sejo, they appear to have simultaneously erected a stūpa housing the Buddha's tooth and a stele for the text composed by a famous high ranking official. The stūpa the two monks constructed is the one that is known today as the "Diamond Ordination Platform of Ansimsa." Certainly, it is not clear whether this stūpa was given the name "Diamond Ordination Platform" from the beginning and whether or not the "Blessed One Buddha" is referring to Śākyamuni Buddha in particular. However, it is interesting that the stūpa was constructed in the form of a simplified ordination platform. The platform is located at the foot of a small hill at a corner removed from the main precinct of Ansimsa. The slanted ground was made level by stacking stones at the front of the platform. Its boundary is demarcated by several pieces of elongated stone slabs, on the surface of which lotus patterns and eye-shaped forms are engraved. Within the boundary lies a low rectangular terrace, at the center of which is placed a stūpa resting on an octagonal pedestal. At the four corners stand the four stone guardians, each roughly 110 to 133cm in height.<sup>71</sup> (fig.5-16). At a glance, the structure appears to be on par with the funeral stūpa of Sa-myeong at Hongje-am in terms of its simplicity. However, the decoration – for instance, the lotus forms on the stone terrace and the stone guardians at the four corners – strongly suggests that the structure was modeled after the ordination platform. It is not clear whether the design of the platform at Ansimsa was based on that of the Diamond Ordination Platform at Tongdosa or on that of the ordination platform at Geumsansa, which is much closer proximity to Ansimsa. Particularly important is that, regardless of what relics were enshrined at Ansimsa, their authenticity is confirmed not by substantive information such as the provenance and nature of the relics, but from the fact that the structure housing them was built in the form of the ordination platform.

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<sup>71</sup> "Wanju Ansimsa Geumgang gyedan," Cultural Heritage Administration (<http://www.cha.go.kr/>).

In summary, the platforms at Beopgwangsa and Ansimsa demonstrate that, by the mid-eighteenth century, the term “Diamond Ordination Platform” and its actual constructed form were identified with the existence of the Buddha’s relics and, in that sense, replaced the presence of the Buddha’s relics. This recognition reveals how intensively the term “Diamond Ordination Platform” and its architectural form was imprinted on the consciousness of contemporaries as a symbol of and, in effect, synonymous with the true-body relics. Most likely, if the 1705 project of Tongdosa had not been successful, these changes in perception concerning the cult of the relics in the late Joseon period would not have taken place. As far as I can discern, therefore, the authenticity and authority of the relics enshrined at the Diamond Ordination Platform of Tongdosa were no longer subject to doubt much less challenged during the eighteenth century. Both the term and the architectural form of the Diamond Ordination Platform were recognized as signifiers that guaranteed the presence of the true-body relics of Śākyamuni Buddha. In this regard, the meaning Wolha Gye-o imparted to the Diamond Ordination Platform in the early nineteenth century appears all the more interesting. According to Gye-o;

Looking at the top of Jungdae on Mt. Odae in Gangreung, [it appears as if] a dragon is coiled up above [...], while looking back to the East Sea, all of sudden it soars up. On this uplifted and surging mound, at last, an old pagoda and terraces are heaped, and the Palace of Quiescence sits. The inattentively stacked stones are like the shape of bumpy rocks on Mt. Tai. This is an achievement entrusted to heavenly power, not desirous of human labor. As it is enrapturing and unfathomable, the mind and eyes are cleansed. The stone bell of Tongdosa represents human labor triumphing over heavenly power. One cannot choose which of the two is better.

但見江陵五臺山中臺上 一龍袞袞然 [...] 睠顧東海 忽噴薄 騰怒處 隧封古塔壇壇  
真寂滅宮 而積纍頑石 如泰山中礮礮狀 此乃任於天力 不貪人功 怳惚難測 快洗心  
目 度刹之石鍾 人功勝於天力 彼此不揀紫黃。<sup>72</sup>

<sup>72</sup> "Tongdosa seokjonggi," Gasango 4, HBJ 10: 785a.

In this passage, any claim to hierarchy or any contestation of the authenticity or authority of the two places known to house the true-body relics of Śākyamuni brought to Silla by Jajang no longer exists. Both places are recognized equally as sanctuaries yet addressed as two opposing poles that represent heaven – the power of Nature – and human labor. The sanctity of Jungdae is “given” from a heavenly power unfathomable to human beings and from the grandeur of untouched – or untouchable – Nature. In contrast, the stone bell of Tongdosa, that is, the Diamond Ordination Platform, is “built” through human work and therefore not “given” from the power of Nature. Its sanctity is defined by a perfect man-made order that completely supplants Nature. If they stand at the extremes of two opposing poles, it is obvious that no hierarchy can exist between the two. Without question, this situation constitutes a complete reversal in the status of the Diamond Ordination Platform, whose position was much weaker than that of Mt. Odae around 1705. Nevertheless, we may still observe a shift in balance. To the extent that human beings cannot control heavenly power at their discretion, and in this sense, as long as they are still required to engage in actual construction, Mt. Odae, which is “given” from Nature, cannot serve as a model. In that sense, the Diamond Ordination Platform of Tongdosa emerges as the most ideal place and model for enshrining the relics of the Buddha that human beings can accomplish.

It is no coincidence that Wolha Gye-o composed the passage provided above at the time of the 1823 reconstruction project, when the staircases of the Diamond Ordination Platform were eliminated and the “Five Wheel Seed Syllables” and the “True Mind Seed Syllables” were inscribed there. Unquestionably, by the early nineteenth century, the perception of the sanctity of the place-ness of the Diamond Ordination Platform reached a zenith, both inside and beyond the confines of Tongdosa. With respect to the changes that occurred in the ritual space of Tongdosa

over the eighteenth century, however, the historical course of sanctification of the Diamond Ordination Platform went through two stages of transformation before reaching its apogee in the early nineteenth century. First, the main ritual space of Tongdosa, the Yeongsan-jeon precinct, was reconfigured in terms of its ritual functions and imagery in keeping with the growing sanctity of the Diamond Ordination Platform. Second, the precinct of the Diamond Ordination Platform itself was transformed into the primary ritual space in which a conception of the Hwaeom Assembly was realized. Next, I turn to a discussion and analysis of the changes in the ritual space of Tongdosa occasioned by the 1705 reconstruction project.

## Chapter Six:

### Transformation of the Ritual Space and Imagery of Tongdosa

#### 6.1 The Diamond Ordination Platform as the Source of Physical Order and Sanctity

Upon completion of the reconstruction of the Diamond Ordination Platform in 1705, a seven day and night Water-Land rite was held in Tongdosa. The ceremony was not only intended to inaugurate the Diamond Ordination Platform but also to consecrate the newly defined Buddha – Tejaprabhā Buddha, the Buddha in full radiance – of the Diamond Ordination Platform.

Considering Jiseon's scornful attitude in the late seventeenth century toward the long ceremonies, specifically those lasting beyond three days and nights, the performance of a seven-day and seven-night Water-Land rite in early eighteenth-century Tongdosa seems quite exceptional. The standard model proposed in the *OBJ* and the *Sanbojip* was the Water-Land rite lasting three days and nights based on the Zhipan text. However, the ritual procedure of the seven-day Water-Land rite was based on the Zikui text. Comparing two ritual procedures for the three-day schedule, we find that more stations (more cultic objects), more ritual paraphernalia, and more ritual spaces are mobilized and required in the ceremony based on the Zikui text than in the one from the Zhipan text.<sup>1</sup> This difference is clearly addressed in terms of the layout of the ritual spaces, as demonstrated in fig.4-2 and fig.4-3. It implies that the Water-Land rite based on the Zikui text was larger, more luxurious, and more magnificent than was the rite described in the Zhipan text. In this regard, the performance of such a large and magnificent not to mention expensive ceremony Water-Land rite at Tongdosa in 1705 suggests that the Tongdosa monks made a

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<sup>1</sup> Focusing on the *Sanbojip*, I compare the ritual procedures of two texts based on the three-day and three-night Water-Land rite. As for the Zhipan text, *Sanbojip* (2012), 251-95. As for the Zikui text, *ibid.*, 598-605.



considerable effort to ritually emphasize the presence of the Buddha at the Diamond Ordination Platform.

According to a biography of Punggye Myeongchal 楓溪明誓 (1640-1708), who supervised the Water-Land rite in 1705 as the chief liturgist, the rite followed the Zikui text and consisted of a total of 33 stations. It had been prepared from the first lunar month. The rite commenced at the eighth day of the fourth lunar month – the Buddha’s birthday – and continued for seven days and nights.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, there is no extant documentation of the way in which the ritual space for the rite was organized. Given that the upper altar was typically installed in the main courtyard inside of “the front gate” as is shown in the ritual space of the *Sanbojip*, the three altars of the Water-Land rite were probably installed within the courtyard of the Yeongsan Hall, which was the main devotional space at that time. Of course, the possibility that the main altars of the rite were installed around the Diamond Ordination Platform cannot be excluded. Either way, what seems obvious is that the ritual gravity of the Diamond Ordination Platform was increased dramatically through this exceptional occasion of a seven-day and -night Water-Land rite. In turn, this increase in the ritual gravity of the platform impacted the spatial hierarchy of the entire ritual space of Tongdosa. In other words, as the sanctity of the Diamond Ordination Platform within the ritual space of Tongdosa increased, the existing main devotional space, the Yeongsan Hall precinct, must surely have been redefined in relation to the escalating force of the Diamond Ordination Platform. We find evidence of this evolving dynamic, of the way in which the ritual space took shape and was treated, in the restoration project of the Yeongsan Hall precinct after a great fire.

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<sup>2</sup> Punggye Myeongchal was an eminent Seon monk of the Pyeongyang branch. As there were few specialists who were well versed in the Zikui text at that time, he was singled out to prepare and conduct the 1705 rite in Tongdosa. For more on this, see "Boje deunggye daesa haengjang" 普濟登階大師行狀 (1710), Punggyejip 楓溪集 ha, composed by Hanil 閑僧, HBJ-9: 159.

### 6.1.1 Visualization of the Yeongsan Assembly

In 1713, a meteor struck Tongdosa, causing a substantial fire that destroyed several of the monastery's buildings. According to accounts of the event, the buildings located in the region of the Yeongsan Hall and many monks' lodgings were destroyed in the fire.<sup>3</sup> Beginning with the Myeongwol-ryo 明月寮 (Myeongwol Residence), which was reconstructed in 1713, the restoration project proceeded for five years to the point in 1718 when the new statues of the Four Heavenly Kings were completed. The matter of the relationship between the Yeongsan Hall precinct and the Diamond Ordination Platform was raised in 1714 when the rebuilding of the Geukrak-jeon (Paradise Hall) was discussed. At that time, there were different opinions among the monks regarding the correct orientation of the Geukrak-jeon. Yong-am Gancho 龍巖澗草 (fl.1686-1716) finally resolved the matter in a very interesting way. He claimed:

The hall of Medicine Buddha is located to the west; the abode of Amitâbha Buddha to the east. People all say that it is time to change the location. I alone speak of the conditions of returning to the source. Why? Amitâbha is a king of enlightenment who absorbs function to return to the essence. Medicine Buddha is a master of teaching who gives rise to function out of essence. How beautiful, then, is our predecessors' layout for [these] halls!

藥師之殿居酉. 彌陀之室在震. 人皆曰易位之序. 愚獨謂還源之條. 何也? 彌陀攝用歸體之覺王. 藥師從體起用之教主. 則古人排堂也美哉!<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> In the region of the Yeongsan Hall, the Yeongsan Hall itself as well as the Geukrak hall, the Cheonwang gate, the Garam hall, among others, were completely destroyed in the fire. In the case of monks lodgings, the Myeongwol room, the Geum hall and the like, were damaged. See, *Yeongsanjeon Cheonwangmun yang jungchang gyeom danhwak gimun* 靈山殿天王門兩重創兼丹牘記文 (1716), Uiyeon 義玄, P-41, HSM 3-S: 87; *Tongdosa Geukrakbo-jeon jungchang sanryangmun* 通度寺極樂寶殿重創上樑文 (1714), Gancho 澗草, D-1604, HSM 3-S: 252; *Garamjeon sangryangmun* 伽藍殿上樑文 (1714; 1781; 1858), D-1609, HSM 3-S: 253; *Myeongwolryo junggeon sangryangmun* 明月寮重建上樑文 (1713), Yanap Wonhae 野衲圓解, D-1613, HSM 3-S: 254; *Tongdosa Geumdang jungchang sangryangmun* 通度寺金堂重創上樑文 (1713), Jeong-an 淨眼, D-1603, HSM 3-S: 252.

<sup>4</sup> *Tongdosa Geukrakbo-jeon jungchang sanryangmun*, HSM 3-S: 252.

Within the precinct of the Yeongsan Hall in the early eighteenth century, the Medicine Buddha Hall, the *Yaksa-jeon*, was located on the west side, while the abode of Amitābha Buddha, the Geukrak-jeon, was on the east side. In terms of Buddhist cosmology, the Medicine Buddha's pure land, *Vaiḍūryanirbhāsa*, is located in the east, while the Amitābha's pure land, *Sukhāvatī*, is in the west.<sup>5</sup> Thus, it has been the traditional agreement that a Yaksa-jeon is located in the east, while a Geukrak-jeon is situated in the west. In light of this, the majority of the monks of Tongdosa supported a proposal that the locations of the two Buddha should be reversed on the occasion of the rebuilding. In contrast to popular tradition, then, Gancho asserted that their locations were correct on the grounds that they were "conditions of returning to the source." Indeed, his argument is quite intriguing and demands further explanation in the context of this discussion.

According to Gancho, Amitābha may be understood as a buddha who "absorbs function to return to the essence," while Medicine Buddha is a buddha who "gives rise to function out of essence." In other words, Amitābha "gathers" devotees on the verge of death ("absorbs function") and "returns with them to" his pure land ("return to the essence"), while Medicine Buddha "gives rise to" his healing "function" out of his "essence," his capacity to heal the sick. Tying a sense of direction to this concept, we might conclude that Amitābha is heading toward the essence and Medicine Buddha comes from the essence. Indeed, this is precisely what Gancho's mention of "conditions of returning to the source" implies. Seen from this perspective, the orientation of the two Buddha, and by extension, the two Buddha halls, should be determined in relation to the source.

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<sup>5</sup> *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, s.v. "Bhaiṣajyaguru; Amitābha."

What did the concept of “source” mean to the monks of Tongdosa? The direction in which Amitābha faces and to which Medicine Buddha turns his back is the west. The place at Tongdosa that can be conceived of as the source and which is located to the west of the precinct of the Yeongsan Hall is the site of the Diamond Ordination Platform. (fig.14). Thus, the Diamond Ordination Platform in Tongdosa emerged as a coordinate axis against which the orientation of all Buddhist halls would be determined. The traditionally accepted orientation of Buddhist halls became meaningless and subject to redefinition in relation to the Diamond Ordination Platform. Moreover, the Diamond Ordination Platform was recognized as the *source* toward which all buddhas would return and, at the same time, as the *essence* from which the power of all buddhas was generated. In this sense, the Diamond Ordination Platform became the site of “the primordial Buddha”—to use a word of Stephen F. Teiser—from which the myriad transformation bodies of buddhas would emerge and to which they would return, as well as the center of ritual gravity in which ritual efficacy would be concentrated.<sup>6</sup>

The present orientation of the two Buddha halls confirms that Gancho’s proposal based on essence-function theory [體用論] was accepted by the Tongdosa monks. Certainly, Gancho’s concept of essence-function can be said to be a doctrinal elaboration of the relationship between Tejaprabhā Buddha and the Seven Star Bodhisattvas, which was established at Tongdosa with the 1705 reconstruction. Through such elaboration, individual relationships between specific buddhas and bodhisattvas was generalized as a theoretical relation of essence and function; the singular focus on the Diamond Ordination Platform was extended to the complex nexus between the Diamond Ordination Platform and the other Buddha halls of Tongdosa. The 1716

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<sup>6</sup> Stephen F. Teiser and Jacqueline Ilyse Stone, "Interpreting the Lotus Sutra," in *Readings of the Lotus Sūtra*, ed. Stephen F. Teiser and Jacqueline Ilyse Stone (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 22.

reconstruction project of the Yeongsan Hall demonstrates how Gancho's concept of essence-function actually functioned in the redefinition of the ritual space and images of Tongdosa.

The present Yeongsan Hall, facing the south, rises on a granite podium about 1 meter high at the front. The hall is an oblong comprised of three bays across by three deep, or approximately 15.12 by 7.31 meters, and supports a double-eaved gable roof of ceramic tiles. The bracketing system is the so-called *dapo-sik* 多包式 (lit. many-bracket complexes; with inter-columnar brackets), which consists of three transversal steps on the exterior and four steps on the interior (外三出木 内四出木; transversal bracket-arms projecting outward perpendicular to the wall in three steps and inward in four steps; seen from the *Yingzao fashi's* *puzuo* system, six *puzuo* on exterior and seven on interior).<sup>7</sup> The twelve pillars are arranged to form the exterior wall and there are no pillars installed inside. A single, great beam, which is placed above the bracketing, crosses this interior space without pillars. On the top of this beam, two board-shaped posts 板臺栱 (Kr. *pandaegong*) are placed at points approximately one-third of the beam's length away from either end to support a ridge-beam, which is in turn joined with two intermediate purlins. A ridge purlin is installed atop an approximately 1.3 meter-high board-shaped post, which lies on the ridge-beam. The infrastructure is therefore best described as the "five-purlin and double-beam" system. Doors open across the front three bays and the rear; in the front, four-panel doors fitted to each bay are installed, while in the rear, there are two-panel doors at the center of each bay. Neither doors nor windows are installed in either of the side bays. (fig.6-1). Records show that, following its rebuilding in 1716, the Yeongsan Hall has undergone only a

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<sup>7</sup> Regarding the English translations of the terms from Chinese architecture, "timber frames" and "bracketing system," I consult primarily the writings of Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt. For this portion, Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt et al., *Chinese Traditional Architecture* (New York City: China Institute in America, China House Gallery, 1984), 105.

single repair in 1792 prior to the modern period. In terms of timber structure, the estimated construction date for the present hall is identified as the early seventeenth century.<sup>8</sup>

The Yeongsan Hall displays some very peculiar features that distinguish it from the standard Buddha halls of the late Joseon period. First, the enshrined image of the Buddha Śākyamuni, identified by the earth-touching mudra, has no attendants and occupies a Sumeru throne located at the eastern end of the hall facing west. (fig.6-2). As Buddha halls of Joseon were typically rectangular in plan with an entrance in the middle of the long side on the south and the primary images opposite the doorway facing south, this layout is a very exceptional in Joseon Buddhist architecture. Behind the Buddha hangs an altar painting *taenghwa* 幀畫 depicting the Yeongsan Assembly executed in 1734.<sup>9</sup> (fig.6-3). To the upper left and right sides of the Buddha are murals representing various Buddhist anecdotes. In the Buddha's sightline on the opposite western wall is a large mural, 5.4 m high by 2.2 m wide, that depicts a Buddhist pagoda with two Buddhas seated inside (fig.6-4) illustrating the appearance of the Jeweled pagoda, recounted in the *Jianbaota pin* 見寶塔品 (Vision of the Jeweled Stūpa chapter) of the *Lotus Sūtra*. In fact, this is the only instance of such an interior configuration, characterized by the Śākyamuni Buddha's unique orientation and the mural of the Jeweled pagoda, in the entirety of extant Buddha halls in Korea.

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<sup>8</sup> For a detailed architectural investigation of the Yeongsan Hall, Yangsan-si and Gyeongnam National University 양산시, 경남대학교 산학협력단, *Yangsan Tongdosa Yeongsanjeon girokhwa josa bogoseo* 梁山 通度寺 靈山殿 記錄化 調査報告書 (Yangsan: Daedo gihoe, 2009), 53-76. For a study of the hall, Sin Yongcheol 신용철, "Tongdosa Yeongsan-jeon ui yeoksa wa geonchuk uijang gochal" 通度寺 靈山殿의 歷史와 建築意匠 考察, *Bulgyo misul sahak* 불교미술사학 6 (2008): 74-81.

<sup>9</sup> *Taenghwa* can be defined as the paintings executed on hanging scrolls or screens; they are typically hung on the rear wall of the main altar so the word is usually translated as "platform paintings." Here it is rendered as "altar paintings" to limit the word "platform" to the case of the ordination platform. In the late Joseon period, *taenghwa* became a dominant format for altar paintings instead of murals, the format that had prevailed in the early Joseon period. With respect to this change, refer to Kim Jeonghui 김정희, *Bulhwa, chanranhan bulgyo misul ui segye* 불화, 찬란한 불교 미술의 세계 (Paju: Dolbegae, 2009), 118-20.

Second, a considerable number of murals are painted on the exterior and interior walls of the Yeongsan Hall. Generally speaking, buddhas and bodhisattvas, a variety of flowers, Daoist immortals and anecdotal figures were typically painted on the walls of the late-Joseon Buddha halls. In the case of the Yeongsan Hall, the murals of the Buddha's life and various Buddhist anecdotes – particularly those modeled after the illustrations of the *Shishiyuanliu* 釋氏源流 (*Origin and Development of Buddhist Disciples*) compiled in 1422 of the Ming period – comprise the majority of the iconographic program.<sup>10</sup> In terms of the interior murals alone, a total of fifty scenes were painted, forty-eight of which were executed based on the texts and illustrations of the *Shishiyuanliu*.<sup>11</sup> In conjunction with the murals of the Buddha's life, another painting attracts attention. The *Eight Episodes Painting* 八相幀 (Kr. *palsangtaeng*), which consists of eight screens, each 2.33 meters high by 1.51 wide, depicts important moments of the Buddha's life; the paintings are hung on the northern wall in close proximity to the main sumeru throne located at the eastern end of the hall. (fig.6-2). The present *Eight Episodes Painting* was executed in 1775. A record indicates that there had been an *Eight Episodes Painting* previous to the 1775 work.<sup>12</sup> Overall, the Yeongsan Hall is furnished with a number of murals and paintings

<sup>10</sup> Xing Lili 邢莉莉, *Mingdai fochuan gushihua yanjiu* 明代佛传故事画研究 (Beijing: Xianzhuang shuju, 2010), 32-3.

<sup>11</sup> Seongbo munhwajae yeonguwon 성보문화재연구원, *Hanguk ui sachal byeokhwa : sachal geonchukmul byeokhwa josa bogoseo: Gyeongsang-namdo* 한국의 사찰벽화: 사찰건축물 벽화조사보고서 경상남도 1 (Seoul: Cheon-il, 2008), 271.

<sup>12</sup> The plaque named the “*Palsang gimun*” 八相記文, which is now mistakenly estimated to have been executed in 1755, was produced in 1775 when the present *Eight Episodes Painting* was produced. There are many characters that are difficult to decipher but in it may be found intriguing phrases with reference to the existence of the *Eight Episodes Painting* prior to 1775. According to the plaque, “There was the *Eight Episodes Painting* in the monastery (=Tongdosa). It was housed in a hall but upon the passing [of time] ... discolored... there was no attempts to renew it up to recently.” [寺有八相安於法宇而○閱爲...剝而....近歲無有以新之]. See *Palsang gimun* 八相記文 (1775), P-42, HSM 3-S: 87.

of the life of Śākyamuni Buddha. It is not too much to say that the hall is literally an image hall.<sup>13</sup>

Third, the Yeongsan Hall differs vastly from the typical late-Joseon Buddha halls in terms of bay width and plan proportions. In comparison to the type of Buddha hall built in the *dapo-sik* with a gabled roof, the Yeongsan Hall has a much wider bay in the lengthwise direction than other Buddha halls. Indeed, most such halls feature bays with a length of 10-11 *cheok* (1 *cheok* = approx. 31 centimeters), while the central bay of the Yeongsan Hall is 16.5 *cheok* long and the lateral bays on either side measure 16 *cheok* each in length. In terms of the transverse bays, the hall has a central bay that is 9 *cheok* wide and lateral bays that are each 7.3 *cheok* wide; they do not differ much from the bay width of other Buddha halls. Interestingly, the bay width as such produces the overall effect of a very elongated, oblong plan with the Yeongsan Hall. The hip-and-gable roofed hall built in the *dapo-sik* has an average ratio of 1.35 wide by 1 deep and the gabled hall in the *dapo-sik* features a ratio of 1.52 by 1; thus, the latter is more elongated than the hip-and-gabled hall. The Yeongsan Hall is designed in keeping with a ratio of 2.06 by 1, demonstrating that it was constructed according to a plan that featured a very long width and a short depth.<sup>14</sup>

Fourth, the Yeongsan Hall was built in a special type of Buddha hall called the *Dapomatbae-jip* 다포맞배집 (Gable building with many bracket complexes), which prevailed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Buddha hall built in the *dapo-sik* in the Joseon period

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<sup>13</sup> For an exhaustive investigation of the murals of the Yeongsan Hall, Seongbo munhwajae yeonguwon, *Hanguk ui sachal byeokhwa: Gyeongnam I*: 266-342; 458-83. For the extensive studies, see Yi Yeongjong 이영종, "Tongdosa Yeongsan-jeon ui Seokssi wonryu eunghwa sajeok yeongu" 通度寺 靈山殿의 『釋氏源流應化事蹟』 벽화 연구, *Misul sahak yeongu* 美術史學研究 250·251 (2006); Yi Yeongjong 이영종, "Tongdosa Yeongsan-jeon ui byeokhwa pyeonnyeon jaego" 通度寺 靈山殿의 벽화 편년 再考, *Bulgyo misul sahak* 불교미술사학 6 (2008).

<sup>14</sup> Bae Byongseon 배병선, "Dapogy Matbaejip yeongu" 다포계 맞배집 연구 (PhD diss., Seoul National University, 1993), 123, table4-6; 178.



generally supported a hip-and-gable roof, while the *Dapo-matbae* building supported a gable roof even though it was built in the *dapo-sik*. In the case of the *Dapo-matbae* building, pillars much taller than eave pillars are erected in the central bay of lateral walls to reinforce the overall structural stability, and the gable walls on either side are mostly concealed. Thus, the bracket complexes are not distributed on and between the pillars of the exterior sidewalls but rather only on and between the front and rear pillars in the lengthwise direction. Naturally, the *Dapo-matbae* building has a greater economical and technical advantage over the *dapo-sik* building with the hip-and-gable roof, while maintaining the magnificent appearance of a *dapo-sik* structure.<sup>15</sup> However, there were other concerns at play besides financial consideration in the construction the Yeongsan Hall in the style of a *Dapo-matbae* building. In particular, the very elongated plan of the Yeongsan Hall made it necessary from a structural standpoint to emulate the *Dapo-matbae* building: as the excessively shallow depth of the plan would have made it difficult to produce the proportionate, gabled portion of the hip-and-gable roof, it would have been pragmatic to choose the gable rather than the hip-and-gable roof. In this respect we again find evidence that preserving the elongated plan was a major priority.

Fifth, constructing a building utilizing the elongated *Dapo-matbae* plan produces at least two remarkable effects. The first effect is the creation of a large expanse of wall surface in the lengthwise and transverse directions. The wider bays in the front and rear of the exterior naturally create considerably more wall surface than is the case other styles of Buddha halls. In short, the incorporation of taller pillars in the central bay of either lateral wall – 1.7 to 1.8 times taller than the eave pillars – results in the larger surface of the side wall without any protrusion of the bracketing. The second effect is the creation of a very bright and lofty interior space. As the

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 177-200.

eave is installed on the outer axial purlin on the third step of the transversal bracket-arm, the hall admits ample light with little screening by the eave. At the same time, as the inner axial purlin is installed at the height of 987 centimeters above the fourth step of the transversal bracket-arm and the ceiling begins at this point, the overall height of interior space reaches a height of around 6.5 meters. Additionally, there are no pillars on the interior and doors are installed across the front and rear bays. All of the above components contribute to creating the bright, lofty and open interior space of the Yeongsan Hall. (fig.6-5).

The Yeongsan Hall was thus built with expansive wall surfaces and the abundant light, suggesting that it was designed to showcase pictorial images as well as the sculptural icon. The elongated plan of the Yeongsan Hall was an ideal architectural setting for the theatrical encounter between the Buddha at the eastern end and the Jeweled pagoda depicted in the mural at the western end as well as the Eight Episodes paintings in between. Clearly, the Yeongsan Hall was designed to facilitate a specific program. What, then, was this program and how did it mesh with Gancho's concept of essence-function?

As discussed in Chapter Four, the Yeongsan Hall was sometimes called the Daeung-jeon, or Great Hero Hall, a common appellation of the main devotional and ritual hall in the late Joseon period. This suggests that the precinct of the Yeongsan Hall was the principal ritual space of Tongdosa for a long while. After the 1713 fire, however, the ritual space of the Yeongsan Hall was completely redefined in relation to the Diamond Ordination Platform. As suggested by the appellation Yeongsan Hall, it was reconstructed as a ritual site where Śākyamuni Buddha manifested himself in a ritual simulacrum of the Yeongsan or Vulture Peak Assembly. Indeed, there are a number of images that directly and indirectly refer to the Yeongsan Assembly and the manifestation of Śākyamuni Buddha in the interior of the Yeongsan Hall. One of the most

illuminating of such images is a large mural on the western interior wall representing the Jeweled Pagoda. According to the *Lotus Sūtra*, the pagoda rises up from the earth to verify that Śākyamuni Buddha's sermon is true. Considering the presence of the Diamond Ordination Platform, however, the implication of the mural seems transcend the function of verification alone. Indeed, we should recall that one of core teachings of the *Lotus Sūtra* was preached on the pagoda suspended in the sky; that is, the "puzzling idea" that Śākyamuni Buddha is actually "the Buddha who had truly attained awakening in the distant past" [久遠實成之佛], which is generally rendered as "the eternal Buddha," or "the primordial Buddha," is declared there.<sup>16</sup> How, we must ask, is this idea of the nature of Śākyamuni Buddha connected with a visual representation of the Jeweled pagoda in the Yeongsan Hall? The connection becomes clear when we consider the spatial relationship between the stone bell-shaped reliquary of the Diamond Ordination Platform and the main Śākyamuni Buddha statue enshrined in the Yeongsan Hall. As stated above, the statue rests on a throne located at the center of the eastern sidewall of the Yeongsan Hall and faces west. Extending his line of sight to the west, it reaches the center of the Diamond Ordination Platform and, more specifically, the stone bell reliquary housing the Śākyamuni Buddha's relics. (fig.6-6). As to the contrast between the stone-bell reliquary and the Buddha statue, the first is conceived of as the body invisible to all the sentient beings, represented without human form like a stone bell and manifested in full radiance. The second may be understood as the transformation body, which visible to all of the sentient beings of this defiled world and depicted with a human form – like a Buddha statue, for instance. Between the two lies the mural of the Jeweled pagoda. This specific spatial relationship with its doctrinal implications

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<sup>16</sup> Williams, *Mahayana Buddhism: The Doctrinal Foundations*. 157. Teiser and Stone, "Interpreting the Lotus Sutra," 22-23.

and the visual contrast created all seem to emphasize that Śākyamuni Buddha at the Diamond Ordination Platform is none other than “the Buddha who truly attained in the distant past,” while the invisible body of the Buddha is manifested in the Yeongsan Hall as a transformation body going through the primary phases from birth to enlightenment to nirvāṇa. One of reasons that the *Eight Episodes Painting* epitomizing the primary phases is installed inside of the Yeongsan Hall can be explained in this respect.

To summarize, the Yeongsan Hall was recreated as an image hall in which Śākyamuni Buddha, who led the Yeongsan Assembly as the invisible body at the Diamond Ordination Platform, was manifested as a transformation body visible to all sentient beings. In this process, the Diamond Ordination Platform functioned as the root, the source of physical order and sanctity, which would eventually impact ritual potency. Thus, the reconstructed Yeongsan Hall was not a mere continuation of the previous tradition. Rather, the hall was transformed into a ritual-specific site, redefined in relation to the Diamond Ordination Platform. Consequently, it came to function as the ritual space designed to implement the sanctity and attendant ritual efficacy of the Diamond Ordination Platform. With this deliberate transformation of the ritual space as a starting point, therefore, Tongdosa saw the formation of a typical, late-Joseon ritual space associated directly with a conceptualization of the Yeongsan Assembly and a long-term process in which the ritual space and imagery of Tongdosa would be redefined in relation to the Diamond Ordination Platform.

#### 6.1.2 Visualization of the Buddha at the Diamond Ordination Platform

Another major adjustment to the ritual space of Tongdosa was triggered by yet another devastating fire in 1756. At midnight on the 21<sup>st</sup> day of tenth lunar month of 1756, a store of

fermented soybeans in the Jungsil 中室 caught fire. Four dharma halls, four dormitories and ten storage bays were burned to the ground in a single night. According to the reconstruction record following the fire, three of the halls that burned were the Daegwangmyeong-jeon (Vairocana Hall), the Yeongja-jeon (Portrait Hall) and the Munsu-jeon (Mañjuśrī Hall). It is unclear, however, what the fourth hall to succumb to fire was, although a number of sources suggest that it may have been the Myeongbu-jeon (Purgatory Hall).<sup>17</sup> As the Jungsil was situated inside of the Hwanghwa-gak (Hwanghwa Pavilion), it seems clear that the fire started inside of the pavilion and spread toward the southwest. Thus, all of the buildings within the area demarcated by the Diamond Ordination Platform to the southwest and the Avalokitêśvara Hall to the south were destroyed. (fig. 6-7). That is, the fire precipitated a large-scale reconstruction of the precinct of the Daegwangmyeong-jeon, providing the monks of Tongdosa with a virtual *tabula rasa* on which to construct a new ritual space in the area that had been cleared by the fire. The *Buddha Trikāya Painting* of 1759 displays what was created on that blank ground. (fig. 6-8).

The *Buddha Trikāya Painting, a large triptych*, was executed along with the polychrome work of the newly constructed Buddha halls. The large amount in donations for this project was mostly disbursed for the production of the paintings. The panels were installed as the main altar painting of the Daegwangmyeong-jeon just after its completion. Depicting the buddhas Vairocana, Rocana, and Śākyamuni, these paintings are regarded as the *magnum opus* of the

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<sup>17</sup> For more information on the occurrence of the fire, its damage and a general report of the course of reconstruction, see *Daegwangmyeong-jeon samseong gongpilhu* 大光明殿三成功畢後 (1756), P-31, HSM 3-S: 84. For the reconstruction of the Yeongja-jeon and Munsu-jeon, *Yeongjwa Yangsangun Chukseosan Tongdosa Yeongja-jeon sangryangmun* 嶺左梁山郡鷲棲山通度寺影子殿上樑文 (1843), Seongdam Uijeon 聖潭議典, D-1607, HSM 3-S: 253; *Yangsan Tongdosa Munsu-jeon jungchanggi*, HSM 3-S: 89-90. Regarding the Myeongbu-jeon, there is a record indicating that the hall burned and was reconstructed in 1760 but the record provides no further information concerning whether or not the damage was the result of the fire in 1756. *Buljongchalyaksa*, TJ: 186. Sin Yongcheol also claims that the Myeongbu-jeon burned to the ground in the 1756 fire. Sin, "Tongdosa Yeongsan-jeon," 67; note 5.

monk-painter Imhan 任閑 (fl. 1718-1759). Eung-am Huiyu 凝庵僖愈 (fl.1728-1772) and his disciple Jogam 照鑑 (fl. 1757-1775) worked as fundraisers, and Hwagok Gyecheon 花谷誠天 (fl. 1734-1759) participated as a witness for the project. Again, the painting project was so important to Tongdosa that a large sum of money was raised, central figures were deeply involved, and the painter commanded his best skill.<sup>18</sup>

In terms of iconography, the *Buddha Trikāya Painting* is composed of three seated buddhas, each represented in an iconic, frontal posture; a central Vairocana Buddha is flanked by Rocana Buddha to his left and Śākyamuni Buddha to his right. Rocana Buddha is adorned like a bodhisattva, with heavy jewels and a crown, and displays the teaching mudra. The other two, Vairocana and Śākyamuni, revealing their identities with their knowledge-fist and earth-touching mudras, respectively, wear no jewelry and are attired in simple monk's robes; Śākyamuni has one shoulder bare. These iconographic features, in particular those of Rocana Buddha, are not exceptional, however. They have precedents such as the *Five Buddhas' Assembly Painting* 五佛會圖, which dates to the early Joseon period (the late fifteenth and the early sixteenth centuries) and is in the collection of Jūrin-ji 十輪寺, and the *Buddha Trikāya Banner* of Gapsa 甲寺, which was painted in 1650. (fig.6-9). What seems unprecedented is that the *Buddha Trikāya Painting* was installed not as an outdoor banner in the courtyard but specifically as an altar painting to be displayed in the interior of the hall. In this regard, we find that the same practices as that of Tongdosa in 1759, were conducted in such monasteries as Janggoksa 長谷寺 in Cheongyang in 1741, Unmunsa 雲門寺 in Cheongdo in 1755 and Hwaeomsa in Gurye in

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<sup>18</sup> *Tongdosa Daegwangmyeong-jeon Samsinbuldo* 通度寺大光明殿三身佛圖, Inscription, I-190; I-191; I-192, HSM 2-S: 296. For the studies of the *Buddha Trikāya Painting* by Imhan in 1759, Jeong Huiseon 정희선, "Hwaseung Imhan pa bulhwa ui yeongu" 화승 任閑派 불화의 연구 *Gangjwa misulsa* 강좌미술사 26 (2006): 677-78; Jang Huijeong 장희정, "18segi Tongdosa wa hwaswa Imhan" 18세기 通度寺와 畫師 任閑, *Bulgyo misulshak* 불교미술사학 6 (2008): 139.

1757.<sup>19</sup> Of particular interest is the *Buddha Trikāya Painting* at Unmunsa installed in the Biro-jeon in 1755. The project was led by Taeheo Nambung 太虛南鵬, a disciple of Seolsong Yeoncho, and executed under the command of Imhan, the same master responsible for the Tongdosa paintings, . (fig.6-10) In other words, the same monk-painter undertook the production of images of Buddha Trikāya within a four-year span at Unmunsa and Tongdosa, where the disciples of Seolsong Yeoncho had gained considerable influence.<sup>20</sup>

In 1742, the disciples of Yeoncho, together with those of Hoam Chejeong 虎巖體淨 (1687-1748), convened the White Lotus Convocation 白蓮大會 at Baekryeon-am 白蓮庵 (White Lotus Hermitage) under the jurisdiction of Tongdosa. This dharma assembly was, in essence, a conference about the Hwaeom teaching; it took place under the flag of the “parallel discussion of Seon and Gyo” 禪教并說, a claim that the “profound truth of miscellaneous flowers” (=Hwaeom teaching) 雜華之幽致 and Seon meditation would be cultivated concurrently.<sup>21</sup> In the second half of the 1750s, the leading monks of Tongdosa and Unmunsa developed their doctrinal concern

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<sup>19</sup> For studies of the Buddha trikāya painting in the late Joseon period, Mun Myeongdae 문명대, "Sansinbul ui dosang teukjing gwa Joseon sidae samsin bulhoedo yeongu" 三身佛의 圖像特徵과 朝鮮時代 三身佛會圖의 研究, in *Hanguk ui bulhwa* 韓國의 佛畫, ed. Seonbo munhwajae yeonguwon 성보문화재연구원 (Seoul: Buljisa, 1998), 207-226; Kim Changgyun 김창균, "Joseon sidae samsin samsebul dosang yeongu" 조선시대 삼신삼세불 도상 연구, *Ganjwa misulsa* 강좌미술사 32 (2009): 103-137. As for studies of the *Five Buddhas' Assembly Painting* of Jurin-ji collection, Kang Soyeon 강소연, "Obuljon ui johwa, Joseon jeongi bulgyo ui hoetong ui wonri" 五佛尊의 조화, 조선전기 불교의 會通의 原理, *Bulgyo misul sahak* 불교미술사학 5 (2007): 301-5; 310; Gong Gyudeok 공규덕, "Joseon jeongi Jurin-ji sojang Ojonbulhoedo yeongu" 朝鮮前期 十輪寺 所藏 五尊佛會圖 研究 (master's thesis, Dongguk University, 2000), 4. It is uncertain whether a Buddha trikāya painting had been installed in the Daegwangmyeong-jeon before the fire of 1756. While the production of the Buddha trikāya painting within the hall in the late Joseon period took place around the mid-eighteenth century, it seems unlikely that, prior to the mid-eighteenth century, the monks of Tongdosa monks expended their energy on projects other than the reconstruction of the Diamond Ordination Platform and the precinct of the Yeongsan Hall. It is also suggestive that, unlike the three altar paintings of Buddha trikāya, a statue of the Vairocana Buddha alone is enshrined in the present-day Daegwangmyeong-jeon. Considering these circumstances, it is very unlikely that a Buddha trikāya painting had been installed at the main altar of the Daegwangmyeong-jeon prior to the 1756 fire.

<sup>20</sup> Kim Migyeong 김미경, "Unmunsa Biro-jeon samsinbul taenghwa e daehan gochal" 雲門寺 毘盧殿 三身佛 幀畫에 대한 考察, *Yeoksa wa silhak* 역사와 실학 14 (2000): 152-53; 156-60; 164-67.

<sup>21</sup> "Yongsan Tongdo Baekryeon daehoeseo" 梁山通度白蓮大會序 (around 1742), Cheongyeongjib 天鏡集 (ha), Hamwol Haewon 涵月海源, HBJ 9: 631.

into a project that conceptualized Buddha Trikāya in a distinctly visual way through the pictorial representation of the dharma, reward, and transformation bodies of the Buddha. To put it differently, this practice indicates that a specific approach, one that would culminate in the erection of the Bogwang-jeon in 1807, began to take shape during this period. During the late eighteenth-century at Tongdosa, there began a long-lasting endeavor on the part of the monks to redefine the ritual space of the monastery in keeping with a conception of the Hwaeom Assembly, thereby transforming it into the “Bodhi-site of Quiescent Extinction.”

Given that a vision of the Bodhi-site of Quiescent Extinction in Tongdosa was intertwined with the visual conceptualization of the Diamond Ordination Platform, it was necessary for the Tongdosa monks to clarify how the presence of the primordial Buddha in the Diamond Ordination Platform addressed by Yong-am Gancho might be reinterpreted from the perspective of the Buddha Trikāya. As far as the spatial frame clarified by Gancho was concerned, the ritual space of Tongdosa was organized based on the dualistic principle of essence-function. The Diamond Ordination Platform was presented as the sanctuary in which “the Buddha, who had truly attained awakening in the distant past,” resided eternally, and as the source from which the physical order and ritual efficacy of Tongdosa were to be defined. [*Essence*]. The precinct of the Yeongsan Hall was reconfigured as the ritual venue in which the invisible body of the Primordial Buddha in the Diamond Ordination Platform would manifest itself through Eight Episodes in the visible transformation body in order to aid souls and spirits being reborn in the land of ultimate bliss.<sup>22</sup> [*Function*]. The introduction of their vision of the Bodhi-site of Quiescent Extinction, therefore, required the monks of Tongdosa to redefine this dualistic framework of essence-

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<sup>22</sup> The doctrinal grounds for the appearance of the transformation body through Eight Episodes are located in the *Mahāyāna saṃgraha-śāstra* 攝大乘論 (T1539-31) and *Buddhagotraśāstra* 佛性論 (T1610-31), both translated by Paramārtha. For a detailed discussion of it, Guang Xing, *The Concept of the Buddha: Its Evolution from Early Buddhism to the Trikaya Theory* (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005), 144; 175.



function from an ontologically enlarged perspective of the three bodies, the dharma, reward, and transformation bodies. This task came to the surface when a large Buddha banner, or *gwaebul* was torn down by the wind on the occasion of a ceremony for the anniversary of Buddha's enlightenment (12.8) in 1766, and subsequently the execution of a new *gwaebul* became a paramount project.<sup>23</sup>

The new, towering *gwaebul* measuring 12m high by 4.9m wide was completed in the following year, 1767. (fig.6-11). When Huiyu composed a commemorative record for it, he attempted to define the dharma, reward, and transformation bodies from a doctrinal standpoint and clearly stated that the buddha depicted in the newly executed *gwaebul* was the transformation body, that is, Śākyamuni Buddha.<sup>24</sup> What is intriguing in this respect is that the iconography of the *gwaebul* was basically identical to that of Rocana Buddha in the *Buddha Trikāya Painting* of Unmunsa executed in 1755 in which Rocana Buddha is depicted holding a lotus flower. (fig.6-10) In other words, a buddha clearly identified as Śākyamuni Buddha of the transformation body was depicted as Rocana Buddha of the reward body. Given that the leading monks of both Tongdosa and Unmunsa at that time were disciples of Seolsong Yeoncho and both *Buddha Trikāya paintings* were executed under the command of Imhan, it cannot be a mistake that Śākyamuni Buddha of the *gwaebul* was depicted as Rocana Buddha. Moreover, it is unlikely that this major similarity between the two paintings was the result of the head painter, Duhun 斗薰 (n.d.), who had been invited from Beopjusa for the *gwaebul* project, following the established iconographic practice.<sup>25</sup> This iconographic fusion is not merely an iconographic issue

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<sup>23</sup> *Qianlong samsip yi nyeon gwaebulgi*, HSM 3-S: 98.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Jeong Myeonghui 정명희, *Kkoch eul deun bucheo* 꽃을 든 부처 [A Buddha with a Lotus Flower: Tongdosa Gwaebul] (Seoul: National Museum of Korea; Jujaso, 2006), 17.

in the context of Buddhist art history. It seems rather a doctrinal and ritual issue, which should be addressed in relation to the specific circumstances of mid-eighteenth century Tongdosa as well as in a larger context of late-Joseon Seon Buddhism.

Above all, the image of Śākyamuni Buddha in the guise of Rocana Buddha holding a lotus flower reminds us of the conception of the Buddha presented in the *Seolseon-ui* (Rite of Seon Lecture), as discussed in Chapter Four. According to the rite, all of the buddhas are contemplating the “Hwaeom teachings” in the body of Rocana Buddha, while they appear in the world through “Eight Episodes” taking the form of the body of Śākyamuni Buddha in order to liberate sentient beings. In that case, the transformation body, if called a Seon master or a buddha, ascends a dharma throne, recites to an audience the sūtra of the “Lotus” and completes the conception of the Yeongsan Assembly. By doing so, the transformation body reproduces the foremost episode of the “Three Location[s] of Mind to Mind,” that of “holding up a lotus flower with a smile” at the Yeongsan Assembly. Thus, the vision of the *Seolseon-ui* can be said to be a ritualized epitome of Linji’s Three Statements, each of which corresponds to the “Three Location of Mind to Mind Transmission,” the “Haweom teachings” and the “Eight Episodes” in that order. In this respect, Śākyamuni Buddha in the appearance of Rocana Buddha holding a lotus flower can be understood as a pictorial representation of the *Seolseon-ui* and also as a truthful visualization of Linji’s Three Statements. What is noteworthy in this regard is that the *Seolseon-ui* was established as a prelude to the Yeongsan-jakbeop. This indicates that such iconography relating to Śākyamuni Buddha had a practical dimension in a distinctively late-Joseon ritual such as the Yeongsan-jakbeop.<sup>26</sup> Therefore, a standing Śākyamuni Buddha in the guise of Rocana

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<sup>26</sup> Of all of the extant works of the *gwaebul*, no works were executed prior to the Imjin War. Today, around ninety works are known to be extant. In terms of the iconography, they can be classified into two groups. The first group, to which most of the *gwaebul* works belong, presents the Yeongsan Assembly in which Śākyamuni Buddha, attired in

Buddha holding a lotus flower was selected as a primary iconic image, which would be installed in the courtyard of the Yeongsan Hall, the main ritual space of Tongdosa reconstructed in keeping with a visual conceptualization of the Yeongsan Assembly.

Through Gancho's frame of essence-function, in the early eighteenth century the Yeongsan Hall of Tongdosa was identified as the place in which Śākyamuni Buddha manifested in the transformation body. This understanding primarily relied on the *Lotus Sūtra* idea that Śākyamuni Buddha was in fact "the Buddha who had truly attained awakening in the distant past" and, further, on the premise that "the primordial Buddha" resided in the Diamond Ordination Platform of Tongdosa. As is well known, "the Buddha who had truly attained awakening in the distant past" has been traditionally understood as the reward body following the lead of Zhiyi's commentary.<sup>27</sup> In this respect, Huiyu's recognition of the transformation-body Śākyamuni Buddha as a form of the reward-body Rocana Buddha seems to have two important implications. First, there was a faithful reflection of the vision of the *Seolseon-ui*, above all. At the same time, there was an awareness on the part of the Tongdosa monks that the *gwaebul* in the Yeongsan

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a simple monk's robe, preaches at Vulture Peak (Yeongsan). The second group, which amounts to approximately twenty works, displays the Buddha in the guise of a bodhisattva and wearing crown as in the Tongdosa *gwaebul*. Significantly, the second group is sub-classified again into two types. In the first, the Buddha displays the teaching mudra. In the second, and the Buddha is holding a lotus flower. Sixteen works can be classified as belonging to the latter type, the Buddha holding a lotus flower. Jang Chungsik 장충식, "Joseonjo *gwaebul ui gochal*" 朝鮮朝 掛佛의 考察, in *Hanguk ui bulhwa* 韓國의 佛畫, ed. Seonbo Munhwajae Yeonguwon 성보문화재연구원 (Seoul: Buljisa, 1996), 252-56; Jeong Myeonghui 정명희, "Joseon hugi *gwaebultaeng ui yeongu*" 朝鮮 後期 掛佛幀의 研究, *Misulshak yeongu* 미술사학 연구 242·243 (2004): 159; 183; Jeong, "Joseon hugi *gwaebultaeng*," 36-37; Bak Eunggyeong 박은경, "Gongju Sinwonsa *gwaebultaeng*" 公州 新元寺 掛佛幀, *Misulsa yeongu* 미술사연구 19 (2005): 123-24.

<sup>27</sup> Teiser and Stone point out, "Chinese exegetes disagreed over [...] whether he [the primordial Buddha] was a buddha in the sense of the dharma body [...]; the reward body [...]; or the manifest body [...]. Zhiyi [...] interpreted the original buddha of the Lotus Sūtra as embodying all three bodies in one." Teiser and Stone, "Interpreting the Lotus Sutra," 23-24. In contrast, Japanese scholars such as Hirakawa Akira and Tamura Yoshirō agree that Zhiyi regarded "the primordial Buddha" of the *Lotus Sūtra* as the reward body. For instance, Tamura Yoshirō 田村芳朗, "Beophwagyong ui bultagwan: guwonsilseongbul" 법화경의 불타관: 구원실성불, in *Beophwa sasang* 法華思想, ed. Hirakawa Akira 平川彰外 (Seoul: Gyeongseowon, 1997), 136. The perusal of Zhiyi's commentaries of the *Lotus Sūtra* leads us to follow the latter's interpretation but not necessarily to exclude the former's viewpoint. For Zhiyi's commentary, see *Miaofa lianhua jing wenju* 妙法蓮華經文句, T 1718-34. 129: a20-25.

Hall was a reflection of the reward-body Rocana Buddha residing in the Diamond Ordination Platform. Based on such a complicated consideration, therefore, it can be understood that the figure represented in the *gwaebul* in 1767 was not Śākyamuni Buddha attired in a simple monk's robe but rather was Rocana Buddha appearing in the guise of a bodhisattva and wearing a crown and holding a lotus flower.<sup>28</sup>

The idea that the primordial Buddha of the Diamond Ordination Platform was manifested in the reward-body Rocana Buddha certainly provided grounds on which the conception of the Hwaeom Assembly or the Bodhi-site of Quiescent Extinction could be implemented in the Diamond Ordination Platform. Of course, the visual boundary between the transformation body and the reward body seems blurred here. However, according to the definition of Buddha Trikāya provided by Huiyu, the differences between both reward and transformation bodies are evident in every aspect of their body-form, abodes and audience. That is to say,

What is called the reward body is the body with a height of 1,000 *jang* (approx. 3,000m/10,000ft) that enters into the Lotus-store world and preaches the dharma for bodhisattvas at the tenth stage of practice. What is called the transformation body is the golden body with a height of 1 *jang* 6 *cheok* (approx. 4.8m/16ft); it is the body in which the six kinds of unenlightened beings and four kinds of enlightened beings alike take refuge and thereby each attain benefit and joy.

謂報身也者 身長千丈 入華藏界爲十地菩薩而說法也. 而謂化身也者 謂丈六金身也 乃好爲四聖六凡 平等歸依 各得利樂之身也.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Scholars differ in terms of the proper way to denominate a buddha in the appearance of a crowned bodhisattva. For instance, Jang Chungsik argues that the buddha holding a lotus flower, if having the appearance of Rocana Buddha, should be identified as Śākyamuni Buddha because the holding of the lotus flower symbolizes Śākyamuni Buddha's picking up the flower at the Yeongsan Assembly. Jang, "Joseonjo gwaebul ui gochal," 254-56. Jeong Myeonghui elaborates further on this point of view. Relying on the interpretation that "the primordial Buddha" is the reward body, she claims that, because Śākyamuni Buddha was immediately transformed into the reward body with his Awakening, another name of Śākyamuni Buddha is Rocana Buddha. Jeong, "Joseon hugi gwaebultaeng ui yeongu," 182.

<sup>29</sup> *Qianlong samsip yi nyeon gwaebulgi*, HSM 3-S: 98. The quoted portion is regarded as an important clue to comprehending late-Joseon Buddhist monks' understanding of Buddha trikāya. A translation in Korean of the

Seen from this perspective, there ensued a logical implication: the Diamond Ordination Platform where the Primordial Buddha resided in the body of Rocana Buddha was actually the “Lotus-store world” in which the reward-body Buddha preached the dharma for the tenth-stage bodhisattvas. In other words, the monks of Tongdosa secured a doctrinal foundation on which the conception of the Bodhi-site of Quiescent Extinction would be implemented in Tongdosa. It was not until the execution of another *gwaebul* of Tongdosa took place in 1792, however, that this conception was actually visualized in Tongdosa. (fig.6-12).

## 6.2 The Increasing Sanctity of the Diamond Ordination Platform and its Visualization

### 6.2.1 Redefinition of the Three Precincts of Buddha Halls

The redefinition of the “three precincts” took place in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the first decade of the nineteenth century in Tongdosa (1775-1809). The precincts of the Yeongsan Hall, the Daegwangmyeong Hall and the Diamond Ordination Platform all were reorganized during this period. First, a series of reconstruction projects of several buildings took place in the Yeongsan Hall precinct during this period. The reconstruction began with the Manse Pavilion in 1775 followed by the Beomjong-gak in 1781, the Garam-gak in 1781, the Medicine Buddha Hall in 1785, the Yeongsan Hall in 1792 and the Amitābha Hall in 1800. The visual

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literary Sino-Korean text was published in a recent study but it is not flawless. Significantly, in the text on the reward body, the phrase “爲十地菩薩” was inaccurately rendered as follows: [the reward body] “becomes a bodhisattva at the tenth stage of practice.” However, the word “爲” should be read as a preposition “for” rather than as the verb “become.” Thus, it should be translated as follows: [the reward body] preaches the dharma “for bodhisattvas at the tenth stage of practice.” As for the published translation in Korean, Jeong, *Kkoch eul deun bucheo*: 37. Huiyu’s understanding of Buddha trikāya and, in particular, of the reward body, is based primarily on the *Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論 [Awakening of Mahāyāna Faith]. For the understanding of the reward body shown in the *Dasheng qixin lun*, see Yi Giyeong 이기영, “Bulsin e daehan yeongu” 佛身に 관한 研究, *Bulgyo hakbo* 佛敎學報 (1966): 264-65; 274-75. Focusing on the implication pertinent to our discussion, a key point is that the reward body is invisible to every sentient being in this sāha world and visible only to bodhisattvas who have reached the tenth stage. Further extending this point, it is possible to raise a doubt as to whether Amitābha Buddha, traditionally regarded as the reward body, is really seen as the reward body only visible to the tenth-stage bodhisattvas. Concerning the emergence of the reward body, its significance and the issue of Amitābha, see Xing, *The Concept of the Buddha*: 132-35; 168-69; 174-78.

representations in the precincts were renewed as well. A new set of *Eight Episodes paintings* was executed in 1775 to replace the old one in the Yeongsan Hall. The *Medicine Buddha altar painting* was also installed in the Medicine Buddha Hall in 1775. Thus, another extensive reconstruction of the Yeongsan Hall precinct was completed six or seven decades after the large-scale reconstruction in the early eighteenth century.

Second, the Great Dharma Hall (Śarīra Pavilion) in the precinct of the Diamond Ordination Platform was reconstructed twice, the first time in 1785 and the second in 1809.<sup>30</sup> Buddhist paintings were also installed within the Great Dharma Hall. Thanks to a donation from a Buddhist nun who sought rebirth to the Pure Land for her deceased father, a painting of the Hyeonwang 現王 (Manifestation King) who was believed to have the power to “immediately” deliver the deceased to the Pure Land [without any judgment of ten kings in purgatory], was installed in 1775. Two paintings of guardian gods used as the middle altar painting 中壇幀 (Kr. jungdantaeng) in the Water-Land rite were executed and hung in 1804; the first depicts all guardian deities represented by Indra and Deva-Nāga and the second features the Eight Vajra Warriors and Four Bodhisattvas. (fig.6-13). Both paintings were probably displayed on either side of the southeast corner of the Great Dharma Hall.<sup>31</sup> A combination of Indra and Devas-

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<sup>30</sup> There remains a record, composed in 1800, of the reconstruction of the Great Hero Hall (=Great Dharma Hall). Many letters in the record are illegible. Seen from the list of participants, we find that the 1800 record is nearly identical to a record of the reconstruction of the Great Dharma Hall in 1809. However, certain points are noteworthy. For instance, Ilbong Wumin’s disciple Gwonseong, who seems to have died prior to 1809, appears in the 1800 record but not in the one from 1809. The date of the 1800 record is also clearly addressed. Considering these discrepancies, it is difficult to conclude that the 1800 record was composed in error. It is not easy to explain why two nearly identical records of the same building were documented ten years apart from one another. Quite likely, the suspended project, which was supposed to be conducted in 1800, was resumed in 1809. Hence, I would argue that reconstruction of the Great Dharma Hall actually took place twice in this period. See *Chukseosan Tongdosa Dae[?]jeon jungsu yeo sawangsang gaechaegi* 鷲棲山通度寺大[?]殿重修與四王像改彩記 (1800), P-28, HSM 3-S: 83; *Daebeop-dang Jungsu-gi*, HSM 3-S: 84; *Jiaqing 14nyeon gisa dwolil sari-gak jungsu gyeom dancheong daesijujil* 嘉慶十四年己巳八月日舍利閣重修兼丹青大施主秩 (1809), P-65; P-66, HSM 3-S: 92-93. As for the 1785 reconstruction, *Qianlong 50 neyon myeong pyeongwa* 建隆五十年銘 平瓦 (1785), A-317, HSM 3-S: 132.

<sup>31</sup> Sin, "Tongdosa Yeongsan-jeon," 70-71; note 13.

Nāgas together and their enshrinement in the Great Dharma Hall reflects a general trend in the rise to importance of guardian deities around the turn of the nineteenth century. However, the visual juxtaposition of Eight Vajra Warriors and Four Bodhisattvas with guardian deities seems exceptional. This is partly because pictorial representations of the Eight Vajra Warriors and the Four Bodhisattvas were still quite unusual at that time.<sup>32</sup> This is also partly because a visual practice of that nature was specifically bound to the context of Tongdosa. Indeed, paintings of the Eight Vajra Warriors and Four Bodhisattvas had been already produced in the format of a banner in 1736 and used at Tongdosa. Seen from this perspective, the 1804 painting of the Eight Vajra Warriors and Four Bodhisattvas suggests that the banner-type paintings, which were temporarily installed outdoors only on the occasions of ceremonies, were replaced by altar paintings, which were installed permanently within the Great Dharma Hall. Thus, the Great Dharma Hall was redefined as a ritual space within which the Manifestation King was invoked for to win quick deliverance, while countless guardian deities were assembled at the middle altar and Eight Vajra Warriors and Four Bodhisattvas were in attendance on Śākyamuni Buddha. In this manner, the indoor space of the Great Dharma Hall was ritually and visually reconfigured.

The outdoor space surrounding the Diamond Ordination Platform was also altered spatially. A pavilion of the World-Honored One's Epitaph was founded in 1792, and the Bogwang-jeon was first built in 1807. While a portrait of the founder Jajang and portraits of three eminent Seon masters were produced between 1804 to 1805, they were likely enshrined in the Portrait Hall or the Arhats Hall (Eungjin-jeon).<sup>33</sup> All of these buildings were located around the Diamond

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<sup>32</sup> For a general history of the painting of guardian deities in the late Joseon period, Yi Seunghui 이승희, "Joseon hugi sinjung taenghwa dosang ui yeongu" 朝鮮後期 神衆幀畫 圖像의 研究, *Misulsahak yeongu* 美術史學研究 228•229 (2001): 121-22.

<sup>33</sup> Today, Jajang's portrait is housed in the Gaesanjo-dang (Founder's Hall) and the hall is known to have first been built in 1727. However, the source of this information is unreliable. According to the reconstruction record of the

Ordination Platform. Indeed, it was as if the Diamond Ordination Platform exerted a strong magnetic force. The nature of this apparent spatial attraction is well demonstrated in the late-eighteenth century understanding of the place of the Gwaneum-jeon, in the larger monastery plan. Today this hall, which was reconstructed in 1780 to the southeast of the Diamond Ordination Platform, is recognized as belonging to the Jung-rojeon, the precinct of the Daegwangmyeong-jeon. In contrast, at the time of the 1780 reconstruction the monks of Tongdosa understood it as forming an end of the axis that began at the Daeung-jeon.<sup>34</sup> Specifically, it was perceived as a spatial element connected to the Daeung-jeon, thus to the Sang-rojeon, the precinct of the Diamond Ordination Platform. (fig.6-14). This perception lends further credence to my argument that the compelling, magnetic force of the Diamond Ordination Platform intensified to the extent that it provoked a new spatial and visual configuration of the Daeung-jeon precinct in the late eighteenth century and that the existing spatial order was also redefined in a direct relation to that dominant force.

Last, the increasing gravity of the Diamond Ordination Platform, of course, impacted the reorganization of the spatial order of the Daegwangmyeong-jeon precinct. This precinct had already undergone extensive reconstruction following the 1756 fire, as noted above. In particular, the four Buddha halls were rebuilt at that time. In addition to the Daegwangmyeong-jeon, Munsu-jeon and Yeongja-jeon, the Myeongbu-jeon was very likely to have been one of the four

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Jeonhyang-gak (Incense Hall) composed in 1939, the Gaesanjo-dang has a different history. The Munsu-jeon was changed to the Jungji-jeon, then to the Chukseong-gak, to the Janggyeong-gak, and finally to the Gaesanjo-dang. Thus, the Gaesanjo-dang was far from having been newly constructed in 1727. See *Jeonhyang-gak junggeongi*, HSM 3-S: 90-91; *Buljongchalyaksa*, TJ: 187. As for the existing understanding of these buildings, see Hanguk Bulgyo Yeonguwon, *Tongdosa*: 58; 70.

<sup>34</sup> *Gwaneum-jeon jungsu gyeom danhwakgi* 觀音殿重修兼丹腹記 (1780), Yi Simgyeong 李心卿, P-52, HSM 3-S: 89.



Buddha halls.<sup>35</sup> According to the *Buljongchalyaksa*, the Myeongbu-jeon (Purgatory Hall) was burned to ashes at an unrecorded date and reconstructed in 1760 under the leadership of Chunpa Gwak-yeon and Nammyeong Nak-an of the Soyo branch. Both Gwak-yeon and Nak-an were also the central figures in the reconstruction of the Munsu-jeon in 1757 and the execution of the *Buddha Trikāya Painting* in 1759.<sup>36</sup> Based on dates and those people in charge of the reconstruction and the painting project, it is likely that the Myeongbu-jeon was destroyed in the 1756 fire. There is an intriguing record in the Myeongbu-jeong entry of the *Buljongchalyaksa* that may point to the location of that particular hall. The record indicates that it was “relocated to the Sang-jijeon” 上持殿 (Upper Hall Prefect) and also mentions that an “honored statue” was gilded and “individual paintings of the ten kings” were produced. It is uncertain whether the “honored statue” represented Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva. But individual paintings of the “ten kings” were produced in 1798 along with a *Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva painting*.<sup>37</sup> Thus, the record suggests that the paintings of Kṣitigarbha and the ten kings were executed and installed in the Sang-jijeon in 1798. This in turn suggests that the Sang-jijeon was converted into the Purgatory Hall in 1798. If that was the case, the Myeongbu-jeon, which had once been situated somewhere within the precinct of the Daegwangmyeong-jeon, was relocated in 1798 to its present-day position, the former site of the Sang-jijeon. (fig.6-14)

What attracts attention here is that the *Maitreya Buddha Altar Painting* of the Yonghwa-jeon (Maitreya Hall) was also produced in 1798, the same year in which the Myeongbu-jeon was

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<sup>35</sup> Sin Yongcheol finds that the Daegwangmyeong-jeon, the Musu-jeon and the Myeongbu-jeon were destroyed in the 1756 fire. He did not locate the last of the four burnt halls. He also claims that the Myeongbu-jeon was reconstructed in 1760 in its the current location. Sin, "Tongdosa Yeongsan-jeon," 67; note 5.

<sup>36</sup> *Buljongchalyaksa*, TJ: 186.

<sup>37</sup> *Myeongbu-jeon Jijang bosaldo* 冥府殿地藏菩薩圖 (1798), I-209, HSM 2-S: 298; *Myeongbu-jeon Siwangdo* 冥府殿十王圖 (1798), I-210~I-219, HSM 2-S: 298-99. Also see *Buljongchalyaksa*, TJ: 186.

relocated to the position of the Sang-jijeon. The Yonghwa-jeon is one of the most remarkable buildings at Tongdosa. Like the Yeongsan Hall, it is a *dapo-matbae-jip*, or “gable building with many bracket complexes.”<sup>38</sup> Thanks to this structure, the inside of the building is well lit and ample wall surfaces provide plenty of space for the inclusion of large-scale murals. Additionally, the interior bracket complexes are more stepped out than the exterior ones, and consequently the remarkably decorative indoor space is created. (fig.6-15) In the case of the Yeongsan Hall, a large mural of the jeweled pagoda contributes quite directly the overall meaning of the hall. In the case of the Yonghwa-jeon, however, none of the murals reference either the Yonghwa Assembly or the buddha to whom the hall is dedicated, Maitreya Buddha. Further, the enshrined Maitreya statue seems unsuited to the interior space of the hall. Meanwhile, a tiny Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva is painted on the exact center of the rear wall above the Maitreya Buddha. (fig.6-16) Also, large murals on the eastern and western interior walls make a striking impression due to their large scale and narrative character from the *Xiyouji (Journey to the West)*. Among the scenes identified, two on the largest wall surfaces of the eastern or western interior walls merit attention. According to the *Hanguk ui sachal byeokhwa*, these two particular scenes relate directly to the Water-Land rite. The mural on the eastern wall depicts Xuanzang 玄奘 (602-664) presiding over the Water-Land rite for Emperor Taizong, who had at one time journey to hell and was subjected to suffering there by vengeful spirits; consequently, he promised them he would perform the Water-Land rite for their rebirth. The mural on the western wall depicts monks who gathered from all over the country to participate in the Water-Land rite along with court officials

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<sup>38</sup> Bae, "Dapogy Matbaejip yeongu," 177-200.

in the process of selecting a monk to preside over the ritual.<sup>39</sup> (fig.6-17) Taking all these images and themes into consideration, it is unlikely that the current Yonghwa-jeon was originally constructed to enshrine the Maitreya Buddha. Rather, it is reasonable to surmise that a building with a different function, most likely the Myeongbu-jeon, which had been burned to the ground in 1756 and was reconstructed in 1760, was later converted to the Maitreya Hall. It is, of course possible that a Yonghwa-jeon had existed before the Myeongbu-jeon was located in that spot, but what is important for this discussion is the fact that the Myeongbu-jeon was relocated from the Daegwangmyeong-jeon precinct to its current location – that is, to the southwest of the Diamond Ordination Platform nearly four decades after the Myeongbu-jeon’s reconstruction. Given that a painting of the Manifestation King, whose special power lay in the deliverance of souls, was installed within the Great Dharma Hall, it is likely that a ritual space for the deliverance rite, such as the Myeongbu-jeon, or Purgatory Hall, was moved to a location in direct proximity to the Great Dharma Hall. Both cases emphasize how the spatial gravitational pull of the Diamond Ordination Platform functioned through the Great Dharma Hall.

Seen from this perspective, moreover, the reorganization of the “three precincts” around the turn of the nineteenth century can be viewed as an endeavor to reconfigure the increasing gravity of the Diamond Ordination Platform in the spatial and visual context of Tongdosa. On the whole, this process of reorganization was carried out in two distinct directions. On the one hand, the precinct of the Yeongsan Hall, once the principal ritual space of Tongdosa, was redefined as the ritual venue of the Yeongsan Assembly in which Śākyamuni Buddha manifested in the Eight Episodes. The re-execution of the *Eight Episodes Painting* in 1775 and the

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<sup>39</sup> For an exhaustive report of the *Xiyouji* murals of the Yonghwa-jeon, Seongbo munhwajae yeonguwon, *Hanguk ui sachal byeokhwa: Gyeongnam 1*: 352-58; 362-63; 370-73; 380-82.

reconstruction of the Yeongsan Hall in 1792 – particularly as concerns the depictions of Śākyamuni Buddha and his eminent followers in a number of murals – are testaments to the ways in which the Yeongsan Hall was reorganized to function as the ritual venue for commemorating Śākyamuni Buddha. On the other hand, the precinct centering on the Diamond Ordination Platform was redefined to serve as a ritual space in which the Hwaeom Assembly or the “Bodhi-site of Quiescent Extinction” was visualized. Beginning with the execution of the *gwaebul* in 1792, the enshrinement of the *Guardian Deities Painting* in the Great Dharma Hall in 1804 and the foundation of the Bogwang-jeon in 1809 reveal how the conception of the Hwaeom Assembly was implemented at Tongdosa.

#### 6.2.2 Visualization of the Hwaeom Assembly

The *gwaebul* of 1792 and the *Guardian Deities Painting* of 1804 provide important clues that assist us in clarifying the ways in which the ritual space of Tongdosa was transformed around the turn of the nineteenth century. (fig.6-12) From the perspective of the paintings’ ritual functions, however, there were specific, intriguing overlaps caused by the production of the two paintings. In addition to the newly executed *gwaebul* of 1792, there was another *gwaebul* produced in 1767. A *Three Stores Bodhisattvas Painting*, also executed in 1792, was enshrined in the Great Dharma Hall as the middle altar painting, while the *Guardian Deities Painting* in 1804 was housed in the same hall and had the same ritual function. (fig.6-13). Of the three altars of the Water-Land rite, two sets of central ritual icons, one set for the upper altar and one set for the middle altar, were produced.

There is no evidence that the 1767 *gwaebul* fell into disuse with the production of the new *gwaebul* produced in 1792. As stated above, the 1767 *gwaebul* seems to have been used in the

Yeongsan Hall precinct until the early twentieth century. However, given that the *gwaebul* in use today – sometimes in the east courtyard outside the Great Dharma Hall, at other times in the southeast courtyard outside of the Diamond Ordination Platform – is the one that was produced in 1792, both the *gwaebuls* have been displayed at least until the early twentieth century. It seems that the 1767 *gwaebul* was used in the Yeongsan Hall precinct, while the 1792 *gwaebul* was installed near or on the premises of the Diamond Ordination Platform. (fig.6-18).

Both paintings present a standing Buddha holding a lotus flower and adorned like a bodhisattva with jeweled pendants and a jeweled crown. However, differences in their respective iconography are not so minimal upon further study. In both cases the Buddhas shoulders are completely covered. While the 1792 Buddha wears only the great robe (大衣) over both shoulders, the 1767 Buddha wears an additional garment called “covering-shoulder garment” 覆肩衣 (Kr. bokgyeonui) within the great robe, which is draped over the right arm.<sup>40</sup> Both Buddhas perform the mudra holding a lotus flower. The 1792 Buddha lifts the stem of the lotus in both hands, a gesture that closely resembles the more general pose of the teaching mudra. In contrast, the 1767 Buddha raises the flower in one hand while resting its stem on other hand. A more noticeable difference is found in the representation of the transformation buddhas in the crowns. In the 1767 *gwaebul* at the center of the jeweled crown five transformation buddhas in hierarchic scale are depicted seated on a lotus throne, while in the 1792 *gwaebul* seven transformation buddhas are represented standing in two rows atop a cloud-shaped throne. It is obvious that the aforementioned buddhas are associated with the Water-Land rite. However, it has yet to be clarified how the two groups of buddhas differ and what role they play respectively

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<sup>40</sup> Song Eunseok 송은석, "Joseon hugi bulbosalsang ui chakuibeop" 朝鮮後期 佛菩薩像의 着衣法, in *Joseon hugi jogakjeon* 조선후기 조각전, ed. Hoam Misulgwan 湖巖美術館 (Seoul: Samseong munhwa jaedan, 2001), 107-8.

in various ceremonies. What should be noted is a rising importance of seven buddhas in paintings related to the Water-Land rite from the eighteenth century onward, as is evident in the *Sweet Dew Painting* 甘露幀 (Kr. *gamrotaeng*).<sup>41</sup> At the least, the depiction of seven buddhas indicates that the 1792 *gwaebul* was influenced by the rise of the seven buddhas at that time and in that sense was produced in keeping with an increasing interest in the ritual efficacy of the Water-Land rite. (fig.6-11; fig.6-12)

How then can the Buddhas in two *gwaebuls* be identified? Seen from the preceding understanding of iconography, both buddhas can be viewed as Rocana Buddha. However, we must recall that Huiyu identified the 1767 *gwaebul* as Śākyamuni Buddha of the transformation body. As for the Buddha in the 1792 *gwaebul*, there is no information concerning the way in which he may have been identified by the monks of Tongdosa. Based on evidence such as the place in which it was installed, the pre-existence of the Śākyamuni Buddha's *gwaebul* and its teaching mudra typical of the late-Joseon Rocana Buddha paintings, the 1792 *gwaebul* was very likely intended to represent Rocana Buddha of the reward body.

Two *Guardian Deities paintings* (a set of Indra and Devas-nāgas; a set of the Eight vajra-warriors and Four bodhisattvas) executed in 1804 are currently known as the altar paintings of the Daegwangmyeong-jeon. (fig.6-13) Until the 1960s, however, two altar paintings were installed on either side of the southeast corner within the “Great Dharma Hall.” Their inscriptions indicate that the two paintings were enshrined within the “Great Hero Hall,” also known as the “Great Dharma Hall” at the time of their completion.<sup>42</sup> According to the

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<sup>41</sup> Kim Seunghui 김승희, "Uhak munhwajaedanjang gamrotaeng (1681)" 우학문화재단장 감로탱(1681), in *Joseon sidae gamrotaeng teukbyeoljeon: Gamro (sang)* 조선시대 감로탱 특별전: 甘露(上), ed. Tongdosa Museum 통도사성보박물관 (Yangsan: Tongdosa Museum, 2005), 37-39.

<sup>42</sup> *Tongdosa Daegwangmyeong-jeon Sinjungtaenghwa* 通度寺大光明殿神衆幀畫 (1804), I-223; I-224, HSM 2-S: 299.

*Buljongchalyaksa*, the middle altar painting of the “Great Hero Hall” was “newly completed” in 1804. Given that the witness, painter and donor who participated in this project were the same people involved in the production of two *Guardian Deities Paintings*, it is obvious that the “newly completed” altar painting for the middle altar was the *Guardian Deities Paintings*. In the same entry concerning the Great Hero Hall, however, the *Buljongchalyaksa* records that the *Three Stores Bodhisattvas Painting* was enshrined within the “Great Hero Hall” in 1792.<sup>43</sup> (fig.6-19). As has been well noted, the *Three Stores Bodhisattvas Painting* was recognized as a typical middle altar painting in the late Joseon period. Reading between the lines, this duplication indicates that the middle altar painting installed in 1792 was replaced by the “newly completed” one in 1804; that is, the *Three Stores Bodhisattvas Painting* was removed to make way for the *Guardian Deities paintings*. This replacement suggests that, at that time at Tongdosa, an important transformation in the manner of visualization of the Water-Land rite took place.

Of course, the replacement of the central icons of the Water-Land rite can be interpreted as a consequence of some degree of contestation among the monks of Tongdosa.<sup>44</sup> Considering the place in which the newly produced icons were installed, however, the parallel manufacture of the *Gwaebul* and the middle altar painting around the turn of the nineteenth century in Tongdosa can be seen as evidence demonstrating that the precinct of the Diamond Ordination Platform was defined as the new ritual venue for the Water-Land rite. That is, the precinct of the Diamond Ordination Platform was transformed into a visually organized space in which the 1797

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<sup>43</sup> *Buljongchalyaksa*, TJ: 180.

<sup>44</sup> As for the execution of the 1792 *gwaebul*, Han Jeongho claims that it was produced because Jiyeon, a monk-painter, took up residence in Tongdosa. He also argues that the 1792 *gwaebul* was installed not in the area of the Great Dharma Hall but rather in the Yeongsan-jeon precinct. As evidence, he cites the photo Professor Starr’s team took in the Yeongsan Hall (the same one in fig.4-4). As we know, however, the *gwaebul* in the photo was not the one from 1792; rather, it was the version from 1767. Han Jeongho 한정호, "Tongdosa gwaebultaeng yeongu" 통도사 괘불탱 연구, *Seokdang nonchong* 石堂論叢 39 (2007): 267-68; 282.

*Gwaebul* was displayed within or near the Diamond Ordination Platform and the 1804 *Guardian Deities Paintings* were hung in the Great Dharma Hall. At this point, it must be noted that the 1797 *Gwaebul* featured the Rocana Buddha and the 1804 *Guardian Deities paintings* were guardian deities of the Hwaecom Assembly. It suggests that the visual arrangement for the Water-Land rite within the precinct of the Diamond Ordination Platform aimed at visualizing the Hwaecom Assembly or the “Bodhi-site of Quiescent Extinction” within the ritual space of Tongdosa.

That the precinct of the Diamond Ordination Platform was reorganized as the ritual venue for the Hwaecom Assembly is shown by the new construction of the Bogwang-jeon 普光殿 (Universal Light Hall) in 1807, a project that was led by Hongmyeong Gwegwan of the Hoam lineage. The Bogwang-jeon, alternatively rendered as “the Bogwangmyeong-jeon” 普光明殿 (Ch. Puguangmingdian; Skt. Samanta-prabhāsa Hall), is a sermon place, one of the seven locations identified in the *Avatamsaka Sūtra* in eighty rolls and the place where three of nine assemblies held at the seven locations—the second, seventh, and eighth—were convened. However, the hall is not merely a physical space provided for the sermons. Rather, the Bogwang-jeon should also be regarded as a site symbolizing the beginning and goal of the Hwaecom teaching. In the second assembly held in the Bogwang-jeon, the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī expounds the “faith” as a starting point on the bodhisattva path. In the seventh assembly held in the hall, the bodhisattva Samantabhadra teaches the “practice of Samantabhadra” as a final goal of the paths.<sup>45</sup> In the eighth assembly entitled, “Detachment from the World,” which was convened in the Bogwang-

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<sup>45</sup> For a brief summary of Sudhana’s journey and the phrases in quotations, see Cleary, *Entry into the Inconceivable*: 4-9. For a brief explanation of the quoted assemblies, *ibid.*, 181-85; 197-204. Regarding the central role of the Bogwangjeon in the unfolding of the Hwaecom teachings, see Gwon Tanjun 권탄준, *Hwaecomgyeong ui segye 화엄경의 세계* (Seoul: CIR, 2013), 29-33.



jeon for the last time, Samantabhadra preaches that the bodhisattva paths include “transcending the world while always remaining in the world and forever leaving passions behind while always dwelling among beings.”<sup>46</sup> In this respect, those preached in the Bogwang-jeon constitute the central Hwaeom themes, which are reiterated magnificently through Sudhana’s journey in the final assembly entitled, “Entering the Realm of Reality.”

At Tongdosa, the Bogwang-jeon was erected in close proximity to the Diamond Ordination Platform. (fig.6-20) The layout of the structure indicates that, from a logistical perspective, the primary requirement for visualizing the Hwaeom Assembly was to construct it in the precinct of the Diamond Ordination Platform. Together with the Rocana Buddha of the 1797 *Gwaebul Painting* and the guardian deities of the Hwaeom Assembly represented in the 1804 *Guardian Deities Paintings*, the Diamond Ordination Platform was conceptualized ritually as the “Bodhi-site of Quiescent Extinction” in which innumerable bodhisattvas, divine-guardian beings and natural spirits gathered around to witness the marvelous scene of Rocana Buddha, while in a silent trance, emanating immense rays of light from every pore of his body. At the same time and in the presence of Rocana Buddha, the Bogwang-jeon became a site in which Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra preached the central Hwaeom teaching, thereby encouraging monks and devotees to launch the bodhisattva paths following Sudhana’s pilgrimage.

This visualization of the Hwaeom Assembly implemented by the monks of Tongdosa is eloquently represented in the *Hwaeomtaeng* 華嚴幀 (*Hwaeom Painting*) or the *Hwaeom chilcheoguhedo* 華嚴七處九會圖 (*Painting of the Seven Locations and the Nine Assemblies of the Avatamsaka-Sūtra*), a painting that was executed in 1811 and installed at the Bogwang-jeon. (fig.6-21) In this painting, the Bogwang-jeon at the center, Rocana Buddha surrounded

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<sup>46</sup> Cleary, *Entry into the Inconceivable*: 204.

immense rays of light above the hall, and Sudhana's journey below represent not only the Bodhisite of Quiescent Extinction but they also recapitulate the central Hwaeom themes in a pictorial manner. This form of composition is an important feature that distinguishes this particular work from its 10<sup>th</sup>-century Dunhuang counterparts and late eighteenth-century Joseon precedents.<sup>47</sup> (fig.6-22) The *Hwaeomtaeng* imagery reveals that the work was creating in keeping with a pictorial vision of the Hwaeom Assembly as it was physically and spatially realized in relation to the Diamond Ordination Platform and the Bogwang-jeon in Tongdosa. This painting, which was most likely used for the visualization of the Hwaeom Assembly on the ritual occasion of the

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<sup>47</sup> For a review of the so-called the “*Huayan bian*” 華嚴變 of 10th-century Dunhuang, see Dorothy Wong, “The Huayan/Kegon/Hwaom Paintings in East Asia,” in *Reflecting Mirrors: Perspectives on Huayan Buddhism*, ed. Imre Hamar (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007), 338-44. For the Korean precedents, see Henrik H Sørensen, “The Hwaom Kyong Pyonsang To: A Yi dynasty Buddhist painting of the Dharma realm,” *Oriental Art* 34 (1988). Unfortunately, Wong and Sørensen did not consult the *Hwaeom chilcheoguhoeodo* of Tongdosa when they assessed the painting – most likely because it was unknown to them at the time. This lack of resources on the subject seems to have prompted Wong to draw a seemingly somewhat hasty conclusion that the Korean version merely “preserved” the 10th-century Dunhuang *Huayan bian* without any replacement as in China or any transformation as in Japan. Without question, the Tongdosa version essentially follows the *Huayan bian* of 10th-century Dunhuang, but it cannot be said that there is no transformation or replacement in the Tongdosa version. First of all, the compositional theme is completely transformed. The Rocana Buddha's presence is emphasized by his singularity and compositional centrality. The second, seventh, and eighth sermons held in the Bogwang-jeon are depicted emphatically through its placement at the center of the painting as well as in a symmetrical set of representations of Śākyamuni Buddha with two attending bodhisattvas, Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra. Fifty-three scenes of Sudhana's journey are replaced by a condensed scene simultaneously depicting the youth's journey guided by Mañjuśrī and completed by Samantabhadra. Instead, within the added space, esoteric bodhisattvas like Thousand Handed Avalokitêśvara and Cundī Avalokitêśvara are incorporated. Thus the Tongdosa version is not merely a faithful reproduction of its counterpart at Dunhuang. Rather, it is reflective of a dynamic interaction with the precedents in China as well as in Goryeo. Furthermore, it should be addressed as the product of a specific doctrinal and ritual matter of concern of late Joseon Buddhism. For an excellent iconographical study of the *Hwaeom chilcheoguhoeodo* of Tongdosa, see Yi Yong-yun 이용운, “Joseon hugi Hwaeom chilcheoguhoeodo wa Yeonhwajangsegyedo ui dosang yeongu” 朝鮮 後期 華嚴七處九會圖와 蓮華藏世界圖의 圖像 研究, *Misulsahak yeongu* 미술사학연구(구 고고미술) 233-234 (2002): 205-217. Regarding the doctrinal meaning of the triad of Rocana Buddha and two bodhisattvas in the Tongdosa version, I would like to suggest an interpretation that differs from Yi's: while the simultaneous apparitions of Rocana and Śākyamuni buddhas can be understood as a ritual pair based on the Seon vision called the “*Seolseon-ui*” 說禪儀, the unity of Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra can be addressed in the esoteric ritual based on the “*Samjong silji*” 三種悉地. It should be noted that these two rituals played an important role in late Joseon Buddhism. For this topic, I await another opportunity in which to present it.

Hwaeom repentance, provided practitioners and devotees with a specific visual cue for the perception of the Diamond Ordination Platform.<sup>48</sup>

In short, it seems apparent that the visual arrangement for the Water-Land rite within the precinct of the Diamond Ordination Platform and the construction of the Bogwang-jeon aimed primarily at envisioning the Hwaeom Assembly or the Bodhi-site of Quiescent Extinction within the ritual space of Tongdosa. As a consequence, in the early nineteenth century, Tongdosa possessed a dual-purpose ritual space in which the visualizations of the Yeongsan and Hwaeom assemblies were ritually implemented in the precincts of the Yeongsan Hall and the Diamond Ordination Platform, respectively. This deliberate creation of two ritual spaces in Tongdosa may be viewed as a spatial and visual realization of a twofold viewpoint of the Buddha in the *Seolseon-ui*: while Rocana Buddha enjoys the dharma with the bodhisattvas at the tenth stage in the Hwaeom Assembly, the Rocana Buddha appears as Śākyamuni Buddha in the sāha world to preach the teachings of the three vehicles—in this sense, those of the Yeongsan Assembly—to all sentient beings.

At that point, the supreme gravity of the Diamond Ordination Platform, which had precipitated major changes in the ritual space of Tongdosa over the eighteenth century, was manifested in its completed form with the 1823 reconstruction.

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<sup>48</sup> The execution of the illustration of the Seven Locations and Nine Assemblies in Tang / Song China seems to have been closely related to the rite of Huayan Repentance 華嚴懺法. For example, *the Huayan puxianxingyuan xiuzhengyi* 華嚴普賢行願修證儀 (X.1473-74) compiled by Jinsui Jingyuan 晉水淨源 (1011-1088), instructs practitioners to paint the illustration of the Seven Locations and Nine Assemblies. The Tongdosa version also seems closely associated with this sort of repentance, as was exemplified in the case of Yong-am Hyeo-eon 龍岩慧彦 who had practiced the repentance with his master Yulbong Cheonggo 栗峰青杲 (1738-1823) at Tongdosa in 1807. In this respect, I disagree with Wong's speculation on the ritual use of the *Huayan bian* based on two esoteric Japanese mandalas. Wong, "The Huayan/Kegon/Hwaom Paintings in East Asia," 347-49.

### 6.3 The Diamond Ordination Platform and the Dharma Body

As indicated earlier, the ostensible reason for the 1823 reconstruction was to stop the visitors – mostly *Yangban* and officials – from stepping on the Diamond Ordination Platform. To this end, the five flights of stairs were eliminated and the so-called *Deunglong*, which functioned as a sign indicating that the Diamond Ordination Platform was no different than the tombs of ranking or royal mausoleums, was installed in front of the Diamond Ordination Platform as well. This suggests that the definition of the Diamond Ordination Platform as a mausoleum of Śākyamuni that had emerged in the early Joseon period was still relevant at the time of the 1823 reconstruction project. It might also be recalled that five images of Tathāgata were installed in the places where the staircases had been located previously. They are laid out on the four sides of the first level, two on the south face and one each on the east, west, and north faces.

The five Buddha images have received little attention from scholars thus far. This is primarily because they are generally regarded as being of an inferior quality to the neighboring and earlier images of the Seven Star Bodhisattvas. The most extreme comment in this respect is found in the writing of Jang Chungsik. Focusing on the formal features of the five Tathāgata images, he evaluated them as “poor-quality works unworthy of discussion” and argued that they were probably created in the reconstruction projects conducted after 1838. He also added that the five images ought to be removed.<sup>49</sup> Mun Myeongdae’s view differs little from Jang’s. Although Mun recognized that the five Tathāgata images functioned in part to fill in the areas where the staircases had been removed, he erroneously identified the figures as “guardian deities” produced during the period of the Japanese occupation (1910-1945).<sup>50</sup> Neither writer took into account

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<sup>49</sup> Jang, "Hanguk seokjo gyeodango," 120-21.

<sup>50</sup> Mun, "Tongdosa seokjo geumgang gyedan," 159.

background and possible motivation for the installation of the Tathāgata images suggested by the Siddham script carved on the upper right and left sides of each Tathāgata image.

The Japanese architectural historian Amanuma Shun'ichi was the first to note the seed syllables inscribed at the upper left and right sides of the five Tathāgata images of the Diamond Ordination Platform. In his article, which was written in the form of a travelogue and published in 1934, he paid considerable attention to the Siddham script and even attempted to decipher them. At first, he assumed that the Siddham characters on the upper left side (the viewer's left) of the Tathāgata images signified the "four buddhas" 四佛. However, as there were other characters inscribed on the upper right sides of each Tathāgata image and additional pair of characters on the south face of the Diamond Ordination Platform, he eventually gave up decoding the inscriptions.<sup>51</sup> However, the identities of the "four buddhas" Amanuma mentioned can be determined from the four portions of Siddham script he decoded. He read the characters on the west side as "kiriku" キリク, on the north as "aku" アク, on the east as "un" ウン, and on the south as "taraku" タラク. The four Katakana terms correspond to Amitābha Buddha (west), Amoghasiddhi (north), Akṣobhya (east), and Ratnasambhava (south), respectively.<sup>52</sup> Therefore, the "four buddhas" to which he referred appear to have been four of the five directional buddhas in the Diamond World Maṇḍala. However, he did not succeed in deciphering the scripts written on the right side of the images on the southeast and the east sides of the Diamond Ordination

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<sup>51</sup> Amanuma, "Zokuzoku Chōsen kikō (ge)," 103; 111; 122. While he lamented his lack of ability to decipher them, he also criticized the Joseon style of producing Siddham script as being "deformed" – significantly deviating from the original form, thereby making deciphering process more challenging

<sup>52</sup> For the buddhas corresponding to the four katakana terms, see Sōgeisha Henshūbu 綜芸舎 編集部, ed., *Bonji nyūmon: Bukkyō bijutsu kōkōgaku kenkyūsha no tame no* 梵字入門: 仏教美術考古学 研究者のための (Kyōto: Sōgeisha, 1967), 16.

Platform, and he also mistranslated the characters to the left on the southwest side. Ultimately, he failed to generate a satisfactory interpretation of the overall meaning the script implies.<sup>53</sup>

Setting aside the question of whether the Joseon Siddham script is “deformed” as Amanuma claimed, the fact that there are seed syllables incised on the Diamond Ordination Platform was completely forgotten afterwards. With the exception of the Mun Myeongdae team, which recently documented the Siddham script without, however, providing any accompanying explanation, it appears that no one besides Amanuma – whether scholars, monks, or lay people – mentioned the seed syllables inscribed on the Diamond Ordination Platform much less attempted to understand their significance. Such total silence is striking and probably relates to the predisposition on the part of some scholars – as exemplified in the commentary of Jang Chungsik – to regard the images of Tathāgata as mediocre works lacking in artistic value. At the same time, however, we should also take into consideration that modern studies on mantra or Siddham script was undertaken only fairly recently in Korea. There has been not much interest in Siddham script among scholars and therefore in some respects I am at the advantage. That is, by availing myself of Amanuma’s pioneering work and recent studies of mantra in Korean Buddhism, I attempt to clarify what the Siddham script incised on the five images of Tathāgata signify and think about how they are related to the Tongdosa monks’ campaign to sanctify the Buddha residing at the Diamond Ordination Platform.

A primary clue toward deciphering the Siddham script incised on the five Tathāgata images may be found in a record composed for the 1823 reconstruction. As discussed above, when the Diamond Ordination Platform was reconstructed in 1823, six statues of buddhas and ten Buddhist paintings were produced and the “*Suryuk jeomjae*” 水陸點齋 was performed.

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<sup>53</sup> Amanuma, "Zokuzoku Chōsen kikō (ge)," 103.

Given that new buddha statues were produced and the expression, “*jeomjae*,” which means “an Eye Opening Ceremony” was used, the “*Suryuk jeomjae*” indicates that the Eye Opening Ceremony was performed in the form of the Water-Land rite to consecrate the recently produced buddha statues. In conjunction with this issue, a contemporary ritual text that relates to the Eye Opening Ceremony and the “*Bulbokjang*” 佛腹藏 (Sk. *nidhāna*) (Insertion of the Intestinal Depository) for buddha statues attracts attention. The *Josanggyeong*, which was printed at Yujeomsa on Mt. Geumgang in 1824, deals with the meaning and procedures of the “*Bulbokjang*,” which is a ceremony that instills spiritual force in the statues by placing various kinds of symbolic objects in the interiors of newly installed or repaired Buddhist statues.<sup>54</sup> According to the *Josanggyeong*, the first and second objects to be inserted into a statue are the “Five Wheels Seed Syllables” and the “True Mind Seed Syllables.”<sup>55</sup> These two types of seed syllables are basically characterized by a format in which the five Siddham seed syllables are assigned to each of the five cardinal directions – east, west, south, north, and center. (Table 6-1) What interests us here is that these two kinds of seed syllables are identical to those inscribed on the upper right and left sides of the five images of Tathāgata on the Diamond Ordination Platform. Simply put, to Tathāgata’s left are the Five Wheels Seed Syllables and to the right are the True Mind Seed Syllables. In keeping with their corresponding directions, the two types of seed syllables are inscribed in close proximity to each of the Tathāgata images on the four faces of the Diamond Ordination Platform. An exception is two syllables corresponding to the center, both of which are found near the image of Tathāgata at the southwest. As a reliquary was placed at the center of the Diamond Ordination Platform and the bearings of the other four directional

<sup>54</sup> For a brief explanation of the *Bulbokjang*, *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, s.v. “nidhāna.” As for a bibliographic introduction of the *Josanggyeong*, *Josanggyeong* 조상경 (2013 (2nd ed.)), 21-32.

<sup>55</sup> *Josanggyeong* 造像經 (printed in Yujeomsa in 1824), compiled by Yongheo 聳虛, HUC 3: 354a.

Tathāgata images were not changed, the Tathāgata image corresponding to the center was likely to have been laid out on the western side of the south face. Accordingly, the Tathāgata image corresponding to the south seems to have been placed on the eastern side. Such a symmetrical placement of two images on the south face has another effect: on the southwest, the layout of the True Mind and Five Wheels Seed Syllables is switched; the former is to the Tathāgata's left and the latter to the right. Thus, on the south face, each True Mind Seed Syllable of the two Tathāgata images is placed to the center, while each Five Wheels Seed Syllable is laid out to either side, away from the center. The overall layout of the two types of seed syllables on the first level of the Diamond Ordination Platform is illustrated in fig.6-23.

The Five Wheels Seed Syllables – in the order of east, west, south, north, and center – must be read as *aṃ*, *vaṃ*, *raṃ*, *haṃ*, *khaṃ*, respectively. These syllables are formed by adding “void points” or “adornment points” to the top of the basic syllabic components, *a*, *va*, *ra*, *ha*, *kha*, each of which is representative of one of the five wheels. Together with *a*, *vi*, *ra*, *hūṃ*, *khaṃ*, they constitute the three forms that represent the five wheels. According to Snodgrass, the Five Wheels Seed Syllables with void points are used as objects of visualization through which a practitioner identifies his body with the Five Elements. Snodgrass argues that the syllables void points are added above indicate that they have been “cultivated and perfected.”<sup>56</sup> The True Mind Seed Syllables, in the order of east, west, south, north, and center, must be read as *hūṃ*, *hrīḥ*, *trāḥ*, *ah*, *vaṃ*, respectively. Adornment points or “nirvana points” are also added to them. If we examine these two types of seed syllables as a whole, they are characterized as the syllables that the void points, adornment points, and nirvana points are added to the basic syllables. They are

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<sup>56</sup> Adrian Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond World Mandalas in Shingon Buddhism* (New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 1988), 68; note 29. Sōgeisha Henshūbu, *Bonji nyūmon*, 3; 45-46.



far from the “deformed” Siddham syllables as Amanuma claimed. While it is true that the Five Wheels seed syllable “*aṃ*” – the one which Amanuma was unable to decipher and which is located to the right (the viewer’s right) of the Tathāgata image on the eastern face – has a slightly different form than that which is generally recognized as “*aṃ*,” it is still within a range in which it may be regarded as a variant rather than an anomaly. In reviewing the Siddham script used in the late Joseon period – from the *Jebanmun* in the sixteenth century to the *Josanggyeong* in the early nineteenth century – we may conclude that the Five Wheels Seed Syllables and the True Mind Seed Syllables maintained regular, constant shapes without major changes; additionally, we can confirm that the shapes of seed syllables on the Diamond Ordination Platform do not differ markedly from them. (Table 6-2)

The “five wheels” of the Five Wheels Seed Syllables refer to the five colossal wheels (Sk. *cakra*): the Earth *cakra*, the Water *cakra*, the Fire *cakra*, the Wind *cakra*, and the Space *cakra*. The five seed syllables, five cardinal directions, five shapes and five colors are assigned to these five wheels to form the Five Wheels Seed Syllables.<sup>57</sup> This combination of the five wheels and a variety of five phenomenal elements is presented in the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*. According to this text, the essential nature of Mahāvairocana has five aspects: “originally uncreated,” “beyond language,” “free from delusion,” “beyond causes and conditions” and “like the void.”<sup>58</sup> These five aspects manifest themselves in the form of the five wheels, five seed syllables, five shapes

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<sup>57</sup> The five cardinal directions are: east, west, north, south, and center. The five shapes are: square, circle, triangle, half-moon, and a jewel. The five colors are yellow, white, red, black, and multi-colored.

<sup>58</sup> *Dapiluzhena chengfoshenbian jiachijing* 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經, T 848-18. 9: b16-18.

and five colors. Thus all phenomena, represented by these five phenomenal elements, are nothing more than the marks of the activity of the absolute truth.<sup>59</sup>

The True Mind Seed Syllables are the five seed syllables that correspond to the buddhas Akṣobhya, Amitābha, Ratnasambhava, Amoghasiddhi, and Mahāvairocana. Each of them is also assigned one of the five cardinal directions. This arrangement of the five directional buddhas is based on the five buddhas of the Diamond World Maṇḍala mentioned in the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra*. While the Five Wheels Seed Syllables are the marks of the activity of Mahāvairocana as it manifests itself in a phenomenal world, the True Mind Seed Syllables can be described as the appearance of the all-inclusive Knowledge of Mahāvairocana, who reveals himself in the realm of Knowledge where Buddhahood is realized. In this regard, the four buddhas at the four cardinal directions represent the four forms of Knowledge which are derived from Mahāvairocana's all-inclusive Knowledge located at the center.<sup>60</sup> Thus, the five forms of Knowledge and nine types of consciousness 識 (Sk. *viññāna*) are assigned to the five buddhas at the five cardinal directions.<sup>61</sup> To sum up, the Five Wheels Seed Syllables are related to the physical universe and all formal dharmas; in this sense, they connote the Womb World Maṇḍala, which represents the Dharma Body of Principle 理法身 (Jr. *Ri-hosshin*; Kr. *Yi-beopsin*). The True Mind Seed Syllables are related to the world of buddhas and all the dharmas of the mind. In this sense, they exemplify the Diamond World Maṇḍala, which represents the Dharma Body of Knowledge 智法身 (Jr. *Chi-hosshin*; Kr. *Ji-beopsin*).<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Kim Musaeng 김무생, "Yukja jineon ui obul obanggwan ui seongrip gwajeong" 六字眞言의 五佛 五方觀의 成立過程, *Milgyo hakbo* 密教學報 2 (2000): 12-16.

<sup>60</sup> Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond*: 590.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 596.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 129-30; 133.

In the context of the basic meanings discussed above, the two types of seed syllables inscribed on the Diamond Ordination Platform can be understood to represent the two aspects of the Dharma Body: the Dharma Body of Principle and the Dharma Body of Knowledge. However, the issue is not simple. First and foremost, in the case of the Diamond Ordination Platform, the seed syllables corresponding to the center were located in the Tathāgata image on the western side of the south face. Their centrality is not reproduced. In this regard, the relationship between the Five Wheels Seed Syllables and five buddhas and the true-body *śarīra* of Śākyamuni Buddha located at the center of the Diamond Ordination Platform is somewhat vague. Additionally, there is little evidence to suggest that Esoteric Buddhism had developed based on a particular focus on the Womb World and the Diamond World Maṇḍala in the late Joseon period. Only a single instance of a late-Joseon painting relating to the Maṇḍala of the Two Worlds is known of thus far. A painting produced in 1845, which depicts the Thirty-Seven World-Honored Ones of the Diamond World Maṇḍala, remains in the Vairocana Hall in Daeheungsa. Furthermore, there is no known instance aside from their appearance on the Diamond Ordination Platform in which the Five Wheels and the True Mind Seed Syllables were inscribed on Tathāgata statues. Therefore, we should be very cautious in applying the perspective of the maṇḍala of the Two Worlds established in Japanese Shingon Buddhism to the case of the Diamond Ordination Platform. We must first gain a better understanding of the religious and ritual context in which the Five Wheels and True Mind Seed Syllables were mobilized in the late Joseon Buddhism.

It is not clear when the Five Wheels and the True Mind Seed Syllables were first used in Korean Buddhism. Given that the two kinds of seed syllables have certain implications in relation to the Diamond World and the Worm World Maṇḍala, the earliest cases in which the Maṇḍala of the Two Worlds was composed of the seed syllables date back to the Goryeo period.

Interestingly, a considerable number of these surviving maṇḍalas are affiliated with the ceremony of the *Bulbokjang* – that is, the insertion of the intestinal depository into the interior of a buddha statue.<sup>63</sup> Confining our focus to the extant ritual texts circulated in the Joseon period, the terms, “the Five Wheels Seed Syllables” and “the True mind seed syllables” began appearing in various ritual texts in the first half of the sixteenth century and continued to be used throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A prominent feature commonly found in the texts is that the two types of seed syllables were, without exception, used either in the Ceremony of the Insertion of the Intestinal Depository or the Eye Opening Ceremony. This tells us that meanings and symbolism invested in the Five Wheels and the True Mind Seed Syllables in the late Joseon period can be understood in the context of these ceremonies.

The fact that the Five Wheels Seed Syllables are the very first objects to be inserted within a Buddha statue clearly reveals their significance as the seeds that provide an otherwise inert statue with a symbolic vital force. In fact, the sheer power that the Five Wheels Seed Syllables wield in the ceremony of the Insertion of the Intestinal Depository is rather overwhelming. For instance, the *Josanggyeong* explains the syllable of the diamond Earth *cakra*, “*aṃ*,” which is located in the east, as follows:

The letter *aṃ* – pronounced as *am* – is the Diamond group. Among the five organs, it controls the liver. Among the Buddhas, [it is] Akṣobhya Buddha of the east. Among the Knowledge, [it is] the Great Round Mirror Knowledge, which is also named the Diamond Knowledge. Among the Consciousnesses, [it is] the eighth Consciousness (Storehouse Consciousness). This is called the diamond Earth *cakra*. Therefore, mountains and rivers and the earth arise from the letter *a*. The letter *aṃ* of the east is the blue-colored square.

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<sup>63</sup> Nam Gwonhui 남권희, "Hanguk girokmunhwa e natanan jieon ui yutong" 韓國 記錄文化에 나타난 眞言의 流通, *Milgyo hakbo* 密教學報 7 (2006): 63-66; 96-97; 113.

𑖀(暗呂)字者 是金剛部 於五臟主則肝 佛則東方阿闍 智則大圓鏡智 亦名金剛智 識則第八識 是謂金剛地輪 故山河大地 從阿字出生也. 東暗字 青色方形.<sup>64</sup>

At least three different viewpoints of the world are blended together to explain the meaning and symbolism of the letter *am* of the Five Wheels Seed Syllables. The first viewpoint, from the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*, attributes one each of the five colors and the five shapes to the letter *am*. The second viewpoint from the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra* allocates one each of the five Buddhas, the five forms of Knowledge, and nine types of Consciousness to the letter *am*. Finally, the third viewpoint, from the Chinese Daoism, assigns one of the five organs to the letter *am*. Here, the two distinct traditions of Indian Esoteric Buddhism are combined and incorporated into the Chinese cultural framework. (Table 6-1)

This sort of integration is also found in scriptures translated by Śubhakarasiṃha (637-735) such as the *Zunsheng foding xiuyujiafayigui* 尊勝佛頂脩瑜伽法軌儀 (T 973-19) and the *Sanzhong xidi podiyu zhuanyezhang chusanjie mimituoluonifa* 三種悉地破地獄轉業障出三界祕密陀羅尼法 (T 905-18; hereafter, *Sanzhong xidifa*).<sup>65</sup> An explanation of the letter “*am*” in the *Josanggyeong* quoted above is provided under the rubric of the *Samjong silji* (Ch. *sanzhong xidi*; Kr. *samjong silji*; three types of attainment) and the related phrases are cited directly from the *Sanzhong xidifa*. This demonstrates that an integrated viewpoint such as the one that is found in the *Sanzhong xidifa* had a tremendous impact on the ceremony of the Insertion of the Intestinal Depository in the late Joseon period. Interestingly in this regard, the Five Wheels Seed Syllables, as defined in the late Joseon ritual text *Josanggyeong*, are recognized not only as the Dharma Body of Principle, but also as the all-

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<sup>64</sup> *Josanggyeong*, HUC 3: 354d.

<sup>65</sup> As for a discussion of this integration, see Kim, "Yukja jineon ui obul obangwan," 20-24.

inclusive entities that encompass the Dharma Body of Knowledge. The *Josanggyeong* describes this special status given to the Five Wheels Seed Syllables as follows:

The five letters (=the Five wheels seed syllables) je—“je” (=brother) is probably a typo for “deung” (=et cetera)—stated above become the Diamond Prajñā. [They are] also called the Five-Letter Fields of Merit, and also called the Five-Part Dharma Body. All phenomena are embraced in the five letters.

上來五字弟[弟字疑等]者 是爲金剛般若 亦名五字福田 亦名五分法身 一切萬法攝於五字.<sup>66</sup>

In other words, the Five Wheels Seed Syllables represent the perfection of Knowledge, the field from which countless merits grow as well as the Five-part Dharma Body, which is comprised of the Precept Body, the Meditation Body, the Wisdom Body, the Liberation Body and the Liberation Knowledge Body. Therefore, the Five Wheels Seed Syllables not only transform into the five forms of Knowledge from which the five Buddhas are born, but they also become the origin of all phenomenal dharmas from which are produced mountains, rivers, the Earth, Sun, Moon and stars, all kinds of grains and flowers, all sorts of jewels such as gold and jade, fortune and a variety of merits.

The five directional Buddhas, represented by the True Mind Seed Syllables, appear in late-Joseon Buddhist rituals in a twofold way. The first instance can be found in the initial procedure of the Water-Land rite, which takes place following the conclusion of the Yeongsan-jakbeop. When an offering is made to the Five Emperors 五帝 who can open the roads in five cardinal directions so that myriad souls and saints can come to the ritual venue without any barriers, the five directional Buddhas are invoked to empower this offering. In other words, under the rubric of the “Eulogy of the Five Cardinal Directions,” they emerge as Buddhist gods who govern the

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<sup>66</sup> *Josanggyeong*, HUC 3: 355b.

five cardinal directions.<sup>67</sup> The second instance can be observed in the ceremony performed to consecrate Buddhist statues or paintings. Looking at the ceremony of the “*Bulsang si changbul*” 佛像時唱佛” (Invocation of Buddhas at the time of enshrining a Buddha statue) presented in the *JBGG*, the five directional buddhas are invoked to consecrate a newly executed or repaired Buddhist statue. Together with these buddhas, bodhisattvas who accompany each of them are also invited and a congregation of these buddhas and bodhisattvas are collectively referred to as “the Assembly of Five-Group Great Maṇḍala” 五部大曼陀羅會上 (Kr. *Obu daemandara hoesang*). A close examination of the list of their names reveals that, although some alterations and omissions may be made, the members of the assembly correspond to the Thirty-Seven World-Honored Ones 三十七尊 (Jr. *Sanjūshichi son*) of the Diamond World Maṇḍala. However, terms such as “the Perfected Body Assembly” 成身會 (Jr. *Jōshinne*) or “the Fundamental Assembly” 根本會 (Jr. *Komponne*), which refer to the Thirty-seven World-Honored Ones of the Diamond World Maṇḍala in the tradition of the Shingon Buddhism, are not used.<sup>68</sup>

The appellation of the “Assembly of Five-Group Great Maṇḍala” appears early on with the abbreviated title, “Five-Group Maṇḍala” 五部陀羅 (Kr. *Obudara*), in the Eye Opening Ceremony outlined in the *Ojong beom-eumjip*, which was published in 1661. The *Jebanmun*, printed in Haeinsa in 1719, includes a complete list of the Assembly of Five-Group Great Maṇḍala for the Eye Opening Ceremony.<sup>69</sup> In the case of Tongdosa, when the Bosang-am was newly constructed on the site of the old Anyang-am in 1866, the Assembly of Five-Group Great Maṇḍala was held for the purposes of enshrining and consecrating the newly painted seventeen

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<sup>67</sup> *Sanbojip* (2012), 131-36.

<sup>68</sup> *Jakbeop gwigam* (2010), 200-201. Concerning the Perfected Body Assembly and its member, see Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond*: 147; 576-78.

<sup>69</sup> *OBJ*, HBJ 12: 180.

scrolls of the “Honored Images.”<sup>70</sup> In the ritual texts and actual examples, therefore, we find that, when Buddhist statues or paintings were either produced or repaired, the Eye Opening Ceremony was performed within the rubric of the Assembly of Five-Group Great Maṇḍala in the period of late Joseon Buddhism.

The Assembly of Five-Group Great Maṇḍala is composed of the Thirty-Seven World-Honored Ones, who form the Diamond World Maṇḍala proper. According to the *Jebanmun* of Haeinsa, the four Great Bodhisattvas arise from each of the four directional Buddhas. Thus, sixteen total Great Bodhisattvas are created. The four Pāramitā Bodhisattvas are born from Mahāvairocana. In between the five directional Buddhas, there appear the four Inner Offerings Bodhisattvas, the four Outer Offerings Bodhisattvas, and the four Bodhisattvas of Attraction in that order.<sup>71</sup> All of these buddhas and bodhisattvas in total comprise the Thirty-Seven World-Honored Ones. However, there is a difference between the organization of the Thirty-Seven World-Honored Ones in the Assembly of Five-Group Great Maṇḍala and that of the Perfected Body Assembly of the Diamond World Maṇḍala. The Buddha Group 佛部, which refers to Vairocana Buddha only at the center direction in the latter, extends in the former to encompass the Buddha’s Trikāya (three bodies) in which not only Vairocana Buddha but also Rocana Buddha and Śākyamuni Buddha are included. Supposing that Rocana Buddha and Śākyamuni Buddha are counted as individual buddhas, then the total number becomes thirty-nine rather than thirty-seven. As the congregation consisting of thirty-nine Honored-Ones is also specified in the *JBGG* of the early nineteenth century, such membership should be considered a feature particular

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<sup>70</sup> *Tongdosa Bosang-am singeongi*, HSM III-S: 95.

<sup>71</sup> "Jeom-anmun" 點眼文 (printed in 1719, Haeinsa), *Jebanmun* 諸般文, NLK. For the terms of various names of bodhisattvas in the Diamond World Maṇḍala translated into English, I primarily consult Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond*: 147.



to the Joseon Buddhism. In this regard, the Assembly of Five-group Great Maṇḍala cannot be readily identified with the “Perfected Body Assembly.”

The addition of Rocana Buddha and Śākyamuni Buddha to Vairocana Buddha of the central direction implies that the Hwaeom viewpoint of Trikāya as the dharma body, reward body, and transformation body was integrated into the organization of the Thirty-Seven World-Honored Ones in the Diamond World Maṇḍala. In other words, Vairocana Buddha appears not only as the four directional Buddhas who embody the Four Knowledge, but also as Śākyamuni Buddha, who manifests himself as countless transformation bodies in order to save all sentient beings and Rocana Buddha who manifests himself as the reward body in full radiance to deliver the Great Hwaeom teachings for the sake of the tenth-stage bodhisattvas. The four directional Buddhas in the Diamond World Maṇḍala are the four emanations of Vairocana Buddha and, in that sense, they are all characterized by the Dharma Body of Knowledge, while the Buddhas in the Assembly of Five-Group Great Maṇḍala are regarded as the transformation body and the reward body, not to mention the dharma body. Considered from the perspective of the five directional Buddhas, on the one hand, the dharma body is expanded to embrace the transformation body, who appears to save sentient beings, and the reward body, who is enjoying the dharma in the great assembly of bodhisattvas to bring them to maturity.<sup>72</sup> Herein lies a clear emphasis on the soteriological character inherent in the dharma body. Seen from the perspective of Trikāya, on the other hand, a singular and place-less concept of the dharma body that pervades the entire world is elaborated in the five Dharma Bodies of Knowledge and their attendant bodhisattvas and spatially bound to the five cardinal directions – that is, the five boundaries. In the Assembly of Five-Group Great Maṇḍala, therefore, the soteriological significance of the

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<sup>72</sup> Xing, *The Concept of the Buddha*: 132.

dharma body is emphasized specifically and the dharma body is addressed within the spatial boundaries characterized by the five cardinal directions.

The unveiling of such features in the Assembly of Five-Group Great Maṇḍala indicates that the role played by the five directional Buddhas goes beyond that of the Buddhist gods who govern the five cardinal directions. Considering that the Assembly of Five-Group Great Maṇḍala is held for the Eye Opening Ceremony in order to consecrate newly executed Buddha statues and paintings, the significance and role of the five directional Buddhas, particularly as mediated by the Trikāya (three bodies) of the Buddha, becomes apparent. The Eye Opening Ceremony presented in the *Jebanmun* of Haeinsa elaborates the roles as follows:

The essence of true essence is serene and has no form. The body of the dharma body is reticent and transcends characteristics. As it is serene and has no form, it embraces the dharma realm. As it is reticent and transcends characteristics, it pervades the great void. As it already embraces the dharma realm, it takes a form therein. As the fine-marked [Buddha-body], possessed of six sense organs, also pervades the great void and is embodied, there are originally no names and words for eyes and ears. However, in order to liberate the deluded sentient beings in the saḥā world and to remedy the varieties of suffering in the defiled world, it manifests itself in the thirty-two primary marks and is also adorned by the eighty secondary marks. It can be said that the three bodies are endowed and the four forms of knowledge are accomplished, and that the five eyes are cleared and the ten epithets are satisfied. I humbly pray that the Five-Clan Tathāgata, which are composed of the three bodies and the four forms of knowledge, perform the unconditioned great compassion, feel pity for sentient beings' subtle piety, descend upon this fragrant assembly and certify its merits.

眞體之體 湛然無形 法身之身 蕭焉離相。湛然無形 故包含法界 蕭焉離相 故遍滿大虛。既包法界 以爲形焉 有根塵之相好 亦遍大虛而作體 本無眼耳之名言。然欲濟沙界之迷淪 救塵邦之苦類 乃示現於三十二相 亦莊嚴於八十種好 可謂三身具而四智成 五眼明而十號足。伏願 三身四智五族如來 運無緣之大慈 愍有情之微懇 咸降香筵 證明功德。<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> "Jeom-anmun," *Jebanmun* NLK.

The Buddha as the dharma body pervades the entire world without shape. However, the dharma body must take form in order to liberate sentient beings. The conditions required to take form are not simply the excellent marks that constitutes the physical body of the Buddha; the three bodies should be endowed and the four forms of knowledge must be accomplished. The Assembly of Five-Group Great Maṇḍala – specifically, the “Five-Clan Tathāgata” 五族如來 (Kr. *ojok yeorae*), which are composed of the three bodies and the four forms of knowledge – is invoked to prove these conditions. Thus, a Buddha statue is not only an expression of the dharma body, which satisfies the four forms of knowledge but it should also be understood as a transformation body with thirty-two and eighty marks and, at the same time, as a reward body that is enjoying the dharma in the great assembly of bodhisattvas. In a word, a successfully consecrated Buddha image is endowed with the Five-Clan Tathāgata.

The significance of the True Mind Seed Syllables representing the five directional Buddhas becomes all the more apparent here. The True Mind Seed Syllables are the second most important ritual objects after the Five Wheels Seed Syllables to be enshrined within a Buddhist statue and are far more than mere symbols representing the five directional Buddhas. Rather, they are the seeds that enable the three bodies and four forms of knowledge to grow within the Buddha statue and, in that sense, are directly symbolic of Five-Group Great Maṇḍala. Thus, the practical and soteriological significance acquired by the integration of “the Dharma Body of Knowledge represented by Vairocana and the four directional Buddhas” with “the transformation body of Śākyamuni and the reward body of Rocana Buddha” is encapsulated within the True Mind Seed Syllables.

Taking into consideration the context of the late Joseon period discussed above, we can interpret the meaning of the Five Wheels Seed Syllables and the True Mind Seed Syllables

inscribed on the Diamond Ordination Platform in at least two ways. First, given that the two types of seed syllables were mobilized to consecrate the new buddha image, their presence on the Diamond Ordination Platform indicates that Śākyamuni Buddha, enshrined in the Diamond Ordination Platform, was consecrated within a completely new ritual framework. Of course, such consecration does not mean that the presence of Śākyamuni Buddha in the Diamond Ordination Platform was not absolutely sanctified until this time. Rather, Śākyamuni Buddha in the Diamond Ordination Platform had been already conceived of as the primordial Buddha or the Buddha in full radiance. However, at that time, the concept of Śākyamuni Buddha was further elaborated into the integrated and soteriological character of the dharma body, reward body and transformation body through an esoteric Buddhist ritual – the Assembly of Five-group Great Maṇḍala. The power of the Five Wheels Seed Syllables bestowed upon the Diamond Ordination Platform the characters of the Dharma Body of Knowledge and the Dharma Body of Principle, while the True mind seed syllables introduced the two characters of the reward body and the transformation body to the Diamond Ordination Platform. Therefore, the two types of seed syllables played a decisive role in the development of the ritual process through which the Buddha of the Diamond Ordination Platform was reborn as the Five-Clan Tathāgata, which were endowed with the three bodies and four forms of knowledge.

Second, the Five Wheels Seed Syllables and the True Mind Seed Syllables were not inserted into but rather were inscribed on the surface of the Diamond Ordination Platform. Their visibility through the sculptural representation of the five directional Buddhas or the “Five-clan Tathāgata” in the late Joseon period was a very unique occurrence in similar, late Joseon ritual practices. The functions of the two different types of seed syllables were not restricted solely to conferring spiritual force to the Buddha of the Diamond Ordination Platform. Rather, they also

transformed themselves into Tathāgata images and eventually resided permanently in the Diamond Ordination Platform. In other words, they confined themselves to the physical boundary of the Diamond Ordination Platform, thereby creating a peculiar boundary. In this way, the Diamond Ordination Platform was redefined as its own special realm. The implication of this kind of spatial differentiation is obvious: the Diamond Ordination Platform was reconceptualized as the realm of the absolute origin in which all physical dharmas of the phenomenal world are created and all of the dharmas of the mind are revealed in the Dharma of Knowledge. At the same time, it was established as the absolute sanctuary of salvation in which the omnipresent dharma body manifested itself as Rocana Buddha in full radiance and as Śākyamuni Buddha in the eternal *śarīra*.

As a result of the 1705 reconstruction project, Gancho's interpretation of the essence-function theory in 1714, and Huiyu's definition of the three bodies of the Buddha in 1767, the Diamond Ordination Platform was conceived of as the primordial site in which the Buddha permanently resides. Accordingly, the Diamond Ordination Platform was recognized as the site of the Yeongsan Assembly where countless transformation bodies of the Buddha would be born so as to liberate all sentient beings and as the site of Bodhi-site of Quiescent Extinction where the reward body in full effulgence was enjoying the dharma in the great assembly of bodhisattvas at the tenth stage. This conception of the Buddha in the Diamond Ordination Platform resulted in the long-term and wide-ranging process of changes resulting in the reorganization of the ritual space of Tongdosa to center around the Diamond Ordination Platform, following which the conception of the Yeongsan Assembly and the Hwaeom Assembly constituted the spatial and visual configuration of Tongdosa. In this regard, the 1823 reconstruction of the Diamond Ordination Platform can also be understood as a renewed and final endeavor to confirm

doctrinally and ritually the primordial nature of the Diamond Ordination Platform via the mobilization of the mystical power of the seed syllables.

Following the 1823 reconstruction, the Diamond Ordination Platform was regarded as the locus in which the three bodies of the Buddha – the dharma body, the reward body, and the transformation body – were integrated in the unified body of the Buddha and the sacred place from which the absolute knowledge and power of the unified body of the Buddha sprang forth. In this respect, it was not a mere coincidence that it was during the 1823 reconstruction that Wolha Gye-o bestowed the highest sanctity on the Diamond Ordination Platform and the Tongdosa monks' attempts to capture the incorporeal *genius loci* of the Diamond Ordination Platform into the ritual space of Tongdosa were ultimately realized.

However, the primordial nature and gravity of the Diamond Ordination Platform did not function only in the dimensions of the Buddhist doctrine and rituals. The nature of the Diamond Ordination Platform as the mausoleum in which Śākyamuni, the apical ancestor of all Buddhist monks, was buried brought immense change to the social lives of the Tongdosa monks and the spatial configuration of Tongdosa.

#### **6.4 The Multiple Dimensions of the Diamond Ordination Platform**

The 1705 reconstruction, the epoch-making Water-Land rite, and the countrywide dharma assembly marked a momentous turning point that enabled the monks of Tongdosa to redefine the Diamond Ordination Platform as the central ritual space of the monastery. This process of redefinition unfolded over the eighteenth century, leaving behind the significant reorganization of the spatial and visual configuration of Tongdosa. Crucially, the gravity of the Diamond Ordination Platform was gradually increased to the extent that the remaining ritual space of Tongdosa was reorganized in relation to it. In the case of the reconstruction of the Geukrak-jeon

and Yeongsan-jeon after the 1713 fire, the Diamond Ordination Platform functioned as the root upon which the physical order and sanctity of other ritual space was to be grounded. The increasing power of the Diamond Ordination Platform in Tongdosa was addressed in two ways. On the one hand, beginning with the production of the *Buddha Trikāya Painting* in 1759, the effort to identify the Diamond Ordination Platform as a site in which to realize visually the Hwaeom Assembly or the “Bodhi-site of Quiescent Extinction” culminated in the execution of the 1792 Rocana Buddha *gwaebul* and the 1804 *Guardian Deities Painting* of the Hwaeom Assembly. The foundation of the Bogwang-jeon in 1807 in close proximity to the Diamond Ordination Platform was the finale of this endeavor. On the other hand, in the face of various hardships, the Diamond Ordination Platform came to be recognized as the source from which all monks originated, that is, as the shrine of the apical ancestor. By the same token, Tongdosa came to be viewed as a lineage village in which various groups of monks led their lives centering on the shrine of the apical ancestor. The effect of this recognition of the Diamond Ordination Platform as the shrine of the apical ancestor was obvious: it functioned as a unifying force for the monks who were otherwise vulnerable to state violence and social discrimination and was presented as proof that the monks of Tongdosa were not, in essence, livestock but rather an ethical group that understood and observed the Three Bonds 三綱 (Ch. *sangang*) and Five Disciplines 五倫 (Ch. *wulun*). The ideological epitome of this recognition was the monks’ designation of Tongdosa as the “Wonjong,” or “Fountainhead School,” and, by extension, as the source from which all of Buddhist monasteries originated. With the 1823 reconstruction, the twofold recognition of the Diamond Ordination Platform as the Bodhi-site of Quiescent Extinction and the shrine of the apical ancestor was given material form; it became a site of the utmost sanctity at which the Buddha was embodied as “Five Clans of Tathāgata,” the absolute

sanctification attained from the union of the reward and transformation bodies based on the dharma body.

The elevated sanctity of the Diamond Ordination Platform over the course of the eighteenth century had a variety of ramifications for nineteenth-century Tongdosa. Upon the death of King Sunjo 純祖 (r.1800-1834) in the 11<sup>th</sup> month of 1834, the deliverance rite for this ruler was held on the Diamond Ordination Platform of Tongdosa under the direction of Yong-am Hye-eon. On the first day of 1835, not long after this rite was held, there occurred an extraordinary incident in which two big snakes were observed crawling around the courtyard of the Jeokgwang-jeon 寂光殿 (probably, the Daegwangmyeong Hall). Two days later, the water of a stream by the monastery was cut off for three days. In response to these ominous signs, monks and members of the laity numbering around a thousand held a ceremony in front of “the Buddha” asking for the prevention of any calamities to come.<sup>74</sup> As far as that crowd was concerned, the “Buddha” to whom they were directing their requests was the living Buddha of the Diamond Ordination Platform who had the capacity to protect the monastery from all sorts of calamities. In other words, the most important ceremonies demanding paramount ritual efficacy, such as the deliverance rite of a king and a rite affecting the monastery’s fate, were held at the Diamond Ordination Platform.

In 1858, when writing a eulogy dedicated to a monk who was not affiliated with the monastery but had made a large donation to Tongdosa, Houn Do-eon reproached his colleague monks in Tongdosa by asserting that they claimed to stand for the Wonjong but were in reality quite stingy with their donations.<sup>75</sup> On the part of the monks, the Wonjong, was not merely a

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<sup>74</sup> *Buljongchalyaksa*, TJ: 226; "Yong-am jeon," Eung-un Gongyeo Daesa Yumangrok HBJ 10: 749-751.

<sup>75</sup> *Sarigak beonwa sijugi* 舍利閣翻瓦施主記 (1858), Houn Doeon 灑雲道彦, P-67, HSM 3-S: 93.



matter of prestige, it also functioned as a guide for self-examination which, drove the monks of Tongdosa to reflect upon their commitment to the monastery. It also inspired lay donors. In 1856, just after hearing of the name of the “Wonjong Tongdosa,” a layman purchased land and donated it to the Buddha. In 1858, a layman who had remained unmarried all of his life donated a large amount of money that had been earned by the sweat of his brow to the monastery. This donation came as the result of his viewing of the magnificent appearance of Tongdosa.<sup>76</sup> Such donors voluntarily transferred their respective life savings to Tongdosa not upon the request of a specific person but in the context of a certain psychological exaltation triggered by the name or appearance of the “Wonjong Tongdosa.” In the presence of the visually and emotionally powerful influence of the living Buddha of the Diamond Ordination Platform, their obligations and rules of actions within society were instantly discharged. They found in the Wonjong “a new redemptive process” in which individuals who had no access to power and prestige in a very structured yet declining Confucian society were provided the release from obligations or, to put it another way, nirvāṇa.<sup>77</sup> As far as the laity was concerned, the Wonjong appeared as a prophet who could offer them, if only for a limited time, the means of salvation.

By the nineteenth century, therefore, the Diamond Ordination Platform was recognized as the source in a four different ways. First, from a doctrinal perspective, it was the absolute sanctuary from which the union of the dharma, reward and transformation bodies was achieved; that is, from which the Five Clans of Tathāgata appeared. Second, from a ritual standpoint, it was the source of supernatural efficacy, which had the capacity to prevent all potential calamities.

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<sup>76</sup> *Bulto joyeongi* 佛土助緣記 (1856), Hanmyeong Hye-o 瀚溟惠悟, P-153, HSM 3-S: 109; *Jayeogeo Kim Gwangsin susingi* 自如居金光信修信記 (1858), Guseong Bong-ui 九成鳳儀, P-145, HSM 3-S: 108.

<sup>77</sup> As for the redemptive process, see Kenelm Burridge, *New Heaven, New Earth: A Study of Millenarian Activities* (Oxford: B Blackwell, 1969), 3; 6; 11-12. For a further explanation of the concept, Douglas James Davies, *Meaning and Salvation in Religious Studies* (Leiden: E J Brill, 1984), 103-4.

Third, from an ethical point of view, it was the home of the apical ancestor around which various monks led their lives in observance of Confucian morals. Fourth, soteriologically, it was the redemptive medium, which enabled the laity to discharge their obligations to their communities.

In response to the increasing sanctity of the Diamond Ordination Platform, the spatial and visual configuration of nineteenth-century Tongdosa was redefined in two major ways. In terms of ritual space, the monastery operated within a dualized ritual space. The Yeongsan-jakbeop, the Buddha's birthday feast, and the anniversary of the Buddha's Awakening were held in the precinct of the Yeongsan Hall. These rites may have been conducted within the visually realized version of the Yeongsan Assembly, the Yeongsan Hall. Likewise, the three-day and -night or seven-day and -night Water-Land rite may have been performed in the precinct of the Great Dharma Hall and the Diamond Ordination Platform. The ritual simulacrum of the Hwaeom Assembly, the Bodhi-site of Quiescent Extinction – became a backdrop for these ceremonies.

As a social space, in which the competition for power and prestige was staged, Tongdosa was organized spatially as lineage villages where agnates from a common apical ancestor lived together. Centering on the Diamond Ordination Platform as the shrine of the apical ancestor, the Portrait Hall, the Arhats Hall and the Three Sages Hall, all of which can be referred to as various ancestral shrines of the lesser descent-lines in lineage villages, were laid out. Below the quarter containing the shrines lay Individual Residences that were operated separately by various groups of monks. Individual Residences with kitchens occupied locations close to the Diamond Ordination Platform, while those without kitchens were arranged around the precinct of the Yeongsan Hall. Individual Residences with kitchens were equipped with the head monk's room, the affiliated monks' cells and the large room for congregation, thereby forming self-contained residences. In addition to the Individual Residences within the monastery, various Individual

Hermitages, which were located in the mountains surrounding Tongdosa, formed the outermost boundary of the monastery precinct. In this respect, we find that the system of Individual Residences and Individual Hermitages in Tongdosa reached its completion in the nineteenth century.

In sum, from the 1705 reconstruction on, the gravity of the Diamond Ordination Platform was increased to such an extent that every aspect of Tongdosa was transformed in the process. The spatial consequences of this transformation in Tongdosa can be seen in the existence of the dualized ritual space and the establishment of Individual Residences and Individual Hermitages. Its ideological flag was the Ancestral Monastery of Buddhism, the Fountainhead School or Wonjong. The prestigious status of the “Buddha Jewel Monastery” that Tongdosa enjoys today can be attributed primarily to these accomplishments in the late Joseon period.

## Conclusion

The Diamond Ordination Platform at Tongdosa is a stone structure that was constructed by the eminent Silla monk, Jajang, in the early seventh century. It was intended to enshrine the true-body relics of Śākyamuni Buddha that Jajang had allegedly procured from Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva on Mt. Wutai in China. The history of the Diamond Ordination Platform and the rarity of the true-body relics it enshrines are the core reasons why Tongdosa was granted the prestigious status of “the Buddha Jewel Monastery” in Korea.

This study examines the manner in which the name and visual form of the Diamond Ordination Platform came to be perceived as they are today. Indeed, the Diamond Ordination Platform is not merely a specific appellation and a recognizable visual style that immediately evoke an awareness of the true-body relics housed within it, but it is also perceived as a form of architectural validation of the authenticity of these relics. As Jonathan Z. Smith points out, “Within the temple, the ordinary (which to any outside eye or ear remains wholly ordinary) becomes significant, becomes ‘sacred,’ simply by being there.” Korean Buddhists believe that the relics contained within the specially “marked-off space,” which is consecrated and bears the distinguished title and architectural form of the Diamond Ordination Platform, are the authentic, true-body relics of Śākyamuni Buddha.<sup>1</sup>

The question of how this popular perception of the Diamond Ordination Platform developed has not been raised thus far by modern scholars. Consequently there is still a widely accepted assumption that the prestigious status and absolute authority of the Diamond Ordination Platform today are natural outcomes of its original founding by Jajang in the seventh century.

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<sup>1</sup> Smith, *To Take Place*: 104.

Studies of Tongdosa thus far have largely focused on the founder Jajang's intentions and clarification of the initial form of the ordination platform. Given that it has been verified that Jajang constructed the present-day Diamond Ordination Platform, the enshrinement of the relics as a means of consecrating the platform has been accepted as an undeniable historical fact, although the construction itself does not prove the authenticity of the relics enshrined there. With this approach, there was apparently little impetus to raise questions like those addressed in this study, such as why other monasteries housing relics of the same provenance as those of Tongdosa did not acquire a similar, prestigious status or why other monasteries with stone ordination platforms built with the same design as that of Tongdosa did not acquire the same, absolute authority as that of the Diamond Ordination Platform.

This dissertation claims that many generations of Tongdosa monks, in the face of challenges to the authenticity of their relics and in competition with other monasteries, strove to prove the status of their relics as genuine and successfully conferred absolute authority to the Diamond Ordination Platform while maintaining active interaction with the platform to visualize its supposed, invisible power. First and foremost, this study is intended as a corrective to the established scholarship on Buddhist history and art and architectural history that has exclusively emphasized the early history of the ordination platform, while devaluing its later history as, to an extent, a product of degeneration. Second, this research project endeavors to approach Buddhist history with a focus on the local context of a Buddhist monastery where the lives of monks have taken place and the ritual practices of lay believers facilitated. Third, this project operates on the presupposition that "there is nothing that is inherently sacred or profane" but rather that sacred status is conferred by the specially demarcated place.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

Within this particular analytic framework, this dissertation first reconsidered traditional accounts of the cultic ascendancy of the relics Jajang transported to Silla. This subject was discussed in the larger context of the cult of the Buddha's relics in the Unified Silla and Goryeo periods. The surprisingly subdued response toward and general unawareness on the part of the nobles and monks of late ninth-century Silla with respect to the relics enshrined in the Nine-Story Pagoda of Hwangnyongsa suggests that the relics Jajang brought to Silla had not achieved significant cultic status in the Unified Silla period. The cultic veneration of the relics transported by Jajang to Silla was likely established as a form of the cult of "true-body relics" at the turn of the eleventh century of the early Goryeo period. At that time, the rulers and local elites mobilized not only "as many relics as possible" but also the "true-body" ones to reinforce their tenuous legitimacy. In this course of this process, the relics Jajang carried with him to Silla rose to distinction as examples of the true-body relics of Śākyamuni Buddha. The event symbolic of this distinction was the official appearance in a historical record of the gold embroidered robe and the Buddha's skull bones, which were sent to the palace from Goseonsa in 1021 but originally housed in Tongdosa. With this growing fascination with true-body relics over the eleventh century, Tongdosa surfaced as a monastery of the same status as Hwangnyongsa, a sacred site in which the true-body relics of Śākyamuni Buddha were housed. The five-story stone pagoda at the top of the Sajamok is regarded as architectural evidence that proves the ascension to its distinguished status of Tongdosa in the eleventh century. The state longevity poles and the offering stone, which were installed at Tongdosa in 1085, can be understood in this context. These monuments not only declared that Tongdosa was designated as an officially accredited monastery, but they also commemorated the return to Tongdosa of the Buddha's skull bones and robe. The rising status of Tongdosa, however, was limited to the extent that the true-body relics

connected with Jajang were completely overshadowed by the cult of the Maitreya's finger bones associated with Geumsansa over the following twelfth century.

Second, based on this reconsideration of the early history of Tongdosa, this dissertation attempted to reconstruct the history of the Diamond Ordination Platform at Tongdosa in terms of the change in the cultic status of the Buddha's relics. It focused on issues such as the circumstances under which the concept of the diamond ordination platform was introduced at Tongdosa and how the monks of early Joseon Tongdosa coped with the substantive absence of the true-body relics from the monastery.

The ascendancy of Tongdosa as the nationwide cultic center of the Buddha's relics in the mid-thirteenth century was closely associated with an important shift in the cult of the relics as well as with various environmental changes faced by the monastery during the period. On the one hand, from the late twelfth century onwards, daily life in Goryeo was characterized by agitation, violence and far too many deaths. These untenable circumstances led Buddhists to believe in the supernatural power that religion could provide, and the people's increasing demand for protective relics resulted in a shift in preference with respect to cultic objects from relics such as the Buddha's tooth and the Maitreya's finger bones to *śarīra* such as the four grains of *śarīra* of Tongdosa. On the other hand, the Nine-Story Pagoda of Hwangnyongsa, the representative site in which the true-body relics were enshrined, was completely demolished by the Mongols in 1238, while the Goryeo court's preparation for the Mongol military campaign against Japan in the 1270s facilitated the development of traffic routes that were directly connected to the capital Gaegyeong from Tongdosa. These circumstances contributed to the conditions under which the true-body relics of Tongdosa began gaining nationwide attention in the 1270s. The fact that the Indian monk Jigong visited Tongdosa in the early fourteenth century

in order to make an offering to the Buddha's relics and robe at the ordination platform attests to the popular reputation of the ordination platform of Tongdosa and the true-body relics housed there.

In the fourteenth century the monks of Tongdosa began to refer to their stone ordination platform as the "Diamond Ordination Platform," envisioning it as a site of hope and salvation, where no calamities could reach and ten thousand generations would endure without extinction, and as the place of origin where the Buddha Dharma was protected and renewed in the age of the Final Dharma. However, the Diamond Ordination Platform at Tongdosa was immediately subjected to serious risk caused by the rampant pillaging by the Waegu in the Goryeo period. As a result, the validity of the power of the Diamond Ordination Platform was severely tested. Initially, the monks of Tongdosa responded to the ordeal simply by sending their relics to a more secure place, namely, the capital Gaegyeong. From there, the relics were transferred to an even more secure place, the monumental Śarīra Pavilion at Heungcheonsa, the votive temple of Taejo's consort. The transfer of the Tongdosa relics forced the monks of Tongdosa to confront the substantive absence from the Diamond Ordination Platform of the true-body relics. To cope with this reality, they devised the concept of the place of origin, the notion of the Diamond Ordination Platform as the place of origin capable of granting individual relics the quality of "true-body." In other words, the sanctity of the relics was defined by the placeness or the *genius loci* of the Diamond Ordination Platform.

The shift in the Tongdosa monks' focus from the true-body nature of individual relics to the *genius loci* of the Diamond Ordination Platform proved its effectiveness in the competition with other monasteries pertaining to the true-body relics since the Imjin War. Indeed, the development of the concept of the Diamond Ordination Platform as the place of origin carried



Daoxuan's conception of the ordination platform as the most primary unit of all sanctuaries to an extreme. This is a conceptualization found only in the Diamond Ordination Platform of Tongdosa.

Finally, this dissertation explored various endeavors of the late-Joseon monks of Tongdosa to make the *genius loci* of the Diamond Ordination Platform visible as a means of resolving widespread doubts concerning the authenticity of the true-body relics housed at Tongdosa. Ultimately, the late-Joseon monks of Tongdosa addressed their task of giving visual expression to the *genius loci* in the ritual setting of the Water-Land rite, which was fundamentally reorganized via the integration of a typical Chan/Seon ritual of enthronement, *Seolseon-ui*; in the *Seolseon-ui*, a Seon master was transformed through the ritual into a living buddha who preached the *Lotūs Sūtra* or the *Avatamsaka Sūtra*. Thus, the task of the monks of Tongdosa was basically framed in the ritually created space and images of the Yeongsan Assembly or the Hwaeom Assembly presided over by a Seon monk as a living buddha.

The 1705 reconstruction project of the Diamond Ordination Platform was a decisive turning point for the Tongdosa monks' task of lending visual form to abstract concepts. The 1705 reconstruction, in which many laborers were mobilized and impressively sizeable donations were collected, reconfigured the Diamond Ordination Platform in fundamental ways and concluded with the most magnificent Water-Land rite of that era with the participation of the eminent Seon masters from various regions. The Diamond Ordination Platform was transformed into a site for assembling in which the Seven Stars Bodhisattvas congregated. This iconographic reconfiguration based on the Seven Stars of the Great Dipper means that the Buddha present at the Diamond Ordination Platform was no longer conceived of as the Buddha manifesting himself in a human body but rather as an invisible presence symbolized by the Effulgent Buddha, also

referred to as the Tejaprabhā Buddha, who took the form of multi-colored radiance. The Diamond Ordination Platform was transformed in another major way: it was resized in keeping with the *jucheok* rule, which was used in the construction of tombs. Thus, it formed a unified architectural configuration along with the Śārīra Hall. This adjustment indicates that the Diamond Ordination Platform was redefined as a mausoleum of Śākyamuni Buddha, thereby assuming an elevated status equivalent to that of a royal tomb.

The success of the 1705 reconstruction was evident in the responses to the Diamond Ordination Platform itself as well as to the true-body relics enshrined there. Above all else, the controversy over the authenticity of the true-body relics at the Diamond Ordination Platform came to an end. Furthermore, as has been demonstrated in the cases of Beopgwangsa and Ansimsa, the title and architectural configuration of the Diamond Ordination Platform were conceived of as signifiers for a place in which the true-body relics were enshrined. Additionally, the Diamond Ordination Platform was perceived as a mausoleum of Śākyamuni Buddha to the extent that Confucian literati regarded the architectural configuration of Śārīra Hall and the platform as a form of blasphemy for its simulation of royal tombs.

The reconfiguration of the Diamond Ordination Platform as a ritual space in which the invisible Buddha was present in full radiance had an enormous impact on the existing ritual space of Tongdosa. In particular, as the principal place of worship, the Yeongsan-jeon precinct was fundamentally reconfigured in keeping with the growing significance of the Diamond Ordination Platform. The process of the transformation was explained through the use of the “essence-function theory” of Yong-am Gancho. That is, the Diamond Ordination Platform was characterized as the “essence” from which all buddhas would emerge and to which they would return, whereas the Yeongsan-jeon precinct was conceived of as the “function” in which buddhas

would be revealed in visible form. Based on this essence-function theory, the previous orientations of the Yaksa-jeon and Geukrak-jeon, which most monks regarded as incorrect, inverted bearings in terms of traditional Buddhist cosmology, was validated. Likewise, the Yeongsan-jeon precinct was transformed into the ritual space for the Yeongsan Assembly, a space in which the invisible presence of the Buddha of the Diamond Ordination Platform was revealed as the preaching Buddha on Vulture Peak as envisioned in Introduction of the *Lotus Sūtra*. Thus, the names and images associated with the Yeongsan Assembly were organized to convey the meaning of the Yeongsan-jeon precinct to believers.

With its sanctity increasing over the eighteenth century, the Diamond Ordination Platform as a ritual space came to be perceived as a “Bodhi-site of Quiescent Extinction” or the Hwaeom Assembly, which is envisioned in the *Shizhu miaoyan pin* of the *Avatamsaka Sūtra*. Eung-am Huiyu raised the possibility that the conception of the Hwaeom Assembly might be implemented in the ritual space of Tongdosa when he interpreted the newly executed Buddha image as having been based on the three bodies of the Buddha. Huiyu claimed that, when descending to the precinct of the Yeongsan-jeon, Śākyamuni Buddha appeared not in the guise of Tathāgata in simple monk’s robes but rather in the guise of a crowned bodhisattva with a heavily jeweled body, a figure traditionally recognized as Rocana Buddha, the reward body. This fusion or interchangeability between Śākyamuni Buddha and Rocana Buddha was primarily rooted in Hyujeong’s *Seolseon-ui* in which Rocana Buddha always contemplated the Buddha-Dharma in a body visible only to bodhisattvas at the tenth stage, while the Buddha transformed into Śākyamuni Buddha through the repetition of the Eight Episodes. Interestingly, based on Gancho’s essence-function theory, the monks of Tongdosa asserted that the Buddha descending into the Yeongsan-jeon precinct was a physical manifestation of the invisible Buddha residing in

the Diamond Ordination Platform. Given that the Buddha represented in the Yeongsan-jeon precinct was perceived as the image of Rocana Buddha, it follows that Huiyu was attempting to identify the invisible Buddha at the Diamond Ordination Platform as Rocana Buddha. In other words, the invisible presence of the Diamond Ordination Platform, which had been envisioned as Effulgent Buddha since 1705, was now perceived of as Rocana Buddha who held the Hwaecom Assembly in full radiance.

Huiyu's identification of the Buddha in the Diamond Ordination Platform inspired the monks of Tongdosa to undertake further efforts to reconfigure the precinct of the Diamond Ordination Platform into the ritual space of the "Bodhi-site of Quiescent Extinction." In particular, around the turn of the nineteenth century, two central icons required in the Water-Land rite were produced so that they could be installed in the Daeung-jeon and its precinct despite the fact that two other icons, which had the same ritual functions, were already in use there. The creation of two central icons for the Water-Land rite suggests that the Daeung-jeon precinct was transformed into a ritual space where a new conception of the Water-Land rite would be implemented. Around the same time, the construction of the Bogwang-jeon in close proximity to the Diamond Ordination Platform and the execution of a painting depicting the Hwaecom Assembly indicate that the newly created ritual space in the precinct of the Daeung-jeon was intended to visualize through ritual the Hwaecom Assembly.

Into the early nineteenth century, the Diamond Ordination Platform, which was visualized by way of ritual as the Bodhi-site of Quiescent Extinction, was further transformed into a ritual space in which the Five-Clan Tathāgata were present. Thus, the Diamond Ordination Platform was established as the primordial sanctuary from which everything—all buddhas and all things of the phenomenal world – would spring forth. It was the Wonjong—the Ancestral Monastery of

Buddhism that the monks of Tongdosa conceptualized the absolute sanctity of the Diamond Ordination Platform.

The establishment of Tongdosa as the Wonjong in the first half of the nineteenth century also impacted the monks' perception of the platform as a mausoleum of Śākyamuni Buddha. The Diamond Ordination Platform was recognized as the shrine of the apical ancestor, literally as the root from which the monks of all kinds of monastic lineages originated. Since the mid-eighteenth century, the monks of Tongdosa were more keenly aware of their own monastic lineages and began to form their own financially and ritually self-sufficient, corporate organizations, the *Gakban* and the *Gak-am*. Without question, this monastic differentiation in Tongdosa precipitated greater monastic integration. This necessity for increased integration resulted in the recognition of the Diamond Ordination Platform as the shrine of the apical ancestor at which monks from various monastic lineages could congregate. Thus, the ideology of Wonjong, the "Ancestral Monastery of Buddhism," functioned not only as a cohesive ideology that encouraged the monks of Tongdosa to unite, but it also served as a mechanism for self-examination that made voluntary commitment to the Tongdosa community more binding, thereby contributing significantly to the survival of Tongdosa, which at the time was on the brink of closure. Additionally, the recognition of the Diamond Ordination Platform as the shrine of the apical ancestor had a tremendous impact on the architectural configuration of Tongdosa. Not unlike the lineage village in which various groups of descendants led their lives centering on the shrine of the apical ancestor, the space of Tongdosa was organized in such a way that not only Individual Residences and Hermitages representing various monastic lineages but also the shrine of Seon masters (Portrait Hall), the shrine of Arhats, the shrine of the founder Jajang and the like were clustered around the Diamond Ordination Platform as the shrine of the apical ancestor. That

status that Tongdosa had acquired in the mid-nineteenth century inspired lay believers to provide voluntary donations to Tongdosa. Merely hearing the name “Tongdosa” or seeing the magnificent view of the monastery prompted devotees to donate their life savings to Tongdosa. They found in the Wonjong of Tongdosa “a new redemptive process” in which individuals who had no access to power and prestige in a very structured albeit declining Confucian society were provided with release from obligations or, to put it another way, *nirvāṇa*. As far as the laity was concerned, they perceived the Wonjong as a prophet who could offer them, if only for a limited time, the means of salvation.

In conclusion, the absolute authority, which the Diamond Ordination Platform enjoys today is a consequence of a centuries-long process that can be traced back to as early as the period between the mid-thirteenth century to the fifteenth century and as recently as the late-Joseon period between the seventeenth century to the nineteenth century; thanks to the rise of the cult of the true-body relics over the thirteenth century, the monks of Tongdosa in the Goryeo-Joseon Transition period conceived the stone ordination platform to be the Diamond Ordination Platform as the indestructible place in the face of cosmic extinction, and then conceptualized the Diamond Ordination Platform itself to be the generative source of sanctity by which the relics became of true-body. Following the lead of their predecessors, the late-Joseon monks of Tongdosa successfully communicated the absolute power of the Diamond Ordination Platform to lay believers and monks by creating elaborate visual expressions of the Yeongsan and Hwaeom Assemblies and implementing them in the ritual space of Tongdosa. The result of such endeavors was expressed ideologically as the Ancestral Monastery of Buddhism. Today, Tongdosa’s unique position as the “Buddha Jewel Monastery” is owed to this status of the “Ancestral Monastery of Buddhism,” which the monks of Tongdosa had devised in the first half of the

nineteenth century. On the whole, the popular perception that the title and architectural form of the Diamond Ordination Platform function together as a physical guarantee that validates the enshrined objects as being true-body relics and also lends sacred authority to them may be regarded as a logical result of shift in emphasis. That shift, which acknowledged that such sanctity was granted not merely by the presence of the true-body relics themselves but was also conferred by the Diamond Ordination Platform's status as specially demarcated place via the ritual spaces and images consecrated in various ceremonies over the centuries.

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