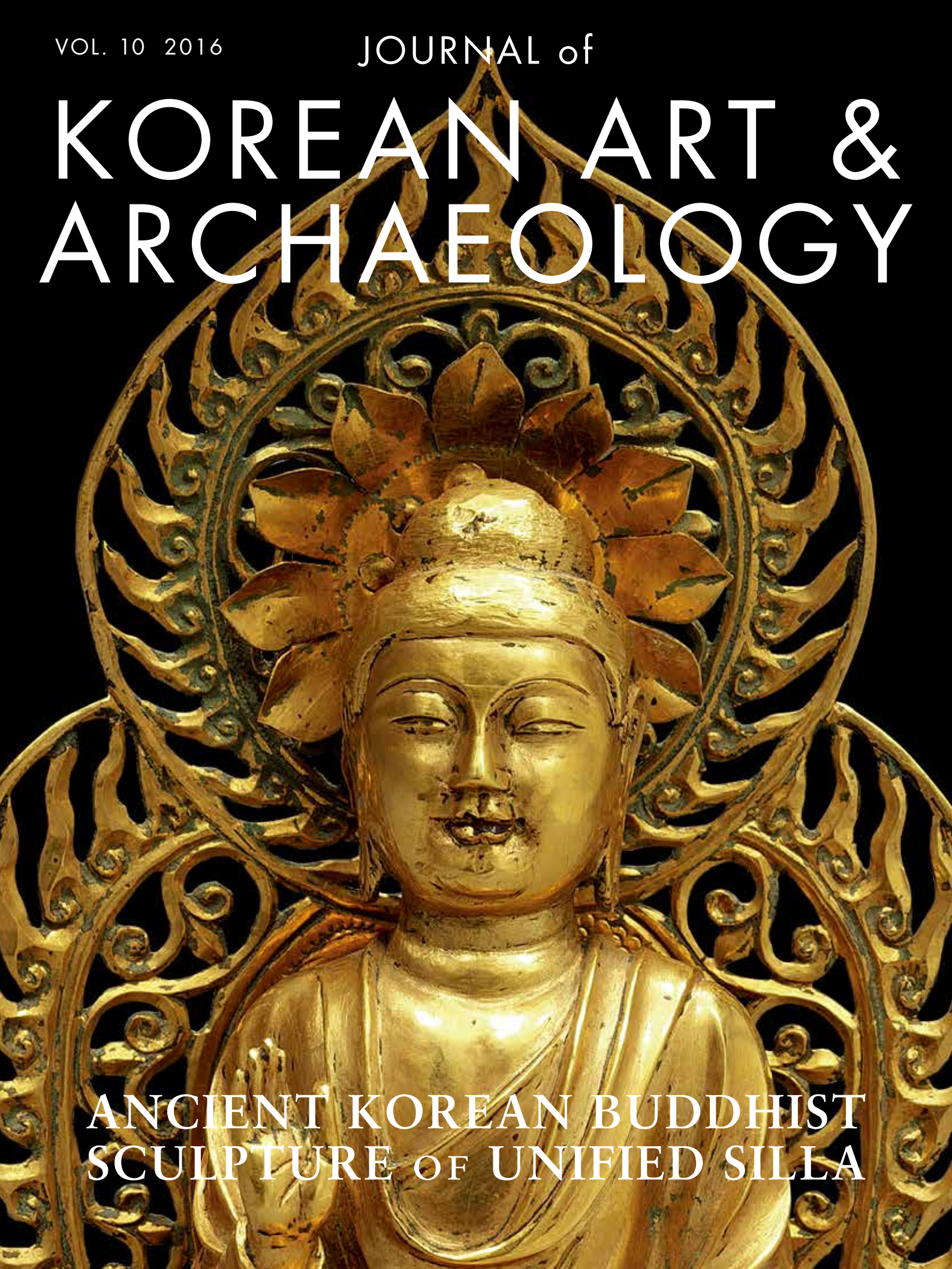


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ANCIENT KOREAN BUDDHIST  
SCULPTURE OF UNIFIED SILLA



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Notes to the Readers

Throughout the journal, East Asian names are listed in the order of family name followed by first name.

The journal follows the author-date system of the Chicago Manual of Style, with the following modification. Since family names are often quite common in East Asia, the entire name of East Asian scholars is referenced within in-text citations. Hopefully, this will save readers from having to resort to the bibliography to identify a scholar.

The following standard systems have been adopted for the transliteration of East Asian names and texts: Revised Romanization System (2000) for Korean, Hanyu Pinyin System for Chinese, and the Hepburn System for Japanese.

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## Editorial Note

Kim Youn-mi  
Assistant Professor of  
Yale University

*Journal of Korean Art and Archaeology*, published annually since 2007, has contributed greatly toward bridging Korean academia with the English-speaking world. The journal published by the National Museum of Korea translates recent studies on Korean art and archaeological achievements into English, making them available to a wider audience. For almost a decade, the journal's academic articles have served as useful readings for teaching Korean art to students young and old.

The special feature of Volume 10 focuses on Buddhist art, especially the Buddhist sculpture of the Unified Silla dynasty. Ever since art history was introduced to Korea as a modern discipline in the early twentieth century, Buddhist art has been one of the major subjects in the historiography of Korean art. Buddhist art was an important subject of study for Ko Yuseop (高裕燮, 1905–1944), who is widely accepted as the first art historian in Korean history. Majoring in art history and aesthetics at Keijō Imperial University, Ko was exposed to the theoretical work of European art historians, including Alois Riegl (1858–1905) and Heinrich Wölfflin (1864–1945). After graduating, Ko was appointed director of Gaeseong City Museum in 1933, and began conducting extensive field research and publishing copious academic articles on Korean art. Although he studied painting and Buddhist sculpture as well, the main focus of his scholarship was the stone pagodas that dotted the Korean landscape. These pagodas, which were built to enshrine Buddhist relics, are the most representative examples of Buddhist architecture. Unlike China and Japan where timber and bricks were the most common building materials for pagodas, the pagodas in Korea have a long history of being built of stone. After the premature death of Ko, who established the foundations of Korean Buddhist art history as a modern discipline, his disciples Hwang Sooyoung (黃壽永, 1918–2011) and Chin Hongsup (秦弘燮, 1918–2010) continued to develop the field. In subsequent generations, a more diverse group of art historians trained in Korea, America, Europe, and Japan published on various topics in Buddhist painting, sculpture, and architecture, expanding the scope of the art historical methodologies applied.

In the West, interest in Buddhism was sparked as early as the nineteenth century and began to influence intellectuals such as the German philosophers Arthur Schopenhauer (1788–1860) and Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900). As European archaeologists and sinologists, including Alexander Cunningham (1814–1893), Paul Pelliot (1878–1945), and Aurel Stein (1862–1943), started to excavate ancient Indian Buddhist monuments and collect Buddhist artwork and manuscripts in Central Asia and China, Buddhist art also began drawing the attention of European collectors and museum curators. Among the first to introduce Japanese Buddhist art to America was the art historian Ernest Fenollosa (1853–1908), but Buddhist art is now an important subject in many art history departments in the West. The amount of academic publications on Korean Buddhist art in English, however, remains small compared to those on Indian, Chinese, and Japanese Buddhist art. My colleagues in the West have expressed a dire need for more English publications on Korean Buddhist art to use in their teaching. The publication of Volume 10 of *Journal of Korean Art and Archaeology*, I believe, will serve as a valuable resource

for scholars and students of Asian art who want to teach and learn more on the subject.

This volume includes three featured articles on Buddhist sculpture of the Silla dynasty (新羅, 57 BCE–935), two articles on archaeology, an article on Buddhist craft from the Goryeo dynasty (高麗, 918–1392), and an article on a landscape painting from the Joseon dynasty (朝鮮, 1392–1910) currently in the National Museum of Korea's collection. The first featured articles in this volume, “Vairocana, Image of Dharmakāya in the Late Silla Dynasty” by Kang Heejung, offers answers to important questions about the socio-religious context and doctrinal meaning of the Vairocana sculptures produced in Silla. Most of the surviving Vairocana sculptures come from the late Silla period. Based on inscriptional and scriptural evidence, Kang's article suggests that these Vairocana sculptures were produced as part of the Silla kings' efforts to strengthen their power as their authority weakened in the late Silla period. Kang's article also solves the question as to why these Vairocana sculptures form the wisdom-fist mudrā, a hand gesture from Esoteric Buddhism, although they represent the principal Buddha of the Hwaeom (華嚴, Ch. Huayan) school in the Silla period. The article further examines how the production of the Vairocana sculptures in late Silla reflects the fusion of Seon (禪, Ch. Chan) Buddhism with Hwaeom in the context of Silla.

So Hyunsook's paper, “The Relationship between Buddhist Sculpture of the Unified Silla Period and Tang Dynasty Painting: A Study of the Buddha and Bodhisattva Sculptures from Gamsansa Temple,” reveals the interregional cultural exchange from Perisa to Korea as well as the cross-media exchange between painting and sculpture. Through careful examination of the stylistic distinctiveness of two sculptures in Gamsansa temple—especially the butterfly-shaped knots above the shoulders and the densely overlapping U-shaped creases on the drapery—the paper demonstrates that these famous Silla sculptures from the year 719 were based on painted models from Tang China. As So points out, such details commonly appeared in contemporaneous murals in Dunhuang which reflected influence from Khotan, while Chinese sculptures from that era lacked such details. The paper further infers the ways in which such painted models may have been brought to Silla from China by Kim Jiseong, the patron of the two Gamsansa sculptures, as well as the intimate relationship between painting and sculpture in China.

Focusing on the sculpture in Seokguram Grotto, Huh Hyeonguk explores the sculptures of Brahmā and Indra in India and East Asian in his article, “Iconography of Brahmā and Indra in Seokguram Grotto: Its Origins and Formation.” Over the last two decades, Huh has conducted in-depth research on the images of these two important but surprisingly little-studied deities. Due to their iconographic precision, the eighth-century reliefs at Seokguram Grotto in Gyeongju, Korea are important works that can improve our understanding of Brahmā and Indra in the Buddhist tradition. The most significant contribution in his article is Huh's groundbreaking illumination of the influence of the Hwaeom school of Buddhism on the inclusion of the Brahmā and Indra reliefs inside the round main chamber of Seokguram Grotto. Also remarkable is Huh's finding

that the iconographic details of these reliefs were based on the explanation of the *Tuoluoni ji jing* (陀羅尼集經, Compiled *Dhāraṇi Sūtras*). Since Huh's article also examines the earlier and later images of Brahmā and Indra in India and China, his article will be useful not only for students of Korean art but also for scholars of Buddhist art in general.

Ahn Sung-Mo, author of the first archaeological article in this journal and emeritus professor of Wonkwang University, has devoted his life to the development of palaeoethnobotany, which involves the study of the remains of plants cultivated or used by men at archaeological sites in Korea. His article, "A Study of Utilization Patterns of Nuts and Nut-yielding Trees from the Neolithic Times through the Three Kingdoms Period in Korea Based on Plant Remains," analyzes pollen and macro plant remains from archaeological sites and traces changes in the usage of nuts and nut-yielding trees. According to Ahn's findings, acorns were a key component of the diet during the Neolithic period and oak was a preferred building material; however, as grain cultivation technology developed in the Bronze Age, acorns lost their importance. Instead, chestnuts and chestnut trees became more prevalent, and people in the southern Korean Peninsula seem to have begun cultivating chestnut trees during this time.

The other archaeological article in this issue, "The Chronology and Changing Nature of the Lime Mortar Burials of the Joseon Period" by Kim Hyunwoo, examines the Joseon dynasty's tombs built using lime mortar, which were related to Neo-Confucianism. Until now, these tombs have not been systematically studied because archaeologists have focused more on the prehistoric and ancient periods. Kim's study, however, shows these tombs to be a significant part of the material culture, the study of which can improve our understanding of the Joseon dynasty. After examining how the Neo-Confucian funerary rituals supported by the Joseon court promoted lime mortar burials, Kim's paper offers a chronological analysis of these tombs. This study will serve as a sound basis for future study of the Joseon dynasty's lime mortar burials, encouraging interdisciplinary studies that bridge archaeology, history, and cultural studies.

"Tradition and Originality in Buddhist Incense Burners of the Goryeo Dynasty" by Lee Yongjin examines the process by which the unique styles and methods of decorating the Goryeo dynasty's Buddhist incense burners gradually developed, while investigating their relationship with the previous craft tradition from the Silla dynasty. Lee suggests that Goryeo incense burners of a particular design originated from similar incense burners in the Silla dynasty. Lee also examines traces of the Silla tradition in the *hyangwan*, the representative type of Goryeo incense burner that takes the shape of a large pedestal bowl. On the other hand, the hanging style of incense burner known as *hyeonno* and the silver inlay decorations, as Lee points out, are unique to the Goryeo style. Also noteworthy is Lee's in-depth exploration of the Siddham characters inlaid in the Goryeo incense burners and their origin.

The last piece in this journal, "*Bihaedang's Poetry Scroll of the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers* and Its Relationship to *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers* from the Former Yūgensai Collection in Japan" by Park Haehoon offers an in-depth study of an album from the National

Museum of Korea's collection. This album, entitled *Bihaedang's Poetry Scroll of the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers*, was originally a poem-and-picture scroll collectively created by Prince Anpyeong (安平大君, 1418–1453) and cultural luminaries of the time. Park's research suggests that *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers* from the former Yūgensai collection likely copied the painting that had been included in the *Bihaedang's Poetry Scroll*. As Park notes, the two paintings had a strong influence on later paintings that depicted the same theme, and further study of the two will contribute to the study of the missing works attributed to An Gyeon (安堅), the most important landscape painter of the early Joseon period.

Sanskrit terms in this journal are marked in italics only when they do not appear in *Webster's Third New International Dictionary*. Those included in this dictionary have become part of English terminology, and thus need not be marked in italics. "T." in the references is an abbreviation of Takakusu Junjiro (高楠順次郎) and Watanabe Kaigyoku (渡辺海旭), eds., 1924–1934. *Taishō shinshū Daizōkyō* (大正新脩大藏經), 100 vols. Tokyo: *Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai*. The editing and reference style follows that of previous issues of *Journal of Korean Art and Archaeology*. I assumed the role of senior editor for this volume at the last minute due to the illness of my predecessor, Dr. Robert D. Mowry. I put my utmost efforts into editing this journal despite the very limited time available before publication. I hope for Dr. Robert D. Mowry to recover from his illness soon. Any errors in this volume are my own. 玆



# Special

## Ancient Korean Buddhist Sculpture of Unified Silla

**Vairocana, Image of Dharmakāya in the  
Late Silla Dynasty**  
by Kang Heejung

**The Relationship between Buddhist  
Sculpture of the Unified Silla Period and  
Tang Dynasty Painting: A study of the  
Buddha and Bodhisattva Sculptures from  
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by So Hyunsook

**Iconography of Brahmā and Indra in  
Seokguram Grotto: Its Origins and  
Formation**  
by Huh Hyeonguk





Fig. 5. Gilt-bronze Vairocana. Silla, 9th century. Birojeon Hall at Bulguksa Temple, Gyeongju (Kwak Dongseok 2000, Fig. 64)

## Vairocana, Image of Dharmakāya in the Late Silla Dynasty

Kang Heejung  
Sogang University

### Introduction

Sculptures of Vairocana, which in Korea were most widely produced during the late Silla period (新羅, 57 BCE–935 CE), represent the embodiment in physical Buddha form of the truth realized by all Buddhas. Vairocana is the personification of the abstract concept of truth as depicted through the likeness of a Buddha. Unlike Śākyamuni, Vairocana is not an actual historical figure: He is the manifestation of the body of the dharma, and is also known as the dharmakāya, or the truth body of the Buddha. As an expression of truth itself, Vairocana neither expands nor contracts, increases nor decreases; he undergoes no change and does not preach.

The Korean name for “Vairocana” is “Birojana” (毘盧遮那). It is a transliteration of the original Sanskrit, which means “infinite light.” This indicates that Vairocana is the Buddha who, like the sun, constantly emits the light of the ultimate truth realized by Śākyamuni onto the world of sentient beings and guides them into the world of light. With the development of Buddhism and the consequent appearance of numerous Buddhas, a need arose to organize the doctrine of the bodies of the Buddha. In the process of establishing the trikāya, or the three bodies of the Buddha—i.e., the dharma body (法身, Sk. dharmakāya), the reward body (報身, Sk. sambhogakāya), and the response body (應身, Sk. nirmāṇakāya),

Vairocana as the dharma body was designated as the lord of the universe and a key figure of Buddhism. Vairocana is the principal Buddha of the *Avatamsaka Sūtra* (華嚴經, *Flower Garland Sūtra*), the *Mahāvairocana Abhisambodhi Sūtra* (大日經, *Great Illuminator Sūtra*), and the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra* (金剛頂經, *Diamond Crown Sūtra*), and occupies the central position of the Buddhist hierarchy.

While Vairocana sculptures were also created in China and India, they do not always demonstrate the *bodhasri* mudrā (智拳印, wisdom-fist mudrā) as do the Silla examples. What does this indicate about the significance of Silla Vairocana images? While it is known that the Hwaeom (華嚴, Ch. Huayan) school of Buddhism based on the *Avatamsaka Sūtra* contributed to strengthening the absolute monarchy during the mid-Silla period, only a single Vairocana statue remains from this era. If the Hwaeom tradition did indeed play a supporting role for the Silla monarchy, numerous images of Vairocana, the principal Buddha of the *Avatamsaka Sūtra*, would likely have been produced, which is not the case. Moreover, the *Avatamsaka Sūtra* makes no mention of the wisdom-fist mudrā, which is the typical mudrā of late Silla images of Vairocana. Bearing in mind the wisdom-fist mudrā’s origin in the Esoteric sūtras, this essay explores the influence on late Silla Buddhism of the Esoteric tradition and the role of the Hwaeom school.



## The Ideology of Vairocana and Its Place in Late Silla Buddhism

### Vairocana as the God of Light

In ancient Indian texts, such as the Rigveda and the Vedic Upanishads, Vairocana is identified as an Asura (Kanaoka Shuyu 1969: 191). In other sources, Vairocana is said to have originated in the Hindu god Vishnu, the creator of heaven and earth. There is no definitive evidence supporting either case, but it does appear that Vairocana, whose prime characteristic is light, was simply linked with Vedic deities related to light. In this sense, the name “Vairocana” came to be translated in Chinese as “Bianzhao” (遍照, universal light) or “Guangming Bianzhao” (光明遍照, bright universal light). But Vairocana was more often called “Locana” (盧舍那, K. Nosana) or “Cana” (舍那, K. Sana), which are shortened Chinese transliteration of the Sanskrit name. These names reflect the nature of Vairocana as a being who resembles the sun shining the light of truth over the world, brightening the entire world and allowing all things to grow. The name and characteristics of Vairocana equate the Buddha with the sun, the origin of all life, and contain the authority to unite the world of the “truth” with the world of the “light.”

The first sūtra to mention Vairocana was the *Samyukta Āgama* (雜阿含經), which was translated into Chinese in the fifth century. Vairocana also appears in the *Brahmajāla Sūtra*, or *Brhama's Net Sūtra* (梵網經), among others, but does not appear as a leading figure until the *Avatamsaka Sūtra*. Of the three translations of this sūtra, in the earliest 60-fascicle version the Buddha is named Locana rather than Vairocana. Locana can be considered a concept that precedes the establishment of Vairocana as a key figure in the Buddhist cosmology. It is not until the 80-fascicle version translated in the late seventh century that Vairocana appears as the dharma body representing the highest truth. Although Locana and Vairocana both signify the same Buddha with the same meaning, the two began to differ with the development in the doctrine of the dharma body of the Buddha.

The characteristics of Vairocana were further expanded in late Esoteric sūtras in which the Buddha is named Mahāvairocana. “Mahā” means “big” or “great,” so “Mahāvairocana” indicates “great Vairocana.” With the characteristics of Vairocana thus further emphasized, Mahāvairocana's name has been

freely translated into “Dari Rulai” (大日如来, K. Daeil Yeorae), literally meaning “Great Sun Buddha” (Kang Heejung 1990, 26) because he is greater than any sun in the physical world and possesses exceptional powers. Locana, Vairocana, and Dari Rulai all mean “the sun” and bear the nature of the dharma body, which represents the world of truth. Such transformations in the name of Vairocana are the outcome of the intensification and amplification of the characteristics of the Buddha in line with the development of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

Vairocana was imbued with the property of light in order to guide unenlightened sentient beings to the land of Buddha's truth. In a world divided between darkness and light, ignorance and knowledge, the practice of asceticism, accumulation of good karma, and attainment of Buddhahood can all be perceived as progress toward the world of light. This is most clearly symbolized in the wisdom-fist mudrā seen in late Silla sculptures of Vairocana. As the root of all Buddhas and embodiment of the dharma, Vairocana incorporates all Buddhas and bodhisattvas, and all Buddhas and bodhisattvas are thus derived from Vairocana. The *Brhamajāla Sūtra* states that countless Buddhas evolve out of even a single strand of hair from Vairocana, who sits on a lotus pedestal. Since the 100 billion Buddhas sitting on the lotus pedestal emerge from Vairocana, Vairocana is the primordial Buddha and origin of all Buddhas.

### The Late Silla Vairocana:

#### Analogy for Absolute Monarchy

Records of Vairocana first appeared in the eighth century, but their amount from the late Silla period is limited. The considerable number of extant Vairocana sculptures, however, indicates that the cult of Vairocana was thriving in that period. Underlying the rapid diffusion of the Vairocana cult at the time was the policy of strengthening the authority of the throne. Since the reign of King Muyeol (武烈王, r. 654–661), Silla kings had established a more absolute monarchy. With the progress of the centralization of bureaucratic power, the authority of the monarch grew stronger and the position of the aristocrats weakened. However, in the aftermath of the struggles over the throne that occurred in the late Silla period, there was a need to seek avenues to bulwark the authority of the king, which lost much of its legitimacy.

Philosophical support for a stronger absolute

monarchy was found in the *Avatamsaka Sūtra* (Kim Sanghyun 1984, 59–91). In the Hwaeom theory of interdependent origination (緣起, Skr. *pratityasamutpāda*), “one” can become “two” and “two” can double into “four” according to the chain of cause and effect through which all things in the universe are created. From the opposite perspective, all things in the universe, which are derived from the “one,” are nothing but false forms. For this reason, everything in the universe ultimately returns to the “one.” This process is called “nature arising” or “nature origination” (性起). According to the Hwaeom philosophy, everything in the universe derives from the same fundamental origin to assume false forms, so the plentitude evolves out of the one and those countless things all eventually return to the one. That is, the world is explained through the principle of “one is many, and many are one” (一即多, 多即一) (Kamata Shigeo 1988, 238–279). However, various monks adhering to the Hwaeom philosophy emphasized different elements. Some stressed the idea of many things emerging out of one and their interdependent origination, while others focused on the idea of the many returning to one and nature origination. For instance, the Chinese monk Fazang (法藏, 643–712) supported the former concept of interdependent origination, while the Silla monk Uisang (義湘, 625–702) backed the latter concept, nature origination. Under the influence of Uisang, the absolute monarchy of Silla adopted the Hwaeom tradition (Kim Doojin 1994, 1–29). In Uisang's Hwaeom theory, the countless components of the universe were compared to the populace of a kingdom, while the fundamental element serving as the basis of all was thought to be the king. It seems that the Hwaeom philosophy, which placed the Silla king at the center of the world, was favored as a religious teaching that was useful for the imposition of a centralized absolute monarchy.

The main figure in the *Avatamsaka Sūtra* is Vairocana, the dharma body. As lord of the universe and the transformation body (化身) of absolute truth, Vairocana was the most fitting being for utilization by Silla kings to emphasize their status in the world. However, the fact that only a single Vairocana sculpture from the mid-Silla period remains, found at the ancient site of Seongnamsa Temple (石南寺), brings this interpretation into question. It is noteworthy that a large number of Vairocana images were in fact cre-

ated during the late Silla period when battles raged over occupancy of the throne. It can be supposed that many of these ninth-century Vairocana images were fashioned based on the Hwaeom theory in order to support the authority and legitimacy of the monarch (Moon Myungdae 1982, 55–89), and that some time was needed for the ripening of conditions for the production of Vairocana images. This idea is reinforced by the fact that temples of the Hwaeom and Seon (禪, Ch. Chan) schools dedicated to Vairocana received support from the royal court.

## Production of Vairocana Images in the Ninth Century

### Influence of Esoteric Buddhism and Vairocana

#### Images in Buddha Form with the Wisdom-fist Mudrā

In principle, Vairocana has no physical form. Neither the *Brahmajāla Sūtra* nor the *Avatamsaka Sūtra* mentions how images of Vairocana should be fashioned. The great Buddha made between 672 and 675 at Fengxian Temple (奉先寺) in Longmen, China shows iconography consistent with contemporaneous Śākyamuni images (Fig. 1). Due to the transformation Buddhas depicted on the lotus pedestal, however, we can know that the great Buddha at Fengxian

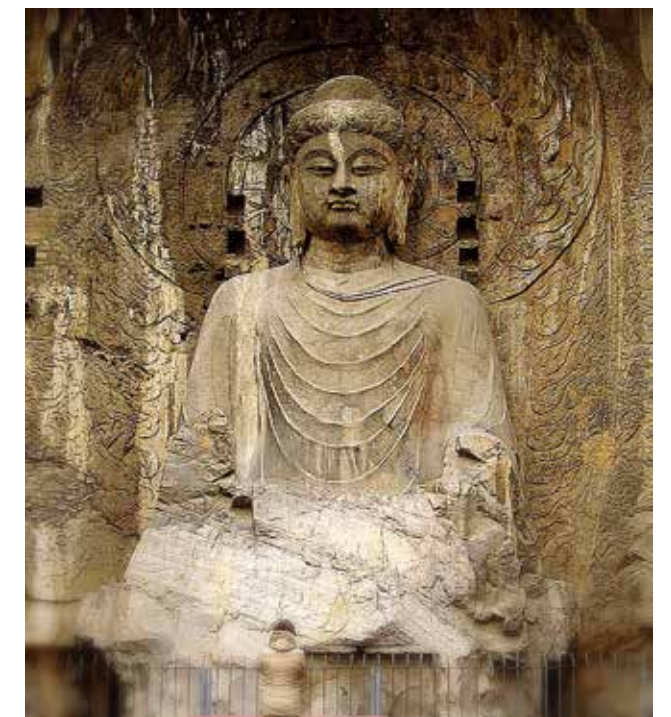


Fig. 1. Locana, Tang dynasty, 675. Fengxian Temple, Longmen, China (Author's photograph)



Temple was created based on the *Brhamajāla Sūtra* (Sasaki Aobamura 1914, 202-203). As perceptions of Vairocana refined and the study of the doctrine of the bodies of the Buddha began, Esoteric Buddhism began to provide references as well. The central figure in the Garbhādhātu Maṇḍala (服藏界曼荼羅, Womb Realm Maṇḍala) and the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala (金剛界曼荼羅, Diamond Realm Maṇḍala) is Mahāvairocana. The *Vajradhātu Maṇḍala*, in particular, depicts Mahāvairocana making the wisdom-fist *mudrā* with both hands. Therefore, while the characteristics and nature of Vairocana had already been established in the *Avatamsaka Sūtra*, the iconography of the images of this Buddha followed the Esoteric tradition.

All Silla sculptures of Vairocana show the wisdom-fist *mudrā*. This *mudrā* is known to be unique to Vairocana, resulting in all images exhibiting this hand gesture to be identified as Vairocana. The earliest depiction of the wisdom-fist *mudrā* appears in Esoteric scriptures such as the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra*, which was translated into Chinese in the eighth century. Described in the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra* and related texts as “the shape of the hands of wisdom guiding the way to enlightenment” and “the shape of the hands eradicating darkness among sentient beings,” it became known as the *mudrā* of Vairocana with the development of Esoteric Buddhism. In that case, how can Vairocana (毘盧遮那) of the *Avatamsaka Sūtra* be distinguished from Mahāvairocana (大日如來) of Esoteric Buddhism? In the Esoteric sūtras, all Buddhas are lavishly decorated and assume the appearances of bodhisattvas. The *Ritual Procedure of Attaining Buddhahood through the Recitation of the Vajraśekhara* (金剛頂念誦成佛儀軌) clearly states that “Vairocana is round like the moon and his body is decorated. He wears a diamond crown on his head and jewels decorating his body, with hands making the wisdom-fist *mudrā* as he sits on a lion pedestal.” One illuminating example is a statue of Mahāvairocana from Indonesia (Fig. 2). Dating to the mid-eighth century, the hands are clearly making the wisdom-fist *mudrā* and the entire body is ornamented. There are also ornaments in the *jata-mukkhuta* (髮髻冠), a high crown of knotted hair, and the body is decorated with lavish necklaces, bracelets, and beads. The style resembles that of Bengali sculpture from India or Javanese sculpture from central Indonesia. In India, a Pala period sculpture of a bodhisattva with hands making the wisdom-fist *mudrā*, dating to around the tenth



Fig. 2. Mahāvairocana. Indonesia, 8th century. Private Collection (National Palace Museum 1987, p. 137)

century, remains. As there are no earlier examples, the Indonesian statue is considered the oldest Mahāvairocana sculpture with the wisdom-fist *mudrā* made outside of Korea. This Indonesian image of Mahāvairocana likely bears some connection to the fact that the Indian monk Vajrabodhi (669–741), who is known as Jingangzhi (金剛智) in China and translated the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra* into Chinese, traveled to southern India and then on to the Śrīvijaya Kingdom (present-day Sumatra in Indonesia) where he resided for some time. In China today, no sculpture showing an unmistakable wisdom-fist *mudrā* remains, suggesting that Esoteric Buddhism was transmitted via maritime routes by Vajrabodhi or by the Tang (唐, 618–907) dynasty monk Yijing (義淨, 635–713), who wrote a travelogue *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan* (南海寄歸內法傳, *Accounts of the Inner Law Sent Home from the South Sea*) while he stayed in the Śrīvijaya Kingdom on his way back to his home in Tang China from India.

In principle, Buddhas, as beings who have at-

tained Nirvāṇa, should not be ornamented in any fashion. However, in the Esoteric tradition Buddhas are depicted in bodhisattva form and thus can be freely decorated. Vairocana as depicted in the *Avatamsaka Sūtra* takes Buddha form and bears no decoration, while Mahāvairocana in the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra* assumes the form of a richly ornamented bodhisattva. A Silla Buddhist image believed to represent Mahāvairocana from the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra* was found on a *śarīra* case dating to 863. This gilt-bronze *śarīra* case discovered inside a three-story stone pagoda at Donghwasa Temple (桐華寺) in Daegu, South Korea features an engraving of Mahāvairocana wear-

ing a crown and making the wisdom-fist *mudrā* (Fig. 3). The four gilt-bronze plates that make up the outer *śarīra* casket indicate that the Esoteric concept of the Buddhas of the five directions had already been introduced to Silla. However, all other Silla images of Vairocana take the form of Buddhas rather than bodhisattvas since they are rooted in the *Avatamsaka Sūtra* in principle, and feature the wisdom-fist *mudrā*. The borrowing of the wisdom-fist *mudrā*, which is not mentioned in the sūtra is an indication of creative license being exercised by the Silla people.

The Seongnamsa Temple Vairocana, currently preserved at Naewonsa Temple (內院寺) in Yangsan,



Fig. 3. Gilt-bronze plate inscribed with the name of Mahāvairocana, part of the *śarīra* casket of King Minae. Silla, 863. 14.2 x 15.3 cm. Daegu National Museum. (Author's photograph)



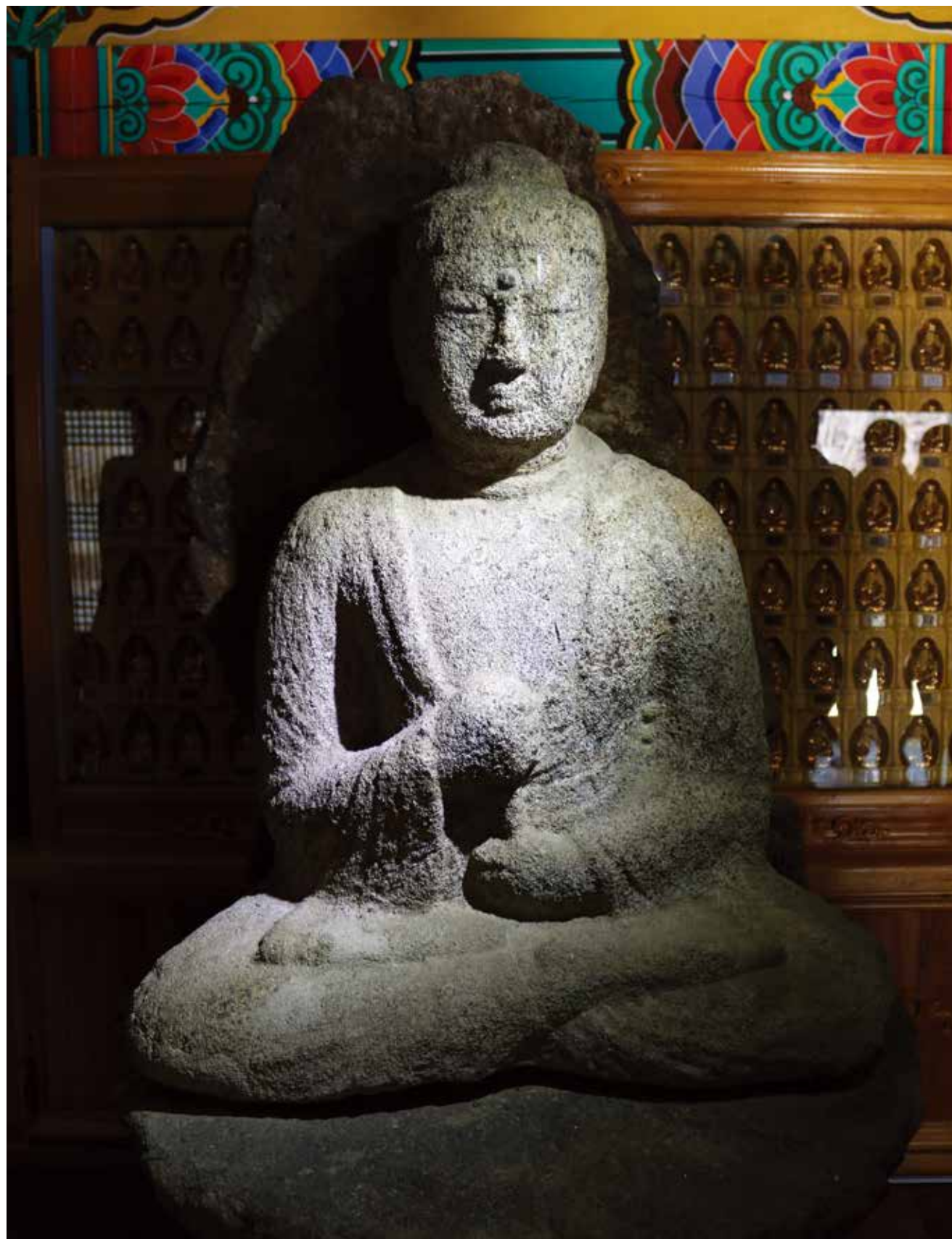


Fig. 4. Stone Vairocana from Seongnamsa Temple. Silla, 766. Naewonsa Temple, Yangsan (Photograph by Lim Youngae)

Gyeongsangnam-do Province, is the earliest Buddhist sculpture to feature the wisdom-fist mudrā, not just in Korea, but worldwide (Fig. 4). Although the sculpture itself bears no inscription, the *śarīra* reliquary found inside its pedestal is inscribed with “the second year of the Yongtai era” (永泰二年) (766), which is considered to be the year the sculpture was made (Park Gyeongwon and Jeong Wongyeong 1983, 45-63). The *śarīra* reliquary also carries an inscription regarding its manufacture, comprised of 136 Chinese characters in 15 lines along the side, and 21 Chinese characters in four lines on the bottom. Based on the contents, it appears that two monks named Beopseung (法勝, dates unknown) and Beopyeon (法緣, dates unknown) commissioned the sculpture for a *hwarang* (花郎, young Silla warrior) named Duonae (豆溫哀, dates unknown) in the second year of the Yongtai era (永泰, 756-766) during the reign of Emperor Daizong (代宗, r. 762-779) of Tang China. The inscription further identifies the sculpture as Vairocana, meaning that it is definitely Vairocana, not Mahāvairocana of the Esoteric tradition. To date, no known sculpture of Vairocana with the wisdom-fist mudrā predating 766 has been found, making the Seongnamsa sculpture the oldest such image of Vairocana. No sculptures of Vairocana in Buddha form with the wisdom-fist mudrā dating to this period have been found in India or China.

Confirmation that the iconography of Vairocana making the wisdom-fist mudrā entered Silla prior to 766 is provided by the *Avatamsaka Sūtra Illustration* dating to 754-755 in the collection of Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art. Although the central portion of the work has been damaged, the Buddha can be seen with two hands raised in front of the chest, apparently making the wisdom-fist mudrā. Here Vairocana is depicted in an ornamental bodhisattva form in the manner of Esoteric Buddhism, making this illustration the earliest example of adaptation of Esoteric Mahāvairocana iconography in a depiction of Vairocana. Hence, the Seongnamsa Vairocana was modeled on this sūtra illustration featuring Mahāvairocana.

Esoteric scriptures which describe the wisdom-fist mudrā, such as the *Vajrasekhara Sūtra*, entered Tang dynasty China in the 730s. The appearance of the wisdom-fist mudrā in the *Avatamsaka Sūtra Illustration* of 754 indicates that it did not take long for the latest Buddhist trends and information to be trans-

mitted from China to Unified Silla. The Tang monk Chengguan (澄觀, 738-839), a major figure in the Chinese Huayan school of Buddhism, played a key role in laying a philosophical basis for the adoption of Esoteric Mahāvairocana iconography in the depiction of Vairocana, originally based on the *Avatamsaka Sūtra*. While translating the sūtras into Chinese with the Esoteric monk Bukong (不空, 705-774; Skr. Amoghavajra) from Sri Lanka, he came to accept much of the Esoteric tradition and fused it into the Huayan tradition. His annotations to the 80-fascicle translation of the *Avatamsaka Sūtra* were eagerly welcomed in Silla as well (An Gyeheon 1982, 83). Under the influence of this scripture, Silla adopted the iconography of Mahāvairocana from the Vajradhatu tradition in the creation of images of the Buddha Vairocana. This idea is supported by the fact that the Esoteric Buddhist sūtras translated by Bukong entered Silla in the latter half of the eighth century and that Hwaom-faith societies known as Hwaom gyeolsa (華嚴結社) were formed fusing the Hwaom and Esoteric traditions.

#### Production of Ninth-Century Images of Vairocana and Related Background

Esoteric Buddhism and Mahāvairocana iconography had been transmitted to Silla by the mid-eighth century at the latest, and Korean-style Vairocana images were created on this basis. It remains unclear, however, whether wisdom-fist mudrā Vairocana sculptures continued to be produced after the Seongnamsa sculpture, since no Vairocana image that can be precisely dated emerges until the mid-ninth century. It is assumed that some time was required for the newly introduced wisdom-fist mudrā to spread and be adopted into the creation of Vairocana sculptures. In the 150-year period from the latter half of the eighth century and through the tenth, some 40 known sculptures of Vairocana were produced. Most of these were made between the mid-ninth and early tenth century, hinting that the cult of Vairocana was at its strongest in the latter half of the ninth century.

The gilt-bronze seated Vairocana enshrined in the Birojeon (毘盧殿, Hall of Vairocana) at Bulguksa Temple (佛國寺) in Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province features imposing size and stable proportions and is clearly the product of outstanding sculptural skill. Along with the gilt-bronze seated Amitābha at Bulguksa Temple and Bronze Standing



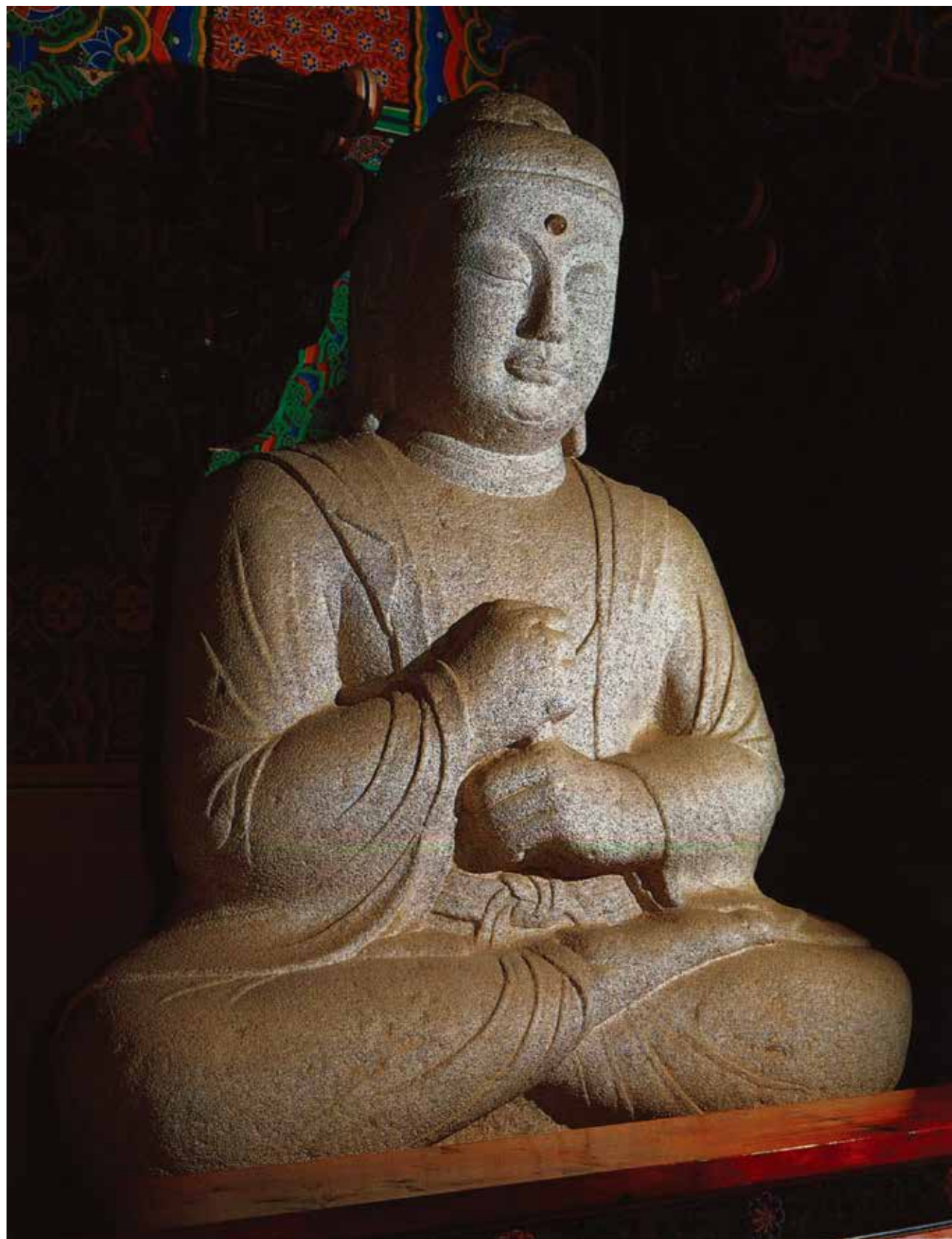


Fig. 6 Stone Vairocana, Silla, first half 9th century. Sudoam at Cheongamsa Temple, Gimcheon (Choe Songeun 2004, Fig. 83)

Bhaiṣajyaguru at Baengnyulsa Temple (栢栗寺) in Gyeongju, it is considered one of the three finest gilt-bronze Buddhist sculptures of the Silla period (Fig. 5). However, compared to the principal icon in Seokguram Grotto at Bulguksa, it offers a diminished sense of volume and motion, the midriff is longer, and the folds of the robes are rendered in a somewhat flatter manner, all of which combined seem to counter-indicate any dating of the sculpture to the mid-eighth century. While it is known that Bulguksa was erected in 754 under a commission from Kim Daeseong (金大城, c. 700–774), a high-ranking official of Silla, the Vairocana sculpture was not necessarily produced at the same time. A stylistic comparison with the Seongnamsa Vairocana, dated to 766, also supports the idea that the Bulguksa Vairocana was created some time after the construction of the temple.

Stone sculptures of Vairocana are much more common than gilt-bronze examples. Production of gilt-bronze sculpture required considerable time and money, complex processes, highly skilled craftsmen, and appropriate facilities. The stone Vairocana at Cheongamsa Temple's Sudoam Hermitage (靑巖寺 修道庵) in Gimcheon, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province was made prior to the mid-ninth century, which makes it an early Vairocana sculpture (Fig. 6) (Lee Hongjik 1964, 104). Unlike the stone Vairocana sculptures from the latter half of the century, the full, smooth face, striking volume of the body, and authoritative air generated by its imposing size indicate that it has inherited the sculptural tradition of the mid-Silla period. This sculpture must consequently have been completed by the early ninth century at the latest.

There are four Vairocana sculptures with inscriptions dating them to the mid-ninth century. The iron Vairocana at Borimsa Temple (寶林寺) in Jangheung, Jeollanam-do Province is one of the earliest examples (Fig. 7). The eight-line inscription (Fig. 8) on the back of the left arm relates that with the permission of the king the sculpture was commissioned by a military official named Kim Sujong (金遂宗, dates unknown) from Jangsa-hyeon Prefecture (today's Jangheung) in 858, the third year of the reign of King Heonan (憲安王, r. 857–860). This indicates that with the consent of the king, a regional official was permitted to commission Buddhist works using private funds, without having to rely on central government support. Borimsa Temple was established by the Gajisan



Fig. 7. Iron Vairocana. Silla, 858. Borimsa Temple, Jangheung (Kwak Dongseok 2000, Fig. 93)



Fig. 8. Inscription on the iron Vairocana at Borimsa Temple (Kwak Dongseok 2000, p. 264)



school (迦智山派), one of the “nine mountain Seon schools” (九山禪門) of Korea. The Gajisan school was founded by the Seon master Chejing (體澄, 804–880), a disciple of Doui (道義, dates unknown), who studied the southern sect of Chan Buddhism in Tang China between 784 and 821. Borimsa is therefore a Seon temple, and at the same time the first temple in Korea to be dedicated to Vairocana. The inscription on *Stele for Changseong Pagoda of Master Bojo* (普照禪師彰聖塔碑), built in 858 in honor of Chejing, relates, “Only when you understand that all sentient beings and Vairocana are essentially one can you attain the realization that the mind itself is the Buddha.”

The Chinese Chan schools demonstrated great interest in the rites and incantations of Esoteric Buddhism. Yixing (一行, 673–727), a monk of the northern Chan school, participated actively in the translation of Esoteric scriptures, including the *Mahāvairocana Abhisambodhi Sūtra*, assisting the Indian Buddhist monk Śubhakarasiṃha (637–735), known as Shanwuwei (善無畏) in China. He also compiled scriptures on Esoteric Buddhist rites. Among the Dunhuang manuscripts, a commentary on the *Siddham Chapter of the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* (楞伽經禪門悉談章, T. 85, no. 2279) provides evidence that northern Chan doctrines and incantations were used in combination. Based on *Chapter Thirty-five on Transmission of the Dharma* (付法藏品三十五, P. 3913, 2791, 3212), monks of the Baotang sect (保唐宗) of the southern Chan school linked the southern Chan doctrines with the tradition of reciting incantations (Sørensen 2011, 294–303). The Silla monk Hyeso (慧昭, 774–850) studied in Tang and practiced Esoteric Buddhism according to the doctrines of Śubhakarasiṃha. Upon his return to Korea in 830, he founded Okcheonsa Temple (玉泉寺), which is dedicated to Huineng (慧能, 638–713), the sixth patriarch of the southern Chan school (Yi Neunghwa 1918, 426–451). By the time he studied under Yunxiu (雲秀, d. 844), a disciple of Mazu Daoyi (馬祖道一, 709–788) and founder of the Hongzhou school (洪州宗) of Chan Buddhism, Hyeso would have already mastered both southern Chan and Esoteric practices. Hence, in light of the cooperation between Chan and Esoteric monks and the fusion of incantations with doctrines, the philosophical basis for enshrining Vairocana as the principal icon in Silla Seon temples seems to have been established in China and transmitted to Silla by Korean monks who studied in Tang China.

The *uṣṇīṣa* of the Borimsa Vairocana sculpture has been repaired by adding curls made of an earthen material, which makes it unusually large and high. The face with its flat nose and pronounced philtrum has a hard look and bears no traces of the suppleness seen in earlier representations. The shoulders are narrow and the chest flat, so the figure presents little sense of volume despite the natural flow of the folds of the robes. Iron, being a hard material, is difficult to work and traces of the removal of the outer mold remain on the surface of the body. In Silla, iron was not used to cast Buddhist sculptures prior to the ninth century since the necessary technology had yet to be developed. Iron has a high melting point and requires a smelting furnace and proper handling techniques. The iron Buddhas from late Silla are all large works, unlike gilt-bronze images, which are generally small in size. Among them, many were images of Vairocana and were distributed throughout the provinces. It is interesting to note that at this time a number of large iron and stone Vairocana sculptures with strong regional characteristics were produced.

The iron Vairocana Buddha from Dopiansa Temple (到彼岸寺) in Cheorwon, Gangwon-do Province, which carries an inscription stating that it was sponsored by 1,500 believers, is the only Buddhist sculpture from the Unified Silla period to be made entirely of iron, including its pedestal (Fig. 9). On the back is an inscription comprised of some 100 characters that states that in the fifth year of King Gyeongmun, believers in Cheorwon formed a Buddhist society in order to raise funds for the sculpture. While the Borimsa iron Buddha was commissioned by a single individual named Kim Sujong, the Dopiansa iron Buddha was created through the combined efforts of 1,500 people, indicating that the sculpture required a huge outlay of money and that Buddhism had become widespread to the point that such sculptures could be commissioned by a group of believers. The Buddha's face is thin, and the *uṣṇīṣa* is low. It is a realistic figure with narrowed eyes, a low nose, thick philtrum and lips rendered flatly, while the body is also flat with a minimal sense of volume. The folds are stylized and depicted in even intervals.

The stone Vairocana sculpture from Donghwasa Temple in Daegu is an important work in the history of Korean sculpture: It was created under the patronage of the Silla royal court and not only is the

date of production clear, the sculpture is also complete with a pedestal and aureole (Fig. 10). A stone *śarīra* reliquary found within the three-story stone pagoda at the temple bears the inscription “record of the stone pagoda of King Minae” (敏哀大王石塔記) which hints at the date of the sculpture and the circumstances under which it was made. It states that in 863 King Gyeongmun (景文王, r. 861–875) built a shrine and erected a pagoda and sculpture as a memorial to King Minae (閔哀王, r. 838–839), who had been treacherously killed in a power struggle. Although Donghwasa is located in Daegu, far from the Silla capital of Gyeongju, it reflects the style of the capital since it was built under royal patronage. The Vairocana sculpture presents a round face and clean-cut features; it creates the look of a typical Korean

quietly lost in meditation. It has rounded shoulders and a full chest, with arms stuck close to the body. The knees are thick but narrow, creating a sense of instability, diverging from sculptures of the mid-Silla period. Engraved on the aureole are a Buddha triad and eight individual transformation Buddhas, which are considered to be elements of Esoteric iconography (Seo Jimin 2010, 53–69). Sculptures of Vairocana similar to the Donghwasa Vairocana in terms of facial appearance, bodily proportions, and treatment of the robes are found around the Gyeongsang region. They include the stone Vairocana at Birosa Temple (毘盧寺) in Yeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province and the stone Vairocana at Seonghyeolam Hermitage (聖穴庵), also in Yeongju (Fig. 12).

In the case of the stone Vairocana at Chukseosa Temple (鶯棲寺) in Bonghwa, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province, it was produced slightly later, in 867, as revealed by an inscription found on a stone *śarīra* reliquary (Fig. 13). The 16-line “stone pagoda construction record” (石塔造成記) found on the *śarīra* reliquary states that in 867, the eighth year of the Xi-



Fig. 9. Iron Vairocana. Silla, 865. Dopiansa Temple, Cheorwon (Photograph by Lim Youngae)



Fig. 10. Stone Vairocana. Silla, 863. Donghwasa Temple, Daegu (Choe Songeun 2004, Fig. 65)





Fig. 11. Stone śarīra reliquary for King Minae. Silla, 863. Height: 8.3 cm. Dongguk University Museum (Author's photograph)



Fig. 12. Stone Vairocana. Silla, latter half 9th century. Seonghyeolam Hermitage, Yeongju (Photograph by Kim Taehyeong)



Fig. 13. Stone Vairocana. Silla, 867. Chukseosa Temple, Bonghwa (Choe Songeun 2004, Fig. 67)

antong era (咸通, 860–874), Myeongdan (明端, dates unknown), the youngest sister of the monk Eonjeon (彦伝, dates unknown), built the pagoda in honor of their parents. It relates that their parents were Kim Yangjong (金亮宗, dates unknown) who served as an Ichan (伊飡, a second-rank official), and his wife, and that under the advice of the monk Hyeongeog (賢炬) at Hwangnyonsa Temple (皇龍寺) ten śarīra and a copy of the *Pure Light Dhāraṇī Sūtra* (無垢淨光大陀羅尼經) were enshrined inside the pagoda. The śarīra reliquary is similar in shape and size to the one found at Donghwasa, and the same method was used to carve the inscription. The inscription includes the character “考” (deceased) in reference to the late father Kim Yangjong, and the term “mother” (母親) for his wife. According to the inscription, Myeongdan’s family was an aristocratic family of the “true bone” (眞骨) rank living in Gyeongju. A record for the second year of the reign of King Heondeok (憲德王, r. 809–826) in the *Samguk sagi* (三國史記, *History of the Three Kingdoms*), volume 10, tells that while serving as Panjinchan (潘珍飡, fourth-rank official) Kim Yangjong was appointed as Sijung (侍中, high-ranking official of Silla) but retired from the post in 811 due to illness. As there is a discrepancy of some 50 years between this date and the production date of the Chukseosa Vairocana sculpture, as well as a difference in the official titles mentioned, it cannot be decisively concluded that the Kim Yangjong in the inscription and in the *Samguk sagi* are one and the same person; however, this is not unlikely to be the case. It is clear that Kim Yangjong was a high-ranking official of aristocratic origin and it appears that his youngest daughter built a shrine for her parents in Bonghwa, where they may have owned lands granted by the state or had some other connection. Although the Vairocana sculpture was commissioned by an aristocratic family from the capital, it shows clear stylistic differences to its counterpart at Donghwasa, which was commissioned by the royal court in a similar period. Compared to the Donghwasa sculpture, the Chukseosa Vairocana sculpture has a thin and angular face and a body that is less full, with little sense of volume. The smile has disappeared from the face, leaving it with a solemn countenance, and the elongated torso appears flat. Thin robes cling to the body, revealing the outline of the chest and arms, while the folds fall in parallel lines at regular intervals and are treated in a stylized manner. Although the robes are

worn in essentially the same way in both sculptures, in the Chukseosa sculpture they are simplified and more decorative and show a floral pattern at the hem. The knot at the waist is depicted as a ring.

The last major Vairocana sculpture of the late Silla period to be discussed here is the one found at Haeinsa Temple (海印寺) in Hapcheon, Gyeongsangnam-do Province (Fig. 14). Enshrined in the temple’s Beopbojeon (法寶殿, Hall of the Dharma Jewel), it is believed to be the oldest wooden Buddhist sculpture extant in Korea based upon an ink inscription that gives its production date as 883, the third year of the Zhonghe era (中和, 881–885) of Tang Emperor Xizong (僖宗, r. 873–888). Although scholars are divided as to whether 883 refers to the year in which it was first made or to a year it underwent major repairs, it is certainly the latest clear date for any Vairocana sculpture from the Silla period. The inscription states that this life-size Buddha was made for a Gakgan (角干, official of the first rank) and his wife, which has been interpreted to refer to Queen Jinseong (眞聖王, r. 887–897) and a Gakgan official named Wihong (魏弘, dates unknown) who was purportedly her lover, although nothing is known for certain. There is no doubt, however, that the sculpture was commissioned by the royal court and that it was created by the most skilled craftsmen of the day. In this regard, it has been pointed out that from the last quarter of the ninth century, the Hwaom-faith societies were closely linked with the court (Choi Wonsik 1985, 17–23). Apart from the manner in which the robes are draped to bare the right shoulder, it shows highly similar characteristics to the stone Vairocana at Donghwasa Temple. Both sculptures were commissioned under the patronage of the royal court and are important for their demonstration of the common style of the mid- to late ninth century.

Examining the patrons of Silla Vairocana sculptures, the Seongnamsa sculpture was commissioned by a Buddhist monk; the Bulguksa, Borimsa, and Chukseosa sculptures by regional or central government officials or aristocratic families; and the Donghwasa and Haeinsa sculptures by the royal court. Aside from the Cheongamsa Vairocana, which lacks an inscription, and the Dopiansa Vairocana, which was commissioned by a society of believers, all the other sculptures were products of patronage from the royal family, aristocrats, or high officials. While court of the mid-Silla period was closely connected with the





Fig. 14. Wooden Vairocana. Silla, 833. Beopbojeon Hall at Haeinsa Temple, Hapcheon (Photograph by Joo Kyeongmi)

Hwaeom school of Buddhism and pursued a policy of strengthening autocracy by alluding to Vairocana, the dharma body and the Buddha of all Buddhas, in actuality Vairocana sculptures were not produced in great numbers at the time. The likely interpretation for this is that following the introduction of Esoteric Buddhism, which provided the background for the wisdom-fist mudrā, a period of time had to pass before people began to fully understand it.

The abovementioned Vairocana images lead us to reconsider the argument that Buddhist sculptures with strong regional features were created in the late Silla period, influenced by struggles over the throne and the emergence of powerful local gentry in the provinces known as *hojok* (豪族). In stylistic terms it is true that Buddhist sculptures from this period show some regional character, but the stone Vairocana at Donghwasa and the wooden Vairocana at Haeinsa share notable common features. Considering that both were commissioned by the court and that stone Vairocana sculptures with similar stylistic features were found nationwide, it is diffi-

cult to argue for regional distinction when it comes to Vairocana images. Apparently, in the late Silla period many Vairocana sculptures were also made in close association with the royal family. The special relationship between King Gyeongmun and the Seon monk Sucheol (秀澈和尚, d. 893) and records indicating that a burst of Vairocana or Locana statues were produced by both the Seon and Hwaeom schools show that Buddhism in Korea was just as reliant on Hwaeom thought in the late Silla period as it had been in the mid-Silla period. In terms of form, Vairocana was sometimes depicted as a Buddha making the wisdom-fist mudrā, under the influence of Esoteric Buddhism, but other times as Locana in the form of Śākyamuni. Whatever the case, both sides actively championed Vairocana, the dharma body, alluding to Hwaeom thought in pursuit of an absolute monarchy. Such efforts to strengthen the throne were expressed in sculpture not simply in the mid-Silla period, when the monarchy was indeed powerful, but in the late Silla period as well. It was in the late Silla period, rather than in the mid-Silla period when

the royal authority was stronger, that intensive efforts were made to display the authority of the throne through the dissemination of Vairocana statues.

### Conclusion

The intensive production of Vairocana sculptures in the late Silla period, particularly from the mid-ninth century, was the natural outcome of changes in society and Buddhism at the time. In terms of Buddhist doctrine, the creation of Vairocana images was driven by the fusion of the Hwaeom, Seon, and Esoteric schools of Buddhism under Vairocana as the principal Buddha of the Hwaeom school. It is generally understood that Seon Buddhism provided philosophical grounds for the belief among members of the *yukdupum* class (六頭品, literally “six head rank,” the next-highest class of Silla society after the aristocracy) that they could rise to enter the ruling class. It is supposed that Vairocana also appealed to Seon believers and regional powers for this same reason. However, actual inscriptions on Vairocana sculptures or related records indicate instead a stronger connection to the royal family and officials of the central government, and the fact that Vairocana sculptures were more widely produced in late Silla compared to mid-Silla indicates a need for further research.

Monarchs of the late Silla period such as King Gyeongmun, who rose to the throne in the midst of significant political turmoil, strove to stabilize the court in their own individual ways and justify the legitimacy of their hard-earned authority. They made offerings at temples around the country and commissioned pagodas and sculptures, or invited monks to the court to lecture on or recite the sūtras. Pagodas were built to enshrine *śarīra*, miniature pagodas, and *dhāraṇī*, and Vairocana statues were created in line with the content of the *Pure Light Dhāraṇī Sūtra*. The Esoteric rite of erecting pagodas and creating sculpture and enshrining *dhāraṇī*, which is based on the aforementioned sūtra, had already spread throughout Silla from the mid-eighth century. At the time, awareness of Esoteric Buddhism was widespread and a foundation had been laid for adoption of the wisdom-fist mudrā in Vairocana sculptures.

The ninth-century trend of producing sculptures of Vairocana with the wisdom-fist mudrā is fundamentally grounded in Hwaeom philosophy, but ulti-

mately it is the result of the adoption by the Esoteric, Hwaeom, and Seon schools of Buddhism of the common doctrine of Vairocana as the principal Buddha. Although there is a tendency to explain such wisdom-fist Vairocana sculptures as a reflection of the preferences of local gentry, the mid-Silla manner of associating Vairocana with absolute royal authority found a more concrete expression in the late period through the production of Vairocana sculptures. While the inscriptions on some Vairocana sculptures clearly state that they were produced under the patronage of the royal family or high government officials in the capital, this fact alone does not prove that such sculptures were created as a means to reinforce royal authority. However, there is a lack of evidence to support the notion that the production of Vairocana sculptures reflects collusion between Buddhist temples and the local gentry, while scholars may have considered a focus on regional characteristics to be necessary in order to stress the political chaos of the time. The production of Vairocana sculptures was undertaken neither for the benefit of powerful local gentry nor as a way to strengthen absolute royal authority; it was an effort to make apparent the power of the throne through allusion to Vairocana, the dharma body. ㄸ

TRANSLATED BY CHO YOONJUNG

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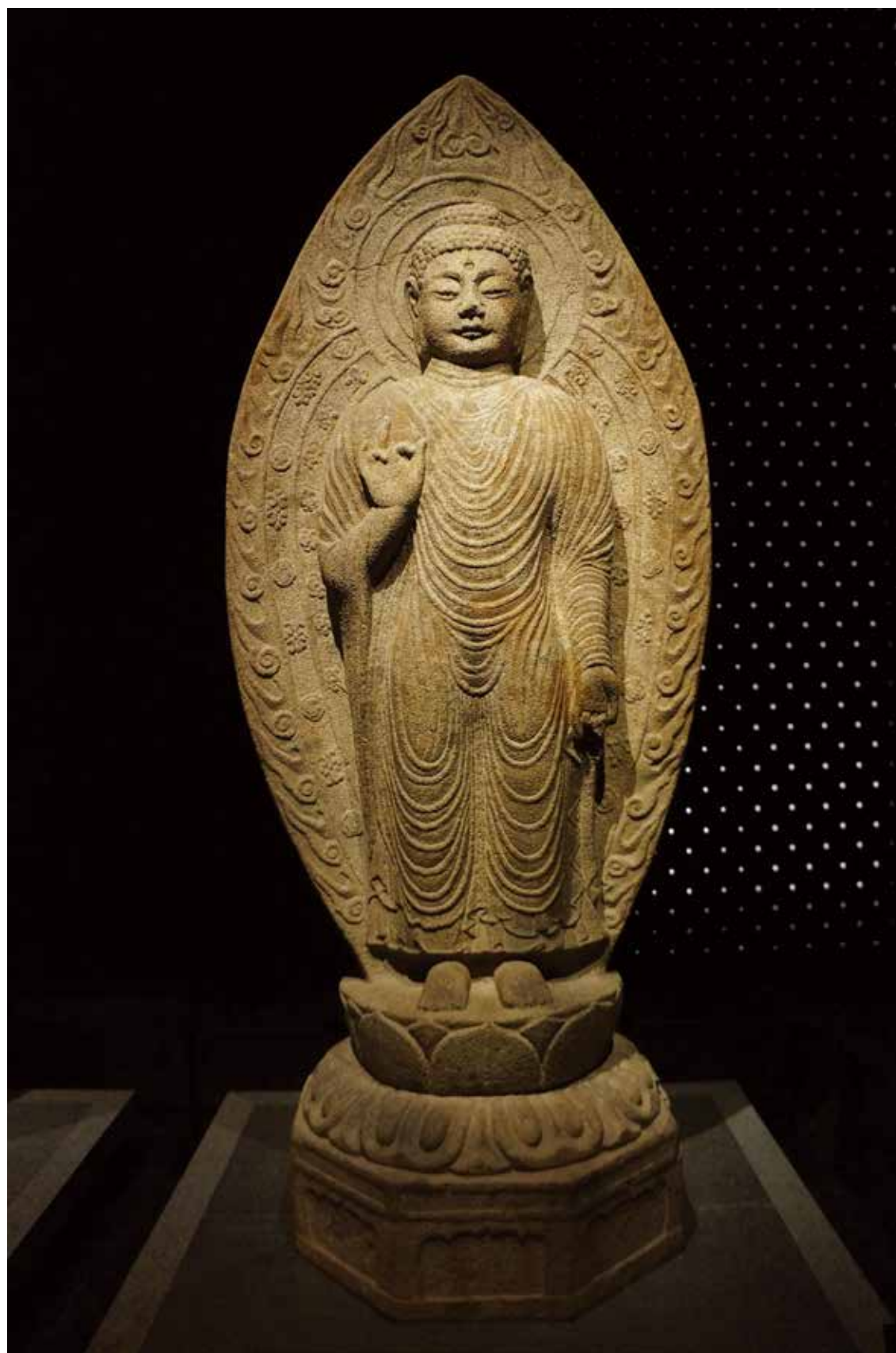


Fig. 1. Standing Amitābha Buddha from Gamsansa Temple. Unified Silla, 719. National Museum of Korea (Author's photograph)

## The Relationship between Buddhist Sculpture of the Unified Silla Period and Tang Dynasty Painting: A study of the Buddha and Bodhisattva Sculptures from Gamsansa Temple

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### Introduction

To honor his deceased parents, Kim Jiseong (金志誠, active late seventh to early eighth century), a noble of the sixth rank (六頭品, K. *yukdupum*) according to the Silla bone rank system known as *golpumje* (骨品制), sponsored in 719 the construction of Gamsansa Temple (甘山寺) and the production of standing images of the Buddha Amitābha and the bodhisattva Maitreya (hereafter “Gamsansa Buddha” and “Gamsansa bodhisattva”) (Figs. 1 and 2). Each of these stone images bears on its reverse an inscription of close to 400 Chinese characters that describes their dedication to the patron’s ancestors, their date of production, and information on the motivation and religious context underlying their creation. The depiction of a Buddha in the crown of the Maitreya image is noteworthy, since it is iconography conventionally reserved for images of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. In fact, among all extant East Asian Buddhist sculpture, the standing image from Gamsansa Temple is the sole representation of a Maitreya bodhisattva with a Buddha in its crown.

The Unified Silla Kingdom (統一新羅, 676–935) is known for a century of close exchanges with the Tang dynasty (唐, 618–907) in China, starting from the mid-seventh century unification of the Three Kingdoms. The Gamsansa Buddha and bodhisattva reflect this period. As a result, Indian and, in particular, Central Asian (specifically the so-called Western Regions, or Xiyu [西域]) sculptural influences that

were widespread in Tang China during the seventh to eighth centuries considerably impacted these two sculptures. Central Asian influences are especially clear in the presentation of the clothing. Particularly, the densely overlapping U-shaped creases in the Amitābha Buddha’s full drapery are features that were popular in the region around the Khotan Kingdom (于闐國, 56–1006) along the Southern Silk Road in Central Asia. Ornaments on the Maitreya bodhisattva image, such as the butterfly-shaped knotting above the shoulders, also appear to reflect clothing conventions originating in this region. It is interesting to note that representations of Buddhas in the Khotan style of densely overlapping drapery and of bodhisattva images with knotted ornamentation above the shoulders are otherwise extremely rare, if not entirely absent, from Silla and Tang Buddhist sculpture of the seventh to eighth centuries. In short, these two images reflect a Central Asian style that came to be discontinued among Buddhist sculpture in Tang China and on the Korean Peninsula. For this reason, the two images from Gamsansa Temple hold a unique position in the development of Buddhist sculpture in East Asia. They reflect art historical features that appeared in Tang China at the end of the seventh century and beginning of the eighth.

The aim of this paper is to examine the art historical conditions that gave rise to the unusual formal characteristics apparent in these two images from Gamsansa Temple. To this end, I will first analyze the formal features of the Gamsansa Buddha and





Fig. 2. Standing Maitreya Bodhisattva from Gamsansa Temple. Unified Silla, 719. National Museum of Korea (Author's photograph)

bodhisattva images. It is clear that the novel features manifested in the Gamsansa Temple sculptures strongly reflect the demands of their patron, Kim Jiseong. Rhi Juhyeong has claimed that the iconography of the Maitreya Bodhisattva wearing a crown with the image of the Buddha was a reflection of Kim Jiseong's religious beliefs (Rhi Juhyeong 2010, 8-27). I also recognize this link between the specific form of the sculptures and Kim's patronage. It is highly likely that the image he presented to the artisans was not a three-dimensional sculpture, but painted models (畫本, K. *hwabon*) of a Buddha and bodhisattva that he had brought back from China upon his return from a diplomatic mission to the Tang court in 705. For this reason, I will examine the relation between sculpture and painted models at that time and the possibility that the Gamsansa Temple sculptures were created based on painted models. Finally, I will discuss the paucity of extant Buddhist sculptures dating from after the eighth century that show the same Central Asian characteristics as those found in the Gamsansa Buddha and Bodhisattva images. In other words, I will examine the phenomenon of the rupture with the Central Asian style, or its Sinicization, with a special interest in the rise and fall of the Yuchi Yiseng (尉遲乙僧) school in the late seventh to early eighth century. Through this analysis and discussion, it can clearly be observed that the Buddha and bodhisattva sculptures from Gamsansa Temple are not simply important for Korean art history, but hold a significant place in East Asian art history as well.

#### The Formal Characteristics of the Gamsansa Buddha and Bodhisattva Images

The Gamsansa Buddha and bodhisattva images are regarded as truly outstanding artworks that illustrate the assimilation of foreign styles into the Silla artistic mode. This not only speaks to the extent to which the two sculptures reflect the international cultural exchanges taking place during the Silla period, but how they impacted the development of an indigenous style of Korean figural sculpture. However, what is more exceptional than the phenomenon of Silla assimilation witnessed in these two sculptures is the application of a newly adopted foreign style of modeling that evokes an exotic atmosphere.

The most peculiar feature of the Amitābha Bud-

dha sculpture is the novel method of describing the drapery. The Buddhist robe covering both shoulders, extending from the base of the neck and closely adhering to the body, the raised creases spaced at equal intervals, and the hem on the lower left expressed in a zig-zag pattern are all characteristic of Mathura Buddhist sculpture from the Gupta period in India. However, the folds of the drapery are not manifested in an Indian style, but rather in one more characteristic of Central Asia. Generally speaking, the drapery is expressed in densely overlapping folds. From the upper body to the groin, the folds are depicted in successive U-shaped creases. At the thigh area, the folds split into two sets of several straight lines, and below each knee, individual sets of U-shaped folds continue through until the lower hem of the garment.

This representation of drapery folds was widespread from approximately the fourth to the sixth century in Central Asia, and examples can be widely found in clay sculptures from sites such as the Rawak Stupa of the Khotan Kingdom in the south or the Kizil Caves and the temple ruins at Shorchuk (also known as Shikchin) in the north. In China, examples from the Binglingsi Temple (炳靈寺) Grottoes and the Yungang (雲岡) Grottoes attest to the style's popularity in the fifth century. It all but disappeared under the process of Sinicization in the sixth century, but reemerged during the seventh century in the middle of the Tang period when Indian and Central Asian styles once again gained currency. The definitive example is a standing Buddha, presumed to be from the mid-seventh century, depicted in a niche in the north wall of the South Binyang Cave at the Longmen Grottoes (Fig. 3). Not only does this image include the characteristic drapery pattern, but also additional features generally considered to be representative of the Central Asian style, such as a prominent strap beneath the topknot and a hairline that juts sharply from the forehead.

However, there are relatively few examples of this type of Buddha image with densely overlapping drapery in the Central Asian style and a full-length robe in East Asian sculpture from the seventh to eighth centuries. The majority bear a simplified pattern in the drapery and, unlike the Gamsansa images, most wear a Sinicized style of robe with collars drooping from both shoulders to broadly reveal the chest (雙領下垂式, literally "double collar droop style") (Fig. 4). This indicates just how rapidly Central Asian stylistic





Fig. 3. Standing Buddha on the north wall of the south Binyang Cave in the Longmen Grottoes. Tang, mid-7th century (Longmen Office of Cultural Properties Preservation et al. 1992, Fig. 26)



Fig. 4. Standing Buddha on the exterior of the north wall of the Fengxian Temple Cave. Tang, first half of the 8th century (Longmen Office of Cultural Properties Preservation et al. 1992, Fig. 134)

elements became assimilated into a Sinicized mode in Tang China.

In the case of the Gamsansa bodhisattva, if we examine the manner in which the clothing closely adheres to the body, as in Gupta sculpture, and the similarities in the ornamentation with examples from India and Southeast Asia, such as a decorative string of beads (斜掛), the pendant of the necklace, and buckle of the belt, we find that, generally speaking, Indian conventions are prominent. Conversely, there are no examples of native Chinese adornments such as the sizable *pei* pendants (大佩) or silk ribbons (綬) that were broadly popular in Tang dynasty bodhisattva imagery. However, the most striking features are the large butterfly-shaped knotted ornamentation displayed above each of the shoulders and the long ribbons (垂飾) that flow down from these areas (Fig. 5). These are features that in general never appear in Buddhist sculpture from East Asia. This motif of shoulder ornaments and ribbons in the style of the Gamsansa bodhisattva is represented by a necklace of long strands that attach behind the neck in an ornamental knot and then run down in the form of two ribbons (Fig. 6). This system of ornamental knotting on each shoulder as in the Gamsansa bodhisattva image is difficult to replicate in the real world, and appears to reflect the influence of a type of ribbon ornamentation that was popular in the Sogdian area within the Persian cultural sphere. This convention passed into China through Bamiyan and Khotan along the southern route of the Silk Road. In East Asia, the motif appears essentially exclusively in wall paintings from the Mogao Caves in Dunhuang; in sculpture it is found only in the Gamsansa bodhisattva image.

Descriptions of shoulder ornamentation and ribbons that most closely resemble the Gamsansa bodhisattva image can be found in several examples from the *Bhaiṣajyaguru Sūtra Painting* from 776 on the northern portion of the east wall of Cave 148 in the Mogao Caves. The majority of the bodhisattvas, dancers (舞樂天), and musicians (伎樂天) in the painting display the exaggerated knotting above the shoulders and the broad ribbons found in the Gamsansa bodhisattva image (Fig. 7). In the years before the Tubo Kingdom (吐蕃, fl. early seventh to mid-ninth centuries) of Tibet seized Dunhuang, Cave 148 was constructed by Li Dabin (李大賓, active in the mid-eighth century) in order to celebrate his return



Fig. 5. Standing Maitreya Bodhisattva from Gamsansa Temple (detail: upper body). Unified Silla, 719. National Museum of Korea (Author's photograph)



Fig. 6. *Brahmā Viśeṣa Cintī Paripṛcchā Sūtra Painting* on the north wall of Cave 156 in the Mogao Caves in Dunhuang (detail). Late Tang period (Dunhuang Academy 1987, Fig. 140)

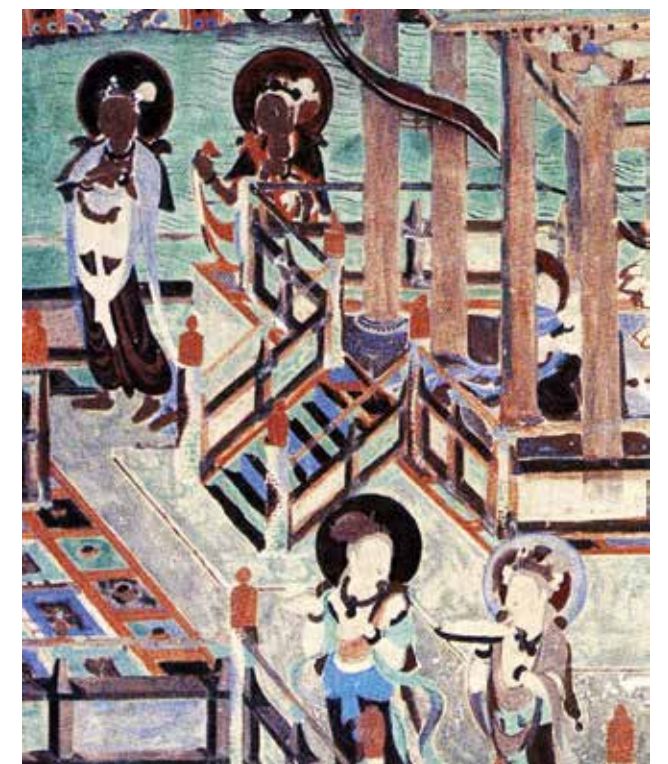


Fig. 7. *Bhaiṣajyaguru Sūtra Painting* on the east wall of Cave 148 in the Mogao Caves in Dunhuang (detail). Tang, 776 (Dunhuang Academy 1987, Fig. 38)



to the area after receiving a governmental promotion. The cave itself reveals the different approaches to construction at Mogao Caves in the early and late Tang periods. According to the *Datang longxi Li fujun xiu gongde bei* (大唐隴西李府君修功德碑, *Stele for the Accumulation of Merits by the Li Family of Longxi in the Great Tang*), the cave's detailed iconography was mapped out at the time of its construction. Numerous examples of novel topics and descriptive styles can be found in wall paintings of this cave, such as the *Devatā Sūtra Painting* (天請問經變圖) and the large-scale *Bhaiṣajyaguru Sūtra Painting* that appear for the first time at the Mogao Caves. It can be assumed that these novel topics and styles were either adopted by local Dunhuang artisans based on painted models brought from foreign areas, or introduced by artisans that noble Dunhuang families imported from areas such as Chang'an to assist with the construction. Taking into account that Li Dabin served Li Miao (李邕, d. 774), the Prince of Zheng (鄭王), who was the second son of Tang Emperor Daizong (代宗, r. 762–779), it can be presumed that the shoulder ornamentation and ribbons in the Gamsansa bodhisattva that also appear in the *Bhaiṣajyaguru Sūtra Painting* were transmitted to Dunhuang not through Central Asia, but rather from Chinese centers like Chang'an. It is notable that this motif became prevalent in the cave paintings at Dunhuang produced under Tibetan occupation in the middle and late Tang periods.

The Gamsansa bodhisattva is wearing a wide sash (絡腋) that stretches from the left shoulder to the right side (Fig. 5). The sash is a motif that appears in a great number of bodhisattva images from the mid-seventh century in Tang China and the Unified Silla Kingdom. In most cases, the sash crosses the chest on a diagonal and one end droops across the left area of the chest. However, in the Gamsansa Bodhisattva image the end of the sash does not hang in front of the figure's chest, but is rather tied in a large knot at the top of the left shoulder. Any other example of tying the sash in an ornamental knot is extremely difficult to find in East Asian Buddhist sculpture from this period. In paintings as well, this motif is only apparent in a few examples, such as a single bodhisattva image from the *Amitāyurdhyāna Sūtra Painting* (觀無量壽經變相圖) on the north wall of Cave 172 from the Mogao Caves (Fig. 8), presumed to date to the mid-eighth century, or in figures seen in wall painting fragments from the Kizil Caves. However,



Fig. 8. Attendant Bodhisattvas from the *Amitāyurdhyāna Sūtra Painting* on the north wall of Cave 172 in the Mogao Caves in Dunhuang (detail). Tang, mid-8th century (Dunhuang Academy 1987, Fig. 13)

this type of tying off of a belt, necklace, or the ribbons of a crown in large butterfly-shaped knotting was a convention originating in Persia that was widely adopted across the Middle East and Central Asia.

Another peculiar feature of the Gamsansa bodhisattva image that deserves attention is the way in which the lower portion of the fabric to either side of the body follows the legs in a serpentine fashion (Fig. 9). After the fabric spreads at the bottom, the drapery is expressed in repeated parallel U-shaped folds that represent an important method for connoting movement in the ends of the drapery. As can be seen in relief friezes currently housed in the Miho Museum in Japan, in sixth-century China this representational style appears in objects associated with Sogdian culture. It also can be found in great numbers in Persian metalware, depictions of Apsaras in the Bamiyan Caves, and cave paintings in the Kizil Caves in Central Asia, all presumably dating to the sixth and seventh centuries. From these examples, it can be deduced that the style originated in Persia or the Middle East. Although this representational mode does appear in Tang Buddhist sculpture from Chang'an in the eighth century, available examples are lim-

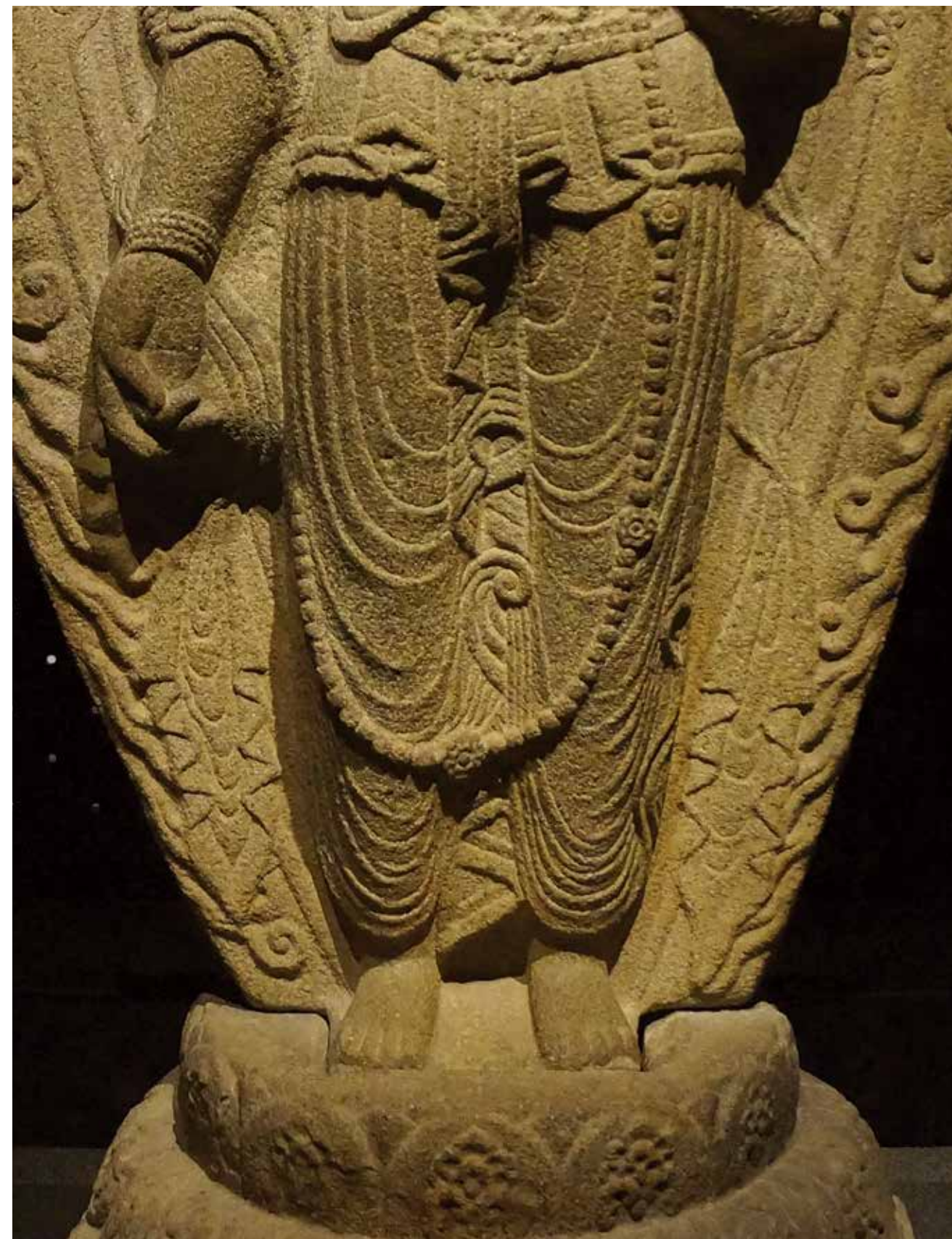


Fig. 9. Standing Maitreya Bodhisattva from Gamsansa Temple (detail: lower body). Unified Silla, 719. National Museum of Korea (Author's photograph)



ited, especially when compared with its prevalence in wall paintings from the Mogao Caves dating to the mid- and late Tang periods.

### The Connection between Painted Models and Sculpture

As previously described, Indian and Central Asian motifs and styles are comparatively prominent in the two Gamsansa images. This is likely connected to the historical circumstances surrounding their patron Kim Jiseong, in particular his participation in a diplomatic mission to Tang China.

An aristocrat of the sixth rank, or *yukdupum*, Kim Jiseong was dispatched as an envoy to China in 705. Generally selected from among the royal family and aristocrats close to the throne, Silla envoys to Tang China served an important function in both consolidating royal power and facilitating cultural exchanges. In addition to Tang books on rituals, Confucian classics, and collections of writings, they brought back with them to Silla new translations of Buddhist sūtras and other Buddhist cultural products. As in the case of the Silla envoy Kim Sayang (金思讓, dates unknown) who entered Tang China in 703 and brought Yijing's (義淨, 635–713) translation of the *Jin guangming jingzui shengwang jing* (金光明最勝王經, *Sūtra of Golden Light*), or *Suvarṇaprabhāsa Sūtra* from that same year back to Silla only a single year later, new Tang translations of Buddhist sūtras were known to Silla very shortly after their production. Kim Jiseong, who travelled to Tang in 705, is believed to have returned with a Tang translation of *Wugou jingguang da tuoluoni jing* (無垢淨光大陀羅尼經, *Great Dhāraṇī of Immaculate and Pure Light*) produced in the previous year. Returning home, he would not only have brought sūtras, but also artworks such as the Buddhist paintings and sculptures that were widespread throughout Tang China. As a result, it is highly likely that when he decided to commission Buddhist sculpture in honor of his deceased parents, he referred to Buddhist artworks in new styles that he had carried with him from Tang China.

The transmission of new Buddhist imagery was chiefly accomplished through the diffusion of small, easy-to-transport bronze or clay Buddhist sculptures, as well as painted models. Accordingly, the models that Kim Jiseong carried from Tang China and provided to Silla artisans as a reference for the creation of the two works in question would likely have been

in one of these three forms. In the case of the Gamsansa Buddha and bodhisattva images, the drapery is extremely dense and, as we see in the description of the ends of the bodhisattva's robes, they are represented in great detail. Additionally, accessories such as the crown, beaded ornamentation (璎珞, 斜掛), and belt are described with exceptional precision. For this reason, it is unlikely that small bronze or clay images, in which it would have been difficult to represent fine details, were used as models.

Since the two images from Gamsansa Temple are not sculptures in the round, but rather high-relief carvings that bear a number of similarities to paintings, in terms of the representational approach more common features can be found between them and Tang painting than with sculpture. The hairstyle of the Gamsansa bodhisattva is depicted with deeply engraved parallel horizontal lines (Fig. 10), a style that is remarkably similar to the description of bodhisattvas found in an engraving on the lintel of the east door of the Giant Wild Goose Pagoda (大雁塔, Ch. Dayanta) at Ci'ensi Temple (慈恩寺) that was restored during the Chang'an era (長安, 701–704) of the Tang dynasty. Furthermore, the lines on the palms of the two Gamsansa images appear as simple cross shapes, a convention that is found in painting and embroidery (one example being the Buddhist tapestry at Kaju-ji Temple [勸修寺] in Japan) more often than in sculpture. However, it does often appear in stone engravings (Fig. 11). In the Mogao Caves, most of the sculpted figures have palms rendered in a naturalistic style, while there are many examples of Buddha and bodhisattva images from wall paintings there that display a cross motif on the palms.

The Gamsansa bodhisattva's protruding knotted ornamentation and ribbons on the shoulders and the exaggerated knotting of the sash are only rarely found in any other extant Buddhist sculpture. However, since these features frequently appear in the Kizil Caves and in wall paintings from after the High Tang period (盛唐, early to mid-eighth century) in the Mogao Caves, it can be assumed that they were popular conventions in the field of painting. The fact that despite their extensive application in wall painting these features rarely appear in clay sculpted images from the Mogao Caves of the same period may be related to the practicality of representing elaborate clothing styles in a three-dimensional space. Portrayals of knotting or drapery that protrude too far from

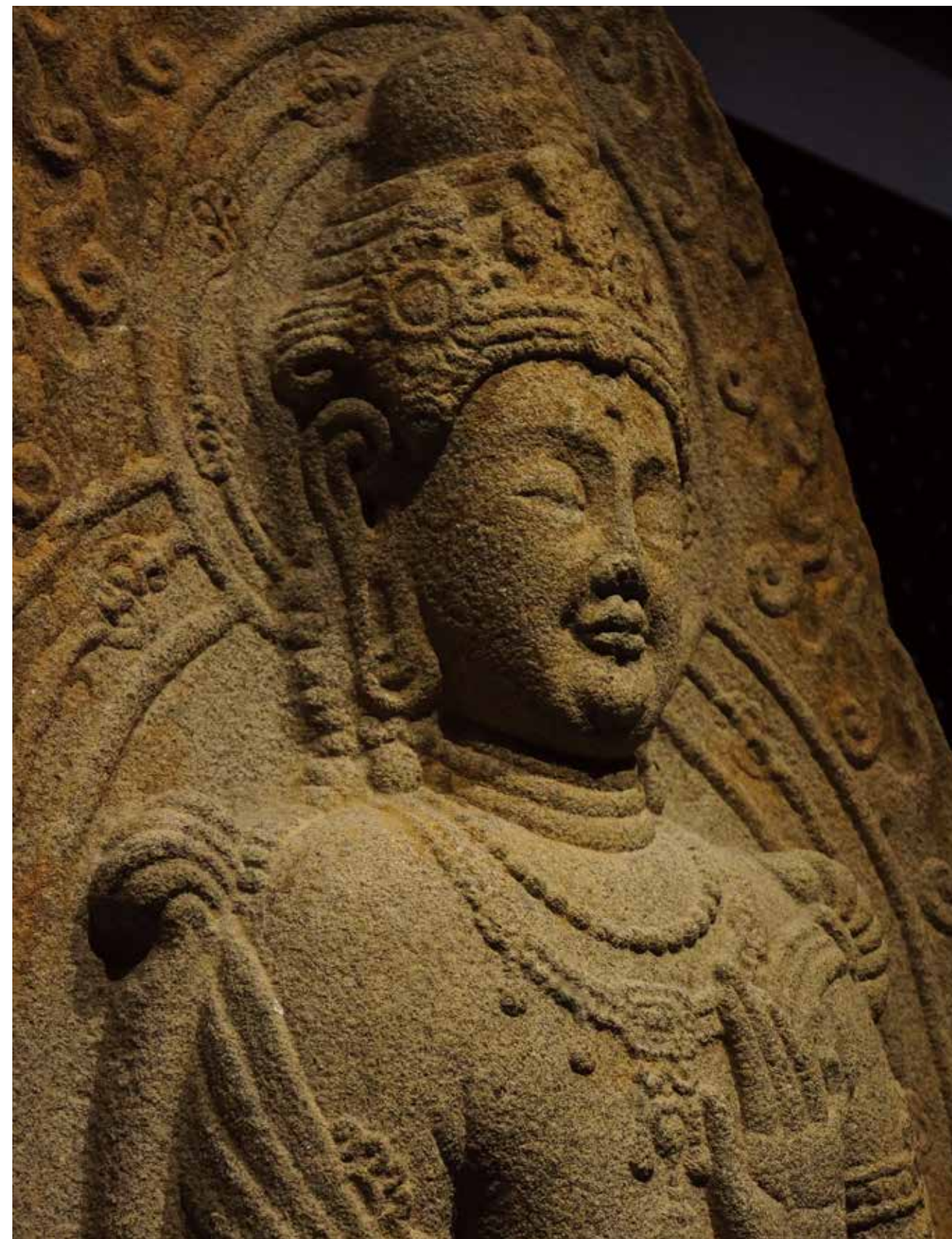


Fig. 10. Standing Maitreya Bodhisattva from Gamsansa Temple (detail: head). Unified Silla, 719. National Museum of Korea (Author's photograph)





Fig. 11. Bodhisattva from the Memorial Stele for the Zen Master Dazhi (大智禪師碑) (detail). Tang, 736. Stone engraving. Xian Beilin Museum (Author's photograph)

the outlines of the body would be awkward to sculpt and more susceptible to damage. In other words, although it is simple to represent such features in painting, they would not have been adopted in sculpture due to practical concerns such as regarding the potential for damage. When all these observations are taken together, it seems highly likely that the finely expressed details in the two images from Gamsansa Temple must have been modeled after painted models.

The introduction and circulation of novel styles of Buddhist imagery through painted sketches was a nearly universal phenomenon throughout India as well as East Asia. The King Udayana image (優填王

像), currently believed to be the first-ever Buddhist image, was spread across India by means of painted reproductions. This image is also said to have been transmitted to China for the first time during the reign of Emperor Ming (明帝, r. 57–75) of the Eastern Han dynasty (東漢, 25–220) through the use of painted models. Similarly, the so-called “Ashoka image” (阿育王像) that was worshipped as an auspicious symbol in the Southern dynasties (南朝, 420–589) also achieved wide circulation via the dissemination of painted reproductions.

This trend continued into the Tang period. In the Chang'an and Luoyang area, clay sculptures were widely produced based on painted representations

of famous Indian Buddhist sculptures sketched by the painters who accompanied the envoy Wang Xuance (王玄策, dates unknown) in his multiple diplomatic missions to India in the early Tang period. A great number of silk paintings and painted models from the Tang period were also recovered from the so-called “Library Cave” (藏經洞) in Dunhuang. In Japan there are a number of extant examples, such as a plain drawing (白描畫) housed in the Shōsō-in Repository (正倉院) and a copy of the *Suiqui tuoluoni shenzhou jing* (隋求陀羅尼神咒經, *Sūtra of the Wish-fulfilling Dhāraṇī*) in the collection of the Japan Calligraphy Museum, that attest to the introduction there of Tang painted models. In light of these examples, it is certain that during the early eighth century, in an atmosphere of a vigorous exchange with Tang China, a great number of new painted models would also have been transmitted from Tang China to the Silla Kingdom.

The ruling dynasty in China was deeply involved in the production and circulation of painted models. The second volume of Zhang Yanyuan's (張彥遠, c. 815–879) *Lidai minghua ji* (歷代名畫記, *Record of Famous Paintings of Successive Dynasties*) contains records of a great number of sketches being stored in the form of rubbings in the palace warehouse. The *Jiu Tang shu* (舊唐書, *Old Book of Tang*) also reveals that professional transcribers as well as painters were employed at the palace. The example of Wang Xuance also points to the dynasty's involvement in managing the artisans who were dedicated copyists. Following the orders of Emperors Taizong (太宗, r. 626–649) and Gaozong (高宗, r. 649–683), a large number of artisans accompanied Wang Xuance on his various diplomatic missions to India and, among their many works, created painted copies of a Maitreya bodhisattva from Central Asia and an impression of the Buddha's footprint (佛足石) from the Magadha Kingdom in central India. They also described in painting the diverse scenery and customs they encountered.

An imperial order was issued in the year 666 to compile a report on these journeys to the west based on the aforementioned records into a sixty-volume work titled *Xiguo zhi* (西國志, *Records of the Western Countries*), which was accompanied by forty volumes of paintings. According to the fourteenth volume of Dao Shi's (道世, d. 683) *Fayuan zhulin* (法苑珠林, *Forest of Gems in the Garden of the Dharma*), this compilation project was directed by the Department

of State Affairs (尚書省), also known as “Zhongtai” (中臺), and featured the participation of the most famous artisans in the capital of Chang'an, including the craftsman official Fan Changshou (范長壽, dates unknown). By the time Dao Shi had completed the *Fayuan zhulin* in 668, the *Xiguo zhi* was already in wide circulation. Based on an old story by the Buddhist priest Hui Yu (慧昱) from Yizhou (益州) Province, this book seems to have become well known among the public through the numerous officials and painters who participated in the compilation effort. Therefore, beyond the direct transmission of individual Indian and Central Asian images, the diffusion of Indian and Central Asian styles of Buddhist sculpture would have also been due to materials such as copies produced by artisans or collections of paintings and drawings produced by the state. In addition, these painted models would have spread not only to areas falling within the boundaries of Tang China, such as Dunhuang, but also across the sea to the Korean Peninsula and Japan. In the case of the two images from Gamsansa Temple, when we consider features like the delicate representation of detail and exceptional application of line, it seems very probable that a high-quality official sketch of the type that was produced by the most skilled Tang artisans in the capital, such as the illustrations in the *Xiguo zhi*, was used as a reference.

Song Fazhi (宋法智, dates unknown), who accompanied Wang Xuance's embassy to India and painted a copy of an image of Śākyamuni under the Bodhi Tree at Mahābodhi Temple, was originally considered a “modelling craftsman” (塑工). His example reveals the intimate connection between sculpture and painting in ancient China. Sculptors were often required to demonstrate basic painting skills as well, and there are many examples of craftsmen who excelled in both painting and sculpture. The famous sculptor Dai Kui (戴逵, d. 395) of the Eastern Jin dynasty (東晉, 317–420) was also a painter, and Yang Huizhi (楊惠之), who was active during the reign of the Tang Emperor Xuanzong (玄宗, r. 712–756), got his start in painting but switched to sculpture due to the great popularity of Wu Daozi. Wu's student Zhang Ai'er (張愛兒) also studied painting before turning to sculpture. In addition, artisans active during Wu Zetian's (武則天, r. 690–705) time, such as Dou Hongguo (竇弘果), Mao Poluo (毛婆羅), and Sun Rengui (孫仁貴), as well as Jin Yizhong (金義忠) from the period of Emperor



Dezong (德宗, r. 780–805), were all sculptors highly skilled in painting.

In the first volume of the book *Tuhua jianwen zhi* (圖畫見聞志, *Overview of Painting*) by Guo Ruoxu (郭若虛, active in the late 11th century) from the Northern Song (北宋, 960–1127) period, Tang Buddhist painting is divided into two representative styles: the “Wu type” (吳體) and the “Cao type” (曹體). In direct parallel, there were also two basic schools for sculpture. In fact, the close stylistic relationship between painting and sculpture up until the end of the Tang dynasty is a peculiar characteristic of Chinese art history. Therefore, examining contemporary trends in Tang Buddhist painting can help us to better understand the unique features of the two Gamsansa images.

#### The Gamsansa Temple Buddha and Bodhisattva Images and Tang Painting in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries

The two images from Gamsansa Temple demonstrate clothing features from Central Asia. However, among the extant Buddhist sculptures from the Tang period, a time when a Sinicized style was already beginning to predominate in China, there are only a handful of sculptures dated to the seventh and eighth centuries featuring the type of thick Buddhist robes with densely overlapping drapery that characterize the Gamsansa images. In contrast, the vast majority of this period’s sculptures were carved using simplified Sinicized folds for the drapery. In addition, there is no other example among all known East Asian bodhisattva statues demonstrating the clothing features found in the Gamsansa bodhisattva image. However, there are multiple examples of this type of depiction in wall paintings from the Mogao Caves. First appearing in the mid-eighth century under a strong influence from mainstream High Tang styles and increasing in frequency from the period of Tibetan occupation during the mid- and late Tang dynasty, these features in wall paintings can be connected to the growing influence of the Khotan Kingdom in Dunhuang of this day. In other words, the Central Asian clothing features that are observed in the two Silla images appear in Buddhist art produced in the Chinese heartland around the beginning of the eighth century, but starting in the eighth century it can be determined that these features underwent a process of Sinicization and eventually disappeared entirely

from the Tang cultural scope. This transformation is profoundly connected to the development of Tang Buddhist art in the seventh and eighth centuries.

Generally speaking, records from the Five Dynasties (五代, 907–960) and Song (宋, 960–1279) periods related to the history of painting explain how figure painting styles were divided into two categories according to their resemblance to either a foreign style or to an indigenous Chinese style. In his work *Yizhou minghua lu* (益州名畫錄, *Famous Paintings from Yizhou*), Huang Xiufu (黃休復) of the Five Dynasties period explains the division between dense “Cao-type” drapery folds and simple “Wu-type” drapery folds, while the Song critic Guo Ruoxu lists the respective progenitors of these so-called Cao and Wu types as Cao Zhongda (曹仲達, active in the late sixth century) of the Northern Qi dynasty (北齊, 550–577) and Wu Daozi (吳道子, c. 680–759) of the Tang dynasty. In reference to these painting styles, Guo quotes from the *Lidai minghua ji* to indicate that “Wu Daozi’s brushstroke was strong and rounded, and his drapery fluttered in the wind and flew upward. Cao Zhongda’s brushstroke was very thick, and his drapery stuck close to the body.” In other words, drapery is divided into the Indian or Central Asian “Cao-type,” in which the clothing remains adhered to the body and creases are expressed through densely overlapping lines, and the native “Wu-type” style that emphasizes the rhythmic flow of the brushwork. Taking these records together, it can be seen that there was a considerable conflict between two schools of painting in Tang China, with the Indian and Central Asian style emphasizing the description of the body through dense drapery while the indigenous Chinese style with its simple drapery folds highlighting flowing, rhythmic calligraphic lines.

Wu Daozi was active in the mainstream Tang art world from the time he was appointed by Emperor Xuanzong during the Kaiyuan period (開元, 713–741). Guo Ruoxu’s record does not provide a clear sense of the development of traditional painting styles in the early Tang period prior to Wu Daozi’s emergence, but this material can be supplemented with contributions from the ninth volume of the *Lidai minghua ji*. According to this record, with the exception of artists of Central Asian descent, the majority of early Tang painters, such as the brothers Yan Lide (閻立德) and Yan Liben (閻立本), as well as Fan Changshou and He Changshou (何長壽), all studied the style of

Zhang Sengyou (張僧繇, active in the first half of the sixth century) of the Liang dynasty (梁, 502–557). Wu Daozi also learned from Zhang’s style, and Wu’s contemporary Zhang Huaiguan (張懷瓘) claimed that “Wu Daozi was Zhang Sengyou born again.” These records indicate that Wu’s painting style was based on Zhang Sengyou. Zhang Yanyuan evaluates both artists together, stating, “Wu Daozi and Zhang Sengyou use the same brushstrokes, and in just one or two strokes they could create an image.” In other words, both painters mastered the simplified calligraphic stroke of the “Wu type” that differed from the Indian and Central Asian school of representing dense folds of drapery.

The representational style of dense folds of drapery manifested in the two Gamsansa images begins to grow more simplified in China in the early eighth century under the impact of Zhang Sengyou, Wu Daozi, and their followers. When Zhang’s painting style was prominent in the early and mid-seventh century and when Wu’s painting style proliferated during the Kaiyuan period of Emperor Xuanzong, there are few examples of Buddhist images with dense drapery folds. The fact that Central Asian styles of representing drapery do appear in Buddhist images from the middle years of the seventh century seems to be related to a wave of curiosity regarding exotic styles that was sparked by exploratory missions to India by the Buddhist monk Xuanzang (玄奘, d. 664) and by Wang Xuance. Publications such as the aforementioned *Xiguo zhi* and *Zhongtian zhuguo tu* (中天竺國圖, *Map of India*), published in 658 in connection to Wang Xuance’s Indian embassy, served to further heighten this upsurge of enthusiasm.

The painter best representing the new artistic expertise in Central Asian styles at this time is Yuchi Yiseng (尉遲乙僧, active in the seventh century). Born in the Khotan Kingdom, he was adept at painting foreign Buddha and bodhisattva images. His painting style is characterized by vivid colors, a remarkable three-dimensional sense of volume created through shading in light and dark, and skill in applying a powerful unmodulated so-called “iron-wire line” (鐵線描, Ch. *tiexianmiao*). His description of dense drapery that reveals the outline of the body underneath corresponds to the aforementioned style of Cao Zhongda.

Yuchi Yiseng entered Chang’an in the early years of the Zhenguan period (貞觀, 626–649) as a palace

guard, but afterward created a number of wall paintings for Buddhist and Taoist temples in the Chang’an and Luoyang areas. It is recorded in the *Tangchao minghua lu* (唐朝名畫錄, *On Famous Paintings of the Tang Period*) and in the chapter “*Si ta ji*” (寺塔記, Records of Temples and Pagodas) in the *Xuji* (續集, *Supplementary Collection*) of the *Youyang zazu* (酉陽雜俎, *Miscellaneous Morsels from Youyang*) that his wall paintings were featured in the pagoda at Ci’ensi Temple as well as the Seven-jewel Tower (七寶臺, Ch. Qibaotai) and Puxian Hall (普賢堂, Ch. Puxiantang) at Guangzhaisi Temple (光宅寺). The pagoda at Ci’ensi Temple was erected in 652 after Xuanzang returned from India, and it underwent large-scale repairs during the Chang’an era. Guangzhaisi Temple was built in 677 by Wu Zetian, China’s only empress regnant, who began as empress consort during the Tang dynasty. The Seven-jewel Tower would have been erected at around the same time, likely in order to enshrine local relics. Puxian Hall was originally Wu Zetian’s washroom (梳洗堂). According to these records, it seems that Yuchi Yiseng’s artistic efforts were confined to the mid- to late seventh century. Since he was active in China from the beginning of the Zhenguan period, the aforementioned elaborate wall paintings seem likely to be his creations.

The *Lidai minghua ji* also mentions that his paintings were found in Buddhist temples in Chang’an, such as An’guosi Temple (安國寺), Xingtangsi Temple (興唐寺), and Feng’ensi Temple (奉恩寺), as well as Dayunsi Temple (大雲寺) in Luoyang. However, An’guosi Temple was established by Emperor Ruizong (睿宗, r. 684–690, 710–712) in 710 at the site of his former residence. If we are to believe the statements in the *Lidai minghua ji*, Yuchi Yiseng must then have been active up until 710. However, considering the average human lifespan and the length of an active career, it is difficult to suppose that Yuchi continued painting into the early eighth century. For this reason, Nagahiro Toshio proposes that the artworks from the early eighth century were not direct creations of Yuchi Yiseng, but were likely produced by followers of the Yuchi Yiseng school (Nagahiro 1985, 322). Through an analysis of old records, Nagahiro also suggests that the Yuchi school flourished for approximately three decades starting with Yuchi Yiseng’s intensive artistic activities during Wu Zetian’s reign and continuing up until some point around 710.



*The Tangchao minghua lu* notes that “The foreign painting themes, paintings of ghosts, and exotic forms all practiced by Yuchi Yiseng were almost entirely discontinued in China.” Only a single individual, “the landscape painter Chen Ting (陳廷),” is listed as his follower. This supports the assumption that the Central Asian painting style centered on Yuchi fell quickly into decline after his death. The rise of Wu Daozi, who painted in an entirely different style, would also have greatly accelerated the demise of the Yuchi school.

However, before Wu Daozi’s style came to dominate in China, foreign and traditional painting styles co-existed in fierce competition during the Tang period. As Wu Hung (巫鴻) has pointed out, two mid-eighth century *Amitāyurdhyāna Sūtra* Paintings in Cave 172 of the Mogao Caves provide a fitting example of this phenomenon (Wu Hung 1992). Whereas the Buddha on the south wall (Fig. 12) is depicted in Sinicized robes exposing the chest with collars drooping from both shoulders and showing rhythmical lines, the Buddha on the north wall (Fig. 13) wears a tightly fitted robe revealing the three-dimensional form of the body underneath and with the right shoulder exposed. Its attendant bodhisattvas are shaded in color without any outlines. In other words, the south wall displays Chinese traditional painting styles while the north presents Central Asian and Indian features. Furthermore, it is curious that the shoulder ornamentation and ribbons seen in the representation of the Gamsansa bodhisattva are absent from the images of bodhisattvas on the south wall. On the north wall, in contrast, this motif is prominently depicted in the two attendant bodhisattvas (Fig. 14) seated next to the Amitābha Buddha. In the group of bodhisattvas (Fig. 8) beneath the Buddha can be seen figures with a sash attached at the shoulder with exaggerated knotting that shows a strong correspondence to the Gamsansa bodhisattva image.

Other bodhisattva images (Fig. 15) from Cave 320, created at the same time as Cave 172, also include shoulder ornamentation and ribbons in the style of the Gamsansa bodhisattva. The two attendant bodhisattvas, outlined with strong so-called “iron-wire” lines and with strands of hair that resemble “bending iron or coiling wire,” recall features characteristic of the Yuchi school. Through these examples, the representation of the Gamsansa bodhisattva’s clothing can be seen to have an intimate connection



Fig. 12. *Amitāyurdhyāna Sūtra* Painting on the south wall of Cave 172 in the Mogao Caves in Dunhuang (detail). Tang, mid-8th century (Dunhuang Academy 1987, Fig. 9)



Fig. 13. *Amitāyurdhyāna Sūtra* Painting on the north wall of Cave 172 in the Mogao Caves in Dunhuang (detail). Tang, mid-8th century (Dunhuang Academy 1987, Fig. 10)

with Central Asian painting styles. Furthermore, it becomes clear that this motif was one of the major features of the Yuchi school active in the mainstream Tang art world in the late seventh to early eighth century.

A passage from the *Tangchao minghua lu* records that “Yuchi Yiseng’s works, such as his figure paintings and bird-and-flower paintings, all follow foreign models and thus lack the Chinese manner,” suggesting that in addition to the overall painting style, the clothing in figure paintings of the Yuchi school

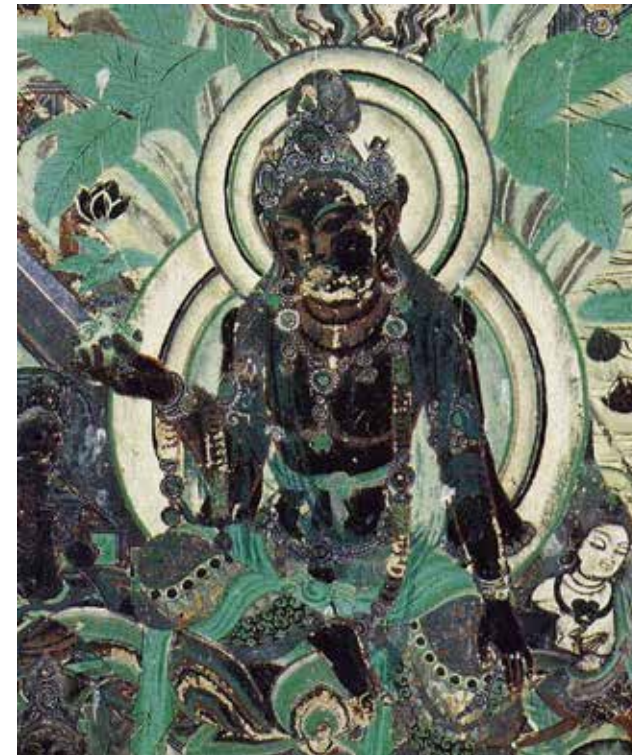


Fig. 14. Attendant Bodhisattva to the left of Amitābha from the *Amitāyurdhyāna Sūtra* Painting on the north wall of Cave 172 in the Mogao Caves in Dunhuang (detail). Tang, mid-8th century (Dunhuang Academy 1987, Fig. 13)



Fig. 15. Mahāsthāmaprāpta Bodhisattva from the *Amitāyurdhyāna Sūtra* Painting on the north wall of Cave 320 in the Mogao Caves in Dunhuang. Tang, mid-8th century (Taiyosa, ed. 1980, p. 101)

also followed Indian or Central Asian models rather than Chinese fashions. As previously mentioned, the Gamsansa bodhisattva lacks traditional Chinese decorations, such as large pendants or silk ribbons, but rather possesses multiple elements, such as string of beads and belt, that are in fact features of Indian ornamentation and Central Asian clothing styles. In general terms, they can be said to feature the characteristics of Indian or Central Asian styles. The patron of these Gamsansa images, Kim Jiseong, travelled as an envoy to Tang China in 705 during the golden age of the Yuchi school. When taken as a whole, it seems highly likely that the painted models brought back by Kim from Tang followed the style of the Yuchi school that was popular at the time.

Starting from the first half of the eighth century, the Yuchi school declined within mainstream Tang culture. In Dunhuang, however, it lingered through the mid- and late Tang periods, and clothing styles as represented in the Gamsansa bodhisattva image continued to be applied. With regard to the continuation of High Tang styles in Dunhuang, it has been pointed out that the Tibetan seizure of Dunhuang in 781 interrupted the introduction of new Tang styles into the region. However, when it comes to the popularity of the shoulder ornamentation and ribbons, we must consider a further possibility.

During the mid- and late Tang periods, new artistic topics and styles entered Dunhuang from India and the Khotan region, resulting in the emergence of a number of iconographic schemes related to Khotan, such as the founding legends of the Khotan Kingdom, as well as numerous examples of Indian and Khotanese paintings of auspicious image (瑞像圖), which are the concern of this paper. On the ceilings of Caves 231 and 237 are found multiple paintings of auspicious images originating in the two regions, and some of the bodhisattvas are represented with features such as ribbons and exaggerated ornamental knotting on the shoulders. The wall paintings in Cave 237 in particular show a comparatively strong Central Asian influence, particularly in the use of shading in light and dark, and almost all of the bodhisattva images in the *Bhaiṣajyaguru Sūtra* Painting and the *Devatā Sūtra* Painting on the north wall include shoulder ornamentation and ribbons in the style apparent in the Gamsansa bodhisattva image. Other auspicious images from the same cave, such as the painting *The Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara of the*





Fig. 16. Avalokiteśvara of the Mojia Kingdom inside the niche on the west wall of Cave 237 in the Mogao Caves in Dunhuang. Mid-Tang period (Sun Xiushen, ed. 2000, Fig. 91)



Fig. 17. Auspicious Image of the Ākāśagarbha Bodhisattva from Western Jade River in Satkāya Temple inside the niche on the west wall of Cave 237 in the Mogao Caves in Dunhuang. Mid-Tang Period (Sun Xiushen, ed. 2000, Fig. 99)

*Mojia Kingdom* (天竺摩伽國救苦觀世音菩薩) (Fig. 16) to the north of the niche on the west wall, as well as the paintings *The Auspicious Images of Śākyamuni and Bodhisattva on the Altar of the Mojie Kingdom* (摩竭國須彌座釋迦并銀菩薩瑞像) and *The Auspicious Image of the Ākāśagarbha Bodhisattva from Western Jade River in Satkāya Temple* (虛空藏菩薩於西玉河薩迦耶僊寺住瑞像) (Fig. 17) both on the east wall, similarly include such features. The designations “Mojia Kingdom” and “Mojie Kingdom” both refer to the Magadha Kingdom (c. 1200–322 BCE) in India, while “Western Jade River” seems to refer to the Karakash River to the west of the city of Khotan. However, the style of exaggerated shoulder ornamentation and ribbons depicted in the two Magadhan bodhisattvas mentioned above do not appear in bodhisattva images from the Indian region itself. In Caves 231 and 237, the painting *The Auspicious Image Carved of Sandalwood in the City of Bhīmā in Khotan* (于闐憐摩城中彌檀瑞像) (Fig. 18) is in fact an Indian image said to have been originally created by King Udayana, while the painting *The Auspicious Image of Vipasyin Buddha* (微波施佛瑞像) depicts another Indian image that was claimed to have flown from Śrāvastī in India to the Khotan region. Despite these narratives, these two Indian images feature a similar type of crown with wide and long beaded cords that is one of the prominent clothing features found in images of a Khotan king in wall paintings, such as the example in Cave 98. Together, these examples suggest that some of the Indian and Khotan auspicious paintings in the Mogao Caves were based on models transmitted from Khotan.

Generally speaking, auspicious paintings have a telling political connotation. The appearance of Khonese auspicious paintings in Dunhuang indicates that the two regions maintained a certain political connection. It further signifies that there must have been direct contacts between the two regions that enabled Khotan influence to expand throughout Dunhuang. In this way, although the Yuchi Yiseng school was waning within mainstream Tang culture, the Central Asian style found in the Gamsansa bodhisattva’s shoulder ornaments and ribbons continued to be actively applied through the mid- and late Tang periods in Dunhuang under Tibetan occupation due to the strong influence from the Khotan region.



Fig. 18. Auspicious Image Carved of Sandalwood in the City of Bhīmā in Khotan inside the niche on the west wall of Cave 231 in the Mogao Caves in Dunhuang. Mid-Tang period (Sun Xiushen, ed. 2000, Fig. 59)



Conclusion

The Gamsansa Amitābha Buddha and Maitreya bodhisattva are Buddhist sculptures that clearly illustrate the transmission of Central Asian styles from Tang China to the Unified Silla Kingdom. Extremely few comparable examples of such prominent Central Asian features can be found in contemporaneous East Asian Buddhist sculpture. While there are no other examples of this Maitreya bodhisattva’s shoulder ornamentation and ribbons in extant sculptures of bodhisattvas from East Asia, they do appear in great numbers in cave paintings from the Mogao Caves produced after the High Tang period. In this paper, I proposed that this phenomenon likely derives from the fact that the two Gamsansa images were carved based on painted models. I have further examined how the absence in East Asian sculpture of the formal characteristics prominent in these images is due to the historical circumstances of the rise and decline of the Yuchi Yiseng school.

That is to say, not only are these two Gamsansa images representative of Buddhist sculpture from Silla in the eighth century, but they also are significant in that they shed additional light on aspects of the Yuchi style of painting that dominated the region of Chang’an in Tang China from the mid-seventh to the early eighth century. However, it is advisable to remain cautious of the fact that among the motifs and representations of clothing adopted by the Yuchi school, some may have originated in India, but there were also a number of conventions that originated in Persia and spread widely in Central Asia. This synthesis of distinct influences reflects the multi-cultural characteristics of Central Asia. In addition, the fact cannot be overlooked that an interest in Persian styles also developed due to the large-scale immigration of Persians to Chang’an following the fall of the Sasanian dynasty (224–651) in Persia. For that reason, it can be fairly stated that the two images from Gamsansa Temple are a manifestation of the melting pot of artistic conventions from India, Central Asia, and Persia that emerged within mainstream Tang culture from the mid-seventh to early eighth century.

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TRANSLATED BY NATHANIEL KINGDON

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Fig. 2. Sculptures of Brahṃā (left) and Indra (right) in Seokguram Grotto at Mt. Tohamsan, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province. Unified Silla, c. 751. Height: 2.48 m (left); 2.44 m (right) (Hwang Sooyoung 1989, Fig. 44)

## Iconography of Brahṃā and Indra in Seokguram Grotto: Its Origins and Formation

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### Introduction

Brahṃā and Indra, or *Beomcheon* (梵天) and *Jeseokcheon* (帝釋天) in Korean, respectively, are described in the sūtras of biographies of the Buddha as figures who helped the Buddha practice Buddhism and enlighten individuals. In comparison, in the sūtras of Mahāyāna and Esoteric Buddhism, they appear as a pair of Buddhist devas who attended the Buddha's preaching and protected his teachings. Brahṃā and Indra are commonly considered to present a more complicated doctrinal nature compared to other guardian deities of dharma and consequently embody diverse symbolic meanings.

While representations of Brahṃā and Indra were once widely produced in the regions of Gandhāra and India, later surviving images of the two devas are found only in Seokguram Grotto from the eighth century during the Unified Silla period (統一新羅, 676–935) in Korea and in the Nara period (奈良時代, 710–794) in Japan. It is noteworthy that the Brahṃā and Indra in Seokguram Grotto are unparalleled in terms of iconography among eighth-century examples, thereby serving as model images for the two devas in East Asia. Despite their precise iconographic representation, outstanding modeling, and clear significance, little attention has been paid to the Seokguram Brahṃā and Indra as subjects of in-depth studies.

This article attempts to examine the origins and development of Brahṃā and Indra iconographies, analyze both the traits of their iconographies and their position as presented within Seokguram Grotto by associating them with historical literature, and, in doing so, carefully scrutinize the characteristics of the grotto. The iconographies of Seokguram Brahṃā and Indra will be further examined by analyzing the transmission and transformation of their representations on stone pagodas and other structures.

### The Origins of Brahṃā and Indra Iconographies and Early Examples

Brahṃā and Indra were not originally Buddhist deities. They were the highest deities in Indian religion as it existed well before the birth of Śākyamuni Buddha. Brahṃā was worshiped as the creator of the universe and as a symbol of the pure practitioner in the Brahmanism of ancient India. According to the Upaniṣads, the collected texts relating the philosophical concepts of Hinduism, Brahṃā, longing for self-proliferation, created the world through *tapas* (苦行, ascetic practice) (Taittiriya Upaniṣad, 2.6.1). His ascetic practice enabled him to become both creator and practitioner.

Indra was the king of the gods and the highest form of god in India during the Rigveda period.



On the one hand, Indra is described as a heroic warrior, but he also enjoys material affluence and leads an ambitious secular existence. The characteristics of Brahmā contrast with those of Indra in that while the former is a creator god and pure practitioner, the latter is the ruler of the heaven and a more secular figure.

As Brahmā and Indra were absorbed into the Buddhist cosmology, they lost their position as the highest forms of divinity. Rather, they transformed into deities representing Buddhist doctrine. In Buddhist sūtras they are depicted as gods undertaking multiple roles. Most commonly, Brahmā entreats the Buddha to preach after he attained enlightenment, while Indra venerates the Buddha's *śarīra* and his holy relics and erects stupas. Later, the expanded role of Brahmā in pleading with the Buddha to preach was codified as one of the motifs in the Mahāyāna Buddhist scriptures. For example, when Mahābhijñā Jñānābhībhū Buddha (大通智勝佛), the Buddha of the past, and Maitreya (彌勒), the future Buddha, attained Buddhahood, Brahmā emerged to request that they preach, an image which finds a prototype in the iconography of "Indra and Brahmā entreating the Buddha to preach" in the life story of Buddha as described in such texts as the chapter of "Huacheng yupin" (化城喻品, Parable of the Phantom City) in volume 3 of the *Miaofa lianhua jing* (妙法蓮華經), or *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka Sūtra*, commonly known as *Lotus Sūtra* (T. 9, no. 262: 23ab) and the *Mile dachengfo jing* (彌勒成佛經; Skr. \**Maitreya vyākaraṇa; Sūtra of Maitreya Bodhisattva's Attainment of Buddhahood*) (T. 14, no. 456: 430c–431a).<sup>1</sup> Indra enshrined and worshipped relics of the Buddha at the Trāyastriṃśa heaven (忉利天). For example, he performed rites with the hairs that Śākyamuni cut off upon leaving the palace (*Fo benxing ji jing*, T. 3, no. 190: 737c; *Fangguangda zhuan yan jing*, T. 3, no. 187: 576c; *Wufen lu*, T. 22, no. 1421: 102b; *Datang xiyu ji*, T. 51, no. 2087: 903a), and enshrined Śākyamuni's fingernail trimmings, alms bowls, and robes (*Shijia pu*, T. 50, no. 2040: 66bc; *Fayuan zhulin*, T. 53, no. 2122: 578b). He also constructed Buddhist temples and stupas at locations closely associated with Buddhism (*Datang xiyu ji*, T. 51, no. 2087: 904c and T. 51, no. 2087: 893b, 916c,

918b). It seems that Indra's establishment of halls and stupas provided the basis for the construction of the Queli stupas of Kanishka as recorded in the *Luoyang qielan ji* (洛陽伽藍記, *Records of the Monasteries of Luoyang*) (T. 51, no. 2085: 858b), the Renshou *śarīra* Stupa during the reign of Emperor Wen of the Sui dynasty, Jeseokjeongsa Temple in the Baekje Kingdom, and the nine-story pagoda of Hwangnyongsa Temple commissioned by Queen Seondeok (善德女王, r. 632–647) of Silla. These particular roles of Brahmā and Indra have been consistently depicted in different forms in a number of Buddhist sūtras and ancient texts, including the *Guanfo sanmei hai jing* (觀佛三昧海經; *Buddha dhyāna samādhi sāgara sūtra; Sūtra on the Samādhi-Ocean of Contemplation of Buddha*) (T. 15, no. 643: 680c) and the *Samguk yusa* (三國遺事, *Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms*).

The innate qualities with which Brahmā and Indra were formerly endowed in other Indic religions also continue to appear in Buddhism. Brahmā's name, Sahāmpati, meaning "the lord of the Sahā World, or the world of endurance" (娑婆世界主), indicates his innate nature as the creator god in Brahmānism. Brahmā is referred to by the Chinese designations tranquility (寂靜), complete purification (清淨), disciplined celibacy (淨行), and freedom from desire (離欲), all of which are based on his pure characteristic of asceticism. Buddhist scriptures portray Indra as a warrior combatting Asuras or as a ruler indulging himself and governing the devas of the Trāyastriṃśa heaven. This description also originates from his earlier characteristics as a warrior and king (*Chang ahan jing*, T. 1, no. 1: 144a; *Da loutan jing*, T. 1, no. 23: 302a; *Qishi jing*, T. 1, no. 24: 353ab; *Lishi apitan lun*, T. 32, no. 1644: 183–194). These original attributes of Brahmā and Indra later inspired the development of the visual images of these two devas in Buddhism.

In the early Buddhist art of Gandhāra and India, Brahmā and Indra often appeared separately as independent deities; however, there are examples of them being represented as a pair. For instance, Brahmā and Indra are commonly depicted together in Buddhist triads and pentads as attendants or protectors, and can be found in reliefs of Śākyamuni Buddha's life story, namely depictions of episodes including his birth, bathing, Brahmā's entreaty to preach, descent from the Trāyastriṃśa heaven, visit of Indra, and nirvāṇa (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1. Bodhisattva Triad excavated in Swat, Pakistan. Greenschist, 38.8 x 40cm. Private Collection in Europe (Kurita Isao 1988, p. 2)

In Gandhāran high relief of the Buddha's life story, Brahmā appears as an ascetic with his hair tied, body covered with a shawl or a robe, and holding a water vase known as *kuṇḍikā* in his hand. This visual representation is modeled on the appearance of the Brahmins who worshipped Brahmā in ancient India. In contrast, Indra is depicted as a noble with a turban or a crown on his head and his body adorned with jewelry, which alludes to the appearance of the Kshatriyas. The Brahmins belong to the first and the Kshatriyas to the second highest social classes of varṇa in ancient India, and their appearances are respectively reflected in the representations of Brahmā and Indra. Moreover, Brahmā and Indra flank the Buddha to either side, one signifying the sacred and the other the secular, as well as the conceptually contrasting notions of attaining enlightenment through cultivation (上求菩提) and saving all beings (下化衆生), thus serving as the prototype for the Buddhist triad in Mahāyāna Buddhist art.

In China, historical documents record the production of images of Brahmā and Indra, yet few sculptural images of the two remain beyond the scant examples found in depiction of the life story of the Buddha. However, there does exist the image of Brahmā-Śikhin (螺髻梵王) with his hair tufted into the shape of a conch, which gained prominence after the sixth century and provided one of the iconogra-

phies for Brahmā during the Northern and Southern Dynasties period (南北朝, 420–589) of China. This type of Brahmā with a tuft of hair on the head resembling a conch can be found in steles of seven Buddhas from the sixth century, as well as in the grottoes of Mt. Maijishan (麥積山), Longmen (龍門), and Mt. Xiangtangshan (響堂山). They have been ambiguously identified as either donors or pratyekabuddhas (緣覺), those who attained Buddhahood independently without assistance. Nonetheless, a Buddhist votive stele housed in the Chicago Art Institute in the USA and dated to 551, the 17th year of the Datong era (大統, 535–551) of the Western Wei (西魏, 535–556), bears an inscription that reads "Brahmā," and it is revealed that the Brahmā with a tuft of hair is an image created in China based on Buddhist sūtras translated into Chinese (Kim Lena 1991, 214–15). Brahmā-Śikhin is a Buddhist figure that, among the Buddhist deities of the Buddhist cosmology (e.g., Buddhas, bodhisattvas, arhats, devas), represents devas. During the Tang dynasty (唐, 618–907), the production of Brahmā-Śikhin images rapidly declined. In their place, images of Brahmā and Indra dressed in the form of Chinese emperors began to appear from the late eighth century on Dunhuang murals below Mañjuśrī (文殊菩薩) riding on a lion and Samantabhadra (普賢菩薩) on an elephant. No images of Brahmā-Śikhin have been found to date in Korea, and the Brahmā and Indra images in Seokguram Grotto from the mid-eighth century are the earliest known examples of Brahmā and Indra.

### Sūtras Related to the Brahmā and Indra Images in Seokguram Grotto

#### Iconography of the Brahmā and Indra Images and the Tuoluoni ji jing

Reliefs featuring Brahmā and Indra (Figs. 2 and 2-1) are carved on both sides of the entrance to the circular main chamber of Seokguram Grotto, which was commissioned by Kim Daeseong (金大城, c. 770–774), who had formerly served as Prime Minister, in the 15th year of the reign of King Gyeongdeok (景德王, r. 742–765) during the Unified Silla period. The Brahmā image appears on the left and the Indra image on the right when facing the main Buddha in the grotto. Brahmā wears clothing resembling *kāṣāya*, the robes of Buddhist monks and nuns, while

1. References to Chinese canon hereinafter provided with *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* (大正新脩大藏經, *Taishō Tripiṭaka*) indicated by "T." (vol.) and "text no.: page."





Fig. 2-1. Illustrations of the sculptures of Brahmā and Indra in Seokguram Grotto (Hwang Sooyoung 1989, Fig. 45)

holding a *kunḍikā* in his left hand. Indra is dressed in a robe with long sleeves and holds his left hand near his belly with a *vajra* on the palm. Standing on oval pedestals, both images have peg-topped elliptical halos around their heads and bodies adorned with ornaments. Bending their right arms, both deities hold in their right hands a fly whisk with its tail extending over their right shoulders. The appearances of Brahmā and Indra images in Seokguram Grotto correspond to the following passage from the *Bore huaxiangfa* (般若畫像法, *Prajñāpāramitā Painting Method*), volume 3 of the *Tuoluoni ji jing* (陀羅尼集經, *Compiled Dhāraṇī Sūtras*), or *Dhāraṇī-sammucaya Sūtra* (T. 18, no. 901: 805b).

To the right of the bodhisattva is enshrined Brahmā. The white-bodied deity, wearing earrings made from precious metals and a necklace made with the Seven Treasures (gold, silver, lapis, crystal, coral, agate, and pearl), stands atop a rug. With his right arm bent and extended above the shoulder, the deity holds a white fly whisk, and his

pendant left arm holds a *kamaṇḍalu*. The figure is wearing a skirt made of *joha* silk that hangs down from the waist and a robe adorned with embroidery and ornately woven silk. Brahmā is wearing a violet-colored *kāṣāya* and a coronet around his head with a nimbus surrounding it. His wrists and ankles are ornamented with bracelets studded with jewels.

To the left of the bodhisattva is enshrined Indra. The white-bodied deity, with earrings made from precious metals and jewelry made of the Seven Treasures extending downward from the top of the head, stands atop a rug. With his right arm bent and extended above the shoulder, the deity holds a white fly whisk. The left arm is bent in such a way that the elbow is directed leftward and the hand is placed toward the stomach with the palm facing upward. In his hand, the figure holds a *vajra*, the end of which faces outward and is surrounded with a flame. Indra is wearing a skirt called a *johagun* that hangs from the waist downward and a robe adorned with embroidery and ornately woven silk. The figure is covered in drapery decorated with strings of jewels, and is wearing a haloed coronet on his head, along with jewelry around his wrists and ankles.

This passage delineates the pictorial form of the deities. The descriptions of garments, halos, pedestals, and attributes held in the hands nearly conform with those of Brahmā and Indra in Seokguram Grotto.

The *Tuoluoni ji jing* represents a section of the text entitled *Jingang da daochang jing* (金剛大道場經, *Sūtra of the Great Vajra Practice Ground*) translated into Chinese by an Indian monk named Atiguta (阿地瞿多). After arriving in Chang'an, China, in 652, Atiguta performed the All Gathering Maṇḍala Initiation Ceremony (普集會壇, Ch. *Puji huitan*), a new ritual of Esoteric Buddhism, at Futuyuan (浮圖院) in Huirisi Temple (慧日寺). One year later, he compiled a portion of the *Jingang da daochang jing* in twelve volumes, the full text of which served as a foundation for the ritual he performed. Consisting of Esoteric Buddhist thoughts, mudrās, incantations, paintings, writings, and votive ceremonies, the *Tuoluoni ji jing* functioned as an encyclopedia for early Esoteric Buddhism (*Tuoluoni ji jing*, T. 18, no. 901: 785ab; *Kaiyuan shijiao lu*, T. 55, no. 2154: 562c).

There are no direct literary records proving the

transmission of the *Tuoluoni ji jing* to Unified Silla. However, a Unified Silla monk named Myeonghyo (明曉) sought a newly translated edition of the *Bukongjuansuo tuoluoni jing* (不空羼索陀羅尼經, *Dhāraṇī Sūtra of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara in the Form of Amoghapāśa*) before returning from Tang China around the year 700 in order to supplement the missing sections of the *Tuoluoni ji jing* (Koh Ikjin 1989, 419-24). Therefore, it is possible that early Esoteric Buddhist monks in Unified Silla saw or were at least aware of this scripture. It also seems probable that the iconographies based on the painting method of the *sūtra* were circulated separately.

The halos of Brahmā and Indra in Seokguram are oval in shape and topped with pegs. The *Tuoluoni ji jing* calls this nimbus *pagigwang* (簸箕光; Ch. *boji-guang*). According to the Buddhist dictionary *Yiqie jing yinyi* (一切經音義, *Pronunciation and Meaning in the Complete Buddhist Cannon*) compiled in the eighth century during the Tang dynasty, *pa* means winnowing rice and throwing away the hulls, while

*gi* refers to a winnowing basket into which to pour rice (*Yiqie jing yinyi*, T. 54, no. 2128: 638c). *Pagi* thus indicates a winnowing basket, a container used to winnow grain. The halos of Brahmā and Indra in Seokguram resemble such a winnowing basket.

The deities stand atop a rug, a type of carpet known in Korean as *guyu* (氍毹; Ch. *quyu*). The *Yiqie jing yinyi* introduces *guyu* as “patterned woolen fabrics dyed in multiple colors, or those made from animal hair or bird feathers, used by people as a blanket,” or “fabrics loosely woven or pressed with a mixture of animal hair and cotton” (*Yiqie jing yinyi*, T. 54, no. 2128: 711a).

Ten disciples are depicted in Seokguram Grotto with the appearance of monks and stand on pedestals similar to those of Brahmā and Indra (Fig. 3). Some of the pedestals are decorated with lines and strings of pearls, but they are still essentially the class of rugs known as *guyu* that Brahmā and Indra are standing upon. Some written records mention various forms of *guyu*. The description of “the work involves mak-



Fig. 3. Detail of the pedestal of Arhat sculpture holding an alms bowl, Main Chamber at Seokguram (Hwang Sooyoung 1989, Fig. 92)



ing large, small, thick, thin, rectangular, or round rugs” in volume 26 of the *Genben shuo yiqie youbu pinaiye* (根本說一切有部毘奈耶; *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya vibhaṅga*; *Precepts of the Mūlasarvāstivāda School*) indicates that a circular *guyu* pedestal did exist in reality (T. 23, no. 1442: 766c).

*Guyu* are introduced as indigenous products of the regions of Gandhāra and North India, as well as Xiyu (西域), or Western Regions including Kashmir, Kashgar, and Khotan in the *Yiqie jing yinyi* (T. 54, no. 2128: 383a, 720c, and 821c) and travelogues by Buddhist monks such as Xuanzang (玄奘, 602–664) (*Datang xiyu ji*, T. 51, no. 2087, 51: 938a, 942c, and 943a) and Hyecho (慧超, 704–787) (Hyecho 1971, 61–99). *Guyu* pedestals have been found painted in the murals in the Kizil Caves and those of the early Tang dynasty under significant influence of the culture of the Western Regions. The lower section of the Pure Land scene at Cave 220 in Dunhuang dated to 642 shows celestial beings performing a dance called *hoseonmu* (胡旋舞, Ch. *huxuanwu*) from the Western Regions atop a carpet (Fig. 4). It corresponds with the definition of *guyu* in the *Yiqie jing yinyi* as originally a kind of mat laid on the floor for dancing (*Yiqie jing yinyi*, T. 54, no. 2128: 711a).

In the mid- to late eighth century when Seokguram Grotto was constructed, *guyu* were also being produced in Unified Silla for domestic use. According to the chapter “*Tapsang*” (塔像, Stupas and Images) in volume 3 of the *Samguk yusa*, during the reign of Emperor Daizong (太宗, r. 762–779) of the Tang dynasty, Silla offered *guyu* in tribute to the Tang im-

perial family, who praised the fabrication technique of Silla *guyu*. Thus, the *guyu* pedestals of Brahmā and Indra represent the international characteristics of both Seokguram Grotto and the culture of Unified Silla.

Brahmā and Indra in Seokguram Grotto are both clad in skirts of a similar type. The *Tuoluoni ji jing* referred to these as *johagun* (朝霞裙; Ch. *chaoxiaqun*), a type of skirt made of *joha* silk that appears to have been linked to *johau* (朝霞衣; Ch. *chaoxiayi*), a white item of clothing worn by the people of Takkadeśa (磤迦国) in North India (*Datang xiyuji*, T. 51, no. 2087: 888b). This also coincides with the white bodies of Brahmā and Indra as described in the *Tuoluoni ji jing*. According to the records of King Seongdeok in volume 8 of the *Silla bongi* (新羅本紀, *Records of Silla*) of the *Samguk sagi* (三國史記, *History of the Three States*), Silla produced a type of silk named *johaju* (朝霞紬; Ch. *chaoxiachou*) and shipped it to China in 723 during the reign of King Seongdeok (聖德王, r. 702–737). Moreover, the chapter “Jikgwanjo” (職官條, Monograph on Silla government) in volume 39 of the *Samguk sagi* records that King Gyeongdeok (景德王, r. 742–765) established Johabang (朝霞房; Ch. *Chaoxi-afang*), a government institution for manufacturing premium quality silk known as *johageum* (朝霞錦; Ch. *chaoxiijin*). At the time when Seokguram Grotto was being built, *joha* silk was clearly being produced in Silla.

The *Tuoluoni ji jing* records the fly whisk (拂子; Skr. *vālavyajana*; K. *bulja*; Ch. *fuzi*) in the hands of Brahmā and Indra as being a white fly whisk. Un-



Fig. 4. Detail of celestial dancers in *Amitābha's Pure Land*, South Wall of cave 220 at the Mogao Caves in Dunhuang, China. Tang dynasty, 7th century (Whitfield 1995, Fig. 75)



Fig. 5. Standing sculptures of supposedly Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara, Cave 23 at the Pandavleni Caves in Nashik, Maharashtra, India. 6–7th century. Height: 150 cm (Takahama Shu et al. 2000, Fig. 310)

like a plain version, a white fly whisk is considered decorative and a luxury item. In Buddhist art, the composition of two images flanking a principal icon with their right arms bent while grasping a fly whisk finds its origins in India in the Buddha triad (Fig. 5). Many Chinese Buddhist sculptures created around the same time as Seokguram wield a willow branch in their hands rather than a fly whisk in its complete form. In this sense, it is believed that the iconography of Brahmā and Indra holding a fly whisk in Seokguram faithfully follows prototypes from India.

The *kunḍikā* vase held in the left hand of Brahmā is the *kamaṇḍalu* (澡罐; K. *jogwan*) mentioned in the *Tuoluoni ji jing*. It has two spouts, differing from the form of a vase with one spout generally depicted in bodhisattva images from the Tang dynasty. The *kunḍikā* held by Brahmā is not only a ritual utensil or Esoteric Buddhist instrument, but also a manifestation of the origin of the deity Brahmā out of a Brahmān ascetic.

The *kāṣāya* worn by the Seokguram Brahmā is also equivalent to that described in the *Tuoluoni ji jing*. In Buddhist art, the *kāṣāya* is a garment worn by

images of the Buddha or a monk, and embodies the meaning of immaculate clothing free of worldly desires (*Yiqie jing yinyi*, T. 54, no. 2128: 698c). Brahmā being dressed in *kāṣāya* thus indicates his asceticism; in other words, Brahmā's *kāṣāya* mirrors his inherent ascetic aspect.

In the drapery of the Seokguram Brahmā, the folds are split into a Y-shape, one covering each leg, in the manner known as the Udayana style. This type is also rendered on the stone standing Unified Silla period Amitābha Buddha discovered in Gamsansa Temple (甘山寺) in Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province. The Udayana style is often exhibited in eighth-century Japanese Brahmā images of the Nara period, including a wooden Brahmā originally placed in the Jikidō (食堂) of Hōryūji Temple (法隆寺), Nara (Fig. 6); a dry lacquer Brahmā in the Hokkedō (法華堂) of Tōdaiji Temple (東大寺), Nara; and another dry lacquer Brahmā held by the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, which was originally enshrined in Kōfukuji Temple (興福寺), Nara. These examples illustrate the internationality of eighth-century Brahmā images. However, the robe style of the Seokguram Brahmā differs from that of the illustrated reproduction of the eighth-century Brahmā on the door of a portable shrine in the Shōsōin Repository (正倉院), which was originally enshrined in Kaidan-in (戒壇院) of Tōdaiji Temple (Fig. 7). The Japanese example wears Chinese shoes known as *gaotoulu* (高頭履; K.



Fig. 6. Brahmā (left) and Indra (right), originally placed in Jikidō Hall of Hōryūji Temple, Nara period, 8th century. Color on wood-core and clay. Height: 110.0 cm (Hōryūji Temple, Nara, Japan)



Fig. 7. Iconography of Brahmā (left) and Indra (right), paintings on the doors of a *zushi* (portable shrine) in Kaidan-in Hall, Tōdaiji Temple, reproduction made in 1148 of the original mid-eighth-century work. Tōdaiji Temple, Nara, Japan (Sekine Shunichi 1997, Fig. 39)



*goduri*) with a raised toe and a robe with fin-shaped sleeves, known as a *qixiu* (鱗袖; K. *gisu*), open at the elbow. These elements indicate the Chinese influence that emerged during the later period of the eighth-century images of Brahmā in Japan and differentiate the Brahmā image of Seokguram, whose origins differ from the Japanese versions (Matsuhara Satomi 2000, 213-38).

The *vajra* that the Seokguram Indra holds in his left hand is a five-pronged *vajra* (五鋼杵), which is an important reference for the actual *vajra* used at the time. The *Tuoluoni ji jing* refers to five-pronged *vajra* as “great *vajra*” (大跋折羅), and further describes their features and the techniques required for making them (*Tuoluoni ji jing*, T. 18, no. 901: 803c-804a). A *vajra* originally signifies a thunderbolt and is described as a powerful weapon wielded by Indra in ancient Indic myth. The *vajra* held by Indra in Seokguram Grotto thus suggests his warrior nature.

Relative to eighth-century Japanese Indra images, the Seokguram Indra wears a similar outer robe with large sleeves and V-shaped collars. However, the clothing and attributes of the Indra on the door of the Kaidan-in portable shrine described in the documents of Shōsōin present Sinicized characteristics that were initiated after the eighth century. The Seokguram Indra’s U-shaped drapery drooping in two tiers and the strings of beads hung over the lower body with ornaments like a wind chime are associated with the seventh-century bodhisattvas from the Dunhuang murals heavily influenced by Indian Buddhist art (Fig. 8). These can be understood to exemplify the conservative nature of the Seokguram Brahmā and Indra images in terms of iconography. It can also be pointed out that they came from a different pedigree than that of contemporaneous Japanese images. Accordingly, the images in Seokguram Grotto embody both a global universality and Unified Silla distinctiveness.

#### Arrangement of the Brahmā and Indra Images Interpreted from the Perspective of Hwaecom

As mentioned above, the iconography of Brahmā and Indra images in Seokguram Grotto appears to have been based on the *Bore huaxiangfa* of the *Tuoluoni ji jing* or its Sanskrit version. Nevertheless, the types and layouts of other images inside Seokguram do not correspond to the descriptions provided by the *Tuolu-*



Fig. 8. Detail of bodhisattvas. North Side of the West Wall, Cave 57 at the Mogao Caves in Dunhuang, China. Tang dynasty, 7th century (Editorial Board of the Complete Collection of Chinese Arts, Fig. 9)

*oni ji jing*.

According to the *Bore huaxiangfa*, the principle image should be of a seated Prajñāpāramitā bodhisattva (般若菩薩) in the form of a heavenly maid with three eyes and two arms. Above the bodhisattva should be a Śuddhāvāsa deva (首陀會天), while eight divine kings are placed below the main icon. All of these are completely distinct from the images in Seokguram Grotto. The *Bore tanfa* (般若壇法, *Prajñāpāramitā Maṇḍala Ritual*) recorded in volume 3 of the *Tuoluoni ji jing* also includes images of Brahmā and Indra. Here, it is specified that Śākyamuni Buddha be enshrined in the center of a square platform and flanked by Brahmā holding

a *kunḍikā* to his right (north) and Indra holding a *vajra* to his left (south) (T. 18, no. 901: 808a). This disposition of Brahmā and Indra standing to the right and left of the Buddha coincides in part with the image found in Seokguram Grotto. The remaining text, however, describes diverse deities ranging from the Prajñāpāramitā bodhisattva to sixteen Great Yaksha Generals (大藥叉將), which are not found in Seokguram. Therefore, a universal comparison between Seokguram and the *Bore tanfa* is inappropriate. Above all, the square hall stipulated in the *Bore huaxiangfa* and the *Bore tanfa* differs from the round main chamber of Seokguram Grotto (Fig. 9). Even though the iconography of the *Tuoluoni ji jing* did impact the composition and manifestation of some images in Seokguram, this scripture alone does not provide an adequate explanation of the layout and characteristics of the Seokguram images.

A circular arrangement of images in the form of a monk encircling the main Buddha was a popular plan employed in eighth-century cave temples in East Asia, and the images in the main chamber of Seokguram Grotto are disposed according to this layout. It is probable that the archetype and earlier examples of the circular plan were derived from China, but only few survived today. A small number of existing ex-

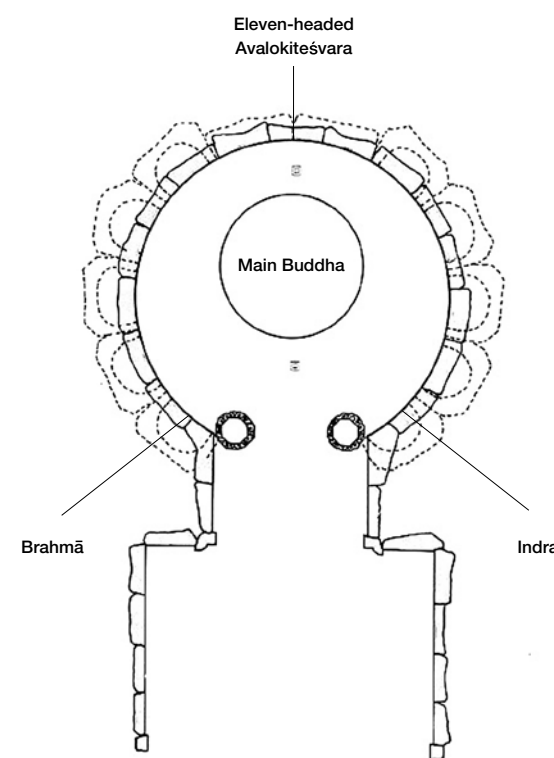


Fig. 9. Floor plan of Seokguram Grotto (Edited from the original image in Hwang Sooyoung 1989, p. 40)



Fig. 10. Mandala of the Kusha School of Buddhism, 12th-century reconstruction of the 8th-century original work. Color on silk. 164.5 x 177 cm. Tōdaiji Temple, Nara, Japan (Nara National Museum, Fig. 200)

amples of the arrangement of ten monks surrounding the Buddha can be found in maṇḍala painting of the Kusha school (俱舍宗曼荼羅圖) of Buddhism at Tōdaiji Temple (reproduced after the eighth-century original), and an embroidered image of Buddha (繡佛) from Kajūji Temple (勧修寺), Kyoto, presumably made either in Tang China or in Japan and presently located in the Nara National Museum (Fig. 10). The arrangement and the types of Seokguram images, however, do not perfectly coincide with those seen in Japanese counterparts.

The main chamber of Seokguram Grotto enshrines sculptures of Buddha, the Ten Disciples, and bodhisattvas, while the antechamber and vestibule display devas, gods, and additional figures. The round main chamber is regarded as a sacred space distinct from the outer room filled with images of Four Heavenly Kings, Vajrapāni, and Eight Classes of Divine Beings. What is notable here is that, despite belonging to the group of devas, Brahmā and Indra are enshrined within the main chamber as opposed to the other devas who remain in the outer room. How can we explain this unusual phenomenon? Brahmā and Indra are devas occupying a lower status of the hierarchy in Buddhist cosmology compared to the Buddha and bodhisattvas; nonetheless, an exception is made in order to place them in the main hall.



Since the name and nature of a main Buddha determine the attributes of the associated lower deities, the arrangement of the Seokguram sculptures needs to be understood in relation to the main Buddha. In this sense, I plan to correlate Brahmā and Indra to the main Śākyamuni Buddha and examine its meaning.

Studies on Seokguram Grotto begin with the main Buddha posing with his right hand in the “earth-touching” position, or *bhūmiśparśa* mudrā, iconographically symbolizing the ultimate enlightenment of Śākyamuni and doctrinally correlated with Hwaeom (華嚴; Skr. Avatamsaka; Ch. Huayan) (Kim Lena 1989, 326-332; Hwang Sooyoung 1987, 73-110). I thus attempt to examine the influence on Seokguram Grotto of the Hwaeom school of Buddhism, taking into account the dominant Buddhist ideology and faith as well as the historical background of mid- to late eighth century Silla when Seokguram Grotto was constructed.

The *Huayan jing* (華嚴經; Skr. *Avatamsaka Sūtra*; K. *Hwaeom gyeong*), or *Flower Garland Sūtra*, emphasizes the ultimate enlightenment of Śākyamuni and describes the scene of his preaching. In 760, when Seokguram was being constructed, Kim Daeseong, the patron of the grotto, consulted a Hwaeom monk named Pyohun (表訓) regarding the doctrines of the Three Bases of Samādhi (三本定; K. *sambonjeong*): the Samādhi of Sea Seal (海印定; K. *haeinjeong*); the Flower Garland Samādhi (佛華嚴定; K. *bulhwaeom-jeong*); and the Samādhi of Lion-like Moving with Resolute Speed (獅子奮迅定; K. *sajabunsinjeong*) (Kim Sanghyun 1986, 39). This fact plays an important role in understanding Seokguram. Moreover, Hwaeom thought appears to have affected the planning and construction of Seokguram in that, according to the records of “*Daeseong hyo ise bumō*” (大城孝二世父母, Daeseong Served His Parents with Filial Piety in Two Lifetimes) in the chapter “*Hyoseon*” (孝善, Filial Piety and Goodness) of the *Samguk yusa*, Pyohun was invited to serve as the first head priest upon the completion of Seokguram. Research on the close relationship between Hwaeom thought and the circular chamber and domed ceiling of Seokguram are also pertinent to the understanding of the grotto (Bae Jindal 2000, 141-194). Taking into account the correlation between Seokguram Grotto and Hwaeom thought, I scrutinize not only the *Huayan jing*, but also its annotations, Hwaeom thought, Hwaeom

faith, and the achievements of Hwaeom monks. In this manner, I examine a possible explanation for the placement of Brahmā and Indra along with the Buddha and bodhisattvas inside the main chamber of the Grotto.

The *Huayan jing* describes the Buddha, who had attained ultimate enlightenment under the Bodhi Tree, moving from earth to heaven and preaching while manifesting his original self in seven places and holding eight or nine assemblies. The first chapter “Ascent of Buddha to the Peak of Mt. Sumeru” (佛昇須彌頂品) in the 60-fascicle version of the *Huayan jing* depicts the third assembly at the Trāyastriṃśa heaven as follows:

Just then, Buddha, using his spiritual power, reached the top of Mt. Sumeru and headed to the palace of Indra without rising to his feet. Upon seeing Buddha arriving, Indra quickly made on top of the Seongmyojeon Hall (勝妙殿) a lion pedestal adorned with various gems... Guarding Buddha were ten thousand sons of heaven surrounded by ten thousand Brahmā-gods, and ten thousand gleams of light glowed in all their splendor (T. 9, no. 278:441b).

As the Buddha appears in Trāyastriṃśa to preach, Indra and Brahmā welcome him together. Brahmā and Indra in the main chamber of Seokguram Grotto can be understood as members of the audience listening to the Buddha’s sermon alongside bodhisattvas, as described in the *Huayan jing*, rather than guardian gods of the principal Buddha.

In Buddhist cosmology, the Trāyastriṃśa heaven is not an especially high one, being only the second heaven in the desire realm. However, the *Huayan jing* elevates the status of Trāyastriṃśa heaven. For example, the *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* (華嚴經探玄記, *Exploring the Profound Theory of the Avatamsaka Sūtra*), a major commentary on the 60-fascicle version of the *Huayan jing*, written by the Hwaeom priest Fazang (法藏, 643–712) and passed on to the Silla monk Uisang (義湘, 625–702) and his disciples, including Pyohun, comments on the “Ascent of Buddha to the Peak of Mt. Sumeru” in the *Huayan jing* as follows:

Question: Why was the Heaven of the Four Heavenly Kings not reached?

Answer: There are three reasons. Firstly, it is a heaven of evil spirits, and therefore it was bypassed because it is not outstanding in presenting dharma. Secondly... it was passed by in order to demonstrate the great difference between progression and regression. Thirdly, although there may be advance and retreat if the summit has not yet been achieved, upon reaching the top, there is no retreat and therefore dharma was practiced as going beyond the heaven of the mountainside and reaching the summit (*Huayan jing tanxuan ji*, T. 35, no. 1733: 192b).

The gist of this question and answer is that the Buddha’s preaching in the heavens began with the Trāyastriṃśa heaven, bypassing the heaven of Four Heavenly Kings because it was considered a coarse area. This evokes the unusual arrangement of Brahmā and Indra in the main chamber and of the Four Heavenly Kings in the vestibule in Seokguram Grotto. Hwaeom thought also explicates the preaching assembly in the Trāyastriṃśa heaven as in the following passage by Uisang:

(Chapter Ten) ... If someone asks for the name of the first assembly, I would say the Trāyastriṃśa heaven assembly... What causes this? The first assembly encompasses all of the gatherings held before and after since it serves as the basis of others. Like the first assembly, the ensuing assemblies also form the bases for others. From this point of view, it encompasses all of the gatherings held before and after (*Beopgye dogi chongsurok*, T. 45, no. 1887: 721b; *Huayan jing zhigui*, T. 45, no. 1871: 589a).

This passage means that the Trāyastriṃśa heaven assembly can represent the other assemblies held in higher heavens, such as the Yama heaven (夜魔天) and the Tuṣita heaven (兜率天), and evidences how the Hwaeom sect considers the Trāyastriṃśa heaven assembly special. If Seokguram is related to Hwaeom, it becomes possible that the grotto was impacted by Hwaeom ideas and feelings toward the Trāyastriṃśa heaven assembly. Indeed, the dome of Seokguram’s main chamber is generally believed to symbolize heaven or the universe.

Hwaeom gives profound doctrinal meaning to Indra of the Trāyastriṃśa heaven. It highlights the

so-called endless realm-within-realm dharma-realms (重重無盡的法界), which is compared to the Jeweled Net of Indra (因陀羅網). The approach of the sphere that is like the Jeweled Net of Indra (因陀羅網境界門) is one of the approaches of the ten mysteries of Hwaeom (華嚴十玄門; Ch. *Huayan shixuanmen*) which provide the foundation of Hwaeom philosophy. This term frequently appears in writings by Hwaeom monks, including Zhiyan (智儼, 602–668) of Tang, Uisang (義湘, 625–702) of Unified Silla, and Fazang of Tang. According to the record on Uisang in the chapter “*Uihae*” of the *Samguk yusa*, the Chinese characters “帝網” as a synonym for Indra’s net were used as an idiomatic phrase in letters sent by Fazang to Uisang. As another example of the importance of Indra’s net, the following passage from Fazang’s *Huayan wujiao zhang* (華嚴五教章, *Five Teachings of Avatamsaka Buddhism*),<sup>2</sup> which Fazang sent to Uisang and had a great effect on Unified Silla’s Hwaeom school of Buddhist thought, can be examined (Kim Sanghyun 1986, 24-27):

Second is the difference in place. This Ekayāna (一乘, literally “one path”) is referred to as beneath the Bodhi Tree adorned with jewels under the sea of the World of the Lotus Sanctuary... Moreover, because this World of the Lotus Sanctuary leads to Indra’s net, all the worlds can be overseen carefully. The appropriate teachings are preached in the realm of Ekayāna in a place appropriate to this realm of Buddhism (Fazang 1988, 139).

This segment implies that Indra’s net equates to the World of the Lotus Sanctuary, which is the ultimate stage of Hwaeom, or the realm of Ekayāna. As the *Huayan jing* emphasizes the Trāyastriṃśa heaven assembly, Hwaeom philosophy points out that Indra’s net functions as a kind of gateway for transiting in and out of the ultimate supreme stage.

Indra is often directly related with Hwaeom. The most notable instances are found in the various legends in which Indra requests monks offer a sermon on the *Huayan jing* (T. 50, no. 2060: 429a, 498c,

2. Uisang asked his disciples to review this book and edited himself the table of contents. Sillim (神琳), who resided at Bulguksa Temple and preached the teachings of Hwaeom, had given lectures on this *Wujiao zhang* at Buseoksa Temple (Kim Sanghyun 1986, 24-27).



499b; T. 51, no. 2074: 175b-176; T. 50, no. 2061: 871c). Originally, Indra asked for preaching on the scripture in order to combat the army of Asura through the sūtra's spiritual force. The battle between Indra and Asura first appeared in the "Battle" chapter (戰鬪品) of the *Shiji jing* (世記經, *Sūtra of Records of the World*) in volume 21 of the early scripture known as *Chang ahan jing* (長阿含經, *Collection of Long Discourses*), or *Dirgha Āgama*. Later, this topic frequently arose in Hwaeom-related texts, including Uisang's sermon on Samādhi of Sea Seal (海印三昧).

Furthermore, monks of the Hwaeom school were believed to have entered into friendly relations with Indra. The *Samguk yusa* records that when Uisang studied under Zhiyan, he not only borrowed a tooth of the Buddha enshrined in the Palace of Indra (帝釋宮) through the Tang monk Daoxuan (道宣, 596–667), who maintained a friendship with Indra, but also worshipped and enshrined it. Moreover, Pyohun, a disciple of Uisang, maintained close ties with Indra, regularly visiting a heavenly palace while staying at Bulguksa Temple and requesting the birth of a son on behalf of King Gyeongdeok.<sup>3</sup> Some scholars regard this episode of Pyohun's regular visits to a heavenly palace during the reign of King Gyeongdeok to symbolize "preaching dharma under the bodhi tree in seven places without getting up" (不起樹王 羅七處於法界) in Hwaeom thinking (Kim Sanghyun 1984, 49). Additionally, Hwaeom made Brahmā and Indra equal to bodhisattvas, consequently raising their status by means of diverse doctrinal explanations (*Xin huayan jing lun*, T. 36, no. 1739: 760a). This particular perspective and doctrine of Hwaeom might have resulted in the arrangement of placing Brahmā and Indra within the circular main chamber of Seokguram Grotto. In other words, Seokguram serves as sculptural architecture reconstructing the concepts and beliefs of the *Huayan jing*, which emphasizes Śākyamuni's preaching assemblies after attaining enlightenment as typified by the Trāyastriṃśa heaven

session. Therefore, Seokguram Grotto seems to have been intended to provide worshippers with an opportunity to gain the religious experience of joining the majestic Hwaeom assembly.

Although the *Tuoluoni ji jing* contains explanations corresponding to the images of Brahmā and Indra in Seokguram, compared with the *Huayan jing* it lags in suggesting systematic and consistent thoughts. Considering the practice of excerpting only some of the contents from the *Tuoluoni ji jing* as needed during the Nara Period of Japan, this scripture appears to have provided an iconography collection used for crafting Buddhist sculptures. As a result, Esoteric Buddhist iconographies recorded in the *Tuoluoni ji jing* are thought to have been absorbed into the structure of Hwaeom.

The Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara (十一面觀音) placed directly behind the central Buddha also indicates the relationship of the Seokguram Brahmā and Indra to both Hwaeom and the *Tuoluoni ji jing*. His appearance is almost identical to the description in the *Shiyimian Guanshiyin shenzhou jing* (十一面觀世音神呪經, *Incantation Sūtra of the Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara*) in volume 4 of the *Tuoluoni ji jing* (T. 901, 18: 812b-813c), and it is classified as early Esoteric Buddhist iconography. However, if Hwaeom influenced the overall structure of Seokguram Grotto, this Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara also needs to be investigated in the context of Hwaeom. For instance, the Hwaeom school monk Fazang related the Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara to Hwaeom, explaining that Avalokiteśvara preached the *Shiyimian Guanyin jing* (十一面觀音經, *Sūtra of the Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara*) at his abode on Mt. Guangmingshan (光明山) (*Huayan jing tanxuan ji*, T. 35, no. 1733: 471c). In the first year of the Shengong Era (697) of Empress We Zetian (武則天, r. 690–705), when the Khitans invaded Tang, Fazang built a sacred site for the Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara for Buddhist practice and meditation, enshrined a sculpture of the deity, and worshipped it, thus contributing to the defeat of the Khitans (*Beopjang hwasang jeon*, T. 50, no. 2054: 283c). In addition, it is written in the record of "Gyeongheung u seong" (憬興遇聖, Gyeongheung Encounters a Saint) in the chapter "Gamtong" (感通, Spiritual Responses to Sentient Beings) in volume 5 of the *Samguk yusa* that during Unified Silla in the reign of King Sinmun (神文王, r. 681–692) a monk named Gyeongheung (憬興) lay sick in bed. A nun

3. See "Jeonhu sojang sari" (前後所將舍利, A Chronological Account of the Transmission of Buddhist Relics) in the chapter "Tapsang" (塔像, Stupas and Images), "Uisang jeongyo" (義湘傳教, Uisang Transmits the Teachings) in the chapter "Uihae" (義解, Exegetes), and "Gyeongdeok wang Chungdam sa Pyohun daedeok" (景德王 忠談師 表訓大德, King Gyeongdeok, Master Chungdam, and Venerable Pyohun) in the chapter "Gii" (紀異, Wonders) of the *Samguk yusa*.

came to see Gyeongheung and cured him by reciting the phrase, "A good friend can cure an illness" (善友原病之說) from the *Huayan jing* and performing eleven different kinds of dances. This nun turned out to be a manifestation of the Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara.

As seen above, Hwaeom expediently accepted the early Esoteric Buddhist iconographies found in Seokguram Grotto, consequently harmonizing with them. The adoption of iconographies from Esoteric Buddhism, which are more concrete and tangible, took place in part as a means to supplement the abstraction and speculative nature of Hwaeom doctrine and faith. Certainly, however, further discussion and interpretation of the correlation between Hwaeom and Esoteric Buddhist features in Seokguram Grotto are merited (Koh Ikjin 1989, 460; Hong Yunsik 1993, 167-179; Park Hyounggook 1998, 50-72).

### Transmission and Transformation of the Brahmā and Indra Images in Seokguram Grotto

From the late Unified Silla (late eighth century) to the early Goryeo dynasty (高麗, 918–1392), that is, after the completion of Seokguram Grotto, images of Brahmā and Indra were created primarily in reliefs on the surfaces of stone pagodas and stupas. These images are occasionally misinterpreted as bodhisattvas or the eight devas, but it is actually correct to recognize them as Brahmā and Indra. Brahmā and Indra images made after the late-eighth century are classified into several types according to their attributes, postures, and garments. In this section, however, I will focus on those images resembling the images of Brahmā and Indra as found in Seokguram.

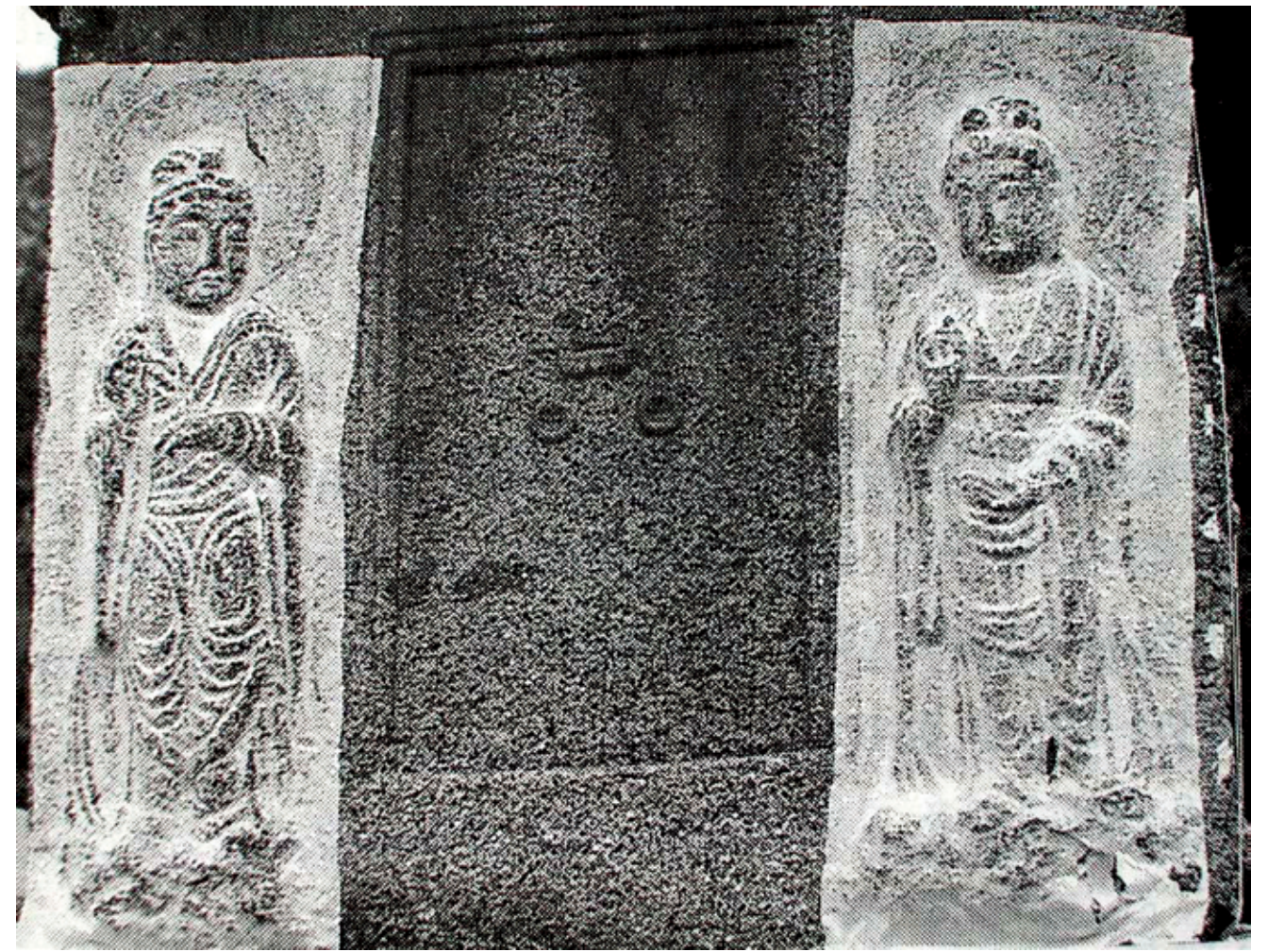


Fig. 11. Indra (left) and Brahmā (right), main body of the first story of the Three-story Stone Pagoda Carved with Four Lions at Hwaomsa Temple, Gurye, Jeollanam-do Province. Unified Silla, late 8th century (Suh Yoonkil 1994, p. 256)



Most of the known reliefs bearing similarities to the Brahmā and Indra of Seokguram are carved on the surfaces of three-story stone pagodas, particularly on the first tier and the upper portion of the base. There are nine surviving examples of pagodas bearing such an image, namely the three-story stone pagoda carved with four lions at Hwaeomsa Temple (華嚴寺) in Gurye, Jeollanam-do Province; the stone pagoda at Jangyeonsa Temple (長淵寺) in Mt. Geumgangsan, Gangwon-do Province; the stone pagoda in Imha-dong, Andong, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province; the stone pagoda in Gwandeok-dong, Uiseong, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province; a fragment of the stone pagoda in Geumso-dong, Andong, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province; a fragment of the stone pagoda at Yonghwasan Temple (龍華寺) in Sangju, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province; a fragment of the stone pagoda of Daejeonsa Temple (大典寺) in Cheongsong, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province; a fragment of the stone pagoda of Beopjusa Temple (法住寺) in Boeun, Chungcheongbuk-do Province; and a fragment of a pagoda in the collection of the National Museum of Korea (Sinsu 7569).

As a case in point, the three-story stone pagoda carved with four lions at Hwaeomsa Temple shows reliefs of Brahmā, Indra, Vajrapāṇi, and the Four Heavenly Kings on its first tier. When facing the pagoda, Indra is on the left with a *vajra*, and on the right is Brahmā holding a fly whisk (Fig. 11). While they seem similar to the Brahmā and Indra in Seokguram, some discrepancies are apparent. Compared to the Seokguram images, the Brahmā and Indra on the pagoda hold only a single attribute that sums up their characteristics. Moreover, Brahmā is placed on the left in Seokguram Grotto, but on the right in the pagoda, while Indra on the right in Seokguram is reversed as well. The Brahmā and Indra on the pagoda have also exchanged clothes relative to those in Seokguram Grotto, with Indra wearing *kāśāya* and Brahmā wearing an outer robe and a garment with a drapery drooping in two tiers.

The changes made in the disposition and clothing of the two deities have not been explained, but the Brahmā and Indra images on the pagodas have all inherited the iconographies of Seokguram with partial alternations. Iconographies of Brahmā and Indra showing an affiliation with Seokguram are also found in additional Buddhist artworks beyond stone pagodas. One example is the Brahmā and Indra

images incised on the surface of a ninth-century gilt-bronze reliquary excavated from Dorisa Temple (桃李寺) in Seonsan, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province (Fig. 12). The basic form of iconography in the Seokguram pedigree continued to appear with some minor alterations according to period and region.

The transmission of the Seokguram iconographies to Brahmā and Indra representations from the late Unified Silla period becomes clearer when they are compared with contemporaneous Japanese examples. In contrast to the multi-faced and multi-armed (多面多臂) Brahmā and Indra sculptures of Middle Esoteric Buddhism from the early Heian Period (平安, 794–1185), which include those in the Kōdō Hall (講堂, ca. 839) of Tōji Temple (東寺), Kyoto, the ninth-century Brahmā and Indra images of Unified Silla do not feature multiple faces and arms. Unified Silla created distinctive Brahmā and Indra images based on their own traditions by selectively adopting new icons popular in China.

### Conclusion

This article is mainly concerned with examining the origins, nature, characteristics, and development of



Fig. 12. Petrogram of Indra (left) and Brahmā (right) from the gilt-bronze hexagonal śarīra reliquary excavated at Dorisa Temple, Seonsan, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province. Unified Silla, 9th century. Height: 17.0 cm. Jikji Museum of Buddhist Arts (Tongdosa Museum 2000, p. 41 and p. 43)

the Brahmā and Indra iconographies in Seokguram Grotto. The winnowing basket-shaped halos (*pagig-wang*), *guyu* pedestals, attributes, and garments of the Seokguram Brahmā and Indra are associated with the early Esoteric Buddhist scripture *Tuoluoni ji jing*, serving as a benchmark for mid- and late eighth-century images of Brahmā and Indra in East Asia. These Seokguram images indicate both the international universality and distinctiveness of Unified Silla. Upon investigating the iconographic connotation of the central Buddha with earth-touching mudrā in regard to the overall structure of Seokguram, this article further explores the unusual arrangement of Brahmā and Indra in relation to the Hwaom ideas that prevailed during the Unified Silla period. It has thus been confirmed that the iconographies of early Esoteric Buddhism were absorbed into and merged with Hwaom, the fundamental beliefs and ideology underlying Seokguram Grotto.

The iconography of Brahmā and Indra that were established at Seokguram continued to appear on stone pagodas and stupas of the late Unified Silla. Through the transmission and transformation of this tradition, this Seokguram iconography established a unique Korean convention for depicting Brahmā and Indra, setting it apart from those of China and Japan.

✎

TRANSLATED BY PARK SHINHEE

This paper is an abridged and revised English version of “The Origin and the Formation of the Brahmā and Indra Iconographies in the Seokguram Grotto” (석굴암 범천·제석천 도상의 기원과 성립), previously published in 2005 in *Korean Journal of Art History* (미술사학연구) 246·247.

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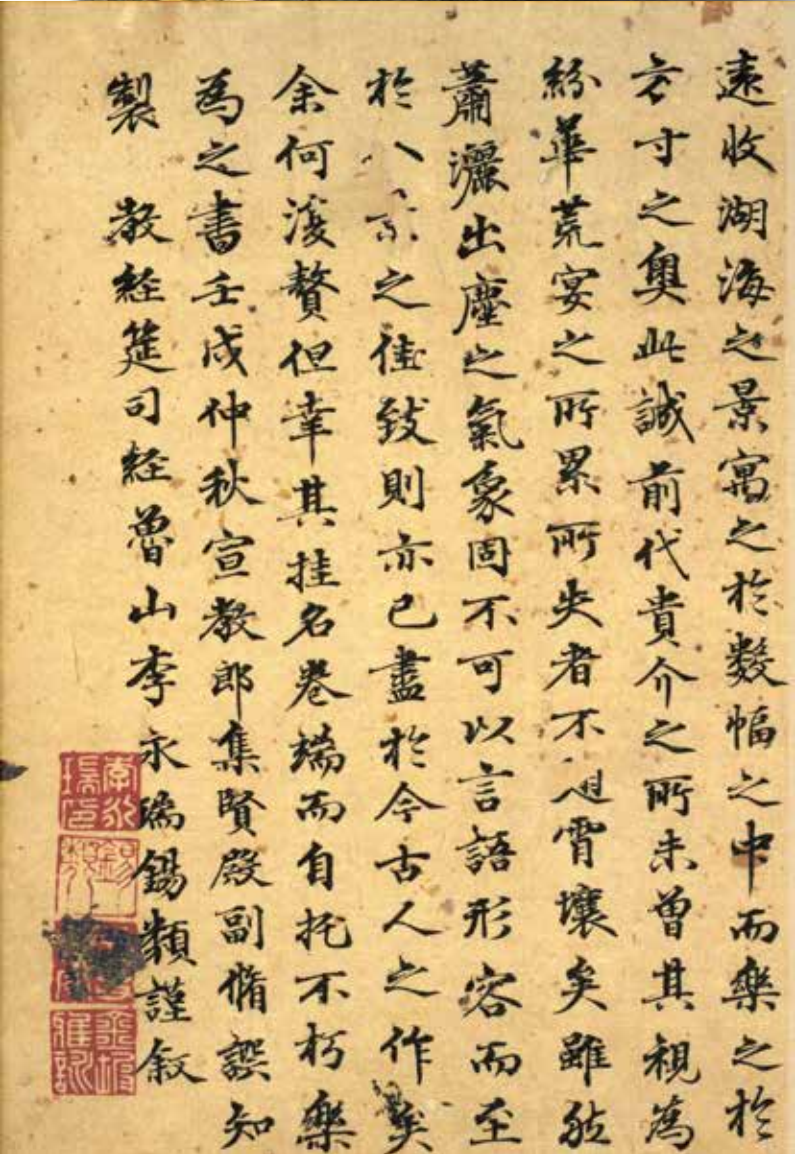
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# Feature

**A Study of Utilization Patterns of Nuts and Nut-yielding Trees from the Neolithic Times through the Three Kingdoms Period in Korea Based on Plant Remains**  
by Ahn Sung-Mo

**The Chronology and Changing Nature of the Lime Mortar Burials of the Joseon Period**  
by Kim Hyunwoo

**Tradition and Originality in Buddhist Incense Burners of the Goryeo Dynasty**  
by Lee Yongjin

# Collection

**Bihaedang’s Poetry Scroll of the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers and Its Relationship to Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers from the Former Yūgensai Collection in Japan**  
by Park Haehoon



# A Study of Utilization Patterns of Nuts and Nut-yielding Trees from the Neolithic Times through the Three Kingdoms Period in Korea Based on Plant Remains

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## Introduction

Various types of plant remains, including seeds, wood, pollen, and phytoliths, have been recovered from archaeological sites in South Korea, which have increased in number since the 1990s following a number of development projects. Even so, the results of the analyses of these plant remains typically have been published only in the excavation reports for the respective sites from which the remains were obtained. Because of these publications’ dispersed nature, archaeologists have tended to overlook this significant body of data. In order to remedy this, the author has attempted to highlight the importance of this body of data by compiling analytical results published in excavation reports or in individual articles (Ahn Sung-Mo 2008). The present paper examines results from the analyses of pollen and macro plant remains (e.g., seeds, wood) in order to consider the evolving nature of the utilization of nuts and nut-yielding trees from the Neolithic times through the Three Kingdoms period when ancient states came to be established on the Korean Peninsula.

## Analyses of Seeds

Table 1 presents the number of sites and archaeological features that have yielded nut remains. Acorns occur in all Neolithic and Bronze Age sites where nut remains have been reported. However, the percentage of nut-yielding sites featuring acorns shows a marked decline to 19.2% for the Proto-Three Kingdoms and Three Kingdoms periods (1st century BCE–668). At the same time, chestnuts, which have not been reported in excavations at Neolithic or Bronze Age sites, were present at 73.1% of nut-

yielding sites from the Proto-Three Kingdoms and Three Kingdoms periods, comprising an overwhelming majority. A marked increase in the ubiquity of Manchurian walnuts can also be observed during the Proto-Three Kingdoms and Three Kingdoms periods, which is due to the high frequency of Manchurian walnuts observed at Jungdo-style pottery (中島式土器) sites in Gangwon-do Province. Other types of edible nuts, such as pine nuts, hazelnuts, and water chestnuts, do appear in archaeological contexts from the Proto-Three Kingdoms period, but their numbers are severely limited. Considering the ubiquity of acorns amongst all sites yielding crop remains (including fruits and seeds), it can be clearly observed that the ubiquity of acorns decreased significantly during the Bronze Age as farming emerged as the predominant subsistence strategy—an important point to note, as acorns had been an important component of the Neolithic diet. Even so, the acorn storage pit identified at Yongsan-ri in Hampyeong, Jeollanam-do Province demonstrates that acorns continued to be consumed during the Three Kingdoms period. Historical records from the Goryeo (高麗, 918–1392) and Joseon (朝鮮, 1392–1910) dynasties also mention the utilization of acorns. In these later eras, however, acorns tended to be used more as an emergency food source for famine relief rather than as a primary source of sustenance.

Chestnuts appear to have first been used as grave offerings at tombs of the Lelang Commandery (樂浪郡) in Pyeongyang. Apparently influenced by this practice, chestnuts were buried in Daho-ri Tomb 1 in Changwon, Gyeongsangnam-do Province, which dates to the late first century BCE. However, the earliest example of chestnuts identified at a settlement site dates to after the third century CE. Chestnuts are mainly reported at sites in Jeollanam-do Prov-

Period \ Nuts	Acorns	Chestnuts	Manchurian walnuts	Pine nuts	Hazelnuts	Water chestnuts	Total number of sites and features
Neolithic Age (Sites)	25 (100%)	0	4 (16%)	0	0	0	25
Neolithic Age (Features)	48 (94.1%)	0	5 (9.8%)	0	0	0	51
Bronze Age (Sites)	5 (100%)	0	1 (20%)	0	0	0	5
Bronze Age (Features)	5 (100%)	0	1 (20%)	0	0	0	5
Proto-Three Kingdoms & Three Kingdoms period (Sites)	5 (19.2%)	19 (73.1%)	9 (34.6%)	2	2	2	26
Proto-Three Kingdoms & Three Kingdoms period (Features)	5 (17.2%)	19 (65.5%)	11 (37.9%)	2	2	2	29

Table 1. Number of nut-yielding sites and features per period

ince. Interestingly, this corresponds to passages in Chinese historical texts that mention large chestnuts produced in the territory of Mahan confederacy (馬韓). Chestnuts from Baekje (百濟) and Mahan lands were renowned throughout ancient China. For example, it was recorded in both the *Sanguozhi weizhi dongyizhuan* (三國志 魏志 東夷傳, *The Book of the Three Kingdoms, Weizhi: Biography of the Eastern Barbarians*) (“出大栗 大如梨”) and *Houhanshu dongyiliezhuan* (後漢書 東夷列傳, *The Book of the Later Han: Biography of the Eastern Barbarians*) (“出大栗如梨”) that the chestnuts cultivated in Mahan were as large as pears. This accords with the fact that chestnuts are abundant in the archaeological contexts from the Mahan region dating to the third century CE. The sizable chestnuts produced in Baekje are mentioned in the *Suishu dongyiliezhuan* (隋書 東夷列傳, *The Book of the Sui Dynasty: Biography of the Eastern Barbarians*) (“有巨栗”) and *Beishi liezhuan* (北史 列傳, *History of the Northern Dynasties: Biography*) (“有巨栗, 其五穀, 雜果”). Among the ancient kingdoms of the Korean Peninsula, Mahan and Baekje, in particular, are recorded as producers of large chestnuts. Chestnuts have been reported at some sites located within the territory of Gaya confederacy (加耶), but they are not observed in the central or northern regions of the Korean Peninsula, apart from the area of the Lelang Commandery. This finding that acorns were the representative nut type of the Neolithic and Bronze Age, and chestnuts—particularly in the Mahan and Baekje regions—were the representative nut type of the Proto-Three Kingdoms period onward accords with the results of wood-species analyses, which are examined in the following section.

## Wood-Species Analyses

Deciduous species accounted for approximately 90% of specimens observed in finds of charcoal in Neolithic and Bronze Age dwelling sites, with oak (*Quercus* sp.) ranking as the most abundant species (Table 3). The charcoal specimens obtained from dwelling sites were mainly derived from building materials or fuel. During the Bronze Age oak continued to be utilized for such building materials as posts and rafter beams, even after cultivated crops came to replace acorns as a key component of the prehistoric diet. Oak is a hardwood known to be durable and resistant to decay. As such, it was used mainly in situations for which the durability of the wood involved would be important, as in buildings or furniture, for example. Wood from the sawtooth oak (*Quercus acutissima*) tree was also used to make charcoal for fuel.

Chestnut wood has been reported at only one Neolithic site (Bibong-ri). Chestnut wood specimens were identified from eleven of the 61 Bronze Age sites from which wood specimens were obtained. Of these eleven, five were located in the southern Chungcheong region, one in the Jeolla region, and five in the Gyeongsang region. None of the Bronze Age sites in the central region of the Korean Peninsula have yielded remains of chestnut wood, however, which suggests that neither chestnuts nor chestnut wood were of great importance to the Bronze Age communities in this area. The ubiquity of other types of wood from nut-yielding trees except oak is also extremely limited in the Bronze Age.

The Proto-Three Kingdoms period witnessed a significant change in the types of wood that were utilized, particularly in terms of oak and chestnut. Among the 58 sites from which wood specimens were obtained, oak was observed at 52 (89.7%).



Province	Number of sites	<i>Quercus</i> (Oak)	<i>Castanea</i> (Chestnut)	<i>Pinus</i> (Pine)	Other
Gangwon-do	2	2	0	0	0
Gyeonggi-do	6	6	0	0	0
Chungcheongnam-do	9	5	1	3	0
Jeollabuk-do	2	0	1	0	1 (Cherry)
Jeollanam-do	12	4	8	0	0
Gyeongsangnam-do	10	7	3	0	0
Gyeongsangbuk-do	4	3	0	0	1 (Elm)
Total	45	27	13	3	2

Table 2. Wood species demonstrating a widespread presence at Proto-Three Kingdoms and Three Kingdoms period sites yielding more than ten wood specimens

Chestnut wood was observed at 37 sites (63.8%), making it the second-most ubiquitous wood species, ahead of pine and alder wood. A similar result can be identified when wood-species analyses are restricted to sites that have yielded more than ten specimens (Table 2). Therefore, it is possible to confirm that oak and chestnut were the species most widely used as building materials in Korea’s ancient communities. It should be noted, however, that the degree of utilization of chestnut wood differed from region to region.

The regional differences in the utilization of oak and pine wood can be observed in Table 2. Oak accounts for more than 80% of all wood specimens from the sites of Donghwa-ri in Wonju and Hahwagye-ri in Hongcheon, both in Gangwon-do Province. However, chestnut was not the dominant species at any of the sites, with only a single specimen being reported from the site of Samok-ri in Yeongwol. No instances of Manchurian walnut wood have been reported. Given that cultural links have been proposed between the “Jungdo-style pottery” culture and the cultures of the Dumangang River (豆滿江, also spelled Tumen River) region and Russian Primorye, it is possible that the communities of the time did not actively utilize chestnuts and chestnut wood since it was an unfamiliar species better adapted to warmer climates.

The proportion of oak wood was found to be extremely high and chestnut wood was found to be nearly absent among the wood specimens obtained from the Proto-Three Kingdoms-period sites of Gyeonggi-do Province, which is similar to the situation observed in Gangwon-do Province. By contrast, the utilization of chestnut wood appears to have in-

creased significantly at Baekje sites from the fourth century onward, with chestnut accounting for more than 50% of all wood specimens obtained from Baekje dwelling sites at the Gian-ri site in Hwaseong. Pollen analyses undertaken at the Gasu-dong site in Osan reveal that oak was the dominant species, whereas the ubiquity of chestnut pollen was low. However, based on an analysis of wood specimens from irrigation facilities constructed during the Silla (新羅) period, oak and chestnut appear to have been utilized to a similar degree.

Analyses reveal that chestnut wood was widely and intensively utilized in the Mahan region, which accords with the results of seed analyses. In Chungcheongnam-do Province, the overall percentage of oak wood decreases from the third century onward, whereas that of chestnut and pine wood increases. At five of the nine sites in this region, oak continued to be the dominant species, but the actual percentage of oak among the wood specimens analyzed was found to range between 33% and 55%. In the case of the Natmeori site in Seosan, all of the wood specimens from fourth- and fifth-century dwelling sites were composed of chestnut wood. In addition, chestnut wood accounted for more than 20% of the specimens at the Galmeo-ri site in Asan, as well as at the sites of Gajwa and East Naseong in Buyeo. However, it is in Jeollanam-do Province that the presence of chestnuts and chestnut wood is most widely observed. Of the twelve sites from which wood specimens were collected, chestnut was found to be the dominant species at eight, with oak being the dominant species at the other four. It can be observed that oak wood continued to predominate, whereas chestnut wood was rare at such sites as Sinchang-dong in Gwangju and Joseong-ri in Boseong, which date to the beginning of the first century CE. Therefore, it can be proposed that chestnut trees were deliberately cultivated and intensively utilized beginning in the third century by the Mahan communities residing in the Jeolla region, an area that afforded a favorable environment for this species. The cultivation of chestnut trees later spread to regions north of the Geumgang River (錦江), and the utilization of chestnuts continued into the Baekje period.

It is highly likely that the communities in Byeonhan (弁韓) and Gaya, which were the eastern neighbors of the Mahan and Baekje populations, also cultivated chestnut trees. The Gyeongsang region features

the second highest number of sites where chestnuts have been reported (after the Jeolla region). Within this region, chestnuts have been observed at seven sites dating to the Proto-Three Kingdoms and Three Kingdoms periods, whereas acorns were reported from only one site, Seongsansanseong Mountain Fortress (城山山城) in Haman, Gyeongsangnam-do Province. Most of the acorn-yielding sites are located within the Gaya cultural sphere. In Gyeongsangnam-do Province, oak wood was found to be the dominant species at seven of the ten sites. Oak wood was the dominant species at the fifth-to-sixth-century Pyeonggeo-dong site in Jinju, where it comprises 62.3% percent of the specimens. However, in the case of other sites where oak wood was also the dominant species, the actual proportion of oak specimens is somewhat low (see Table 3). Chestnut wood was found to represent roughly half of the analyzed specimens, making it the resoundingly dominant species at these sites. At the sites of Bonghwang-dong in Gimhae and Songhyeon-dong Tomb 7 in Changnyeong, the percentage of chestnut wood among the specimens analyzed was the second highest behind oak. At the site of Daho-ri in Changwon, which dates to the beginning of the first century CE, chestnuts were excavated from Tomb 1, but the wooden coffin was made primarily of oak wood (with chestnut wood being entirely absent). In the case of the wood specimens from the peat layer at this site, oak again was dominant and only two specimens were found to be of chestnut. Therefore, it appears that while chestnuts began to be placed as burial offerings from an early period, a result of the influence of Han (漢) Chinese culture (likely transmitted via the Lelang Commandery, as mentioned above), the deliberate cultivation of chestnut trees took place only from the third century onward, as was the case in the Jeolla region. In fact, chestnut wood may have been the preferred type of wood for beams in the pile buildings at the sites of Gwandong-ri in Gimhae, Singang-ri in Changwon, and Ga-dong in Busan. This may be because the cultivation of chestnut trees made it easier to obtain such material for wooden posts.

In contrast to the situation in Gaya, the nature of chestnut utilization in the central territory of Silla is unclear. Oak is the predominant species among the charcoal specimens obtained from three settlement sites dating to the fifth-to-sixth century, located respectively in Daegu, Pohang, and Ulsan; other

species of nut trees, such as chestnut trees, have not been reported. Chestnut wood accounts for 3.9% of the worked wood specimens and 6.5% of the natural wood specimens obtained from the Three Kingdoms-period irrigation facilities in Chilgok Area 1—an insignificant amount, making it unlikely that chestnut wood was a deliberately sought-after material. Species analysis was undertaken on worked wood recovered from the Wolseong Moat (月城垓子; Three Kingdoms period) and Anapji Pond (雁鴨池, more formally known as Wolji Pond [月池]; Unified Silla period) in the Silla capital of Gyeongju. In the case of Wolseong Moat, oak was identified as the predominant species (48.8%), followed by pine (29%), and chestnut (13%). In the case of Anapji Pond, pine was identified as the predominant species (58.1%), followed by oak (14.8%) and chestnut (10.1%). The fact that the number of mulberry trees, pine-nut trees, and Manchurian walnut (or walnut; 栲子木) trees per village was recorded in a Silla village register (新羅帳籍) discovered in the Shōsō-in Repository (正倉院) at Tōdai-ji Temple (東大寺) in Nara, Japan, indicates that these trees were cultivated for economic purposes. However, this record includes no mention of chestnut trees (Wi Eunsuk 1998, 255-256).

Proto-Three Kingdoms-period sites in the central region of the Korean Peninsula, particularly those from the “Jungdo-style pottery” cultural sphere, have not yielded any evidence of an increase in the utilization of chestnuts or chestnut wood. This is similar to the situation at the Goguryeo (高句麗) sites in Gyeonggi-do Province. However, the *Hanshu dilizhi* (漢書 地理志, *Book of Han: Treatise on Geography*) contains a record of chestnuts growing in the region of the Lelang Commandery. In addition, chestnut wood has been identified in the remains of the wooden cist tombs in the Pyeongyang area, as well as in the remains of a bridge dating to the Goguryeo period. As the results of analyses on seed remains and wood species have yet to be formally reported for sites in North Korea, it is difficult to assess the nature of chestnut tree cultivation in this area.

Chestnut wood contains tannin, which resists water and retards rot. However, as it is difficult to cut, dry, and work, chestnut wood is used mainly as construction material for posts or foundations. The nut-bearing productivity of chestnut trees declines after several decades, requiring periodic renewal. This may explain why chestnut trees were intensively used



Site name	Region	Period	Context (Number of samples)	Pinus (Pine)	Quercus (Oak)	Castanea (Chestnut)	Juglans (Walnut)	Alnus (Alder)	Etc.
Songsan	Gyeonggi-do	Neolithic	Hearth (12)	7	0	0	0	0	5
Neunggok-dong	Gyeonggi-do	Neolithic	Dwelling (31)	0	23	0	0	3	5
Hwajeon	Gwangju	Neolithic	Wetland (64)	0	44	0	0	7	13
Bibong-ri	Gyeongsangnam-do	Neolithic	Storage pit (16)	4	8	1	1	0	2
Sangchon-ri	Gyeongsangnam-do	Neolithic	Feature (10)	1	7	0	0	0	2
Pyeonggeo-dong	Gyeongsangnam-do	Neolithic	Feature (85)	0	81	0	0	0	4
Yongam-ri	Gangwon-do	Late Bronze Age	Dwelling (11)	0	8	0	0	0	3
Donghwa-ri	Gangwon-do	Early Bronze Age	Dwelling (19)	0	18	0	0	0	1
Neunggok-dong	Gyeonggi-do	Early Bronze Age	Dwelling (11)	0	11	0	0	0	1
Hyeonhwa-ri	Gyeonggi-do	Early Bronze Age	Dwelling (741)	3	724	0	0	14	0
Banje-ri	Gyeonggi-do	Bronze Age	Dwelling (16)	0	16	0	0	0	0
Wondang-dong	Incheon	Bronze Age	Dwelling (88)	0	78	0	0	2	8
Gojaemigol	Chungcheongnam-do	Early Bronze Age	Dwelling (15)	0	12	1	0	0	3
Gojaemigol	Chungcheongnam-do	Late Bronze Age	Dwelling (21)	0	20	0	0	0	1
Dujeong-ri	Chungcheongnam-do	Early Bronze Age	Dwelling (25)	0	24	0	0	0	1
Wunjeon-ri	Chungcheongnam-do	Early Bronze Age	Dwelling (1672)	0	1,642	0	12	0	18
Gungpyeong-ri	Chungcheongnam-do	Late Bronze Age	Hearth, pit (66)	3	53	0	0	0	10
Songguk-ri	Chungcheongnam-do	Late Bronze Age	Dwelling (63)	28	30	0	0	2	3
Okbuk-ri	Chungcheongnam-do	Late Bronze Age	Kiln (19)	0	12	7	0	0	0
Neunggang-ri	Chungcheongbuk-do	Early Bronze Age	Dwelling (12)	1	5	0	0	0	6
Jangdae-ri	Chungcheongbuk-do	Late Bronze Age	Water channel (132)	0	103	9	1	6	11
Hyoja-dong	Jeollabuk-do	Late Bronze Age	Dwelling (15)	6	3	6	0	0	0
Dongrim-dong	Gwangju	Early Bronze Age	Swamp (17)	0	7	0	0	5	5
Yonggang-dong	Gyeongsangbuk-do	Early Bronze Age	Dwelling (12)	0	8	0	0	0	4
Daeryun-ri	Gyeongsangbuk-do	Early Bronze Age	Dwelling (41)	0	41	0	0	0	0
Chogok-ri	Gyeongsangbuk-do	Early Bronze Age	Dwelling (11)	1	10	0	0	0	0
Deokcheon-ri	Gyeongsangbuk-do	Early Bronze Age	Dwelling (11)	1	9	0	0	0	1
Jigok-dong	Gyeongsangbuk-do	Late Bronze Age	Dwelling (168)	0	168	0	0	0	0
Munsan-ri	Gyeongsangbuk-do	Late Bronze Age	Dwelling (11)	0	9	0	0	0	2
Oegwang-ri	Gyeongsangbuk-do	Late Bronze Age	Dwelling (23)	0	11	0	0	0	12
Maecheon-dong	Daegu	Early Bronze Age	River channel (25)	7	15	0	0	0	3
Dongcheon-dong	Daegu	Late Bronze Age	River channel (34)	4	3	0	0	0	27
Yul-dong	Ulsan	Early Bronze Age	Dwelling (27)	0	24	0	0	0	3
Yeonam-dong	Ulsan	Early Bronze Age	Dwelling (14)	0	8	0	0	0	6
Hyomun-dong	Ulsan	Early Bronze Age	Dwelling (27)	0	24	0	0	0	3
Gajaegol	Ulsan	Early Bronze Age	Dwelling (11)	0	8	0	0	0	3
Beondapdul	Ulsan	Bronze Age	Dwelling (82)	0	45	0	0	0	37
Sangan-dong	Ulsan	Late Bronze Age	Dwelling (39)	0	34	0	0	0	5
Dongcheon-ri	Ulsan	Late Bronze Age	Dwelling (18)	6	7	1	0	0	4
Jungsan-dong	Ulsan	Late Bronze Age	Dwelling (16)	0	7	0	0	1	8
Gamakmot	Ulsan	Late Bronze Age	Dwelling (11)	0	9	0	0	0	2
Pyeonggeo-dong	Gyeongsangnam-do	Early Bronze Age	Dwelling (229)	0	198	8	0	0	23
Pyeonggeo-dong	Gyeongsangnam-do	Late Bronze Age	Dwelling (49)	0	38	0	0	0	11
Ilisan Area 1	Gyeonggi-do	Early Iron Age	Peat layer (49)	0	0	0	0	26	23
Ilisan Area 2	Gyeonggi-do	Early Iron Age	Peat layer (18)	0	3	0	1	6	8
Dalcheon	Gyeongsangbuk-do	Early Iron Age	Dwelling (9)	0	8	0	0	0	1

Changchon	Gyeongsangnam-do	Early Iron Age	River channel (11)	0	3	0	0	4	4
Sinchang-dong	Gwangju	1st c. BCE	Swamp (25)	0	15	3	0	1	6
Sinchang-dong	Gwangju	1st c. BCE	Swamp (61)	0	25	1	0	2	33
Joseong-ri	Jeollanam-do	1st c. CE	Swamp (18)	0	10	0	0	2	6
Daho-ri	Gyeongsangnam-do	1st c. CE	Swamp (24)	0	9	2	0	6	7
Donghwa-ri	Gangwon-do	2-4c. CE	Dwelling (26)	0	24	0	0	1	1
Hahwagye-ri	Gangwon-do	2-4c. CE	Dwelling (1696)	117	1,400	0	0	173	0
Juwol-ri	Gyeonggi-do	3-4c. CE	Dwelling (10)	0	10	0	0	0	0
Jangji-dong	Gyeonggi-do	3-4c. CE	Dwelling (13)	0	11	0	0	0	2
Baran-ri	Gyeonggi-do	3c. CE	Dwelling (31)	1	30	0	0	0	0
Bullo-dong	Gyeonggi-do	3-4c. CE	Feature (10)	0	7	3	0	0	0
Gasu-dong	Gyeonggi-do	6-7c. CE	River channel (108)	8	32	24	1	14	28
Horogoru	Gyeonggi-do	6-7c. CE	Feature (17)	0	15	0	0	1	1
Gapyeong 4	Chungcheongbuk-do	5-6c. CE	Feature (527)	0	453	63	0	11	0
Galmae-ri	Chungcheongbuk-do	3-4c. CE	Swamp (359)	37	168	84	0	8	62
Gajwa	Chungcheongnam-do	3-4c. CE	Dwelling (10)	0	5	4	0	0	1
Natmeori	Chungcheongnam-do	4-5c. CE	Dwelling (12)	0	0	12	0	0	0
East Naseong, Buyeo	Chungcheongnam-do	4-5c. CE	Rice paddy (43)	24	4	14	0	0	1
Gwanbuk-ri	Chungcheongnam-do	5-6c. CE	Swamp (42)	22	1	2	0	0	17
Gunnamji	Chungcheongnam-do	5-6c. CE	Swamp (172)	47	57	16	0	2	52
Neungsa Temple	Chungcheongnam-do	5-6c. CE	Temple site (16)	7	1	1	0	0	7
Ssangbuk-ri	Chungcheongnam-do	6-7c. CE	Water channel (18)	4	0	9	0	0	5
Gwanchang-ri	Chungcheongnam-do	3-9c. CE	Water channel (99)	2	36	4	4	38	15
Noeun	Daejeon	3-6c. CE	Swamp (31)	0	17	0	0	14	0
Yongheung-ri	Jeollabuk-do	3-4c. CE	Dwelling (16)	0	0	12	1	0	3
Naeheung-dong	Jeollabuk-do	3c. CE	Pit (49)	0	0	4	5	3	47
Naeheung-dong	Jeollabuk-do	3c. CE	Swamp (12)	0	3	0	0	0	9
Oechon	Gwangju	3-4c. CE	Swamp (21)	0	4	6	0	1	10
Yangjang-ri	Jeollanam-do	3-4c. CE	Swamp (21)	2	4	11	0	1	3
Gun-dong	Jeollanam-do	3c. CE	Dwelling (10)	0	0	9	0	0	0
Oryang-dong	Jeollanam-do	5c. CE	Kiln (27)	13	1	13	0	0	0
Yangyu-dong	Jeollanam-do	3-5c. CE	Dwelling (17)	1	0	15	0	1	0
Dongrim-dong	Jeollanam-do	3-5c. CE	Swamp (41)	6	6	13	1	5	10
Singeum	Jeollanam-do	3-5c. CE	Dwelling (62)	14	17	3	0	0	28
Jangsan-ri	Jeollanam-do	4c. CE	Dwelling (40)	2	0	31	0	0	7
Guam-dong	Daegu	5-6c. CE	Feature (11)	1	7	0	0	0	3
Wolseong Fortress	Gyeongsangbuk-do	5-6c. CE	Moat (55)	12	24	6	0	1	12
Yangdeok-dong	Gyeongsangbuk-do	5c. CE	Dwelling (37)	9	28	0	0	0	0
Pyeongcheon	Ulsan	5c. CE	Feature (16)	0	12	0	0	0	4
Gwandong-ri	Gyeongsangnam-do	3-4c. CE	Swamp(64)	1	11	39	0	0	13
Sinbang-ri	Gyeongsangnam-do	3-5c. CE	Wooden posts (63)	0	37	23	0	0	3
Hoengcheon-ri	Gyeongsangnam-do	4c. CE	Dwelling (23)	0	7	10	0	0	6
Pyeonggeo-dong	Gyeongsangnam-do	4c. CE	Dwelling (551)	0	327	15	10	0	209
Pyeonggeo-dong	Gyeongsangnam-do	5-6c. CE	Dwelling (440)	5	274	2	7	0	152
Bonghwang-dong	Gyeongsangnam-do	5-6c. CE	Swamp (56)	17	19	9	0	0	11
Songhyeon-dong	Gyeongsangnam-do	5c. CE	Burial (61)	10	16	11	0	1	23
Ga-dong	Busan	4-5c. CE	Dwelling (78)	1	13	37	0	0	27

Table 3. Compilation of key tree species identified at sites (limited to sites yielding more than ten analyzed samples)



as construction materials in the pile buildings and dwellings of the Proto-Three Kingdoms and Three Kingdoms periods.

As previously mentioned, the Silla village register from the Shōsō-in Repository contains records of pine-nut trees (栲子木) and walnut trees (秋子木). The pine nuts of Silla were famous throughout China and Japan, to the degree that such trees came to be referred to as Silla pine trees (新羅松). Even so, remains of pine nuts have been recovered only from the sites of Gangmun-dong in Gangneung, Gangwon-do Province and Gunnamji in Buyeo, Chungcheongnam-do Province. Pine-nut tree or Korean pine (*Pinus koraiensis* S. et Z.) has also rarely been identified through wood-species analysis. As pine-nut trees grow in cold climates—occurring only in highland environments at an altitude of 1000 meters or above in southern Korea and in environments above 300 meters in northern Korea, the relative absence of this species from archaeological sites may be expected. It is unclear whether the walnut trees mentioned in the Silla village register are walnut trees (*Juglans sinensis*) or Manchurian walnut trees (*Juglans mandshurica*). However, all of the nut remains from trees of the genus *Juglans* formally analyzed have been found to be associated with the Manchurian walnut tree. Therefore, it has yet to be confirmed whether walnut trees—which were introduced into Han China (漢, 206 BCE–220) from the Western Regions (西域, Xiyu)—spread into the Korean Peninsula during the Proto-Three Kingdoms period via Lelang, or whether they were introduced during the Goryeo Period or later.

It does not appear that other types of nut-yielding trees were actively cultivated or utilized. Hazelnuts have been recovered only from the Galmae-ri site in Asan, Chungcheongnam-do Province and from the Sinchang-dong wetland site in Gwangju. Water chestnuts have been reported only from the sites of Gangmun-dong and Anin-dong in Gangneung, Gangwon-do Province. Hazelnut wood is absent at most sites, apart from Galmae-ri, and water-chestnut wood has yet to be reported at any site in Korea.

### Change in Vegetation and Chestnut Trees

It is also possible to examine changes in vegetation

and the cultivation of chestnut trees through the results of pollen analysis. Pollen analysis results reported from various sites throughout South Korea indicate that the period between 2300 BP–1400 BP (3rd century BCE–6th century) was dominated by pine trees (*Pinus* sp.) or by pine trees (*Pinus* sp.) and herbaceous plants (Kim Choonmin et al. 1980, 40–50). In the eastern coastal regions, a vegetation shift from Quercus-Pinus forests or Quercus forests to Pinus coniferous forests or open grasslands has been identified as having occurred around 2000–1400 BP (1st–6th century) in Pohang, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province and the region in Gangwon-do Province east of Daegwallyeong Pass, commonly referred to as Yeongdong (嶺東), and around 2300 BP (3rd century BCE) in Ulsan (Yoon Soonock et al. 2008, 791–793). This transition in the dominant vegetation from Quercus to Pinus, or from forests to open grasslands, is believed to have resulted from a combination of factors including falling sea levels and the subsequent expansion of land along the coast, a cooler and drier climate, and human alternations to the landscape (the deforestation of hilly and wetland areas due to the expansion of farmland, for example). A similar process appears to have taken place in western coastal areas. In the southern Chungcheong region, where pollen analysis has been intensively carried out, the transition from Quercus or Alnus to Pinus as the dominant vegetation is mainly observed around 2000–1400 BP (Park Jihoon and Yi Sanghyeon 2008, 66–72; Jang Byeongo et al. 2006, 573–580). This is also the stage during which a decline in secondary forest vegetation occurred, and both grasses and red pine expanded.

From an archaeological point of view, the chronological period during which the transition to secondary forests primarily comprising Pinus, a pioneer species, took place within open landscapes—in particular, around 2000–1400 BP—is significant. This is because it coincides with the Proto-Three Kingdoms to Three Kingdoms period, which witnessed a marked increase in the number of settlements and an accompanying expansion in the need for both additional farmland and fuel. The results of pollen analysis for this period frequently illustrate a rapid decrease in the amount of Quercus pollen, a rapid increase in Pinus pollen, and an increased presence of Castanea (chestnut) pollen.

Based on the above, it is possible to confirm that Quercus forests declined as the result both of

climate change and of the deliberate felling of trees, while secondary forests consisting of Pinus and Platycarya trees spread, accompanied by an increase in the quantity of Castanea trees (Platycarya trees are part of the walnut family but are the sole member of the Platycarya genus). Since Castanea pollen, once released, does not diffuse over a wide area—unlike Quercus or Pinus pollen—and the amount of pollen produced is quite low, it is most likely that the proportion of Castanea trees within the vegetation was greater than the proportion represented in the pollen record. However, Castanea did not naturally become the dominant species in the forest—even the secondary forests—of the Korean Peninsula. In the pollen record for the eastern coastal areas, an increase in Castanea can be noted starting from 2000 BP (1st century CE), but the active use of chestnuts or chestnut wood is not observed through the analysis of seed remains or wood specimens. On the other hand, in the southern regions, climate change, human-driven deforestation, and the expansion of farmland resulted in a shift in vegetation that includes a marked increase in Castanea trees. This is accompanied by the appearance of chestnut wood as the dominant species at several sites, a phenomenon that can be explained as a result of the deliberate cultivation of chestnut trees.

It is highly likely that chestnuts, which can be stored for long periods of time and which are both flavorful and nutritious, were welcomed as a new food type that served as both a delicacy and an emergency food resource. In addition, it is possible to propose that as chestnuts became ritually significant through their use in ceremonies, the trees came to be deliberately cultivated and protected. As was the case with other types of nuts and fruits, chestnuts also would have been regarded as a supplementary cash crop. Polyculture and the secondary cultivation of nut- and fruit-yielding trees were practiced in pre-modern times as a means of preparing against famine. The economic cultivation of trees also served to mitigate the effects of environmental degradation brought about by the reclamation of farmland (Wi Eunsuk 1998, 273).

The increase in Castanea trees among the natural vegetation does not necessarily indicate that all communities in ancient times participated in the cultivation of chestnut trees. Communities in the central region of Korea during the Proto-Three King-

doms period did not favor chestnut trees; their cultivation is most noticeable in the southern region—particularly in the Jeolla region—which afforded the most favorable climatic conditions for the cultivation of chestnut trees. The “large chestnuts” produced in Mahan and Baekje mentioned in Chinese historical texts can be understood in this context. In the *Dongguk yeoji seungnam* (東國輿地勝覽, *Survey of the Geography of Korea*) published in 1530, chestnuts are recorded as regional specialty products of the Gyeongsang and Jeolla regions and of Jeju Island, while walnuts are indicated as regional specialty products of the Gyeongsang and Jeolla regions.

The results of pollen analyses indicate that pine trees came to dominate forests from around 2000–1400 BP, but the results of wood-species analyses show that broad-leaved trees, such as oak, remained the dominant species, and pine trees were nearly absent (apart from the capital areas of the Three Kingdoms, such as Buyeo). Of course, these results should not necessarily be taken to suggest that pine trees, which were abundant, were deliberately avoided for use as wood; rather, it may be that oak trees continued to dominate the forests in the mountains or upper sections of hills but were not well represented in the pollen record, which was obtained from lowland areas such as wetlands and alluvial fields. Indeed, an expansion of farming into mountainous areas began to take place in the Goryeo period, and it is recorded in the economy section (食貨志) of the *Goryeosa* (高麗史, *History of the Goryeo Dynasty*) that chestnut, pine nut, and jujube trees were widely cultivated from mid-Goryeo times onward. *Goryeosa jeolyo* (高麗史節要, *Essentials of the History of the Goryeo Dynasty*) also notes that the Goryeo King Myeongjong (明宗, r. 1170–1197) indicated a need to promote the cultivation of chestnut, pine nut, and jujube trees, along with grain crops, among the masses. The section on taxes (藤科田) of the *Goryeosa* also contains records of administrators collecting or wrongly appropriating chestnuts, pine nuts, and jujubes from the populace in the form of taxes (Park Jongjin 2006, 44–54).

### Diachronic Change in Nut Utilization

#### Neolithic Period: Intensive Use of Acorns and Oak Wood

The Neolithic period witnessed the establishment of



forests dominated by deciduous trees, particularly oak trees, throughout most areas of the Korean Peninsula. The majority of specimens identified through wood-species analyses were also found to be of oak. A great number of sites throughout the Neolithic period, from the central region of the peninsula to the southern coastal areas, have yielded acorn remains; storage pits containing acorns have been discovered at the sites of Sejuk in Ulsan, Bibong-ri in Changnyeong, Gyeongsangnam-do Province, and Naeheung-dong in Gunsan, Jeollabuk-do Province. Foxtail and broomcorn millet began to be cultivated in the Neolithic period, but acorns remained the main source of carbohydrates for the population at that time. A high percentage of acorns were derived from *Quercus acutissima* (sawtooth oak), which bears large nuts. The results of wood-species analyses also show that *Quercus subge. Lepidobalanus sect. Aegilops* trees (e.g., sawtooth oak and cork oak) predominated over *Quercus subgen. Lepidobalanus sect. Prinus* trees (e.g., Manchurian oak, konara oak, oriental chestnut

oak, and daimyo oak). In the case of Manchurian walnuts (*Juglans mandshurica*), only a small number of remains have been identified at a few sites, such as Bibong-ri in Changnyeong, Sangchon-ri in Jinju, and Bonggye-ri in Hapcheon, all in Gyeongsangnam-do Province. Wood-species analyses have identified Manchurian walnut at only one site: Gunggeunjeon-ri in Ulsan. Chestnut wood has not been observed at any sites pertaining to this period, and only a single specimen, from Storage Pit 10 of the Bibong-ri site, has been identified as having come from a Castanea tree.

**Bronze Age: Continued Use of Oak Wood as a Building Material; Dramatical Decline in the Use of Acorns as a Food Source**

The Bronze Age on the Korean Peninsula witnessed the establishment of farming societies in which rice came to be cultivated alongside other crops such as foxtail and broomcorn millet, soybeans, adzuki beans, barley, and wheat. As a result, the dietary

Site	Period	Number of specimens	Oak	Site	Period	Number of specimens	Oak
Yongam-ri, Hwacheon	Early	11	8 (72.7%)	Donghwa-ri, Wonju	Early	19	18 (94.7%)
Neunggok-dong, Siheung	Early	11	10 (90.9%)	Hyeonhwa-ri, Pyeongtaek	Early	741	724 (97.7%)
Wondang-dong, Incheon	Early / Late	88	78 (88.6%)	Banje-ri, Anseong	Early	16	16 (100%)
Gojaemigol, Cheonan	Early	15	12 (80%)	Gojaemigol, Cheonan	Late	21	20 (95.2%)
Dujeong-ri, Cheonan	Early	25	24 (96%)	Wunjeon-ri, Cheonan	Early	1,672	1,642 (98.2%)
Gungpyeong-ri, Asan	Late	66	53 (80.3%)	Okbuk-ri, Seocheon	Early	19	12 (63.2%)
Songguk-ri, Buyeo	Late	63	30 (47.6%)	Jangdae-ri, Cheongwon	Late	132	103 (78%)
Neunggang-ri, Jecheon	Early	12	5 (41.7%)	Hyoja 4, Jeonju	Late	15	3 (20%)
Dongrim-dong, Gwangju	Early	17	7 (41.2%)	Maecheon-dong, Daegu	Early	25	15 (60%)
Dongcheon-dong, Daegu	Late	34	3 (8.8%)	Oegwang-ri, Ulju	Late	23	11 (47.8%)
Daeryeon-ri, Pohang	Early	41	41 (100%)	Jigok-dong, Pohang	Late	168	168 (100%)
Chogok-ri, Pohang	Early	11	10 (90.9%)	Hwacheon-ri, Gyeongju	Late	11	9 (81.8%)
Younggang-dong, Gyeongju	Early	12	8 (66.7%)	Munsan-ri, Gyeongju	Late	11	9 (81.8%)
Gajaegol, Ulsan	Early	21	14 (66.7%)	Yeonam-dong, Ulsan	Early	14	8 (57.1%)
Hyomun-dong, Ulsan	Early	27	23 (85.2%)	Yul-dong, Ulsan	Early	27	24 (88.9%)
Cheongok-dong I, Ulsan	Early	36	21 (58.3%)	Cheongok-dong II, Ulsan	Early	18	12 (66.7%)
Dongcheon-ri, Ulsan	Late	18	7 (38.9%)	Sangan-dong, Ulsan	Late	39	32 (82.2%)
Beondapdeul, Ulsan	Early / Late	82	45 (54.9%)	Gamakmot, Ulsan	Late	11	9 (81.8%)
Pyeonggeo-dong, Jinju	Early	229	198 (86.5%)	Pyeonggeo-dong, Jinju	Late	49	38 (77.6%)
Sangchon-ri, Jinju	Early	10	7 (70%)	Total (percentage)		3,860	3,477 (90.1%)

Table 4. The presence of oak wood at Bronze Age sites yielding more than ten specimens

importance of acorns plunged. Remains of seeds and fruits have been reported from over one hundred Bronze Age sites, but only five have yielded the remains of acorns. The results of the analysis of charcoal and waterlogged wood specimens, however, demonstrate that deciduous oak trees continued to dominate, as was the case in the Neolithic period. Of the 61 sites from which wood specimens were analyzed, oak was found to be the main wood species at the majority. In the 30 sites where more than ten specimens were analyzed, the presence of oak wood can be estimated to be around 90% (Table 4). Of the various types of oak trees, *Quercus subge. Lepidobalanus sect. Aegilops* trees continued to predominate over *Quercus. subgen. Lepidobalanus sect. Prinus* trees, as was the case in the Neolithic period—it is only at the site of Sangin-dong in Ulsan that the opposite was observed.

As in the Neolithic period, nuts—apart from acorns—were rarely present in archaeological contexts. Manchurian walnut remains were recovered from Gajaegol House 16 in Ulsan, but chestnut remains have yet to be reported. Chestnut wood, on the other hand, was identified at 11 of 61 sites, albeit on a very limited scale. It was only at the sites of Okbuk-ri in Seocheon (36.8%) and Hyoja 4 in Jeonju (40%) that a high ubiquity of chestnut wood was observed. All of the Okbuk-ri wood specimens came from pottery kilns; in the case of the six specimens from Kiln 8, five were found to be chestnut wood, which had been used as fuel for heating kilns and firing ceramics. Taking this result into consideration, along with the results of the analysis of seed and fruit remains, it appears highly likely that the utilization of chestnuts and chestnut wood in the Bronze Age was opportunistic in nature: Bronze Age populations do not appear to have actively utilized chestnuts and chestnut wood as a source of food or building materials. The ubiquity of other wood species is low. An extremely limited presence of wood from Manchurian walnut, pine-nut, and *Quercus myrsinaefolia* Bl. (an evergreen broad-leaved species) trees has been identified at a few sites.

**Proto-Three Kingdoms and Three Kingdoms Periods: Consumption of Chestnuts and the Deliberate Cultivation of Chestnut Trees**

Chestnut remains, which are absent from prehistoric contexts, suddenly appear in large quantities

in archaeological contexts dating to the Proto-Three Kingdoms period. Chestnuts deposited as grave offerings have been identified at Lelang tombs such as Chaehyeopchong Tomb (彩篋塚) in Pyeongannam-do Province and Wangganmyo Tomb (王肝墓) in Pyeongyang; Daho-ri Tomb 1 in Changwon, Gyeongsangnam-do Province; and Songhyeondong Tomb 7, which is a Gaya tomb in Changneyong, Gyeongsangnam-do Province. Chestnut remains from everyday contexts, including dwelling sites, have been mainly reported in the southern Chungcheong, Jeolla, and Gyeongsang regions. In the case of the central areas of the peninsula, chestnuts have yet to be reported, but the ubiquity of Manchurian walnut remains is relatively high. Manchurian walnuts were reported from Donglim-dong in Gwangju, Gangmun-dong in Gangneung, and Galmae-ri in Asan, all of which are wetland sites. Pine nuts were reported from the Gangmun-dong wetland site in Gangneung, Gangwon-do Province and the Gunnamji site in Buyeo, Chungcheongnam-do Province. As with sites from the Bronze Age, while their presence was limited, acorns do appear to have continued to be used as an emergency food supply. Indeed, two storage pits containing acorns were discovered at an inter-valley swamp at the Yongsan-ri site in Hampyeong, Jeollanam-do Province, which dates to the third- to sixth-century period.

Of the 58 sites dating to the Proto-Three Kingdoms and Three Kingdoms periods from which wood specimens were obtained, oak wood was identified at 52 sites (89.7%), making it the dominant species. The second-most widely identified type of wood was chestnut, which was recovered from 37 sites (63.8%). Other types of wood from nut-yielding trees include Manchurian walnut, which was observed at seven sites, and *Castanopsis cuspidata var. sieboldii*, which was observed at two sites. If analysis is limited to sites yielding more than ten specimens in order to enhance the reliability of the results, it is possible to observe that among the resulting 37 sites, wood from Quercus trees was identified at 34 (91.9%), and wood from Castanea trees was identified at 26 (70.3%). In terms of the dominant species, out of a total of 58 sites Quercus was found to be the dominant species at 37 sites (63.8%), Castanea the dominant species at 12 (20.7%), and Pinus the dominant species at 4. As for the dominant species among the 37 sites that yielded more than ten specimens, Quercus was



found to be the dominant species at 24, Castanea the dominant species at 11, and Pinus the dominant species at 4. The sites where Pinus was the dominant species are mostly located around Buyeo, where the final capital of Baekje was located. The above results thus illustrate that oak and chestnut trees were the most heavily utilized species of trees in ancient times. The intensive use of chestnut trees, however, is mainly observed in the southern reaches of the peninsula (including the southern Chungcheong, Jeolla, and southern Gyeongsang regions) from the third century onward.

Conclusion

The utilization of nuts and nut-yielding trees was examined through analyses of seed and fruit remains and wood specimens recovered from archaeological sites. Summarizing the examination results, during the Neolithic period acorns were a key component of the diet, and oak wood was used for building materials. With the full-scale adoption of grain cultivation during the Bronze Age, acorns ceased to be employed as a key source of food, but oak trees continued to be overwhelmingly used as a source of wood. Chestnuts, which were not present in Neolithic or Bronze Age contexts, became a component of burials beginning in the first century BCE; they appear in dwelling sites in the third and fourth centuries CE. The results of wood-species analyses also reveal that the ubiquity of chestnut trees increased dramatically from the third and fourth centuries onward. The key distribution areas for chestnuts and chestnut-tree remains were in the southern Chungcheong and Jeolla regions, which represent Mahan and Baekje territory. This coincides with historical records that mention large chestnuts from Mahan and Baekje. The importance of chestnuts and chestnut trees also appears to have increased at third- and fourth-century sites in Gyeongsangnam-do Province. It is very likely that chestnut trees were deliberately cultivated and maintained from this time onward in these regions. However, evidence of the deliberate cultivation of chestnut trees has not been found north of the Hangang River (漢江) in the “Jungdo-style pottery” cultural sphere of central Korea. Acorns continued to be used as an emergency food source in ancient times and, while the presence of oak trees dropped significantly, oak

wood continued to be used as an important source of building material, as well as for the production of wooden vessels. The presence of other types of nuts among plant remains is severely limited. The ubiquity of Manchurian walnuts (*Juglans mandshurica*) was found to be relatively high in Gangwon-do Province, but it is unclear whether or not walnuts (*Juglans sinensis*) were also present. The utilization of pine nuts and hazelnuts is difficult to assess, since their presence is nearly non-existent in the results of the wood-species analyses. The onset of cooler and drier climactic conditions and the expansion of settlements and fields during this period brought about a dramatic decline in the proportion of oak trees within forests, accompanied by an increase in pine trees and other species that represent secondary forest vegetation. The dramatic increase in the percentage of chestnut trees within secondary forest vegetation indicates that chestnuts, which were nutritious, flavorful, and easy to prepare, came to be regarded as a new food source in the third and fourth centuries. As a result, chestnut trees were actively protected and managed. Wild chestnuts and cultivated chestnuts can be differentiated based on the size of the chestnut seeds and fruits and the results of DNA analysis; even so, because the size of the chestnut seeds and fruits recovered from remains has been reported from only a limited number of sites, and because DNA analysis of chestnut remains has yet to be undertaken, it is difficult at present to establish precisely when the domestication of wild chestnut trees took place. ㄸ

TRANSLATED BY KO ILHONG

This paper is an abridged and revised English version of “Exploitation Patterns of Nuts and Nut-yielding Trees from Neolithic to Ancient Periods in Korea Based on Plant Remains,” (식물유체로 본 선사·고대 견과류 이용의 변화: 도토리·참나무와 밤·밤나무를 중심으로), previously published in 2012 in *The Journal of the Honam Archaeological Society* (호남고고학보) 40.

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## The Chronology and Changing Nature of the Lime Mortar Burials of the Joseon Period

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### Introduction

The lime mortar burial<sup>1</sup> type represents a novel inhumation form that emerged and came to be widely adopted during the Joseon period. As the emergence and adoption of lime mortar burials is believed to be closely linked with Neo-Confucianism, which held considerable sway over the social institutions of the time, these burials represent a category of material culture with an important role to play in promoting the understanding of Joseon society. However, since the temporal scope of archaeological investigation has been implicitly limited to prehistoric and ancient periods of Korean history, the study of lime mortar burials has not been actively pursued in Korean archaeology. As a result, burials from the Joseon period, including lime mortar burials, have not been properly investigated.

The common perception has been to simply regard lime mortar burials as constructions from which Joseon period mummies and well-preserved garments can at times be obtained, rather than viewing them as subjects of archaeological research in their own right. Such mummies are formed when the fortuitous use of lime mortar acts to seal off the burial compartment, resulting in a vacuum which facilitates the preservation of organic remains. Medical and biological analyses have been carried out on these mummies, and the results have been published in both Korean and international journals

(Shin Donghoon et al. 2009). However, since most were discovered accidentally during the relocation of ancestral burial grounds, the relevant data were generally obtained by cultural heritage authorities applying emergency measures rather than by specialists undertaking full-fledged archaeological investigations. As a result, the study of Joseon mummies has been limited to piecemeal analyses that do not take into consideration the broader archaeological context.

The increased number of rescue excavations since the 2000s has resulted in an accumulation of archaeological data from the Joseon period, and lime mortar burials and other types of Joseon period burials have naturally become a subject of archaeological interest. Attempts have been made to outline the development of lime mortar burials and to identify regional modes of construction (Lee Myungyup et al. 2008; Lee Jongsu et al. 2008), but in most cases these efforts have not contributed greatly to the archaeological understanding of the Joseon period. This is in part due to the brief history of such research, the sparse nature of the grave goods, and the simple architectural structure of the burials, but the lack of a chronological understanding of lime mortar burials is a contributing factor as well. Study of these burials from a diachronic and regional perspective can only take place after a chronological understanding has been achieved. The aim of this paper, therefore, is to establish a chronological scheme for lime mortar burials that can be applied as a basic framework for archaeological research on the Joseon period. The changes apparent in lime mortar burials will also be considered according to this scheme.

<sup>1</sup> This type of burial structure has also been referred to as lime-soil mixture barrier (LSMB) tombs in the English literature, but the author considers this term to be excessively complicated and not well suited to conveying the characteristic nature of this type of burial. As such, the term “lime mortar burial” will be used instead.

### Lime Mortar Burials as Seen in Literary Sources

It is widely known that Neo-Confucianism was the founding ideology upon which the Joseon state was established. King Taejo (太祖, r. 1392–1398) proclaimed through his enthronement message (即位教書) that Confucianism was to provide the state ideology and all ceremonies and institutions were to be revamped accordingly. Jeong Dojeon (鄭道傳, 1342–1398), who played an instrumental role in the creation of the Joseon state, stated in the *Administrative Code of Joseon* (朝鮮經國典, *Joseon gyeonggukjeon*) in the third year of King Taejo's reign that the realization of Confucian rule by sage kings was to be the goal of national administration. As part of this effort, study and application of Neo-Confucian rituals were actively pursued from the early Joseon period. This was the case not only regarding state rituals, but also for family rituals taking place within the domestic sphere. It is in this context that lime mortar burials came to be practiced as an observance of the guidelines for Neo-Confucian funerary rituals. The

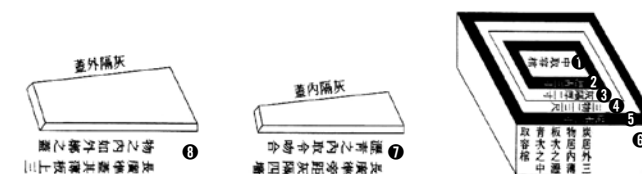


Fig. 1. Schematic plan of a lime mortar structure and the inner and outer covers (築灰隔及内外蓋圖, *Chukhoigyuk geup naeogae do*): ① gwan (burial compartment), ② yeokcheong (靑, presumed to be an oily mixture, but not yet identified through archaeological investigation), ③ hoegyek (灰隔, wooden cist structure) ④ sammul (三物, packed lime mortar mixture), ⑤ sut (charcoal mixture), ⑥ explanation of structure, and ⑦ and ⑧ cover. (Illustration Volume of Commentaries on the Various Theories Concerning the Family Rituals of Master Zhu)

construction methods used in lime mortar burials, from the digging of the burial pit to the recipe for the lime mortar mixture, are illustrated in detail in the *Family Rituals of Master Zhu* (朱子家禮; K. *Juja garye*, Ch. *Zhuji jiali*), a text by Zhu Xi (朱熹, 1130–1200) in which the guidelines for Neo-Confucian domestic rites are laid out (Fig. 1). The study of such domestic rituals continued to be pursued by Joseon Neo-Confucian scholars.



Fig. 2. Stone chamber burial of Yi Wonjeung, investigated during the process of relocation and believed to have been constructed during the reign of King Sejong (Author's photograph)



The adoption of lime mortar burials by the Joseon royal family can therefore be seen as a natural development. In 1406, King Taejong (太宗, r. 1400–1418) forbade the construction of stone chamber or stone-lined tombs (Fig. 2), complying with the guidelines set forth in the *Family Rituals of Master Zhu*, and imposed the use of lime mortar burials for those below the rank of royal relatives. In 1418, he expanded the class of those required to follow the *Family Rituals of Master Zhu* for tomb construction to include royal relatives as well. In addition, in 1445 during the reign of King Sejong (世宗, r. 1418–1450), rules were set out regarding the provision of lime for use in the funerals of royal relatives. Regardless of such efforts, however, it appears that lime mortar burials were not adopted unreservedly. This is indicated by passages in the *Annals of the Joseon Dynasty* (朝鮮王朝實錄, *Joseon wangjo sillok*) that mention punishments being meted out for the use of stone chamber tombs or stone-lined burials. In 1468, during the reign of King Yejong (睿宗, r. 1468–1469), the tomb of King Sejo (世祖, r. 1455–1468) was established using a lime mortar burial structure in accordance with the wishes of the deceased king. Great controversy surrounded this decision, but it appears to have led to the eventual adoption of lime mortar burials by all members of Joseon society, including the king and his ministers (Figs. 3 and 4). After this, mention of burials is rarely found in the *Annals of the Joseon Dynasty*.

### Absolute Dating of Lime Mortar Burials

In contrast to burials from preceding periods, there are quite a few instances in which it is possible to establish a construction date for lime mortar burials based on information on the deceased. For example, the date of death can be obtained from steles erected in front of burials or from funerary tablets interred within. There are also cases in which a grave has been continuously maintained by descendants. However, few of these graves have been subjected to formal excavation. Consequently, reports have simply focused on cataloguing the garments recovered from such graves and reports providing more detailed information on the structure and grave goods of lime mortar burials have been rare indeed. No study of lime mortar burials can take place solely based on the above data set.

The preservation rate of organic remains is relatively high in the case of lime mortar burials. As a result, there are a number of instances in which wood from coffins could be recovered during excavation. Dendrochronological analysis has been carried out on some of these wooden samples, making it possible to obtain absolute dates for the wood. A master dendrochronological sequence for Korea has been established based on pine wood from across South Korea (excluding Jeju Island), allowing pine wood felled between 1200 CE and the present to be dated (Lee Hyunchae 2009, 5).

However, it should be kept in mind that a dendrochronological date simply represents the felling date of the wood and cannot be regarded as the construction date of the lime mortar burial from which the wood was derived. In addition, in order to establish a precise felling date, bark from the wood involved must be present. In the case of wood that features a clear distinction between heartwood and sapwood, it has also been proven through statistical analysis that an error range of  $\pm 10$  years exists (Park Wonkyu and Kim Yojung 2004, 172). Unfortunately, in most cases dendrochronological dates tend to be obtained from simply the outermost tree ring of a given wooden sample, diminishing the utility of the dendrochronological information for archaeological research.

Nevertheless, given that in only a limited number of cases can the construction date of lime mortar burials be identified based on information regarding the deceased, dendrochronological dates do have an important role to play in the study of the lime mortar burials of the Joseon period. Therefore, methods of utilizing dendrochronological data in archaeological research must be explored in order to fully exploit its potential. This study represents one such attempt.

### Lime Mortar Burial Chronology

#### Establishing the Key Elements for Chronological Research

Most of the lime mortar burials that have been identified thus far consist only of a subterranean burial chamber. Elements that were located above ground, such as the earthen mound covering the burial or stone statues erected nearby, are rarely extant. For this reason, diachronic change in lime mortar burials can only be identified through the burial compart-



Fig. 3. Overview of an excavation of a burial believed to be a royal tomb (presumed to be King Sejong's primary burial site) (Korea Cultural Heritage Foundation 2009, p. 4)



Fig. 4. Overview of an excavation of a burial believed to be a royal tomb (presumed to be King Sejong's primary burial site) (Korea Cultural Heritage Foundation 2009, p. 5)



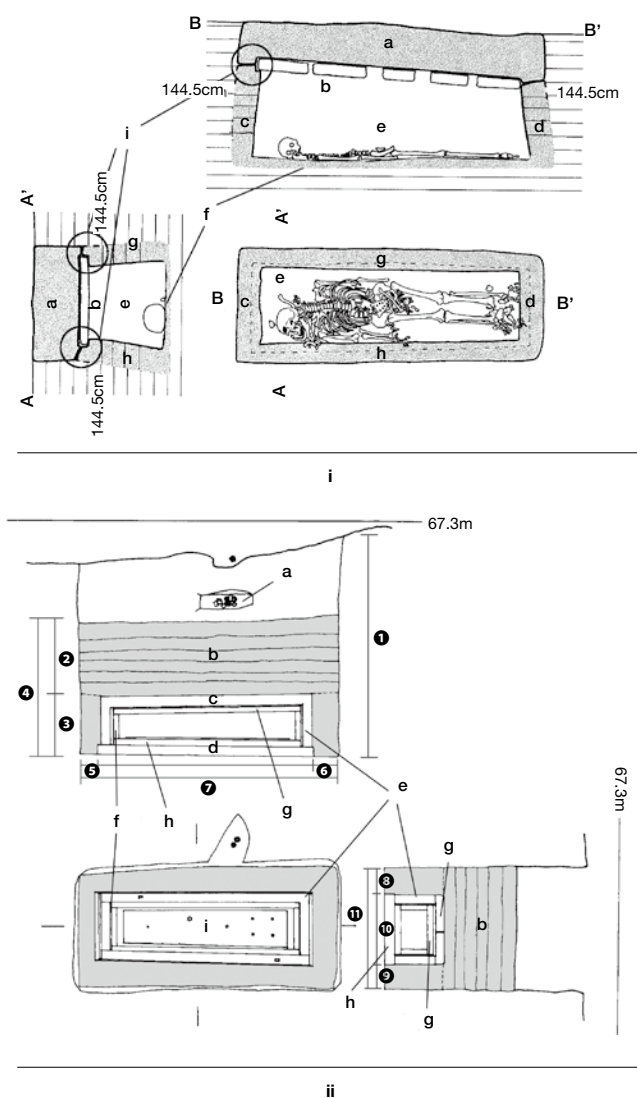


Fig. 5. The nominal and continuous attributes examined in this study

i. Lime mortar burial without a wooden cist structure (edited from Gyeonggi Institute of Cultural Properties 2001, p. 76)

a) lime mortar covering the burial compartment, b) horizontal wooden slabs, c) short wall near the deceased's head, d) short wall near the deceased's feet, e) inner burial pit, f) lime mortar lining the burial pit base, g) left long wall, h) right long wall, i) stepped space protruding into the lime mortar at the upper entrance of the burial compartment

ii. Lime mortar burial with a wooden cist structure (edited from Yoon Seyoung and Kim Woolim 1992, p. 15)

1) burial pit depth, 2) thickness of the lime mortar above the burial compartment, 3) lime mortar wall height, 4) entire lime mortar structure height, 5) thickness of the lime mortar lining the short wall near the deceased's feet, 6) thickness of the lime mortar lining the short wall near the deceased's head, 7) long axis length, 8) thickness of the lime mortar lining the right long wall, 9) thickness of the lime mortar lining the left long wall, 10) inner burial pit width, 11) short axis length

a) auxiliary niche, b) lime mortar covering the burial compartment, c) wooden cist cover, d) wooden cist base, e) wooden cist, f) wooden coffin, g) wooden coffin cover, h) wooden coffin base, i) wooden slab (featuring 7 holes depicting the Big Dipper constellation) for the placement of the deceased's body



Fig. 6. Distribution of sites where lime mortar burials with known dates of construction have been discovered.

Lime mortar burials with known dates of death of the deceased (38 graves)

- 1) Burial ground of the Papyeong Yun clan (1 grave)
- 2) Burials of Gwon Su (father) and Gwon Gyeongnam (son) (3 graves)
- 3) Archaeological site within the Hopyeong & Pyeongnae housing site, Namyangju (1 grave)
- 4) Burial ground site of the Andong Kim clan located within the Banwol district, Gyeonggi-do Province (9 graves)
- 5) Double burial of Yi Gijo of the Hansan Yi clan (2 graves)
- 6) Burial of Taeangun of the Jeonju Yi clan burial (2 graves)
- 7) Dongbaek-ri & Jung-ri sites, Yongin (1 grave)
- 8) Geongeon-ri, Palgok-ri, and Dundae-ri sites, Hwaseong (1 grave)
- 9) West coast highway construction area (Ansan-Anjung) site (4 graves)
- 10) Burial ground of the Jeonju Yu clan (9 graves)
- 11) Double burial of Kim Heumjo (1 grave)
- 12) Burials of Lady Mun of the Ilseon Mun clan and Yi Eungtae in Jeongsang-dong, Andong (2 graves)
- 13) Burial of a member of the Yi clan in Inpyeong-dong, Chilgok (1 grave)
- 14) Joseon period burial at Samho-ri, Yangsan (1 grave)

Lime mortar burials with dendrochronological dates (33 graves)

- 1) Neungsan-ri site, Paju (1 grave)
- 2) Jingwan-dong cemetery, Seoul (7 graves)
- 3) Jingwan-dong site, Seoul (4 graves)
- 4) Archaeological site within the Hopyeong and Pyeongnae housing site, Namyangju (1 grave)
- 5) Sinnae-dong site, Seoul (8 graves)
- 6) Surigol site in Deokpung-dong, Hanam
- 7) Namyang-dong site, Hwaseong (6 graves)
- 8) Seongsan-ri site, Cheongwon (1 grave)
- 9) Site located within the grounds of Chungbuk National University
- 10) Jeongdong-ri site, Buyeo (1 grave)
- 11) Majeon site, Jeonju (1 grave)
- 12) Geumpo-ri site, Miryang (1 grave)

ment structure and grave goods. However, since the number of objects commonly deposited in graves decreased dramatically over the Joseon period, it is mainly through an analysis of the burial compartment structure that a chronology of lime mortar burials can be established. In this paper, therefore, certain nominal and continuous attributes will be extracted from lime mortar burials with known absolute dates. The nominal attributes will be applied to delineate the phases of the chronological scheme, and the continuous attributes will be used to establish a comprehensive overview of the evolving nature of lime mortar burials (Fig. 5).

Nine nominal attributes are used to establish the chronological phases: 1) the presence or absence of lime mortar used to cover the burial compartment; 2) the presence or absence of lime mortar on the base of the burial pit; 3) method of covering the burial compartment; 4) the presence or absence of a stepped space protruding into the lime mortar at the upper entrance of the burial compartment; 5) the presence or absence of packed charcoal lining the sides of the burial pit; 6) the presence or absence of miniature grave goods; 7) the presence or absence of coffin nails; 8) the presence or absence of a wooden cist structure; and 9) the presence or absence of an auxiliary niche.

Upon establishing chronological phases based on the above nominal attributes, the values of twelve continuous attributes were examined in order to identify changes in the nature of lime mortar burials. These continuous attributes are as follows: 1) long axis length; 2) short axis length; 3) burial pit depth; 4) height of the entire lime mortar structure; 5) lime mortar wall height; 6) thickness of the lime mortar above the burial compartment; 7) thickness of the lime mortar at the base of the burial pit; 8) thickness of the lime mortar lining the left long wall; 9) thickness of the lime mortar lining the right long wall; 10) thickness of the lime mortar lining the short wall near the deceased's head; 11) thickness of the lime mortar lining the short wall near the deceased's feet; and 12) volume of the entire lime mortar structure.<sup>2</sup>

2 The volume of the lime mortar was calculated based on the measurements of the respective components of the lime mortar structure, which was treated as a cube-like structure. As such, the volume identified through this method may not necessarily represent the actual volume of the lime mortar mixture used. However,

In order to construct a chronological framework for lime mortar burials, burials in which the date of death of the deceased was known or in which dendrochronological analysis could provide an absolute date were examined. Based on these, data was compiled from burials in which it was possible to take detailed measurements of the dimensions of the structure from either photographs or excavation plans. Accordingly, data from 38 lime mortar burials at 14 sites were analyzed. Based on the results of the analysis, the basic trends in the ways in which lime mortar burials changed over time were examined, and through a comparative analysis with these results, an additional 33 lime mortar burials from 11 sites with dendrochronological dates were included in this study.

### The Chronology of Lime Mortar Burials Based on Nominal Attributes

As discussed above, a significant discrepancy may exist between the actual date of a burial and the date provided by dendrochronological analysis. In the absence of any information on the error range between these two dates, it is difficult to use dendrochronological dates to construct a chronological framework for lime mortar burials. It therefore becomes necessary to develop a way to test the reliability of the dendrochronological dates, albeit through indirect methods.

To this end, diachronic change in lime mortar burials will first be identified through the analysis of examples in which the identity of the interred is known. Dendrochronological dates will then be indirectly tested by comparing the nature of the diachronic change observed in those burials with known dates of death of the interred with that observed in burials with dendrochronological dates. If key changes can be confirmed to have taken place at a broadly similar time, then any discrepancy between the actual date and the dendrochronological date for a given lime mortar burial can be regarded as insignificant. Ac-

the author believes that this estimated volume is sufficient for the purpose of identifying diachronic change in the amount of lime used in the burials.

Volume of the lime mortar = {long axis length × short axis length × (covering lime thickness + height of packed lime walls)} - {long axis length - (thickness of the short wall near the deceased's head + thickness of the short wall near the deceased's feet)} × {short axis length - (thickness of the left long wall + thickness of the right long wall)} × height of packed lime walls.



cordingly, it will then be possible to use lime mortar burials with dendrochronological dates to construct a chronological framework. Due to space restrictions, the details of this method through which the reliability of dendrochronological dates can be investigated will not be discussed further.

Lime mortar burials with absolute dates are presented in Table 1 according to their temporal order. The 33 lime mortar burials with definite dendrochronological dates mostly cluster around the later phases. Based on burials with known dates of death, it can be established that lime mortar burials experienced a change in form sometime between the early and late seventeenth century. A similar trend can be identified in the lime mortar burials with definite dendrochronological dates. Therefore—although further accumulation of data and refinement of the verification method is required—it can be suggested that it is indeed possible to broadly examine the trajectory of change in lime mortar burials using dendrochronological dates.

However, in the case of Namyang-dong Area 5 Burial No. 19 (Table 1, 48), Sinnae-dong Area 1 Burial No. 57 (Table 1, 53), and Sinnae-dong Area 1 Burial No. 56 (Table 1, 58), a significant discrepancy in size was identified between these three lime mortar burials and the lime mortar burials in which the deceased had passed away at a date similar to the dendrochronological dates identified for the above three burials. When methods of verifying dendrochronological dates are further developed through the discovery of additional lime mortar burials with known death dates, this problem can be addressed. Since these three problematic burials only represent a small fraction of the entire data set, and as there is no way to further assess the validity of the dates involved, the information from these three burials will be regarded as outliers within the data set.

As can be seen in Table 1, the presence or absence of packed charcoal, a wooden cist structure, a stepped space intruding into the lime mortar at the entrance of the burial pit, coffin nails, lime mortar at the base of the burial pit, miniature grave goods, and an auxiliary niche are identified as the temporally sensitive nominal attributes. Among these, the presence or absence of packed charcoal and a wooden cist structure were identified as the most temporally meaningful nominal attributes. A wooden cist structure and packed charcoal appear together in early lime mortar

burials, whereas in later burials the use of packed charcoal disappears, followed by the wooden cist structure. This trend can clearly be observed throughout the data set. Coffin nails, lime mortar at the base of the burial pit, miniature grave goods, and an auxiliary niche are attributes that are frequently observed in earlier burials. However, these attributes do not occur universally in all early lime mortar burials and, in addition to being temporally sensitive, they also appear to be associated with regional identity or social status. Consequently, these attributes may be used to supplement the chronological framework.

A four-phase chronological scheme was established for lime mortar burials based on the above nominal attributes (Table 2). Phase I is characterized by the use of both charcoal packing and a wooden cist structure in lime mortar burials. It should be acknowledged that only four burials belong to this phase, bringing into question the validity of separating it from Phase II. It should be noted, however, that rules concerning the packing of charcoal when constructing lime mortar burials are clearly laid out in the *Family Rituals of Master Zhu*. As such, the presence of charcoal packing in early lime mortar burials can be seen as an indication of the intent to strictly conform with the rules set forth in the *Family Rituals of Master Zhu* when adopting this new form of burial. In addition, the fact that only a limited number of burials can be attributed to Phase I can be taken to indicate that upon its introduction this novel form of burial was not widely adopted. For these reasons, a separate phase is established for lime mortar burials with charcoal packing, despite their limited number. Among the lime mortar burials that have been properly excavated and therefore feature identified details regarding their structure, the earliest dated example is the 1528 burial of Kim Heumjo (Table 1, 1). In order to examine the earliest adoption of lime mortar burials, however, the literary record must be considered alongside the archaeological record. The earliest known lime mortar burials are that of Prince Munyang Yi Gyeyun (文陽君 李季胤, 1431–1489), dating to 1489, and that of Park Gyeongwon (朴堅源, c. 1435–1501), dating to 1501 (these burials were not included in the present study since detailed plans of the burials do not exist). The presence of passages in the *Annals of the Joseon Dynasty* mentioning punishments handed out for the use of stone chamber or stone-lined burials indicates that traditional forms of

burial did continue to be applied even after their use was banned in 1406. Therefore, rather than to 1406, the initiation of lime mortar burial use can only be dated to around the time of the construction of the burials of Yi Gyeyun and Park Gyeongwon. As such, the beginning of Phase I should be tentatively dated to around 1500.

In Phase II, wooden cists continued to be used, but the packing of charcoal no longer took place. As in Phase I, some of the attributes of early lime mortar burials (e.g., coffin nails, lime mortar at the base of the burial pit, miniature grave goods, and an auxiliary niche) also continued to be used. The burial of Yu Sehwa (Table 1, 4), which was constructed in 1554, features packed charcoal and therefore belongs to Phase I. The next burial in the sequence, that of a female belonging to the Ilseon Mun clan (Table 1, 5) constructed in 1565, does not feature charcoal packing. As such, the cessation of the use of packed charcoal can be dated to sometime around 1550.

Phase III witnessed a decline in the use of the wooden cist structure and coffin nails. However, this is not to say that the wooden cist structure disappeared entirely. In addition, attributes of early lime

mortar burials, such as lime mortar at the base of the burial pit, miniature grave goods, and an auxiliary niche, also continued to be applied in some burials. One key characteristic of this phase is the transition that can be observed in the type of feature used to cover the burial compartment. With the disappearance of the wooden cist structure, horizontal panels began to be applied as support for the lime mortar mixture covering the burial compartment. However, vertical panels similar in form to the wooden cist cover used previously have also been identified from burials in this phase. This phenomenon appears to illustrate the progression that accompanied the disappearance of the wooden cist structure. Many of the lime mortar burials with only dendrochronological dates pertain to this phase, making it difficult to establish a beginning date. In relation to this, it is interesting to note that lime mortar was placed at the base of Namyang-dong Area 5 Burial No. 127 (Table 1, 18), the construction date of which has been identified as some point later than 1585 based on dendrochronological analysis, and that Geumpo-ri Area Na Burial No. 1 (Table 1, 15), the construction date of which has been identified to be some point after



Fig. 7. Hwajeop-ri, Byeolnae Unit 5-3 Burial No. 6 (Phase I) in Namyangju (Hanbaek Research Institute for Cultural Heritage 2012, p. 735)



Fig. 8. Hwajeop-ri, Byeolnae Unit 4-1 Burial No. 6 (Phase II) in Namyangju (Hanbaek Research Institute for Cultural Heritage 2012, p. 624)



No.	Name of the deceased interred (Archaeological feature no.)	Date of death/reburial (dendrochronological date)	Phase	Packed charcoal	Wood-en cist	Type of burial compartment cover	Stepped space intruding into the lime mortar at the upper entrance of the burial pit	Lime mortar cover	Coffin nails	Lime paving the floor	Miniature grave goods	Auxiliary niche
1	Kim Heumjo	1528	I	P	P	Wooden cist cover	A	P	P	P	P	P
2	Lady of the Jeonju Yi clan (Wife of Yu Paengseong)	1547	I	P	P	Wooden cist cover	A	P	A	P	A	
3	Yu Paengseong	Mid-16 <sup>th</sup> century	I	P	P	Wooden cist cover	A	P	P	P	A	P
4	Yu Sehwa	1554	I	P	P	Wooden cist cover	A		A	A	A	
5	Lady of the Ilseon Mun clan (Wife of Yi Myeongjeong)	1565	II	A	P	Wooden cist cover	A	P	A	P	A	A
6	Lady of the Papyeong Yun clan and her son (Lime mortar burial)	1566	II	A	P	Wooden cist cover	A	P	A	P	A	A
7	Lady of the Ansan Kim clan (Wife of Yi Paengsu)	1579	II	A	P	Wooden cist cover	A	P	P	A	P	P
8	Yu Jin	1580	II	A	P	Wooden cist cover	A	P	P	A	A	
9	Gwon Su	1580	II	A	P	Wooden cist cover	A	P	A	P	P	
10	Yi Yi or Yi Yedeuk (Byeokjin Yi clan)	1585	II	P	P	Wooden cist cover	A	P	A	P	A	A
11	Yi Eungtae	1586	II	A	P	Wooden cist cover	A	P	A	P	A	A
12	Yu Semu (Date from epitaph tablet)	1588	II	A	P	Wooden cist cover	A	P	A	A	P	
13	Yi Paengsoo (Died during the Japanese invasions)	1592–1598	II	A	P	Wooden cist cover	A	P	P	A	P	P
14	Yu Sagyeom	1599	II	A	P	Wooden cist cover	A	P	A	A	P	
15	Geumpo-ri Area Na Burial No. 1, Miryang	(After1591)	II	A	P	Wooden cist cover	A	P	P	A	P	P
16	Gwon Gyeongnam	1609	II	A	P	Wooden cist cover	A	P	A	A	P	P
17	Namyang-dong Area 5 Lime Mortar Burial No. 33, Hwaseong	(Early 17 <sup>th</sup> century)	III	A	A	Horizontal slabs	A	P	A	A	A	A
18	Namyang-dong Area 5 Lime Mortar Burial No. 127, Hwaseong	(After 1585)	III	A	A		A	P	A	P	A	A
19	Namyang-dong Area 5 Lime Mortar Burial No. 168, Hwaseong	(After 1595)	III	A	A		A	P	A	P	A	A
20	Neungsan-ri Area 1 Lime Mortar Burial No. 1, Paju	(1607±10)	III	A	A	Horizontal slabs	P	P	A	P	A	A
21	Lady of the Jinju Ha clan (Wife of Gwon Su)	Early 17 <sup>th</sup> century	III	A	P	Wooden cist cover	A	P	A	A	A	A
22	Yi Sehwan (Jeongdong-ri Lime Mortar Burial No. 1, Buyeo)	(After 1620)	III	A	P	Horizontal slabs	A	P	A	A	A	A
23	Hopyeong Area 3 Burial No. 12, Namyangju	(After 1620)	III	A	A	Horizontal slabs	A	P	A	A	P	P

24	Deokpung-dong Surigol Double Burial Nos. 27-27, Hanam	(After 1624)	III	A	A	Vertical slabs	A	P	A	A	A	A
25	Jingwan-dong II-1 Burial No. 4	(After 1626)	III	A	A	Horizontal slabs	P	P	A	A	A	A
26	Seongsan-ri Area Da Lime Mortar Burial, Cheongwon	(After 1629)	III	A	A		A	P	A		A	A
27	Namyang-dong Area 5 Burial No. 138, Hwaseong	(After 1631)	III	A	A	Horizontal slabs	A	P	A	P	A	A
28	Yu Eungwon	1637	III	A	P	Wooden cist cover	A	P	A	A	P	P
29	Jeong Eunggap	1637	III	A	A		A	A	A	P	A	P
30	Majeon Area 1 Burial No. 1, Jeonju	(1637-1638)	III	A	A	Vertical slabs	A	P	A	P	A	A
31	Yu Boksin	1644	III	A	A	Vertical slabs	P	P	A	A	A	A
32	Jingwan-dong II Area 2 Lime Burial No. 17, Seoul	(1645±10)	III	A	A	Horizontal slabs	P	P	A	A	A	A
33	Yuo Gwangjong	1655	III	A	A	Horizontal slabs	P	P	A	P	A	A
34	Sinnae-dong Area 1 Lime Burial No. 38, Seoul	(1664±10)	IV	A	A		A	A	A	A	A	A
35	Double burial of Choi Dam and Lady of the Namyang Hong clan	1677	IV	A	A	Horizontal slabs	P	P	A	A	A	A
36	Yu Bun (Pyeongnae Area 2 Burial No. 1, Namyangju)	1684	IV	A	A	Horizontal slabs	p	P	A	A	A	A
37	Jingwan-dong II Area 3 Lime Burial No. 3, Seoul	(1688±10)	IV	A	A	Horizontal slabs	P	P	A	A	A	A
38	Jingwan-dong II-2 Burial No. 54, Seoul	(1692±10)	IV	A	A	Horizontal slabs	P	P	A	A	A	A
39	Choi Suk (Gupo-ri Burial No. 1-1)	1698	IV	A	A	Horizontal slabs	P	P	A	A	A	A
40	Jingwan-dong II Area 2 Lime Burial No. 14, Seoul	(1704±10)	IV	A	A	Horizontal slabs	P	P	A	A	A	A
41	Jingwan-dong II Area 2 Lime Burial No. 15, Seoul	(Around the beginning of the 18 <sup>th</sup> century)	IV	A	A	Horizontal slabs	A	P	A	A	A	A
42	Jingwan-dong II-2 Burial No. 126, Seoul	(1710±10)	IV	A	A	Horizontal slabs	P	P	A	A	A	A
43	Jingwan-dong III-3 Burial No. 229-1, Seoul	(After 1704)	IV	A	A	Horizontal slabs	P	P	A	A	A	A
44	Jingwan-dong III-3 Burial No. 229-2, Seoul	(After 1704)	IV	A	A	Horizontal slabs	P	P	A	A	A	A
45	Yi Gijo (Died in 1653)	1728	IV	A	A	Horizontal slabs	A	P	A	A	A	A
46	Lady of the Goryeong Shin clan (Wife of Yi Gijo, Died in 1673)	1728	IV	A	A	Horizontal slabs	A	P	A	A	A	A
47	Namyang-dong Area 5 Lime Mortar Burial No. 15, Hwaseong	(Mid-18 <sup>th</sup> century)	IV	A			A	A	A	A	A	A
48	Namyang-dong Area 5 Lime Mortar Burial No. 19, Hwaseong	(After 1722)	IV	A	A	Horizontal slabs	A	P	A	P	A	A



49	Sinnae-dong Area 1 Lime Burial No. 53, Seoul	(1723±10)	IV	A	A		A	P	A	A	A	A
50	Lady of the Wansan Yi clan (Wife of Choi Gyeongwu)	1729	IV	A	A	Horizontal slabs	P	P	A	A	A	A
51	Sinnae-dong Area 1 Lime Burial No. 29, Seoul	(1747-1748)	IV	A	A	Horizontal slabs	A	P	A	A	A	A
52	Sinnae-dong Area 1 Lime Burial No. 30, Seoul	(1748±10)	IV	A	A	Horizontal slabs	A	P	A	A	A	A
53	Sinnae-dong Area 1 Lime Burial No. 57, Seoul	(After 1733)	IV	A	P	Horizontal slabs	P	P	A	A	A	A
54	Sinnae-dong Area 2 Lime Burial No. 2-2, Seoul	(1755±10)	IV	A	A	Horizontal slabs	A	P	A	A	A	A
55	Sinnae-dong Area 2 Lime Burial No. 2-1, Seoul	(1765±10)	IV	A	A	Horizontal slabs	P	P	A	A	A	A
56	Choi Wunik (Gupo-ri Burial No. 1-2)	1789	IV	A	A	Horizontal slabs	P	P	A	A	A	A
57	Min Changeok (Dundae-ri Burial No. 9)	1797	IV	A	A	Horizontal slabs	A	P	A	A	A	A
58	Sinnae-dong Area 1 Lime Burial No. 56, Seoul	(1799±10)	IV	A	P	Wooden cist cover	A	P	P	A	A	A
59	Lady of the Haepyeong Yun clan (Wife of Choi Wunik, Gupo-ri Burial No. 1-2)	1810	IV	A	A	Horizontal slabs	P	P	A	A	A	A
60	Jingwan-dong II-3 Burial No. 67, Seoul	(After 1836)	IV	A	A	Horizontal slabs	P	P	A	A	A	A
61	Jingwan-dong II-4 Burial No. 45, Seoul	(After 1845)	IV	A	A		A	A	A	A	A	A
62	Lady of the Hansan Yi clan (Burial No. G, Kim Byeongguk's first wife)	1852	IV	A	A	Horizontal slabs	P	P	A		A	A
63	Lady of the Pungcheon Lim clan (Burial No. G, Kim Byeongguk's second wife)	1854	IV	A	A	Horizontal slabs	P	P	A		A	A
64	Kim Sugeun, Lady of the Yangju Jo clan, and Lady of the Jeonju Ryu clan (Burial No. F)	1861	IV	A	A	Horizontal slabs	P	P	A		A	A
65	Burial of unknown identity located within the grounds of Chungbuk National University	(1860-1870)	IV	A	A	Horizontal slabs	P		A	A	A	A
66	Lady of the Papyeong Yun clan double burial (Burial No. A, Kim Byeonghak's first and second wives)	1872	IV	A	A	Horizontal slabs	P	P	A		A	A
67	Lady of the Geochang Shin clan (Burial No. B, Kim Sugeun's third wife)	1872	IV	A	A	Horizontal slabs	P	P	A		A	A
68	Kim Byeonghak (Burial No. A)	1879	IV	A	A	Horizontal slabs	P	P	A		A	A
69	Lady of the Gimhae Heo clan (Burial No. H, Kim Byeongguk's second wife)	1879	IV	A	A	Horizontal slabs	P	P	A		A	A
70	Lady of the Papyeong Yun clan (burial No. G, Kim Byeongguk's third wife)	1879	IV	A	A	Horizontal slabs	P	P	A		A	A
71	Kim Byeongguk (Burial No. G)	1904	IV	A	A	Horizontal slabs	P	P	A		A	A

Table 1. Nominal attributes from lime mortar burials with known dates or death of the interred (P = present, A = absent)

Phase	Lime mortar burial type			Chronologically sensitive attributes				
	Lime mortar burial with packed char-coal	Lime mortar burial with wooden cist structure	Lime mortar burial with wooden coffin	Coffin nails	Miniature grave goods	Auxiliary niche	Lime-paved floor	Stepped space intruding into the lime mortar at the upper entrance of the burial pit
I								
II								
III								
IV								

Table 2. Chronological scheme for lime mortar burials from the Joseon period



Fig. 9. Majeon Area 1 Burial No. 1 (Phase III) in Jeonju, Jeollabuk-do Province (Honam Cultural Property Research Institute 2008, pp. 63-64)  
Top: lime mortar structure viewed from above  
Bottom: cross-section of lime mortar structure, with horizontal covering panels and wooden coffin visible





Fig. 10. Jingwan-dong Area 2 Section B Unit 2 Burial No. 24 (Phase IV) in Seoul (Hangang Institute of Cultural Heritage 2010, p. 70)

1591 (again based on dendrochronological analysis) feature a wooden cist structure. However, given that the dendrochronological dates of these two burials are derived from the outermost tree ring, the actual construction dates could be later. On the other hand, Neungsan-ri Area 1 Burial No. 1 (Table 1, 20) has a reliable dendrochronological date of 1607±10 years. Based on these facts, it is possible to presume that the wooden cist structure began to disappear from the early seventeenth century. As such, the beginning date for Phase III can be set at around 1600.

In Phase IV, the features of a wooden cist structure, lime mortar at the base of the burial pit, miniature grave goods, and auxiliary niche all disappeared, and only horizontal panels were used to cover the burial compartment. Among the lime mortar burials with known dates of death, the latest burial with lime mortar at the base of the burial pit is that of Yu

Gwangjong (Table 1, 33), which was conducted in 1655. Among the lime mortar burials with dendrochronological dates, horizontal covering panels were identified at Majeon Area 1 Burial No. 1 in Jeonju (Table 1, 20), which dates to 1637–8. Given the fact that Namyang-dong Area 5 Burial No. 138 (Table 1, 27), which has lime mortar at the base of the burial pit, can be dated to later than 1631, and that Jingwan-dong Area 2 Burial No. 17 (Table 1, 32), in which all earlier attributes are absent, has a dendrochronological date of 1645±10 years, the beginning of Phase IV can be set to around 1650. As the latest of the

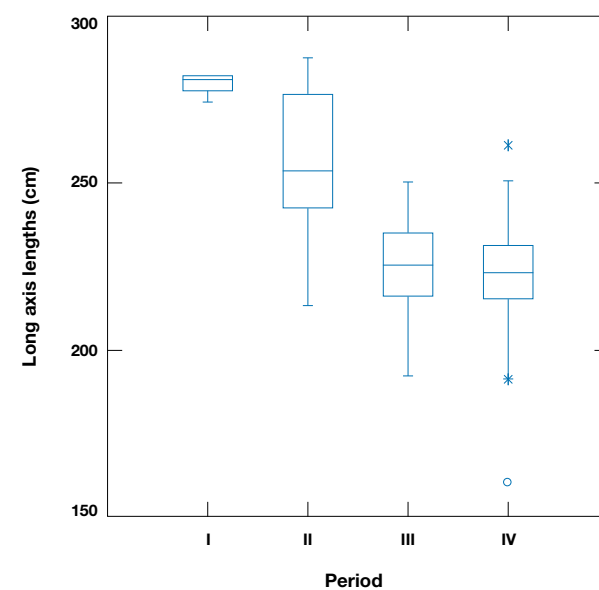
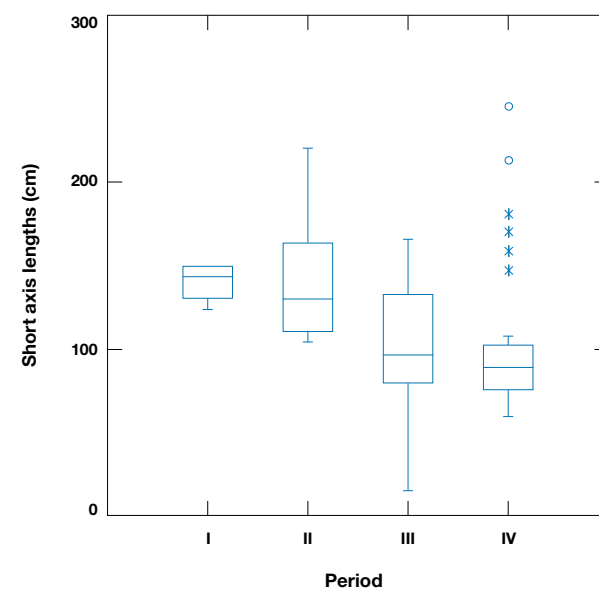


Fig. 11. Boxplots of long axis and short axis length by period (Top: boxplot of short axis lengths; Bottom: boxplot of long axis lengths)

lime mortar burials—that of Kim Byeongguk (Table 1, 71)—dates to 1904, Phase IV shows the broadest time range, extending into the twentieth century.

#### Change in the Size of the Lime Mortar Structure

The way in which the values of the continuous attributes changed over time will now be examined according to the four-phase chronological framework established above based on nominal attributes. A boxplot was used to compare per period the values of each of the continuous attributes outlined above. Based on the results of the analysis, the lengths of the long and short axes, burial pit depth, lime mortar structure height, covering mortar thickness, and the volume of the entire lime mortar structure were identified as key attributes illustrating clear diachronic change.

The lengths of the long and short axes are generally believed to be proportionate to the size of the body of the interred individual, but an examination of these attributes over time illustrates that the floor space of the lime mortar structure gradually decreased (Fig. 11). This is particularly evident for the length of the long axis. As can be seen in the boxplot, the values for Phases III and IV are lower than those for Phases I and II, but it is also interesting to note that the two later phases share a common mean value. Phase IV extends across the greatest time span, but the variation in long axis length values decreased

from Phase III and the distribution of the values remained stable.

In the case of the length of the short axis, it is difficult to establish clear distinctions between the phases, but an overall trend of a reduction in short axis length can be observed over time. The outliers of Phase IV are of interest, but it should be noted that they are not true outliers, but rather the result of double interment burials being included in the analysis. In addition, the increased number of outliers in Phase IV—in addition to being the result of an increase in double interments during this phase—may

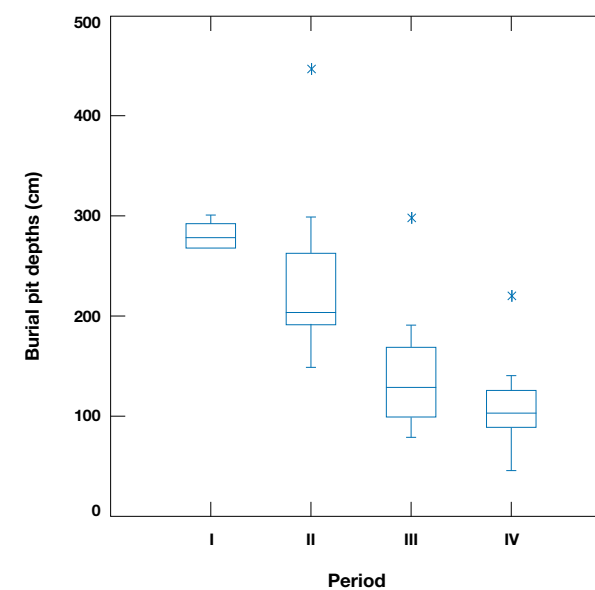
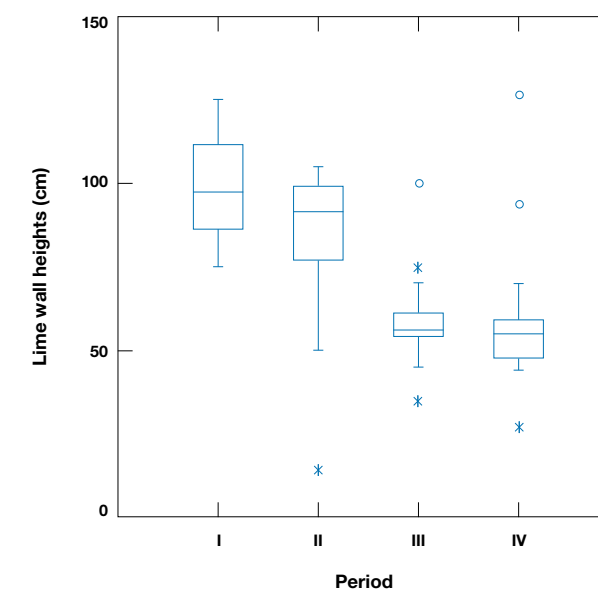


Fig. 12. Boxplot of burial pit depth by period

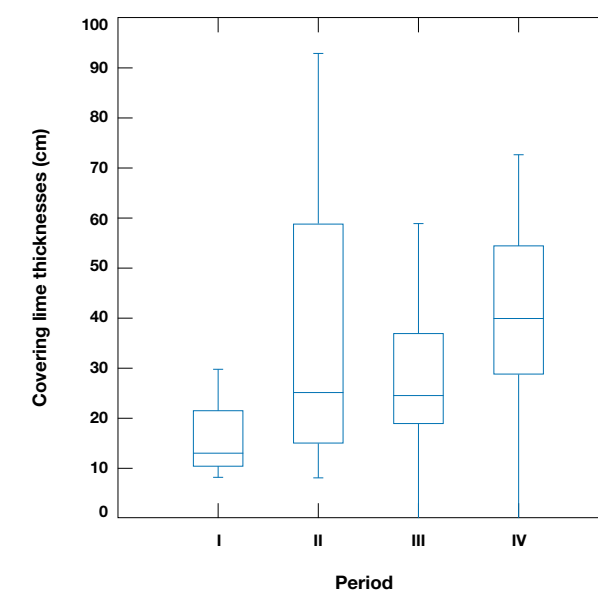


Fig. 13. Boxplots of lime wall height and covering lime thickness by period (Top: boxplot of lime wall heights; Bottom: boxplot of covering lime thicknesses)



also reflect the large number of burials that comprise the data set for Phase IV relative to the other phases. Even taking these outliers into consideration, it can be stated that the distribution and mean values for Phase III and IV remained constant overall.

A stable distribution can also be observed for burial pit depth during Phases III and IV, with variation decreasing as shallower burial pits came to be preferred over time (Fig. 12). Indeed, although the fact that the greatest number of burials pertain to Phase IV increases the likelihood of greater variation, the degree of variation in Phase IV, which has a mean value of approximately 100 cm, remains broadly similar to that of the preceding phase.

Following the above examination of diachronic change in burial pit dimensions, changes in the attributes associated with the dimensions of the lime mortar structure will now be considered, such as the height of the lime mortar walls and the thickness of the lime mortar cover and wall. Among these attributes, it is the height of the lime mortar walls that demonstrates a pattern of change similar to that examined above (Fig. 13). This height decreases throughout Phases I and II, after which it stabilizes and is maintained through Phases III and IV. The thickness of the lime mortar cover, on the other hand, demonstrates great variation, but it is possible to note that it does gradually increase over time. Based on this, it can be confirmed that whereas the

overall size of the lime mortar structure decreased with time, the thickness of the mortar used to cover the burial compartment increased to a certain extent.

A significant proportion of the lime mortar mixture used appears to have been applied to covering the burial compartment. As such, even though the size of the burial compartment and the lime mortar structure may have decreased over time, this trend may not necessarily be reflected in the volume of lime mortar used. Therefore, diachronic change in the volume of the lime mortar mixture used was also examined (Fig. 14). It can be observed that there was in fact a decrease in the volume of lime mortar used in Phases I and II compared to in Phases III and IV. Given the increase in variation that can be observed in the boxplots of Phases II and III, it appears that the decrease in the volume of lime mortar may have occurred gradually rather than abruptly. As it is difficult to establish whether the decrease in the volume of the lime mortar was a gradual or sudden phenomenon, not only the volume of the lime mortar (in the form of numerical data) but also the changing nature of other continuous attributes associated with the size of the lime mortar structure must be considered.

As examined above, the values for some of the continuous attributes decreased gradually over time. However, in the case of the length of the long axis and the height of the lime mortar walls, which are attributes that have a relatively greater influence on the volume of the lime mortar, a marked change can be observed between Phases II and III. An examination of the boxplots of lime mortar volume also reveals a significant change between Phases II and III relative to other phases.

#### Changes in Lime Mortar Burials and Their Meaning

The chronological analysis undertaken above on the lime mortar burials with known dates of death for the interred individual or with dendrochronological dates makes it possible to establish a chronological scheme consisting of four phases. Phase I begins in 1500 and witnesses the use of both a wooden cist structure and packed charcoal. Wooden cist structures continued to be used, but packed charcoal disappeared in Phase II, which begins in 1550 and continues until around 1600. Phase III, which features the co-existence of

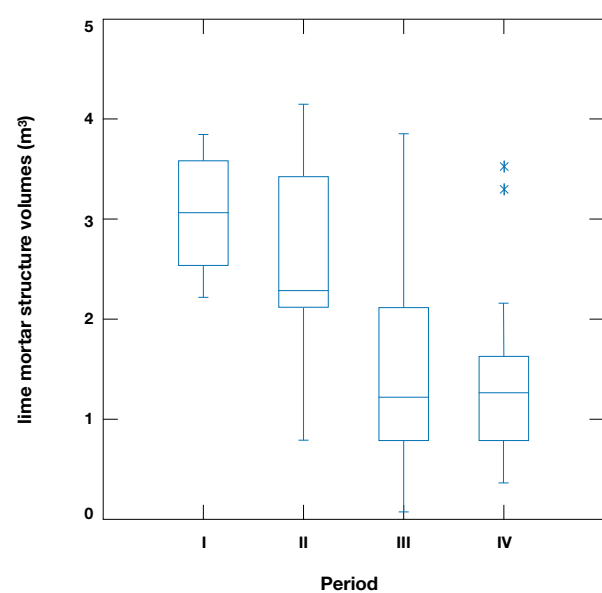


Fig. 14. Boxplot of lime mortar structure volume by period

lime mortar burials with and without a wooden cist structure, begins around 1600 and continues until 1650. The wooden cist structure disappears entirely in Phase IV (1650 to the early twentieth century), and features such as lime mortar used to pave the floor, auxiliary niches, and miniature grave goods are also absent. Therefore, although the construction of lime mortar burials began approximately one century after the establishment of the Joseon dynasty, the fact that this new form of burial that was implemented with the adoption of Neo-Confucianism as the state ideology continued to be used until the end of the dynasty makes it possible to regard it as the representative burial type of the Joseon period.

In addition to the nominal attributes that are used to establish the phases (i.e., attributes associated with the use of packed charcoal, the wooden cist structure, etc.), coffin nails, the use of lime mortar to pave the floor of the burial compartment, miniature grave goods, and the auxiliary niche are also attributes found to be temporally sensitive. However, as these attributes are not present in all of the lime mortar burials constructed prior to Phase III, they can be used only indirectly when establishing a chronology for lime mortar burials. In addition, the possibility also exists that these attributes may be associated with non-temporal factors. Various other aspects, such as region or social or economic status, may have influenced the selective use of lime mortar paving, coffin nails, auxiliary niches, and miniature grave goods. As such, this is an issue that should be further explored.

It can be said that among these changing features in the lime mortar burials, the disappearance of the wooden cist structure from Phase III represents the greatest visible change. It has been suggested in previous studies that the reason for this change was a scarcity of materials across all aspects of life following the Japanese invasions of Korea of 1592–1598. This could have resulted in attempts to reduce the amount of lime used, leading to a change in burials (Kim Woolim 2007, 170–171). However, this possibility has not been tested through detailed analysis of burial structures or of the amount of lime used in the burials.

The approximate volume of lime mortar structures was therefore estimated for this study, using measurements obtained from the various components of the lime mortar burial. In addition, dia-

chronic change in the volume of the lime mortar used was also examined. It was consequently possible to identify that the dimensions of the lime mortar structure did indeed begin to decrease from the seventeenth century in the aftermath of the Japanese invasions. This indicates that a link between the declining size of the lime mortar structure and the shortages following the Japanese invasions indeed seems possible. However, historical records show that the development of lime deposits actually intensified during the late Joseon period (Lee Kweonyeong 2009, 32). In addition, although only few examples have been found, most of the lime kilns identified thus far date to the late Joseon period (Sung Hyong-mi 2011, 298; Lee Dongjun 2010, 91). This clearly suggests that although a shortage of lime may have arisen after the war, it was merely a temporary phenomenon that was soon overcome. We must then consider why the size of lime mortar structures did not rise again in Phase IV when this projected shortage of lime would have ceased to be an issue.

It should be remembered that in the early stages of their adoption, the construction of lime mortar burials adhered strictly to the guidelines found in manuals on Neo-Confucian rites, to the extent that even packed charcoal was used. However, as time passed and accumulated experience with constructing this type of burial led to a better understanding of the appropriate size for the lime mortar structure, the construction of lime mortar burials no longer rigorously followed the model set out in the *Family Rituals of Master Zhu*. Thus, the size of the lime mortar structure was first reduced and then maintained at that scale. Of course, the temporary shortage of lime that may have occurred following the Japanese invasions could have accelerated this trend in the reduction of the size of lime mortar structure burials, and in consequence the amount of lime used. However, even after the supply of lime returned to pre-war levels, the size of the lime mortar structure did not increase, but rather appears to have been maintained at an appropriate level.

This is indicated by the change that can be observed in the continuous attributes associated with lime mortar structure size. It is interesting to note that the values associated with these attributes demonstrate considerable variation in Phase II. The fact that the long axis length, short axis length, height, etc. all vary widely in this phase indicates that lime



mortar burials of wide-ranging sizes were being constructed. This can be taken to indicate that some of the guidelines concerning lime mortar burial construction could be adopted flexibly for various reasons, such as ease of construction or economic constraints, resulting in experimentation with different sizes of lime mortar structures and different amounts of lime mortar being included. In addition, although the use of lime mortar to pave the floor, coffin nails, miniature grave goods, and auxiliary niches (which are temporally sensitive nominal attributes) are clearly outlined in the manuals, the fact that these elements were not applied universally in all lime mortar burials demonstrates that construction took place in diverse ways.

The fact that the most significant decrease in size could be observed between Phase II and Phase III, whereas almost no further reduction in size could be observed between Phase III and Phase IV, is also in keeping with the above. Phase IV covers the greatest period of time and includes the largest number of burials, but variation in the values associated with the size of the lime mortar structure actually decreased or remained at a similar level compared to Phase III. The possibility that the size of lime mortar structures may have become standardized in Phase IV following a period of adjustment in Phases II and III should be considered.

The use of a wooden cist structure is another element of lime mortar burial that requires further consideration. Unlike in earlier forms of burials in which they were used to form a space within which the coffin and some of the grave goods could be placed, the wooden cist structure for lime mortar burials functioned as a frame or partition used in the process of establishing the lime mortar structure. This means that a significant amount of wood was used—in fact, more than was required to make the coffin—to create a structure which served merely to assist in the process of constructing the lime mortar structure.

Given this quality of the wooden cist structure, it is possible to suggest that its disappearance may have been directly influenced by socio-economic factors, such as the shortage of goods in the aftermath of the Japanese invasions. In the case of lime, supply would have been a less problematic issue since it could be sourced from various materials, such as calcite or shells. This would have allowed lime production to be expanded with relative ease compared to wood,

which required considerable time for the regeneration of woodlands. Any shortage in the lumber supply, therefore, would have been an issue more difficult to resolve than a lack of lime. Of course, this is all speculation and further studies need to be undertaken regarding the social and economic conditions of the time in order to more thoroughly explore the possible reasons why wooden cist structures ceased to be used. This change must also be considered in association with other alterations in the material culture occurring at the time.

Based on the above, two key trends can be observed in the diachronic change in lime mortar burials. The first is the simplification of the overall burial structure, and the other is the reduction in the size of the lime mortar structure. The former was achieved when the use of packed charcoal and the wooden cist structure, which were required in the guidelines for lime mortar burial construction presented in manuals on Neo-Confucian rituals, was omitted. This eventually resulted in a more unassuming burial form consisting of a wooden coffin interred within a simple lime mortar structure. In addition, not only did packed charcoal and wooden cist structures vanish, but floors paved with lime mortar, auxiliary niches, miniature grave goods, and coffin nails all gradually disappeared from lime mortar burials. This makes it possible to confirm that, outside the limed wooden structure that provided the space for the coffin and the coffin containing the remains of the deceased, all other elements of lime mortar burials stipulated in ritual manuals were eliminated as this form of burial simplified.

A reduction in the size of the features of lime mortar burials can be seen to have occurred alongside the simplification of this burial type. The various measurements of the lime mortar burial features decreased over time, but this was accompanied by an increase in the thickness of the mortar used to cover and seal off the burial compartment after the placement of the coffin. However, even the increased thickness of the coating of lime mortar was insufficient to compensate for the overall reduction in burial structure size, and therefore a reduction in the volume of lime used in the burials can also be observed.

## Conclusion

The lime mortar burial type which newly emerged in the Joseon period was a form of burial that conformed with the ideals of Neo-Confucian ritual and can therefore be seen to be closely interlinked with the socio-economic landscape of the Joseon dynasty. Lime mortar burials can be regarded as a valuable source of data for utilization in the archaeological study of the Joseon period. This present effort was undertaken with the aim of establishing a chronology of lime mortar burials for further use as a basis for improvement of the archaeological understanding of this era. The results of the study also allow structural simplification and size reduction to be identified as key characteristics of diachronic change in this burial type.

In order to obtain absolute dates upon which this chronological framework could be established, lime mortar burials with dendrochronological dates were also utilized. These dendrochronological dates provide a useful contribution to the understanding of diachronic change, but the limited nature of the data assemblage (71 samples) constrains their utility. In addition, the use of dendrochronological dates to establish a chronology of lime mortar burials also represents an experiment of sorts in exploring the potential of this data assemblage. It was confirmed that the dendrochronological dates fit the overall chronological framework, but no further detailed consideration of the reliability of this data set took place. Given the importance of dendrochronological dates in establishing the chronology of material culture from historic periods, future efforts to calibrate dendrochronological dates must be pursued.

The quality of the lime mortar, which comprised the single most important element of this burial type, was unfortunately not explored in this study of diachronic change. The presence of shells at the lime kiln at the site of Dangha-ri in Paju demonstrates that a variety of raw materials were used in lime production (Gyeonggi Institute of Cultural Properties 2006, 159-160). In addition, XRD analyses undertaken on lime from kilns in the Chungcheong region have revealed variations in the purity of the lime (Cho Namchul and Han Minsu 2008, 171-172). The results of these recent investigations and analyses illustrate that different grades of lime mortar, according to its purity or the raw materials used, may have existed

during the Joseon period.

A basic research framework for lime mortar burials of the Joseon period, which have only garnered limited interest up to the present, was thus presented in this study on the chronology and diachronic change of this burial type. This chronological framework has already been utilized by the author to explore the social identity of those interred via lime mortar burials and the process through which it spread among the general populace (Kim Hyunwoo 2016). The socio-economic identity of those buried in lime mortar burials and simple earth cut burials during the Joseon period has also been explored based on information regarding their diets, which was obtained from stable isotope analysis of human bones from these burials (Shin Jiyoung et al. 2015). It is hoped that the various studies currently being undertaken on lime mortar burials will contribute to new understandings in the archaeology of the Joseon period. ㄸ

TRANSLATED BY KO ILHONG

This paper is an abridged and revised English version of “A Study on the Chronology of Lime-Mortar Burials of the Joseon Dynasty” (조선시대 회곽묘의 편년과 변천 양상), previously published in 2012 in *Journal of the Korean Archaeological Society* (한국고고학보) 85.



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## Tradition and Originality in Buddhist Incense Burners of the Goryeo Dynasty

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### Introduction

The incense burners of the Goryeo dynasty (高麗, 918–1392) are considered highly significant as a bridge between the incense burners of the preceding Unified Silla (統一新羅, 676–935) period and those of the subsequent Joseon dynasty (朝鮮, 1392–1910). This is because they succeeded the forms of Unified Silla incense burners and then provided a defining influence on those of Joseon. When approached as such a bridge, two inherent characteristics of Goryeo incense burners stand out: their traditionality and originality. In discussing the traditionality of Goryeo Buddhist incense burners, focus can be placed on their succession and development of forms from Unified Silla; in discussing their originality attention should be turned to the types that first emerged during Goryeo and the decorative techniques applied.

The argument that Goryeo incense burners must have developed out of an inherent tradition has been based on the type of open-mouthed incense burners known as *hyangwan* (香垸, incense burner in the shape of a pedestal bowl). The origins of this form have been sought in the earthenware incense burners from times preceding the Unified Silla period (Hwang Suyeong 1963; Kim Wonyong 1983). The discussion on the traditions inherent within the range of Goryeo incense burners has so far been limited to *hyangwan* due to a dearth of examples of Unified Silla incense burners to use in comparison. However, thanks to newly discovered materials and research results, the question of the traditions within Goryeo incense burners can now be examined from the novel perspective of the Unified Silla period itself (Choi Eungchon 2008).

Traces of Unified Silla traditions observable in Goryeo incense burners can be examined in two regards:

succession of forms and the change and development of forms. Succession of forms means that common shapes for Buddhist incense burners applied during Unified Silla continued to be produced and used in Goryeo, while the change and development of forms describes the evolution of the shapes of incense burners used in Unified Silla as they emerged as innovative forms unique to Goryeo. The type of Goryeo incense burner that best represents succession of forms is the type of incense burner with a handle and lion weight, known as *sajajin-byeong-hyangno* (獅子鎮柄香爐), while change of form is manifested in *hyangwan*, the representative type of incense burner without a handle known as *geo-hyangno* (居香爐) used during the period.

First, this paper examines the elements of the Unified Silla tradition that can be identified in incense burners with a handle and lion weight and explores how long that tradition endured. It then turns to the development of *hyangwan*, the major incense burner form of Goryeo, to ascertain how its eventual shape was achieved.

The originality of Goryeo Buddhist incense burners is most evident in the class of hanging incense burners known as *hyeonno* (懸爐) and in the decoration of incense burners using the silver inlay technique. These hanging incense burners are unique to Goryeo and no similar examples have been found in contemporaneous neighboring countries or from the preceding Unified Silla period. It is surmised that they were created for use in a particular Buddhist ceremony. This paper seeks to identify the distinctive features of these hanging incense burners in terms of their shape, function, and the period in which they were manufactured and used.

Silver inlay is a decorative technique known to have been used from the Three Kingdoms period, but no evidence of its application to Buddhist incense



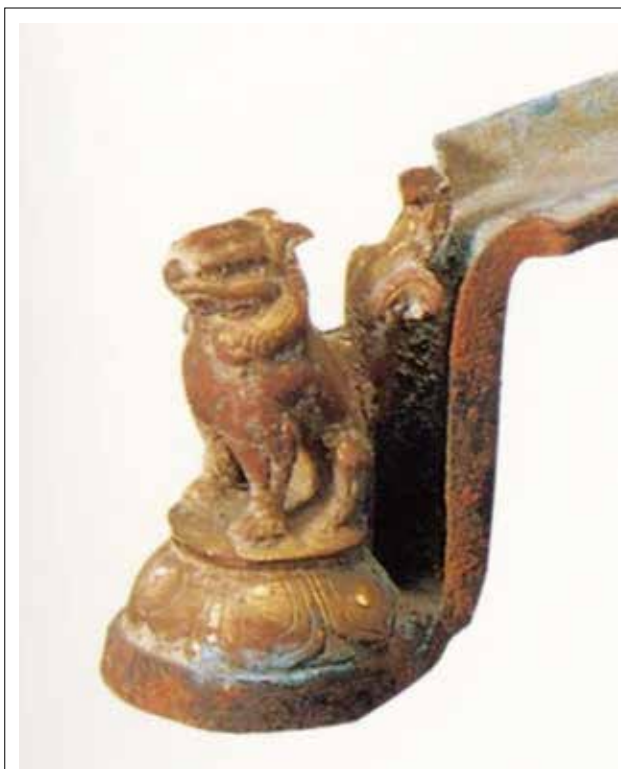
burners has been found outside of those of the Goryeo dynasty. The patterns expressed on these censers in silver inlay display a distinctly Buddhist character. Hence, this paper seeks to examine the time period during which silver inlay was used, the process through which the design scheme seen on silver-inlaid Goryeo bronze *hyangwan* was established, and the meaning and calligraphic style of the Sanskrit characters that contribute to this design scheme.

### Unified Silla Tradition in Buddhist Incense Burners of the Goryeo Dynasty

#### Incense Burner with a Handle and Lion Weight

Incense burners with a handle and lion weight, or *sajajin-byeong-hyangno*, comprise a type of censer that first appeared in the mid-eighth century during the Tang dynasty (唐, 618–907) of China. The most prominent example is one excavated from the stupa of Chan Master Shenhui (神會, 684–758) consisting of a stand, body, *ruyi*-head (如意頭) ornament at the mouth, and long handle with a lion shape at the end (Fig. 1). A change was introduced in the late eighth century when the lion was depicted with a ring in its mouth (Hunan Provincial Museum 1960: 56–58) (Illustration 1). Judging by a record within the Pelliot Dunhuang documents (P. 3343) that mentions a “bronze incense burner with long handle” (長柄銅香爐), it can be surmised that the Korean term *byeong-hyangno* (柄香爐), which means “incense burner with a handle,” came into use sometime between the late eighth century and the first half of the ninth century (Lee Yongjin 2011, 120).

It is estimated that this form of incense burner with a handle and lion weight was transmitted to Unified Silla around the first half of the ninth century. Two relics from that time remain extant in Korea, one excavated from Ingaksa Temple (麟角寺) (Fig. 2), and the other held in the collection of Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art (Fig. 3). Both are composed of a foot, body, *ruyi*-head ornament at the mouth, and handle with a lion weight. The components were cast separately and then joined with rivets. On both examples, the lion’s mouth features a hole through which a ring can be passed, indicating Unified Silla’s adoption of a style appearing at a stage later than the incense burner found in the stupa of Chan Master Shenhui (Illustration 2).



Lion on the incense burner from the Stupa of Chan Master Shenhui. Tang, 758 at the latest. Length: 41.6 cm, Height: 11.8 cm (Henan Museum)



Incense burner with a handle and lion weight excavated from Chifengshan Tomb No. 2 in Changsha, Hunan Province. Latter half of the 8th century

Illustration 1. Changes in the form of incense burners with a handle and lion weight from the Tang dynasty (National Museum of Korea 2013, p. 39)

In Tang China, the form of incense burner with a handle and lion weight disappeared around the mid-ninth century. However, it continued to be produced and used during Unified Silla’s successor dynasty, Goryeo, thus fueling a unique tradition with no parallel in China.

There are two known remaining examples of Goryeo incense burners with a handle and lion weight, one inscribed with “Chamjijeongsa” (參知政事, junior second rank post of Goryeo government) and the other with “Unbongsa” (雲峰寺), both excavated at the Goryeo capital of Gaeseong. The stand and body of both incense burners have been lost, and only the handle and lion weight remain. These are especially important artifacts in that they differ slightly from each other, one being made according to the Unified Silla tradition while the other clearly showing Goryeo-style elements.

First, the handle of the incense burner inscribed with “Chamjijeongsa” shows a grooved profile (凹) conforming with the conventions of Unified Silla (Fig. 4). This tradition is also evident in the method of production, given that the handle and the lion were cast separately and then connected with rivets, as seen in the Unified Silla burner from Ingaksa Temple. However, a bell is depicted around the lion’s neck—a feature not found among the incense burners of either the Tang dynasty or Unified Silla period. It appears on lions in incense burners from the Song dynasty (宋, 960–1279), as well as the lions of incense burners made by the Goryeo people and the Khitans (契丹). It is believed that the bell represents a shift in the conception of the lion from the king of the beasts to a tamed animal. In this sense, Goryeo-style elements had indeed already emerged by the time of the above mentioned burner inscribed with the characters, Chamjijeongsa.

In contrast, in the Unbongsa-inscribed incense burner with a handle and lion weight, traces of Unified Silla tradition that were apparent in the Chamjijeongsa-inscribed incense burner have begun to disappear (Fig. 5). First, while the lion has a bell around its neck, the grooved handle has been transformed to one with a protruding profile (凸), demonstrating an accelerating shift toward the establishment of a Goryeo style. Moreover, the handle and lion of the Unbongsa-inscribed incense burner were cast as a unit, indicating that the Unified Silla method of separate casting and joining of the parts with rivets had given



Incense burner with a handle and lion weight from Ingaksa Temple (Fig. 2)



Incense burner with a handle and lion weight at Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art (Fig. 3)

Illustration 2. Incense burners with a handle and lion weight from the Unified Silla period



way to unique Goryeo methods of production.

In sum, the Chamjijeongsa-inscribed incense burner with a handle and lion weight retains traces of the Unified Silla tradition, including the grooved handle, the method of joining the handle and the lion, and the tail of the lion reaching its head. In contrast, the Unbongsa-inscribed incense burner displays novel Goryeo features in its corresponding elements, such as the protruding handle, the casting of handle and lion together as a single piece, and the shortened tail (Illustration 3). Therefore, it can be deduced that the Chamjijeongsa-inscribed incense burner predates the example with the inscription of “Unbongsa.”

Regarding how long Unified Silla elements remained evident in Goryeo dynasty Buddhist incense burners, clues can be found in the inscriptions. The inscription on the side of the handle of the Chamjijeongsa-inscribed incense burner relates that the incense burner weighs three *geun*, 13 *ryang* (about 1.0875 kg) and was commissioned by a man named Choi who served in the position of Chamjijeongsa. During the Goryeo dynasty, Chamjijeongsa was a high-ranking position (junior second rank) in the state organ for government affairs known as “Jungseomunhaseong” (中書門下省). Based on the description of this post in the chapter “Government Officials” of the *Goryeosa*, or *History of Goryeo* (高麗史 卷七十六 志三十 百官評理條), the incense burner must have been produced prior to 1274, the year King Chungnyeol came to the throne. Also, it is believed that “Choi” refers to the patron who commissioned the incense burner.

Considering the dates of appointment of men by the family name of Choi who served as Chamjijeongsa during the Goryeo period as recorded in ancient documents, the Choi who commissioned the incense burner would likely have served between 1113 at the earliest and 1232 at the latest. Hence, traces of the Unified Silla tradition evident in the Chamjijeongsa-inscribed incense burner with a handle and lion weight likely continued into somewhere from the first half of the twelfth century to the first half of the thirteenth century. After this period, incense burners with a more markedly Goryeo character were produced, as evidenced by the Unbongsa-inscribed incense burner.

Unified Silla Tradition Reflected in *Hyangwan*

Several studies have been conducted over the years

investigating the origins of the incense burner in the shape of a pedestal bowl, known as *hyangwan*, the major type of *geo-hyangno*, or incense burner without a handle, produced in Goryeo. Some existing studies project that this form derived from earthenware stem cups (高足杯; K. *gojokbae*; Ch. *gaozubei*), while others argue that it appeared as a result of a foreign influence.

The late scholar Hwang Sooyoung argues that the *wan* (碗) in the term *hyangwan* (香碗) refers to women’s and men’s rice bowls (碗 and 盥, both pronounced the same as 碗, but assigned different characters) and thus the *hyangwan* form likely originated in the shape of ordinary bowls (Hwang Sooyoung 1963, 417). That is, earlier earthenware versions would have served as the prototypes for the metal *hyangwan* of Goryeo.

Another late scholar, Kim Wonyong, argued that earthenware incense burners from the Baekje Kingdom remained as a regional form and were succeeded by Goryeo, leading to the production of celadon incense burners. As part of this process, there occurred a transition from rice bowl-shaped incense burners with a narrow rim to those with a wide flange extending horizontally from the mouth, which eventually developed into *hyangwan* (Kim Wonyong 1983, 43-45).

Professor Joo Kyeongmi argued that while Goryeo *hyangwan* may have roots in the form of earthenware stem cups, the true origins of *hyangwan* can be traced back to Buddhist ritual censors of the late Tang and Five Dynasties (五代, 907–960) periods in China. During the Northern Song (北宋, 960–1127) period these developed into stoneware incense burners in the form of stem cups with a stepped base and wide flange, and hence share much in common with Goryeo *hyangwan* (Joo Kyeongmi 2002, 33-58).

On the other hand, Professor Choi Eungchon conjectured that a decline in the use of Unified Silla incense burners with feet in the form of animals led to a gradual shift to three-footed incense burners with a high lotus-bud ornament on the lid, or alternatively to *hyangwan* (Choi Eungchon 2008, 193).

Among these theories on the origin of *hyangwan*, this author supports the proposal that they emerged out of Unified Silla incense burners and will next trace the process of development from Unified Silla incense burners without handles, or *geo-hyangno* to the *hyangwan* of Goryeo.

Goryeo *hyangwan* are composed of a circular base, flared shaft, and cylindrical body with a wide flange at the mouth (Fig. 6). Incense burners with these

Detail	Incense burner with a handle and lion weight from Ingaksa Temple (Fig. 3)	Incense burner with a handle and lion weight inscribed with “Chamjijeongsa” (Fig. 4)	Incense burner with a handle and lion weight inscribed with “Unbongsa” (Fig. 5)
Shape of the handle			
Appearance of the lion			
Method of joining the handle and lion			

Illustration 3. Comparison of Unified Silla and Goryeo incense burners with a handle and lion weight

features can be observed carved on stone sculptures from the Unified Silla period. The ninth-century stone Vairocana Buddha sculpture in Mulgeol-ri in Hongcheon, Gangwon-do Province and the stone Vairocana from the Seorimsa Temple site (西林寺址) in Yangyang, Gangwon-do Province both feature an incense burner carved into the pedestal. The base of these graven incense burners is comprised of a round foot and flared shaft, the same composition found in Goryeo *hyangwan*, indicating that incense burners of a similar form were already present in the ninth century during the Unified Silla period (Illustration 4).

The development and transition of Unified Silla incense burners without handles to Goryeo *hyangwan* took place in several stages. The Jeonju National Museum holds in its collection an incense burner that resembles a *hyangwan* in terms of overall form,

but rests on a three-footed base (Fig. 7). This example consists of a base, a flared shaft, and a body. It is believed to have once included a lid, which has since been lost. This addition of a three-footed base to the existing base of the incense burner is considered to be a reflection of the Unified Silla tradition. Among the incense burners depicted on Unified Silla stone sculptures, there are indeed some that show a three-footed base, a form that likely developed under the influence of the multi-footed incense burners used at the time. These multi-footed incense burners of the Unified Silla period gradually grew longer through the body, one example of which is carved on the eastern stupa at Yeongoksa Temple (靈谷寺) (Fig. 8). The composition of this carved incense burner is essentially the same as that of actual multi-footed incense burners, but the body is slightly higher. In the stage of development





Illustration 4. Comparison of Unified Silla incense burners carved on stone sculptures in the ninth century with Goryeo *hyangwan*

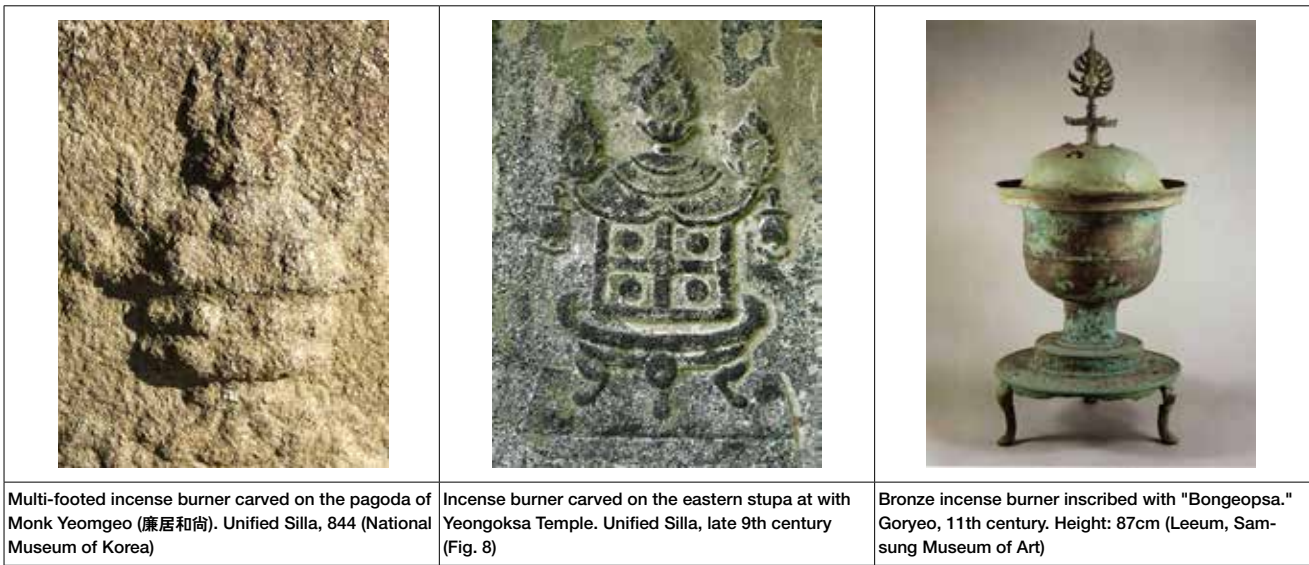


Illustration 5. Intermediate stages in the transition of Unified Silla multi-footed incense burners to Goryeo *hyangwan*

that followed this specimen, the decorative elements disappear and the form simplifies, but the tradition of appending a three-footed base remains, as evidenced by the bronze incense burner preserved at the Jeonju National Museum and by another bearing the inscription “Bongeopsa” (奉業寺) (Treasure No. 1414). These two incense burners represent an intermediate stage in the transition of the Unified Silla incense burner without a handle to the *hyangwan* of Goryeo, the process of which is illustrated in Illustration 5.

The bronze incense burner with the inscription “Bongeopsa” and the bronze incense burner in the collection of the Jeonju National Museum are both composed of a three-footed base, above which is a further round base, flared shaft, body, and lid. These differ from *hyangwan* in that rather than a wide flange at the mouth, they feature either a flared mouth or an everted mouth that provides a rim on which to rest a lid. After this stage of development, however, the three-footed base disappears from



Illustration 6. Development of the Goryeo *hyangwan* form

bronze incense burners and the flange at the mouth gradually widens. These changes can be confirmed in the bronze *hyangwan* and bronze *hyangno* excavated at the Sanoesa Temple site (思惱寺址) in Cheongju, Chungcheongbuk-do Province.

Aside from bronze incense burners, bronze bowls and a large quantity of other bronze Buddhist craft-works were unearthed at the Sanoesa Temple site. Items that can be firmly dated fall within the range of the late tenth to the mid-thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries. This collection of excavated objects covering such a broad range of time is significant since it includes items demonstrating the course of evolution from the three-footed incense burner to *hyangwan*.

Among the bronze incense burners found at the Sanoesa Temple site is one with a three-footed base (Fig. 9), similar to the Bongeopsa-inscribed incense burner and to an incense burner in the collection of the Jeonju National Museum. This incense burner pertains to the intermediate stage in the transition from Unified Silla incense burners without a handle to Goryeo *hyangwan*, as examined above. In the next stage, the appended three-footed base disappears and the form comes to more closely resemble Goryeo *hyangwan* with a wide flange at the mouth. This change is evidenced in the bronze *hyangwan* at the Cheongju National Museum (Fig. 10), which has a stepped base, a shaft that flares very little with an almost equal diameter at the top and bottom, and a cylindrical body with a flanged mouth.

The transitional process starting from Unified Silla incense burners without handles continued through the Goryeo dynasty with the disappearance of the three-footed base and its replacement by a round stepped foot and the emergence of a flange at the everted mouth to arrive at an early form of *hyangwan*. The final outcome is the archetypical *hyangwan* with a round base, flared shaft, and body with a flange at the mouth (Illustration 6).

To determine precisely when the classic *hyangwan* form was achieved, it can be noted that the oldest extant bronze *hyangwan* from the Goryeo period bears the inscription “fourth Huangtong year” (皇統四年) (Fig. 11). This incense burner features a round foot, flared shaft, and body with a flange at the mouth. As the inscription indicates, it was produced in 1144, the fourth year of the Huangtong era of the Chinese Jin dynasty (金, 1115–1234). Therefore, it appears that the typical *hyangwan* form had been established by at least that point. However, although its current whereabouts are unknown, a bronze *hyangwan* formerly in the possession of a man named Kim Donghyeon was known to bear the inscription “seventh Taikang year” (太康七年). This indicates that it was made in 1081, the seventh year of the Taikang era of the Chinese Liao dynasty (遼, 916–1125), demonstrating that the *hyangwan* form was in fact established earlier. Based on this evidence, the mature *hyangwan* form seems to have been attained in the late eleventh century after going through two major phases of change from Unified



Silla incense burners without handles, or *geo-hyangno*.

Just as important as the establishment of the *hyangwan* form is the fact that the composition of designs evidenced in silver-inlaid Goryeo bronze *hyangwan* are partially apparent in earlier Unified Silla relics. On the lower portion of the cylindrical body of the incense burner depicted on the statues of Vairocana in Mulgeol-ri and at the Seorimsa Temple site, there is a design that appears to consist of lotus leaves. Likewise, silver-inlaid Goryeo bronze incense burners feature a lotus leaf design on the lower portion of the body, indicating that their designs were at least in part influenced by their counterparts from Unified Silla. Of course, there are differences in technique and expression between the embossed designs on the Unified Silla incense burners and the silver-inlaid designs on Goryeo *hyangwan*, but they appear to be based on the same compositional principles. Hence, Goryeo *hyangwan* can be seen to have emerged out of the Unified Silla tradition not only in terms of form, but also in the designs expressed on the surface.

Originality in Goryeo Dynasty  
Buddhist Incense Burners

*Hyeonno*: Hanging Incense Burners

The artifacts that best demonstrate the original qualities of Goryeo Buddhist incense burners in terms of form are the hanging censers known as *hyeonno*. These are broadly referred to as *hyeon-hyangno* (懸香爐, literally “hanging incense burner”), but this paper

has adopted the term *hyeonno*, which can be found as part of the inscription on the hanging censer inscribed with “*muja*” (戊子) excavated at the Beopcheonsa Temple site (法泉寺址).

Although only a small number of hanging censers remain, it is believed to be a form unique to Goryeo with no counterpart from Unified Silla or in neighboring countries throughout the Goryeo period.

The Buddhist *sūtras* make no specific mention of the appearance of incense burners used at the time, but the shape can nevertheless be deduced based on certain relevant expressions. Buddhist scriptures such as the *Damamūka-nidāna Sūtra* (賢愚經, *Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish*), *Ekottara Āgama* (增壹阿含經, *Numbered Discourses*), and *Suvarṇaprabhāsa Sūtra* (金光明經, *Sūtra of Golden Light*) mention an “incense burner taken in the hand.” Other *sūtras* such as the *Samhādhi Sea Sūtra* (佛說觀佛三昧海經, *Sūtra on the Samādhi-Ocean of Contemplation of the Buddha*) and the *Vinaya* (鼻奈耶) describe an “incense burner held up high.” These two expressions indicate that ceremonial incense burners must have been held in the hands, and considering the size and weight involved they would likely have been referring to incense burners equipped with a handle, that is, to *byeong-hyangno*.

Meanwhile, in other texts, such as the *Vinaya Sūtra of Guṇaprabha* (佛說德光太子經, *Abhiṇiṣkramaṇa Sūtra* (佛本行集經, *Sūtra of the Collection of the Original Acts of the Buddha*), and *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra* (大般若波羅密多經, *Large Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra*), there is mention of a stand or table on which the incense burner is placed, which is indicative of an

incense burner without a handle, or *geo-hyangno*.

However, hanging incense burners, or *hyeonno*, unlike those with or without a handle as indicated above, have no grounding in the *sūtras*. They are not simply a creation of the Goryeo people and an expression of their drive to achieve something unique, but the foundation for diversification of the forms of Buddhist incense burners.

The only extant hanging incense burners from the Goryeo period are those from the Beopcheonsa Temple site in Wonju, Gangwon-do Province and the Sanoesa Temple site in Cheongju and another example held in the collection of the Kyunghee University Museum (Illustration 7).

These hanging incense burners share common features, including a rounded body, semi-spherical lid with smoke holes, and a cloud-inspired handle attached at the shoulders. The sparse number of extant Goryeo hanging incense burners is assumed to be related to the type of ceremony or rite in which they were used.

Only the body remains of a hanging incense burner discovered at the Beopcheonsa Temple site, now in the collection of the Dongguk University Museum, but the inscription on the body indicates its function. According to this inscription, it was made for use in the Amitābha Buddha Dharma Assembly (彌陀會) held at Beopcheonsa Temple in the *muja* year. The inscription also tells that three hanging incense burners were created by five monks, including the Monk Sinhoe (信懷, date unknown), and it is therefore speculated that they were used when making offerings to the Amitābha Triad at Beopcheonsa.

The Amitābha Buddha Dharma Assembly is also mentioned in *Hyeonhwasa Temple Monument* (玄化寺碑). Although the inscription on the monument provides no details regarding the procedures for the ceremony, it does state that King Hyeonjong (顯宗, r. 1009–1031) constructed Hyeonhwasa in honor of his parents in 1020. He erected a shrine there for royal portraits, and on the fifteenth day of the seventh month opened a three-day Amitābha Buddha Dharma Assembly. This record is the earliest regarding an Amitābha assembly held at a temple of the Beopsang Order (法相宗, Consciousness Only School) during the Goryeo period. Indeed, throughout the first half of Goryeo, both Hyeonhwasa and Beopcheonsa were temples belonging to the Beopsang Order, which was connected to the Amitābha assembly. It can therefore

be concluded that these hanging incense burners known as *hyeonno* were used in Amitābha Buddha Dharma Assemblies held at temples pertaining to the Beopsang Order.

Regarding the period in which *hyeonno* were used, the hanging incense burner from the Beopcheonsa Temple site bears an inscription revealing that it was made for use in the Amitābha assembly held at the temple in the second month of the *muja* year. There is no mention as to why the event was held or regarding the procedures involved, only the number of hanging burners produced.

As mentioned above, both Beopcheonsa and Hyeonhwasa were temples of the Beopsang Order during the early Goryeo period where, according to records, Amitābha Buddha Dharma Assemblies were held. In the latter half of Goryeo, however, both temples switched their affiliation to a different Buddhist order and no further records of the holding of an Amitābha assembly there can be found, indicating that this ceremony was held at these temples only in the first half of Goryeo. In this context, the production of the hanging incense burner inscribed with “*muja* year” can be narrowed down to either the year 1168 or 1228, each corresponding to a *muja* year in the sexagenary (Stems-and-Branches) cycle. That Beopcheonsa switched to a different order following a revolt by Goryeo military officials in 1170 lends weight to the supposition that the hanging incense burner from this temple site must have been made in 1168. Given this date, the bronze hanging incense burner found at the Sanoesa Temple site can also be dated to a range from the latter half of the twelfth century to the early half of the thirteenth.

Designs and Sanskrit Characters on Silver-inlaid Goryeo Bronze *Hyangwan*

Silver-inlaid Goryeo bronze *hyangwan* are, as the name indicates, decorated with designs inlaid with silver wire. Silver inlay is a technique that had been in use since the Three Kingdoms period, but its application to bronze incense burners attests to the originality of Goryeo art since no similar practice has been found in its neighboring countries from the same period. The following examines the process through which the silver inlay design scheme on these incense burners developed and the meaning and script style of the Sanskrit characters that form part of the design.

			
Bronze hanging incense burner inscribed with “ <i>muja</i> .” Goryeo, 1168. Height: 17 cm. Dongguk University Museum (Author’s photograph)	Bronze hanging incense burner from the Sanoesa Temple site. Goryeo, 13th century. Height: 21.5 cm (Cheongju National Museum)	Bronze hanging incense burner from the Sanoesa Temple site. Goryeo, 13th century. Height: 46.5 cm (Cheongju National Museum)	Bronze hanging incense burner. Goryeo (Kyunghee University Museum)

Illustration 7. Goryeo hanging incense burners (*hyeonno*)



**1. Development of Silver Inlay Design Scheme on Bronze *Hyangwan*:** Bronze *hyangwan* with silver inlay designs produced in the fourteenth century, particularly the years coinciding with the Zhizheng era (至正, 1341–1367) of the Yuan dynasty (元, 127–1368), share a common design composition. The flange includes a peony scroll design on the upper surface and a fret design on the side. The body shows a *ruyi*-head design and four Sanskrit characters, each within a double circle, while the lower portion of the body is decorated with a lotus petal design. This design scheme was established over an extensive period of time, and the following examines how it came to feature on the silver-inlaid bronze *hyangwan* of the Zhizheng era, the latter period of Yuan domination over Goryeo.

Mention of Goryeo period *hyangwan* can be found in ancient texts such as the *Goryeosa* and the *Dongmunseon* (東文選, *Anthology of Korean Literature*). Both the record for the *gimyo* year (己卯, 1099) during the reign of King Sukjong (肅宗, r. 1054–1105) in the *Goryeosa* and Goryeo official Yi Ye's (李頤, dates unknown) record of “Samgaksan jungsu seunggagul gi” (三角山重修僧伽崛記, Repair of Seunggasa Cave Temple on Mt. Samgaksan) in the *Dongmunseon* report that King Sukjong presented an offering of a “silver *hyangwan*” when he travelled to Seunggasa in 1099. However, this “silver *hyangwan*” is interpreted as referring not to an incense burner made of silver, but one decorated with silver inlay. In line with this, *hyangwan* with silver inlay designs can be assumed to have existed by 1099.

The oldest extant Goryeo bronze *hyangwan* with silver inlay is one made in 1164 during the Dading era (大定, 1161–1189) of China's Jin dynasty bearing the inscription “fourth Dading year, Baegworam” (大定四年 白月庵), currently preserved at the Koryo Museum of Art in Japan (Fig. 12). This *hyangwan* is significant in that it bears design features common to this type, including a lotus petal design on the shaft and Sanskrit characters on the body. The inscription is carved into the base, and the lotus petal design is inlaid with silver on the upper portion of the shaft, which emerged as an established design scheme in later bronze incense burners of this type.

Compared to this *hyangwan* inscribed with “fourth Dading year,” a later example inscribed with “seventeenth Dading year” (大定十七年) (Fig. 13) shows more refined decoration in terms of both technique and expression of the silver inlay, notably the raised

lotus-petal band on the lower section of the body. Most importantly, this *hyangwan* is the oldest of the known silver-inlaid Goryeo *hyangwan* to feature the *ruyi*-head design, which appeared on nearly all later examples.

The *hyangwan* inscribed with “second Zhenyou year, Jahyosa” (貞祐二年 慈孝寺) (Fig. 14) shows a lotus scroll design between Sanskrit characters, a newly introduced element that can be observed on subsequent bronze *hyangwan* with silver inlay designs.

A still later *hyangwan* inscribed with “sixth Zhenyou year, Saboksa” (貞祐六年 社福寺) (Fig. 15) features a circle of *ruyi* heads surrounding three fine concentric circles with a Sanskrit character in the center, all inlaid in silver. This *hyangwan* is the earliest known example of this method of expression, which was sustained in all subsequent bronze *hyangwan* with silver inlay designs. Produced in 1218 during the Zhenyou era (貞祐, 1213–1237) of China's Jin dynasty, it represents a milestone in the development of Goryeo bronze *hyangwan* for its circular frame of *ruyi* heads, which influenced Goryeo celadon works as well.

This influence is evidenced in celadon dishes and bowls of the Goryeo dynasty featuring year names from the sexagenary cycle—e.g., *gisa* (己巳), *gyeongo* (庚午), *imsin* (壬申), *gyeyu* (癸酉), *gapsul* (甲戌), *imo* (壬午), and *jeonghae* (丁亥)—inlaid in black and white within two concentric circles surrounded by a frame of *ruyi* heads. Oldest among these are those inscribed with “*gisa* year,” which is presumed to refer to either 1269 or 1329. Hence, the bronze *hyangwan* inscribed with “sixth Zhenyou year,” which corresponds to 1218, indicates that the *ruyi*-head circle first seen on this incense burner influenced the design of celadon vessels (Illustration 8).

To summarize the above, it is estimated that silver inlay first appeared on Goryeo *hyangwan* by 1099 and the conventional design scheme developed in stages over a century or so. The Sanskrit characters and lotus-leaf design on the upper section of the shaft, the fundamental design elements for this type of incense burner, first appeared on the *hyangwan* dated to 1164 (fourth Dading year), the *ruyi*-head design and lotus leaf design on the lower section of the body of the *hyangwan* dated to 1177 (seventeenth Dading year), and the circular *ruyi*-head frame around Sanskrit characters and lotus leaf design on the lower part of the body and

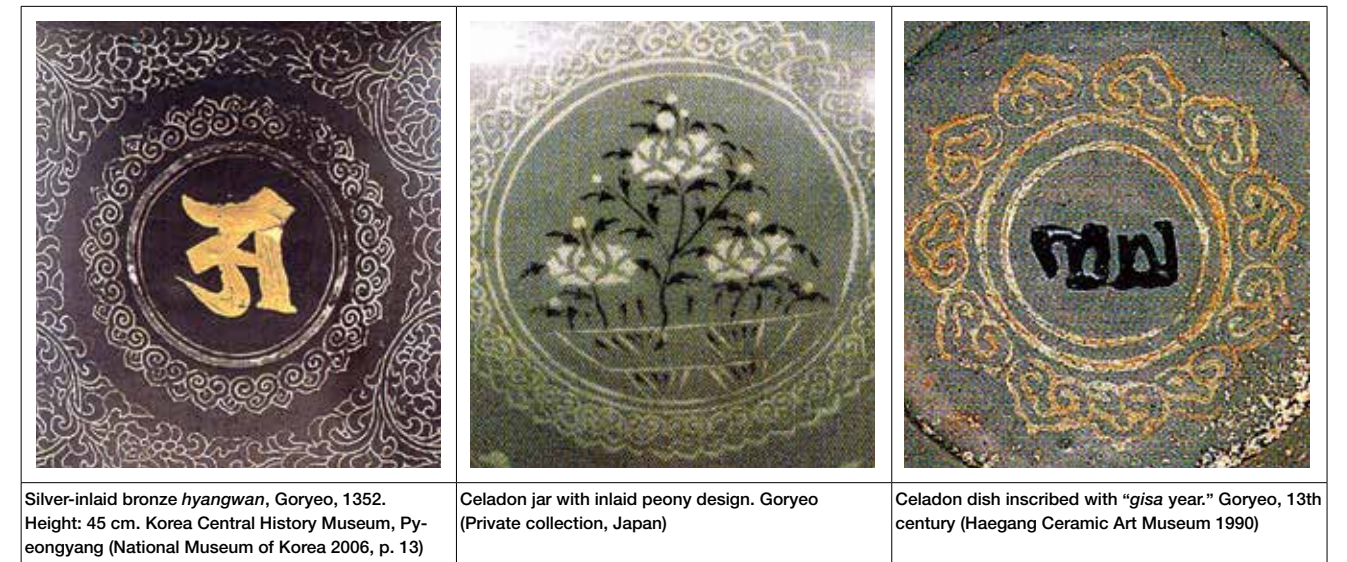


Illustration 8. Circular *ruyi*-head frame on bronze *hyangwan* with silver inlay and on celadon vessels



Illustration 9. Silver-inlaid bronze *hyangwan* featuring Sanskrit characters (*om ma ni pad me hūm*)

upper part of the shaft on the *hyangwan* dated to 1218 (sixth Zhenyou year). Therefore, the design scheme found on Goryeo bronze *hyangwan* with silver inlay designs can be said to have been fully established around 1218.

Silver-inlaid bronze *hyangwan* is an original type of incense burner unique to Goryeo expressing a combination of Sanskrit characters, lotus leaf designs, and other Buddhist motifs, and thus constitute an incense burner type with no counterpart in a neighboring country and the most distinctly Buddhist char-

acter in the region.

## 2. Sanskrit Characters on Silver-inlaid Goryeo Bronze *Hyangwan*


1) INTERPRETATION OF THE SANSKRIT CHARACTERS: The Sanskrit characters found on Goryeo bronze *hyangwan* with silver inlay provide the core element of the design scheme. Inlaid in silver, they form part of an overall design comprised of a lotus leaf pattern on the lower portion of the body, lotus scrolls between the Sanskrit characters, and circular frames sur-




rounding the characters formed by thin concentric circles and a ring of *ruyi* heads. They are not simply design motifs, but also Buddhist messages comprised of either four or six syllables.

Generally, Sanskrit characters can be seen in an arrangement of six around the top of the flange or four on the central part of the body (Fig. 16). Extant examples of silver-inlaid bronze *hyangwan* featuring six characters around the flange are the *hyangwan* inscribed with “seventeenth Dading year” and the one inscribed with “sixth Zhenyou year, Saboksa” The *hyangwan* inscribed with “fourth Dading year, Baegworam” and the one inscribed with “seventeenth Dading year” show four characters on the body.

Silver-inlaid Goryeo bronze *hyangwan* featuring Sanskrit characters on the flange or body have been chronologically arranged in the following table.

As seen in Table 1, four categories of Sanskrit characters are apparent. First, incense burners featuring the characters  (*om ma ni pad me hūṃ*) include those inscribed with “seventeenth Dading year” and “Hampyeong gungju bang” (咸平宮主房), as well as the incense burner identified as Treasure No. 1735 (Illustration 9).

The characters  (*om ma ni pad me hūṃ*) on the flange of the bronze *hyangwan* inscribed with “seventeenth Dading year” constitute a six-syllable mantra associated with Avalokiteśvara (六字大明王眞言; 觀自在菩薩微妙本心六字大明王) which was widely popular in East Asian countries like Korea, China, Tibet, Mongolia, and Japan.

The oldest sūtra to include this mantra is the *Kāraṇḍavyūha Sūtra* (大乘莊嚴寶王經, *Mahāyāna Sūtra for Sublime Avalokiteśvara*), translated into Chinese between 982 and 1000 by Monk Tianxizai (天息災, d. 1000), who came to China from Kashmir. Although the *Kāraṇḍavyūha Sūtra* is included in the Tripitaka Koreana (高麗大藏經), the Buddhist canon compiled in 1251 during the Goryeo dynasty, the appearance of the mantra “*om ma ni pad me hūṃ*” on the incense burner inscribed with “seventeenth Dading year” (1177) indicates that this sūtra was in fact introduced to Korea before this canon was produced.

It is possible that the *Kāraṇḍavyūha Sūtra* was included in the first edition of the Tripitaka Koreana, known as *Chojo daejanggyeong* (初雕大藏經), but the original woodblocks were lost during the Mongol invasions of the thirteenth century and none of the remaining print copies show any traces of the sūtra,

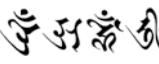

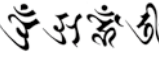
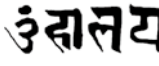


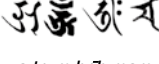
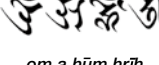


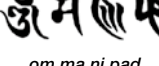






	Name	Placement of Sanskrit characters	
		Flange	Body
1	Silver-inlaid bronze <i>hyangwan</i> inscribed with “fourth Dading Year, Baegworam”		 <i>om a hūṃ hrīḥ</i>
2	Silver-inlaid bronze <i>hyangwan</i> inscribed with “seventeenth Dading Year”	 <i>om ma ni pad me hūṃ</i>	 <i>om a hūṃ hrīḥ</i>
3	Silver-inlaid bronze <i>hyangwan</i> inscribed with “fourth Zhizheng Year, Jungheungsa”		 <i>om ysa la ya</i>
4	Silver-inlaid bronze <i>hyangwan</i> inscribed with “sixth Zhizheng Year, Sangwonsa”		 <i>om a vaṃ huṃ</i>
5	Silver-inlaid bronze <i>hyangwan</i> inscribed with “twelfth Zhizheng Year, Yongjangseonsa”		 <i>a ā aṃ aḥ</i>
6	Silver-inlaid bronze <i>hyangwan</i> inscribed with “seventeenth Zhizheng Year”		 <i>a truṃ hrīḥ maṃ</i>
7	Silver-inlaid bronze <i>hyangwan</i> inscribed with “twenty-sixth Zhizheng Year, Jinjongsa”		 <i>om a hūṃ hrīḥ</i>
8	Silver-inlaid bronze <i>hyangwan</i> inscribed with “Tongdosa”		 <i>om</i>
9	Silver-inlaid bronze <i>hyangwan</i> , Treasure No. 1735		 <i>om ma ni pad</i>
10	Silver-inlaid bronze <i>hyangwan</i> inscribed with “Hampyeong gungju bang”		 <i>om ma ni pad</i>
11	Silver-inlaid bronze <i>hyangwan</i> presumed from Yongmunsa Temple		 <i>om va jra viṃ</i>
12	Silver-inlaid bronze <i>hyangwan</i> from Magoksa Temple		 <i>om ga ṇa gra</i>

Table 1. Sanskrit characters on silver-inlaid Goryeo bronze *hyangwan*

suggesting the possibility that it had not yet been introduced to Korea by the mid-eleventh century. However, that the *Kāraṇḍavyūha Sūtra* was introduced to Korea by at least the late eleventh century can be surmised from historical records stating that the Liao dynasty sent a copy of the Buddhist canon to Goryeo in 1063 and another copy in 1072 during the reign of King Munjong (文宗, r. 1046–1083). It is also recorded that the Song dynasty sent a copy in 1083, the Liao dynasty sent another copy in 1099, and National Preceptor Uicheon (大覺國師 義天, 1055–1101) brought back a collection of Buddhist texts from Song China in 1086.

According to the *Jineonjip* (眞言集, Collection of Mantras),  (*om*) is the mother of all mantras, and when the Buddha crossed over to Nirvāṇa (transmigration to extinction) it was converted into a *dhāraṇī* for the benefit of all sentient beings. The next character  (*ma ni*) means “jewel,” and  (*pad me*) signifies “lotus.” The *Jineonjip* mentions that  (*hūṃ*) refers to the *bija* seed syllable for “truth” (眞心種子), Akṣobya Buddha (阿閼如來), and Bhaiṣajyaguru (東方琉璃光佛, Medicine Buddha); it forever erases all uncleanness and evil, inspires an aspiration toward Buddhahood and faith in the Buddha Land. Therefore, “*hūṃ*” can be taken to mean “purify and save us.” When these individual meanings are combined, “*om ma ni pad me hūṃ*” can be translated into “May the jewel in the lotus purify us and lead us to salvation.” In this light, it can be surmised that this six-syllable mantra was inlaid in silver on the flange of the incense burner made in the seventeenth Dading year

in order to express wishes for the purification and salvation of the world through the burning of incense.

In later incense burners, however, this mantra is not depicted on the flange, but rather on the body, and with the six syllables abbreviated to four: “*om ma ni pad*.” This transformation can be seen on the silver-inlaid bronze *hyangwan* inscribed with “Hampyeong gungju bang” and another designated as Treasure No. 1735 (preserved at Tongdosa Seongbo Museum).

The inscription on the silver-inlaid bronze *hyangwan* inscribed with “Hampyeong gungju bang” in the collection of the Daegu National Museum provides no information regarding its date of production. Given that “Hampyeong gungju” (咸平宮主) refers to the queen consort of King Huijong (熙宗, r. 1204–1211), who was invested as queen with this title in 1211 and passed away in 1247, and that the circle of *ruyi* heads first appeared on the incense burner inscribed with “sixth Zhenyou year, Saboksa” from 1218, it can be concluded that the “Hampyeong gungju bang” incense burner must have been produced between 1218 and 1247. Consequently, the reduction of the mantra “*om ma ni pad me hūṃ*” from six to four syllables can be dated to 1247 at the latest. The condensed mantra can be seen as the outcome of greater emphasis being placed on acts of virtue over doctrinal understanding.



Second, the mantra  (*om a hūṃ hrīḥ*) appears on three silver-inlaid bronze *hyangwan*: one inscribed with “fourth Dading year (1164), Baegworam,” one with “seventeenth Dading year (1177),” and one with “twenty-sixth Zhizheng year (1366), Jinjongsa”



Illustration 10. Silver-inlaid bronze *hyangwan* featuring the Sanskrit characters  (*om a hūṃ hrīḥ*)



(至正二十六年 眞宗寺) (Illustration 10).

Of the four Sanskrit characters in this mantra, 𑖀 (a) is symbolic of the core doctrines of the Esoteric Buddhism based on the *Mahāvairocana Abhisambodhi Sūtra* (大日經) and appears at the head of the mantra, as explained in Esoteric sūtras and mantra books.

The final syllable 𑖅 (hriḥ) refers to keeping the dharma apart from all that is unclean and leading all to a world that is clean and pure. It is the seed syllable of Amitābha Buddha and commonly appears at the end of a mantra as an exclamation. Therefore, the four syllables 𑖀𑖄𑖅𑖅 (om a hūm hriḥ) do not have a single combined meaning, but should rather be interpreted as a combination of syllables representing that which is best or finest.

However, there is a second interpretation of 𑖀𑖄𑖅𑖅 (om a hūm hriḥ). The syllables 𑖀 (om), 𑖀 (a), and 𑖅 (hūm) can also be viewed as the three seed syllables representing the “three secrets,” that is, body, speech, and mind, a core principle of Esoteric Buddhism. To this, the seed syllable for Amitābha Buddha 𑖅 (hriḥ) has been appended. Therefore, 𑖀𑖄𑖅𑖅 (om a hūm hriḥ) can be considered to mean that Amitābha is the Buddha upon whose image one contemplates after the purification of body, speech, and mind.

Third, certain four-syllable mantras beginning with 𑖀 (om), which is found at the start of the mantras, and ending with an expression of praise can be interpreted as having a specific meaning. Silver-inlaid bronze incense burners bearing this kind of four-syllable mantra include those inscribed with “fourth

Zhizheng year, Jungheungsa,” “sixth Zhizheng year, Sangwonsa,” the one presumed to be from Yongmunsa Temple, and the one from Magoksa Temple (Illustration 11).

The Goryeo incense burner with the inscription “fourth Zhizheng year, Jungheungsa” (至正四年 重興寺) features the four Sanskrit syllables 𑖀𑖄𑖅𑖅 (om ya la ya), the incense burner bearing “sixth Zhizheng year, Sangwonsa” (至正六年 上院寺) shows 𑖀𑖄𑖅𑖅 (om a vaṃ hūm), the incense burner presumed to be from Yongmunsa Temple is adorned with 𑖀𑖄𑖅𑖅 (om vajra viṃ), and the incense burner from Magoksa features 𑖀𑖄𑖅𑖅 (om ga ṇa gra).

If the four Sanskrit syllables on the Sangwonsa-inscribed incense burner 𑖀𑖄𑖅𑖅 (om a vaṃ hūm) are analyzed as seed syllables, 𑖀 (om) is a symbol of the Vajra Bodhisattva or Vajraratna Bodhisattva, 𑖀 (a) represents Mahāvairocana (大日如來) in the Womb Realm Maṇḍala (胎藏曼陀羅, Skr. Garbhadhātu Maṇḍala), 𑖅 (vaṃ) stands for Māhavairocana in the Diamond Realm Maṇḍala (金剛曼陀羅, Skr. Vajradhātu Maṇḍala), and 𑖅 (hūm) denotes Akṣobhya Buddha. Therefore, the Sanskrit on this incense burner is characterized by the appearance of both 𑖀 (a) and 𑖅 (vaṃ), which symbolize Mahāvairocana in the Womb Realm and the Diamond Realm. As in the case of 𑖀𑖄𑖅𑖅 (om a hūm hriḥ), the characters on this incense burner 𑖀 (om), 𑖀 (a), and 𑖅 (hūm) can be seen as three seed syllables representing the three secrets of body, speech, and mind, and 𑖅 (vaṃ) can be interpreted to mean that Mahāvairocana from the Diamond Realm Maṇḍa-

la is the Buddha upon whose image one contemplates after the purification of body, speech, and mind.

As for the incense burner presumed to be from Yongmunsa Temple, the characters 𑖀𑖄𑖅𑖅 (om vajra viṃ) are considered to mean “Oh, praise to the Vajra!” In addition, 𑖀𑖄𑖅𑖅 (om ga ṇa gra) on the incense burner from Magoksa is a combination of 𑖀 (om), the expression of praise found at the head of a mantra, with 𑖄𑖅 (ga ṇa), which means countless, and 𑖅 (gra), a further expression of praise. Together they are taken to mean “Oh, praise to the countless beings!” Therefore, the four Sanskrit syllables inlaid in silver on this incense burner are thought to express a wish for the scent of the incense to diffuse far enough to reach the countless beings existing in the great chiliocosm.

Fourth, the Sanskrit characters on the silver-inlaid bronze *hyangwan* inscribed with “twelfth Zhizheng year, Yongjangseonsa” (至正十二年 龍藏禪寺) fall into the category of those representing the four Buddhas of the Womb Realm (Fig. 17). This incense burner features the syllables 𑖀𑖄𑖅𑖅 (a ā am aḥ) inlaid in silver. Among them, 𑖀 (a) represents the Jeweled Banner Buddha (寶幢如來, Skr. Ratnaketu) of the east, 𑖄𑖅 (am) the Infinite Life Buddha of the West (無量壽如來, Skr. Amitāyus), or Amitābha Buddha, 𑖅 (a) the Florescence King (開敷華王, Skr. Saṃkusumitarāja) in the south, and 𑖅 (aḥ) the Heavenly Drum Thunder Buddha (天鼓雷音如來, Skr. Divyadundubhi Meghanirghoṣa) in the north (Fig. 17-1). It is assumed that these characters representing the four Buddhas of the Womb Realm Maṇḍala must be related in some way to the people who took part in the production of the incense burner.

The incense burner carries the following inscription:

至正十二年壬辰閏三月日龍藏禪寺無量壽殿大香壇  
大功德主 榮祿大夫資政院使高龍寶永寧公主辛氏  
大化主 慧林 戒休 景眞 錄者性謙縷工

According to this, the incense burner was made in the twelfth Zhizheng year, or 1352, to be enshrined in Muryangsujeon (無量壽殿, Hall of Infinite Life) at Yongjangseonsa Temple (龍藏禪寺) and Go Yongbo (高龍寶, d. 1362) and Princess Yeongnyeong of the Shin clan (永寧公主 辛氏, dates unknown) took part in the project as patrons. Go Yongbo was a eunuch of Goryeo origin serving at the Yuan court who took part in a wide range of Buddhist projects. He served

at Huizhengyuan (徽政院), the financial office of the Empress Gi (奇皇后, dates unknown), or Empress Qi in Chinese, who was also of Goryeo origin. Under commands from the empress, who was unable to visit Goryeo herself, he mediated support for Buddhist works and sometimes provided support under his own name. It is believed that this incense burner was commissioned by Go Yongbo on behalf of Empress Qi, and that the four Sanskrit characters inlaid in silver are related to Buddhist faith during the period of Yuan intervention.

2) CALLIGRAPHIC STYLE OF SILVER-INLAID GORYEO BRONZE *HYANGWAN*: Classic Indian scripts that were introduced to Korea include the Siddham script, the Nāgarī script, the Rañjanā (Lantsa) script, and the Tibetan script. Among them, the Siddham script and the Rañjanā script are those most often featured on Korean Buddhist art and craft works.

It is presumed that the Siddham script, established in India in the sixth century, was introduced to Korea around the seventh century. A copy of the Cundi Mantra (準提眞言) discovered in the pagoda at Galhangsa Temple (葛項寺), built in 758 during the Unified Silla period, is believed to be the oldest known example of Siddham script in Korea (Fig. 18).

The Siddham script can be found in a number of sūtras in the second edition of the Tripiṭaka Koreana, known as *Jaejo daejanggyeong* (再彫大藏經) carved during the Goryeo dynasty (Fig. 19).

The Rañjanā script, a variation of the Devanāgarī script, is an ornamental script that was used to carve or write titles on printing woodblocks and book covers. It first appeared in Korea sometime after 1271 as greater numbers of exchanges began to take place between Yuan and Goryeo.

To examine the scripts found on Goryeo bronze *hyangwan* with silver inlay designs, first, the 𑖀 (a) character from the incense burners inscribed with “fourth Dading year,” “seventeenth Dading year,” and “second Zhenyou year” can be compared with the same character in standard Siddham script (Lee Tae-seung et al. 2008) and with the Siddham script as it appears in the Tripiṭaka Koreana (Illustration 12).

In standard Siddham script, the 𑖀 (a) character is composed of six strokes. While here the third and fifth stroke in this script are joined, on the incense burners of the “seventeenth Dading year” and “second Zhenyou year” the second and fourth strokes are joined and



Illustration 11. Silver-inlaid bronze *hyangwan* with Sanskrit mantras starting with 𑖀(om) and ending in an expression of praise



the second and third strokes are separated. Also, in contrast to the sixth stroke used in standard Siddham script, which is long and thick, the strokes on these two incense burners are thin and short. In fact, the 𑖦 (a) character on these incense burners more closely resembles the style found in the Tripitaka Koreana's *Chapter on Major Characters of the Siddham Script Used in the Vajrasekhara Sūtra* (瑜伽金剛頂經釋字母品), which was completed in 1246. The second and fourth strokes are joined and the second and third strokes are separated as in both the incense burner marked "seventeenth Dading year" and that showing "second Zhenyou year." Considering that the Tripitaka Koreana was based on the First Tripitaka Koreana, or *Chojo daejanggyeong*, it can be surmised that the

Sanskrit characters on the two incense burners were based on those of the First Tripitaka Koreana as well.

Next, the 𑖦 (a) character found on the incense burners marked "sixth Zhizheng year" and "twelfth Zhizheng year" is also compared with the same character in standard Siddham script and from the script in the Tripitaka Koreana (Illustration 13).

Analysis of the 𑖦 (a) character found on the incense burner marked "sixth Zhizheng year, Sangwonsa" reveals that the third and fifth strokes are joined, as in standard Siddham script, but the way the ends of the second and fourth strokes rise and the fourth and sixth strokes are joined more closely resembles the script style found in the Tripitaka Koreana. On the incense burner marked "twelfth Zhizheng year, Yong-

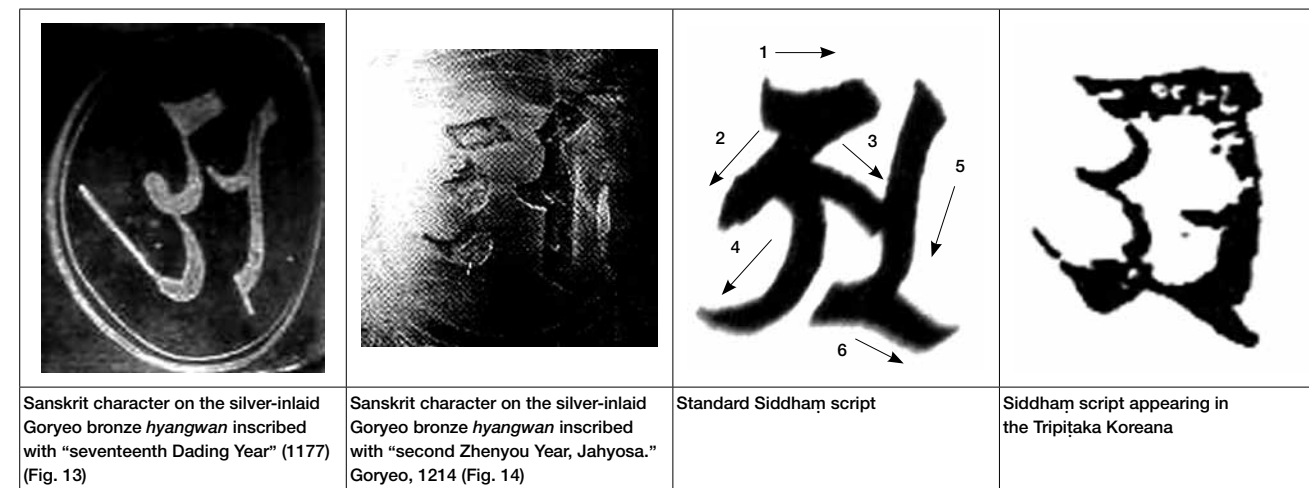


Illustration 12. Comparison of a Sanskrit character found on the *hyangwan* inscribed with "seventeenth Dading year" and "second Zhenyou year" with standard Siddham script and the Siddham script in the Tripitaka Koreana

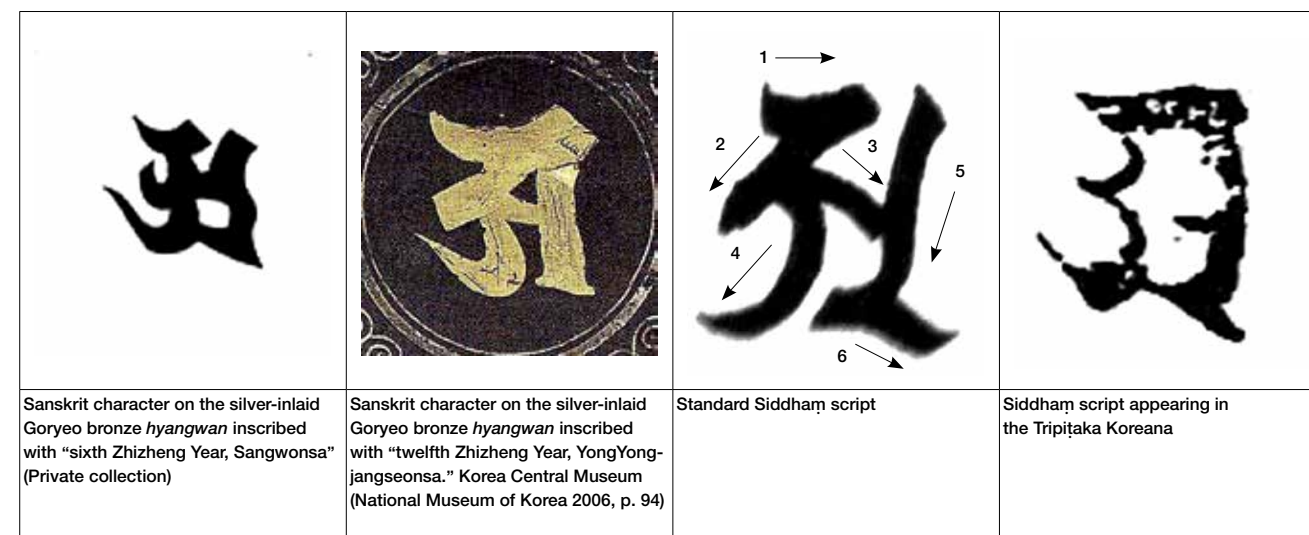


Illustration 13. Sanskrit characters on silver-inlaid bronze *hyangwan* produced in the Zhizheng era

jangseonsa," the third and fifth strokes are joined and hence resemble standard Siddham script, but the fourth stroke rises at the end and the sixth stroke is abbreviated, also conforming to the style used in the Tripitaka Koreana.

The following Illustration is a comparison of the 𑖦 (pa) character on the incense burner inscribed with "Hampyeong gungju bang," which was made prior to 1247, with the same character in standard Siddham script and as it appears in the Tripitaka Koreana (Illustration 14).

The 𑖦 (pa) character is composed of four strokes.

In standard Siddham script, the first stroke is long (𑖦), but on the "Hampyeong gungju bang"-inscribed incense burner it is very brief, showing a clear distinction, and all the strokes are rather thickly treated overall (𑖦). Hence, the script style of the 𑖦 (pa) character on the incense burner is seen to resemble the same character as it appears in the *Commentary on Major Characters of the Siddham Script Used in the Vajrasekhara Sūtra* in the Tripitaka Koreana (𑖦).

The 𑖦 (va) character on the incense burner presumed to be from Yongmunsa Temple has a long initial stroke relative to the way it is depicted in standard

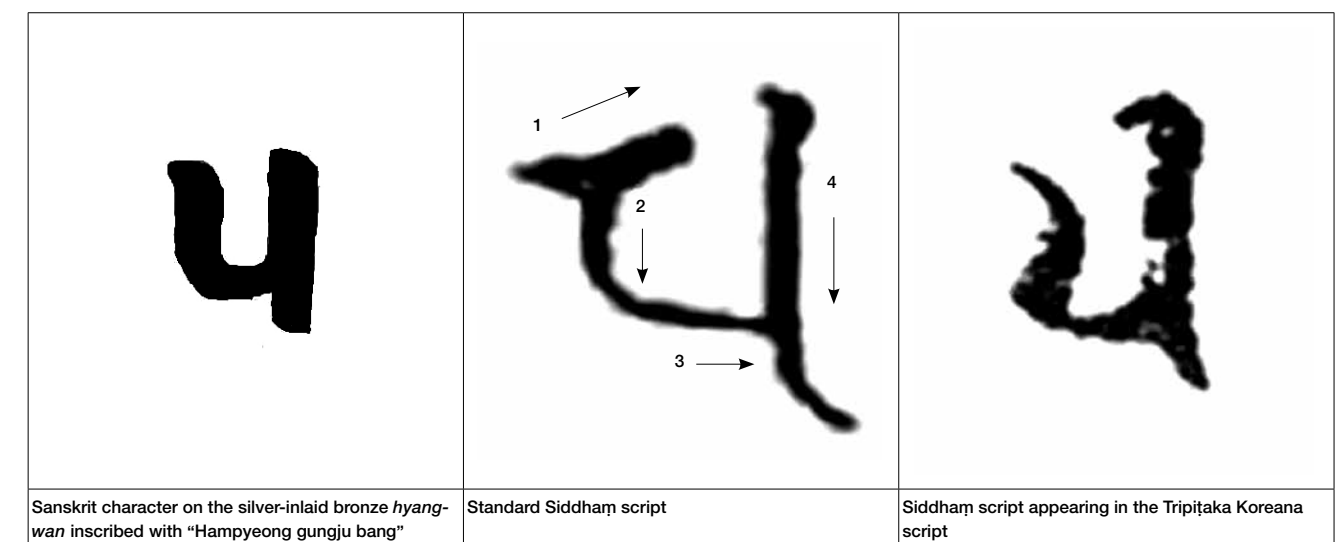


Illustration 14. Comparison of a Sanskrit character on the incense burner marked "Hampyeong gungju bang" with standard Siddham script and the Siddham script as it appears in the Tripitaka Koreana

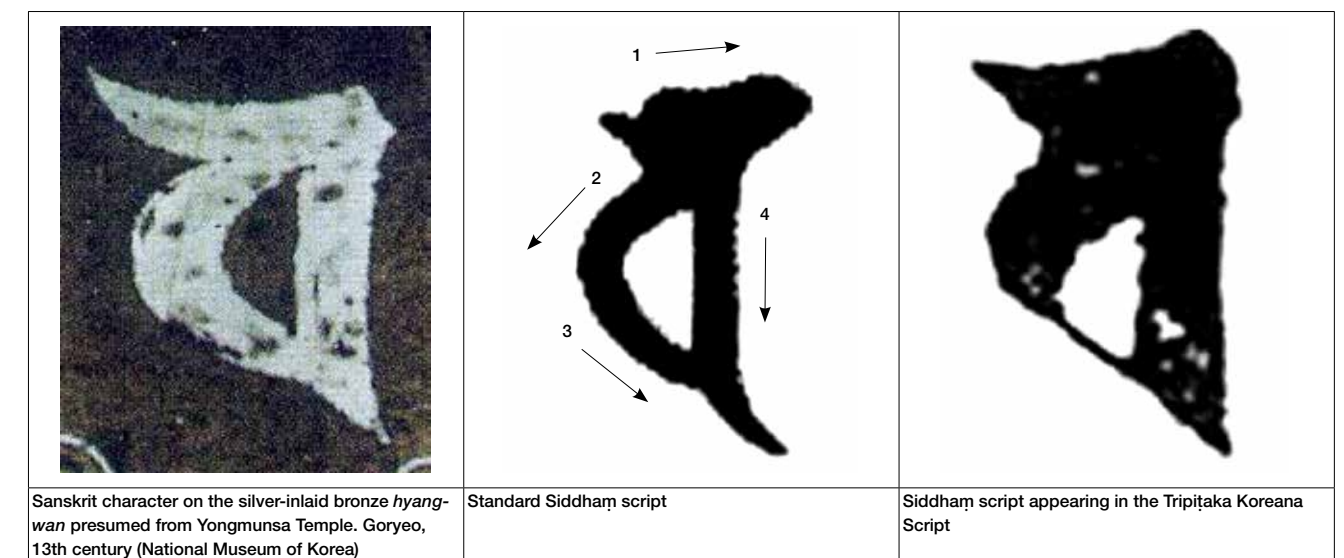


Illustration 15. Comparison of a Sanskrit character on the incense burner presumed to be from Yongmunsa Temple with standard Siddham script and Siddham script as it appears in the Tripitaka Koreana







			
Sanskrit character on the silver-inlaid bronze Goryeo <i>hyangwan</i> inscribed with “fourth Zhizheng Year, Jangheungsa.” Central Buddhist Museum (Author’s photograph)	Sanskrit character on the Bell from Yeonboksae Temple (Moon Myungdae 1994)	Standard Siddham script	Siddham Script appearing in the Tripitaka Koreana

Illustration 16. Comparison of a Sanskrit character on the incense burner inscribed with “fourth Zhizheng year, Jungheungsa” with standard Siddham script, Siddham script as it appears in the Tripitaka Koreana, and the script on the Bell from Yeonboksae Temple

Siddham script, while the third and fourth strokes are smoothly joined with no sense of interruption between the two, similarly to the treatment of the ऩ (*va*) character in the *Chapter on Major Characters of the Siddham Script Used in the Vajraśekhara Sūtra* in the Tripitaka Koreana (Illustration 15).

The Sanskrit characters found on the incense burner inscribed with “fourth Zhizheng year, Jungheungsa” appear to be in a different script than that applied in the Tripitaka Koreana. A comparison of the ऩ (*ya*) character on the incense burner with standard Siddham script, the Rañjanā script on the Bell from Yeonboksae Temple (演福寺), and the Siddham script appearing in the Tripitaka Koreana shows that it most closely resembles the Rañjanā script used on the Bell from Yeonboksae Temple. It is believed to be the sole example of this type of script on a silver-inlaid Goryeo bronze *hyangwan* (Illustration 16).

The above comparison of script styles used for the Sanskrit characters inlaid in silver on Goryeo bronze *hyangwan* with standard Siddham script and the Siddham script as it appears in the Tripitaka Koreana reveals that in general the Sanskrit characters on silver-inlaid Goryeo bronze *hyangwan* more closely resembles the style of the Tripitaka Koreana. This indicates that the Tripitaka Koreana, a complete Buddhist canon carved during the Goryeo dynasty, provided source material for the Sanskrit characters on the incense burners. Under the influence of the Yuan dynasty, Sanskrit characters in the Rañjanā script began to appear on Goryeo incense burners from the

fourteenth century, but from the twelfth to the mid-to late fourteenth century, the main script applied was Siddham in the Tripitaka Koreana style.

Conclusion

Throughout the Goryeo dynasty, a wide range of Buddhist ceremonies and rites were performed, the opening of which were commonly signaled with the burning of incense. The Buddhist incense burners produced during the Goryeo period inherited and built upon the Unified Silla tradition, but new and original forms were developed, as clearly demonstrated by various remaining examples.

The heritage of the Unified Silla tradition was manifested in two aspects, that is, some incense burners were produced in precisely the forms established during the preceding period, while others were grounded in tradition but introduced further changes. The Goryeo incense burners with a handle and lion weight belong in the former category, while *hyangwan* pertain to the latter. Even among incense burners with a handle and lion weight, a shift toward Goryeo production methods becomes apparent between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. *Hyangwan*, the major incense burner type of the Goryeo dynasty, is in fact rooted in Unified Silla tradition, but evolved over time to form conventions of its own that were eventually passed on to the succeeding Joseon dynasty.

It is these *hyangwan* decorated with silver inlay

and the hanging incense burners known as *hyeonno* that most clearly speak for the originality of Goryeo incense burners. Unlike incense burners with and without a handle, the hanging incense burner is a type that has no foundation in the Buddhist sūtras. In this regard, it is an original creation of the Goryeo people. It is believed to have been used in certain ceremonies such as the Amitābha Buddha Dharma Assembly.

When the designs on the silver-inlaid Goryeo bronze *hyangwan* are examined through extant examples, the design scheme that can be first identified on the “fourth Dading year” incense burner from 1164 is seen to have been perfected and firmly established by 1218, as witnessed in the incense burner inscribed with “sixth Zhenyou year.” All the silver-inlaid incense burners produced thereafter featured similar surface designs. The *ruyi* heads forming a circular frame around the Sanskrit characters represent not only the most distinctive design motif among silver-inlaid Goryeo bronze *hyangwan*, but also provides the most important stylistic indicator for distinguishing Goryeo works from their Joseon counterparts.

The decoration of *hyangwan* with Sanskrit characters in silver inlay is an original element unique to Goryeo works. The combination of four Sanskrit syllables in some cases expresses a specific meaning, but at other times provides simply a collection of words of praise. In either case, the characters seem to relate the wishes of the Goryeo people in the context of Buddhism. On certain incense burners, the Sanskrit characters appear to reflect the influence of the Yuan dynasty. In addition, a comparison of the characters used on silver-inlaid Goryeo bronze *hyangwan* shows that the script is based on the version of Siddham script that was used to carve the Tripitaka Koreana.

The incense burners of the Goryeo dynasty served an intermediary role in the transition from incense burners reflecting the Unified Silla tradition to the incense burners of the subsequent Joseon dynasty. Over this process, the Goryeo people showed considerable originality despite their deference to tradition, as manifested in the *hyangwan* that established a unique tradition eventually transmitted to Joseon.

Goryeo Buddhist incense burners hold great significance for being markedly Korean but quintessentially Buddhist in character, distinct from what was found in neighboring states at the time, and in this lies their originality. ㄸ

TRANSLATED BY CHO YOONJUNG

This paper is an abridged and revised English version of “Study on the Traditionality and Originality of Buddhist Incense Burner of Goryeo Period,” (고려시대 불교 향로의 전통성과 독창성), previously published in 2012 in *Dongak Art History* (동악미술사학) 13.

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Fig. 1. Incense burner with a handle and lion weight. Tang dynasty, 758 at the latest. Length: 41.6 cm, Height: 11.8 cm. Excavated from the stupa of Chan Master Shenhui, Henan Province, People's Republic of China (Tokyo National Museum 1986, 137)



Fig. 2. Incense burner with a handle and lion weight. Unified Silla, first half of the 9th century. Length: 39.8 cm, Height: 101 cm. Excavated from Ingaksa Temple, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province. Central Buddhist Museum (National Museum of Korea 2013, p.40)



Fig. 3. Incense burner with a handle and lion weight. Unified Silla, first half of the 9th century. Length: 42 cm, Height: 101 cm (Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art)





Fig. 4. Incense burner with a handle and lion weight inscribed with "Chamjijeongsa." Goryeo, 12–13th century. Length: 20.5 cm (National Museum of Korea)



Fig. 5. Incense burner with a handle and lion weight inscribed with "Unbongsa Temple." Goryeo, 12–13th century. Length: 19.7 cm (National Museum of Korea)



Fig. 6. Composition of Goryeo *hyangwan*.



Fig. 7. Bronze *hyangwan*. Goryeo, 11th century. Height: 24.3 cm (Jeonju National Museum)



Fig. 8. Incense burner carved on the eastern stupa at Yeongoksa Temple. Unified Silla, late 9th to 10th century. Yeongoksa Temple, Jeollanam-do Province (Author's photograph)



Fig. 9. Bronze *hyangwan*. Goryeo, 11th century. Height: 29.5 cm. Excavated from the Sanoesa Temple site, Chungcheongbuk-do Province (Cheongju National Museum)



Fig. 10. Bronze *hyangwan*. Goryeo, latter half of the 11th century. Height: 15.2 cm (Cheongju National Museum)



Fig. 11. Bronze *hyangwan* inscribed with "fourth Huangtong year." Goryeo, 1144. Height: 15.5 cm (Kyunghee University Museum)





Fig. 12. Silver-inlaid bronze *hyangwan* inscribed with “fourth Dading Year, Baegworam.” Goryeo, 1164. Height: 26.5 cm. Koryo Art Museum, Kyoto, Japan (National Museum of Korea 2013, p.33)



Fig. 13. Silver-inlaid bronze *hyangwan* inscribed with “seventeenth Dading year.” Goryeo, 1177. Height: 27.5 cm. National Treasure No. 75. Pyochungsa Temple (National Museum of Korea 1997, Fig. 23)



Fig. 14. Silver-inlaid bronze *hyangwan* inscribed with “second Zhenyou Year, Jahyosa.” Goryeo, 1214. Lost during the Korean War (National Museum of Korea 2013, p. 33).



Fig. 15. Silver-inlaid bronze *hyangwan* inscribed with “sixth Zhenyou Year, Saboksa.” Goryeo, 1218. Height: 31 cm (Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art)





Fig. 16. Sanskrit characters inlaid in silver around the flange (left) and on the body (right)



Fig. 17. Sanskrit character on silver-inlaid bronze *hyangwan* inscribed with “twelfth Zhizheng Year, Yongjangseonsa.” Goryeo, 1352. Height: 45 cm (National Museum of Korea 2006, p.94)

Fig. 17-1. Four Buddhas of the Womb Realm

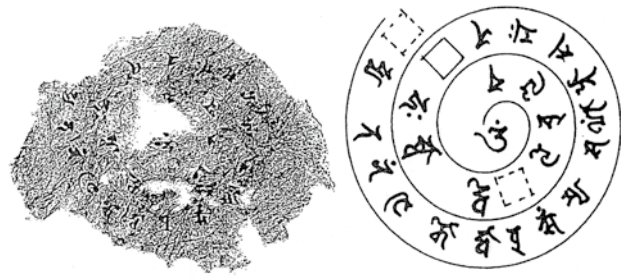


Fig. 18. Cundī mantra discovered inside the stone pagoda at Galhangsa Temple (Nam Kwonhee 2005)



Fig. 19. Siddham script used in the Chapter on Major Characters of the Siddham Script Used in the Vajrasekhara Sūtra in the Tripitaka Koreana

# Bihaedang’s Poetry Scroll of the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers and Its Relationship to Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers from the Former Yūgensai Collection in Japan

Park Haehoon  
Chief Curator, Naju National Museum

## Introduction

The theme of the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers is believed to have first been painted by Song Di (宋迪, c. 1015–1080) of the Northern Song dynasty (北宋, 960–1127). Over time, the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers became one of the most frequently represented subjects in East Asian landscape painting. Many Korean literati have explored this theme in both poetry and painting since it was first transmitted to Korea during the Goryeo dynasty (高麗, 918–1392). In particular, it enjoyed unprecedented popularity as a subject for both poetry and painting during the early Joseon period (朝鮮, 1392–1910), as evinced by the numerous paintings and accompanying poems on this theme from the period.

*Bihaedang sosang palgyeong sigwon* (匪懈堂蕭湘八

景詩卷), or *Bihaedang’s Poetry Scroll of the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers* (Fig. 1) is a work on this theme from the early Joseon era. Initiated by Prince Anpyeong (安平大君, 1418–1453), pen name “Bihaedang” (匪懈堂), and completed in 1442, this scroll originally included poems on the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers composed by cultural luminaries of the day, along with a set of related paintings. The paintings have since been lost, and the poems are now known only in album format. *Bihaedang’s Poetry Scroll of the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers* (hereinafter, *Bihaedang’s Poetry Scroll*) serves as an important source for illuminating a range of issues concerning the theme of the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers (hereinafter, “Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang” or simply “Eight Views”) as addressed in the early Joseon period, even though the



Fig. 1. “Preface” by Yi Yeongseo from *Bihaedang’s Poetry Scroll of the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers*. Joseon dynasty, 1442. Ink on paper (National Museum of Korea)



scroll's original paintings are no longer extant.

Many paintings on the theme of the Eight Views from the early Joseon period exist today, but it is rare to find an intact set with all eight scenes. Given the paucity of complete sets, *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang* set previously in the Yūgensai (幽玄齋) collection, Japan, is of great importance, both because it includes all eight views and because it represents a style associated with An Gyeon (安堅, active 15th century), the foremost landscape painter in fifteenth-century Korea. Presumably created in album format, this Yūgensai-collection work presents interesting elements that can be related to other paintings on the theme.

This essay examines the significance of *Bihae-*

*dang's Poetry Scroll* as a key work on the theme of the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers in the early Joseon period, and explores its relationship to the Yūgensai-collection *Eight Views* (Fig. 3).

### Composition and Contents of *Bihaedang's Poetry Scroll of the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers*

*Bihaedang's Poetry Scroll* epitomizes early Joseon-period sets of poems and paintings on the theme of the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers. This work included stone rubbings of a series of poems on the Eight Views composed by Emperor Ningzong (寧

宗, r. 1198–1224) of China's Southern Song dynasty (南宋, 1127–1279), a set of paintings on the theme, poems written during the Goryeo period by Korean literati Yi Inro (李仁老, 1152–1120) and Jin Hwa (陳渾, active c. 1200), as well as sets of poems by nineteen contemporaneous literati, all of which were originally mounted together in scroll format. Both the paintings and the copies of Emperor Ningzong's poems from *Bihaedang's Poetry Scroll* have been lost; the remaining components have been remounted in album format and today are in the collection of the National Museum of Korea, Seoul.

The paintings of the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang originally included in this poetry scroll are attributed to An Gyeon, the most talented painter of his generation who had long been one of the artists most favored by Prince Anpyeong, who commissioned this scroll in 1442. In 1447, An Gyeon would paint *Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land* (夢遊桃源圖), also commissioned by Prince Anpyeong, which is one of the most famous of all Korean landscape paintings and which now resides in the Tenri University Sankōkan Museum, Nara, Japan (天理大学附属天理参考館). The *Hwagi* (書記), or *Record on Paintings* written in 1445 by Sin Sukju (申叔舟, 1417–1475) lists the paintings by An Gyeon then in the collection of Prince Anpyeong. The paintings of the Eight Views mentioned in this record's first entry likely are the set originally included in *Bihaedang's Poetry Scroll*.

An acquisition by Prince Anpyeong inspired the scroll's commission: the *Dongshutang jigū fatie* (東書堂集古法帖), or *Model Book of Ancient Calligraphic Works Collected in the Eastern Library* (Fig. 2), which was compiled in 1416 by Ming Prince Zhu Youdun (朱有燾, 1379–1439) and which comprises ten volumes of calligraphic models by eminent calligraphers and emperors of the Chinese Jin (金, 1115–1234) and Yuan (元, 1271–1368) dynasties. The majority of the works reproduced in this compendium follow calligraphic works in the *Chunhua ge tie* (淳化閣帖, *Model-letter Compendia of the Chunhua Reign*) from the Song dynasty (宋, 960–1279). In addition, the *Mi ge xu tie* (秘閣續帖, *Sequel to Calligraphic Works in the Collection of the Imperial Archive*), *Jiang tie* (絳帖, *Model Letters Carved in the Jiang Area*), *Tan tie* (潭帖, *Model Letters Carved in the Tan Area*), and other calligraphic works from the Song and Yuan periods were accessed as supplementary sources. Emperor Ningzong, who was well known as a calligrapher, com-

posed the series of poems on the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers included in the *Model Book of Ancient Calligraphic Works Collected in the Eastern Library* (hereinafter, *Model Book of Ancient Calligraphic Works*).

Emperor Ningzong's poems listed in the *Model Book of Ancient Calligraphic Works* are titled after the associated paintings of the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang and their painters. They are “*Mountain Market, Clear with Rising Mist*, by Guan Tong” (山市晴嵐 關同), “*Evening Bell from a Mist-shrouded Temple*, by Dong Yuan” (煙寺晚鐘 董源), “*Fishing Village in Evening Glow*, by Juran” (漁村晚照 巨然), “*Returning Sails off a Distant Shore*, by Li Tang” (遠浦帆歸 李唐), “*Night Rain on the Xiao and Xiang Rivers*, by Wang Ban” (瀟湘夜雨 王班), “*Wild Geese Descending to a Sandbar*, by Huichong” (平沙鴈落 惠崇), “*Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting*, by Xu Daoning” (洞庭秋月 許道寧), and “*River and Sky in Evening Snow*, by Fan Kuan” (江天暮雪 范寬). These five-character poems also appear in *Quan Song shi* (全宋詩), or *Complete Collection of Song Dynasty Poetry*, which conveys almost identical contents with only minor changes in wording and in which the painters' names are deleted.

Emperor Ningzong's poems on the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers, as compiled in the *Model Book of Ancient Calligraphic Works*, are significant for multiple reasons. First, the painter's name appears below the title of each scene, indicating that Emperor Ningzong appreciated existing paintings on the theme and composed poems inspired by those paintings. However, most of the painters mentioned in his poems were artists active in the Five Dynasties (五代, 907–960) and early Northern Song periods and thus predate Song Di. This fuels doubt as to whether the paintings in fact were actually by these masters. Despite the questionable attributions, Emperor Ningzong's poems are worthy of note because he mentioned not only paintings by painters from northern regions, such as Guan Tong (關全, c. 906–960), Fan Kuan (范寬, active late 10th–early 11th century), and Xu Daoning (許道, c. 970–1052), but also works by painters from the Jiangnan region in the south, including Dong Yuan (董源, c. 934–962) and Juran (巨然, active 10th century), indicating that at the time of Emperor Ningzong paintings of the Eight Views reflected various regional styles. Although the paintings Emperor Ningzong appreciated may not in fact



Fig. 2. *Dongshutang jigū fatie* (*Model Book of Ancient Calligraphic Works Collected in the Eastern Library*) by Zhu Youdun. Ming dynasty, 1416. Ink rubbing. National Library of China (Cultural Heritage Administration 2008, Fig. 7)



have been authentic works by Guan Tong or Dong Yuan, the attributions suggest stylistic affinities to the works of those masters.

Second, the order of the eight scenes found in Emperor Ningzong's series of poems is unconventional as it proceeds as follows: "Mountain Market, Clear with Rising Mist," "Evening Bell from a Mist-shrouded Temple," "Fishing Village in Evening Glow," "Returning Sails off a Distant Shore," "Night

Rain on the Xiao and Xiang Rivers," "Wild Geese Descending to a Sandbar," "Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting," and "River and Sky in Evening Snow." This arrangement differs from the sequence recorded in earlier texts. It diverges, for example, from the order as recorded in the *Mengxi bitan* (夢溪筆談), or *Dream Pool Essays*, by Shen Kuo (沈括, 1031–1095), which describes Song Di's *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers*. There is also a discrepancy between the

Fig. 3-4. "Returning Sails off a Distant Shore"



Fig. 3-8. "River and Sky in Evening Snow"



Fig. 3-3. "Fishing Village in Evening Glow"



Fig. 3-7. "Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting"

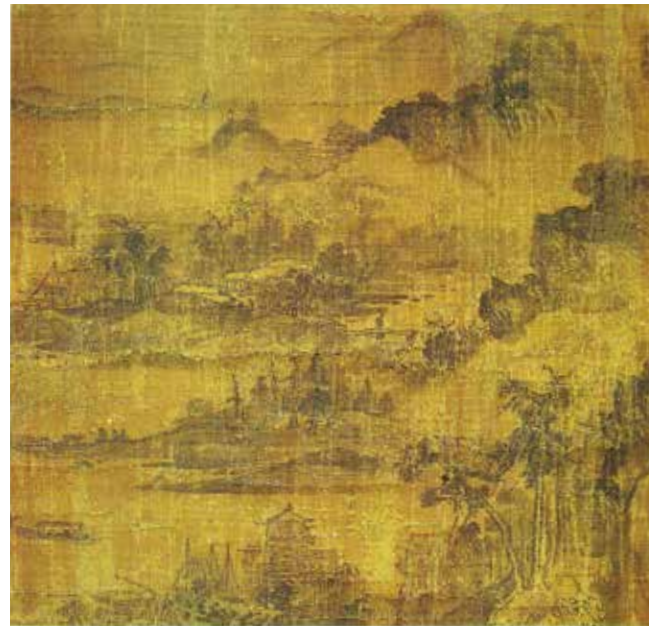


Fig. 3. *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers* by unknown artist. Joseon dynasty, late 15th century. Ink on silk. 28.5 x 29.8 cm (each). Former Yūgensai collection, Japan (Yūgensai 1996, Fig. 3)

order of Emperor Ningzong's poems and that presented in a series by Huihong (惠洪, 1071–1128), the earliest known set of poems on the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers.

It is unclear why Emperor Ningzong altered the order of the eight views, but it is generally assumed that he rearranged the scenes to correspond to seasonal changes. "Mountain Market, Clear with Rising Mist" represents spring, while "Night Rain on the

Xiao and Xiang," "Wild Geese Descending to a Sandbar," and "Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting" convey an autumnal atmosphere. It is not obvious which themes relate to summer, but "Evening Bell from a Mist-shrouded Temple," "Fishing Village in Evening Glow," and "Returning Sails off a Distant Shore" likely depict either spring or summer scenes.

There is no fixed order for the eight scenes in Chinese poems and paintings of the Eight Views

Fig. 3-2. "Evening Bell from a Mist-shrouded Temple"

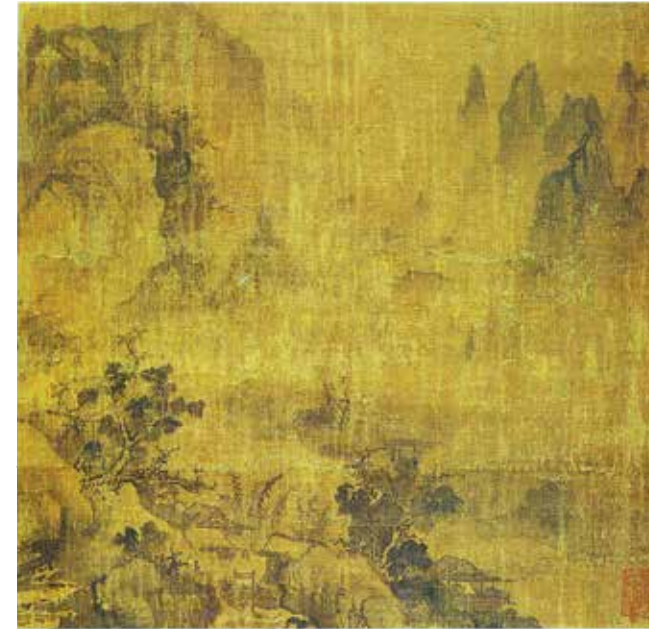


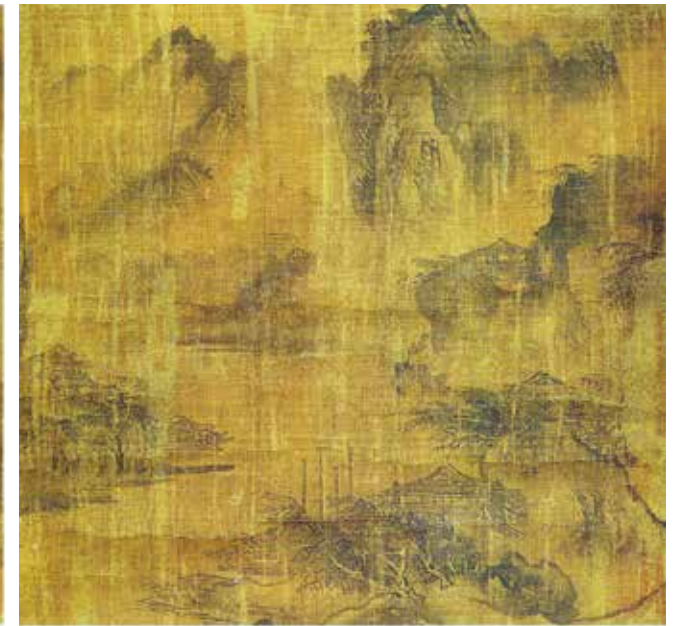
Fig. 3-6. "Wild Geese Descending to a Sandbar"



Fig. 3-1. "Mountain Market, Clear with Rising Mist"



Fig. 3-5. "Night Rain on the Xiao and Xiang Rivers"





of the Xiao and Xiang. Even so, Chinese artists often followed the order presented in Song Di's *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers* as documented in Shen Kuo's *Dream Pool Essays*. Toward the end of the Southern Song period, "River and Sky in Evening Snow" tended to be placed at the end of the sequence. However, the order of the other seven scenes was more flexible. Emperor Ningzong adopted a new sequence in his poems on the Eight Views, and his re-ordering of their sequence had a pivotal influence on the sequencing of paintings on the Eight Views theme in the early Joseon period.

For example, the poems composed by early Joseon literati included in *Bihaedang's Poetry Scroll* seem to have been reconfigured to follow the sequence of Ningzong's poems on the Eight Views. In addition, the poems by Yi Inro and Jin Hwa were rearranged accordingly. The original order of the poems by these two Goryeo literati is identical to that found in Song Di's *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers* as described in Shen Kuo's *Dream Pool Essays*. Even so, their order was revised to accord with the sequence of Ningzong's poems when they were incorporated into *Bihaedang's Poetry Scroll*. More research is needed to determine the reason for the rearrangement of the eight scenes according to Emperor Ningzong's sequence. It might have been due in part to the Joseon poets' simple desire to follow Ningzong's order, but it more likely was due to their desire to organize the eight scenes into a seasonal sequence in accor-

dance with Ningzong's conception. Furthermore, the wishes of Prince Anpyeong, who commissioned this poetry scroll, appear to have been the most significant factor in determining the order.

It should be noted that the order of the scenes in complete sets of Eight Views paintings from the early Joseon period is generally identical to that of *Bihaedang's Poetry Scroll*. Only five complete sets of Eight Views paintings from this period are known today. With the exception of the version of *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers* with Kim Hyeonseong's (金玄成, 1542–1621) colophon, for which the original order is unknown, most surviving works follow the arrangement in *Bihaedang's Poetry Scroll*. In a few cases, however, "Wild Geese Descending to a Sandbar" is interchanged with "Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting."

The five sets of paintings mentioned above are believed to have been created after 1442, by which time *Bihaedang's Poetry Scroll* had been completed. Therefore, early Joseon-period painters likely referred to Ningzong's poems for their works. The paintings of the An Gyeon-attributed Eight Views originally included in *Bihaedang's Poetry Scroll* presumably also followed the sequence of Ningzong's poems.

Another point of note is Ningzong's idiosyncratic manner of arranging the Chinese characters in the titles of particular poems. The wording of the titles "漁村晚照" (Fishing Village in Evening Glow), "遠浦帆歸" (Returning Sails off a Distant Shore), and

"平沙鴈落" (Wild Geese Descending to a Sandbar) rarely occurs in this exact fashion in other poems or paintings on the subject. Only the exceptional Korean paintings, such as the scenes in the Yügensai-collection set of the *Eight Views*, bear titles with wording identical to that in Ningzong's poems (Fig. 4). As a consequence, it has been suggested that this ranks among the unique features of Korean paintings on the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang. However, recent research on Ningzong's poems has drawn scholarly attention to the relationship between Ningzong's poems and the Yügensai-collection paintings, as the latter are assumed to have followed Ningzong's word order in titling the paintings (Park 2007).

*Bihaedang's Poetry Scroll* must have been considered an exceptional accomplishment in the realm of poetry and painting in the early Joseon period, and it is believed to have served as a model for poetry and paintings on the theme. Although the scroll does not survive today, the paintings attributed to An Gyeon of the Eight Views likely were the first on this subject done in the Joseon dynasty. Given An Gyeon's importance in his own day, not to mention his influence on the development of Joseon-dynasty landscape painting, his interpretation of the theme as represented in *Bihaedang's Poetry Scroll* would have been considered canonical and thus a model for the presentation of this theme in later periods. With numerous artists of successive generations following his model, it is no coincidence that a number of paintings depicting the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers from the early Joseon period have been attributed to An Gyeon.

ranged in the order of "Mountain Market, Clear with Rising Mist," "Evening Bell from a Mist-shrouded Temple," "Fishing Village in Evening Glow," "Returning Sails off a Distant Shore," "Night Rain on the Xiao and Xiang Rivers," "Wild Geese Descending to a Sandbar," "Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting," and "River and Sky in Evening Snow" (Fig. 5). When placed in this order, the scenes are perfectly paired in symmetrical compositions, and the transition from one scene to the next is smooth and harmonious. This order is identical to that found in Ningzong's series of poems, which further indicates the close connection between the two works.

The title of each scene is inscribed in the upper-right corner in a clerical script (隸書), but the title of "Evening Bell from a Mist-shrouded Temple" is absent. A square relief seal impression reading "An Chung" (安忠, active 12–13th century) appears on the paintings, but it appears to be a later addition. Unconventional titles are given for the scenes depicting "Returning Sails off a Distant Shore" and "Wild Geese Descending to a Sandbar": "遠浦帆歸" and "平沙雁落" are used instead of the more typical titles "遠浦歸帆" and "平沙落雁." The title of the third panel is obscured, but it most likely read "漁村晚照," or "Fishing Village in Evening Glow." If so, it would correspond to the titles of Ningzong's poems (Fig. 4). The title of "Evening Bell from a Mist-shrouded Temple" was probably accidentally omitted during the process of copying the original paintings and transcribing the titles. The characteristics of the Yügensai-collection *Eight Views* are discussed in the following paragraphs.

The representation of the mountain village in "Mountain Market, Clear with Rising Mist" (Fig. 3-1) harks back to such Northern Song dynasty landscape paintings as Guan Tong's *Travelers in the Mountains* (關山行旅圖). Among Southern Song examples, *Dream Journey over the Xiao and Xiang Rivers* (瀟湘臥遊圖卷) by Master Li (李氏) from the Shucheng region (舒城) and paintings of "Mountain Market, Clear with Rising Mist" by Wang Hong (王洪, fl. c. 1131–1161), Yan Ciyu (閻次子, fl. c. 1164–1181), Ma Yuan (馬遠, fl. c. 1190–1225), and Xia Gui (夏珪, fl. c. 1195–1230) are all reminiscent of the Yügensai-collection "Mountain Market, Clear with Rising Mist" from the former. In addition, *A Solitary Temple amid Clearing Peaks* (晴巒蕭寺圖) (Fig. 6) attributed to Li Cheng (李成, 919–967) from the late Five Dynasties

Fig. 4-3. Titles of "Wild Geese Descending to a Sandbar"



Fig. 4-2. Titles of "Returning Sails off a Distant Shore"

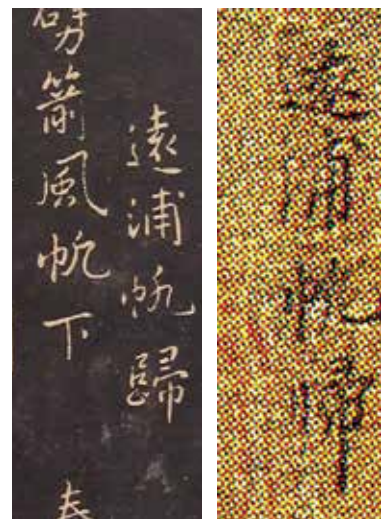


Fig. 4-1. Titles of "Fishing Village in Evening Glow"



Fig. 4. Comparison of titles of Ningzong's poems with titles inscribed on *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers* from the former Yügensai collection (left: Ningzong's poems; right: paintings from the former Yügensai collection)

### Characteristics of *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers* from the Former Yügensai Collection

A rare example of a complete set, *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers* from the former Yügensai collection is considered one of the earliest Korean works on the theme. The paintings were executed on relatively square sheets of paper. The artist remains unknown, but stylistic features associated with An Gyeon are apparent, just as in other Eight Views paintings from the early Joseon period.

The original sequence of the scenes in the Yügensai set is uncertain, but the paintings likely were ar-





Fig. 5. Reconfiguration of the eight scenes in *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers* from the former Yūgensai collection in accordance with Ningzong's poems

or Northern Song period and *Endless Mountains and Streams* (溪山無盡圖) by an anonymous artist from the Jin dynasty (Fig. 7) reveal close affinities with the Yūgensai “Mountain Market, Clear with Rising Mist”.

The diagonal compositions and asymmetrical arrangement of landscape elements in the Yūgensai paintings reflect the compositional evolution in landscape painting that occurred during the late Northern Song period. For example, the Yūgensai-collection paintings are closely related to *Painting and Farewell Poems to Hao Xuanming* (送郝玄明使秦書畫合璧卷) by Hu Shunchen (胡舜臣, active early 12th century) of the late Northern Song period (Fig. 19) and to *Clearing after Snow in the Min Mountains* (岷山晴雪圖) and *Travelers among Pines* (松杉行旅圖) from the Jin dynasty. In particular, paintings from the Jin dynasty are probable pictorial sources for An Gyeon's *Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land*. Considering all of these factors, the Yūgensai-collection “Mountain Market, Clear with Rising Mist” presumably either was influenced by a relatively early example transmitted from China to Korea or followed the traditional forms and styles established in Korea since Goryeo times.

Some elements found in “Fishing Village in Evening Glow” (Figs. 14 and 16) are closely associated with An Gyeon's *Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land* (Figs. 15 and 17). The empty ships anchored at the bank, thatched houses in the forest, and representations of trees, for example, are all similar to similar motifs depicted in *Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land*. However, the Yūgensai-collection painting employs short-line texture strokes known as *danseon jeomjun* (短線點皴, Ch. *duanxian diancun*) whose usage in Korea became widespread only late in the fifteenth century, indicating that this work was

Painted later than An Gyeon's.

The Yūgensai “Fishing Village in Evening Glow” shows a close affinity to *Village among Lofty Mountains* (山莊高逸圖) by Li Zai (李在), a Ming dynasty painter active in the fifteenth century (Fig. 18). Although the reasons behind the striking resemblance



Fig. 6. *A Solitary Temple amid Clearing Peaks* attributed to Li Cheng. Northern Song dynasty. Ink and slight color on silk. 111.8 x 55.9 cm (The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, U.S.)



need further research, similarities in the treatment of the foreground are evident. It is unlikely that the artist of the Yūgensai “Fishing Village in Evening Glow” could have seen Li Zai's *Village among Lofty Mountains*, so it is more likely that an earlier painting served as the model for each of these paintings, for both their styles and their iconography.

“Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting” (Fig. 3-7) orders perspective and recession into three-dimensional space in three successive planes—foreground, middle ground, and far distance—in which sand dunes and mountains are piled up at regular inter-

vals arranged along three diagonal lines starting in the foreground at the bottom right corner. Pavilions, water, trees, bridges, and houses are scattered in between. The scenery unfolds in a unique tripartite diagonal composition. Considering that this compositional feature is also found in *Painting and Farewell Poems to Hao Xuanming* (Fig. 19), the origin of this configuration can be traced back to the Northern Song period.



Fig. 7. *Streams and Mountains without End* (detail) by unknown artist. Late Northern Song-Jin dynasty. Ink and slight color on silk. 35.1 x 213 cm (The Cleveland Museum of Art, U.S.)



Fig. 8. *Snow Landscape* attributed to Xia Gui. Southern Song dynasty. Ink on silk. 47.6 x 32.5 cm (National Palace Museum, Taipei)



The composition of “River and Sky in Evening Snow” (Fig. 3-8) shares similar characteristics with a landscape with an attached colophon by Zekkai Chūsin (絶海中津, 1336–1405), particularly in the left-hand portion of the latter. Compared with the previously mentioned landscape, however, *Snow Landscape* (雪景山水圖) (Fig. 8), which is attributed to Xia Gui and which is believed to be represent “River and Sky in Evening Snow,” exhibits an even closer connection to this Yūgensai painting. Elements shared by both works include the “one-corner” composition, protruding hills in the left corner of the foreground, buildings on the hills, and houses placed to the right of the hills.

As mentioned above, most of the scenes in the Yūgensai *Eight Views* feature a diagonal composition in which the fore- and middle grounds are placed on one side of the painting and views from a level distance are presented on the other side in order to represent spatial recession. In sum, the compositions of these paintings are characterized by an asymmetrical arrangement of pictorial elements in the foreground and far distance, accompanied by a partial adaptation of a diagonal composition. The artist also aptly applied iconography and motifs typically associated with the theme of the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang.

As previously discussed, the Yūgensai *Eight Views* exhibits a strong affinity with An Gyeon’s *Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land*. “Fishing Village in Evening Glow” shares such common features with the An Gyeon painting as certain pictorial elements and the conspicuous use of the diagonal compositional arrangement. The various applications of diagonally organized compositions in “Mountain Market, Clearing with Rising Mist” and “Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting” reveal the artist’s technical skill and technique. In the case of An Gyeon’s *Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land*, the viewer’s eye is guided in the intended direction along a diagonal starting in the lower left corner and culminating at the upper right of the painting.

As already discussed, the Yūgensai *Eight Views* features unique titles for the scenes representing “Returning Sails off a Distant Shore” and “Wild Geese Descending to a Sandbar”—titles that are only rarely found in other works on this theme. The only other occurrence of these titles are in Emperor Ningzong’s poems. Both the titles and the sequence of the eight

scenes in the Yūgensai set correspond to Ningzong’s poems, suggesting that the Yūgensai *Eight Views* is closely associated with the poems and paintings in *Bihaedang’s Poetry Scroll*.

Given that *Bihaedang’s Poetry Scroll* is lost, we cannot know the exact nature or appearance of the paintings. However, if it indeed is the work described as “each of the eight views having a corresponding painting” (八景圖各一) in Sin Sukju’s *Record on Paintings*, then *Bihaedang’s Poetry Scroll* seemingly was a set of eight paintings, each depicting a scene from the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers as a separate work. Given that this work likely was inspired by Ningzong’s poems on the Eight Views, it is possible that the order and titles of the paintings followed those of Ningzong’s. The Yūgensai *Eight Views* share common features with Ningzong’s poems—the sequence of the scenes, for example, and the titles of the individual scenes—likely because it was strongly influenced by the paintings in *Bihaedang’s Poetry Scroll*.

In the same vein, the Yūgensai *Eight Views* exhibits motifs and modes of representation similar to those in *Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land*. If the paintings in *Bihaedang’s Poetry Scroll* were in fact executed by An Gyeon, it would come as no surprise that there would be numerous similarities between An Gyeon’s *Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land* and the Yūgensai paintings.

Apart from the similarities between the Yūgensai paintings and An Gyeon’s *Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land*, there are obvious differences as well. For example, the short-line texture strokes known as *danseon jeomjun* occur only in the Yūgensai paintings. Because such texture strokes became popular only in late fifteenth-century Joseon landscape paintings, their presence indicates that the artist of the Yūgensai paintings incorporated newly emerging elements into the traditional style of An Gyeon.

Because it likely imitated now-lost paintings by, or attributed to, An Gyeon, the Yūgensai-collection *Eight Views* stands as an important work of art. Many extant Korean paintings of the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang exhibit features shared with the Yūgensai paintings, which proves the formidable influence of the paintings of the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers attributed to An Gyeon in the development of this theme in Korea.



Fig. 9. *Wild Geese Descending to a Sandbar* (Fig. 9-1) and *Fishing Village in Evening Glow* (Fig. 9-2) by unknown artists. Ink on silk. 65.2 x 42.4 cm (each). Private Collection, Japan (Yamato Bunkakan, ed. 1996, Fig. 4)

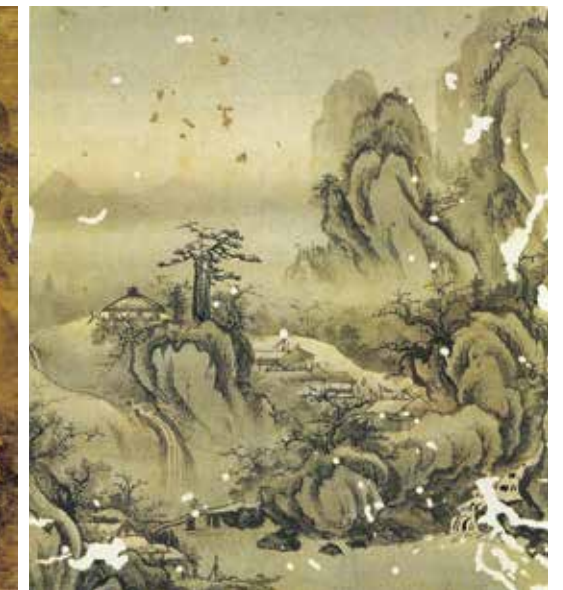


Fig. 10. *Clear Shades of Trees in Mountains and Streams* attributed to Seokgyeong. Joseon dynasty. Ink and slight color on silk. 25.2 x 22.0 cm (Kansong Art Museum)



Fig. 11. *Landscape* attributed to Yang Paengson. Joseon dynasty, early 16th century. Ink and slight color on silk. 88.2 x 46.5 cm (National Museum of Korea)



Fig. 12. *Landscape* attributed to Yang Paengson. Joseon dynasty, early 16th century. Ink and slight color on silk. 80.5 x 42.5 cm. Former collection of Yūgensai, Japan (Yūgensai 1996, Fig. 11)



Fig. 13. *Landscape* attributed to Shōkei. Muro-machi period, early 16th century. Ink on paper. 79.5 x 40.3 cm. Private collection, Japan (Yamato Bunkakan, ed. 1996, Fig. 9)



### The Relationship between the Yūgensai Paintings and Other Artworks

The Yūgensai-collection *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers* is closely related to paintings of the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang from the early and mid-Joseon periods. For example, *Clear Shade of Trees in Mountains and Streams* (溪山清樾圖) attributed to Seokgyeong (石敬, active early 16th century) (Fig. 10) is strikingly similar to the scene of “Mountain Market, Clear with Rising Mist.” However, the repeated use of abbreviated forms in Seokgyeong’s painting suggests that this work was created later than the Yūgensai paintings. Indeed, Seokgyeong’s work represents the style of landscape painting that prevailed in the early sixteenth century, which is also represented by the *Landscape* attributed to Yang Paengson (梁彭孫, 1480–1545) (Fig. 11) and *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers* in the collection of Daigan-ji (大願寺) Temple in Hiroshima Prefecture, Japan.

While Seokgyeong’s *Shade of Trees in Mountains and Streams* is dated to the early sixteenth century, the Yūgensai “Mountain Market, Clear with Rising Mist” probably was painted in the late fifteenth century. Compared to the Daigan-ji Temple *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang River*, the Yūgensai painting is executed in a more archaic manner, as evinced by its effective suggestion of spatial recession and description of the spatial relationship of hills and mountains through dexterous brushwork and the use of various tones of ink. Further, it portrays light and atmospheric effects through the deft manipulation of washes of light ink.

Given these stylistic features, the Yūgensai *Eight Views* must have been painted later than An Gyeon’s *Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land* but a little earlier than the Daigan-ji Temple *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers*. The trees growing atop hills and the pavilions below the foreground hills in the Yūgensai “Evening Bell from a Mist-shrouded Temple” reflect motifs apparent in *Fishing Village in Evening Glow* and *Sails Returning to the Maritime Customs* (海關歸帆圖), both by Yi Deok’ik (active 17th century), which reflects the influence of the Yūgensai paintings on these later works.

The expression of the Yūgensai “Fishing Village in Evening Glow” appears to have played a key role in the development of this theme during the later portion of the Joseon dynasty. *Fishing Village in Evening*

*Glow* in a Japanese private collection (Fig. 9-1) shows an almost identical expression, while a version of the same scene in the collection of Korea’s Jinju National Museum and the scene of “Returning Sails off a Distant Shore” in the Daigan-ji Temple set resemble the Yūgensai painting in terms of motifs and mode of representation. Each of these works features an asymmetrical composition consisting of three planes, but the right-hand portion of the foreground presents a composition similar to that of the Yūgensai “Fishing Village in Evening Glow.”

Although there are slight differences among them, *Landscape* attributed to Yang Paengson (Figs. 11 and 12), *Landscape* ascribed to Shōkei (祥啓, active c. 1478–1523) (Fig. 13), and *Landscape* by Yi Heung-hyo (李興孝, 1537–1593) are closely associated with the Yūgensai “Returning Sails off a Distant Shore.” “Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting,” one scene from the Yūgensai set, is closely akin to an *Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting* in a Japanese private collection. *Wild Geese Descending to a Sandbar* (Fig. 9-2) included in the same set as the previously mentioned *Fishing Village in Evening Glow* (Fig. 9-1) in a Japanese private collection resembles this scene from the Yūgensai set.

Two paintings of “River and Sky in Evening Snow” (Fig. 3-8), one from the Yūgensai set and the other in the series *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers* bearing Kim Hyeongseong’s inscription, display a similar composition. Furthermore, *Snow Day* (雪天圖) attributed to An Gyeon and *River and Sky in Evening Snow* in the collection of the National Museum of Korea (Fig. 20) resemble the Yūgensai “River and Sky in Evening Snow.” Although there are differences in the composition of the right-hand portion and in the manner of representation, the overall composition and representation of landscape motifs are quite analogous. Among landscape paintings from the mid-Joseon period, *Landscape* by Yi Heung-hyo and *River and Sky in Evening Snow* by Yi Jing (李澄, 1581–after 1653) likely were influenced by the Yūgensai “River and Sky in Evening Snow” in terms of their composition and depiction of various motifs.

The comparisons of a selection of landscape paintings with the Yūgensai paintings indicate that the Yūgensai-collection *Eight Views* is closely connected to Korean landscape paintings in general, and in particular, to early and mid-Joseon paintings on the theme of the Eight Views of the Xiao Xiang

Rivers. The stylistic similarities among these works do not automatically mean that they were directly influenced by the Yūgensai paintings. However, the importance of the Yūgensai paintings in the development of pictorial elements and iconography of paintings on the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers in the early and mid-Joseon period cannot be over-emphasized. It is natural that Korean painters tended to use formulaic and patterned expressions to render the theme of the Eight Views, which depicts actual scenery in China. For this reason, the transmission of the theme and the chronological succession of influences among Korean versions of the Eight Views theme are overt and recognizable.

The Yūgensai *Eight Views* is considered a canonical work on this theme from the early Joseon period in that it is a relatively early work and shares a num-

ber of features with other works on the theme. The archetypal features of the Yūgensai paintings are related to the paintings’ close connection to *Bihaedang’s Poetry Scroll* and An Gyeon’s *Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land*. In this context, the Yūgensai paintings most likely were inspired by the Eight Views paintings attributed to An Gyeon and incorporated in *Bihaedang’s Poetry Scroll*. In consideration of all these aspects, the Yūgensai *Eight Views* paintings, together with *Bihaedang’s Poetry Scroll*, serve as cornerstone works for understanding paintings on the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers theme in the early Joseon period and thus merit further scholarly attention.



Fig. 14. “Fishing Village in Evening Glow” from the former Yūgensai collection (detail)



Fig. 16. “Fishing Village in Evening Glow” from the former Yūgensai collection (detail)



Fig. 15. *Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land* by An Gyeon (detail). Joseon dynasty, 1447. Central Library of Tenri University, Japan (Samsung Art and Culture Foundation 1996, Fig. 2)



Fig. 17. *Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land* by An Gyeon (detail). Joseon dynasty, 1447 (Samsung Art and Culture Foundation 1996, Fig. 2)





Fig. 18. *Village among Lofty Mountains* by Li Zai (detail). Ming dynasty. Ink on silk (National Palace Museum, Taipei)



Fig. 19. *Painting and Farewell Poems to Hao Xuanming* by Hu Shunchen. Northern Song dynasty. Ink and slight color on silk. 30.0 x 111.0 cm (Osaka City Museum of Fine Arts)

## Conclusion

*Bihaedang's Poetry Scroll* and An Gyeon's *Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land* stand as definitive examples revealing the lofty accomplishments in the joint presentation of poetry and painting as achieved in the early Joseon period. *Bihaedang's Poetry Scroll* is closely associated with Yūgensai-collection *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang*. The sequence of the eight scenes and the titles in the Yūgensai paintings are identical to those of Ningzong's poems that were compiled in *Bihaedang's Poetry Scroll*.

In short, the Yūgensai *Eight Views* presumably followed the *Eight Views* paintings by An Gyeon that were included in *Bihaedang's Poetry Scroll*. This assumption is supported by certain motifs and expressions in the Yūgensai paintings that recall ones in An Gyeon's *Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land*.

In addition, the style and pictorial elements and styles of the Yūgensai *Eight Views* appear to have served as sources for Korean paintings of the *Eight*

Views and other landscapes in succeeding periods. *Fishing Village in Evening Glow* and *Wild Geese Descending to a Sandbar* in a Japanese private collection, *Clear Shades of Trees in Mountains and Streams* attributed to Seokgyeong, *Landscape* attributed to Yang Paengson, and *Landscape* ascribed to Shōkei all faithfully follow the styles of the Yūgensai examples. In addition, many other works were strongly influenced by the Yūgensai *Eight Views*.

The *Bihaedang's Poetry Scroll* and the Yūgensai *Eight Views* are the two most important early Joseon works on this theme. They are closely related to each other and both served as models for later paintings of the *Eight Views* of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers.

Further research is recommended for investigating the relationship between *Bihaedang's Poetry Scroll* and the Yūgensai *Eight Views* in order to discover information about the An Gyeon-attributed paintings of the *Eight Views* of the Xiao and Xiang. Such study would also encourage scholarly discussion both of the influence on later periods of the paintings attrib-



Fig. 20. *River and Sky in Evening Snow* by unknown artist. Joseon dynasty. Ink on silk. 35.2 x 30.7 cm (National Museum of Korea)

uted to An Gyeon that originally appeared in *Bihaedang's Poetry Scroll* and of the historical development of paintings on this theme in the early Joseon period.

TRANSLATED BY SEO YOONJUNG

This paper is an abridged English version of “Concerning the Linkages between the *Album of the Poems for Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers* and *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers* in the Collection of Yoohyeonjae (幽玄齋)” (비해당 소장팔경시권과 일본 유현재 소장 소장팔경도의 연관에 대하여), previously published in 2009 in *Dongwon Academic Essays* (동원학술논문집) 10.

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## Further Reading

### BUDDHIST SCULPTURE OF THE THREE KINGDOMS PERIOD

삼국시대 불교조각

Seoul: National Museum of Korea (1990).



This is a catalog for the exhibition *Buddhist Sculpture of the Three Kingdoms Period*, held at the National Museum of Korea in 1990, which drew attention for gathering Buddhist sculptures from the Three Kingdoms period in a single place for the first time in Korea. In this exhibition, a large-scale pedestal of a Buddhist statue excavated from Cheongyang in Chungcheongnam-do Province was shown after repair and conservation. A mold for clay Buddhist sculpture excavated from Toseong-ri in Pyeongyang was also among the items first introduced to the public. Of over 130 masterpieces of Buddhist sculpture from Goguryeo, Baekje, and Silla that were displayed in the exhibition, about one hundred are presented in this catalog with corresponding images and explanations. The catalog illuminates ancient Korean Buddhist art through a diversity of Buddhist sculptures from the Three Kingdoms period—from the Buddhist statue excavated from Ttukseom Isalnd, the oldest extant example from the burgeoning period of Buddhism in Korea to the National Treasure Nos. 78 and 83, the world-renowned treasures of pensive bodhisattvas.

(172 pages, in Korean).

### ECHOES OF LIFE, THE ENDURING TRADITION OF UNIFIED SILLA SCULPTURE

영원한 생명의 울림 통일신라 조각

Seoul: National Museum of Korea (2008).



This catalog on the special exhibition “Echoes of Life, the Enduring Tradition of Unified Silla Sculpture,” held at the National Museum of Korea in 2008, illuminates the beauty and meaning of Buddhist sculpture from the Unified Silla period. It introduces the formation, development, and characteristics of the Unified Silla tradition of Buddhist sculpture by presenting Unified Silla works from Korean collections as well as those from Japanese collections which had previously been less accessible due to their location. Related examples from China and Japan are also presented for comparison. At the end of the catalog are essays dealing with the international feature of Buddhist sculpture of Unified Silla, characteristics of Buddhist sculptures and structure of Seokguram Grotto, Buddhist statues of Mt. Namsan in Gyeongju, and the type and structure of stone pagoda reliefs from Unified Silla period.

ISBN: 9788992788212 (416 pages, in Korean).

Lee Nanyoung

### UNIFIED SILLA

통일신라

Seoul: National Museum of Korea (2003).



This is a catalog on the NMK’s special exhibition “Unified Silla: First Unification, New Country” which exhibited about 500 representative works from the Unified Silla period, collected from all corners of the nation, including ten works designated as national treasure or treasure. Based on the images of the exhibits and related texts, the catalog takes a comprehensive approach to the culture of the Unified Silla, ranging from social system, life, religion to external relations. Part 4 “Nation of the Buddha,” in particular, introduces Buddhist culture of Unified Silla through images of elaborate Buddhist statues and splendid śarīra reliquaries. The essays discuss the significance of Silla’s unification of the three kingdoms, the politics and social system of the time, and characteristics of Buddhist sculpture from Unified Silla period. An essay by the exhibition designer details the process of developing exhibition design and the method of display of the exhibits.

ISBN: 898164032791910 (103 pages, in Korean).

### MASTERPIECES OF EARLY BUDDHIST SCULPTURE, 100 BCE–700 CE

고대불교조각대전

Seoul: National Museum of Korea (2015).



This is a catalog on “Masterpieces of Early Buddhist Sculpture, 100 BCE – 700 CE,” a special exhibition held in 2015 to mark the tenth anniversary of the relation of the National Museum of Korea to the present location in Yongsan. This exhibition illuminated the importance of exchanges among different cultures of the world mediated by Buddhist sculptures, and explained the relationships of influence among Buddhist sculptures of India, China, Korea, Vietnam, and Japan. The catalog begins with Part 1 dealing with Buddhist sculpture of India, and after Part 2 and Part 3 featuring Buddhist sculptures of China and Korea, respectively, the formation and development of pensive bodhisattva statues are explained in detail in the final Part 4. The catalog also presents recent research findings and new data and materials related to the theme of each part.

ISBN: 9791185087108 (319 pages, in Korean).





The National Museum of Korea is the premier museum for Korean history and art, with a collection that embodies the essence of Korean culture, comprising some 390,000 diverse artifacts and artworks ranging from the prehistoric age through contemporary Korea. Since its establishment in 1945, the museum has endeavored to conduct and support numerous studies and research activities in the fields of archaeology, history, and art, and to continuously develop a variety of insightful exhibitions and innovative education programs. Due to the great success of these scholarly exhibitions and programs, more and more people are visiting the museum every year; in 2015, the National Museum of Korea welcomed more than 3 million visitors. For more information, please visit our website: [www.museum.go.kr](http://www.museum.go.kr)



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