

Pictorial Representation of Hwaeom Thought
—With Special Reference
to the Goryeo Period Painting
'Vairocana and Three-thousand Buddha'

Soyon Kang

In this paper we discuss the Buddhist painting Vairocana and the Three-thousand Buddha (毘盧遮那三千佛圖) which until recently was in the possession of a Japanese collector known as Tanaka (田中). According to the description recorded on the wooden box in which this piece is stored, it was titled the Ten-thousand Buddha painting (萬佛畫) and is noted to be a family treasure of Tanaka Kozaemon. However, in 1996 it was acquired by the Kobe Municipal Museum and remains in their collection until today. In 1999 it was listed as a tangible cultural property in the Kobe city collection under the title, Thirteen-thousand Buddha (一萬三千佛圖) and classified as an art work of the Japanese Kamakura dynasty. In 2002, Kenichi Kawano, a curator of Kobe Municipal Museum, renamed it Vairocana Narrative (毘盧遮那佛變相圖) and published the paper in which he claims that this art work belonged to the Korean Goryeo dynasty. In 2006, Professor Jung again renamed it Vairocana Preaching (毘盧遮那說法圖).

So over the centuries this Goryeo Buddhist painting has been passed on several times, and relocated to Japan, under the various titles of Ten-thousand

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Buddha, Thirteen-thousand Buddha, Vairocana Narrative and Vairocana Preaching. Each new title is probably a fresh attempt to 'pin down' the meaning of iconography representations in the painting. This paper aims to assign the painting its proper name based on chronological and typological analysis.

Key words: Vairocana, Multiple Buddhas, Three-thousand Buddha, Cosmic Lotus World, Dharmakāya.

I. Formal and Stylistic Characteristics of the Painting

1. Formal Characteristics and Iconography Features

Unlike other Goryeo Buddhist paintings which usually have a central Buddha figure surrounded by attendants, the arrangement in this painting¹ is unusual in that within the central rectangle (41cm x 38cm) there is a group comprising Vairocana and holy attendants. Around the outskirts of this rectangle there are thousands of small Buddhas, a distinguishing formal characteristic of the painting (Fig. 1 - Fig. 5).

These small Buddhas number approximately 8,000 (95 bodies width x 84 lines height = total 7,980). There are traces of restoration work in the upper part of the painting; an estimated 40 centimeter of the upper section of the painting has been newly renovated. Of the several titles mentioned above, the title *Ten-thousand Buddha* is apt, given the sheer number of small buddha images in the visual representation.

The painting has two main distinguishing characteristics. Primarily, it is

¹ Basic characteristics of the painting: · Material - Color on silk, · Size - 1m 96cm x 1m 33cm, Date - Late Goryeo Period (circa 14th century), Collector - Tanaka Ken (田中 滋). I have known the presence of this painting in February 2002 with the contact of Kawano Kenichi (川野 憲一), a curator of Kobe Municipal Museum. I would like to mention a special thanks to Sarai Mai (皿井 舞) and Kawano Kenichi who made the research of this painting possible. Inscription written on the wooden box: *Ten-thousand Buddha painting, a family treasure of Tanaka Kozaemon* (萬佛畫 田中小左衛門所有寶).

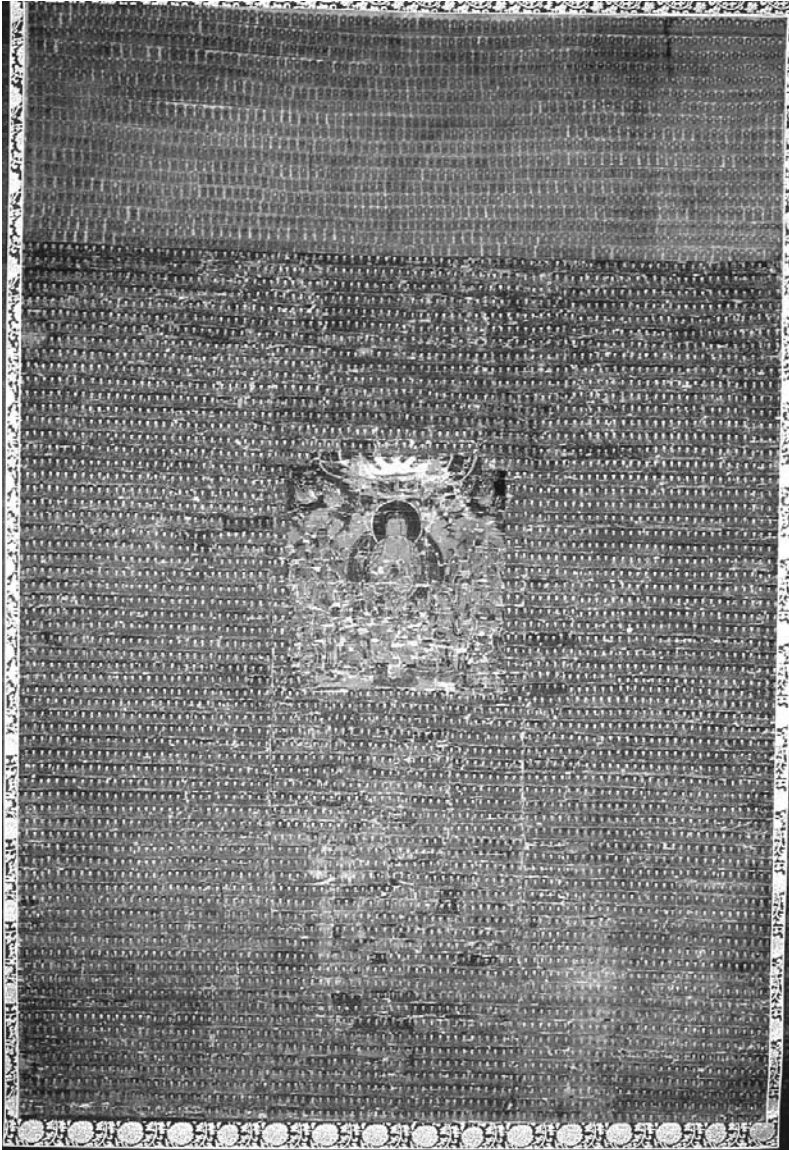


Fig. 1. Vairocana and Three-thousand Buddha, Color on silk, 1m 96cm x 1m 33cm, Late Goryeo Period (14th century), Acquisition of the Kobe Municipal Museum (Japan).



Fig. 2. The central rectangle (41cm x 38cm) comprising Vairocana and holy attendants. Detail of Fig. 1.

a pictorial expression of many buddhas. Secondly, the iconographical composition of Vairocana's attendant figures are identical with the composition of Śākyamuni. The attendants comprise Manjushri (文殊菩薩), Samantabhadra (普賢菩薩), six bodhisattvas (六大菩薩), ten disciples (十代弟子), lokapāla (四天王) and eight supernatural beings (八部衆), which is exactly the same composition as in the painting depicting *Śākyamuni Preaching* (靈山會上圖 or 釋迦說法圖), which may intend to suggest a parallel in the authority of both Śākyamuni and Vairocana.

In this paper I will suggest that *Vairocana and Three-thousand Buddha* (毘盧遮那三千佛圖) is the appropriate title for this painting, based on a discussion of the characteristic aspects mentioned above.

2. Stylistic Characteristics—Refinement and Vividness

The painting shows characteristics of both Goryeo and Joseon styles.



Fig. 3. Representation of Thousands of small Buddhas in the outskirts. Detail of Fig. 1.

The expression of Vairocana and attendants depicted in the center rectangle is typical of the Goryeo Buddhist painting style and arrangement, and is clearly seen in works described in iron wire outline (Fig. 2).² As the figures in the back are depicted in smaller proportion than the figures up front, it is clear that the rational arrangement which is typical of traditional Goryeo Buddhist painting has been adapted.

On the other hand, the proliferation of small Buddhas framing the central rectangular feature illustrates an independence of creative expression more commonly found in Buddhist paintings of the Joseon period (Fig. 3-5). These small Buddhas are each depicted with distinct individuality, and are portrayed with vividness and even humor, so unlike the elegant craftsmanship and refinement of the Goryeo period. The complex traits of iconography, dynasty and chronology would locate this painting in the 14th century, late Goryeo period.

² Iron wire line (鐵線描), Thickness of line described in the painting is thoroughly even.



Fig. 4. Detail of Fig. 1.



Fig. 5. Detail of Fig. 1.



Fig. 6. Relief of multiple Buddhas on the surface of Locana's body, Yunyao (雲曜) no.18 cave at Yungang (雲岡), China.

II. Tradition of Multiple Buddhas in East Asian Chinese and Japanese Art

1. Examples of the Artistic Depiction of Multiple Buddhas

An early expression of multiple Buddhas is found in a cave wall painting at Binglingsi (炳靈寺). East wall no.24 of cave no.169, little Buddhas fill this whole east-side wall like wall paper that has been stamped with multiple Buddhas. Beginning with this first example of Thousand-Buddha wall painting in the Western Jin period (5th century), we later encounter several paintings and sculptures also depicting multiple Buddhas; a relief sculpture of multiple Buddhas on the surface of Locana's body in the Yunyao (雲曜) no.18 cave at Yungang (雲岡) is a well known example (Fig. 6). But the style really only comes to maturity in the Tang dynasty where we find exquisite examples such as the ceiling painting of Mogao (莫高) no. 79 cave of Dunhuang (敦煌), and the Wanfodong (萬佛洞 Ten-thousand Buddha cave) of Longmen (龍門) (Fig. 7).

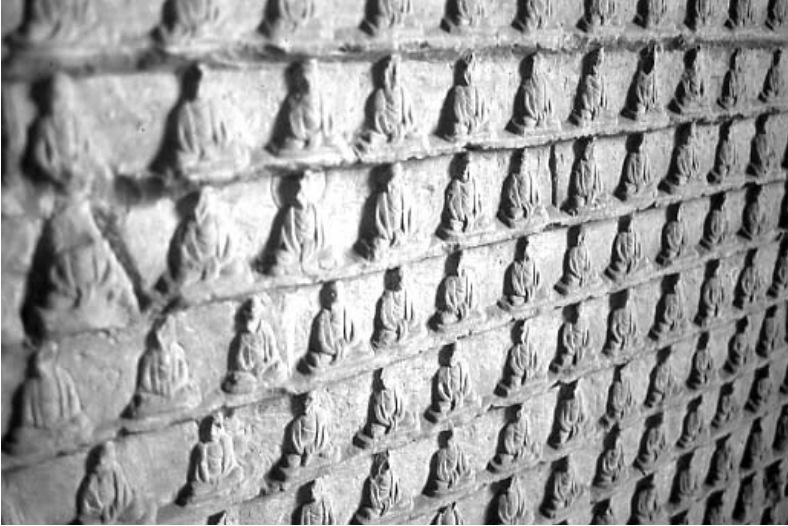


Fig. 7. Multiple Buddhas represented in Wanfodong (萬佛洞) of Longmen (龍門) cave, Tang period, China.

2. Alternative Names and Identities of Multiple Buddhas

These multiple-Buddhas are illustrated in very simple form. The figures are dressed in long-sleeved Buddhist robes with halos surround the head and body. Each one is identical in size and shape and all are depicted the posture of the dhyana-mudrā (禪定印). Whether in paintings or sculptures, these same multiple Buddhas are enumerated from top to bottom, left to right, filling the space as if they were replicated by a stamp. Academics conventionally refer to these Buddhas as the ‘Thousand-Buddha’ (千佛), but the number is not a literal indication. Rather, it implies an infinite Buddha or Buddhahood throughout the universe. These multiple Buddhas also have other names such as, ‘Incarnation Buddha’ (化佛), ‘Thousand-Buddha of the Present’ (現在現劫千佛) and ‘Three-thousand Buddha of the Triple World’ (三劫三千佛).

3. Functional Meaning of Multiple-Buddhas

From an artistic viewpoint, the many Buddhas have a decorative effect. Multiple Buddhas depicted on the wall, ceiling, robe and halo of the holy figure, tend to accentuate the main figure or the shrine as visually more grand and impressive. From the historical religious aspect, the many Buddhas supported the Thousand Buddha faith which was widespread and was based on the *Buddha-Name Sūtra* (佛名經) or more correctly, the *Sūtra of Three-thousand Names of the Buddha* (三千佛名經)³. The essence of this belief is that by chanting the names of the Buddha, one by one, a believer's accumulated sins will gradually decrease and thereby, virtue will increase. According to available research, these multiple Buddhas are commonly held to depict the 'Three-thousand Buddha of the triple universe (三世三千佛)' (Hu 1986; He 1989). Each of the present, past and future worlds has a thousand Buddhas, hence, a total of three-thousand. But this total of three-thousand is itself a symbolic figure of numberless Buddhas or Buddhahood in infinite time and space. Limitless Buddhas fill the universe, symbolizing the essence of life or buddhatā that lies in all beings.

III. Related Art Works in the Tradition of Hwaecom Thought

The idea of multiple Buddhas can be found in the early texts of the *Dīrghāgama* and *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*, and in representative Mahayana texts such as the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra* or *Amitābha Sūtra*. But as the Vairocana icon is placed at the center of the painting under discussion, it is clear that this painting has its background in the *Avataṃska (Hwaecom) Sūtra*. While there are various ideas and beliefs related to the representation of multiple Buddhas, for the sake of this discussion we will narrow it to include only the category of Hwaecom thought in order to seek a more consistent

3 Three Sūtras of *Three-thousand Names of the Buddha* (三千佛名經): *Thousand Names of the Buddha of the Past* (過去莊嚴賢劫千佛名經), *Thousand Names of the Buddha of the Present* (現在賢劫千佛名經), *Thousand Names of the Buddha of the Future* (未來星宿劫千佛名經).

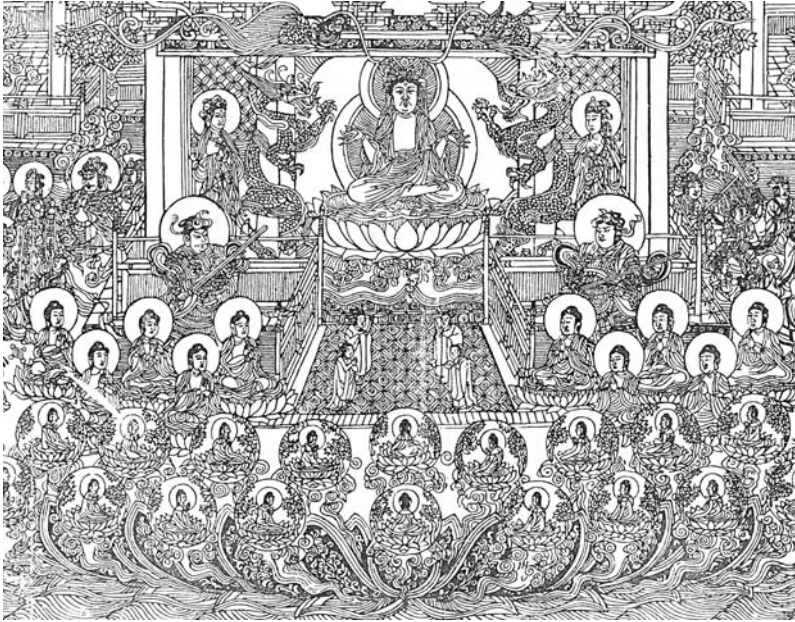


Fig. 8. Many incarnation bodies springing out from the cosmic lotus, The frontispiece of the *Brahamajāla Sūtra* (梵網經), Sung period, Acquisition of the Tanimura-Bunko (谷村文庫) of Kyoto University Library (Japan).

explanation for name choice.

In the frontispiece of the Chinese Sung dynasty *Brahamajāla Sūtra* (梵網經), Locana is positioned in the preaching mudrā and depicted with its many incarnation bodies springing profusely out from the cosmic lotus (Fig. 8).⁴ The *Brahamajāla Sūtra* and the *Complete Enlightenment Sūtra* (圓覺經) is known to be a miniature version of the *Avataṃśka Sūtra*. According to the *Brahamajāla Sūtra*, Locana the founder of the cosmic lotus world (蓮華藏世界) sits in the centre of a many-thousand petalled lotus; and each petal contains millions of small worlds wherein Śākyamuni resides and preaches the

⁴ The frontispiece of *Brahamajāla Sūtra* (梵網經), Sung period, Tanimura-Bunko (谷村文庫), Property of Central Library of Kyoto University (京都大學附屬圖書館 所藏).

Dharma. The Buddhist cosmology of the cosmic lotus world is beautifully illustrated in this frontispiece of the *Brahamajāla Sūtra*.

A sculpture from the Nara period at Toshodaiji (唐招提寺) in Japan, depicts a Locana figure with a thousand-Buddha body halo (Fig. 9).⁵ The figures in the halo represent incarnations of the Buddha which emanate from Locana and increase exponentially out into the universe. This magnificent piece is known to represent the great manifold cosmos explained in the *Brahamajāla Sūtra*, wherein Locana assembles all the Śākyamuni Buddhas throughout the universe and preaches the truth (Nishimura 1987: 37-38).

The Locana depicted in the frontispiece of the Sung dynasty *Brahamajāla Sūtra* is represented in the form of bodhisattva with a high crown on the head. Locana in bodhisattva form and preaching mudrā is seen in early examples of Northern Sung (1022), in Feilaifeng (飛來峰) Hangzhou (杭州), and retains this traditional form throughout that period. However, Locana of the Nara period takes the Buddha form with teaching mudrā which is rather exceptional in traditional Japanese style of representing Locana. And in the context of Japanese Esoteric Buddhism, Locana, or more precisely Maha-vairocana (大日如來), is usually depicted in the bodhisattva figure with bodhi-śrī mudrā (智拳印) (Kang 1990: 436-438).

Each of the Locana examples from China and Japan mentioned above are different in basic form; the earlier examples take the bodhisattva form while the latter show the Buddha form. However, both are portrayed in the teaching mudrā and share the same background as illustrated in the *Brahamajāla Sūtra*. This is very different to the Vairocana painting under discussion, which has its textual background in the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*. This particular painting depicts the Vairocana in the Buddha form with bodhi-śrī mudrā, which is a central characteristic of Korean Hwaom art and differs from the other East Asian traditions of China and Japan. This distinct iconography is found in mainstream Korean Buddhist art throughout its history.

In fact, the main Buddha figure in this painting is not Locana in the teaching mudrā at all, but Vairocana in the bodhi-śrī mudrā, which signifies

5 Sited Locana figure, Dry lacquer, Nara period 8th century, Toshodaiji (唐招提寺), Japan.

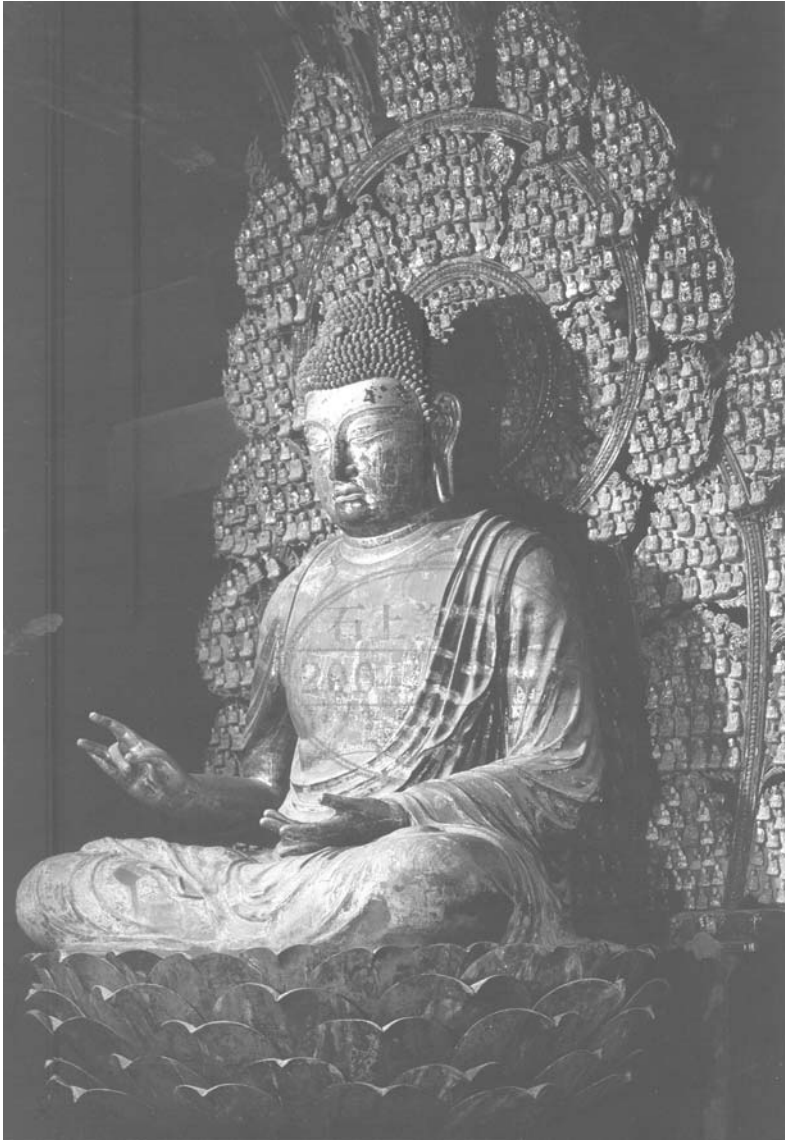


Fig. 9. Thousand figures in the halo represent incarnations of the Buddha, Sited Locana figure, Dry lacquer, H 304.5cm, Nara period 8th century, Toshodaiji (唐招提寺), Japan.

the basic concept of Hwaeom philosophy: ‘one for all, all for one (一即多 多即一).’ The Vairocana concept is the ‘grace of the light that fills the dharmadhātu (光明徧照).’ The multiple Buddhas represent the Vairocana or dharmakāya that fills the trichiliocosm (三千大千世界), which symbolizes the omnipresence of the truth in the universe.

IV. Relationship with the Frontispiece of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* Prints and the Seongjusa Historical Record

1. Depiction of the Cosmic Lotus World

The prominent iconographical feature of Vairocana and multiple Buddhas can be found in the frontispiece of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* in Haeinsa temple (circa 11th-13th century).⁶ This frontispiece is a unique example of the Goryeo period and sadly, there are no other comparable extant works from this period illustrating similar iconography.

The frontispiece draws its inspiration from descriptions in the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, in particular, at the beginning of chapters on the *Cosmic Lotus World* (華藏世界品)⁷. The illustration of the Cosmic Lotus World (chapters V, V-II, V-III), depicts Vairocana in the left leaf, holding the bodhi-śri mudrā which is his namesake (Fig. 11), while in the right leaf, the Cosmic Lotus World has multiple Buddhas springing from a lotus bank which rises from the ocean (Fig. 10).

According to the text reference, *A central perfumed ocean with 20 layers of the cosmic world* (中央香水海所持二十重廣大世界) beside the image of multiple Buddhas in the right leaf of Chapter V (Fig. 10), this image clearly represents buddhakāya of the Cosmic Lotus World. The Cosmic Lotus

6 80 *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* of Haeinsa (海印寺八十華嚴), Wood-block Prints, Goryeo period 11th-13th century, Korea (Jang 1982).

7 The frontispiece of the chapters on Cosmic Lotus World : 「大方廣佛華嚴經第八卷變相 華藏世界品第五」, 「大方廣佛華嚴經第九卷變相 華藏世界品第五之二」, 「大方廣佛華嚴經第十卷變相 華藏世界品第五之三」.

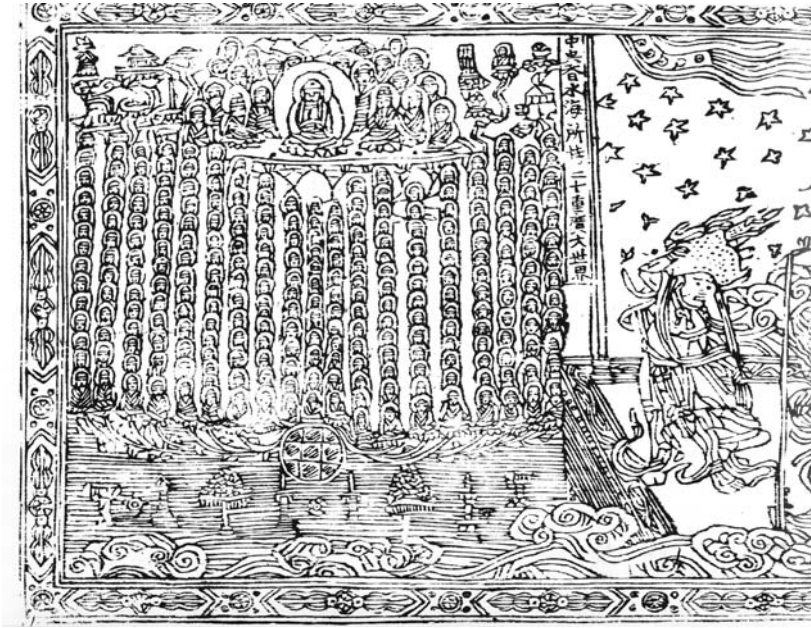


Fig. 10. Cosmic Lotus World with multiple Buddhas springing from a lotus bank, The Frontispiece (right leaf) of the Cosmic Lotus World chapter V, *Avataṃsaka-Sutra* of Haeinsa, Wood-block Prints, Goryeo period 11th-13th century, Korea.

World is the Vairocana's pure land or dharmadhātu which is filled with dharmakāya, or truth itself.

2. References to Multiple Buddhas in Historical Records

There are a few examples of multiple Buddha faith in historical records⁸

8 Historical records on multiple Buddha figure: 1. “延嘉七年歲在己未高麗國樂浪 東寺主敬弟子僧演師徒 冊人共 造賢劫千佛流布第十九因現義佛 比丘法類所供養”『延嘉七年銘金銅如來立像銘文』 2. “又嘗 彫磚造一小塔 竝造三千佛 安其塔置於寺中 致敬焉”『三國遺事 義解篇 良志使錫條』 3. “像設則有 毘盧遮那左右盧舍那釋迦文 巍然當中 萬五千佛五十三佛 周匝圍繞”『東文選 卷118 稼亭集 卷6 金剛山長安寺重興碑文』 4. “思欲上福先世 下利群生 畫成三千佛 釋迦三尊 毗盧遮那三尊 地藏菩薩 十府冥王 石造五百羅漢 又今舊造堂主毗盧遮那 獨尊而無左右補處 於是又以木造文殊 普賢兩大菩薩 尊像”『陽村集 卷33 雜著類 釋王寺堂主毗盧遮那左右補處文殊普賢腹藏發願文』



Fig. 11. Vairocana in Bodhi-śri mudra and attendents, The Frontispiece (left leaf) of the Cosmic Lotus World (華藏世界品) chapter V, *Avataṃsaka-Sūtra* of Haeinsa, Wood-block Prints, Goryeo period 11th-13th century, Korea.

ranging from the early sixth century period up to the fifteenth century. Among them, I draw readers' attention especially to the *Sung-amsan Mountain Seongju-sa temple historical record* (崇嚴山 聖住寺 事蹟記) which gives a clear explanation of how the idea of Vairocana and multiple Buddhas were traditionally understood.

The great figure of Vairocana and Three-thousand Buddha is placed in the Three-thousand Buddha Hall. The Three-thousand Buddha are representative of a thousand buddhas in each of the past, present and future realms. The 'Three-thousand Buddha of the triple universe' is specific in the devotion of King Munseong.⁹

9 毘盧遮那佛一大尊像 三千佛相安于三千佛殿 此三千佛尊 過去莊嚴劫一千佛 現在賢劫一千佛 未來星宿劫一千佛 三劫三千佛 及文聖大王造成願佛也 『崇嚴山 聖住寺 事蹟記』

There is a question as to the credibility of the reference to King Munsung (9th century) of the Unified Silla period, but the excavation of the temple site proves that, at least in the Goryeo period, the *Three-thousand Buddha* was located in a separate Three-thousand Buddha Hall (三千佛殿) within the temple precinct, and was enshrined with the main ‘Vairocana’ figure (Moon 1974).

This suggests that Hwaeom thought was central to the ideas and practices associated with multiple Buddhas. And indeed, this tradition has been handed down in present day teachings and practice. In contemporary practice monasteries the Three-thousand Buddha Hall enshrines the main Vairocana figure and multiple small Buddhas together.

V. Conclusion

Over the centuries, evolving Buddhist thought has given rise to various theories of buddhakāya, including twofold body of Buddha (二身論); threefold body of Buddha (三身論); dharmakāya theory which emphasizes Buddha as sūnyatā or truth itself, which is explained in both the *Diamond Sūtra* and the *Prajnaparamita Sūtra*; and nirṃānakāya theory (manifestation in accordance with the nature or needs) which is emphasized in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra*. Among the various buddhakāya theories, the Hwaeom view of ‘sublime dharmakāya filling the universe with magnificence and grandeur (十方遍滿佛身)’ is clearly evident in the paintings of this tradition, in which case the following conclusions may be drawn:

Our first premise is that the thousands of small Buddhas depicted in the painting are evolving adaptations or ‘incarnations’ of the central Vairocana. Secondly, ‘the bodhi-śrī mudrā of Vairocana is a symbol of unity.’ Hwaeom teaching is known as the ‘teaching of totality,’ since in its view, all things participate in unity, which in turn, divides itself into the many so that the manifold is unified in this one. Hwaeom thought supports the idea of

‘universal causality of the dharmadhātu,’ in that everything in the universe arises simultaneously out of itself. In our painting, Vairocana with bodhi-śrī mudrā is surrounded by thousands of small Buddhas, which is representative of the fundamental Hwaeom philosophy that, while manifest Buddhahood fills the universe, it is essentially the one truth of Vairocana.

Thirdly, the painting represents ‘dharmakāya filling the dharmadhātu.’ In the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, the vision of dharmakāya filling dharmadhātu is mentioned consistently throughout the whole text. Many chapters, such as *The Wonderful Adornments of the Leaders of the Worlds* (世主妙嚴), *Appearance of the Buddha* (如來現相), *The Flower Bank World* (華藏世界), *Vairocana* (毘盧遮那), *Manifestation of Buddha* (如來出現) give endless descriptions of abundant buddhakāya throughout the universe in various manifestations. Here is one such example from the chapter, *Appearance of the Buddha*:

Body of Buddhas fills the Dharmadhātu. They incarnate in the presence of all different beings according to all the different needs and karma. But the substance being always sits under the Bodhi tree. In every pore of the skin of Tathagāta, there are Buddhas like thousands of dust motes.¹⁰

By comparing related works of the Goryeo period and confirming that in each of these works the philosophical base originates in the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, it is evident that the iconography depicted in these paintings is representative of buddhakāya thought of the Hwaeom view. And, as is confirmed in the historical records of Seongjusa temple, representation of a multiple body Buddha, referred to as *Three-thousand Buddha of the triple world* (三世三千佛), is bound up with the Vairocana idea of a multiplicity of related visual images as one whole. This tradition has been handed down even to the present and retains its artistic form in the Three-thousand Buddha shrine (三千佛殿), a characteristic feature of Hwaeom temples. Thus, in conclusion, I would like to suggest that the proper title for this painting ought to be *Vairocana and Three-thousand Buddha* (毘盧遮那三千佛圖).

10 佛身充滿於法界 普現一切衆生前 隨緣赴感靡不周 而恒處此菩提座 如來一一毛孔中 一切剎塵諸佛坐
『如來現相品』(80華嚴, 高麗大藏經 K.80.6.460.c23).

Glossary of Chinese Terms

(K=Korean, C=Chinese, J=Japanese, S=Sanskrit)

80 *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* of Haeinsa 海印寺 八十華嚴經

A central perfumed ocean with 20 layers of the cosmic world 中央香水海
所持二十重廣大世界

Binglingsi (C) 炳靈寺

Bodhi-śrī Mudrā (S) 智拳印

Brahamajāla Sūtra (S) 梵網經

Cosmic Lotus World 蓮華藏世界 or 華藏世界

Dunhuang (C) 敦煌

Dyana Mudrā (S) 禪定印

Eight Supernatural Beings 八部衆

Feilailfeng (C) 飛來峰

Frontispiece 寫經畫

Haeinsa (K) 海印寺

Hangzhou (C) 杭州

Hwaeom (K) 華嚴

Incarnation Buddha 化佛

Iron Wire Line 鐵線描

Kobe Municipal Museum 神戶市立博物館

Locana (S) 盧舍那

Lokapāla (Four Guardians) (S) 四天王

Longmen (C) 龍門

Mahā Virocana (S) 大日如來

Complete Enlightenment Sūtra 圓覺經

Manjushri (S) 文殊菩薩

Mogao (C) 莫高

One for All, All for One 一卽多 多卽一

Painting of Śākyamuni Preaching 靈山會上圖 or 釋迦說法圖

Samantabhadra (S) 普賢菩薩

Six Bodhisattvas 六大菩薩

Sung-amsan Mountain Seongju-sa temple historical record 崇巖山 聖住寺

事蹟記

Śūnyatā (emptiness) (S) 空

Tanaka Kozaemon (J) 田中 小左衛門

Tanimura-Bunko (J) 谷村文庫

Ten-thousand Buddha Painting 萬佛畫

The chapters of the *Appearance of the Buddha* 如來現相品

The chapters of the *Cosmic Lotus World* 華藏世界品

The chapters of the *Flower Bank World* 華藏世界品

The chapters of the *Manifestation of Buddha* 如來出現品

The chapters of the *Vairocana* 毘盧遮那品

The chapters of the *Wonderful Adornments of the Leaders of the Worlds*
世主妙嚴品

The Grace of the Light that Fills the Dharmadhātu 光明徧照

The Sublime Dharmakāya Fills the Universe with Magnificence and
Grandeur 十方遍滿佛身

Thirteen-thousand Buddha 一萬三千佛

Thousand Buddha of the Present 現在現劫千佛

Thousand Names of the Buddha of the Future 未來星宿劫千佛名經

Thousand Names of the Buddha of the Past 過去莊嚴賢劫千佛名經

Thousand Names of the Buddha of the Present 現在賢劫千佛名經

Three-thousand Buddha of the Triple Universe 三世三千佛

Three-thousand Buddha of the Triple World 三劫三千佛

Three-thousand Names of the Buddha 三千佛名經

Toshodaiji (J) 唐招提寺

Trichilocosm (The Great Manifold Cosmos) 三千大千世界

Vairocana Narrative 毘盧遮那佛變相

Vairocana (S) 毘盧遮那

Wanfodong (C) 萬佛洞 Ten-Thousand Buddha cave

Yungang (C) 雲岡

Yunyao (C) 雲曜

Abbreviation

- K *Korean Tripitaka* (高麗大藏經: Korean Edition of the Buddhist Canon). Seoul. Dongguk University Press.

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- Samgukyusa* 三國遺事
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