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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

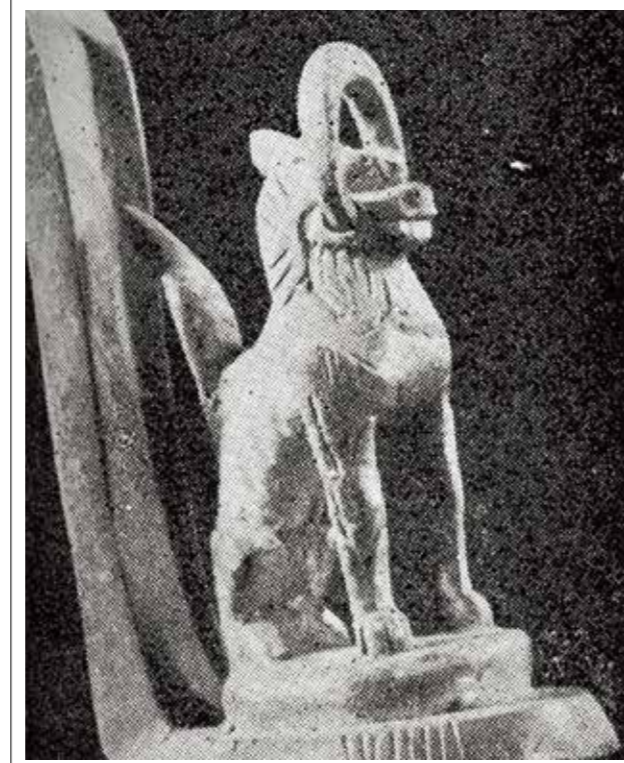
#### Incense Burner with a Handle and Lion Weight

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

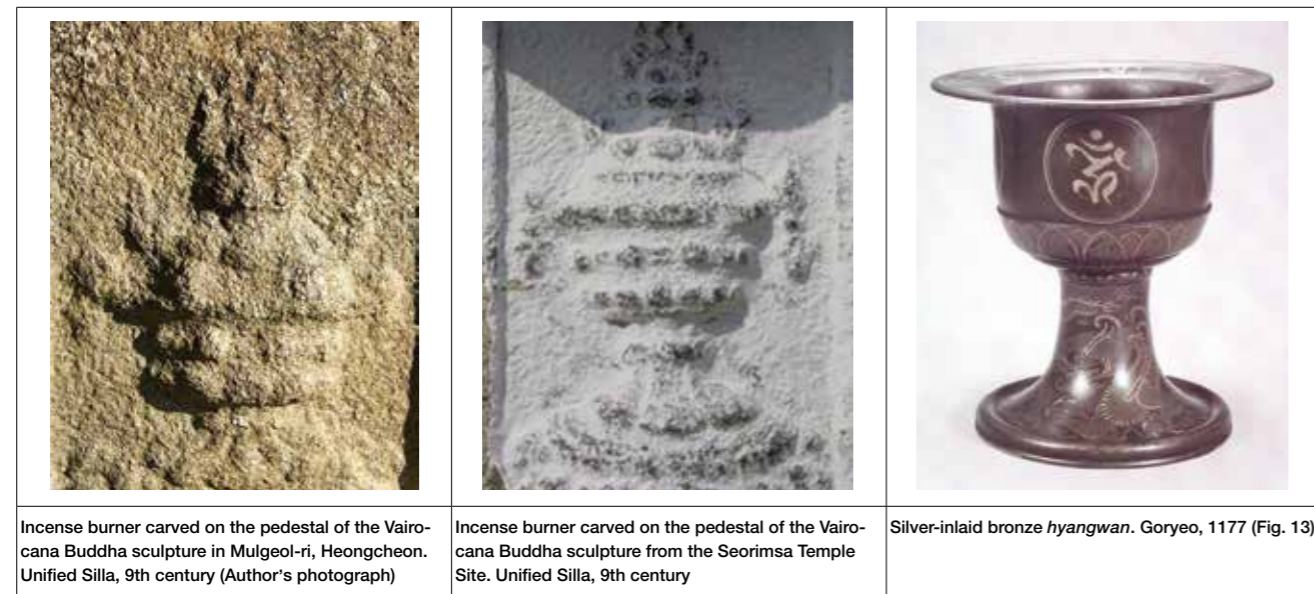
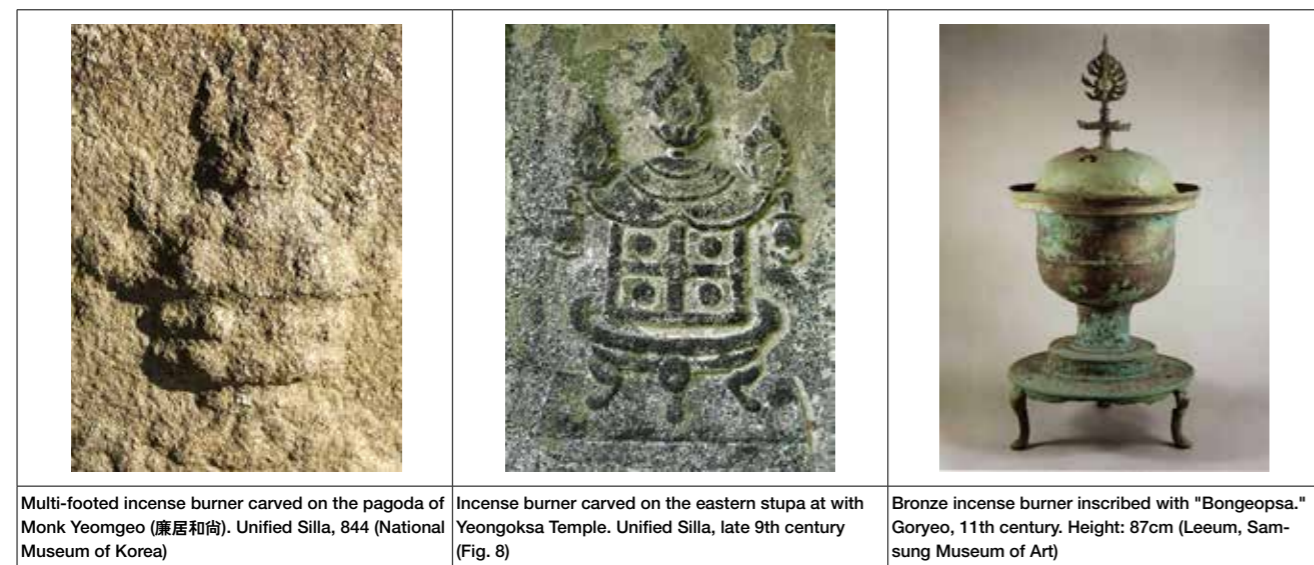
Detail	Incense burner with a handle and lion weight from Ingaksa Temple (Fig. 3)	Incense burner with a handle and lion weight inscribed with “Chamjijeongsa” (Fig. 4)	Incense burner with a handle and lion weight inscribed with “Unbongsa” (Fig. 5)
Shape of the handle			
Appearance of the lion			
Method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



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 (李頰, 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 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

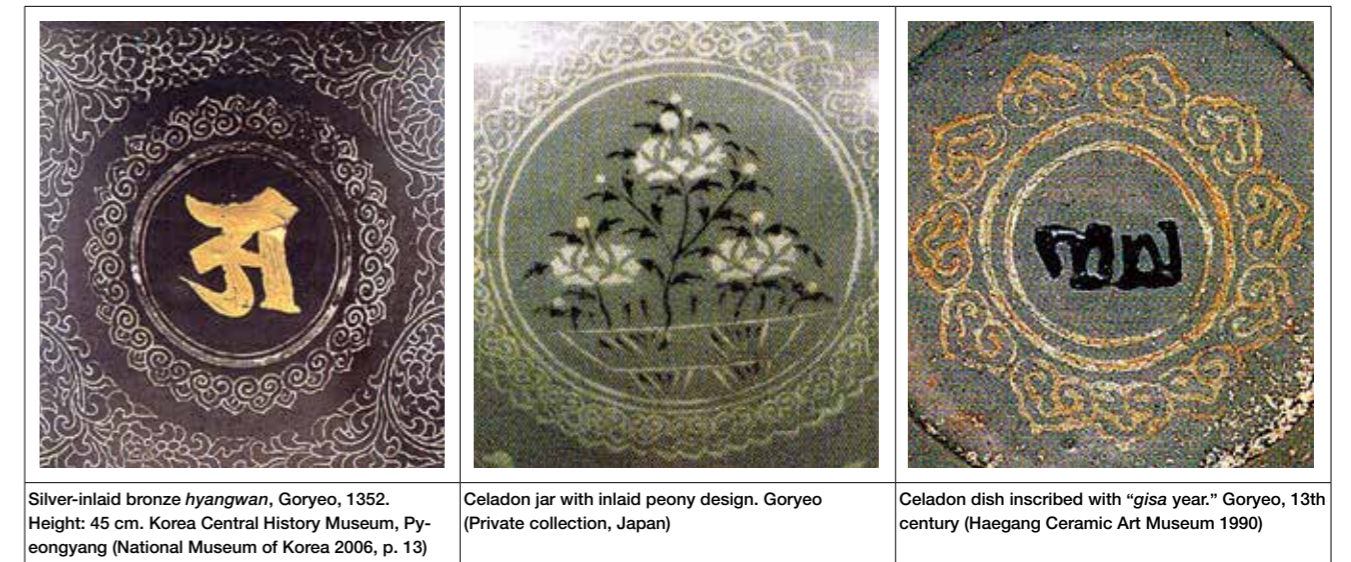
lotus-petal band on the lower section of the body. Most importantly, this *hyangwan* is the oldest of the known silver-inlaid Goryeo *hyangwan* to feature the *ruyi*-head design, which appeared on nearly all later examples.

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



Silver-inlaid bronze *hyangwan*, Goryeo, 1352. Height: 45 cm. Korea Central History Museum, Pyeongyang (National Museum of Korea 2006, p. 13)

Celadon jar with inlaid peony design. Goryeo (Private collection, Japan)

Celadon dish inscribed with "gisa year." Goryeo, 13th century (Haegang Ceramic Art Museum 1990)

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



Silver-inlaid Goryeo bronze *hyangwan* inscribed with "seventeenth Dading Year" (Fig. 13)

Silver-inlaid Goryeo bronze *hyangwan* inscribed with "Hampyeong gungju bang" (National Museum of Korea)

Silver-inlaid Goryeo bronze *hyangwan*, Treasure No. 1735 (Tongdosa Seongbo Museum)

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 ॐ म न प द मे हूं (om ma ni pad me hūm) 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 ॐ म न प द मे हूं (om ma ni pad me hūm) on the flange of the bronze *hyangwan* inscribed with “seventeenth Dading year” constitute a six-syllable mantra associated with Avalokiteśvara (六字大明王真言; 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 hūm” 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”		ॐ म न प द मे हूं om a hūm hrīḥ
2	Silver-inlaid bronze <i>hyangwan</i> inscribed with “seventeenth Dading Year”	ॐ म न प द मे हूं om ma ni pad me hūm	ॐ म न प द मे हूं om a hūm hrīḥ
3	Silver-inlaid bronze <i>hyangwan</i> inscribed with “fourth Zhizheng Year, Jungheungsa”		ॐ य स ल य om ysa la ya
4	Silver-inlaid bronze <i>hyangwan</i> inscribed with “sixth Zhizheng Year, Sangwonsa”		ॐ व ङ व हूं om a vaṃ huṃ
5	Silver-inlaid bronze <i>hyangwan</i> inscribed with “twelfth Zhizheng Year, Yongjangseonsa”		अ ञ अ हूं a ā aṃ aḥ
6	Silver-inlaid bronze <i>hyangwan</i> inscribed with “seventeenth Zhizheng Year”		ॐ त्रु म हूं मं a trum hrīḥ maṃ
7	Silver-inlaid bronze <i>hyangwan</i> inscribed with “twenty-sixth Zhizheng Year, Jinjongsa”		ॐ म न प द मे हूं om a hūm hrīḥ
8	Silver-inlaid bronze <i>hyangwan</i> inscribed with “Tongdosa”		ॐ om
9	Silver-inlaid bronze <i>hyangwan</i> , Treasure No. 1735		ॐ म न प द om ma ni pad
10	Silver-inlaid bronze <i>hyangwan</i> inscribed with “Hampyeong gungju bang”		ॐ म न प द om ma ni pad
11	Silver-inlaid bronze <i>hyangwan</i> presumed from Yongmunsa Temple		ॐ व ङ व हूं om va jra viṃ
12	Silver-inlaid bronze <i>hyangwan</i> from Magoksa Temple		ॐ ग ण ग om ga ṇa gra

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), ॐ (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 म (ma ni) means “jewel,” and प (pad me) signifies “lotus.” The *Jineonjip* mentions that हूं (hūm) refers to the *bija* seed syllable for “truth” (眞心種子), Akṣobhya 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, “hūm” can be taken to mean “purify and save us.” When these individual meanings are combined, “om ma ni pad me hūm” 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 hūm” 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 ॐ म न प द मे हूं (om a hūm 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 ॐ म न प द मे हूं (om a hūm hrīḥ)

(至正二十六年 眞宗寺) (Illustration 10).

Of the four Sanskrit characters in this mantra, ॐ (*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 ॐ (*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 ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ (*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 ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ (*om a hūm hriḥ*). The syllables ॐ (*om*), ॐ (*a*), and ॐ (*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 ॐ (*hriḥ*) has been appended. Therefore, ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ (*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 ॐ (*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 ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ (*om ysa la ya*), the incense burner bearing “sixth Zhizheng year, Sangwonsa” (至正六年 上院寺) shows ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ (*om a vaṃ huṃ*), the incense burner presumed to be from Yongmunsa Temple is adorned with ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ (*om vajra viṃ*), and the incense burner from Magoksa features ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ (*om ga ṇa gra*).

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



Silver-inlaid bronze Goryeo *hyangwan* inscribed with “fourth Zhizheng Year, Jungheungsa.” Goryeo, 1344. Height: 33.4 cm. Central Buddhist Museum (Author’s photograph)

Silver-inlaid bronze *hyangwan* inscribed with “sixth Zhizheng Year, Sangwonsa.” Goryeo, 1346. Height: 28.8 cm. Private Collection. (National Museum of Korea 1997, Fig. 29)

Silver-inlaid bronze *hyangwan* presumed from Yongmunsa Temple. Goryeo, Height: 18.8 cm. (National Museum of Korea)

Silver-inlaid bronze *hyangwan* from Magoksa Temple. Goryeo. Height: 19.7 cm. Dongguk University Museum. (Author’s photograph)

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

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 ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ (*om vajra viṃ*) are considered to mean “Oh, praise to the Vajra!” In addition, ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ (*om ga ṇa gra*) on the incense burner from Magoksa is a combination of ॐ (*om*), the expression of praise found at the head of a mantra, with ॐ (*ga ṇa*), which means countless, and ॐ (*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 ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ (*a ā am aḥ*) inlaid in silver. Among them, ॐ (*a*) represents the Jeweled Banner Buddha (寶幢如來, Skr. Ratnaketu) of the east, ॐ (*am*) the Infinite Life Buddha of the West (無量壽如來, Skr. Amitāyus), or Amitābha Buddha, ॐ (*a*) the Florescence King (開敷華王, Skr. Saṃkusumitarāja) in the south, and ॐ (*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 daejeongyeong* (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 ॐ (*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 ॐ (*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



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-

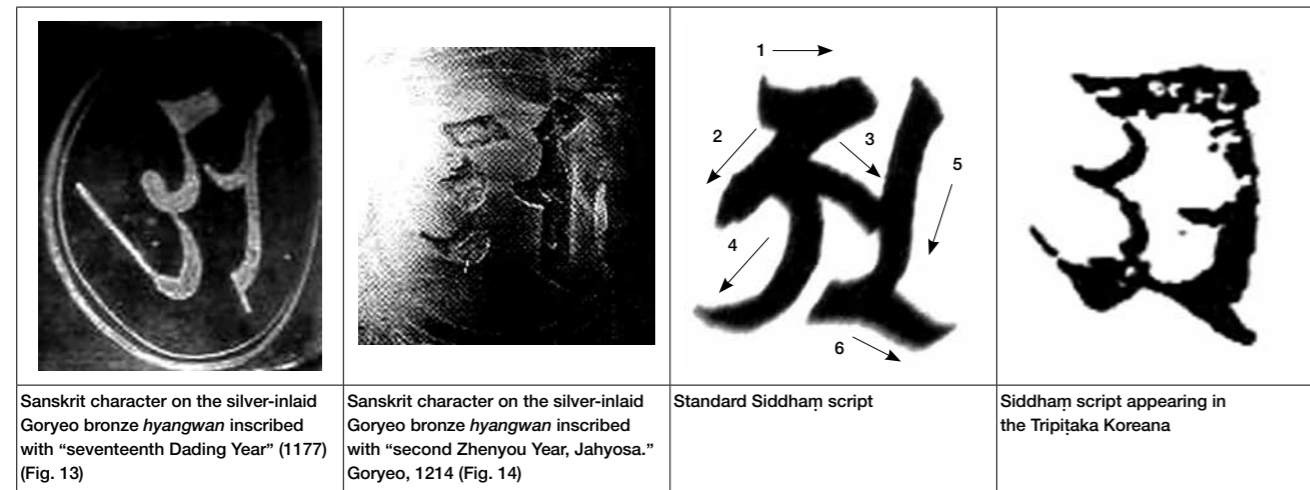


Illustration 12. Comparison of a Sanskrit character found on the *hyangwan* inscribed with "seventeenth Dading year" and "second Zhenyou year" with standard Siddham script and the Siddham script in the Tripitaka Koreana

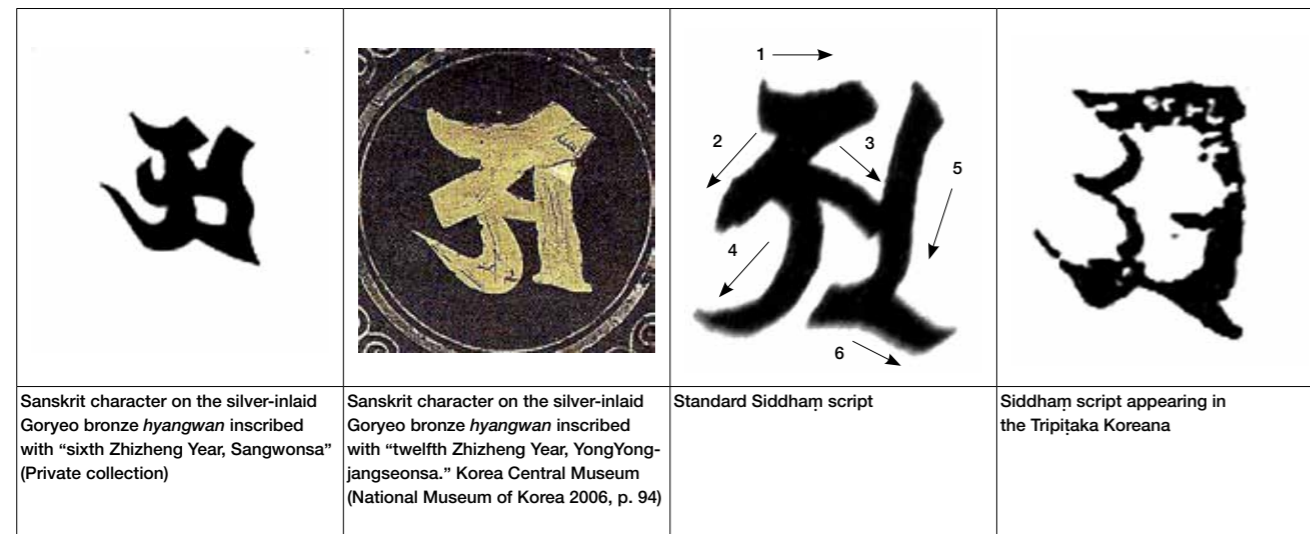


Illustration 13. Sanskrit characters on silver-inlaid bronze *hyangwan* produced in the Zhizheng era

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

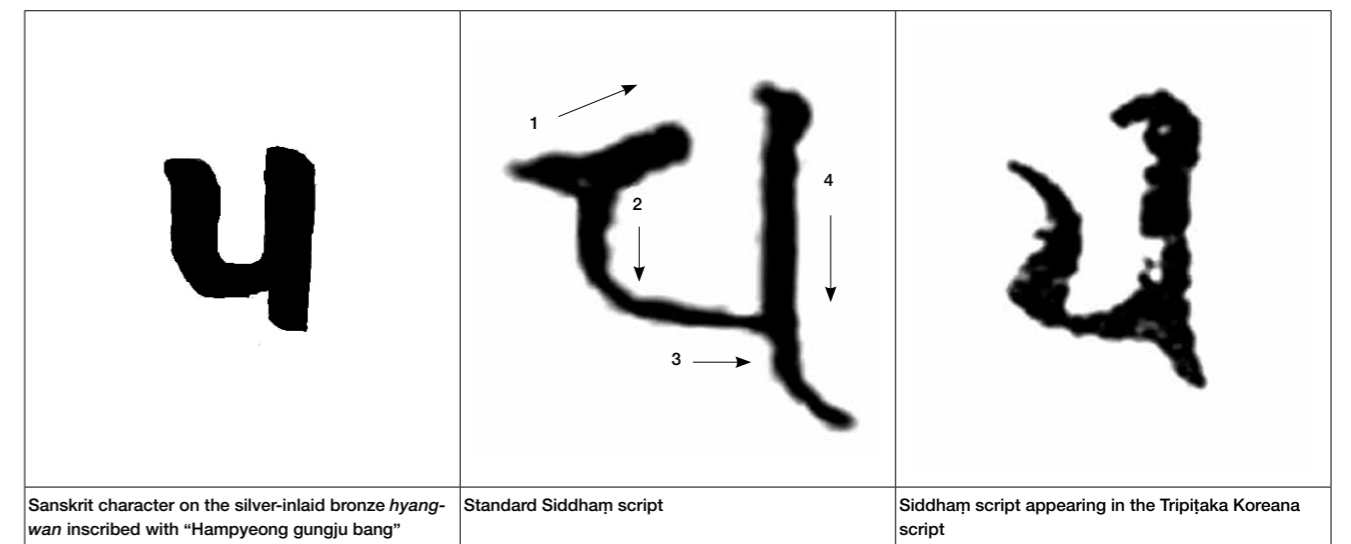


Illustration 14. Comparison of a Sanskrit character on the incense burner marked "Hampyeong gungju bang" with standard Siddham script and the Siddham script as it appears in the Tripitaka Koreana

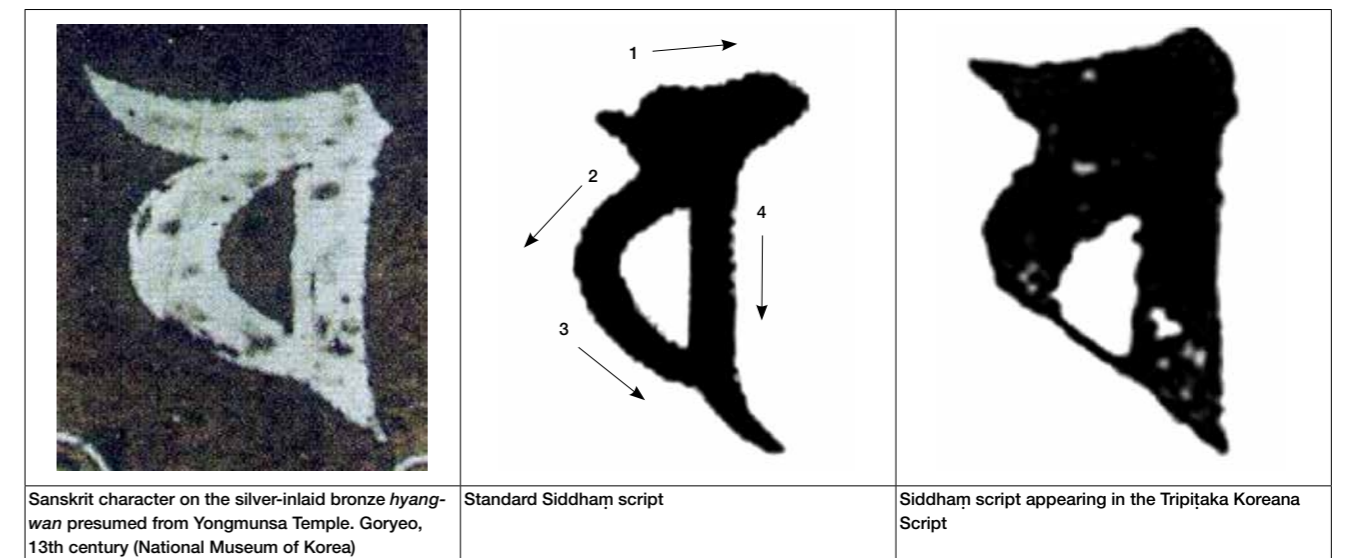


Illustration 15. Comparison of a Sanskrit character on the incense burner presumed to be from Yongmunsa Temple with standard Siddham script and Siddham script as it appears in the Tripitaka Koreana

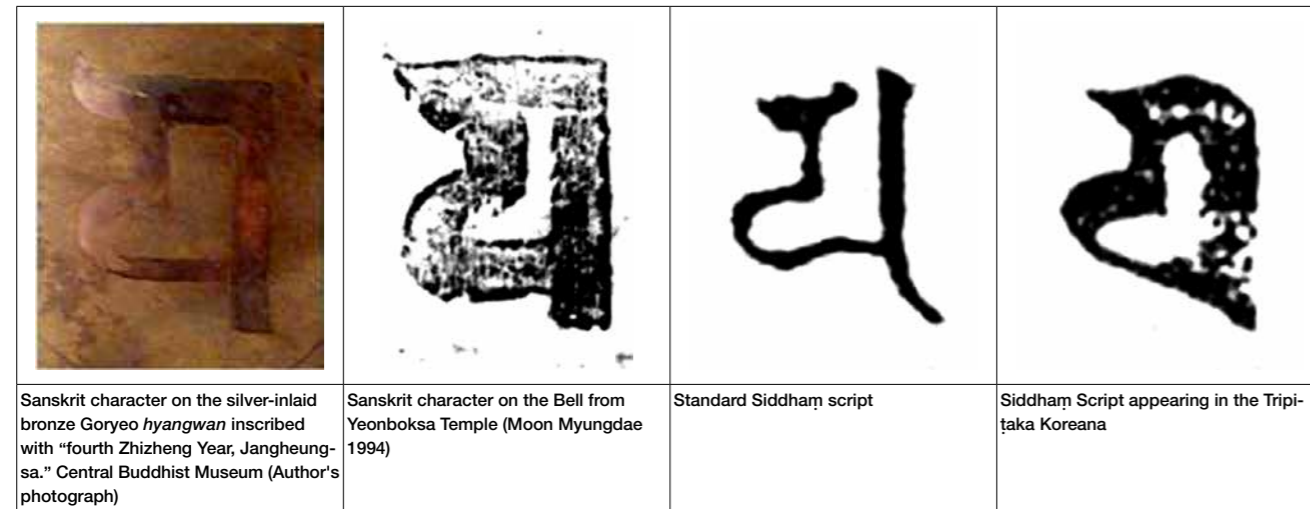


Illustration 16. Comparison of a Sanskrit character on the incense burner inscribed with "fourth Zhizheng year, Jungheungsa" with standard Siddham script, Siddham script as it appears in the Tripitaka Koreana, and the script on the Bell from Yeonboksas Temple

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  $\text{व}$  (*va*) character in the *Chapter on Major Characters of the Siddham Script Used in the Vajrasekhara 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  $\text{व}$  (*va*) character on the incense burner with standard Siddham script, the Rañjanā script on the Bell from Yeonboksas 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 Yeonboksas 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

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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. 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. 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. 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

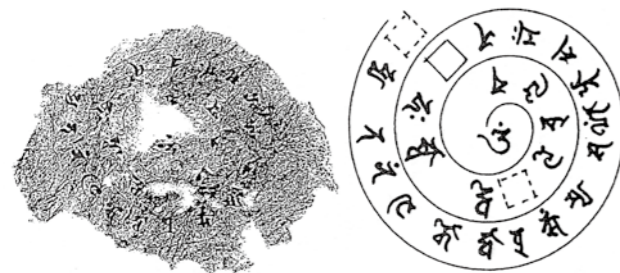


Fig. 18. Cundī mantra discovered inside the stone pagoda at Galhangsa Temple (Nam Kwonhee 2005)



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

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### 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* (匪懈堂瀟湘八

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)