

Foreign emissaries attending the debate between Vimalakirti and Manjusri, detail; Chinese, Tang 642, wall painting, Eastern wall of Dunhuang Cave 220, Gansu





吠

GOGURYEO PEOPLE WEARING JOUGWAN IN TANG CHINESE ART

Kim Lena, Emerita Professor, Hongik University

吠

Based on the author's article, "Goguryeo People in Jowugan as Seen in Tang Art"
presented in 1994 in the book, *Studies on Korean History* (韓國史學論叢) Volume 1
published to commemorate the 70th birthday of Professor Yi Gibaek
(李基白先生古稀紀念) by Iljogak (一潮閣), and supplemented with up-to-date
information by the author for this journal.

吠

GOGURYEO PEOPLE WEARING JOUGWAN IN TANG CHINESE ART

Kim Lena, Emerita Professor, Hongik University

吠

[ABSTRACT]

Descriptions of Goguryeo people wearing *jougwan* (鳥羽冠) – a headdress crowned with a pair of feathers – are found in Chinese historical records. Goguryeo tomb murals include figures wearing *jougwan* and such depictions also feature in representations of foreign envoys visiting China found in Chinese wall paintings of royal tombs and in the caves at Dunhuang. Murals of the old Sogdian palace in Samarkand, far from Goguryeo, also depict Goguryeo envoys wearing *jougwan*, reflecting the active diplomacy undertaken by the Goguryeo state at the time. The purpose of this study is to analyze depictions of Goguryeo envoys wearing *jougwan* in Tang dynasty art and to argue that the Chinese continued to perceive such characteristics of Goguryeo envoys as a symbol of delegates from the Korean peninsula even after the fall of the once powerful Goguryeo kingdom. Moreover, this study considers the possible role of a group of Goguryeo captives and refugees functioning as a peripheral vassal state of China for an extended period long after the fall of the Goguryeo kingdom in 668.

The subject of Goguryeo envoys wearing *jougwan* first came into the limelight with the discovery of the Tang mural painting in the tomb of Li Xian (李賢) in the outskirts of Xi'an (西安: former Chang'an [長安]). Titled *Reception of Foreign*

Envoys (禮賓圖, *Libintu*), it depicts a Goguryeo envoy wearing a hat crowned with two feathers. At first, the envoy was assumed to be from Silla since the tomb was constructed in the early eighth century. However, similar looking envoys are also found in the wall paintings at Dunhuang, namely Caves 220, 335, and 332, dating to 642, 686, and 698, respectively. Here, the Goguryeo envoys are depicted alongside other foreign emissaries attending the scene of the debate between Vimalakirti and Manjusri (維摩文殊對談) from the *Vimalakirti Sutra* (維摩詰經, *Weimojie jing*). Tang culture in the seventh century was the most cosmopolitan in Asia, and Tang China drew foreign envoys from all regions of greater Asia as far as Iran. In view of the fact that Emperor Taizong (太宗, r. 627–649) had ordered the court painter Yan Liben (閻立本, 600–673) to paint foreign emissaries, it is no surprise that foreign envoys were depicted in contemporary paintings like those in Dunhuang Cave 220, the earliest depiction of such a scene. At the same time, the fact that Goguryeo envoys wearing *jouguan* continued to appear in the wall paintings of Caves 332 and 335 even after the collapse of the Goguryeo state implies that Goguryeo envoys were perceived by the Chinese as the prototypical image of Koreans.

The identity of the envoy wearing *jouguan* as being from Goguryeo is confirmed by two scroll paintings illustrating foreign envoys: one is the *Emperor Taizong Meeting with Foreign Envoys* by Yan Liben of Tang (唐閻立本王會圖, *Tang Yan Liben Wanghuitu*), and the other is the *Foreign Envoys Paying Tribute to Emperor Yuandi of Liang State* copied by Gu Deqian of Southern Tang (南唐顧德謙摹梁元帝蕃客入朝圖, *NanTang Gu Deqian mo Liang Yuandi Fanke ruchaotu*) from the National Palace Museum, Taipei, Taiwan. These two scroll paintings depict dozens of foreign delegates in their distinctive attires, and next to the envoy wearing the *jouguan* are the characters for Goryeo State, 高麗國 (*Gaoliguo*: an alternative Chinese term for Goguryeo).

Moreover, a six-lobed silver box representing seven neighboring states under Chinese governance (都管七箇國六瓣銀盒, *Duguan qigeguo liuban yinhe*) from the Tang period, shows characteristic figures from seven different states on its cover in seven compartments divided by six oval floral petals. In one oval compartment, five Goguryeo people wearing *jouguan* are shown with the Chinese characters 高麗國 inscribed next to them. Furthermore, Goguryeo people wearing *jouguan* are also found among the disposition of *sariras* in Chinese stone caskets containing *sarira* vessels. All these strongly suggest that the image of Goguryeo envoys wearing *jouguan* was represented consistently as a stereotype of Koreans throughout the Tang era.

[KEYWORDS]

Jouguan, *sarira* reliquary, *Libintu*, *Wanghuitu*, *Fanke ruchaotu*, Afrasiab murals, Dunhuang wall paintings, Lesser Goguryeo, *Duguan qigeguo liuban yinhe*, Yan Liben

I JOUGWAN AS GOGURYEO HEADDRESS

Writings on Korea are found in official Chinese historical records such as the *Shiji* (史記: *Annals of History*), the *Hanshu* (漢書: *Han History*), and the *Weishu Dongyichuan* (魏書 東夷傳: Record of the Foreigners in the East in the *Wei History*) in the *Sanguozhi* (三國志: *Records of Three Kingdoms*). These texts precede even the oldest remaining records in Korea, providing invaluable information about the politics, diplomacy, geography, culture, and customs of ancient Korea.¹ In particular, these Chinese records on Korean customs and dress make repeated reference to Goguryeo (37 BC-668) people with feathers on their official headdresses, which indicate that this Goguryeo custom was well known in contemporary China.

The Goguryeo headdress with feathers is first mentioned in the *Weishu Dongyichuan*, where the chapter on Goguryeo says, "... [the people] wear a headdress named *jeolpunggeon* (折風巾), which is pointed on top, and has feathers on the sides... there are differences according to one's social status ..."² Further, the *Zhoushu* (周書: *Zhou History*) states, "... men wear long-sleeved jackets and wide trousers, with white leather belts and yellow leather shoes. Their headdress is called *golso* (骨蘇). It is mostly made of purple silk with intricate gold and silver decorations. The high officials show their status by wearing two feathers in

their headdress ..."³ Similar records are also found in the *Beishi* (北史: *History of Northern Dynasties*), the *Suishu* (隋書: *Sui History*), the *Jiu Tangshu* (舊唐書: *Tang History*) and the *Xin Tangshu* (新唐書: *New Tang History*).⁴ Based on such Chinese records, the section of Saekbok (色服: dress codes and color protocols) in the chapter Japji (雜志: Miscellanea) of the *Samguksagi* (三國史記: *History of the Three Kingdoms*) by Gim Busik (金富軾), also contains the same description.⁵

As to Goguryeo's *jougwan*, Yi Yongbeom (李龍範) already suggested in 1956 that the custom of decorating one's headdress with feathers is related to the animism of Siberian nomadic tribes who worshipped birds,⁶ which has been widely accepted in the study of the history of dress and ornaments ever since.⁷ This paper shall not elaborate in detail the widely-known depictions of Goguryeo people wearing *jougwan* in the tomb murals of Ssang-yeongchong (雙盈塚) and Muyongchong (舞踊塚) (Plates 1 and 2). In the case of the Baekje kingdom, the *Zhoushu* and the *Beishi* describe Baekje (18 BC-660) dress as being similar to that of Goguryeo, although in Baekje the feathers were put on the headdress in the presence of the king at official meetings called *johoe* (朝會: court ceremonies), *baerye* (拜禮: ritual bows), or *jesa* (祭祀: ancestral rites); and while playing musical instruments, but not during military events.⁸ In Silla, too, the influence of the *jougwan* is found in gold crowns, which, once again, can be traced back to Goguryeo customs.



(Plate 1)
A man wearing headdress crowned with two feathers
Goguryeo, 6th century, wall painting
Ssang-yeongchong (雙盈塚), Pyeongyang



(Plate 2)
A horse rider wearing headdress crowned with two feathers
in Ssang-yeongchong
Goguryeo, 6th century, wall painting fragment
National Museum of Korea, Seoul

094

095

吠

THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF
KOREAN ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

吠

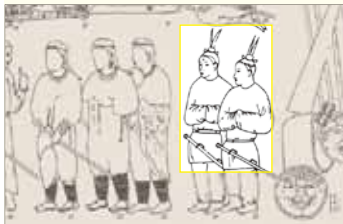
GOGURYEO PEOPLE WEARING
JOUGWAN IN TANG CHINESE ART

吠

Kim Lena



(Plate 3)

A Goguryeo envoy in *Reception of Foreign Envoys*Chinese, Tang, circa 706, wall painting
Tomb of Prince Li Xian (Prince Zhanghuai),
near Xi'an

(Plate 4-1)

Outlined envoys in *Foreign Emissaries*,
detail

(Plate 4-2)

Goguryeo envoys wearing feathered
headdresses in *Foreign Emissaries*
Late 7th century-early 8th century, mural
Western wall of Room 1, Afrasiab,
Samarkand, Uzbekistan

The mural painting, *Reception of Foreign Envoys* depicted on the entrance wall in the tomb of Li Xian (also known as Prince Zhanghuai [章懷太子], 651-684) of the Tang dynasty (618-907), has long drawn academic attention with particular respect to one of the foreign emissaries, who wears two feathers on his headdress, as being of probable Korean origin (Plate 3).⁹ Li Xian, the second son of Emperor Gaozong (高宗, r. 649-683) and Empress Wu Zetian (則天武后, r. 690-705), died in 684 and was reburied in 706 after Empress Wu's death. Princess Yongtai (永太公主, d. 701) was reburied in the same year and Li Chongrun (李重潤: Crown Prince Yide [懿德太子], 682-701) in 711. All three had died young during the empress's usurpation of the throne. Although a *jougwon*-styled official headdress had long been considered a characteristic of Goguryeo dress, the emissary in the tomb painting was assumed to have come from Unified Silla as the state of Goguryeo had collapsed in 668, and by the time of Prince Zhanghuai's death, Silla had unified the peninsula. However, it remains unclear whether the mural is based on the actual historical presence of a Silla emissary at his funeral.

Another example of a Korean emissaries wearing a similar *jougwon* was found in the mural of *Foreign Emissaries* (使節圖, *Shijietu*) in the western wall of Room 1 at the ruined site of a palace in the Afrasiab plateau near Samarkand, Uzbekistan (Plates 4-1 and 4-2). This site is the remains of the ancient kingdom of Sogdiana, known in China as Kangguo (康國), which during the Sui and Tang dynasties flourished as a commercial center on the Silk Road. It is recorded that the Tang emperor Gaozong, during the Yonghui (永徽) era (650-655), appointed the Sogdian king Varxuman (拂呼纒) as governor of Kangju (康居都督),¹⁰ and there is an inscription in Sogdian language on the tomb mural that confirms this: "four geese to King Varxuman of the Unasi tribe."¹¹ Therefore, it would be safe to assume that the mural was completed between the late seventh century and the year 712, when the kingdom was plundered in the wake of the Arab invasion. This mural, thought to have been painted in the mid-seventh century within the private quarters of King Varxuman, contains what appears to be the reception of foreign emissaries from Chaganiyan of west Tokharia, Turks, Gaochang (高昌) in Central Asia (西域) or China, and India, as well as scenes of religious ceremonies and the paradise of gods to celebrate the glories of the king and to reinforce the king's authority.

A report on this mural from the former Soviet Union interprets two figures in the mural, wearing round-collared jackets, circle-headed swords, and headdresses with two feathers, as Korean. Like the speculations surrounding Prince Zhanghuai's tomb mural, Kim Won-yong considered the depicted figures as likely to be from Silla, but did not exclude the possibility of them being envoys from Goguryeo.¹² Anazawa Wako suggests that the two emissaries wearing *jougwon* were most likely of Goguryeo origin.¹³ Based on the characteristics of the Tang Chinese dress depicted in the mural, Anazawa dates the mural to the mid-seventh

century coinciding with the rise of Empress Wu Zetian. It was a time when Goguryeo maintained close diplomatic relations with western Chinese states, ever since it dispatched an envoy to Tuque (突厥: Turks) during the Sui (隋) dynasty (581–618). Along similar lines, Roh Taedon (盧太敦) has suggested that the two figures probably were emissaries from Goguryeo who, facing an imminent war with Tang China at the time, were desperate to find military allies in continental Asia.¹⁴

It is difficult to conclude at this point whether the figure wearing *jougwan* in the tomb of Prince Zhanghuai was in fact a visiting emissary from Goguryeo or whether his headdress was depicted as a typical characteristic of Koreans as perceived by contemporary Chinese. However, considering the historical context of the time, contemporary historical records on Goguryeo dress, and the depiction and inscription of people in *jougwan* in Chinese paintings to be discussed later, it becomes clear that the people portrayed donning *jougwan* were from Goguryeo rather than Silla.¹⁵

II GOGURYEO ENVOYS WEARING JOUGWAN IN DUNHUANG WALL PAINTINGS

The wall paintings of the Dunhuang caves are a rich source of the few surviving paintings of the Tang dynasty. Besides the diverse representations of Buddhist iconography, they provide a rare insight into the religious life of the time as well as the development of pictorial art, such as landscapes and portrait paintings. The depictions of the various figures appearing in narrative Buddhist stories in addition to illustrations of male and female donors provide invaluable historical information on costumes and customs of the time.

Among the many wall paintings of Dunhuang that contain figures wearing *jougwan*, this paper focuses on three in particular. The first is Cave 220, depicting the paradise of Amitabha on the south wall, the paradise of Bhajsajyaguru on the north, and three Buddhas accompanied by Bodhisattvas on the east, above the

entrance.¹⁶ Inscriptions on the northern wall and below the central Buddha depicted on the east wall indicate that the cave was completed in the year 642, the sixteenth year of the Zhenguan (貞觀) reign (627–649), and was the votive cave of the Zhai family.¹⁷ On either side of the entrance wall, there is a mural that features a scene from the *Vimalakirti Sutra* in which the Bodhisattva of wisdom, Manjusri (文殊菩薩, *Wenshupusa*), visits a Buddhist layman Vimalakirti (維摩居士, *Weimo jushi*), who has fallen ill, and both have entered into a discussion of the purity of the Buddha land and 'non-duality' in the teachings of the Buddha. Just below the representation of Manjusri on the left, there is a depiction of the audience, including the Tang emperor and his officials. On the right, along with the representation of Vimalakirti, foreign emissaries in various different attires are portrayed, among whom one is wearing a *jougwan*. Preceded by a small person carrying an offering on a tray over his head, two people in short trousers carrying lotus flowers, and a person in a long Chinese costume, is a person wearing a *jougwan* decorated with two long feathers (Plate 5). Although further details of the headdress are not clearly recognizable, the features of this person in a blue jacket and wide trousers with his hands gathered together are similar to those of the emissary identified wearing *jougwan* in the tomb mural of Prince Zhanghuai.

According to the *Vimalakirti Sutra*, the visit of Manjusri Bodhisattva is said to have been accompanied by many sovereign kings. The mural depicts the Tang emperor flanked by foreign emissaries, who probably represent the sovereigns or envoys of Tang China's peripheral states. Therefore, the Tang emperor and foreign emissaries depicted in the wall paintings should be understood to have gathered to seek an audience to the conversation between Vimalakirti and Manjusri and to listen to the debate on the teachings of the Sutra and to reaffirm faith in Buddhism.

The Zhenguan reign (627–649) under Emperor Taizong is when Tang China built the largest empire to date with the conquest of a number of states in western China, thus succeeding in identifying itself as the center of the universe. Zhang Yanyuan (張彥

096

097

吠

THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF
KOREAN ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

吠

GOGURYEO PEOPLE WEARING
JOUGWAN IN TANG CHINESE ART

吠

Kim Lena

遠) in his *Lidai minghuaji* (歷代名畫記: *Record of Famous Paintings of Successive Dynasties*, 847) records that Taizong commissioned the court painter Yan Liben to paint portraits of visiting foreign emissaries.¹⁸ The fact that the wall paintings of Cave 220 show much more detailed illustrations of foreign emissaries than earlier murals of Dunhuang could be understood in the context of this record. Compared to the wall paintings of Caves 420, 314, and 380 from the Sui dynasty that depict scenes from the *Vimalakirti Sutra*, the wall paintings of Cave 220, which are representative of the early Tang period, exhibit a much more sophisticated composition and finer, more dynamic illustrations of the figures.¹⁹ In particular, the depiction of the emperor in his red garb with the imperial crown shows similarity in dress and crown with the portrait of Emperor Wendi (文帝, r. 581-604) of the Sui dynasty by Yan Liben, now housed in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Therefore, the portraits in Dunhuang murals, which are contemporary with Yan Liben, are an invaluable source for the study of portrait paintings of that era.²⁰

The *Xuanhehuapu* (宣和畫譜: *Catalog of Paintings during the Xuanhe Era*) records that Yan Liben worked on two portraits of Vimalakirti,²¹ which suggests that the Dunhuang murals were probably influenced by Yan's paintings, and that the new style of painting apparent in these murals emerged at that time.

Another example of the foreign emissary wearing *jouguan* is found in the wall painting of Cave 335 in Dunhuang (Plate 6). This cave postdates Cave 220 as identified by the inscription "Chuigong (垂拱) second year" (686) on the east wall.²² The scene of Manjusri visiting Vimalakirti from the *Vimalakirti Sutra* covers the whole of the north wall of this cave and is known to be the largest in scale among such scenes illustrated in the Dunhuang caves.

Here, two people with feathers on their headdresses are portrayed just below Vimalakirti on the right, above the other visiting sovereigns. The two figures appear to be in conversation with one another. Their headdresses with two feathers are fastened by a wide headband run over both ears and tied in a bow



(Plate 5)

Foreign emissaries attending the debate between Vimalakirti and Manjusri
Chinese, Tang 642, wall painting
Eastern wall of Dunhuang Cave 220, Gansu

under the chin. Although the painting is dark and it is difficult to recognize the details, these figures certainly wear the similar shape of *jougwan* depicted on the mural painting in the tomb of Prince Zhanghuai in Xi'an.

Duan Wenjie (段文杰), formerly Director of the Dunhuang Research Institute (敦煌文物研究所) has already noted the illustration of a person with *jougwan* in the wall painting of Vimalakirti and Manjusri in Dunhuang Cave 220,²³ and Gwon Yeong-pil (權寧弼) has also written about the two people wearing *jougwan* in the mural of Cave 335.²⁴ Compared to the scene depicted in Cave 220, the scene in Cave 335 has a more complicated, albeit similar, composition, and is more stylized in detail. This raises the possibility that there was an original version of this subject matter before the mid-seventh century on which the painting of Cave 335 was based, or that it was modeled on the painting in Cave 220 with some added variations. As the painting in Cave 335 is dated to 686, many years after the collapse of Goguryeo, it is conceivable that the Korean emissaries depicted were from Silla. However,

if the painting is indeed based on the earlier model in Cave 220, it would make sense that the Koreans in cave 335 wearing Goguryeo-style garb represent emissaries from Goguryeo. As these foreign guests in the wall paintings were depicted as representatives of neighboring states attending the conversation between the retinues of Bodhisattva Manjusri and Vimalakirti along with the Tang emperor, it is possible to conjecture that the Koreans among them were portrayed in Goguryeo outfits based on the typical image of Koreans held by the Chinese, even sometime after the collapse of the Goguryeo state.

This hypothesis carries more weight when we consider two factors: first, it is unlikely that Silla would feature in Tang cave paintings as one of the peripheral states of Tang; second, there is no known Chinese record of Silla people wearing *jougwan*, whereas the *jougwan* had been regularly recorded in ancient Chinese texts as a feature of Goguryeo dress. The Korean emissary in the tomb mural of Prince Zhanghuai can also be understood in the same way. As there is no evidence that the



(Plate 6)
Foreign envoys on the northern wall of Dunhuang Cave 335
Chinese, Tang 686, wall painting



(Plate 7)
Foreign envoys, from the painting on the northern wall of Dunhuang Cave 332
Chinese, Tang 698, wall painting

098

099

吠

THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF
KOREAN ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

吠

GOGURYEO PEOPLE WEARING
JOUGWAN IN TANG CHINESE ART

吠

Kim Lena

mural depicts an actual historical event, it is more likely that the emissary was portrayed according to the typical image of Koreans held by the Chinese, rather than based on a clear distinction of outfits between Goguryeo and Silla. Lastly, I have added another example of Goguryeo envoys wearing the same *jougwon* on the north wall of Cave 332, dated to 698 (Plate 7).²⁵ They are present in the same scene painted in a near-identical composition and style, as seen on the north wall of Cave 335. This particular depiction has only been reproduced in a brief sketch and is only partially visible behind the big Buddha triad on the same north wall.²⁶ However, I noted their presence in cave 332 during a workshop in Dunhuang in the summer of 2003 and reconfirmed my views during my recent visit to Dunhuang in June, 2008.

|

After Dunhuang was occupied by the Tibetan state, Tufan (吐蕃), in the late eighth century, paintings of *Vimalakirti Sutra* continued to be commissioned. In those murals, the king of Tufan is depicted in his traditional garb but Goguryeo figures wearing *jougwon* are not found among the foreign emissaries.²⁷ However, a painting of the *Vimalakirti Sutra* on silk, now a part of the Stein Collection in the British Museum, shows the Tibetan king at the front of the foreign emissaries and a Goguryeo person appears to be wearing *jougwon* at the left side of the painting. The two feathers on the headdress are arranged in a similar way as those illustrated on the wall in Cave 220 (Plate 8, see also Plate 5 for comparison).²⁸ Apparently, the motif of foreign envoys produced in the seventh century seems to have continued into the late eighth century.



(Plate 8)

Foreign Envoys, detail of the *Vimalakirti Sutra*

Chinese, Tang, late 8th Century, ink and color on silk

British Museum (Stein Collection 57 Ch.00350)

Image from Roderick Whitfield, *The Art of Central Asia: The Stein Collection in the British Museum*, vol. I, Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1982, pl. 20.

III GOGURYEO ENVOY DEPICTED ON SCROLL PAINTINGS IN THE NATIONAL PALACE MUSEUM, TAIPEI

Two scroll paintings in the National Palace Museum of Taipei lend further credence to the suggestion that the Korean emissaries wearing *jougwan* in the Dunhuang wall paintings were of Goguryeo origin. One is *Emperor Taizong Meeting with Foreign Envoys* by Yan Liben of Tang (唐閻立本王會圖, *Tang Yan Liben Wanghuitu*, hereafter "*Wanghuitu*"), which portrays twenty-six foreign emissaries in color on silk along with the names of their respective countries. The other scroll, *Foreign Envoys Paying Tribute to Emperor Yuandi of Liang State* copied by Gu Deqian of Southern Tang (南唐顧德謙摹梁元帝蕃客入朝圖, *NanTang Gu Deqian mo Liang Yuandi Fanke ruchaotu*, hereafter "*Fanke ruchaotu*"), which is an ink drawing copied by Gu Deqian, depicts thirty-one foreign emissaries.²⁹ These two works include emissaries from Goguryeo, Baekje, and Silla, among whom only the emissary from Goguryeo is wearing *jougwan*.³⁰ In *Wanghuitu*, a Goguryeo emissary appears in a red jacket, wide green trousers with red trim, and a headdress decorated with feathers secured to the head with a band (Plate 9). *Fanke ruchaotu* also depicts a Goguryeo emissary, painted only in ink, wearing a headdress with two feathers (Plate 10). These two pictures are significant in that both contain an inscription that defines the

emissaries wearing *jougwan* as being from Goryeo (高麗 which means Goguryeo [高句麗] then).

Although it is difficult to date these paintings with precision, they are undoubtedly copies of the original *Painting of Tribute Bearers to the Liang State* (梁職貢圖, *Liang zhigong tu*), such as the one in the Nanjing Museum. Copies of artwork can in some cases prove to be a valuable source of information for the missing originals. Furthermore, these scroll paintings give a glimpse of the international nature of Tang culture of the time. *Wanghuitu* is dated to the late seventh century or is possibly a later copy, while *Fanke ruchaotu* dates to the tenth century. The fact that foreign emissaries of similar attire appear in many Dunhuang wall paintings highlights that the tradition of making copies was in practice for quite some time. Furthermore, the reason that the Dunhuang wall paintings contain only Goguryeo emissaries wearing *jougwan* demonstrates that this was the typical Chinese image of Koreans even after the collapse of the Goguryeo state.

IV GOGURYEO PEOPLE ON THE COVER OF A SIX-LOBED SILVER BOX, AND TWO SARIRA RELIQUARIES

The two scroll paintings in Taipei strongly indicate that the foreign emissaries wearing *jougwan*



(Plate 9)
Foreign emissaries from *Emperor Taizong Meeting with Foreign Envoys* painted by Yan Liben of Tang
Chinese, Tang, 8th century or later copy, color on silk
National Palace Museum, Taipei, Taiwan



(Plate 10)
Foreign emissaries including a Goguryeo envoy, from *Foreign Envoys Paying Tribute to the Emperor Yuandi of Liang Dynasty*, copied by Gu Deqian of Southern Tang
Chinese, Five Dynasties, 10th century, ink on paper
National Palace Museum, Taipei, Taiwan



100

101

吠

THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF
KOREAN ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

吠

GOGURYEO PEOPLE WEARING
JOUGWAN IN TANG CHINESE ART

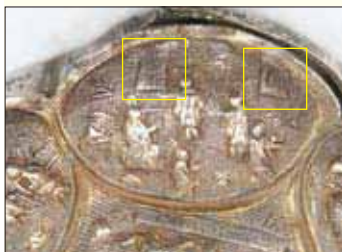
吠

Kim Lena

depicted in the wall paintings of Prince Zhanghuai's tomb, the Dunhuang caves, and the Sogdian palace were also from Goguryeo. In a similar vein, further details of Goguryeo people can be seen in other forms of Tang Chinese art. In 1979, a small silver box was excavated in Xi'an, near the grounds of Jiaotong University (交通大學). The silver box, now housed in the Bureau of Cultural Relics and Gardens (文物園林局) in Xi'an, was introduced in 1984 as *Duguan qigeguo liuban yinhe* (都管七箇國六瓣銀盒: Six-lobed silver box representing seven neighboring states under Chinese governance).³¹ It has also been displayed in the exhibition, *Hidden Treasures of Chang'an* in Japan in 1992 (Plate 11-1).³² Inside the lobe on the lid of this silver box are portrayed people wearing *jouguan* with an inscription 高麗國 next to them, providing essential information of the nationality of the people with feathers on their headdress (Plate 11-2).³³

The lid of the silver box is in the form of six oval-shaped petals with a pointed hexagonal compartment in the center. Against a background of *eojamun* (魚子文: punched ring patterns), each compartment has embossed images of neighboring states identified by names such as Poluomenguo (婆羅門國), Tufanguo (土蕃國), Shuleguo (疏勒國), Gaoliguo (高麗國), Baituo□guo (白拓□國), and Niaomanguo (鳥蠻國) with Kunlunwangguo (崑崙王國) at the center. In the seventh century, these neighboring states were under the political influence of the Tang empire, as confirmed by the inscription of 都管七箇國 (*duguan qigeguo* meaning seven states under governance) in the middle of the lid, and 將來 (*jianglai* meaning brought [as tribute]). The inscriptions conform to historical facts of territorial expansion undertaken by Tang and the practice of establishing regional governing posts in the neighboring states of the great Tang empire. Under the reign of Emperor Taizong and Gaozong, the Tang empire occupied the largest territory in its history and established its governing bodies, such as Anxi Duhufu (安西都護府) in Kashgar (疏勒) in the farthest west, Yingzhou Dudufu (營州都督府) in the northeast, and Andong Duhufu (安東都護府) in Pyeongyang, the capital city of Goguryeo, which was later moved to Liaodong (遼東).

Turning to the details of the seven compartments on the lid of the silver box, one finds the following. In the hexagonal compartment at the centre, along with the inscription *duguan qigeguo* and Kunlunwangguo (崑崙王國) on its right side, six people in total are embossed including one riding an elephant in the center followed by another person holding a parasol high over him as well as the mahout sitting on the elephant's head. They are wearing short dresses that only cover their waists, suggesting that they come from a warm region. Kunlun refers to a tribe of people with dark skin color, as recorded in the Nanmanzhuan (南蠻傳: Record of Barbarians in the South) in the *Jiu Tangshu*: "the people with curly hair and dark skin in the south of Linyi (林邑) are generally called Kunlun."³⁴ The term seems loosely to refer to the Malays who lived scattered around the south Pacific and at the time possibly formed a small kingdom in a region between present day Sri Lanka (獅子國) and Canton (廣州).³⁵



(Plate 11-1)

Six-lobed silver box representing seven
neighboring states under Chinese
governanceChinese, Tang, late 7th to early 8th
centuriesDiscovered from Baoyingsi
temple site in Xi'an in 1979

H: 5 cm, W: 7.5 cm, Weight: 121 g

Office of Culture and Garden in Xi'an

(Plate 11-2)

Five Goguryeo people wearing hat crowned
with two feathers and inscription of
"Goryeo State," 高麗國, detail
Photograph by Felix Schoeber

Inside the oblong compartment facing the elephant in the centre are five people wearing headdresses decorated with two long rabbit ear-shaped feathers – apparently *jougwan* – along with the inscription 高麗國. With a person slightly bigger in size on the left and the other four people facing him, all five people are clearly wearing *jougwan* of Goguryeo. As already mentioned above, the Goguryeo outfit is typically described in old Chinese records as a long-sleeved jacket with wide trousers, a leather belt, leather shoes, and a headdress decorated with feathers as seen on this silver box.

In the petal to the right, the name of a state (白拓□國) is inscribed next to two people. An old man is sitting on a large, rectangular-shaped woven straw mat to the left, with a boy to the right presenting an offering to him. The name of the state has not been identified as the third character is missing.³⁶ In the next petal to the right, under the inscription 鳥蠻國 are two people with their hair in topknots standing with backpacks on the left, and on the right three people seem to be receiving guests while standing. Niaoman (鳥蠻) is related to a contemporaneous tribe called Nanzhao (南詔), referring to a state, which existed in the northwestern region of Vietnam or the eastern region of Myanmar.³⁷

The next petal has an inscription of 婆羅門國, which seems to refer to today's India. On the left stands a monk in his robe, holding a cane, and on the right are two people seemingly having a conversation with a long bottle between them. The bottle has a narrow neck and a round body with something long sticking out of its mouth. The scene seems to depict a certain religious ceremony.

The next petal to the right illustrates 土蕃國, present-day Tibet. Two people are herding a yak, which is dashing forward at a gallop. This seems to symbolize the wildness of the Tibetan plateau. Tufan (土蕃) maintained a special relationship with Tang since 641, in the reign of Emperor Taizong, when a Tang princess Wencheng married the Tibetan emperor, and introduced Buddhism to that country.

The last petal is engraved 疏勒國, today's Kashgar, where Anxi Duhufu was placed in the wake of Taizong's western expedition. Two people are standing on the right holding long swords and, on the left, is one person holding a sword and another, a bow, illustrating the militaristic ethos of the west Chinese tribes.

This silver box was previously thought to have been used to contain perfumery or medicine on the assumption that it was found in the grounds of Xingqing Palace (興慶宮). However, as the excavation site was recently confirmed as the site of Baoyingsi (寶[實]應寺: Baoying Temple) founded in 767 and which once stood in front of the palace, the decoration on the box is now assumed to be depicting the distribution of *sariras*.³⁸

Among the artifacts displayed during the exhibition *Hidden Treasures of Chang'an* in Japan was yet another example of Goguryeo people wearing *jougwan*. It is a reliquary for *sariras* made of marble, found in 1990 in the historic site of Fachi-si (法池寺), a Tang Temple located in Caiguaicun (蔡拐村), Lantian (藍田), Shaanxi Province (陝西省).

This marble casket, 33 cm long on all sides, portrays two people wearing feathers on their headdresses, sitting with other foreign guests (Plate 12-1).³⁹ The scene depicts the distribution of *sariras* (舍利分配圖). In front of a person with a crown sitting inside a building with a rounded roof, an old man with a topknot and short trousers is portrayed as if he is taking something out of a big jar, probably a relic container. In front are three people sitting on each side, among whom, on the left, are two people wearing *jougwan* next to a short man who is probably from western China or Kunlun. On the right are two people wearing hats and an old man with a beard. These visiting foreigners seem to be sitting there to receive *sariras* taken from the jar. Further, a series of scenes such as the carrying of *sariras* on an elaborately decorated vessel (Plate 12-2), the burial of *sariras* in deep mountains, and the reception of *sariras* in a remote fortress are carved in low relief on the other three sides of this reliquary.



(Plate 12-1)
Reliquary for *sarira*
Chinese, Tang late 7-8th century, marble
Unearthed at the temple site of Fachi-si,
Caiguancun, Lantian, Shaanxi Province in 1990
H: 32 cm, W: 32 cm, Depth: 32 cm
Cultural Relics Center of Lantian, Shaanxi

(Plate 12-2)
Placement of *sariras* into a Jar, one side of
the reliquary



(Plate 13)
Outer casket for *sarira* reliquary
Chinese, Tang, 758-760, limestone
H: 65.6 cm, W: 45.6 cm, Depth: 61.4 cm
Sumitomo Collection
Senoku Hakukokan, Kyoto, Japan

The style of the relief carving on the casket indicates that it dates from the early Tang and the foreign guests depicted on this marble reliquary share similar features with the figures illustrated in the silver box discussed above.⁴⁰ Therefore, it is possible to conclude that the people wearing *jougwan* were also from Goguryeo who were included among the guests to receive *sariras* from the neighboring states of Tang. This assumption is further supported by the fact that an outer stone casket for a *sarira* reliquary in the Sumitomo collection, Senoku Hakukokan (泉屋博古館), Kyoto, known to have been brought from Shandong area in China, also shows three emissaries from Goguryeo in its depiction on all four sides of foreign envoys receiving *sariras* (Plate 13). The inscription on one side of the casket reads "*Qianyuan Xiaoyi Huangdi baguo deng*" (乾元孝義皇帝八國王等: Qianyuan reign of Emperor Xiaoyi and Kings of Eight States), alluding to the scene related to the distribution of the *sariras* to eight nations after the cremation of the Buddha. As the Qianyuan reign covers the period between 758 and 760, the date of this casket is of the mid-eighth century.⁴¹

V THE EXISTENCE OF LESSER GOGURYEO

It is written in Tang records that the Goguryeo refugees stayed in the Liaodong region until the early ninth century and were governed under the lineage of Bojangwang (寶藏王: Silla king, r. 677-682) who had been appointed by the Tang Emperor. It is now time to look into the historic context in more detail.

A number of Chinese historical texts record the fact that after Goguryeo's collapse in 668, refugees settled in the Liaodong region, where the state persisted in another form in the area under the protection of Tang. While the *Jiu Tangshu* only records the history of Goguryeo until the time of Empress Wu Zetian,⁴² the *Xin Tangshu* states that a reconstituted Goryeo (meaning Goguryeo) existed in Liaodong as a peripheral state of Tang until it was absorbed into Balhae (渤海, 698-927; Chinese: Bohai), which was founded by a Goguryeo descendant, Daejoyeong (大祚榮, r. 699-719).⁴³ The *Samguksagi* records the same facts in the chapter on Goguryeo.⁴⁴

From this viewpoint, when it comes to Tang artists' propensity to draw images of Koreans paying tribute to Tang in the manner of Goguryeo people wearing *jougwan*, the following argument can be laid out.

In the wake of the collapse of Goguryeo in 668, refugees were scattered over various areas. Unified Silla absorbed some of them, while captured officials and members of the Goguryeo royal family lived in Chang'an (present Xi'an). Others joined the Tang military to protect the western frontiers or were dispersed across China. Some people became a part of Balhae as it established

itself into a new state while others joined ethnic tribes in Liaodong and nomadic Mongolia. There were also some who went to Japan. This paper is primarily interested in the refugees in Liaodong.⁴⁵

After the fall of Goguryeo, Tang established the satellite regime of Andong Duhufu in Pyeongyang, with ambitions to rule the old territory of Goguryeo as well as Silla. But Silla put up a fierce resistance both by land and sea. When Goguryeo refugees in Liaodong sought to re-establish their state, Silla and Tang gathered forces to crush the movement. However, after their joint victory, Silla and Tang came into conflict again and this led Tang to relocate permanently its satellite governing post from Pyeongyang to Liaodong in 676. After that date, Goguryeo refugees in Liaodong were granted a broader range of autonomy, although they remained as Tang subjects and under Tang control.

In order to strengthen the governance of the Goguryeo refugees in Liaodong, Tang appointed in 677 Gaozang (高藏: Bojangwang, the last king of fallen Goguryeo) as the governor of Liaodong as well as the king of the refugees. Tang also had Goguryeo refugees who had previously been sent to inner Tang territory in 669 relocated to the area. Bojangwang's jurisdiction fell well within the control of Andong Duhufu, a title given to the head of a peripheral tribe rather than an official of the Tang empire. Therefore, Bojangwang was a symbolic head of Goguryeo refugees within the hierarchy of Andong Duhufu. Despite Tang's efforts to maintain its stronghold in Liaodong, it proved to be a difficult task. Tang appointed Go Bowon (高寶元, dates of birth and death unknown), Bojangwang's grandson, new king of the peripheral state in 686 in the wake of the discovery of Bojangwang's collusion with the Mohe (靺鞨) tribe. In 698 Tang appointed Go Bowon *zhongcheng guowang* (忠誠國王: loyal king) with a view toward maintaining control over the Goguryeo migrants in Liaodong, but to no avail. However, Tang China was still able to maintain indirect control of Liaodong through granting the Goguryeo's royal family exile in the capital, Chang'an.

In 699, Tang downgraded Andong Duhufu to

Andong Dudufu (都督府) and appointed Bojangwang's son, Go Deokmu (高德武, dates of birth and death unknown), as governor. Hino Kaizaburo (日野開三郎) considers this point in time as the start of the state of Lesser Goguryeo (小高句麗) that was led by Goguryeo's royal family.⁴⁶ It is generally considered that the new state could have survived due to the fact that the Liaodong region played the role as a buffer between Tang and Balhae, which was established in 698, following a series of military conflicts in the region.⁴⁷ Moreover, Tang selected another colonial government of Xiongjin (熊津) Dudufu in Jian'an (建安) of Liaodong to govern the refugees of Baekje, appointing Prince Buyeoryung (夫餘隆) of Baekje as the Governor King Daifang (熊津都督帶方郡王). But Prince Buyeoryung died in 682 while in exile in Goguryeo.⁴⁸

Moreover, it is recorded that in 725 the King of Goguryeo as well as Governor King Daifang of Baekje were present in the religious ceremony of Emperor Xuanzong (玄宗) as officials of peripheral localities (內臣之蕃, *neichen zhifan*).⁴⁹ This suggests that Goguryeo was considered as a locality of the Tang empire inhabited by ethnic minorities. In contrast, the same text records Tuque, Japan, and Silla as peripheral states paying tribute (朝獻之國, *chaoxian zhiguo*), indicating that they were autonomous states, albeit under the political influence of Tang.

Goguryeo's tributary mission toward the end of the Yuanhe (元和 806-821) reign is recorded in the *Xin Tangshu*,⁵⁰ which the *Samguksagi* correspondingly records as having taken place in the year 818.⁵¹ This suggests that the state of Lesser Goguryeo was established in Liaodong and that it had a semi-autonomous status, paying tribute to Tang until the early-ninth century. Lesser Goguryeo was, however, absorbed into Balhae during the reign of its tenth king, Daeinsu (大仁秀, r. 813-840).

In summary, Tang seems to have paid respect to the royal family of Goguryeo by appointing Go Bowon as King of Goguryeo in 686, and Go Deokmu as the governor representing Goguryeo refugees. But Tang in

fact kept them both in Chang'an in order to maintain indirect control of Liaodong. Roh Taedon's analysis summarizes well the peripheral status of Lesser Goguryeo: the members of the royal family in exile were used to keep up the imperial appearances of the Tang dynasty and reinforce its authority. In other words, they were asked to appear in official ceremonies to manifest externally to the kings of vassal states the power and benevolence of imperial China, and internally to show Tang subjects the imperial dominance and charismatic influence of the moral Son of Heaven (天子, *tianzi*) over its numerous neighboring states.⁵²

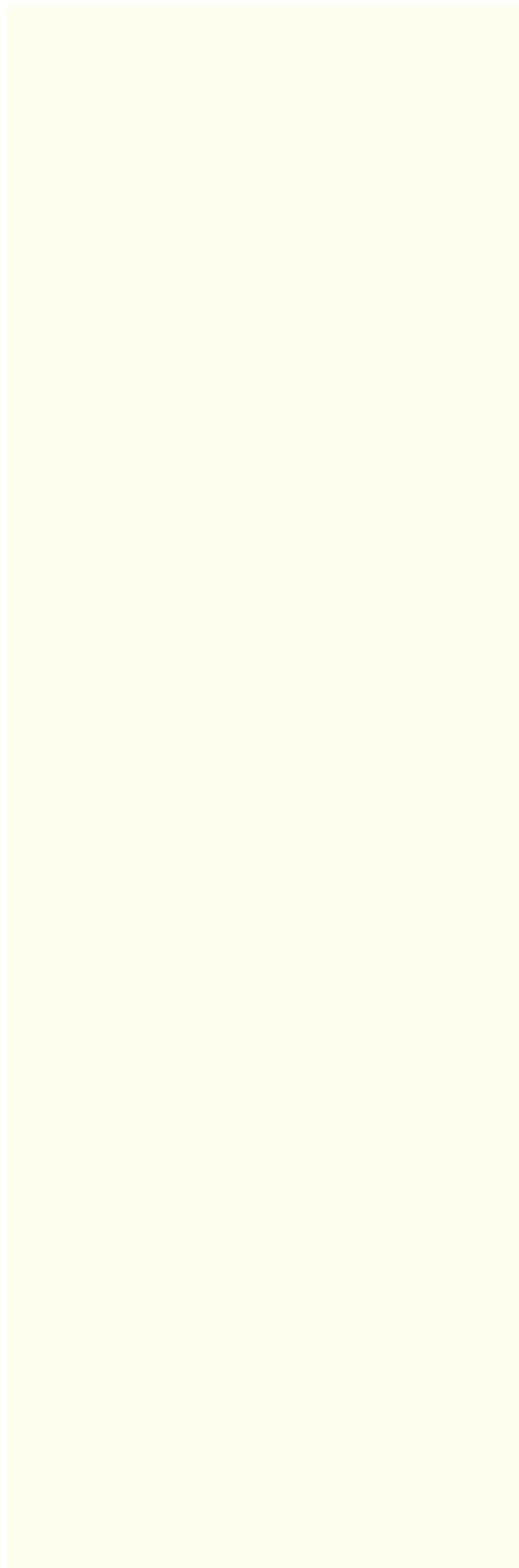
VI CONCLUSION

This paper has considered Goguryeo's presence from the late seventh century to the early-ninth century as a peripheral vassal state of Tang. Some of the remaining refugees of Goguryeo served the Tang military and contributed to the Tang expedition as far as to Sogdiana as led by the General Gao Xianzhi (Go Seonji, 高仙芝, d. 755), who was himself a Korean from Goguryeo. On the other hand, the Goguryeo people also played an important political role in Liaodong, maintaining a complex diplomatic relationship with the neighboring states of Qidan (契丹), Tuque, and Mohe, and establishing a new state of Balhae at the end of the seventh century.

Returning to the discussion on the portraits of people wearing *jouguan*, this paper proposed that the wall paintings in Dunhuang Caves 220, 335, and 332 are likely to have depicted emissaries of Goguryeo, a powerful neighboring state, in the presence of the Tang emperor. Before its fall, Goguryeo was the strongest of the Three Kingdoms and had fought against the Chinese armies of Sui Yangdi and Tang Taizong and had defeated them. Therefore it seems to be natural that even after Goguryeo fell in 668, the Tang Chinese still continued to keep in their minds the Goguryeo envoy with feathered hat as a stereotypical image of Koreans. It is therefore likely that the tomb murals or wall paintings were either based on a model of well-established images at the time or were copied after the event, rather than the artists' keen understanding of history or political knowledge regarding the neighboring states.

The fact that even after the collapse of Goguryeo, the remaining royal descendants were appointed to rule Liaodong in the form of a peripheral state of the Tang empire strongly suggests that the artists of the time were likely to have depicted Goguryeo people as emissaries from neighboring states. In particular, the silver box of Xi'an and the two scrolls *Wanghuitu* by Yan Liben and *Fanke ruchaotu* copied by Gu Deqian in Taipei clearly state in the inscription that the people in *jouguan* are from Goguryeo. This recognition in the appearance of Goguryeo people with the characteristic feature of the feathered hat, also applies

to the identification of the figures with *jougwan* at the scene of the distribution of *sariras* to neighboring kings carved on the stone reliquary in Senoku Hakukokan. ≡



NOTES

1

For the Chinese texts on ancient Korea, see *Official Historical Records of China: Joseon [in Korean]* (國譯 中國正史 朝鮮傳), Seoul: National Institute of Korean History (國史編纂委員會), 1986; *Joseon* (朝鮮傳), tran. Yi Minsu (李民壽), Seoul: Tamgudang (探究堂), 1974; Go Byeong-ik (高柄翊), "Historical Records of China – Foreign Countries (中國正史 外國列傳)," *Studies on the International History of East Asia* (東亞交涉事 研究), Seoul: Seoul National UP, 1970. 1-47.

2

"... 頭著折風, 其形如弁, 旁插鳥羽, 貴賤有差...", *Weishu Dongyichuan*, vol. 100, Liezhuan (列傳), j. 88, Gaogoulitiao (高句麗條: Goguryeo).

3

"...丈夫衣同袖衫, 大口袴, 白韋帶, 黃革履, 其冠曰骨蘇, 多以紫羅爲之, 雜以金銀爲飾. 其有官品者, 又插二鳥羽於其上. 以顯異之..." Yiyu Shang Gaolitiao (異域 上 高麗條: Other Regions beyond Goguryeo), *Zhoushu*, vol. 49, Liezhuan, j. 41.

4

"... 人皆頭著折風, 形如弁, 士人加插二鳥羽, 貴者, 其冠曰蘇骨 (cf. The name of hat, "golso (骨蘇)" in *Zhoushu* is recorded as "蘇骨" here.) 多用羅爲之, 飾以金銀...", *Beishi*, vol. 94, Liezhuan, j. 82, Gaogoulitiao; "...人皆皮冠, 使大加插鳥羽, 貴者冠用紫羅, 飾以金銀...", *Suishu*, vol. 81, Liezhuan, j. 46, Dongyichuan: Gaolitiao (高麗條); "... 官之貴者, 青羅爲冠 次以緋羅, 插二鳥羽, 及金銀爲飾...", *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 199, Liezhuan, j. 149, Dongyichuan: Gaolitiao; "...大臣青羅冠 次絳羅, 珥兩鳥羽, 金銀雜釵...", *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 220, Liezhuan, j. 145, Dongyichuan: Gaolitiao (東夷傳 高麗條); and there is a record that "Goguryeo musicians are wearing a silk headdress with feathers (高麗樂工人 紫羅帽飾以鳥羽)" in *Tongdian* (通典), vol. 146, Yue (樂).

5

"... Goryeo people all wear *Jeolpung* on their heads, which resemble peaked hats. The officials add two feathers... (北史云...高麗人 皆頭著折風 形如弁 士人加插二鳥羽 ...)," *Samguksagi*, vol. 33, Japji, ch. 2, Saekbokjo.

6

Yi Yongbeom (李龍範), "Studies on the Headdress with Feathers of the Goguryeo People (高句麗人 鳥羽插冠)," *Dongguksahak* (東國史學), vol. 4 (1956): 1-30.

7

Among many texts on this topic, I recommend the followings: Sim Jaewon (沈載完) and Yi Eunchang (李殷昌), "The Headdress of Government Officials of Korea (韓國 冠帽)," Seoul: Research Center of Silla/Gaya Culture at Yeungnam University, 1972; Yi Eunchang (李殷昌), *The History of Korean Dress: Ancient Period* (韓國服飾 歷史:古代篇), *Gyoyanggukseo chongseo* (教養國書叢書), ser. no. 29, Seoul: Sejongdaewang ginyumsaeophoe (世宗大王記念事業會), 1978. 166-216; Yun Seyeong (尹世英), "A Study on Ancient Korean Hats (韓國古代冠帽考)," *Hanguk gogohakbo* (韓國考古學報), vol. 9 (1980): 23-4.

8

"...men's dresses are similar to those of Goryeo. For morning audience they wear headdresses with feathers on both sides ... (...其衣服 男子略同於高麗 若朝拜祭祀其冠兩廂加翅...)," *Zhoushu*, Liezhuan, j. 41, Yiyu shang: Baiji (異域 上 百濟); "...their food and dress are similar to those of Goryeo. For morning audience or religious ceremonies they wear headdresses with feathers on both sides... (...其飲食衣服 與高麗略同若朝鮮 若朝拜祭祀 其冠兩廂加翅 戎事則不...)," *Beishu*, vol. 94, Liezhuan, j. 82, Baiji; Letian Fangle Sanle (樂田方樂 散樂: Rural Field Music: Folk Music), Yue, *Tongdian*, vol. 146; *Samguksagi*, Japji, ch. 2, Saekbokjo, ed., Yi Byungdo, 1977. 517.

9

Kim Won-yong, "On the Silla Emissary in the Tomb Mural of Prince Zhanghuai (唐 李賢墓 壁畫 新羅使節 對)," *Gogomisul* (考古美術: *Art and Archaeology*), vol. 123-4 (1974): 17-21; Nishitani Tadashi (西谷正), "On the Foreign Emissaries in the Tang Tomb of Li Xian, Prince Zhanghuai (唐 章懷太子 李賢墓の禮賓圖おめぐって)," *Collection of Articles on Ancient Culture-Special Issue Commemorating the 77th Birthday of Professor Kojima Takato* (兒島隆人先生喜壽記念論叢古文化論叢), 1991. 766-82.

10

Xin Tangshu, Xiyuzhuan xia: Kangtiao (西域傳 下 康條: The Records of the Western Regions Part II: Fortresses).

11

There is a report on this mural in Russian language published in Uzbekistan (L.I. Al'baum, Zhivopis' Afrasiaba, Tashkent, 1975), but I consulted studies such as: Anazawa Wako (穴澤和光) and Monome Junichi (馬目順一), "On the Korean Envoys Depicted on the Wall Painting of Afrasiab Palace (アフラシヤブ都城址出土の壁畫にみられる朝鮮人使節について)," *Chosen gakuho* (朝鮮學報), vol. 80 (1976-7): 1-36; Boris Marshak, "Le Programme Iconographique des Peintures de la 'Salle des Ambassadeurs' a Afrasiab (Samarkand)," *Arts Asiatiques*, vol. 49 (1994): 5-20; Frantz Grenet, "The 7th Century AD 'Ambassadors' painting' at Samarkand," *Mural Paintings of the Silk Road: Cultural Exchanges Between East and West*, proceedings of the 29th Annual International Symposium on the Conservation and Restoration of Cultural Property, National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Tokyo, January 2006. Eds., Yamauchi Kazuya (山内和也), Yoko Taniguchi (谷口陽子), and Tomoko Uno (宇野朋子), London: Archetype Publications Ltd., 2007. 9-19.

12

Kim Won-yong, "The Mural of Foreign Emissaries in Afrasiab Palace, Samarkand (宮殿壁畫 使節圖)," *Gogomisul*, vol. 129-30 (1976): 162-7. In this paper, Kim considered that the emissaries were from Silla, but in a more recent paper, "Ancient Korea and Western China (古代韓國 西域)," Kim concluded that they were more likely to have come from Goguryeo, *Misuljaryo* (美術資料: *National Museum Journal of Arts*), vol. 34 (1984): 1-5.

13

Anazawa and Monome, 1976-7. 30-2.

14

Roh Taedon (盧太敦), "A Study on Interaction between Peoples of Goguryeo, Balhae and Continental Asia (高句麗, 渤海人 內陸住民 交渉 一考察)," *Daedong munhwa yeongu* (大東文化研究), vol. 23, 1989. 235-45 (especially 244-5); Roh, "Goguryeo seen in the 'Reception of Foreign Envoys' ('禮賓圖' 高句麗)," *Seoul National University Korean Studies Monograph*, no. 1, Seoul National UP, 2003.

15

At the time when this paper was prepared first in Korean in 1994, there were few sources confirming them as Goguryeo people. However, since the introduction of two scroll paintings in the Taipei National Palace Museum depicting emissaries with *jougwan* with the inscription "Goguryeo," (discussed later on in this paper), it became clear that the figures were indeed from Goguryeo.

16

Dunhuang Research Institute (敦煌文物研究所) Edition, *The Caves of China: Donhuang Mogao Caves* (中國石窟, 敦煌莫高窟), vol. 3, Tokyo: Heibonsha (平凡社), 1981. Plates 21-34.

17

Ibid, see the captions for plate 30 and 32 on pp. 246 and 247, respectively; Ning Qiang (寧強), *Art, Religion & Politics in Medieval China: The Dunhuang Cave of the Zhai Family*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004.

18

Zhang Yanyuan (張彥遠), *Lidai minghuaqi* (歷代名畫記: *The Records of Famous Historical Paintings*), j. 9, Tangzhao shang: 'Lidedi Liben' tiao (唐朝 上 '立德弟立本' 條: Tang Dynasty part I, 'Virtuous Brother Liben').

19

Dunhuang Research Institute Edition, 1981. See plates 68, 69, 135, 136, 188, and 189.

20

Many scholars have compared this mural with the paintings of Yan Liben, e.g. Max Loehr, *The Great Painters of China*, New York: Harper & Row, 1980. 32-6. In Korea, Gwon Yeongpil (權寧弼), "An Experiment on the Methodology for the Study of the Dunhuang Murals (敦煌畫研究方法試探)," *Misulsahak* (美術史學) (1993): 93-124. See pp. 111-2 and 115-6 in particular.

21

"Yan Liben," *Xuanhehuapu* (宣和畫譜), vol. 1.

22

Dunhuang Research Institute Edition, 1981, plates 58-60 with captions on pages 251 and 252.

23

Duan Wenjie, "Dress and Ornaments among Tang Dynasty Cave Art (莫高窟唐代藝術中的服飾)," *Studies on the Dunhuang Caves Arts* (敦煌石窟藝術論集), Lanzhou: Gansu renmin chubanshe (甘肅人民出版社), 1988. 273-317. See pp. 294-5 in particular.

24

See Gwon, 1993. 115-6.

25

There is a stele *WuZhou Shengli Li Jun Mogaoku fokang bei* (武周聖曆李君莫高窟佛龕碑) in Cave 332 with the inscription of the first year of Shengli (盛歷元年, 698). Su Bai (宿白), *Studies on the Chinese Cave Sanctuaries* (中國石窟寺研究), Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe (文物出版社), 1996. 262-9.

26

The whole scene is illustrated in the book series of Dunhuang Caves Volume 7 edited by Dunhuang yanjiuyuan, et al., (敦煌研究院主編, 敦煌石窟全集); He Shizhe (賀世哲), ed., *Fahuajinghua Juan* (法華經畫卷: volume on the Paintings of the Saddharma Pundarika Sutra), Shanghai: Shanghai shiji chubanjituan (上海世紀出版集團) and Shanghai renmin chubanshe (上海人民出版社), 2000. 197; Wang Eugene Y., *Shaping the Lotus Sutra*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000. 126-7. These drawings do not focus on the figures with *jougwan*.

27

There are murals of Vimalakirti Sutra in Caves 103, 138, and 159 but the emissaries wearing *jougwan* do not appear in them either. Cave 159, dated to the time of the Tibetan occupation, also shows the King of Tufan at the front in the mural.

28

Roderick Whitfield, *The Art of Central Asia: The Stein Collection in the British Museum*, vol. I, Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1982. See plates 20-2.

29

These paintings became known outside Taiwan in 1995. Fukatsu Yukinori, (深津行徳), "A Study on the Copied Versions of the Painting of Tributary Envoys to Liang in the National Palace Museum, Taiwan (臺灣故宮博物院藏 梁職貢圖模本について)," *Chosha genkyu hoko* (調查研究報告: Occasional Paper), ed. Gakushuin Daigaku (學習院大學), Tokyo: Toyo bunka kenkyusho (學習院大學東洋文化研究所: Research Institute for Oriental Cultures of Gakushuin University), no. 44 (March 1999): 41-99.

30

I have made some comments on this painting in the following papers: Kim Lena, "The International Elements in the Art of Unified Silla (統一新羅美術 國際性)," ed. Sadanbeobin hanguk misulsaahakhoe (社團法人韓國美術史學會), *International Relations in the Arts of Unified Silla* (統一新羅美術 對外交涉), Seoul: Yekyong Publishing Co. Ltd., 2001. 11-4; The same article can be seen in *Hanguk godae bulgyojogak bigyo yeongu* (韓國古代佛教彫刻比較研究), Seoul: Munye chulpansa, 2003. 194-7. Also, in view of the history of costumes, the following published articles may be referred to: Kim Jong-wan (金鍾完), "The Background of the Painting, Liangzhigongtu (梁職工圖 成立背景)," *Weijinsuitangsha yeongu* (魏晉隋唐史研究), vol. 8 (2001): 29-67; Lee Jin-min, Nam Yun-ja, and Jo Wu-hyeon. "A Study of Costumes of the Envoys from the Three Kingdoms Painted in *Wanghoedo* and *Beongaegipjodo* (王會圖 蕃客入朝圖 描寫 三國使臣 服飾研究)," *Boksik* (服飾), vol. 51, no. 3 (May 2001): 155-70.

31

Zhang Dahong (張達宏) and Wang Chenqi (王辰启), "A Few Relics at the Xi'an Cultural Repository (西安市文管會收藏的几件文物)," *Kaogu yu wenwu* (考古與文物), vol. 4 (1984): 22-6.

32

I learned about the existence of this silver box when Professor Suzuki Yasutami (鈴木靖民) kindly sent me the exhibition catalogue, *Hidden Treasures of Chang'an: the Capital of the Silkroad* (シルクロードの都 長安の秘寶) held at Seibu Museum (西武美術館), Tokyo: Nihon Keizai shinbunsha (日本經濟新聞社), 1992. The box is also featured by Shaanxi Provincial Museum (陝西省博物館), *Sui Tang Wenhua* (隋唐文化), Xuelin chubanshe (學林出版社), 1993, 170-1, plate. 8. Shortly thereafter, the following articles were published: Tanaka Kazumi (田中一美), "The Iconography Incised on the Covered Silver Box, known as Tsukan Shichikakoku Ginko, and Its Use (都管七箇國盒の圖像とその用途)," *Bukkyo Geijutsu* (佛教藝術), no. 210 (October 1993): 15-30. Tanaka estimated that the silver box was discovered from the temple site of Baoyingsi (寶應寺) in Daozhengfang (道政坊) in front of the Xingqinggong (興慶宮: ancient royal palace) and that the silver box was created for Buddhist sariras after the foundation of the temple in 767.

33

Both Goguryeo (高句麗) and Goryeo (高麗) are used in the Official Historical Records of China (中國正史) but Goryeo alone is used in *Nanqishu*, *Zhoushu*, *Jiu Tangshu*, and *Xin Tangshu*. See National Institute of Korean History, 1986. 259.

34

"The people with curly hair and dark skin in the south of Linyi are generally called Kunlun (林邑[古城]以南 卷髮黑身 通號崑崙)," *Jiu tangshu*, vol. 197, Nanmanchuan (南蠻傳), Kunluntiao; *Dahanhecidian* (大漢和辭典), vol. 4. 270.

35

For a brief introduction to Kunlun, see Edward H. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963, 45-47 ff.

36

白拓□國 could not be identified but, in Yan Liben's Wanghuitu and *Fanke ruchaotu* copied Gu Deqian, there is the country name 白題國, which is thought to be the name of a Xiongnu (匈奴) tribe. Cf. Fukatsu, op. cit. (note 29 above).

37

Jiu Tangshu, vol. 197, Liezhuan, j. 147, Nanman Xinanman; *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 222, Liezhuan, j. 147, Nanzhao I, Nanman, no. 1.

38

See Tanaka, 1993 (note 32).

39

This marble casket is featured in the catalog of the exhibition, *Hidden Treasures of Chang'an: the Center of the Silkroad* (シルクロードの都 長安の秘寶) held at Seibu Museum, cat. 98. The casket is also featured in the catalog of the exhibition entitled *The Glory of the Court: Tang Dynasty Empress Wu and Her Times* held at Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum (東京都美術館) in 1998, cat. 34.

40

Toyama Kiyoshi (外山 潔), "On the Sarira Reliquary in the Museum Collection, part I (館藏舍利容器について上)," *Senoku HakukoKan* (泉屋博古館紀要: *Bulletin of the Senoku Hakukokan: Sumitomo Collection*), vol. 8, 1992. 101-20; part II, vol. 10. 90-133; Nara National Museum (奈良國立博物館), "Ultimate Sanctuaries: The Aesthetics of Buddhist Relic Worship (佛舍利と寶珠-釋迦お慕う心)," Nara: Nara National Museum, 2001. 14.

41

A question arises about whether Emperor Suzong (肅宗) during the Qianyuan years (758-760) was also known as Xiaoyi Huangdi. However, all Japanese publications interpret Qianyuan as the reign title. Furthermore, there was a Qianyuan Hall in Luoyang from the very beginning of the Tang dynasty, and since no year is given, one cannot be sure that this is not a place reference, rather than a date. See Toyama, *ibid*, 105; Nara National Museum, *ibid*, plate 14 and its caption.

42

Jiu Tangshu, vol. 199, Liezhuan, j. 149, Dongyi: Gaolizhuan.

43

Xin Tangshu, vol. 220, Liezhuan, j. 145, Dongyi: Gaolizhuan.

44

Based on Chinese records, the same content appears in Korean historical records. *Samguksagi*, Kings of Goguryeo (高句麗本紀) ch. 10, Bojangwang, Part II, trans. with annotation, Yi Byeongdo, Seoul: Eulyu muhwasa (乙酉文化社), 1977. 346-7.

45

Roh Taedon, "A Study of the History of Goguryeo Migrants (高句麗流民史研究)," *Essays in Commemoration of the Retirement of Dr. Han Woo Keun* (韓佑勛博士停年紀念史學論叢), Seoul: Jisik saneopsa (知識産業社), 1981. 79-108.

46

The name Lesser Goguryeo (小高句麗, Sogoguryeo) does not appear in historical records but was named by the Japanese scholar Hino Kaisaburo (日野開三郎) in order to distinguish Goguryeo and Later Goguryeo after its fall. This conception is also accepted by Korean scholars. Hino Kaisaburo started to write about his theory in a series of articles in *Sien* (史淵), vols. 63 (1954) to 109 (1972). Later, he published the articles in a book, Hino Kaisaburo, *A Study of Lesser Goguryeo* (小高句麗の研究), vol. 8, Kyoto: Sanichi Shobou (三一書房) Publishing Co. Ltd., 1984. Lesser Goguryeo is not a widely known subject, but the following studies can be helpful. See Roh's article in note 14; and Yi Gi-baek (李基白) and Lee Gi-dong (李基東), *Lectures on Korean History: The Ancient Period* (韓國史講座 古代篇), Seoul: Iljogak, 1982. 301-6. Also see the entry on "Lesser Goguryeo" in The Academy of Korean Studies (韓國學中央研究院), *Encyclopedia of Korean Culture* (民族文化大百科事典), vol. 12. 644-5.

47

See reference by Roh, 1989 (note 14) and also his article, "The Background in the Founding of Balhae (渤海 建國 背景)," *Daegusahak* (大邱史學), vol. 19 (1981): 1-29. Roh suggested the founding of Lesser Goguryeo have taken place after the rebellion of An Lushan in Tang, much later than the time period suggested by Hino Kaisaburo.

48

Zizhitongjian (資治通鑑), vol. 202 (Yifeng [儀鳳] 3rd year [678], tenth month); *Jiu Tangshu*, vol. 199, Liezhuan, *Dongyi Baiji* (東夷百濟); *Xin Tangshu*, Baijizhuan.

49

Jiu Tangshu, vol. 23 (Kaiyuan [開元] 13th year [725], 11th month Liyi [禮儀] 3).

50

"Toward the end of Yuanhe (元和), envoy pays tributes," (至元和末, 遣使者獻樂工云), *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 220, Liezhuan, j. 145, Dongyi: Gaolizhuan.

51

Samguksagi, Kings of Goguryeo (高句麗本紀) ch. 10, Bojangwang, Part II, trans. w. annotation, Yi Byeongdo, Seoul: Eulyu muhwasa (乙酉文化社), 1977. 348.

52

See Roh, 1981 (note 45). 95.