

# The International Journal of KOREAN ART and ARCHAEOLOGY

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*The International Journal of Korean Art and Archaeology* Volume 2 presents seven select articles (one by Japanese and six by Korean scholars) previously published in Korean between 1996 and 2007. The topics include the pottery, mural paintings, and temple layouts of Goguryeo; flower-and-bird paintings and mother-of-pearl lacquerwares of the Goryeo and Joseon periods; court documentary paintings of the Joseon dynasty; and Goryeo celadon wares newly discovered in 2002 in Korea.

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*The International Journal of Korean Art and Archaeology* is dedicated to promoting a better understanding of Korean art and culture by introducing advanced researches and studies on Korean art, archaeology, architecture, and history to the international academic community.

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#### Notes for Readers

- Romanization of East Asian terms and names follows the Revised Romanization System (2000) for Korean, the Hanyu Pinyin System for Chinese, and the Hepburn System for Japanese.
- East Asian names are listed, throughout the journal, in the order of family name followed by the first name.
- With the exception of administrative district names and geographical designations, hyphens are used to separate syllables when there might be ambiguity in phonetic transcription according to the Revised Romanization System, Article III: Special Provisions for Romanization, Clause 2.
- For compound terms, spaces are used to separate words when there might be difficulty in interpretation and transcription.

## FOREWORD



The National Museum of Korea (NMK) proudly presents the second issue of *The International Journal of Korean Art and Archaeology*. This issue features a set of seven articles selected from twenty-three entries recommended by the journal's sixteen editorial board members with the goal to promote overall scholarly interests in Korean art, archaeology, architecture, and history.

- The many months of preparation for this journal has revealed the astonishing and diverse scope of academic accomplishments on Korean art and archaeology and has reconfirmed the significance of this English version in sharing the compendium of accumulated knowledge of Korea with the rest of the world. The publication of this journal conforms not only to the NMK's mission as an educational institution but also to the objectives established upon my inauguration as its tenth director: popularization, globalization, and informatization.

- The lack of consistency in interpreting Korean terms and definitions into English has been noted as one of the numerous issues that Korean art academia faces in this age of globalization. As an attempt to rectify this problem, this second issue includes a glossary of Korean terminology. We sincerely hope that this extra effort will provide a better foundation for further scholarly activities both in Korea and abroad.

- I thank everyone involved in making this journal possible – the editorial board, the contributing authors, and the journal publishing team – for their collaborative efforts. My heartfelt appreciation goes to Professor Roderick Whitfield, the journal's senior editor, for his immense contribution in making this second issue its finest. We always value your enduring supports and encouragements for this journal to become the NMK's flagship channel for international communication and collaboration.

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**Choe Kwang-shik**

Editor-in-Chief, *International Journal of Korean Art and Archaeology*

Director, National Museum of Korea

## EDITORIAL NOTE

In this second volume of *The International Journal of Korean Art and Archaeology*, the aim has been to make available recent published research by Korean scholars, and to bring the translations of the chosen articles to international readers in as clear a manner as possible. Some Korean terms have no exact equivalents in English, or even in Chinese: in this volume, a glossary, compiled from all the articles, is provided as an aide-mémoire. This provides not only the Chinese characters, but in most cases a brief definition, reign dates of rulers, and for individuals, dates of birth and death. It is hoped that in future volumes, the translators will be bolder in rendering such terms directly into English, and in the meantime, that readers themselves will comment on the usefulness of this feature, as a guide to its provision in future volumes.

- The articles themselves have been chosen with care by the Editorial Board, with the aim of introducing important issues in the field of Korean Art and Archaeology, and accordingly they range widely in time and subject-matter. Two of them concern the archaeology and architecture of ancient Goguryeo: its pottery tradition with origins in the Neolithic, and the plans of its earliest Buddhist temples, in as far as they can be determined from the remains of excavated foundations. The recent publication of *Horyuji Reconsidered* (ed. Dorothy C. Wong with Eric M. Field, Cambridge Scholars Press, 2008), with papers by distinguished authors presenting the famous Nara temple and its architecture in the context of Buddhism's transmission from Korea and China, shows the rich potential and cross-cultural importance of such architectural studies.

- A third article deals directly with the growing number of representations of Koreans in mural paintings and on artifacts discovered in China or elsewhere in Asia. Such representations are eloquent testimony to the perception of Koreans, and particularly those from Goguryeo, in China and across Asia as far as Dunhuang and Samarkand. Some are labelled Gaoli or Gaoliguo, clearly referring to Goguryeo, even at a time when the latter had been supplanted by Unified Silla. The depictions of Koreans wearing caps or headdresses decorated with two feathers, one on each side of the head, are nicely corroborated by historical materials describing Koreans.

- Readers will be familiar with the amazing wealth of ceramics recovered from the Sinan shipwreck, a number of years ago; the article in this volume on another shipwreck, off the island of Biando, will be news to most. In comparison with field archaeology, underwater archaeology is difficult and time-consuming to undertake, but the rewards are great, in terms of the recovery, often largely intact, of a great number of pieces caught, as it were, in the moment of their transport

from one port or one country to another, shedding light on the all-important trade and cultural contacts between those countries at a particular time. In this case, although the precise destination is uncertain, it proves possible to identify with a fair degree of certainty the kiln or kilns from which the majority of the cargo came.

- The article on artifacts inlaid with mother-of-pearl also concerns cultural transmission, in this case of a technique originating in China, and then transformed and made truly Korean by the use of the same materials used in a totally distinctive way, and identified particularly with the Goryeo dynasty and with Buddhism, since Buddhist practitioners were the principal users of sutra cases, incense boxes and even fly whisks. The subject has also been studied in the west, for example in the Metropolitan Museum's *Arts of Korea* (1998), and the exhibition of the *Goryeo Dynasty* at the Asian Art Museum, San Francisco (2003). Further research is needed to provide a more accurate chronology of this craft's development in Korea from the Silla period onwards and throughout the Goryeo and Joseon dynasties.

- Two articles concern the Joseon dynasty more particularly: one, on flower and bird painting, demonstrates the close affinity between this genre in Korea and its counterpart in China, with the names of many artists who were specialists in the depiction of flora and fauna; the other, more particularly concerned with Joseon, examines in great detail a genre of court painting that must have existed in China as well, but which has not so far been well studied, namely paintings, whether hanging scrolls, folding screens, or albums, that document court ceremonies. In the case of this article, the paintings are those that concern the education and upbringing of the Crown Prince, complemented by historical records on the same. Perhaps only in Confucian Korea was there such a zeal for recording every detail of such ceremonies. With yellow lines to indicate the positions and movements of the Crown Prince and the officials in charge of his education, not all the paintings can be regarded as high art, but they are immensely helpful for the view they provide of daily life at the Joseon court.

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**Roderick Whitfield**

Percival David Professor Emeritus, School of Oriental and African Studies  
University of London





Soljunggyeong-ong, excavated from Mongchon-toseong; H: 59.0 cm; Seoul National University Museum, Korea



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# A CHRONOLOGICAL STUDY OF GOGURYEO POTTERY

Choi Jongtaik, Associate Professor of Archaeology and Art History, Korea University

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## A CHRONOLOGICAL STUDY OF GOGURYEO POTTERY

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### [ ABSTRACT ]

Although Goguryeo (高句麗, 37 BC-668) pottery has been increasingly subject to examination since the 1980s, evidenced by a number of studies carried out in Ji'an (集安), China and in South Korea, it appears that little attention has been paid to its overall development and characteristics. For instance, Chinese scholars have studied Goguryeo pottery only in terms of establishing a chronology of funerary rites, and indeed Korean studies have been similarly limited. This paper attempts to address the origin and development of Goguryeo pottery by examining vessel types and production techniques.

Three developmental stages are recognized: the early period (before 300 AD), the middle period (300-500) and the late period (after 500). Goguryeo pottery is generally characterized by its fine clay ground, wheel-thrown technique, *daesangpasu* (帶狀把手: strap-shaped handles), and flat base. The pottery of the early period, primarily hand-modeled, contains more sand than pottery of the later stages whereas that of the middle period, mostly wheel-thrown, is made out of fine clay. Only a few vessel types show evidence of burnishing, which would seem to contradict the common assumption that a polished finish characterizes Goguryeo pottery.

Vessels discovered have been found to bear a variety of surface decoration. The ones from the middle period feature various incised designs such as *jeomnyeolmun* (点烈文: dotted-row pattern), *yeonsoksagakmun* (連續四角文: continuous square dot pattern), *gapgolmun* (魚骨文: fishbone pattern), *geochimun* (鋸齒文: saw-tooth pattern), *gyeokjamun* (格子文: lattice pattern), *dongsimwonmun* (同心圓文: concentric circle pattern), *pasangmun* (波狀文: wavy-line pattern), and *junghomun* (重弧文: concentric semicircular pattern). Although these designs continued to be used well into the late period, it appears that *ammun* (暗文: pattern made by pressing and rubbing the surface) tended to be the most commonly used in that period. Throughout the three periods, the surface of Goguryeo pottery is of an overall yellowish color, though with time gray hues became increasingly predominant.

Goguryeo pottery was formed in the tradition of Bronze Age pottery (which features *daesangpasu* and polishing) found in the mid-Amnokgang (鴨綠江: river) and Hunjiang (渾江: river in China) basins, and influenced by Han (漢, 206 BC–220) China. Goguryeo vessels, including funerary objects, can be categorized into twenty-four types. The early period produced fewer vessel types than the middle period, during which all twenty-four types were produced. This indicates that all features characterizing Goguryeo pottery would have been established by around 300 when Goguryeo was established as a state. Thus, Goguryeo pottery evolved in line with the formation and development of Goguryeo as a monarchy. The gray and hard-surfaced pottery of Goguryeo in the late period continued to be produced in Balhae (渤海, 698–926) as well as in Baekje (百濟, 18 BC–660) and Unified Silla (統一新羅, 668–935), which would support the belief that Goguryeo's political influence expanded across these territories after the sixth century.

#### [ KEYWORDS ]

Goguryeo pottery, Ji'an, Amnokgang, Hunjiang, Hangang, coarse earth paste, fine clay paste, glazed pottery, *daesangpasu*, burnishing, gray pottery, pottery type, *ammun*, Han dynasty pottery, Balhae pottery

## I INTRODUCTION

Goguryeo pottery is defined here as the pottery produced and used by the Goguryeo people who lived in the Goguryeo territory. According to the *Samguksagi* (三國史記: *History of the Three Kingdoms*), Goguryeo was established in Huanren (桓仁) around the Hunjiang basin in 37 BC and moved its capital twice, once to Ji'an and once to Pyeongyang (平壤), lasting for about 700 years until its collapse in 668 AD. As the early Goguryeo state matured, it expanded its territory both northward and southward, acquiring the Liaodong (遼東)

area in the late fourth century and the Hangang (漢江) basin in the late fifth century. At the peak of its southernmost expansion, Goguryeo reached the areas of Gyeongsangbuk-do (慶尙北道) and Chungcheongnam-do (忠清南道). Therefore, Goguryeo pottery encompasses the pottery that was produced and used by the people living in present-day northern and northeastern China, centering around Liaoning (遼寧) and Jilin (吉林) Provinces, and also in the south, the northern area of the Korean peninsula, as well as the Hangang area and regions of Gyeongsangbuk-do and Chungcheongnam-do, thus spanning some 700 years from the first century BC to 668.

Archaeological studies on Goguryeo began following the discovery of the stele of Gwanggaeto daewang (廣開土大王, r. 391–413: Gwanggaeto The Great) in the late nineteenth century, since which time they have flourished. Nevertheless, the study of Goguryeo has made slow progress compared with the archaeological findings on Baekje, Silla (新羅, 57 BC–654), and Gaya (42–532 [金官伽倻]), due to the limited accessibility to the archaeological sites centered in northeastern China and North Korea, the geographical heartland of the Goguryeo state. For the same reason, the archaeological study of Goguryeo in South Korea relies heavily on secondary data such as research and reports by North Korean, Chinese, and Japanese scholars. However, as travel to China has become more convenient and communication and exchanges (albeit intermittent) with North Korea increasingly possible, so has direct access to Goguryeo's archaeological sites. Moreover, South Korea has recently begun to accumulate a significant amount of archaeological data of its own on Goguryeo from excavations of such areas as Ahasan (峨嵋山: mountain) on the north bank of the Hangang, and the Imjingang (臨津江: river) and Geumgang (錦江: river) basins, including Daejeon (大田) and Cheongwon (淸苑).

Meanwhile, while it is true that archaeological studies on Goguryeo in the past centered on ancient tombs and focused on establishing a chronological system through analysis of the structures and types of

the ancient tombs with few studies on actual artifacts including pottery, since the 1980s Chinese scholars have been trying to date Goguryeo pottery based on excavations in China, including Geng Tiehua (耿鐵華) and Lin Zhide (林至德),<sup>1</sup> and there have been more studies on Goguryeo pottery in South Korea. It is nevertheless challenging to establish a definitive chronology of Goguryeo pottery as the chronology within the broader field of Goguryeo archaeological studies has yet to be settled. While there have been many advances in research in recent years, the criteria hitherto used to establish a definitive chronology have often been vague. At times, the dates of particular wares were estimated according to the age of certain ancient tomb types, the ages of which were in turn determined based on the dates of particular wares, creating a cycle of circular reasoning and contradiction. It is therefore imperative to establish a chronology of Goguryeo pottery through actual analysis of the pottery itself. Based on this, it would also seem possible to reconsider and refine the overall chronological system within the field of archaeological studies of Goguryeo.

## II A BRIEF HISTORY OF GOGURYEO POTTERY STUDIES

Studies on Goguryeo pottery before the 1980s were largely confined to descriptions of pottery based on case-by-case excavation reports or general introductions to Goguryeo pottery by way of illustrations or introductory texts.<sup>2</sup> In other words, these papers could not be considered as fully fledged academic papers but as descriptions of Goguryeo pottery in rather general terms.

In 1973 Jeong Chanyeong (鄭燦永) tried to form a comprehensive analysis of wares excavated from ancient tombs in his chronological study on Goguryeo tombs up to the fourth century.<sup>3</sup> According to Jeong, between the second century BC and around the beginning of the first century BC *gangdol dolgakdam mudeom* (stone mound tombs in the shape of a rough

circle or square) were prevalent. From such tombs various pottery artifacts such as brown polished bowls, black polished bowls made of sandy clay, and other bowls with added talc have been excavated. Moreover, from the *dolgidan* tombs (stone mound tombs with a solid square base), constructed from about the first to the fourth century, brown polished bowls made on a potter's wheel, and black, brown, and gray vessels were excavated, some of which were hand modeled. This paper conducts a chronological analysis of Goguryeo tombs according to their structural features and, in turn, dates the pottery pieces excavated from those ancient tombs in line with the approach recently taken by Chinese and Japanese scholars who have studied Goguryeo pottery.

In the 1980s China initiated comprehensive research projects on Goguryeo pottery, drawing on the data accumulated up to that time. In 1984 Geng and Lin conducted analysis on Goguryeo pottery excavated from Ji'an, China, and presented a theory of the process of change.<sup>4</sup> The two researchers thought that the previous lack of studies of Goguryeo pottery was due to the absence of data and the limited dispersal of the wares. In the 1980s the two researchers presented a typological and chronological analysis of 96 pottery vessels excavated from the vicinity of Ji'an. They classified the excavated wares according to their form and material, and came up with three stages (groups) of pottery shapes in line with the chronology of ancient tombs. They found that the *ho* (壺: jar) and the *guan* (罐: jar with wide mouth and no perceivable neck) in particular had undergone much alteration, and divided these two vessel shapes into types I-V, further dividing each of these into three sub-groups.

In 1985, Wei Cuncheng (魏存成) devised a typology of the *saijanggyeong-ong* (四耳長頸甕: tall jar with a long neck and four handles), a typical Goguryeo vessel, as well as conducting a chronological analysis.<sup>5</sup> Wei classified *saijanggyeong-ong* into two types: one with a neck that flares out straight toward the mouth from the body (Type I), and the other that stands upright before flaring out toward the mouth (Type II). He noticed that *saijanggyeong-ong* had in most cases been excavated from *bongtoseoksilmyo* (封土石室墓: earthen mound tomb with stone chamber) and attempted a chronological analysis of the wares based on the age of the stone chambered tombs in which they had been found. Wei concluded that *saijanggyeong-ong* had been prevalent in the mid-Goguryeo period around the fifth century; among them Type I had changed from having a longer neck to having a shorter one, while Type II had changed from having a shorter neck to having a longer one. Meanwhile, the maximum diameter of the body gradually rose to reach the shoulder level of the vessel, an area subject to considerable change in shape in both types.

In 1985, a comprehensive study of Goguryeo pottery took place in Japan. At the same time Okada Izumi (緒方泉) attempted a typology of *saijanggyeong-ong* and tried to devise a chronological study of Goguryeo tombs



in the Ji'an area based on comparative analyses with other Goguryeo artifacts.<sup>6</sup>

Also in 1985, a study on Goguryeo pottery was presented in South Korea by Kim Giwung (金基雄).<sup>7</sup> This paper, as the author himself indicated at the time, was not a comprehensive study of the chronology or change in the form of Goguryeo pottery but a very general presentation of Goguryeo pottery with basic facts, illustrations, and annotations. Nonetheless, Kim's paper was significant in that it was the first study on Goguryeo pottery to be carried out in South Korea.

In 1988, while undertaking a study on a chronology of Goguryeo artifacts, Azuma Ushio (東潮) introduced a typology and a chronology of Goguryeo pottery with a focus on *saijanggyeong-ong*. Azuma accepted the findings by Wei and Okada in general, classifying *saijanggyeong-ong* into four types depending on the shape of the vessel's mouth and body and providing descriptions of the special features and a chronology for each of the four types in addition.<sup>8</sup> Azuma believed that the earliest *saijanggyeong-ong* was found in Tomb No. 332, Shanchengxia (山城下). He argued that they were made in the second half of the fourth century, and that the shape of the wares gradually changed over time tending towards ones with elongated neck and body with a wider mouth.

In the 1990s, several studies on certain specific features of Goguryeo pottery were published. Among them are two papers by a North Korean researcher, Li Gwanghi: one on Goguryeo glazed pottery (施釉土器, *siyutogi*) and the other on the decorative patterns of Goguryeo pottery.<sup>9</sup> In the former paper, Li chronologically placed the tombs according to their structure having presented his findings on the glazed potteries excavated from Tomb No. 78 of Wanbaoting (萬寶汀), Jilin; Tomb No. 96 of Qixingshan (七星山), Jilin; Tomb No. 1 of Munak-ri (文岳里), Pyeongannam-do (平安南道); Tomb No. 7 of Pungcheong-ri (豊淸里), Pyeonganbuk-do (平安北道); Tomb No. 2 of Taeseong-ri (台城里), Pyeongannam-do; Tomb No. 3 of Anak (安岳), Hwanghae-do (黃海道); and Tomb No. 1 of Maxian'gou

(麻線溝), Jilin. Li's main claim was that Goguryeo glazed pottery was extant before the third century. In the latter paper, Li classified 50 or so Goguryeo pottery vessels with engravings in accordance with their types and engraving techniques and asserted that most of the patterns on the wares were in use between the mid-fourth century and the late sixth century. It would seem that both papers take a rather simplistic approach in their respective analyses of the wares and the chronological classification of the tombs, although it is evident that the main focus of study was on the production techniques of the Goguryeo wares.

In 1993, in a paper on the international aspects of Goguryeo pottery, Gang Gyeongsuk (姜敬淑) of South Korea outlined the history of research on Goguryeo pottery both within and without Korea.<sup>10</sup> Gang also presented some of the special characteristics of Goguryeo pottery by summarizing the papers by Kim Won-yong and Ahn Hwi-Joon, Geng Tiehua and Lin Zhide, and Jeong Chanyeong. Moreover, through a comparative study of the shape and glazing methods of Goguryeo pottery, Gang drew comparisons with Chinese wares. Gang's research paper on Goguryeo pottery is not comprehensive but it was significant at the time as it was the first comparative study in Korea on the production techniques and shapes of certain Goguryeo pottery vessels. As a research paper, nonetheless, her analysis is limited because it only compares the shapes of the vessels.

In the wake of the excavation of Goguryeo ruins in the Ahasan area as well as Mongchontoseong (夢村土城: earthen fortress) in the Hangang basin in recent years, research on Goguryeo pottery has become increasingly active within South Korea.<sup>11</sup> For instance, in 1995 an analysis on the Goguryeo pottery excavated from the Hangang basin was made by Choi Jongtaik of South Korea, which to some degree led to the revelation of the general distribution of Goguryeo pottery along the Hangang.<sup>12</sup> However, as this paper almost exclusively focused on relics from the Hangang area, it fell short of providing a comprehensive analysis of Goguryeo pottery over a broader spectrum. The study was hampered, in its attempt at a comparative study of the shapes of the Goguryeo pottery from the Hangang area with those

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A CHRONOLOGICAL STUDY OF  
GOGURYEO POTTERY

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Choi Jongtaik

excavated in North Korea and China, by the dearth of research on the subject in both North Korea and China.

In 1999, another extensive analysis of Goguryeo pottery was undertaken by this author.<sup>13</sup> By focusing on the analysis of Goguryeo pottery itself, this research paper aimed to transcend the skewed direction of previous research on Goguryeo pottery undertaken mainly for the purposes of chronological study of ancient Goguryeo tombs and to correct the inherent contradictions in such an approach. The result was a broader analysis of the types and processes of change in the form of Goguryeo pottery, based on an examination of 419 Goguryeo wares that were intact and which had been excavated in China, and in North and South Korea. However, as this paper still could not overcome the lack of data needed to establish a complete chronology, its methodology in the end depended much on the chronology of ancient Goguryeo tombs and further detailed research was necessary to establish a complete chronology of Goguryeo pottery.

In the same year a different study on the process of the formation of Goguryeo pottery was presented by the South Korean scholar Park Sunbal (朴淳發).<sup>14</sup> Park assumed the firing of fine clay at a low temperature and a polished finish to be the primary features of Goguryeo pottery and focused on the formation process of these two features. He analyzed the pottery excavated from the ruins of the Hunjiang, the cradle of Goguryeo, and the middle reaches of the Amnokgang, between the Bronze Age and the early Iron Age. He went on to analyze the various characteristics of Nonam-ri (魯南里) type pottery from Pyeonganbuk-do, generally considered to be the precursor of Goguryeo pottery. Through this analysis Park concluded that, in terms of its shape, Goguryeo pottery had originated from the wares of the Bronze Age found around the Hunjiang and the middle reaches of the Amnokgang, and that features like the fine clay pottery fired at a low temperature were related to the production technique of *hoedo* (灰陶: gray pottery; Chinese: *huitao*) produced between the late Warring States Period and the early Han dynasty. Moreover, Park estimated the first Goguryeo pottery to have been made circa 200 BC, about the same time as the first production of Nonam-ri type pottery, and coeval with the establishment of an allied Goguryeo kingdom.

In 2001, upon analysis of glazed pottery vessels excavated from the Ji'an region, Geng Tiehua put forth the view that the glazed vessels were tomb ornaments buried together with the deceased, in view of the fact that these wares had been excavated mainly from the tombs of noblemen, namely tombs with mural paintings. Geng concluded that the glazed pottery was extant at the latest in the early fourth century.<sup>15</sup>

In 2003, Yang Sieun (梁時恩) of South Korea conducted an analysis



on the production technique of Goguryeo wares excavated from Tomb No. 4 of Achasanboru (峨嵋山堡壘: mountain fortress) and the fortresses of Sirubong, Guui-dong (九宜洞), and Mongchontoseong in the Hangang basin, and determined that the differences in the production technique of the wares reflected different periods of production.<sup>16</sup>

In the same year, this author presented a synthesis of past discussions on Goguryeo pottery and an updated chronology of the subject through a presentation at the Korean Archaeological Congress.<sup>17</sup> Subsequently, in 2004, this author analyzed Goguryeo pottery wares excavated from South Korea and put forth partially revised views. This last paper presented a revised chronology of Goguryeo pottery from the Hangang area by dating the artifacts found in Mongchontoseong, south of the river, sometime between 475 and 500 and those from Achasanboru, north of the river, between 500 and 551.<sup>18</sup>

As discussed in this brief overview of the history of research on Goguryeo pottery in South and North Korea, China, and Japan since the 1980s, few comprehensive analyses of the subject exist. The main reason for this dearth of analysis is primarily the lack of data, as the main historical area of the Goguryeo state is now in the Ji'an region in China and in North Korea. In fact, many Goguryeo tombs from these regions have been excavated but there have been few detailed reports or studies on the excavated artifacts, on pottery in particular. The excavation reports on these tombs typically consist of a few diagrams and a brief mention of the wares in just a few lines. Therefore, obtaining detailed information on the wares themselves has indeed been quite challenging.

However, in recent years, especially since the 1990s, the pace and scope of research has gained momentum with the publication of a comprehensive report for each field of Goguryeo archaeology of the Ji'an region. In addition to these new data, studies on Goguryeo pottery excavated in South Korea have also been gaining speed lately.

## III TYPES OF GOGURYEO POTTERY VESSELS AND THEIR CHANGES

Goguryeo pottery can be largely classified into 24 types. Among them, types of *wan* (盥: small bowls), *jongji* (smaller bowls than *wan*), *ttukkeong* (lids), *guhyeongho* (球形壺: jars with a spherical body), *ban* (盤: plates and dishes), *simbal* (深鉢: beaker-like vessels), *jangdongho* (長胴壺: jars with a longer body than *guhyeongho*), and *dong-i* (urn-like vessels with a wide mouth and short body) constitute the largest share (Plate 1). Each Goguryeo vessel type developed into diverse forms over time and the following are typical changes presented by types.

### 01 SAIJANGGYEONGHO AND SAIJANGGYEONG-ONG

The most distinctive types of Goguryeo pottery include jars with a wide mouth and a long neck such as *saijanggyeongho* (四耳長頸壺: jar with a long neck and four handles), *saijanggyeong-ong* (四耳長頸甕: tall jar with a long neck and four handles), *saiong* (四耳甕: tall jar with four handles), and *janggyeongho* (長頸壺: jar with a long neck). These four vessel types are different from one another but share one or more of the following attributes: a trumpet-shaped mouth, a long neck, and four *daesangpasu*. For this reason, in this paper they are studied as a single group. Considering that these four types are found in all Goguryeo tombs and that many of them were glazed with incised patterns, it is certain that they were mainly used as tomb ornaments, buried together with the deceased.

The *saijanggyeongho* type has a round body with four handles and a long, narrow neck. It was made only in the third century and is believed to be the prototype of the other three vessels, among which *saijanggyeong-ong* and *janggyeongho* continued to be used until the Balhae period. The *saiong* type has a wide mouth and neck and is characteristically larger than the other three types. Its large shape attests to its usability for everyday living and indeed *saiong* is quite frequently

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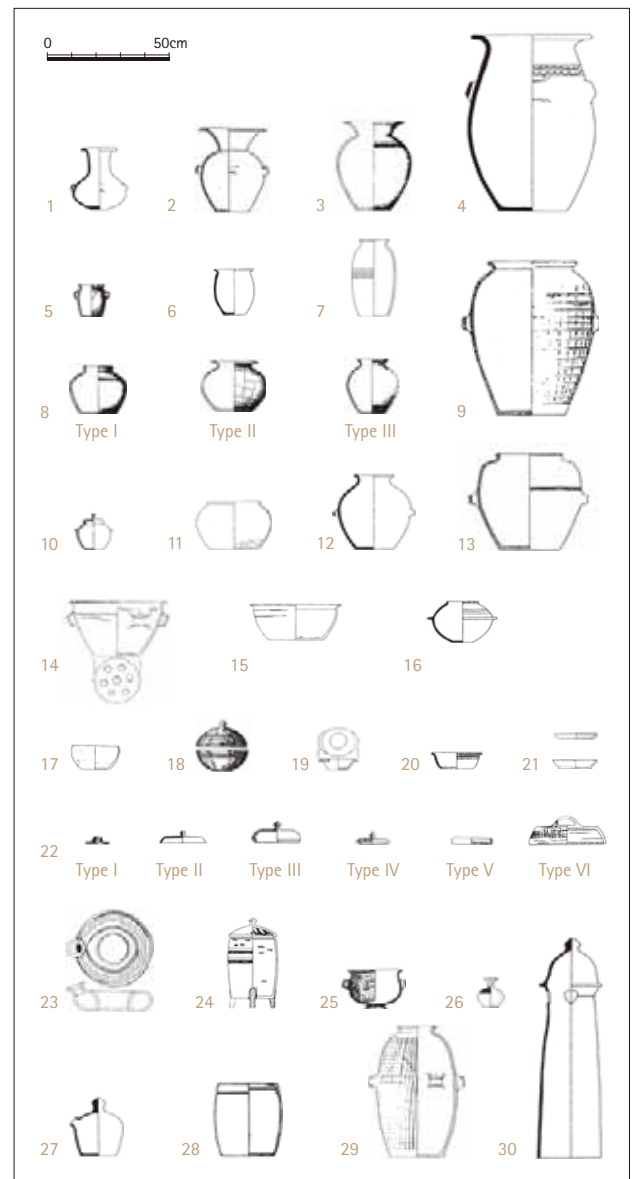
excavated from numerous dwelling sites. *Janggyeongho* is exceptional in that it has no handles but its shape developed in the same way as *saijanggyeong-ong*.

Of these four types *saijanggyeong-ong* is considered as the most typical Goguryeo vessel. As the changes in its shape over time have occurred in a relatively constant manner, it is usually used as the standard by which the dates of ancient tombs are measured. With regard to the origin of *saijanggyeong-ong* there are two different possibilities: one is the *pankouhu* (盤口壺: jar with wide, flat rim) of China<sup>19</sup> and the other is the *zhong* (鍾: small jar originally used to contain wine) of the Han dynasty, which developed to become a particular Goguryeo vessel later in the fourth century.<sup>20</sup> However, in view of the fact that *saijanggyeongho* was already extant in the third century and that the long neck and *daesangpasu* are features on other Bronze Age pottery vessels from the middle reaches of the Amnokgang, it is unlikely that *saijanggyeong-ong* was influenced solely by Han Chinese pottery.

## ( Plate 1 )

Configuration of Goguryeo pottery types

- 1 *Saijanggyeongho*: jar with a long neck and four handles
- 2 *Saijanggyeong-ong*: tall jar with a long neck and four handles
- 3 *Janggyeong-ong*: tall jar with a long neck
- 4 *Saiong*: tall jar with four handles
- 5 *Yang-isimbal*: simbal with two handles
- 6 *Simbal*: beaker-like vessel
- 7 *Jangdongho*: jar with a longer body than guhyeongho
- 8 *Guhyeongho*: jar with a spherical bodyType I, Type II, Type III
- 9 *Ong*: tall jar
- 10 *Jikguho*: jar with a straight neck
- 11 *Gwangguho*: jar with a wide mouth
- 11 *Ibuho*: jar with a spherical body and handles
- 13 *Jikguong*: tall jar with a straight neck
- 14 *Siru*: steaming vessel
- 15 *Dong-i*: urn-like vessels with a wide mouth and short body
- 16 *Buhyeongtogi*: pottery vessels in the shape of iron pots
- 17 *Wan*: small bowls
- 18 *Yugaewan*: lidded small bowls
- 19 *Ibae*: ramekin-type dish
- 20 *Ban*: deep dish
- 21 *Jeopsi*: plates
- 22 *Ttukkeong*: lids Type I, Type II, Type III, Type IV, Type V, Type VI
- 23 *Ttoaribyeong* (環狀瓶): doughnut-shaped bottle
- 24 *Ryeom* (甌; Chinese: *lian*): beaker-like vessel with tripods
- 25 *Daebusaibal*: mounted beaker-like vessels with four handles
- 26 *Guhyeongbyeong*: small round bottle
- 27 *Hoja* (虎子): chamber pot
- 28 *Jikguong*: tall jar with a flat mouth
- 29 *Saijangdong-ong*: long, tall jar with four handles
- 30 *Yeontong* (煙筒): chimney

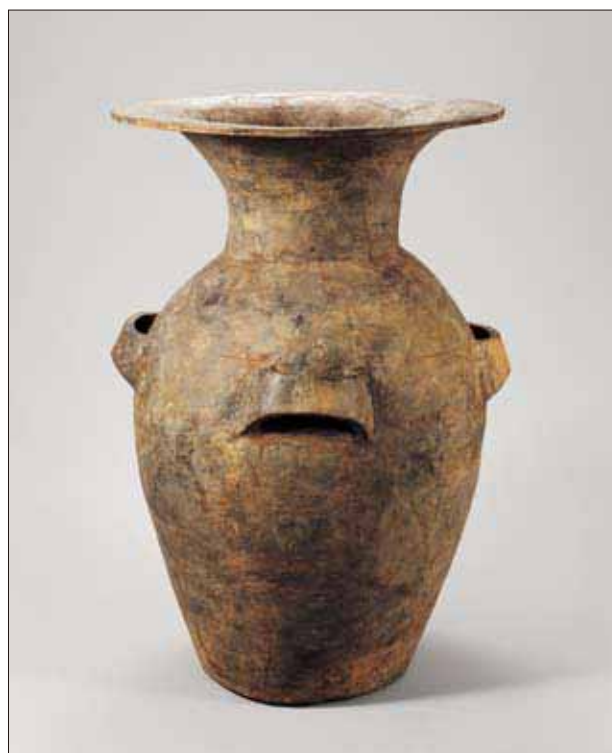


As aforementioned, the chief features of *saijanggyeong-ong* are the trumpet-like, flared, long neck and the four strap handles (Plate 2). There have been various typological and chronological studies on *saijanggyeong-ong* over the years, most of which have focused on the shape of the vessel's neck. As already noted above, Wei Cuncheng categorized this vessel into two types based on the shape of the neck: one that flares out straight (Type I) and the other that rises upright before flaring out (Type II).<sup>21</sup> Wei also observed that the neck of Type I grew shorter and that of Type II longer over time.

However, Wei's classification based on the neck shape is not without its weaknesses. Since the prominent attribute of this vessel type is the neck that flares out like a trumpet, small differences in the shape of the neck may be overlooked on account of the uniformity of this distinctive shape. Therefore, the criterion for analysis should include the point in the neck where it bends outward. Furthermore, there are differences and changes of the body shape to be considered in terms of roundness and slimness.

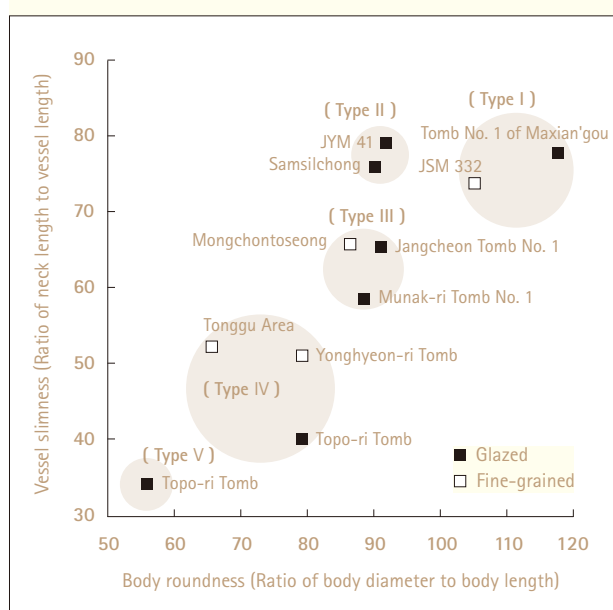
With such limitations in mind, this author has classified the shape of *saijanggyeong-ong* into Types I–V as shown in Plate 3 by using the mouth ratio (ratio of the length of mouth to the overall height: [mouth diameter/total height x 100]) and the circular body ratio (roundness of body part: maximum body diameter/body height x 100). Looking at the characteristics of each shape, Types I and II have similar mouth ratios but show differences in circular body ratios due to the differences in the length of the neck. The pieces belonging to Type II have a relatively shorter neck length than Type I. Type III has similar circular body ratio as Type II but has a bigger mouth ratio and this is also due to the differences in the neck length (Type III has a longer neck than Type II). Type V represents just one item excavated from Topo-ri daemyo (土浦里大墓: tomb site), and shows a smaller mouth ratio to the neck as well as a body more slender in shape.

Based on these classifications *saijanggyeong-*



( Plate 2 )

*Saijanggyeong-ong*, excavated from Mongchontoseong, H: 59.0 cm, Seoul National University Museum



















( Plate 3 )

Correlation between body roundness and vessel slimness in *saijanggyeong-ong*

( Plate 4 )

Diagram of changes in the shape of  
*Saijanggyeong-ong*

- 1 JSM 196
- 2 Guoneicheng
- 3 Juwol-ri
- 4 JYM 2325
- 5 Ji'an Area
- 6 JSM 332
- 7 Maxian'gou Tomb No. 1
- 8 Jangcheon Tomb No. 1
- 9 Munak-ri Tomb No. 1
- 10 Tonggou Area
- 11 Dongjincheng
- 12 Samsilchong
- 13 Mongchontoseong
- 14 Topo-ri daemyo
- 15 JYM 3105
- 16 JQM1196
- 17 Ningan Area

Year	<i>Saijanggyeongho</i>	<i>Saiong</i>	<i>Saijanggyeong-ong</i>	<i>Janggyeong-ong</i>
300 AD	1 			
	2 			
400 AD		3 	6 	
			7 	15 
500 AD		4 	8 	16 
			12 	
600 AD			13 	
		5 	9 	
Balhae			10 	
			11 	17 

*ong* may be recorded chronologically from round to slender body type. Type I vessels excavated from Maxian'gou Tomb No. 1 were assigned to the early to mid-Goguryeo period by Wei and to the late fourth century by Azuma, who made his estimation on the basis of the structure of the burial mound.<sup>22</sup> Type II vessels from Yushan (禹山) Tomb No. 41 and Type III vessels from Zhangchuan (長川) Tomb No. 2 can be dated to the mid-fifth century.<sup>23</sup> The chronology of the burial mounds coincides with the evolution of *saijanggyeong-ong* from Type I to Type V as well demonstrated by the differences in the circular body ratios. In other words, the circular body ratio of *saijanggyeong-ong* changes from large to small, and its body shape from round to slender (Plate 4).

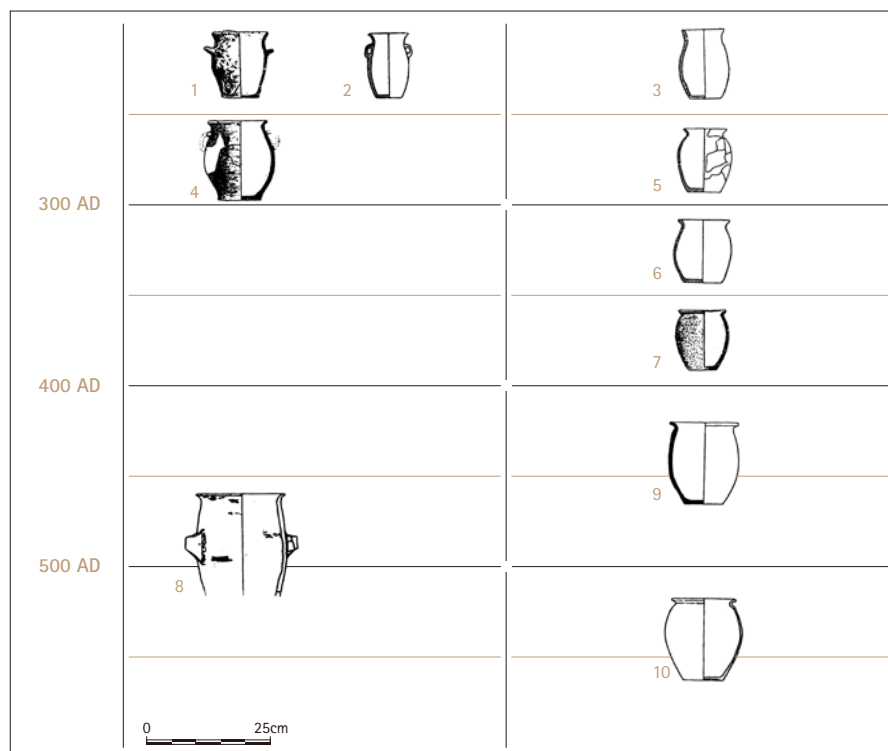
## 02 SIMBAL

*Simbal*, generally called *guan* in China, is a type of vessel that has been used from very early days (Plate 5). The chief features of this vessel type are a wide mouth with virtually no neck and a long body. Those with handles can be sub-divided as *yang-isimbal* (兩耳深鉢: *simbal* with two handles). Unlike other vessels, many *simbal* are made of a coarse paste and were built by hand rather than thrown on a potter's wheel. With respect to vessels with handles, there are some with bullhorn-type and some with sprig-type handles but most have the familiar four strap handles, *daesangpasu*. The *daesangpasu* are typically circular in section and attached in a vertical, upward direction. This kind of vertical *daesangpasu* or loop-type handle has been a common feature in pottery of the Amnokgang basin since the Bronze Age. In addition to the coarse body, this is evidence to demonstrate that *simbal* had been produced since early times.

( Plate 5 )

Diagram of changes in the shape of *simbal*

- 1 Nonam-ri Site
- 2 JWM 242
- 3 JSM 196
- 4 Nonam-ri Site
- 5 JYM 3283
- 6 JSM 152
- 7 Nampa-dong Tomb No. 163
- 8 Mongchontoseong
- 9 JQM 196
- 10 Guuidongboru No. 1



*Simbal* may be classified into three groups according to size with no relevance to the time period, although the slimness of the body does change over time. The early *simbal* came in a rather slim shape with a tall height relative to the maximum diameter of the vessel or the diameter of the mouth, but later it gradually took on a more rounded shape. As *yang-isimbal* is generally slimmer than *simbal*, it would seem that the former was produced earlier.

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Plate 5 reflects these various attributes. In terms of shape, *simbal* may broadly be classified into three types: Type I with a slim body and a short neck length relative to the total height of the vessel; Type III with a short neck and a round, convex body; and Type II in between Types I and III. In the case of *simbal* excavated from Tomb No. 8 of Xiahuolongcun (下活龍村 JXM8), which falls under Type I, the ruins are estimated to be *jeokseokchong* (積石塚: stone mound tombs) of the earliest period – more specifically, before the third century.<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, the *simbal* recently excavated from the third culture layer of Wunüshancheng (五女山城) in Huanren also featured a slim body and vertical *daesangpasu*, affirming the early provenance of this particular vessel.<sup>25</sup> At the same time, the *simbal* excavated from the Guuidongboru ruins fall

under Type III. It is therefore apparent that the type of *yang-isimbal* changed over time from Type I to II, and then to III, since the body shape of *simbal* changed from slimmer to rounder and at the same time the neck became shorter and more elaborate.

### 03 JANGDONGHO

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*Jangdongho* has nearly the same mouth diameter as its base diameter with a relatively tall body. It was a vessel much used in practical everyday life (Plate 6). It can be classified into two types according to size, and into four types according to the shape of body and the location of the maximum body diameter. Type I, which has a convex, round body with the maximum body diameter below the mid-point of the overall height, is similar to *simbal* Type III, the latest type of *simbal*. This indicates Type I *jangdongho* to be the oldest of this vessel group. Its first production is estimated to be around the fifth century and, over time, *jangdongho* featured changes in its body shape particularly around the neck and shoulder. The neck gradually became longer and the location of the maximum body diameter moved up towards the shoulder. This vessel was in continual use until the fall of the Goguryeo state.

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04 *IBUHO*

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*Ibuho* (耳附壺: jar with a spherical body and handles) is a vessel with two or four handles on a round body but a shorter neck than that of *saijanggyeong-ong*. *Ibuho* is divided into two types according to body shape: Type I has a round body, later changing to Type II with either a globular or a taller body. The earliest *ibuho* was found along with *saijanggyeong-ong* from the partially destroyed ruins of Sanchengxia (山城下) Tomb Mound, dated to the third century.

05 *GUHYEONGHO*

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*Guhyeongho* is a vessel with a spherical body, a short and curved neck and no handles (Plate 7). It is classified into three types according to the shape of the neck (including the mouth) and the body (Plate 8). The body of Type I is almost spherical but the maximum body diameter is located at the shoulder and the most distinctive feature is that the neck and the mouth are almost perpendicular. The body of Type II is spheroidal like a compressed ball, while its short vertical neck flares outwards. The body of Type III is almost spherical although it is a little slimmer than the other two. The neck flares outwards but is even shorter than that of Type II.

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Type I *guhyeongho* were mainly excavated from the *yeonjeopsik jeokseokchong* (連接式積石塚: stone mound tombs with connecting vaults and mounds) of Yushan (禹山) Tomb Mound. The date of the tomb is estimated to be sometime between the fourth and fifth century.<sup>26</sup> Pottery vessels with similar body shapes have also been excavated from the tomb with murals of Yuan Taizi (袁台子) in Chaoyang (朝陽) and the Jin (晉) tomb with murals in Benxi (本溪), Liaoning, which are dated to the fourth century.<sup>27</sup> Two parallel lines are incised around the shoulder of Type I *guhyeongho*, and *junghomun* or concentric semicircular pattern is typically incised inside. This particular pattern is thought to be among the earliest found on Goguryeo pottery.

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Type II *guhyeongho* account for the majority of the spherical vessels. The paste of the vessel is either coarse and sandy or clay, with a greater

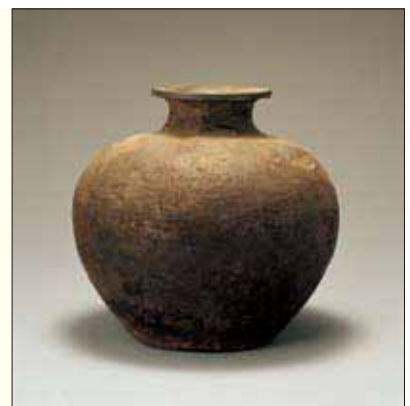


( Plate 6 )

*Jangdongho*, excavated from Guuidongboru,  
H (right): 31.3 cm, Seoul National University  
Museum, Korea

( Plate 7 )

Type III *Guhyeongho*, excavated from No. 4  
of Ahasanboru, H: 22.8 cm, Seoul National  
University Museum




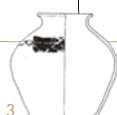













( Plate 8 )

Diagram of changes in the shape of *guhyeongho*

- 1 JYM 3161
- 2 Anak Tomb No. 3
- 3 Juwol-ri
- 4 JSM 195
- 5 JYM 3162
- 6 JYM 3299
- 7 Mongchontoseong
- 8 Gosan-dong Tomb No. 11
- 9 Ahasanboru No. 4
- 10 Ahasanboru No. 4
- 11 JMM 118
- 12 Minzhuliudui Site

Year	Type I	Type II	Type III
400 AD			
			
			
500 AD			
			
			
600 AD			
Balhae			

proportion being of the clay variety. Unlike Type I, only one Type II vessel with patterns has so far been found. The potteries excavated from the historic site of Minzhuliudui (民主六隊) of the Balhae period tend to have a shorter neck and a flatter, globular body. At the same time, the Type II *guhyeongho* from Tomb No. 195 of Shanchengxia Tombs dated back to the early Goguryeo period have a longer neck and a spherical body.<sup>28</sup> Therefore, it is conceivable that Type II *guhyeongho* gradually changed in body shape from spherical to spheroidal and in neck shape from longer to shorter.

Type III *guhyeongho* has its maximum body diameter in the shoulder area. It can be further divided into two groups, one with a narrow neck and the other with the maximum body diameter located in the middle or upper-middle part of the body and an underdeveloped shoulder. In the case of the former, three vessels have been excavated from Tomb No. 3 of Anak, which all have *junghomun* incised around the shoulders. Pottery vessels excavated from the historic site of Juwol-ri (舟月里), Paju (坡州), south of the Imjingang, also have the same shape and *junghomun* incised around the shoulders. As for the wares found in Anak Tomb No. 3, these can be dated to the middle or late fourth century. Within this vessel

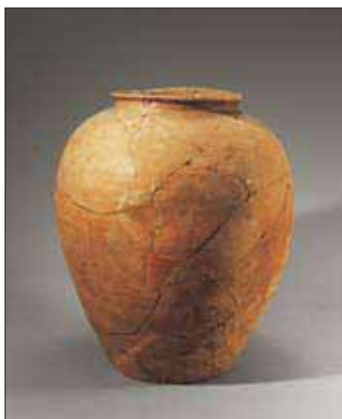
type, the *guhyeongho* with the maximum body diameter located around the center tend to be greater in height. The ones excavated from Guuidongboru and Ahasanboru are thought to be from the sixth century, while those from Mongchontoseong can be dated to the late fifth century.

## 06 ONG

*Ong* (甕) is a tall vessel with a height of 40 cm or more and appears to have been used for storage. All extant *ong* have been excavated from the ruins of ordinary everyday habitations (Plate 9). *Ong* can be classified into three types according to the spherical ratio of the body. Type I has the smallest curvature to maximum body diameter ratio. Consequently, it is the slimmest. Pottery excavated from the Hangang area typically come in this shape. Type III has a larger base diameter than mouth diameter, with a very long maximum body diameter. Vessels of this kind have been excavated from Dongjincheng (東京城) of Balhae, which suggests this type to be the latest form among the three types.

## 07 JIKGUHO AND JIKGUONG

Both *jikguho* (直口壺: jars with a flat mouth)



( Plate 9 )

*Ong*, excavated from Guuidongboru,  
H: 67.0 cm, Seoul National University  
Museum



( Plate 10 )

*Jikguho* (left), excavated from  
Ahasanboru No. 4, H: 22.5 cm;  
*Jikguong* (right), excavated from  
Sirubongboru, H: 70.6 cm,  
Seoul National University Museum



( Plate 11 )

*Siru*, excavated from Mongchontoseongboru,  
H: 27.0 cm, Seoul National University  
Museum

and *jikguong* (直口甕: tall jars with a flat mouth) have a very short and straight neck. Both vessels were probably used with a *ttukkeong* (matching cover) but few have been found with one. These vessels are classified according to their height, less than 40 cm (壺, *ho*) or more than 40 cm (甕, *ong*). In either form, some come with handles which would indicate use of a practical nature (Plate 10).

The shape of *jikguho* changed over time into globular body type. The earliest *jikguho* is the one excavated from Tomb No. 242 of Wanbaoting (JWM242), dated to the third century. It was used until the Balhae period. Few *jikguong* have been found thus far; they are thought to have been used widely since the mid-fifth century as a vessel for everyday use.

## 08 SIRU

*Siru* (甗: vessel for steaming) can be classified according to the widths of the body and the base, while some have feet on the bottom. The feature that best shows the change in *siru* over time is the shape of the holes on the base of the vessel (Plate 11). In terms of these distinct bases with holes, there are those with several small holes clustered together and those with a larger central hole and with four or six holes around it. With respect to the former, the one excavated from Tomb No. 2 of Shanghuolongcun (上活龍村) (JMS2) has a mouth that curves inward and *junghomun* around the shoulder of the vessel. According to conventional chronology the *siru* from this tomb is dated to the end of the second century.<sup>29</sup> However, as *junghomun* generally makes its first appearance around the mid-Goguryeo period, it is probably difficult to date these vessels back so early.

In the case of the small types of *siru* excavated from Yushan Tomb, considering that the latest end date of *jeokseokchong* has generally been revealed to be circa the fifth century Ji'an,<sup>30</sup> they can be dated to the end of the fourth century or the beginning of the fifth century. These *siru* excavated from Yushan Tomb have a base with a hole in the center surrounded by eight holes. As the *siru* excavated from Shanghuolongcun have a base with several small holes, they can be dated back to a slightly earlier period, more likely the end of the third century or the early fourth century. The *siru* excavated from the Nonam-ri dwelling site are also thought to be from the same period.

All the medium and large *siru*, with the exception of those from Daepyeong-ri (大坪里), Bukchang (北倉), and Tomb No. 1 of Jigyeong-dong (地境洞), Pyeongannam-do, have a base with holes in an orderly configuration. The *siru* excavated from the Hangang basin have a base with a central hole and six surrounding holes. Meanwhile, the *siru* from Guershancheng (古爾山城) and Guoneicheng (國內城), Jilin, have a central hole and four surrounding holes on the base. In particular, the wares from Guoneicheng feature four oval-shaped holes surrounding the central hole, the intended dynamic of which seems greater



intake of steam during cooking. Therefore, the ones from the Hangang basin are considered earlier than those from Guershancheng and Guoneicheng. As the ones from Guoneicheng are dated to the later years of the Goguryeo state, the ones from Guershancheng and Guoneicheng can be dated to the late sixth century, and the ones from the Hangang region to the late fifth century or the early sixth century.

## 09 BUHYEONGTOGI

*Buhyeongtogi* (釜形土器) are pottery vessels in the shape of an iron pot excavated along with small *siru* from ancient tombs. As iron pots (鐵釜, *cheolbu*) were widely used in Goguryeo, such pot-shaped vessels also seem to have been used as tomb ornaments (Plate 12).

*Buhyeongtogi* can be classified into those with and those without a mount. The vessels gradually changed from those with a mount to ones without, generally in line with the change in iron pots.<sup>31</sup> The *buhyeongtogi* from Tomb No. 3105 of Yushan (JYM3105) were excavated together with *siru* and are approximately dated to the end of the fourth century and the early fifth century. Meanwhile, the *buhyeongtogi* from another Yushan tomb (JYM3501) have a flatter mount and spheroidal bodies and thus are dated to the first half of the fifth century. At the same time, the *buhyeongtogi* from Yushan Tomb Nos. 1897 and 1815 and Tomb No. 1 of Jigyeong-dong have no mount and are dated to the middle or the latter half of the fifth century together with the *siru* excavated from Tomb No. 1 of Jigyeong-dong. Finally, the *buhyeongtogi* from Yushan Tomb No. 1493 have

no mount but a developed shoulder and a long, narrow body. They can be dated to the late sixth century, slightly later than those from Tomb No. 1 of Jigyeong-dong.

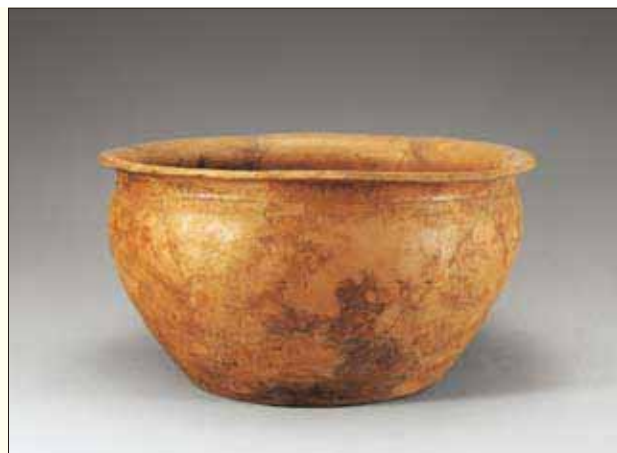
## 10 DONG-I

*Dong-i* is a large flower-pot-shaped unpolished vessel of low height relative to the diameter of the mouth. In terms of functional utility it is the most practical of all Goguryeo pottery. The ratio of the mouth diameter to the height of the vessel, which reflects the distinctive shape of the ware, is quite diverse ranging from 120 to 296.9 (Plate 13). In other words, *dong-i* come in various shapes and sizes. The *dong-i* type is, however, classified into three groups according to the ratio of the mouth diameter to the height of the body. Type I includes those with a mouth diameter to height ratio of less than 160; Type II consists of those ranging from 160 to 220; and Type III are those with a ratio of over 220.

Small *dong-i* are found only among Types I and II, unlike large *dong-i* found across all three types. Among Type I and II, several have *daesangpasu* regardless of the size. Among the *dong-i* excavated from Dongjincheng of the Balhae period, small ones belong to Type I and large ones to either Type I or III. The *dong-i* from Tomb No. 3103 (JYM3103) of Yushan Tombs, from which small *dong-i* (Type II) have been unearthed, are believed to have been produced at the latest by the fifth century as the latest end period of *jeokseokchong* is the fifth century.<sup>32</sup> Therefore, small *dong-i* gradually changed in body shape from flatter to taller. In the case of large



( Plate 12 )  
Siru on an iron pot, excavated from  
Guuidongboru, H: 45.5 cm,  
Seoul National University Museum



( Plate 13 )  
Dong-i, excavated from  
Guuidongboru, H: 19.0 cm,  
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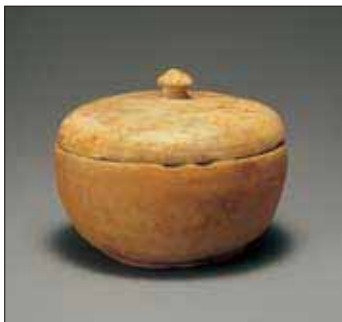
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*dong-i*, this kind of change is hardly perceptible, although a general trend toward a flatter body can be perceived.

Based on the sectional diagrams of the *dong-i* from the Hangang basin, this author classifies these wares into four different groups by the shape of the mouth: Type I whereby the mouth area of the vessel is rounded but finished plainly; Type II whereby the mouth edges out at a sharp angle; Type III whereby the mouth not only edges out in a straight horizontal line but also the lower end of mouth is lifted up to make a groove; and Type IV whereby the edge of the mouth is slanted or treated in an oval shape while the lower end of the mouth is lifted up.<sup>33</sup> However, as most of the data presented in this paper are based on analyses of diagrams, it is impossible here to classify these wares in greater detail based on the actual differences in the shape of the mouth. Nevertheless, in the case of *dong-i* from the Hangang area, Types III and IV are thought to have been produced at later dates.<sup>34</sup>

## 11 WAN

*Wan* (碗) is a bowl resembling present-day *sabal* (typical bowls for rice and soup). It is thought to have been used mainly as a serving bowl to serve food to individuals. The most frequent type of *wan* is with lid or *ttukkeong* (Type III) (Plate 14). *Jongji* is in fact a small *wan*, thought to have been used as a small container for ingredients such as the present-day soy sauce. Due to the simple shape of *wan*, noteworthy changes in form are virtually imperceptible. *Wan* can be classified into two groups, namely those with shallow mount and those without. In the case of *wan* with mount, some differences in their production technique can be detected: those with platform mount; those that have the platform mount attached first, after which the inside is hollowed out; and those with relatively high mount. These differences are considered to reflect the different periods of production.<sup>35</sup> The *wan* with lid have often been excavated together with their lids and are thought to have influenced the *daebubal* (臺附鉢: mounted *sabal*) of Baekje in the Sabi (泗沘, 538-660) period.<sup>36</sup> On the base of some *wan*, a character such as 井 (*jeong*: well), 小 (*so*), and 大 (*dae*) is inscribed or molded in relief, most of which seem to have been intended to drive away evil omens.



( Plate 14 )

*Wan* with *ttukkeong*, excavated from  
Guuidonboru, H: 12.0 cm,  
Seoul National University Museum

## 12 BAN

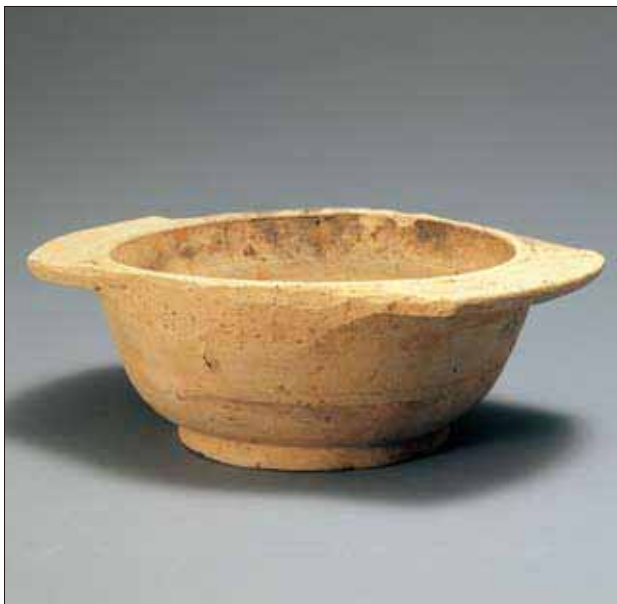
*Ban* (盤) is flat dish with a wide mouth and low body height in the form of the plate today. The ratios of the vessel's mouth diameter to its body height ranges from 3:1 to 7.5:1. In the early period, *ban* was frequently used as a tomb ornament, and some were glazed. In the middle and late periods the vessels were more widely used in everyday life. Some *ban* have patterns incised on their base and *dongsimwonmun* or concentric circle pattern have been found on the base as well as the interior, on which various designs such as *geoch*, *sagak* (四角: square) and *sagyeokja* (斜格子: oblique lattice) are incised.

### 13 IBAE

*Ibae* (耳杯: eared cups) are similar in shape to *wan* but some have the *jeon* (展: flat rim) that partly circles the mouth area (Plate 15). All *ibae* excavated from ancient tombs have been found to be glazed, with slight variations in shape among those excavated from the fortresses of Guui-dong and Ahasan. Namely, the ones from the tombs have the *jeon* on the longer side whereas the ones from the Hangang area have the *jeon* on the shorter side. The latter are considered to be produced later. *Ibae* type has also been found from the potteries of the Sabi period of Baekje, supporting the view that Baekje pottery has been influenced by Goguryeo pottery since the mid-sixth century.<sup>37</sup>

### 14 TTUKKEONG

As *ttukkeong* (蓋, *gae*: lids or covers) are a complementary part of other wares, strictly speaking they should not be considered as an independent pottery type. Nevertheless, since there are only a few cases of *ttukkeong* excavated together with the matching vessel this paper deals with *ttukkeong* as an independent pottery type for the sake of convenience. *Ttukkeong* are classified into six groups according to shape and size.



( Plate 15 )

*Ibae*, excavated from Yongmasanboru, No. 2, H: 8.5 cm, Seoul National University Museum

Type I *ttukkeong* has a disk-like body and a ring-like handle on top with no flange. In view of its shape, this type seems to have been used to cover vessels with a straight vertical mouth. Lids of this type have mostly been excavated from as early as the third to fourth centuries.

Type II *ttukkeong* have a flat body and a *boju* (寶珠: *cintamani* or precious pearl) knob or handle on top. The flanges are either straight or turned a little outward. This kind of *ttukkeong* has been found together with the bronze *saiong* excavated from the Geumgwanchong (金冠塚) or Gold Crown Tomb of Silla, and a Type II *ttukkeong* from Topo-ri daemyo has been confirmed to be the cover for a *saijanggung-ong* of the period, suggesting that this *ttukkeong* type has been in use since the mid-Goguryeo period.

Type III *ttukkeong* has deeper flanges and a *boju*-shaped knob. In view of its size, this type seems to have been used to cover *wan* and cylindrical tripod vessels. This type of cover is dated after the fifth century.

Type IV *ttukkeong* are the same as Types II and III in that they also have a *boju*-shaped handle but are different in that the flanges are either curved inward or lifted upward. Based on the shape of the flange, this type seems to have been used for vessels with a semicircular mouth and for small bottles, particularly considering its diameter. These *ttukkeong* are believed to have been in use mainly since the sixth century.

Type V *ttukkeong* have no handle and the flanges are short and straight or bent once. In view of their shape and size, these *ttukkeong* seem to have been used for *hap* (盒: small boxes). They are dated to sometime after the mid-Goguryeo period.

Type VI *ttukkeong* are the most common type among those excavated. When reversed, they have the same shape as *ban* and thus are called *ban*-type *ttukkeong*. This kind of *ttukkeong* usually has no handle, but some have been found with a strap handle at the center of the body or a pair of *boju*-shaped lugs on

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〔 Plate 16 〕

Type VI *ttukkeong*, excavated from  
Guuidongboru, H: 11.7 cm,  
Seoul National University Museum

〔 Plate 17 〕

Engraved letters on the bases of various  
*jeopsi*, excavated from Achanboru No. 4,  
Seoul National University Museum

opposite sides of the flange (Plate 16). These *ban*-type *ttukkeong* are further classified into two subgroups according to their size, small and large, which have little or no correlation with the time period of production but more with the mouth size of the vessels with which these *ttukkeong* were matched. If the wares that these *ttukkeong* covered are assumed to have been *yugaehap* (有蓋盒: lidded box), *ho*, *ong*, and *jikguong*, then the small *ttukkeong* seem to have been used mainly for *ho* or *yugaehap*, and the large *ttukkeong* for *ong* or *jikguong*.

## 15 JEOPSI

*Jeopsi* (蝶匙: dishes) are practical vessels that have mainly been excavated from the ruins of everyday dwellings. At the same time, as in the *jeopsi* found in Tomb No. 3 of Anak, some were also used as tomb ornaments. The simple shape of *jeopsi* makes it difficult to note changes in shape over time but in general *jeopsi* are classified into two types according to whether or not the foot is attached and into three types according to whether small, medium or large in size. A type of *jeopsi* like *wan* have some characters engraved or molded into relief on the base. Most of these characters were carved before the baking process and some *wan* and *jeopsi* contain even signatures on them perhaps to indicate the craftsman, the production site, or the patron, providing us with valuable information on the status of the owner or the ware itself, or the name of the production site (Plate 17).

## IV THE FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF GOGURYEO POTTERY

### 01 THE ORIGINS AND FORMATIVE PROCESS OF GOGURYEO POTTERY

Discussions on the origins and formative process of Goguryeo pottery have thus far been only tentative due to a persistent lack of archaeological data. From an archaeological standpoint, the formation of the Goguryeo state is believed to have taken place sometime around 100 BC,<sup>38</sup> but archaeological evidence of pottery prior to the third century AD is extremely rare. Studies of burial sites in the early years of the Goguryeo state have made advances over the years but studies on the pottery still remain insufficient. Moreover, in order to establish the origins of Goguryeo pottery, archaeological evidence from the Bronze Age and the early Iron Age should be taken into consideration, although such archaeological studies also suffer from the lack of reliable data.

Considering that the geographical origin of the state of Goguryeo is the Hunjiang basin and the middle reaches of the Amnokgang in the Ji'an region,

it is possible to ascertain the formative process of Goguryeo pottery through archaeological studies of the culture of these regions. Recent studies on the subject show that the Bronze Age culture of the Hunjiang and Amnokgang areas are understood to be a combination of features from the Miaohoushan culture (廟後山文化) in the Benxi, Liaoning Province of the pre-Bronze-Age Dagger Period (先銅劍期) and from the Gonggwiri culture (公貴里文化) in Ganggye (江界), Jagang-do (慈江道) of the Lute-Shaped Dagger Period (琵琶形銅劍期). This is followed by the Lalatun (拉拉屯) late Bronze Age culture in Changchun (長春) area and Dadianzi (大甸子) early Iron Age culture in the Liaoning area. The Dadianzi culture is regarded as of the early Iron Age, around 200 BC. Among them, the Lalatun culture exhibits features like the vertical *daesangpasu*, one of the most distinctive characteristics of Goguryeo pottery. This, in turn, is a feature found in Nonam-ri type pottery, the early prototype of Goguryeo pottery.<sup>39</sup>

The features of Nonam-ri type pottery are determined by studies on vessels excavated from the upper layer of Nonam-ri ruins.<sup>40</sup> They are characterized by the *daesangpasu* attached either horizontally or vertically to the body and widely regarded as the prototype of Goguryeo pottery. According to available reports, the body of these vessels still contains fine sand, though generally in lesser quantity and in some cases the clay is of the same quality as in pottery vessels from the Bronze Age. Most that have been excavated are either brown or black polished vessels, and the characteristic is seen as another prominent feature of Goguryeo pottery.

According to Park, the principal characteristics of Goguryeo pottery are the *daesangpasu*, the fine clay paste, and the polished surface. Park states that the polishing technique and the *daesangpasu* are found in the pottery from Misong-ri (美松里), Pyeonganbuk-do and Gonggwiri, Jagang-do, which are regarded as distinct traditions of these respective regions. He sees, however, that the fine clay paste seems to have been influenced by the gray pottery of China from the late Warring States Period to the Han dynasty.<sup>41</sup>

Such views on the general characteristics of Goguryeo pottery seem reasonable, but this author finds that some Goguryeo pottery vessels are made of coarse earth paste containing sand grains. Therefore, the generalization that all Goguryeo pottery is made of fine clay paste seems not to be entirely appropriate but to be modified as a transitional characteristic. In any event, the origins of Goguryeo pottery are to be found in Nonam-ri, and will be illuminated by further comparative studies in relation to relics excavated from the early *jeokseokchong* from Ji'an and the middle reaches of the Amnokgang, as well as pottery of the early Iron Age.

Unfortunately, the task is quite challenging as there is only scanty material on pottery from this period and much uncertainty as to the chronology of Nonam-ri type pottery. Some scholars estimate the earliest date for these wares as 200 BC and the latest date around the beginning of the Christian era,<sup>42</sup> while others date the wares as far back as 300 BC.<sup>43</sup> The estimate of 200 or 300 BC are based on the fact that some Nonam-ri type potteries have been found along with *myeongdojeon* (明刀錢: knife-shaped coins used in China in the late Eastern Zhou period, circa 400–300 BC). However, since other artifacts like the yellowish white pottery native to the Pyeongyang region have also been found together at the Nonam-ri archaeological site,<sup>44</sup> the fact that knife-coins were found does not necessarily mean that all the pottery from this site are from before the Common Era. As the Nonam-ri site was used over a long period, from the Bronze Age of the lower layers to the Goguryeo era of the upper layers, the earliest date for the lower layers of this site may reasonably be estimated at from 200 to 300 BC but the dates for the upper layers require further scrutiny.

In fact, the *simbal* type excavated from the upper layers of the Nonam-ri dwelling site is estimated at 300 based on the dates of *jeokseokchong* of the Ji'an region from which identical wares have been found.<sup>45</sup> This much later date is a substantial departure from conventional estimates of 200 BC but the date seems reasonable considering the fact that the complexity in the chronology of the Nonam-ri site. This author views



that, based on the shapes of the actual wares found at the site, the earliest date of pottery from the Nonam-ri site is hardly dated as far back to 200 BC. This view poses a problem in studying its pottery from the time of the establishment of Goguryeo to 300, but the problem is unavoidable due to lack of material evidences in the time period from 100 BC to around 200. Taken together all the available resource, it is only by the late third or the early fourth century that wares with typical Goguryeo pottery features have been found and the time span interestingly coincides with the formation period of Goguryeo as a governmental state.

## 02 THE EVOLUTION OF GOGURYEO POTTERY

To explain the evolution of Goguryeo pottery, Geng and Lin divide the entire time span into three periods: early, middle, and late,<sup>46</sup> while Azuma Ushio divides it into five: incipient (200–300), early (300–400), middle (400–500), late (500–600), and final period (post-600 AD).<sup>47</sup> However, there is simply insufficient evidence to support such divisions and, even more importantly, information on Goguryeo pottery before 200 AD is scant. Moreover, since the study of Goguryeo pottery is still in its infancy and lacks reliable sources, such a detailed chronological specification may only cause further confusion. This author thus explains the evolution of Goguryeo pottery in three stages: early (prior to 300), middle (300 to 500), and late (after 500), which coincide with the developmental phases of the Goguryeo dynasty. Scholars of ancient history generally agree with the view that Goguryeo was established as a state sometime between the late third century and the early fourth century<sup>48</sup> and they regard the middle of the sixth century as the dividing line between the middle stage and the late stage of Goguryeo.<sup>49</sup>

Table 1 (see page 31) shows the characteristics of Goguryeo pottery with respect to the three different time periods. The material of Goguryeo pottery is largely divided into coarse earth paste or fine clay paste and then glazed or not glazed (undetermined). In the early stage there was not a single piece of glazed pottery, with coarse earth paste accounting for 91% and fine clay paste 9%. In the middle stage, fine clay paste increased to 57% while coarse earth paste decreased to 29%, with glazed pottery making up the rest, 14%. In the late stage, fine clay paste, glazed pottery, and coarse earth paste accounted for 89%, 8%, and 3% of the total, respectively. Since glazed pottery should be made from fine clay paste, it is safe to say that almost all of the pottery of the late stage was made of fine clay paste.

As the ratio of raw materials indicates, Goguryeo pottery was made mainly of coarse earth before the fourth century, marked by a steady increase in the use of fine clay, and by the late stage almost all pottery was made of fine clay. In the middle stage, glazing technique began to be used and was applied at a constant rate throughout the rest of the Goguryeo period. This glazing technique is a rather distinctive feature of Goguryeo vessels as glaze is not found in contemporaneous pottery wares of the Baekje or Silla–Gaya regions. Furthermore, as glazed wares

have mainly been found in ancient tombs, they served the function of tomb wares. As for the origin of glazed potteries, there are three different opinions: prior to the third century,<sup>50</sup> the late third century,<sup>51</sup> and the early fourth century.<sup>52</sup> The glazed pottery of Goguryeo is the product of low-temperature firing and light glazing. In China, such wares were made from the Han dynasty onwards; in Goguryeo such pottery of greenish brown color fired at a low temperature was made from the late third century onwards or, at the latest, from the early part of the fourth century.

The surface color of Goguryeo pottery is largely classified into yellow, black, and gray, of which brown, reddish-brown, and even red are classified under the color yellow. In terms of the surface color throughout the entire duration of the Goguryeo state, yellow is the most common, while black is the rarest. From the middle stage on, the number of gray-colored wares increases as compared to the early stage. In view of the fact that many gray, hard pottery vessels have been found among pottery from the Balhae period, one may speculate that the style of Goguryeo pottery eventually evolved toward a hard surface.

As for the manufacturing technique, two methods were mainly used: hand-made and wheel-thrown. In the case of hand-built pottery vessels, the general method of production would take the following steps: first, the base plate would be laid, after which the walls and rim of the ware would be built up by hand, then the ware would be smoothed and finished on a turntable. In the early stage, about 50% of Goguryeo pottery was hand-made. This proportion falls sharply to 7% in the middle stage and to only 2% in the late stage, which means that almost all Goguryeo pottery were made on a turntable plate or the potter's wheel with only a small number made by hand in the early stage.

In previous studies, Goguryeo pottery has generally been characterized as having a polished surface. However, among all Goguryeo pottery vessels, only 29 (a mere 7%), have been found to have a polished surface. Therefore, the general characterization

of Goguryeo pottery as having a polished surface is unfounded. In addition, this small proportion of 7% is about the same as that of glazed pottery, indicating that glazed pottery vessels constitute most of polished pottery. Among the potteries excavated from the Hangang basin that are available for examination, most were polished with the potter's wheel or on a turntable. Among some types like *jangdongho*, there are examples which were first made on the potter's wheel or turntable then the foot and lower parts were smoothed by delicate carving or rubbing. This technique may be considered as an extension of the polishing method but it is still different from those that were smoothed and polished entirely by hand without the use of a turntable or wheel.

Another feature of Goguryeo pottery is that most do not have decorative patterns. In the early stage there were no patterns at all, whereas in the middle and the late stages a certain proportion of pottery vessels were made with decorative designs. Furthermore, only very few types of vessels featured patterns and the patterns themselves were also quite simple and limited. The techniques used for applying patterns on Goguryeo pottery include pressing, carving, and rubbing. The patterns include *jeomnyeolmun*, *yeonsoksagakmun*, *geochimun*, *eogolmun* (魚骨文: herringbone pattern), *gyeokjamun*, *sagyeokjamun*, *dongsimwonmun*, *pasangmun*, and *junghomun*.

The techniques used to apply these patterns varied from pattern to pattern. For instance, *jeomnyeolmun* and *yeonsoksagakmun* were made by impressing. *Geochimun*, *eogolmun*, *gyeokjamun*, *sagyeokjamun*, *dongsimwonmun*, *pasangmun*, and *junghomun* were made by carving. Other methods include *ammun* technique used mainly for generating irregular oblique lines, lattices, and continuous ring chains. This *ammun* technique in particular is a characteristic feature of Goguryeo pottery. The method involves pressing and rubbing the surface of the ware and seems to have originated from the rubbing of the surface with a hard tool. This method is apparent in pottery vessels of the middle and the late stages, and in some from the Balhae period.

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Division		Early stage	Middle stage	Late stage	Total	Grand total
Raw material	Coarse	21	36	4	61	419
	Clay	2	70	141	213	
	Glazed	0	17	13	30	
	Undetermined	14	42	59	115	
Production method	Hand-made	2	6	2	10	419
	Wheel-thrown	2	82	123	207	
	Undetermined	33	77	92	202	
Surface color	Gray	8	48	52	108	419
	Black	5	21	44	70	
	Yellow	10	70	85	165	
	Undetermined	14	26	36	76	
Pattern	Designed	0	33	35	68	419
	No design	37	132	182	351	
Surface treatment	Polished	1	13	15	29	419
	Unpolished	36	152	202	390	
Total		37	165	217		419

( Table 1 )

Characteristics of Goguryeo Pottery in Three Stages (Unit: numbers of pieces)

To sum up, the production techniques and characteristic features of Goguryeo pottery are classified according to the raw materials, production technique, surface color, surface treatment, and patterns. In the early stage coarse materials were used and hand-made wares were made only in small quantities, but in the middle to the late stages all wares were made of fine clay paste with use of either the turntable or the potter's wheel. Also, from the middle to the late stage, some ceramics decorated with low-temperature glazes can be seen, the majority of which were used as funerary gifts. In terms of the surface color, yellow was the most common across the entire spectrum of Goguryeo history, with a progressively increasing share of gray-colored wares in production. Patterns on Goguryeo pottery were applied from the middle stage on until the end, but only on a limited number of vessel types and with limited variations.

Goguryeo pottery developed through a variety of forms depending on type and period. There are few vessel types that can be dated to the early stage. Only in the middle and late stages do all types of Goguryeo pottery vessels emerge.

Only a few pottery vessels from the early stage have thus far been excavated: they include: *saijanggyeongho*, *simbal* and *yang-isimbal*, *ibuho*, *jikguho*, *siru*, *wan*, *ban*, *ibae*, Type I lids, *jeopsi*, *hap*, and *daebusaibal* (臺附四耳鉢: mounted *sabal* [沙鉢: small bowls for rice] with four handles). A characteristic feature of the vessels from this early stage is that they have handles either of strap or knob type. Among the *daesangpasu* some are transverse, but most are vertical. As for the raw materials, coarse earth paste is the most common. Surfaces were often polished and no glazed pottery has been found in this early stage. No vessel at this stage has incised patterns and most were hand-made without the use of the potter's wheel or turntable.



By the middle stage, most of the known types of Goguryeo pottery were being made. But large vessels like *daehyeong-ong* and *jikguong* are found only in the later part of the middle stage. *Gwangguho* (廣口壺: jar with a wide mouth) were not made until even later. On the other hand, new types such as *saiong*, *saijanggyeong-ong*, and *janggyeongho* were produced in the middle stage. These new vessels are considered to be derivations of *saijanggyeongho*. As for the *simbal* type, a few *yang-isimbal* vessels with handles have been excavated among the remains of the middle stage while the total number of *simbal* increased over the same period. The shape of *simbal* gradually changed to a more bulging body type with bigger shoulder and neck, but decreased in quantity after the end of the middle stage. *Jangdongho* are a new type from the middle stage; gradually they developed a wider shoulder and a longer neck.

The *guhyeongho* type developed the most significantly in the middle stage, especially in terms of the variety of shape. Type I and Type III *guhyeongho* changed over time to assume a longer body and a larger shoulder, while Type II evolved from a spherical body with a long neck to a globular body with a short neck. The *siru* (steamer) gradually changed from those with one central hole surrounded by eight other holes at the base to those with one central hole surrounded by six other holes, with a corresponding increase in the size of the holes. From the early stage to the early part of the middle period, *siru* and *buhyeongtogi* (pottery vessels in the shape of iron pots) were used as funerary gifts. It is only in the second half of the middle stage that big *siru* were produced for practical use. *Buhyeongtogi* are another new type from the middle stage, some of which were glazed. The shape changed from those with feet to those without.

Greater numbers of *dong-i*, *wan*, *ban*, and *ibae* have been excavated from the middle stage. Among other new types first seen among the relics of this middle period are Type III lids with a rounded *boju*-shaped handle and (Type VI) with *banhyeong* (盤形: dish-shaped) *ttukkeong* or lids. The Type III lids were

mainly used for covering *wan* and cylindrical three-legged vessels, while the *banhyeong ttukkeong* was for the large-sized or *daehyeong* (大形) pottery, as the emergence of such lids coincides with that of large-sized potteries. Hand-made dishes of the early stage evolved to the wheel-thrown type, becoming flatter with the mouth portion lower. Some were made with short feet at the base. A new type of jar similar to the hemispherical bottle with dish-shaped mouth (盤口瓶, *bankouping*) of the Chinese Six Dynasties was made for the first time, including a peculiar type such as the cylindrical three-legged vessel.

A small number of pottery vessels of the middle stage were made of coarse earth but most were made of fine clay. Glazed pottery was produced for the first time in this period and the wheel-thrown method became a dominant production technique of the time. Many vessels were decorated with concentric semicircles, wavy lines, dotted rows, saw-tooth, and herringbone patterns are regularly found on the shoulders of *saijanggyeong-ong* and the Type II spherical *ho*. Some wares bore *ammun*, a pattern made by pressing and rubbing technique that is seen only in the second half of the middle stage.

During the late stage, all the pottery types of the middle stage continued to be produced, with practical wares such as *ho* and *ong* increasing in quantity. In the case of *saijanggyeong-ong*, the body gradually became narrower, and by the Balhae period the neck had become so narrow and long that it had evolved into the shape of a bottle. In this stage, large wares such as *jikguong*, *daehyeong-ong*, and *dong-i* were produced in large numbers. *Ban* and *ttukkeong* accordingly grew larger during this stage. Such trends correlated with the practical function of the vessels of this stage, as evidenced by the preponderance of wares excavated from the ruins of ordinary dwellings. Pottery vessels in the late stage are mostly glazed and made of fine clay. As for patterns, the practice of *ammun* prevailed, while patterns like concentric semicircles, dotted rows, and wavy lines that had been used often in the middle stage became obsolete.



This paper has so far examined the general characteristics of Goguryeo pottery, the developmental pattern, and the chronology of various types of vessels. As is the case with the general state of archaeological study of Goguryeo, the study of Goguryeo pottery remains stagnant mainly due to reasons beyond scholarly interests *per se*, namely the political environment. In fact, often in the past, research on this subject in China and North Korea—the hub of archaeological findings on Goguryeo pottery—has been varied in academic rigor and skewed in scope. Fortunately, however, some detailed and comprehensive studies on Goguryeo pottery have occasionally been published in China since the 1980s. Also in South Korea new investigations on Goguryeo historical sites have recently taken place, stimulating greater interest in research on Goguryeo pottery.

Much work lies ahead in overcoming the dearth of archaeological data and establishing the origins and the evolutionary process of Goguryeo pottery. However, recent research has shown that Goguryeo pottery was built upon the Bronze Age and early Iron Age pottery-making traditions of the Hunjiang and the middle reaches of the Amnokgang, supplemented by the introduction of pottery-making techniques from China during the Warring States Period to the Han dynasty. This theory is quite feasible from a historical perspective.

The production techniques of Goguryeo pottery have been clarified to some degree in terms of the developmental phases by analyses of raw materials, surface coloring, glazing, manufacturing method and surface treatment, and decorative patterns. However, such analyses should be complemented by further scientific research such as analysis of the composition of the raw materials and the temperature at which they become plastic.

In general, Goguryeo pottery is classified into about 24 different types and depending on size and physical attributes can also be divided into vessels for practical use and those without practical utility. The latter are mainly funerary articles, while the former are variously classified based on their functions for storing, cooking, serving, and transporting food. This kind of classification by function is an important factor in evaluating the vessels. But since such classifications are usually assumptions based on shape, they should further be complemented by analytic data related to the circumstances of excavation and their connection with other remains found together during excavation.

The chronology and associated different stages of the development of Goguryeo pottery are common subjects of interest to all researchers in the field, attracting numerous scholastic projects. However, as described above, most of the research on the subjects thus far have been conducted as part of a chronological

study of old tombs, or as complementary data supporting the chronology of old tombs. Undoubtedly, ascertaining the dates of the old tombs and the historical relics from various ruins provide the most important information in establishing the chronology of pottery vessels. On the other hand, classification according to type and the analysis of evolutionary changes in regard to the different types should be conducted as a prerequisite to chronological research.

It is to be expected that there are substantial omissions and errors in this paper as the data used for this study were, with the exception of Goguryeo pottery vessels excavated in South Korea, based on indirect information in the form of diagrams, photographs, and other academic papers. Moreover, I have not made an independent interpretation of the ancient tombs, the main subject of archaeological studies on Goguryeo so far. In conclusion, more rigorous analyses on the manufacturing techniques behind Goguryeo pottery across the entire historical spectrum need to be undertaken, as well as verification regarding the developmental process and the chronology of Goguryeo pottery that I have presented herewith. ≡

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Hong Seesop, *Blando*; Joseon; late 19th century; Ink on ramie fabric; H: 119.6 cm, W: 47.9 cm; National Museum of Korea





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# HWAJOHWA OF THE GORYEO AND JOSEON DYNASTIES

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Based on the author's article first introduced in 1985 in the book, *The Korean Aesthetic: Hwajo and the Four Gentlemen* (韓國 美: 花鳥 四君子) published by The JoongAng Daily, and revised in 1999 for the book, *Theories on the History of Paintings of the Joseon Period* (朝鮮時代 繪畫史論) published by Munye chulpansa (文藝出版社).

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### [ ABSTRACT ]

During the Goryeo dynasty (918-1392), *hwajohwa* (花鳥畫: flower-and-bird painting) shed the supernatural and structural form of earlier periods and increasingly came to be created and admired as an independent art genre. In the Joseon period (1392-1910), the *hwajohwa* genre, as a visual medium for expressing natural beauty, developed into two distinct styles of painting: the elaborate and detailed *chaemukpung* (彩墨風: painting style using color and ink) and the simple and restrained *sumukpung* (水墨風: inkwash painting without colors). *Chaemukpung*, with its combination of realistic and decorative elements, was widely used together with fine-style painting using strong colors in everyday life and ceremonial rites. Moreover, its decorative usage further expanded during the Joseon period to encompass *minhwa* (民畫: folk painting). *Sumukpung*, capturing the essence of the subject matter rather than its physicality, reflected the intellectual and artistic tastes of the *sadaebu* (士大夫: scholar-officials) and reached its golden era with small-scale landscapes with birds or animals. In the late Joseon period, *sumukpung* developed into a new and fresh style through the introduction of light colors; and with the increasing interest in drawing true to nature, landscapes with birds and animals depicted from life became popular as a new style that emphasized individualistic brush-and-ink aesthetic toward the end of the Joseon dynasty.



## [ KEYWORDS ]

*hwajohwa*, Goryeo, Joseon, *wonchehwa*, *sogyeong yeongmohwa*, *sagyeong yeongmohwa*, *noando*, Jo Sok, Gim Hongdo, Jeong Seon, Byeon Sangbyeok

## I INTRODUCTION

In Korea, '*hwajo*' (花鳥: flowers and birds) was first used as a term to describe an art genre in the fifteenth century, during the early Joseon dynasty. The earliest surviving Korean text containing the term '*hwajo*' is *Hwagi* (畫記: *Records of Paintings*), written by Sin Sukju (申叔舟, 1417-1475) in 1445.<sup>1</sup> Around this period, *hwajo* along with the words *josuchomok* (鳥獸草木: birds, animals, grass, and trees), *hwamokgeumjo* (花木禽鳥: flowers, trees, and birds), *hwachoyeongmo* (花草翎毛: flowers, grass, birds, and animals), and *hwajomokseok* (花鳥木石: flowers, birds, trees, and rocks) came to be used as standard terms characterizing this genre.<sup>2</sup>

During the Six Dynasties period (220-589) in China, bird and flower painting had already evolved into an independent painting category. Throughout the Tang dynasty (618-906), it had developed into a new genre by virtue of the emergence of artists specializing in painting flowers and birds. Over the course of the Five Dynasties period (907-959), the Chinese painters Huang Quan (黃筌, ?-965) and Xu Xi (徐熙, first half of the tenth century) firmly established the stylistic traditions of Chinese bird and flower painting.<sup>3</sup> Prior to this time birds and flowers were often used individually as subject-matter in the decorative designs and functional forms of various vessels, but over the course of the Six Dynasties period they came to be combined as in the main subject in paintings. As spiritual organisms, these subjects had been objects of worship since the prehistoric age, and from this time onwards they came to be widely used as auspicious and invocatory symbols of an abundant life filled with wealth, honor, longevity, offspring, and success.<sup>4</sup>

By combining these auspicious symbols with exquisite natural beauty, paintings of birds and flowers lent grandeur to the royal court and other noble places, and became popular as decorative paintings evoking scenes from paradise. They were also the essence of court painting and, in Japan, they became the main decorative theme of folding screens. From the time of the Northern Song dynasty (960-1127), *huaniaohua*, like *shanshuihua* (山水畫: landscape painting), featured significantly in literati painting theory as a means through which the profound principles of Mother Nature's order and harmony could be represented. As the genre grew increasingly popular as a medium for communicating the spirit

of such principles, flower and bird painting developed into elegant representations of rarified ideology and transcendent lyricism.

In Korea, too, birds – the main subject matter of *hwajohwa* – have adorned various kinds of artifacts since ancient times. Examples include the birds atop a branch seen on the front side of a ritual object from the Bronze Age in the National Museum of Korea,<sup>5</sup> and the legendary birds that are described in the Chinese text *Shanhaijing* (山海經: *Classic of Mountain and Seas*), such as *sanzuniao* (三足鳥: a mythical vermilion bird with three legs) as well as the cranes that are depicted in supernatural forms in the mural paintings of Goguryeo tombs. In Silla auspicious birds and lotus were depicted on a fan-shaped birchbark panel discovered from Cheonmachong (天馬塚: Tomb of the Heavenly Horse, late fifth to early sixth century)<sup>6</sup> and phoenixes, peacocks, parrots, and ducks decorated metalwork and earthenware roof tiles (瓦磚, *wajeon*) together with various flowers in such patterns as pairs of birds under a tree and birds holding a branch in their beak.<sup>7</sup> It was during the Goryeo period that *hwajohwa* came to form a distinct genre of its own, free of such supernatural and structural patterns, and the growth of this artistic form and the demand for it flowered in Joseon times. This study will first review *hwajohwa* of the Goryeo period – none of which survive as independent paintings today, although there are many examples of birds and flowers as subject-matter in Buddhist paintings of this period – using various historical sources, as well as examples on artifacts other than paper and silk, followed by an analysis of the changing patterns of *hwajohwa* of the Joseon period when the genre developed in four distinct phases.<sup>8</sup>

## II HWAJOHWA OF THE GORYEO PERIOD

It was during the Goryeo period (918–1392) that Korean art developed more refined and elaborate forms, and began fabricating a new tradition. This period witnessed the emergence of new avenues of

creativity coupled with a culture of art appreciation which developed owing to the birth of a literati class that had appeared on account of the implementation of the civil service examination system in 958. The growth of paintings created for pure appreciation was also influenced by contemporary literati painting theories and by the art and literature of the Northern Song dynasty. These new trends in Goryeo paintings especially became prominent during the reign of King Munjong (文宗, r. 1046–1083), at a time when civil and cultural exchanges with Northern Song began to flourish.<sup>9</sup>

According to the chapter on Gaoli Guo (高麗國: Goryeo State) in Volume 6 of *Tuhuaqianwenzhi* (圖畫見聞誌: *An Account of My Experiences in Painting*), written by Guo Ruoxu (郭若虛) of the Northern Song dynasty circa 1070, Goryeo emissaries brought a special gift item, *jeopcheopseon* (摺疊扇: folding fans) on their visits to China. The fans themselves are described as being originally from Japan, but the paintings on them are likely to have been made in Goryeo. On the *acheongji* (鴉青紙: dark-blue paper) of the fan were drawn such subjects as ladies riding and saddle-horses (婦人鞍馬, *buin anma*) or flowering plants and waterfowl (蓮荷花木水禽之類, *yeonhahwamoksugeum-jiryu*). These artworks on the folding fans were described as elaborate, and the added use of silver pigment (銀泥, *eunni*) convincingly indicates that the fans must have been quite extravagant.<sup>10</sup> It is also likely that the flowering plants with various waterfowl on these fans were depicted in a similar composition to paintings of lotus flowers and waterfowl (蓮池水禽圖, *yeonjisugeumdo*), which emerged as a decorative subject matter during the late Five Dynasties and the early Northern Song periods.

Paintings depicting a pond with lotus flowers, reeds, and bamboo trees, and waterfowl such as ducks, mandarin ducks, and white herons were widely produced in the Northern Song dynasty.<sup>11</sup> In Goryeo, similar motifs were used frequently on inlaid ceramic and bronze vessels of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Among the most representative examples are a bronze *kundika* with landscape design (National Treasure No. 92),<sup>12</sup> a celadon vase with inlay of lotus



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flowers and waterfowl,<sup>13</sup> and a celadon dish with inlay of flower, bamboo, and waterfowl in the Museum of Oriental Ceramics, Osaka (Plate 1).<sup>14</sup> The three white herons on the left and on the right of the celadon dish in the Osaka Museum may have been influenced by the figures of cranes painted by Huang Quan and described by Guo Ruoxu in the paragraph on Crane Paintings in Volume 5 of his *Tuhua jianwen zhi*, in which he listed six positions of cranes: crying, startled, pecking, dancing, relaxing, and strolling.

Furthermore, combinations of various flowers and birds such as parrots, mandarin ducks, cranes, egrets, ducks, and sparrows are found on ceramics, bronze bottles, and bronze mirrors of the mid-Goryeo period.<sup>15</sup> In particular, subjects such as willow and waterfowl and reeds and wild geese exhibit much affiliation with paintings. The pattern on a celadon bottle with carvings of reeds and wild geese in the National Museum of Korea<sup>16</sup> is similar to the typical compositions of the close-up landscapes of reeds and wild geese from the Northern Song dynasty. In the case of flying cranes, such as those on a celadon *maebyeong* with clouds and crane design in the Gansong Museum of Art, they are very similar to the depiction of cranes flying over the Imperial palace in the painting entitled *Ruihetu* (瑞鶴圖, *Auspicious Cranes*) by Emperor Huizong (徽宗, r. 1119–1125) of the Northern Song dynasty, in the Liaoning Provincial Museum. Paintings by the Emperor, a master of bird and flower painting who was particularly fond of cranes, were introduced to Goryeo during the reign of King Yejong (睿宗, r. 1105–1122) and the early years of King Injong (仁宗, r. 1122–1146) along with other Chinese paintings that were pouring into Goryeo in “innumerable quantities (不可勝計).”<sup>17</sup>

*Hwajohwa* in Korea was much influenced by and developed in tandem with bird and flower paintings of the Five Dynasties and early Northern Song

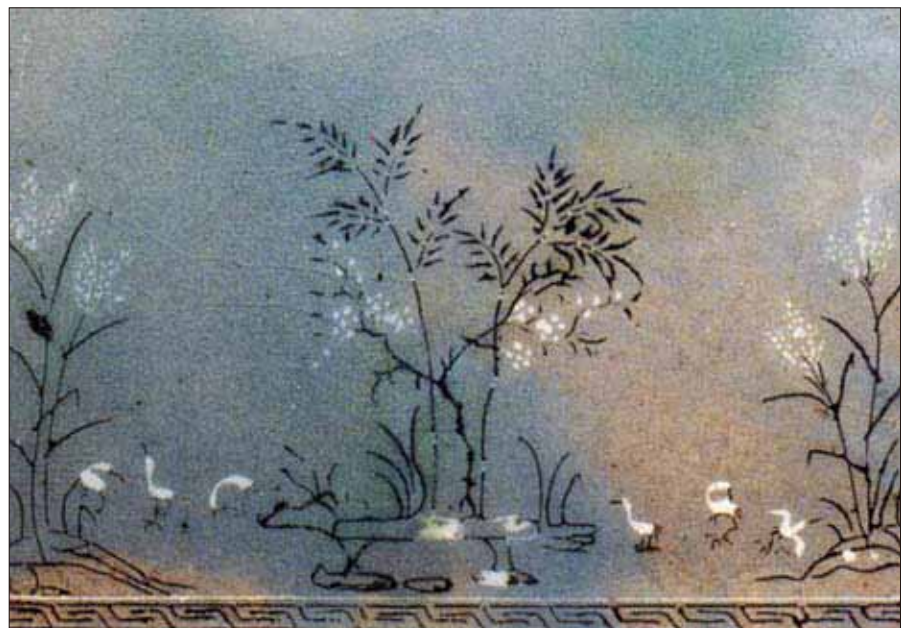
( Plate 1 )

Celadon plate with inlay of flower, bamboo,  
and waterfowl design

Goryeo, mid-12th century

H: 15.7 cm, D: 20.4 cm

The Museum of Oriental Ceramics, Osaka



that celebrated the beauty of nature. The paintings advanced in artistic quality in the latter half of the Goryeo dynasty following the military rebellion in 1170. During this period, the scholar-officials, who had become the new elite in Goryeo society, regarded paintings as a medium for the exchange of artistic sensibilities and the expression of ideas. They also conceived the cultivation of painting skills and art appreciation as a requirement for cultured men, which not only led to the introduction of new perspectives on painting derived from Northern Song art theories but also to the growth of art works created for the purpose of appreciation.<sup>18</sup>

Accordingly, *hwajohwa* became an important subject of artistic creation and appreciation. A good example of this emerging trend is the remark by Yi Gyubo (李奎報, 1168–1241): "Surround myself with paintings of birds to admire."<sup>19</sup> Also Yi Saek (李穡, 1328–1396) envisioned the order and the way of the natural world by appreciating a painting of swallows and sparrows flying over and perching on the blossoming branches of an apricot tree.<sup>20</sup>

Although none of the works of *hwajohwa* from this era survives today, the delicate but dynamic feeling of natural movement can still be inferred from poems describing the paintings (題畫詩文, *jehwasimun*). Of the painting *Ssangnodo* (雙鷺圖: *Two White Herons*), Yi Gyubo wrote a poem: "Depicting shapes and forms as they are requires no great skill, but attaining the divine level is a most rare feat. And yet, the eyes [of the birds in the painting] palpitate as if they are alive."<sup>21</sup> Of a painting of Wild Geese, Lin Chun (李

椿, late twelfth century) observed, "There are thirty-nine wild geese in the painting, among which eighteen are different from each other in shape: the geese, in various positions and motions, such as flying, coming in flocks, drinking, pecking, standing, lying prone, and spreading wings, are portrayed in delicate detail. The delicacy and the powerful, near-palpable motion in the painting have reached the highest level of artistry."<sup>22</sup> The various shapes and motions of these wild geese are reminiscent of the *Baiyan tujuan* (百雁圖卷: *Scroll of One Hundred Wild Geese*) by Ma Ben (馬賁, dates unknown), an artist of the Xuanhe Academy in the Xuanhe reign (1119–1125).<sup>23</sup> Judging from such records, the works of *hwajohwa* during this period probably reached a high level of representation, not only aesthetically but also in the way in which the artists depicted the subject matters in a realistic manner by faithfully reproducing their gracefulness and dynamism. Among the Goryeo Buddhist paintings of the fourteenth century, glimpses of such artistic skills are offered in *Gwan-gyeong simnyukgwan byeonsangdo* (觀經十六觀變相圖: *Sixteen Visualizations of the Contemplation Sutra*) in Chion-in (知恩院), Saifuku-ji (西福寺), and in Rinsho-ji (隣松寺), and *Suwolgwaneumdo* (水月觀音圖: *Water-Moon Avalokiteshvara*) in Daitoku-ji (大德寺) (Plate 2). The latter depicts cranes, peacocks, and a blue bird pecking at a sprig of flowers elegantly illustrated in the techniques of *gureukjeonchaepung* (鉤勒填彩風: ink outline and color fill) and *molgolchaesaekpung* (沒骨彩色風: boneless painting, i.e. without outlines in ink). The blossom at which the blue bird is pecking is a peony, as illustrated by Li Di (李迪, late twelfth century) and other artists in the court style of painting of the Southern Song dynasty.



( Plate 2 )  
Anonymous, *Water-Moon Avalokiteshvara*, detail  
Goryeo, 14th century  
Ink and colors on silk  
H: 227.9 cm, W: 125.8 cm  
Daitoku-ji, Kyoto

## III HWAJOWHA OF THE EARLY JOSEON PERIOD

Due to the creative traditions and growing demands of the mid-Goryeo period onwards, by the early Joseon period (1392 to circa 1550), *hwajohwa*, like paintings of other genres, reached a higher level of artistic maturity than before. Realistic paintings in the

style of *gureukjeonchae* and *molgolchaesaek* were officially promoted through the court painters of the Dohwaseo (圖畫署: Royal Bureau of Painting) in order to meet the increasing demands of the royal family. According to the section on the criteria for the selection of court painters (取才, *chwijae*) and the subject matters on which they were tested as recorded in the chapter Yejeon (禮典: Code of Rites) of the *Gyeonggukdaejeon* (經國大典: *Complete Code of Law*) completed in 1485, birds and animals, like humans, were classified as a third level subject. Therefore, the primary purpose of the selection process appears to have been to develop and to test the painter's mimetic abilities, as would have been required in portraiture. In order to improve the court painters' skills to 'observe and draw from life' (觀形摹畫, *gwanhyeongmohwa*) and to prevent any mistakes, King Seongjong (成宗, r. 1469–1494) had various kinds of wild animals brought into the palace and had the court painters paint as realistically as possible all kinds of living organisms including grass, trees, birds, and animals.<sup>24</sup> Such development of painting techniques (畫技, *hwagi*) was considered essential for copying and modifying the king's portraits (御容, *eoyong*) faithfully. It must also have been crucial for the production of paintings such as the following examples: *Haecheongdo* (海青圖: painting of a falcon), made during the reign of King Sejong (世宗, r. 1418–1450), one of a series featuring various species of falcons drawn in a precise manner; an "extremely detailed" (極其精巧, *geukgiyeonggyo*) parrot, drawn for the royal family during the reign of Yeonsangun (燕山君, r. 1494–1506); or New Year's paintings (歲畫, *sehwa*) such as the *chu-eung baktodo* (秋鷹搏兔圖: painting of a falcon hunting a rabbit in autumn), which were included in the paintings that the king presented to his relatives and senior ministers at the start of the new year.<sup>25</sup>

In the meantime, the *sadaebu*, who were the main patrons and admirers of art along with the royal family, saw bird and flower painting as a symbol of harmony with nature (江湖閒靜, *ganghohanjeong*) and transcendence from the secular world. They even considered the genre as a subject for allegory and satire as well as a medium for cultivating moral character.<sup>26</sup> Seo Geojeong (徐居正, 1420–1488) realized a state of freedom in nature through paintings of ducks floating on the water and enjoyed imagining the ideal beauty of nature in the Jiangnan (江南) region in China from a painting of wild geese in a frosted field of reeds in autumn.<sup>27</sup> This self-disciplined and moral-centered view that the nobility applied to bird and flower painting must have played an important role in the development of ink painting, a style that emphasized capturing the spirit of the object.

On the basis of such acknowledgement and demands, during the early years of the Joseon period, *hwajohwa* included a variety of birds, such as ducks, egrets, cranes, falcons, wild geese, swallows, sea gulls, sparrows, magpies, doves, orioles, peacocks, and chickens in various combined settings with *hwachojukmok* (花草竹木: flowers, grass, bamboo, and trees). The early Joseon period produced many noteworthy literati painters of *hwajohwa* such as Ham Seoksung (咸石崇, early 15th century), Gim Jeong (金淨, 1486–1521, a former Minister of

the Board of Punishment [刑曹判書] and one of the Joseon scholar-reformers who were purged in the *gimyo sahwa* in 1519), and Yi Am (利巖, 1499-?), who were all also cultivated men of letters. Moreover, An Gyeon (安堅, dates unknown), regarded as the best painter from the Dohwaseo of King Sejong's era, also produced masterpieces such as *Noando* (蘆雁圖: *Geese and Flowers*), *Songhakdo* (松鶴圖: *Crane with Pine Tree*), *Hwaado* (花鵝圖: *Flowers and Geese*) and *Ando* (Geese).

The extant *hwajohwa* works of the early Joseon period include *Jigoksonghakdo* (芝谷松鶴圖: *Cranes with Pine Trees in a Valley*) by Yu Jami (柳自湄, late fifteenth century) in Gansong Museum of Art and paintings by Gim Jeong, Yi Am, An Gwisaeng (安貴生, late fifteenth century), Yi Jongjun (李宗準, ?-1499), Sin Jam (申潛, 1491-1554), and paintings attributed to Saimdang Sinssi (師任堂 申氏, 1504-1551, the mother of Yi Yi [李珣, 1536-1584], the greatest Confucian scholar of the mid-Joseon period). These works can be loosely divided into two painting styles: in ink and colors, or in inkwash alone. The former (*chaemukpung*) typically features different kinds of birds with delicate brush strokes in color and ink against a wide landscape (大景, *daegyeong*) with trees in the upper half of the painting and water or stones in the lower half. Inkwash painting (*sumukpung*), on the other hand, generally features detailed, close-at-hand landscapes (小景, *sogyeong*), where only one or two birds of the same kind are brushed in ink.<sup>28</sup> Whereas *chaemukpung* developed on the traditions of Goryeo with mixtures of the realistic and decorative styles of the early Ming dynasty, *sumukpung* grew as a new style out of *mukhui* (墨戲: playing with ink), symbolizing the interests of the scholar-officials.

Korean works that incorporate Chinese academic painting techniques<sup>29</sup> include: *Jigoksonghakdo* by Yu Jami, four pieces of *Hwajodo* (花鳥圖) – purportedly by Sin Jam, *Hwajodo* by An Gwisaeng in the National Museum of Korea, and *Hwajogujado* (花鳥狗子圖: *Flower and Bird with Puppies*) by the court painter Yi Am in the Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art. These paintings depict trees, stones, and earthen walls against a backdrop of natural features of the seasons, using the Zhe school

(浙派) painting style, characterized by asymmetrical compositions and strong contrasts of black and white, and combining realistic and decorative elements in a harmonious mix of ink and colors – characteristic of the Ming style of bird and flower painting. In particular, such works are believed to have been influenced by the style of Lü Ji (呂紀, 1477-?), widely considered the master of academic court painting. *Hwajodo*, attributed to An Gwisaeng, is strongly evocative of the spring scene of *Siji huaniao tu* (四季花鳥圖: *Flowers and Birds in Four Seasons*) in the Tokyo National Museum by Lü Ji, although An's work has a softer and more lyrical mood.

These styles are also reflected in the four pieces of *Hwajodo* by Sin Jam.<sup>30</sup> It is in the *Hwajogujado* (Plate 3) by Yi Am, however, that they appear much more vividly. The flowering tree depicted in ink outline and color in the upper part of the painting and the innocent-looking bird in boneless technique in the lower part evoke a mood of innocence and a visual sense of beauty in a pure and unspoiled natural world. Yi Am, who excelled in depicting falcons and dogs, was regarded as the greatest painter of this genre. The chapter Chosenshokaden (朝鮮書畫傳: Notes on Joseon Calligraphy and Paintings) in the 50th volume of the Japanese work *Kogabikou* (古畫備考: *Review of Old Paintings*) defines Yi's paintings as "having the Joseon style of painting (有朝鮮畫風, *yuchosengafu*)."<sup>31</sup> The sentimental and lyrical world of painting that Yi created laid the foundation for the development of *hwajohwa* of the Joseon dynasty.

*Hwajohwa* paintings attributed to the representative style of *sumuk* with simple and light colors and the *sogyeong* frame or a close-range landscape format were produced by: Gim Jeong, Jo Gwangjo (趙光祖, 1482-1519, a leader who was also purged in *gimyo sahwa*), and Saimdang Sinssi.

The small-size inkwash compositions typically come in two different kinds of representation: the first an extremely simple form whereby only one or two birds are featured, usually sitting on the extended end of *jeolji* (折枝: branch without the tree trunk) or on a flowering branch; the second a natural landscape,





[ Plate 3 ]

Yi Am, *Flower and Bird with Puppies*  
Joseon, 16th century  
Ink and colors on paper  
H: 86 cm, W: 44.9 cm  
Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art



[ Plate 4 ]

Gim Jeong, *Bird on a Small Branch*  
Joseon, early 16th century  
Ink on paper  
Private collection, Korea

represented by rocks, cliffs, or waterside plants at the watersides and valleys. Both types were standardized during the Southern Song dynasty. In Korea, most of the former type portrayed small birds such as wagtails, great tits, snipes, and magpies on the end of a branch of plum or bamboo in ink in the *sauche* (寫意體: style mimicking the essence or the mindset rather than the subject matter) through the application of dry brush strokes (粗筆, *jopil*) or free-hand brushwork (放筆, *bangpil*). In the latter presented as a vignette of a landscape, one finds a convergence of the *byeon-gak* (邊角: one-corner) composition from the Southern Song dynasty with the Zhe school style from the Ming dynasty.

The *Yeongmojeoljido* (翎毛折枝圖: *Bird on a Small Branch*) (Plate 4) by Gim Jeong reflects the essence of *sumukpung* – simple composition and condensed use of brushstrokes. This style of painting developed as ink play by literary men and by Seon (Japanese: Zen) Buddhist painters. Seo Yugu (徐有渠, 1764–1845) observed that the *Yijohwamyongdo* (二鳥和鳴圖: *Two Birds Singing in Harmony on a Tree*) from the *Dongguo Huatie* (東國畫帖: *Painting Album of the Eastern State* [i.e. Joseon]), which does not survive today, was “the oldest example of *dongren momiao* (東人墨妙: ink painting of the Easterners [i.e. Koreans])” that he had ever seen. It portrayed two birds on two different branches of a tree, one branch above the other. Seo remarked that despite the fact that the painting was so faded that it was hard to distinguish the technical artistry in the piece, he could still recognize the traces of ink play of a literary man.<sup>31</sup> Such paintings created with ink play were considered as self-fulfilling and self-cultivating performances for the literati. Both *Yeollodo* (蓮鷺圖: *Lotus Flower with White Heron*) in the National Museum of Korea and *Wonangdo* (鴛鴦圖: *A Couple of Mandarin Ducks*) in a private collection, attributed to Saimdang Sinssi, illustrate birds and animals wading in water, suggesting sentiments of leisure found in a small vignette of nature.<sup>32</sup> The uniformity of the ink brush strokes as well as the two dimensional expressions all contribute to evoking the lyrical feeling of the painting. These small-scale inkwash paintings focused more on creating an overall calm, feminine sentiment rather than recreating nature in detail. By the mid-Joseon period, this style, which focused on expressing the spiritual and serene scenery rather than merely representing the precise details of nature, strongly adopted the Zhe school ink brush modes into the style establishing the new main trend for bird-and-flower paintings.

## IV HWAJOHWA OF THE MID-JOSEON PERIOD

*Hwajohwa* reached full bloom in the mid-Joseon period (circa 1550–1700), growing more vibrant than at any other time in the Joseon era. With the maturation of Joseon society, the scholar-officials came to view birds singing and flying freely in nature as the epitome of paradise and pure joy and

the quintessence of the profound truth of cosmological movement. They actively promoted these paintings that combined flowers and birds with natural scenery as a medium for describing and expressing man's intimate relationship with nature. In fact, the mid-Joseon period produced the greatest number of leading literati painters of *hwajohwa*. Among the outstanding artists of the genre that have been documented are: Gim Si, (金禔, 1524-1593), also known as *Dongbangsinpum* (東方神品: Divine Creation of the East), the brothers Yi Gyeong-yun (李慶胤, 1545-1611) and Yi Yeong-yun (李英胤, 1561-1611), Yun Eom (尹儼, 1536-1581), Sin Serim (申世霖, 1521-1583), Yi Hangbok (李恒福, 1556-1618), Choe Jeon (崔澱, 1567-1588), Yi Jing (李澄, 1581-?), Jo Sok (趙洙, 1595-1668), Gim Sik (金埴, 1579-1662), Gim Jib (金堦, 1574-1656), Yi Geon (李健, 1614-1662), Gim Hakgi (金學基, dates unknown), Yi Ham (李涵, 1633-?) Jo Jiun (趙之耘, 1637-1691), Yi Ryang (李滄, late seventeenth century), and Jeon Chunghyo (全忠孝, dates unknown). Most of these artists were either literati painters of the royal court or members of the scholar-gentry class.

The typical two-tiered large-scale *hwajohwa* in color of the early Joseon dynasty continued to develop during the mid-Joseon period under the aegis of artists such as Yun Eom and Yi Yeong-yun. However, the most representative *hwajohwa* of the mid-Joseon era were small inkwash paintings of animals and birds.<sup>33</sup> This technique of accentuating the bird as the essence of the painting against a backdrop of one or two loose branches (疎枝, *soji*) or *pyeon-gyeong* (片景: a small, close-up, cut-off scene) is the most distinctive feature of mid-Joseon *hwajohwa*.

Paintings of birds and animals on small branches, developed by painters like Gim Jeong in the early Joseon period, were well-loved not only because such works could convey the painter's mind with only a few brushstrokes but also because they resembled the flying, singing, sleeping, and feeding birds found in the Ming painting manuals such as *Gao Song Lingmaopu* (高松翎毛譜: *Painting Manual of Birds and Animals by Gao Song*).<sup>34</sup> These traditions continued in the painting titled *Jukgeumdo* (竹禽圖: *Wild Birds with Bamboo*) by

Sin Serim, *Maedomunhyangdo* (梅鳥聞香圖: *Bird on a Plum tree Surrounded by Fragrance*) in the Gansong Museum of Art by Gim Sik, *Han-gadokjodo* (寒柯獨鳥圖: *Lonely Bird on a Branch in Winter*) in *Nakpayeonjuheop* (駱坡聯珠帖: *Painting Album by Nakpa Yi Gyeong-yun*) in the National Museum of Korea by Yi Gyeong-yun, and *Yusangchun-gudo* (柳上春鳩圖: *Pigeon on a Willow*) in the National Museum of Korea by Yi Yeong-yun. Gim Sik's *Bird on a Plum Tree Surrounded by Fragrance* painted in the midst of his flight to Hongyang (洪陽) during the Japanese invasion of Korea in 1592 is, in terms of the overall structure and the posture of the bird, very similar to the paintings of birds and flowers by Wang Yuan (王淵, dates unknown), who was a pupil of Zhao Mengfu (趙孟頫, 1254-1322) of the Yuan dynasty, and whose work was included in the collection *Gushihuapu* (顧氏畫譜: *Painting Manual by Gu Bing* [顧炳], late sixteenth-early seventeenth century) of 1603. The *Yusangchun-gudo* by Yi Yeong-yun is akin to the ink painting of Geese by the celebrated Ming painter Lin Liang (林良, circa 1416-1480), in the British Museum. However, the former achieved a contrast between the ink painting method (墨法, *mukbeop*) applied to the leaves and the drawing technique with plain outlines (白描風, *baengmyopung*), along with the foggy landscape created by a darker background (外暈法, *woe-unbeop*) – that is, by using thin ink lightly around the bird, conveying an embossed-like effect – demonstrating new stylistic characteristics.

Paintings of birds and animals on small branches reached an artistic peak and highest popularity with the works of Jo Sok. Widely respected for being a virtuous nobleman of the utmost integrity, he was esteemed also for being a virtuoso of *hwajohwa*.<sup>35</sup> Many of Jo Sok's extant paintings are identified only by attribution because the artist barely left his signature or seal. Nevertheless, these paintings disclose Jo Sok's particular fondness for depicting small mountain birds perched or dozing off, sitting by themselves on the tip of a bare branch of a plum, bamboo, or Chinese hawthorn. He also liked to paint aquatic birds such as wild geese and cranes within a succinct background, often left almost blank.



( Plate 5 )

Jo Sok, *Old Plum and Auspicious Magpie*  
Joseon, early 17th century  
Ink on paper  
H: 100.4 cm, W: 55.5 cm  
Gansong Museum of Art

Jo Sok's style of painting, particularly his depictions of birds and triangular leaves presented in a mosaic style, as exemplified in works such as *Nosuseojakdo* (老樹棲鵲圖: *Magpie Resting on an Old Tree*) in the National Museum of Korea, also shows resemblance to the works by Lin Liang, much-admired by the gentry of Ming China.<sup>36</sup> Jo's works are marked by a restrained elegance indicative of pure integrity. In particular, *Gomaeseojakdo* (古梅瑞鵲圖: *Old Plum and Auspicious Magpie*) (Plate 5), which accentuates, through flying-white outlines (飛白體, *bibaekche*), the solitude of the magpie perched atop the bare branch of a plum, is a masterpiece that best reflects these techniques. The powerful use of dry brushstrokes in the magpie's strong, straight, and steady posture makes it appear as if the bird is waiting steadfastly for spring as it gazes into the distance. In harmony with the restrained *mungmaepung* (墨梅風: plum blossom drawn in ink) distinctive of the mid-Joseon period, this, in turn, is strongly evocative of the ethos of the artist's pure sentiment of longing for spring to overcome the national suffering following the Chinese invasion of 1636.

Along with the lofty sentiments and elegance created in his works, Jo Sok also painted *mukgeum* (墨禽: birds in ink monochrome), utilizing both the rough and simple *jopil* and *bangpil* strokes in *sau* style – techniques that are exemplified in *Woryasugeumdo* (月夜水禽圖: *Waterbirds in the Moonlit Night*) in the National Museum of Korea and *Chunjijomongdo* (春池鳥夢圖: *Sleeping Bird by a Lake in Spring*) in the Gansong Museum of Art. These paintings depict a solitary, small, sleeping bird with its head on its breast, perched on a plum or a bamboo tree, or under a dry, leafless, bare, protruding branch of a Chinese hawthorn tree, thereby evoking a sentiment of bearing through a challenging wintry season.

This minimalistic trend in ink paintings of sleeping birds was continued in later works including *Sukjodo* (宿鳥圖: *Sleeping Bird*) (Plate 6) and *Maesangsukjodo* (梅上宿鳥圖: *Sleeping Bird on a Plum*), attributed to Jo Sok's son Jo Jiun, and *Seorwoljomongdo* (雪月鳥夢圖: *Sleeping Bird in Snowy Night*) in the Gansong Museum of Art by Yi Geon, dated 1661. Jo Jiun's painting style is barely distinguishable from that of his father, except that his depictions of bare branches are coarser and further simplified, creating a more liberated feel. In view of the fact that most of the works attributed to Jo Sok and Jo Jiun comprise the sleeping bird in light ink style or a solitary bird perching on a branch or branches, one may say that a new style of *hwajohwa* was established by these father and son painters.



( Plate 6 )

Jo Jiun, *Sleeping Bird*  
Joseon, late 17th century  
Ink on paper  
H: 78 cm, W: 50 cm  
Private collection

Among *sojiyeongmoryu hwajohwa* – rather sketchy and abstract birds-and-flower paintings on small branches – there also exist paintings depicted in a more refined and graceful style. *Yijohwamyeongdo* (二鳥和鳴圖: *Two Birds Singing in Harmony on a Tree*) in the Gansong Museum of Art by Gim Sik and *Sanchobaekdudo* (山椒白頭圖: *Bird with White Feathered Head on a Prickly Ash*) and *Danpungsojodo* (丹楓小鳥圖: *Small Bird on a Red Maple Tree*) from the *Yeongmocheop* (翎毛帖: *Painting Album of Birds and Animals*) in the National



Museum of Korea by Yi Ham are the representative examples. These works display distinct organizational elements in the way that the titmouse and a small bird of the wagtail family are 'paired together' or 'singing in harmony' with a bare branch between them. Moreover, in the lucid and deliberate brushstrokes that even detail the veins of the leaves, the painting creates a lyrical atmosphere which reflects the sculptural techniques of the academic style of the Southern Song dynasty and the Zhe school style of the Ming dynasty. In other words, they reflect a compromise between the structure of *sojiyeongmo* (small scenes of birds and animals on branches) and the expressive style of *pyeon-gyeongyeongmo* (cut-off landscapes with birds and animals), the next topic to be discussed.

Within the style of *sogyeongyeongmohwa*, the main current of *hwajohwa* during the mid-Joseon period, *pyeon-gyeong*, or otherwise known as *pyeongakgyeong* (偏角景: a small, close-up, cut-off vignette of scenery) *yeongmoryu* (animal paintings), developed in tandem with and enjoyed the most popularity as *sojiyeongmoryu*. Small scenes with animals, combining the structural dimensions and the ink techniques of the Zhe school, are prominently displayed in the works attributed to Saimdang Sinssi. The style was further refined in the mid-Joseon era as represented in works such as *Sugeumdo* (水禽圖: *Waterbirds*) in a private collection by Yi Seunghyo (李崇孝, late sixteenth century) and *Hajeongsugeumdo* (夏汀水禽圖: *Waterbirds on the Waterside in Summer*) in the National Museum of Korea by Yi Gyeong-yun, along with other works by Gim Sik and Yi Jing.

Gim Sik excelled at lifelike painting, known as *saengchojitae* (生肖之態: drawing so true to life that it seems alive) and his brush technique was hailed as ethereal. Gim was celebrated especially for the delicacy of his brushstrokes, with many expressing admiring disbelief that a 70-year-old man could be capable of brushstrokes that were "finer than the finest hair."<sup>37</sup> Others, however, rated Gim Sik's technique one level below that of Jo Sok, and in a book of the later period, *Yeollyeosilgisul* (燃藜室記述: *Narratives by Yeollyeosil*), it was asserted that Gim's

brushstrokes were not delicate at all. The small scenes with animals attributed to Gim Sik currently housed in the National Museum of Korea and the Hongik University Museum would seem to confirm the latter assessment, as they exhibit the *molgol* or boneless technique, for example in his *Umado* (牛馬圖: *Oxen and Horses*). Likewise, as can be seen in *Seokjukbiyeondo* (石竹飛燕圖: *Flying Swallow with Rocks and Bamboo*), the vignette consisting of swallows, sweet williams, rocks, and waterfalls is painted in a method that eliminates borderlines and expresses a fine, sleek, deep, two-dimensional, balanced feeling. All this is presented within a structural frame that creates an overall pleasing atmosphere.

These techniques and lyrical moods were further refined by Yi Jing and developed into a prototype.<sup>38</sup> The illegitimate son of Yi Gyeong-yun, Yi Jing won King Injong's favor and painted under the king's auspices. Yi's style and techniques were reminiscent of those apparent in *Qiu Zhu Shui Qin Tu* (秋渚水禽圖: *Waterbirds on a River Bank in Autumn*) in the National Museum of Taipei by the Ming master Lü Ji. This is particularly reflected in his work *Noando* (*Geese and Reeds*) now in a private collection. However, Yi's true distinctiveness in the genre of *hwajohwa* is better displayed in his small works in *hwacheop* (畫帖: painting albums and manuals). Among the works attributed to Yi, *Sansu hwacheop* (山水畫帖: *Painting Album of Mountains and Waters*) in the Gansong Museum of Art is his most representative. The work contains an introduction by Sin Ikseong (申翊聖, 1588-1644), who was King Seonjo's (宣祖, r. 1552-1608) son-in-law and a prominent collector and appraiser of paintings.

*Yodang wonangdo* (夢塘鴛鴦圖: *A Couple of Mandarin Ducks on a Pond with Weeds*) (Plate 7) is a painting included in this album. The painting is of an affectionate pair of ducks playing in water flowing around rocks that are covered with lichen. The contrast of the black and the white, the rocks on top of each other, their pointed shapes, and the brush technique of *bubyeokjun* (斧劈皴: axe-cut brushstrokes) are reminiscent of the art style of Chen Zhihe (陳子和, dates unknown), a painter from Fujian Province (福建) of

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Hong Sunpyo

the Ming dynasty. However, in the application of the rhythmic method of the boneless style, seen in the detailed description of the duck feathers, and in the detailed depiction of the flower plants and water plants by the use of dots (點描風, *jeommyopung*), the distinctive artistic ethos and character of this period can be observed. In particular, the landscape consisting of a vignette of nature and a couple of birds, depicted by the distinct technique of *sumuk* or ink painting, gently evoking a harmony of the innocence and earthiness of the natural world, represents quintessential Korean aesthetics and sentiments founded in folk art.<sup>39</sup>

As seen above, *hwajohwa* of the mid-Joseon period brought forth numerous prominent painters, reaching its heyday through small inkwash paintings of birds and animals. By illustrating the subject of a lone mountain bird on a bare, broken branch, such paintings were able to evoke the restrained beauty of nature and the painter's lofty spirit through coarse and simple brushstrokes. This style was standardized and refined by Jo Sok. Close-view landscapes with birds and animals, characterized (through a variation on the conventions of Zhe school techniques) by endearing images of pairs of waterbirds in a stream or a river close to rocks and wild flowers, sought to recreate the calm and lyrical mood of nature. Yi Jing standardized and refined this kind of painting, which took place when Neo-Confucian ideology permeated more deeply into the society. Such painting styles and the social ideology are similar in their concept for they both highlight harmony with nature. On the other hand, while the restrained elegance of the former exercised a particular appeal to the literary society of the scholar-officials, the latter, with its decorative features, was greatly favored by the royal family and wealthy elites.



[ Plate 7 ]  
*Yi Jing, A Couple of Mandarin Ducks on a Pond with Waterweeds*  
Joseon, 17th century  
Ink and colors on silk  
H: 21 cm, W: 31 cm  
Gansong Museum of Art

## V HWAJOHWA OF THE LATE JOSEON DYNASTY

*Hwajohwa* of the late Joseon dynasty (circa 1700-1800) changed in more diverse ways as a result of the growth of a culture that valued paintings, new creative dispositions among painters, and the rise of a new trend of *namjonghwa* (南宗畫: Southern school or literati painters). In particular, through the works of masters such as Jeong Seon (鄭敼, 1676-1759), Jo Yeongseok (趙榮祐, 1686-1761), Sim Sajeong (沈師正, 1707-1769), and Gim Hongdo (金弘道, 1745-1806), a new creative and individualistic world of art sprang forth. Use of the light-ink method widely practiced in the mid-Joseon period diminished whereas *chaemuk*, using both color and ink, and detailed works with strong colors, increased. This change toward an elaborate and vivid aesthetic stemmed mainly from the inherent dynamism of the natural organisms in *hwajohwa*, but also from the increase in demand for invocative and decorative objects as a result of a more lavish lifestyle. Moreover, the importation of painting albums consisting of multi-colored woodblock prints made during early Qing times, such as *Shizhuzhai huapu* (十竹齋畫譜: *Ten Bamboo Studios Manual of Painting*) and

*Jieziyuan huazhuan* (芥子園畫傳: *Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting*), must have played an important role in the development of Joseon *hwajohwa*.

In the context of the new trends in late-Joseon *hwajohwa*, one prominent painter to emerge is the master of true-view landscape (實景, *silgyeong*) painting, Jeong Seon. Jeong did not paint many *hwajohwa*, but espoused an aesthetic that strove to capture the essence of nature. He left works such as *Deungnyong unggyedo* (燈籠雄雞圖: *A Rooster under a Tree with a Chinese maxim*) (Plate 8) and *Gyegwanmanchudo* (鷄冠晚雞圖: *Chickens with Cockscomb Plant*), both of which breathe realism and vitality. The composition of his works followed the principles of *byeon-gak pyeong-gyeong*; however, the realistic depictions of roosters and hens leisurely playing around the barn with plants such as cockscomb and ground cherry in the background demonstrate a new realistic style of painting. In particular, the aggressive stance of the rooster, depicted in vibrant colors and vigorous brushwork, rises beyond simple description and is noteworthy in its realistic portrayal of the rooster's natural behavior.

This new trend developed from a process of "self-taught (自得的, *jadeukjeok*)" creativity, obtained through keen observation that emphasized the structural characteristics and essential character of the object under study. Its development was led by a scholar-painter named Jo Yeongseok, who stressed *jeungmulsajin* (即物寫真: painting drawn as the object appears) or realistic painting. Jo Yeongseok, who was a childhood friend and a longtime neighbor of Jeong Seon

in the northern part of Seoul, drew a rough sketch with willow charcoal' (柳炭略寫, *yutanyaksa*) of domestic birds (家禽, *gageum*) like chicks and quails and wild birds (野禽, *yageum*).<sup>40</sup> *Ssangjakdo* (雙鵲圖: *A Brace of Magpies*) (Plate 9), which he created at forty, was based on the strength of rough sketches, in a departure from the mid-Joseon mimetic tradition typically placing a plum at the center. The painting brings to life two magpies sitting on a thick branch of an old pine tree. This work that recreates with precision and vigor the existential being of the magpies in a delicate mix of black ink and white chalk (胡粉, *hobun*) is the epitome of an art style newly developed through physiological sketches of nature, and reflects the essence of a theory that emphasizes the significance of delivering inner spirit rather than the outward appearance of objects (傳神, *jeonsin*).<sup>41</sup>

*Chaemukpung hwajohwa* was refined further as a delicate art form by Byeon Sangbyeok (卞相璧, 1730-?), the painter who was famed as "National Artist" (國手, *guksu*) for his excellence in portraiture. He drew cats so exceptionally well that he also gained the nickname of "Byeonmyo" (卞猫, Byeon: Byeon the Cat); he also excelled at rooster paintings, for which he gained a third nickname, "Byeongye" (卞鷄, Byeon the Rooster). *Jawungjangchudo* (雌雄將雞圖: *A Hen and Rooster with their Chicks*) (Plate 10) is remarkable in its composition observed from nature, the distinct posture of an aggressive rooster, and the high level of realism that comes from near-palpable, precise, and meticulous techniques. Gang Sehwang (姜世晃, 1713-1791), a scholar-painter and art critic of great repute, left the following encomium on the right side of this



( Plate 8 )  
Jeong Seon, *A Rooster under a Tree*  
Joseon, early 18th century  
Ink and colors on silk  
H: 30.5 cm, W: 20.8 cm  
Gansong Museum of Art



( Plate 9 )  
Jo Yeongseok, *A Brace of Magpies*  
Joseon, 1726  
Ink and colors on silk  
H: 25 cm, W: 21 cm  
Private collection, Korea

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painting: "skills that far surpass those of the painters of the past, marvelous and wondrous in both precision and delicacy." It was also said that the rooster in Byeon Sangbyeok's work could be mistaken for a real rooster because of the degree of realism achieved.<sup>42</sup>

In contrast with the realistic mimicry of color and ink *hwajohwa*, *sumuk damchaepung* (水墨淡彩風: ink painting with pale color), which was based on the painting aesthetics of the Southern School, was duly recognized as a legitimate art style of noble painters by Sim Sajeong after mastering the styles of masters in the Ming and Qing dynasties through the copying of Chinese painting albums. Sim Sajeong, who contributed greatly to the establishment of Southern school landscape paintings in Joseon society, was renowned as a painter of flowers and birds and insects. Replicating the art style of Jiang Tingxi (蔣廷錫, 1669-1732) of the Qing dynasty, who acquired his meticulous techniques from studying Song painters, Sim Sajeong used colorful and delicate *gongpilchaesaekpung* in his works, as is evident in *Yeonjiyuapdo* (蓮池遊鴨圖: Ducks on a Lotus Pond) in the Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art. Sim also cultivated his own distinct style through his liberal yet strong brushwork and skillful blending of color.

Sim Sajeong enjoyed painting hawks, pheasants, woodpeckers, and Indian kingfishers. He partially continued the tradition of the simple brushwork of Jo Sok, as reflected in his *Sugeummunhyangdo* (水禽聞香圖: Waterfowl Surrounded by Fragrance) (Plate 11). Sim incorporated in his work the strong brush and ink of Lin Liang of the Ming dynasty; the broad brushstrokes of the Wu school (吳派) of the Ming dynasty like Shen Zhou (沈周, 1427-1509) and Chen Shun (陳淳, 1483-1544); and rough brushstrokes comparable to the style of Zhou Zhimian (周之冕, sixteenth century), the pioneer of the bird and flower painting of Changzhou (常州) in the late-Ming. His work reflected the literati painters' comprehensive

( Plate 10 )

Byeon Sangbyeok, *Cock and Hen with  
Their Chicks*

Joseon, late 18th century

Ink and colors on paper

H: 30 cm, W: 46 cm

Gansong Museum of Art





style of *damchae* (淡彩: light coloring).<sup>43</sup>

Sim Sajeong's style developed under the influence of *namjong* (Southern School) literary painters and painting manuals. His style was soon admired by *yeohang* (閭巷: the lower social class that appeared at the end of Joseon dynasty following the fall of the higher *sadaebu* class) literary painters such as Choe Buk (崔北, 1712-1786) and Gim Hongdo. Gim Hongdo, who was regarded as the finest painter in the circle of artists of King Jeongjo (正祖, r. 1776-1800), excelled in all aspects of paintings. Gim left great accomplishments in color and ink paintings of flowers and birds, devising and employing his own creative perspective method known as the Danwon technique, named after his pen name, "Danwon (檀園: birch tree garden)." Gim left many paintings featuring mallards, egrets, magpies, pheasants, hawks, and cranes. He utilized the traditional grand-view and close-view landscape compositions in his own distinctive ways, but he also achieved a higher creativeness in his animal paintings by breaking away from the typical formal layouts by incorporating realistic scenes of remote mountains, deep valleys, rural fields and gardens into his works.<sup>44</sup>

Gim's greatest works such as *Churimssangchudo* (秋林雙雉圖: *A Brace of Pheasants in an Autumn Grove*), *Gyeryuyuapdo* (溪流遊鴨圖: *Ducks on a Stream*), and *Chunjakbohuido* (春鵲報喜圖: *Magpies Making Joyful Sounds in Spring*) (Plate 12) are all included in *Byeongjinnyeon-hwacheop* (丙辰年畫帖: *Painting Album of byeongjin Year*), compiled by Gim Hongdo at the age of 42. His technique, characterized by virtuosic brushstrokes, clear and lucid colors, and exquisite structures balanced by blank spaces, has produced scenic landscapes unsurpassed in beauty and overflowing with lyricism. Gim's paintings typically portray a quiet scene from nature such as birds playing peacefully or an earthy moment of everyday life, which burst forth joy and poetic lyricism through his unique brushworks. Such are essentially the products of Gim's exceptional talents, but also of the significant artistic development in the late Joseon period nurtured by the true-view landscapes of Jeong



( Plate 11 )

Sim Sajeong, *Waterbirds and Fragrant Flowers*

Joseon, early 18th century

Ink and colors on paper

H: 27.2 cm, W: 21.2 cm

Gansong Museum of Art



( Plate 12 )

Gim Hongdo, *Magpies Making Joyful Sounds in Spring* in *Byeongjinnyeon-hwacheop*

Joseon, 1796

Ink and colors on paper

H: 26.7 cm, W: 31.6 cm

Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art

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Seon and the Southern School style of Sim Sajeong.

|

Gim Hongdo's *hwajohwa* style had a great influence on his son, Gim Yanggi (金良驥, dates unknown) as well as the court painters of late Joseon, including Gim Deuksin (金得臣, 1604–1616), Sin Yunbok (申潤福, 1758–?), Yi Sumin (李壽民, 1651–1724), Jang Hanjong (張漢宗, 1768–1815), Jo Jeonggyu (趙廷奎, 1791–?), Yi Hancheol (李漢喆, 1808–?), and Yu Suk (劉淑, 1827–1873). Much influenced by Gim's new style and the widely-available painting manuals, these painters were able to manifest their uniqueness in both composition and brushworks, and to leave their own marks on Joseon painting.

|

In the late Joseon period, colorful *hwajohwa* featuring birds, flowering trees, and rocks depicted in *cheongnokpung* (靑綠風: blue-green style) came to be everyday decorative and celebratory artifacts that were not only enjoyed at the royal court and in the chambers of the wealthy, but also in the homes of *jung-in* (中人: middle class) as well as wealthy merchants (who were considered to be below *jung-in* in the social hierarchy). The growth of *hwajohwa* during this period was due in large measure to the economic stimulus and the consequent spread among the wealthy of a taste for an extravagant lifestyle. On one hand, paintings intended for celebration or invocation, or for wishing longevity continued to be produced, including New Year's paintings such as *Ugilhochwido* (旭日豪鷲圖: *Heroic Condor at Dawn*) in the National Museum of Korea by Jeong Hong-rae (鄭弘來, 1720–?) and *Songhakdo*. On the other hand, the bulk of *hwajohwa* produced during this time was intended for decoration – to transform one's house into a beautiful and fantastic paradise. It became a popular practice to give *baekjado* (百子圖: paintings of one hundred children at play) and *hwajohwa* screens to daughters on the eve of their wedding with which to decorate their bridal chamber.<sup>45</sup>

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Among the decorative *chaesaek* (彩色) *hwajohwa* painted on screens that represent good fortune, delicate workmanship, and dazzling colors, *haehakbandoryu* (海鶴蟠桃類: paintings featuring cranes and peach trees as symbols of immortality and longevity), which was used in the palace, stands out as the epitome of decorative beauty and structural grandeur.<sup>46</sup> *Hwajodo* in the Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art painted by Sin Hanpyeong (申漢枰, 1726–?) at the age of 62, *Hwarimchaageumdo* (花林彩禽圖: *Colorful Birds with Flowers*) Gansong Museum of Art by Yi Uiyang (李義養, 1768–?), and a *hwajodo* screen (Plate 13) by an anonymous artist are decorative *chaksaek hwajohwa* with an elaborate *cheongnokpung* (bluish-green hue), that exhibit detail and elegance, along with beautifully decorated birds highlighted by a lucid color contrast of green and red expressed with fine brush strokes. These *chaesaek hwajohwa* came to be greatly modified as decorative art through the late-Joseon period due to the growth of the market. The majority of these works were produced as folk paintings and a substantial amount of these paintings are extant in large and small screen painting formats.



[ Plate 13 ]  
Anonymous, *Flower and Bird*  
Joseon, 18th century  
Ink on paper  
H: 132.8 cm, W: 48 cm  
Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art

## VI HWAJOHWA OF THE END OF THE JOSEON DYNASTY

Toward the end of the Joseon period (circa 1800-1910), a culture of producing art for appreciation (as opposed to invocative or didactic purpose) emerged under the leadership of Gim Jeonghui (金正喜, 1786-1856), the leading artist of appreciative paintings and a school of *yeohang* literary artists. Masterpieces of the 'Four Gentlemen' (梅蘭菊竹: plum, orchid, chrysanthemum, and bamboo), which aimed at ink-concentrated calligraphic excellence as well as floricultural and landscape paintings became prevalent.<sup>47</sup> The *hwajohwa* of this period not only continued to follow Gim Hongdo's tradition but also new approaches exhibiting a propensity for one's subjective expressions through the use of utmost succinct ink brushworks. This new expressive approach, mainly used in floral and landscape paintings, brought about an exotic feel. In the field of *hwajohwa*, the new trend fused with the traditional *sauche sumuk* of the mid-Joseon period, as exemplified in *Yeongmobyongpung* (翎毛屏風: *Folding Screen of Birds and Animals*, National Museum of Korea) by Hong Seseop (洪世燮, 1832-1884). The panels of this screen, now mounted as eight hanging scrolls, drew attention for their unique composition and the sensitive use of light and rich inks, reminiscent of Western watercolor painting.<sup>48</sup>

This style of painting also shows some connections between Bada Shanren (八大山人, 1626-1705, one of the individualist painters of the Qing dynasty) and ink brushworks by Gao Qipei (高其佩, 1672-1734) and Gao Fenghan (高鳳翰, 1683-1748) among the group of Yangzhou (揚州) artists. At the same time, with the exception of the ink smearing effect as shown in *Biando* (飛雁圖: *Flying Geese*) (Plate 14), the peculiar scenic structure in *yaapdo* (野鴨圖: *paintings of wild ducks*) and the bold use of the bird's-eye view in *yuapdo* (遊鴨圖: *paintings of ducks swimming*), the style of *hwajodo* of the end of the Joseon period was in line with the past traditions. For example, the shape and posture of birds such as magpies and sleeping birds in the five pieces of



( Plate 14 )  
Hong Seseop, *Flying Geese*  
Joseon, late 19th century  
Ink on ramie fabric  
H: 119.6 cm, W: 47.9 cm  
National Museum of Korea



( Plate 15 )  
Jang Seung-eop, *A pair of Pheasants*  
Joseon, late 19th century  
Ink and colors on paper  
H: 135.5 cm, W: 55.3 cm  
Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art



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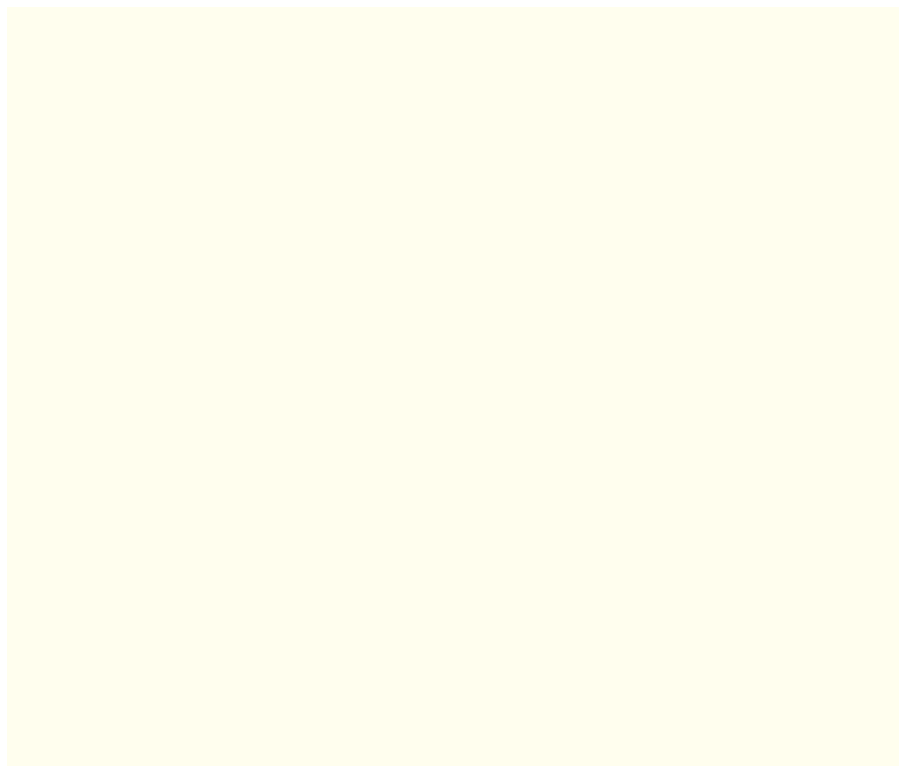
Hong Sunpyo

these *hwajohwa* hanging scrolls including *maejodo* (梅鳥圖: paintings of birds and plum blossom), the command of *woe-unbeop* – a technique that gives a three-dimensional effect and the expression of decorative water plants in specks of dark and light ink, all reflect techniques in the tradition of Jo Sok.

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In the last years of the Joseon dynasty, during the period of Korea's opening and enlightenment period, *hwajohwa* was transformed into the new liberal, but understated inkwash and light color (*sumuk damchae*) style, chiefly under the influence of Jang Seungeop (張承業, 1843–1897). Jang, whose art studio was located in central Seoul, became very popular among wealthy patrons for his own individual style based on the prevalent styles of paintings by Shanghai artists that flowed into Joseon.<sup>49</sup> Jang developed the style of *gimyeongjeoljido* (器皿折枝圖: flower-and vessel painting) by incorporating the *hwahwebakgodo* (花卉博古圖: still-life paintings with flowers and antiquities) using three-dimensional shading effects and light ink coloring that in effect evoked a modern stylistic impression. He popularized the image of falcons as a symbol of a bird of prey, perched on one leg on a branch of a tree in a robust manner, as well as a new form of *noando*, portraying large-headed wild geese descending toward a field of reeds. *Ssangchido* (雙雉圖: A Brace of Pheasants) (Plate 15) shows Jang's vigorous style of employing ink in boneless technique and the smearing effect or the dynamic use of light coloring. Jang's art traditions were carried forward by Jo Seokjin (趙錫晉, 1853–1920) and An Jungsik (安中植, 1861–1919) as the main current of the Korean art scene until the 1920s, when a new style of modern Japanese art came into the picture.

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## NOTES

1

Jin Hongseop (秦弘燮), *Source Book of Korean Art History* (韓國美術史 資料集成), Seoul: Iljisa, 1991. 456-59.

2

Perhaps because painting albums of the Ming dynasty like *Gaosong huapu* (高松畫譜) and *Shizhuzhai shuhuapu* (十竹齋畫譜) used the classification lingmao (翎毛: fur and feathers; Korean: *yeongmo*), the term came into wide use since the mid-Joseon period.

3

Lothar Ledderose, "Subject Matter in Early Chinese Painting Criticism," *Oriental Art*, vol. 19, no. 1 (Spring 1973): 72; Nishigami Minoru (西上實), "Flower-and-Bird Paintings of China (中國の花鳥畫)," *The Beauty of Flowers and Birds: Paintings and Design* (花鳥の美 繪畫と意匠), Kyoto: Kyoto National Museum (京都國立博物館), 1982. 10-2.

4

Miyazaki Noriko (宮崎法子), *Understanding Flowers and Birds and Landscape Paintings: The Significance of Chinese Paintings* (花鳥・山水畫を読み解く: 中國繪畫の意味), Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten (角川書店), 2003. 132-93.

5

National Museum of Korea, *National Museum of Korea*, (English collection catalog of the National Museum of Korea), Seoul: The Cultural Foundation of the National Museum of Korea, 2008. 35.

6

This fan-shaped birchbark panel shows auspicious birds with outspread wings on the front, and on the reverse, lotus buds connected by undulating stems. On both sides of on this birchbark panel, these designs were executed in black outline on a red ground. For more information this panel, see Munhwajae gwalliguk (文化財管理局, present Cultural Heritage Administration of Korea), *Cheonmachong: Excavation Report* (天馬塚: 發掘照査報告書), 156, plates 92-1, 92-2; The JoongAng Daily, *The Korean Aesthetic: Art of Ancient Tombs* (韓國 美: 古墳美術), ed. Han Byeongsam (韓炳三), Seoul: The JoongAng Daily, 1985. Plate 56.

7

For more details, see Hong Sunpyo, "Hwajohwa of Korea," *The Korean Aesthetic: Hwajo and the Four Gracious Plants* (韓國 美: 花鳥 四君子), ed., Jeong Yangmo, Seoul: The JoongAng Daily, 1985. 184.

8

The evolution of the *hwajohwa* during the Joseon dynasty correlates with the four different stages of development among artistic circles. For the chronology of the development of paintings during the Joseon period, see Ahn Hwi-Joon, *The History of Korean Painting* (韓國花鳥畫), Seoul: Iljisa, 1980. 92.

9

See Hong Sunpyo, "Paintings of the Goryeo Period (高麗時代 一般繪畫)," *The History of Korean Art* (韓國美術史), Hangeuk yesulwon (韓國藝術院: Center for Korean Art) edition, Seoul: Hangeuk yesulwon, 1984. 271-87; "The Development of the General Paintings of Goryeo Period (高麗時代 一般繪畫 發展)," *Theories on the History of Paintings of the Joseon Period* (朝鮮時代 繪畫史論), Seoul: Munye chulpansa (文藝出版社), 1999. 126-7.

10

At this time, Goryeo artists excelled in the production of Buddhist sutras written in gold and silver on indigo-dyed paper, that were much appreciated in Song and Yuan China. See Pak Youngsook "Illuminated Sutras" in Kumja Paik Kim, ed., *Goryeo Dynasty: Korea's Age of Enlightenment*, 918-1392, San Francisco, Asian Art Museum, 2003: 94-138.

11

Miyazaki, 2003. 181-2.

12

*Cheongdong eunipsa poryusugeummun jeongbyeong* (青銅銀入絲蒲柳水禽文淨瓶: Bronze kundika with landscape design), National Museum of Korea, National Treasure No. 92. For image, refer to *National Museum of Korea*, 2008. 198.

## 13

*Cheongja sanggam yeongjisugeummun pyeonho* (靑瓷象嵌蓮池水禽文扁壺: Celadon vase with inlay of lotus flowers and waterfowl), National Museum of Korea. See Im Yeongju (林永周), "Patterns of Goryeo Ceramic (高麗陶瓷 文樣)," *The Korean Aesthetic: Celadon Wares* (韓國 美: 靑瓷), ed. Choi Sunwu, Seoul: The JoonAng Daily, 1981. Plate 142.

## 14

*Cheongja sanggam hwajuksugeummunpan* (靑瓷象嵌花竹水禽文板: Celadon dish with inlay of flower, bamboo, and waterfowl), Museum of Oriental Ceramics, Osaka.

## 15

*The Korean Aesthetic: Celadon Wares*, 1981 (note 12). Plates 73, 75, 77, and 110; Yi Nanyong, *The Bronze Mirrors of Korea* (韓國 銅鏡), Seoul: The Academy of Korean Studies, 1983. Plates 105, 111, 128, etc.

## 16

*Cheongja yanggak noanmun jeongbyeong* (靑瓷陽刻蘆雁文淨瓶: Celadon bottle with carvings of reeds and wild geese pattern), National Museum of Korea. Refer to Hong, 1999. 142.

## 17

Hong, 1999. 132.

## 18

Hong Sunpyo, "The Painting Style of Yi Gyubo (李奎報 [1168~1241] 繪畫觀)," *Misuljaryo* (美術資料), vol. 39 (June 1987): 28-45; "Painting Theory in the Goryeo Period (高麗時代 繪畫理論)," *Gogomisul* (考古美術), vol. 187 (September 1990): 3-23.

## 19

Refer to Yi Gyubo (李奎報), *Donggug isanggukjip* (東國李相國集: *Collected Works of Minister Yi of Korea*) Part II, vol. 4, "Gumukjugyeosajin (求墨竹與寫真: Portraying Bamboos True to Life)."

## 20

See Yi Saek (李穡), "Yeonjakdo (題燕雀圖: Small Birds such as Swallows and Sparrows)," *Mogeunsigo* (牧隱詩藁: *Poems of Yi Saek*), vol. 33.

## 21

See Yi Gyubo, *Donggug isanggukjip*, vol. 8: "On the Painting of Two White Herons at Bak Hyeongu's House (朴君玄球家 賦雙鷺圖)."

## 22

Lin Chun (林椿), "Huayanji (畫雁記: Journal of Wild Geese Painting)," *Xiheji* (西河集: *Anthology of Lin Chun's Poems*) j. 5.

## 23

For Ma Ben (馬賁)'s *Baiyan tujuan* (白雁圖卷), see Kometaku Kaho (米澤嘉圖), "About Reeds and Wild Geese Paintings (蘆雁圖について)" in *Kometaku Kaho Bijutsushi Ronshu* (米澤嘉圖美術史論集: *Essays on Art History by Kometaku Kaho*) II. Kokukasha Edition (國華社編), Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha (朝日新聞社) 1994. 324, Plate 2.

## 24

*Seongjong sillok* (成宗實錄: *Annals of King Seongjong*), vol. 95 (Eighth month, 30th year, 1478).

## 25

*Sejong sillok* (世宗實錄: *Annals of King Sejong*), vol. 46 (tenth month, 39th year, 1429); *Yeonsangun ilgi* (燕山君日記: *Diary of Yeonsangun*), vol. 40 (twelfth month, 56th year, 1499); Seong Hyeon (成俔), "New Year painting granted by the King of a Falcon Hunting a Rabbit in Autumn (受賜歲畫 所畫秋鷹搏兔)," *Heobaekdangjib* (虛白堂集: *Art Theory of Heobaekdang Seong Hyeon*), vol. 4, rev. ed.

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Hong Sunpyo, "The Ideological Foundation of Early-Joseon Paintings (朝鮮 初期 繪畫 思想的 基盤)," *The Annals of Korean Thought* (韓國思想大界), vol. 4, Seoul: Hangukhak Jungang Yeonguwon (韓國學中央研究院: The Academy of Korean Studies), 1991. 562-3.

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Seo Geojeong (徐居正), *Jukgyebuapdo* (竹溪浮鴨圖: *Painting of Ducks on the River with Bamboo*) in *Sagajib* (四佳集: *Anthology of Seo Geojeong's Poems*), vol. 45.

## 28

See Hong, 1985. 186-7.

29

The artistic style of *Jigoksonghakdo* is sometimes considered a "Koreanized" Southern Song academic court style. For more information, see Choi Wansu. "A Study on the Cranes with Pine Trees in a Valley (芝谷松鶴圖稿)," *Gogomisul*, vol. 146 and 147 (August 1989): 31-45. However, the intricacy of *pimajun* (披麻皴: hemp-fiber texture stroke, a painting technique using fine lines to depict grains of stone) on rock and the technique using dark dots seem to reflect the painting style of Cheng Mao (盛懋) of the Yuan dynasty – a successful fusion style of Guoxi (郭熙) and Dongju (董巨); See also Ahn Hwi-Joon, "The Evolution of Korean Namjong Landscape Paintings (韓國 南宗 山水畫 變遷)." *Sambul* (三佛) Professor Kim Won-yong's Retirement Commemoration Thesis. Part II. Seoul: Iljisa, 1987. 15-6.

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National Museum of Korea, *Catalog of the Calligraphies and Paintings* (國立中央博物館 書畫 遺物圖錄), Seoul: National Museum of Korea, 1992. Plates 8-1~4.

31

Seo Yugu (徐有榘), "Yewan-gamsang II" (藝玩鑑賞: Art Appreciation) II, "Bu Donggukhwacheop" (附 東國畫帖), *Imwonsibyukji-Yiunji* (林園十六志 – 怡雲志: *Pleasures of Life in a Garden with Trees and Plants – For an Elegant Life*).

32

Yi Song-mi (李成美), "A Study on Female Artists of the Joseon Period," *Misuljaryo*, vol. 51 (June 1993): 110-4.

33

For a study on the structural method and the artistic style of faint-ink *hwajohwa* album that was popular during the mid-Joseon period as sequential paintings depicting the flow of the four seasons, see Yi Wonbok, "Sagyeryeongmodogo (四季翎毛圖考: A Study on the Four Seasons Birds-and-Animals Paintings) of the mid-Joseon Period," *Misuljaryo*, vol. 47 (June 1991): 27-71. However, others view the seasonal meaning as secondary and as standing at variance with the painter's intention. See Kim Jihye, "Heoju Yi Jing's *Sumukyeongmohwa*," *Misulsayeongu* (美術史研究), vol. 11 (December 1997): 27.

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Hong Sunpyo, "The *Yeongmohwa* (翎毛畫) of Korea," *Gukbo: Hoehwa* (國寶-繪畫: *National Treasure-Paintings*), ed., Ahn Hwi-Joon, Seoul: Yekyeong, 1984. 235.

35

O Sechang (吳世昌), "Josok (趙涑)," *Geunyeokseohwajing* (槿域書畫徵), vol. 4.

36

Ahn Hwi-Joon, "Various Aspects of Paintings during the Mid-Joseon Dynasty (朝鮮王朝 中期 繪畫 諸 樣相)," *A Study on the History of Korean Paintings* (韓國繪畫研究), Seoul: Sigongsa (時空社), 2000. 546-7; "Various Aspects of Paintings during the Mid-Joseon Dynasty (朝鮮王朝 中期 繪畫 諸 樣相)," *Misulshakyeongu* (美術史學研究: *Art History Studies*), vol. 213, 1997.

37

Hwang Sang (黃床), "Mallangjib" (漫浪集), vol. 8, *Jeguemsikhwahu* (題金壇畫後: *Postscripts on Paintings of Gim Sik*).

38

Kim, 1997 (note 32). 23-42.

39

Hong, 1985. 188.

40

Ahn Hwi-Joon, "The Historical Significance of *Gwanajaego* (觀我齋稿: *Anthology of Jo Yeongseok*)," The Academy of Korean Studies Research Department edition, *Jo Yeongseok Gwanajaego* (趙榮祜觀我齋稿), Seoul: The Academy of Korean Studies, 1984. 3-17.

41

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Panel from a lacquered sutra case with mother-of-pearl decoration of chrysanthemum and vine scroll pattern, detail; Korean, Goryeo, 13th century; H: 25.6 cm, W: 47.3 cm, D: 25.0 cm; Private collection, Kyoto





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# KOREAN NAJEONCHILGI OF THE GORYEO AND EARLY JOSEON PERIODS

Kawada Sadamu, Former Director of Sagawa Art Museum, Japan

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First presented in the book, *Najeon of the Goryeo and Joseon* (高麗李朝の螺鈿)  
published by Mainichi Shinbunsha (毎日新聞社) in 1986, and republished in Korean to  
accompany the catalog of the exhibition entitled *Lacquer Ware: The Everlasting Beauty*

( : ) held at the National Museum of Korea in 2006.

For images not featured in this journal, refer to these two publications.

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## KOREAN NAJEONCHILGI OF THE GORYEO AND EARLY JOSEON PERIODS

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### [ ABSTRACT ]

According to *Xuanhe fengshi Gaoli tujing* (宣和奉使高麗圖經: *An Illustrated Account of an Embassy to Goryeo in the Xuanhe Era*) by Xu Jing from the Song dynasty in 1123, the *najeonchilgi* or inlaid lacquer artifacts of Goryeo made by craftsmen in the capital city of Gaeseong were "extremely refined and to be treasured."

Although the heyday of *najeon* or inlaid mother-of-pearl technique was in the Tang dynasty and the finely-crafted mother-of-pearl products from China were well recognized by Japanese envoys to that country, Chinese mother-of-pearl production fell into a gradual decline and this trend accelerated into the Song era. However, by the early twelfth century, when Xu Jing wrote the *Xuanhe fengshi Gaoli tujing*, Korean *najeon* had developed so far as to surpass that of China, where the technique had originated.

Time was needed to achieve such a high level of skill. Perhaps the resplendent mother-of-pearl technique of the Tang dynasty, which had been received in Korea in the era of Unified Silla, had sown seed, and Korean uniqueness was gradually infused into the original. It passed through a long

period of gestation during late Silla and the early Goryeo period, and when Goryeo aristocratic culture came to a peak in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Korean *najeon* flourished as never before.

This paper analyzes the chronology of the historical era by dividing sixteen *najeon*-decorated artifacts into groups A-D based on the classification proposed by Okada Jo (岡田譲).<sup>1</sup> The characteristics of the decorative techniques seen in Goryeo *najeon* products include: using multiple *najeon* fragments to form each unit of the pattern; the use of twisted metal wires such as silver, copper, and brass in combination with *najeon*; and using back-painted tortoiseshell in combination with *najeon* for an effect of translucent brilliance.

In conclusion, the chronology of the Goryeo *najeon* artifacts remains extremely uncertain because the number of pieces imported to Japan and of artifacts in western museums acquired via Japan is very limited. Hopefully, research findings will come out of Korea by discovering new artifacts backed up by data, comparing them with the *najeon* products of the Joseon dynasty, finding their relationship with other artifacts, and by the excavation of examples from the tombs of the Goryeo dynasty whose dates can be known beyond doubt.

#### [ KEYWORDS ]

Xu Jing, *Xuanhe fengshi Gaoli tujing*, *najeon*, *pyeongmun*, Unified Silla period, Shoso-in, *jeolmun*, *chakseon*, *daemobokchae*, *cheongja sanggammun*, *gukdangchomun*, *morandangchomun*, *raden*, Jeonham joseongdogam

## I INTRODUCTION

Goryeo was founded in 918 when Wang Geon (王建, 877-943), as one of the *hojok* (豪族: powerful local gentry) of Gaeseong (開城), was enthroned in the wake of the fall of Gung-ye (弓裔, r. 901-918), the first King of Taebong (泰封, 901-918). Upon seizing power, Wang Geon assumed the title of Taejo (太祖: r. 918-943: Sacred Ancestor or Founding King) and tried to consolidate power and to establish his state by various measures including the relocation of the capital to his hometown, Gaeseong, in the following year. Meanwhile, Silla (新羅, 57 BC-935), albeit weakened, still persisted as a regional power in the southeastern part of the Korean peninsula; and Hubaekje (後百濟, 892-936), occupying the territory of the defunct Baekje (百濟, 18 BC-660) of the southwest, was growing stronger and looking for an opportune time to expand northward. Taejo was able to overcome this period of instability and eventually unified the peninsula in 936 by his victory over Hubaekje. The collapse of Silla had taken place the previous year in 935 with the surrender of Gyeongsunwang (敬順王, r. 927-935) and his men. Thus,

eighteen years after its foundation, Goryeo became the sole power reigning over the Korean peninsula.

Despite having laid the foundations of the state, Taejo was saddled with challenges during the early years of Goryeo. Internally, there were constant conflicts and rebellions on the issue of succession to the throne. To the north, the nomadic tribe of Georan (契丹: Khitans or Qidan) was expanding its power and from time to time launching invasions into Goryeo. It was only in 1076, during the reign of its eleventh monarch, King Munjong (文宗, r. 1046-1083), that Goryeo was finally able to overcome such internal and external challenges and establish a strong, centralized monarchy supported by a bureaucracy. The next seventy years until the end of the reign of the seventeenth ruler – King Injong (仁宗, r. 1122-1146) – marked the heyday of the Goryeo dynasty, as reflected in an extended period of political and social stability and cultural florescence.

Goryeo's considerable cultural development was in part due to the state's recognition of the *munban* (文班: civil officials). The high society's extravagant lifestyles displaying power and wealth produced a culture of aristocratic taste among the nobility; and the subsequent need to satisfy the demands of that society resulted in the further development of a multi-faceted culture and the production of high quality works of arts and crafts. To meet the aristocrats' insatiable demands, governmental workshops were set up inside the capital, staffed by skilled craftsmen who produced wares for exclusive government consumption. As in the case of *cheongja* (靑瓷: celadon stoneware), the most representative Goryeo craftwork influenced by the ceramics of the Song dynasty, Goryeo craftsmen themselves strived to acquire the latest techniques from more advanced countries.

At Yeseong-hang (禮成港), Gaeseong's port of entry, trading ships from Song China, Japan, and even as far as Arabia dropped anchor, bringing rare and precious goods from all over the world. These imported luxury goods were destined for Gaeseong, the center of the ruling class, enriching the monarchy and the nobility. In

turn, skilled craftsmen were able to make creative and refined goods based on the precious raw materials that had been imported. These various types of elaborate luxury items were not solely intended for the royal family and the aristocracy but were also used in foreign diplomacy as gifts and for general export, helping the economy of Goryeo to grow.

Goryeo produced numerous refined works of art and displayed excellent craftsmanship during its golden age, from the second half of the eleventh century to the first half of the twelfth century. The standards were set by the quintessential Goryeo Buddhist paintings, by metalwork decorated with delicate inlaid silver lines on a black/brown metal surface and by the clear beauty of the indefinable *bisaek* (翡色: jade-green color), winning universal admiration and attesting to the high level of artistic taste and the innately Korean aesthetic that the Goryeo people espoused. The exquisite *najeonchilgi* (螺鈿漆器: lacquerware inlaid with mother-of-pearl) also represents the epitome of Goryeo craftsmanship. Only a few pieces are still extant today, but in the mysterious radiance that *jagae* ( : fragments of mother-of-pearl) emit, one can almost see the effort and the passion of the craftsmen of Goryeo to achieve refinement and beauty.

## II

### THE ORIGIN OF GORYEO NAJEONCHILGI

During this golden age of Goryeo, in 1123, the first year of King Injong's reign, corresponding to the fifth year of the Xuanhe era, Xu Jing (徐兢), a member of the embassy sent by Emperor Huizong (徽宗, r. 1101-1126) of the Northern Song dynasty, visited Goryeo.

Xu Jing stayed in the capital Gaeseong for a month, closely observing the affairs of Goryeo at height of its prosperity. Upon his return, Xu submitted to the emperor a detailed report on all that he had observed while in Goryeo. The report is called *Xuanhe fengshi Gaoli tujing* (宣和奉使高麗圖經: *An Illustrated Account of an Embassy to Goryeo in the Xuanhe Era*).

Unfortunately the illustrated portion of the work was lost in the first year of the Jingkang (1126) era, during the war with the Jin that led to the fall of the Northern Song dynasty. However, copies of the manuscript describe the establishment of Goryeo, its royal palace, personalities, religion, geography, etc. in forty *juan* (comprising some 300 paragraphs), providing details of Goryeo from the perspective of the Chinese of the Song dynasty.

The book refers to objects made with mother-of-pearl as follows:

"the saddles and saddle cloths of the cavalry are extremely exquisite; the saddles are decorated with mother-of-pearl (騎兵所乘鞍韉極精巧螺鈿爲鞍)"<sup>2</sup>

"the lacquering itself is not all that well done, but items made of mother-of-pearl are extremely refined and to be treasured (用漆作不甚工而螺鈿之子細密可貴)"<sup>3</sup>

Although these references consist of only two sentences, Xu Jing's choice of words such as "extremely exquisite (極精巧)" and "extremely refined and to be treasured (細密可貴)" confirms today's understanding of Goryeo *chilgi*, and shows that Xu Jing had a favorable opinion about contemporary Goryeo wares inlaid in mother-of-pearl.

In the Yuanyou reign (元祐, 1086–1093) of the Northern Song dynasty, Fang Shao (方勺) wrote in the *Shiwuyuanhui* (事物原會: Treatise on Things) chapter of his book, *Bozhaibian* (泊宅編), describing works inlaid in mother-of-pearl as a craft of Japanese origin: "*Najeonchilgi* originated in Japan and they appear ever-changing and show excellent craftsmanship (螺鈿漆器本出倭國物像百態頗極工巧)." The passage reveals the general misunderstanding at that time which considered Japan to be the origin of mother-of-pearl craftsmanship, since Chinese mother-of-pearl craftsmanship had by then declined so much relative to that of Japan, that the splendor and exquisite skill of the golden age of the Tang dynasty had been forgotten. Therefore, Xu Jing's impression of Goryeo *najeonchilgi* when he saw it for the first time with his own eyes must have been considerable.

From Xu Jing's description, Goryeo *najeon* craftsmanship had certainly reached a high level by the early twelfth century; but the kind of craftsmanship that comes to be described as "extremely refined, to be treasured" is not achieved overnight. Traditions accumulate over a long period: a cultural environment that is conducive to their development, and especially, highly skilled craftsmen are necessary to achieve such a level of craftsmanship. As two centuries had passed since the founding of the Goryeo dynasty, some essential conditions could have been met by this time. As mentioned above, however, the first century of the Goryeo dynasty was marked by political and social instability

and the new dynasty would have required a long period of gestation for all the conditions to be in place for the attainment of such a high level of craftsmanship.

Most likely, the seeds of the craftsmanship that flowered in the early twelfth century had actually been sown during the Unified Silla period (668-935). They were, in all likelihood, well nurtured even during the chaotic last period of Silla and the beginning of Goryeo, and were later to blossom in the aristocratic culture of Goryeo in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Moreover, considering the fact that it was during the golden age of the Tang dynasty (618-907) that mother-of-pearl craftsmanship first flourished, China's very close relationship with Unified Silla should also be taken into consideration.

Unfortunately, no material evidence that can be confirmed to be of the Unified Silla has ever been found; the closest is just one bronze mirror inlaid with mother-of-pearl dated to the Tang period. Nevertheless, we can inquire about the general situation of the period surrounding overall lacquerware production. As it is clearly written in the *Samguksagi* (三國史記: *History of the Three Kingdoms*), Unified Silla had an office of lacquerware production named Chiljeon (漆典) as recorded thus: "In the reign of Gyeongdeogwang, Chiljeon became Sikgibang before being restored to Chiljeon (漆典景德王改爲飾器房後復故)." (Vol. 39, Miscellaneous Records [雜誌] 8, Palace Service [職官中]). For a long time, however, no *chilgi* or lacquer ware that could be of this period had ever been found, leaving a big void in the history of Korean lacquer crafts. This void has been recently filled with the artifacts excavated from Anapji (雁鴨池: Anap pond), the *igung* (離宮: secondary palace) of Unified Silla that is renowned for its grand scale. Excavation was carried out from March

1975 to December 1976 and yielded about 30,000 pieces of artifacts and various fragments from the seventh to the ninth centuries when the *igung* was being used. They include many pieces of lacquer crafts like furniture, vessels, and ornaments, indicative of the popularity of lacquer ware during the Unified Silla period.

Of special note among the excavated items were the several pieces of lacquerware with orange and brown colored design on black background and a number of pieces of *eunpyeongmungi* (銀平文器: lacquerwares inlaid with patterns of silver leaf), which were discovered in Korea for the first time.<sup>4</sup> These lacquer pieces show the same techniques that were used in *chilhwa* (漆畫: lacquer painting) artifacts excavated from the tombs of early Silla, indicating a carryover of the old tradition, and the those decorated with silver leaf show new characteristics of lacquer craft adopted from the Tang dynasty.

The term *pyeongmun* (平文 or 平脱, *heidatsu*) indicates flush surface decoration of lacquer objects by a thin leaf of gold or silver cut in a certain design, a technique which was popular in Tang China. Although further research on the production site of these specific *pyeongmun* pieces from Anapji needs to be conducted, the technique itself reveals that they are the fragments of the highest quality wares of the golden age, comparable to the treasures in the Shoso-in (正倉院: the Imperial Repository of Todai-ji, Nara). Even if these wares had been made in Silla, there is no doubt that they must have been influenced by the Tang technique. Although their place of discovery is not certain, two lacquered mirrors with flush gold and silver decoration of *bosanghwamun* (寶相華文: stylized floral motif), housed in the National Museum of Korea, are good



( Plate 1 )  
Lacquered mirror with gold and silver  
decoration of stylized floral motif  
Unified Silla  
Diameter: 18.2 cm  
National Museum of Korea  
(donation by Lee Hong-geun)



( Plate 2 )  
Lacquered mirror with gold and silver  
decoration of stylized floral motif  
Unified Silla  
Diameter: 15.3 cm  
National Museum of Korea

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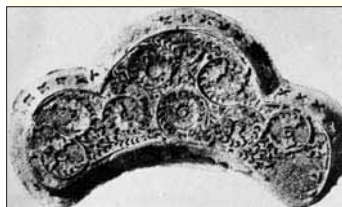
Kawada Sadamu

examples of such pieces (Plates 1 and 2). It is regrettable that no *najeonchilgi* have been found in Anapji, but the excavation of *pyeongmun* artifacts with flush silver and gold decoration implies the transfer of lacquerware inlaid with mother-of-pearl from Tang to Silla as this was also a good example of a decorative technique imported from Tang China along with *pyeongmun*.

An evidential piece of such technology transfer is a lacquered mirror with mother-of-pearl decoration of flower and animal pattern, purportedly excavated from a Gaya tomb (Plate 3). Although there needs to be further detailed analysis on whether this mirror is truly from Gaya since there was no scholarly analysis before and immediately following the discovery, there is no question that it is from Korea. Furthermore, the mirror is decorated with flat fragments of mother-of-pearl, in a manner that is typical of the *baoshijing* (寶飾鏡: mirror with jewel ornaments) of the Tang period, with lapis-lazuli or turquoise dotting the background. This strongly indicates that the seeds of Goryeo's *najeon* craftsmanship had already been planted in the cultural soil of Unified Silla based on the mother-of-pearl technique of Tang China.



( Plate 3 )  
Lacquered mirror with mother-of-pearl  
decoration of flower and animal pattern  
8th–10th century  
Diameter: 18.6 cm  
National Treasure No. 140  
National Museum of Korea



( Plate 4 )  
Lacquered box with mother-of-pearl  
decoration of chrysanthemum, broken  
Goguryeo  
Yi Royal Household Museum  
(former National Museum of Korea)

### III DESIGN AND ORNAMENTATION TECHNIQUES OF GORYEO NAJEONCHILGI

#### 01 DECORATIVE DESIGN

As seen from Xu Jing's comment on Goryeo *najeonchilgi*, describing it as "refined and to be treasured," it is evident that the technique of *najeonchilgi* of Goryeo had already reached its pinnacle by 1123, the first year of King Injong. But it was only about 80 years ago that earnest discussion on its unique value and the technical characteristics based on studies of real artifacts began. As Yoshino Tomio (吉野富雄) pointed out, the catalyst for better understanding Goryeo *najeonchilgi* occurred by accident when a lacquered box inlaid with mother-of-pearl of chrysanthemum design and a lacquered case with lid with mother-of-pearl decoration of chrysanthemum and vine pattern (Plate 4) were excavated from tombs of the Goryeo period and temporarily transferred from the Yi Royal Household Museum to Japan in 1924 for repairs.

At the time in Japan, there were a few pieces that were similar in technique and design to these two pieces of *najeonchilgi*. However, without any recognition of the *najeonchilgi* of Goryeo, people automatically perceived them as exotic lacquerwares inlaid with mother-of-pearl of whatever origin—whether from Japan or from China could not then be determined. But with the discovery of these *najeonchilgi* from a Goryeo tomb, bona fide Goryeo *najeon* made its first appearance and a definite understanding of Goryeo *najeon* became for



the first time possible. Needless to say, *najeonchilgi* that were similar to these two items and had been transferred from Korea to Japan suddenly came under the spotlight.

Regrettably, however, the very items that first brought attention to Goryeo *najeon* are no longer available as the box (*Najeon daemochil gukmun sangja*) was broken to pieces and the case (*Najeonchil gukdangcho hapja*) was lost during the Korean War. It is only fortunate that Mr. Yoshino, who had examined the *najeonchilgi* in person, left a detailed written description.<sup>5</sup> The relevant parts of his paper read as follows:

"*Heukchilipguk sannajeondaemo susang* (黒漆立菊散螺鈿瑠璃手箱), bottom box (H: 11.2 cm, W: 20.0 cm, D: 13.6 cm); lid H: 2.3 cm (upper part), 1.2 cm (lower part); body H: 7.6 cm. It is a rectangular box (入角形, *ipgakhyeong*) with a perpendicular flange (塵居, *jingeo*) to fit into the flat lid (蓋甲, *gaegap*) – a common characteristic of wares of the Song and Yuan dynasties. There are five rows of decoration, which seem unique to those who are used to various Japanese styles. Moreover, the lid is of a robust angular shape with parallel twisted wires of brass to form a band (9 mm in width) of chrysanthemum and vine scroll design, which surrounds the edges. Parallel lines of twisted wire and a band of beads follow along the inner side of the band of chrysanthemum scrolls, and profile patterns of open cross-shaped chrysanthemum are placed here and there inside the border where two twisted brass wires are placed to form a four-leaf pattern with roof-shaped, colored tortoiseshell around the center point. Surrounding these are mother-of-pearl patterns of weeping willow, flower trees, and a maple that make up a landscape. This ware with *okhyeong* in the middle and a nine-petal chrysanthemum was made by *daemobokchae* (玳瑁伏彩: colored tortoiseshell) in the same way as the *yeomjuhap* (念珠盒: rosary case) in

the Taima-dera (當麻寺) (Plate 5). The patterns on the four edges in particular are similar to those on the lid. But around the flat face of the lid above the *jingeo*, there was a line of *gukdangchomun*. The upper portions of the lid as well as two corners that the three-lobed box makes were decorated with a band of *naejeon* in a *chilbo* (七寶: seven jewels) pattern. Moreover, in the lower portion of the body, square pieces of mother-of-pearl are placed to make rows of flower pattern. Here again the lines of twisted brass wire divide the decorations. As observed, this ware, along with other excavated items, features refined patterns that well reflect a kind of national dignity and it displays a superior technical dexterity. The box seems to be a creation of the early period of Goryeo mother-of-pearl."

With respect to the *Najeonchil gukdangchomun hapja* (Plate 4) Yoshino continued as follows:

"*Huekchil gukdangcho najeon jubin hapja* (黒漆菊唐草螺鈿洲濱盒子)," 1 *hap*, maximum width: 9.4 cm. It is a *hapja* (盒子: small box to be put inside the main box) placed on *hyeonja* (懸子: a board or shelf inside the main box on which to place small boxes). The lid features refined *gukdangchomun* and the *jingeo* or vertical flange displays a band of crisscross mother-of-pearl decoration skillfully inlaid. This box is severely damaged to the extent that it is virtually impossible to recognize its original beauty. However, as it shares the same style as the *Heukchil gukdangcho najeon hyanghap* (黒漆菊唐草螺鈿香盒, Lacquered incense case inlaid with mother-of-pearl decoration of chrysanthemum and floral scrolls) (Plate 6) handed down over generations in Japan and housed in the Keishun-in (桂春院) in Kyoto, it was once a [part of a] splendid set of boxes decorated with tortoiseshell painted on the underside as well as mother-of-pearl."



( Plate 5 )

Lacquered case for rosary beads with mother-of-pearl and tortoiseshell decoration of chrysanthemum and vine scroll pattern  
Korean, Goryeo, 12th century  
H: 4.5 cm, Diameter: 12.4 cm  
Important cultural property of Japan  
Taima-dera, Nara



( Plate 6 )

Lacquered *mojahap* (incense container) inlaid with mother-of-pearl decoration of chrysanthemum and vine scroll pattern  
Korean, Goryeo, 12th century  
H: 3.5 cm, W (max): 9.3 cm  
Keishun-in, Kyoto



( Plate 7 )

Celadon bowl inlaid with chrysanthemum and vine scroll pattern  
Goryeo, 12th century  
Excavated from the Tomb of Mun Gongyu, Jangdan, Gaepung, Gyeonggi-do  
H: 6.2 cm, Diameter: 16.9 cm  
National Museum of Korea

The primary reason that the above box and case are considered to be of Goryeo origin is that they were excavated from Goryeo tombs, but the crucial factor to note is the similarity between their inlaid patterns and those of Goryeo inlaid celadons. *Najeon daemochil gukmun sangja* was mostly decorated with crisscross chrysanthemum design inlaid in a *sageokjamun* (斜格子文: oblique lattice pattern) and the lid has its center divided to make a four-leaf pattern, inside which a landscape was engraved. Meanwhile, this chrysanthemum design seen here provides an important clue as to determining the production time of this box since the design was also commonly used in the *sanggam* inlaid celadon of Goryeo.

Although no extant *sanggam cheongja* containing this design has an inscription detailing the year of production, the same type of inlaid celadon was excavated from a tomb along with an epitaph that, by providing information on the deceased, can serve as an important mark in determining the date of its production. The celadon bowl inlaid with chrysanthemum and vine design now in the collection of the National Museum of Korea (Plate 7) was found in the tomb of Mun Gongyu (文公裕) in Gaepung (開豐), Gyeonggi-do (京畿道) along with the epitaph that contained the information that Mun Gongyu died in 1159, the thirteenth year of King Uijong (毅宗, r. 1146–1170). This celadon bowl with the same chrysanthemum patterns (in black and white inlay) as that on the *Najeon daemochil gukmun sangja* is, therefore, a valuable source for studies on the earliest Goryeo inlay technique as the celadon is one of the oldest examples of inlaid Goryeo celadon. It is highly possible that the *Najeon daemochil gukmun sangja* was produced around the same period as the celadon *wan* since they share the same pattern.

Moreover, the *Cheongja sanggammun wan* (靑瓷象嵌文盥: a celadon bowl with inlaid patterns) that displays the same type of chrysanthemum design was also found in Jireung (智陵), the tomb of King Myeongjong (明宗, r. 1170–1197, died in 1198) located at Jangdan (長湍), Gyeonggi-do.<sup>6</sup> The chrysanthemum pattern was evidently popular in the twelfth century, especially toward the closing years of the century.

With the *Najeon daemochil gukmun sangja* damaged, the only example of *najeonchilgi* with chrysanthemum design presently available is the *Najeonchil gukhwamun gyeongjeonham* (螺鈿漆菊花文經典函: Lacquered sutra case with mother-of-pearl decoration of chrysanthemum design) (Plate 8), originally owned by Mori Family and now housed in the Tokyo National Museum. Nonetheless, the rarity is not a great impediment to studying Goryeo *najeonchilgi* because the chrysanthemum pattern of numerous petals—the most prominent feature of this pattern—is indeed similar to the *gukdangchomun* most widely found on surviving *najeonchilgi*. The shape of the flower is almost the same and the only difference is found in the number of petals, demonstrating that the two patterns are closely related.



( Plate 8 )

Lacquered sutra case with mother-of-pearl decoration of chrysanthemum design

Goryeo, 12th century

H: 26.0 cm, W: 37.8 cm, D: 19.2 cm

Important cultural property of Japan

Tokyo National Museum of Japan



( Plate 9 )

Lacquered sutra case with mother-of-pearl decoration of peony and vine scroll pattern

Korean, Goryeo, 13th-14th century

H: 22.8 cm, W: 41.8 cm, D: 20.4 cm

Important cultural property of Japan

Kitamura Art Museum, Kyoto



( Plate 10 )

Lacquered whisk handle with mother-of-pearl and tortoiseshell decoration of chrysanthemum and vine scroll pattern

Goryeo, 12th century

Length: 42.7 cm, Diameter: 1.6 cm

National Museum of Korea

In fact, there are other characteristic features common to Goryeo *najeonchilgi*. The technique of using tortoiseshell painted on the underside shown in the *Najeon daemochil gukmun sangja* is also manifested in other pieces including the rosary case of Taima-dera, Japan. It was so popular a technique that it can be said to be representative of this particular age. There are also instances of the *moranmun* (牡丹文: peony design) (traditionally used as peripheral decorations on the outer edges of chests) assuming the main pattern in place of the *gukdangchomun* as in a series of sutra boxes (*gyeongjeonham*) with peony design as seen in the *Najeonchil moran dangchomun gyeongjeonham* (螺鈿漆牡丹唐草文經典函: Lacquered sutra case with mother-of-pearl decoration of peony vine design) of the Kitamura Art Museum (北村美術館) (Plate 9). The metal wires that are used to describe the vines and surrounding foliage were also popular at this time. These unique methods are consistently applied to all types of Goryeo *najeonchilgi* and are the chief decorative characteristics from which a variety of other patterns derive.

As mentioned above, there were already a few examples of Goryeo *najeonchilgi* in Japan when the existence of Goryeo *najeonchilgi* was confirmed from excavations in Korea. Only a few have been discovered since then and there are mere ten pieces known to the world with only one piece kept in Korea, at the National Museum of Korea. It is the *Najeon daemochil gukdangchomun bulja* (螺鈿玳瑁漆菊唐草文拂子: Lacquered whisk handle with mother-of-pearl and tortoiseshell decoration of chrysanthemum and vine design) (Plate 10) but its provenance is uncertain as there is only an oral account referring to a certain temple as its origin without any information on specific routes of transmission. The other extant *najeonchilgi* remain dispersed in Japan, Europe, or the United States, transported at some time via unknown routes from somewhere in Korea.

For this reason, previous studies on Goryeo *najeonchilgi* have almost all been conducted by Japanese scholars and most of the studies have focused mainly on the patterns. There are fifteen *najeonchilgi* estimated to be

of the Goryeo period and they are classified in Table 1. The categories (A, B, C, D) listed in the second column follow those established by Okada Jo (岡田譲),<sup>7</sup> who divided the artifacts into four chronological categories, primarily on the basis of their patterns.

The artifacts discovered from Goryeo tombs such as the *Najeonchil gukdangcho hapja* and *Najeon daemochil gukmun sangja* are not included in the table but have been described above by Yoshino and are also introduced in *Anthology of Ancient Places of Korea* (朝鮮古蹟圖譜).<sup>8</sup> There are also a few extant wares estimated to have been made during the transitional period from Goryeo to Joseon, which will be addressed at the end of this paper.

No. 15C in the Table (Plate 13) is an ornamental panel believed to be one side of a sutra case inlaid with mother-of-pearl with chrysanthemum design, now in a private collection in Kyoto, and misappropriated to decorate the front of a drawer in a small bookcase. Considered as a part of the sutra case, this *najeon* panel is listed following the six sutra cases classified as category C. The classifications of the *Najeon daemochil gukdangchomun mojahap* in No. 6B and of the *najeon* panel detached from a sutra case in 15C have been added by this author.

Okada believed the Mori family's sutra case in the Tokyo National Museum (No.1A, Plate 8) to be the oldest extant *najeonchilgi* and dated it to the mid-twelfth century. He considered that the sutra cases in category C were products of the thirteenth century created under the auspices of the Bureau of Sutra Case Production, which was newly established to oversee the production of *ham* (函: boxes) for *Daejanggyeong* (大藏經: Goryeo Tripitaka) in the thirteenth year (1272) of the reign of King Wonjong (元宗, r. 1259-1274). On the other hand, Okada classified the wares that were produced using both *daemobokchae* and *najeon* techniques under category B and dated them between A and C. He dated the wares of category D to the fourteenth century, toward the end of the Goryeo dynasty, based on the similarity of their designs with the *najeonchilgi*



( Plate 11 )

Lacquered *mohap* (incense container) with mother-of-pearl and tortoiseshell decoration of chrysanthemum and vine scroll pattern  
Korean, Goryeo, 12th century

H: 4.1 cm, W: 10.2 cm

Private collection, Dajima Mitsuru



( Plate 12 )

Lacquered sutra case with mother-of-pearl decoration of chrysanthemum and vine scroll pattern

Korean, Goryeo, circa 13th century

H: 26.1 cm, W: 47.2 cm, D: 25.0 cm

Tokugawa Reimeikan, Nara



( Plate 13 )

Panel from a lacquered sutra case with mother-of-pearl decoration of chrysanthemum and vine scroll pattern

Korean, Goryeo, 13th century

H: 25.6 cm, W: 47.3 cm, D: 25.0 cm

Private collection, Kyoto



( Table 1 )

Extant Goryeo *najeonchilgi* categorized by Okada Jo

No.	Category	Artifact name	Pattern	Size	Collection	Plate No.
1	A	Lacquered sutra case with mother-of-pearl decoration of chrysanthemum design	On lid: <i>gukhwamun</i> in bird's-eye view; on sides: <i>gukhwamun</i> in side view	H: 26.0 cm; W: 37.8 cm; D: 19.2 cm	Tokyo National Museum, Tokyo	Plate 8
2	B	Lacquered case for rosary beads with mother-of-pearl and tortoiseshell decoration of chrysanthemum and vine scroll pattern	Main: <i>gukhwamun</i>	H: 4.5 cm; Diameter: 12.4 cm	Taima-dera, Nara	Plate 5
3		Lacquered whisk handle with mother-of-pearl and tortoiseshell decoration of chrysanthemum and vine scroll pattern	Main: <i>gukdangchomun</i>	Length: 42.7 cm; Diameter: 1.6 cm	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Plate 10
4		Lacquered three-lobed incense case inlaid with mother-of-pearl and tortoiseshell decoration of chrysanthemum and vine scroll pattern	Main: <i>gukdangchomun</i> ; Secondary: band of beads; crisscross	H: 4.1 cm; W: 10.2 cm	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	
5		Lacquered incense container inlaid with mother-of-pearl and tortoiseshell decoration of chrysanthemum and vine scroll pattern	Main: <i>gukdangchomun</i> ; Secondary: band of beads, crisscross	H: 3.5 cm; W: 9.3 cm	Keishun-in, Kyoto	Plate 6
6		Lacquered incense container with mother-of-pearl and tortoiseshell decoration of chrysanthemum and vine scroll pattern	Main: <i>gukdangchomun</i>	H: 4.1 cm; W: 10.2 cm	Private collection (Dajima Mitsuru [田島充]), Japan	Plate 11
7		Lacquered case in flower shape with mother-of-pearl and tortoiseshell decoration of chrysanthemum vine scroll pattern	Main <i>gukdangchomun</i>	H: 4.4 cm; W: 9.3 cm; Diameter: 11.5 cm	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston	
8		Lacquered box with mother-of-pearl decoration of chrysanthemum and vine scroll pattern	Main: <i>gukdangchomun</i> ; Secondary: band of beads, crisscross		Okura Shukokan Museum of Fine Arts, Tokyo	
9	C	Lacquered sutra case with mother-of-pearl decoration of chrysanthemum and vine scroll pattern	Main: <i>gukdangchomun</i> ; Secondary: band of beads and <i>morandangchomun</i>	H: 26.1 cm; W: 47.2 cm;	Tokugawa Reimeikan, Tokyo	Plate 12
10		Lacquered sutra case with mother-of-pearl decoration of chrysanthemum and vine scroll pattern	Main: <i>gukdangchomun</i> ; Secondary: band of beads and <i>morandangchomun</i>	H: 25.6 cm; W: 47.3 cm; D: 25.0 cm	Private collection, Kyoto	
11		Lacquered sutra case with mother-of-pearl decoration of chrysanthemum and vine scroll pattern	Main: <i>gukdangchomun</i> ; Secondary: band of beads and <i>morandangchomun</i>	H: 25.9 cm; W 47.4 cm; D: 24.9 cm	British Museum, London	
12		Lacquered sutra case with mother-of-pearl decoration of chrysanthemum and vine scroll pattern	Main: <i>gukdangchomun</i> ; Secondary: band of <i>moranmun</i> , <i>gukhwamun</i> , and beads	H: 26.4 cm; W: 47.3 cm; D: 25.3 cm	Tokyo National Museum, Tokyo	
13		Lacquered sutra case with mother-of-pearl decoration of chrysanthemum and vine scroll pattern	Main: <i>gukdangchomun</i> ; Secondary: band of <i>moranmun</i> , <i>gukhwamun</i> , and beads	H: 25.8 cm; W: 47.2 cm; D: 24.8 cm	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston	
14		Lacquered sutra case with mother-of-pearl decoration of chrysanthemum and vine scroll pattern	Main: <i>gukdangchomun</i> ; Secondary: band of <i>moranmun</i> and beads	H: 34.0 cm; W: 47.0 cm; D: 25.0 cm. Bottom parts repaired (H: 47.0 cm; W: 25.0 cm)	Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam	
15	C	Panel from a lacquered sutra case with mother-of-pearl decoration of chrysanthemum and vine scroll pattern	Main: <i>gukdangchomun</i> ; Secondary: band of <i>moranmun</i> and beads	H: 17.5 cm; W: 21.6 cm. One side of the case has been misused to decorate the drawer front of a bookcase. This case is decorated with the same pattern as Nos. 9, 10, 11, and 14.	Private collection, Kyoto	Plate 13
16	D	Lacquered sutra case with mother-of-pearl decoration of peony and vine scroll pattern	<i>moranmun</i> ; Secondary: lines of swirling hemp pattern and hexagonal tortoiseshell pattern	H: 22.8 cm; W: 41.8 cm; D: 20.4 cm	Kitamura Art Museum, Kyoto	Plate 9

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KOREAN NAJEONCHILGI OF THE GORYEO  
AND EARLY JOSEON PERIODS

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Kawada Sadamu

of Yuan China. However, his classification is not based on definitive facts but on assumptions: The *Najeonchil gukhwamun gyeongjeonham* is listed as 1A as the earliest example only because the inlaid celadon bowl that was excavated from the tomb of Mun Gongyu with clear information on its date is conveniently similar in the placement of chrysanthemum flowers in an oblique crisscross pattern, and the more delicate and elaborate chrysanthemum or peony designs are assumed to be of a later period in view of the natural development of patterns.

For example, the inner base of the *hyeonja* of the *Najeonchil myogeum chomoksugeummun hyansangja* (螺鈿漆描金草木水禽文香箱子: Lacquered incense case with mother-of-pearl and gold decoration of flowers, trees, and waterfowl) (Plate 14) excavated from a Goryeo tomb and now in the National Museum of Korea actually has the chrysanthemum placed in the same way as that on the surface of the sutra case classified as 1A. However, the chrysanthemum pattern applied on the edges of the top and bottom of this lid also shares similarities with the pattern found in the lower body of the sutra case No. 9C (Plate 12), which, according to Okada's classification, was made a century later. In other words, Okada's classification is not always chronologically precise.

Although there is no known study on the production date of this box, it may safely be attributed to the twelfth century considering the fact that the *chomoksugeummun* (草木水禽文) featuring the weeping willow, common reed, bamboo, wild geese, and duck was popular in this period, as seen in the bronze *kundika* with silver inlay of waterside landscape design in the National Museum of Korea (circa 11–12th century) or the fine celadon *kundika* inlaid with waterside landscape design in the Gansong Museum of Art (circa mid-12th century). In short, Okada's classification of the decoration is ambiguous and needs to be further revised.

Moreover, Okada's presumption that the use of similar patterns can indicate a similar production date is not always true and should be tested. Although the two techniques are very different from each other, it is very possible that the *najeon* pattern embedded on the surface of a lacquer artifact may be viewed as a kind of inlay pattern and, in that case, it is possibly *najeon* (which considerably predates celadon inlay as a decorative technique) influenced the development

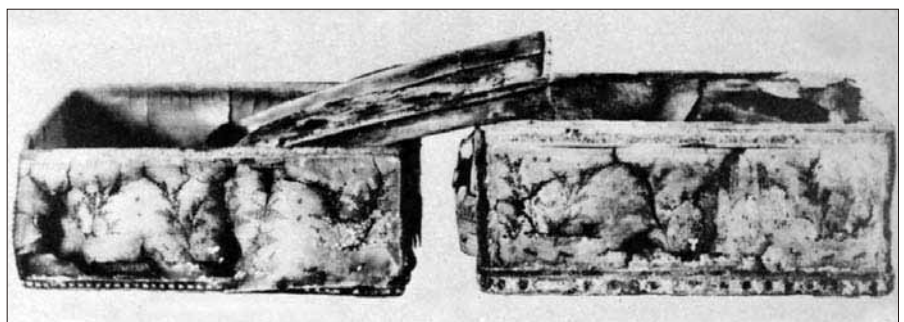
( Plate 14 )

Lacquered incense case with mother-of-pearl and gold decoration of flowers, trees, and waterfowl

Goryeo, circa mid-12th–13th century

H: 11.2cm, W: 29.1 cm, D: 18.8 cm

National Museum of Korea





of the *sanggam* inlay technique. If this is the case, the manufacturing date of the earliest sutra case (No.1 in the table) may be far earlier than the mid-twelfth century.

As supportive evidence, Xu Jing's *Xuanhe fengshi Gaoli tujing* mentions *najeon* but not inlaid celadon. It implies that *najeonchilgi* had by then reached a high level of refinement, whereas the craft of inlaid celadon was only in its formative stage and therefore would not have gained the attention of a visitor from Song China.

## 02 DECORATIVE TECHNIQUES

The most distinctive and yet universal feature of *najeonchilgi* of the Goryeo period discussed here is the extremely fine pattern called *jeolmun* (截文) made by the *jureumjil* (截文: patterns cut out by hand) technique. Each of the countless *jeolmun* made from a sheet of *najeon* was in itself not an independent pattern but a component of a larger pattern that is only achieved by numerous *jeolmun* of various shapes meticulously placed in a uniform manner. Most amazingly, the individual mother-of-pearl pieces on these *najeonchilgi* are all less than 1 cm in diameter. Xu Jing's comments on Goryeo lacquerwares inlaid with mother-of-pearl, "refined and to be treasured," must reflect his impression of these painstakingly embedded *najeon* pieces that created an exceptional design as well as requiring skilled hands.

The second distinct feature of the *najeon* technique lies in the metal wire which is combined with the *najeon* pattern. A variety of metals were used for the lines including silver, bronze, and brass, but there were two ways of applying the wires: a single wire and two wires twisted together, namely *chakseon*, as mentioned above.

The former was typically inserted as branches or vines of flower patterns, while the latter was used around the outer circumference or the edges of an object to reinforce the frame or as a border line to separate the surface into sections to be decorated. At times, a pair of lines as a set would make a line pattern that looks

like the feathers at the end of an arrow (矢羽, *siu*) on the lacquered surface. In this author's judgment, these metal lines were extremely thin as well as even in width, and the cross-section of both the single and double wires was probably circular. These wires, together with slips of mother-of-pearl, were transformed into fern-like stems and branches and glued to the primed surface before being coated with lacquer. Then the surface of the lacquered object was rubbed to reveal the pattern and to flatten the wires.

The third characteristic is the combined use of *daemobokchae* with *najeon*. Although the main purpose of this technique was to utilize the semitransparent, glossy quality of tortoiseshell, it also served as a colorful protective layer. By coloring the underside of the shell, which was cut into shape by means of the *jureumjil* technique, and by gluing it onto the surface with the underside down, the color is effectively protected. A prototype of this is the rosary beads box listed as No. 2, *Najeon daemochil gukdangchomun yeomjuhap* (螺鈿玳瑁漆菊唐草文念珠盒: Lacquered case for rosary beads with mother-of-pearl and tortoiseshell inlay of chrysanthemum scroll design) (Plate 5) of Taima-dera, Nara. Inside the case is a line of amber rosary beads (*yeomju*), and the beauty of amber and tortoiseshell combined with the mysterious iridescence of *najeon* make this the essence of extreme brilliance and magnificence. Its beauty truly attests to the high aesthetic standards of the Goryeo people.

Regrettably, however, there remains only one piece in Korea that demonstrates such a sophisticated technique of combining *najeon*, *daemobokchae*, and metal wires. It is the *Najeon daemochil gukdangchomun bulja* (Plate 10) listed as No. 3. It was purportedly once a personal item of a monk and has been handed down in temples through the ages. Nonetheless, all the *najeonchilgi* classified in the B category by Okada feature the same splendid tortoiseshell decoration pattern displayed in the rosary beads case, implying that such an elaborate pattern was in style at that time. Moreover, in the lacquer artifacts of this category, the mother-of-pearl and tortoiseshell

produce almost the same decorative effect.

In truth, both the mother-of-pearl (*najeon*) and the tortoiseshell (*daemo*) techniques were already present in the craftsmanship transmitted from Tang China since the Unified Silla period. The two co-existed as traditional decorative techniques until *daemo* gradually fell out of use and *najeon* became the only decorative technique. One of the reasons for this is that the source of quality *daemo* was the southern seas, which meant that the trade was dependent on imports from China, and Goryeo was unable to meet the demand for it. In this regard, the *najeonchilgi* listed by Okada in the B category may have chronologically preceded the sutra case (*gyeongjeonham*) listed under category A, of which only the pistil of the chrysanthemum flower *gukhwamun* is made of red *daemobokchae* and the use of the *daemo* was only supplementary.

The detailed and refined *najeon* of Goryeo made a strong impression on Xu Jing probably because it exhibited distinctive characteristics that were absent even in the inlaid mother-of-pearl lacquerware of Tang China. This distinctiveness may be the manifestation of a unique Korean tradition and aesthetic. In the case of the *mokji* (木地: wood core) *najeon* technique of Tang, which consisted mainly of inlaying mother-of-pearl on wood like red sandalwood (紫檀, *zitan*), it was simply impossible to produce such wares decorated with refined *jureumjil* patterns of Goryeo. Moreover, because the beauty of the ever-changing multi-colored *najeon* is especially effective on the highly polished black lacquer surface, the true artistry of *najeon* in the Goryeo period may not have flowered without the long tradition of lacquer craftsmanship in Korea.

In fact, in Korea many lacquer wares of the Han dynasty have already been excavated from the ruins of the Nangnang (樂浪) site in present-day North Korea. Excavations since 1988 in particular have yielded numerous lacquer wares mostly painted in black. The artifacts excavated from the tombs of Daho-ri (茶戸里), Changwon (昌原), Gyeonsangnam-do (慶尙南道) – dated to the late first century BC because of findings of *osujeon* (五銖錢: coin in use during the early Han period; *wu zhu qian* in Chinese) and *seongwungyeong* (星雲鏡: bronze mirror; *xing yun jing* in Chinese) – are among the discoveries. There has been no shortage in the discoveries of lacquer wares from the post-Three Kingdoms Period and the lacquer wares excavated from Anapji truly exemplify the prevalence of lacquer craftsmanship in Korea during that time.

There is also a long tradition of precision engraving in Korea. The first known instances are gold items excavated from the tombs of Baekje and Silla during the Three Kingdoms Period. For example, the personal accessories decorated with gold wires demonstrate the exceptional skills of the craftsmen who strove for precision. The reason that the twisted metal wires were widely used in the *najeonchilgi* of Goryeo, but were never used in contemporary

Tang China, is due to the tradition of precision gold handicraft of the Three Kingdoms Period. The Goryeo aesthetic and craftsmanship of precision in dealing with *najeon* is also closely related to such a tradition.

## IV FOREIGN INFLUENCES AND UNIQUENESS FOUND IN GORYEO NAJEONCHILGI

It is now clear that the Goryeo *najeon* craftsmanship is based on that of Tang China and developed during the Unified Silla period. As discussed above, the *Najeondan hwageumsu mungyeong* (Plate 3) excavated from an old Gaya tomb was a typical example of *bosikgyeong* of Tang, decorated with thin, flat *najeon*. But are there any other examples that reflect in greater detail the close relationship between Goryeo and Tang craftsmanship?

*Najeon* craftsmanship involves *mokhwa* (木畫), carving and inserting into a surface another material of a different color and texture for decorative effect. This technique was presumably transmitted from the West to China a long time ago but it was certainly in Tang that the technique was in full bloom. The main use of mother-of-pearl during the Tang dynasty was as inlay on wood by carving, while patterns were mainly engraved on mother-of-pearl but also on other materials.

For instance, the mother-of-pearl pieces in



( Plate 15 )  
Four-stringed *genkan* with mother-of-pearl decoration, back  
Supposedly Chinese, Tang, circa 8th century  
H: 100.7 cm, W: 39.0 cm  
Northern Repository of Shoso-in, Nara

the Shoso-in, Japan, such as *Raden saitan gogen biwa* (螺鈿紫檀五絃琵琶: a five-stringed *biwa* with mother-of-pearl decoration), *Raden saitan genkan* (螺鈿紫檀阮咸: a four-stringed *genkan* with mother-of-pearl decoration), *Raden gyokudai bako* (螺鈿玉帶箱: a box for a jade belt), and *Raden daimai hakaku bako* (螺鈿玳瑁八角箱子: an octagonal box with mother-of-pearl and tortoiseshell decoration), all feature materials other than the main decorative material of *najeon*. Some mother-of-pearl patterns also feature jade or amber and tortoiseshell. The use of such translucent materials contrasted with and accentuated the splendor intrinsic to the opaque mother-of-pearl, bringing out the glitter of all the different colors.

Obviously, the Goryeo *najeon* decorated with *daemobokchae*, the splendid pattern on the rosary box (*yeomjuham*) at Taima-dera, in particular, is in line with the mother-of-pearl craft of Tang China mentioned above. An important item in explaining the 200 years gap from the end of Unified Silla under the peak of Tang *najeon* influence to the first appearance of *najeon* in the age of Goryeo is the four-stringed *genkan* with mother-of-pearl decoration (Plate 15)<sup>9</sup> kept in the Northern Repository (Hokugura, 北倉) of the Shoso-in. This corresponds to the record of the 21st day of the sixth month, in the eighth year of *Denbyo Shoho* (天平勝寶, 756) stated in the chapter of "Gokugatsin Hocho" (國家珍寶帳, Records of Select Treasures) in the *Todaiji Kenhucho* (東大寺獻物帳: Records of National Treasures in Todai-ji):

"...the lacquered *genkan* has a *hanbal* (plectrum guard) decorated with patterns in green... (螺鈿紫檀阮咸一面緣地畫捍撥緣臈納紫綾袋)."

Among the known *genkan* with a clear history, this lute is the oldest piece in the world and thereby an important historical article. The instrument consists of various parts such as the lower body (槽), the top where the strings are tied (鹿頸), and the upper body (頭), and they are all made of red sandalwood from Southeast Asia, while the center (腹板) is made of wild walnut tree. The glittering patterns all across the instrument are evocative of Tang court instruments. On the bottom border (落帶) are depictions of figures

playing instruments and splendid flowers of *miltahoe* (密陀繪: litharge painting; Chinese: *mituohui*). The most beautiful feature is the decoration of *sanggam* inlay with valuable foreign materials like *najeon*, *daemo*, and amber which is found on the reverse side. Tang China was the only country in the world at that time sufficiently cosmopolitan to attract and amalgamate such rare foreign goods, and it was in Chang'an (長安), the capital, that such refined wares were made by Tang craftsmen.

The cosmopolitan adoption of foreign influences in Tang culture is evident in various forms: for example, in the Western-derived pattern of parrots flying around flowers while holding a sprig in their beak, and the *mokhwa* patterns, which were a conventional Western decorative technique, especially on lute instruments. To scrutinize further, it was not just *najeon*, *daemo*, or amber that were carved onto the sandalwood surface. The eight lotus petals incised on the lower part, the bead-shaped decoration that covers the edges of the petals, the lines surrounding the edges of the four petals on the sides, and the *dangchomun* on the neck were all inlaid with metal wire.

All the decorative techniques above are featured in the Taima-dera *yeomjuhap*, excluding the twisted metal wire and the amber. Along with the *bokchae* coloring technique Goryeo *najeon* embody the tradition of Tang lacquerwares inlaid with mother-of-pearl as manifested in the artifacts of the B category that purportedly represent the oldest decorative techniques. Between the two categories, there is a time lag of some 300 to 350 years. But in the decorative technique itself, there is no substantive difference. At the same time, on appearance alone, it is evident that there are differences in the overall pattern.

The same basic craftsmanship notwithstanding, the decorative patterns represent particular ethnic characteristics and aesthetics, which also changed with time. Such changes in taste can either be evolutionary or revolutionary. Although this is mere speculation, I believe that it must have taken a long time for the *najeon* craftsmanship that was first adopted from Tang to develop distinct Korean characteristics. Since the initial transfer of the craft took place when Silla was in decline, the further refinement of the alien craft took place after a period of gestation in the Goryeo era. In the meantime, one can imagine that a mark of distinct Korean craftsmanship gradually developed during this period of gestation.

The process accelerated during the golden age of Goryeo culture in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and reached full flower. The *Najeon daemochil danchomun yeomjuhap* at Taima-dera, despite its meticulous and elaborate patterns, is not from this golden age. At the same time, it embodies the emerging distinct Korean aesthetic while it faithfully represents the traditional Tang mother-of-pearl craftsmanship.

## V THE GYEONGJEONHAM OF GORYEO WITH DANGCHOMUN AND THE MOTHER-OF-PEARL LACQUERWARE OF YUAN AND MING

The majority of extant *najeonchilgi* today are *gyeongjeonham*. As is evident in the Tripitaka stele, *Daejangjeonbi* (大藏殿碑) at Jikjisa (直指寺), Gimcheon (金泉), Gyeongsangbuk-do (慶尙北道), which was erected in the fifteenth year of King Myeongjong (1185) – “the three boxes in Jeondeung Temple are decorated with *najeon*, red lacquer, or gold ... (以傳燈三函祖以螺鈿或以朱漆或口金而粧飾...)” – and in the section pertaining to the installation of the Jeonham joseongdogam (鈿函造成都監: Bureau of Sutra Case Production) in the thirteenth reign year of King Wonjong (1272) in the *Goryeosa* (高麗史: *History of Goryeo*), Volume 27, these kinds of *najeon gyeongjeonham* were deemed particularly suitable for storing grand *gyeongjeon* (經典: sutras). For this reason, sutra cases were used to store the Goryeo Tripitaka, and demand led to their mass production.

The eight extant sutra cases may generally be classified into three types, following Okada. Among the three types, the *Najeonchil gukhwamun gyeongjeonham* (No. 1A, Plate 8) of the Tokyo National Museum is undoubtedly the oldest, and is believed to be from the twelfth century. There still remains the question of its chronological classification in relation to the wares featuring colored tortoiseshell (*daemobokchae*) that Okada listed in the B category.

The sutra cases listed in the C category feature the same main pattern of chrysanthemum scrolls as the one in the Tokyo National Museum. Despite some minor differences in the detail of the patterns and in the production sites, it is reasonable to consider that they are from the same period as those listed in the A category. Okada claimed that the sutra cases of this category were made by the Jeonham joseongdogam, the state bureau installed in the thirteenth year of Wonjong (1272) for overseeing the mass production of sutra cases for the purpose of storing the Goryeo Tripitaka. In

view of the fact that six among the eight extant sutra cases fall under the C category, Okada's proposition is certainly a reasonable one.

Needless to say, the mass production of sutra cases featuring such exquisite decorative details could not be possible without a corresponding organizational support and technology. In that regard, the establishment of the Jeonham joseongdogam reflects the peak of Goryeo inlaid mother-of-pearl production in both quality and quantity.

On the other hand, the decline of the Goryeo state during the fourteenth century led to a decline also in the cultural realm, and *najeon* craftsmanship lost some of its vitality as a result. If the sutra case in the collection of the Kitamura Art Museum (No. 16D, Plate 9) is from the fourteenth century, as it is thought, then this should be considered the last example of the splendor of Goryeo *najeon*.

On the point of technical craftsmanship, the *jureumjil* ( ) technique using very small pieces of mother-of-pearl became more and more refined with time. The lotus which forms the main pattern in the sutra case of the D category had been used only as a complementary pattern in the sutra cases of the C category, in combination with petals in the shape of a ginkgo leaf. But in the sutra case of the Kitamura Art Museum (Plate 9), the edges of the leaf are curved delicately in a fern-like shape, and the numerous leaves on the metal wires have changed from the typical Goryeo *najeon* style seen in the C category to a more realistic and complex shape. To place the exceedingly small fragments of mother-of-pearl into such complex patterns would have been immensely challenging with traditionally known skills. Perhaps a technical breakthrough had taken place in the meantime.

The new technique was also reflected in the patterns themselves. The practice of dividing each section of the sutra case into two circles with either a metal wire or a bead line pattern and inserting a flower vine pattern growing out of a metal wire inside the



inner circle as the main pattern is the same for the sutra cases of both the C and D categories. But on the frame-like outer circle surrounding the main pattern, lines of swirling hemp pattern and geometric flowers and hexagonal tortoiseshell patterns are incised by an entirely new technique named *ggeuneumjil* ( ) using *jeolpae* (切貝: mother-of-pearl cut in narrow strips). These kinds of geometric patterns are found in inlaid lacquer objects of Yuan and Ming China. Either the *najeon* craftsmen of Goryeo learned this new technique in China, or, considering the close nature of the bilateral relationship between the two countries, the technique may have been transmitted from Goryeo to China.

Moreover, gold intaglio lines arranged like a painting as well as the continuous tortoiseshell pattern made by cut gold sheets had already been introduced into Korea as seen in the pillows and foot supports of kings and queens excavated from the tomb of Muryeongwang (武寧王, r. 501-523) of Baekje. Closer in time, similar patterns are also found from time to time in the Buddhist paintings of Goryeo. Therefore, it may be said that there was already in place within the arts of Goryeo an indigenous source that could generate such geometric patterns.

This kind of refined technique that requires meticulous attention to detail can also be found in the *mojo* (毛彫: feather-like fine lines) patterns that were incised on lacquer objects inlaid with mother-of-pearl. For instance, the simple lines and angles found in the artifacts of the C category have changed into exquisitely elaborate patterns in the sutra cases listed in the D category.

Although only a few remain today, in the case of the sutra cases made to contain the Goryeo Tripitaka alone, a great number must have been created during this golden age of Goryeo *najeonchilgi*. Many undoubtedly ended up in China, and Yuan craftsmen would certainly have taken note of such Goryeo mother-of-pearl pieces. As is apparent from the inscriptions on several *qiangjin jingdianhan* (戔金經典函: sutra cases made with the *qiangjin* technique of engraving and filling with gold pigment) made in the second year of Yanyou (延祐) (1315) of Yuan China that had made their way into Japan, it would not have been difficult for Yuan workshops, with their advantage in number and organization, to produce artifact inlaid in mother-of-pearl superior to those made in Korea.

The sutra case in the Kitamura Art Museum which exhibits the most refined characteristics of Goryeo *najeonchilgi* is significant as a means of comparison between the *najeon* craftsmanship of Goryeo and Yuan. As lacquer craft originated in China, the common assumption is that most technical aspects of the craft also originated in China. However, it is not unreasonable to consider that even techniques that originated in one country may at times go through a period of maturation and take on new and innovative characteristics in another country, and in time influence the craft of the mother country.

## VI FROM GORYEO NAJEON TO JOSEON NAJEON: CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD

The mass production of sutra cases for the Goryeo Tripitaka under the auspices of the Jeonham joseongdogam made a significant contribution to the further development of *najeon* craft in Goryeo. The enterprise called for the employment of numerous craftsmen working under the institutional support of a state bureau.

The refined techniques developed at the Jeonham joseongdogam resulted in the making of the finest *najeonchilgi* of the Goryeo period, as evinced by the sutra case in the Kitamura Art Museum (Plate 9). However, the lack of artifacts or literary references with which to establish the chronological development of *najeon* of the late or post-Goryeo period has thus far been a serious impediment to the study of the subject. The decline of a particular craft after reaching its peak is a phenomenon that is certainly not limited to Goryeo *najeon*. In fact, it is not difficult to imagine that the collapse of the Goryeo dynasty in the fourteenth century may have brought about a precipitous decline in the once flourishing craft.

At the same time, considering the revival of *najeon* craft in the Joseon dynasty, the century-long transitional period between the decline of the Goryeo monarchy in the second half of the fourteenth century and the emergence of a new dynasty in the first half of the fifteenth century may also have been a transitional period for the emergence of a new style of Korean *najeon*. Although the tradition of *najeon* craftsmanship may have inevitably declined during that interval, the transitional period may also have been a period of gestation for a new form of *najeon* craftsmanship.

For instance, there are clear differences between the refined and precise peony scroll patterns on the sutra case in the Kitamura Art Museum, and the free and unregulated peony scrolls that are thought to have

emerged sometime around the sixteenth century and which characterize the typical pattern of Joseon *najeon*.

The big differences between the two are rooted in the change in the decorative technique. For instance, the traditional technique behind the metal wire scrolls of Goryeo came to be replaced by a variation on the *ggeuneumjil* technique of the vine spray line pattern of Joseon. The change from metal wire scrolls to mother-of-pearl sprays meant that the vine stems became thicker, influencing the whole design. Flower patterns became bigger, and their numbers fewer, while complicated leaf patterns all but disappeared and a new scroll pattern with fewer and simpler leaves came to be adopted. On the one hand, the delicacy of Goryeo *najeon* became obsolete, while on the other, the free and bold curves of the new scrolls accentuated by the black ground was a style and technique that was found nowhere else but in Korean *najeon*. This new bold pattern came to define the new and original aesthetic of Joseon *najeon*.

The following are noteworthy examples of *najeon* wares of this transitional phase: the lacquered box with mother-of-pearl decoration of chrysanthemum and scroll design in a private collection in Kyoto, which retains the tradition of chrysanthemum vine scroll pattern but has visibly shed the vitality of the golden age, and displays some variation in the overall shape; the lacquered box with mother-of-pearl decoration of chrysanthemum and vine scroll pattern in a private collection in Hyogo is evocative of Goryeo *najeon* yet also gleams with the dynamism of a new pattern; and the circular lacquered case decorated with mother-of-pearl in chrysanthemum scrolls of the Tokyo National Museum; and the lacquered box with mother-of-pearl decoration of chrysanthemum and vine scroll pattern owned by the Ministry of Culture (presently kept in the Kyushu National Museum). Thus far, there has been no information with which to date these four objects inlaid with mother-of-pearl and decorated with chrysanthemum. But considering the patterns and techniques common to these wares, the fifteenth century seems the most likely. The first two feature

almost the same chrysanthemum scrolls, whereas that on the last one has a different flower pattern with the scrolling leaf pattern lacking crispness in its ornate configuration.

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There are only 20 extant Goryeo artifacts inlaid with mother-of-pearl (*najeon*) in the world today. Within Korea, the original center of its production, there is only one item, the fly-whisk (*bulja*) from a temple that is presently kept in the National Museum of Korea. The majority of the known Goryeo *najeon* are in Japan. Indeed, the *najeonchilgi* dispersed over Europe and America, variously kept in the British Museum, the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam in the Netherlands, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, have all been transmitted from Japan in the twentieth century. The main reason for this lack of Goryeo *najeon* within Korea and its foreign dispersal is that the Joseon dynasty adopted Confucianism as the state ideology while persecuting Buddhism. That the eight sutra cases, the rosary box of the Taima-dera, Nara, and the *mojahap* that are believed to have contained incense, were all handed down as implements in Buddhist temples is further evidence of the close association between *najeon* artifacts and Buddhism.<sup>10</sup>

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## NOTES

1

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2

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3

Xu Jing, *ibid*, 23, Miscellaneous Customs [雜俗] 2, Local Products [土産條]

4

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Yoshino Tomio (吉野富雄), "Najeongi (Mother-of-pearl Wares) of Goryeo," *Bijutsu Kenkyū*, vol. 175 (1954): 4–5.

6

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Shoso-in, *Japanese Art Volume 5: Denpyo Period* (日本美術全集 5巻: 天平の美術), Tokyo: Gakushū genkyūsha (學習研究社), 1978. fig. 15.

10

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





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# GOGURYEO PEOPLE WEARING JOUGWAN IN TANG CHINESE ART

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

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## GOGURYEO PEOPLE WEARING JOUGWAN IN TANG CHINESE ART

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### [ ABSTRACT ]

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

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



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

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

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

#### [ KEYWORDS ]

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

## I JOUGWAN AS GOGURYEO HEADDRESS

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

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

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

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



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



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



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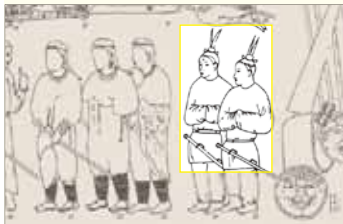
GOGURYEO PEOPLE WEARING  
JOUGWAN IN TANG CHINESE ART

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Kim Lena



( Plate 3 )

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

( Plate 4-1 )

Outlined envoys in *Foreign Emissaries*,  
detail

( Plate 4-2 )

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

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

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

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

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

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

## II GOGURYEO ENVOYS WEARING JOUGWAN IN DUNHUANG WALL PAINTINGS

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

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

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

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

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

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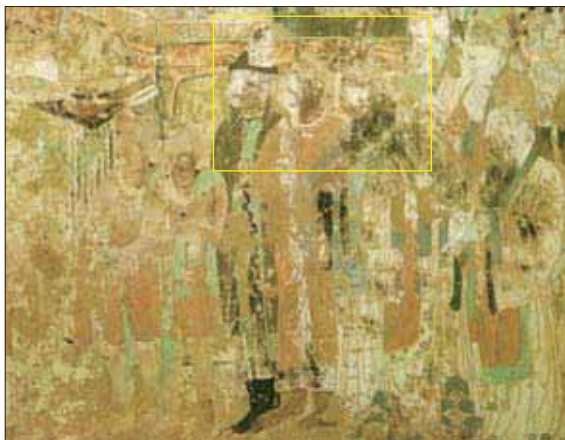
Kim Lena

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

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

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

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



( Plate 5 )

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



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

Duan Wenjie (段文杰), formerly Director of the Dunhuang Research Institute (敦煌文物研究所) has already noted the illustration of a person with *jougwan* in the wall painting of Vimalakirti and Manjusri in Dunhuang Cave 220,<sup>23</sup> and Gwon Yeong-pil (權寧弼) has also written about the two people wearing *jougwan* in the mural of Cave 335.<sup>24</sup> Compared to the scene depicted in Cave 220, the scene in Cave 335 has a more complicated, albeit similar, composition, and is more stylized in detail. This raises the possibility that there was an original version of this subject matter before the mid-seventh century on which the painting of Cave 335 was based, or that it was modeled on the painting in Cave 220 with some added variations. As the painting in Cave 335 is dated to 686, many years after the collapse of Goguryeo, it is conceivable that the Korean emissaries depicted were from Silla. However,

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

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



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



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

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

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



( Plate 8 )

*Foreign Envoys*, detail of the *Vimalakirti Sutra*

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

British Museum (Stein Collection 57 Ch.00350)

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



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

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

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

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

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

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



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



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



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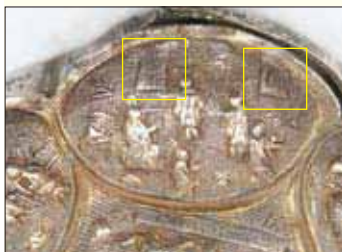
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depicted in the wall paintings of Prince Zhanghuai's tomb, the Dunhuang caves, and the Sogdian palace were also from Goguryeo. In a similar vein, further details of Goguryeo people can be seen in other forms of Tang Chinese art. In 1979, a small silver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

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

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



( Plate 11-1 )

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

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

Office of Culture and Garden in Xi'an

( Plate 11-2 )

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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



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

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

## V THE EXISTENCE OF LESSER GOGURYEO

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

In 699, Tang downgraded Andong Duhufu to

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

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

Goguryeo's tributary mission toward the end of the Yuanhe (元和 806-821) reign is recorded in the *Xin Tangshu*,<sup>50</sup> which the *Samguksagi* correspondingly records as having taken place in the year 818.<sup>51</sup> This suggests that the state of Lesser Goguryeo was established in Liaodong and that it had a semi-autonomous status, paying tribute to Tang until the early-ninth century. Lesser Goguryeo was, however, absorbed into Balhae during the reign of its tenth king, Daeinsu (大仁秀, r. 813-840).

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



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

## VI CONCLUSION

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

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

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

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



## NOTES

1

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

2

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

3

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

4

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

5

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

6

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

7

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

8

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

9

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

10

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

11

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

12

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

13

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

14

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

15

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

16

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

17

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

18

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

19

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

20

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

21

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

22

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

## 23

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

## 24

See Gwon, 1993. 115-6.

## 25

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

## 26

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

## 27

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

## 28

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

## 29

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

## 30

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

## 31

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



32

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

33

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

34

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

35

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

36

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

37

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

38

See Tanaka, 1993 (note 32).

39

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

40

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

41

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

42

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

43

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

## 44

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

## 45

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

## 46

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

## 47

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

## 48

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

## 49

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

## 50

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

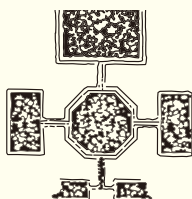
## 51

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

## 52

See Roh, 1981 (note 45). 95.





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# CHANGES IN THE LAYOUTS OF BUDDHIST TEMPLES OF GOGURYEO CIRCA FIFTH CENTURY AD

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# CHANGES IN THE LAYOUTS OF BUDDHIST TEMPLES OF GOGURYEO

## CIRCA FIFTH CENTURY AD

Kim Sung-woo, Professor of Architecture, Yonsei University

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### [ ABSTRACT ]

Among the archaeological excavations of Buddhist temple sites of the Goguryeo period, information on site plans exists in only four instances. Analysis of such information is crucial not only for the understanding of early Korean Buddhist architecture, but also to provide insight into the development of East Asian architectural studies generally, especially as no archaeological evidence of the same period has been discovered in any other country, including China. Through investigative study of these four temple sites, this paper attempts to identify the dates of construction and the patterns of structural change of Goguryeo temples, relying on comparative analysis of the changes in temple structures, such as the pagoda and golden hall, the surrounding corridor, and other types of buildings. It concludes that Sango-ri temple site is the earliest example of a temple site, followed by Jeongneungsa (temple) circa 427 and Toseong-ri in the late fifth century. It argues that changes in architecture were much influenced by religious developments.

### [ KEYWORDS ]

Goguryeo, temple sites, Buddhist, architecture, site plans, Cheongam-ri,



Sango-ri, Jeongneung, Toseong-ri, Wono-ri, golden hall, pagoda

## I INTRODUCTION

Among the Buddhist architectural ruins of Goguryeo (高句麗, 37 BC–668) available for examination, only four temple sites provide relatively clear information on the layout of the buildings within each site. They include the Cheongam-ri (淸岩里) and the Sango-ri (上五里) temple sites, which were surveyed by Japanese scholars circa 1940, and the Jeongneung (定陵) and Toseong-ri (土城里) temple sites, which were investigated by North Korean scholars after the liberation from Japanese colonialism in 1945. A report on the Wono-ri (元五里) temple site written during the Japanese colonial era also remains, but lacks information on the ground plan. For this reason, it will not be considered in this paper.

Since the reports on these temple sites were compiled on the basis of archaeological excavation alone, there is no reliable information on the architectural styles of the buildings themselves, and it is thus only possible to imagine parts of the buildings by examining the remains of stone platforms, gutters, foundations, cornerstones, and the like. This paper draws on the extraordinarily dynamic changes in East Asian site plans. It should be emphasized, however, that its goal is to note changes in the architectural placement of structures and buildings, rather than to define the characteristics of above-ground architecture for restoration purposes. In East Asian architecture changes in the layout of buildings rather than changes in architectural style provide a more accurate reflection of the historical architectural trends of the time. Yet, there is a tendency to classify all ancient Buddhist architecture collectively and to understand their structures under a category easily identifiable to us, for example as a certain type of "pagoda" or as a "golden hall" (金堂, *geumdang*: the central image hall in a Buddhist temple where Buddhist images or statues are enshrined). On close scrutiny, however, we find that within the same classification of architectural forms there lie distinct differences, reflecting a consistent pattern of change in Buddhist aesthetics and ideology. Rather than theoretical studies on architectural form, a more significant focus of inquiry, therefore, would be to identify the substance of these changes and to address the causes that lie behind them.

In the case of some temple sites, it is possible to ascertain a clear reconstruction of the site plan to a reliable degree even when there are no surviving above-ground architectural remains. This paper begins with an analysis of the data on Buddhist temple sites of Goguryeo, followed by an attempt to identify specific changes in the layout of temple buildings and other structures. The final

part of this paper puts forward an assessment of the date of each temple site together with explanations as to why changes in site plans occurred.

There are a number of assumptions that can be made about Goguryeo temple sites built around the fifth century AD, which are supported by documentary evidence. Documents exist which record that Buddhism and Buddhist architecture of ancient China had already reached full bloom by the fifth century and that by this time Goguryeo's absorption of Buddhism from Former Qin (前秦, Qianqin, 351-394) of the Northern Dynasties (北朝, Beichao, 386-535) had been completed. In the fifth century, during the time of the Southern and Northern Dynasties (南北朝, Nanbeichao, 386-589), China consisted of several states that espoused Buddhism and competed in the building of Buddhist temples. More significantly, the flowering of Buddhism in China in the fifth century had a profound influence on Goguryeo. There are, however, no excavation reports on Chinese Buddhist temples of that period and, thus, the evolution of Goguryeo temples and related findings of temple sites are key not only to understanding Goguryeo architecture but also to assessing broader trends in ancient East Asian Buddhist architecture. Furthermore, findings on Goguryeo Buddhist temple sites also serve as an essential template for understanding the Buddhist architecture of Baekje (百濟, 18 BC-660) and Silla (新羅, 57 BC-654).

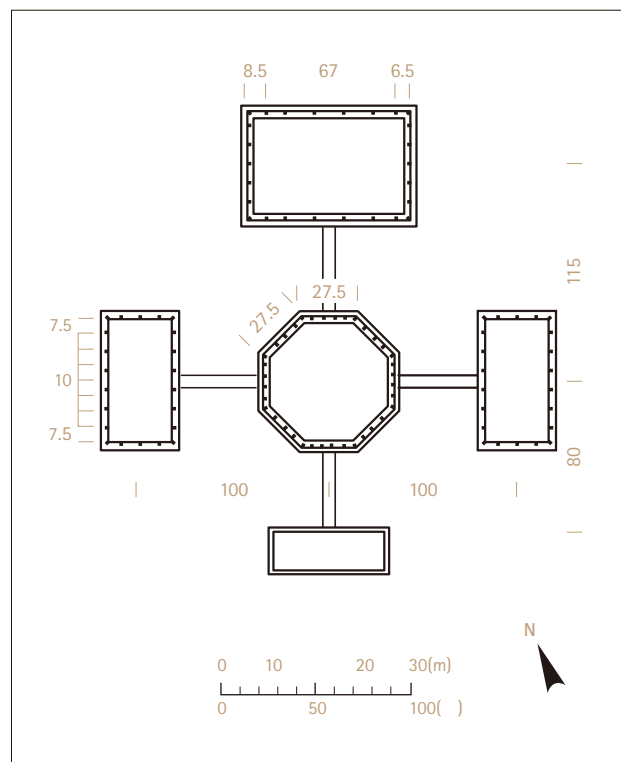
With respect to this thesis, I have already presented a paper on the Sango-ri temple site<sup>1</sup> in which I attempted to analyze the dates and sequence of construction by comparing Sango-ri with other sites. This paper, by contrast, seeks to complement it by providing a conclusive conceptual framework. Indeed, sometime after the publication of my earlier paper, a newly excavated temple site in North Korea was reported, the discovery of which made it incumbent on me to reassess my previous work. It has become necessary to take a general overview of all such temple sites in order to be able to compare them within a single genealogical framework, as well as to compare each site individually and to gauge the differences between them in a more objective and quantifiable

manner. Such a holistic view of all temple sites lends itself to a more effective evaluation of the chronology and the overall pattern of development of Buddhist temple site plans of the Goguryeo period.

## II TEMPLE SITES OF THE GOGURYEO PERIOD

Although there are several documentary reports about Goguryeo temple sites available, for the purpose of my overall argument I have chosen to outline below the salient features of each temple.

The best-known Goguryeo temple site is the Cheongam-ri temple site (Plate 1). It is located on a hill north of the Daedonggang (大同江: river in Pyeongannam-do), about three kilometers northeast of Pyeongyang (平壤). Three buildings, each thought to be a golden hall, surround an octagonal pagoda.<sup>2</sup> An entrance site (門址, *munji*) to the south of the pagoda



( Plate 1 )  
Cheongam-ri temple site

site (塔址, *tapji*) has also been discovered.

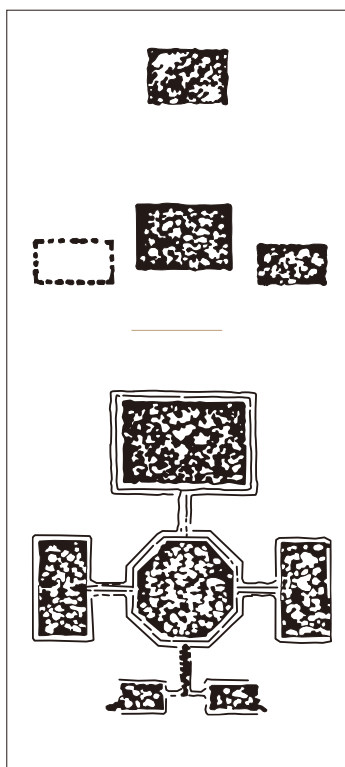
No definitive evidence distinguishing the name and date of the temple at the Cheongam-ri temple site has been found, but most scholars agree that it is Geumgangsa (金剛寺: temple),<sup>3</sup> built during the reign of Munjawang (文咨王, r. 491-516) of Goguryeo.<sup>4</sup> The basis for this consensus is threefold, namely that the reported location of this temple is the same as the location of the Cheongam-ri temple site;<sup>5</sup> that remains that bear the word "Geumgang (金剛)" are found around the site;<sup>6</sup> and, finally, that according to *Goryeosa* (高麗史: *History of Goryeo*), King Sukjong (肅宗, r. 1095-1105) visited Geumgangsa and viewed the remains of the old pagoda.<sup>7</sup> It has also been found that each side of the stylobate or pillar foundation for the wooden octagonal pagoda measured about 9.5 meters while the temple's eastern and western buildings each measured about 13 by 23.5 meters. In addition, an entrance site or *munji* was found south of the pagoda site.

Although there is as yet no conclusive evidence of a corridor surrounding the pagoda and the three golden halls, it is almost certain that it did exist. The remains of a separate building were discovered north of the three golden halls,<sup>8</sup> and there was a large enough space for a corridor between that building and the golden halls.

A separate temple site called Wono-ri Temple was also surveyed around the same time as the Cheongam-ri temple site. However, since not even an outline of the ground plan could be determined from this particular site, it is not useful for the purpose of this paper to elaborate on it.<sup>9</sup>

Another temple site surveyed by the Japanese is Sango-ri Temple (Plate 2), but unlike the Cheongam-ri temple site, it did not undergo formal excavation and analysis. The site lay in limbo after an initial survey and it was only later that a sketch plan of it was produced.<sup>10</sup>

The Sango-ri temple site is located at Imwon-myeon (林原面), Daedong-gun (大同郡), northeast of Pyeongyang, and about two kilometers northwest of the Cheongam-ri temple site. The name of the temple and the date of its construction remain unknown. An octagonal pagoda and the foundations of buildings to the east and west of the pagoda have been discovered, but whether or not there existed a building to the north of the pagoda is uncertain. Each side of the stylobate of this pagoda measured about 8 meters and the buildings east and west of the pagoda each measured 12.6 by 25.8 meters. Compared with the Cheongam-ri temple site, the pagoda is slightly smaller while the eastern and western buildings are longer. The most significant difference between the two sites, however, is the distance between the pagoda and the eastern and western buildings. At Cheongam-ri temple site this is 10 meters while at Sango-ri temple site

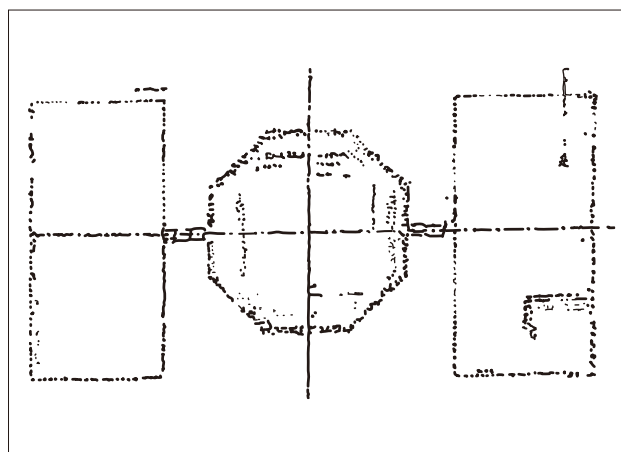


( Plate 2 )  
Sango-ri temple site

it is 4 meters, less than half.

In addition to the two temple sites of Cheongam-ri and Sango-ri surveyed by Japanese scholars sometime around 1940, two other Goguryeo temple sites investigated by North Korean scholars have come to light in more recent years. One is the Jeongneung temple site and the other is Toseong-ri temple site.

The Jeongneung temple site is located at Jinpa-ri (眞坡里), Jeonghwa-gun (中和郡). The contours of the entire temple site have been confirmed by excavation (Plate 3). The octagonal pagoda in the center has the same features as those of other temple sites, the scale of the stylobate being also similar to those of others (the outer row of pillars measuring 8.4 meters on each side and the inner row 7.3 meters). The most significant difference here is that while the pagoda was also flanked on its east and west by buildings, unlike in other temple sites, these adjacent buildings are not symmetrically aligned. Moreover, the pagoda is located to the east of the center of the ground plan and a corridor that surrounds only the pagoda and the eastern and the western building remains. To the north, the remains of three separate buildings surrounded by another corridor were found, and still further north are the foundations of three other buildings: the ones at either side, to judge from the plans of the pillar bases, are almost certainly a bell tower (鐘樓, *jongnu*: a tower



( Plate 3 )  
Jeongneung temple site

or a two-storey structure) and a sutra pavilion (經樓, *gyeongnu*); it is less clear what the one in the center may have been, although the site plan suggests that it is a golden hall.<sup>11</sup>

The temple name is inscribed on tiles discovered at the site. The tomb of Dongmyeongwang (東明王陵: Dongmyeong wangneung) is located to the north of Jeongneungsa. Concerning this location, scholars take the view that when Jangsuwang (長壽王, r. 413-497) transferred the capital from Tonggu (通溝) to Pyeongyang, he had the tomb of the founder of the dynasty, Dongmyeongwang (r. 37-19 BC), moved from Ji'an (輯安), Manzhou (滿洲) to the new capital and built Jeongneungsa as a prayer hall (願刹, *wonchal*: a hall to pray for the well-being of the royal household) for his own longevity and the peace and security of his nation. Thus, the date of the construction of Jeongneungsa is considered to be circa 427, the year that Jangsuwang moved the capital. In short, Jeongneungsa is a temple of the early fifth century, built some seventy years earlier than Cheongam-ri Temple.

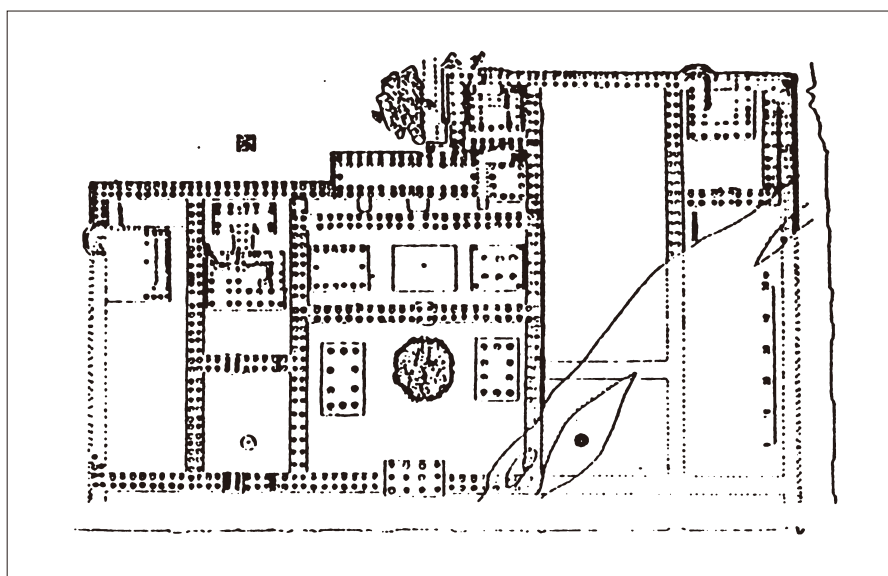
The most recently excavated temple site is Toseong-ri (Plate 4). While other temple sites are in the vicinity of Pyeongyang, the Toseong-ri temple site is located at Toseong-ri, Bongsan-gun (鳳山郡), Hwanghae-do, to the south of the city. The scale of the stylobate of the octagonal pagoda is similar to those mentioned above (the outer row of pillars measuring 9.1 meters on each side and the inner row 7.7 meters). The foundations of the western building measure 18 by 9 meters and stands 7.4 meters away from the pagoda. The ground plan of the eastern building is assumed to be aligned symmetrically with that of the western building, although the disturbed conditions of the ground surface do not allow for this to be verified. The foundations of another building are located north of the pagoda, but information on it exists only to the extent that the building's southern stylobate has been identified. It is noteworthy that that the latter is located 27.3 meters away from the center of the pagoda. The date of construction and the name of the temple are as yet unknown.

### III ANALYSIS OF CHANGING PATTERNS OF SITE PLANS

All the ground plans for the four temple sites discussed above are different from one another. On the one hand, this makes it challenging to understand the characteristics of Goguryeo Buddhist temples. On the other hand, the differences point to certain historical processes of change in the construction of Goguryeo Buddhist temples.

Among the four temple sites, the Cheongam-ri and Jeongneung sites are the only ones for which we have approximate dates of construction. The differences in layout between Jeongneung and Cheongam-ri provide evidence for the evolution of temple plans from the early fifth century to the late fifth century. The next task is to place the Sango-ri temple site and Toseong-ri temple site within a time frame in relation to the Jeongneung temple site and Cheongam-ri temple site. Such a chronological framework for all four sites will enable us to discern patterns of change in Goguryeo temple layouts over time.

The most important elements of a Buddhist temple are naturally the pagoda and the golden halls. Among the four temple sites there are no distinguishing differences in the features of the pagoda stylobates. They are all octagonal and their construction methods are quite similar to each other. The pagodas are also generally similar in size with only slight variations of scale: the outer measurement of each side of the octagonal stylobate of the Cheongam-ri temple site measures 9.5 meters; that of the Sango-ri temple site 8 meters; that of the Jeongneung temple site 8.4 meters; and the Tosheong-ri temple site 9.1



( Plate 4 )  
Toseong-ri temple site



meters. A pattern of gradual increase in the dimensions of the stylobates emerges from the Sango-ri temple site to Jeongneung, to Toseongri, and to Cheongam-ri, although any minor difference is possibly due to differing points of reference in measuring them.

The dimensions of the eastern and western golden halls of the Sango-ri temple site are 12.6 by 25.8 meters whereas Toseong-ri measures 9.1 by 18 meters and Cheongam-ri 12 by 21 meters. The dimensions of the Jeongneung temple site's eastern golden hall are 13.4 by 20.5 meters, and those of the western golden hall are 13.8 by 22.8 meters.<sup>12</sup> Since the eastern and western golden halls of the Jeongneung temple site are different from each other in size, it is not useful to compare them with the dimensions of the golden halls at the other three sites. What is discernible among the three remaining sites, excluding the Jeongneung temple site, is the decreasing size of the foundations of the eastern and western buildings: from Sango-ri (325 m<sup>2</sup>) to Cheongam-ri (252 m<sup>2</sup>), and to Toseong-ri (163 m<sup>2</sup>). Furthermore, a decreasing order in the ratio of length and width (longer side/shorter side) is also found from Sango-ri (2:1) to Toseong-ri (1.97:1), and to Cheongam-ri (1.75:1). In other words, the structure of the eastern and western golden halls has gradually changed from a long and narrow rectangle to a shorter and broader rectangle. A comparison between Jeongneungsa and the others shows that the scales of both the eastern and western golden halls of Jeongneung lie between those of Sango-ri and Cheongam-ri, and that the ratio between length and width of the buildings at Jeongneung temple site is smaller than that of Cheongam-ri.

The four sites also demonstrate considerable variation in the distance between the pagodas and the eastern and western golden halls. The distance at the Sango-ri temple site is 4 meters; at Toseong-ri it is 7.4 meters; and at Cheongam-ri 10 meters. The distance from the pagoda of the Jeongneungsa to the foundations of its eastern golden hall is 5.5 meters, and to the foundations of the western hall it is 9.2 meters. Taking into account only the distance between the

eastern golden hall and the pagoda at the Jeongneung temple site, the following increasing order of distance appears: Sango-ri – Jeongneung – Toseong-ri – Cheongam-ri. The rate of increase in distance from one site to the next is also relatively constant.

The distance between the pagoda and the golden halls at Cheongam-ri is more than twice that of Sango-ri. If we are to assume that the Sango-ri temple site also had the same structure of three golden halls as the Cheongam-ri temple site, then the eastern and western golden halls in the former would be clustered so close to the pagoda that there would not be sufficient space for a northern golden hall. Therefore, it is more reasonable to assume that only the pagoda and the two golden halls of the Sango-ri temple site were surrounded by a corridor, especially considering the fact that, in the case of the Jeongneung temple site, its pagoda and eastern and western golden halls are also cordoned off by a corridor. This structural pattern is also present in the Toseong-ri temple site. The eastern and western golden halls of the temple are very close to the pagoda, indicating an intimate flow of worshippers between the two halls, but the temple's northern golden hall is so far removed from the pagoda as to give the impression of being a structure altogether separate from the golden halls. On the other hand, the three golden halls and the pagoda of the Cheongam-ri temple site are placed within an integrated ground plan. This layout seems to have developed from the ground plan of the Sango-ri temple site.

Chronological changes in temple site plans are also found in the northern golden halls and corridors. In the case of the Sango-ri temple site, no remains of a northern golden hall have yet been found. At the Jeongneung temple site, on the other hand, a small-scale northern hall is located in the space between the bell tower and the sutra pavilion. At the Toseong-ri temple site, the northern golden hall is larger than the eastern and western halls and thereby can be considered to be a golden hall in its own right. However, because it is located further away from the pagoda than the eastern and western halls, visually it appears

isolated. On the other hand, at the Cheongam-ri temple site, the location of the northern golden hall is in natural harmony with the eastern and western halls as well as with the pagoda.

The structural form of the corridor may also be explained in this context. As discussed above, at the Sango-ri temple site, the pagoda and the eastern and western golden halls are assumed to have been surrounded by a corridor, as in the case of the Jeongneung temple site. Judging by the distance between the northern golden hall and the pagoda at the Toseong-ri temple site, it is fair to assume that, in keeping with the tradition of Jeongneungsa, a corridor was built between them. This distance is difficult to explain otherwise. Yet the large scale of the northern golden hall at Toseong-ri distinguishes it from that of Jeongneungsa.

If this analysis is valid, the Cheongam-ri temple site is the first to feature a single corridor surrounding all three golden halls and the pagoda. This hypothesis cannot be verified beyond doubt until a full excavation of the area surrounding the corridor is carried out, yet it seems highly probable when we consider the locations of the pagoda and the golden halls that have been discovered so far.

From the above analysis we can see a clear pattern of change in the Goguryeo temple form. First, there is a chronological correlation between the practice of constructing larger pagodas and the custom of extending the distance between the pagoda and the eastern and western golden halls, as evidenced in the following ascending order: Sango-ri temple site – Jeongneung temple site – Toseong-ri temple site – Cheongam-ri temple site. Secondly, this also coincides with the order of increasing size of northern golden halls, coupled with a corresponding order of decreasing size of eastern and western golden halls, as well as a decrease in the ratios of length and width of the latter. Rather than dismiss these patterns as a coincidence, therefore, we should understand them as a series of changes caused by clearly defined motives and aims.

Above all, this analysis offers a more plausible assessment of the construction dates of each temple. If the construction date of Jeongneungsa is set to 427, then Sango-ri Temple, which preceded Jeongneung, can be dated to be sometime in the early fifth century or the late fourth century, and an estimate of circa 400 appears to be reasonable. Moreover, since Toseongri Temple must have been built after Jeongneungsa and before Cheongam-ri Temple, its construction is assumed to have taken place in the middle or late fifth century.

Even if these estimated construction dates are not wholly accurate, with such clearly definable patterns of change discernible in the site plans, the chronological development of structural changes is irrefutable. Therefore,

the next task is to examine the causes behind such patterns of change. This may be a more challenging endeavor than the above analysis of structural changes, as it would require a more subjective interpretation of Buddhist history and aesthetics. It would, however, also impart more significance to the findings.

## IV CONCLUSION: INTERPRETATION OF CHANGING PATTERNS

The practice of building larger pagodas should be considered the most central pattern of change to emerge in Goguryeo Buddhist temple designs. Considering that the pagoda was the main focus of Buddhist temples of that era, we can assume that the religious symbolism and relative importance of pagodas had been steadily on the rise throughout the Goguryeo period. We can also see from various records that from the earliest days of ancient Buddhist architecture represented in the form of pagoda temples (塔寺, *tapsa*), the pagoda was the sole structure inside the central cloister.<sup>13</sup>

The presence of eastern and western golden halls, located to the left and right of the central pagoda at the Sango-ri temple site is a dramatic departure from the previous pagoda-oriented temple plan. This new ground plan is thought to have been influenced by the contemporary style of palace architecture that placed eastern and western halls on the left and right of the "main hall of a palace" (正殿, *jeongjeon*: the central administrative building of the royal palace, used for formal occasions such as coronations).<sup>14</sup> Moreover, the demand for eastern and western golden halls probably arose from the need for space to install various Buddhist statues in line with the doctrines of Mahayana Buddhism at that time.

The new structure with eastern and western golden halls would inevitably have impinged upon the space available on both sides of the central pagoda. They might have had the effect of reducing the scale and spatial boundaries of the pagoda of earlier times

that occupied a large space and stood alone within the temple. However, the constant increase in the size of pagodas from the period of the Sango-ri temple site to that of the Cheongam-ri temple site illustrates the fact that the pagoda remained the central feature within a temple at least until the fifth century. In other words, the central importance of the pagoda increased rather than decreased during that period. However, from the sixth century on, this pagoda-centered layout began to change, with the size of the pagoda diminishing and the pagoda itself displaced from the central axis.<sup>15</sup> In the light of this we may assume that the centrality of the pagoda in the temple layout began to decline around the late fifth century or the early sixth century, and that the Cheongam-ri temple site marks a turning point in this decline).

In the sixth century, the eastern, western, and northern golden halls that had been introduced in the fifth century laid the basis for such a move away from the pagoda-centered layout. On the one hand, the eastern and western golden halls decreased in scale almost immediately after their very introduction, a pattern evidenced by their disappearance from the temple layout by the sixth century.<sup>16</sup> On the other hand, the northern golden hall started out small in scale, as seen in Jeongneungsa, and gradually increased in scale and importance. Despite such a trend, even by the time of the construction of Toseong-ri Temple, the northern golden hall still lay outside the corridor. However, by the time of Cheongam-ri Temple, the northern golden hall came to be situated within the corridor and became the central and largest of the golden halls. By the sixth century, the northern golden hall had become the only golden hall within the temple and the eastern and western halls had become obsolete. The northern golden hall came to occupy a position equal to that of the pagoda, and after the mid-sixth century the importance of the northern golden hall in the temple layout came to eclipse even that of the pagoda. This change in hierarchical placement toward a plan centered around a northern golden hall was already underway in the fifth century, as reflected in the gradual transition from Jeongneungsa to Toseong-ri

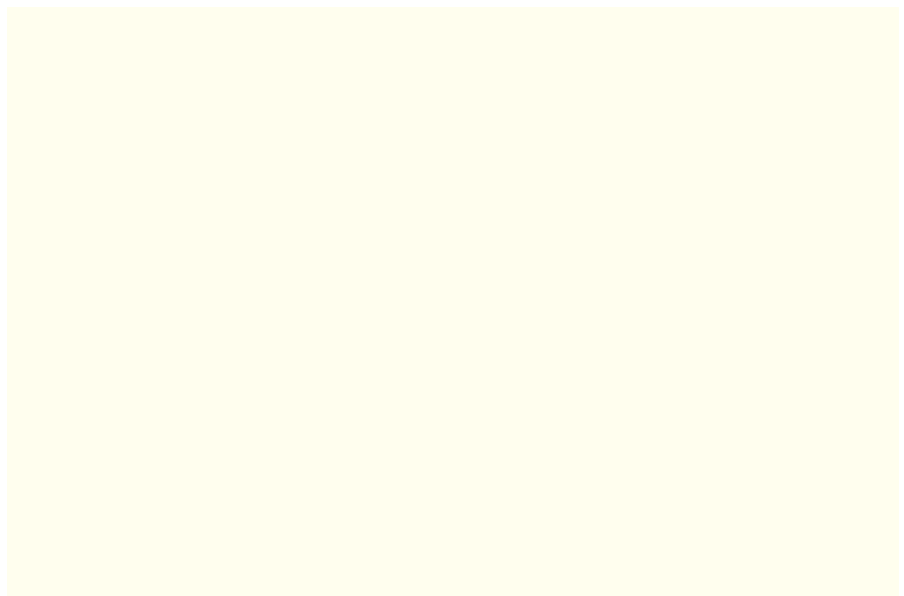
Temple, and to Cheongam-ri Temple, signaling the changes to come in the sixth century.

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The Cheongam-ri temple site should be viewed less as a prototype of Goguryeo Buddhist temples, as has so far been the case, and rather as a transitional temple layout at a stage of development in the fifth century, built on a long process of evolutionary change. If the Jeongneung and Toseong-ri temple sites are viewed as developmental stages in that lengthy process, then the Sango-ri temple site might be taken as its starting point. Undoubtedly, the Chinese temple layout of a pagoda with surrounding corridors had already been in place long before Sango-ri Temple was built, and temple layouts in the Korean peninsula continued to change after the Goguryeo Cheongam-ri Temple.

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When examining the specific changes in the architectural formation of Goguryeo Buddhist temples, it is possible to establish a chronological sequence according to the changing scale and location of the buildings and structures, and the proportional space between each structure. However, we should consider these structural changes in the context of a broader evolution of ancient Buddhist architecture. These changes mainly resulted from an ongoing conflict, a dynamic functional clash between the symbolic position that stupas in Indian Buddhism held as containers for sariras and the newly emerging function of Buddhist temples as a sanctuary for the worship of Buddhist statues. In effect, the temple sites of Goguryeo represent the last phase of the primary symbolism of the pagoda in Buddhist ideological and aesthetic thought. Even in the face of limited information from excavations, it can be argued that the Sango-ri temple site, Jeongneung temple site, Toseong-ri temple site, and Cheongam-ri temple site of Goguryeo each represents a developmental stage of Buddhism within the broader context of dynamic change in Buddhist ideology and aesthetics around the fifth century. ≡



## NOTES

1

Kim Sung-woo (金聖雨), "The Changes in Architectural Plans of Buddhist Temples of Goguryeo," *Daehan geonchukhoi nonmunjip* (大韓建築學會論文集: *Journal of the Architectural Institute of Korea*) (October 1988).

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Koizumi Akio (小泉顯夫), "Survey on the Temple Ruins Sites at Cheongam-ri, Pyeongyang (平壤清岩里廢寺址の調査)," *A Report of the Survey of Historic Remains* (古蹟調査報告), Kyoto: Research Association of Ancient Tombs of Joseon (朝鮮古墳研究會), 1938. 14.

3

*Samguksagi* (三國史記: *Historical Records of the Three Kingdoms*), section of Munjawang (文咨王條) of Goguryeo "... built Geumgangsasa in the seventh month (秋七月創金剛寺) ..."

4

In *Dongguk yeoji seungnam* (東國輿地勝覽: *Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea*), the location of Geumgangsasa is recorded as "8 *li* (1 *li* is about 0.393 km) northeastward from Pyeongyang," which is consistent with the location of the Cheongam-ri temple site. *Sinjeung Dongguk yeoji seungnam* (新增東國輿地勝覽: *Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea*) vol. 51, section of Pyeongyang (平壤條), Classical Publications Association (古典刊行會) edition, Seoul: Donggukmunwhasa (東國文化史), 1958. 936.

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6

*Goryeosa* (高麗史, *The History of Goryeo*) vol. 11, section of Sukjong (肅宗條), who "bestowed food on the monks at Geumgangsasa, and saw the remains of the old pagoda ... (幸金剛寺飯僧, 遂觀舊塔遺址 ...)".

7

Ibid.; for other examples of the same assumption, see Saito Tadashi (齊勝忠), *Ancient Korean Culture and Japan*, trans. Son Daehu (孫大後), Seoul: Wonkwang UP, 1981. 54; Buddhist Research Institute of Korea, 1978 (note 5).

8

Koizumi, 1938 (note 2). He mentions only the foundations of the three golden halls in line, but his colleague Yoneda Miochi (米田美大治) who surveyed the site with him reports that the remains of another building was found in the north in addition to the three sites arranged in line. For details, see Yoneda Miochi, *Research on the Architecture of Ancient Korea* (韓國上代建築研究), Trans. Sin Yeonghun (申榮勳), Seoul: Dongsan munwhasa (東山文化史) 1976. 136.

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Koizumi Akio, "Survey on the Ruined Temple Site at Wono-ri where a Clay Buddha was Excavated (泥佛出土址元五里廢寺址の調査)," *Report of a Survey on Historic Remains*, Kyoto: Research Association of Ancient Tombs of Joseon, 1937. 63-72.

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Saito Tadashi, "Formation of Temples of Goguryeo as a Source of Temples of Asuka Period (飛鳥時代史院 原流 高句麗寺院形式)," *Research of Ancient Remains of Japan* (日本古代遺蹟研究), Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan (吉川弘文館), 1976. 128-37. For a report on the Sango-ri Temple site, see Saito, "Survey of the Foundations of the Goguryeo Building at Sango-ri, Imwon, Daedong, Pyeongyang (平壤大同郡林原面上五里高句麗建築地の照査)," *Kogougaku Jatsi* (考古學雜誌: *Journal of Archaeology*), vol. 30, no. 1 (January 1940): 81. This is a short postscript report, but it was written close to the time that the site was surveyed.

11

The most comprehensive North Korean report on Jeongneung Temple is *The Tomb of Dongmyeongwang and Goguryeo Relics in its Vicinity* ( ), Pyeongyang: Kim Il Sung UP, 1976. This book was also published in Japan under the title, *The Fifth Century Goguryeo Culture* (五世紀の高句麗文化), Tokyo: Yuzankaku (雄山閣), 1985. For papers on Jeongneung Temple, see Heo Cheoljun, "Some Questions concerning the Reconstruction of the Plan of Jeongneung Temple ( )," *Yeoksa gwahak* ( : *Science of History*), vol. 4, Pyeongyang: Gwahak baekgwa sajeon chulpansa ( : Science Encyclopedia Press), 1986; Han Inho, "Concerning the Plan of Jeongneung Temple Construction ( )," *Yeoksa gwahak*, vol. 2, Pyeongyang: Gwahak baekgwa sajeon chulpansa 1981.



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12

Heo Cheol-jun argues in his paper (ibid, 14–8) that the asymmetrical feature of the Jeongneung temple site is because the temple was built not at one time but in two phases. However, his argument is not widely accepted.

13

See Kim Sung-woo, "The Initial Form of East Asian Buddhist Temples (東 佛寺 最初型式)," *Daehan geonchukhakhoi nonmunjip* (大韓建築學會論文集: *Journal of Architectural Institute of Korea*) (June 1987). For more detailed information, see Kim, *The History and Design of Early Buddhist Architecture in Korea*, Ann Arbor: U of Michigan Press, 1985. 8–59.

14

Kim Sung-woo, "The Origin of the Three Golden Halls (三金堂 型式 起源)," *Daehan geonchukhakhoi nonmunjip* (February 1988).

15

Kim Sung-woo, "The Development of the Three Golden Halls (三金堂 型式 展開)," *Daehan geonchukhakhoi nonmunjip* (February 1990); "The Development of the Form of the Single Pagoda and Single Golden Hall (一塔一金堂 型式 發展)," *Daehan geonchukhakhoi nonmunjip* (December 1989).

16

The disappearance of eastern/western golden halls is confirmed in the temple sites of Baekje, especially in those of Buyeo, and their disappearance led to the appearance of the single golden hall. See Kim, *ibid*, 1990.





Detail of *Hwaseonghaengryeodo* (還御行列圖): *Royal Procession of Returning to the Palace*, 7th scene of *Hwaseong neunghaengdobyong* (華城陵幸圖屏): *Screen Painting of King Jeongjo's Visit to His Father's Tomb of Hwaseong*; Gim Deuksin, Lee Inmun, Choe Deukhyeon, Yi Myeongyu, Jang Hanjong, Yun Seokgeun, Heo Sik, 1795–1796; Eight-fold screen, colors on silk; H: 53.2 cm, W: 163.7 cm (overall); Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art





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# COURT PAINTINGS ON THE CROWN PRINCES OF THE JOSEON DYNASTY

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### [ ABSTRACT ]

The majority of the court documentary paintings of the Joseon dynasty are commemorative paintings of court rites presided over by the king. Among these, there are extant today thirteen paintings pertaining to the Crown Prince, all produced between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. Four of these were commissioned by the Sigang-won, Tutorial Office for the Crown Prince.

They include an eight-panel commemorative folding screen illustrating the investiture ceremony to appoint the Heir Apparent or Crown Prince Munhyo (1782-1786); an album of six scenes created to commemorate Crown Prince Hyomyeong (1809-1830)'s commencement of learning at the Seonggyun-gwan; an album of five scenes illustrating the rites pertaining to the Crown Prince's *hoegang* (會講: review session); and a thirteen-page painting album with no inscription or annotation referring to its subject matter, but comparative analysis indicates that it is the Crown Prince's coming-of-age ceremony granting formal admission into adulthood.

The remaining paintings are nine albums produced in the late eighteenth and nineteenth century illustrating various court ceremonies related

to the Crown Prince. These painting albums are distinctly different from the folding screens that were then the favored form of documentary paintings. Their instructional nature reflects the special relationship between the Crown Prince and the officials of the Sigang-won, and highlights the initiative and special consideration undertaken by the latter for the education of the former. They also underline the political background during the reigns of Kings, Jeongjo, Sunjo, and Gojong with respect to policies introduced to strengthen the monarchy and the status of the Sigang-won.

In conclusion, the Joseon documentary paintings that concern the Crown Prince are closely related with the political currents of the time such as the political reinforcement of the monarchy and of the Sigang-won. Such political links most likely served as an important catalyst in the production of documentary paintings. There is a need to analyze further from political and social perspectives the dynamics between the political setting and the actual participants involved in the production of these paintings, whose names are sometimes listed in full in the works.

#### [ KEYWORDS ]

*Gungjung girokhwa, wangseja, donggung uirye, iphagnye, chaekbongnye, gwallye, gyebyeong, gyehoedo, banchado, Sigang-won, Igwisa, Hyomyeong, Munhyo, Jeongjo, Sunjo, Crown Prince, Tutorial Office.*

## I INTRODUCTION

The majority of the *gungjung girokhwa* (宮中記錄畫: court documentary paintings) of the Joseon dynasty are commemorative paintings of state ceremonies presided over by the king. Until the early eighteenth century, the themes of the *gungjung girokhwa* did not diverge far from the following: various kinds of palace banquets, ceremonies for the Giroso (耆老所: Office of the Elders), and administrative ceremonies, that is, the rites of the Board of Personnel (吏曹, Ijo) and the Ministry of War (兵曹, Byeongjo). In other words, early Joseon *gungjung girokhwa* did not necessarily depict ceremonies concerned with the Crown Prince (王世子, *wangseja*). However, during the reign of King Yeongjo (英祖, r. 1724–1776), who took much interest in visually recording the official events and ceremonies over which he himself presided, the themes of the *gungjung girokhwa* became more diverse than ever before. Since the late eighteenth century, realistically depicted *gungjung girokhwa* mainly featuring the *donggung-uirye* (東宮儀禮: court ceremonies related to the Crown Prince) were more frequently produced.

The Joseon Crown Prince was obliged to undergo a series of initiation



ceremonies from birth to enthronement, such as education as the *wonja* (元子: eldest royal son), appointment as the *wangseja*, entrance to the Seonggyun-gwan (成均館: National Confucian Academy), *seoyeon* (書筵: formal court lessons given to the *seja*), *gwallye* (冠禮: coming-of-age ceremony granting formal admission into adulthood), and *garye* (嘉禮: royal nuptials).<sup>1</sup> The education of the Crown Prince was of pivotal importance and deemed to be directly relevant to the fate of the nation since what the Crown Prince learned or did not learn would determine whether peace or disorder would befall the nation.

Thirteen Joseon paintings recording *donggung uirye* are known (see Table 1), the earliest painted in 1535.<sup>2</sup> All thirteen are commemorative paintings of the administrative offices. In content the paintings are either recordings of court rites or ceremonial invocations of good auspices. The former were mostly produced by the Seja sigang-won (世子侍講院: Tutorial Office for the Crown Prince, hereafter "Sigang-won"), responsible for educating and serving the Crown Prince, while the latter were produced by various offices such as Chaegnyedogam (冊禮都監: Superintendency of Royal Investiture Ceremony), Seonjeon gwancheong (宣傳官廳: Spokesperson's Bureau), and Sansilcheong (產室廳:

Royal Maternity Directorate).

This paper focuses on paintings of the former category and examines ceremonial documentary paintings that depict in realistic detail the *chaekbongnye* (冊封禮: investiture ceremony), *iphagnye* (入學禮: ceremony for the commencement of learning), and *gwallye* of the Crown Prince. It analyzes in particular the motives behind their creation and their motifs. Artistically, the following paintings represent well the three *wangseja*-related ceremonies: *Munhyoseja chaegnye gyebyeong* (文孝世子冊禮契屏: *Folding Screen of Munhyo Seja's Investiture Ceremony*); *Wangseja iphakdocheop* (王世子入學圖帖: *Painting Album of the Commencement of Learning for the Crown Prince*); *Hoegang banchadocheop* (會講班次圖帖: *Painting Album of the Review Session*); and *Sugyodocheop* (受教圖帖: *Painting Album of Receiving the Royal Edict*). These paintings have yet to undergo a thorough scrutiny and this paper is an attempt at that task.

The paintings listed above all depict *donggung uirye* in graphic detail and were all produced by the Sigang-won. Furthermore, it is significant that four paintings are related to Hyomyeong Seja – who ruled as regent for King Sunjo (r. 1800-1834) from 1827 to 1830.<sup>3</sup>

( Table 1 ) List of *gyechuk*, *gyecheop*, and *gyebyeong* pertaining to the *wangseja*

Title	Date of production	Ritual type	Contents	Participants	Format	Number of leaves
<i>Jungmyojo seoyeon-gwan sayeondo</i>	1535	Seoyeon-gwan sayeon	Sayeon	Seoyeon-gwan, Gyeong-yeon-gwan, Chunchugwan	Hanging scroll (original) Painting album (present)	17
<i>Simindang yadaejido</i>	1663	Yadae	Yadae	Sigang-won	Hanging scroll	18
<i>Simindangdocheop</i>	1670	Gwallye	Gwallye	Sigang-won	Painting album	13
<i>Wangseja chaegnyedogam gyebyeong</i>	1690	Chaegnye	Sansu	Chaegnyedogam	Eight-fold screen	2
<i>Munhyoseja chaegnye gyebyeong</i>	1784	Chaegnye	Chaegnye	Sigang-won	Eight-fold screen	1
<i>Wangseja chaegnye gyebyeong</i>	1800	Chaegnye	Yojiyeon	Seonjeon-gwancheong	Eight-fold screen	3
<i>Wangseja tanganggyebyeong</i>	1812	Tan-gang	Yojiyeon	Sansilcheong	Eight-fold screen	
<i>Wangseja iphakdocheop</i>	1817	Entrance to Seonggyun-gwan	Entrance to Seonggyun-gwan	Sigang-won	Painting album	6
<i>Ikjong gwallyejinha gyebyeong</i>	1819	Gwallye	Jinharye	Dangsang at Seungjeong-won	Eight-fold screen	15
<i>Sugyodocheop</i>	1819 (?)		Gwallye	(none)	Painting album	12
<i>Hoegang banchadocheop</i>	Early 19th century		Hoegang	(none)	Painting album	11
<i>Wangseja tan-gang gyebyeong</i>	1874	Tan-gang	Jinha	Sansilcheong	Ten-fold screen	20
<i>Wangseja duhupyeongbokjinha gyebyeong</i>	1879	Recovery from smallpox	Chaekbong/ Jinha	Owidochongbu/ Wijangso	Ten-fold screen/ Eight-fold screen	4, 5

This paper seeks to answer why these court documentary paintings produced by the Sigang-won share common characteristics, and also why paintings related to Crown Prince Hyomyeong were produced so often.

## II

## DONGGUNG UIRYE OF THE JOSEON DYNASTY: CHAEKBONGNYE, IPHAGNYE, AND GWALLYE

## 01 THE SIGANG-WON, TUTORIAL OFFICE FOR THE CROWN PRINCE

The office (衙門, *amun*) charged with educating the Joseon Crown Prince was called the Sigang-won. This office was originally named Sejagwansok (世子官屬) when the dynasty instituted the government bureaux of civil and military officials during the first year of the reign of King Taejo (太祖, r. 1392-1398).<sup>4</sup> At the time of its creation, the office was charged with the twofold mission of education and royal protection – *ganghak* and *siwi*. Considering that the name, Sigang-won, first appears in the record of the 2nd day of the sixth month of the twelfth year (1466) of King Sejo (世祖, r. 1455-1468) in the *Annals of the Joseon Dynasty*, it is believed that the institution was established sometime between 1392 and 1466.<sup>5</sup>

The *Gyeonggukdaejeon*, *Complete Code of Law* prescribed the Sigang-won as an office of the sixth rank (*jongsampum amun*). The office was supervised by a *sa* (師: head teacher) and a *bu* (傅: deputy teacher), positions concurrently held by the *yeong-uijeong* (領議政: Chief State Councilor) and *u-uijeong* (右議政: Third State Councilor), respectively. Lower in the hierarchy was the position of *yisa* (貳師: assistant teacher), also a concurrent position held by the fourth and fifth *chanseong* (贊成: state councilor). Below *yisa*, there were also the honorary positions of *jwabin-* and *ubin-gaek* (左·右賓客: Sigang-won officials of the third rank invited to teach the *seja* the Confucian classics and morals) and their deputies *jwabubin-* and *ububin-gaek* (左·右副賓客). The chief administrator of the Sigang-won was for practical purposes the *bodeok* (輔德: chief administrator of the Sigang-won, official of *jongsampum* [從三品: the sixth rank]). In the daily operation of the Sigang-won, the *bodeok* supervised staff consisting of *pilseon* (弼善) of the seventh rank (正四品, *jeongsapum*), *munhak* (文學) of the ninth rank (正五品, *jeong-opum*), *saseo* (司書) of the eleventh rank (正六品, *jeongnyukpum*), and *seolseo* (設書) of the thirteenth rank (正七品, *jeongchilpum*). According to the *Sok-daejeon* (續大典: *Supplement to the National Code*), compiled in 1746, *gyeom* (兼: adjunct position) for concurrent employment were created for each of these. Moreover, qualified members of the *sallim* (山林: out-of-office literati) class who had not passed the civil service examination (科擧, *gwageo*) could be appointed to other positions such as additional teacher (贊善, *chanseon*) of *jeongsampum*,

the fifth rank, adviser (進善, *jinseon*) of the seventh rank, and clerk (諮議, *jau*) of the thirteenth rank.<sup>6</sup>

With a view to strengthening the power of the sovereign, King Yeongjo and King Jeongjo made concerted efforts to reinforce the function and prestige of the Sigang-won.<sup>7</sup> To add prestige to the Sigang-won, King Yeongjo reinstated the practice of formal bows between the *seja* and his head and deputy teachers that had previously been abolished. King Yeongjo also established the new position of *yuseon* (諭善: chief administrator) of the fifth rank in the *Seson gangseowon* (世孫講書院: Tutorial Office for the Crown Prince's eldest son) in 1759, when he appointed Jeongjo, his grandson, as *wangseson* (王世孫: the eldest son of the Crown Prince and next in line to succeed to the throne). The intention was to reinforce the education of royal heirs across two successive generations.

King Jeongjo also took several steps to strengthen the role of the Sigang-won immediately after the birth of his son, Munhyo Seja. It is significant that Jeongjo promoted *bodeok* and *gyeombodeok* from the sixth rank to the fifth-rank position of *dangsanggwon* (堂上官: official of the fifth rank with the authority to participate in the debates and banquets at the palace halls), when there was at the time no higher-ranking official within the Sigang-won.<sup>8</sup> What is noteworthy here is that Jeongjo did this in 1784, even before the investiture of his son, Munhyo Seja. By this move, the Sigang-won was placed on the same rank as the Samsa (三司: Three Offices of Remonstrance). Moreover, Jeongjo's intention to improve and to stabilize the functions of the Sigang-won is apparent in the completion of the *Sigang-wonji* (侍講院志: *Records of Sigang-won* [Rules and regulations governing the Sigang-won's organization] in 1784), which had been in preparation when Jeongjo held the title of *wangseson*. The editor of the protocol was Yu Uiryang (柳義養, 1718-?), one of Jeongjo's tutors in the years when he was second in line to the throne as *wangseson*. The *Sigang-wonji* chronicles in detail the historical records related to the organizational regulations, ceremonies, and educational contents of the Sigang-won.

## 02 THE WANGSEJA'S CHAEGNYE AND GWALLYE

In the case of an ordinary family, the customary age for holding *gwallye* or coming-of-age ceremony for a son is *yakgwan* (弱冠: twenty). In contrast, at the royal court, the rule was to hold the eldest son's *gwallye* at the age of twelve, according to the *Uirye* (儀禮: *Book of Etiquette and Ceremonies*). This early age of initiation was derived from the belief that the king was the source of the *wanggyo* (王教: royal order) hence the code of the royal family should be different from that of other families. The primary reason that Koreans deemed the *gwallye* essential was the belief that only upon the performance of the ceremony could one come into one's own as a man of principles and establish ritual and proper etiquette.<sup>9</sup>

Regarding these ceremonies, the issues most often debated within the court were the proper age for the Crown Prince's *gwallye* and the proper order of performance of the *chaegnye* (冊禮: investiture ceremony), *gwallye*, and *iphagnye*. During the reign of King Seongjong (成宗, r. 1469-1494) the proper age for the *gwallye* became a contentious issue, and during the reign of King Jeongjong (定宗, r. 1398-1400) and King Injo (仁祖, r. 1595-1649) the sequence between the *gwallye* and *chaegnye* was deliberated. During the reign of King Hyeonjong (顯宗, r. 1659-1674) the proper age for the *iphagnye* and for the *gwallye* was debated.<sup>10</sup> One reason for the frequent debate over the right age for these rites was that there were many instances in which the standard rule of age eight for the *iphagnye* and age twelve for the *gwallye* could not be met.

For instance, Prince Haeyang (海陽大君, Haeyang Daegun, 1468-1469), who was to reign as King Yejong (睿宗, r. 1468-1469) underwent the *iphagnye* in the twelfth month of 1457, just ten days after he was invested with the title of *seja*, and his *gwallye* only about a month before his *chaegnye*. In other words, the *daegun* (大君: royal prince other than the *seja*) had the three ceremonies of *chaegnye*, *iphagnye*, and *gwallye* all within the same year; so did Sohyeon Seja (昭顯世子,

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1612-1645). On the other hand, in the case of Sunhoe Seja (順懷世子, 1551-1563), the ceremonies were performed in the following unusual order: *chaegnye*, *garye*, *gwallye*, and *iphagnye*. Different again was the case of King Hyeonjong, who entered the Seonggyun-gwan one year after he had undergone all the ceremonies of *chaegnye*, *gwallye*, and *garye* in the third year (1651) of King Hyojong (孝宗, r. 1649-1659) (see Table 2).

( Table 2 ) *Chaegnye*, *iphagnye*, and *gwallye* undergone by the kings of the Joseon dynasty <sup>11</sup>

Name as king with dates of birth and death (reign years)	<i>Chaegnye</i> (Investiture Ceremony) with age; year/month/day (AD)	<i>Ip'hagnye</i> (Commencement of Learning) with age; year/month/day (AD)	<i>Gwallye</i> (Coming-of-age Ceremony) with age; year/month/day (AD)	<i>Garye</i> (Royal Nuptials) with age; year/month/day (AD)	Enthronement with age; year/month/day (AD)
Taejo 太祖, 1335-1398 (r. 1392-1398)					Age 58; Taejo 1/?/? (1392)
Jeongjong 定宗, 1357-1419 (r. 1398-1400)	Age 42; Taejo 7/8/? (1398)				Age 42; Taejo 7/9/? (1398)
Taejong 太宗, 1367-1422 (r. 1400-1418)	Age 34; Jeongjong 2/?/? (1400) as seje				Age 34; Jeongjong 2/?/? (1400)
Prince Yangnyeong 讓寧大君, 1394-1462	Age 11; Taejong 4/8/? (1404)	Age 10; Taejong 3/8/4 (1403)			
Sejong 世宗, 1397-1450 (r. 1418-1450)	Age 22; Taejong 18/4/? (1418)			Age 12; Taejong 8/?/? (1408)	Age 22; Taejong 18/8/11 (1418)
Munjong 文宗, 1414-1452 (r. 1450-1452)	Age 8; Sejong 3/10/27 (1421)	Age 8; Sejong 3/12/25 (1421)		Age 24; Sejong 19/?/? (1437)	Age 37; Sejong 32/2/23 (1450)
Danjong 端宗, 1441-1457 (r. 1452-1455)	Age 8; Sejong 30/04/? (1448)	Age 8; Sejong 30/9/1 (1448)		Age 14; Danjong 2/?/? (1454)	Age 12; Munjong 5/18/? (1452)
Sejo 世祖, 1417-1468 (r. 1455-1468)				Age 12; Sejong 10/?/? (1428)	Age 39; Danjong 3/intercalary 6/? (1455)
Prince Uigyeong 懿敬世子, 1438-1457	Age 18; Sejo 1/intercalary 7/26 (1455)	Age 16; Danjong 1/4/? (1453)			Deokjong (德宗, posthumous title)
Yejong 睿宗, 1450-1469 (r. 1468-1469)	Age 8; Sejo 3/12/15 (1457)	Age 8; Sejo 3/12/24 (1457)	Age 8; Sejo 3/11/07 (1457)	Age 11; Sejo 6/?/? (1460)	Age 19; Sejo 14/9/07 (1468)
Seongjong 成宗, 1457-1494 (r. 1470-1494)					Age 13; Yejong 1/11/28 (1469)
Yeonsan-gun 燕山君, 1476-1506 (r. 1495-1506)	Age 8; Seongjong 14/02/? (1483)	Age 12; Seongjong 18/2/? (1487)			Age 19; Seongjong 25/12/24 (1494)
Jungjong 中宗, 1488-1544 (r. 1506-1544)					Age 18; Yeonsan-gun 12/9/2 (1506)
Injong 仁宗, 1515-1545 (r. 1544-1545)	Age 6; Jungjong 15/4/? (1520)	Age 8; Jungjong 17/10/25 (1522)	Age 8; Jungjong 17/10/19 (1522)	Age 10; Jungjong 19/?/? (1524)	Age 30; Jungjong 39/1/1 (1544)
Myeongjong 明宗, 1534-1567 (r. 1545-1567)	Jungjong's 2nd son				Age 12; Injong 1/7/6 (1545)

Prince Sunhoe 順懷世子, 1551-1563	Age 7; Myeongjong 12/8/? (1557)	Age 10; Myeongjong 15/9/12 (1560)	Age 10; Myeongjong 15/08/29 (1560)	Age 10; Myeongjong 15/7/20 (1560)	
Seonjo 宣祖, 1552-1608 (r. 1567-1607)	Jungjong's 7th son's 3rd son			Age 18; Seonjo 2/12/29 (1569)	Age 16; Myeongjong 22/7/3 (1567)
Gwanghaegun 光海君, 1575-164 (r. 1609-1623)	Age 18; Seonjo 25/8/? (1592)	Age 23; Seonjo 30/4/? (1597)			Age 34; Seonjo 41/2/2 (1608)
Injo 仁祖, 1595-1649 (r. 1623-1649)	Age 16; Gwanghaegun 2/5/11 (1610) as Wonjong (元宗, 1580-1619)'s <i>wonja</i>	Age 16; Gwanghaegun 2/5/6 (1610)	Age 13; Seonjo 39/?/? (1606)	Age 15; Gwanghaegun 1/?/? (1609)	Age 28; Gwanghaegun 15/3/14 (1623)
Sohyeon Seja 昭顯世子, 1612-1645	Age 14; Injo 3/1/27 (1625)	Age 14; Injo 3/10/17 (1625)	Age 14; Injo 3/1/21 (1625)	Age 16; Injo 5/?/? (1627)	
Hyojong 孝宗, 1619-1659 (r. 1649-1659)	Age 27; Injo 23/9/27 (1645)	Age 27; Injo 23/10/12 (1645)		Age 27; Injo 23/09/27 (1645)	Age 31; Injo 27/5/13 (1649)
Hyeonjong 顯宗, 1641-1674 (r. 1659-1674)	Age 9; Injo 27/10/21 (1649) as <i>seson</i> Age 11; Hyojong 2/8/28 (1651) as <i>seja</i>	Age 12; Hyojong 3/4/12 (1652)	Age 11; Hyojong 2/8/9 (1651)	Age 11; Hyojong 2/8/28 (1651)	Age 19; Hyojong 10/5/09 (1659)
Sukjong 肅宗, 1661-1720 (r. 1674-1720)	Age 7; Hyeonjong 8/1/22 (1667)	Age 9; Hyeonjong 10/8/25 (1669)	Age 10; Hyeonjong 11/3/? (1670)	Age 11; Hyeonjong 12/3/22 (1671)	Age 14; Hyeonjong 15/8/23 (1674)
Gyeongjong 景宗, 1688-1724 (r. 1720-1724)	Age 3; Sukjong 16/6/16 (1690)	Age 8; Sukjong 21/3/12 (1695)	Age 8; Sukjong 21/4/18 (1695)	Age 9; Sukjong 22/5/19 (1696)	Age 33; Sukjong 46/6/13 (1720)
Yeongjo 英祖, 1694-1776 (r. 1724-1776)	Age 28; Gyeongjong 1/9/26 (1721) as <i>seje</i>	Age 29; Gyeongjong 2/9/18 (1722)	Age 11; Sukjong 30/?/? (1704)	Age 11; Sukjong 30/?/? (1704)	Age 31; Gyeongjong 4/8/30 (1724)
Hyojang Seja 孝章世子, 1719-1728	Age 7; Yeongjo 1/3/20 (1725) as Yeongjo's <i>wonja</i>	Age 9; Yeongjo 3/3/19 (1727)	Age 9; Yeongjo 3/9/09 (1727)	Age 9; Yeongjo 3/9/29 (1727)	King Jinjong (眞宗, posthumous title)
Jangheon Seja 莊獻世子, 1735-1762	Age 2; Yeongjo 12/ 3/15 (1736) as Yeongjo's 2nd son	Age 8; Yeongjo 18/3/26 (1742)	Age 8; Yeongjo 18/3/17 (1742)	Age 10; Yeongjo 20/?/? (1744)	King Jangjo (莊祖, posthumous title)
Jeongjo 正祖, 1752-1800 (r. 1776-1800)	Age 8; Yeongjo 35/intercalary 6/22 (1759) as <i>seson</i>	Age 10; Yeongjo 37/3/10 (1761)	Age 10; Yeongjo 37/3/18 (1761)	Age 11; Yeongjo 38/?/? (1762)	Age 25; Yeongjo 52/3/10 (1776)
Munhyo Seja 文孝世子, 1782-1785	Age 3; Jeongjo 8/8/02 (1784) as Jeongjo's <i>wonja</i>				
Sunjo 純祖, 1790-1834 (r. 1800-1834)	Age 11; Jeongjo 24/2/2 (1800) performed later		Age 11; Jeongjo 24/2/2 (1800) performed first	Age 13; Sunjo 2/?/? (1802)	Age 11; Jeongjo 24/7/04 (1800)
Hyomyeong Seja 孝明世子, 1809-1830	Age 4; Sunjo 12/?/? (1812) as Sunjo's <i>wonja</i>	Age 9; Sunjo 17/3/11 (1817)	Age 11; Sunjo 19/3/? (1819)	Age 11; Sunjo 19/10/? (1819)	King Ikjong (翼宗, posthumous title)
Heonjong 憲宗, 1827-1849 (r. 1835-1849)	Age 4; Sunjo 30/9/15 (1830) as <i>seson</i>		Age 8; Sunjo 34/?/? (1834)	Age 11; Heonjong 3/?/? (1837)	Age 8; Sunjo 34/11/18 (1834)
Cheoljong 哲宗, 1831-1863 (r. 1849-1863)			Age 19; Heonjong 15/?/? (1849)	Age 21; Cheoljong 2/?/? (1851)	Age 19; Heonjong 15/6/9 (1849)
Gojong 高宗, 1852-1919 (r. 1863-1907)			Age 12; Cheoljong 14/?/? (1863)	Age 15; Cheoljong 17/?/? (1866)	Age 12; Cheoljong 14/?/? (1863)
Sunjong 純宗, 1874-1926 (r. 1907-1910)	Age 2; Gojong 12/2/18 (1875)	Age 9; Gojong 19/1/10 (1882)	Age 9; Gojong 19/1/20 (1882)	Age 9; Gojong 19/2/21 (1882)	Age 33; Gwanghui 1/?/? (1907)



King Jeongjo, based on the precedent set in 1651, tried to introduce an efficient way of implementing the ceremonies for the *chaegnye*, *gwallye*, and *garye* of Crown Prince Sunjo. First of all, Jeongjo created the office of superintendency (都監, *dogam*) of *gwallye*, and united it with the existing superintendency of *chaegnye*.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, arguing that it was "to relieve the burden of his descendants," Jeongjo worked toward reducing expenses and bringing efficiency and simplicity to the elaborate rituals by holding the *chaegnye*, *gwallye*, and *garye* all at the same time. In fact, King Jeongjo held Sunjo's *chaegnye* and *gwallye* on the second day of the second month (1800) with plans to hold Sunjo's *garye* in the twelfth month. However, Jeongjo was unable to carry out his plans in full due to his own unexpected death in the sixth month of that year. Of note in this regard are Hyojang Seja (孝章世子) and Sunjong, who had the *iphagnye*, *gwallye*, and *garye* all in the same year, during the reigns of King Yeongjo (1727) and King Gojong (1882), respectively.

|

As seen above, the age for being appointed *seja*, Heir Apparent, differed from case to case. In some cases, a prince would be enthroned as *daegun* before having been bestowed the formal title of *wangseja*, Crown Prince. In short, there was no fixed order or age for holding a *wangseja*'s initiation ceremonies. Rather, until the time of King Hyojong, each case was sufficiently different from one another to the extent that any consistency in the order of the performance of ceremonies was not readily apparent. However, from the time of his successor King Hyeonjong, the sequence of first *chaegnye*, then *iphagnye*, followed by *gwallye*, and finally *garye*, became the norm. That is, after the mid-seventeenth century, from the time when the future King Sukjong (肅宗, r. 1674–1720) was the *seja*, this sequence of performance became the customary practice within the Joseon court.

### 03 THE EDUCATION OF THE CROWN PRINCE AND THE *IPHAGNYE*

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The Sigang-won had exclusive institutional responsibility for the education of the *wangseja*. The *seja* of the Joseon dynasty, upon being invested with that title, underwent the state ceremony of *iphak* or commencement of learning at the Seonggyun-gwan in accordance with the code of the *iphagnye* as stipulated in the *Gukjo oryeui* (國朝五禮儀: *Book on the Five Rites of State*).<sup>13</sup> From the time of being designated as the eldest son, the *wangseja* would have studied Chinese characters and have had formal meetings with his tutor. He would also have read the Chinese classics in formal court lessons. The *wangseja*'s entrance to the Seonggyun-gwan was a symbolic ritual showing his loyalty to the study of the Confucian ethics in order to realize, as the heir apparent responsible for preserving the foundation of the state, the political ideals of Confucianism.

|

King Taejong (太宗, r. 1400–1418) was the first to preside over the *iphagnye*. In 1402, by his edict, a *hakgung* (學宮: special hall for royal study)

was completed inside the Seonggyun-gwan.<sup>14</sup> The following year, Taejong had the *iphagnye* for his first son, Prince Yangnyeong (讓寧大君), performed at the newly-built *hakgung*. The first to undergo the *iphagnye* as Crown Prince was Munjong (文宗, r. 1450–1452). King Sejong (世宗, r. 1418–1450) invested the title of *seja* on Munjong in the tenth month of 1421 and held the *iphagnye* two months later. At that time, Sejong also legislated the *Chaekbong-uiju* (冊封儀註: *Investiture Protocol*) and the *Gwanuiju* (冠儀註: *Notes on the Gwallye Protocol*). Therefore, although the *iphagnye* was introduced during the reign of King Taejong, the formal implementation of the ceremony for the *seja* took place during the reign of King Sejong.

The customary age for the *iphagnye* was eight, when one began the study of the *Sohak* (小學: *Elementary Learning*). However, it was often impossible to adhere to this standard age. In fact, there were only six kings who commenced learning at the age of eight: Munjong, Danjong (端宗, r. 1452–1455), Yejong, Injong (仁宗, r. 1544–1545), Gyeongjong (景宗, r. 1720–1724), and Jangjo (莊祖, also known as Sado Seja [思悼世子]). Some princes were already older than eight when they were appointed *seja*, and others, who acceded to the title of *wangseja* as a *daegun*, *seje* (世弟: the *seja*'s oldest younger brother), or *seson* (世孫: eldest son of the *seja*), typically had their *iphagnye* when they were older than eight. In some cases, circumstances did not allow for the ceremony at all.

During the *iphagnye*, a *baksa* (博士: academic counselor) would be temporarily appointed to guide the *wangseja*. The *baksa* was usually a senior tutor of the *seja*, selected among the current *daejeahak* (大提學: academic director).<sup>15</sup> The *iphagnye* whereby the *wangseja* entered the Seonggyun-gwan as a student was more a symbolic rite, while his actual education took place at the *seoyeon* under the auspices of the Sigang-won. The educational format of the Sigang-won included the daily routine of *beopgang* (法講: formal lectures held three times a day), in addition to formal court lessons *sodae* (召對: special lectures) and *yadae* (夜對: evening lectures), which were not constrained by

time or frequency. Among the lectures, *yadae* were, just like *sodae*, provided only by special order of the king. During the *yadae*, the senior/junior tutors of the day and one official of the Seja igwisa (世子翊衛司: Guard Office of Crown Prince, hereafter "Igwisa") were present in black official uniform (時服, *sibok*). At the end of the *yadae*, royal wine was given to the *seoyeon* officials who had participated in the evening lecture.

The *hoegang* took place twice a month. In the late Joseon period, it was held on the second and sixteenth days of each month once the *seja* had reached the age of eleven.<sup>16</sup> It took place only at the *seoyeon*, where the *seja* had to show what he had learned in front of his teachers and the entire officials of the Sigang-won and the Guard Office. Beyond this intent of academic review, the *hoegang* was also considered an essential means for cultivating the proper code of conduct for convening and closing the formal lessons, as well as for cultivating the proper ritual of bowing (揖, *eup*) and humility. Moreover, the *hoegang* also aimed at developing the *seja*'s respect for his teachers and elders.<sup>17</sup>

### III THE CHAEBONGNYE AND THE MUNHYOSEJA CHAEGNYE GYEBYEONG

Among the extant documentary paintings today, the *Munhyoseja chaegnye gyebyeong* (1784) is the earliest work to show the *donggung uirye* (Plates 1-1 and 1-2). There is no known earlier court ceremonial painting produced by the Sigang-won. The *Simindangdocheop* (時敏堂圖帖: *Painting Album of Simindang*) related to Yi Don (李焯, King Sukjong, r. 1674–1720) 's *gwallye* was produced in 1670, but this album is more an illustrated manual than a documentary painting intended for the realistic reproduction of a court function.<sup>18</sup> There are also extant today the *Wangseja chaegnyedogam gyebyeong* (王世子冊禮都監契屏: *Folding Screen Commissioned by the Superintendency of the Crown Prince's Investiture Ceremony*) (Plate 2), painted when Gyeongjong was invested with the title of *wangseja* at the age of three in 1690), and the *Wangseja chaegnye gyebyeong* (王世子冊

( Plate 1-1 )

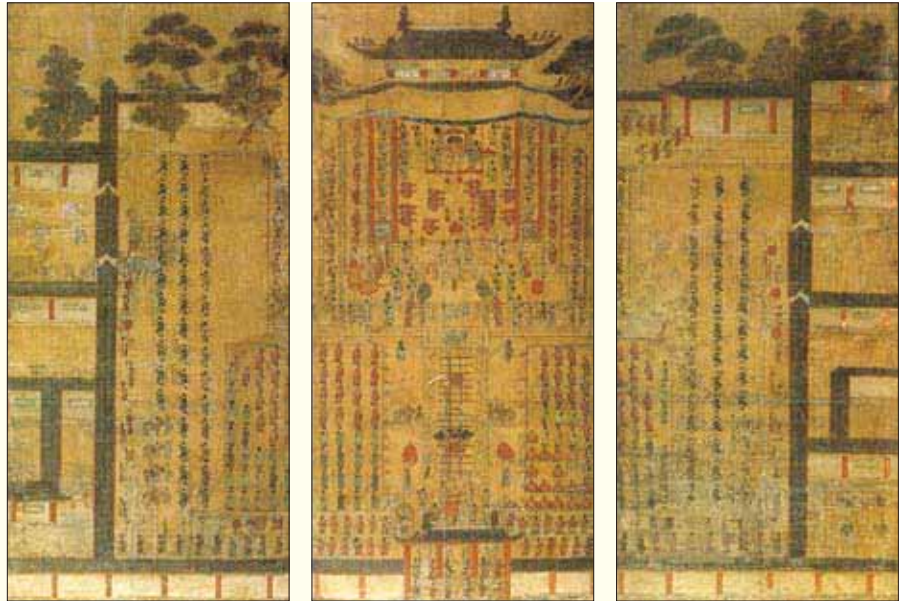
*Chaekbongdo*, 1st scene of the *Folding Screen of Munhyo Seja's Investiture Ceremony*

Anonymous, 1784

Eight-fold screen painting, colors on silk

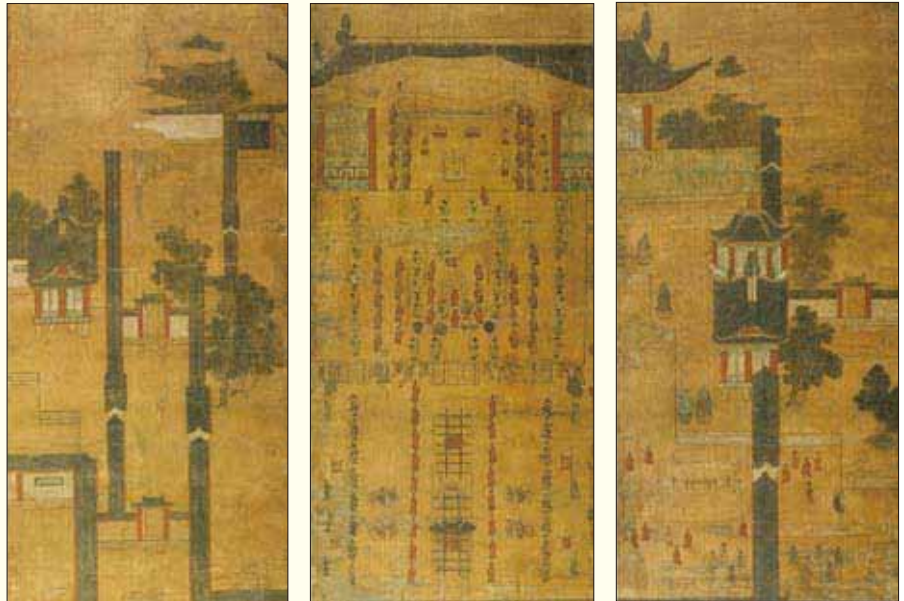
H: 110.0 cm, W: 421.0 cm (overall)

Seoul National University Museum



( Plate 1-2 )

*Suchaekdo*, 2nd scene of the *Folding Screen of Munhyo Seja's Investiture Ceremony*



( Plate 2 )

Detail of the *Folding Screen Commissioned by the Superintendency of the Crown Prince's Investiture Ceremony*

Anonymous, 1690

Eight-fold screen painting, colors on silk

H: 116.0 cm, W: 53.0 cm (each panel)

Private collection





禮契屏: *Folding Screen in Commemoration of the Crown Prince's Investiture Ceremony*) of 1800. The former was, however produced by the Chaegnyedogam and the latter by the Seonjeon gwancheong. Their subjects – landscapes and the *Yojiyeon* (瑤池宴) or banquet of the Queen Mother of the West – have no relevance to the court ceremonies referred to in their titles.<sup>19</sup>

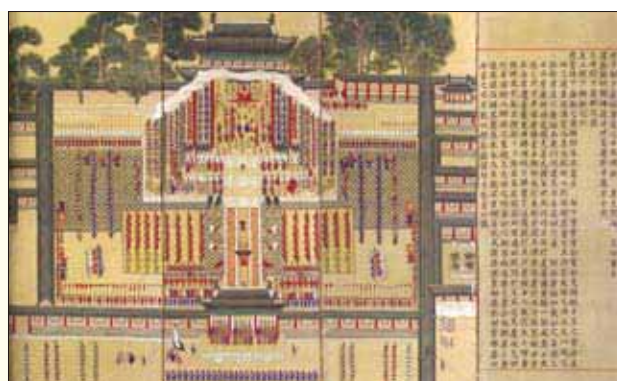
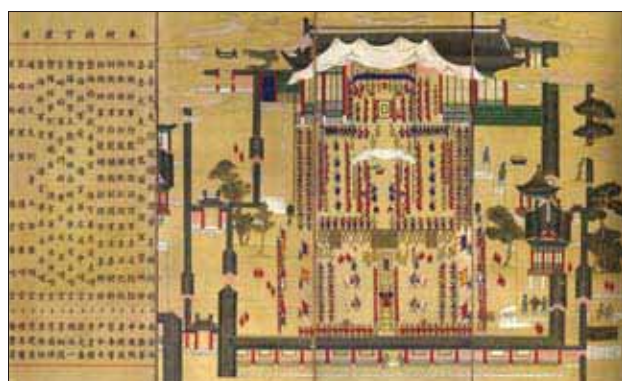
The *Munhyoseja chaegnye gyebyeong* is an eight-fold screen painting of the investiture ceremony of Munhyo Seja, the son of King Jeongjo and Lady Seong (宣嬪 成氏, Uibin Seongssi, ?-1786), held on the second day of the eighth month, 1784.<sup>20</sup> Munhyo Seja, born on the 7th day of the ninth month of the sixth year of King Jeongjo (1782), was the first-born son of King Jeongjo<sup>21</sup> and was officially designated as the *wonja* or eldest son on the 27th day of the eleventh month of that year.<sup>22</sup> Invested as the *wangseja* when he was three years old, Munhyo Seja died just one week after contracting measles in the fifth month of 1785.<sup>23</sup>

The first panel of the *Munhyoseja chaegnye gyebyeong* contains the preface. The second through fourth panels contain the scene of the Crown Prince's investiture ceremony held at Injeongjeon (仁政殿: the Royal Audience Chamber) of Changdeokkung (昌德宮: palace built in 1405). The fifth, sixth, and seventh panels contain the scene of the investiture. The last panel lists the government officials related to the ceremony leaving no doubt that the folding screen painting was commissioned by the Sigang-won.<sup>24</sup> The

twenty-five officials included seven with the rank of *bodeok*, three of *pilseon*, five of *munhak*, four of *saseo*, and six of *seolso*. The list contains more names than the actual number of officials at the Sigang-won as it also includes the names of former officials in addition to the ten officials then in post.

It should be noted that the work of *Munhyoseja chaegnye gyebyeong* is an example of a folding screen commissioned by mid-level officials including *bodeok*, who were the ones actually responsible for the daily lectures for the *seja*. In the light of King Jeongjo's decision, mentioned above, to elevate the status of *bodeok* and *gyeombodeok* at the Sigang-won to the fifth-rank *dangsanggwon* in connection with the investiture of Munhyo Seja, the making of this folding screen was most likely triggered by the newly-elevated status of these officials of the Sigang-won. The fact that all former and current officials related with the ceremony are listed also strongly supports this theory concerning the circumstances behind the project.

The regulations for the entire process of the investiture of the *wangseja* involved a total of nine ceremonies.<sup>25</sup> Among these, the most significant was the second ceremony, *seonchaek* (宣冊: proclamation of the investiture) that proceeded in two phases: the reading of *gyomyeong* (教命: royal decree) to appoint the *wangseja* at the royal court and the latter's receiving of the *gyomyeong* at the Donggung (東宮: Palace of the Crown Prince).<sup>26</sup> The *Munhyoseja chaegnye gyebyeong* is



( Plate 3 )

Detail of the *Folding Screen in Commemoration of the Crown Prince's Recovery from Smallpox*; Anonymous, 1879; Ten-fold screen, colors on silk; H: 133.8 cm, W: 42.0 cm (each panel); National Palace Museum of Korea

a work depicting these two ceremonies (Plate 1-1).

Upon announcement of the *gyomyeong*, the messenger on behalf of the king escorts the *chaeyeo* (彩輿: royal carriage used to carry valuable royal items) containing the *gyomyeong*, the *jukchaek* (竹冊: investiture book), and the *ogin* (玉印: royal jade seal) and delivers them to the *wangseja* who is waiting at the Junghuidang (重熙堂) in Changdeokgung. The second panel depicts the *wangseja* receiving the *gyomyeong*, the *jukchaek*, and the *ogin* in Junghuidang (Plate 1-2). Junghuidang was constructed as part of the Donggung in the 1782, the year that Munhyo was born. Inside the Junghuidang, there is a place prepared for the *wangseja* to receive the *gyomyeong*, the *jukchaek*, and the *ogin* as seen in the painting. Positioned around it are various officials from the Tongnyewon (通禮院: Office of Ritual Affairs), the Sigang-won, and the Igwisa (翊衛司: Guard Office of Crown Prince) to ensure that the ceremony involving the three-year old *seja* proceeded smoothly.

Thus, the *Munhyoseja chaegnye gyebyeong* is a faithful rendition of the most important ceremonial moments in the investiture ceremony. Again, the significant aspects of the folding screen painting are that it was supervised by the officials of the Sigang-won and that it reflects King Jeongjo's policy to elevate the status of that office. This screen greatly influenced subsequent works of the same genre by providing the basic model in style and composition as reflected in the two later versions of the *Wangseja duhupyeongbokjinha gyebyeong* (王世子痘候平復陳賀契屏: *Folding Screen in Commemoration of the Crown Prince's Recovery from Smallpox*) (Plate 3) from the nineteenth century.<sup>27</sup> To celebrate Sunjong's recovery from smallpox in 1879, military officials at the Owidochongbu (五衛都摠府: Five Military Commands Headquarters) and its Wijangso (衛將所: Office of Palace Gatekeepers) commissioned these folding screens, which were not depictions of the ceremony itself, but borrowed images from the folding screen made during the reign of King Jeongjo.

## IV THE IPHAGNYE, THE WANGSEJA IPHAKDOCHEOP, AND THE HOEGANG BANCHADOCHEOP

### 01 WANGSEJA IPHAKDOCHEOP – CONTENTS AND STYLE

#### 1) Background

The *Wangseja iphakdocheop* is a *gyecheop* (契帖: commemorative painting album for the participants of a ceremony) produced by the officials of the Sigang-won to commemorate the *iphagnye* held in 1816 to mark Crown Prince Hyomyeong's entrance to the Seonggyun-gwan. This album contains the *uiju* (儀註: ritual protocol) which is composed of six sequential phases: *chulgung-ui* (出宮儀:



the rite of departure from the palace); *jakheonui* (酌獻儀: libation rite at the ancestral altar); *iphagui* (入學儀: the rite of commencement of learning) including *wangbogui* (往復儀: the rite of formal request for instruction); *supyeui* (脩幣儀: the rite of offering gifts); and *suhau* (受賀儀: the rite of receiving congratulations).<sup>28</sup> The album also contains six pictures illustrating the different phases of the ceremony. In the last part of the album, there is a collection of poems written by each of thirteen officials from the Sigang-won, offering felicitations on the occasion of the *iphagnye*.<sup>29</sup> The last leaf contains an epilogue by Nam Gongcheol (南公轍, 1760-1840), who served during the ceremony as a former *daejeahak*.

*Jwa-uijeong* (左議政: Second State Councilor) Han Yonggui (韓龍龜, 1747-1828), who also held the title of *bu*, first proposed the *iphagnye* for Hyomyeong Seja when he turned eight years old in the sixth, lunar leap month, of 1816.<sup>30</sup> However, in accordance with King Sunjo's directive, his *iphagnye* was postponed to the following year. On New Year's Day in 1817, the *jwa-uijeong* and *u-uijeong* Gim Samok (金思穆, 1740-1829) reintroduced the proposal for the *seja's iphagnye*, and discussions on an auspicious date and ceremony proceedings were held.<sup>31</sup> The *iphagnye* in the end was held on the eleventh day of the third month, from 11 am to 3 pm.<sup>32</sup> Before the actual ceremony, a preliminary rehearsal was held on the sixth day of the third month, followed by a final rehearsal on the tenth day, on the eve of the ceremony.

Nam Gongcheol's epilogue indicates that the officials of the Sigang-won, although they had completed their duties as palace officials following the completion of the *iphagnye*, had decided to leave a pictorial record of this splendid event for posterity in a form of painting album. Along with the epilogue, Nam Gongcheol wrote a verse in the format of *o-eon-yulsi* (五言律詩: five-syllable quatrain) and instructed each official to compose another in the same format. The idea of replicating the entire *iphagnye* in six scenes – from the departure procession at the Donggung, to the *iphagnye* at the Seonggyun-gwan, and the congratulatory ceremony by government officials of all ranks – was conceived in the minds of the officials of the Sigang-won, the

planners of this painting album. The illustrated scenes of the ceremony accurately reflect the ritual protocol and complement the text.

## 2) The First Scene:

### *Chulgunndo* (出宮圖: *Departure from the Palace*)

The first painting illustrates Hyomyeong Seja's procession (in which the order of each official's position is exactly arranged according to his rank) as it leaves the palace toward the Munmyo (文廟: National Confucian Shrine), the location of the *iphagnye* (Plate 4-1). The procedure for Hyomyeong Seja's departure and return to the palace followed the protocol used in King Jeongjo's *iphagnye* in 1761.<sup>33</sup> Riding in *yeo* (輿: royal sedan chair), Hyomyeong Seja departs from his residence in the Donggung, exits Junghwamun (重華門: gate in Deoksugung), passes by Igeukmun (貳極門), and arrives at Honghwamun (弘化門: the main gate of Changgyeonggung [昌慶宮: palace built in 1483]). Upon passing the Honghwamun, the *seja* changes from *yeo* to *yeon* (輦: royal palanquin), and arrives at the east gate of the Munmyo.<sup>34</sup>

*Igeuk*, literally "second highest" refers to the Heir Apparent and Igeukmun lies at the junction of the two Donggung areas, namely Changdeokgung with Junghuidang as its main building and Changgyeonggung where Simindang and the Sigang-won were located.



( Plate 4-1 )

*Chulgunndo*, 1st scene of the *Painting Album of the Iphagnye of the Wangseja*  
Anonymous, 1817

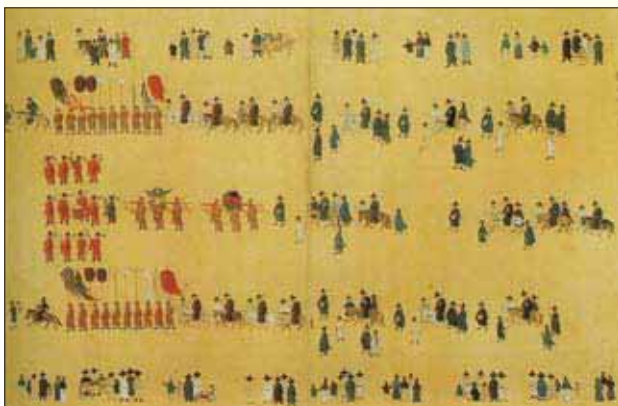
Album leaves, colors on paper  
H: 33.8 cm; W: 45.2 cm (each scene)  
National Palace Museum of Korea



( Plate 5 )  
 Detail of the *Painting of the Eastern Palace*, scene of Igeukmun  
 Anonymous, 1828-1830  
 Sixteen album leaves, colors on silk  
 H: 273.0 cm, W: 584.0 cm  
 Korea University Museum



( Plate 6 )  
 Royal Procession of Returning to the Palace, 7th scene of the Screen  
*Painting of King Jeongjo's Visit to His Father's Tomb, Hwaseong*  
 Gim Deuksin, Lee Inmun, Choe Deukhyeon, Yi Myeonggyu, Jang Hanjong, Yun Seokgeun, Heo Sik, 1795-1796  
 Eight-fold screen, colors on silk  
 H: 163.7 cm, W: 53.2 cm  
 Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art



( Plate 7 )  
 Procession for Enshrinement of King's Autograph Album, 1st scene of  
*Painting Album Commemorating King Sukjong's Initiation Ceremony to Office of the Elders*  
 Gim Jinnyeo, Jang Taeheung, Pak Dongbo, Jang Deukman, Heo Suk, 1719-1720  
 Album leaf, colors on silk  
 H: 43.9 cm, W: 67.6 cm  
 Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art

Igeukmun burnt down during the reign of King Yeongjo, and King Jeongjo restored it in the eighth year of his reign (1784) to coincide with Munhyo Seja's *chaekbongnye*. The King even awarded the supervisor of the Igeukmun restoration project by including him in the list of those honored at Munhyo Seja's *chaekbongnye*.<sup>35</sup> It was obviously one of the measures by King Jeongjo to reinforce the prestige of the *wangseja* in line with the construction of Junghuidang and the overall renovation of areas surrounding the Donggung.

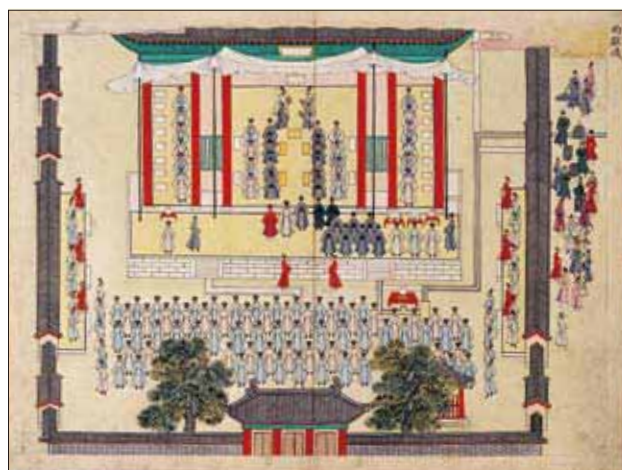
When compared with the *Donggwoldo* (東關圖: *Painting of the Eastern Palace*) (Plate 5), it becomes clear how realistic in detail this painting, *Chulgungdo* is. In the painting, the *wangseja*'s *yeo* has already passed through Junghwamun, which is located in the upper portion of the picture. The guard official *ikchan* (翊贊: guard of the eleventh rank in the Igwisa) carrying the royal seal (印, *in*) is about to exit Igeukmun located southwest of Junghwamun. Among the escorts of the *wangseja* leading the procession are two of the *wangseja*'s bodyguards, *seori* (書吏: lower-ranking officials responsible for maintaining records) leading the *inma* (印馬: horse carrying the royal seal) and two *gwoldalma* (關闥馬: saddled royal horse), through Igeukmun.<sup>36</sup> Following these in the procession are various officials such as *byeolgam* (別監: escort for the royal palanquin in royal procession) wearing *jogeon* (皂巾: black headdress), *sabyeok* (司辟: guard for *seja*) carrying an *ojang* (烏仗: black cane), *chungchanwigwan* (忠贊衛官: military officials) in *sangbok* (常服: regular uniform), and officials from the Sigang-won and the Igwisa wearing *gibok* (器服: military uniform).

In framing the scene, while adopting the traditional court painting style that places the King or Crown Prince near the top of the picture plane facing south, the painter discarded the simple symmetrical composition typical of paintings of royal processions in order to accentuate the immediacy of the *seja*'s procession having passed through Igeukmun and arriving at Honghwamun located in the eastern section of the palace. Despite being the procession's main subject, the *wangseja* is depicted on a relatively small scale in the upper

portion of the scene. This style was in fact first adopted in the late eighteenth century in *Hwaneohaengnyeoldo* (還御行列圖: *Royal Procession of Returning to the Palace*) from *Hwaseong neunghaengdobyong* (華城陵幸圖屏: *Screen Painting of King Jeongjo's Visit to His Father's Tomb, Hwaseong*) (Plate 6). These compositional changes are clearly discernible when compared with earlier processional paintings like *Eocheopbong-ando* (御帖奉安圖: *Procession for Enshrinement of King's Autograph Album*) from *Gisa gyecheop* (耆社契帖: *Album Commemorating King Sukjong's Initiation Ceremony to Office of the Elders*), completed in 1720 (Plate 7).

### 3) The Second Scene: *Jakheondo* (酌獻圖: *Libation at the Ancestral Altar*)

The second scene depicts the *wangseja*'s ritual offering of a libation in front of the ancestral tablet of Confucius at the Daeseongjeon (大聖殿: Hall of Confucius) in the Munmyo (Plate 4-2).<sup>37</sup> After washing his hands, the *wangseja* walks up the eastern steps of the hall and, facing north, places a libation cup in front of the tablet of Confucius. The route of the *wangseja* is marked by a yellow line which cuts across the front wing of the shrine in the northeast quadrant of the canvas, and then takes a turn southward toward the designated position where the *wangseja* washes his hands, after which it connects with the designated position where the *wangseja* bows (marked by a yellow rectangle), and exits using the eastern stairs of the hall.



( Plate 4-2 )  
*Heonjakdo*, 2nd scene of the *Painting Album of the Ipphagnye of the Wangseja*

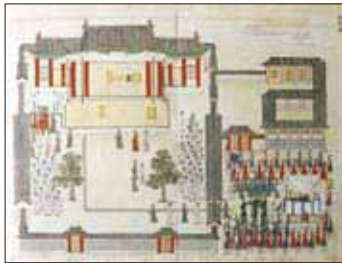
Inside the Daeseongjeon, officials holding incense burners, incense cases, and the libation cup are gathered in the center facing each other in front of the ancestral tablet of Confucius which is depicted by a white rectangle. Judging from the fact that the area where the *wangseja* makes his ceremonial libation is marked by a yellow rectangle, it may be assumed that this scene is a portrayal of the *wangseja* offering three bows while holding the incense, before lighting it. The white rectangles on the left and right inside the Daeseongjeon denote the memorial tablets of the four sages (四聖神位, *saseongsinwi*), while the yellow rectangles indicate the *wangseja*'s position when offering the libation and bowing in front of the tablets of the four sages. The four men kneeling before the tablets of the four sages are a team of officials charged with the duty of assisting the *wangseja*.

On the *junso* (尊所: offering table) on top of the platform with steps is a vessel filled with wine, and on top of the *jonso* for the hand-washing bowl are a *ro* (甕: jar) filled with water and a *bi* (篚: bamboo basket) for towels. The officials bearing the *sanseon* (繖扇: insignia) and the *baewi* (陪衛: escorts) wait outside the eastern gate, while students of the Seonggyun-gwan in their official blue uniforms (青衿服: *cheonggeumbok*) stand inside the garden facing north. The three-storied Sinsammun (神三門), the main gate of the Daeseongjeon, is drawn on a large scale, and to its right is a building erected over the monument on which the history of the shrine is inscribed.<sup>38</sup> The accuracy of the structures and locations of the buildings depicted in this painting can be confirmed by the *Taehakji* (太學志: *Records of the National Confucian Academy*), as well as in other paintings like *Ban-gungdo* (泮宮圖: *Painting of the National Confucian Academy*) and *Taehak gyecheop* (太學契帖: *Painting Album of the National Confucian Academy*), a work made in 1746.<sup>39</sup>

### 4) The Third Scene: *Wangbokdo* (往復圖: *Formal Request for Instruction*)

The third, fourth, and fifth panels depict the central proceedings of the *iphagnye* as the *wangseja* formally seeks the approval of the academic counselor,





( Plate 4-3 )  
*Wangbokdo*, 3rd scene of the *Painting Album of the Iphagnye of the Wangseja*



( Plate 4-4 )  
*Supyedo*, 4th scene of the *Painting Album of the Iphagnye of the Wangseja*



( Plate 4-5 )  
*Iphakdo*, 5th scene of the *Painting Album of the Iphagnye of the Wangseja*

*baksa*, to be accepted as his student, in the Myeongnyundang (明倫堂) of the Munmyo (Plate 4-3). Rather than compressing the entire *iphagnye* proceedings into one painting, the three scenes respectively depict in detail the following: the *wangseja*'s *wangbok* (往復: formal request for instruction), seeking of approval of lessons from the *baksa*; *supyeui*, offering of gifts to the *baksa*; and *iphak*, the formal commencement of studies with the recitation and exposition of the classics.<sup>40</sup>

Upon the completion of the libation before the memorial tablet of Confucius, the *seja* dons the official dress of a student and moves to the main gate (east of Myeongnyundang). The *wangseja*'s *pyeoncha* (便次: temporary royal tent) and the palanquin are in place, while the *wangseja*'s location as he awaits the *baksa*'s approval is depicted as a yellow rectangle outside the main gate. The *jangmyeongja* (將命者: student messenger) goes back and forth between the *wangseja*, who is requesting to be accepted as a student, and the *baksa*, who is humbly declining the request claiming lack of virtue and knowledge. In the end, upon the *wangseja*'s third request, the *baksa* approves.

Judging from the positions of the *baksa*, who, dressed in an official red robe, stands facing west at the foot of the eastern steps, and of the official, who bears the gift, this painting captures the moment when the *wangseja*, upon learning of the *baksa*'s approval, is about to enter through the East Main Gate. The route of the *wangseja*'s movement from this point to Myeongnyundang, past the gate, and through the western staircase, is also marked here by a yellow line.

#### 5) The Fourth Scene: *Supyedo* (脩幣圖: *Offering of Gifts*)

This scene depicts the ceremony of offering gifts to the *baksa*. The *wangseja* offers the *baksa* a porcelain jug filled with 36 liters of wine, a vessel with five strips of dried beef, and three rolls of white ramie cloth (Plate 4-4). In front of the *baksa* at the stepped platform stand three officials in official red garb, each holding respectively a porcelain jug, a small dinner table, and a basket. The location where the *wangseja* is supposed to be is marked by a yellow rectangle, from which he will proceed to take his seat at the desk inside the Myeongnyundang and commence his lessons.

#### 6) The Fifth Scene: *Iphakdo* (入學圖: *Commencement of Learning*)

This scene depicts the *wangseja* receiving lessons from the *baksa* inside the Myeongnyundang (Plate 4-5). Having changed into a dark robe, the *baksa* sits facing the *wangseja* across a desk upon which is placed the textbook, *Sohak*.<sup>41</sup> As in previous scenes, the figure of the *wangseja* is not actually portrayed. Instead, his presence is implied, once again, by a yellow rectangle. Since Sohyeon Seja's *iphagnye* in the third year of King Injo (1625), it became customary, despite the royal status of the *wangseja*, not to place the desk in front of him, in accordance with the regulations governing the relationship between a teacher and a student.<sup>42</sup>

The *iphagnye* concluded with the *baksa* reading the epigraph from the *Sohak*, the *wangseja* repeating after the *baksa*, and the *baksa* explaining the text.

7) The Sixth Scene:  
*Suhado* (受賀圖: *Receiving Congratulations*)



( Plate 4-6 )  
*Suhado*, 6th scene of the  
Painting Album of the  
*Ipagnye* of the *Wangseja*

On the 12th day of the third month, the day after the *iphagnye*, King Sunjo received a *jinharye* (陳賀禮: rite of congratulations) at Injeongjeon from all his palace officials.<sup>43</sup> On the same day, a separate *jinharye* was held in an abbreviated form to honor the *wangseja*. This relatively simple ceremony was attended by *bodeok* Seo Jeongbo (徐鼎輔, 1762-?) and eight officials of the Sigang-won.<sup>44</sup> However, the painting album contains both a written record and a painting of the *wangseja* receiving a full formal congratulatory ceremony from all the palace officials (Plate 4-6). Therefore, this sixth and final scene stands contrary to the actual proceedings.

The venue for the abbreviated ceremony was the Seongjeonggak (誠正閣), near the Junghuidang. The Seongjeonggak was the traditional venue for the *wangseja*'s formal court lessons before the Gwanmulheon (觀物軒) came to replace it in 1813.<sup>45</sup>

8) Artistic Characteristics

The *Wangseja iphakdocheop* is a distinctive work of art that chronicles the proceedings of court ceremony and faithfully conveys the proceedings through a visual medium. The work is a good example of a court documentary painting in which annotations and pictures complement each other, but this division of the whole ceremony into stages and depicting each in turn is a style adopted more widely in the *saga girokhwa* (士家記錄畫: documentary painting of the gentry) of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century.<sup>46</sup> Considering

that most nineteenth-century court documentary paintings are folding screen paintings of formal palace banquets such as *jinchon* (進饌: formal royal banquets of medium scale), *jinnyeon* (進宴: formal royal banquets of large scale), and *jinharye*, the *Wangseja iphakdocheop* stands out as being quite unprecedented in both form and content.

The depiction of the buildings in the background reflects well the features of the actual buildings, and the shape and distribution of the instruments used in the ceremony are also quite easily discernible. The physical features of the figures in the paintings are very similar to those of the figures in *Wonhaeng eulmyo jeongniwigwe* (園幸乙卯整理儀軌: *Book of Court Rites on the Royal Visit to Prince Sado's Tomb*). Traces of Gim Hongdo's distinct style can be seen in the round shape of the faces, the depictions of ears, eyes, mouths, and noses, and the clearly defined profiles of the figures. The natural depiction of the bowing figures is a style that emerges only in the second half of the eighteenth century.

In addition to the copy of the *Wangseja iphakdocheop* used for this study, which is presently housed in the National Palace Museum of Korea, other similar copies of the album are kept in the National Library of Korea, Yonsei University Museum, Korea University Museum, and Kyungnam University Museum. Each of the thirteen officials of the Sigang-won who had written verses on the painting album would have received a copy for himself. Taking into account the copy to be kept at the Sigang-won and the copy for the palace quarters, it is likely that a total of at least fifteen copies were produced. The copies extant today vary from one another in detail and in the draft compositions. However, in the technique of mounting the pictures into an album, the style of depiction of the figures, buildings, flowers, and trees, and in the color selections, they all share a certain level of commonality and an artistic style of a particular period. At the same time, the copy presently kept in the National Palace Museum of Korea is the best version in terms of the precise representation of the ritual protocol, clear



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composition, and meticulous attention to detail. It was most likely produced either to be kept at the Sigang-won or displayed inside the palace quarters.<sup>47</sup>

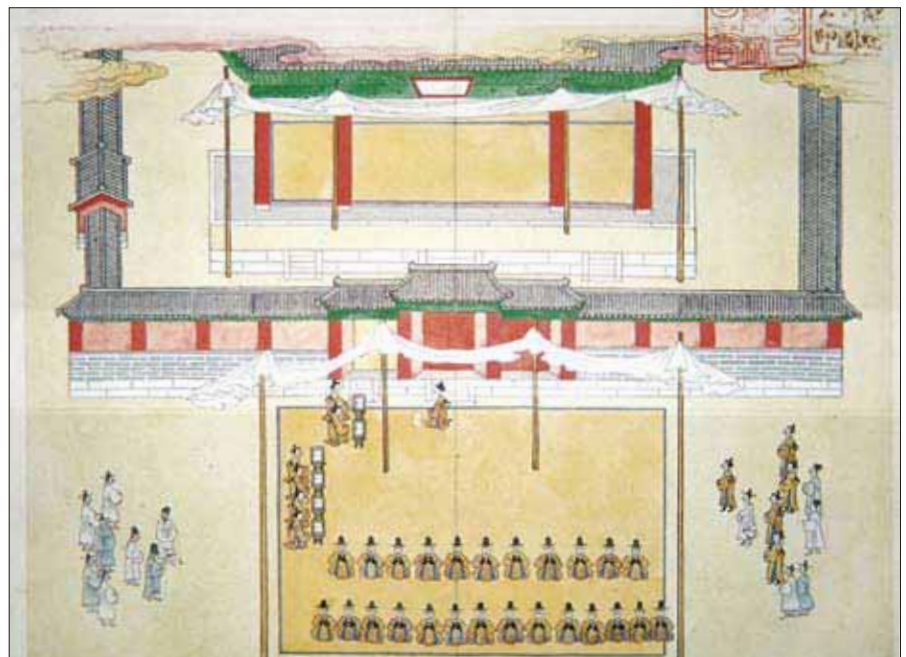
## 02 THE HOEGANG BANCHADOCHEOP

The *Hoegang banchadocheop* is a painting album housed at the Gyujeongguk and consists of five pictures without any annotation. The word *hoegang* in the title offers the primary clue in ascertaining the subject matter of this painting album. Indeed, as the album fits with the ritual protocol of *hoegang*, its theme and content can therefore be argued to be the twice-monthly review sessions in the education of the *wangseja*. The word *banchado* (班次圖: painting of royal procession) in the title also indicates that the primary purpose of this album is to portray and to record the proceedings of the ritual protocol in the proper order rather than to convey artistic qualities. In the paintings themselves one can assess the purpose and the intended use of this painting album.

The first scene depicts the *seupgang* (Plate 8-1) or meeting preceding *hoegang*, in which the *seoyeon* official of the day and officials of the Seonggyun-gwan confirm ahead of time the contents of the lecture for the *wangseja*. It generally took place about half an hour before the start of *hoegang* outside the entrance of the *seoyeon*. The scene depicts the *seoyeon* official reading before the *sa* and *bu* teachers the contents of the lesson for the *wangseja* inside a tent pitched outside the main entrance. Other figures depicted are officials of the Sigang-won and the Guard Office.

From the second scene onwards the entire proceedings of *hoegang* are depicted in sequence (Plate 8-2).<sup>48</sup> The empty chair located in the eastern section

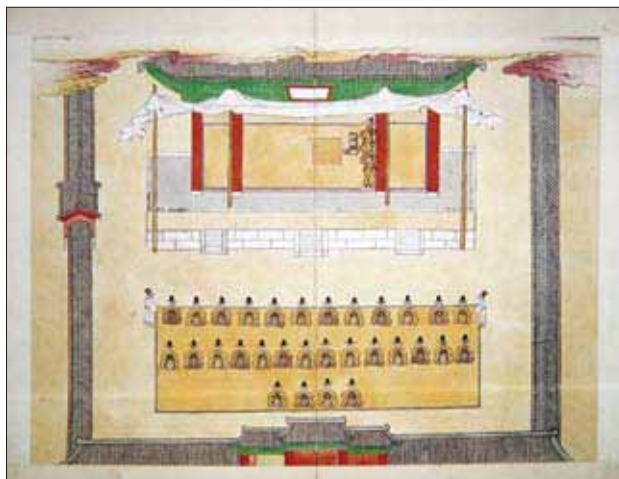
( Plate 8-1 )  
1st scene of the *Painting Album of the Review Session*  
Anonymous, the 19th century  
Album, colors on paper  
H: 41.0 cm, W: 66.4 cm  
Gyujeongguk



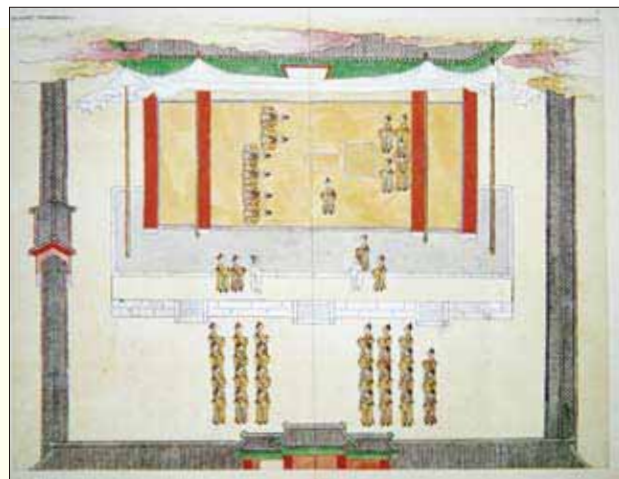
of the hall signifies the Crown Prince's seat. The third scene depicts the latter waiting to greet his teachers (Plate 8-3). The protocol called for the *wangseja* to wait below the steps and escort the *sa* and *bu* teachers inside and offer first exchange of ritual bows.<sup>49</sup> The two teachers are depicted facing the yellow rectangle denoting the *wangseja*'s seat below the western steps. The path along which the Crown Prince should go in and out of the hall is depicted by a yellow line in the style of the *Wangseja iphakdocheop*.

The fourth scene features the *wangseja* inside the hall bowing once again to his teachers and four *bin-gaek* (賓客: officials invited to teach), and receiving reciprocal bows (Plate 8-4). Officials of the Sigang-

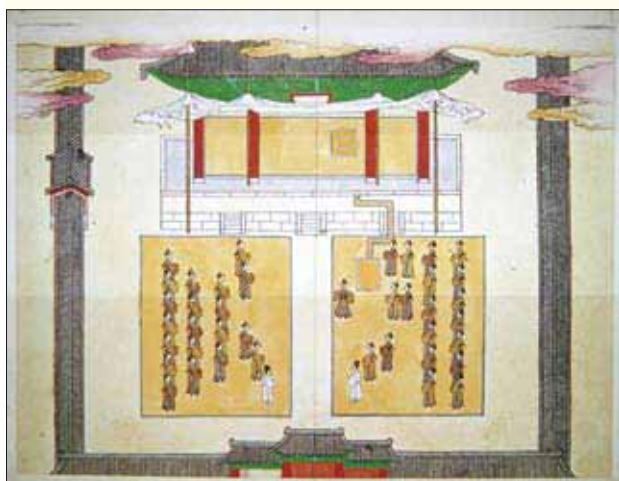
won below the rank of *bodeok* remain standing in a row outside in the garden. Once the *seja*, his *sa* and *bu* teachers, and the four *bin-gaek* are seated around the desk, officials of the Sigang-won enter the hall and seat themselves according to rank by the eastern wall while officials of the Guard Office stand to the east and west of the stone steps outside. The *wangseja* would typically first recite and translate into Korean the lessons from the previous day, after which his teachers would start the lesson. The fifth leaf depicts this scene (Plate 8-5). In terms of the order of the lesson, the teacher would read from the text selected for the day and the *wangseja* would repeat it after him. Afterwards, the teacher would explain the text and the *wangseja* would follow with his own interpretation. The lesson would conclude with the



( Plate 8-2 )  
2nd scene of the *Painting Album of the Review Session*



( Plate 8-4 )  
4th scene of the *Painting Album of the Review Session*



( Plate 8-3 )  
3rd scene of the *Painting Album of the Review Session*



( Plate 8-5 )  
5th scene of the *Painting Album of the Review Session*

*wangseja* reading and interpreting the text once more.<sup>50</sup>

The *Hoegang banchadocheop* is similar to the *Wangseja iphakdocheop* in its visual depiction of the proceedings of the ceremony and repeated use of the same backdrop. The style of the figures, in particular their profiles, the method of depicting the building steps, eaves, and the hanging tablets, the shape and folds of the tent, the yellow and pinkish clouds, and the overall color of the painting are all very similar to the *Wangseja iphakdocheop*.<sup>51</sup> Therefore, the two albums are close in date. However, in terms of accurately representing the ritual protocol and realistically recreating the ceremony, it falls short of the latter.

In short, this album does not seem to have been created to commemorate a particular *hoegang* of a particular *wangseja*. Rather, it seems to have been created to familiarize the Crown Prince with the proceedings of *hoegang* through visual representation. In effect, this painting album was intended to be a sort of practical chart rather than a commemorative painting.

## V THE GWALLYE AND THE SUGYODOCHEOP

### 01 THE SUGYODOCHEOP: CONTENTS AND STYLE

#### 1) History of the *Sugyodocheop* and the *Simindangdocheop*

The *Sugyodocheop* is a painting album consisting of thirteen pictures without any annotation. The front cover is made of light green silk with peony scrolls, and in the upper-left corner the title *Sugyodo* (受教圖: *Picture of Receiving the Royal Edict*) is neatly written in regular script style. The pictures in the album exhibit a high degree of artistic quality with their neat and clear compositions as well as vivid and elaborate drawing and colors. However, the absence of any inscriptions (other than the one on the cover) has long been an impediment to ascertaining this album's subject matter and intended purpose.

To state the conclusion first, this painting album depicts the *gwallye* of the Crown Prince. Assuming that the title on the cover was relevant, the author looked up state ceremonies in the *Gukjo oryeui* that involved a male individual at the center and that required the king's edict. Upon review, the subject matter of the album could be narrowed down to the *chaegnye* or the *gwallye*, of which the latter clearly is better matched with the details of the album. The section, *Wangsejagwanui* (王世子冠儀: Crown Prince's *Gwallye* Protocol) under the chapter Garye in the *Gukjo oryeui*, stipulates the five rites in the entire *gwallye* for the *seja*.<sup>52</sup> They consisted of visiting the ancestral shrine of the royal family, presentation of the king's edict to the *bin* (賓: representative of the guests) and *chan* (贊: representative of the state officials) at the royal audience chamber,

putting on the *seja*'s ceremonial headdress in the Donggung, *hoebin-gaegnye* (會賓客禮: rite of receiving *bin-gaek*), and *joallye* (朝謁禮: paying respects to the king).

Another painting album that is strongly evocative of the *Sugyodocheop* is the *Simindangdocheop*. This album depicts the *gwallye* of Yi Don at age ten (Plates 9-1 and 9-2). The fifteen annotated pictures of the painting album resemble a pictorial reference book with schematic illustrations of ritual protocol presented in sequence. Excluding decorative and artistic depictions, the album focuses on visually conveying ritual protocol through simple sketches of only the contours of the buildings while the position and directions of the figures as well as the arrangement of furniture and instruments are explained in words. The fact that this painting album contains a list of the names of thirty five participants, including the central figure, the *wangseja*, and officials from the Sigang-won and the Guard Office, indicates that it was from the beginning intended as a *gyecheop*.

The view that this painting album was made as a *gyecheop* after the completion of a particular ceremony is further supported by the following attributes: the locations and routes of the officials of the Sigang-won and the Guard Office are clearly defined; the names on the list of the seating arrangement are composed of the names of the officials of these institutions; and, finally, the name of the regular venue for congratulatory ceremonies, Seonjeongjeon (宣政殿: less-formal royal council hall in Changdeokgung), is listed as the title of the last scene.

More importantly, this album is perhaps the only extant example of an illustrated manual containing no pictorial depictions of the participants, who are just referred to in words alone. This is the most distinct feature of this album and one that raises questions about its background and even whether it is in fact a completed piece of work.<sup>53</sup>

A *banchado* chronicling in words only the seating arrangement by rank like the *Simindangdocheop* was first made by Jeong Gyeongse (鄭經世, 1563–1633) in the third year of King Injo (1625) on the occasion of the *gwallye* of Crown Prince Sohyeon. According to custom the ritual protocol of the *Gukjo oryeui* was presented before the *wangseja* in advance of his *gwallye*. Jeong included this presentation for the young prince who may have had questions due to the complex language and details of the protocol. Jeong divided the ceremonial proceedings into seventeen stages, created a pictorial diagram for each stage and presented them to the *wangseja* for a successful ceremony held in accordance with protocol.<sup>54</sup> This is an example of a *gwallye* in annotated pictorial form that served a very useful role as a visual aid. What is of particular note in this instance is that Jeong Gyeongse omitted the two stages at which the prince would not be in attendance, namely the *myeongbinchan* (命賓贊: the rite of ordering the *bin* and *chan* to perform the *gwallye*) and the *hoebinchan* (會賓贊: the rite of holding a celebratory banquet). In the end, Jeong's fifteen-part manual perfectly fits with the composition of the *Simindangdocheop*, excluding the scenes depicting the Simindang building itself.



( Plate 9-1 )  
2nd scene of the *Painting Album of Simindang*  
Anonymous, 1670  
Album, ink on paper  
H: 38.8 cm, W: 30.3 cm  
Jangseogak



( Plate 9-2 )  
10th scene of the *Painting Album of Simindang*



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After 1625, the standard number of scenes for paintings of the *gwallye* came to be fifteen. A copy of the painting was probably kept at all times in the Sigang-won and the Guard Office and served as an important reference both when rehearsing the ceremony and during the actual ceremony itself. This kind of *banchado* is also found in the painting of the *gwallye* of Prince Sunjo in the *Gwallyecheakjeodogam-uigwe* (冠禮冊儲都監儀軌: Book of Court Rites on the Investiture and the Coming-of-Age Ceremony of the Crown Prince) in 1800. In this painting, the ritual protocols of the *gwallye* are compressed into a single scene (Plate 10),<sup>55</sup> confirming the assumption that the *Simindangdocheop* is not a new creation but is based on a pre-existing *baebando* (排班圖: diagrammatic representation).

## 2) The First Scene: The King's Edict to Hold the *Gwallye*

In this painting album, the scene of reporting to the ancestral shrine of the royal family is omitted. The first scene depicted is that of the king issuing an edict to perform the *wangseja's gwallye* to the *bin* and *chan* officials in his royal audience chamber (Plate 11-1). The highlight of this ceremony is the moment when the *jeon-gyogwan* (傳敕官: court herald) announces the king's edict, "Let the officials proceed with the ceremony for the conferral of the *gwan* (冠: ceremonial headdress) on the *seja*," and when the *bin* receives the box containing the edict.

The royal throne and canopy are placed above the royal platform in the center of the king's audience chamber. Surrounding the throne are guards displaying the ritual sword (寶劍, *boggeom*) and blue fan (靑扇, *cheongseon*). Beneath the platform the *seungji* (承旨: royal secretary) and scribes prostrate themselves. There is also a box for the edict signifying the nature of this particular ceremony. The style of depicting the royal platform, canopy, throne, the bowing officials, and the placement of the ceremonial instruments throughout the hall is very similar to the style of the *Munhyoseja chaegnye gyebyeong* (1784) and the *Ikjong gwallyejinha gyebyeong* (翼宗冠禮陳賀契屏: Folding Screen of the Congratulatory Ceremony for the *gwallye* of *Ikjong*, 1819) (Plates 1-1 and 12).

The royal family and the civil/military officials are placed respectively on the eastern and western sides of the hall. The *bin* and *chan*, the *jeon-*

( Plate 10 )

*Gwallyedo* from *Book of Court Rites on the Investiture and the Coming-of-Age Ceremony of the Crown Prince*  
Anonymous, 1800  
Manuscript, ink on paper  
Gyujanggak





*gyogwan* and *jipsagwan* (執事官: supporting staff) officials are featured among the rows of civil officials east of the pathway. The civil officials wear ceremonial court dress, while the military officials wear their regular official dress.

### 3) The Second Scene: Ritual Bows of the Palace Officials

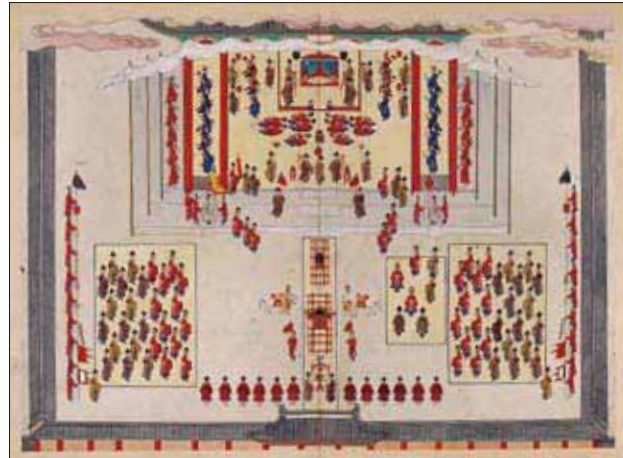
From the second scene on, the subject matter portrayed is the *gwannui* (冠儀) itself, and the venue changes to the Donggung (Plate 11-2). This scene depicts the *wangseja* receiving ritual bows (拜禮, *baerye*) each from the officials of the Sigang-won, the Igwisa, and their supporting staff. It is comparable to the second scene of the *Simindangdocheop* (Plate 9-1). The seat of the *wangseja* is marked by a rectangle close to the eastern wall facing west. The figure clad in gold headdress and ceremonial court dress in front of the seat is thought to be the *pilseon* of the Sigang-won, who is charged with the duty of announcing the next stage in the proceedings. He and the *jang-wi* (仗衛: chief guard), who protects and assists the *wangseja* at close hand, accompany the *wangseja* throughout the procession.

### 4) The Third Scene: The Ritual Bows from High-Ranking Officials and the *Wangseja*'s Reciprocal Bows

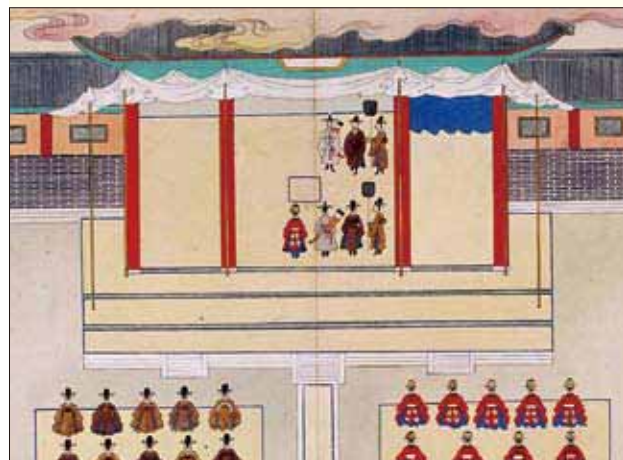
This scene depicts the royal family and civil/military officials of the fourth rank and above entering Donggung and bowing to the *wangseja* (Plate 11-3). The *wangseja* then offers reciprocal bows. The figures standing on top of the platform wearing ceremonial court dress are the *inui* (引儀: ceremony announcer) and *chanui* (贊儀: ceremony manager). In the courtyard in front of Donggung are officials of the Sigang-won and the Igwisa standing in rows facing each other. They will stay in these positions throughout the ceremony.

### 5) The Fourth Scene: The *Wangseja* Receives the Ritual Bows from Lower-Ranking Officials

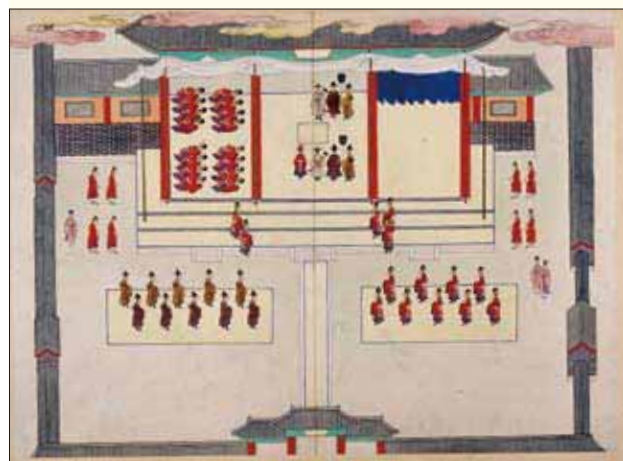
This scene depicts the *wangseja*, now seated in a chair, exchanging reciprocal bows (再拜, *jaebae*) with civil/military officials of the fifth rank and lower



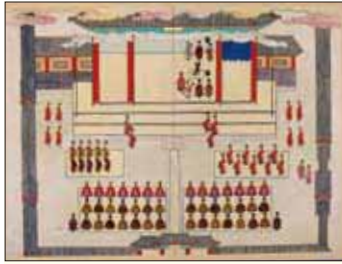
( Plate 11-1 )  
1st scene of the *Painting Album of the King's Edict*  
Anonymous, the 19th century  
Album leaf, colors on paper  
H: 42.3 cm, W: 57.7 cm (each scene)  
National Palace Museum of Korea



( Plate 11-2 )  
2nd scene of the *Painting Album of the King's Edict*, detail



( Plate 11-3 )  
3rd scene of the *Painting Album of the King's Edict*



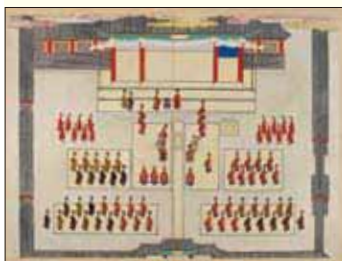
( Plate 11-4 )  
4th scene of the *Painting Album of the King's Edict*



( Plate 11-5 )  
5th scene of the *Painting Album of the King's Edict*, detail



( Plate 11-6 )  
6th scene of the *Painting Album of the King's Edict*



( Plate 11-7 )  
7th scene of the *Painting Album of the King's Edict*

(Plate 11-4). The figures are depicted standing in the garden in two columns, south of the officials of the Sigang-won and the Igwisa. Unlike the higher-level officials, they offer their ritual bows while in the courtyard without entering the chamber.

#### 6) The Fifth Scene:

##### *The Wangseja Receives and Bows to the Sa, Bu, and Bin*

This scene depicts the *wangseja* receiving his *sa* and *bu* as well as *bin* below the steps of his chamber and offering them *baerye* (Plate 11-5). The location where the *wangseja* makes his bows is located in the eastern portion of the courtyard and faces west. The *jang-wi* and *pilseon* who had flanked the *wangseja* indoors escort him into the courtyard. The figures standing west of the pathway with their backs bent forward are the *sa*, *bu*, and *bin*.

#### 7) The Sixth Scene:

##### *The Wangseja and the Host of the Ceremony Exchange Baerye*

Once the *sa*, *bu*, and *bin* stand behind the *wangseja*, the *juin* (主人: host of the ceremony) exits to a location west of the garden. When the *wangseja* offers his ritual bows, the *juin* reciprocates (Plate 11-6).

#### 8) The Seventh Scene:

##### *The Wangseja Receives the Royal Edict*

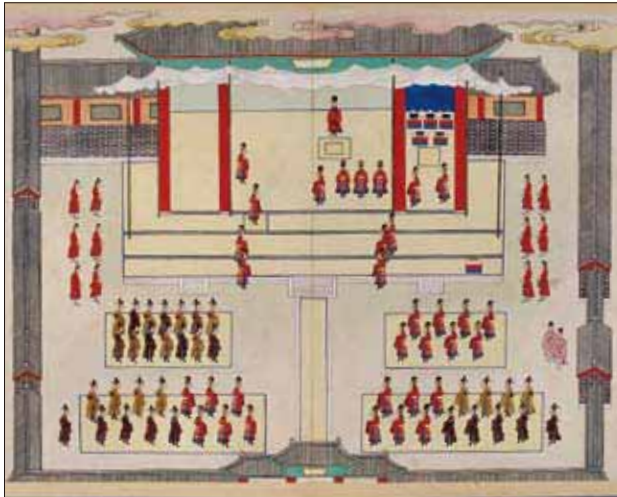
This scene depicts the *wangseja* in the act of receiving the *gyoseo* (敎書: royal edict) (Plate 11-7). The location where the *wangseja* receives the document is marked by a rectangle facing north along the pathway in the middle of the courtyard. The box containing the edict, having been transported through the southern gate, is placed on top of the steps. Once the representative of the guests declares, "The edict has arrived," the *wangseja* kneels down and remains kneeling as the *bin* reads out the *gyoseo*.

#### 9) The Eighth Scene:

##### *The Wangseja Ascends the Stairs to Enter the Eastern Side Room*

Having received the *gyoseo*, the *wangseja* proceeds to ascend the stairs, enters into the eastern *hyeopsil* (夾室: side room), and waits to be crowned while wearing the ceremonial attire and headdress (Plate 11-8). In the room there is a chest that contains *samgaboksik* (三可服式: three sets of formal costumes and headdresses), namely the *gollyongpo* (袞龍袍: royal robe for everyday wear), the *gangsapo* (絳紗袍: costume for special occasions such as the king's birthday and New Year's Day), and the *myeonbok* (冕服: costume for sacrificial rituals) prepared by the *Sang-uiwon* (尙衣院: Bureau of Royal Attire). The place where the Crown Prince is to change his attire is marked by a rectangle. In the center of the building is the place where the *gwan* ceremonial headdress will be placed on the *wangseja*. To its north stands the *sa* facing south. On the western side of the stepped platform inside a rectangle stands the *bin*, who will place the *gwan* on the head of the *wangseja* as the master of the ceremony. At the end of the eastern steps the





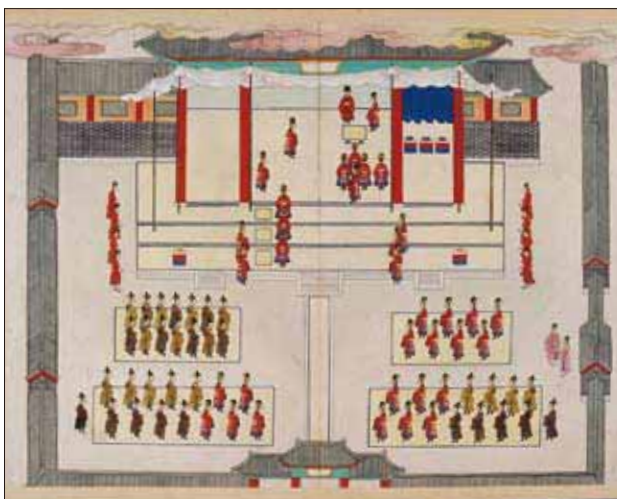
( Plate 11-8 )

8th scene of the *Painting Album of the King's Edict*

*gwansetak* (盥洗卓: table with bowl for washing hands), where the *bin* and *chan* will wash their hands after combing and covering the *wangseja's* hair, can be seen.

#### 10) The Ninth Scene: The First, Second, and Third Ceremonial Headdresses

This scene depicts the *wangseja* putting on different garments and headdresses. First, he is wearing his customary robe, *gollyongpo* and a *chogagwan* (初加冠: the first ceremonial headdress), next a special robe, *gangsapo* and a *jaegagwan* (再加冠: the second ceremonial headdress), followed by the robe for sacrificial rituals or *myeonbok* and a *samgagwan* (三



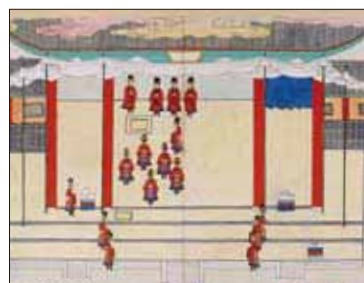
( Plate 11-9 )

9th scene of the *Painting Album of the King's Edict*

加冠: the third ceremonial headdress) (Plate 11-9). This scene is evocative of the *Samgado* (三加圖: *The Three Costumes and Headdresses*), the tenth scene of the *Simindangdocheop* (Plate 9-2). Once the *juin* guides the *wangseja* to the ceremonial chair, the *bin* steps toward the *wangseja* with the hair cover and comb box in hand, whereupon he proceeds to comb and cover the *wangseja's* hair. Then the official carrying the *chogagwan* walks up the western stairs. The *bin* takes the *chogagwan* from him and places it on top of the head of the *wangseja*. Next, the *juin* guides the *seja* back to the side room, where the *wangseja* changes into *gollyongpo*. He steps back out and sits facing west. The *jaegagwan* is placed on his head. The *wangseja* once again retreats to the side room, changes into *gangsapo*, and then comes back out for the *samgagwan*. One last time, the *wangseja* goes back into the side room and changes into *myeonbok*, then steps out again into the hall.

#### 11) The Tenth Scene: The *Wangseja* Receives *Gamju* (甘酒: Ceremonial Wine)

This scene depicts the *wangseja*, upon the completion of *samga*, receiving *gamju* in the ceremonial seat prepared in the western quarters (Plate 11-10). At the western top of the stairs are depicted a wine jar and an official from *Saong-won* (伺養院: Bureau for Overseeing Ceramic Production) overseeing it. To his east is a long table with various dishes on it.



( Plate 11-10 )

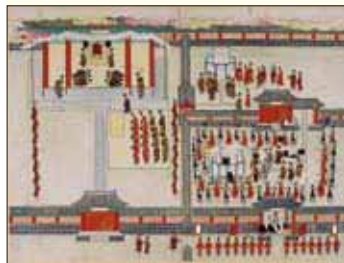
10th scene of the *Painting Album of the King's Edict*, detail

#### 12) The Eleventh Scene: The *Bin* Confers *Ja* on the Crown Prince

This scene depicts the *bin* (an official who teaches the *seja* the Confucian classics and morals) conferring, on behalf of the king, a *ja* (字: name given at *gwallye*) on the *wangseja* (Plate 11-11). The *seja* stands



( Plate 11-11 )

11th scene of the *Painting Album of the King's Edict*

( Plate 11-12 )

12th scene of the *Painting Album of the King's Edict*

( Plate 11-13 )

13th scene of the *Painting Album of the King's Edict*

below the western steps facing south, while the *bin* and *chan* officials stand before him. The *bin* takes a step forward and announces the name from the king's statement. Facing west, the *juin* stands in the eastern courtyard, while the *sa* and *bu* and the *bin-gaek* who are all standing behind him observe the proceedings.

### 13) The Twelfth Scene: *Joallye* (朝謁禮: Paying Respects to the King)

This scene depicts the *wangseja* paying his respects to the king on the day following the *gwallye* (Plate 11-12). The left half of the picture depicts the *joallye*, and the right half the *wangseja's pyeoncha* and the head of the guards. It has the same composition as that in the scene depicting the *iphagnye* in the *Wangseja iphakdocheop* (Plates 4-3, 4-4, and 4-5). Inside the palace the throne and the bowing officials can be seen. To the east of the pathway are depicted the north-facing location where the *wangseja* will deliver his ritual bows, as well as the officials of the Sigang-won lying prostrate, clad in gold *gwan* and ceremonial dress, and the officials of the Igwisa in official dress. The scene shares much similarity with the *Wangseja iphakdocheop* in the style of depicting the tent, the folds on the awning, the folded screens, the *wangseja's* carriage, and the *nobu* (鹵簿, adornments accompanying the procession).

### 14) The Thirteenth Scene: The *Juin* Conducts *Hoerye* for the *Bin-gaek*

This leaf depicts the *hoebin-gaek* (會賓客: reception of *bin-gaek*) scene (Plates 7 and 11-1). The building of the venue is unidentified, but it is apparent that it lies next to the gate of the building where the main ceremony had taken place. Inside a round tent made of white curtains and awning are placed a peony-patterned screen and a table with food and wine on top. To the east of the table stands the *juin*, and to its west stand the *bin-gaek*, facing each other. They conduct the *hoerye* (會禮: salutation ceremony) by performing the exchange of ritual bows and drinking the wine. At the end of the *hoerye*, the *juin* offers the *bin-gaek* a chest filled with rolls of silk (束帛, *sokbaek*).<sup>56</sup> The performance of such proceedings is apparent from the depiction of servants (從者, *jongja*) carrying the chest.

### 15) The Artistic Characteristics of the *Sugyodocheop*

The style of depiction of the figures in the *Sugyodocheop*, such as the figures' physical proportions, facial features, and garments folds have an intimate connection to the early nineteenth century documentary paintings such as the *Wangseja* of 1817, the *Ikjong gwallyehujinha gyebyeong* of 1819, and the *Jodaebi sasunchinggyeongjinha gyebyeong* of 1847 (趙大妃四旬稱慶陣賀契屏: *Folding Screen of the Congratulatory Ceremony on the Fortieth Birthday of Queen Mother Jo*, National Treasure No. 732) (Plates 4-1, 4-6, 12, and 13). When it comes to the sketching of the figures, the characteristics of a particular method and style become more apparent when the figures are presented in profile rather than in frontal or rear view, and also when they are sedentary or prostrated rather than standing. In case of the figures in the *Sugyodocheop*, for instance, the rear view of the sedentary figures wearing ceremonial court dress or official uniform,





( Plate 12 )

Detail of the Folding Screen of the Congratulatory Ceremony on Gwallye of Ikjong

Anonymous, 1819

Eight-fold screen, colors on paper

H: 127.0 cm, W: 35.5 cm (each panel)

Location unknown



( Plate 13 )

Detail of the Folding Screen of the Congratulatory Ceremony on the Fortieth Birthday of Queen Mother Jo

Anonymous, 1847

Eight-fold screen, colors on silk

H: 140.0 cm, W: 56.0 cm (each panel)

Dong-a University Museum

and the profiles of the prostrate figures and the folds of their garments are strikingly similar to those in the *Ikjong gwallyehujinhagyebyeong*. In particular, the style of the royal dais (御榻, *eotap*), on which are placed the throne, *obongbyeong* (五峰屏: Screen of Five Peaks), an abbreviation of *irwol obongbyeong* (日月五峰屏: screen behind the royal throne, depicting the sun, the moon, and five mountain peaks), and royal guards, as well as the placement of various figures and ceremonial instruments throughout the palace hall in the first scene of *Sugyodocheop* are nearly identical to those in the *Ikjong gwallyehujinhagyebyeong*. The high degree of similarity in these two paintings becomes more apparent when compared with the royal dais that is presented in a frontal bird's eye view in the *Jodaebi sasunchinggyeongjinha gyebyeong*. In the end, the style of the *Sugyodocheop* suggests that it is of the early nineteenth century. The date of *Sugyodocheop* can be narrowed down to the early nineteenth century because, when compared to the *Munhyoseja chaegnye gyebyeong* of the late eighteenth century or the *Wangseja duhupyeongbokjinha gyebyeong* of the late nineteenth century, the differences in the style of the figures and instruments become very clear.

Since a list of names of the officials in attendance is attached, the *Sugyodocheop*, which comes with no supplementary record of its intended purpose, is assumed not to have been intended as a *gyecheop*. In that case, two possible intended objectives may be considered: the Sigang-won, charged with the mission of nurturing and enlightening the *wangseja*, may have produced the painting at some point as a reference to the ceremony, to be kept or displayed in the Sigang-won; or the Sigang-won may have created it sometime prior to the *gwallye* and offered it to the *wangseja* to help him understand the complex procedures of the ceremony. The fact that the title *Sugyodo* itself reflects the *wangseja*'s perspective offers a light on determining the purpose of this painting album. Like the *Hoegang banchadocheop*, the intended purpose behind the creation of the *Sugyodocheop* seems the second of the two, that is, educational. It has already been seen in the *Simindangdocheop* that the conventional practice of the Sigang-won officials copying



and submitting the ritual protocol on the eve of the *gwallye* had been replaced in the early seventeenth century by a fifteen-leaf album in the diagrammatic *baebando* style. The *Sugyodocheop* shows how this kind of *baebando*-style painting of the *gwallye* evolved into a more artistic rendering of court ceremony by the nineteenth century. With that in mind, a cautious inquiry into the background of the *Sugyodocheop*, namely, which *wangseja's gwallye* the painting depicts, follows.

If the compositional style of the *Sugyodocheop* is of the first half of the nineteenth century, the possible candidates are Sunjo, Ikjong, Heonjong, and Cheoljong. First, Sunjo's *gwallye*, which was a combined ceremony in also incorporating the *chaegnye*, is far removed from what is represented in *Sugyodocheop*. Heonjong's *gwallye* was conducted during the period of national mourning in the wake of the death of King Sunjo in the 34th year of his reign (1834). As *wangseson*, the eldest son of the *wangseja*, Heonjong was unexpectedly required to undergo the *gwallye* in order to be eligible to succeed to the throne. Cheoljong, too, underwent his *gwallye* in haste in the sixth month of the fifteenth year of King Heonjong (1849) immediately after being designated Deogwan-gun (德完君). Such circumstances do not conform with the proceedings represented in the *Sugyodocheop*; nor were they conducive to the elaborate ceremony represented therein.

Therefore, the most likely person who is represented as the central character in the *Sugyodocheop* is Ikjong, the *seja* of King Sunjo.<sup>57</sup> In regard to Ikjong's *gwallye* in 1819, there are two extant *gungjung girokhwa*: the *Wangseja iphakdocheop*, which captures the entire proceedings of the ceremony, and the *Ikjong gwallyejinha gyebyeong*, which depicts King Sunjo receiving the congratulatory rite from all his civil and military officials. As seen above, the close similarity in the painting styles of the *Wangseja iphakdocheop*, the *Sugyodocheop*, and the *Ikjong gwallyejinha gyebyeong* all strongly support this possibility.

## VI THE CHARACTERISTICS OF JOSEON GUNGJUNG GIROKHWA CONCERNING THE WANGSEJA

### 01 PRE-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY WANGSEJA GIROKHWA'S EMPHASIS ON CAMARADERIE

A survey of extant *wangseja gungjung girokhwa* shows that the late eighteenth century is a landmark by which certain salient characteristics preceding and following this time can clearly be identified. Today, there are only four extant examples pre-dating the late eighteenth century, which indicates the relative lack of interest in chronicling the ceremonies of *seja* before that time. This kind of lack of interest is also reflected in the scarcity of paintings prior

to this date that relate to the *wangdaebi* (王大妃: the Queen Dowager, widow of the previous king), and the *daewangdaebi* (大王大妃: the Queen Mother, mother of the previous king).<sup>58</sup>

Until the seventeenth century, paintings pertaining to the *wangseja* are more in the style of the *Donggwan gyehoedo* (同官契會圖: painting to commemorate a gathering of scholar-officials of the same office) such as the *Jungmyojo seoyeon-gwan sayeondo* (中廟朝書筵官賜宴圖: *Painting of the Banquet Bestowed by Jungjong for the Teachers of His Seja Injong*) and the *Simindang yadaejido* (時敏堂夜對之圖: *Painting of Evening Banquet at Simindang*). The former is a painting of a banquet that King Jungjong (中宗, r. 1506–1544) held in 1535 (30th year of his reign) for the *seoyeon-gwan* (書筵官: officials in charge of the *seja*'s education) of the *seja* Injong (Plate 14).<sup>59</sup> King Jungjong showed great interest in the education of his *seja*. Each year, on the 3rd day of the third month and the 9th day of the ninth month, Jungjong held *gyeong-yeon-gwanyeon* (經筵官宴: banquet for officials in charge of the king's education), and *sayeon* (賜宴: banquet bestowed by the king) and food was granted to the *seoyeon-gwan* each time the *seja* had completed the lessons in a book.<sup>60</sup> Apparently, the main purpose of the banquet was to honor the *seoyeon-gwan*, but the fact that *gyeong-yeon-gwan* (經筵官: officials in charge of the king's education) and officials at Chunchugwan (春秋館: Office for Annals Compilation) were included in the *jwamok* (座目: list of participants) of thirty-nine guests highlights the fact that the *Jungmyojo seoyeon-gwan sayeondo* was a type of *gyechuk* (契軸: commemorative hanging scroll for the participants of a ceremony) commemorating King Jungjong's benevolence in hosting the *sayeon*.<sup>61</sup>

*Simindang yadaejido* too is a commemorative painting. The painting is in the typical style of a *gyechuk* including the title written in seal characters (篆書, *jeonso*), the illustration of the scene, and the *jwamok* (Plate 15). Created five years after the event, this painting depicts the evening lecture held on the 27th day of the tenth month of the tenth year of King Hyojong (1657), when Hyeonjong was the *wangseja*.<sup>62</sup>



( Plate 14 )

*Painting of the Banquet Bestowed by Jungjong for the Teachers of His Seja Injong*

Anonymous, 1535

Album, colors on paper

H: 42.6 cm, W: 52.3 cm

Hongik University Museum



( Plate 15 )

*Painting of Evening Banquet at Simindang*

Anonymous, copied version

Hanging scroll, colors on paper

H: 158.0 cm, W: 66.5 cm

National Museum of Korea

The tutors of the day were Song Siyeol (宋時烈, 1607-1689) and Song Jun-gil (宋浚吉, 1606-1672), both of the *chanseon* (fifth) rank, Yu Gye (兪榮, 1607-1684), seventh rank *pilseon*, and Jo Gwiseok (趙龜錫, 1615-1665), eleventh rank *saseo*. Song Siyeol, Song Jun-gil, and Yu Gye were all students of Gim Jangsaeng (金長生, 1548-1631), appointed to their respective official posts while they were independent scholars out of office. All of them had previously served as *sallim* scholars within the Sigang-won.

At this evening lecture, King Hyeonjong is said to have demonstrated exceptional knowledge and many informed opinions as he enjoyed himself drinking wine with the four officials in a pleasant mood after the lecture. Five years later, the four officials once again gathered in Seoul. Recollecting that evening, they agreed to commemorate the lecture by documenting it in both painting and words.<sup>63</sup>

In the painting, the four officials are seated next to each other around a book table and a candlestick in the east chamber (東閣, *donghap*) of the Simindang. This scene is less a realistic representation of the evening lecture itself than an accentuated portrayal of the physical presence of the Simindang and other office buildings nearby like the Sigang-won and the Igwisa. This style reflects the trend in the late sixteenth to the early seventeenth centuries of paintings of gatherings of scholar-officials, which emphasized a wide view of the main building of the gathering place.<sup>64</sup> In effect, the direct cause behind the creation of the *Simindang yadaejido* was to capture the strong comradeship of the *seoyeon-gwan*, rather than to commemorate the evening gathering *per se*. These four men shared the common experience of working together as *sallim* scholars as well as the same scholarly interests and ideology.

In the same vein, the introduction to the *Wangseja chaegnyedogam gyebyeong* of 1690 states the intention to commemorate the camaraderie felt by the listed participants as officials of the same rank sharing the same role. In sum, until the late eighteenth century, paintings concerning the *wangseja* tended not to focus on the *wangseja* himself. Neither were such paintings bona fide documentary paintings. At the same time, it is a fact that the convention of creating *gyechuk* or *gyebyeong* in the aftermath of the completion of a ceremony or function related to the *wangseja* had, by the late eighteenth century, become an important custom.

## 02 GUNGJUNG GIROKHWA RELATED TO CROWN PRINCE HYOMYEONG AND THE STRENGTHENING OF THE KINGSHIP

All post-eighteenth century *girokhwa* relevant to the *wangseja* were created during the reigns of Jeongjo, Sunjo, and Gojong. All of these respective reign periods were a time of strengthening the authority of the king. This is reflected in the *Munhyoseja chaegnye gyebyeong*, which depicts in realistic detail the court

ceremony of the eighteenth century. Moreover, it is also significant that the painting is the work of, among the many palace offices that played both direct and indirect roles in the ceremony, the Sigang-won alone. (Plates 1-1 and 1-2). Officials of the Sigang-won below the rank of *bodeok*, the chief administrator, behaved as friends rather than as subjects when coming into interaction with the *seja*, thereby cultivating with the *seja* mutual sincerity and empathy. Moreover, since the title of *seoyeon-gwan* was perceived as *cheong-yojik* (清要職, honorable and important posts) that were relatively more advantageous for promotion to higher positions during the Joseon dynasty, the *seoyeon-gwan*'s political influence was not to be overlooked. As mentioned earlier, King Jeongjo made great efforts in various ways to reinforce the prestige of the Sigang-won and to strengthen the status of the Crown Prince: the overhaul of royal ceremonies related to *seja*, the publication of the *Sigang-wonji*, the construction of Junghuidang, the renovation of Igeukmun, and the installation of the office of *dangsanggwan* within the Sigang-won. The creation by the Sigang-won of a commemorative screen (*Munhyoseja chaegnye gyebyeong*) during King Jeongjo's reign is a case in point. In the same vein, the *Wangseja iphakdocheop* signified the Sigang-won's strong policy to reinforce the king's authority.

The fact that, of all extant *gungjung girokhwa* pertaining to the *wangseja*, four in number or thirty percent, account for the *iphagnye* or the *gwallye* of Hyomyeong Seja reflects well the political will to enhance the status of the *seja* and to reinforce the kingship during the reign of Sunjo in the early nineteenth century (Table 3).<sup>65</sup> These four documentary paintings are as follows: the *Wangseja tan-gang gyebyeong* (王世子誕降契屏: *Folding Screen in Commemoration of the Hyomyeong Seja's Birth*) of 1812, created by the officials of the Sansilcheong, who were in office at the time of Hyomyeong Seja's birth in 1809; the *Wangseja iphakdocheop* of 1817; the *Sugyodocheop*; and the *Ikjong gwallyejinha gyebyeong* (Plate 12). During the reign of King Sunjo in the first half of the nineteenth century, extraordinary efforts were made to strengthen the kingship and revive the monarchy, as well as display its stability and authority. These efforts were manifested

in various ways: the performance of *jeollye* (典禮) or state ceremonies such as *jinchan* and *gasangjonho* (加上尊號: praise of the virtues of the king or queen); the publication of *Uigwe* (儀軌: Book of Court Rites); the staging of processions of officials and the conduct of military training.<sup>66</sup> Hyomyeong Seja himself also played an essential role in the production of *gungjung girokhwa*. He introduced the practice of producing *jinchan gyebyeong* (進饌契屏: folding screens of formal royal banquets) on a regular basis in the nineteenth century and also played a decisive role in the production of large-scale *gungjunghwa* like *Donggwoldo* and *Seogwoldo* (西闕圖: *Painting of West Palace*).<sup>67</sup> The fact that there were more *gungjung girokhwa* made illustrating the birth, *gwallye*, and *iphagnye* of Hyomyeong Seja than of any other *wangseja* correlates with his political standing.

There were three *wangseja gungjung girokhwa* made during the reign of King Gojong (r. 1863-1907). They are a folding screen made by officials of the Sansilcheong to commemorate the birth of the *wangseja* (Sunjong, r. 1907-1910) in 1874 (Plate 16) and two more folding screens made by military officials at the Owidochongbu and Wijangso to celebrate the *wangseja*'s recovery from smallpox in 1879 (Plate 3). Although these three paintings are neither the creations of the Sigang-won nor about *donggung uirye*, they are, nonetheless, folding screens that celebrate the birth of the *wangseja* and his recovery from illness.

### 03 DOCUMENTARY PAINTINGS OF THE SIGANG-WON RELATING TO THE WANGSEJA

The most salient characteristics of nineteenth-century paintings of court ceremonies are the restriction of subject matter to *jinchan* or *jinnyeon* and their folding screen format. In that context, all the *Wangseja iphakdocheop*, *Sugyodocheop*, and *Hoegang banchadocheop* that the Sigang-won produced are unconventional in both format and content. These three works are not folding screens but painting albums with realistic depictions of court ceremonies relating to the *wangseja*. In particular, they are distinct from other



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Park Jeong-hye

contemporary paintings in that they are extraordinarily informative. They clearly exhibit thoughtful consideration behind the creation of an illustrative painting that the young *seja* could comfortably view and from which he could easily absorb the sequence of the ceremony procedures. Such considerations are amply evident in the depiction of key scenes from a particular ceremony in the order in which they are performed as well as in the convenient painting album format that these illustrations assume.

This kind of special consideration for the young Crown Prince was possible precisely because it was the officials of the Sigang-won, who, as his closest assistants, were in charge of producing the documentary paintings. Such considerations on the part of the Sigang-won officials in devising a painting format conducive to easy understanding can also be found in earlier works. For instance, the *Simindangdocheop* of 1670, a *gyecheop* by the Sigang-won, originated from Jeong Gyeongse's schematic explanation of the ritual protocol governing the *gwallye*. In this light, it can be argued that the practice of visually illustrating ceremony proceedings in the form of painting albums was a time-honored documentary tradition of the Sigang-won.

This tradition stands in contrast to the intention behind the making of

( Plate 16 )

Detail of the *Folding Screen in  
Commemoration of the Hyomyeong  
Seja's Birth*

Anonymous, 1874

Ten-fold screen, colors on paper

H: 101.2 cm, W: 41.4 cm (each panel)

National Museum of Korea

( Table 3 ) List of *gyecheop* and *gyebyeong* of *gungjung girokhwa* pertaining to Ikjong (翼宗)

Title	Date of Production	Ritual Type	Contents	List of Participants	Format
<i>Wangseja tan-gang gyebyeong</i>	1812	<i>Tan-gang</i>	<i>Yojiyeon</i>	Sansilcheong	Eight-fold screen
<i>Wangseja iphakdocheop</i>	1817	Entrance to Seonggyun-gwan	Entrance to Seonggyun-gwan	Sigang-won	Painting album
<i>Ikjong gwallyejinha gyebyeong</i>	1819	<i>Gwallye</i>	<i>Jinharye</i>	<i>Dangsang</i> at Seungjeong-won	Eight-fold screen
<i>Sugyodocheop</i>	1819	<i>Gwallye</i>	<i>Gwallye</i>	(none)	Painting album



the folding screen of Hyomyeong Seja's *chaegnye* in 1812 by former officials of the Sansilcheong or the folding screen in the wake of his *gwallye* in 1819 by officials of the Seungjeong-won (承政院: Royal Secretariat). The purposes behind the production of these *gungjung girokhwa* are apparent in the paintings themselves. The intentions of the officials of the Seungjeong-won who had commissioned the *Ikjong gwallyejinha gyebyeong* (Plate 12), which depicts all civil and military officials offering congratulations to the king, were quite different from those of the officials of the Sigang-won who had commissioned the *Wangseja iphakdocheop*, which shows the *wangseja* as the recipient of a congratulatory ceremony. In other words, the last scene of the *Wangseja iphakdocheop* depicts, instead of the *wangseja* performing a congratulatory rite for the king, the Crown Prince himself as the recipient of such a rite performed by all the palace officials. That the last scene is named *Suhado* in itself indicates what the purpose and use of this painting album were, which are quite different from those of the folding screen above.

## VII CONCLUSION

The thirteen extant Joseon documentary court paintings relating to the *wangseja* range in date from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. They depict various momentous occasions in the life of the *wangseja*: *tan-gang* (birth), *chaekbong* (investiture), *iphak* (commencement of learning), *seoyeon* (court lectures), *gwallye* (coming-of-age), *garye* (nuptials), and recovery from serious illness, and are represented by hanging scrolls, albums, and screen paintings. This paper has analyzed, within the broader context of all court documentary paintings of the Joseon period, the characteristics and significance of some of these works - the scarcity of selections notwithstanding - that had been commissioned by the Sigang-won and that were essentially documentary paintings of actual court ceremonies.

Though *gungjung girokhwa* pre-dating the

eighteenth century did include the *wangseja* as a subject, it is likely that such paintings were close in style to the paintings of gatherings of scholar-officials that were popular during the sixteenth to the seventeenth centuries. The eight paintings created in the nineteenth century discussed in this article can be divided into two categories according to their intended use: first, folding screens (*gyebyeong*) of ceremonies commissioned by the relevant court bureau and second, albums (*gyecheop*) commissioned by the Sigang-won. The former are a product of the trend of the time in depicting *jinharye* on a large-scale *gyebyeong* while the latter are related to the *wangseja*'s initiation and education.

As discussed above, these paintings by the Sigang-won are clearly different in form, composition, and narrative illustration from contemporary folding-screen ceremonial paintings produced by other bureaux within the royal court. They are all instructional albums that depict various ritual protocols in sequence. In effect, these pedagogical illustrations are the product of the special consideration for the young *wangseja* on the part of the Sigang-won officials. The *Simindangdocheop* and the *Wangseja iphakdocheop* are albums made by the Sigang-won to commemorate a particular ceremony, while the *Sugyudocheop* and *Hoegang banchadocheop* are, the lack of documented evidence notwithstanding, most likely albums of the respective ceremonies prepared by the Sigang-won in advance and brought into the Donggung, the Crown Prince's quarters for instructional purposes. As of the seventeenth century, the Sigang-won's practice of producing illustrated paintings featuring ritual protocol with the purpose of simplifying the procedures for the *seja* was in place. This convention was a direct factor in the making of *gyecheop* by officials of the Sigang-won. Moreover, it was also proven that the hitherto unknown subject matter of *Sugeyodocheop* was the visual manifestation of ceremonial protocol.

Not all ceremonial paintings commissioned by the Sigang-won were painting albums, however. For instance, the *Munhyoseja chaegnye gyebyeong* of 1784 is significant among the paintings commissioned by

the Sigang-won for its realistic representation of a court ceremony. That it was created as a *gyecheop* rather than a painting album is due in large measure to King Jeongjo's policy of enhancing the prestige of the Sigang-won. In the same vein, it is important to note that post-eighteenth century *gungjung girokhwa* mainly feature Crown Princes in the reigns of Kings Jeongjo, Sunjo, and Gojong. It means that *girokhwa* related to the *wangseja* are intimately tied to the politics of strengthening the kingship, enhancing the status of the Sigang-won, and expanding the political role of the *seoyeon-gwan*. The intermingling of these factors acted as a catalyst in the production of *girokhwa* during this time.

As the production of *gungjung girokhwa* was initiated by officials of various court offices, the paintings closely reflect the political mood of the time, as well as any changes in the organizational structure or status of the different court offices. Such was certainly the case with the *gungjung girokhwa* related to the *wangseja* produced during the reigns of Kings Jeongjo, Sunjo, and Gojong. Therefore, the correlation between the politico-social background behind *gungjung girokhwa* and the *jwamok* or the list of participants in the ceremony that these works contain is very important in the study of *gungjung girokhwa*. Further study of the subject from political and social perspectives lies ahead. ≡



## NOTES

1

For more information on the various rituals of initiation and education that a crown prince was obliged to undergo, see Kim Munsik and Kim Jeongho, *The Education of the Crown Princes of the Joseon Dynasty* (朝鮮 王世子 教育), Seoul: Gimm-Young Publishers, Inc. ( ), 2003.

2

For a comprehensive study of Joseon court documentary paintings related to the crown prince, see Park Jeong-hye, "The Crown Prince and Documentary Paintings during the Joseon Dynasty," *The Documentary Paintings and Maps of Joseon Dynasty from the Jangseogak Library* ( ), Seoul: Minsokwon ( ), 2005. 10-52.

3

The reason that King Sunjo appointed Prince Hyomyeong as his regent is twofold: to protect the kingship that could be threatened by his illness and to restrain the potential comeback of Andong Kim clan's political influence that he had experienced as a young king. For more details, see Kim Myeongsuk, "Anti-Movement against the Political Power of Maternal Relatives in the Nineteenth Century: with Concentration on Hyomyeong Seja's Rule as Regent (19 : )," *Hyomyeong Seja Yeon-gu* (孝明世子研究: *Study of Prince Hyomyeong*), Seoul: Dusol Publishing, 2005. 61-104.

4

For more details on the establishment as well as the operation and developement of the organization of Sigang-won, see Lee Seokgyu (李碩圭), "Study on the Seoyeon during the early Joseon Dynasty (朝鮮初期 書筵 )," MA thesis, Hanyang University, 1985. 4-26; Lee Kisun (李基淳), "A Research on the Sigang-won of the Joseon Dynasty (朝鮮時代 侍講院 研究)," *Hongik Sahak* (弘益史學: *Hongik Historical Science*), vol. 3 (July 1986): 109-41; Yuk Suhwa (陸受禾), "Curriculum of Seja sigang-won of the Joseon Dynasty (朝鮮時代 世子侍講院 教育課程)," *Jangseogak* (藏書閣), vol. 11 (2004): 131-47.

5

Refer to Former Organization System (官職舊制), *Sigang-wonji* (侍講院志) vol. 1.

6

Refer to Present Organization System (官職今制) and Adjunct Positions (兼官), *Sigang-wonji* vol. 1.

7

U Gyeongseop, "Bibliographical Essay on the *Sigang-wonji* (侍講院志 解題)," *Sigang-wonji* (侍講院志) vol. 1, photoprint, Seoul: Seoul National University Gyujanggak, 2003. 11-3.

8

*Yeongjo sillok* (英祖實錄: *Annals of King Yeongjo*) vol. 93 (Yeongjo 35/3/7); *Jeongjo sillok* (正祖實錄) vol. 18 (Jeongjo 8/7/2).

9

*Hyeonjong sillok* (顯宗實錄) vol. 18 (Hyeonjong 11/3/9).

10

Kim Munsik and Kim Jeongho, 2003 (note 1). 116-8.

11

This table is based on the following: *Joseonwangjo sillok* (朝鮮王朝實錄: *Annals of the Joseon Dynasty*); *Jeungbo munheon bigo* (增補文獻備考: *Revised and Enlarged Edition of the Comparative Review of Records and Documents*); Kim Jongwon, 1985; Kim Munsik and Kim Jeongho, 2003.

12

*Jeongjo sillok* vol. 53 (Jeongjo 24/1/1).

13

For more information on the education of crown princes and the ceremonies of commencement of learning of the kings, see Park Jeong-hye, "The Education of Crown Princes of the Joseon Dynasty and *Wangseja iphakdocheop* (朝鮮時代 王世子 教育 '王世子入學圖帖')," *Commentary on the Wangseja Iphagdo* (王世子入學圖 解說), Seoul: Cultural Heritage Administration of Korea (文化財廳), 2005. 59-64.

14

*Taejong sillok* (太宗實錄) vol. 3 (Taejong 2/4/24) and (Taejong 2/5/6).

15

Kim Jongwon (金鍾源), "A Research on the Education in the Siganwon during the Joseon Dynasty (朝鮮朝 侍講院 教育 關研究)," PhD diss., Wonkwang University, 1985. 95-6.

## 16

See the section on Seoyeon (書筵) in Siganwon (侍講院), *Yukjeonjorye* (六典條例: *Applications of the Six Codes*) vol. 6.

## 17

*Jungjong sillok* (中宗實錄) vol. 44 (Jungjong 17/4/19).

## 18

For details on the *Simindangdocheop*, see ch. V of this paper.

## 19

Regarding these two works, see Park Eunsun (朴銀順), "Jeongmyojo (正廟朝) Folding Screen of Crown Prince's Investiture Ceremony (王世子冊禮稷屏): An Example of Folding Screen Paintings of Immortals (神仙圖稷屏)," *Misulsayeongu* (美術史研究: *Journal of Art History*), vol. 4 (1990): 101-12; Yun Jinyeong (尹軫暎), "The *Gyehoedo* (契會圖) of the Joseon Dynasty (朝鮮時代 契會圖 研究)," PhD diss., The Graduate School of Korean Studies, The Academy of Korean Studies, 2004. 244-53.

## 20

For detailed information on the Investiture Ceremony of the Crown Prince Munhyo, see *Book of Court Ceremony on the Investiture of Munhyo Seja* (文孝世子受冊時 冊禮都監儀軌), Seoul: Seoul National University Gyujanggak (Collection No. 13200).

## 21

*Jeongjo sillok* vol. 14 (Jeongjo 6/9/7).

## 22

See *Sigang-wonji* (侍講院志) vol. 5, Chaekbong (冊封), Dangjeo (當宁: Current King) part.

## 23

*Jeongjo sillok* vol. 21 (Jeongjo 10/5/11).

## 24

The entire list is as follows: *bodeok*: Jo Sangjin (趙尙鎮, 1740-1820), Gim Ujin (金宇鎮, 1754-?), Jo Jeongjin (趙鼎鎮, 1732-1792), Yi Munwon (李文源, 1740-1794), Gim Jaechan (金載瓚, 1746-1827), Seo Yongbo (徐龍輔, 1757-1824), Jeong Dongjun (鄭東浚, 1753-?); *pilseon*: Gwon eom (權示嚴, 嚴 示가 1729-1801), Song Jeon (宋鎔, 1741-1814), Yi Joseung (李祖承, 1754-?); *munhak*: Yi □-sang (李□祥) and Seo Hyeongsu (徐澄修, 1749-1824), Yi Gyeombin (李謙彬, 1742-?), Seo Misu (徐美

修, 1752-?), Seo Yuseong (徐有成, 1739-?); *saseo*: Seong Jongin (成種仁, 1751-?), Kim Gyerak (金啓洛, 1753-1815), Im Jewon (林濟遠, 1737-?), Yi Jipdu (李集斗, 1744-1820); *seo/seo*: Shim Jinhyeon (沈晉賢, 1747-?), Shin Bok (申馥, 1753-?), Yi Kyeong-oh (李敬五, 1740-?), Yi Gonsu (李崑秀, 1762-1788), Yun Haeng-im (尹行任, 1762-1801), Jeong Donggwan (鄭東觀, 1762-?). The positions are listed in the order of rank, former official, current official, and age.

## 25

*Jeongjo sillok* vol. 18 (Jeongjo 8/7/27); *Gukjo oryeui* (國朝五禮儀: *Book on the Five Rites of State*) vol. 4, Garye (嘉禮: Festive Ceremony), Chaegwangseja-ui (冊王世子儀) section.

## 26

See "Uiju (儀註)" in *Book of Court Ceremony on the Investiture of Munhyo Seja* (文孝世子受冊時 冊禮都監儀軌).

## 27

See Park Jeong-hye, *A Study on Court Documentary Paintings of the Joseon Dynasty* (朝鮮時代 宮中記錄畫 研究), Seoul: Iljisa (一志社), 2000. 447-54.

## 28

The *uiju* recorded in this painting album is also contained in the *Donggung Ilgi* (東宮日記: *Diary of Donggung*), Hyomyeong Seja (孝明世子), *jeongchuk* (丁丑) year, second month, 11th day.

## 29

The poems to this painting album was written by such officials of the Sigang-won - except for the head/deputy teachers (*sa/bu*, 師·傅) and two assistant teachers (*yisa*, 貳師) - as *jwabin-gaek* Yi Mansu (李晩秀, 1752-1820), *ubin-gaek* Nam Gongcheol, *jwabubin-gaek* Gim Huisun (金羲淳, 1757-1821), *ububin-gaek* Gim Iggyo (金履喬, 1764-1832), *bodeok* Seo Jeongbo (徐鼎輔, 1762-?), *gyeombodeok* Yi Heonki (李憲琦, 1774-1842), *pilseon* Yi Jongmok (李鍾穆), *gyoempilseon* Hong Gyeongmo (洪敬謨, 1774-1841), *munhak* Gim Byeonggu (金炳球), *gyeommunhak* Yun Eungdae (尹應大), *saseo* Gim Jaewon (金在元), *gyeomsaseo* Yi Kyuhyeon (李奎鉉), *seolsoe* Nam Imu (南履懋).

## 30

*Sunjo sillok* (純祖實錄) vol. 19 (Sunjo 16/6th intercalary month/10).

## 31

*Sunjo sillok* vol. 20 (Sunjo 17/1/1).

32

*Sunjo sillok* vol. 20 (Sunjo 17/3/11).

33

*Sunjo sillok* vol. 20, (Sunjo 17/2/5).

34

Protocols of *Chulgung-ui* along with *Jakheonui* are prescribed in *Gukjo oryeui* (國朝五禮儀), vol. 2, Gillye (吉禮: Auspicious Ceremony), Wangseja jakheon munseonwang iphagui (王世子酌獻文宣王入學儀) part. *Jakheonye* is separately classified into *gillye* as it is for sacrificial rituals.

35

See *Yeongjo sillok* vol. 104 (Yeongjo 40/12/18); *Jeongjo sillok* vol. 18 (Jeongjo 8/8/2); *Protocol Guide Produced by the Investiture Office of the Wangseja, Monhyo Seja* (文孝世子受冊時 冊禮都監儀軌), Sangjeon (賞典: Rites of Award).

36

The dress protocols and equipage of the Crown Prince depicted in the painting accord with the regulation of *Gukjo oryeui seorye* (國朝五禮儀序例) vol. 2, Garye, Wangseja-ujang in the *Nobu* (鹵簿王世子儀仗: Ceremonial Equipage of the Crown Prince).

37

The most detailed commentary on ceremonies concerning Jakheon in the Munmyo is found in the *Taehakji* (太學志) vol. 4, Yeak (禮樂: Ritual and Music), Wangseja jakheoniphak (王世子酌獻入學).

38

This tombstone was erected in the 10th year of King Taejong (1410) by Byeon Gyeryang (卞季良, 1369–1430) upon Taejong's command to inscribe the history of the Munmyo. The *bigak* built in the sixth year of King Jungjong (1511) was destroyed during the Japanese invasion (壬辰倭亂, *imjin waeran*), and was restored in the fourth year of King Injo (1626).

39

For the history of the Seongyun-gwan and the names and functions of the buildings it contained, see *Taehakji* (太學志) vol. 1, Geonchi (建置: Constructions and Myou (廟宇: Shrines).

40

The *seja's iphagnye* is prescribed in the *Gukjo oryeui* vol. 4, Garye. The procedures include *Wangbogui* and *Supyeui*.

41

For the text book of the lecture at that time, the Sigang-won chose the *Sohak* (小學). See *Sunjo sillok* vol. 20 (Sunjo 17/2/6); *Donggung Ilgi*, Hyomyeong Seja, *jeongchuk* year, 2nd month, 2nd day.

42

See *Sigang-wonji* (侍講院志) vol. 5, Iphak, Injo 3 (1625).

43

*Sunjo sillok* vol. 20 (Sunjo 17/3/12).

44

See *Donggung Ilgi*, Hyomyeong Seja, *jeongchuk* year, 3rd month, 12th day

45

*Sunjo sillok* vol. 17 (Sunjo 13/4/3).

46

Park Jeong-hye, "Sagwejangdocheop and Yeonsidocheop of the Joseon Period (朝鮮時代 賜几杖圖帖 延諡圖帖)," *Misulsaahakyoengu* (美術史學研究: *Korean Journal of Art History*), vol. 231 (September 2001): 41–73.

47

Concerning the graphical comparison of the five pieces of *Wangseja iphakdocheop*, see Park Jeong-hye, "The Education of Crown Princes of the Joseon Dynasty and *Wangseja iphakdocheop*," *Commentary on the Wangseja Iphakdo*, Seoul: Cultural Heritage Administration of Korea, 2005. 59–64.

48

See *Gukjo oryeui* vol. 3, Garye, Seoyeonhoegangui (書筵會講儀: Codes of Reviewing Lesssons); *Sigang-wonji* vol. 1, Ganggyu (講規), Seoyeonhoegangui (書筵會講儀).

49

See *Yukjeonjorye* (六典條例) vol. 6, Sigang-won, General Cases (總例).



50

*Yukjeonjorye*, Seoyeon.

51

At the same time, the repeated applications of various yellow to the costumes decrease the realistic effect.

52

See *Gukjo oryuei* vol. 3, Wangseja gwanui (王世子冠儀: Seja's *gwallye* Protocols).

53

One possibility is that this *gyecheop* may be a draft sketch.

54

See Jeong Gyeongse (鄭經世), *Ubokjip* (愚伏集) vol. 15, Bal (跋: epilog), Seochun-gung gwallyedohu (書春宮冠禮圖後: Epilogue for the Painting of Seja's Gwallye).

55

Besides this *Gwallyedo*, this *uigwe* contains the same form of *chaegnyedo*, while other *uigwe* do not contain any *banchado* consisting of such inscriptions. The *banchado* was probably made for this exceptional case of the *gwallye* and *chaegnye* being held successively on the same day.

56

Six rolls of black silk and four rolls of red silk were a typical gift bestowed on such big occasions as royal nuptials.

57

Ikjong had his own *gwallye* at Gyeonghuigung (慶熙宮) in the third month of 1819. *Sunjo sillok* vol. 22 (Sunjo 19/3/20).

58

Paintings related to *Dongjo* (東朝: term to call *wangdaebi* and *daewangdaebi*) were intensively produced in *gyebyeong* that depicts the scenes of *jinchon*, *jinnyeon*, or *jinha* in the nineteenth century.

59

Seo Jeongbo, "Essay on the Documentary Painting of Seoyeon-gwan sayeon (書筵官賜宴圖記)," *Seoyeon-gwan sayeondo geup namjigirohoedo* (書筵官賜宴圖及南池耆老會圖), The National Library of Korea.

60

*Jungjong sillok* vol. 60 (Jungjong 22/12/8); vol. 78 (Jungjong 29/10/6); vol. 105 (Jungjong 39/10/15).

61

According to the *gimun* (記文: essay) written by *bodeok* (for Hyomyeong Seja), Seo Jeongbo in the *Daeguseossi gajeonhwacheop* (大邱徐氏家傳畫帖: *Painting Album for Seo Family of Daegu*), this painting was originally made as a hanging scroll but recompiled into a painting album after the *Imjinwaeran*.

62

When King Hyojong (孝宗) acceded to the throne and engaged *sallim* scholars who had been out of office, Song Siyeol was appointed *jinseon* of the Siganwon together with Song Jun-gil. Song Siyeol was reappointed as *chanseon* (諫善) in 1658.

63

Song Siyeol (宋時烈), "Simindang-yadaeseo (時敏堂夜對序)," *Songjadajeon* (宋子大全) vol. 137: *Hanguk munjipchonggan* [韓國文集叢刊], vol. 112, Seoul: Minjokmunhwa Chujinhoe (民族文化推進會), 1998. 524.

64

See Yun, 2004. (note 19). 263-8.

65

With respect to this topic, it is necessary to examine and to analyze the political propensities of the officials of the Sigangwon - a task that I shall undertake at a future date.

66

See Han Yeong-u, "Hyomyeong Seja and His *lphagnye* as the Subject of *Wangseja iphakdo* (王世子入學圖 主人公 孝明世子入學式)," Commentary on the *Wangseja lphakdo*, Seoul: Cultural Heritage Administration of Korea, 2005. 32-6.

67

On *Donggwoldo*, see Ahn Hwi-Joon (安輝濤), "Gunggwoldo (宮闕圖: Palace Paintings) of Korea," *Donggwoldo*, Seoul: Cultural Heritage Administration of Korea, 1991. 13-61.





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# GORYEO CELADON WARES DISCOVERED OFF BIANDO, GUNSAN

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and revised by the author to fit this journal's editorial criteria.

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## GORYEO CELADON WARES DISCOVERED OFF BIANDO, GUNSAN

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### [ ABSTRACT ]

This paper analyzes the characteristics of the 3,117 Goryeo celadon wares discovered near Biando (飛雁島) off the northern coast of Byeonsanbando (邊山半島: peninsula), Gunsan (群山), Jeollabuk-do (全羅北道). These Goryeo celadon wares, which come in different shapes, mostly consist of various *daejeop* (大蝶: large bowls) and *jeopsi* (蝶匙: plates and dishes). The rim of the *daejeop* tends to be curved inward while the body retains a curved form. The rim of the *jeopsi*, on the other hand, has only a slight inward curvature.

The most frequently occurring pattern on both *daejeop* and *jeopsi* is *aengmumun* (鸚鵡文: parrot design). It is generally incised. The firing was done using either *naehwato bijim batchim* (thick spur-like firing supports molded with *naehwato* [耐火土: fire-resistant clay] mixed with *jeomto* [粘土: fine clay]) or *naehwato batchim* (thinner supports made of *naehwato* mixed with *jeomto*) leaving three or five spur marks on the underside of a *daejeop* or *jeopsi*.

The date of the celadon wares was estimated by comparative analysis with the existing data on celadon from the twelfth to the thirteenth centuries. The celadon wares discovered off Biando bore the most resemblance to the celadon

excavated from Jinseo-ri (鎭西里) and Yucheon-ri (柳川里) in Buan (扶安) and Yongun-ri (龍雲里) and Sadang-ri (沙堂里) in Gangjin (康津). Of these, the Yucheon-ri Kiln Site Zone No. 7 in Buan is considered the most probable site of production for the Biando celadon pieces. The celadon wares found off Biando were probably made as tribute wares sometime in the 1220s and were shipwrecked while being transported from Buan to Gaeseong (開城), the capital of Goryeo.

## [ KEYWORDS ]

Biando, shipwreck, Goryeo, incised celadon, inlaid celadon, *hwahyeongjeonjeopsi*, *aengmumun*, *gukhwamun*, *moranmun*

## I INTRODUCTION

This paper deals with the Goryeo celadon wares discovered near Biando off the northern coast of Byeonsanbando, Okdo, Gusan, Jeollabuk-do. The celadon wares were accidentally discovered in 2002 by a fisherman named Jo Dongseon. Upon Jo's notification to the authorities, an underwater inspection team from the National Maritime Museum of the Culture Heritage Administration of Korea was immediately dispatched to the site.

The celadon wares appear to have lain for centuries hidden from view covered under a thick layer of sediment. The accelerated tides produced by the recent construction of the nearby Saemangeum embankment seem to have swept this sediment away, revealing the ceramics. The number of items discovered so far is 3,117 including the discoveries of 243 pieces by Jo and 211

( Table 1 ) Discoveries from Biando

Source: National Maritime Museum of Korea. The Underwater Remains of Biando, Gusan. Gusan: National Maritime Museum of Korea, 2004

Vessel types	Large bowls	Bowls	Mid-size bowls	Plates		Cups			Lids	Boxes	Total	Note
				Plate	Small plates	Cylindrical cups	Large cylindrical cups	Cups				
From initial report	87	-	-	125	1	18	-	5	7	-	43	
From initial inspection	86	-	-	85	10	3	-	3	24	-	211	
1st excavation	804	21	-	745	26	43	26	169	98	-	1,932	
2nd excavation	220	-	-	210	-	18	-	43	42	-	533	
3rd excavation	8	-	1	54	-	-	-	2	26	9	100	
4th excavation	21	1	-	102	-	1	-	-	26	2	153	
5th excavation	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	1	-	5	4 (wooden fragments)
Subtotal	1,119	22	1	1,200	36	65	26	217	217	11	2,934	
Total	220	22	1	1,325	37	83	26	222	224	11	3,117	



by the inspection team (see Table 1). The remainder was recovered during five seasons of scientific underwater excavations conducted between May 2002 and September 2003.

## II CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SHAPE, PATTERNS, AND PRODUCTION METHODS OF GORYEO CELADON WARES FROM BIANDO

### 01 SHAPES

The shapes of the celadon wares from Biando vary from *daejeop* (大蝶: large bowls), *jeopsi* (蝶匙: plates and dishes), *jan* (盞: cups), *hap* (盒: lidded boxes), *jeonjeopsi* (展蝶匙: dish with flat rim), *bal* (鉢: mid-size bowls), *tonghyeongjan* (筒形盞: cylindrical cups), *ttukkeong* (gae, 蓋: lids), *wan* (盥: small bowls), to *sojeopsi* (小蝶匙: small plates), with *daejeop* and *jeopsi* forming the bulk of the discovery. There are also *hwahyeong jeonjeopsi* (花形展蝶匙: flat-rimmed plates of petalled shape), and *gakjeopsi* (角蝶匙: polygonal plates). In the case of the *daejeop*, the rims are mostly curved inward. Specimens of celadon *bal* and *wan* were

found only in small numbers, while celadon *jan* and *ttukkeong* were rare. Celadon *tonghyeongjan* and *hap* are most noticeable pieces, especially for the black-and-white inlay decoration on celadon *hap*.

#### 1) *Daejeop* (大蝶: large bowls)

The rim of the *daejeop* is mostly curved inward while the body retains a curvature and the inner base is molded to make a circular bottom. The foot is short and tilted toward the center (Plate 1). Some *daejeop* have no decorative pattern at all, neither inside nor outside, while others have *yeonpanmun* (蓮瓣文: open lotus petal design) incised on the outside. A few *daejeop* are decorated with molded *moranmun* (牡丹文: peony design) with leaves all over the inside and others have molded *yeonpanmun* on the outside. However, *daejeop* typically have patterns only on one side of the vessel, either on the inside or on the outside. Vessels fired on *naehwato bijim batchim* have four spur marks on the foot and the inner base is mostly glazed. The colors range from greenish-brown and bluish-green and the body is thin and has a glossy surface (Plate 2).

#### 2) *Jeopsi* (蝶匙: plates and dishes)

*Jeopsi* form the bulk of the collection. They



( Plate 1 )  
Celadon *wan*  
H: 8.0 cm; Diameter: 16.6 cm (rim),  
6.0 cm (foot)  
National Maritime Museum of Korea: Bian  
H-038 and Bian B-384



( Plate 2 )  
*Yeonpanmun* celadon *wan*  
H: 7.2 cm; Diameter: 16.4 cm (rim),  
6.2 cm (foot)  
National Maritime Museum of Korea: Bian  
E-006

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are mostly flat with a short foot which is slightly curved inward and has four spur marks. There are *jeopsi* with *yeonpanmun* incised on the outside, with *aengmumun* incised on the inside, or with no decoration at all. The colors are mostly greenish-brown and bluish-green, similar to *daejeop*. Some *gakjeopsi* are polygonal below the main body and have an outwardly curving mouth and a short and small foot. Some bear no design on the outside but on the inside are molded with *yeonhwadangchomun* (蓮花唐草文: lotus petals with arabesque designs) or *moranmun*. The polygonal *jeopsi* have four spur marks and many are of a deep bluish-green hue.

*Jeonjeopsi* are small *jeopsi* with a diameter of about 10 cm and a flat rim. A few *jeonjeopsi* have a foot, which is flat and low, like that of the typical small round *jeopsi*. On the foot of *jeonjeopsi*, there are three spur marks and the color of the glaze is bluish-green. *Hwahyeongjeonjeopsi* are dishes with a flat rim with six grooves making a petal shape. The interior is encircled by a band of *yeouidumun* (如意頭文: ruyi pattern) and *hwamun* (花文: flower pattern) carved in relief throughout while the exterior has no decoration. The foot is carved out from the inside and has four spur marks. Many *jeonseopsi* are of a deep bluish-green color.

### 3) *Jan* (盞: cups)

The celadon *jan* have an inwardly curved mouth and the body has an overall round shape. The foot is angled inward and has three spur marks. Some have no patterns, while others have *yeopmun* (葉文: leaf design) incised on the exterior; a band of *noemun* (雷文: thunder pattern) on both the interior and the exterior; or three floral sprays of *gukhwamun* (菊花文: chrysanthemum design) inlaid in black and white on the exterior. The glaze colors range from greenish-brown to bluish-green. A question still remains as to whether the *jan* were used without matching saucers or whether matching saucers had been produced but have yet to be discovered. *Tonghyeongjan* are special type of cup with a cylindrical body which has either no pattern or incised or carved *yeonpanmun* on the exterior (Plate 3). The latter have either *yeonpanmun* or *gukhwamun* on top or *seonmun* (線文: linear design) that depicts a flower petal and a sprout-like handle at the top center. Colors vary from deep bluish-green to greenish-brown and they have three

#### ( Plate 3 )

Celadon *tonghyeongjan* with molded  
*yeonpanmun*  
H: 8.2 cm; Diameter: 8.1 cm (rim), 5.6 cm  
(foot)  
National Maritime Museum of Korea:  
Bian B-384



spur marks on the foot. Many *tonghyeongjan* are of fine quality with an evenly applied deep bluish-green glaze.

#### 4) Wan (盥: small bowls)

Celadon *wan* are rare among the excavated pieces. They have no decoration on the curved body and the foot faces inward and is short in length. A mix of bluish-green and greenish-brown glaze is found on the surface and the foot shows traces of having been fired on a stand. Celadon *bal* were also found, but only rarely. Like the *wan*, the *bal* has no pattern but has an outwardly curved and relatively tall foot typically seen in *sabal* (沙鉢: small bowls for rice). A bluish-green glaze is applied evenly on the body and there are four spur marks.

#### 5) Hap (盒: lidded boxes)

The celadon *hap* are notable for their variety of incised patterns. Celadon *hap* with incised chrysanthemum flowers typically have a single chrysanthemum flower thinly incised on top of the lid with rows of smaller chrysanthemums clustered around it. A typical bluish-green glaze is evenly applied around the *hap*. The foot is curved inward and shows traces of having been fired on *gyuseok batchim* (硯石墊具: silica stone supports). The box and its matching lid were fired together with thin clay supports inserted between them.

This particular lid of a celadon box with peony or *moranmun* inlay (靑瓷象嵌牡丹文盒) (Plate 4) has three spur marks. The surface is shiny and covered with a pale bluish-green glaze. The peony is simply drawn without any pattern band: the flower and bud in white inlay and

the stems and leaves in black inlay.

The lid of another celadon box (Plate 5) carries five chrysanthemums in full bloom, with the flower and leaves inlaid in white and black. The lid is divided in black inlay into five parts, with each division featuring a single flower. The chrysanthemums are enclosed within two concentric circles in white inlay. The glaze is a deep bluish-green and the underside suggests that it was fired on a stand after it had been wiped clean of glaze.

Another box to note is one with a lid elaborately inlaid with chrysanthemum stems and flower buds. The pale bluish-green glaze gently has a slightly glossy surface. The underside of the lid shows that it was fired on a stand after it was wiped clean of glaze.

Celadon *hap* are, for the most part, distinctively patterned with black and white inlay and adorned with incised chrysanthemums. Along with the patterns on the lids of cylindrical cups, the patterns on the lids of celadon boxes are the most artistic and representative inlay techniques of the early Goryeo period.

## 02 PATTERNS

The most typical decorative pattern on the celadon wares from Biando is *aengmumun* or parrot design. Typically, a single parrot or a pair of parrots in flight is incised inside the wares. Sometimes there is only one parrot but more often two parrots appear in a symmetrical arrangement. This pattern is typically seen on many different kinds of Goryeo celadon open



( Plate 4 )

Celadon *hap* with *moranmun* inlay

H: 3.5 cm; Diameter: 8.0 cm (rim), 4.5 cm (foot)

National Maritime Museum of Korea: Bian 3-063



( Plate 5 )

Celadon *hap* with *gukhwamun* inlay

H: 3.5 cm; Diameter: 8.0 cm (rim), 4.6 cm (foot)

National Maritime Museum of Korea: Bian 3-100

vessels such as *jeopsi*, *daejeop*, and *wan* to closed vessels such as *hap*, *byeong* (瓶: bottles), and *ho* (壺: jars). However, among the items of the Biando discovery, *aengmumun* was only found incised on *daejeop* and *jeopsi*.

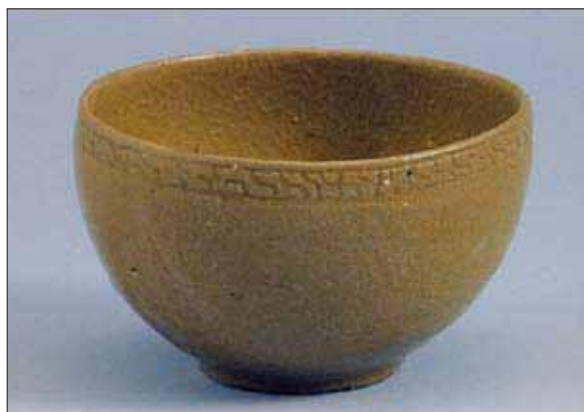
Peony designs usually appear in the form of a single blossom or *moranjeoljimun* (牡丹折枝文: a design that features peony flowers with branches and leaves) produced by *apchul* (押出: molding). Incised details were added by hand (陽印刻, *yang-ingak*: relief carving), as exemplified on the *gakjeopsi* or polygonal plates. Some vessels have dull, uninteresting arrangements indicating the overuse of the pattern. Molded *moranmun* and incised *aengmumun* are the most frequent patterns on the Biando celadon wares.

*Yeonhwamun* (蓮花文: lotus flower design) and *yeonhwadangchomun* are also found. On *daejeop*, *jeopsi*, and *tonghyeongjan* they were predominantly incised or carved, although a few molded designs have been found on *jeopsi*. Many *jeopsi* and *daejeop* carry combinations of incised and carved lotus leaves on the exterior and double rows of incised and carved *yeonpanmun* are commonly applied on *tonghyeongjan*.

The lid of the *hap* is noteworthy for having fully open chrysanthemum or peony blossoms incised or inlaid in black and white. Typically, they are not confined within a border but are freely drawn, much like those in a painting.

Less common patterns include bands of *yeouidumun* or *ruyi* pattern carved on the *hwahyeongjeonjeopsi* and bands of *noemun* or thunder pattern incised on the exterior of *jan*. Furthermore, there are examples of lines depicting flower petals on the lids of *tonghyeongjan* (Plate 6) and a simplified chrysanthemum design in black-and-white inlay on the exterior of some *jan*.

The most common patterns are the incised parrot design, the molded peony and chrysanthemum, and incised and carved lotus petals. Among the most noteworthy patterns are chrysanthemum and peony scrolls in black-and-white inlay.



( Plate 6 )

Celadon *jan* with incised *noemun*  
H: 5.3 cm; Diameter: 8.1 cm (rim),  
4.2 cm (foot)

National Maritime Museum of Korea:  
Bian E-276

### 03 FIRING TECHNIQUE

The celadon wares discovered off the coast of Biando were most commonly fired on stands using *naehwato bijim batchim* which leave three or five spur marks on the mount or the base of the wares such as *jeopsi*, *daejeop*, *wan*, *bal*, *jan*, and *tonghyeongjan*, while some were fired on the thinner *naehwato batchim*. Furthermore, marks of meticulous firing using *gyuseok batchim* that leave three spur marks on the base of the *ttukkeong* of *tonghyeongjan* and the base of *hap* are found in the more refined examples. However, it is notable that the lids of *tonghyeongjan* and *hap* and the foot rims of *jan* show that *naehwato bijim batchim* were used (Plate 7). It indicates that the coexistence of different techniques. The *naehwato bijim batchim* is a firing technique introduced in the early-thirteenth century, quite distinct from the grayish-white *naehwato batchim* used from the early years of Goryeo until the late-twelfth century. Such a transition in firing technique in the early-thirteenth century is also apparent in *gyuseok batchim*, which had been used since the early-twelfth century for making refined pottery. By the early-thirteenth century the *gyuseok batchim* of the early years changed and became thicker (Plate 8).

The foot of the peony-patterned *jeopsi*, *daejeop*, *hap*, and *jan* is short and tilted inward, attesting to the change from high to low. This style of foot rim is similar to that of white or green porcelain produced in Jingdezhen (景德鎮), Jiangxi Province, China, and reflects the new influences reaching the Goryeo

state at the time.

The glaze color also shows a gradual change from a mix of greenish-brown and bluish-green to predominantly bluish-green. Among the bluish-green celadon in the Biando collection are several refined vessels that can be described as *bisaek* (翡色: a subtle jade-green color that was admired in Song China), suggesting that the celadon wares from Biando were made using the same technique as that used for producing *bisaek* glazes.

## III THE DATES AND LOCATION OF PRODUCTION

### 01 DATES

When and where were the Goryeo celadons discovered off Biando produced? A comparative analysis with the available data on Goryeo celadon from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries may offer some clues.

Firstly, a comparison with the Goryeo celadon discovered along with *Hwangtong yungnyeonmyeong injongsichaek* (皇統六年銘 仁宗諡冊: *Edict of King Injong in the sixth year of Hwangtong, 1146*) in Jangneung (長陵), Jangdan (長湍), Gyeonggi-do (京畿道, Gyeonggi Province) may be helpful: a *gwahyeongbyeong* (瓜形瓶: gourd-shaped celadon bottle); a *banghyeongho* (方形壺: square celadon jar); a *gukhyeonghap* (菊形盒: chrysanthemum-



( Plate 7 )  
Base of celadon *jan* with *gukhwamun* inlay  
H: 5.1 cm; Diameter: 6.3 cm (rim), 3.0 cm (foot)  
National Maritime Museum of Korea: Bian 2-322



( Plate 8 )  
*Gyuseok batchim* of celadon *hap* with *gukhwamun* inlay  
H: 1.7 cm; Diameter: 8.1 cm (overall)  
National Maritime Museum of Korea: Bian 3-098



( Plate 9 )  
Celadon *tonghyeongjan* with molded *yeonpanmun*  
H: 10.1 cm; Diameter: 10.4 cm (rim), 8.0 cm (foot)  
National Maritime Museum of Korea: Bian D-113



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shaped celadon box); and a *tonghyeongjan* or cylindrical celadon cup.<sup>1</sup>

The celadon *gwahyeongbyeong* has a gourd-shaped body with *bisaek* glaze and traces of grayish-white *naehwato batchim* and the celadon *banghyeongho* has a thick layer of celadon glaze all over and spur marks of *naehwato batchim* on the base. The celadon *gukhyeonghap* has an open chrysanthemum petal indentation on the lid and the base and the celadon *tonghyeongjan* has a thick layer of *bisaek* glaze and a foot showing subtle traces of *gyuseok batchim*.

The chief common features between the celadon wares of Jangneung and those discovered at Biando are the presence of refined celadon vessels with *bisaek* glaze and *hap* and *tonghyeongjan ttukkeong* bearing the marks of *gyuseok batchim* spur marks. Moreover, some of the chrysanthemum-incised *hap* from Biando have the same designs as those on celadon *gukhyeonghap* and they also share a similar body shape. In particular, the carved *tonghyeongjan* from Biando has the same cylindrical body, the same handle in the shape of a lotus bud on the lid, and the same *gyuseok batchim* spur marks as the celadon *tonghyeongjan* from Jangneung (Plate 9). What is particularly telling here, however, is that whereas the Jangneung celadon has no decorative patterns, the Biando *hap* and *tonghyeongjan* have various patterns applied by incising, carving, and inlaying. This indicates that the latter are newer, post-1146 celadons. Furthermore, the fact that the Biando celadons were fired on *naehwato bijim batchim* rather than on grayish-white *naehwato batchim* is another indication that the Biando wares are later than those discovered in Jangneung.

Secondly, there are various extant Goryeo celadon vessels that correspond to those mentioned in *Goryeosa*, (高麗史: *History of Goryeo*). The record in the eleventh year (1157) in the reign of King Uijong (毅宗, r. 1146-1170) says, "...in the fourth month, early summer... built a pavilion named Yang-uijeong in the back garden of the palace... covered the roof with celadon roof tiles... (...夏四月.... 基北構養怡亭 蓋以青瓷...)." This description matches the quality of the Goryeo

[ Plate 10 ]

Celadon daejeop with molded *moranmun*  
H: 6.7 cm; Diameter: 18.7 cm (rim),  
6.5 cm (foot)  
National Maritime Museum of Korea:  
Bian 2-194



celadon tiles excavated from the Manwoldae (滿月臺), Goryeo Royal Palace Site, Gaeseong, in 1927 and various fragmentary pieces of Goryeo celadon excavated from the Sadang-ri Kiln Site (沙堂里窯址) in Gangjin under the auspices of the National Museum of Korea.<sup>2</sup>

These fragmentary pieces of Goryeo celadon roof tiles include *sumaksae* (convex) tiles carved with *moranmun*, peony designs; *ammaksae* (concave) tiles carved with *dangchomun*, arabesque designs, and fragments incised with a combination of these patterns. There are also some celadon fragments decorated with partial inlay technique, with molding strengthened by incising at an angle or *yang-ingak* technique, and simple molding.

The Sadang-ri celadon carved *jeopsi* and *daejeop* with *moranmun* made using a similar molding technique to that found in the Biando wares. Furthermore, the *jan* and *hap* bearing chrysanthemum and peony inlay from Biando (Plate 10) exhibit an inlay technique that is more refined than those applied on the celadon roof tiles excavated from Manwoldae.

Thirdly, there is the research by the National Museum of Korea about the celadon fragments with the character “成” (*seong*) in inlay, excavated from Gangjin Sadang-ri Kiln Site No. 7, and thought to be from the early thirteenth century. The celadon fragments with this character, which may refer to the name of the potter,<sup>3</sup> include fragments of *jan*; *jeopsi* decorated with parrots; *daejeop* with molded lotus petals; *jan* with carved lotus scrolls; *gakjeopsi* with carved peony scrolls; *hwahyeongjeopsi* with carved *ruyi* patterns; *gakjeopsi*; *tonghyeongjan* with carved lotus petals; and *hap* with peony inlay.

A total of fifteen pieces, these fragments of Goryeo celadon from Sadang-ri Kiln Site No. 7 are very similar in shape, production method, and patterns to the ones found off the coast of Biando. For instance, the *jan* from the Biando collection is of identical shape to the one from Sadang-ri. On the other hand, the incised *aengmumun* of the Biando *jeopsi* and *daejeop* is

more simplified than those of the delicate and realistic looking ones from the Sadang-ri Kiln Site.

Likewise, in comparison with the ones from Biando, the carved *yeonpanmun daejeop* and incised *yeonpanmun jeopsi* from Sadang-ri display a sharper carved technique. The difference in the delicacy of the patterns is also found in the *apchul* technique that was used in the application of *moranmun* and *moranjeoljimun* although the technique itself is similar. The ones on the *gakjeopsi* from Sadang-ri surpass those from Biando. In addition, the *ruyi* pattern inside the molded *jeonjeopsi* from Biando and the one on the fragment from Sadang-ri are similar, but the color of the latter is superior. The Biando wares feature various sizes of *yeonpanmun tonghyeongjan* similar in shape to the ones from the Sadang-ri except that the lotus design carved on the exterior of the latter is sharper. In the case of the Biando inlaid celadon *gukhwamun* and *moranmun hap*, they share similarity in terms of the shape and the black-and-white inlay on the top of the lid, but the Sadang-ri wares are more complex than the Biando ones with additional incised *dangchomun* around the more simplified *moranmun*.

There is also a difference in firing method: the wares from Biando were fired on *naehwato bijim batchim* whereas the Sadang-ri ones were fired on *gyuseok batchim*. In terms of the shape of the foot, the two are quite similar. Both have a short, tilted foot rim with the inner side of the base remaining intact. The Sadang-ri wares bear the distinctive “成” in inlay on the bottom of the mount indicating that the artifacts were made in Gangjin. Overall, the wares from Biando and Sadang-ri share similarities in shape, production method, patterns, and firing techniques.

Fourthly, there are some well-known Goryeo celadons with accurate dates of production, all of which show traces of *naehwato bijim batchim* along with the early incising-inlay technique applied on the Biando discoveries. They are the celadon bottles with a wide mouth and the inscription of *gichuk* (己丑) year<sup>4</sup> (assumed to be from 1229, Hoam Art Gallery); the *maebyeong* (梅

瓶) with *chomun* (草文: plant pattern) inlay and the inscription of *gyeong-in* (庚寅) year (assumed to be from 1230, Hoam Art Gallery);<sup>5</sup> the inkstone with *moranmun* inlay and the inscription of *sinchuk* (辛丑) year (assumed to be from 1241, Hoam Art Gallery);<sup>6</sup> the inlaid *bal* with the inscription of *gyechuk* (癸丑) year (assumed to be from 1253, National Museum of Korea).<sup>7</sup>

Lastly, there are the twelve Goryeo celadon wares excavated from Jireung (智陵), the tomb of King Myeongjong (明宗, r. 1170–1197). The tomb is situated in Jangdo, Jangdan, Gyeonggi-do and was renovated in 1255. The celadon vessels include *wan* with molded *unhangmun* (雲鶴文: clouds and crane pattern); molded *moranmun hwahyeongjeopsi*; molded *yeouidumun jeopsi*; *jeopsi*; incised *yeonpanmun wan*; incised *moranmun tagu* (唾具: spittoon); *daejeop* with incised *yeojimun* (荔枝文: lichee pattern) inlay; *jeopsi* with *gukhwamun* inlay; inlaid *hwamunhwayeong* (花文花形: petalled shape with floral design) *jeopsi*; and *palgak* (八角: octagonal) *jeopsi* with floral inlay.<sup>8</sup>

These examples are similar in pattern to the *jeonjeopsi* with incised *moranmun* and molded *yeouimun* from Biando. Moreover, the *yeonpanmun* on the Biando *wan* are similar to those on the celadons from Jireung. They share the same short, tilted foot, and spur marks of firing on *gyuseok batchim* or *naehwato batchim* while showing a difference in the color and the quality of glaze: those from Jireung are of a deeper bluish-green of superior quality. Judging from the perfect inlay technique on both the interior and exterior of the *jeopsi* and *daejeop*, these celadons excavated from Jireung probably postdate those from Biando.

As analyzed above, a comparative analysis of the Biando celadons with other Goryeo celadon vessels of known dates suggests that the Biando wares were produced around 1220.

## 02 PRODUCTION SITE

One possible site of production for the Biando wares is the Jinseo-ri Kiln No. 18 in Buan, where artifacts with the following characteristics have been found:<sup>9</sup>

a) Celadon *jeopsi* with *moranmun*, *moranjeoljimun*, and *yeonhwajeoljimun* created by *apchul* technique. These vessels also have incised and carved *yeonpanmun*.

b) Celadon *bal* featuring the same characteristics as above.

c) Celadon *gakjeopsi* with *moranmun* using the *apchul* technique.

d) *Jeonjeopsi* and *hwahyeongjeonjeopsi*.

e) Incised *noemun jan* and *gukhwamun* inlaid *jan*.

f) *Tonghyeongjan* with incised-and-molded *yeonpanmun* on the

outer surface and its *ttukkeong* with lotus-bud-like handle and incised parallel *seonmun*. Celadon *hap* with matching *ttukkeong*.

Also present at Jinseo-ri are fragments of refined celadon with *gyuseok batchim* or *naehwato batchim* along with the tools used at the kiln. The colors of celadon fragments come in both greenish-brown and bluish-green like the Biando collection and the inlay technique is similar.

The other likely production site of the Biando wares is the Yucheon-ri Kiln Site Zone No. 7 in Buan, where celadon vessels with the following characteristics have been excavated:<sup>10</sup>

a) *Apchul moranmun jeopsi*, *bal*, and *wan* like those of Biando

b) Incised *yeonpanmun bal* and *jeopsi* as well as carved *yeonpanmun bal* and *jeopsi*.

c) Incised *aengmumun wan* and *jeopsi*. In particular the simplified *aengmumun* is found.

d) *Jan* and *tonghyeongjan* with incised and carved *yeonpanmun*. Lids with lotus-bud like handles or dish-shaped.

e) *Gakjeopsi*, *jeopsi*, and *hwayeongjeonjeopsi* with molded *moranmun* and *maehwamun*.

f) Similar *hap* as those from Biando.

Furthermore, there are *ttukkeong* with *moranmun* and *gukhwamun* inlay and celadon fragments with the marks of being fired on *gyuseok batchim* or *naehwato batchim*. There are also fragments in greenish-brown, bluish-green, and *bisaek*. Simplified *aengmumun* is a common feature in the wares from both Yucheon-ri and Biando. There are also small and big *tonghyeongjan* and examples with *gukhwamun* in combination with *seonmun* or linear designs.

The presence of such similar features strongly suggests that the Biando celadon wares were produced at the Yucheon-ri Kiln Site Zone No. 7 in Buan.

A third possible production site for the Biando

wares is Yongun-ri No. 10-2 Kiln Site, Gangjin.<sup>11</sup> Among the celadon vessels excavated from this site the following have similar shape and features as those from Biando: incised *yeonpanmun wan* and *jeopsi*; incised *aengmumun wan*; *jan* and *tonghyeongjan* with incised and carved *yeonpanmun*; *gakjeopsi* with carved *moranmun*; and *hwayeongjeopsi*. The colors of greenish-brown and bluish-green are present but the faint *aengmumun* and the *hap* as found from Biando are absent.

Thus the Gangjin Sadang-ri Kiln Site No. 7 is the least likely production site for the Biando vessels as the celadons produced at this kiln are more refined in quality, especially those with *aengmumun*, which requires greater skill in expressing details (Plate 11).

## IV CONCLUSION

The kiln sites that feature the most similar celadon to those of Biando are the Jinseo-ri and Yucheon-ri sites in Buan and the Yongun-ri and Sadang-ri sites in Gangjin. Among these sites, Yucheon-ri Kiln Site Zone No. 7 in Buan revealed the same *aengmumun*, the same types of vessels, the same inlay technique, and



( Plate 11 )

Celadon *daejeop* with incised *aengmumun*

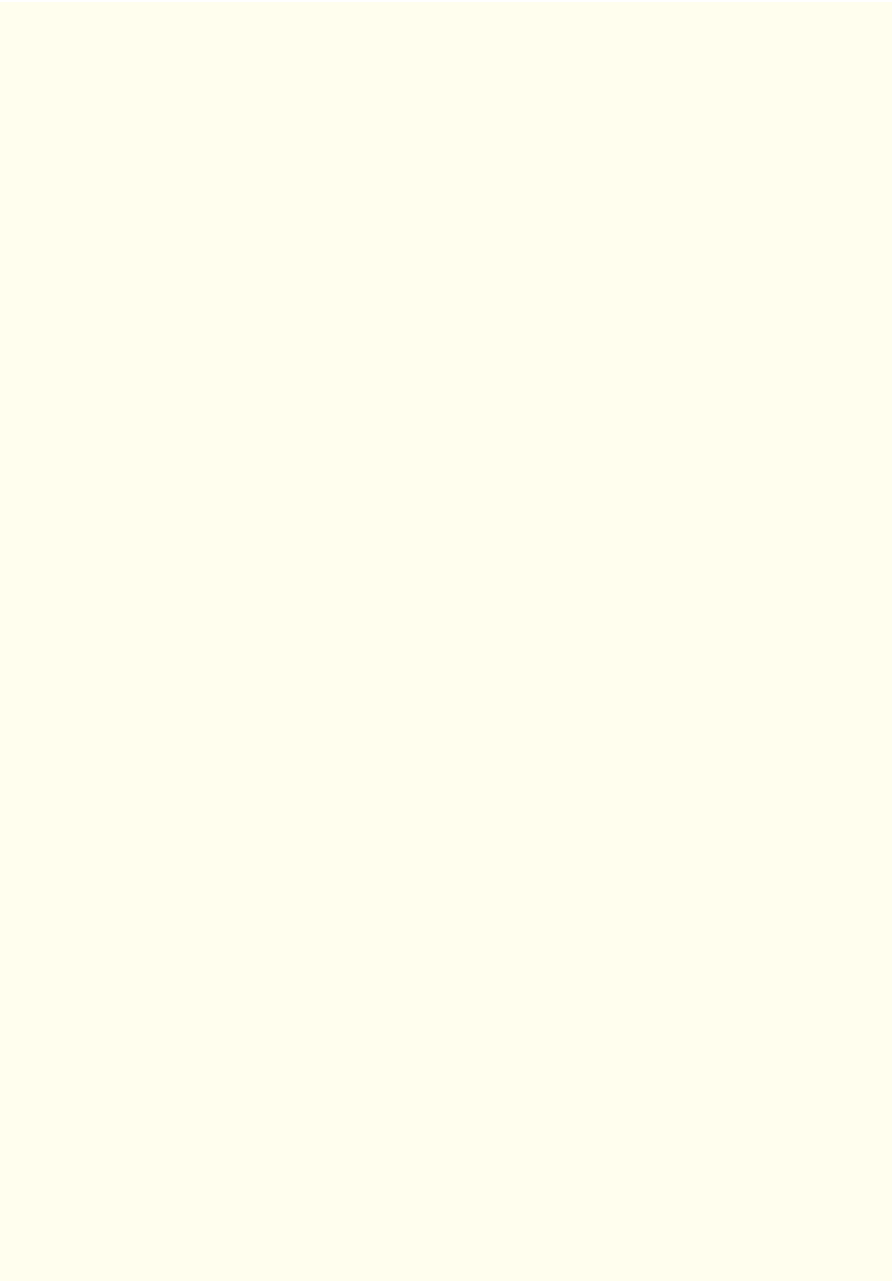
H: 7.1 cm; Diameter: 17.0 cm (rim), 6.0 cm (foot)

National Maritime Museum of Korea: Bian C-112

the same molding technique as those in the Biando collection.

|

It is fairly reasonable, therefore, to imagine that, during the height of Goryeo celadon production in the 1220s, the Yongun-ri Kiln Site No. 10-2 and the Sadang-ri Kiln Site No. 7 in Gangjin as well as the Jinseo-ri Kiln Site No. 18 and the Yucheon-ri Kiln Site Zone No. 7 in Buan developed and competed with one another as key production sites. It is likely, however, that the Biando wares were produced sometime in the 1220s at the Yucheon-ri Kiln Site Zone No. 7 in Buan, as analyzed above. What caused the ship to sink off Biando cannot be determined but the celadons on the ship were being transported from Julpo (茁浦) in Buan, and were most likely headed for Gaeseong, the capital of Goryeo, where the demand for the most exquisite celadon wares was the highest. ≡





## NOTES

1

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4

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5

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6

Ibid. 305.

7

Choi Sun-u, "Special Celadon Bowl with the Inscription *gyechuk* (癸丑銘 青瓷大聖持鉢)," *Gogomisul*, vol. 5 (1964): 128. The initial assumption of the year *gyechuk* as 1073 has been amended to 1253 in the wake of comparative analysis with the celadon excavated from the tomb of King Huijong, constructed in 1237.

8

King Myeongjong's tomb was originally constructed in 1202, but destroyed during the Mongol invasion and reconstructed in 1255. The excavated wares are determined to be from 1255.

9

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04 Page GOGURYEO PEOPLE WEARING JOUGWAN IN TANG CHINESE ART

Images provided by the author by courtesy of (in order of appearance) National Museum of Korea; Dunhuang Research Institute; National Palace Museum, Taipei; Office of Culture and Garden in Xi'an; Felix Schoeber; Cultural Relics Center of Lantian, Shaanxi; and Senoku Hakukokan, Kyoto.

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## GLOSSARY

<i>aengmumun</i>	鸚鵡文: parrot design
Achasan	峨嵋山: mountain name
Achasanboru	峨嵋山 堡壘: mountain fortress of Achasan, north of the Hangang
<i>acheongji</i>	鴉青紙: dark-blue paper
<i>ammaksae</i>	圓瓦當: concave roof tiles
<i>ammun</i>	暗文: pattern made by pressing and rubbing the surface
Amnokgang	鴨綠江: river name (Chinese: Yalujiang)
<i>amun</i>	衙門: office
An Gwisaeng	安貴生 (late fifteenth century)
An Gyeon	安堅 (dates unknown)
An Jungsik	安中植 (1861–1919)
Anak	安岳: Goguryeo tomb site in Hwanghae-do
Anapji	雁鴨池: pond (of ducks and geese) in Gyeongju
<i>Ando</i>	雁圖: <i>Painting of Wild Geese</i>
Andong Dudufu	安東都督府
Andong Duhufu	安東都院府
Anxi Duhufu	安西都院府
<i>apchul</i>	押出: molding
Azuma Ushio	東潮
Bada Shanren	八大山人 (1626–1705)
<i>baebando</i>	排班圖: diagrammatic representation
<i>baekjado</i>	百子圖: paintings of one hundred children
Baekje	百濟 (18 BC–660)
<i>baengmyopung</i>	白描: drawing technique in ink with no color (Chinese: <i>baimiao</i> )
<i>baerye</i>	拜禮: ritual bows
<i>baewi</i>	陪衛: escorts
Baituo□guo	白拓□國
Bak Dongbo	朴東普 (dates unknown)
<i>baksa</i>	博士: academic counselor
<i>bal</i>	鉢: bowls
Balhae	渤海 (698–926)
<i>ban</i>	盤: deep dish (Chinese: <i>pan</i> )
<i>banchado</i>	班次圖: painting of royal procession
<i>banghyeongho</i>	方形壺: square celadon jar
<i>bangpil</i>	放筆: free-hand brushwork (Chinese: <i>fangbi</i> )
<i>ban-gubyeong</i>	盤口瓶: hemispherical bottle with dish-shaped mouth
<i>ban-guho</i>	盤口壺: jar with a wide flat mouth (Chinese: <i>pankouhu</i> )
<i>Ban-gungdo</i>	泮宮圖: <i>Painting of the National Confucian Academy</i> , 1747
<i>batchim</i>	批: firing spurs
Beichao	北朝 (386–535)
<i>Beishi</i>	北史: <i>History of Northern Dynasties</i>
Benxi	本溪: site in Liaoning Province
<i>beopgang</i>	法講: formal lectures held three times a day
<i>bi</i>	篋: bamboo basket
Biando	飛雁島: island name
<i>Biando</i>	飛雁圖: <i>Flying Geese</i>
<i>bijim</i>	比模: mold
<i>bin</i>	賓: guests

<i>bin-gaek</i>	賓客: Sigang-won officials of the third rank invited to teach the <i>seja</i> the Confucian classics and morals
<i>bisaek</i>	翡色: a subtle jade-green color that was admired in Song China
<i>bodeak</i>	輔德: chief administrator of the Sigang-won, official of the sixth rank
<i>bogeom</i>	寶劍: ritual sword
Bojangwang	寶藏王: Silla king (r. 677–682)
<i>boju</i>	寶珠: <i>cintamani</i> or precious pearl
<i>bangtoseoksilmyo</i>	封土石室墓: earthen mound tomb with stone chamber
<i>bosanghwamun</i>	寶相華文: stylized floral motif
<i>bosikgyeong</i>	寶飾鏡: mirror with jewel ornaments (Chinese: <i>baoshijing</i> )
<i>Bozhaibian</i>	泊宅扁
<i>bu</i>	傅: deputy teacher
Buan	扶安
<i>bubyeokjun</i>	斧劈皴: axe-cut brushstrokes (Chinese: <i>fupicun</i> )
<i>buhyeongtogi</i>	釜形土器: pottery vessels in the shape of an iron pot
<i>buin anma</i>	婦人鞍馬: ladies and saddle-horses
Bukchang	北倉: north wing of the Shoso-in (Japanese: Kitakura)
<i>bulja</i>	拂子: whisk handle
burnishing	磨研, <i>mayeon</i>
Buyeoryung	夫餘隆: Baekje prince (d. 682), see Daifang
<i>byeolgam</i>	別監: escorts for the royal palanquin of royal procession
Byeon Sangbyeok	卞相璧 (1730–?)
<i>byeong</i>	瓶: bottles
<i>byeon-gak</i>	邊角: one-corner composition
Byeongjo	兵曹: Ministry of War
Byeonsanbando	邊山半島: peninsula in Jeollabuk-do
Caiguaicun	蔡關村
Canton	廣州
Central Asia	西域, <i>seoyeok</i> : Western regions (Chinese: <i>xiyu</i> )
<i>chaegnye</i>	冊禮: investiture ceremony
Chaegnyedogam	冊禮都監: Superintendency of Royal Investiture Ceremony
<i>chaekbongnye</i>	冊封禮: investiture ceremony
<i>Chaekbong-uju</i>	冊封儀註: <i>Investiture Protocol</i> , 1421
<i>chaemukpung</i>	彩墨風: painting style using color and ink
<i>chaeyeo</i>	彩輿: royal carriage used to carry valuable royal items
<i>chakseon</i>	鍍線: twisted [brass] wire
<i>chan</i>	贊: representative of the state officials (literally: eulogy)
Chang'an	長安: Tang dynasty capital
Changchun	長春
Changdeokkung	昌德宮: palace built in 1405 (Taejong 5)
<i>changgeum</i>	敕金經典函: sutra case made with the <i>qiangjin</i> technique, see <i>qiangjin</i>
<i>gyeongjeonham</i>	昌慶宮: palace built in 1483 (Seongjong 14)
Changgyeonggung	昌慶宮
Changzhou	常州

<i>chanseon</i>	贊善: additional teacher, official of the fifth rank in Seja sigang-won
<i>chanseong</i>	贊成: state councilor
<i>chanui</i>	贊儀: ceremony manager
<i>chaoxian zhiguo</i>	朝獻之國: peripheral states paying tribute
Chaoyang	朝陽
Chen Shun	陳淳 (1483-1544)
Chen Zihe	陳子和 (sixteenth century)
<i>cheolbu</i>	鐵釜: iron pots
Cheoljong	哲宗: Joseon king (r. 1849-1863)
Cheongam-ri	清岩里 [cheong'amri]
<i>cheonggeumbok</i>	青衿服: blue uniforms worn by students of the Seonggyun-gwan
<i>cheongja</i>	青瓷: celadon stoneware
<i>cheongja sanggammun</i>	青瓷象嵌文: inlaid celadon patterns
<i>cheongnokpung</i>	青綠風: blue-green style
<i>cheongseon</i>	青扇: blue-green ritual fan
Cheongwon	青苑 [cheong'won]
<i>cheong-yojik</i>	清要職: <i>cheongjik</i> and <i>yojik</i> , honorable and important posts
<i>chilbo</i>	七寶: seven jewels
<i>chilgi</i>	漆器: lacquer artifact
<i>chilhwa</i>	漆畫: lacquer painting
Chiljeon	漆典: Silla office of lacquer ware production
Chion-in	知恩院: temple in Kyoto
Choe Buk	崔北 (1712-1786)
Choe Deukhyeon	崔得賢 (dates unknown)
Choe Jeon	崔濂 (1567-1588)
<i>chogagwan</i>	初加冠: first ceremonial headdress
<i>chomoksugeummun</i>	草木水禽文: patterns of willow trees and waterfowl
Chuigong	垂拱: Tang reign period (685-688)
<i>Chulgungdo</i>	出宮圖: <i>Picture of the Departure from the Palace</i>
<i>chulgung-ui</i>	出宮儀: rite of departure from the palace
Chunchugwan	春秋館: Office for Compilation of the Annals
<i>chungchanwigwan</i>	忠贊衛官: military officials
Chungcheongnam-do	忠清南道
<i>chwijae</i>	取才: court painters
coarse clay paste	粗質胎土, <i>jojiltaeto</i>
Dadianzi	大甸子
<i>dae</i>	大: large
<i>daebubal</i>	臺附鉢: mounted <i>sabal</i> (沙鉢: small bowls for rice)
<i>daebusaibal</i>	臺附四耳鉢: mounted <i>sabal</i> (沙鉢: small bowls for rice) with four handles
Daedonggang	大同江: river in Pyeongannam-do
Daedong-gun	大同郡
<i>daegun</i>	大君: royal princes other than the <i>seja</i>
Daeinsu	大仁秀: tenth king of Lesser Goguryeo (r. 813-840)
<i>Daejanggyeong</i>	大藏經: Goryeo Tripitaka
<i>daejehak</i>	大提學: academic director
Daejeon	大田
Daejoyeong	大祚榮: Goguryeo descendant in Balhae (r. 698-719)
<i>daemo</i>	玳瑁: tortoiseshell

<i>daemobokchae</i>	玳瑁伏彩: colored tortoiseshell
Daepyeong-ri	大坪里
<i>daesangpasu</i>	帶狀把手: strap-shaped handles
Daeseongjeon	大聖殿: Hall of Confucius
<i>daewangdaebi</i>	大王大妃: Queen Mother, mother of the previous king
Daifang	熊津都督帶方郡王, Prince Daifang, Governor of Xiongjin (d. 682)
Daitoku-ji	大德寺: zen temple in Kyoto
<i>damchae</i>	淡彩: light coloring
<i>dangchomun</i>	唐草文: arabesque designs
<i>dangsanggywan</i>	堂上官: official of the fifth rank with the authority to participate in the debates and banquets at the palace halls
Danjong	端宗: Joseon king (r. 1452-1455)
Danwon	檀園: birch tree garden, pen name of Gim Hongdo
Deogwan-gun	德完君: title conferred on Cheoljong before his coronation
Deokjong	德宗, see Uigyeong Seja
<i>dogam</i>	都監: office of superintendency of court rites
Dohwaseo	圖書署: Royal Bureau of Painting
Donggung	東宮: Palace of the Crown Prince
<i>donggung-uirye</i>	東宮儀禮: court ceremonies related to the Crown Prince
<i>Donggwan gyehoedo</i>	同官契會圖: painting to commemorate a gathering of scholar-officials of the same office
<i>Donggwoldo</i>	東關圖: <i>Painting of the Eastern Palace</i>
<i>donghap</i>	東閣: east chamber of the Simindang
<i>dong-i</i>	: urn-like vessels with a wide mouth and short body
Dongjincheng	東京城: Balhae site
Dongmyeongwang	東明王: Goguryeo founder (r. 37-19 BC)
Dongmyeong wangneung	東明王陵: tomb of King Dongmyeong
<i>dongsimwonmun</i>	同心圓文: concentric circle pattern
Duan Wenjie	段文杰
<i>Duguan qigeguo liuban yinhe</i>	都管七箇國六瓣銀盒: Six-lobed silver box representing seven neighboring states under Chinese governance
<i>Eocheopbong-ando</i>	御帖奉安圖: <i>Procession for Enshrinement of King's Autograph Album</i> , 1710-1720
<i>eogolmun</i>	魚骨文: herringbone pattern
<i>eojamun</i>	魚子文: punched ring pattern
<i>eotap</i>	御榻: royal dais
<i>eoyong</i>	御容: king's portrait
<i>eunni</i>	銀泥: silver pigment
<i>eunpyeongmungi</i>	銀平文器: lacquer wares inlaid with patterns of silver leaf
<i>eup</i>	揖: bowing
Fachi-si	法池寺: tang temple
Fang Shao	方勺 (1066-?)
<i>Fanke ruchaotu</i>	蕃客入朝圖: <i>Foreign Envoys Paying Tribute</i> , see under NanTang Gu Deqian
fine clay paste	泥質胎土, <i>nijiltaeto</i>
<i>gaegap</i>	蓋甲: lid with flat surface
Gaepung	開豐

Gaeseong	開城: Goryeo capital
<i>gakjeopsi</i>	角蝶匙: polygonal plates
<i>gamju</i>	甘酒: ceremonial wine
Gang Sehwang	姜世晃 (1713–1791)
<i>gangdol dolgakdam mudeom</i>	<span></span> : stone mound tombs in the shape of a rough circle or square
Ganggye	江界
<i>ganghak</i>	講學: lectures given to the Crown Prince
Gangjin	康津
<i>gangsapo</i>	絳紗袍: costume for special occasions such as the king's birthday and New Year's Day
Gao Fenghan	高鳳翰 (1683–1748)
Gao Qipei	高其佩 (1672–1734)
<i>Gao Song Lingmaopu</i>	高松翎毛譜: <i>Painting Manual of Birds and Animals by Gao Song</i>
Gao Xianzhi	高仙芝 (d. 756)
Gaochang	高昌
Gaoli	高麗: alternative Chinese term for Goguryeo
Gaoliguo	高麗國: alternative Chinese term for Goguryeo State
Gaozang	高藏: see Bojangwang
Gaozong	高宗: Tang emperor (r. 649–683)
<i>gapgolmun</i>	甲骨文: fishbone pattern
<i>garye</i>	嘉禮: royal nuptials
<i>gasangjonho</i>	加上尊號: praise of the virtues of the king or queen
Gaya	伽倻 (42–532)
Geng Tiehua	耿鐵華
<i>geochimun</i>	鋸齒文: saw-tooth pattern
Georan	契丹: Khitan (Chinese: Qidan)
<i>geumtang</i>	金堂: golden hall
Geumgang	錦江: river in Chungcheongnam-do
Geumgangsasa	金剛寺: Goguryeo temple built in Pyeongyang
Geumgwanchong	金冠塚: Gold Crown Tomb Silla
<i>ggeuneumjil</i>	<span></span> : technique using narrow strips of mother-of-pearl
<i>gibok</i>	器服: military uniform
Gim Busik	金富弼 (1075–1151)
Gim Deuksin	金得臣 (1754–1822)
Gim Hakgi	金學基 (dates unknown)
Gim Hongdo	金弘道 (1745–1806)
Gim Jangsaeng	金長生 (1548–1631)
Gim Jeong	金淨 (1486–1521)
Gim Jeonghui	金正喜 (1786–1856)
Gim Jib	金堞 (1574–1656)
Gim Jinnyeo	金振女 (dates unknown)
Gim Samok	金思穆 (1740–1829)
Gim Si	金禔 (1524–1593)
Gim Sik	金埴 (1579–1662)
Gim Yanggi	金良驥 (dates unknown), son of Gim Hongdo
<i>gimyo sahwa</i>	己卯士禍: literati purge of 1519
Giroso	耆老所: Office of the Elders
<i>Gisa gyecheop</i>	耆社契帖: <i>Album Commemorating King Sukjong's Initiation Ceremony to Office of the Elders</i>
Go Bowon	高賁元 (dates unknown)

Go Deokmu	高德武 (dates unknown)
Go Seonji	高仙芝: see Gao Xianzhi
Goguryeo	高句麗 (37 BC–668)
Gojong	高宗: Joseon king/emperor (r. 1863–1907)
<i>gollyongpo</i>	袞龍袍: royal robe for everyday wear
<i>golso</i>	骨蘇: type of headdress
Gonggwiri culture	公貴里文化
<i>gongpilnongchae</i>	工筆濃彩: fine-style painting using strong colors
Goryeo	高麗 (918–1392)
<i>Goryeo bulhwa</i>	高麗佛畫: Goryeo Buddhist paintings
<i>Goryeosa</i>	高麗史: <i>History of Goryeo</i>
Gu Bing	顧炳 (late sixteenth–early seventeenth century)
Gu Deqian	顧德謙 (tenth century)
<i>guan</i>	罐: Chinese jar with wide mouth and no perceivable neck
Guershancheng	古爾山城: site in Jilin
<i>guhyeongho</i>	球形壺: jars with a spherical body
<i>gukdangchomun</i>	菊唐草文: chrysanthemum and vine scroll pattern
<i>gukhwajeoljimun</i>	菊花折枝文: chrysanthemum design
<i>gukhwamun</i>	菊花文: chrysanthemum design
<i>gukhyeonghap</i>	菊形盒: chrysanthemum-shaped celadon box
<i>Gukjo oryewi</i>	國朝五禮儀: <i>Book on the Five Rites of State</i>
<i>guksu</i>	國手: National Artist
<i>gungjung girokhwa</i>	宮中記錄畫: court documentary paintings
Gung-ye	弓裔 (r. 901–918): the first king of Taebong (泰封)
Gunsan	群山
Guoneicheng	國內城: site in Jilin
<i>Gushihuapu</i>	顧氏畫譜: <i>Painting Manual by Gu Bing</i> , 1603
Guuidongboru	九宜洞堡壘: Guui-dong mountain fortress
<i>gwageo</i>	科擧: civil service examination
<i>gwallye</i>	冠禮: coming-of-age ceremony granting formal admission into adulthood
<i>Gwallye chaekjeodogam uigwe</i>	冠禮冊儲都監儀軌: <i>Book of Court Rites on the Investiture and the Coming-of-Age Ceremony of the Crown Prince</i> , 1800
<i>gwan</i>	冠: ceremonial headdress
Gwanggaeto daewang	廣開土大王: Gwanggaeto The Great, Goguryeo king (r. 391–413)
<i>gwangguho</i>	廣口壺: jars with a wide mouth
Gwanghaegun	光海君: Joseon king (r. 1609–1623)
<i>Gwan-gyeong simnyukgwan byeonsangdo</i>	觀經十六觀變相圖: <i>Sixteen Visualizations of the Contemplation Sutra</i>
<i>gwanhyeongmohwa</i>	觀形摹畫: observe and draw from life
Gwanmulheon	觀物軒: later venue for the <i>wangseja</i> 's formal court lessons in Changdeokgung
<i>gwansetak</i>	盥洗卓: table with bowl for washing hands
<i>Gwanuiju</i>	冠儀註: <i>Notes on the Gwallye Protocol</i>
<i>gwoldalma</i>	關闡馬: saddled royal horse
<i>gyebyeong</i>	契屏: commemorative folding screen for the participants of a ceremony
<i>gyecheop</i>	契帖: commemorative album for the participants of a ceremony
<i>gyechuk</i>	癸丑: cyclical date, possibly 1253

<i>gyechuk</i>	契軸: commemorative hanging scroll for the participants of a ceremony
<i>gyeokjamun</i>	格子文: lattice pattern
<i>gyeom</i>	兼: adjunct position
<i>gyeombodeok</i>	兼輔德: adjunct administrator
Gyeongdeogwang	景德王: Silla king (r. 742-765)
Gyeonggi-do	京畿道
<i>Gyeonggukdaejeon</i>	經國大典: <i>Complete Code of Law</i> , 1485
<i>gyeong-in</i>	庚寅: cyclical date, possibly 1230
Gyeongjong	景宗: Joseon king (r. 1720-1724)
<i>gyeongnu</i>	經樓: sutra pavilion
Gyeongsangbuk-do	慶尙北道
Gyeongsunwang	敬順王: Silla king (r. 927-935)
<i>Gyeong-yeon-gwan</i>	經筵官: officials in charge of the king's education
<i>gyomyeong</i>	教命: royal decree
<i>gyoseo</i>	教書: royal edict
<i>gyuseok batchim</i>	硃石 : silica stone supports
Haeyang Daegun	海陽大君: Prince Haeyang, reigned as King Yejong (睿宗, r. 1468-1469)
<i>hakgung</i>	學宮: special hall for royal study
<i>ham</i>	函: boxes
Ham Seoksung	咸石崇 (early 15th century)
Han dynasty	漢 (206 BC-220)
Han Yonggui	韓龍龜 (1747-1828)
Hangang	漢江: river
<i>Hanshu</i>	漢書: <i>Han History</i>
<i>hap</i>	盒: lidded box
<i>hapja</i>	盒子: small case to be put inside a main box
Heo Sik	許寔 (1762-?)
Heo Suk	許倂 (1688-?)
Hino Kaizaburo	日野開三郎
<i>ho</i>	壺: jars
<i>hoebinchan</i>	會賓簞: rite of holding a celebratory banquet
<i>hoebin-gaegnye</i>	會賓客禮: reception rites of <i>bin-gaek</i>
<i>hoedo</i>	灰陶: gray pottery
<i>hoegang</i>	會講: review session
<i>Hoegang banchadocheop</i>	會講班次圖帖: <i>Painting Album of the Review Session</i> , early 19th century
<i>hoerye</i>	會禮: salutation ceremony
<i>hoja</i>	虎子: chamber pot
<i>hojak</i>	豪族: powerful local gentry
Hong Seseop	洪世燮 (1832-1884)
Hongang	渾江: river name (Chinese: Hunjiang)
Honghwamun	弘化門: main gate of Changgyeonggung
Hongyang	洪陽 [hong'yang]
Huang Quan	黃筌 (?-965)
<i>huaniaohua</i>	花鳥畫: flower and bird painting
Huanren	桓仁
Hubaekje	後百濟: Later Baekje (892-936)
<i>huitao</i>	灰陶: gray pottery, see <i>hoedo</i>
Huizong	徽宗: Song emperor (r. 1101-1126)
Hunjiang	渾江: river name, see Hongang
<i>hwacheop</i>	畫帖: painting albums and manuals

<i>hwachoyeongmo</i>	花草翎毛: flowers, grass, birds, and animals
<i>Hwagi</i>	畫記: <i>Records of Paintings</i> , by Sin Sukju, 1445
<i>hwagi</i>	畫技: painting techniques
<i>hwahyeong jeonjeopsi</i>	花形展蝶匙: flat-rimmed plates of petalled shape
<i>hwajohwa</i>	花鳥畫: flower and bird painting
<i>Hwaneohaengnyeoldo</i>	還御行列圖: <i>Royal Procession of Returning to the Palace</i>
Hwanghae-do	黃海道: province of North Korea
<i>Hwangtong yugnyeonmyeong Injongsichaek</i>	皇統六年銘 仁宗諡冊: <i>Edict of King Injong</i> , dated 1146
<i>Hwaseong neunghaengdobyeong</i>	華城陵幸圖屏: <i>Screen Painting of King Jeongjo's Visit to his Father's Tomb, Hwaseong</i> , 1795-1796
<i>hyeonja</i>	懸子: hanging board
Hyeonjong	顯宗: Joseon King (r. 1659-1674)
<i>hyeopsil</i>	夾室: side room
Hyojang Seja	孝章世子: Crown Prince Hyojang, posthumously titled as King Jinjong (眞宗, 1719-1728)
Hyojong	孝宗: Joseon king (r. 1649-1659)
Hyomyeong Seja	孝明世子: Crown Prince Hyomeong (1809-1830, regent 1827-1830)
<i>ibae</i>	耳杯: eared cups
<i>ibuho</i>	耳附壺: jars with a spherical body and handles
Igeukmun	貳極門: East gate to Donggung
<i>igung</i>	離宮: secondary palace
Igwisa	翊衛司: Guard Office of the Crown Prince, abbreviation of Seja igwisa
Ijo	吏曹: Board of Personnel
<i>ikchan</i>	翊贊: guard, official of the eleventh rank in Seja igwisa
Ikjong	翼宗: posthumous title of Hyomyeong Seja
<i>Ikjong gwallyejinha gyebyeong</i>	翼宗冠禮陳賀契屏: <i>Folding Screen of the Congratulatory Ceremony for the gwallye of Ikjong</i> , 1819
<i>imjin waeran</i>	壬辰倭亂: Japanese invasion of the <i>imjin</i> year (1592)
Imjingang	臨津江: river in Gyeonggi-do
Imwon-myeon	林原面
Injeongjeon	仁政殿: Royal Audience Chamber of Changdeokgung
Injo	仁祖: Joseon king (r. 1623-1649)
Injong	仁宗: Joseon king (r. 1544-1545)
Injong	仁宗: Goryeo king (r. 1122-1146)
<i>inma</i>	印馬: horse carrying the royal seal
<i>inui</i>	引儀: ceremony announcer
<i>ipgakhyeong</i>	入角形: rectangular box
<i>iphagnye</i>	入學禮: ceremony for the commencement of learning
<i>iphagui</i>	入學儀: rite of commencement of learning
<i>iphak</i>	入學: commencement of learning
<i>irwol obongbyeong</i>	日月五峰屏: screen behind the royal throne, depicting the sun, the moon, and five mountain peaks
<i>jaegagwan</i>	再加冠: second ceremonial headdress
<i>jagae</i>	: fragments of mother-of-pearl

Jagang-do	慈江道: province in North Korea
Jakheondo	酌獻圖: <i>Scene of the Libation at the Ancestral Altar</i>
<i>jakheonui</i>	酌獻儀: libation rite at the ancestral altar
<i>jan</i>	盞: cups
Jang Deukman	張得萬 (1684-1764)
Jang Hanjong	張漢宗 (1768-1815)
Jang Seungeop	張承業 (1843-1897)
Jang Taeheung	張泰興 (dates unknown)
Jangdan	長湍
<i>jangdongho</i>	長胴壺: jar with a longer body than <i>guhyeongho</i> , see also <i>guhyeongho</i>
<i>janggyeongho</i>	長頸壺: jar with a wide mouth and a long neck
Jangjo	莊祖: posthumous name of Jangheon Seja 莊獻世子 (1735-1762), also known as Sado Seja 思悼世子
<i>jangmyeongja</i>	將命者: student messenger
Jangneung	長陵: tomb of King Injo
Jangsuwang	長壽王: Goguryeo king (r. 413-491)
<i>jang-wi</i>	仗衛: chief guard
Japji	雜志: Miscellanea, chapter of <i>Samguksagi</i>
<i>jaui</i>	諮議: clerk, official of the thirteenth rank in Seja sigang-won
<i>jeokseokchong</i>	積石塚: stone mound tombs
<i>jeolmun</i>	截文: pattern composed of tiny cut pieces
<i>jeolpae</i>	切貝: mother-of-pearl cut in narrow strips
<i>jeolpunggeon</i>	折風巾: type of Goguryeo headdress
<i>jeommyopung</i>	點描風: a painting style that uses dots
<i>jeomnyeolmun</i>	点烈文: dotted-row pattern
<i>jeomto</i>	粘土: fine clay
<i>jeon</i>	展: flat rim
Jeon Chunghyo	全忠孝 (dates unknown)
<i>jeong</i>	井: well
Jeong Gyeongse	鄭經世 (1563-1633)
Jeong Hong-rae	鄭弘來 (1720-?)
Jeong Seon	鄭澈 (1676-1759)
<i>Jeongchilpum</i>	正七品: thirteenth rank
<i>jeongjeon</i>	正殿: central administrative building of the royal palace
Jeongjo	正祖: Joseon king (r. 1776-1800)
Jeongjong	定宗: Joseon king (r. 1398-1400)
Jeongneungsa	定陵寺: Goguryeo temple in Pyeongyang
<i>jeongnyukpum</i>	正六品: eleventh rank
<i>jeong-opum</i>	正五品: ninth rank
<i>jeongsampum</i>	正三品: fifth rank
<i>jeongsapum</i>	正四品: seventh rank
<i>jeon-gyogwan</i>	傳教官: court herald
Jeonham joseongdogam	鉤函造成都監: Bureau of Sutra Case Production
<i>jeonjeopsi</i>	展蝶匙: dish with flat rim
<i>jeonso</i>	篆書: seal character
<i>jeonsin</i>	傳神: conveying the spirit (from the first of Xie He's Six Laws); Chinese: <i>chuanshen</i>
<i>jeopcheopseon</i>	摺疊扇: folding fans

<i>jeopsi</i>	蝶匙: plates and dishes
<i>jesa</i>	祭祀: ancestral rites
<i>jeungmulsajin</i>	卽物寫真: realistic painting
Ji'an	集安 or 輯安
Jian'an	建安
Jiang Tingxi	蔣廷錫 (1669-1732)
<i>jianglai</i>	將來: "brought" [i.e., as tribute]
Jiaotong University	交通大學
<i>Jieziyuan huazhuan</i>	芥子園畫傳: <i>Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting</i>
Jigyeong-dong	地境洞
<i>jikguho</i>	直口壺: jars with a flat mouth
<i>jikguong</i>	直口甕: tall jars with a flat mouth
Jin	金: Jin dynasty (1115-1234)
Jin <i>mu</i>	晋墓: Jin state tomb
<i>jinchan</i>	進饌: formal palace banquet of medium scale
<i>jinchan gyebyeong</i>	進饌契屏: folding screens of banquets
Jingdezhen	景德鎮
<i>jingeo</i>	塵居: vertical flange
Jingkang	靖康: Song reign period, 1125-1127
<i>jinha</i>	陳賀: congratulatory ceremony
<i>jinharye</i>	陳賀禮: rite of congratulations
<i>jinnyeon</i>	進宴: formal royal banquet of large scale
Jinpa-ri	眞坡里
<i>jinseon</i>	進善: adviser, official of the seventh rank in Seja sigang-won
Jinseo-ri	鎭西里
<i>jipsagwan</i>	執事官: supporting staff
Jireung	智陵: tomb of King Myeongjong
<i>Jiu Tangshu</i>	舊唐書: <i>Old Tang History</i>
Jo Dongseon	趙東善: fisherman who accidentally discovered Biando shipwreck
Jo Gwangjo	趙光祖 (1482-1519)
Jo Gwiseok	趙龜錫 (1615-1665)
Jo Jeonggyu	趙廷奎 (1791-?)
Jo Jiun	趙之耘 (1637-1691): son of Jo Sok
Jo Seokjin	趙錫晉 (1853-1920)
Jo Sok	趙淾 (1595-1668)
Jo Yeongseok	趙榮祐 (1686-1761)
<i>joallye</i>	朝謁禮: paying respects to the king
<i>Jodaebi</i>	趙大妃四旬稱慶陣賀契屏: <i>Folding Screen of the Congratulatory Ceremony on the Fortieth Birthday of Queen Mother Jo</i> , 1847
<i>sasunchinggyeongjinha gyebyeong</i>	
<i>jogeon</i>	皂巾: black headdress
<i>johoe</i>	朝會: court ceremonies
<i>jongja</i>	從者: servants
<i>jongji</i>	宗几: smaller bowls than <i>wan</i> (宛: small bowls)
<i>jongnu</i>	鐘樓: bell tower
<i>jongsampum amun</i>	從三品衙門: Office of the sixth rank
<i>jopil</i>	粗筆: coarse or dry brush strokes (Chinese: <i>cubi</i> )
<i>Joseonwangjo sillok</i>	朝鮮王朝實錄: <i>Annals of the Joseon Dynasty</i>
<i>joungwan</i>	鳥羽冠: headdress crowned with a pair of feathers
<i>juin</i>	主人: host of the ceremony



<i>jukchaek</i>	竹冊: investiture book
<i>junghomun</i>	重弧文: concentric semicircular pattern
Junghuidang	重熙堂: hall in Changdeokgung, residence of the <i>seja</i>
Junghwa-gun	中和郡
Junghwamun	重華門: gate in Deoksugung
<i>jung-in</i>	中人: middle class
Jungjong	中宗: Joseon king (r. 1506-1544)
<i>Jungmyojo seoyeon-gwan sayeondo</i>	中廟朝書筵官賜宴圖: <i>Painting of the Banquet Bestowed by Jungjong for the Teachers of His Seja Injong</i> , 1535
<i>junso</i>	尊所: offering table
<i>jureumjil</i>	: patterns cut out by hand
Juwol-ri	舟月里
<i>hwabin-gaek</i>	左賓客: left honorary teacher, official of the third rank
<i>hwabubin-gaek</i>	左副賓客: deputy left honorary teacher
<i>hwamok</i>	座目: list of participants
<i>hwaijeong</i>	左議政: Second State Councillor
Kangguo	康國: Sogdiana
Kashgar (Shule)	疏勒
Kunlunwangguo	崑崙王國
Lalatur culture	拉拉屯文化
Lantian County	藍田縣
Lesser Goguryeo	小高句麗
Li Chongrun	李重潤 (682-701): Crown Prince Yide (懿德太子)
Li Di	李迪 (late twelfth century)
Li Xian	李賢 (651-684), see also Zhanghuai
<i>Liang zhigong tu</i>	梁職貢圖: <i>Painting of Tribute Bearers to the Liang State</i>
Liaodong	遼東
<i>Libintu</i>	禮賓圖: <i>Reception of Foreign Envoys</i>
<i>Lidai minghuaji</i>	歷代名畫記: <i>Record of Famous Paintings of Successive Dynasties</i> , 847
Lin Chun	林椿 (twelfth century)
Lin Liang	林良 (circa 1416-1480)
Lin Zhide	林至德
Linyi	林邑
Lǔ Ji	呂紀 (1477-?)
Lute-Shaped Dagger Period	琵琶形銅劍期
Ma Ben	馬賁 (early twelfth century)
Manjusri	文殊菩薩
Manwoldae	滿月臺
Manzhou	滿洲
Maxian'gou	麻線溝: tomb site in Jilin
Miaohoushan culture	廟後山文化
<i>minhwa</i>	民畫: folk painting
Minzhuliudui	民主六隊: site of the Balhae period
Misong-ri	美松里: site in Pyeonganbuk-do
Mohe	靺鞨
<i>mojahap</i>	母子盒: nesting boxes
<i>mojo</i>	毛彫: feather-like fine lines
<i>mokji</i>	木地: wood core

<i>molgolchaesaekpung</i>	沒骨彩色風: boneless painting, i.e. without outlines in ink
Mongchontoseong	夢村土城: earthen fortress site south of the Hangang
<i>morandangchomun</i>	牡丹唐草文: peony scroll design
<i>moranjeoljimun</i>	牡丹折枝文: design of peony flowers with branches and leaves
<i>moranmun</i>	牡丹文: peony design
Morike	毛利家: Mori Family
<i>mukbeop</i>	墨法: painting in ink
<i>mukgeum</i>	墨禽: birds in ink monochrome
<i>mukhui</i>	墨戲: ink play (Chinese: <i>moxi</i> )
<i>mungmaepung</i>	墨梅風: plum blossom drawn in ink
Mun Gongyu	文公裕 (d.1159)
Munak-ri	文岳里: tomb site in Pyeongannam-do
<i>munban</i>	文班: civil officials
<i>munhak</i>	文學: staff official of the ninth rank in Seja sigang-won
Munhyo Seja	文孝世子 (1782-1785): Crown Prince Munhyo, son of King Jeongjo
<i>Munhyoseja chaegnye gyebyeong</i>	文孝世子冊禮契屏: <i>Folding Screen of Munhyo Seja's Investiture Ceremony</i> , 1784
Munjawang	文咨王: Goguryeo king (r. 491-519)
<i>munji</i>	門址: entrance site
Munjong	文宗: Joseon king (r. 1450-1452)
Munjong	文宗: Goryeo king (r. 1046-1083)
Munmyo	文廟: National Confucian Shrine
Muryeongwang	武寧王: Baekje king (r. 501-523)
Muyongchong	舞踊塚: Tomb of the Dancers
<i>myeonbok</i>	冕服: costume for sacrificial rituals
<i>myeongbinchan</i>	命賓贊: rite of ordering the <i>bin</i> and <i>chan</i> to perform the <i>gwallye</i>
<i>myeongdojeon</i>	明刀錢: knife coins
Myeongjong	明宗: Joseon king (r. 1545-1567)
Myeongjong	明宗: Goryeo king (r. 1170-1197)
Myeongnyundang	明倫堂: lecture hall in the Munmyo
<i>naehwato</i>	耐火土: fire-resistant clay
<i>naehwato batchim</i>	耐火土 : thin spur-like firing supports made of <i>naehwato</i>
<i>najeon donggyeong</i>	螺鈿銅鏡: bronze mirror inlaid with mother-of-pearl
<i>najeon jeolmun</i>	螺鈿截文: mother-of-pearl
<i>najeonchilgi</i>	螺鈿漆器: lacquerware inlaid with mother-of-pearl
Nam Gongcheol	南公轍 (1760-1840)
<i>namjonghwa</i>	南宗畫: 'Southern' school of literati painters (Chinese: <i>nanzonghua</i> )
Nanbeichao	南北朝 (386-589): Southern and Northern Dynasties
Nanjing Museum	南京博物館
Nanmanzhuan	南蠻傳: Record of Barbarians in the South, monograph in the <i>Jiu Tangshu</i>
<i>NanTang Gu Deqian Mo Liang Yuandi Fanke ruchaotu</i>	南唐顧德謙摹梁元帝蕃客入朝圖: <i>Foreign Envoys Paying Tribute to Emperor Yuandi of Liang State copied by Gu Deqian of Southern Tang</i>

<i>neichen zhifan</i>	內臣之蕃: officials of peripheral localities
Niaomanguo	鳥蠻國
<i>noan</i>	蘆雁: reeds and geese
<i>nobu</i>	鹵簿: adornments accompanying the procession
<i>noemundae</i>	雷文帶: bands of thunder pattern
Nonam-ri	魯南里: site in Pyeonganbuk-do
<i>obongbyeong</i>	五峰屏: see <i>irwol obongbyeong</i> , an abbreviation of <i>irwol obongbyeong</i>
<i>o-eon-yulsi</i>	五言律詩: five-syllable quatrain
<i>ogin</i>	玉印: royal jade seal
<i>ojang</i>	烏仗: black cane
Okada Jo	岡田讓
<i>okhyeong</i>	屋形: house pattern
<i>ong</i>	甕: tall vessel with a height of 40 cm or more
Owidochongbu	五衛都總府: Five Military Commands Headquarters
Paju	坡州
<i>palgak jeopsi</i>	八角蝶匙: octagonal dishes
<i>pasangmun</i>	波狀文: wavy-line pattern
<i>pilseon</i>	弼善: staff official of the seventh rank in Seja sigang-won
Poluomenguo	婆羅門國
Pungcheong-ri	豊清里: tomb site in Pyeonganbuk-do
<i>pyeoncha</i>	便次: temporary royal tent
<i>pyeon-gakgyeong</i>	偏角景: a small, close-up, cut-off vignette of scenery
Pyeonganbuk-do	平安北道 [pyeong'anbukdo]: province in North Korea
Pyeongannam-do	平安南道 [pyeong'annamdo]: province in North Korea
<i>pyeongmun</i>	平文: decoration flush with the surface
<i>pyeongnajeon-baegyeong</i>	平螺鈿背鏡: mirror decorated with flat pieces of mother-of-pearl
Pyeongyang	平壤 [pyeong'yang]
<i>pyeon-gyeong</i>	片景: cut-off scene
<i>qiangjin</i>	戇金: technique of engraving and filling with gold pigment
<i>qiangjin Jingdianhan</i>	戇金經典函: sutra case made with the <i>qiangjin</i> technique, see <i>changgeum gyeongjeonham</i>
Qianqin	前秦 (351-394)
Qidan	契丹
Qixingshan	七星山: tomb site in Jilin
<i>Raden daimai hakaku bako</i>	螺鈿玳瑁八角箱子: an octagonal box with mother-of-pearl and tortoiseshell decoration
<i>Raden gyokudai bako</i>	螺鈿玉帶箱: a box for a jade belt
<i>Raden saitan genkan</i>	螺鈿紫檀阮咸: a four-stringed <i>genkan</i> with mother-of-pearl decoration
<i>Raden saitan gogen biwa</i>	螺鈿紫檀五絃琵琶: a five-stringed <i>biwa</i> of <i>zitan</i> wood with mother-of-pearl decoration
Rinsho-ji	隣松寺: temple in Kyoto
<i>ro</i>	壺: wine
<i>ryeom</i>	甌: beaker-like vessel with tripods (Chinese: <i>lian</i> )
<i>sa</i>	師: head teacher
<i>sabal</i>	沙鉢: small bowls for rice
Sabi	泗泚: later Baekje period
<i>sabyeok</i>	司辟: guards for the <i>seja</i>

<i>sadaebu</i>	士大夫: scholar-officials
Sadang-ri	沙堂里
Sadang-ri kiln site	沙堂里窯址
Sado Seja	思悼世子 (1735-1762), see Jangjo
Saekbok	色服: dress codes and color protocols
Saemangeum	<span> </span> : region in Jeollabuk-do
<i>saengchojitaе</i>	生肖之態: drawing true to life
<i>saga girokhwa</i>	士家記錄畫: documentary paintings of the gentry
<i>sagyeokjamun</i>	斜格子文: oblique lattice pattern
<i>sagyeong yeongmohwa</i>	寫景翎毛畫: landscapes with birds and animals sketched not from imagination but from nature
Saifuku-ji	西福寺: temple in Tokyo
<i>saijanggyeongho</i>	四耳長頸壺: jars with a long neck and four handles
<i>saijanggyeong-ong</i>	四耳長頸甕: taller jars with a long neck and four handles
Saimdang Sinssi	師任堂 申氏 (1504-1551), also known as Sin Saimdang
<i>saiong</i>	四耳甕: tall jars with four handles
Sajaguk	獅子國: Sri Lanka
<i>sallim</i>	山林: literati without official posts
<i>samgaboksik</i>	三可服式: three sets of formal costumes and headresses
<i>Samgado</i>	三加圖: <i>Painting of the Three Costumes and Headdresses</i>
<i>samgagwan</i>	三加冠: third ceremonial headdress
<i>Samguksagi</i>	三國史記: <i>History of the Three Kingdoms</i> by Gim Busik
<i>Samsa</i>	三司: Three Offices of Remonstrance
<i>sangbok</i>	常服: regular uniform
<i>sanggam cheongja</i>	象嵌青磁: inlaid celadon
Sango-ri	上五里 [sang'ori]
Sang-uiwon	尙衣院: Bureau of Royal Attire
<i>Sanguozhi</i>	三國志: <i>Records of the Three Kingdoms</i>
<i>sanseon</i>	繡扇: insignia
Sansilcheong	產室廳: Royal Maternity Directorate
<i>sansuhwa</i>	山水畫: landscape painting (Chinese: <i>shanshuihua</i> )
<i>sanzuniao</i>	三足鳥: Chinese, mythical vermilion bird with three legs
Saong-won	司礱院: Bureau for Overseeing Ceramic Production
<i>saseo</i>	司書: staff official of the eleventh rank in Seja sigang-won
<i>saseongsinwi</i>	四聖神位: memorial tablets of the four sages
<i>saui</i>	寫意: 'writing ideas' or painting from the imagination (Chinese: <i>xieyi</i> )
<i>sayeophyeong</i>	四葉形: four-leaf pattern
<i>sehwa</i>	歲畫: New Year's paintings
<i>seja</i>	世子: abbreviation of <i>wangseja</i> , see also <i>wangseja</i> , Crown Prince
Seja igwisa	世子翊衛司: Guard Office of the Crown Prince, see also Igwisa
Seja sigang-won	世子侍講院: Tutorial Office of the Crown Prince, see also Sigang-won
Sejagwansok	世子官屬: offices related to the Crown Prince
<i>seje</i>	世弟: the <i>seja</i> 's oldest younger brother
Sejo	世祖: Joseon king (r. 1455-1468)

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Sejong	世宗: Joseon king (r. 1418-1450)
Seo Geojeong	徐居正 (1420-1488)
Seo Jeongbo	徐鼎輔 (1762-?)
Seo Yugu	徐有矩 (1764-1845)
<i>Seogwoldo</i>	西闕圖: <i>Painting of West Palace</i>
<i>seolso</i>	設書: staff official of the thirteenth rank in the Seja sigang-won
<i>seonchaek</i>	宣冊: proclamation of investiture
<i>seong</i>	成: character incised on shards from Sadang-ri
Seonggyun-gwan	成均館: National Confucian Academy
Seongjeonggak	誠正閣: traditional venue for the <i>wangseja's</i> formal court lessons in Changdeokgung
Seongjong	成宗: Joseon king (r. 1469-1494)
Seonjeon gwancheong	宣傳官廳: Spokesperson's Bureau
Seonjeongjeon	宣政殿: less formal royal council hall in Changdeokgung
Seonjo	宣祖: Joseon king (r. 1567-1608)
<i>seonmun</i>	線文: linear design
<i>seori</i>	書吏: low-level officials responsible for maintaining records
<i>seowon</i>	書院: Confucian academy
<i>seoyeon</i>	書筵: formal court lessons given to the <i>seja</i>
<i>seoyeon-gwan</i>	書筵官: officials in charge of the <i>seja's</i> education
<i>seson</i>	世孫: the <i>seja's</i> eldest son
<i>Seson gangseowon</i>	世孫講書院: Tutorial Office for the <i>seja's</i> eldest son
Seungjeong-won	承政院: Royal Secretariat
<i>seungji</i>	承旨: royal secretary
Shaanxi Province	陝西省
Shanchengxia	山城下: tomb site
<i>Shanhaijing</i>	山海經: <i>Classic of Mountain and Seas</i>
<i>shanshuihua</i>	山水畫: landscape painting (Korean: <i>sansuhwa</i> )
Shen Zhou	沈周 (1427-1509)
<i>Shiji</i>	史記: <i>Records of the Historian</i>
<i>Shijietu</i>	使節圖: <i>Foreign Emissaries</i>
<i>Shiwu yuanhui</i>	事物原會
<i>Shizhuzhai huapu</i>	十竹齋畫譜: <i>Ten Bamboo Studio Manual of Painting</i>
Shoso-in	正倉院: the Imperial Repository of Todai-ji
Shuleguo	疏勒國: Kashgar
<i>sibok</i>	時服: black official uniform
Sigang-won	侍講院: Tutorial Office for the Crown Prince, abbreviation of Seja sigang-won
<i>Sigang-wonji</i>	侍講院志: <i>Records of Sigang-won</i> (regulations governing the Sigang-won), 1784
Sikgibang	飾器房: name for Silla office of lacquerware production
<i>silgyeong</i>	實景: true-view landscape
Silla	新羅 (57 BC-654)
Sim Sajeong	沈師正 (1707-1769)
<i>simbal</i>	深鉢: beaker-like vessels
Simindang	時敏堂: building in Changdeokgung
<i>Simindang yadaejido</i>	時敏堂夜對之圖: <i>Painting of Evening Banquet at Simindang</i> , 1663

<i>Simindangdocheop</i>	時敏堂圖帖: <i>Painting Album of Simindang</i> , 1670
Sin Hanpyeong	申漢枰 (1726-?)
Sin Ikseong	申翊聖 (1588-1644)
Sin Jam	申潛 (1491-1554)
Sin Serim	申世霖 (1521-1583)
Sin Sukju	申叔舟 (1417-1475)
Sin Yunbok	申潤福 (1758-?)
<i>sinchuk</i>	辛丑: cyclical date, possibly 1241
Sinsammun	神三門: main gate of the Daeseongjeon
<i>siru</i>	甌: vessel for steaming
<i>siwi</i>	侍衛: royal protection
<i>siyutogi</i>	施釉土器: glazed pottery
<i>so</i>	小: small
<i>sodae</i>	召對: special lectures
<i>sogyeong</i>	小景: close-at-hand landscape
<i>sogyeong yeongmohwa</i>	小景翎毛畫: close-up landscapes with birds or animals as main subjects
<i>Sohak</i>	小學: <i>Elementary Learning</i>
Sohyeon Seja	昭顯世子: Crown Prince Sohyeon (1612-1645)
<i>sojeopsi</i>	小蝶匙: small plates
<i>soji</i>	疎枝: cut or broken-off branches
<i>sokbaek</i>	束帛: rolls of silk
Song Jun-gil	宋浚吉 (1606-1672)
Song Siyeol	宋時烈 (1607-1689)
<i>songhakdo</i>	松鶴圖: paintings of cranes and pine trees (symbols of long life)
<i>Ssangnodo</i>	雙鷺圖: <i>Two White Herons</i>
Ssang-yeongchong	雙盈塚: Tomb of Double Columns
<i>Suchaekdo</i>	受冊圖: <i>Scene of Receiving Chaegnye</i>
<i>Sugyodocheop</i>	受教圖帖: <i>Painting Album of Receiving the Royal Edict</i> , 1819
<i>Suhado</i>	受賀圖: <i>Scene of Receiving Congratulations</i>
<i>suhai</i>	受賀儀: rite of receiving congratulations
Sui	隋 (581-618)
<i>Suishu</i>	隋書: <i>Sui History</i>
Sukjong	肅宗: Goryeo king (r. 1095-1105)
Sukjong	肅宗: Joseon king (r. 1674-1720), Prince Yi Don
<i>sumaksae</i>	平瓦當: convex roof tiles
<i>sumukpung</i>	水墨風: ink-wash painting style
Sunhoe Seja	順懷世子: Crown Prince Sunhoe (1551-1563)
Sunjo	純祖: Joseon king (r. 1800-1834)
Sunjong	純宗: Joseon king (r. 1907-1910)
<i>supye</i>	脩幣: the <i>wangseja's</i> offering of gifts to the <i>baksa</i>
<i>Supyedo</i>	脩幣圖: Scene of Offering of Gifts
<i>supyeui</i>	脩幣儀: rite of offering gifts
<i>Suwolgwaneumdo</i>	水月觀音圖: <i>Water-Moon Avalokiteshvara</i>
Taebong	泰封 (901-918)
<i>Taehak gyecheop</i>	太學契帖: <i>Painting Album of the National Confucian Academy</i> , 1747
<i>Taehakji</i>	太學志: <i>Records of the National Confucian Academy</i>
Taejo	太祖: Yi Seonggye, Joseon founder (r. 1392-1398)
Taejong	太宗: Joseon king (r. 1400-1418)

Taeseong-ri	台城里: tomb site in Pyeongannam-do
<i>tagu</i>	唾具: spittoon
Taima-dera	當麻寺: temple in Nara
Taizong	太宗: Tang emperor (r. 627-649)
Takahashi Takahiro	高橋隆博
Tang dynasty	唐 (618-907)
<i>Tang Yan Liben Wanghuitu</i>	唐閻立本王會圖: <i>Emperor Taizong Meeting with Foreign Envoys by Yan Liben of Tang</i>
<i>tan-gang</i>	誕降: birth
<i>tapji</i>	塔址: pagoda site
<i>tapsa</i>	塔寺: pagoda temples
<i>tianzi</i>	天子
Todai-ji	東大寺: temple in Nara
<i>tonghyeongjan</i>	筒形簋: cylindrical cups
Tongnyewon	通禮院: Office of Ritual Affairs
Topo-ri daemyo	土浦里大墓: tomb site
Toseong-ri	土城里
<i>Ttoaribyeong</i>	環狀瓶: doughnut-shaped bottle
Tufan	吐蕃: Tibet
Tufanguo	土蕃國: Tibet
<i>Tuhuajianwenzhi</i>	圖畫見聞誌: <i>An Account of My Experiences in Painting</i>
Tuque	突厥: Turks
<i>ubin-gaek</i>	右賓客: right honorary teacher, official of the third rank
<i>ububin-gaek</i>	右副賓客: deputy right honorary teacher
Uibin Seongssi	宜嬪 成氏: Lady Seong (?-1786)
<i>uigwe</i>	儀軌: book of court rites
Uigyeong Seja	懿敬世子: Prince Uigyeong (1438-1457)
Uijong	毅宗: Goryeo king (r. 1146-1170)
<i>uiju</i>	儀註: ritual protocol
<i>Uirye</i>	儀禮: <i>Book of Etiquette and Ceremonies</i>
<i>unhangmun</i>	雲鶴文: clouds and crane pattern
Unified Silla	統一新羅 (668-935)
<i>u-uijeong</i>	右議政: Third State Councilor
Varxuman	拂呼纒: Sogdian king (r. circa 658)
<i>wajeon</i>	瓦塼: roof tiles
<i>wan</i>	盥: small bowls
Wanbaoting	萬貫汀: tomb site in Jilin
Wang Geon	王建: Goryeo founder (r. 918-943)
Wang Yuan	王淵 (dates unknown)
<i>wangbogui</i>	往復儀: rite of formal request for instruction
<i>Wangbokdo</i>	往復圖: Scene of Formal Request for Instruction
<i>wangdaebi</i>	王大妃: Queen Dowager
<i>wanggyo</i>	王教: royal order
<i>Wanghuitu</i>	王會圖: <i>Emperor Meeting with Foreign Envoys</i>
<i>wangseja</i>	王世子: Crown Prince
<i>Wangseja chaegnye gyebyeong</i>	王世子冊禮契屏: <i>Folding Screen in Commemoration of the Crown Prince's Investiture Ceremony</i> , 1800
<i>Wangseja chaegnyedogam gyebyeong</i>	王世子冊禮都監契屏: <i>Folding Screen Commissioned by the Superintendency of the Crown Prince's Investiture Ceremony</i> , 1690

<i>Wangseja duhupyeongbokjinha gyebyeong</i>	王世子痘候平復陳賀契屏: <i>Folding Screen in Commemoration of the Wangseja's Recovery from Smallpox</i> , 1879
<i>Wangseja iphakdocheop</i>	王世子入學圖帖: <i>Painting Album of the Commencement of Learning for the Crown Prince</i> , 1817
<i>Wangseja tan-gang gyebyeong</i>	王世子誕降契屏: <i>Folding Screen in Commemoration of the Hyomyeong Seja's Birth</i> [in 1809], 1812
<i>Wangsejagwanui</i>	王世子冠儀: <i>Crown Prince's gwallye Protocol</i>
<i>wangseson</i>	王世孫: the eldest son of the Crown Prince and next in line to succeed to the throne
Weimo jushi	維摩居士: Vimalakirti
<i>Weimojie jing</i>	維摩詰經: <i>Vimalakirti Sutra</i>
<i>Weishu Dongyichuan</i>	魏書 東夷傳: <i>Record of the Foreigners in the East in the Wei History</i>
Wendi	文帝: Sui emperor (r. 581-604)
Wijangso	衛將所: Office of the Palace Gatekeepers
<i>woe-unbeop</i>	外暈法: contrast of light motif against a darker background
<i>wonchal</i>	願刹: hall to pray for the well-being of the royal household
<i>wonchehwa</i>	院體畫: court painting
<i>Wonhaeng eulmyo jeongniuiigwe</i>	園幸乙卯整理儀軌: <i>Book of Court Rites on the Visit to Prince Sado's Tomb in the eulmyo year</i> [1795], published in 1798
<i>wonja</i>	元子: eldest royal son
Wonjong	元宗: Goryeo king (r. 1259-1274)
Wono-ri	元五里
Wu school	吳派
Wu Zetian	則天武后: Tang empress (r. 690-705)
Wunūshancheng	五女山城
<i>WuZhou Shengli Li Jun Mogaoku fokang bei</i>	武周聖曆李君莫高窟佛龕碑: stele dated 698 in Mogao Cave 332, Dunhuang
Xi'an	西安: modern name for Chang'an (長安)
Xiahuolongcun	下活龍村: tomb site
<i>Xin Tangshu</i>	新唐書: <i>New Tang History</i>
Xiongjin Dudufu	熊津都督府
Xu Jing	徐兢: Song envoy to Goryeo
Xu Xi	徐熙 (early tenth century)
Xuanhe	宣和: Song reign period (1103-1118)
<i>Xuanhe fengshi Gaoli tujing</i>	宣和奉使高麗圖經: <i>An Illustrated Account of an Embassy to Goryeo in the Xuanhe Era</i>
<i>Xuanhehuapu</i>	宣和畫譜: <i>Catalogue of Paintings during the Xuanhe Era</i>
Xuanzong	玄宗: Tang emperor (r. 713-755)
<i>yadae</i>	夜對: evening lectures
<i>yakgwan</i>	弱冠: coming-of-age, age twenty
Yalujiang	鴨綠江: see Apnokgang
Yan Liben	閻立本 (600-673)
<i>yang-ingak</i>	陽印刻: relief carving
<i>yang-isimbal</i>	兩耳深鉢: <i>simbal</i> with two handles
Yangnyeong Daegun	讓寧大君: Prince Yangnyeong (1394-1462)
Yang-uijeong	養怡亭: pavilion name
Yangzhou	揚洲

Yanyou	延祐: Yuan reign period (1314-1320)
Yejeon	禮典: <i>Code of Rites</i>
Yejong	睿宗: Joseon king (r. 1468-1469)
Yejong	睿宗: Goryeo king (r. 1105-1122)
yeo	輿: royal sedan chair
yeohang	閭巷: social class that appeared at the end of Joseon dynasty following the fall of the higher <i>sadaebu</i> class
yeojimun	荔枝文: lichee pattern
Yeollyeosilgisul	燃藜室記述: <i>Narratives by Yeollyeosil</i>
yeomjuhap	念珠盒: rosary case
yeon	輦: royal palanquin
Yeongjo	英祖 Joseon king (r. 1724-1776)
yeong-uijeong	領議政: Chief State Councillor
Yeonsangun	燕山君 [yeonsan'gun]: Joseon king (r. 1494-1506)
yeopmun	葉文: leaf design
yeouidumun	如意頭文: <i>ruyi</i> pattern
Yi Am	李巖 (1499-?)
Yi Don	李焞, see Sukjong
Yi Geon	李健 (1614-1662)
Yi Gyeong-yun	李慶胤 (1545-1611), son of Yi Jing
Yi Gyubo	李奎報 (1168-1241)
Yi Ham	李涵 (1633-?)
Yi Hancheol	李漢喆 (1808-?)
Yi Hangbok	李恒福 (1556-1618)
Yi Inmun	李寅文 (1745-1821)
Yi Jing	李澄 (1581-?)
Yi Jongjun	李宗津 (?-1499)
Yi Myeonggyu	李命奎 (dates unknown)
Yi Ryang	李滄 (late seventeenth century)
Yi Saek	李穡 (1328-1396)
Yi Seunghyo	李崇孝 (late sixteenth century)
Yi Sumin	李壽民 (1651-1724)
Yi Uiyang	李義養 (1768-?)
Yi Yeong-yun	李英胤 (1561-1611)
Yi Yongbeom	李龍範
Yingzhou Dudufu	營州都督府
yisa	貳師: assistant teacher
Yodang wonangdo	蓼塘鴛鴦圖: <i>A Couple of Mandarin Ducks on a Pond with Weeds</i>
Yojiyeon	瑤池宴: banquet of the Queen Mother of the West
Yonghui	永徽: Tang reign period (650-655)
Yongmasanboru	龍馬山堡壘: mountain fortress of Yongmasan (mt.)
Yongtai gongzhu	永太公主: Princess Yongtai (d. 701)
Yongun-ri	龍雲里 [yong'unri]
Yu Gye	俞榮 (1607-1684)
Yu Jami	柳自湍 (late fifteenth century)
Yu Suk	劉淑 (1827-1873)
Yu Uiryang	柳義養 (1718-?)
Yuan Taizi	袁台子: tomb with mural paintings in Chaoyang
Yuanhe	元和: Tang reign period (806-821)
Yucheon-ri	柳川里

<i>yugaehap</i>	有蓋盒: lidded small box
<i>yugaewan</i>	有蓋碗: lidded small bowls
Yun Eom	尹儼 (1536-1581)
Yun Seokgeun	尹碩根 (dates unknown)
<i>yuseon</i>	諭善: chief administrator, official of the fifth rank in the <i>Seson gangseowon</i>
Yushan	禹山: tomb site
Zhangchuan	長川: tomb site
Zhanghuai	章懷太子: Prince Zhanghuai (651-684), see also Li Xian
Zhao Mengfu	趙孟頫 (1254-1322)
Zhenguan	貞觀: Tang reign period (627-649)
<i>zhongcheng guowang</i>	忠誠國王: loyal king, title granted by Tang to Go Bowon
Zhou Zhimian	周之冕 (sixteenth century)
<i>Zhoushu</i>	周書: <i>Zhou History</i>



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