

Acha Fort 4. As the two inscriptions are relatively close chronologically, and given that Hanseong in the Han River region was relocated to the Sinwon region of Hwanghae Province in 551 (Son Yeongjong 1990, 177), the *hubu* of the Mt. Acha Fort 4 inscription can be taken to mean the *hubu* district of Hanseong. If that is the case, then it would be reasonable to assume that the Han River region at the time was also divided into several districts, as was the capital region of Goguryeo. The Mt. Acha Fort 4 inscription does not contain any rank names, so it is difficult to know the precise rank of the administrative officer that was dispatched. However, it is highly likely that officers of various ranks were dispatched to the region.

Conclusion

At present, the earliest Goguryeo artifact to have been unearthed in southern Korea is the globular jar from the site of Juwol-ri in Paju, which dates to the late fourth or very early fifth century. Stone chamber tombs with horizontal entrances and elongated rectangular burial chambers appear from the mid-fifth century onward. The construction of these tombs (e.g., from the Gangnae-ri and Dujeong-ri burial grounds or Bangdong-ri Tomb 2) can be understood in relation to Goguryheo’s advancement into and annexation of the Chungju region, via the upper reaches of the Bukhan and Namhan Rivers, which took place in the late fourth century. On the other hand, the appearance of stone chamber tombs with horizontal entrances and rectangular chambers can be understood in relation to the advancement into and annexation of the areas of Jinchon, Cheongwon, and Daejeon by Goguryeo forces stationed at Mongchon Fortress, following the fall of Hanseong in 475. The fact that Goguryeo settlements have regularly been discovered in the vicinity of the tombs indicates that Goguryeo intensively and continuously maintained control over the captured territories for a substantial period of time. Archaeological remains of Goguryeo activity at Mongchon Fortress, Daemo Mountain Fortress, Namseonggol Mountain Fortress, the Wolpyeong-dong site, Eundae-ri Mountain Fortress, and Dangpo Fortress all date to the late fifth century, and can also be associated with Goguryeo’s attempts to maintain control over the Jinchon, Cheongwon

and Daejeon areas. Finally, in the sixth century, Goguryeo forts came to be established on Mt. Acha and its environs, north of the Han River, and most of the forts of the Yangju Basin and the Imjin-Hantan River region also appear to date to this period. ㄸ

TRANSLATED BY KO ILHONG

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The *Ksitigarbha Triad* from Gwaneumjeon Hall at Hwagyesa Temple and Court Patronage of Buddhist Art in the Nineteenth Century

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Introduction

Hwagyesa Temple (華溪寺, Fig. 1), located on Mt. Samgak in Seoul, is best known today as the home of the International Seon Center (國際禪院), where international visitors can study, practice, and experience Korean Buddhism. Behind this modern building are the traditional temple structures, most of which were built in the late nineteenth century; they include Daeungjeon Hall (大雄殿, Hall of Mahavira); Myeongbujeon Hall (冥府殿, Hall of Judgment); Samseonggak Hall (三聖閣, Hall of the Three Sages); and Bohwaru Tower (寶華樓, Tower of the Precious Flower). In 1974, Gwaneumjeon Hall was destroyed by fire, and Cheonburobaekseongjeon (千佛五百聖殿, Hall of 1000 Buddhas and 500 Arhats), with its enshrined Arhat statues, was built on the site (Hong Yunsik 1988, 160). Thus, although Gwaneumjeon disappeared nearly 40 years ago, the painting of Ksitigarbha (Korean, Jijang Bosal, 地藏菩薩) originally enshrined there, along with its accompanying inscription, has been preserved and now is in the collection of the National Museum of Korea (NMK).<sup>1</sup> This painting provides a rare opportunity to examine the historical background of the construction of Gwaneumjeon, including the goals of its patrons.

*Ksitigarbha Triad* (Fig. 2) shows the Ksitigarbha Bodhisattva at the center, accompanied by his two

attendants, the monk Domyeong (道明尊者) on the right and the demon king Mudok (無毒鬼王) on the left. Seated on a lotus throne, the bodhisattva holds a transparent jewel with both hands, while Domyeong holds a monk’s staff, another conventional attribute of the bodhisattva. Frequently featured as the main icon of Buddhist paintings during the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910), the Ksitigarbha Bodhisattva was typically shown surrounded by other deities in a complex compositional arrangement. By contrast, the NMK *Ksitigarbha Triad* has a rather simple composition—a triad featuring just the bodhisattva and his two attendants in a relatively small pictorial space. At the bottom of the painting is an inscription, or *hwagi* (書記), which records that the painting was created in 1876 for the Gwaneunjeon of Hwagyesa Temple on Mt. Samgak. The inscription also states that Sanggung Kim Cheonjinhwa (尙宮 金天真華, dates unknown) was the patron, or *ingwon siju* (引勸施主), who raised the funds to pay for the commission. During the late Joseon period, Sanggung, an official title for a lady-in-waiting at the court, were generally assigned to preside over the inner affairs of the palace, and were often major patrons of Buddhist activities, including the renovation of temple buildings and the production of Buddhist icons. Notably, Sanggung Kim chose to refer to herself in the inscription by her ordained name, rather than her given name, demonstrating that she, like many other women of the Joseon court in the late nineteenth century, was a devout Buddhist patron. The inscription also lists Queen Dowager Hong (王大妃

1 According to the inscription, the painting is entitled *Jijang taeng* or *Painting of Ksitigarbha* (地藏幀), but in this paper, it shall be referred to as *Ksitigarbha Triad*, to emphasize the unusual composition of three figures.





Fig. 1. Daeungjeon of Hwagyesa Temple, Seoul. (Author's photograph).

洪氏, 1831-1903) and some deceased members of the Namyang Hong clan, further indicating the patronage's royal associations.

In order to examine the monk-painters who were active in the metropolitan area during the late nineteenth century, this paper examines in detail the *Ksitigarbha Triad* from Hwagyesa Temple. In particular, the painting's inscription evinces the close relationship between the royal court and Hwagyesa Temple, which has relevance for a number of meritorious activities that took place at the temple late in the nineteenth century, including the production of Buddhist icons and the construction of temple buildings.

#### Court Patronage and Buddhist Icons of Gwaneumjeon

With the founding of the Joseon Dynasty in 1392, the national capital was moved from Gaeseong (開城) to Hanyang (漢陽, present-day Seoul). As a result, many Buddhist temples located in and around the new capital were elevated to the status of *wonchal* (願刹), or royal prayer halls, and they received the patronage of the royal court and nobility. Hwagyesa Temple was maintained in this manner; in the mid-Joseon period, royal patronage increased substantially, helping Hwagyesa to evolve into one of the most illustrious temples in the area by the late-Joseon period.

*Samgaksan Hwagyesa yakji* (三角山華溪寺略誌, *Abridged Record of Hwagyesa Temple on Mt. Samgak*;

hereafter *Record of Hwagyesa*), compiled in 1938, traces the history of the temple back to the founding of Bodeogam Hermitage (普德庵), the forerunner of Hwagyesa Temple, by the monk Tanmun (坦文, 901-975) in the early years of the Goryeo Dynasty (918-1392) (Gwon Jongsik 1938, 1). According to this source, Hwagyesa Temple underwent major renovations three times during the Joseon Dynasty, all under royal patronage. First, during the reign of King Jungjong (中宗, r. 1506-1544), the hermitage was relocated to Hwagye-dong, through the agency of Seopyeonggun Yi Gong (西平君 李公, dates unknown), at which time it was renamed Hwagyesa Temple (Figs. 3 and 4). Ravaged by fire in 1618, the temple was entirely rebuilt under the sponsorship of the descendants of Prince Deokheung (德興大君, 1530-1559). By the mid-nineteenth century, the temple had fallen into disrepair, so in 1866, two monks named Yongseon (龍船) and Beomun (梵雲) sought help from Heungseon Daewongun 興宣大院



Fig. 3. Cover of *Samgaksan Hwagyesa yakji* (三角山華溪寺略誌) (Kyeongseong: Samgaksan Hwagyesa, 1938). (National Assembly Library of Korea).



Fig. 2. *Ksitigarbha Triad* from Gwaneumjeon of Hwagyesa Temple, Seoul. 1876. Colors on silk, 131.0 x 70.3 cm. (National Museum of Korea).



君 (1820-1898, better known in the West as Prince Yi Haeung), who was then ruling Joseon as regent until his son King Gojong (高宗, r. 1863-1907) came of age. Following the lead of Heungseon Daewongun, several women of the royal court—ranging from Grand Queen Dowager Jo (王大妃 趙氏, 1808-1890) to high-ranking court ladies—contributed to the reconstruction of Hwagyesa Temple in the following years. Under the aegis of these influential palace women, the halls were newly built and the necessary paintings and sculptures were produced and installed. Thus, Hwagyesa Temple underwent three major renovations during course of the Joseon Dynasty.

The construction of Gwaneumjeon marked a new phase in the history of patronage by royal women at Hwagyesa Temple. According to the 1876 document “Hwagyesa Gwaneumjeon jungchang danhwakgi” (華溪寺觀音殿重勑丹腹記, “Record of Reconstructing and Refurbishing Gwaneumjeon at Hwagyesa Temple”), the royal court gave the temple an icon of the Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva (Korean, Gwaneum Bosal, 觀音菩薩) called *Daebi su taeng* or “Embroidered Icon of Great Compassion” (大悲繡幀, hereafter *Embroidered Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva*), which was enshrined in the winter of 1875 (Gwon Jongsik 1938, 6). However, as the document reports, the building where the icon was enshrined was very old and small, “to the extent of making the congregation too embarrassed to view the icon.” Thus, the following year, a larger building was constructed to house the icon.

The bestowal of the *Embroidered Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva* and the reconstruction of Gwaneumjeon marked the first time in the history of Hwagyesa Temple that the temple received royal patronage. The construction project is particularly significant, since it was followed by a continuing series of similar projects funded at least in part by the royal court. More details can be found in the opening section of a text from 1900 entitled “Hwagyesa Myeongbujeon bullyang seo” (華溪寺冥府殿佛糧序, “Preface to [the Donation of] Grains to Myeongbujeon of Hwagyesa Temple”). According to the text, “Although Hwagyesa Temple was founded long ago, its only building was Daeungjeon. In 1875, a sacred image of Avalokitesvara, adorned with a hundred jewels, was embroidered, and shortly thereafter a pavilion was built in which to enshrine it. This is a very rare instance in

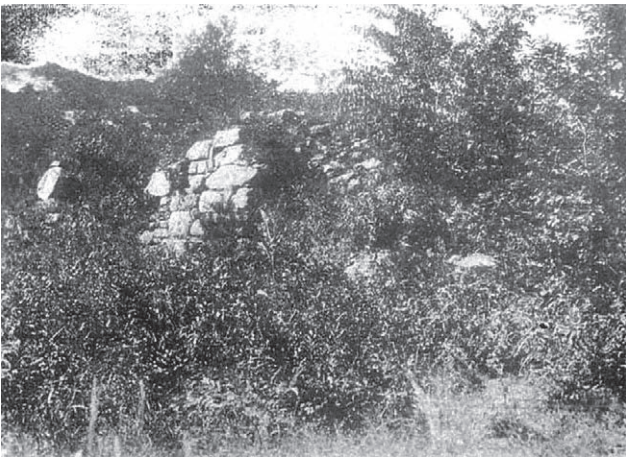


Fig. 4. Bodeogam Hermitage, the former site of Hwagyesa Temple. *Samgaksan Hwagyesa yakji*. (National Assembly Library of Korea).

the history of temples in this country...” The record further states that Myeongbujeon was built under the patronage of court ladies and that Great Queen Dowager Jo donated *bullyang* (佛糧, farmland) in order to maintain the temple (Gwon Jongsik 1938, 8-10).

As the enshrinement hall for the special embroidered bodhisattva icon that had been donated by the royal court, Gwaneumjeon seems to have been a representative structure connecting Hwagyesa Temple and the royal court. Unfortunately, the hall burned down in 1974, before its historical significance had been adequately investigated. Thus far, there are no known photographs of the building, so its appearance can only be reconstructed based on written records from the early twentieth century. The *Record of Hwagyesa* relates that Gwaneumjeon was located to the right of Daeungjeon, and that it was rather small, with a floor space of 5 *pyeong* (about 16.6m<sup>2</sup>). A plaque bearing calligraphy by Nam Sik (南軾, 1803-1878) was displayed on the front of the building, while four long tablets of wood featuring verse couplets describing the exquisite scenery of the bodhisattva’s abode were hung on the anterior pillars of the pavilion. Another document entitled *Bongeunsa bonmalsa jaesan mongnok* (奉恩寺本末寺材產目錄, *List of Properties of the Bongeunsa Temple and Its Subtemples*, hereafter *Properties of Bongeunsa*), which was commissioned by the Japanese Government-General of Korea in 1933, lists the statues and paintings housed in Gwaneumjeon.

Interestingly, Table 2 indicates that, in addition

Name	Quantity	Medium	Form	Size	Artist
Amitabha Buddha	1	Gilt stone image	Seated	Height: ~30.3 cm	Unknown
Amitabha Buddha	1	Gilt wooden image	Seated	Height: ~53 cm	Unknown
Acolyte	2	Wooden image with pigments	Seated	Height: ~21.2 cm	Unknown
Arhat	1	Wooden image with pigments	Seated	Height: ~3.6 cm	Unknown
Painting of Avalokitesvara	2	Paper	Hanging Scroll	Height: ~116.7 cm Width: ~72.7 cm	Palace woman
Painting of the Nine Grades	1	Paper	Hanging Scroll	Height: ~157.6 cm Width: ~203 cm	Geumhwadang 錦華堂
Painting of Ksitigarbha	1	Paper	Hanging Scroll	Height: ~133.3 cm Width: ~142.4 cm	Hwasandang 華山堂
Painting of Guardian Deities	1	Paper	Hanging Scroll	Height: ~136.3 cm Width: ~157.6 cm	Hyegwadang 慧果堂

Table 1: List of properties housed in Gwaneumjeon, Hwagyesa Temple from *Properties of Bongeunsa*.

Name	Quantity	Form	Size	Date	Artist
Amitabha Buddha	1		Height: ~30.3 cm Width: ~15.2 cm		Unknown
Acolyte	2	Seated image	Height: ~212.1 cm Width: ~45.5 cm		Unknown
Arhat with bamboo branch	1		Height: ~36.4 cm Width: ~18.2 cm		Unknown
Painting of Avalokitesvara	1	Embroidery		Gwangseo 1, <i>eulhae</i> year (1875)	Palace woman
Painting of Avalokitesvara	2	Embroidery		Yunhui 4 (1910)	Palace woman
Painting of Guardian Deities	1	Colored		Fifth month of Gwangseo 2, <i>byeongja</i> year (1876)	Geumhwadang 錦華堂
Painting of Ksitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell	1	Colored		Fifth month of Gwangseo 2, <i>byeongja</i> year (1876)	Hwasandang 華山堂
Painting of the Nine Grades	1	Colored		Tenth month of Gwangseo 12 (1886)	Hyegwadang 慧果堂

Table 2: List of important properties housed in Gwaneumjeon from *Record of Hwagyesa*.

to the aforementioned *Embroidered Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva*, Gwaneumjeon received another embroidered icon of the Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva from the royal court in 1910. Within the Joseon royal palace was an “embroidery room”, or *subang* (繡房), where female members of the royal court could request the production of various Buddhist textiles, including such items as monk’s robes, Buddhist altar coverings (佛卓祿, *bultak bo*), and covers for Buddhist scriptures (Fig. 5). Of the items produced in the embroidery room, the embroidered icons bestowed upon Hwagyesa Temple are very distinctive, in that they were objects of worship. Considering

that the royal court bestowed such special icons not once, but twice, Gwaneumjeon must have been considered very important at the time. Neither of the embroidered icons of Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva has survived, but a black and white image of the 1875 icon was published in the *Record of Hwagyesa* (Fig. 6). The photo shows the Thousand-Armed Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva (with 42 hands), riding a lion atop a rocky mountain symbolizing Mt. Potalaka, the bodhisattva’s abode. A woodblock carved with an image of Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva (Fig. 7) was made by the temple in order to commemorate the icons bestowed by the court.



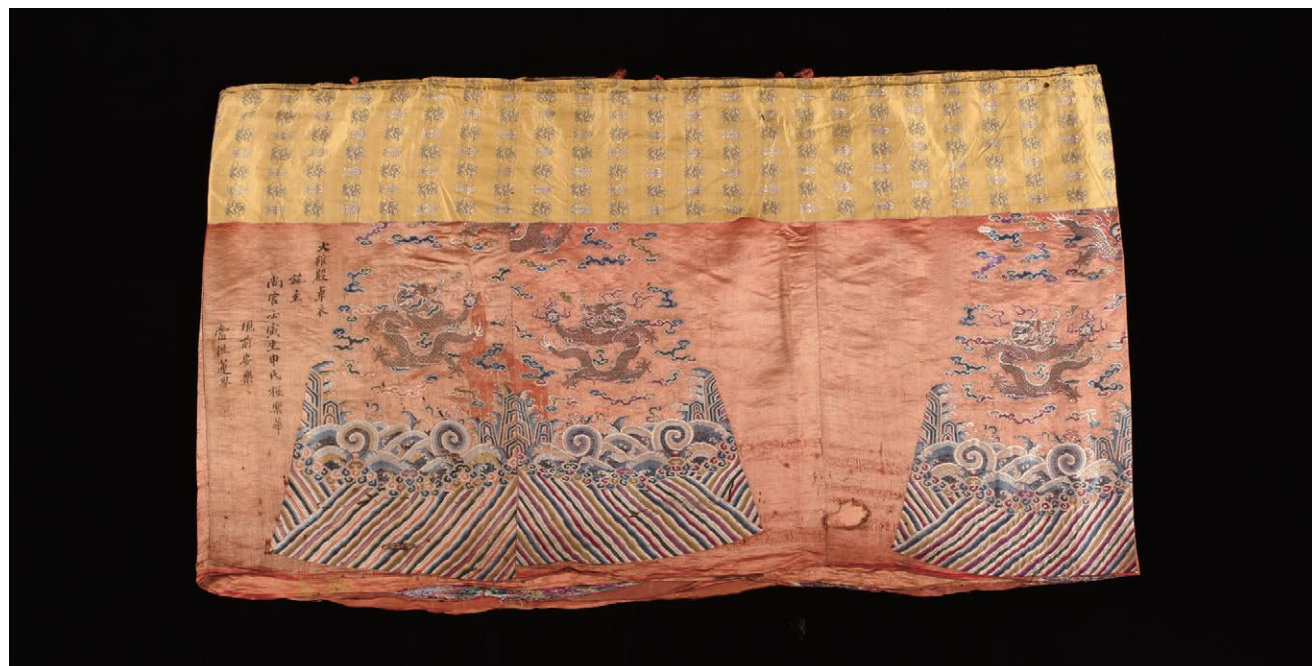


Fig. 5. Textile covering for the main altar from Daeungjeon, Tongdosa Temple, Yangsan, South Gyeongsang Province. 1890. Embroidered silk, 124.1 x 924.0 cm. (Research Institute of Buddhist Cultural Heritage).



Fig. 6. Embroidered Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva from Gwaneumjeon, Hwagyesa Temple, Seoul (current whereabouts unknown). 1875. Embroidered silk, 113.0 x 80.0 cm. Samgaksan Hwagyesa yakji. (National Assembly Library of Korea).



Fig. 7. Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva from Hwagyesa Temple, Seoul. Late nineteenth to early twentieth century. Woodblock, 113.0 x 78.0 cm. (Research Institute of Buddhist Cultural Heritage).

The *Ksitigarbha Triad* now in the collection of the National Museum of Korea is listed in the *Record of Hwagyesa* as *Painting of Ksitigarbha*, and is also listed in the *Properties of Bongeunsa* as *Painting of Ksitigarbha and the Ten Kings*. The *Record of Hwagyesa* also lists another *Painting of Ksitigarbha and the Ten Kings* (地藏及十王幀), which would seem to refer to a single painting depicting the bodhisattva with the ten kings of hell. However, Myeongbujjeon houses a painting with a unique composition, showing the ten kings without Ksitigarbha Bodhisattva (Fig. 8). The *Record of Hwagyesa* lists this work as *Painting of the Ten Kings* (十王幀). It is rare to find a painting of a Ksitigarbha triad enshrined in Gwaneumjeon, which is a hall devoted to the Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva. Even more interestingly, the paintings of the Ksitigarbha triad and the ten kings, both enshrined in Gwaneumjeon, were produced by the same workshop, including the *jeungmyeong* (證明, the monk who ensures that Buddhist activities follow proper

procedures); *hwaju* (化主, project supervisor and fundraiser); *geumeo* (金魚, monk-painter); *ingwon siju* (patron or fundraiser); and so forth. However, patronage stands as one major difference between the two paintings. While the *Painting of the Ten Kings* in Myeongbujjeon was sponsored by Lady Hong and Lady Kim (presumably women of the *yangban* class), the *Ksitigarbha Triad* from Gwaneumjeon was dedicated by Sanggung Kim Cheonjinhwa for the well-being of Queen Dowager Hong and the peaceful repose of members of the Hong clan from Namyang. Gwaneumjeon was the private prayer hall of the royal court, and its main icon—the *Ksitigarbha Triad*—seems to have been commissioned by Queen Dowager Hong through the agency of Sanggung Kim Cheonjinhwa. The last section of this paper will further examine the characteristics of royal women's patronage of Hwagyesa Temple.

#### Hwagyesa Temple and the Head Monk-Painter of the *Ksitigarbha Triad*

Gwaneumjeon was rebuilt in 1876 to enshrine the *Embroidered Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva*, which is said to have measured 120.0 centimeters in height. Produced in 1876, the *Ksitigarbha Triad* (Fig. 2) measures 79.3 centimeters in height and 131.0 centimeters in width; its size and proportions indicate that it was probably made in accordance with the dimensions of Gwaneumjeon. As mentioned, the painting has a simple composition, featuring the Ksitigarbha triad without any other figures. The monk-artist who made this painting opted for the triad composition in order to emphasize the subject matter and iconography, but also to accommodate the dimensions of the space where it would be enshrined.

The Ksitigarbha Bodhisattva, the painting's main deity (Fig. 9), sits with his legs crossed on a lotus throne that emerges from a lotus flower. Wearing a black mesh headpiece, the bodhisattva holds a jewel with both hands at chest level. Similar depictions of the bodhisattva appear in paintings of the *Ksitigarbha Bodhisattva and the Ten Kings* at Heungcheonsa Temple in Seoul (dated 1867, Fig. 10); Jeongsusa Temple on Ganghwa Island (dated 1878); and Bongnimsa Temple in Hwaseong (dated 1883), all of which were produced near the capital in the late nineteenth century. The *Ksitigarbha Triad* of Hwa-



Fig. 8. Ten Kings of Hell from Gwaneumjeon, Hwagyesa Temple, Seoul. 1876. Colors on silk, 121.0 x 77.5 cm. (Research Institute of Buddhist Cultural Heritage).





Fig. 9. Ksitigarbha Bodhisattva, detail of Fig. 2.



Fig. 10. Ksitigarbha Bodhisattva and the Ten Kings of Hell from Daeungjeon Hall, Heungcheonsa Temple, Seoul. 1867. Colors on silk, 177.0 x 240.0 cm. (Research Institute of Buddhist Cultural Heritage).



Fig. 11. Preaching of Amitabha Buddha from Daeungjeon, Hwagyesa Temple, Seoul. 1870. Colors on silk, 251.0 x 225.6 cm. (Research Institute of Buddhist Cultural Heritage).



Fig. 12. Ksitigarbha Bodhisattva from Myeongbujeon, Hwagyesa Temple. 1878. Colors on silk, 189.7 x 249.5 cm. (Research Institute of Buddhist Cultural Heritage).



gyesa Temple shares close affinities with these other paintings, in terms of the colors and the overall styles of the main figures, illustrating how the same subject matter was depicted in the region. There are also notable differences between the *Ksitigarbha Triad* and the Heungcheonsa painting (Fig. 10); in the former, the figures are slender; the bodhisattva wears a black mesh hat against a gold aureole; and the figures of the monk Domyeong and the demon king Mudok are larger and nearer to the bodhisattva. These differences in expression and composition likely can be attributed to the individual styles of the monk-painters.

The inscription at the lower left of the *Ksitigarbha Triad* lists the names of the monks involved in producing the painting, including the lead artist Hwasan Jaegeun (華山在根), Hyego Bonggam (慧果奉鑑), Deoksun (德順), and Sango (尚悟), a novice. In the late Joseon period, Buddhist paintings were produced exclusively by monks, who held various titles, including *hwawon* (畫員), *geumeo* (金魚), *yongmyeon* (龍眠), or *pyeonsu* (片手). The terms “*geumeo*” and “*aaa*” refer to the head painter who is in charge of the entire production, while the assistant painters were typically known as “*pyeonsu*.” The first part of the inscription indicates that the *Ksitigarbha Triad* was painted under the leadership of “Hwasan,” which was the sobriquet of the monk-painter Jaegeun. *Haedong buljo wollyu* (海東佛祖源流, *Origin of Buddhist Patriarchs in the East of the Sea*), a book tracing the dharma lineage of Korean monks, relates that Hwasan Jaegeun was a disciple of Choam Kiju (草庵基珠), who was from the dharma lineage of Yulbong Cheonggo (栗峰靑果, 1738-1823). Notably, Choam Kiju is one of several monks who undertook the project to renovate Hwagyesa Temple at the end of the nineteenth century. Hwagyesa Temple currently houses several paintings that were produced at the end of the nineteenth century, including *Painting of Amitabha Buddha's Assembly* (1875) in Daeungjeon; *Painting of the Ten Kings* in Gwaneumjeon (1876); *Painting of Ksitigarbha Bodhisattva and the Ten Kings* in Myeongbujjeon (1878), and *Gwaebul Painting* (1886) (Figs. 11 and 12). Aside from *Gwaebul Painting*, the temple's other Buddhist paintings from the 1870s were all completed under the leadership of Hwasan Jaegeun, with Choam Kiju acting as a *jeungmyeong*, (證明, one who verifies Buddhist procedures). The master-disciple relationship between the

two monks might have enabled Hwasan Jaegeun to take full charge of making Buddhist paintings to be enshrined in Hwagyesa Temple during this period.

Hwasan Jaegeun's name appears on several extant paintings that were made before he became the head painter at Hwagyesa Temple in the late 1870s. The earliest such appearance is in the inscription on the 1870 painting *Guardian Deities*, at Yeongsusa Temple in Jincheon, Gangwon Province, the production of which was led by the monk-painter Sangwol (尙月). As very few paintings by Sangwol have survived, it is difficult to compare his style to that of Hwasan Jaegeun's later works and thus to assess the degree of Sangwol's influence on Hwasan Jaegeun. Extant works suggest that Hwasan Jaegeun formulated his own style while participating in a number of painting productions led by renowned monk-painters active around the capital in the late 1870s. For example, he served as an assistant painter in the making of Buddhist paintings at Heungguksa Temple in Namyangju, at Baengnyeonsa Temple in Seoul, and at Bogwangsa Temple in Paju; the teams executing those paintings were led by Keumgok Yeonghwan (金谷永煥), Kyeongseon Eungseok (慶船應釋), Bangu Jingo (放牛瓊果), and Manpa Donjo (萬波頓照), respectively, from 1868 to 1874. Hwasan Jaegeun's name also appears in the inscriptions on several paintings from subtemples at Yujeomsa Temple in Goseong, Gangwon Province, including the main altar painting at Heulseongam Hermitage and paintings of *Bodhidharma* and *Guardian Deities* at Banyaam Hermitage.

Keumgok Yeonghwan and Kyeongseon Eungseok were leading monk-painters who were active in the region around Seoul and Gyeonggi Province in the late nineteenth century (Ahn Kui-sook 1994, 70-72; Chang Hee-jeong 2003, 124-158; An Kui-sook and Choi Sunil 2008). Extant Buddhist paintings indicate that Hwasan Jaegeun collaborated with these painters and followed the painting style that was prevalent in the region of Seoul and Gyeonggi Province, but that he eventually developed his own style. Some scholars have suggested that Hwasan Jaegeun may have learned the style of the Geumgangsan School from Gangwon Province under Manpa Jeongik (萬波定翼) (Han Munyeong 2000). The only known extant work painted by both Manpa Jeongik and Hwasan Jaegeun is *Painting of Ksitigarbha Bodhisattva* in Myeongbujjeon at Buryeongsas Temple



Fig. 13. *Ksitigarbha Bodhisattva* from Myeongbujjeon, Buryeongsas Temple, Uljin, North Gyeongsang Province. 1880. Colors on silk, 258.0 x 273.0 cm. (Research Institute of Buddhist Cultural Heritage).

(Fig. 13). Interestingly, and somewhat confusingly, Hwasan Jaegeun also seems to have worked closely with a monk named Manpa Donjo, who shared the same sobriquet as Manpa Jeongik. Several works by Hwasan Jaegeun and Manpa Donjo survive, including *Painting of Ksitigarbha* (1868) in Daeungjeon at Heungguksa Temple in Namyangju; *Painting of Ksitigarbha* and *Painting of Messengers* (1872) in Myeongbujjeon at Bogwangsa Temple in Paju; and *Painting of Guardian Deities* in Wontongjeon at Jeokseoksa Temple on Ganghwado Island (Fig. 14). Manpa Donjo and Manpa Jeongik were contemporaries, but they worked in different regions. Based on extant works, Manpa Donjo was active from 1868 to 1891 in the area around the capital, encompassing Seoul, Namyangju, Paju, Ganghwado Island, Anseong, and Suwon. Manpa Jeongik, on the other hand, was active mainly from 1877 to 1898 and worked primarily in Seoul, Goseong, and Pyeongchang in Gangwon Province, and Uljin in South Gyeongsang Province. This evidence indicates that Manpa Donjo and Manpa Jeongik were in fact two different painters with the same sobriquet. Examination of Hwasan Jaegeun's oeuvre indicates that Manpa Donjo exerted more influence on him than did Manpa Jeongik.

The close ties between Hwagyesa Temple and Hwasan Jaegeun are further evinced by a pair of documents. First, “Gyeonggi-do Bukhan Samgaksan

Hwagyesa Daeungbojeon junggeon gimun” (京畿道北漢三角山華溪寺大雄寶殿重建記文, “Record of Reconstructing Daeungbojeon of Hwagyesa Temple on Mt. Samgak, North of the Han River in Gyeonggi Province”), compiled in the *Record of Hwagyesa*, lists the names of monks who were living in Hwagyesa Temple in 1870, when Daeungbojeon was being rebuilt (Gwon Jongsik 1938, 4-5). Hwasan Jaegeun is listed first among twelve novice monks of Hwagyesa Temple. He is referred to by the term “*sami*,” or “novice,” which refers to a man between the ages of 14 and 20 who has taken the ten precepts (十戒). Thus, it would seem that by the 1870s, Hwasan Jaegeun had taken the tonsure at Hwagyesa Temple and was participating in meritorious activities led by his dharma teacher, Choam Kiju. The second document is *Buryeongsasichanggi* (佛影寺始創記, *Record of the Founding of Buryeongsas Temple*), a manuscript from the late nineteenth century, which records the establishment and renovation of Buryeongsas Temple in Uljin, South Gyeongsang Province. According to this text, 26 monk-painters contributed to the production of 15 Buddhist paintings and to the re-gilding and re-painting of 30 Buddhist sculptures (Center for Korean Studies References 1983, 367-368). Hwasan Jaegeun is listed as one of two head painters directing the project, along with Seokong Cheolyu (石翁喆侑) of Singyesa Temple on Mt. Geumgang in Gangwon





Fig. 14. *Ksitigarbha Bodhisattva and the Ten Kings of Hell* from Daeungjeon, Heungguksa Temple, Namyangju, Gyeonggi Province. 1868. Colors on silk, 169.5 x 198.5 cm. (Research Institute of Buddhist Cultural Heritage).

Province. More specifically, the text lists “Hwasan Jaegeun of Hwagyesa Temple on Mt. Samgak in Gyeonggi,” clearly demonstrating that Hwasan Jaegeun was closely associated with Hwagyesa Temple by that time.

#### Reconstruction and Patronage of Hwagyesa Temple in the Late Nineteenth Century

*Record of Hwagyesa* documents the location of various paintings at the temple. According to this record, *Painting of Ksitigarbha* (1875) by Seongam (聖庵) was enshrined in Daeungjeon; Hwasan Jaegeun’s *Ksitigarbha Triad* (1876) was in Gwaneumjeon; Hwasan Jaegeun’s *Painting of Ksitigarbha Bodhisat-*

*tva* (1878) was hung in Myeongbujjeon. “Seongam” refers to the monk-painter Seongam Seungseon (聖庵勝宜 or 性庵勝宜), whose *Painting of the Ten Kings* (1878) still hangs in Myeongbujjeon at Hwagyesa Temple. All of these paintings were commissioned by Heungseon Daewongun (i.e., Prince Yi Haeung), and women of the royal court, who commissioned paintings of virtually identical subject matter for each prayer hall in the temple hall within a period of four years. As mentioned, these same patrons also spearheaded the renovation of Hwagyesa Temple after 1870.

Heungseon Daewongun’s patronage of Buddhist affairs seems to have begun with the reconstruction of Yonggungsa Temple on Ganghwado Island in 1864 (Center for Korean Studies References 1978,

121-122). Other patrons contributing to that project included Grand Queen Dowager Jo, Queen Dowager Hong, and Gyeongbin Kim (慶嬪 金氏, 1832-1907), with Sanggung Kim Cheonjinhwa serving as the fundraiser (Center for Korean Studies References 1978, 121). Notably, these are the same major donors that later would lead the reconstruction of Hwagyesa Temple.

After the reconstruction of Daeungjeon at Hwagyesa Temple, Heungseon Daewongun no longer participated as a major patron for Buddhist activities. His patronage of Buddhist temples occurred between 1863 and 1873, the period during which he served as regent for his son, who had not yet come of age to rule. In the footsteps of Heungseon Daewongun, various queens, royal concubines, and court women came to prominence as major patrons of the reconstruction of Hwagyesa Temple. In particular, the bestowal of the *Embroidered Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva* in 1875 seems to have marked a turning point in the patronage pattern, as women of the royal court assumed control of the patronage from that time on.

This embroidered icon is believed to have been donated to the temple by Empress Myeongseong (明成皇后, 1851-1895) to celebrate the birth of her son, Crown Prince Yi Cheok, who later became Emperor Sunjong (純宗, r. 1907-1910) (Choi Wan-soo 1994, 330; Institute of Temple Culture 1994, 174). Empress Myeongseong was known as a prominent and generous patron of Buddhist activities, who funded a variety of Buddhist endeavors in the hopes that she would be rewarded with a son. For example, she sponsored the carving of a seated Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva on the cliff at Hakdoam Hermitage in 1872; the production of an illuminated manuscript of the *Lotus Sutra* in gold pigment at Tongdosa Temple in 1880; the construction of monks’ quarters and other buildings at Yeonjuam Hermitage on Mt. Gwanak in 1888; and the reconstruction of monks’ quarters at Bomunsa Temple in 1888 (Lee Kyung-hwa 2002). However, none of the inscriptions or other textual records preserved at Hwagyesa Temple mention Empress Myeongseong, suggesting that she had no connection with the temple. Indeed, all available evidence indicate that it was Grand Queen Dowager Jo, Queen Dowager Hong, and Gyeongbin Kim—rather than Empress Myeongseong—who lavishly sponsored Hwagyesa Temple at the end of the nineteenth century.

Grand Queen Dowager Jo became Crown Princess in 1819, when she married Crown Prince Hyomyeong 孝明世子, son of King Sunjo (純祖, r. 1800-1834). She became Queen Dowager in 1834, when her son ascended the throne as King Heonjong (憲宗, r. 1834-1849), and she was granted the title of Grand Queen Dowager in 1857, when King Cheoljong (哲宗, r. 1849-1863) succeeded to the throne. Thus, Grand Queen Dowager Jo was the mother-in-law of both Queen Dowager Hong (queen consort of King Heonjong) and Gyeongbin Kim (royal concubine of King Heonjong). As mentioned, Grand Queen Dowager Jo and Queen Dowager Hong sponsored both the creation of the *Ksitigarbha Triad* for Gwaneumjeon of Hwagyesa Temple and the reconstruction of Yonggungsa Temple in Ganghwado Island. Queen Dowager Hong also donated grains to Gwaneumjeon in 1883, further supporting her close relation to the Hwagyesa Temple. In addition, after Queen Dowager Hong died in 1903, a brass water jar was given to Hwagyesa Temple in 1904 according to her will (Gwon Jongsik 1938, 23). Again, Queen Dowager Hong and the deceased members of the Namyang Hong clan appear as the major beneficiaries of merit accrued from the dedication of the *Ksitigarbha Triad*, which was made in 1875 when Gwaneumjeon was built. All of this evidence indicates that Queen Dowager Hong, along with the mother and other royal consorts of King Heonjong, played a significant role in bestowing the *Embroidered Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva* and financing the reconstruction of Gwaneumjeon.

Royal patronage of Hwagyesa Temple continued after the construction of Gwaneumjeon. In 1878, by royal decree, sculptures of Ksitigarbha Bodhisattva and the ten kings of hell (Fig. 8 and Fig. 12) were transferred from Gangseosa Temple (江西寺) in Hwanghae Province to Myeongbujjeon of Hwagyesa Temple (Gwon Jongsik 1938, 7). Also, in addition to supporting the construction of Gwaneumjeon and Myeongbujjeon at Hwagyesa Temple, the royal court also bestowed farmland to the two halls in order to supply grains for their maintenance. The most important patron of Myeongbujjeon was Grand Queen Dowager Jo. According to “Hwagyesa Myeongbujjeon bullyang seo” (華溪寺冥府殿佛糧序, Preface to the [Donation of] Grains to Myeongbujjeon of Hwagyesa Temple), written in 1900, Grand Queen Dowager Jo granted farmland to the hall in 1880 (Gwon Jongsik





Fig. 15. *Seven Stars* from Samseonggak Hall, Hyeondeungsa Temple, Gyeonggi Province. Colors on silk, 167.7 x 187.7 cm. (Research Institute of Buddhist Cultural Heritage).

1938, 8-9).<sup>2</sup>

Along with Queen Dowager Hong and Grand Queen Dowager Jo, Sanggung Kim Cheonjinhwa raised funds for the production of the *Ksitigarbha Triad* and also played a significant role as a patron of Hwagyesa Temple. Extant sources indicate that her patronage of Hwagyesa Temple had already be-

gun in the 1860s, long before the reconstruction of Gwaneumjeon in 1876. For example, Sanggung Kim Cheonjinhwa was one of several court women who sponsored the production of *Painting of the Seven Stars* (Fig. 15, now housed in Hyeondeungsa Temple), which was originally made for Hwagyesa Temple in 1861. The group patronage by the royal family and court women continued in the late nineteenth century, as exemplified by the third major reconstruction of Hwagyesa Temple. Sanggung Kim may have acted as emissary between the monks of Hwagyesa Temple and the women of the royal court, who were not free to leave the palace and were banned

from visiting Buddhist temples by the official Neo-Confucian policy of the Joseon state. Notably, of the 37 court women who sponsored the transfer, repair, and repainting of the sculptures of Ksitigarbha Bodhisattva and the Ten Kings of the Underworld from Gangseosa Temple, she is the only one whose name was recorded in the dedicatory inscription (Gwon Jongsik 1938, 8).

Women with the title of “Sanggung” were among the most active contributors to Buddhist temples during the late Joseon period, donating either individually or in groups. Sanggung Yi Seongae (李性愛), for example, personally sponsored the production of the *Gwaebul Painting* (1735) of Bongseonsa Temple (奉先寺) for the repose of King Sukjong’s royal concubine Yeongbin Kim (寧嬪 金氏, 1669-1735), whom she must have served. On behalf of the royal court, a court lady sponsored another *Gwaebul Painting* (1862) from Cheonggyesa Temple (淸溪寺). When such women acted as proxies for the royal court, they usually were listed as the “ingwon siju”, or donor, in the painting inscription, as in the case of the *Gwaebul Painting* (1803) from Jikjisa Temple (直指寺). Detailed information about the royal patrons of this painting can be found in a separate record, entitled *Jikjisa Gwaebul jungsu si chugwonmun* (直指寺掛佛重修時祝願文, *Dedicatory Prayer Written at the Time of Repairing the Gwaebul Painting of Jikjisa Temple*), which was inscribed on a wooden plaque. This record suggests that Queen Jeongsun (貞純王后, 1745-1805), a queen consort of King Yeongjo (英祖, r. 1724-1776), dedicated this painting in hopes of having good health and of bearing a son to become crown prince. Extant evidence indicates that Sanggung Kim may have been acting as proxy for the women of the royal court for activities at Hwagyesa Temple for as many as 15 years before Gwaneumjeon was built.

Standing on Mt. Samgak, north of the capital, Hwagyesa Temple received patronage from various members of the royal court, including Prince Seopyeong, Prince Deokheung, and Heungseon Daewongun throughout the mid- to late Joseon period. With the patronage of Grand Queen Dowager Jo, Queen Dowager Hong, and Gyeongbin Kim, the temple thrived and became known as a “gungjeol”, or palace temple, because of its close relationship with the royal court in the late nineteenth century.

## Conclusion

Through an examination of the *Ksitigarbha Triad* from Gwaneumjeon of Hwagyesa Temple, this paper explored individual painting styles of monk-painters active in the Seoul and Gyeonggi region during the late nineteenth century. Relevant textual sources were analyzed to provide details about the major patrons of Hwagyesa Temple. In the late nineteenth century, Hwagyesa Temple underwent a major reconstruction project, centered around the construction of Gwaneumjeon, which was built to house the *Embroidered Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva*, which had been donated by the royal court. Notably, the donation of this icon marked a turning point in the pattern of royal patronage at the temple, wherein women of the royal court—as represented by Grand Queen Dowager Jo, Queen Dowager Hong, and Sanggung Kim Cheonjinhwa—became the main benefactors, replacing their male counterparts, such as Seopyeonggun Yi Gong, Prince Deokheung, and Heungseon Daewongun. Examination of the inscription on the *Ksitigarbha Triad*, which was originally housed in Gwaneumjeon, reveals that both Grand Queen Dowager Jo and Queen Dowager Hong actively supported Hwagyesa Temple. This study also investigated the role of court women in the royal patronage of Buddhist temples during the late Joseon period, focusing primarily on the case of Sanggung Kim Cheonjinhwa, who seems to have acted as a vital emissary between Hwagyesa Temple and the royal court. The *Ksitigarbha Triad* of Gwaneumjeon at Hwagyesa Temple allows us to examine the royal patronage of Buddhist temples, as well as the work of the monk-painter Hwasan Jaegeun. Research into textual sources and Buddhist paintings of the late nineteenth century, preserved at Hwagyesa Temple, revealed that Hwasan Jaegeun, who was active in the area of the capital in the late nineteenth century, was a monk-painter trained at Hwagyesa Temple. ㄸ

TRANSLATED BY LEE SEUNGHYE

This paper is an abridged and revised English version of the author’s “A Study on the *Ksitigarbha Triad* at Gwaneumjeon in Hwagyesa Temple,” published in 2004 in *Journal of Art History* (미술사 연구) 18.

<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, the author of *Record of Hwagyesa* stated that Grand Queen Dowager Jo also purchased rice paddies in Yeonbaek (延白) in Hwanghae Province, owned by a royal secretary surnamed Jeong (鄭承旨), in order to donate them to Myeongbujeon (Gwon Jongsik 1938, 8).



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