



Fig. 2. *Palyeoptong* from inside a gilt-bronze statue of Amitabha Buddha at Munsusa Temple. 1346. Wood. Height - 7.0 cm. (Sudeoksa Temple Museum).

History of the *Bokjang* Tradition in Korea

Lee Seonyong
Curator, Sudeoksa Temple Museum

Introduction

Buddhist images, whether sculptures or paintings, only become objects of faith and worship through two rituals: *jeoman* (點眼), wherein the pupils of the Buddha's eyes are painted in the final stages of creating a Buddhist image, and *bokjang* (腹藏), the ritualistic installation of various objects inside a Buddhist statue or painting. Virtually every country where Buddhism has been introduced has a tradition similar to the Korean *bokjang* tradition. In Korea, the objects to be installed in the image in the *bokjang* ritual are called *bokjangmul* (裝藏物 in China and 納入品 in Japan).

The exact origins of the *bokjang* ritual are not known, but the oldest evidence of such practices are the sixth-century Buddhas of Bamiyan, in Afghanistan, which were destroyed by the Taliban in 2001. Such evidence suggests that, contrary to previous assumptions, the practice of installing sutras or sarira (beads, crystals, or relics believed to be corporeal) within Buddhist sculptures likely began much earlier than the eighth century. In Korea, the earliest known example of *bokjang* is thought to be an agalmatolite jar dated by inscription to the second year of Yeongtae (永泰, 766), which was discovered inside the pedestal of a stone statue of Vairocana Buddha. Bak Gyeongwon and Jeong Wongyeong (1983) argued that this jar served as a sarira case enshrining the *Pure Light Dharani Sutra* (無垢淨光大陀羅尼經), similar to the practice of installing sutras and miniature pagodas inside a pagoda. The first known use

of the term *bokjang* comes from *Naksan Gwaneum Byeongsong* (洛山觀音并頌), from volume 25 of *Dongguk Isanggukjip* (東國李相國集, *Collected Works of Minister Yi of Korea*, 1241) by Yi Gyubo (李奎報, 1168-1241). The term also appears in some votive inscriptions from Buddhist sculptures dating to the Goryeo Dynasty (918-1392). Based on this evidence, the practice of *bokjang* is thought to have been established as a Buddhist ritual during the Goryeo Dynasty.

Thus far, a wide variety of *bokjangmul* have been discovered in Korea, including votive inscriptions, Buddhist texts, sutras, dharani (sacred words or short phrases), as well as textiles and traditional Korean paper. Other items used as *bokjangmul* include grains, scents, medicines, and cloth representations of parasols and vajras, all of which are typically found in groups of five, corresponding to the four cardinal directions and the center. Other constituent elements of the *bokjang* ritual in Korea are *obobyeong* (五寶瓶, five wrappings for enshrining *bokjangmul*); *huryeongtong* (喉鈴筒, case for *obobyeong*); and *hwangchopokja* (黃綃幅子, yellow silk in which to wrap the *huryeongtong*). All three items were used to enshrine *bokjangmul* during both the Goryeo and Joseon (1392-1910) Dynasties according to a procedure described in the *Josanggyeong Sutra* (造像經). This differs from early *bokjang* practices in China and Japan, in which miniature representations of internal organs were installed inside sculptures of the Buddha. To date, studies of Korean *bokjang* have largely focused on the individual types of *bokjangmul* (e.g., sutras, dharani, textiles, votive inscriptions, etc.). Re-

search has been limited by the difficulty of examining *bokjangmul* once they have been installed inside Buddhist sculptures or paintings, as well as by theft, damage, and the installment of new *bokjangmul*.

This paper examines the evolution of the Korean *bokjang* tradition by comparing five existing versions of the *Josanggyeong Sutra*, with specific focus on references to the main elements of *bokjang* from the Goryeo and Joseon Dynasties (i.e., *huryeongtong*, *obobyeong*, and *hwangchopokja*). Those records are compared to surviving examples of *huryeongtong*, *obobyeong*, and *hwangchopokja* to illustrate how the procedures and contents of the *bokjang* ritual changed over time.

Josanggyeong Sutra and Changes in Bokjangmul

Comparison of bokjang terms from five versions of the Josanggyeong Sutra

The *Josanggyeong Sutra*, a non-canonical sacred text of Buddhism, details various Buddhist rituals, including instructions for creating and enshrining *bokjang*, and the process of making sculptures of Buddhas and bodhisattvas.

Today, five original versions of the *Josanggyeong Sutra* have survived in Korea: one each from Yongcheongsa Temple (1575), Neunggasa Temple (1697), Hwajangsa Temple (1720), Geumnyongsa Temple (1746), and Yujeomsa Temple (1824). There is also a transcription of an unknown original, which dates from the late Joseon period. The five versions and the transcribed copy have different titles, but the main contents are similar. For instance, all five versions include the following three chapters: “Daejangillamgyeong” (大藏一覽經), which compiles sutras related to the production of Buddhist statues; “Jebulbosal bokjangdan uisik” (諸佛菩薩腹藏壇儀式), which lists the proper *bokjangmul* for each of the cardinal directions and explains each object; and “Myogilsangdaegyowanggyeong” (妙吉祥大教王經), which documents the procedures of the *bokjang* ritual.

The Yujeomsa Temple version contains the most systematic description of the *bokjang* ritual. It is also the latest known original edition of the *Josanggyeong Sutra*, and thus the most significant for our purposes. The Yujeomsa Temple version seems to have



Fig. 1. Silver bowl from inside a statue of Amitabha Buddha, from Onyang Folk Museum. 1302. Silver. Height - 4.3 cm. (Author's photograph).

been produced with the goal of systematizing the description of the *bokjang* ritual and standardizing the terminology. All five versions of the *Josanggyeong Sutra* list the *bokjangmul* for the cardinal directions and the center, but the names or types of *bokjangmul* vary among the versions. However, only the Yujeomsa Temple version uses the word *huryeongtong*, a term that appears to have been in widespread use even before the publication of this version, as the expression *huryeongtong siju* (喉鈴筒施主, donation of *huryeongtong*) is found in three copies of votive inscriptions in the sculptures of Three Buddhas in Beopjusa Temple (1626). Other versions, however, include a variety of names for *bokjang* containers, e.g. *palyeopgae*¹ (八葉筒, *huyreongtong* with a cover decorated with eight-petal motifs), *eunhap* (銀合筒, covered silver bowl), and *huryeong palyeopgae* (喉鈴八葉筒). For example, the Neunggasa Temple version uses *huryeong palyeoptong eunhap* (喉鈴八葉筒銀合), and *huryeong eunhap palyeoptong* (喉鈴銀合八葉筒).

The Yujeomsa Temple version introduces several new terms that replace or unify miscellaneous terms used in the other versions. For example, while the earlier four versions use the terms *ogyeong* (five mirrors) and *osaekseung* (五色繩, string of five colors), the Yujeomsa Temple version replaces those terms with *obanggyeong* and *osaekseon* (五色線, threads of

¹ *Palyeopgae* usually refers to 八葉蓋, (eight-petal cover, i.e., *pal* [八, eight], *yeop* [葉, petal], *gae* [蓋, cover]). However, in this case, *palyeopgae* is written with a different Chinese character of *gae* (筒), which means a container, not a cover.

five colors), respectively. Also, the Yujeomsa Temple version uses the term *obobyeong* in place of *obogwabyeong* (五寶裏瓶) and *obogwabaek* (五寶裏帛), which are used in the other versions.

Josanggyeong Sutra and Changes in Bokjangmul

In Korea, the central element of the *bokjang* ritual is the *huryeongtong*. Typically, the *bokjangmul* (e.g. vajras, flags of five colors, parasols, grains, medicines, etc.) are wrapped inside the *obobyeong*, which are then put into the *huryeongtong*. The *huryeongtong* is wrapped in *hwangchopokja*, and *sabangju* (四方呪, Sanskrit words for the four directions written on outer surface of *huryeongtong*) and *sabanggyeong* (四方鏡, mirrors for the four directions) are attached to the *huryeongtong*.

Table 1 shows how to prepare a *huryeongtong*, using the *huryeongtong* found inside the Amitabha Buddha from the statue of Three Buddhas in Sudeoksa Temple (1639). Over time, the procedure for preparing and installing *huryeongtong* changed, with variations in the types of objects installed, the material of the *huryeongtong*, and the place of enshrine-

ment. Despite these procedural changes, the general concept of *huryeongtong* was applied in all *bokjang* practices.

1. HURYEONGTONG: *Huryeongtong* are meant to represent the heart of a Buddhist sculpture, and they are also at the very heart of the *bokjang* tradition. All of the records about *bokjang* from *Josanggyeong Sutra* focus on the placement of the objects in *obobyeong*, which are then placed within a *huryeongtong*.

According to the version of *Josanggyeong Sutra* from Neunggasa Temple, a *huryeongtong* was a silver bowl with a cover (銀盒), and such bowls have been found inside various Korean Buddhist sculptures. For example, a silver covered bowl, now in the collection of the Onyang Folk Museum (Fig. 1), was discovered inside a sculpture of Amitabha Buddha (1302), while another such bowl was found inside a gilt-bronze statue of the Medicine Buddha from Janggoksa Temple (1346). However, a gilt-bronze statue of Amitabha Buddha from Munsusa Temple (1346) was found to contain a wooden *palyeoptong* (Fig. 2), and another wooden container (Fig. 3) was found

		
Place the <i>bokjangmul</i> on a square cloth, fold the four corners of the cloth and roll it. Do this five times (once for each direction and once for the center).	Wrap each of the five rolls of cloth with the threads of five colors to make <i>bobyong</i> .	Wrap the five <i>bobyong</i> together with the threads of five colors to make <i>obobyeong</i> .
		
Place the <i>obobyeong</i> inside the <i>huryeongtong</i> , and cover them with <i>palyeopgae</i> .	Write <i>sabangju</i> (dharani for the four directions) on the outside of the <i>huryeongtong</i> , and use threads of five colors to tie the <i>sabanggyeong</i> (mirrors for the four directions) over the <i>sabangju</i> , to mark the directions.	Use threads of five colors to wrap the <i>huryeongtong</i> with <i>hwangchopokja</i> , and then seal the package with a piece of cloth or traditional Korean paper.

Table 1. General procedure for preparing *huryeongtong*.



Fig. 2. *Palyeoptong* from inside a gilt-bronze statue of Amitabha Buddha at Munsusa Temple. 1346. Wood. Height - 7.0 cm. (Sudeoksa Temple Museum).



Fig. 3. Wooden container from inside a wooden statue of Amitabha Buddha at Jaunsa Temple. Late Goryeo Dynasty. Wood. Height - 17.2 cm. (Sudeoksa Temple Museum).

inside a late Goryeo wooden sculpture of Amitabha Buddha from Jaunsa Temple. Most *huryeongtong* of the Joseon Dynasty were metal, as evinced by those found inside a wooden statue of the Youthful Manjushri from Sangwonsa Temple (1466), sculptures of the Four Heavenly Kings from Songgwangsa Temple (1628), and a wooden sculpture of Three Buddhas from Sudeoksa Temple. However, a wooden statue of Mahasthamaprapta was found to contain a paper *huryeongtong* (1778, now in the collection of Onyang Folk Museum), and a bamboo *huryeongtong* of unknown origin has also been discovered.

Regarding the shape of the *huryeongtong*, all five versions of the *Josanggyeong Sutra* refer to it as either a *hap* (盒), meaning a covered bowl, or a *tong* (筒), simply meaning a container, without more detailed explanation. Among *huryeongtong* from the Goryeo Dynasty, there are at least three in the form of a covered bowl: the aforementioned silver covered bowls from the statue of Amitabha Buddha (1302) and the gilt-bronze statue of Medicine Buddha in Janggoksa Temple (1346), as well as the wooden *palyeoptong* discovered inside the gilt-bronze statue of Amitabha Buddha from Munsusa Temple (1346). A wooden statue of Amitabha Buddha from Jaunsa Temple contained a covered wooden *huryeongtong*, but it

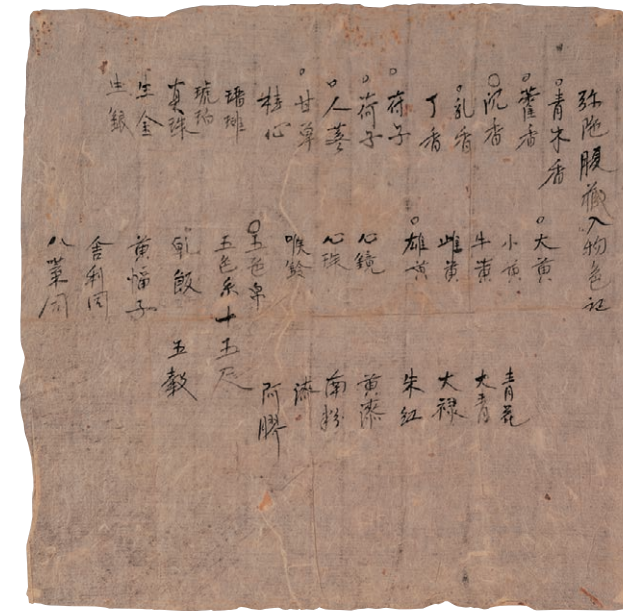


Fig. 4. *Mita bokjang ip mulsae gi* (彌陀腹藏入物色記) document from inside a gilt-bronze statue of Amitabha Buddha at Munsusa Temple. 1346. Paper. 35.1 x 35.9 cm. (Sudeoksa Temple Museum).

was rectangular in shape, with curved sides (Fig. 3). Another *huryeongtong* of unknown origin, believed to be from the late Goryeo or early Joseon period, is a short, round wooden container with a flat bottom, but it differs from the previously mentioned covered bowls. A document called *Mita bokjang ip mulsae gi* (彌陀腹藏入物色記) (Fig. 4)² features a list of *bokjangmul* installed inside the gilt-bronze statue of Amitabha Buddha from Munsusa Temple. The list includes *saridong* (舍利同, sarira case) and *palyeopdong* (八葉同), which refer to containers in the form of covered bowls. Here, the word *dong* (同) seems to have the same meaning as *tong* (筒). Since these objects have the same shape as other objects called *hap*

2 The list of *bokjangmul* in *Mita bokjang ip mulsae gi* is as follows:

。青木香 。藿香 。沈香 。乳香 。丁香
。苻子 。苻子 。人蔘 。甘草 。桂心
。琉璃 。琥珀 。真珠 。生金 。生銀
。大黃 。小黃 。牛黃 。雌黃 。雄黃
。心鏡 。心珠 。喉鈴
。五色帛
。五色糸 十五尺
。乾飯 五穀
。黃幅子 舍利同 八葉同
。青花 大青 大綠 朱紅 黃漆
。南粉 漆 阿膠

(盒), it is believed that, at that time, *hap* and *tong* (筒) were used interchangeably to refer to vessels of the same shape.

According to the Yujeomsa Temple version of the *Josanggyeong Sutra*, the shape of *huryeongtong* of the Joseon Dynasty depended on where they were to be installed; round containers were placed inside Buddhist statues, while rectangular containers were used for Buddhist paintings.³ Large cylindrical *huryeongtong* with covers, a shape not seen in previous eras, were also common during the Joseon Dynasty. The *huryeongtong* found inside the statue of the Youthful Manjushri from Sangwonsa Temple (1466, Fig. 5) exemplifies this style of *huryeongtong*. Thus, the shape of *huryeongtong* changed over time, and the most notable changes involved the cover. Among *huryeongtong* from the Goryeo Dynasty, the covered silver bowl of Onyang Folk Museum (1302, Fig. 1) and the *palyeoptong* from Munsusa Temple (1346, Fig. 2) have flat covers with no openings. However, the rounded rectangular container from Jaunsa Temple (1346, Fig. 3) has a cover with an opening (1.5 cm in diameter) that is lined with a metal rim (Fig. 6). In contrast, the *huryeongtong* from Sangwonsa Temple (1466, Fig. 5), and the two *huryeongtong* discovered inside the wooden sculptures of Vairocana Buddha from Daejeokgwangjeon Hall (大寂光殿) and Beopbojeon Hall (法寶殿) of Haeinsa Temple (1490, Fig. 7) have covers with an extended open spout.

This spout is assumed to have been called a *huhyeol* (喉穴), a term that first appears in the Yujeomsa Temple version of the *Josanggyeong Sutra*, which instructs “Make a *huhyeol* over the center of the *palyeopgae*” (八葉蓋, eight-petal cover).⁴ This record offers no additional details about the *huhyeol*, but several extant *huryeongtong* from the Joseon Dynasty have covers with an open spout on top of the *palyeopgae*. In some examples, such as the *huryeongtong* found inside the sculpture of Shakyamuni Buddha in Gounam of Woljeongs Temple (1710, Fig. 8), the threads of five colors that were wound around the

3 “Jebulbosol bokjangdan uisik,” *Josanggyeong Sutra* (Yujeomsa Temple version).

『造像經』, 「諸佛菩薩腹藏壇儀式」條, 楡岾寺板.
‘筒體形可容五瓶許造之 塑像用圓筒 畫幀用方筒 ...’

4 “Jebulbosol bokjangdan uisik,” *Josanggyeong Sutra* (Yujeomsa Temple version).

『造像經』, 「諸佛菩薩腹藏壇儀式」條, 楡岾寺板.
‘具八葉蓋 蓋上中央通喉穴 ...’

obobyeong were pulled through the opening in the center of the *palyeopgae* and up through the spout, so that they protruded to the outside. Thus, the term *huhyeol* probably refers to the extended spout.

As the style of *huryeongtong* changed from the covered bowls of the Goryeo Dynasty to the large cylinders of the Joseon Dynasty, the covers were also undergoing a transformation from flat lids to rounded covers with an extended spout. The first relevant records concerning this change do not appear until 1824, in the Yujeomsa Temple version of the *Josanggyeong Sutra*, but it is believed that cylindrical *huryeongtong* with *huhyeol* had become prevalent by the early Joseon period and remained in use through the remainder of the dynasty.

Another important component of *huryeongtong* is the *palyeopgae*. The term *palyeop* first appeared as *palyeopdong* (八葉同) in a document entitled *Geoan* (舉案), found inside a statue of the Thousand-armed Avalokitesvara (1322, private collection), as well as in the *Mita bokjang ip mulsaek gi* document from Munsusa Temple (1346, Fig. 4). Of the five versions of the *Josanggyeong Sutra*, only the Yujeomsa Temple version states that the sarira case and *huryeongtong* should have a *palyeopgae*. But the record is quite vague about how exactly the *palyeopgae* should be used in relation to the sarira case and *huryeongtong*. The Yujeomsa Temple version includes *palyeop daehongryeon jido* (八葉大紅蓮之圖), a design of *daehongryeon* (large red lotus inscribed with Sanskrit words for directions inside eight petals) and states that *palyeopgae*, which is different from *daehongryeon* (大紅蓮), should serve as the cover for *huryeongtong*.⁵ The *huryeongtong* installed inside the hanging scroll painting of Shakyamuni Buddha from Seomamsa Temple (1753, Fig. 13) has a cover shaped like a large lotus with eight petals, but it was originally found wrapped in a *palyeop daehongryeon jido* (八葉大紅蓮之圖), as was the *huryeongtong* from inside the painting of Sakra in Seonamsa Temple. Based on this evidence, *palyeopgae* and *daehongryeon* are thought to be separate objects. If *palyeopgae* can be regarded as the cover of *huryeongtong*, then the

5 “Myogilsangdaegyowanggyeong”, *Josanggyeong Sutra* (Yujeomsa Temple version), 33.

『造像經』, 「妙吉祥大教王經」條, 楡岾寺板.

‘以此八葉大紅蓮仰敷於筒蓋之上天圓之下所謂八葉蓋者喉鈴筒之蓋也非此大紅蓮也’.



Fig. 5. *Huryeongtong* from inside a statue of Young Manjushri at Sangwonsa Temple. 1466. Iron. Height - 10.8 cm. *Catalogue of Woljeongs Temple Museum* (월정사성보박물관 도록). (Pyeongchang: Woljeongs Temple Museum, 2002).



Fig. 6. Upper view of Fig. 2, showing *huhyeol*. (Author's photograph).



Fig. 7. *Huryeongtong* from inside a wooden statue of Vairocana Buddha in Beopbojeon Hall of Haeinsa Temple. 1490. Copper. Height - 33.8 cm. Vow: *Special Exhibition on Bokjangmul from the Statues of Vairocana Buddha in Haeinsa* (해인사 비로자나불 복장유물 특별전-誓願). (Hapcheon: Haeinsa Temple Museum, 2008).



Fig. 8. *Palyeop* and *huryeongtong* from inside a statue of Shakyamuni Buddha in Gounam of Woljeongs Temple. 1710. Copper. *Catalogue of Woljeongs Temple Museum* (월정사성보박물관 도록). (Pyeongchang: Woljeongs Temple Museum, 2002).

palyeoptong from Munsusa Temple (1346, Fig. 2), which thus far has been considered a covered wooden bowl, would be the earliest example. On both the cover and body of this bowl, lotus seeds and a double layer of eight petals were painted in red, probably in order to express *palyeopdong* (八葉同), as mentioned in *Mita bokjang ip mulsaek gi*. The *huryeongtong* from Sangwonsa Temple (1466, Fig. 5) has a cover shaped like a lotus with eight petals, while another cylindrical *huryeongtong* of unknown origin has a lotus-shaped cover, as well as an attached gilt-bronze plate shaped like an eight-petal lotus (Fig. 9). In later periods, metal plates in the shape of an eight-petaled lotus were often found inside the *huryeongtong*, atop the *obobyeong* (Fig. 10). This suggests that *palyeopgae*, which were once attached to the outside of the *huryeongtong*, eventually became separate objects



Fig. 9. *Palyeop* on *huryeongtong*. Early Joseon Dynasty. Copper. Height - 13.3 cm. (Sudeoksa Temple Museum).



Fig. 10. *Palyeop* from inside a wooden statue of Three Buddhas at Sudeoksa Temple. 1639. Copper. (Author's photograph).

that were placed inside the *huryeongtong*.

2. **OBOBYEONG:** *Obobyeong* literally translates as “five treasure bottle[s],” which symbolize the four cardinal directions and the center. If the *huryeongtong* represent the heart of Buddhist sculptures, then the *obobyeong* are the chambers of the heart.

According to the *Josanggyeong Sutra*, the *obobyeong* represent the five treasures of wisdom of Vairocana Buddha. Specifically, the north is represented by a glass bottle, the south by a jewel bottle, the east by an onyx bottle, the west by a coral bottle, and the center by a rock-crystal bottle. The Yujeomsa Temple version states that *obobyeong* could be made from papers of five colors, if the seven treasures were

not available.⁶ In actuality, though, most surviving *obobyeong* from the Goryeo and Joseon Dynasties are made from cloth. Indeed, the other four versions of the *Josanggyeong Sutra* use the term *obogwabaek* (五寶裹帛, silk for wrapping five treasures), which probably explains why textiles were commonly used.

The exact shape of *obobyeong* does not appear to have been standardized in the Goryeo Dynasty. For example, the *obobyeong* discovered inside the gilt-bronze statue of Amitabha Buddha from Munsusa Temple (1346, Fig. 11) were made from cloth shaped as a heart, square, circle, and triangle. Even so, there is still not enough evidence to make a conclusive statement about the shape of *obobyeong* from the Goryeo Dynasty. At the same time, almost all of the extant *obobyeong* from the Joseon Dynasty are square, as exemplified by the *obobyeong* found inside the wooden statues of Three Buddhas from Sudeoksa Temple (1639). There are a few exceptions, such as the *obobyeong* from the wooden statue of Vairocana Buddha at Haeinsa Temple, estimated to have been installed in 1490, which features textiles of various shapes, including a square, circle, and semicircle.

In the Goryeo and Joseon Dynasties, various types of *bokjangmul* were placed inside *obobyeong* and then tied with the threads of five colors. *Obobyeong* of the Goryeo Dynasty were tied like pouches (Fig. 12), as seen in the *obobyeong* from the statue of Amitabha Buddha (1302, Fig. 1) and the gilt-bronze statue of Amitabha Buddha from Munsusa Temple (1346, Fig. 2). Every version of the *Josanggyeong Sutra*, except the one from Yujeomsa Temple, uses the term *obogwabyeong* (五寶裹瓶, five treasure wrapping bottles). *Gwa* (裹) means to wrap in a cloth, so this term likely applies to the pouch-shaped *obobyeong* of the Goryeo Dynasty.

In the Joseon Dynasty, *obobyeong* were made by placing *bokjangmul* in a square cloth, folding the

⁶ “Jebulbosol bokjangdan uisik”, *Josanggyeong Sutra* (Yujeomsa Temple version).

『造像經』, 「諸佛菩薩腹藏壇儀式」條, 楡岾寺板. ‘若無七寶代以五色紙造成...’

Note that this citation refers to *obangbyeong* (五方瓶, five directions bottle), rather than *obobyeong*. However, *obangbyeong* seems to be synonymous with *obobyeong*, since the materials for each bottle correspond to the colors for each direction. The *obobyeong* from the wooden statue of Amitabha Buddha (1779, now in the collection of Onyang Folk Museum) is painted in five colors representing the five directions.



Fig. 12. *Obobyeong* from inside a gilt-bronze statue of Amitabha Buddha at Munsusa Temple. 1346. Silk. (Sudeoksa Temple Museum).



Fig. 13. *Huryeongtong* from inside a hanging scroll painting of Shakyamuni Buddha at Seomam Temple. 1753. Copper. Height - 7.2 cm. (Author's photograph).

cloth into a triangle, rolling the cloth into the form of a tube, and then tying it with the threads of five colors (Table 1). The transition from pouch-shaped *obobyeong* to cylindrical *obobyeong* corresponds to the shift from bowl-shaped to bottle-shaped *huryeongtong*.

In the Joseon Dynasty, the five *bobyeong* were wrapped and tied together with the threads of five colors and then encased in the *huryeongtong* to make an *obobyeong*. However, it is not currently known if this same procedure was also used during the Goryeo Dynasty. Most *obobyeong* of the Goryeo and Joseon Dynasties have been found inside the *huryeongtong*, but there are some notable exceptions, such as the *obobyeong* found in the wooden statue of the Ten Kings of Hell from Munsusa Temple in Go-

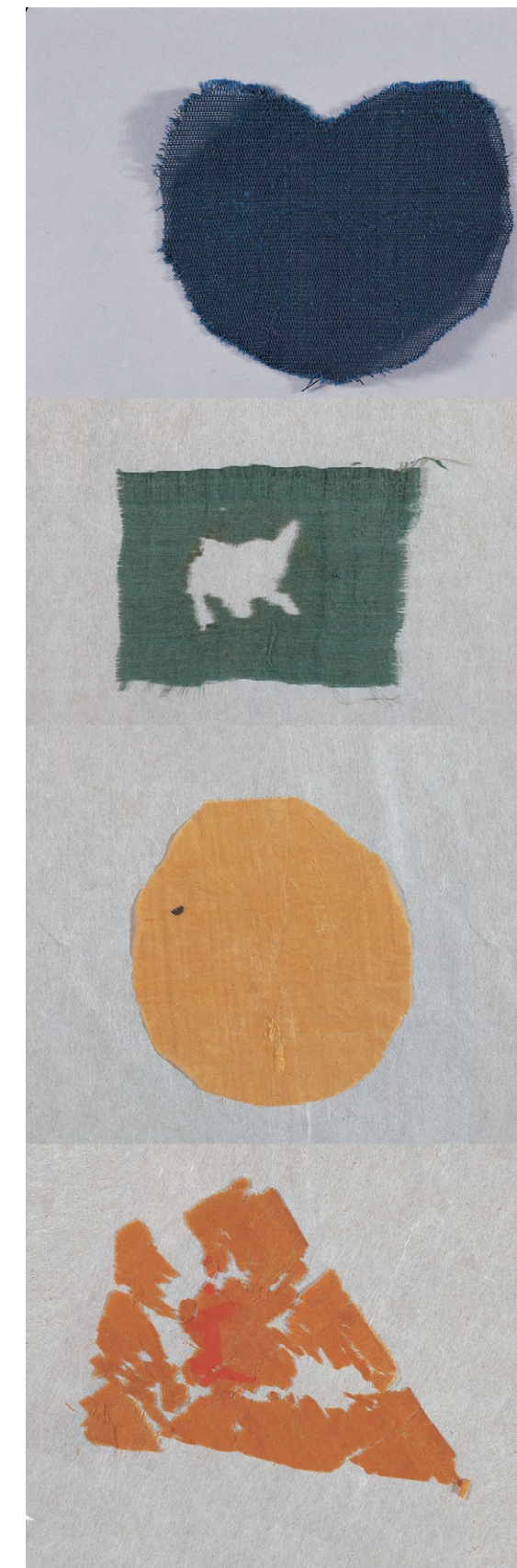


Fig. 11. *Obobyeong* from inside a gilt-bronze statue of Amitabha Buddha at Munsusa Temple. 1346. Silk. (Sudeoksa Temple Museum).

chang (1653), which was tied outside the *huryeongtong*. Moreover, both the hanging scroll painting of Shakyamuni Buddha (1753, Fig. 13) and the wooden statues of the Three Buddhas in Donghwas Temple (1727) had *huryeongtong* containing six metal cylinders (five *obobyeong* and one sarira case). This technique was likely used to include both sarira cases and *obobyeong*, in accordance with the *Josanggyeong Sutra*.

The *Josanggyeong Sutra* states that 75 objects should be enshrined in the *obobyeong*, including five medicines, five grains, five scents, five parasols, five vajras, five leaves, five flags of five colors etc.⁷ *Obobyeong* of the Goryeo Dynasty are often found to contain small amounts of different grains, medicines and scents, but by the Joseon Dynasty, the grains, medicine, and scents were joined by a variety of other objects, including parasols, vajras, and flags of five colors.⁸ Also, the wooden statue of Amitabha Buddha from Heukseoksa Temple (1458) contained four leaf-shaped textiles, which is unique among examples of *bokjang*.

3. HWANGCHOPOKJA: The *Josanggyeong Sutra* refers to a *hwangchopokja*, which is a piece of yellow cloth used to wrap *huryeongtong*. The *Mita bokjang ip mulsaek gi* document includes the term *hwangpokja* (黃幅子), which seems to be synonymous with *hwangchopokja*. The only detail that the *Josanggyeong Sutra* provides about the *hwangpokja* is that it should be about 45.0 cm in length.

The gilt-bronze statue of Amitabha Buddha from Munsusa Temple (1346) contained five pieces of

7 There has been some debate about the exact number of objects, but as I and Nam Gwonhee (2004) have argued in earlier papers, many listed objects (e.g. *obanggyeong*, *oryunjongja* [五輪種子], *bosinju* [報身呪], *hwasinju* [化身呪], *jinsimjongja* [真心種子], *bobyong* [裹瓶]) merely serve to mark the directions, and are not actually installed inside the *obobyeong*, so they should not be counted among the installed objects.

8 There are some exceptions, such as the *huryeongtong* from the wooden statues of the Four Heavenly Kings at Songgwangsa Temple (1628), which contained a large number of items of *bokjangmul* enshrined inside large pieces of *bobyong*. Notably, these objects did not include any flags, parasols, or vajras. As each of the Four Heavenly Kings is associated with one of the four cardinal directions, each statue contained a single *bobyong* corresponding to the appropriate direction. There is no king associated with the center direction, so there was neither *bobyong* nor *huryeongtong* for the center.



Fig. 14. Discovery of *hwangchopokja* from inside a wooden statue of Amitabha Buddha at Jaunsa Temple. Late Goryeo Dynasty. Silk. (Jaunsa Temple).

cloth, including the yellow cloth used to wrap the *palyeoptong*. Meanwhile, the wooden container found inside the wooden statue of Amitabha Buddha in Jaunsa Temple was wrapped with pieces of blue, yellow, and red cloth (Fig. 14). The covered bowl found inside the gilt-bronze statue of the Medicine Buddha from Janggoksa Temple (1346) was wrapped in cloths of five colors, as well as a yellow cloth. Thus, it seems that during the Goryeo Dynasty, the yellow *hwangpokja* was used together with cloths of other colors. In contrast, most *huryeongtong* from the Joseon Dynasty were wrapped with a single yellow cloth (Mun Myeongdae 1968, 366-367). There are some exceptions, such as the *huryeongtong* from the wooden statue of Buddha from Gosansa Temple in Hongseong (1543), which was wrapped in various colors of silk (i.e. orange, white, sky-blue, purple and yellow), as well as the threads of five colors. However, most of the evidence suggests that cloths of multiple colors, including *hwangchopokja*, were used to wrap *huryeongtong* of the Goryeo Dynasty, but only *hwangchopokja* were used in the Joseon Dynasty (Yi Seonyong 2005, 80).

The version of the *Josanggyeong Sutra* from Yujeomsa Temple states that after objects are enshrined within the *huryeongtong*, it should be wrapped with a

hwangchopokja.⁹ The exact wrapping procedure from the Goryeo Dynasty is not known, but during the Joseon Dynasty, the *huryeongtong* was placed in the center of the *hwangchopokja*, which was then gathered around the *huhyeol* and tied with the threads of five colors. Some *huryeongtong* found inside Buddhist paintings were wrapped at the top and bottom with paper illustrations from the *Josanggyeong Sutra*, such as *palyeop daehongryeon jido* (八葉大紅蓮之圖), *junjeguja cheonwonjido* (准提九字天圓之圖, design of nine letters and letters of the four directions), or *yeolgeumgang jibangjido* (列金剛地方之圖, design of Vajra Buddha for the four directions), before finally being wrapped with *hwangchopokja*. However, in most cases, *huryeongtong* were wrapped with *hwangchopokja* in a way that was much simpler than the procedure described in the *Josanggyeong Sutra*.

During the Joseon Dynasty, the four corners of the *hwangchopokja* would typically be marked with the four directions in black or red characters (Fig. 15). No such markings have been found on *hwangchopokja* from the Goryeo Dynasty, indicating that this practice accompanied the other changes in the *bokjang* tradition.

Changes in the *Bokjang* Tradition

From the Goryeo to the Joseon Dynasty, the shape of *huryeongtong* changed from a covered bowl into a cylinder, and the shape of *obobyeong* changed from a pouch into a cylindrical roll, to fit more easily into the *huryeongtong*. To better understand these changes, the purpose of *bokjang* and the interrelationship between the *bokjang* practices of each period must be explored.

The practice of *bokjang* is closely tied to the worship of sarira. According to *Josangyangdogyeong Sutra* (造像量度經), which was published after the *Josanggyeong Sutra*, sarira were to be enshrined in the crown on the head of a Buddhist statue. In fact,

9 “Hwangchopokjaallipchaje”, *Josanggyeong Sutra* (Yujeomsa Temple version).

『造像經』,「黃綃幅子安立次第」條,楡岾寺板。
‘黃綃幅子內先安願文 次安寶篋呪 次安天圓地方所裏喉鈴筒 以黃綃幅子包裹 並以幅子頭及五色線合 而回之曲着於背後 因以五色線 半回豎裏半回橫裏 線盡然後 以准提呪豎封 以法印呪橫封 於南面書證明 稱臣謹封。’



Fig. 15. *Hwangchopokja* from inside a wooden statue of Avalokitesvara at Sanggilam. 1726. Cotton. 18.9 x 17.6 cm. (Sudeoksa Temple Museum).



Fig. 16. Sariras and fragments of a sutra. Fifth - sixth century. Exhibition of Gandhara Art and Bamiyan Ruins (ガンダラ美術とバミヤン遺蹟展). (Shizuoka Prefecture: Shizuoka Shinbunsha, 2008).

sarira were discovered inside the urna (third eye) of the statue of the Thousand-armed Avalokitesvara in Jikido Hall (食堂, dining hall) of Toji Temple (東寺). The Buddhas of Bamiyan in Afghanistan were found to contain sarira, textiles, and fragments of the *Sutra on Dependent Arising* (緣起經) written in the characters of the fifth to sixth century (Fig. 16). Thus, it would seem that, early on, the practice of *bokjang* was not distinct from the practice of enshrining sarira and sutra (i.e. dharma sarira) inside a pagoda or sculpture.



Fig. 17. Representations of internal organs from inside the statue of Shakyamuni Buddha in Seiryōji Temple, Japan. 985. Silk. *Arts of Japan* (日本の美術) 86.

Indeed, the inscription on the agalmatolite jar found inside the pedestal of a stone statue of Vairocana Buddha (766) states that the *Pure Light Dharani Sutra* (無垢淨光大陀羅尼經) was originally enshrined within the jar. Overall, however, in Korea, the practice of enshrining sarira differs from the practice of *bokjang*.

In early *bokjang* practices in China and Japan, representations of internal organs were installed inside statues of Buddha, in accordance with the belief that enshrining sarira inside a statue of Buddha animates the sculpture. This practice is exemplified by the standing image of Shakyamuni Buddha in Seiryōji Temple (清涼寺) in Kyoto, Japan (Fig. 17). It is uncertain whether the practice of *bokjang* prior to the Goryeo Dynasty may have been driven by similar beliefs. But for the most part, the Korean tradition of *bokjang*, focusing on the use of *huryeongtong* and the

belief in five directions, is more concerned with Buddhist rituals involving the five directions, rather than trying to animate Buddhist statues (Bak Gyeongwon and Jeong Wongyeong 1983, 57).

With the publication of the *Josanggyeong Sutra*, the practice of *bokjang* of the Joseon Dynasty differentiated itself from that of the Goryeo Dynasty. The *Josanggyeong Sutra* described the concept of the five directions in great detail and explained the meaning of the various objects used as *bokjangmul*. Thus, the ritualistic aspect of *bokjang* can ostensibly be traced back to the *Josanggyeong Sutra*. In the Goryeo Dynasty, fewer objects were placed in the *obobyeong*, and fewer types of objects were used as *bokjangmul*. Also, the directions were marked by *oryunjongja* and *jinsimjongja*, but the *sabangju* and *sabanggyeong* were not used. The concept of five directions became much more important in the *bokjang* practice of the Joseon Dynasty, when five varieties of objects (e.g. grains, medicines, scents, etc.) were placed in the *obobyeong*, corresponding to the five directions. At the same time, new objects (e.g. vajras, parasols, flags, etc.) appeared, which had not been used in the Goryeo Dynasty.

During the Goryeo Dynasty, the concept of the five directions may not have been clearly expressed inside the *huryeongtong*, but it was represented by wrapping the *huryeongtong* in various textiles symbolizing the five directions, including *hwangchopokja*. The concept of the five directions appears to have been standardized and established as an element of *bokjang* practice in the sixteenth century, as printed copies of the *Josanggyeong Sutra* became more widely distributed and available. Hence, in the Joseon Dynasty, the five directions came to be represented inside the *huryeongtong*, and the directions were simply marked on the *hwangchopokja* outside the *huryeongtong*.

However, the *bokjang* practices of the Goryeo and Joseon Dynasties did not develop separately from one another. There are two known documents from the Goryeo Dynasty that list objects that may be used as *bokjangmul*: the *Geoan* (舉案) document found inside the statue of Thousand-armed Avalokitesvara (1322), and the *Mita bokjang ip mulsaek gi* document found inside the gilt-bronze statue of Amitabha Buddha in Munsusa Temple (1346). The objects listed in *Geoan* include *palyeopdong*, *huryeong*, lotus pedestal, *geumjwaja* (金座子, golden stand), seven treasures,

five scents, and five medicines. Meanwhile, *Mita bokjang ip mulsaek gi* lists such objects as five scents, five medicines, five treasures, five medicinal herbs, *huryeong* (喉鈴), five grains, *hwangpokja*, *saridong* (舍利同), and *palyeopdong* (八葉同). Notably, all of the objects for *bokjangmul* that are described as the contents of *obobyeong* in the *Josanggyeong Sutra* (e.g., the seven treasures, five scents, and five medicines) can be found in one of these two lists. Thus, the *bokjang* practices of both the Goryeo and Joseon Dynasties are closely related, particularly since both focus on enshrining *obobyeong* inside a *huryeongtong*.

In addition, the Neunggasa Temple version of the *Josanggyeong Sutra* (1697) includes the terms *huryeong palyeoptong eunhap* (喉鈴八葉筒銀盒) and *huryeong eunhap palyeoptong* (喉鈴銀盒八葉筒), corresponding to the earlier terms *huryeong* and *palyeopdong*. This would seem to suggest that *huryeong* and *palyeopdong*, which were separate items in the

Goryeo Dynasty, were integrated in the Joseon Dynasty. Such change is supported by extant examples of *bokjang* from the two dynasties. Table 2 shows that *huryeong*, *palyeop*, *tong* (筒), and *hap* (盒), as mentioned in *Geoan*, *Mita bokjang ip mulsaek gi*, and the *Josanggyeong Sutra*, were initially separate items that were eventually merged into a single object known as *huryeongtong*. In particular, the item *huryeong* is no longer listed among the objects for *bokjang* of the Joseon Dynasty, but the Yujeomsa Temple version uses the single word *huryeongtong*, indicating the merging of items that had occurred by the Joseon Dynasty. Thus far, the earliest known version of the *Josanggyeong Sutra* is the Yongcheonsa Temple version (1575), but there may have been relevant sutras describing *bokjang* from the Goryeo Dynasty. Therefore, the differences between the *bokjang* practices of the Goryeo and Joseon Dynasties do not represent a rupture in the tradition, but instead reflect the

	Separate <i>huryeong</i> , <i>tong</i> (<i>hap</i>), and <i>palyeop</i>		Combination of <i>tong</i> and <i>palyeop</i>		<i>Palyeop</i> placed inside <i>huryeongtong</i>	
Object (Location, Year)	Gilt-bronze Statue of Amitabha Buddha (Munsusa Temple, 1346)	Wooden Statue of Amitabha Buddha (Jaunsa Temple, Late Goryeo Dynasty)	Wooden Statue of Young Manjushri (Sangwonsa Temple, 1466)	Unknown origin	Wooden Statue of Buddhas of the Three Ages (Sudeoksa Temple, 1639)	Wooden Statue of Shakyamuni Buddha (Woljeongs Temple, 1710)
<i>Huryeong</i>						
<i>Palyeop</i> (Eight petals)						
<i>Hap</i> (covered bowl)/ <i>Tong</i> (bottle)						

Table 2. Changes in the shape of *tong* (*hap*), *huryeong*, and *palyeop*.

unique characteristics of Korean Buddhist culture that developed over time based on the sutras.

Conclusion

This paper has examined changes in the tradition of *bokjang* during the course of the Goryeo and Joseon Dynasties, focusing on objects related to the *huryeongtong*.

In earlier practices from the Goryeo Dynasty, *huryeongtong* were typically shaped like a covered bowl or bottle, and they had no definitive name. By the Joseon Dynasty, the shape had been standardized as a cylinder with an extended open spout. Furthermore, the *palyeop*, *huryeong*, and *hap/tong*, which had been separate items in the Goryeo Dynasty, were combined into the single object of *huryeongtong* by the early Joseon period. At the same time, the shape of the *obobyeong* changed from a pouch to a cylindrical form. Finally, the *hwangchopokja*, which had been composed of textiles of various colors during the Goryeo Dynasty, was replaced in the Joseon Dynasty by a single piece of yellow cloth marked with the five directions.

It seems that practice of *bokjang* initially began in Korea as a way to enshrine Buddha’s relics and sutras, but with the publication of the *Josanggyeong Sutra*, the tradition gradually developed into a practice unique to Korea, incorporating the concepts of five directions and *huryeongtong*. Despite the numerous changes that took place within the *bokjang* tradition from the Goryeo to the Joseon period, the core element always remained the *huryeongtong*, demonstrating that the *bokjang* practices of the two dynasties were interconnected. Moreover, this congruity suggests that the *bokjang* practices of the Goryeo Dynasty were performed in accordance with sutras related with the *Josanggyeong Sutra* that was published in the Joseon Dynasty. ㄸ

TRANSLATED BY CHUNG EUNSUN

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