

Six Features of Three Kingdoms Period Architecture*

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- I. King Muryeong's Tomb
- II. Korea to Gansu, Gansu to Korea
- III. Monastery and Tomb
- IV. Response between Pagodas
- V. Pairing
- VI. Octagons

Korea's three oldest wooden buildings are Daeungjeon (大雄殿) at Sudeoksa (修德寺) in Yesan (禮山) of 1308, Muryangsujeon(無量壽殿) at Buseoksa (浮石寺) in Yengju of 1376, and Geungnakjeon (極樂殿) at Bongjeongsa (鳳停寺) in Andong (安東), dated to the late Goryeo (高麗) period (918-1392).¹ Earlier buildings, of course, survive. The very oldest are dolmen.² In the Three Kingdoms period (57 BCE – CE 668), many of the remains also are stone, including the observatory (Cheomseongdae, 瞻星臺) in Gyeongju (慶州) and mountain-castle walls.³ Underground one finds representations of architecture, such as theose on the walls of the Goguryeo tombs Susanri (里), Ssangyeong (雙楹) and Yaksuri (藥水里).⁴

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¹ On these halls, see Yun Jang-seop 尹張燮, *Hanguk ui keonchuk* 韓國의 建築 [Architecture of Korea] (Seoul: Seoul Daehakgyo Chulpanbu, 1996), pp.318-331.

² Sarah Nelson, "Mumun'togi and Megalithic Monuments," *British Association for Korean Studies Papers* 3 (1992), pp. 183-194.

³ On mountain castles, see, for example, Wang Mianhou 王綿厚, *Gaogouli gucheng yanjiu* 高句麗古城研究 [Research on Goguryeo] (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2002), 1-143.

⁴ For illustrations, see Jeong Ho-seop, *World Heritage Goguryeo Tomb Murals* (Seoul: Inter-Korean Historian Association, 2013),

To enhance the study of Korea's earliest architecture, especially in wood, one has logically turned to China and Japan. The assumption of shared building principles is especially valid in the first centuries of Buddhist construction, for Buddhism was transmitted from China to Korea, and the exchange of theology and related art forms between China, Korea, and Japan was fluid. One turns to Japan for the important reason that the twenty-two oldest wooden buildings in East Asia are there.⁵ China's oldest wooden building dates to 782, but from then on the history is a continuous one that includes several hundred buildings on continental East Asia dated earlier than the Goryeo period.

Still, one cannot assume that what was constructed in Korea resembled architecture in China or Japan. Excavation at the monastery Neungsa (陵寺) just outside Buyeo (扶餘), for instance, confirms a front gate, pagoda, Buddha hall, and lecture hall on a line through the center of the monastery, and that the first and last buildings on this line adjoin the front and back of the four-sided enclosing covered arcade. Reconstruction has turned to the Buddha hall and pagoda that stand in the Japanese monastery Hōryūji (法隆寺) in Ikaruga (斑鳩), south of Nara (奈良), even though no physical or textual evidence confirms that the Neungsa pagoda had five stories or that the Buddha hall had two sets of roof eaves, the upper forming a hip-gable roof.⁶ In this essay, we examine only physical evidence, much of which is archaeological.

Much of the reliable information about Three Kingdoms architecture comes from excavation at Buddhist monasteries. Each kingdom has a plan associated with it, and presents clear connections with China or Japan. The Goguryeo monastery had a prominent pagoda near the center with multiple Buddha halls around it (fig. 1d). This plan postdates monasteries built around prominent central pagodas in the region of the Northern Wei capital Pingcheng (平城), today Datong (大同), that flourished from 398-493 (fig. 1a),⁷ and predates

161, 195, and 179, respectively.

⁵ The twenty-two oldest wooden buildings are the Kondō (金堂) (main Buddha hall), five-story pagoda, middle gate, and covered arcade, and then the octagonal hall (Yumedono 夢殿), great east gate, Dempōdō (伝法堂), sutra repository, Higashimuro (東室) (a dormitory), and refectory, all at Hōryūji (法隆寺); three-story pagoda at Hokkiji (法起寺); octagonal hall at Eizanji (栄山寺); east pagoda at Yakushiji (薬師寺); five-story miniature pagoda and west Kondō at Kairyūōji (海流王寺); Gokurakubo (極楽坊) five-story miniature pagoda at Gangōji (元興寺); east pagoda at Taimadera (當麻寺); Hokkedō (法華堂) and Tegai Gate (転害門) at Tōdaiji (東大寺); main hall of Shin Yakushiji (新薬師寺); and Kondō and lecture hall at Tōshōdaiji (唐招提寺).

⁶ For the reconstruction, see Richard Hollenweger, "The Buddhist Architecture of the Three Kingdoms Period in Korea" (Ph. D. dissertation, Swiss Federal Institute of Technology, 1999), p. 358.

⁷ On Goguryeo monasteries, one often still turns to Chōsen Sōtokufu Hōmotsu Koseki Meishō Tennen Kinenbutsu Hozonkai (朝鮮総督府宝物古蹟名勝天然記念物保存会), *Chōsen hōmotsu koseki zuroku* 朝鮮宝物古蹟圖譜, [Illustrations of precious remains in Korea] 2 vols. (Keijō: Keijō Chōsen sōtokufu, 1938-1940). On monasteries excavated above Yungang caves 5-6 and 39,

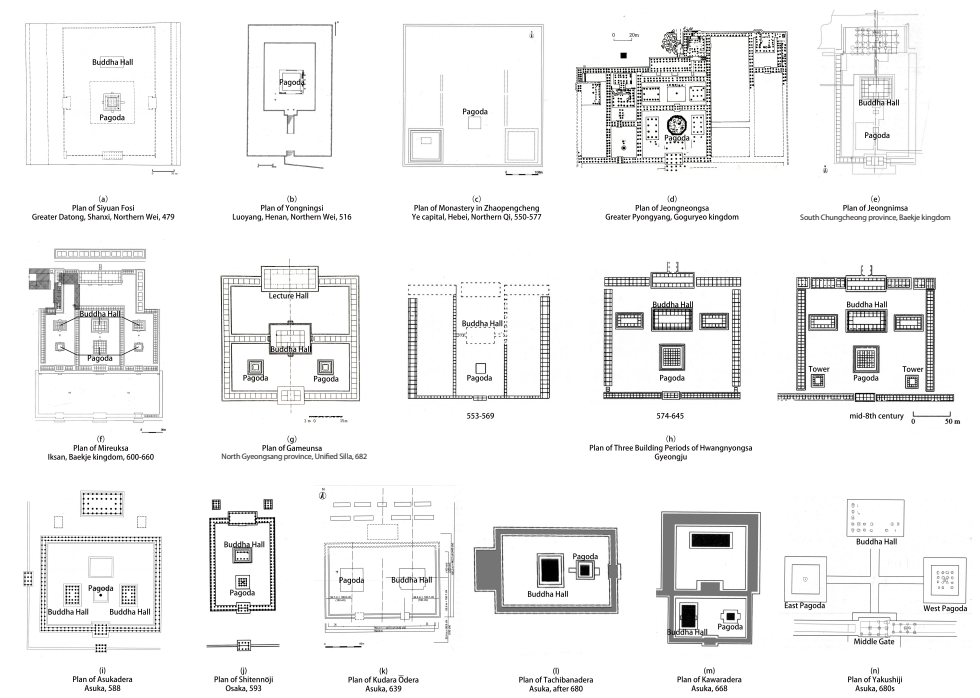


Fig. 1 Plans or reconstruction plans of fourteen Buddhist monasteries of the fifth-seventh centuries in China, Korea, and Japan

- a. Plan of Siyuan Fosi, greater Datong, Shanxi, Northern Wei, 479
- b. Plan of Yongningsi, Luoyang, Henan, Northern Wei, 516
- c. Plan of Monastery in Zhaopengcheng, Ye capital, Hebei, Northern Qi, 550-577
- d. Plan of Jeongneonsa, greater Pyongyang, Goguryeo kingdom
- e. Plan of Jeongnimsa, South Chungcheong province, Baekje kingdom
- f. Plan of Mireuksa, Iksan, Baekje kingdom, 600-660
- g. Plan of Gameunsa, North Gyeongsang province, Unified Silla, 682
- h. Plan of three building periods of Hwangnyongsa, Gyeongju
- i. Plan of Asukadera, Asuka, 588
- j. Plan of Shitennoji, Osaka, 593
- k. Plan of Kudara Odera, Asuka, 639
- l. Plan of Tachibanadera, Asuka, after 680
- m. Plan of Kawaradera, Asuka, 668
- n. Plan of Yakushiji, Asuka, 680s

Japan's oldest monastery, Asukadera (飛鳥寺) in the Fujiwara (藤原) capital, dated 588, with a central, four-sided pagoda with three Buddha halls around it (fig. 1i).⁸ The only Goguryeo monastery associated with a date, Geumgangsā (金剛寺), and the year is 498, falls between the flourishing of the Pingcheng capital and establishment of Asuka.

Six of the seven Baekje monasteries have a pagoda and Buddha hall on the main axial building line, behind a gate and in front of a back gate or lecture hall (fig. 1e). This plan is used at the core of Empress Dowager Hu's (胡) most splendid monastery Yongningsi (永寧寺), built in the Northern Wei capital Luoyang (洛陽) in 516 (fig. 1b)⁹ and was implemented by Prince Shōtoku (聖德, 574-622) at Shitennōji (四天王寺) in the Naniwa capital, today Osaka, in 593 (fig. 1j).¹⁰ The earliest Baekje monastery dates to the 520s, later than the founding of Yongningsi and earlier than Shitennōji (fig. 1e). Silla's (新羅) monasteries are associated with twin pagodas (fig. 1g). Twin pagodas existed by the Sui dynasty (581-607) in China, and paired buildings remain at monasteries of the Northern Qi capital at Ye (鄴), Hebei, and at the secondary Northern Qi capital in Taiyuan (太原), Shanxi (山西) (fig. 1c), both discussed below,¹¹ and at Yakushiji (藥師寺) in the first part of the eighth century in the Heijō (平城) capital at Nara, if not in the Fujiwara capital of the Asuka (飛鳥) period.¹²

see Zhang Qingjie 張慶捷, "Yungang shiku kuding xiqu Bei Wei Fojiao siyuan yizhi" 云崗石窟窟頂西區北魏佛教寺院遺址 [Remains of Northern Wei Buddhist monasteries above the western section of the Yungang caves], *Kaogu xuebao*, no. 4 (2016), pp. 533-562; on Siyuan Fosi, see Hu Ping 胡平, "Datong Bei Wei Fangshan Siyuan Fosi yizhi fajue baogao" 大同北魏方山思遠佛寺遺址發現報告, [Excavation report on the remains of Siyuan Buddhist Monastery of the Northern Wei in Fangshan, Datong], *Wenwu*, no. 4 (2007), pp. 4-26.

⁸ Nara Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyūjō 奈良国立文化財研究所, *Asukadera 飛鳥寺* (Asuka: Asuka Shiryōkan, 1986).

⁹ Zhongguo Shehui Kexueyuan Kaogu Yanjiusuo 中國社會科學院考古研究所, *Bei Wei Luoyang Yongningsi 北魏洛陽永寧寺* [Yongning Monastery of Northern Wei Luoyang] Beijing: Zhongguo Dabaike quanshu chubanshe, 1996); and Yang Xuanchi, *Record of Buddhist Monasteries of Lo-yang*, trans. Wang Yi-t'ung (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), pp. 13-43.

¹⁰ Edward J. Kidder, *The Lucky Seventh: Early Horyu-ji and Its Time* (Tokyo: ICU Hachiro Yuasa Memorial Museum, 1999), pp. 199-200.

¹¹ Li Yuqun 李裕群 and Yan Yunjin 阎跃进, "Taiyuanshi Longshan Tongzisi yizhi fajue jianbao" 太原市龙山童子寺遗址发掘简报 [Excavation report on remains of Tongzi Monastery on Longshan, Taiyuan], *Kaogu*, no. 7 (2010), pp. 51-5; ———, Zhu Yanshi 朱岩石 et al. "Hebei Linzhangxian Yecheng yizhi Zhaopengcheng Beichao Fosi yizhi de kantan yu fajue" 河北临漳县邺城遗址赵彭城北朝佛寺遗址的勘探与发掘 [Exploration and excavation of Buddhist monastery remains of the Northern Dynasties at Zhaopengcheng, from the city of Ye in Linzhang county, Hebei], *Kaogu*, no. 7 (2010), pp. 31-42.

¹² Nara Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyūjō 奈良国立文化財研究所 and Asuka Fujiwarakyo Ato Hakkutsu Chosabu 鳥藤原宮跡発掘調査部, *Fujiwarakyo to kyō: Tenji annai 藤原宮と京: 展示案内* [Fujiwara palace and capital: Exhibition guide] (Nara: Nara Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyūjō and Asuka Fujiwara Ato Hakkutsu Chōsabu, 1991), p. 42.

Except for the monastery architecture from the Northern Wei capital near Datong and the Northern Qi capitals, the information in this brief summary has been widely known since the late twentieth century. The understanding of a narrative of the development of the Buddhist monastery plan in East Asia has been part of a more general narrative of Buddhist art that originates in South Asia and migrates eastward, in East Asia from China to Korea to Japan. Dated Buddhist statuary can support this development.¹³ Here we focus on architecture other than religious, some that has been as widely known and exclusively associated with Korea in the fifth or sixth century. The results will indicate significant links to Chinese or Japanese architecture, but will demonstrate heretofore unrecognized pivotal roles of Korean architecture in the narrative. In the process, we shall see that movement of forms was not unilinear, that is, from China to Korea to Japan, as has been emphasized in the study of the monastery plan. We shall also highlight the importance of certain Three Kingdoms architectural formations much later in East Asia.

I. King Muryeong's Tomb

We start with the tomb of King Muryeong (武寧, 462-523) of Baekje in Gongju (公州) (fig. 2). Cut directly into a mountain slope, the south oriented tomb has an approach and main chamber. The main room is 4.2 meters deep (north-south), 2.72 meters in width, and has a barrel-vaulted ceiling that rises to 3.14 meters at its highest point. It is a two-level room, the front a step down from the entry path and the rest, about four-fifths the interior, the same height as the approach. The king and queen were in individual lacquer coffins in the elevated section. The arrangement of layers of bricks is a noteworthy feature. They alternate between horizontal and vertical placement,

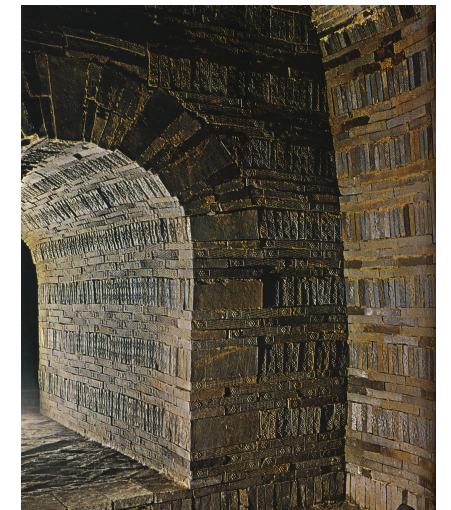


Fig. 2 Tomb of King Muryeong (462-523), Baekje

¹³ A single study of the evolution of the Buddha image in Asia is Dietrich Seckel, *Buddhist Art of East Asia*, trans. Ulrich Mammitzsch (Bellingham: Western Washington Press, 1989).

with four rows in the horizontal layers. The bricks of the horizontal rows are placed at the approximate centers of those above or below them. Many horizontal bricks were stamped with half-lotus patterns so that a lotus was formed by every pair. Other bricks had two lotuses each, each flower at the midpoint of two diagonal lines. Five onion-shaped niches were interspersed through the tomb as lamp stands. The technique for a segmented vault is accomplished in the entry as well as the main chamber.

Bricks found in Gongju have inscriptions stating they were made in imitation of bricks made in China during the Liang (梁) dynasty (502-557),¹⁴ the period during which Muryeong's tomb was built. In fact, a long-held understanding of Baekje secular and Buddhist art and architecture has been that it was transmitted across the sea from the vicinity of Jiankang (建康, today Nanjing), the capital of China's Southern Dynasties (420-589), of which Liang was one.



Fig. 3 Detail of tomb interior with relief of Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove, Southern Dynasties, Six Dynasties Museum, Nanjing (Photo by author)

It has been assumed based on bricks such as those with representations of the Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove (Zhulin Qixian 竹林七賢) from interiors of Southern Dynasties tombs that architecture and artifacts flowed from Jiankang to Baekje. Figure 3 is a detail of the interior wall of a Southern Dynasties tomb today in the Six Dynasties Museum in Nanjing. As in King Muryeong's

tomb, the bricks are in vertical and horizontal rows, but only three bricks comprise the horizontal sections. Also as in King Muryeong's tomb, the horizontal bricks are positioned at the approximate midpoints of the bricks above and below them.

A tomb excavated from December 2005-January 2006 in Shangfang (上坊), Jiangning (江寧), Nanjing, has walls composed of horizontal and vertical layers of brick, the horizontal layers three bricks wide,

¹⁴ Kim Won-yong, *Recent Archaeological Discoveries in the Republic of Korea* (Tokyo: Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies), p. 55.



Fig. 4 Detail of interior of tomb in Zhongxia, Shangfang, Jiangning, Nanjing, Wu kingdom (From *Wenwu*, no. 12, 2008, p. 9, Fair scholarly use)



Fig. 5 Back wall, south chamber, tomb 3, Jiayuguan, Gansu, Wei-Jin period (220-317) (From Wang Tianyi, *Underground Art Gallery*, p. 11, Uncopyrighted)

segmented arches above some archways, but seams that join large walls whose curved tops join ceilings (fig. 4).¹⁵ Approached by a diagonal ramp from ground level, the two-chamber, north-south oriented tomb, each chamber with two side niches, is dated based on excavated objects, from stone coffin supports to *duisuguan* (堆塑罐), to the Wu kingdom (220-280).¹⁶ This of course is several centuries earlier than the Liang dynasty or Muryeong's reign. King Muryeong's tomb is dug directly into rock whereas the Shangfang tomb is entered via a ramp from ground level.

One might suppose that the third-century date of the tomb in Shangfang only solidifies the Nanjing region as a source for a Baekje tomb. However, the juxtaposition of King Muryeong's tomb with a tomb from Jiayuguan (嘉峪關) in Gansu province also indicates remarkable similarities. Figure 5 is the back wall of the south chamber of Jiayuguan tomb 3, one of eleven tombs uncovered there between 1971 and 1989. Like the tomb in Shangfang, this Jiayuguan tomb and the others have horizontal rows that are three bricks in height.¹⁷ The Jiayuguan tombs have the additional feature of painted bricks inserted into the wall design, a composition

¹⁵ Wang Zhigao (王志高,) et al., "Nanjing Jiangning Shangfang Sun Wumu fajue jianbao" (南京江宁上坊孙吴墓发掘简报 [Excavation report on a tomb of the Wu kingdom in Shangfang, Jiangning, Nanjing]) *Wenwu*, no. 12 (2008), pp. 4-34.

¹⁶ Albert Dien, "Developments in Funerary Practices in the Six Dynasties Period: the *Duisuguan* or "Figured Jar" as a Case in Point," in *Between Han and Tang*, vol. 2: *Cultural and Artistic Interaction in a Transformative Period*, ed. Wu Hung (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2001), pp. 60-101.

¹⁷ Wang Tianyi, *Underground Art Gallery* (Beijing: New World Press, 1989).

found in similar, more complexly decorated, and slightly later brick tombs in Jiayuguan and beyond to Qijiawan (祁家灣) and Foyemiaowan (佛爺廟灣), the latter two in Dunhuang (敦煌). The Jiayuguan tombs are dated Wei (魏) kingdom (220-265) to Jin (晉) dynasty (265-317). Tombs from the Dunhuang sites are dated 265 to into the fifth century.¹⁸

The eleven Jiayuguan tombs are contemporary or close to contemporary to the tomb in Shangfang. We know that the Muryeong court did not come up with the construction technique for his tomb independent of China, and perhaps it was a copy of Liang kingdom tombs, as the inscribed bricks state. Still, the Gansu tombs raise the possibility of nonlinear transmission of architectural form, suggesting that perhaps the tomb type did originate in third-century Nanjing, but perhaps the construction style was earlier, perhaps of Han origins that then spread across the empire and to its commanderies. King Muryeong's tomb gives reason to consider Gansu along with the Nanjing region in the architectural narrative of East Asia in the third to sixth centuries. The relation with Gansu leads to the second feature.

II. Korea to Gansu, Gansu to Korea

This feature not only involves tomb plans, it turns to the subjects of murals and the placements of those subjects on tomb walls: one finds one-to-one correspondences between tombs from the same region of Gansu as Jiayuguan and a different Korean kingdom. Dingjiazha (丁家峁) tomb 5 is eight kilometers northwest of the center of Jiuquan (酒泉) and thus approximately thirty kilometers east of Jiayuguan. It is a two-chamber, subterranean tomb, covered by a mound and approached from ground level by a thirty-three-meter diagonal ramp.¹⁹ The Korean tomb is Jangcheon (長川) tomb 1, located about twenty-two kilometers northeast of

¹⁸ Zhang Pengchuan 張朋川, Zhang Baoxi 張寶璽, and Gansusheng Bowuguan 甘肅省博物館, *Jiayuguan Wei-Jinmushi bihua* 嘉峪關魏晉墓室壁畫 [Wei-Jin tombs with murals in Jiayuguan] (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1985); Dai Chunyang 戴春陽 and Zhang Long 張瓏, *Dunhuang Qijiawan: Xi Jin Shiliuguo muzang fajue baogao* 敦煌祁家灣: 西晉十六國墓葬發掘報告 [Excavation report on Sixteen States tombs: Qijiawan at Dunhuang] (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1994); Dai Chunyang, *Dunhuang Foyemiaowan Xi Jin huaxiangzhuannu* 敦煌佛爺廟灣西晉像傳墓 [Western Jin tombs with painted bricks at Foyemiaowan, Dunhuang] (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1998); and Zhang Baoxi, *Jiayuguan Jiuquan Wei-Jin shiliuguo mu bihua* 嘉峪關酒泉魏晉十六國墓壁畫 [Sixteen States tombs with murals from Jiayuguan and Jiuquan] (Lanzhou: Gansu Renmin chubanshe, 2001).

¹⁹ The major publication on this tomb is Gansusheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo, *Jiuquan Shiliuguo mu bihua* 甘肅丁家峁十六國墓壁

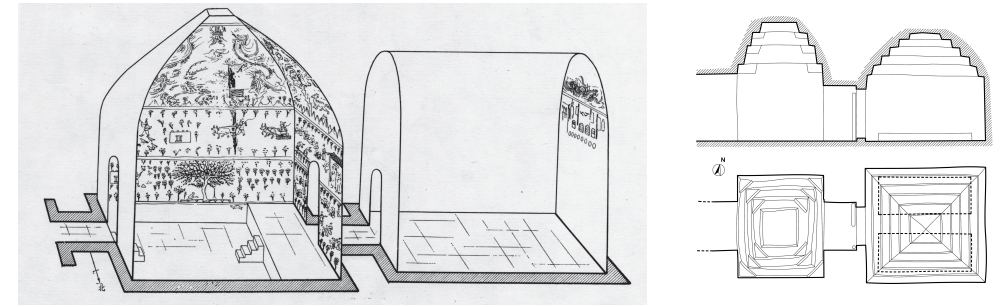


Fig. 6 Drawing of interior of Dingjiazha tomb 5 showing murals on south and west walls of main chambers, Jiuquan, Gansu, ca. 400 (From Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo, *Jiuquan Shiliuguo mu bihua*, p. 4, Uncopyrighted)

Fig. 7 Side elevation and plan of Jangcheon tomb 1, Ji'an, ca. 5th century (Redrawn from *Dongbei kaogu yu lishi*, no. 1, 1982, p. 155, by Sijie Ren)

Ji'an (集安), in Jilin province, and built under Goguryeo rule.

The tomb at Dingjiazha consists of two main chambers joined by an arcade. Measuring 8.64 meters from entry to back wall, the front chamber has a truncated-pyramidal ceiling and the ceilings of the causeway and back chamber are barrel vaults. Originally, every space of the interior was painted. Only the front chamber's paintings are well preserved (fig. 6).²⁰

Jangcheon tomb 1 is about six-and-a-half meters from the far sides of the front and back rooms, a slightly smaller tomb of two chambers joined by an arcade. Its ceilings also are different, the first formed by horizontal, stepped layers of decreasing perimeter from the top of the walls to the flat, central ceiling apex with chamfered corners and the second a rectangle at each level (fig. 7). The stepped ceilings in Jangcheon tomb 1 are much more common in Goguryeo than in Gansu.²¹ The truncated pyramidal ceilings, particularly with lotus flowers at the apex, are used in Han tombs and in Buddhist caves, including the nearby Mogao (莫高)

畫 [A Sixteen States tomb with murals in Dingjiazha, Gansu] (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1989).

²⁰ The discussion of these two tombs here is much abbreviated from my "Changchuan Tomb No. 1 and Its North Asian Context," *Journal of East Asian Archaeology* 4, 1/2 (2003), pp. 1-67.

²¹ The ceiling type is found at Deokeungri 德興里, Ohoe 五盛 tombs 4 and 5, Daeseongri, the Tombs of the Four Directional Animals at Honamni and Maesanri, Gangseo Great Tomb, Yaksuri Tomb, Three Chambers Tomb, Lotus Flower Tomb, and Twin Pillars Tomb, among others. For illustrations, see Jeong Ho-seop, *World Heritage Goguryeo Tomb Murals*, 91, 100-101, 135, 140-141, 151, 184, 185, 200-201, 203, 217, 220-221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 236-237, 239, 240-241, 242, 245, 256, 272, 273, 283, 285, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 299, 313, 314, 315, 316, and 317.



Fig. 8 Line-drawing of west wall of front chamber, Dingjiazha tomb 5, Jiuquan, Gansu (From Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo, *Jiuquan Shiliuguomu bihua*, unpaginated, Uncopyrighted)

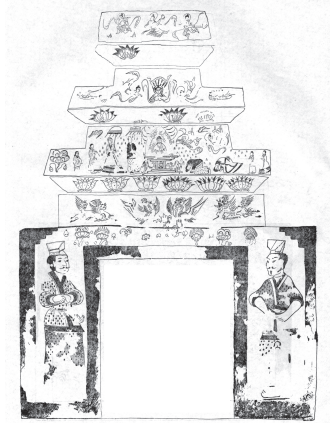


Fig. 9 Line-drawing of east wall of front chamber, Jangcheon tomb 1, Ji'an (From *Dongbei kaogu yu lishi*, no. 1, 1982, p. 159, Uncopyrighted)

caves at Dunhuang.²² The layered ceiling also appears in Buddhist caves, and much farther to the west. Three examples are in Kizil (克孜爾).²³ The complexity of appropriately explaining shared architectural features is underscored by the fact that, like King Muryeong's tomb, one part of the floor of one room of Dingjiazha tomb 5 is elevated. It is not the burial chamber, it occupies far less than eighty percent of the room floor, and steps lead to and from the lower section.

Still for similarities to be valid one must assess every potential comparative detail. Comparisons between the Ji'an and Dingjiazha tombs extends to murals. Most prominent in each tomb is a deity who occupies a high, central position opposite the doorway, the point first seen upon entry into the underground spaces. In Dingjiazha tomb 5 it is the west wall ceiling of the front chamber, dominated by the Queen Mother of the West (fig. 8). In Jangcheon tomb 1, the Buddha is seated opposite the front chamber entry, in this tomb on the east wall (fig. 9). Each divinity is amid identifying signs: the Queen Mother's are the three-legged, black bird and nine-tailed fox; the Buddha's are the lion throne, mandorla, and worshipers making obeisance. Yet neither the Daoist nor the Buddhist environment is pure. A lotus, a fundamental sign of the Buddhist world, is painted on the ceiling of the Dingjiazha tomb in a similar position to those in countless Mogao caves, while in Jangcheon tomb 1, native Chinese symbols such as three of

²² Examples of Han ceilings are in tombs in Luoyang, the Santai region of Sichuan, and the Yi'an tomb in Shandong. For illustrations, see Steinhardt, *Chinese Architecture in an Age of Turmoil* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2014), pp. 72-75. Dunhuang examples are in Mogao caves 272 and 285.

²³ Xinjiang Weiwu'er Zizhiqu Wenwu Guanli Weiyuanhui 新疆维吾尔自治区文物管理委员会, et al., *Zhongguo shiku: Kezi'er shiku* 中國石窟: 克孜爾石窟 [Chinese rock-carved cave-temples: Kizil cave-temples], 3 vols. (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1996), vol. 2, pls. 177-178.

the four animals associated with the directions--the red bird, azure dragon, and white tiger--as well as the three-legged crow in the sun and toad and hare in the moon, are painted in a cosmos in which the focus is supplicants kneeling before the Buddha. Local elements identify the place of each tomb: adobe architecture with crenellations across the top informs that the location is the Gansu desert while spotted, fur-bordered garments worn by the dancers of Goguryeo are in the Jangcheon tomb.

Continuing with the comparisons, in Dingjiazha tomb 5, the King Father of the East, heavenly horses, dragons, crow in the sun and toad-and-hare in the moon, the latter two also on the Ji'an ceiling, share the celestial ceiling spaces with the Queen Mother of the West; equivalent celestial beings, bodhisattvas, and souls reborn in paradise (indicated by the emergence of heads from lotus flowers), share the ceiling and upper wall with the Buddha in Jangcheon tomb 1. In both tombs, the owner, food service and entertainment for him, and life on his land compliment the ethereal, godly worlds. The world of man is presented along horizontal registers below the heavenly world, and the human register in both tombs includes a prominent, flowering tree (figs. 8 and 10). Depending on context, a tree in Ji'an or Jiuquan may be the fusang (扶桑) tree which Archer Yi (羿) shot with his bow to save the earth from burning suns, a money tree of Han funerary art, a general longevity/life-giving symbol, the tree in the Korean founding myth, the bodhi tree beneath which the Buddha attained enlightenment, or some combination, or all of them.

Many of the same images also are found on an undated lacquer sarcophagus excavated in a tomb in Leizumiao (雷祖廟) village, Yuanzhou (原州) district, Guyuan (固原) county, Ningxia, in 1981.²⁴ They

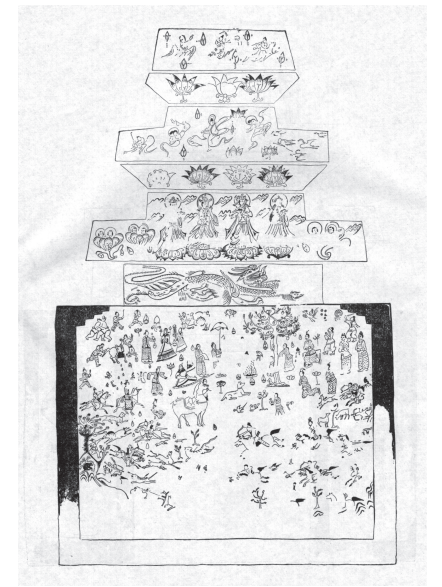


Fig. 10 Line drawing of north wall of front chamber, Changchuan tomb 1, Ji'an (From *Dongbei kaogu yu lishi*, no. 1, 1982, p. 160, Uncopyrighted)

²⁴ For a report on the sarcophagus and publication of its images, see Ningxia Guyuan Bowuguan 宁夏固原博物馆, *Guyuan Bei Wei mu qiguan hua* 固原北魏墓漆棺畫 [The lacquer painted sarcophagus from the Northern Wei in Guyuan] (Yinchuan: Ningxia Renmin chubanshe, 1988). I thank Luo Feng for making it possible for me to see and photograph the sarcophagus. For a study of the



Fig. 11 Detail of top of lacquer sarcophagus, tomb 1, Leizumiao, Yuanzhou, Guyuan Ningxia, late fifth century (Photo by author)

Fig. 12 Painting on paper excavated in tomb 13, Astana, Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, ca. fourth century (From *La muse: Shijie Bowuguan xunli*, no. 42, January 1995, pp. 10-11, Fair scholarly use)

include: the Queen Mother of the West, King Father of the East, Buddhist deities, crow in the sun, toad/hare in the moon, and occupant wearing native dress (fig. 11). The flowering tree, celestial symbolism, occupant, and food service also are found on a piece of paper dated to the fourth century excavated at a tomb in Astana, near Turfan (fig. 12).

The two-chamber tombs at Dingjiazha and Jangcheon have one room more than the majority of fifth-century tombs of the Goguryeo kingdom, which have a single chamber or a main chamber with two side niches that emerge from the chamber itself or the approach in front of it. The tomb at Deokeungni (德興里) in Nampo (南浦) that belonged to an official named Jin (陳) who died in 408 and the undated Ssangyeong Tomb in Yonggang (龍江), both in North Korea, are examples of two-chamber tombs.

The two-chamber tomb proliferated in the vicinity of the Northern Wei capital Pingcheng, approximately halfway between Goguryeo and Gansu. The tombs and their decoration are almost indistinguishable from those to the east and west. Among more than 100 tombs studied by Shanxi University, Shanxi Archaeology Institute, and the Datong Municipal Museum, not one has more than two rooms.²⁵ Another Northern Wei cemetery in Datong whose ninety-one tombs were published in 2006 contains all

imagery of the sarcophagus, see Rosalind Bradford, *The Guyuan Sarcophagus*, 3 vols. (Saarbrücken: Lambert Academic Publishing, 2011 and 2012).

²⁵ See Shanxi Daxue Lishi Wenhua Xueyuan 山西大學歷史文化學院, Shanxisheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 山西省考古研究所, and Datongshi Bowuguan 大同博物館, eds. *Datong Nanjiao Bei Wei muqun* 大同南郊北魏墓群 [A group of Northern Wei tombs in the southern suburbs of Datong] (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2006).

single-chamber burials.²⁶ Tombs excavated on the campus of Yanbei (雁北) Normal University similarly are single- and two-chamber.²⁷ The tomb of Song Shaozu (宋紹祖), who died in 477, is a two-chamber tomb approached by an extremely long ramp.²⁸

The fifth and sixth century tombs were structurally simple compared to those of the third and fourth centuries. Third- and early-fourth-century tombs constructed in Jiayuguan, such as the one mentioned above (fig. 5), and second-century tombs in southern and eastern Inner Mongolia and in Hebei province of China, had three main chambers, most of which had one if not two side niches known as ear chambers (ershì, 耳室). The earliest Goguryeo tomb with murals, Anak (安岳) tomb 3 in Hwanghae (黃海) prefecture of North Korea, has five rooms.

The lack of complexity in the later tombs did not carry over to contents or decoration. The stone sarcophagus of Song and his wife, for instance, has eight-sided pillars across the front that are capped with three-arm bracket sets that alternate with inverted-V-shaped braces.²⁹ A single-chamber tomb found in 2005 in Shaling (沙嶺), Datong, had a lacquer sarcophagus and murals of a quality previously unknown from the Pingcheng period of Northern Wei (北魏).³⁰ The decoration on sarcophaguses in Shaling, Hudong, and Zhijiabu (智家堡),³¹ excavated south of Datong in 1997, shares the imagery of the Dingjiazha and Jangcheon tombs: the occupant(s), usually under an architectural framework or with a screen behind, smaller attendant(s), the fantastic tree, Ursa Major and Ursa Minor, the raven in the sun, toad and hare in the moon, food preparation, processions, entertainment, the Parthian shot, door guards, the Sasanian roundel, a hierarchic deity, and some identifier of the occupant's nativity.

²⁶ Gao Feng 高峰, "Shanxi Datong Yingbindadao Bei Wei muqun" 山西大同迎賓大道北魏墓群 [A Northern Wei tomb group from Yingbindadao, Datong, Shanxi], *Wenwu*, no. 10 (2006), pp. 50-71.

²⁷ Liu Junxi 劉俊喜, *Datong Yanbei Shiyuan Daxue Bei Wei muqun* 大同雁北師院北魏墓群 [A Northern Wei tomb group at Yanbei Normal University, Datong] (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2008).

²⁸ The Song Shaozu tomb was first published in Shanxisheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo 山西省考古研究所 and Datongshi Kaogu Yanjiusuo 大同市考古研究所, "Datongshi Bei Wei Song Shaozumu fajue jianbao" 大同市北魏宋紹祖墓發掘簡報 [Excavation report on the Northern Wei tomb of Song Shaozu in Datong], *Wenwu*, no. 7 (2001), pp. 19-39.

²⁹ Shanxisheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo and Datongshi Kaogu Yanjiusuo, "Datongshi Bei Wei Song Shaozumu fajue jianbao."

³⁰ On the Shaling tomb, see Liu Junxi, "Shanxi Datong Shaling Bei Wei bihuamu fajue jianbao" 山西大同沙嶺北魏壁畫墓發掘簡報 [Preliminary report on the Northern Wei tomb with murals in Shaling, Datong, Shanxi], *Wenwu*, no. 10 (2006), pp. 4-24.

³¹ On the Zhijiabu tomb and sarcophagus, see Wang Yintian 王銀田, Liu Junxi and Gao Feng, "Datong Zhijiabu Bei Weimu shiguan bihua" 大同智家堡北魏墓石椁壁畫 [Paintings on a Northern Wei stone sarcophagus from Zhijiabu, Datong], *Wenwu*, no. 7 (2001), pp. 40-51.

From Gansu to Goguryeo, the great majority of tombs have one or two chambers and images with the same subjects on their walls or sarcophaguses. The many examples in Pingcheng are easy to explain. Not only was it the capital of Northern Wei from 398-493, in the mid-fifth century, the Northern Wei resettled tens of thousands of populations from Gansu after their conquest of several of the Sixteen Kingdoms. Song Shaozu, who was an official at the time of his death, had been born in Dunhuang and resettled with his family as a child. No matter how King Muryeong's tomb came to be built as it was, its structure existed in Jiayuguan and in Nanjing earlier. Little is known about the plans of Northern Wei monasteries in Pingcheng, but we have already noted that the plan of the Northern Wei monastery Yongningsi in Luoyang shares its plan with six monasteries of Baekje, all of them constructed in the sixth century.

Dated, physical evidence from both Goguryeo and Baekje confirms that tombs were built in the manner of those from Gansu, but two different kinds of tombs. Goguryeo and Baekje also were building two different kinds of monasteries, both also with sources in Northern Wei arrangements. Although Baekje is directly across the sea from Nanjing, we need to reconsider whether Baekje art and architecture received its continental influences directly and exclusively from the capital in Nanjing, the standard explanation. If art and architecture had a more complicated and nuanced source than Six Dynasties China, then Gansu, the source of art and architecture across North Asia during Korea's Three Kingdoms period, may have had a much more prominent role than is usually recognized.

III. Monastery and Tomb

Like the second feature, the third is shared by Goguryeo and Baekje. The remains of the monastery Jeongneongsa (定陵寺), the largest Goguryeo monastery known, are about 17.5 kilometers southeast of Pyongyang. It spans 223 meters east to west and 132.5 meters north to south (fig. 1d). The central, octagonal pagoda has been identified as standard in a Goguryeo plan. Two features of Jeongneongsa are noteworthy. The capital-I-shaped formations northeast and northwest of the octagon are of a configuration reserved for imperial architecture in China where it is known as the gong-plan, named after the Chinese character that has this shape (工). The Three Great Halls and Three Back Halls of the Forbidden City are of the gong-plan. In China, the gong scheme is traceable to Western Zhou architecture from the Zhouyuan (周原) region in

Shaanxi where it is found at a building complex at Fengchu (鳳雛).³² It is unknown if the Fengchu remains were a palace, but extensive excavation in Zhouyuan, the center of the state of Qin (秦) from 677-383 BCE, includes the complex in Fufeng (扶風) that is believed to have palatial and ritual architecture. Enormous tombs of Qin dukes are in the region. The order of construction of the palatial, ritual, and funerary architecture is unknown.

Building order is significant at the Goguryeo monastery Jeongneongsa, whose name translates as Monastery Determined by the Tomb. A tomb is 120 meters due north of one of the building lines of the monastery shown in Figure 1d. The location is believed to represent tombs of Goguryeo kings among whom, it is believed, is King Dongmyeong (東明, r. 37-19 BCE), one of the first rulers. There is much one cannot confirm about architectural remains in North Korea, yet if the tomb indeed is Dongmyeong's, the monastery postdates it, and thus as its name tells us, Jeongneongsa's position was determined because of at least one pre-existing royal tomb to the north. If the gong-shaped foundation was for a palace, then the complex is an inter-related religious-funerary-palatial complex.

One of the Baekje monasteries is named Neongsa (陵寺), neong (陵) the same character in Jeongneongsa. Neongsa, or Monastery of the Tomb, is 200 meters west of a group of eight royal graves.

The location of every Chinese imperial tomb, from the First Emperor Qin Shi Huangdi's (秦始皇帝) (259-210 BCE) to those of the last rulers of the Qing dynasty, is known. Through Chinese history, rulers often are buried near their capitals. When the topography makes it possible, rock-carved worship caves are near capitals.³³

³² The plan of the halls of the Forbidden City is well known. For discussion of remains of Zhouyuan, see Xu Xitai 徐錫台, "Zao Zhou wenhua de tedian jiqi yuanyuan de tansuo" 早周文化的特點及其淵源的探索 [Investigation of the origins and special features of early Zhou culture], *Wenwu*, no. 10 (1979), pp. 50-59; Shaanxi Zhouyuan Kaogudui 周原考古隊, "Shaanxi Qishan Fengchucun Xi Zhou jianzhu qizhi fajue baogao" 陝岐山鳳雛村西周建築基址發掘簡報 [Excavation report on architectural remains in Fengchu village, Qishan, Shaanxi], *Wenwu*, no. 10 (1979), pp. 27-37; Yang Hongxun 楊鴻勳, "Xi Zhou Qiyi jianzhu yizhi chubu kaocha" 西周岐邑建築遺址初步考察 [Preliminary investigation of Western Zhou architectural remains at Qishan], *Wenwu*, no. 3 (1981), pp. 23-33; and Zhouyuan Kaogudui 陝西周原考古隊, "Shaanxi Fufengxian Yuntang Qizhen Xi Zhou jianzhu yizhi 1999-2000-niandu fajue jianbao" 陝西扶風縣雲塘、齊鎮西周建築基址1999~2000年度發掘簡報 [Preliminary excavation report on Western Zhou architectural remains at Yuntang and Qizhen in Fufeng, Shaanxi, from the 1999-2000 season], *Kaogu*, no. 9 (2002), pp. 3-26.

³³ Evidence of this practice in China in the fifth and sixth centuries is: the Yungang (雲岡) caves near the Northern Wei capital Pingcheng; the Longmen (龍門) caves near the Northern Wei capital Luoyang; the Xiangtangshan (孝堂山) caves near the Northern Qi capital Ye; Tianlongshan (天龍山) near the Northern Qi capital Jinyang (晉陽); and Qixiasi (棲霞寺) cave-temples near the

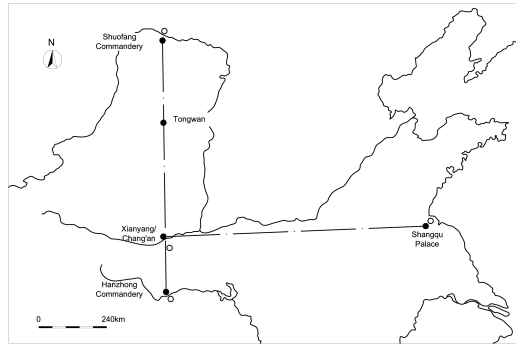


Fig. 13 Line drawing of axial building line through central of Qin Xianyang/Han Chang'an from Yellow River to Yangzi River, and perpendicular line joining the center of the capitals to the coast of Shandong province After *Wenwu*, no. 3 (1995), 13 Redrawn by Sijie Ren

The word *jeong* suggests that once one imperial architectural institution is constructed, it determines the position of the next one, palace, imperial temple, or royal tomb. In China, excavation proved the relation between imperial city, its architecture, and empire beginning at Western Han (漢, 206 BCE – CE 9) Chang'an (長安). The center of the walled city of Han Chang'an was between two palaces, Changlegong (長樂宮) that was built on the site of the Qin palace Xinglegong (興樂宮) and the newly constructed Weiyanggong (未央

宮). The tombs of the first Han emperor and his wife were directly north of the two palaces. An imaginary line running between the two palaces and two tombs extends northward to Tianqi Shrine (天齊祠) and southward to Ziwu Valley (子午谷), and continues yet farther to reach the Yellow River (黃河) in the north, in today's Inner Mongolia, and the Yangzi River (長江) in the south. A perpendicular line from the center of the Han capital reaches a detached palace of the First Emperor that faced the sea in Shandong (fig. 13).³⁴ There is little doubt the position of the tombs was determined by the palaces, all of which were built during the rule of Han's first emperor Liu Bang (劉邦, r. 202-195 BCE) (buried west of the axis, opposite his empress) who completed Changle palace in 200 and had begun Weiyang palace that would be completed under his son and successor.

Study of the city of Luoyang in Eastern Han times (25-220 CE) and when it was the capital of Northern Wei between 493 and 534 shows that the ritual hall of the Han capital known as Mingtang (明堂, numinous hall) was replaced by Jingmingsi (景明寺), one of the major urban monasteries in a city that by then had become devoutly Buddhist.³⁵ In Jiankang under the emperor Xiaowudi (孝武帝, r. 454-464) of Liu-Song (劉

宋), the Mingtang that stood before the ruler came to power was moved and the monastery Dazhuangyansi (大莊嚴寺) was constructed in its place. In Eastern Han and Northern Wei Luoyang, the palace-complex was in the same place, the north center of the imperial city. In the South, through the Southern Dynasties (420-589) when Jiankang was the capital, the palace area changed size but always was near the center of the capital and had halls in the same places, sometimes with the same names and gates and other times with the same names used in earlier times. The ceremonial and religious architecture in both north and south China during the period contemporary to Korea's Three Kingdoms, in other words, was constructed in response to the location of the palace.

There is no evidence that ceremonial spaces of Han Confucianism were built in royal cities of the Three Kingdoms before the arrival of Buddhism. Rather, evidence from the Pyongyang region, Buyeo, Luoyang, and Jiankang encourages us to ask: If a palace is the hub of an imperial city and sometimes the pivot of four quarters, then in a city in which Buddhism is of supreme importance such as these four, to what extent is a towering pagoda the hub of its city or even of a Buddhist universe beyond the city? According to *Luoyang qielanji* (洛陽伽藍記, Record of Buddhist monasteries of Luoyang), written in 547, the pagoda of Yongningsi, erected in 516, rose nine stories to a height of forty zhang (丈, about ninety meters) and was visible from a distance of fifty kilometers.³⁶ Both figures surely are exaggerated, but the pagoda cannot but have been enormous. In all likelihood, it was the tallest structure in the Northern Wei capital.

The construction of a second and later imperial monuments that respond to the location of an earlier one is indicated in Goguryeo, Baekje, Han, Northern Wei, and Southern Dynasties China, and in China, one further observes the location of a significant pre-Buddhist site to have retained its aura of supreme importance, transforming into sanctity in the early centuries of Buddhism in Korea and China. The fourth feature occurs in a Buddhist world, which of course the Three Kingdoms period was, and it occurs across the northern part of East Asia for many centuries subsequent to the arrival of Buddhism.

capital Jiankang.

³⁴ Qin Jianming 秦建明, Zhang Zaiming 張在明, and Yang Zheng 楊政, "Shaanxi faxian yi Han Chang'an cheng wei zhongxin de Xi Han nanbei xiang zhaochang jianzhu jixian" 陝西發現以漢長安城為中心的西漢南北向超長建築基線 [A long, axial north-south line through the center of Western Han Chang'an], *Wenwu*, no. 3 (1995), pp. 4-15.

³⁵ Shimokaura Wataru 下倉涉, "Nambokuchō no teito to jiin" 南北朝の帝都と寺院 [Imperial capitals and monasteries of the Northern and Southern Dynasties], *Tōho Gakuin Daigaku ronshū: Rekishi to bunka* (東北学院大学論集: 歴史と文化) 40

(2006), pp. 206-210.

³⁶ Yang Xuanzhi, *Record of Buddhist Monasteries*, 16.

IV. Response between Pagodas

Yongningsi's patroness, Empress Dowager Hu (胡), also was responsible for construction of the pagoda of Songyuesi (嵩嶽寺) seven years later, in 523. (Officially it was built by her eight-year-old grandson.) Soaring on the central of China's five sacred peaks (yue 嶽), Mount Song (嵩), the pagoda might be interpreted as the axis mundi of the other four, or by extension, of the universe. In pre-Buddhist China, Han emperors performed rituals on Mount Song. Three ceremonial gate-towers (que, 闕) Taishe (太室), Shaoshe (少室), and Qimu (启母), all built in Han times, stand today. The Temple to the Central Peak (Zhongyuemiao, 中嶽廟), also originally constructed in the Han and whose earliest building dates to the Jin (晉) period (265-420), is directly behind the approach designated by Taisheque.³⁷

It is worth considering if the pagoda on the sacred central peak was erected in response to the tallest pagoda in the capital sixty kilometers to the southeast. These considerations, if towering pagodas were built in response to each other or if, perhaps, a tall building was intended to cast a protectorate zone over a certain area that may even have included a monastery in which a lower pagoda was located, in other words, the relationship between religious complexes built in response to existing ones, is the fourth feature. Evidence in Korea is suggested among Silla monasteries and between pagodas of Baekje and Silla.

Silla's most famous monastery is Hwangnyongsa (皇龍寺) in Gyeongju which had three building periods before the ninth century, each with a different plan (fig. 1h). The first, constructed between 553 and 569, had the Baekje plan. The first major change to that plan was the addition of a lecture hall behind the main building line. This structure stood in the same position at Jeongneongsa of Goguryeo, at Baekje monasteries, and at Shitennōji in Japan (figs. 1d, 1e, and 1j). During the second construction phase, 574-645, Buddha halls were added east and west of the central Buddha hall and the pagoda was enlarged. Reconstruction of the monastery based on dimensions at ground level presents a towering, splendid, nine-story wooden pagoda (fig. 14). The year 643 is inscribed in foundation stones uncovered at the site.³⁸

³⁷ Guo Daiheng 郭黛姮, et al., *Songshan lishi jianzhuqun* 嵩山历史建筑群 [Historic group of architecture on Songshan] (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2008), pp. 24-107.

³⁸ Munhwajae Yon'guso 文化財研究所, *Hwangnyongsa, yujeok balgul josa bogoseo* 皇龍寺, 遺蹟發掘調報告書 [Excavation report on remains at Hwangnyongsa] (Seoul: Munhwajae Gwalliguk and Munhwajae yon'guso, 1984); and Youngbok Park, "The Monastery Hwangnyongsa," in *Transmitting the Forms of Divinity*, ed. Washizuka Hiromitsu, et al. (New York: Japan Society, 2003), pp. 140-153.



Fig. 14 Reconstruction model of Hwangnyongsa in mid-eighth century, after third building phase

National Museum (https://www.google.com/search?q=Hwangnyongsa+Gyeongju&source=lnms&tbm=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiP2dXr6MbiAhWImeAKHWkdABMQ_AUIDygC&biw=1952&bih=1192#imgdii=r6fEK53pkmlIDM:&imgsrc=fkmAizgkGVXIM), Last accessed 31 May 2019)

This date is consistent with the story of the pagoda's construction in *Samguk yusa* (三國遺事, Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms). According to the historical record, in 636, while studying Buddhism at the Mount Wutai (五臺) in Shanxi (山西) province of China, the monk Jajang (慈藏) met the dragon whose oldest son was the guardian of Hwangnyongsa. The dragon told Jajang that if Silla built a nine-story pagoda, nine districts would come to pay tribute to his kingdom and its enemies would submit. Upon returning to Silla, Jajang told Queen Sondok (善德女王, c. 581-647) about the dragon's advice. The queen sent gifts to Baekje, requesting that someone come from there to Silla to advise in the construction of a nine-story pagoda. Abiji (阿非知), the man to whom is attributed Baekje's most monumental, wooden, nine-story pagoda that towered at the center of Mireksa (彌勒寺), was sent along with 200 artisans (fig. 1f).³⁹ The human link between the two tallest known pagodas of the Three Kingdoms period itself is rare and important evidence. Shared patronage such as of the pagodas of Yongningsi and Songyuesi by Empress Dowager Hu or pagodas built by order of Prince Shōtoku around the year 600 in Japan is known,⁴⁰ but the extremely rare survival of the name of a builder in addition to his association with temple complexes of two different kingdoms is unique. It is possible that Abiji brought timber-frame pagodas to Silla, for before Hwangnyongsa, extant Silla pagodas are brick or stone.⁴¹

The association with Abiji is poignant. He seems to have become aware of the dragon's advice to Jajang

³⁹ The source is the section on the nine-story pagoda of Hwangnyongsa in chapter three. For a translation of Ilyeon's work, see Ha Tae-Hung and Grafton K. Mintz, trans., *Samguk yusa: Legends and History of the Three Kingdoms of Ancient Korea* (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1972), pp. 207-211.

⁴⁰ The "lucky seven," the subject of Kidder's, *The Lucky Seventh*, are associated with Prince Shōtoku.

⁴¹ Hollenweger, "The Buddhist Architecture of the Three Kingdoms," pp. 896-942, divides Silla pagodas into five types: pure brick, brick-like stone that take the shape of brick, brick-like stone that take the shape of stone, pure stone, and other (none of which are timber).

and thereupon realized Silla's intent to be the victor in the ongoing wars with his kingdom. *Samguk sagi* (三國史記, Historical record of the Three Kingdoms) informs us that on the night prior to implantation of the central wooden pillars at Hwangnyongsa, Abiji dreamed of Baekje's destruction. Early the next morning, before Abiji had made a decision how to deal with the situation, a monk and soldier appeared at the Baekje site and erected pillars. One assumes Abiji's construction plan was used, even if he himself did not carry it out. Silla, of course, was to unify the three kingdoms about twenty years later. The construction date of 645 for the Hwangnyongsa pagoda provided a terminus ante quem for Mireuksa's wooden pagoda. This date was confirmed in 2006 when a golden plate with the name of the patron and date of 639 was found in the heart pillar (main stone pillar) of Mireuksa's west pagoda.⁴² For better or worse, the Hwangnyongsa towering pagoda seems to have been built in response to the towering pagoda of Mireuksa.

The plan of Hwangnyongsa during its second phase of construction, 574-645, during which Abiji was at both sites, should be considered alongside Mireuksa. By the year 645, in both Baekje and Silla, Buddha halls stood east and west of a central Buddha hall and a Buddha hall stood directly behind a front gate. Both monasteries, in other words, had the towering central pagoda with three Buddha halls behind it of Goguryeo, the gate-pagoda-Buddha hall scheme of Baekje, and twin structures placed symmetrically to the main hall and main pagoda as one sees in Silla. They may mark a convergence of the Three Kingdoms plans into a composite Korean Buddhist monastery.

One more feature of Hwangnyongsa is evidence of the relation between a towering pagoda and nearby monastery that was built, it is believed here, in response to the earlier one. Bunhwangsa (芬皇寺) was founded in 634. Its stone-brick pagoda is 390 meters behind Hwangnyongsa's pagoda. Believed to have originally been nine stories, the Buhwangsa pagoda was behind an entry gate with three Buddha halls behind it, in Goguryeo monastery fashion. The two nine-story pagodas in Gyeongju were much closer to each other than those of Yongningsi and Songyuesi, so that the placement of the Buhwangsa pagoda, while enlargement of Hwangnyongsa was underway, is evidence that the one was built with knowledge of the other. The link to Abiji suggests a relation, even if adversarial, between Mireuksa's and Hwangnyongsa's pagodas.

⁴² There is a long bibliography on this subject. In English, see Lee Kywang-pyo, "Buddhist Relics from the Stone Pagoda of Mireuksa Temple," *Koreana: A Quarterly on Korean Art and Culture* 23, 3 (2009), pp. 16-25 and Hyejeong Choi, "Mireuksa, A Baekje Period Temple of the Future Buddha Maitreya" (Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 2015). I thank an external reader for informing me about these excavations, and I thank Park Ah Rim and Park Ki Yeon for sending me publications in Korean.

The fourth feature is thus this relationship between religious monuments in the sixth and seventh centuries, particularly monasteries with towering pagodas and one if not both of them with ties to the imperial family. The relationship may originate in pre-Buddhist architecture of Qin and Han China.

The power of a pagoda to relate to other pagodas or to serve to protect nearby architecture is again observed in Northeast Asia under Khitan rule (916-1125). The Khitan were masters of physical monumentality. In addition to the famous 67.31-meter Timber Pagoda (木塔) in Ying county (應縣), Shanxi, the 71.3-meter White Pagoda (白塔) in Qingzhou (慶州) and the 73.12-meter Great Pagoda (大塔) in Ningcheng (寧城), both in Inner Mongolia, are examples. The two Inner Mongolian pagodas as well as the much smaller Guanyin Pavilion (觀音閣) of Dulesi (獨樂寺) in Ji county (薊縣), Hebei, dated 984, are positioned in direct viewing range from an uppermost story to another pagoda or imperial tombs. A Khitan pagoda in Dornad province of Outer Mongolia, the region that touches Heilongjiang (黑龍江), served as protectorate of two smaller structures, probably pagodas.⁴³ It cannot be proved, but is possible that a practice that developed during the Three Kingdoms period that can be documented at Hwangnyongsa remained or was revived in tenth- and eleventh-century Northeast Asia.

A bell with the date 754 excavated at Hwangnyongsa has given way to the belief that the twin structures at the front sides of the monastery in the last building phase were bell and drum towers or a bell tower paired with a sutra repository. The small, four-sided structures find comparisons in Tang China and Nara Japan. Before 854, the last year of construction at Hwangnyongsa, the two small buildings were enlarged from three- to five-bays-square. Paired structures are the fifth feature.

V. Pairing

The pounded-earth platform uncovered about 1300 meters south of remains of the sixth-century city wall of the Eastern Wei (534-550)-Northern Qi capital Ye in 2002, in southern Hebei province, led to immediate and correct comparisons with the pagoda of Yongning Monastery in Northern Wei Luoyang. A reliquary beneath the Ye pagoda confirmed it was imperial. The pagoda was centered from east to west

⁴³ Steinhardt, "The Pagoda in Kherlen Bars: New Understandings of Khitan-period Towering Pagodas," *Archives of Asian Art* 66, 2 (2016), pp. 187-212.



Fig. 15 Reconstruction plan of monastery in Zhaopengcheng, Hebei, Eastern Wei-Northern Qi (After *Kaogu*, no. 7, 2010, p. 32, Redrawn by Sijie Ren)



Fig. 16 Remains of monumental Buddhas at Tongzisi, Longshan, Taiyuan western halls, 556-559 (Photo by author)

and positioned about one-third of the way (113 meters) along the north-south axis of a 432-by-453-meter enclosure. At the southern corners of the enclosure were 110-meters-square, bilaterally symmetrical courtyards. The southwestern courtyard had a pounded-earth foundation, thirty-eight-by-twenty meters, centered near its north. The less-well-preserved southeastern courtyard probably housed a nearly identical structure (fig. 15). The arrangement appears to be that of the third building phase, or mid-eighth century, at Hwangnyongsa.

A similar building plan revealed at Tongzisi (童子寺) in Jinyang in the western hills of Taiyuan, also mentioned above, is recorded in *Taiyuanxian zhi* (太原縣志, Record of Taiyuan prefecture). In 556, three monumental Buddhist statues were carved into natural rock by a Chan (禪) master; remains survive today (fig. 16). The record further states that a Northern Qi emperor visited Tongzisi in 559.⁴⁴ The emperor would be Gao Yang (高洋, 529–559). *Bei Qishu* (北齊書, History of Northern Qi) tells us that Gao Yang climbed up to Tongzisi and ordered the excavation of great Buddhas into the cliff.⁴⁵ Limited study of the site began in 1954, but the stone lantern pagoda found then attracted little attention.

In 2006, it was revealed that the lantern pagoda was in front of the rock-carved Buddhas, and that a temple complex formed a parallel axis to the pagoda and Buddhas. The monastery had at least two structures

⁴⁴ Yuan Peilan 員佩蘭, comp., *Taiyuanxian zhi* 太原縣志 [Record of Taiyuan prefecture] (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1976), *juan* 3.

⁴⁵ Li Baiyao 李百藥, *Bei Qishu* 北齊書 [History of Northern Qi] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1972), *juan* 40, 531.

on its main building line and twin structures positioned symmetrically at the front corners. The paired structures at the Northern Qi monasteries suggest comparison with Mireuksa and the second version of Hwangnyongsa, and they indicate the primary building arrangement of Silla monasteries, twin pagodas (fig. 1g). Twin structures, we have noted, were built in Japanese monasteries since the late seventh century (fig. 1n). Only in the twenty-first century has their presence been confirmed in China.⁴⁶ The monastery plan of each Korean kingdom, in other words, can now be associated with one in China as well as Japan, whether the paired structures are pagodas, such as one observes in Silla monasteries such as Gameunsa (fig. 1g) or are in the form of two towers at the front of the monastery, which were constructed at Hwangnyongsa in Gyeongju by the mid-eighth century.

VI. Octagons

The last feature also involves construction in Gyeongju. We have already observed that excavation presents the main pagoda in a Goguryeo monastery to have been octagonal. The above-mentioned Timber Pagoda and White Pagoda of Liao, among countless towering pagodas in China from the tenth-century onward, were octagonal. Here we are concerned with octagonal foundations unlikely to have been pagodas. One in Gyeongju is dated Silla or Unified Silla period (figs. 17 and 18a).



Fig. 17 Photograph of remains of octagonal structure, Gyeongju (Photo by author on-site)

⁴⁶ The complicated subject of twin pagodas in Korea is beyond scope of this paper. See Youn-mi Kim, “Identical Twins? Rethinking Twin Pagodas” (unpublished paper); and Young Jae Kim, “Architectural Representation of the Pure Land: Constructing the Cosmopolitan Temple Complex from Nagarjunakonda to Bulguksa,” (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2011).

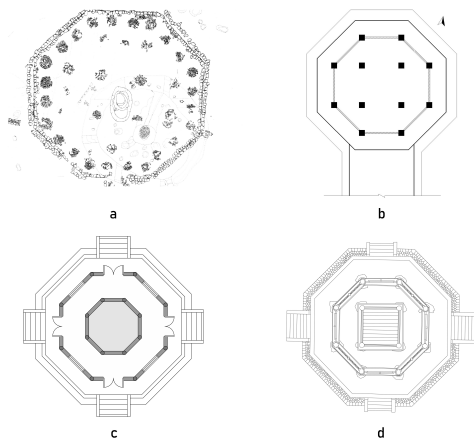


Fig. 18 Ground plans of four octagonal structures, three dated to the eighth century

- a. Plan of remains in Gyeongju (Photo by author of diagram on-site; touched-up by Chen Wei)
- b. Plan of remains of octagonal building in palace-city of Luoyang, Tang period (Redrawn by Sijie Ren)
- c. Plan of Yumedono, east precinct, Hōryūji, Ikaruga, 739 (Redrawn by Chen Wei)
- d. Plan of octagonal hall, Eizanji, Gojō, eighth century (From Fukuyama and Akiyama, *Eizanji*, p. 17, Redrawn by Sijie Ren)

Octagonal buildings are known in China and Japan, especially in the eighth century. The earliest confirmed evidence of an aboveground octagonal building in China is in the Tang capital Luoyang where three octagonal foundations have been uncovered. According to an inscription, one was erected by imperial decree in 705 at the Tiantang (天堂, Hall to Heaven). Empress Wu's (武則天) Mingtang is the second. Both are associated with Chinese imperial rituals, and difficult to connect to a structure in Gyeongju. The third octagonal wooden hall was excavated on the western side of the Luoyang palace-city. Its purpose is unknown (fig. 18b).

In Japan, two mid-eighth-century, octagonal halls stand. The Yumedono (夢殿, Hall of Dreams) in the east precinct of Hōryūji, begun in the 730s under the direction of the priest Gyōshin (行信), commemorates Prince Shōtoku (574-622), who is said to have come to this site to contemplate, or dream about, the Buddha (fig. 18c).⁴⁷ In an inventory of 747, the hall is named hakkaku (八角) Butsuden (eight-cornered Buddha hall).⁴⁸ An octagonal hall in Hōryūji's west precinct built under the direction of the priest Gyōki (行基) in 718 at the request of Lady Tachibana (橘) was known as Saiendō (西円堂), "west circular hall." Rebuilt in 1249, Saiendō's main image is a Heian-Kamakura-period Yakushi (薬師), the Buddha believed to have healing powers and perhaps by inference

the potential to ward-off the need for a memorial hall. The other eighth-century octagonal hall is at Eizanji (榮山寺) in Gojō (五條), about twenty-five kilometers from Hōryūji in Nara prefecture (fig. 18d). Whereas Yumedono is supported by two rings of eight columns, the Eizanji hall, hall of undetermined purpose in Luoyang, and the structure in Gyeongju have four interior pillars and an outer ring of eight. The Eizanji hall was built either in the very early eighth-century, a date proposed based on roof tiles, or in 763–64, a date based on patrons. A record of 989 states that in 765 Fujiwara Toyonari (藤原豊成, 704-765) donated land to support a monastery founded by his father Fujiwara Muchimaro (藤原武智麻呂, 680-737) and that Fujiwara Nakamaro (藤原仲麻呂, 710-764), son of Muchimaro, built the structure as a monument for the eternal rest of his parents. Muchimaro's ashes are believed to be reburied under a hill north of Eizanji. The ashes of Fujiwara Yoshitsugu (藤原良繼, 716-777), a nephew of Muchimaro, also are said to be reburied nearby. A record of chief abbot Jikkyō (実経) dated to 1098, however, states that the monastery was built by Muchimaro in 719.⁴⁹ In any case, it is likely Eizanji was built with knowledge of the octagonal hall at Hōryūji and that it was a memorial hall.

In 2010 the date of octagonal construction in Japan was pushed back by a century. A paved, octagonal enclosure about nine meters on each face that once consisted of about 7200 white stones in three layers, excavated in Asuka, was identified as the tomb of Empress Saimei (齊明, r. 655-661; previously reigned as Kōgyoku 皇極 [642-645]) and her daughter Princess Hashihito (菱明) (fig. 19).⁵⁰ The use of a stone-bordered octagon for an imperial tomb in the mid-seventh century and continued use of octagons a century later in Japan for commemorative architecture support the identification of the octagonal foundations in Luoyang and Gyeongju as commemorative, if not more directly related to death.



Fig. 19 Remains at tomb of Empress Saimei, Asuka, 661

⁴⁷ Ogura Kazuha 小椋一葉, *Yumedono no yami: Shōtoku Taishi to kesareta haō 夢殿の闇: 聖徳太子と消された霸王* [(Dark mysteries of the Yumedono: Prince Shōtoku and hegemony)] (Tokyo: Kawade shobō shinsha, 2007).

⁴⁸ Kōichi Machida, "A Historical Survey of the Controversy as to Whether the Hōryū-ji Was Rebuilt of Not," *Acta Asiatica* 15 (1968), pp. 87-115.

⁴⁹ Fukuyama Toshio 福山敏男 and Terukazu Akiyama 秋山光和, *Eizanji Hakkakudō 榮山寺八角堂* [The octagonal hall of Eizanji] (Tokyo: Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 1950); and Fukuyama, *Eizanji Hakkakudō no kenkyū 榮山寺八角堂の研究* [Research on the octagonal hall of Eizanji] (Tokyo: Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 1951).

⁵⁰ As reported in *The Japan Times*, 10 September 2010 <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2010/09/10/national/nara-tomb-said-that-of-seventh-century-empress/#.XN8-CINkHbW>, Last accessed 17 May 2019

This paper has woven in and out of the Three Korean Kingdoms, the Chinese capitals Jiankang, Luoyang, and Pingcheng, Gansu province, and Asuka and Nara in Japan. Its purpose is not, simply, to present how much is known about Korean architecture of the fourth through seventh centuries even though so little remains above ground. Nor is it to reaffirm the integral relation of Korean, Chinese, and Japanese architecture; this has been known for a long century. The discussion of each of the six features selected for focus here began with architecture in Korea, the evidence with which each is explored not only is from China and Japan, it is evidence, particularly in China and Korea, that has come to light primarily in the twenty-first century.⁵¹

The six features point to three kingdoms, each with its own building program, kingdoms sharing Buddhism but not monastery plans; sharing structural techniques and pictorial programs, if not iconography or tomb imagery, with not just China's capitals close to Korea such as Luoyang and Nanjing, but as far west as Gansu; sharing an understanding that the ruler builds his monastery near his ancestors' tombs, and when possible, the palace is nearby; sharing an understanding of the power and potency of the tall pagoda, sometime so tall that other structures are likely to have been built in response to it; and realizing the power of an octagon to represent sacred death. Finally, it is believed here that new architectural finds from China or Japan likely to date from the fifth through seventh centuries are best investigated alongside architecture of each of the three kingdoms.

*주제어(key words)_Three Kingdoms architecture(삼국시대 건축, 三國時代 建築), King Muryeong tomb(무령왕릉, 武寧王陵), paired architecture(쌍으로 된 건축, 雙建築), Hwangnyongsa(황룡사, 皇龍寺), Mireuksa(미륵사, 彌勒寺), Jeongneongsa(정릉사, 定陵寺)

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⁵¹ Ceiling construction, particularly in Goguryeo tombs, could have been a seventh topic. It is a subject takes one beyond East Asia. Because its importance is not changed by new excavation, it is not a focus here

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Abstract

This paper examines six features of architecture that are found in buildings of the fifth-through-seventh centuries in at least one of the Three Kingdoms (Goguryeo, Baekje, and Silla). Particular attention is paid to features that are found in buildings of two of the Korean kingdoms as well as China.

The first feature is the arrangement of brick layers in tombs. It is compared in the tomb of King Muryeong (462-523) of Baekje, a Wu Kingdom tomb, and tombs in Jiayuguan. The second feature is the relation tombs in the same Jiayuguan region of Gansu and Goguryeo. Third is the relation between monastery and tomb, in Goguryeo, Baekje, and major Chinese capitals from Han China through the sixth century. Fourth is the relation between tall buildings, particularly pagodas, in more than one monastery. It is examined in Silla, Northern Wei, and Northern Qi. Pairing of structures is fifth and sixth is octagonal construction.

The conclusion emphasizes that only through transnational East Asian research can one understand the architecture of three centuries from which so few buildings remain, and that aspects of Chinese architecture that have not been explained can be more deeply understood through what survives in Korea.

국문초록

삼국시대 조각의 6가지 특징

낸시 스타인하르트*

본고는 5세기에서 7세기 삼국시대의 건축물에서 나타나는 6가지 특징을 분석하면서 특히 삼국 중 두 나라 이상과 중국에서 공통적으로 나타나는 건축적 요소를 중심으로 살펴보았다.

삼국시대 건축의 첫번째 특징은 무덤에 벽돌을 사용하는 것으로 백제 무령왕릉, 중국 오나라의 무덤, 그리고 중국 감숙성 자위관시에 위치한 무덤군에서 나타난다. 두번째 특징은 고구려 무덤의 형태로 자위관시에서도 유사한 형태를 찾아볼 수 있다. 세번째 특징은 고구려, 백제, 그리고 중국 한대에서 6세기까지의 도성에서 보이는 사찰과 무덤의 배치이다. 네번째로는 여러 사찰의 탑을 비롯한 높은 건축물 간의 배치가 신라, 북위, 북제에서 유사하게 나타난다는 점을 살펴보았고, 다섯 번째와 여섯 번째로는 팔각형 건축물의 특징을 분석하였다.

5세기부터 7세기까지의 3세기 동안의 건축물은 현재 몇 점 남아있지 않기 때문에 이 당시의 건축물에 대한 이해는 동아시아 전체를 아우르는 연구를 통해 이루어져야 한다. 나아가 쉽게 설명되지 않는 중국 건축물의 특징들 또한 한반도에 남아있는 건축물들을 통해 더 깊이 연구될 수 있을 것이다.

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